

# The Contribution of Non-Governmental Organisations to Labour Issues, through Global Governance Modelling

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Indonesia has faced global economic issues which impact its national situation. These include issues as to human development, the environment and natural resources, peace and security, and global governance. This paper proposes a governance model to answer the global governance challenge, one which is suitable for Indonesia. It develops and evaluates a governance model that fits recent situations. Several aspects are analysed in this study; e.g. public participation, transparency, responsiveness, consensus-orientation, equity and inclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency, and accountability. Through a qualitative approach, the study tried to understand the aspects of global governance which occurred in Indonesia. The participants were representative samples from a higher education background, local government, NGOs, and private parties. Several approaches were compared, to manage globalisation issues. They ranged from neoliberal, Marxist / anti-globalisation, to agency-centred approaches. They were reformulated to understand better the conceptualisation of global governance, and how it shaped society-state relations in the democratic system. The study found that Indonesia has implemented global governance imperfectly.

**Key words:** *Global governance, local government, NGOs, private parties.*

## Introduction

Currently, the international community order has changed the map of economic and political power. As global political forces change after the Cold War, such change creates a new equilibrium that relies more on complex economic and political issues among countries. At the same time, global economic growth has improved, with the dominant players coming

from the Asia-Pacific region. In addition, economic interaction among countries has driven international relations to be more fluid, and flexible. Nation-state identity in the political context is still strong enough to perpetuate the concept of the nation state (nation-state) (Mellor, 2015). However, it seems the international community has slowly begun to leave the pattern of traditional nation-state relations, in favour of a new relationship characterised by more open country borders; so-called global governance.

Global governance has been defined as the total effort by individuals and institutions, public and private, to manage common issues among themselves and establish intergovernmental relationships through citizen movements, multinational corporations, and global capital market players (Karns, M., & Karen, 2004). It continues to position parties towards accommodation and taking co-operative action. It also refers to the notion that global governance as a system broadly involves the international community component of both government and non-government (Smouts, 1998).

A study by Knill & Lehmkuhl (2002) showed that global governance has a different meaning, in relating to the context of the state (nation state). This is also consistent with Gordenker & Thomas Weiss (2011) who asserted that global governance is wider community participation, to managing capacity, with the support of many countries, to bring more orderly and reliable responses to social and political issues.

However, global governance contains weaknesses other than formal governance. One is the question of legitimacy. Global governance does not recognise the legitimacy of community elements. It is regularly filled by institutional-sector actors representing sectorial interests. The global issues that occur in economic, political, and international relations have an open awareness of many parties joining together their resources, to solve their problems (Castells, 2011). With the state owning limited resources for providing legal and institutional protections, there is a demand for global governance especially in labour issues. Specifically, there is a trend of migrant worker-related issues, which tends to increase, leading to human rights violations and even a greater inevitability of trafficking. Global governance has been an alternative to regular governance in handling labour migration issues, which is urgently needed by the Indonesian public. This is particularly so in migration management, not only for human rights and migrant workers but also to protect Indonesians abroad.

Migration issues are complex, and global governance in labour and migration issues has been widely discussed in international human resource management circles (Sebastian Reiche, 2018). More than 9 million Indonesian citizens work outside country, equivalent to almost 7 percent of the total Indonesian workforce. But, the body of literature observing it, especially in the Indonesian context, is limited despite Indonesian migrant workers numbering third in East Asia, after China and the Philippines. A recent study by Castells (2011) showed that a

small portion of the body of knowledge represented the Indonesian government's ability to handle migration issues and labour practices. However, the study did not focus on global governance issues, especially the capacity of multi-stakeholders to improve the lives of these workers and support economic growth while contributing to the body of literature.

Several studies show that the Indonesian government lacks capacity and sufficient resources to address these issues (O'Brien, 2000; Castells, 2011). In addition, since there are many partnerships, it is interesting to know more the role of foreign organisations in Indonesia, especially non-institutional parties interested in the same issues. Therefore, this paper has a goal of describing the effort and practice of global governance that has been running in Indonesia, especially in addressing labour issues globally. It also has an objective of developing the concept of global governance, that has operated in Indonesia, to then analysis the role of non-state institutions in handling the global issues impacting the area.

