

**TWO HOUSEHOLD ISSUES IN ONE AGENDA SETTING**  
**Fighting for the Protection of Domestic Workers through Settlement of Domestic Issues in Yogyakarta Palace**

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**ABSTRACT**

*This study focuses on the meeting of two issues in one agenda setting. On the one hand, there is an issue of protection of domestic workers, and on the other hand, there is an issue of power succession in the Yogyakarta Palace. It is about two different issues; it is not only to settle them in one process, but also to save one of the policy agendas. This study uses a case study. Data was collected using interviews, focus group discussions (FGD) and secondary sources. In-depth interviews and FGDs were conducted with internal parties, kingdom relatives, community leaders and activists for women's movements outside the palace. The findings of this study show that the agenda point, which brings the two issues, is gender issue, especially the role of women in the public domain. The meeting of these two issues, which leads to the opening of the policy window, involves various dynamics, including advocacy coalition, succeeded in moving policy-making rails from higher level of government, and focused more on issues at the practical-operational level. The special features of Yogyakarta actually act as a platform for actualizing local wisdom, showing the strength of cultural factors. This cultural aspect accelerates the encounter of problem streams, policy streams, and political streams, which open a window of opportunity (policy windows) for the success of a policy agenda in the agenda setting process.*

**Keyword:** *Two household issues, Domestic Workers, Domestic Issues*

## INTRODUCTION

This study examines public policy (policy-making), especially in the segment of agenda setting from the perspective of political science, by prioritizing the meeting of two relations (conflict of interests). The focus is on the meeting of the two relations, and this dimension has not been explored much in the literature. The meeting of power relations that takes place in two agenda setting processes involves two issues, namely the issue of domestic workers as a marginal group and the issue of contestation for power in the palace. They are combined to become a women's issue in public policy. The agenda of providing protection to domestic workers to be treated as dignified personnel or to have their dedication and effort devoted to their employers and finally respected as a profession meets the agenda to earn public support for changes in the *pauegran*, so that the inheritance of the throne no longer refers to patriarchy system.

This study refers to John Kingdon's study, which treats agenda setting as a series of processes or streams. The meeting of these two agenda setting flows is marked by the existence of coalition advocacy (Sabatier & Smith, 1993, pp. 16-20), which both involves women's issues. The meeting of the two agenda is political and results in a separate political stream. In the agenda setting, this is called a coupling juncture or the meeting of three streams, of which dynamics are important to observe. This coupling juncture involves three things: (1) problem flow, (2) political flow, and (3) policy flow. At certain moments, the meetings of these streams are organized involving bridging parties, and they are referred to as policy brokers (Kingdon, *Agendas Setting, Alternatives and Public Policy*, 1995, p. 196).

The meeting of power involves two groups. On the one hand, a group of activist drives a distinctive and adversarial style of politics. It is rolled out at the Yogyakarta City government level by carrying out a policy agenda to defend domestic workers from undue treatment from their employers, but it ends with deadlock due to resistance, so it never reached the policy-making phase. On the other hand, there are internal problems at the palace, namely the succession to the throne of the Yogyakarta Sultanate (Moedjanto, G., 2012; Roem, M., 2002). Normatively, this succession issue is an internal issue of the Sultanate, but for one reason, it involves mobilizing public support. It is because in the governance of the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY), whoever will later reign in the Sultanate will eventually become the Governor. The interesting things here is that on behalf of women, an advocacy coalition is formed, and the involvement of the sultanate elite in the advocacy coalition makes the policy process, which is stuck at the Yogyakarta City government level, can change the path to a policy-making process at the provincial level. The flow of policy-making taken place is not only limited to the changing levels, but also the expanding scope of the policy, namely reaching all the areas of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. On 8 June 2009, the Yogyakarta City Government issued a Regional Regulation (Perda) No. 13 of 2009 concerning Manpower; One of the articles regulates Domestic Workers (PRT), namely

Chapter VII article 37. However, on its way, with Decree No. 244 of 2009 the Governor revised the Perda, namely by removing article 37. The Provincial Government subsequently formed a special team to make regulations for Domestic Workers at the Provincial level. In this context, it is interesting to explore how the process of raising advocacy coalitions can be transformed into political forces that expedite and expand the reach of policy-making, which is at least in the phase of agenda setting.

