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The Deliberative Governance in Labour Policy Innovation, Evidence from Regional Government of Central Java Province

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to explore how deliberative governance plays a significant role in improving the quality of labour policy innovation, especially in the Central Java region. Applying descriptive methods through in-depth interviews, policy studies, and observations of 100 relevant key-informants, it can be concluded that deliberation in term of labour policy innovation could facilitate and provide a structured platform for dialogue among the government (executive and legislative), labour unions, employer associations, NGOs, and experts. By enhancing labour participation could reduces resistance, enacting inclusiveness and increases the legitimacy of policies. Labour policies are more likely to be accepted and implemented effectively if executives, legislatives, workers, corporates, and civil society feel ownership of the process. However, there are still many weaknesses in its practice that tend to lead to pseudo-participation where the presence of actors is not fully independent because there is still dominance of elite actors who ultimately control the decision.

Keyword:

Deliberative Governance,
Labour Policy, Innovation

INTRODUCTION

The labour market in Indonesia continues to be volatile, driven by the dynamics of labour demands in various regions {Formatting Citation}. As is well known, labour demonstrations and protests have recently increased in intensity. Workers are becoming increasingly violent and temperamental, especially when various efforts by the government and company management show no signs of improvement or improvement in the overall welfare of workers (Rustamova et al., 2025). Meanwhile, the Indonesian government is

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working hard to remind employers to continuously improve workers' welfare, thereby fostering harmonious and productive industrial relations (International Labour Organization (ILO), 2024).

The Central Java Provincial Government, as an integral part of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, also faces the same problem: the complexities of efforts to increase worker participation in various decision-making processes, particularly those concerning the livelihoods and future of workers themselves (Hidayah et al., 2021). With a workforce of 2.3 million, and more than 3,5 million corporates existing, the Central Java Provincial Government is currently facing a serious problem: low worker and company management participation in the employment social security program. As of 2024, only 32.18% of workers in Central Java Province have registered for Employment Social Security. This is despite the fact that in other regions, such as DKI Jakarta, West Java, Banten, or Riau, the average worker participation rate reaches 70% (Hamid & Intan, 2024).

As stated formally in the *Sapta Program* of Central Java Province 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 2020-2024. The Central Java is the province with the largest number of poor people that is for 65,495 people in 2022, and open unemployment reached 58,210 (Suhartoyo, 2019).

Antun Mardiyana (2022) argues that one way to ensure the success of a development is to make a good, dynamic and sustainable planning and implementation. Law Number 25 of 2004 concerning the National Development Planning System mandates that community participation in development planning must be optimized, because after all, the community itself best understands the potential and problems that exist in its area (Katharina, 2018). This mandate is implemented in a Development Planning Consultation forum or better known as *Musrenbang*, which in this study is more directed at the innovation of labour policy deliberation (Gehring, 2010). Here, deliberation is a global value in representation of a deliberative development in planning process, where the principles of *new governance* are applied in the whole process of public decision. Central Jawa certainly also carries out policy deliberations as one of a series of development policy formulation processes, especially in the field of labour. Employment affairs in the era of regional autonomy are still one of the strategic agendas of regional development, because employment affairs are closely related to the goals and targets of regional development itself (Firdaus Yusdiansyah & Sumanto, 2022) .

Unfortunately, labour affairs are not touched much, especially related to informal 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) or Minimum Salary System (MSS), 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/labour in the regions (Habibi, 2025).

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 MSSs in Central Java Province when compared to MSSs 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 Central Java Province, for example, the minimum wage is still quite low, which in 2024 amounted to Rp 2,195,960, and in 2025 raise 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 (Hadiyati, 2021).

The determination of MSSs has become one of the most debated issues in various forums and public discussions held by various components of society ((Çaushi) & Pitaku, 2025). Not only by government agencies, but also by non-governmental groups such as academics, social organizations, or employers' organizations/associations and trade union federations. It is unfortunate that various deliberation forums held by the government are considered by labour groups to be biased, often favouring companies. Meanwhile, workers continue to suffer from the failure to obtain their normative rights (Uchiyama et al., 2022). Based on this, a more democratic model of labour protection deliberation with genuine participation from workers is needed. This will be seen by workers as a more concrete innovation in labour protection policies.

With the 35 autonomous districts and cities and an annual economic growth rate of 5.2%, the Central Java Provincial administration must continue to make breakthroughs to address various labour issues. This is not only due to wage policies, which are considered low in the national landscape, but also to the still-minimal improvement in workers' welfare. To resolve this labour crisis, progressive labour policy innovation is needed, where the decision-making process for labour development should change from the previous era, namely by prioritizing more mass, fair, and sustainable policy deliberations (Xue et al., 2022).