## Literature Review

### *Global Issues*

Globalisation has been linked to the conditions and trends that affect every country including Indonesia (Waks, 2007). Walton et al. (1994) showed that globalisation impacts global labour issues, including countries' ethical and political measures. Mills (1978) argued that labour management is the most important aspect of globalisation to serve the promotion of human security, social justice and democracy, and preserve local culture and values, while enhancing the reputation and honour of industrialists. Based on the Indonesia Labour Market Outlook (ILO, 2016), several global challenges facing the community are high youth unemployment, sizeable gender gaps, and the continuing rise of income inequality. Addressing Indonesia's more chronic labour market challenges such as widespread informality, gender gaps and high youth employment, requires a set of decent work policies. To ensure coherence across economic and social policies, a constructive dialogue involving the government, employers, workers, and other relevant stakeholders is needed. Therefore, NGOs have to be enhanced, to trigger such dialogue and bridge the divide between government and employers/workers.

**Table 1:** List of Global Issues by Thematic Area

Thematic Area	Global Issues
Global economy	International trade, financial stability, poverty and inequality, foreign aid, foreign debt relief, international migration, food security, intellectual property rights
Global Human Development	Universal education, infectious diseases, humanitarian emergencies, hunger and malnutrition, refugees
Global environment and natural	Climate change, deforestation, access to clean water, biodiversity loss, land degradation, sustainable energy, depletion of fisheries

resources	
Proliferation of weapons	Peace and security, armed conflict, terrorism, destruction of landmines, drug smuggling and other crimes, disarmament, genocide
Global governance	International law, international treaties, conflict prevention, reform of the United Nations system, reform of international financial institutions, transnational corruption, global alignment, human rights

**Source:** Vinay Bhargava, "Introduction to Global Issues, " in Vinay Bhargava ed. *Global Issues for Global Citizens: Introduction to Key Development Challenges* (Washington: The World Bank, 2006)

### *Participating Globally*

Coupled with abundant governance marked by legal status, identification with the state, a sense of belonging to the community, as equal members among other things, we are facing a change in the trend of claiming of social practices that squeeze us with global changes that degrade original values in our behaviour, or ease moral law (Drucker, 1993). That is despite a consensus that governance is based on the principles of equality. However, it is precisely this egalitarian status among members that often creates a set of exclusive rights protections for foreign, powerful citizens (Kymileka, 1998). Thus, the concept of global governance may be detrimental to the local community but provide broad benefits to the global society (Scholte, 2002). In addition, global governance relates to the geometry of power where individuals, social groups, places, and different areas will be controlled remotely by the authorities' invisible hand.

To handle the risks attending the diaspora of Indonesian migrant workers, the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics has openly collaborated with the Australian Government and the World Bank. They stand ready to support the Government of Indonesia, under the leadership of the Ministry of Manpower, to pursue policy reforms that better facilitate migration and provide safer work environments. Such collaboration needs bridges from both international and domestic labour NGOs. The NGOs have initiatives to motivate and persuade the government to open cooperation. Through international NGOs and workers' organisations, the government body can take part in general NGO forums such as INFID (International NGO Forum on Development Indonesia, formerly INGI, International NGO Group on Indonesia) and other international NGO forums (Rumansara, 1997). They also have extensive links with labour groups in other Asian countries, including the Philippines and South Korea, as well as other worker and activist groups in Europe, Australia and North America. International campaigns are an important component of the strategy of labour unions and alternative unions. In addition, the international pressure on the Indonesian government brings a new atmosphere for the new perspective of resolving labour-related human rights cases. These include three labour issues in the 1990s about the killing of Marsinah as labour

activists, and the imprisonment of Muchtar Pakpahan and Dita Sari as NGO worker organisers. Both labour activists and NGOs worker organisers have acted together to force the government to make significant concessions to independent unions in the mid-1990s, and to set free Muchtar Pakpahan and Dita Sari. Their efforts eventually succeeded. Through the global anti-sweatshop campaign, especially the anti-Nike campaign, NGOs and activists established important sources of international support for improving the livelihood income for Indonesian labour. Cooperation between international members of these campaigns and local NGOs put pressure on Nike and other international sports companies, to improve conditions in their factories. The anti-sweatshop campaign also brings the poor working conditions of Indonesian factory workers into the international spotlight.

