

FOSTERING DELIBERATIVE GOVERNANCE IN LABOUR SOCIAL INSURANCE POLICY INNOVATION: THE CASE OF CENTRAL JAVA REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

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Abstract

Conflicts between labour and regional government continue to occur everywhere. One of the impacts is the problem of the achievement of Employment Social Security participation in Indonesia which is still very low. Data actually stated on November 2024 has only reached 30% of the government's target in 2024 which should have reached 60%. This study aims to explain how deliberation forums (deliberative) in Central Java significantly takes a strategic role in fostering public networking in decision making of labour insurance. By using descriptive-qualitative methods through studies of related policy documents and in-depth interviews with key officials in related agencies, it can be concluded that there are 2 models of deliberative governance in the formulation of labour protection policies that can be developed as an alternative to overcoming the problem of labour protection policy formulation, especially at the local government level. The first is the Elite model, namely policy deliberations managed through collaboration between actors from the government, especially between the executive, legislative and actors from the elements of the Employment Social Security organizers. Second, the "private" model of policy deliberation is a deliberation held collaboratively between actors from the labour element and the social organization element. The "private" policy deliberation is much more democratic and autonomous, because each actor is free to build interaction patterns and communication flows that are increasingly productive. In brief, through the development of such a deliberative policy model, it has also proven to be a significant innovation in labour protection policies while being able to prevent destructive conflicts and disputes between workers and government in fighting for better labour social insurance for a safer and more prosperous future for workers as a whole.

Keywords: *Deliberative Governance, Labour Policy, Social Insurance*

Introduction

Labour demonstrations are mostly rampant in various regions. The workers are fighting for the rights of state protection as mandated in various Labour Social Insurance Policies, as is also the case in various other parts of the world (Nae et al., 2024). Admittedly, Indonesia is relatively complete in regulating labour protection regulations. Among others,

Law No. 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower, Law No. 6 of 2023 concerning Job Creation and Law No. 3 of 1992 concerning the Social Security System for Workers, to Government Regulation No. 36 of 2021 concerning Wages, Government Regulation No. 37 of 2021 concerning PKWT, Outsourcing, Working Hours, Overtime Hours and Termination of Employment (PHK), and regulations at the regional level in almost all local governments are proof of the Indonesian government's commitment to 'protecting workers'. At the Central Java Provincial Government level, there is also Regional Regulation No. 2/2022 concerning the Implementation of Manpower and at the regional level such as Central Java Local Government, there is also Regional Regulation No. 1/2024 concerning the Implementation of Manpower, which mostly regulates labour social insurance.

However, in practice, the implementation of the labour protection policy can be considered a 'failure' because by the end of 2024, as promised by the central government, at least by the end of 2024, 80% of workers in Indonesia will have been included as participants in the employment social security (Nikmah Dalimunthe et al., 2023). The message of President Joko Widodo before retiring on the commemoration of May Day in Jakarta, May 1st, 2023, and Prabowo Subiyanto's Administration also emphasized and instructed all ministries, institutions and related agencies/organizations to jointly fight for labour rights in Indonesia, namely by ensuring that all workers, especially official workers who work in companies, both small, medium and large scale, to register their workers/labourers in the Employment Social Security. Here, the meaning of worker protection is more about efforts to ensure that all workers, formal workers, receive Employment Social Security according to the mandate of the National Social Security Law (Fath-Hiah & Nafi'ah, 2023).

The Employment Social Security Administering Board (so-called *BPJS Ketenagakerjaan*) was then mandated to specifically carry out governance and organize Employment Social Security services to ensure that the 'state is present' as mandated by the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Article 26 paragraph 2 which reads, 'The State Guarantees that all Citizens Obtain Work and a Decent Living for Humanity'. However, from *BPJS Ketenagakerjaan* data (2023), out of 98.45 million workers/laborers in Indonesia, it turns out that only 28% of workers/labourers are covered as *BPJS Ketenagakerjaan* participants. This figure is very low when compared to the achievement of Health Social Security participants where in December 2023, 82.23 million had become BPJS for Health participants or reached 92%. The question is why is the achievement of *BPJS Ketenagakerjaan* participants still very low in Indonesia, including at the Province level? What are the efforts of the Central Java Government to cover and accelerate the realization of labour social Insurance?

So, in this study, only deliberation models will be discussed as policy innovations, namely by looking at the interaction patterns and communication flows in the entire deliberation process that has been taking place in Central Java. By analysing the interaction patterns and communication flows between policy actors, the quality of the

policies produced, and the consensus agreed upon by cross-actors in deliberating labour protection policies can be seen.

