THE DELIBERATIVE GOVERNANCE IN LABOUR POLICY INNOVATION

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Abstract

This study aims to analyse and examine how global value of deliberative governance of labour policies in Banyumas district operates. By descriptive methods through in-depth interviews, policy studies, and observations of 100 relevant key-informants, it can be concluded that labour policy deliberations are not yet fully deliberative. Otherwise, labour policy deliberations held by non-governmental organizations are actually more deliberative. Among other things, this is due to the more free, open, democratic and autonomous interaction patterns and communication flows held by non-governmental organizations. The next factor is due to the fact that the selection of policy deliberation actors has not been carried out through random selection, the discussion agenda has not discussed labour protection issues comprehensively, the supervision of post-policy deliberation proposals at the district level is very difficult to do, and the participation employers is still at the level of pseudo-participation. Based on these conditions, efforts need to be made starting from the expansion of new public spaces, increasing the deliberation budget, selection of actors based on competence and authority, more massive information dissemination of the labour protection policy agenda, and the intensity of labour, corporate and governmental element meetings so that industrial relations in the labour protection agenda can run dynamically and be able to realize an increase in the number of protected workers. With policy deliberation, it is expected that a new consensus will be enhanced in order to prevent conflicts more early and labour live in prosperity.

Keywords: *Deliberative Governance, Labour Development, Policy Innovation, Banyumas District*

Introduction

Along with the development of a 'new culture' in public policy and administration governance, where the values and culture of 'deliberation' develop and grow in various public decision-making processes, today's policy governance increasingly involves cooperation and collaboration as well as broader partnerships. This continues to be responded to well by public institutions and bureaucracies in Indonesia with evidence of the increasing number of formal and informal forums and media involved in public decision-making as a whole. For a public policy development, citizens from various elements are encouraged to be actively involved in public discussions, listened to the grass rooter voice of the people and actively involved in decision making consensus.

Nowadays, the new global democratic governance is running at the local level of governance. Banyumas District, as one of local governments in Central Java Province is

holding so many public forums for some local development goals. One of them is public discussion in which possess to aims to alleviate poverty and reduce unemployment as one of the main priorities of regional development. The target is to reduce the number of poor people by at least 2% each year and the unemployment rate by at least 3%. However, these targets have not been achieved because in reality the number of poor people only decreased by 0.64% in the period of 2018-2022. Banyumas Regency constitutes as the region with the largest number of poor people. There is about 65,495 people in 2022 declared as the poorest, and open unemployment reached 58,210 (Suhartoyo, 2019)

Unfortunately, labour affairs are not touched so much, especially related to formal workers who work in various companies in the business world in the regions (Kamran et al., 2023) . At the regional level, the most common labour matters that have the potential to hold *boom* times related to industrial relations are matters of determining district/city minimum wages (UMK), as well as workers' rights such as working hours, overtime hours, contract workers and termination of employment (PHK). Although these matters have been fully regulated in Government Regulation Number 35 of 2021 concerning Fixed-Term Workers (PKWT), *Outsourcing*, Working Hours, Overtime Hours and Layoffs, the fact is that these matters are still debated among workers, corporate and government in the regions.

This is because labour affairs and industrial relations are considered by workers in the regions to still tend to favour the interests and needs of entrepreneurs/investors, so that many regional policies tend to harm workers as a whole (Li & Wang, 2023) . This can be seen from the low MSEs in Central Java Province when compared to MSEs in other regions in Indonesia. Central Java still annually ranks lowest in the Provincial Minimum Wage, and this has implications for the Regency/City Minimum Wage in Central Java Province. In Banyumas Regency, for example, the minimum wage is still quite low, which in 2024 amounted to Rp 2,195,960, and in 2025 to Rp 2,338,410. Whereas based on the decent living survey conducted by BPS (2022), wages in the Central Java region should be at least Rp 3,500,000, so that it is quite competitive in encouraging investors to invest their models in Central Java, especially in Banyumas Regency.

The unemployment agenda has become one of the most debated issues in various forums and public discussions held by various components of network of society. Not only by government agencies, but also by non-governmental groups such as academics, social organizations, or employers' organizations/associations and trade union federations. This research will assess how deliberative the public discussion in the employment sector is in relation to the main employment issues above, which was held in Banyumas, as the Regency with the 5th highest number of unemployed people in Central Java Province.

