Enacting Deliberative Governance in Innovation of Labor Protection Policy (Case Study in Banyumas District, Central Java Province)

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Abstract

This study aims to enact labor protection policy deliberations as an alternative policy innovation. By using qualitative descriptive research methods and observations of various models of labor protection policy deliberation in Banyumas Regency and a study of labor protection policy documents in the period 2021-2024, with in-depth interviews with 50 key informants, it can be concluded that two models of policy deliberation are founded. They are an elite model held by executive and legislative actors; the other is called private one handled by labour and corporate organization actors. The two models finally unified to improve the labor protection policy design process, encourage the formation of various public discussions and debates, and encourage the authentic participation of citizens, corporations, and workers. By blending them, the degree of consensus and collaboration across interests autonomously develops their potential and authority to jointly realize the target of social security participation programs. However, there are still various obstacles, including the limited budget and minimal awareness of elite actors. It is recognized that the development of more democratic labor policy deliberations shows a positive trend for regional governments in the future as the new capital for regional development. Because of the wider involvement, participation, availability of legitimate public space and wider collaboration have been proven to significantly improve the quality of labor protection policies at a local level. However, supervision and policy guidance must be carried out by all actors to improve the welfare of workers as a whole.

Keywords: deliberative governance, policy innovation, labor protection, banyumas

INTRODUCTION

The International Labor Organization (ILO) reported that labor protection is not only a global agenda, but also local, national and regional. It is recognized that the profession of laborers, namely people or citizens who work in the private sector or in companies and industries, is still looked down upon, so many countries allow workers' lives to suffer (Nurhalimah 2018). One of them is that globally, only around 35% of workers at the global level have received social protection. So it is natural that labor protests and demonstrations always occur in various regions and areas, including in Indonesia (BPJS Ketenagakerjaan 2020).

As a member of the ILO, the Indonesian government has long fought to protect workers. This can be seen from the various regulations and policies on worker protection produced in the last 20 years at the national and local levels. However, the achievement of participation in the social security program for workers in Indonesia is still very low, at only 31.45%. At the Central Java Province level, social protection for workers has only reached around 31.15%. This shows that the lives and futures of workers are in a state of crisis, and new policies are needed to boost the number of workers protected by the state. This has been campaigned throughout time because of the strategic role of workers in national and local economic development (Presiden Republik Indonesia 2021) (Setiyono and Chalmers 2018).

The workers are fighting for the rights of state protection as mandated in various Labour Protection Policies and other parts of the world (Jericho et al. 2024). Admittedly, Indonesia is relatively complete in regulating labor 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, Regional Regulation No. 2/2022 also concerns the Implementation of Manpower. At the regional level, such as Banyumas Regency, there is also Regional Regulation No. 15/2024 concerning the Implementation of Manpower, which mostly regulates labor protection.

However, in practice, the implementation of the labor protection policy can be considered a 'failure' because by the end of 2024, as promised by the central government, at least 80% of workers in Indonesia will have been included as participants in the employment social security (Matindas 2018). Here, worker protection means more about efforts to ensure that all workers, formal workers, receive Employment Social Security according to the mandate of the National Social Security Law (Zulkarnaen and Utami 2016).

Workers' low social security participation also occurs at the district/city government level in Central Java Province (Suhartoyo 2020). Banyumas is one of the areas that also experienced the same thing, namely the low achievement of social security for workers. Until 2021, out of 64 thousand workers, only 32.18% were participants in social security for workers. In fact, the target is that in 2026 it will reach 46%. Although slow, entering 2020-2024, there is a movement in the number of social security participants in Banyumas, which is estimated to have reached 35.11% (Mulyono and Purnomo 2022).

It is known that the significant increase in the number of social security participants in Banyumas Regency has made it a role model for other areas in Central Java. From the results of observations on the case, it was found that the success was inseparable from the innovation of labor protection policies that have been taking place in the last 3 years. One of these innovations is the existence of various forums and public discussion media from various groups, all leading to a model of labor protection policy deliberation. With a strong local tradition in the form of open and independent public discussions or deliberations, many public policies have been successfully built based on wider pub-

lic participation (Pratami, Salsabila, and Hidayah, 2023) (Syam, 2022).

