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THE POWER OF POLICY ENTREPRENEUR IN PRO-DISABILITY POLICY MAKING

Abstract

Pro-disability policy in the Jember Regency of East Java, Indonesia is a result of a thirteen-year long struggle of the disability groups. Their struggle started as a series of demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the Regional House of Representatives and the Regent. It then continued with a series of debates and negotiations with the policy makers. This descriptive-qualitative research utilized Kingdon's multiple stream framework analysis to capture the stipulation of Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The informants were six disabled persons and two former members of the Regional House of Representatives. The study finds that the problem stream was raised through demonstrations, petitions, and hearings; the policy stream was done through efforts to include the draft of disability act in the regional legislative program; policy windows took place during the momentum initiated by the stipulation of nationwide pro-disability policy by the state government; and finally policy entrepreneur act through lobbies and negotiations. In conclusion, there was a simultaneous flow from the combination of problem stream, policy stream, policy window, and policy entrepreneur in the institution of pro-disability policy in Jember Regency. In addition to the streams that took place simultaneously, there were several moments, specifically related to the policy entrepreneur that amplified the aggregate flow of the streams.

Keywords: disability, multiple stream framework, policy, policy entrepreneur.

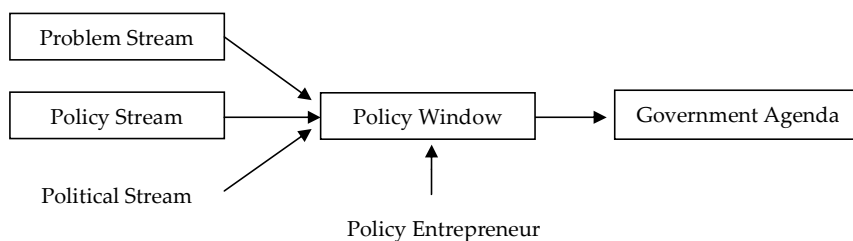
Introduction

In a democratic state, community involvement in policy making is made possible so that public policies are made in the favor of the people (Bevir, 2010). But in reality, not all public issues can become a subject of agenda of the policy makers to formulate solutions of (Dunn, 2018). Therefore, non-governmental actors try to voice their interests through advocacy. Advocacy is chosen by these actors to achieve their desired goals. Advocacy also becomes a widespread option when public policies made by the government are not in their favor. Advocacy can also be an alternative used by several non-profit organizations (both Non-Governmental Organizations, NGOs and Civil Society Organizations, CSOs) which until now have been used as a political step in an effort to include a policy agenda as well as a defense measure against a group that has not yet received support taking sides in public policy issues (Gen & Wright, 2020; Suharto, 2016; Topatimasang et al, 2016). The existing

advocacy can be pursued through various media, both legally and paralegally in its implementation.

One of the approaches commonly used to examine the dynamics of these actors in an effort to include their agenda of interests is the Multiple Stream Framework (hereinafter referred to as MSF) from the thoughts of John W. Kingdon (1995) written in his work *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*. Kingdon explained that public policy is a meeting of three streams in the agenda-setting process, namely the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream. The essence of MSF is the meeting of the three streams at a certain condition or momentum in the policy window. Policy window is a description of opportunities that can drive or bring a public problem to the attention of the general public and the policy makers. If this public problem has come to the attention of both the general public and the policy makers, then it has arrived to a problem recognition. When such policy window opens, the role of policy entrepreneurs becomes very important in managing the meeting of the three streams. Their role is vital in taking advantage of the current opportunities to embed the problem recognition into agenda-setting. Brouwer and Biermann (2011) argue that the development of multiple stream frameworks and their interrelationships can be 'influenced and directed' which means that policy entrepreneurs can prepare windows of opportunity to open. In addition, research on policy entrepreneurs has explored factors that are less determined in various streams, namely the causal process that drives policy choices made. Finally, Paul Cairney (2016) argues that John W. Kingdon's multiple stream framework focuses on an interaction between two types of ideas: the type of policy solution that can attract attention very quickly and a set of established beliefs in the policy network. The following (Figure 1) is an illustration of the meeting of three streams in the policy window, which will then be managed by the policy entrepreneur, so that it can be embedded to the government's agenda.