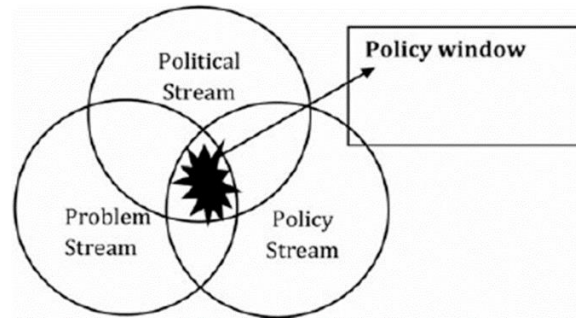
An analysis of the agenda setting in Yogyakarta City shows that the advocacy approach upheld by women activists cannot get out of a dead end when it only relies on the pressure raised by the activists themselves. It is obvious that the power of advocacy is very limited when it only relies on the support of the masses. Moreover, the masses who are invited to support the advocacy agenda are those who will be burdened by the mission they carry. The recognition of domestic workers as a profession will change the working relationship between employers and workers, and increase the bargaining power of domestic workers in front of them (Muryanti, 2005). On the other hand, the women in the palace, the Sultan's wife and daughters, also do not have sufficient bargaining power in politics within the palace, so it is necessary to widen the discussion on the problem. The issue of the throne in the palace is no longer sufficiently framed as a customary issue that applies exclusively to them. Succession matter needs to be considered as a matter of siding with women. Customary institutions and norms are not conducive to catch the right to be heir to the throne, need to be transformed through a coalition with people outside the palace, framing the issue of the throne into a gender issue or an issue of siding with women. The assumption is that a discursive process to show the importance of policy-makers who side with women, and at certain moments it will be very useful for the success of the existence of a female Sultan, and finally the Governor of Yogyakarta is female. Clearly, in the weak bargaining position of women in the palace, there is a need to fight for the throne by means of outreach to the public. It is important to underline that the meeting of the agenda involves a discursive process, and through this process, the two different issues meet in one process vortex. The continuity of an agenda setting, according to John Kingdon, is a process of meeting three streams: (1) policy-stream, problem stream, and political stream. The meeting of these three currents will open the door of possibility (policy window), and the opening of this policy-window allows the issues put forward to process into policy decisions ( Kingdon, *Agendas Setting, Alternatives and Public Policy* , 1995, p. 196).

Based on the analytical framework brought by John Kingdon, the continuity and expansion of the protection policies for domestic workers is explained by the raise of the political stream. The failure to get public support to open a policy window in the domain of the Yogyakarta City government is compensated by a broader advocacy coalition; a coalition for the protection of female workers, on the condition that this

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coalition will open the door of another opportunity, which is the succession that will allow the reign of a female sultan.

Figure 1. The Correlation of problem stream, policy stream, political stream, dan policy window



Source:

(Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies* (2nd Edition) , 2014)

If the window of opportunity for the reign of a female sultan has opened, it has not been passed. This is beyond the scope of this study. However, based on this case, there is an interesting situation to underline. *First*, the process of opening a window of opportunity to the protection policy for domestic workers is not adversarial, as is usually done by women activists. *Second*, failure to get sufficient support (temporarily labeled “horizontal support”) is compensated into a “vertical” relation. Some of the Sultanate’s elite try to reach grassroots support, and in the framework of reaching out to the grassroots power, they find the issue of marginalized women, which is the issue of protection for domestic workers. In failing to ensure that horizontal support, it can be anticipated that the policies that have been set will be difficult to implement, but difficulties in the implementation are not the scope of this study. The researcher’s concern is the meeting of elite-mass power, which is the asymmetric power relation in the process of raising an advocacy coalition to roll out the political stream that allows the protection policy for domestic workers to be determined by the authorities (the Governor of Yogyakarta), who is the Sultan at the palace, the father of a daughter who inherit the throne.