### ***Government Role through Ministry of Labour (MoL)***

The emergence of global issues can be drawn in two aspects inherent in the government and social hierarchy, to support global labour. The government's role initially included managing the threat to labour, as marginalised groups sought to balance labour protest and resistance against the prevailing global economic order (Lee, 2007). Government has the main task of managing labour conditions and improving the survival of labour. However, there is dissatisfaction with the role of governments, as labour associations sometimes protested and found that the government only bargaining and tending to support employers and capitalists, rather than defending labour and marginalised groups. These issues affect employment across regions, and stem from contradictions inherent in the conflict of interests. In responding, governments have restructured and delegated their role to their Ministry of Labour, as also demanded by the international community. In this manner they have sought to address the globalisation challenge to the primacy of state-based identity, in defining their labour lives, as well as addressing the conditions of a society that is increasingly heterogeneous, as a result of migration. This shows that globalisation still needs government participation as the natural process, free from values and interests. The role of government refers to the shift in the balance in favour of freedom of market mechanisms and ideological values of neoliberalism, to manage the national formation of labour into existing financial strengths and global production.

### ***NGOs Role in Labour Protection***

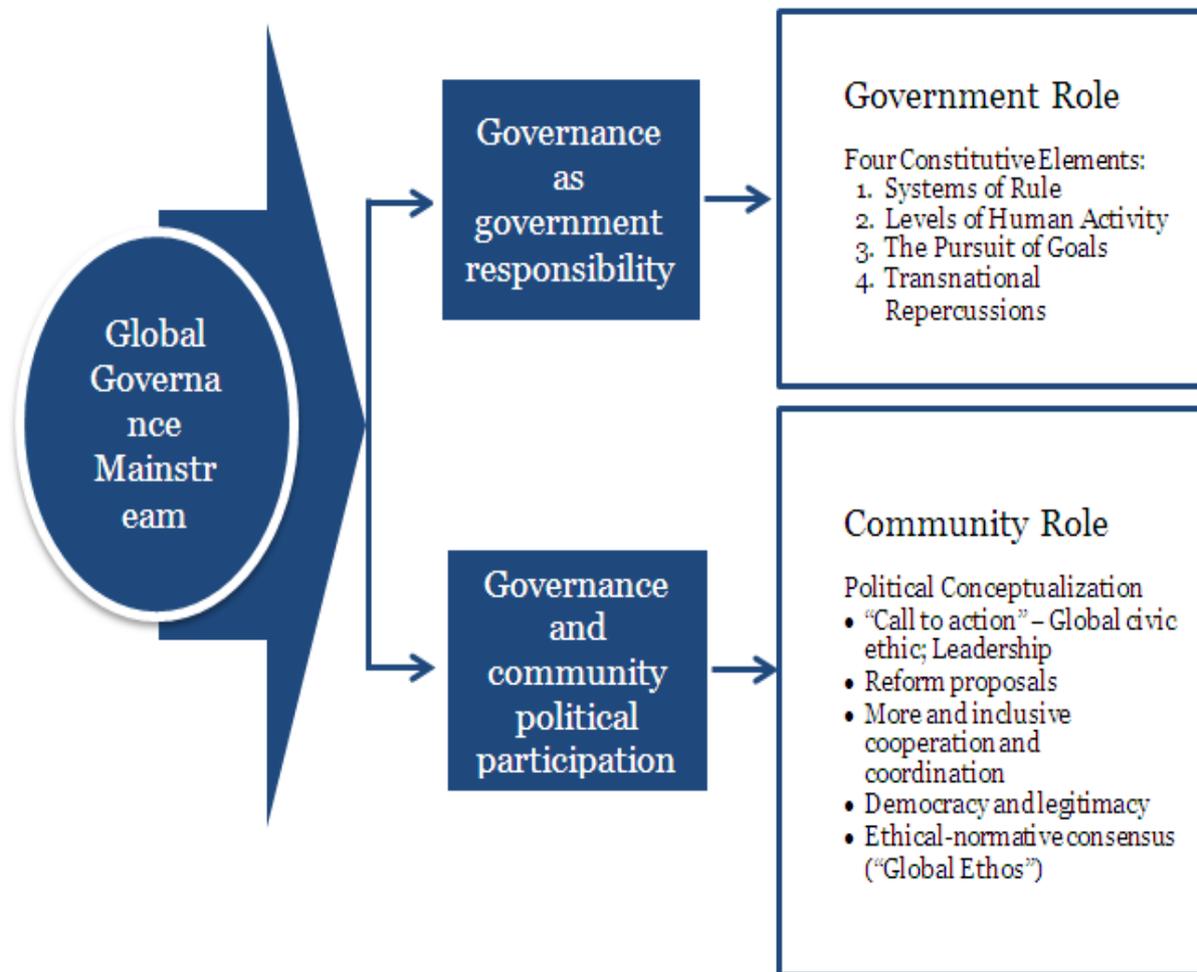
The important aspect in efforts to manage global labour issues lies in the view of globalisation itself, in the participation of non-government parties. They measure or address the labour problems that arise. The role of NGOs in labour protection has three main approaches to problem-solving (Ford, 2004). NGOs sometimes bring a liberal approach that sees globalisation in a positive perspective, based on individual freedom and optimism about the positive benefits of human interaction (Kellner, 2002). They educate people about