Figure 1. The meeting of three streams in policy window



Source: Kingdon, 1995

The problem stream is an issue that is raised by policy actors outside the government using various existing mechanisms, both through formal legal channels and paralegal channels, for example: network formation, demonstrations, deliberative polls, framing in mass media, and taking legal actions (Boydell et al., 2017; Gillad & Rimmerman, 2012; Landmark et al, 2017;Nohrstedt & Bodin, 2019; Rasmussen, et al, 2018; Sonnenberg, 2020; Zhang et al, 2017). The policy stream frames the process of making and changing policies so that policies are in line with what is desired (Béland & Howlett, 2016; Blum, 2018;Petridou & Mintrom, 2020; Shephard et al., 2020). Moreover, the political stream is a power that greatly influences policy, since political arena does influence policy greatly (Graaf & Snowden, 2020; Hsueh, 2020; Mauti et al., 2019; Wals, 2019). In addition, coalitions and strong network between actors in policy making or policy change is also needed (Rahardian & Zarkasi, 2021; Suherman, et al., 2021; Weible et al., 2011; Wong, 2016).

Problem stream, policy stream, and political stream will succeed in becoming into the government's agenda when there is a moment that brings the three of them together in the policy window. The policy window is a moment that brings the three streams together and is used to drive policy change (Beland, 2020;Giese, 2020; Mackey, 2019; Mockrin, 2018; Smith, 2017). Although the three streams have found momentum in the policy window, they still require management by the policy entrepreneur. Policy making is not merely the strength or capacity of one of the policy actors;the coherence of the coalition built by policy entrepreneur will greatly influence it (Brown, 2020; Saurugger & Terpan, 2016; Frisch-Aviram, et al., 2020; Ruvalcaba-Gomez, 2020; Schön-Quinlivan & Scipioni, 2017;Widyatama, 2018; Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2015).This MSF framework is a lens for capture how policies are made under uncertain conditions for decision making (Zahariadis, 2016). This is in line with what Kingdon (2013) said that (ambiguity in policy making) can be portrayed using the MSF framework. MSF framework is very well known, but it is underutilized (Cairney & Jones, 2015). Therefore, this study aims to capture the production of a policy using MSF framework.

The institution of the pro-disability policy in Jember Regency becomes the focal point of the MSF framework analysis in this study. Jember's Regional Regulation Number 7 of

2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities is the first regional regulation in Indonesia to be passed after the National Policy on Persons with Disabilities was promulgated. The enactment of a pro-disability policy in Jember Regency is the result of a long struggle by disability groups. For approximately thirteen years, these disability groups had been relentless in fighting for their interests. Their struggle started with demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the Regional House of Representatives (hereinafter referred to as DPRD-*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*) and the Regent, to holding debates with the policy makers. Another strategy that involved opening network access to the representatives was also carried out so that the means to fight for their rights could be formally stated in regulations.

Based on this brief description, it can be seen that it is very difficult for interest groups to put public issues into government's agenda. There needs to be pressure and encouragement from actors so that public issues can be raised by policy makers to become a prioritized policy agenda. The MSF framework by Kingdon will help the researchers to see the dynamics in pro-disability policy making in Jember Regency.

Research Method

This is a descriptive qualitative research which are based on textual context used to gain understanding on the reasons and motivations that underlie social phenomena (Neuman, 2016). Qualitative research is an approach to explore and understand the meaning made by an individual or a group as a social or human problem (Creswell, 2017). Data collection were done in three ways: observations, interviews, and documentation. Data analysis included three steps as proposed by Miles et al(2014), namely data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verifying. The research location was in Jember Regency, East Java, Indonesia. The research took place for three months from July to September 2020. Informants were selected using purposive and snowball sampling (Craswell, 2017), starting with an initial interview with the chairperson of the Jember Association of People with Disabilities (hereinafter referred to as PERPENCA Jember – *Persatuan Penyandang Cacat Jember*). In this initial interview, the chairperson recommended other informants to complete and refine the data. Since the research took place during the COVID-19 pandemic, focused group discussions (FGD) to get a complete picture of the

struggles of people with disabilities were held under strict implementation of the COVID-19 prevention protocol. The first FGD was attended by the chairperson of the PERPENCA Jember, the head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, a member of PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, the Jember branch chair of the National Paralympic Committee of Indonesia (NPCI), the Jember branch secretary of the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI), the Jember branch chair of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI), and the Jember branch chair of the Disabled Motorcycle Indonesia. The meeting produced a discussion that illustrated these disability groups' long journey of struggle to fight for their rights. The second FGD was conducted online using Zoom and was attended by not just all participants of the first FGD, but also by the former chairperson of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019 period) and a member of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019 period). Furthermore, data collection was continued by conducting personal interviews with each informant by telephone. To cross-check the data, a discussion was also carried out through WhatsApp group. The following Table 1 lists the informants involved in this study.