In this setting, there are women who also struggle to gain recognition for their right to occupy the “throne”. There are two categories of women, namely women as domestic workers, and court daughters awaiting the forbidden coronation. In the two ongoing agenda setting processes, there is a cross of power relations, where the jam that once lasted can be broken. The cross of power here is that the elite who have the capacity to carry out policies, in this case is GKR Hemas, the wife of Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X receives confirmation in her image as the elite who cares about women. At the same time, she has the potential to reap benefits to succeed in the

mission of crowning a female sultan. Therefore, it is important to study how different issues converge in a vortex of the agenda setting process. There is a complexity of power relation, which allows traffic jams to be transformed into continuity. Thus, the agenda setting can have a political dimension without having to deny that behind the process, there is a technocratic process. The process brings together the issue of siding with *wong cilik* or little people (specifically the protection of domestic workers), and the romantic image: “a throne for social welfare” (Atmakusumah (Ed.), 1982, p. 79). Given that the profession of domestic workers has been carried out by women, and advocacy is carried out by activists or women’s rights fighters, this siding with women met with the struggle to crown the daughter of GKR Hemas to inherit the throne at the Yogyakarta Sultanate, which in the end succeeded in the position of the Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta.

Within that framework, this study is motivated by two important facts. *First*, at this time, there is the Governor Regulation (Pergub) of the Special Region of Yogyakarta No. 31 of 2010 concerning the Protection of Domestic Workers. Based on this fact, this study will examine how the concern for the domestic worker issue in the end can be settled by the Governor Regulation. *Second*, GKR Hemas has long struggled with gender issues, who are suspected of being persistent in fighting for one of his daughters to become the heir to the throne at the Yogyakarta Sultanate. So far, the *paugeran* Kasultanan requires that the heir to the throne is a man, and thus, it is important to discuss further about gender-based policies. Therefore, the involvement of GKR Hemas in advocating for gender equality, if done sincerely for the sake of gender equality itself, is also dedicated to the struggle for the throne. The struggle for the throne has led to political tension that can be seen clearly by the public when Sri Sultan HB X pledged *Sabdaraja*, which one of its contents was to confirm his daughter (GKR Pembayun) as empress.

It is important to emphasize that this study will not examine the content of the Government Regulation. It will focus on the process of drafting the Regulation itself, especially at the agenda setting stage, which is the first and crucial stage in the public policy process (Howlett & Ramesh, 1995, p. 11) and (Anderson , 1979, pp. 23-24) In the case found in Yogyakarta, it is shown that an agenda raises different issues completely, but the meeting between the two issues actually smooths the process. The issuance of Government Regulation No. 31 of 2010 concerning Domestic Workers (PRT) indicates an alliance in carrying out different agendas. There are civil society actors who are persistent in advocating for the issue of domestic workers and at the same time, there are actors who are fighting for the legality of the throne for the female king. The meeting point of the two issues is gender issues, particularly the role of women in the public domain. There are several agendas carried out by very influential figures that carry out trendy issues, and there are activists who are very persistent in carrying out the issue of gender equality through strategic steps. Without intending to

negate the agenda setting theory offered by Kingdon, there are signs that the meeting of the agendas at some point also affects the continuity of the agenda setting.

Based on the explanation mentioned above, the question or problem to be answered through research is as follows: What is the process of agenda setting for the protection of domestic workers through the meeting of two issues of women in the household.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

There have been many studies on domestic workers, but they seem to focus more on gender and family welfare, such as the absence of regulations that protect domestic workers, exploitation, and discrimination against domestic workers, abuse and torture of domestic workers, and views of domestic workers that are only seen as housemaids, not a profession (Tandos, R., 2014).. They are not recognized as workers, but only as servants, which causes domestic workers to get low wages and to have no rights as workers that must be fulfilled (Jurnal Perempuan, 2017; ). Even if there is a study related to the policy setting agenda, it seems that it is still focused on the substance, that is, as if a policy can work in the same way in every situation.

This study seeks to bridge the gap. This study clearly aims to show that the continuity of the policy setting agenda is contextual, meaning that it will be different in other situations. To show the contextuality of the study, the researcher will reveal the constellation of the gender movement that meets power relations in the Yogyakarta Palace. This is the context for the continuity of the agenda setting process in policy-making. Thus, this study shows that the agenda setting process of policy is contextual (Walt, G., & Gilson, L., 1994; Weible, C., Sabatier, P., Jenkins-Smith, H., Nohrstedt, D., Henry, A., & DeLeon, P., 2011) which is done by revealing the constellation of gender movements carried out by women activists to meet power relations in the Yogyakarta Palace. This means that this study analyzes the agenda setting process that carries two different issues/agendas.