The development of public discussions in various media outlets is indeed supported by the fairly good economic conditions in Banyumas. With the largest number of companies in South Central Java, reaching 2,545 companies of various scales, Banyumas Raya is one of the destinations for citizens from various regions looking for work and new experiences of jobs. This also significantly increases the human development index in Banyumas, which is higher than in other regions, reaching 6.1% and average economic growth per year reaching 6.3% (Syariyah, Nur, and Meigawati 2020).

Based upon this case of study, deliberative governance in labour protection policy can be an innovative strategy for enhancing the performance of labour policy and its administration. Therefore, the study aims to highlight the public deliberation models and policy innovations. In brief, in this study, the question is formulated as to how policy deliberation plays an important role in improving labor protection policies in the case of Banyumas Regency, what model of deliberation is developed and how participation, building transparency and consensus across policy actors so that democratic labor protection policy innovations are built at the regional level.

Theoretically, 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 (Sari and Suswanta 2023). Such participation is 'representing' the voice of the institution, as well as according to its authority. (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 (Sánchez-Hernández 2024). (3) Building consensus and collaboration across

stakeholders. Cross-actor agreements occur openly and democratically, and each actor has full freedom and authority to seek and debate labor protection agendas and programs. The decisions taken are all decisions resulting from consensus (Chwalisz 2021).

The three main principles of policy deliberation can be described more comprehensively by observing the interaction patterns and communication flows that occur and develop in each process. Based on data available from the Indonesian Ministry of Manpower and Employment Social Security Administration Agency, at least two factors have caused the 'failure' to achieve the Employment Social Security Participation target so far (Setiyono and Chalmers 2018). First, because the existing labor protection policy has failed to be communicated, coordinated and disseminated to all labor stakeholders among the actors of the labor protection policy itself. Labor regulations related to 'labor protection' have not been fully 'accepted' by stakeholders. Secondly, specifically among entrepreneurs or company management, for instance, as the main actors and stakeholders who have special powers and duties to include their workers or labors as social employment participants, there are still different opinions and responses, even though regulations have clearly regulated (Chwalisz 2020b).

In fact, the entrepreneurs or corporate 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. Firstly, they say it will be a 'new burden' in the wages of their workers. Because including their workers in the employment social security program means mining new costs in the wage structure (Syariyah et al. 2020). Secondly, not all entrepreneurs consider it important to include their workers in the employment social security program. Thirdly, new media or space is needed, a deliberation forum to function in an integrated manner from all the needs and interests of labor protection stakeholders so that every time a problem and potential new dispute occurs related to the labor protection agenda, especially the achievement of employment in-

surance participation, it cannot be resolved (Haliim 2016).

It is acknowledged that the deliberation or public 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 labor protection policies, implementation and evaluation of labor protection policies in an integrated and sustainable manner (Hart and Zingales 2022). 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 (Haliim 2016) (Muthhar Mohammad Asy'ari 2020).

To do so, 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 (Medina-Guce and Sanders Jr. 2024). 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 (Turi et al. 2024). The concept of deliberative governance can be illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1 depicts that the initial stage of deliberative governance is identifying issues or agendas. This is the earliest stage, usually carried out through deliberation between actors and participants, to determine what agenda will be raised in public policy. In this context, the agenda setting is labor protection, which needs to be improved in quality and quantity (Marume et al. 2016). The second stage is information sharing, namely discussion and deliberation where all actors and participants in labor protection policies work together to carry out the task of 'sharing information'. The information shared in line with the agenda setting is information and data related to the number of workers who have become Labor Social Insurance (ISC) participants and those who have not, information related to the number of companies
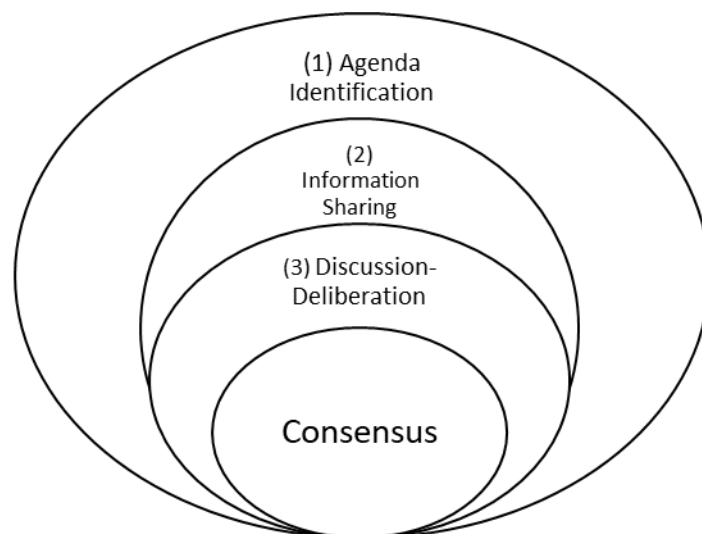