Deliberative Governance as Policy Innovation

Deliberative governance is a dialog multi-actors networking involving a wider range of actors/stakeholders. In addition to being present according to their competence and authority in discussion forums held by various parties, the actors communicate interactively with other actors and are also committed to complying with existing regulations (Chwalisz, 2020). A deliberation can be called 'deliberative' if it meets 3 main principles as indicators of the success or failure of policy deliberation, namely:

(1) Authentic participation, namely full presence during discussion periods and conceptual debates, from start to finish. Such participation is 'representing' the voice of the institution, as well as according to its authority (Lu et al., 2023) (Mukhitdinov, 2024). (2) The existence of an autonomous and legal public space. Namely discussion spaces that are opened according to regulations where all facilitate discussion forums so that all deliberation processes run according to the principles of good governance, namely all actors have the right to participate in deliberations and have full access to autonomous decision-making. The values of deliberation are democratic, transparent, free, open and without pressure from any party (Gordon et al., 2020) (Fishkin, 2021). (3) Building consensus and collaboration across stakeholders. Cross-actor agreements occur openly and democratically where each actor has full freedom and authority to seek and debate labour protection agendas and programs. The decisions taken are decisions of all, decisions resulting from consensus (FAO & Agrinatura, 2019) (Christie et al., 2023).

From the three main principles of policy deliberation, it can be described more comprehensively by observing the interaction patterns and communication flows that occur and develop in each policy deliberation process. Based on data available at the Indonesian Ministry of Manpower and *BPJS Ketenagakerjaan*, there are at least 2 things that have caused the 'failure' to achieve the target of Employment Social Security Participation so far. First, because the existing labour protection policy has failed to be communicated, coordinated and disseminated to all labour stakeholders, among the actors of the labour protection policy itself (Koutras, 2020) (Knappe, 2019). Labour regulations related to 'labour insurance' have not been fully 'accepted' by stakeholders (Central Java Provincial Government, 2021). Specifically, among entrepreneurs/company management, for example, as actors and stakeholders who have special powers and duties to include their workers/labours as BPJS employment participants, there are still different opinions and responses, even though regulations have clearly regulated this (McCoy et al., 2024).

In the eyes of entrepreneurs/employer organizations, as one of the key actors in the successful implementation of the employment social security program, there are at least two reasons why they are not yet willing and able to include/register their workers in the employment social security program. First, they say it will be a 'new burden' in the wages

of their workers (Azmy et al., 2023). Because including their workers in the employment social security program means mining new costs in the wage structure. Second, not all entrepreneurs consider it important to include their workers in the employment social security program (Hammond et al., 2023). Therefore, new communication and awareness media are needed to provide understanding and enlightenment to entrepreneurs so that they are aware that providing social security for their workers/labourers is a very profitable investment in the long term for both entrepreneurs and especially for the workers themselves. Third, new media or space is needed, a deliberation forum to function in an integrated manner from all the needs and interests of labour protection stakeholders so that every time a problem and potential new dispute occurs related to the labour protection agenda, especially the achievement of employment insurance participation, it cannot be resolved (Chwalisz, 2019). Usually, policy actors and related stakeholders only blame each other. In fact, the forum and media as well as the 'deliberation' space are very much needed to accelerate the achievement of the quality and quantity of social insurance employment participation as part of the sustainable employment development agenda (Kuci et al., 2023).

It is acknowledged that the deliberation or discussion spaces that have been available so far, such as the Wage Council, Tripartite Cooperation Forum or the Employer-Need Dialogue that has been running, have not been utilized as a 'means' to build understanding, improve the quality of public participation, and have not been credible as a medium for joint decision-making both in the design of labour protection policies, implementation and evaluation of labour protection policies in an integrated and sustainable manner (Siregar Timboel et al., 2020). The forums, media and discussion spaces that are available and have been legalized as official forums are also 'full of manipulation', because they are more about just forum decisions per se, but the process and mechanism for achieving agreement and consensus seem more top-down without going through an authentic deliberation transformation process, which provides space and time for intense deliberation and mutual respect for differences, opinions and views (Weiland et al., 2021).

In fact, for a 'policy deliberation' or known as deliberative governance managed with egalitarian and modern democratic values, it is believed that it can be a more autonomous media, forum and public space, which is able to provide freedom and independence for all actors, all participants to work together in decision-making and take part in roles and tasks more autonomously in making public policies. The deliberative governance paradigm in public policy means that the entire decision-making process and public policies are ensured to use 'policy deliberation' models that are managed democratically, carried out with the values and principles of good governance, namely objective, transparent, participatory, democratic, prioritizing consensus, influencing the rule of law, and treating all actors involved in decision-making fairly, evenly, without pressure, without coercion and autonomously (Le et al., 2021) (Studies et al., 2023). The concept of Deliberative Governance can be illustrated in Figure 1.