Labour policy deliberation is one of the policy innovations method of networking society in decision making (Manosevitch, 2024). It is called so for two reasons. *Firstly*, deliberations that mean 'deliberative' are held and carried out with deliberative approaches and principles, namely autonomy, openness, democratization, transparency and accountability and full participation of all employment policy actors, where previously deliberations such as the development plan deliberation model (more popular today so-called *Musrenbang* or *public consultation*), were carried out as 'business as usual', namely running just a regular discussion, without clarity of agenda, and far from the real deliberation values, even tasted as manipulation (He, 2018).

Secondly, labour policy deliberation is not just a public hearing that presents ordinary policy actors, but is intensely attended by key actors, no more deliberation participants who attend without competence and authority, but are truly 'selected' with strict requirements according to competence and authority (Beccarini et al., 2023) . The local deliberation is carried out because so far many regional development policies have been

staged only as a ritual and the participants attend more as 'representatives' or 'representatives' of agencies that make their competence and authority are not required. Meanwhile, the deliberative policy innovation in Banyumas Regency is truly a 'new finding', since it has never been carried out so far, and has become a new praxis of public policy (Knappe, 2019) .

In connection with the background of the problem, research questions can be formulated, namely (1) how is the implementation of deliberative policies in labour development operates namely in Banyumas Regency, Central Java? (2) what are the supporting factors and inhibiting actors in the implementation of deliberative policies in labour development at the regional level take role, and what efforts can be made to support the implementation of deliberative policies in labour development at the regional level

Deliberative Governance and Labour Policy Innovation

Martin Hajer and Henderik Wagenaar in Nugroho (2008) state that the implementation of *Good Governance* in public policy analysis is called *Deliberative Public Analysis*. Dwiyanto in his book entitled "Public Policy Based on Dynamic Policy Analyses" (2009) explains the opinion of Riaant Nugroho who claims that this deliberative policy analysis model avoids technocratic public policy, and positions the government only as a facilitator and legislator of public wishes. This means that this deliberative analysis model aims to position the community (public) as a party that is not left out in the policy-making process (Chwalisz, 2020a).

The concept of deliberative policy above is a form of dialogue from deliberative democracy. Deliberative democracy prioritizes the use of decision-making procedures that emphasize deliberation and problem exploration through dialogue and exchange of experiences among parties and citizens (*stakeholders*) (Pilet et al., 2023). The aim is to reach consensus through an independent public space based on the results of discussions by considering various criteria. *Citizen engagement* is at the core of deliberative democracy (University of Canberra, 2019) .

Policy deliberation is also a realistic public decision-making system today. Decision making related to public affairs is recognized as no longer relevant only by the 'representative' model or 'representing' in a deliberation between policy actors, because they actually have different views, opinions, opinions and perspectives and paradigms (Ichsani et al., 2021) . If the public discussion system that has been carried out so far is only based on the presence of citizens or participants or policy actors who can be called 'dark' (because usually those present are just present without clear knowledge of their competence and authority), then in the policy deliberation system those present are those who 'have power, competence and authority' in making a consensus (Adam, 2023). This is one of the differences between the deliberative deliberation system and other public discussion systems.

Deliberation is also a 'research-flavoured' public decision-making system (Baillie et al., 2022). In this context, the interaction patterns and communication flows built in the public policy deliberation system are cross-interest communication patterns and flows, a form of *collective* work (*collective networking*) (Banha et al., 2022) . That is, collective work together across stakeholders and between policy actors for decision making or in reaching a common consensus. Figure 1 shows the pattern of interaction and communication flow across stakeholders, across actors in reaching consensus, namely discussing labour surplus at the regional level.
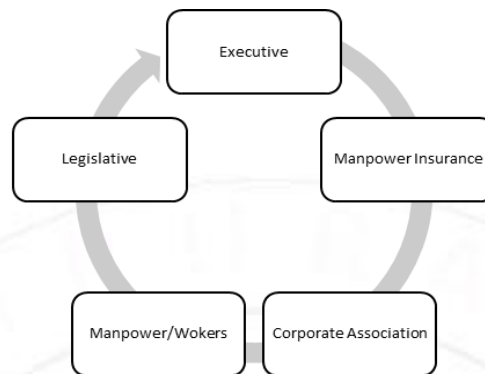
Figure 1 Actor Interaction and communication Flow in Policy Deliberation
(Tiwari et al., 2021)