Figure 1: **Stages of the Deliberative Governance Process in Public Policy (Vozab, Trbojević, and Peruško 2024) (Case 2023)**

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 to provide comprehensive protection, every worker and employer together are required to become ISC's participants (Ercan, Hendriks, and Dryzek 2019). The third stage is networking 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 Labor Agency or the Federation of Trade Unions and Employers or the Employer Association which is legally recognized in the Manpower policy (Ross et al. 2021). At this stage of discussion, each policy actor/stakeholder is usually very interested in fighting for their respective visions and missions, and all agree that the final vision and mission are: a significant increase in the number of BPJS Employment participants according to the targets set by the government.

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 (Scudder 2021). The final stage is decision-making, which is characterized by deliberation to reach a consensus. In reaching consensus, each actor must dare to adapt in order to adjust to the new atmosphere and targets. 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 (Niemeyer et al. 2023). On the part of key/core actors, labor 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 ongo-

ing 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 (Jacquet and van der Does 2021a).

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 labor protection consensus to control conflics (McCoy et al. 2024). Then, the pattern of interaction, communication flow, and coordination that develops during the deliberation of labor protection policies can be explained in Figure 2.

Figure 2 shows how dynamic the patterns of interaction and communication flow between actors/stakeholders in deliberative governance on innovating labor protection policies. The tasks of each actor are of course different according to their respective authorities. The authority of the (regional) government, which the relevant Agency usually represents, is to formulate labor 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 (Zanfirova et al. 2023). Deliberation has also become a habit, especially in the regions, where deliberation has become an integral part of the public decision-making process. Likewise, business actors or Indonesian business associations already institutionalized in each region are key to determining the success of a policy. So far, the role of political or legislative actors is still illusory, even zero in labor policy innovation. People's representatives often only build communication with entrepreneurs, which is sometimes considered negative because it only becomes their political business connection (Biridlo'i Robby, Ardiyansah, and Hariyadi 2024). This is where the issue of collaboration networks in policy deliberations is tested and often becomes the main factor in policy failure. With the slogan "let's work together so that everyone is helped", as the National Social Security service slogan, the role and authority of employers and employers' associations are key. In addition,
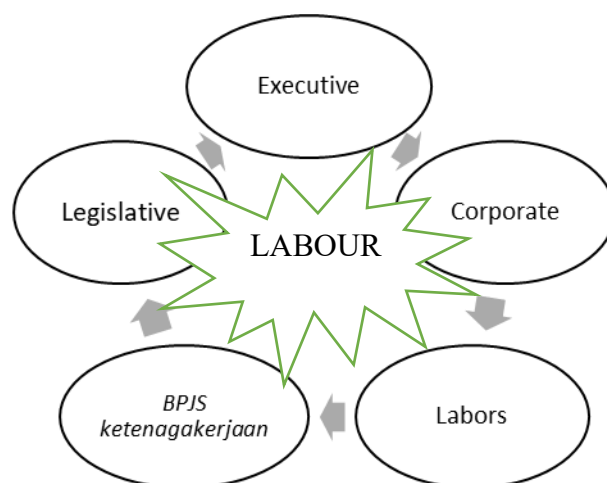
Figure 2: **Patterns of Interaction and Communication Flows among Policy Actors (Gunderson 2023)**

employers and NGOs are wage providers, so they become key actors in labor protection policies (Sama 2017).