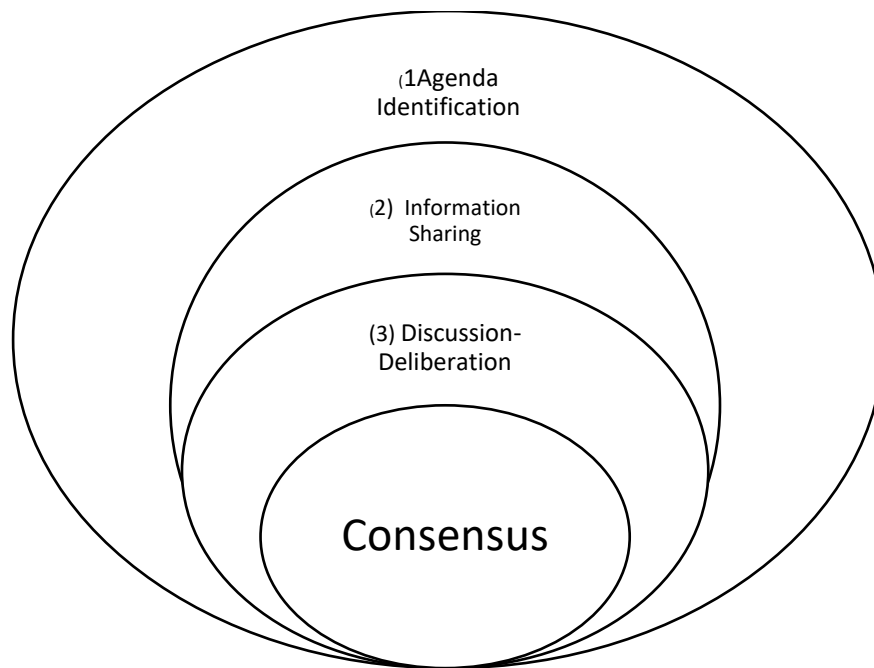


Figure 1. Stages of the Deliberative Governance Process in Public Policy (Setälä, 2021).

Figure 1 depicts that the initial stage of deliberative governance is to identify issues or agendas. This is the earliest stage which is usually carried out through deliberation between actors and participants to determine what agenda will be raised in a public policy. In this context, the agenda setting is labour protection which needs to be improved both in quality and quantity (Delgado-Baena & Sianes, 2024). The second stage is information sharing, namely discussion and deliberation where all actors and participants in labour protection policies work together to carry out the task of 'sharing information' (Araos, 2023). The information shared in accordance with the agenda setting is information and data related to the number of workers who have become Labour Social Insurance (ISC) participants and those who have not, information related to the number of companies that are not willing (not yet able) to implement government regulations, namely Law No. 13/2003 concerning Manpower and Law No. 2/2023 concerning Job Creation where in article 7 of the Manpower Law it is emphasized that in order to provide comprehensive protection, every worker and employer together are required to become ISC's participants. The third stage is discussion, namely holding discussions and deliberations involving all actors and policy stakeholders, which are divided into 2 types. First, the core actors/partisans consisting of the Regional Government represented by the Manpower Office, the Labour Agency or the Federation of Trade Unions and Employers or the Employer Association which is legally recognized in the Manpower policy. At this stage of discussion, each policy actor/stakeholder is usually very interested in fighting for their respective visions and missions, agree the final vision and mission: a significant increase in the number of BPJS Employment participants according to the targets set by the government (Gherghina et al., 2023).

The second actor/stakeholder is a supporting actor who synergizes, namely an actor whose duties and functions are to carry out technical tasks of employment social security services and an actor whose duties are to carry out supervision and control. They are the Employment Social Security Administering Agency, regional legislative ranks, Social Community Organization Elements, NGO activists, or Employment experts and local mass media elements (Baxter et al., 2023) (Biridlo'i Robby et al., 2024). The final stage is decision-making characterized by deliberation to reach consensus. In reaching consensus, each actor must dare to adapt to adjust to the new atmosphere and targets (Cha et al., 2024). At this stage, various patterns of interaction, patterns and communication flows, as well as coordination-consolidation are built that change according to the targets of each actor. This is a form of innovation in deliberation in public administration (Pananrangi M, 2019). On the part of key/core actors, labour protection policies are absolute because they are mandated by law. However, its implementation is still considered a failure due to many factors, including the lack of commitment and ongoing consensus among these core actors, so it requires comprehensive support and supervision-control from supporting actors/stakeholders such as supervision from NGO activists or experts and the mass media or political parties and the mass media (Saleh et al., 2021).

The more supporting actors increase their supervision, including digital supervision and become a central issue in employment development, the more it encourages core actors to immediately implement a more comprehensive labour protection consensus (Sergeenko et al., 2020). Then the pattern of interaction, communication flow and coordination that develops in the deliberation of labour protection policies can be explained in Figure 2.