In Figure 1, it is emphasized that the pattern of interaction and communication in policy deliberation is relatively new (innovation) because each public policy actor in the joint decision-making process interacts well by developing *multiple ways of communication* (Haugsgjerd Allern et al., 2022) . Each actor has the right and even the obligation to be actively involved in enriching the policy agenda, starting from the preparation of agenda setting, identification of policy problems, selection of policy agendas, active collaboration and communication, coordination and consolidation so that it is not allowed for a policy actor who has entered the policy deliberation room to be present without providing views, opinions, opinions, and constructive criticism needed in the deliberation forum (Mitchell et al., 2023) .

Likewise, when formulating a consensus, namely the final agreement before decision making, each actor is obliged to conduct in-depth research and surveys on the agenda that will be brought to the consensus forum, so that when consensus is carried out, all data and information according to the policy agenda are verified by all policy actors. This is the difference between the policy deliberation system and other deliberation systems (Talukder & Pilet, 2021) .

The process of making or formulating employment policies can be said to be a fully democratic deliberative process, according to Lyn Carson and Janette Hartz-Karp in their Journal entitled "*Adapting and Combining Deliberative Designs*" (2005), must meet three certain criteria. They express it as follows: *These can be thought of as three criteria for a fully democratic deliberative process: (1) Influence: The process should have the ability to influence policy and decision making: (2) Inclusion: The process should be representative of the population and inclusive of diverse viewpoints and values, providing equal opportunity for all to participate; (3) Deliberation: The process should provide open dialogue, access to information, respect, space to understand and reframe issues, and movement toward consensus.* (Carson & Karp 2005:122) (Benson, 2021) .

In this research, the author will use the above criteria to assess the implementation of deliberative policies in regional development in the employment sector in Kabupaten Banyumas, Central Java.

In its implementation efforts, there will be influencing factors. These factors include:

1) *Patterns of interaction and communication flow consisting of information availability and information quality*. That is, all policy actors are willing and able to build productive interactions, produce new data and information both for the benefit of strengthening the policy agenda or strengthening the process of reaching consensus. The communication flow is a *multiple* communication flow where each actor has the right and obligation to

provide data and information as well as receive data and information in a balanced manner (Araos, 2023) . In this way, all policy deliberation actors have duties, functions, and authorities in a balanced manner; there is no domination or discretion in providing or receiving data and information for enriching the policy agenda.

2) *Resources consisting of human resources, financial resources, and time resources*. Namely, it is the availability of resources at each deliberation according to the policy agenda. The manpower development agenda, especially related to labor/worker protection rights as stipulated in PP No. 35 of 2021, requires that every consensus held in the context of manpower development is based on the availability of the necessary resources, to ensure that the complete policy agenda can be fully implemented (Revez et al., 2022) ;

3) *Disposition,* reference and delegation of duties, functions, responsibilities and authority. Every actor involved from the beginning to the policy deliberation process is ensured to have adequate competence as well as authority according to the policy agenda. This is important and strategic because this factor has a big influence on the completeness and comprehensiveness of a policy agenda carried out or the policy deliberation agenda itself (Giraudet et al., 2022) .

4*) Bureaucratic Structure*, which consists of the availability of *Standard Operating Procedures* and Quality of Coordination. Bureaucracy with its long and convoluted nature should be one of the required agendas for a successful/failed policy deliberation (Shin & Rask, 2021) . Therefore, the bureaucratic structure greatly affects the speed or length of the flow of communication, coordination and consolidation, especially to ensure the level of efficiency, effectiveness and productivity of decision-making deliberations and public policies.

5) *Envinronment Factors,* it is consisting of the social and economic environment. Social factors include the social status or positions of policy actors. It is recognized that position is one of the important factors for deliberation to be serious or just a ritual. If the deliberation where the participants are people without clear positions, it is difficult for the deliberation to be conveyed to the leadership of the bureaucratic organization. So that the deliberation participants must be ensured to be competent and have the appropriate position so that they are entrusted with the responsibility to completion (Jacobs & Kaufmann, 2021). Likewise, environmental factors are the conditions of the actors and the related organizational environment. Decision-making will be meaningful and broad in dimension and has the potential to become a special concern and will then become a joint commitment to be carried out if it is supported by an adequate organization. The voice and public space attended by deliberation participants can be heard differently if the 'organizational voice' is heard rather than the 'individual voice' (Baekgaard et al., 2018). This shows the level of formalization/legalization of the 'representatives' present in the policy deliberation.