individual freedom in a manner that carries over into the mechanism of the free market in the global economy; the liberal approach to globalisation brings great benefits to human life. Their role in labour protection, especially in international labour, brings decline in labour costs while increasing the economic benefit for labour. NGOs' role in labour protection has been conducted by many parties such as Migrant Care, Fair Labour, Labour Watch and other labour NGOs (Agustín, 2007).

Labour NGOs played an important role in the reconstruction of the Indonesian labour movement, when independent unions were banned by Suharto's New Order government (1967-1998). The New Order's narrow approach to industrial relations prevented workers from effectively pursuing their interests in state-approved unions, and forbade them organising meaningful alternatives in the official industrial relations system. Such goals united the labour NGOs, as the main sponsor of organised opposition to the New Order's industrial relations system in the 1980s and 1990s. Despite the increased opportunities for unity after the fall of Suharto in 1998 (Ford, 2000; 2004a), labour NGOs continue to play an important role in labour and migration management.

Since the fall of Suharto, grass-roots NGOs have repositioned themselves in response to the opportunity to organise, and further growth in independent unity. Some activities previously undertaken by labour NGOs were indeed taken over by unions. However, labour NGOs continue to play a very active role, providing training and other types of support to new Indonesian unions. The emergence of new grass-roots labour NGOs such as the Trade Union Research Centre in Jakarta strongly suggests that labour NGOs still have a role at the grassroots level in the Indonesian labour movement. Labour NGOs also remain influential at the policy level in the post-Suharto era, working with other NGOs (and sometimes with unions) to suppress national pro-worker laws and policies. The relationships between NGOs and unions are often strained, because of the ongoing tensions surrounding issues regarding access to resources and different perceptions of legitimate NGO involvement in the labour movement, yet post-Suharto developments indicate that labour NGOs will contribute to the reconstruction of the labour movement for many years to come (Ford, 2004c).

**Figure 1.** Conceptualisation of Global Governance and Labour NGOs' role



**Source:** Modified from Agustín, 2007 and Kellner, 2002.

## Research Methods

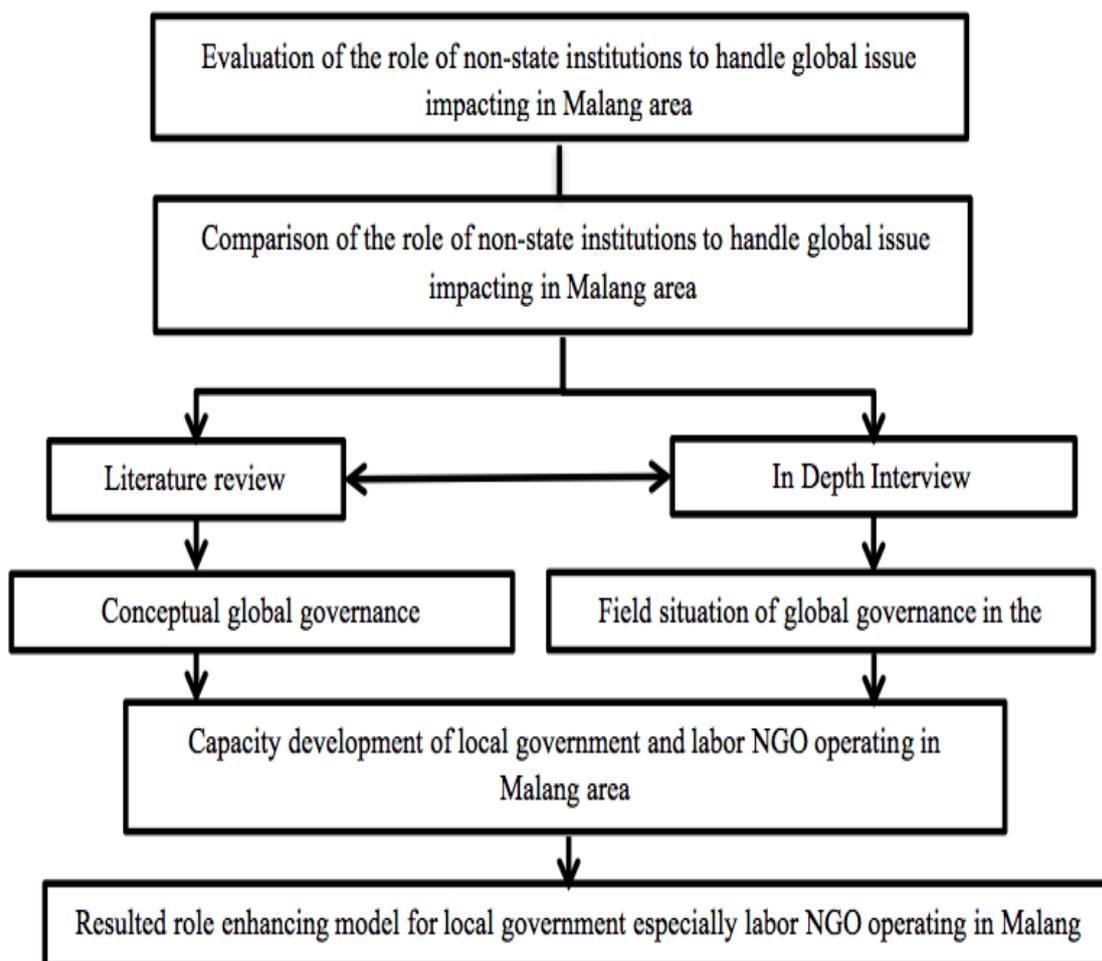
This study was conducted in Malang, an East Java (East Java) region contributing the highest number of migrant workers in Indonesia. Based on BNP2TKI data, as many as 53,525 Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) came from East Java, between January and October 2018. Thus, Malang captures the Indonesian migrant worker problem.