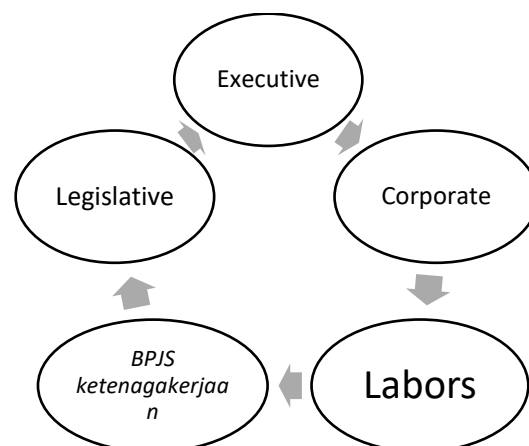


Figure 2. Patterns of Interaction and Communication Flows among Policy Actors (Benson, 2021)

Figure 2 shows how dynamic the patterns of interaction and communication flow between actors/stakeholders in deliberative governance on innovating labour protection policies. The tasks of each actor are of course different according to their respective authorities. The authority of the (regional) government, which is usually represented by the relevant Agency, is to formulate labour protection policies, of course the regional government also provides 'freedom' for external parties to provide suggestions and input

as standard procedures when a policy is to be designed. Deliberation has also become a habit, especially in the regions, where deliberation has become an integral part of the public decision-making process (Pera & Bussu, 2024). Likewise, business actors or Indonesian business associations that are already institutionalized in each region are key to determining the success of a policy. This is as mandated in the Indonesian Manpower Law that for worker social insurance, the government shares the risk between employers and workers to jointly share the role and risk, namely by paying contributions together in a mutual cooperation manner (Syofyan & Gusman, 2023). With the slogan "let's work together so that everyone is helped", as the slogan of the National Social Security service, the role and authority of employers and employers' associations are key. In addition, employers are wage providers so that they become key actors in labour protection policies (Chu et al., 2020).

Labour actors are also like that. They must be productive policy objects, because from them, labour protection policies will be enjoyed again by workers. For this reason, because workers are both the subject and object of the entire labour protection policy, the duties and authorities of workers are not only passive as wage-earning workers per se, but also have an obligation to check and recheck in the field if there are still employers/company management who are not willing to register their workers in the Employment Social Security program (Shen et al., 2024). Meanwhile, the role of the legislative ranks is no less important because they are the main partners of the regional government in determining the regulations for Social Security for Employment and function to carry out joint supervision with social agencies/organizations or other components of society. The failure of a number of labour protection policies so far is also suspected to be influenced by the low commitment of the legislative to be involved in supervising the implementation of policies as their main task and function, supervising the work of the executive (Accomplishments, 2022).

Methodology

The research is research with a descriptive-qualitative method. To find deliberative governance models in labour social insurance policies, especially in, Central Java as the location of the case study (Hammersley, 2023). Through this descriptive analysis, an analysis of labour protection policies at the local-regional government level will also be carried out, while exploring the roles, duties and functions and authorities of all actors and stakeholders in labour protection policies, which have so far been the key to the success and failure of labour protection policies at the regional level. By conducting a study of existing labour protection policies at the central, provincial and district/city government levels, and conducting observations and in-depth interviews with a number of key informants at the regional level (50 key informants), it is hoped that deliberative governance models will be found in labour social insurance policies as well as the meaning of deliberative governance in accelerating the performance of labour protection policies (Mancilla García et al., 2024).

Meanwhile, to ensure the validity and reliability of the data and analysis, the author uses triangulation of sources and literature reviews related to labour protection policies, so that it can be known to what extent the role and authority of labour protection policy actors are when deliberations are held at various levels. This research was conducted in the period 2018-2023 with a case study at the Manpower, Cooperatives and SMEs Office of Central Java where the Industrial Relations Division, as one of the Divisions in the Office, has a big agenda, regulating protection in the form of social security for workers through the function of labour regulation in the region (Aspers & Corte, 2019) (Bachtira, 2017). Through the governance of the labour protection policy deliberation, it will also be described how the interaction patterns and communication flows in policy deliberations, how participation is carried out, the process of forming collaboration and finally how actors build consensus for decision making.

Results and Discussion

1. Deliberative Governance Actors in Central Java

The Central Java Local Government, with a population of around 81.5 million in 2023, is one of the regional governments known for its 'distinctive culture', namely as a region with a democratic community life, and a culture and social life characterized as *egaliter* society (honest and frank). Cultural expert Ahmad Tohari (2022), calls it a society and government that likes to deliberate, with the tagline of socio-cultural life, namely '*ono rembug de rembug*' (If there is a problem, discuss it together), becoming the character of deliberation in Indonesia (Riska Chyntia Dewi & Suparno Suparno, 2022). The social capital of the Central Java community that revives the tradition of '*rembugan*' (deliberation) has been going on for generations. The habit of '*ono rembug de rembug*', thus began with the tradition of '*jugrungan*', namely discussion and multi actors dialogue between community members and government circles since the time of the Central Java of 423 years ago. Almost all government affairs in there as far as possible can be discussed and studied together by involving as many actors or stakeholders as possible. The goal is none other than to ensure that what is agreed upon, what has become a consensus from a '*rembugan*' (deliberation) can be used as a guideline and reference for further policy actions, both by the government, the business world or the wider community, including labourers/workers in Central Java. Deliberative Governance is a joint deliberation across policy actor networks that is an integral part of labour protection policy innovation, which will continue to be a model for policy governance in the future (Manosevitch, 2024).