METHOD

The study is a research with a descriptive-qualitative method. To find deliberative governance models in labor protection policies, especially in Banyumas Regency, Central Java, as the location of the case study (Daniel and Harland 2018). Through this descriptive analysis, an analysis of labor 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 labor protection policies, which have so far been the key to the success and failure of labor protection policies at the regional leve (Oranga and Matere 2023). By conducting a study of existing labor 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 labor protection policies as well as the meaning of deliberative governance in accelerating the performance of labor protection policies (Sukmawati, Salmia, and Sudarmin 2023).

Most definitions of key informants focus on expertise and a willingness to share information. Marshall (1996) emphasises that they are knowledgeable, willing to par-

ticipate, communicative, impartial and have a role in the community or understanding of the phenomenon that gives them information that the researcher is seeking: 'an expert source of information' who can, 'as a result of their personal skills, or position within a society, … provide more information and deeper insight into what is going on around them" (Fleming et al. 2022) (Bekele and Ago 2022).

To do so and avoid bias, the selection of key informants as the main actors is well done by searching the background of job, education, position, best experience and understanding of the policy formulation process. The key informant must do and solve some open-ended questions demonstrating their competence and experience in designing labour policy, starting from data collection, hiring related policy documents and comprehending labour issue agenda that make workers not get social protection for a long time at local level. In brief, all participants must understand the policy agenda deeply and possess a detailed competence in building consensus and collaboration. The active presence of actors in policy deliberation is also conducted regularly and documented in detail (Ives and Damery 2017).

Meanwhile, to ensure the validity and reliability of the data and analysis, the author uses triangulation of sources and literature reviews related to labor protection policies so that it can be known to what extent the role and authority of labor protection

policy actors are when deliberations are held at various levels. This research was conducted in the period 2020-2024 with a case study at the Manpower, Cooperatives and SMEs Office of Banyumas Regency, 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 labor regulation in the region. Through the governance of the labor 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.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

1. Deliberative Governance Actors for Autentic Participation

Banyumas Regency has 27 subdistricts and 331 villages. 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 Banyumas, which includes maintaining and developing the Banyumasan language which is widely known in various regions and has even gone global to various corners of the world as '*mBanyumasan*'. Such cultural characteristics cannot be separated from the habits of the people and government of Banyumas Regency to continue to revive the traditions, norms and values of Banyumasan, which include tradition of *rembugan* or public discussion, upholding honesty (Bawor), a culture of openess (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 Banyumasan socio-cultural values (Ilhami 2023).

Based on these local policies and traditions, it turns out to have an effect on the intensity and willingness of citizens to actively participate in every government decision-making (Krogh and Triantafillou 2024). The problem of the number of workers who have not become participants in social security for workers was also discussed in various public forums. There are 2 two types of public forums in the labor protection policy deliberations developed in Banyumas. namely the *elite deliberation model*, which is fully attended by executive and legislative actors, and *the 'private' one*, which is held by non-governmental organizations or institutions, such as labor deliberations, entrepreneur deliberations and civil society deliberations . From the results of observations, it can be seen that the best participation level is in the private deliberation model because it is more democratic, without manipulation and free from external pressure. While the elite model tends to be just a formality, present without clear selection and commitment (Syed, Mahmud, and Karim 2024) (Runya, Qigui, and Wei 2015).

Uniting the two models is not easy, especially if each actor does not want to collaborate from the start due to differences in interests. However, there is a good example from another region, namely in the city of Solo, or the of Semarang, two cities with unique policy deliberation traditions that are also worthy of being a new reference for Banyumas. In the city of President Joko Widodo, the two models of deliberation are united, facilitated by the regional Manpower Office. Employers, workers, and the ranks of people's representatives, MSSA, social organizations, and labor supervisors are united in a deliberation forum when network problems are hampered. By bringing together all actors, it is easy for regulators to monitor and scrutinize every policy issue that arises. A new 'command' is needed to bring together the models of policy deliberation to form a new consensus (Nurhidayat, 2023) (Abdullah and Abdul Rahman 2017a).

This can also be seen from each policy actor's roles, tasks, functions and responsibilities, as explained in Table 1.