Table 1. Research Informants

No	Informant's Name	Position
1	Thoif Zamroni	Chairperson of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019)
2	David Handoko Seto	Member of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019)
3	Moh Zaenuri Rofi'i	Chairperson of PERPENCA Jember
4	Asroul Mais	Head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council
5	Eko Puji Purwanto	Member of PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council
6	Kusbandono	Jember branch chair of the NPCI
7	Rachman Hadi	Jember branch secretary of the PERTUNI and Jember branch chair of the ITMI
8	Ahmad Yasin	Jember branch chair of the Disabled Motorcycle Indonesia

Source: Researchers' processed data, 2020

Results and Discussion

Problem Stream: Demonstrations, Petitions, and Hearings

Problem stream is a perception about public problems that require action and efforts from the government to solve (Kingdon, 2013). This flow of problem stream arises because the developing issues and opinions in the public are developing at large and need tangible solutions (Zahariadis, 2016).

Disability groups in Jember Regency started their struggle in 2003 by raising issues related to inequality and discrimination against disabilities. On July 9, 2003 the PERPENCA

organization was established because Jember Regency had not had a disability organization that accommodates all types of disabilities. It is through PERPENCA that disability groups began fighting for their rights. The problem stream are carried out by these disability groups through demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the DPRD and the Regent. Issues that have been raised are inequality and discrimination in terms of education and job opportunities. The following Table 2 highlights the chronology of the problem stream carried out by the disability groups.

Table2. Chronology of Problem Stream Concerning Issues Of Inequality and Discrimination Against People With Disabilities

Year	Course of action	Description
2003	Establishment of PERPENCA	Jember Regency had not had a formal organization that accommodates all types of disabilities.
2003	Demonstration	The demonstration was done to protest inequality and discrimination against people with disabilities, triggered by the rejection of students with disabilities to enroll in regular schools.
2004	Hearing with DPRD and the Regent	The hearing was done to express the issue of inequality and discrimination, especially since some people with disabilities were denied from applying as civil servant.
2005	Demonstration	Fifty people with disabilities were involved in the demonstration to draw sympathy from journalists.
2006	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the pro-disability program plan.
2008	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the pro-disability program plan.
2011	Demonstration	The demonstration was a march to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2012	Demonstration	The demonstration was a march to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2013	Petition with 1,000 signatures	In addition to commemorating the International Day of People with Disability, the petition demanded to make Jember Regency as a disability-friendly inclusive city and to legally strengthen such status by instituting a regional regulation on it.

Source: Researchers' processed data, 2020

To get serious attention from policy makers, perceived issues must be framed urgently for a very long time and intensely voiced by certain groups (Birkland, 2016). Such issues will only influence public policy if several actors adjudicate the importance of the need to change under several circumstances and situations (Dunn, 2018). People with disabilities in Jember Regency started their action by holding demonstrations to raise the issue into public sphere. Demonstrations are commonly used by community groups to raise a public issue. Mobilization of people in the context of influencing policy making is aimed to create a framing so that the raised issue can be regarded by the policy makers as an important issue

(Weible et al., 2011). Regarding demonstrations carried out by persons with disabilities, research from Gillad & Rimmerman (2012) shows that disability activist groups in Israel use demonstrations or social movements in their efforts to include their agenda of interests in a legislative agenda regarding disability rights. Additionally, to raise issues related to the rights of disabilities who are oppressed through inequality and discrimination, persons with disabilities in Jember Regency also make use of hearings or discussions with the DPRD and the Regent. This is in line with a research by Boydell et al. (2017), arguing that deliberative poll and dialogue can be used as potential approaches in discussing policies regarding disabilities. Figures 2 and 3 below portray the demonstration and petition signing carried out by persons with disabilities in Jember Regency to fight for their rights.