Central Java Province has 35 regencies and 9 cities. According to the State Administration Institute (2023), its governance has become a 'model' of regional autonomy since 1999, and because of that, many governance achievements have been achieved so far. Banyumas Regency has also received an award as 'a government that is able to maintain the local culture of Central Java People which includes maintaining and developing the *local* language which is widely known in various regions and has even gone global to various corners of the world. Such cultural characteristics cannot be separated

from the habits of the people and government of Central Java to continue to revive the traditions, norms and values *Jatengan*, which include upholding honesty (*Bawor*), a culture of candor (*Cablaka*) as a manifestation of the values of good governance, namely democratic, transparent, and participatory, as well as the social tradition of *rembugan* itself, namely cross-interest deliberation formalized with *Jatengan* socio-cultural values (Riyoldi et al., 2022).

Starting in 2008, the *Central Java* government began to intensively develop discussion forums, dialogues and public hearings, both mobilized by the executive elements of the each Regency regional government, by industry-business circles or even by the legislative circle and the wider community. For the wider community, we also often hear about the habit of social deliberations, especially when the wider community responds to various public policies that are considered to be 'denials' of customs. The deliberations then went well formally, informally and even non-formally, namely deliberations held by official circles/government institutions/agencies/public organizations, or by non-government organizations/institutions/agencies. One forum that is quite well known to the public is the 'labour deliberation' and the entrepreneur-labour deliberation. In 2010, when the Central Java Government was led by Ganjar Pranowo who was originally from Purworejo that he initiated cross-stakeholder deliberations, namely the labour protection policy deliberation (Alsaadi & Khudari, 2024). The aim is to ensure that all workers in Central Java Province receive social protection guarantees, namely work accident social security, pension guarantee, old age security, death guarantee and job loss guarantee.

The Central Java government realized that until 2010, there were still many workers in Central Java who did not receive social security for employment. The achievement of Social Security for Employment from BPJS Ketenagakerjaan data (2023) only reached 35.18% for the national level. In fact, the target of the central government, for example, by 2027, as many as 85% of workers in Indonesia have become BPJS Ketenagakerjaan participants, and for the province level, the target has reached 75% by 2027. So, it is natural that many people say that the government has failed to implement its own policies so that the target has not been met (Matindas, 2018). It is acknowledged that there was a long gap, namely the period 2013-2023, the Central Java Government did not focus too much on the governance of labour protection. Of the total number of workers reaching 98 thousand formal workers and 120 thousand informal workers, it turns out that only 30.19% are included in BPJS Employment membership, and 80% are formal workers who work in national or local companies in Central Java. One of the reasons for the failure of the labour protection agenda is due to several internal or external factors (Febiola et al., 2022).

The internal factor is the lack of will and ongoing commitment from almost all actors in labour protection policies. Starting from the executive, legislative, business circles to workers themselves, they are still not aware that labour social protection is a mandate and mandate of Law No. 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower and is reaffirmed in Law No. 2 of 2023 concerning Job Creation, all of which state that 'labour protection' in the employment social security program is mandatory. So that all stakeholders, especially the

government, social security organizers, people's representatives, business people and workers must work together to realize the targets and objectives of worker protection without exception. Even the government and all related parties must also campaign to raise awareness among workers, even non-formal workers to become participants in worker social insurance (Sørensen & Bentzen, 2020). For this reason, various forms of policy deliberations are held by various parties. Starting from the deliberations held by the Central Java regional government, the deliberations held by *BPJS Ketenagakerjaan*, the deliberations held by workers through the Labour Discussion Forum of the Federation of Trade Unions and the deliberations held by employers through the entrepreneur meeting forum.

So, seen from the deliberative governance indicators, it can be explained as follows: First, there is interactive participation, namely attendance at every forum held by various parties from beginning to end. From observations made on 4 deliberation forums that are often held, the participation of entrepreneurs/company management is classified as the lowest. Even out of 200 entrepreneurs invited by the *BPJS Ketenagakerjaan* deliberation committee, only 5 small entrepreneurs attended, and 195 medium and large entrepreneurs were only represented. This does not indicate the seriousness of entrepreneurs to work together with the government to protect workers. Meanwhile, other actors are more active and fully involved in every discussion session (Pek, 2023). Second, from the aspect of legal and autonomous public space, it can be seen that the deliberations that have taken place so far have all met the procedures, namely in accordance with the mandate of Indonesian Manpower Ministry regulation No. 23/2020 concerning the Tripartite Cooperation Institution and the Labour Discussion Forum, which reflects differences and inclusion in the policy deliberation process (Saner et al., 2023). Third, from the aspect of collaboration to achieve consensus, showing that the deliberations in which have been carried out have not fully reached a consensus with the values of democratization and the principles of good governance. Legislative actors tend to use 'lobbying' as an effort to reach consensus, while labour actors, entrepreneurs and labour social organizations prioritize consensus (Dexu et al., 2024).