Research Methods

The research method used was qualitative with a descriptive research analysis design. The research was conducted by taking 100 key-informants in the Banyumas Regency area, Central Java (Haryoko et al., 2020) (Morgan, 2024). Selection of informants is using *purposive* technique with people who are considered to know the most about what will be researched. Therefore the *snowball* technique is carried out because the author wants to explore the object of research. The data sources used are primary data obtained from interviews in the field, and secondary data, namely policy documents that support study. Data collection techniques were carried out by means of in-depth interviews to 100

key-persons and observations to selected companies, legislative institutions, Regional Employers' Associations, Regional Workers / Labour Unions, labour Supervisors, Employment Social Security Administration Agency, Banyumas Regency Manpower Office, and its coverage area in the period 2018-2023 (Mouwn Erland, 2020). The data analysis technique used in this qualitative follows the concept provided by Creswell, namely triangulation, which includes the steps: processing and preparing data for analysis; reading the entire data; analysing in more detail by coding the data; applying the coding process to describe the setting, people, categories, and themes analysed; re-presenting descriptions and themes in the form of a qualitative narrative or report (Rachmawati, 2007) (Mohiya, 2024) .

Results and Discussion

1) Deliberative Policy Innovation in Labour Development in Banyumas Regency

The deliberation of development policies in the employment sector in Kabupaten Banyumas over the past 10 years has undergone a 'substantial change'. That is, a change in the form of policy formulation process from the previous habit. If previously the labour policy deliberation was only carried out more as a 'routine development planning tradition', it became a deliberation that was close to authentic (Abdullah & Abdul Rahman, 2017). It is started from the agenda of the deliberation to the implementation and evaluation of the policy deliberation. The timing of deliberations has also changed from previously only once a year at the beginning of the year, starting in 2003 until now the timing of labour policy deliberations is at least 3 times in a year. The frequency and number of deliberations have changed to follow the social dynamics of the needs and demands of the community as agents of development as well as to prevent every detail of the steps of labour policy solutions from following the development of the times (Holdo, 2019) .

Changes that are labour policy innovations also occur from the aspect of the labour agenda (Tan, 2019). If previously it only answered the agenda related to the right to standardize wages / wages (District Minimum Wage) which is annually determined by the central government through the Determination of Wages by the Governor of Central Java, then now it has changed to a more substantial theme, namely "Comprehensive Protection for Workers". Protection is an effort to serve, facilitate and provide social guarantees to the basic rights of workers as stipulated in Law No.40 of 2011 concerning National Social Security for Employment. Labour protection includes 5 programs namely (1) *Work Accident Protection, (2) Old Age Protection, (3) Pension Protection, (4) and (5) Job Loss Protection*. All of these labor protection programs have been run by the Employment Social Security Organizing Agency (*BPJS Ketenagakerjaan*) (Suhartoyo, 2019) .

The next labour policy innovation is the participants or followers who attend the policy deliberation (Hünermund & Czarnitzki, 2019). If before the policy innovation, those who attended were 'average', then it began to be selected more strictly. In fact, to select the participants of the policy deliberation, a special committee was initiated, which, among other things, examined the background of the deliberation participants, the duties of the protocol and the authority and its position. This was considered strategic because it would directly affect the competence and quality of the suggestions that would be discussed in the policy deliberation. Failing to select the deliberation participants is said to thwart the overall policy agenda (Jacquet & van der Does, 2021a) .

The next innovation is related to the legalization of the deliberation forum itself. If previously the deliberation forum was held sporadically, only held when there was a problem that needed deliberation across stakeholders, since 2013 it has changed to a formal and institutionalized deliberation. There is a Decree of the Minister of Manpower No.

16/2010 on Tripartite Dialogue that requires local governments to organize legal and planned deliberation forums (Brookfield Institute, 2018). This is also in accordance with the main principle of *deliberative governance* that can be called 'deliberative' if it is the existence of a legal-formal public space that has been assessed as an official government forum.