Figure 2. The 2003 demonstration



Source : PERPENCA (2013)

Figure 3. The 2013 petition signing



Source : PERPENCA (2013)

This study also finds the media has a very significant role in strengthening the problem stream. Printed media, radio, and television have all covered some of these demonstrations and hearings. The Jember Radar, a local newspaper, always covers all activities of persons with disabilities in Jember (see Figure 4). Likewise, Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) Jember, a Jember branch of Indonesia's national radio station, always broadcasts these activities. In addition, although they do not cover every activity, several radio stations (Soka and Prosalina) and television channels (JTV Jember, Jember 1 TV, ANTV, Metro TV, and Indosiar) have also covered some of the activities of these people with disabilities.

Figure 4. Media coverage of the activity of people with disabilities



Source : PERPENCA (2013)

Kingdon (1995) explains that the media can cover an issue in a dramatic way so that it can influence a policy. Furthermore, Rasmussen, et al (2018) states that media advocacy and public opinion dominate political attention and policy change in parliament. The role of the media in raising strategic issues concerning people with disabilities is also seen in the research of Happer & Phillo (2013), which findings show how the media is able to raise issues of disabilities, especially in terms of the small amount of allowances received by disability groups and discrimination against them.

Policy Stream: Embedding the Drafting of Regional Regulation on Disabilities in the Region's Legislative Program

In Kingdon's (2013) theoretical concept, policy stream is the process of fighting of ideas as policy proposals. The actors involved in policy making will use the information they have as consideration in constructing the policy agenda (Béland & Howlett, 2016).

The policy stream of the disability groups is the drafting of Jember Regency Regional Regulation Plan. In 2009, persons with disabilities, led by the head of Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council, created a team to draft a regional regulation on disabilities. This draft refers to Law No. 4 of 1997 on Persons with Disabilities. The efforts to include this draft into the Regional Legislative Program persisted from 2010 to 2014. However, these efforts failed despite the recurring hearings with members of the House of Representatives. One of those hearings between representatives of people with disabilities and the members of DPRD was to present the draft. The hearing is documented below (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Hearing with DPRD on 2014



Source : PERPENCA (2014)

Political Stream: Lobbying and Networking

Kingdon (2013) states that political stream is important because it contributes significantly in providing network access to policy makers so that the proposed agenda can be accepted. Political factors can provide changes in conditions, such as restructuring of the executive and legislative officials in the government as well as recurring social movements (Zahariadis, 2016). This is in line with the findings of Landmark et al. (2017) which show the significant influence of legislative advocacy as the main channel for actors with disabilities to influence disability-related policies.

The disability groups started their political streams by approaching members of the House of Representatives. Starting in 2015, approaches to these members of the House were carried out intensively to oversee the Draft of Regional Regulation so that it could gain access into the Regional Legislative Program. The disability groups, through the institutional edifices of PERPENCA Jember, began to develop better network with members of the House for the 2014-2019 period. This close relationship with the members of the House was personal, especially with the Chairperson of the DPRD, Deputy Chair of the DPRD, and the Chair of the Nasdem (Nasional Demokrat Party) Faction. PERPENCA Jember also expanded network access to other disability communities in Jember Regency such as the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI Jember) and the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI Jember), which have the same vision and mission. The network was also expanded by engaging religious leaders from the Nahdatul Ulama (NU) of Jember Regency and academics.

Policy Window: The Issuance of National Pro-disabilities Policy

Kingdon (2013) states that policy windows "are rarely open and do not remain open for long." Therefore, given the importance of this momentum, timing is very important. The series of struggles by the disability groups to materialize regional regulations on the rights of people with disabilities in Jember Regency have started since 2003. This was a very lengthy struggle, because it took about thirteen years until the Regional Regulation on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed in 2016.

How did this policy window open? The struggle of the disability groups was wide open only when in 2016, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia enacted Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities. This regulation has changed the paradigm regarding disability. The Law regulates the status of persons with disabilities as subjects or as dignified human beings who have the same rights as other citizens. This Law places persons with disabilities in equal position from a human rights perspective, having equal opportunities to develop themselves through independence as human beings with dignity.

Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities is a momentum that brings together the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream that have been progressing for years. Policy window could open as a result of the interaction of several streams that are connected and in sync with each other; these three streams can create responsive momentum in the government's agenda (Rose et al., 2017).