This study combines observation and interviews for data collection. The observation method was used in this study to explain the global governance approach implemented at the research site. Whereas, the interview approach is a model for understanding how a community can implement global governance and improve their knowledge about practices. The primary and secondary data collection process was conducted through the following methods: Interviews were conducted by primary data collection teams in the form of Discussion Forum Discussions (FGDs) with some participants including representatives of public institutions,

private institutions, local labour NGOs, political organisations, colleges, foreign government representatives, foreign worker NGOs, Multinational Donor Fund representatives and mass media. Then, secondary data was collected through a literature review of global governance and policy as to the research site. Those data collected in this study were further processed using qualitative methods. Based on this method, data was organised and sorted into patterns, categories and descriptions on a unit basis, so that it could be formulated to offer a global approach to governance and effectiveness in handling global issues.

The research framework has a goal to explain the aspects analysed in a study. The framework of this study is given in Fig.2 below.

**Figure 2.** Research Design



**Source:** Author, Analysis Research Design, 2017.

## **Result and Discussion**

Global challenges in Indonesia, including widespread informality, gender gaps and high youth employment, could be handled by the role of non-state institutions (NGOs). NGOs for many decades have transformed many ideas of global governance, sticking to the surface as the embodiment of approaches, practices and mechanisms for a new and effective world order (Willets, 2010). NGOs have helped many governments reflect how their participation becomes a global answer to various problems that arise. They are sometimes considered as “angels of politic” which transform old ways of public politic into newly formed administrations. The conception of today's global governance has been widely accepted by the world community, but have not reached agreement on the meaning of the concept. At the level of practice, there is not a single model of the mechanism and implementation of global governance. NGOs’ role in labour protection can be an example of usage and activity, and a phenomenon that can cover the vagueness and confusion of labour aspects and normative use. Therefore, it is important to observe further how labour NGOs can be useful in the global modelling of labour governance, in a more practical level and context.

Labour NGOs have several approaches for achieving goals. The agency-centred approach, which focused on how government policies can influence the consequences of global labour to manage bad effects on the activity or economic relationships, depends on political regulation (Hamm, 2001). NGOs’ role in labour protection has been linked to more positive opportunities for migrant workers in developing countries. In this case, the role of governments in the form of political regulation thus becomes very important. They manage and monitor the labour protection process completely naturally, neutrally and free of interest. However, it is queried how they can both formulate a systematic attempt to tackle a variety of global issues that arise, and connect understanding of the condition of global protection process itself. Their roles also position global dispute resolution and labour opportunities that continue to thicken. Therefore, their role is suitable for addressing labour issues in Indonesia.