The issuance of Government Regulation No. 31 of 2010 indicates an alliance in carrying out a different agenda. There are civil society actors who are persistent in advocating the issue of protecting domestic workers and at the same time, there are actors who are fighting for the legality of the throne for the female king. The meeting point of the two issues is gender issues, particularly the role of women in the public domain. There are agendas carried out by very influential figures that carry out trendy issues, and there are activists who are very persistent in carrying out the issue of gender equality through strategic steps. Without intending to negate the agenda setting theory offered by Kingdon, there are signs that the meeting of the agenda at some point also affects the continuity of the agenda setting.

In this setting, there are women who also struggle to gain recognition for their right to the throne. There are two categories of women – namely women as domestic

workers, and court daughters awaiting the forbidden coronation. Both are equally constructed as victims of injustice and need to be defended. Thus, the difference is clear. The royal family has sufficient political capacity to participate in arranging the policy agenda, and the meeting of the two interests raises an interesting complication. It is interesting that the two of them meet in a discourse coalition, which is useful for the success of advocacy in their respective domains.

Within the two ongoing agenda setting processes, there is a meeting of power relations. In this meeting, the jam that once lasted can be broken. The meeting of power here is that the elite who have the capacity to carry out policies, in this case GKR Hemas, the wife of Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X, receives confirmation in her image as the elite who cares about women. At the same time, she has the potential to gain benefits to succeed in the mission of crowning a female sultan. Therefore, it is important to learn how two different issues converge in a vortex of the agenda setting process. This is an important hole in this study, which is expected to be the novelty of the research. It has been explained earlier that this study focuses on public policy making, especially in the segment of agenda setting from the perspective of political science, by prioritizing the meeting of relations, and the assumption of the meeting of several interests. The focus is on the meeting of two issues, and this dimension has not been explored much in the literature. Textbooks that contain a study of policy tend to simplify policy as a single issue.

According to the author, such an agenda setting process cannot be explained by using a policy cycle approach because it cannot explain how the dynamics in the agenda setting process itself, especially in explaining how an issue has succeeded in becoming the government's agenda while other issues cannot be included in the government's agenda (Hill, M., 2005). This means that the agenda setting process actually involves many variables. By explaining the agenda setting process from the point of view of these stages, the stages are likely independent from one another, and there is no connection with one another. Even though the agenda setting process does not only involve issues/problems/problems that are expected to be included in the government's agenda, but also involves the problem of relationship patterns/interactions between actors/stakeholders at each stage with different interests, as well as expressions of participation of each actor is different too. These things occur simultaneously, which can affect the opportunities (success) and obstacles (failure) in the agenda setting process. For this reason, the analysis of this study uses Kingdon's theory. Kingdon makes an important contribution to the study of agenda setting through his book entitled *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies* (Kingdon, *Agendas Setting, Alternatives and Public Policy*, 1995). In his book, he discusses how an issue can be on the agenda; how the issue attracts the attention of public officials and policy makers; and how the agenda is arranged.

Kingdon treats agenda setting as a series of processes or streams . According to Kingdon, the agenda setting process can be imagined as consisting of 3 (three) streams: the problem stream, the policy stream, and the political stream. This model is an interesting framework for studying the agenda setting process because the agenda setting is the process of finding a solution to an issue that is a combination of problems, policies and participants (in a political context). The success or failure of this agenda setting process is determined by the meeting of three streams called a coupling juncture. It is important to observe the dynamics of the three streams. At certain moments, the meeting of three streams that influence the success or failure of the agenda setting policy process (Kingdon calls it the policy window) is managed by involving the bridging parties, and they are referred to as policy brokers or policy entrepreneurs. Actors who become policy entrepreneurs include visible and invisible groups (Kingdon, *Agendas Setting, Alternatives and Public Policy*, 1995, p. 196).