In addition, from the three aspects of deliberative governance, a 'new atmosphere' is depicted, namely the development of interaction patterns and communication flows that are increasingly dynamic, open, democratic and egalitarian. Through policy deliberations that connect networks of actors acting more autonomously, there is an increasingly Arab interaction pattern between actors. This provides a new nuance of the situation and atmosphere of deliberation that is more fluid, open and frank. Through interactive interaction patterns between actors, it triggers openness of information, even each actor 'declares' each other regarding various obstacles and obstacles in realizing labour protection according to existing labour protection policies. The interaction patterns and communication flows in labour protection policy deliberations found in Central Java in Figure 3.

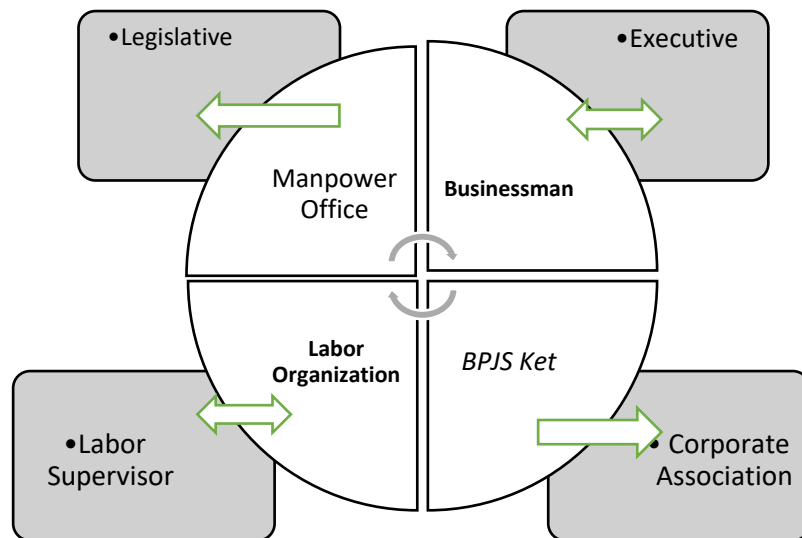


Figure 3 Interaction Patterns and Communication Flow in Deliberative Governance of Labour Protection Policy

Figure 3 shows the interaction patterns and communication flow that take place in innovation of labour protection policy deliberations. There are 4 main strategic actors, namely legislative, executive, labour supervisor and business association ones. The second actor is the technical actor, namely the one who has the authority to implement and operationalize innovation of labour protection policies, consisting of the Manpower Office business-corporate, labour organization and actors from the Social Security Administration for Employment. Before the innovation of policy deliberation was held, the eight actors had communicated and coordinated well between fellow core actors or supporting actors such as actors from the mass media, from experts/specialists who are usually from campuses/universities and actors from social community organizations (Plans et al., 2024). From the policy deliberation, it can be seen that there is a two-way arrow (↔) indicating an active interaction pattern and harmonious two-way communication relationship as well as good coordination between actors, while the sign (---↔) indicates that there is no good interaction pattern and communication pattern between labour and employer actors and between employer actors and *BPJS Ketenagakerjaan*. This is because, among other things, employers do not yet have full awareness of the importance of protecting workers through the local *BPJS Ketenagakerjaan* (Parker & Dodge, 2023). In the deliberation between the labour office actors, *BPJS Ketenagakerjaan* and employers, and the results of in-depth interviews with 20 employers, it was concluded that as many as 80 employers still considered protecting their workers/employees not important, especially for workers/employees in the middle to lower positions.

In the deliberation on work accident protection policies, death social security or pension insurance, the interaction pattern and communication flow between legislative and executive actors were not harmonious. Legislative actors dominate communication even by doing a lot of lobbying which is often seen outside the deliberation forum. This can be done, but it often becomes an obstacle and difficulty in controlling when reaching

consensus and mutual agreement. This is more due to the habits of legislative actors where lobbying time is the best time to reach a consensus on labour protection (Dianto et al., 2021). During this lobbying time, policy deliberations also become more 'fluid', although this does not indicate whether there has been a commitment to immediately realize labor protection policies according to the deliberation agenda or not (Alma'arif & Wargadinata, 2022) (Saptawan, 2019). Actors from the Employment Social Security Organizer (*BPJS Ketenagakerjaan*), for example, often say that the deliberations that have been carried out have been so many and repeated, but employers and workers are very slow to realize the agreement in the deliberation (He, 2018). In such a context, the role of the labour supervisory actor, which is usually from the Central Java Provincial Manpower Office, should be to regularly supervise and check participant data after the deliberation is carried out to see and ensure whether there is a cross-actor consensus to motivate the work spirit of workers as human resources of the organization/company (Mudhofar, 2021).