### ***Labour NGOs in Indonesia***

In Indonesia, as economic relations benefit all apties, their role in globalisation and trade has increased labour specialisation, efficiency and well-being. In this regard, they can benefit migrant workers along with including a variety of new economic activity into the country. However, there is another mainstream of labour NGOs which sees globalisation as driven by people who see the benefits of a Marxist / anti-globalisation approach. Economic relations of power are exploitative, in this view. Globalisation increases capitalists’ power, impacting less-developed countries. Thus, they also have different perspective on political decisions and demand large changes in the form of regulation. As globalisation brings opportunities and

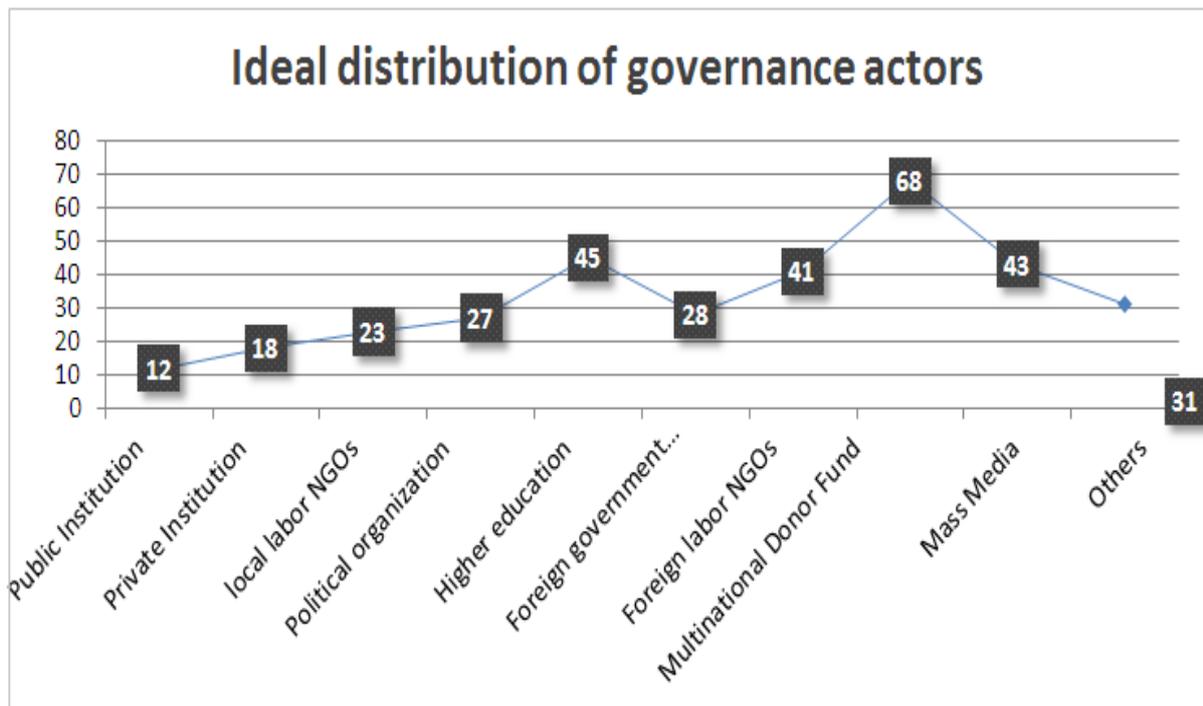
constraints for developing countries, from diverse political and regulatory responses, labour NGOs are becoming more important in driving the complex political process on many levels.

In using analysis, global governance has been seen as a phenomenon that can be observed (observable phenomenon). Dingwerth and Pattberg (2006) in this regard focused on developed perspectives, of how labour NGOs can participate in the practice of global governance. An important point of Rosenau's analysis of global governance is the effort to base labour management on institutions and international organisations, especially the role of labour NGOs. One labour NGO chosen in this study is Migrant Care. Migrant Care manages diverse global affairs. Therefore, it is important to define global governance as the rules at all levels of labour NGOs activity, from the family to the international organisation, each of which achieve objectives through implementing transnational controls and consequences.