The next innovation is related to the application of democratic governance such as freedom, openness, democratization and accountability of each stage of public deliberation/discussion itself. If previously, policy agendas and issues seemed to have been designed from the start by the government elite, then since 2013 in Banyumas the values and principles of deliberation have changed completely, from a 'top-down' pattern to a true 'bottom-up' pattern. It is the principles and values of this deliberation that most determine the outcome of policy deliberation, because they will directly determine the quality culture of deliberation that is unique to *mBanyumasan*. The values and principles of such deliberation can take place since they are conforming to the tradition of the Banyumas community, which likes to discuss in an egalitarian manner, openly, honestly, frankly and is known as '*cablaka*'. Figure 2 explains the values and principles of the intended labour Policy Deliberation.
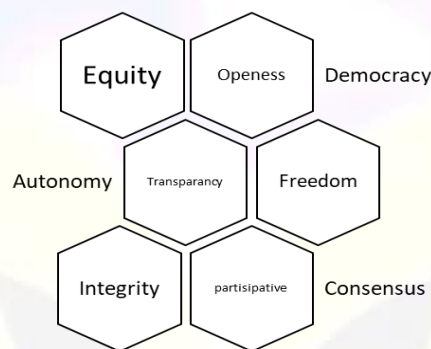

Figure 2 Values & Principles in Deliberative Policy Innovation (Hartnett, 2024)

Figure 2 explains the values and principles in deliberative policy innovation that have been struggling to be upheld in every labour policy deliberation. This can happen because of the tradition of deliberation that has long been built at almost all levels of government. The values and principles of deliberation are also fully supported by the workers and corporate as well. In Banyumas, there are at least 3 deliberation forums that have always been the basis for decision/policy making in terms of labour development.

First, the deliberation forum is held by the local government which is usually held to make labour decisions. *Second*, the deliberation forum held by the Employment Social Security Agency, to discuss technical labour protection services, and *third*, the deliberation forum held by the workers themselves and corporate association, which usually discusses labour protection agendas in accordance with the mandate of the applicable labour regulations. In these labour forums, employers are usually also active participants and intensely involved in any decision-making on labour protection (Abdullah & Abdul Rahman, 2017).

Clearly, the implementation of labour policy deliberation in regional development in Banyumas Regency, Central Java is essentially focused on assessing how deliberative the policy deliberation is. To find out the details, three criteria are used, namely *Inclusion, Deliberation,* and *Influence* (Sørensen & Torfing, 2016).

a. Representativeness *(Inclusion)*

Inclusion or representativeness criteria are met if the labour policy deliberation carried out has participants who represent all community needs and the labour agenda. Lyn Carson (2009) states that the policy-making process can be said to be very representative if in the process various groups are brought together through random selection which allows various community viewpoints to be reflected. This diversity of viewpoints allows the best decision to be made (Abdullah & Abdul Rahman, 2017).

The labour policy deliberation held by the Banyumas Regency Government, Central Java, has involved various community groups as stated in the Technical Implementation Guidelines. However, vulnerable groups such as the poor, vulnerable groups and people with disabilities have not yet participated in real labour policy deliberations (Chwalisz, 2020b). Whereas most informal workers are vulnerable groups who do not have formal and legal employment status, they are often odd-jobbers, part-timers or pieceworkers such as construction workers, 'pocokan' workers or on-call workers. Such vulnerable workers have not been represented, let alone invited, in labour consultation forums at various levels. Even though their 'voice' if you look at data from the Central Statistics Agency (2022) reaches 75 million people spread across various fields of informal work (Setiyono & Chalmers, 2018).

b. *Deliberation Value Aspects*

Carson's deliberation criteria have two important keywords, namely *access to information and provide open dialogue*. Access to information needed in this case is accurate and reliable information, as stated by Fishkin in Mardiyanta (2012), *"participants are given access to reasonably accurate information that they believe to be relevant to the issues"*. Access to accurate and reliable information is needed to create deliberative policy deliberations. In the labour development policy deliberation in Kabupaten Banyumas, Central Java, participants have access to the information they need. However, the timing of the invitation and materials was tight and the materials, which were only limited to a collection of proposed activities, were considered by many participants to be far from expectations.