2. Deliberative as an Innovation in Labour Social Insurance Policy

The labour protection policy deliberation in Central Java has been revived, and from the experience of the last 2 years, it turns out that through cross-actor policy deliberations, a new atmosphere has been built; there is a breath of fresh air regarding the enthusiasm of all parties to jointly improve the quality and quantity of social security participants. The policy deliberation is one of the innovations because previously the dialogue or discussion forum that was held seemed to only be a ceremonial media without results, where for reasons of rationality, all participants attended perfunctorily without clarity on the competence and performance of the deliberation itself (Xiang et al., 2023). With this deliberative approach, many new deliberation practices provide a new nuance and spirit, all actors are willing and able to increase participation so that the consensus that is built is much more autonomous and democratic. Conflicts and feuds between workers and employers are easily resolved and the parties agree to develop such policy deliberation models (Malaian et al., 2019). Labour protection policy discussions have also begun to be widely developed, especially since workers' awareness of organizing has developed everywhere from the central, provincial to district/city levels, as depicted in Table 1.

Table 1 Various Labour Protection Policy Deliberations in Central Java

No.	Model of Deliberation	Agenda Deliberation	Actors Involved
1.	Labour Dialog Forum	Discussing labour protection agendas (Work Accident Insurance and Pension)	Initiated by workers themselves with the main actors of workers and Employers
2.	Interactive Dialogue of the Federation of Trade Unions	Discussing labour protection policies (Death and Old Age Insurance)	Confederation of All Indonesian Trade Unions, the main actor of the

			management of the Trade Union
3.	Joint Deliberation of Employers/Investors	Encouraging Entrepreneurs to Actively Protect Workers	Indonesian Employers Association at the regional level and other management ranks
4.	Tripartite Cooperation Forum	Formulating Labour Protection policies and Fostering Labour Protection (5 Employment Social Security programs)	Executive elements and regional Employment Social Security Administering Agencies, Central Statistics Agency, Employers and Labourers and the Council of Experts from Universities
5.	Regional Wage Council	Determining the material for Wage Determination	Policy Expert Council from Campus/PT elements, Regional Manpower Office, Employers Association, Federation of Trade Unions and the Regional Central Statistics Agency
6.	Public Hearing Parliament	Partnership for Labour Protection (Job Loss Guarantee and Labour Rights others)	Legislative ranks, regional politicians, BPJS Employment and the Department of Manpower

(Source: Department of Manpower, Cooperatives and SMEs, Central Java, 2023, Doc edited)

Table 1 confirms that there are 6 types of labour protection policy deliberations that have been established and developed in order to increase participation in social security for workers. If it is examined in more detail, the data actually shows that there are still many forums and discussion and deliberation spaces that have also been working together to realize more massive labour protection (Astengo, 2024) (Pesch, 2008). Such as the deliberation media that continues to be carried out by the Confederation of Indonesian Trade Unions in various regions/areas. As is known, the Federation of Trade Unions in Indonesia is now developing its types of organizations/institutions, so that outside the parent organization in Jakarta, at the Provincial, Regency, and City levels, various types of Local Workers Union organizations are also developing. In the province itself, there are 5 Regional Trade Union Federations, namely SPSI (All Indonesia Workers Union), KSPSI (Confederation of Indonesian Trade Unions), KSPN (National Trade Union Confederation),

SPM (Metal Workers Union), SBNI (Indonesian National Labour Union). The development of institutional networking and Trade Union organizations is none other than increasing the ability of workers to organize and express their ideals and hopes for a better, more professional, and more prosperous future for workers. The large number of Trade Union organizations is also to make entrepreneurs/investors (company management-business world) aware that protecting workers/workers is part of an investment so that it should not be seen as a burden, an additional risk of costs, but rather an investment that will benefit the future of workers and employers simultaneously (Kim & Choi, 2020) (Sari & Suswanta, 2023).

Deliberations on labour social insurance policies are growing very rapidly. This shows an increase in the spirit and new awareness among workers to improve more comprehensive labour protection. Even the agenda of the Central Indonesian Trade Union Confederation, for example, not only continues to encourage all stakeholders for labor protection but also to increase 'political' support for the national labour struggle (Wei & Muratova, 2022) (Belghitar et al., 2019). Workers now even have a Political Party organization that has started competing in the 2029 and 2023 Elections. This is actually a new opportunity for workers so that labour political party organizations can carry out their roles and functions with aspirations so that the ideals of workers being protected by becoming BPJS Employment participants become a reality. If examined in more detail, the Labour Social Insurance Policy from the Central, Provincial to Regency, City levels is very adequate. There are at least 18 Manpower regulations, almost all of which are directed towards the ultimate goal of Labour Protection, as shown in Table 3. It is known that before the labour social insurance policy, the number of BPJS Employment participants in Indonesia stagnated every year. For example, until 2008, only 15% of workers were protected, and in 2010 only 20%. Since various efforts to increase awareness in all lines, including holding various labour meetings involving various stakeholders, have effectively boosted the number of labour social insurance participants, including in the province.