This institution was founded in 2004, as a protective international community and workers' association. Migrant Care is essential for building human dignity. Their principles have been applied in the treatment of Indonesian migrants in Hong Kong, to keep migrant workers and institutional relations with government organisations and workers. Migrant Care aims to strengthen the protection provided by the state agency to migrant worker rights. They monitor recruitment, payments and field job security. Labour NGOs are becoming an increasingly important solution to the challenges of growing workers issues, and monitoring rights violations by employers. Similar to other labour protection NGOs in Europe, Migrant Care foster group strategy and focus groups to monitor the safety and welfare of workers, especially Indonesian workers positioned in violence-prone locations such as the Middle East and Asia. They are active in special interest groups: migrant care, and providing health assistance and care. In addition, Migrant Care also pushed parliament to approve conventions for migrant workers, ensuring employers comply with national laws in cooperation with other institutions. As a secondary objective, this NGO has been educating the workers and the public about social care sector positions in the labour market. Migrant workers are likely to continue to form an important part of the activities of Migrant Care, in the provision of monitoring and supervision of labour protection.

However, a lack of resources limits their protection of members. Thus, to carry out their duties, they must cooperate with other labour organisations. Such organisations range from factories to civil society organisations such as Fair Labour, to create a lasting solution for unskilled workers who uphold the freedom of association and protection of Indonesian workers in South Korea. International labour standards as to freedom of association are articulated by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) website. Subjects include international labour standards on freedom of association and the protection of workers' right to organise (ILO, 1948, no. title 29, section 1900 § 1910.999 labour).

**Figure 3.** Ideal distribution of governance actors for the research site



**Source:** ILO, Ideal Distribution of Governance Actors, 2017

In addition to Migrant Care there is other Labour NGOs, e.g., Fair Labour. This association has helped improve the lives of hundreds of workers and cooperated with protection associations. NGOs and groups cooperating internationally with the ILO have a standard goal, of implementing a code for a tripartite dialogue on protection contracts, and generating recommendations, which are made by their freedom of association commission and approved by the working labour of international organisations. The institute is active in protecting children from violence, exploitation and abuse, protection and cooperation with UNICEF to support a holistic approach to child protection for child workers. Such work contributes to the fact that through the fight for transparency and accountability, the labour movement has become a lobbyist. The institution developed top level training which is very important, not only in protecting workers, freedom of association and employment issues, but also for international participation in labour welfare.

An important report has been produced at [ida.worldbank.org](http://ida.worldbank.org). It lists the topic of social protection in a world full of risks and potential. It articulates the need for social protection systems and labour to help workers and families find jobs, increase productivity, overcome shocks and form labour associations. These institutions implement a ‘six months project’ to contribute to the elimination of labour child labour and invite United States trade representatives to protect the fundamental rights of workers in the Asia-Pacific. They are also involved in levelling, by finding the rule that protects rights of freedom of association, and

promote cooperation with safety and security associations for labour protection. They educate their members and the community about freedom of association and transformation through national legislation. They encourage agricultural employers, agricultural associations and farm labour to improve protection and safe working environments, in accordance with international labour associations, labour relations standards, and social protections.

The National Centre for Biotechnology Information says that NGOs should actively monitor the protection of workers, in matters associated with women's health, child protection, and the adoption of labour laws. It has been active in links between individuals, labour organisations, partnerships, associations, and associations of national protection. Protection associations should be active through a community approach, and contribute to ideals as reported by the Fair Labour Association website.

Based on Fig.1 above, it is noted that only government agencies, foreign governments and other labour NGOs are thought to have played a dominant role. Government institutions have the highest differences from ideal levels, followed by foreign governments and other labour NGOs. Other labour NGOs are closer to ideal levels, although there is still a little difference. The remaining labour NGOs are considered to not maximise participation in responding to the issues that arise in this area.

### ***Regional and Global Issues in the Research Site***

In the past, Malang was known to be a very eco-comfortable city, both in terms of labour conditions, as well as of the completeness of infrastructure. With increasing populations, there are labour pressures such as inundation, traffic congestion and pollution, which decrease the water supply and quality, and change the city's microclimate. Apart from global issues (such as global warming), the existence of programmed activity in Malang is considered the cause of these conditions.

To resolve such issues, there is an initiative of the Government of Malang. However, it is deemed inconsistent with local regulations (Perda) No. 7 of 2001, which regulates an issues Spatial Plan (RTRW). The flexibility was caused by many reasons, such as the municipal government needing to improve economic demands to please and attract investors, but at the expense of environmental and labour costs.

One trade union that has the purpose of protecting and fighting for migrant workers is the Indonesian Migrant Workers Union (SBMI) Malang. SBMI Malang oversees Indonesian workers, in relation to any injustice. It has collaborated and coordinated with related institutions, to advocate for the workers in the Malang Raya region and surrounding area. SBMI Malang has a role as a forum for migrant workers and their families, while strengthening the position of prospective migrant workers, especially in handling issues with

their employers , recruitment agencies and government bureaucrats. It has adopted a strategic role for developing and strengthening worker capacity.