Labour policy deliberation is a form of policy innovation (Manosevitch, 2024). It is called so for two reasons. *First*, 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 (not like *Musrenbang*), were carried out as 'business as proposal', namely running just a regular discussion, without clarity of agenda, and far from the real deliberation values (He, 2018) .

Second, labour policy deliberation is not just a public discussion 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. This is a novelty of this research (Beccarini et al., 2023). This innovative policy deliberation is carried out because so far many regional development policy deliberations have been held only as a ritual and the participants attend more as 'representatives' or 'representatives' of agencies so that their competence and authority are not required. Meanwhile, the deliberative policy innovation in the Central Java region is truly a 'new finding (innovation as the novelty), because it has never been carried out so far, and has become a new praxis of labour policy formulation (Knappe, 2019).

In connection with the background of the problem, research questions can be formulated, namely how deliberative governance can be designed to support the implementation of labour policy innovation at the regional level.

METHODS

The research method used was qualitative with a descriptive research analysis design. The research was conducted by taking 100 key-informants in the area of Central Java (Haryoko et al., 2020; Morgan, 2024). Selection of informants using *purposive* technique with

people who are considered to know the most about what will be researched, then the *snowball* technique is carried out because the author wants to explore the object of research. The reason is to make data gathering and analysis come unity.

Data collection were carried out by means of online interviews and observations to companies, legislative institutions, Regional Employers' Associations, Regional Workers / Labour Unions, labour Supervisors, Employment Social Security Administration Agency, Central Java Manpower Office, and its coverage area in the period 2018-2024 (Mouwn Erland, 2020). The data analysis technique used in this qualitative research 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).

To describe actor activity beyond the policy innovation via deliberative governance, AFA Model is required. The *Actor-Framework-Activity Model* is a conceptual model used in public policy analysis to understand how policies are formed, implemented, and evaluated through the interactions of various actors, guided by certain frameworks, and expressed in specific activities. It is particularly valuable for examining complex policy processes involving multiple stakeholders. Table 1 explains the Actor Framework Activity (AFA Model), were used for content focus on the in-depth loosely structured interviews with prominent labour stakeholders (Rachmawati, 2007) (Massey & Cain, 2024).

Table 1. AFA Model

No.	Name of Actor	Role Activity	Amount
1	Executive from Regional Government	Facilitating labour policy deliberation	8
2.	Legislatives Body	Aspirating labour voice	10
3.	Corporates Association	Serving labour prtectio	12
4.	Labour Federation	Advocating labour policy innovation	10
5.	Labour Supervisors	Watching labour policy implementation	14
6.	Experts from University	Resourcing science and technology of policy	8
7.	Civil Society Organizations	Supervising the labour policy innovation	10
8.	Journalists/Mass Media	Making news for labour information to public	8
9.	Labour Protection Agency (BPJS)	Administrating labour policy documents	20
	Total		100 actors

Source: Processed by Author, 2025

The writer uses research framework of structured interviews, applying content analysis with the aims is to explore how actor framework activity and behaviour took place in term of deliberative governance in labour policy innovation. We analysed government labour policy documents, searching how social discussion and public consultation that held by so many institutions regarding to enhance the quality of labour protection (Mancilla García et al., 2024) (Busetto et al., 2020). To make data valid, we ensure the validity of primary and

secondary data, researchers tested it by triangulating sources and related policy documents while simultaneously assessing various forms of public discussions, deliberations, FGDs or other social communication media as well as soliciting opinions on various deliberation forums whether they can be a solution to resolve the turmoil of labour-employer disputes and conflicts so far (Duea et al., 2022). Each actor and stakeholder involved is given the authority to assess and provide input so that the principles of the policy deliberations implemented can be ensured to be executed to realize an increase in the quality of social protection for workers in Central Java.

RESULT AND DISCUSSIONS

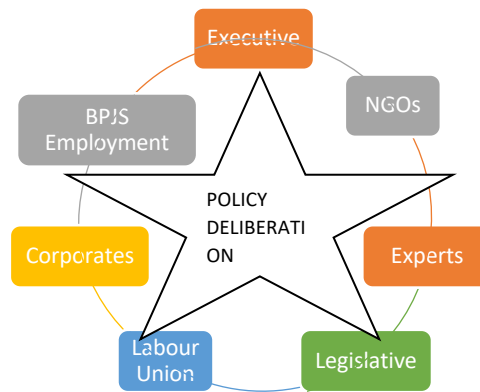
Deliberative Policy Innovation in Central Java Province

The deliberation of development policies in the employment sector in Central Java over the past 10 years has undergone a 'substantial change'. That is, a change in the policy formulation process from the previous habit. If previously the labour policy deliberation was only carried out more as a 'routine development planning habit', 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 years in 1 year. The frequency and number of deliberations have changed to follow the 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 (Louis, 2025).