In fact, the second key in the *deliberation* criteria as stated by Carson is to *provide open dialouge* or hold an open discussion. In the policy deliberation in Kabupaten Banyumas, Central Java, this condition was not fully implemented. This occurred because the discussions that took place in the deliberation forum were only based on proposals, not based on the issues that occurred and the real needs in the field. This causes the policy deliberation that occurs to only approve what has been decided in the lobby activity, coupled with the submission of proposals that might have been forgotten at the beginning of the deliberation (Alma'arif & Wargadinata, 2022). Thus, in the manpower development policy deliberation, the possibility to discuss labour protection issues with consideration of various points of view (*reframe issues*) can no longer be done as the principle of deliberation. Time constraints, low understanding and competence on labour issues are the main causes of this condition.

c. Influence Aspect

Influence criteria in policy deliberation means that the discussion is able to influence policy makers. This means that the aspirations of the community, especially the aspirations of the workers conveyed during deliberations, are able to influence the policies that will be produced. Lyn Carson (2009) explains that a process is said to be very influential if the process is able to make all participants influence each other, and the most important thing is that the participants' arguments must be able to influence policy makers (Jani & Suryadinata, 2023).

Labour development policy deliberations in Banyumas Regency, Central Java have so far been able to realize many proposals, especially those that use Regency infrastructure

funds to share with labour protection affairs. However, for proposals that will be discussed at policy meetings at the regional level and become the work programs of regional apparatus organizations, workers and citizens no longer have the ability to ensure that their proposals are realized (Ryu, 2018).

d. Cross-Actor Participation Analysis

The participation of cross-policy actors in Banyumas Regency, Central Java is at the pseudo-participation level. At this stage, there has been a communication process, interaction patterns accompanied by negotiations and lobbying between the government, *Manpower Agency,* social insurance organizations, vertical institutions, legislators, employers' associations and trade union federations. This is reflected in the Pre-deliberation process at the District level, where the District government and cross community stakeholders sat together to discuss the proposed labour protection program. Decisions made in the discussion are made through the agreement of both parties, namely the labour community and the District Government. However, the involvement of the poor and workers from other vulnerable groups has not been involved in the process, and is only represented by community leaders. In fact, the poor and vulnerable groups should be involved in the process directly so that the principle of deliberation is fulfilled (Hart & Zingales, 2022). Figure 3 shows how the pattern of interaction and communication flow among policy actors in the deliberation of the employment development policy shows a unidirectional relationship (*one way communication*) and there are actors who can interact and communicate across actors (*multi ways communication*). This pattern of interaction and multiple communication flows shows that not all actors feel 'free, open and autonomous' as the principle of deliberation during deliberations.
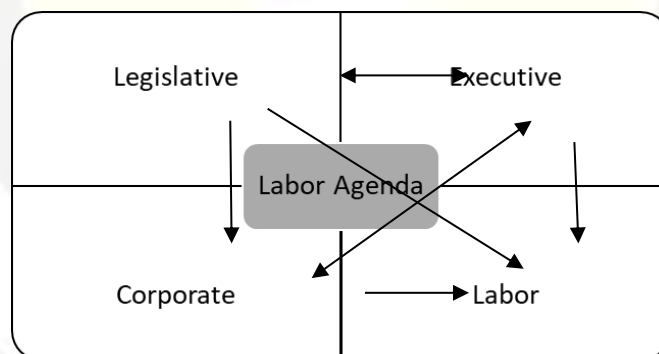

Figure 3 Interaction Patterns and Communication Flow across Policy Actors (Vozab et al., 2024)

Figure 3 shows that there are various patterns of interaction and communication flows between policy actors. Actors who have many communication channels mean that they have more 'power' (seen from the multi-access with a sign (   ), because they are able to interact with all actors actively, while actors who only have 'power' to interact (→) mean that he / she / they have less access to decision making. It appears that only legislature and executive (government) actors are able to interact in a two-way or two-way manner so that they are able to 'control' the flow of communication from other actors. Again, as has become a tradition, labour actors have the least access to 'power' in decision-making, even though the big agenda is 'labour protection' in employment policy (Case, 2023).