So, Table 1 shows the deliberative governance indicators, that it can be explained as follows: First, there is interactive autentic participation, namely attendance at every forum held by various parties from

Table 1: **The Role of Actor Participation Networking in Labour Protection**

No.	Actors Identity	Role of Deliberation Networking	Result of Participation in Policy Deliberation
1.	Local Government Officers, Executives (Manpower Divisions)	• Preparing agenda setting of deliberation' • Coordinating and developing the actors' participation' • Facilitating all processes of deliberation	Active participation, all agenda can be noted well
2.	Legislatives	• Consolidation among actors; • Providing labour-public aspirations	Active only regarding to the related political aspiration
3.	Law Enforcement Division	• Watching and controlling the deliberations; • Enforcing the rule of deliberations	Active only in lost of rule
4.	Social Security Agency (BPJS Ketenagakerjaan)	• Presenting data of social security programs; • Hiring feedback of social security achievement	Active in hiring and recommending data of labour protection program
5.	Labour Organizations	• Advocating workers in getting social security rights; • Gathering labourer;s data for ensuring social secutiry programs	Worker can enhance their right to find social protection
6.	Enterpreneur, Corporates and business Associations	• Providing labour protection via social security programs; • Involving labourers in social protection	Geting new comprehension about labour protection as part of corporate duty
7.	Cicil Society Organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations	• Controlling the labour protection policy; • Consulting labour agenda settings;	Active supporting the labour rights to be fulfilled by the corporate
8.	Mass Media Agency	• Informing manpower regulations; • Diseminating labour data and its achievement of social protection	Flourishing a new sphere of labour-public engangement

Source: Local Manpower Division Doc, 23/6/2023

beginning to end. From observations made on four deliberation forums that are often held, the participation of entrepreneurs/ company management is classified as the lowest (Sonhaji 2019). Even out of 200 entrepreneurs invited by the Manpower Social Security Agency deliberation committee, only five small entrepreneurs attended, and 195 medium and large entrepreneurs were only represented. This does not indicate entrepreneurs' seriousness to work with the government to protect workers. Meanwhile,

other actors are more active and fully involved in every discussion session. 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 Permenaker No. 23/2020 concerning the Tripartite Cooperation Institution and the Labor Discussion Forum, which reflects differences and inclusion in the policy deliberation process. Third, from the aspect of collaboration to achieve consensus, it can be seen that the deliberations that have been carried out have not fully reached a consensus with the values of democratization and the principles of good governance. In particular, legislative actors tend to use 'lobbying' as an effort to reach consensus, while labor actors, entrepreneurs and labor social organizations prioritize consensus (Moore 2019).

In brief, these events are designed to provide time and space for participants to learn from a variety of sources. The events follow a logical path through learning and discussion, so that participants build on and use the information and knowledge they acquire over the course of the exercise. This results in a considered view, which may (or may not) be different from their original view and has been arrived at through careful exploration of the issues at hand (Frémeaux and Voegtlin, 2023).

2. The Existence of an Autonomous and Legal Public Space

The existence of an autonomous of legal public space has been conducted in the labour policy deliberation. Here, all participants then work together with a range of people and information sources – including information, evidence and views from people with different perspectives, backgrounds and interests (Afsahi 2022). This may include evidence requested or commissioned by participants themselves. Discussion forums are managed to ensure that a diversity of views from people with different perspectives are included, that minority or disadvantaged groups are not excluded, and that discussions are not dominated by any particular faction (Madden, 2017).

In addition, from the three aspects of deliberative governance, a 'new atmosphere' is depicted, namely Legal Public Spaces that describe the development of interaction patterns and communication flows that are increasingly dynamic, open, democratic and egalitarian in which the discussion is in autonomy (Hartnett, 2024). Through interactive interaction patterns between actors, it triggers openness of information, even each actor 'declares' each other regarding various obstacles and obstacles in realizing labor protection according to existing labor protection policies. In Legal Public Space, we can show how the interaction patterns and communication flows in labor protection policy deliberations found in Banyumas Regency in Figure 3.
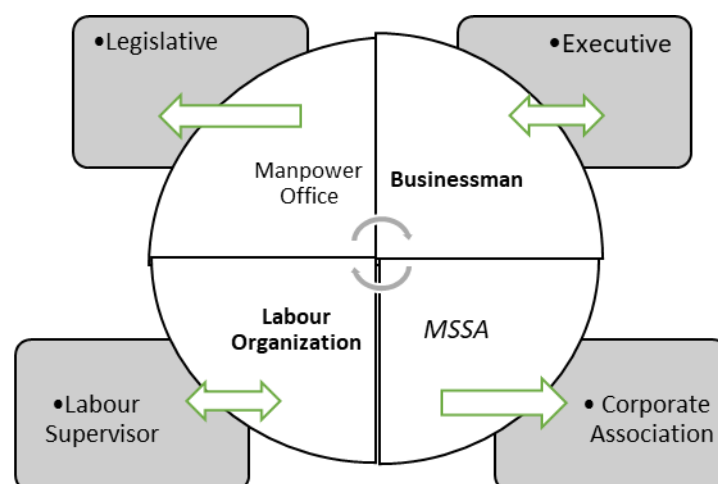