The concept of deliberative policy above is a form of derivation 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).

Deliberation is also a 'research-flavoured' public decision-making system (Baillie et al., 2022). This is because in addition to using formal forums that are legal with a clear legal basis in a country/government, also the participants, the actors really together carry out the principles of 'joint research' (García Agustín, 2012). That is, research and in-depth study of a topic that will be the basis of public policy itself. Because it is 'research', all actors present must have good skills and understanding related to the agenda that is discussed in a policy deliberation (Berglund 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 (Murray, 2011). 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.



Source: Tiwari et al., (2021)

Figure 1 Actor Interaction and communication Flow in Policy Deliberation

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, and constructive criticism needed in the deliberation forum (Mitchell et al., 2023).

The process of making labour 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* (Benson, 2021).

In this research, the author carried out the above criteria to assess the implementation of deliberative policies in regional development in the labour sector in regional Government of Central Java Province.

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. (Aitamurto, 2016).
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 (Innes & Booher, 2003).
5. *Environment 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 (Ridde & Dagenais, 2017). 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.

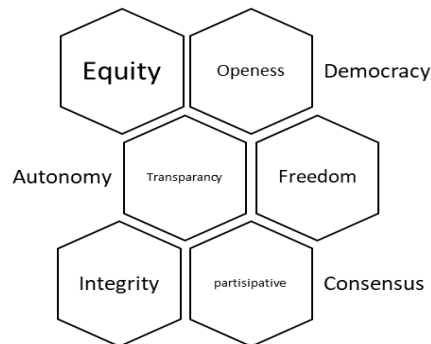
Changes that are labour policy innovations also occur from the aspect of the labour agenda (Tan, 2019). If previously it only answered the agenda related to the right to standardize wages / wages (District Minimum Wage) which is annually determined by the central government through the Determination 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 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 Employment*) (Suhartoyo, 2019).

The next labour policy innovation is the participants who attend the policy deliberation (Hünernmund & Czarnitzki, 2019). If before the policy innovation, those who attended were 'average', then the labour policy innovation in Central Java began to be selected more strictly. In fact, to select the participants of the policy deliberation, a special committee was formed, which, among other things, examined the background of the deliberation participants, the duties of the protocol and the authority and position (Tasroh & Paulus Israwan Setyoko, 2025).

The next innovation, that can be conducted in the local government, is related to the legalization of the deliberation forum itself (Putri et al., 2023). 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 deliberation that can be called 'deliberative' is the existence of a legal-formal public space that has been assessed as an official government forum (Ramda, 2025).

The next innovation is related to the 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 Regional Government of Central Java Province, the values and principles of deliberation have changed completely, from a 'top-down' pattern to a true 'bottom-up' pattern (Rafinzar et al., 2021). The values and principles of such deliberation can take place because they are in accordance with the tradition of the local community, which likes to discuss in an egalitarian manner, openly, honestly, frankly and is known as '*rembug gayeng*'. That is, being and acting honestly and openly accepting criticism from all components of society, especially workers (Bobbio, 2019) (Muttaqien, 2023). Figure 2 explains the values and principles of the intended labour policy deliberation.



Source: Hartnett, (2024)

Figure 2 Values & Principles in Deliberative Policy Innovation

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. In Central Java there are at least 3 deliberation forums that have always been the basis for decision/policy making in terms of labour development (Tasroh, 2025).

In brief, the implementation of labour policy deliberation in regional development in 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* (Li & Wagenaar, 2019).

1. 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) (Sokalska, 2021).

The non-involvement of vulnerable people and information workers occurs because of the assumption that their needs can already be represented by delegates who are present during policy deliberations or even considered 'unimportant' in the decision-making process of manpower development at the central, provincial or district / city levels. This practice is actually contrary to the mandate of Law No.13 of 2003 on Manpower where Article 27 states that what is meant by 'workers' recognized in manpower development in Indonesia includes formal and informal workers. Unfortunately, in labour development policy deliberations so far, informal workers have not been involved in a sustainable manner (President of the Republic of Indonesia, 2021) (Bonso & Suranto, 2018).

2. 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 Central Java, participants have access to the information they need. (Alica & Schakel, 2025).

In fact, the second key in the *deliberation* criteria as stated by Carson is to *provide open dialouge* or hold an open discussion (Michels, 2011). In the policy deliberation in 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 (Krogh & Triantafillou, 2024). 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).