The existence of SBMI Malang certainly cannot be separated from the size of the delivery of migrant workers abroad. During 2011-2013, in the province of East Java, there are the largest domains of migrant workers in Malang, Blitar, Tulungagung and Ponorogo regencies. These areas have become the sources of migrant workers sent to placement countries. During 2012-2013, East Java was the greatest source of workers placed in Hong Kong, Malaysia, Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea, Saudi Arabia, and elsewhere.

**Table 2:** Matrix Governance Model for the City Development in Malang

Actor	Approach	Preconditions	Recent value	Ideal value	Gap	Suitable governance model
Public Institution	Reduce dominant power in responding to issues	Requires role of the media and the role of other actors as a pressure group	5	12	-7	Adjustment
Private Institution	Return the government functions as it should	Encourage greater involvement by providing incentives in the form of convenience, reduction of sanctions, awards etc.	0	18	-18	Incentive provision
Local labour NGOs	Facilitate capacity building through training and communication media	Inviting proactively to these actors to engage in various events or activities that aim to respond to the issues	0	23	-23	Enhancing capacity
Political organisation	Communication central and local government	Requires support for policy and budget	12	27	-15	Incentive provision
Higher	Requires policy	Improve the	15	45	-30	Social change

Actor	Approach	Preconditions	Recent value	Ideal value	Gap	Suitable governance model
education	support from the central government	function of control and supervision of local governments				and transformation
Foreign government representative	Reduce dominant power in responding to issues	Requires role of the media and the role of other actors as a pressure group	33	28	-5	Adjustment
Foreign labour NGOs	Return the government functions as it should	Encourage greater involvement by providing incentives in the form of convenience, reduction of sanctions, awards etc.	25	41	-16	Incentive provision
Multinational Donor Fund	Facilitate capacity building through training and communication media	Inviting proactively to these actors to engage in various events or activities that aim to respond to the issues	44	68	-24	Enhancing capacity
Mass Media	Communication central and local government	Requires support for policy and budget	31	43	-14	Incentive provision
Others	Requires policy support from the central government	Improve the function of control and supervision of local governments	32	31	-1	Adjustment

Source: Author, Analysis Result, 2017

The primary strategic issue of Malang NGOs is the set of rights for migrant workers. Their human rights result from developments which state that human beings, including migrant workers, have rights since birth. In fact, even though the government of both countries admitted their human rights, adequately protecting migrant workers from injustice needs special attention. Injustices includes any violence, exploitation, discrimination, and bullying behaviour from any party to migrant workers. Generally, there are three forms of human rights injustice faced by migrant workers; document detention, unpaid wages and insurance claims blockage.

### **Conclusion and Suggestion**

The study has resulted in the formulation of global governance approaches and models that can be offered to every actor in accordance with a growing issue in the city. Its formulation is based on the analysis of primary data team of research instruments, and input sources. Through analysis of the team, a conclusion can be drawn about the existence of four useful approaches, namely; increasing roles (enhancement), reducing roles (retrenchment), coaching (fostering) and new initiatives (new initiatives). Each approach has different goals and objectives.

The first approach is to increase the role. It is offered to the labour NGOs that have assessed the role and contribution of the weak, or those below the ideal line, based on the perceptions of key participants. This approach has two nested models, depending on how big the gap between the current role and contributions to the ideal, expected level. For a relatively low gap, the model offered enhances or increases capacity. This is because an institution or actor with a low gap only requires increased capacity to maximise one's role and contribution in responding to the issue. The second model is referred to as incentive provision. It is offered to a labour NGO considered to have very weak participation or being far from ideal. Thus, labour NGOs, in addition to increased capacity requirements, also need incentives that could stimulate them to want to actively participate in responding to issues in the city.

Finally, global governance should be seen in the discourse of local social interest, and material that encourages local people to control their global governance, with the goal of building rights and a shared responsibility for all humanity, while addressing the globally significant political and economic challenges.

As the city developed into a more global city, labour NGOs grow. This impacts the government perspective about how to handle labour. The model of disincentive provisions must be applied to labour NGOs from foreign parties; namely foreign NGOs, international donors, and foreign governments. This model can only be done proactively by the state or in



this case the central government, to control and monitor the intensity of involvement and foreign influence, especially in handling issues that develop in the area.



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