Figure 3: **Interaction Patterns and Communication Flow in Deliberative Governance of Labour Protection Policy (Abdullah and Abdul Rahman, 2017b)**

Figure 3 shows the interaction patterns and communication flow that takes place in innovation of labor protection policy deliberations. It can be seen that there are four main strategic actors, namely legislative, executive, labor 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 labor protection policies, consisting of the Manpower Office business-corporate, labor organization and actors from the Social Security Administration for Employment (Chwalisz 2020a). Before the innovation of policy deliberation was held, the eight actors had actually 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.

Having read from the deliberation, the sign (↔) 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 labor and employer actors and between employer actors and MSSA. This is because, among other things, employers do not yet have full awareness of the importance of protecting workers through the local Manpower Social Security Agency (MSSA). In the deliberation between the labor office actors, Manpower Social Security Agency and the businessman, and the results of in-depth interviews with 20 employers, it was concluded that as many as 80 employers still considered protecting their workers as not important, especially for workers in the middle to lower positions (Jacquet and van der Does 2021b).

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 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 labor protection, like happed in Ogan Ilir case (Saptawan 2019). During this lobbying time, policy deliberations also become more 'fluid'. However, this does not indicate whether there has been a commitment to immediately realize labor protection policies according to the deliberation agenda or no Actors from the Employment Social Security Agency, for example, often say that the deliberations that have been carried out have been so many and repeated. Still, employers and workers are very slow to realize the agreement in the deliberation (Hakim and Jurdi 2018). In such a context, the role of the labor 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 (Gelli 2018).

3. Enacting Deliberation as Policy Innovation: Building Consensus and Collaboration Across Stakeholders.

The labor protection policy deliberation in Banyumas Regency 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 innovation then become a new consensus and collaboration further among actors (Johnson and Gastil 2015). 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 (Logullo et al. 2024). So, with this deliberative approach, many new deliberation practices provide a new nuance and spirit, and all actors are willing and able to increase participation so

Table 2: **Various Labor Protection Policy Deliberations in Banyumas Regency**

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: Depattment of Manpower, Cooperatives and SMEs, Banyumas Regency, 2023, Doc edited

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 (Robert Charles Richards 2018). Labor 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 2.

Table 2 confirms that six types of labor protection policy deliberations have been established and developed to increase participation in social security for workers. If it is examined in more detail, the data shows that many forums, discussion, and deliberation spaces have also been working together to realize more massive labor protection (Boulianne, Loptson, and Kahane 2018). 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 Banyumas 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 Labor Union). The development of institutional networking and Trade Union organizations is increasing workers' ability to organize and express their ideals and hopes for a better, more professional, and more prosperous future for workers (Robert C. Richards, 2018). The large number of Trade Union organizations is also to make entrepreneurs/

Table 3: **Result of Consensus on Labor Protection Policies Innovation from the Center, 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 Secirity programs	35% of workers protected 5 programs
4	Law No. 24/2020 Implementation of Social Security for Employment	Social security for formal workers	35% of workers protected
5	. Law No. 2/2004 on Industrial Relations Disputes	Guarantee Prevention and settlement of Industrial Relation 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.15./2024 concerning Employment Administration	Regulating Employment Protection governance in Banyumas	30% of workers in Banyumas are protected
12	Banyumas Regent Regulation No. 68/2020 concerning the Implementation of *Manpower Social Security*	Regulates the Implementation of *Manpower Social Security* 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 *Manpower Social Security*	Regulates workers in the health and construction sectors Only	30% of workers in the health and construction sectors are protected
14	Inbup No. 191/2022 concerning Optimization of the Implementation of *Manpower Social Security*	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	the Implementation of *Manpower Social Security* To accelerate the number of labour participation in Banyumas	70% of employers are not yet compliant, so an optimization team consisting of 8 policy actors is needed

Source: Manpower Division Doc, 9/7/2023, edited

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 (Andani, 2022).