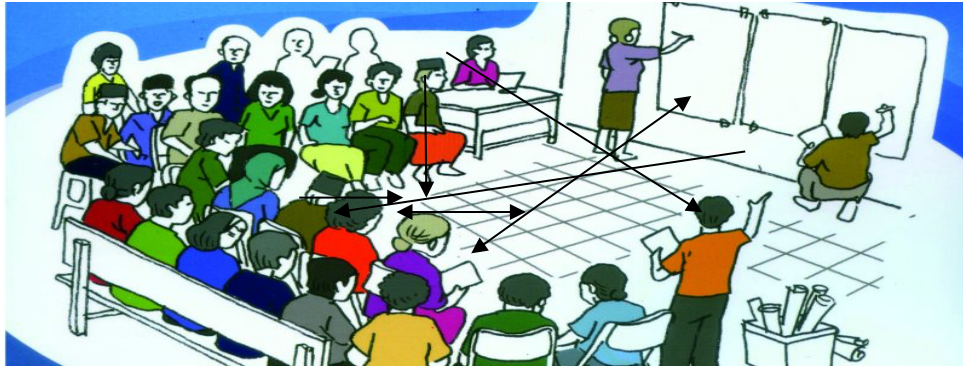
3. Influence Aspect

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 Central Java have so far been able to realize many proposals, especially those that use regional infrastructure funds to share with labour protection affairs (Saguin & Cashore, 2022). 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).

AFA Model Analysis

The participation of cross-policy actors in Central Java Province is still at the pseudo-participation level. At this stage, there has been a one way of communication process, which negotiations and lobbying between the government, *BPJS Emplyment*, social insurance organizations, vertical institutions, legislators, employers' associations and trade union federations are more dominant. Government Executives and legislative bodies took full control of the process of decicion making (Stovell & Warth, 2021). 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. The deliberation can be show up in Figure 3.



Source: Doc, Central Java Province, 2023

Figure 3 Interaction Patterns and Communication Flow across Policy (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 (\rightarrow)), because they are able to interact with all actors actively, while actors who only have 'power' to interact (\rightarrow) mean that he / she / they have less access to decision making (Santiago, 2016) (Gelli, 2018). It appears that only parliament 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).

Supporting and Hindering Factors for Deliberative Employment Policy

1. Model of Interaction

The interaction 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). interaction in policy deliberations also does not appear to have balanced interaction among actors (Boulianne et al., 2018). 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 (Mardiyanta, 2013). This means that actors who are able to carry out interaction patterns flows in all directions (actors) are believed in reflecting the potential for realizing the policy agenda, and vice versa (Koskimaa & Raunio, 2023), as stated in Figure 4.



Source: Central Java Province, (2023)

Figure 4 Equal Right to Talk can strengthen Public Trust and Social Cohesion

Figure 4 describes that equal communication can encourage participatory governance that integrates civil society organizations and the media, making labor policymaking more socially responsive. It impacts to reduce polarization, strengthens industrial peace, and fosters a shared vision of labor development (Report, 2022). For instance media involvement

in deliberations over migrant worker protection raised awareness and pressured policymakers to improve regulations, etc (Czepczyński, 2016).

2. 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 (Tiwari et al., 2021). In the policy deliberation in Central Java Province, 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 (Talukder & Pilet, 2021). 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).

3. Disposition

In the labour policy deliberation in 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 *Musrenbang* 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 guidelines and guidelines for implementation (Martin-Caballero, 2023).

4. 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 *BPJS Ketenagakerjaan* is also considered by workers to complicate and prolong services.

5. Environmental Factors

The social environment, in the form of the large number of workers in Central Java province who only have secondary school education, is one of the obstacles to the implementation of policy deliberations. 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 (Jacobs & Kaufmann, 2021).

Enhancing Supports for Deliberative Policy

Deliberative governance could be enhanced for the future, if several efforts need to be made to overcome them, namely:

1. Increase 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.
2. 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).
3. Modelling *best practices* in the implementation of labour policy deliberations from other regions to be applied 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 Salatiga, Kota Semarang, Kabupaten Banyumas or Kota Tegal*. In these region, the local government and all stakeholders of the policy deliberation are known to run democratically and independently so that it can be a reference (Blokker & Gül, 2023).

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion, it can be concluded that the networking dialog, so-called *deliberative governance* has proven to be more effective in producing new breakthroughs in deliberation that significantly answer the needs of 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 discussions that discuss 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 Central Java, is still classified at the level of pseudo-participation. Government and corporate actors still took dominant in decision making of labour policy innovation. However, the real contribution to the field of labour policy innovation is that deliberative governance involves multiple stakeholders (workers, employers, unions, policymakers, and civil society) in structured dialogues. This inclusion ensures that policies better reflect the *real needs* and *experiences* of labour actors, marginalized or informal workers have a *voice* in policymaking, public trust and legitimacy in policy processes increase. The last, as suggestion for the future research is getting

evaluation model of deliberative processes that can answer the question of how do deliberative methods affect policy outcomes, institutional trust, and democratic legitimacy and what metrics and mixed-methods approaches can be used to evaluate the quality and effectiveness of deliberation as a whole.

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