Through these three streams, the issues are processed, so that they become public policies. Through the problem stream, the issues are represented and selected by the government as a problem that has just been resolved. Through the policy stream, alternative solutions to problems are made. In the last stream, the political stream, these problems are then processed by political forces to be determined as a policy agenda. The three streams meet each other when a policy window opens and the meeting is managed by parties who have the ability and resources (policy entrepreneur).

Kingdon does not explain in detail about who the groups are. In its development, he then (Sabatier & Smith, 1993) develops what is called the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) approach. The ACF approach sees the policy process as an advocacy coalition that comprises actors from all parts of the policy system, and is a new perspective that criticizes the tendency of policy theory to see power in formal institutions, such as the legislature, executive or bureaucracy (Hysing, E., & Olsson, J., 2008). This means that there are non-state institutions or actors who can act as policy entrepreneurs.

Thus, it is expected that the use of John Kingdon's agenda setting theory and strengthened by Sabatier's theory of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) (Sabatier & Smith, 1993, pp. 16-20) explain the focus of this study.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

Since the objective and focus of this study is to explore how the agenda setting process for the protection of domestic worker policies in the Special Region of Yogyakarta lasted for 1 (one) decade (1999 to 2010), the research method used is a qualitative method applying case study research. To obtain data related to this study, the required data consists of primary data and secondary data. For primary data, researchers interviewed informants and resources with questions that had been prepared through the interview guide, so that the interview could extract all information related to the focus of the study. In addition to the primary data, this study also collects the secondary data



in the form of news in print media/newspapers, online media, websites, academic texts, legal drafting, minutes of meetings of Formulating Team of the Governor Regulation of the Special Region of Yogyakarta No. 31 of 2010 and *paugeran* Kraton Yogyakarta. To obtain data and information, this study uses two main methods, namely in-depth interviews and written documentation/information.

As a methodological consequence of this study, data analysis was carried out by applying triangulation techniques and interpreting the data (Moleong, 1990, pp. 175-178). By applying the triangulation technique, data related to the issue of protection of domestic workers and female sultan in the succession of the Yogyakarta Palace were checked through crosschecking method to ensure data validity.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The setting agenda of the protection policy for domestic workers in the Special Region of Yogyakarta began in 1999 with the actors involved JPPRT, the Provincial Government of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, and the Provincial DPRD. The process is divided into 3 phases.

The early stage of the agenda setting process (1999-2003) is an effort by civil society to encourage the adaptation of a policy. In this case, the issue of domestic workers receives a positive response from policy makers at both the provincial and district levels. Consolidation at the civil society level itself takes place from a process of substance-oriented policies that is only oriented towards activists to being more participatory by involving domestic workers themselves using the perspective of domestic workers in compiling policy proposals. This is an important point for elements of civil society to always remember and involve groups of people who are the targets of change.

Furthermore, JPPRT has received political support from both the Yogyakarta Provincial DPRD (c/q Commission E, political parties (c/q PKB faction in the Sleman Regency DPRD) and the Yogyakarta Provincial Government. It is shown that the draft of regional regulations concerning domestic workers is sufficiently supported politically. The issuance of Governor's Circular No. 568/0807 on the working relationship between domestic workers and service users on 5 March 2003 as a response to the Raperda, using the Kingdon framework, is one form of consensus building efforts.

The next phase, namely phase 2 (2004-2009), shows that the actors involved in the agenda setting process are JPPRT, Yogyakarta City Government, Yogyakarta City DPRD, and mass media. JPPRT has an interest in making a regional regulation at the city level in Yogyakarta. The City Government initially wanted to form a draft of regional regulations on Domestic Workers, but as time went by, this interest changed to

a desire to include a domestic worker clause in the Regional Regulation concerning Labour, which contained a clause on domestic workers.