2) Supporting and Hindering Factors for Deliberative Labour Policy

a. Communication

The communication factor talks about how various information of the policy is well communicated. In this case, implementers must know the objectives and workings of the policy to be implemented (Araos, 2023). In the labour policy deliberation of Banyumas Regency, Central Java, the communication of objectives is carried out by including the objectives in the technical implementation instructions and the agenda to be discussed in the deliberation forum, namely labour protection. Many workers do not understand the rights of labour protection due to the lack of socialization of policies so far or the low literacy of labour regulations. The number of communication media either online or offline is not necessarily accepted by workers, if it has not significantly provided a good understanding of labour protection policies (Vozab et al., 2024). The readiness of information in the form of invitations, deliberation management and materials is considered a little late in the delivery time.

Communication in policy deliberations also does not appear to have balanced interaction between actors. For example, as shown in Figure 3 above, actors from the Legislative Branch are very agile in lobbying and communicating to various actors, as are actors from the Executive Branch (Penders, 2022) (Dorren & Wolf, 2023). The workers themselves are limited in communicating the policy agenda because they consider themselves as 'suffering objects', which are being discussed in the policy dialog. The agility and multi-communication determine the level of consensus. This means that actors who are able to carry out interaction patterns and communication flows in all directions (actors) are believed to reflect the potential for realizing the policy agenda, and vice versa (Koskimaa & Raunio, 2023).

b. Resource

Resources are the source of movers and implementers. Humans are the most important resource in determining the success of the implementation process. In addition, the success of the implementation process is also influenced by the utilization of cost and time resources. In the policy deliberation in Kabupaten Banyumas, Central Java, the resource aspect cannot be said to be good. The facilitator's jobs were so good, the participants were also good, because they were represented by experienced labour leaders, entrepreneurs or competent workers. However, the financial resources were not sufficient. This resulted in the implementation time of the policy deliberation being much shorter than the ideal time expected (Turi et al., 2024) (Albrecht, 2024).

c. Disposition

In the labour policy deliberation in Banyumas Regency, Central Java, the disposition aspect is quite good, although not perfect. The organizers have prepared everything needed, such as information and operational guidelines. This means that the commitment to organize a good policy deliberation is already there. The intention to continue to organize more participatory *public consultation* is also evidence that the government's commitment is good. The problem is the commitment of participants to provide more time to organize the ideal policy deliberation. Currently, to provide two days of time to participate in policy deliberations, labourers are not considered willing to do so (Case, 2023). Disposition also includes the presence or absence of regulations, procedures and mechanisms in the stages of policy deliberation, including the presence or absence of technical direction and guidelines for implementation (Martin-Caballero, 2023).

d. Bureaucratic Structure

The bureaucratic structure aspect is very good as evidenced by the existence of implementation guidelines as *Standard Operating Procedures* and regulations made by the

organizing committee (Le et al., 2021) (Blomkamp et al., 2018). In addition, coordination between relevant regional apparatus organizations, legislative institutions, the Manpower Social Security Agency, the Manpower Supervisory Agency, the Regional Mediator Association, employers' associations/organizations, trade union federations/labourers in the provision of facilitators is good. Bureaucratic structure is important to pay attention to in order to accelerate the realization of labour protection (Paignton, 2021) (Nurcahyo, 2021). The lack of labour social security participation has also been influenced by the complicated and long bureaucratic structure, especially in labour protection services (Peters, 2018) (Hassanein et al., 2024). Many workers complain that to take care of their rights when claims are made, they must complete many document requirements so that a lot of time, costs and energy are wasted. The use of labour protection service applications that have been provided by *Manpower Agency* is also considered by workers to complicate and prolong services.

e. Environmental Factors

The social environment, in the form of the large number of workers in Banyumas landscape who only have secondary school education, is one of the obstacles to the engage of policy deliberations that are in accordance with the social environment of the workers. It is recognized that there are still many workers who attend the deliberations just to be present even though the invitation has determined the standard of competence and authority. The low level of education of workers does not allow the principles of deliberative criteria for selecting participants randomly (Shin & Rask, 2021). In addition, the level of education is expected to affect the way citizens think about problems, so they are considered unable to understand the problems discussed thoroughly from various points of view (Studies et al., 2023). The economic environment also affects efforts to organize deliberative as popular called *public consultation.* Related to the economic environment in the form of residents' significantly has led to residents' apathy towards efforts to organize more deliberative forums.