Table 3 Result of Labour Social Insurance Policies Innovation from the Central Java Province to Regency/City

No.	Type of Employment Regulation	Innovation Policy Target	Innovative Policy Realization (2023)
1	Law No. 13/2003 on Employment	Comprehensive protection for Workers	50% protected
2	Law No. 2/2023 on Job Creation	Protection of labour rights	45% of workers protected
3	Law No. 40/2011 on National Social Security	Protection for 5 Social Insurance programs	35% of workers protected 5 programs

4	Law No. 24/2020 Implementation of Social Security for Employment	<i>Social Insurance</i> or formal workers	35% of workers protected
5	Law No. 2/2004 on Industrial Relations Disputes	Guarantee Prevention and settlement of HI Disputes	35% prevention and settlement of HI
6	Law No. 11/2020 on Trade Unions	Regulates the governance of labour unions Only	25% of companies have labour unions
7	Government Regulation No. 36/2021 on Wages	Regulating wage standards for workers Only	65% of employers comply with wage provisions
8	Government Regulation No.37/2021 concerning PKWT, Outsourcing, Working Hours, Overtime Hours and Layoffs	Regulating worker status, outsourcing, working hours and layoffs	70% of companies comply with the provisions
9	Presidential Regulation No.2/2022 concerning Implementation of Employment Social Security	Obligations of the government and employers to realize labour protection Only	30% of business circles comply
10	Central Java Regional Regulation No.2/2022 concerning Implementation of Employment Social Security	Regulating employment governance in Central Java Only	35% of workers in Central Java are protected
11	Regional Regulation No.1./2024 concerning Employment Implementation	Regulating Local Employment governance in regency level	30% of workers in Central Java are protected
12	Central Java Regent Regulation No. 68/2020 concerning the Implementation of <i>Labour Social Insurance</i>	Regulates the Implementation of Local <i>Social Insurance</i> for non-ASN workers-non-formal workers Only	25% of informal workers are protected
13	Regent Regulation 36/2020 concerning Optimization of the Implementation of <i>Social Insurance</i>	Regulates workers in the health and construction sectors Only	30% of workers in the health and construction sectors are protected

14	Governor Regulation No. 191/2022 concerning Optimization of the Implementation of Outsourcing	Regulates workers in the education sector Only	29% of workers in the education sector are protected
15	Regent Regulation No. 82/2022 concerning the Team for Optimizing	To accelerate social protection coverage for informal labors	70% of employers are not yet compliant, so an optimization team consisting of 8 policy actors is needed

(Source: Department of Manpower, Cooperatives and SMEs, Central Java, 2023, edited)

Table 3 shows that when deliberations are carried out with intensity and full awareness from the actors of labour protection policies, productive communication, coordination and consolidation can be built, preventing potential conflicts/disputes from becoming destructive and can directly increase consensus for the realization of labour protection (Zhu et al., 2021). (Kepp et al., 2024). The case in Central Java is clear evidence that deliberative governance can be a policy innovation that can be developed because it has been proven to prevent labour conflicts while spurring an increase in labour protection rates, which has increased by almost 20% in the last 2 years. Previously, the movement of the number of participants was very slow and the Central Java government seemed to have lost its mind because of the difficulty of increasing the number of labour social insurance participants and on the other hand, almost all media discussions between workers and employers always ended in endless conflicts and disputes. This is why the Central Java government continues to mobilize wider support and collaboration so that the policy deliberation model can continue to be improved in the future.

Conclusion

The results of data analysis and collaboration models of policy deliberative governance networks in fostering workers involvement in decision making in the Central Java landscape show a positive trend in which help government in decision making and can be an alternative policy innovation. It is because of not only quantitatively able to increase the number of labour social insurance participants at the regional level - and simultaneously will increase participation at the provincial and central levels - then the intensity, expansion of roles and supervision of actors, as well as improvements in interaction patterns, dynamic networking actors and communication flows that intensively continue to be improved can be efforts to prevent and resolve potential conflicts/disputes between workers - employers who have always been facing each other to the point of being destructive.

The values of deliberation, namely participation, transparency, collaboration and partnership that continue to be intensified encourage actors to understand each other's weaknesses and deficiencies and build more sustainable cross-actor collaboration. By increasing the quality and quantity of deliberation, it is believed that mutual understanding of the roles, tasks and authorities of each actor in labour protection policies innovation will be built and will simultaneously encourage actors to jointly realize labour protection. Intensive and dynamic interaction patterns and communication flows that are based on the values of deliberation, namely participation, transparency, openness, and consensus will increase commitment and the quality of collaboration among actors and then encourage actors to carry out their roles, tasks and functions and authorities to jointly improve labour protection.

For recommendation, (and suggestion), such a deliberative governance model can be a new reference for public policy makers, especially in innovating labour social insurance policies in term of the design, implementation and evaluation policies-public administration. Cooperation and collaboration followed by joint supervision and control are still needed so that all actors remain consistent until all workers/labours, especially in Central Java, receive proper protection for humanity and equality, especially security and guarantees for work accidents, pension, death, old age insurance and job loss ones. This effort is one of the joint steps to improve the welfare of workers as a whole.

However, this study meets some problems regarding how to encourage elite actors, especially coming from legislative elements, in order to clarify that deliberative governance in policymaking is pure for policy improvement, that make local government of Banyumas good in engaging labor protection. Notely, do not be a labor policymaking just becoming a political intract anymore.

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