The existence of mass media taking part in this stage is sufficient to help JPPRT in campaigning for domestic workers issues. Mass media has an interest in making news to the public by conveying news about mass actions carried out by JPPRT, which is also a media of socialization for JPPRT. The mass action carried out by JPPRT also has a role in pushing the issue of domestic workers to the City Government. By taking to the streets to voice their aspirations, at least the government has begun to see the existence of JPPRT and even domestic workers. During this period, the Yogyakarta City Government became the determining actor for the entry of domestic workers issues into the government's agenda. The City Government finally includes the issue of domestic workers in the labor regulations. This period shows that an issue to get into the government's agenda does not only require pressure from the groups with certain interests, but also a real commitment from the government as the owner of authority. It is shown how the process of encouraging formal protection for domestic workers continued to strengthen and reached concrete achievements in the form of the Regional Regulation concerning Labours in 2008, not in the province. This different level of government, namely in Yogyakarta City can still be considered an achievement of the domestic worker protection movement that has been going on since 1999, which is almost a decade. Even though the Regional Regulation is at the city level, it still needs to be understood as a response to actions taken at the provincial level, which is the Yogyakarta governor's appeal through SE No.568/0807 to encourage the protection of domestic workers in the form of policies at the district/city level. In other words, Regional Regulation is a response to SE. SE can predict that there will be no regional regulation. The role of the province remains central in this context.

Phase 3 (2009-2010) was the issuance phase of Governor Regulation (Pergub) No. 31/2010. In this period, in spite of its short time, it became a momentum with an effect on the approval of the Governor Regulation for Domestic Workers. During this period, the actors involved were JPPRT, the Yogyakarta Provincial Government, and the mass media. JPPRT has an interest in urging the Governor not to revoke the article on domestic workers in the Regional Regulation of Yogyakarta City because article 37 is the first step to provide protection for domestic workers legally. Meanwhile, the Provincial Government of Yogyakarta, represented directly by the Governor, considered that he had taken the right action. The interest of the Provincial Government is to evaluate the implementation of the Regional Regulation on Labour before it is brought to the central level. The mass media had a role in this period, to report events related to JPPRT. The provincial government has again become the determining actor in ensuring whether the issue of domestic workers is included on the agenda. The provincial government takes over the issue of domestic workers that previously revolved in the

Yogyakarta city area through the calibration of article 37. The actions issued by the Provincial Government are certainly tantamount to eliminating all advocacy efforts, whether it is carried out by JPPRT or the city government during the last few years.

At the government decision stage, the actors involved are the Yogyakarta Provincial Government, which had an interest in realizing the formation of the Regional Regulation for Domestic Workers. The provincial government is the only actor that plays a role in this stage. The steps taken by the Provincial Government by forming a Regional Regulation are certainly a decision to bring the issue of domestic workers to its agenda.

Phase 3 is the closing story of the climax. As a legal product, it has less force than the Governor Regulation. In terms of the weakness of this Governor Regulation compulsion, this Governor Regulation can be considered a setback. From the other side, in the midst of the absence of legal regulations regarding domestic workers at the provincial (even national) level, the birth of the Governor Regulation can be considered as progress.

Through the 3 phases of the agenda-setting process for the protection of domestic workers above, it can be seen that the struggle of non-state actors in fighting for public issues is an important part of the effort to identify and define the problem. This point is an important factor in making an issue or condition a problem to be scheduled for resolution. If a problem becomes the public spotlight and reaches a critical point, then the government (state actor) will prioritize it to prepare its agenda. This also still requires collaboration with the media to raise issues massively, so that the government will perceive an issue has reached a critical point so that it must be resolved. In the context of the problem stream, this can be read as an asymmetry that occurs between state actors and non-state actors in capturing public issues: non-state actors first capture public issues that must get policy priority and at the same time, and state actors are "calm- take it easy". Furthermore, in the context of policy streams (in international, national and local levels), there are quite a lot of policy standards that can be used as guidelines in making a policy product. However, the coupling juncture does not happen. When the coupling juncture does not occur, policy actors negotiate and carry out breakthrough strategies. These breakthrough strategies can be in the form of not imposing on the path of party political representation, sideline advocacy by working on adjacent issues so that there is more than one issue being struggled for or moving the legislative path from a lower government domain to a higher level government domain. This study results in an empirical reality of sideways advocacy strategy and the shift of the legislative path to higher-level government domain.

## CONCLUSION

Issues of the palace's households and domestic workers' households can compound into gender issues when struggled with an advocacy approach in the path of people's representation, and the agenda setting process is unable to break the dead end. The meeting of the issue of 'throne' and the issue of 'domestic workers' takes place by diverting the direction of the flow of advocacy, no longer adversarially facing the state through people's representative institutions but shifting sideways, finding the commonality of the issue.

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