3) Measures to Support Deliberative Policy

Limited funds, too little time to provide information, the lack of willingness of participants/actors to spend chance for more intense policy deliberations, and the dependence on the role of certain labour leaders and/or entrepreneur elites are factors that hinder the implementation of deliberative policies. For this reason, several efforts need to be made to overcome them, namely:

a. Incline the budget/funds for the implementation of deliberation. It is recognized that a policy innovation requires a large budget (Robert et al., 2020) (Nasriza & F.Yasmeardi, 2020). The budget is needed to expand the actors and participants of policy deliberation so that more components of policy actors can attend. Because one of the principles of deliberation is participation and representation, the more the number of participants is believed to require a large budget. (Williamson & Luke, 2019).

b. Increase the awareness of policy deliberation participants to spend more time to realize the ideal deliberation by providing understanding or socialization to participants about the importance of providing more time to intensely discuss the policy agenda that will become a consensus. In addition, the organizers can develop regulations to increase the length of time for deliberation as well as the length of time for synergistic deliberation with a better labor protection policy agenda (Bittar & Di Serio, 2024).

c. Modelling *best practices Standard* in the implementation of labour policy deliberations from other regions to be applied in Banyumas and other regions as well in Central Java. There are many examples of the implementation of labour policy deliberations that are classified as good so far, such as the practices in *Kota Solo, Kabupaten Kudus, Kota*

Bandung or Kota Surabaya. In these cities, the local government and all stakeholders of the policy deliberation are known to run democratically, openerss and independently so that it can be a better reference (Blokker & Gül, 2023).

d. Enhancing the number of participants in the policy deliberation which obtained from random selection to increase inclusiveness. There are many workers and trade union organizations/federations, as well as many employers' organizations/associations involving public dialog. However, so far the employers' element has only been invited from the Indonesian employers' organization/association (*Apindo*). Whereas in the regions there are at least 20 business associations, including the Office of Trade and Industry (*Kadin*), the Indonesian Young Entrepreneurs Association (*Hipmi*), the Indonesian Muslim Entrepreneurs Association (*HipMi*) or other business associations in their respective fields. Similarly, actors from the labor element are labour unions throughout Indonesia, national labour unions, or unions with names according to their respective fields of work (Jacob, 2023). Actors from the elements of experts or academics have also not been invited much, even though from the results of studies and opinions of these experts, the quality of policy deliberations can continue to be improved.

Conclusions

Based on the discussion, it can be concluded that deliberative labour policy in the field of *deliberative governance* in Banyumas,Central Java Province is not yet fully optimal. However, the *Networking Dialog* as a deliberative model approach has proven to be more effective in producing new breakthroughs in deliberation that significantly answer the needs of democratic policy formulation (Jacquet & van der Does, 2021b) (Revez et al., 2022). In terms of the aspect of inclusiveness, the selection of deliberation actors does not use a random selection system due to limited resources, but the representation of policy actors is mapped after repeated deliberations on labour protection policies. In terms of the *deliberation* aspect, the policy deliberation does not hold deeply discussions that talked more labour issues comprehensively due to time constraints. In terms of the *influence* aspect, the labour policy deliberation is indeed able to realize many proposals using District infrastructure funds, but for proposals that will be elevated to the elite level deliberation, it is very difficult to escort the proposals. In relation to the main agenda of labour protection, the participation of employers in local landscape is still classified at the level of pseudo-participation. In fact, the actors from the employers are the key to the success and failure of labour protection itself.

There are several factors that support and hinder the implementation of deliberative policy innovation. In terms of communication, some information is available to participants, but what is required is for citizens to be pro-active in obtaining it. In terms of resources, the competence of facilitators and participants can support the implementation of deliberative policies because in addition to experience, they also receive training. Meanwhile, financial resources and sufficient time are still lacking. In terms of disposition, the commitment of facilitators and labourers participating in the deliberation of labour development policies is an obstacle because facilitators still think that the process is not too important as long as consensus can be reached, while residents are not yet willing to take the time to participate.

Besides, as the study recommendation, the problems still arise in implementing the policy deliberation. Budgeting and key executive collaboration are the basic issues that never finish to be flourished. Whereas, local government of Banyumas need more budget to design, implement and evaluate all steps of the policy deliberation that meet exact goal

that is enhancing prosperity for workers as a whole and make labour decision making are more democratic, as basic modal of local development for the future.**

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