It is possible to take collaboration too far. A respectful and frank dialog may be critical, but too much time can be wasted if everyone is too busy respecting everyone else. Effective collaboration requires an action orientation, like political lobby (Haugsgjerd Allern et al., 2022). The team was brought together for a purpose, and a hard delivery deadline is fast approaching. Losing sight of that in the face of interactive meetings and dialog agents between valued peers undermines the reason why the team was brought together in the first place (Smith and Qua-Hiansen, 2015) (Tiwari et al., 2021) .

Deliberations on labor protection policies are growing very rapidly. This shows an increase in the spirit and new awareness among workers to improve more comprehensive labor protection consensus (Gordon et al. 2020). Even the Central Indonesian Trade Union Confederation's agenda, for example, continues to encourage all stakeholders for labor protection and increase 'political' support for the national labor struggle, as occurred in Madura (Rasaili 2023). If examined in more detail, the Labor Protection Policy from the Central, Province, Regency, and City levels is adequate. There are at least 18 Manpower regulations, almost all of which are directed towards the ultimate goal of Labor Protection, as shown in Table 3. It is known that before the labor protection 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 labor meetings involving various stakeholders, have effectively boosted the number of labor social insurance participants, including in Banyumas Regency.

CONCLUSION

Based upon the findings and discussion above, two policy deliberation models are generally in the Banyumas landscape. They are elite model and private one. The elite model is attracted by executive and legislative actors, and the other is derived from labour and corporate networking. In the elite model, it is necessary to develop a pattern and mechanism for deliberation that opens up wider and more open space for other actors to provide input and criticism of policies, and conversely, actors from elite deliberations can continue to the level of private deliberations so that all collaborate, participate and are transparent to jointly build a new consensus to protect workers even more. Therefore, further collaboration and deliberation partnerships are needed to bring together actors from all existing deliberation models to ensure that consensus is implemented responsibly.

Besides, the study finds three basic elements of policy deliberative governance networks in protecting workers that demonstrate a positive trend and can be an alternative policy innovation. First, the authentic participation happened. It is because it is not only quantitatively able to increase the number of labor social insurance participants at the regional level but will simultaneously increase participation at the provincial and central levels. - There were improvements in interaction patterns, dynamic networking actors, and communication flows that intensively continued. Secondly, labour protection policy deliberation here is a legal space of process for citizens to discuss and make decisions about issues that affect their communities. It's a key democratic practice that involves considering different values and perspectives. The values of deliberation, namely legal space, can flourish transparency, engaging partnerships that continue to be intensified and encourage actors to understand each other's weaknesses and deficiencies. Thirdly, enhancing consensus and collaboration buildings. By increasing the quality and quantity of deliberation, it is believed that mutual understanding of the roles, tasks and authorities of each actor in labor protection policies innovation will be built and will simultaneously encourage actors to jointly realize labor protection. Intensive and dynamic interaction patterns and communication flows based on the values of deliberation, namely enhancing a qualified consensus, will also increase commitment and the quality of deliberation among actors and encourage actors to carry out their roles, tasks and functions and authorities to jointly improve labor protection. However, some problems still arise along the agenda of policy deliberation, for instance, lost budget and poor commitment for each actor to ensure that all public decisions should be controlled regularly to prevent failure of the labour protection policy.

So for future research, suggestions, and recommendations to local government of Banyumas, such a deliberative governance model can be a new reference for public policymakers and policy development, especially in innovating new policies in terms of the design, implementation and evaluation of policies-public administration. To make success, cooperation and collaboration followed by joint supervision and con-

trol are still needed so that all actors remain consistent until all workers/labors, especially in Banyumas Regency, receive proper protection for humanity and equality, especially security and guarantees for work accidents, pension, death, old age insurance and job loss ones. Lastly, budgets should be prepared more to anticipate change and develop more policy deliberations. This effort is one of our joint steps and impacts on the policy field to improve workers' welfare at the local and national levels of labour administration.

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