The momentum in the policy window – driving policy changes or creating new policies – has also been disclosed in several studies. Unfortunately, the discussion on policy window related to disabilities is still minimal. Policy window is mostly explained in cases of policy changes outside of disability cases. Mockrin (2018) explains that forest fire disasters can open a window of opportunity that leads to changes in local government policies. The momentum of forest fires can lead to forest fire disaster mitigation policies. Mackey's research (2019) highlights the recent creation of the Global Network on Anti-Corruption, Transparency and Accountability (GNACTA) led by the World Health Organization (WHO), the Global Fund, and the United Nations Development Program in 2019 became the momentum for opening the window to initiate policies related to corruption in health sector. Corruption in health system has indeed been a 'dirty secret'. Giese's (2020) research also

concludes that opening a window can change a policy. The COVID-19 pandemic provides a window of opportunity for policy changes regarding the provision and reimbursement of telehealth costs. The issue of telehealth care has become the aspiration of many healthcare practices that were previously constrained by regulations related to reimbursement. The COVID-19 pandemic that caused a national emergency became the momentum for changes in federal policy in reimbursing the previously uncovered health costs.

Policy Entrepreneur: Lobbying, Negotiating, and Overseeing the Drafting and the Institution of Pro-disabilities Regional Regulation

Kingdon (2013) describes policy entrepreneurs as actors who seek to achieve policy change in favor of their interest through dynamic insinuation. Policy entrepreneurs try to attach their ideas so that their interests can be included in the government's agenda (Cairney & Jones, 2015).

After the enactment of Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities, disability groups have become increasingly active. Persons with disabilities – through PERPENCA and led by the Chairman of the Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council – assembled a team to discuss the draft of regional regulations. A similar team had actually been established in 2009 and had drafted a regional regulation that refers to Law Number 4 of 1997. Unfortunately, despite the struggle and advocacy, this draft could not be attached to the Regional Legislative Program. For this reason, another team is currently being formed to compose another draft of regional regulation that refers to the new regulation, namely Law Number 8 of 2016.

Around the same time, Jember DPRD had appointed a team of academics to compose the academic manuscripts and the draft of regional regulations. As a result, the draft was far from the expectations of persons with disabilities, and did not even reflect Law Number 8 of 2016. The draft also did not reflect several issues that have been raised in the policy stream since 2003. The draft was far from what is expected by persons with disabilities because the composing and drafting did not involve them at all.

The team created by the disability groups immediately took step and conducted negotiations. An exciting debate took place with the DPRD and the team of academics. With relentless effort day and night, the disability team dismantled the DPRD's version of the

regional regulation draft consisting of 195 articles. The dismantling process refers to the 2009 draft which adheres to Law Number 4 of 1997, and then be adjusted according to Law Number 8 of 2016. Finally, a new draft of regional regulation is composed; one that is truly in line with the interests of people with disabilities. The following is the documentation when the disability team acted as a policy entrepreneur, at the time of writing the draft of regional regulation (Figures 6 and 7)

Figure 6. Composing the draft of regional regulation (September 2, 2016)



Source : PERPENCA (2016)

Figure 7. Composing the draft of regional regulation (September 8, 2016)



Source : PERPENCA (2016)

Negotiations and debates carried out by the disability team in Jember Regency are in a sense similar to the assertion of Petridou and Mintrom(2020) that in the policy stream, communities with an interest in policy generate and debate many ideas for policy solutions that will be taken later. In this series of processes, experts and actors who are involved in the problem propose solutions as alternative policies in order to create policies which favor those who have pressed it for a long time. (Béland & Howlett, 2016). Policy entrepreneurs have an important and significant role in policy making, considering that they will carry out advocacy to achieve alignment in public policies made. These policy entrepreneurs must be able to push an issue or a problem and frame it as the government's priority agenda (Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2015).

To acquire a policy that are in line with their interest, policy entrepreneurs must have a strong influence to push the issue. In this sense, it is important for policy entrepreneurs to have power over the government as decision makers. They invest resources such as time, energy, reputation, and money in coalescing problems, solutions, and politics on the issues they are fighting for (Aukes, Lulofs, & Bressers, 2018). The disability groups in Jember

Regency, which have established expanded networks with members of the legislative, various disability organizations, and religious organizations, have positioned themselves as a policy entrepreneur with considerable power and influence. In line with the views of Frisch-Aviram, N., Beeri, I & Cohen, N (2020) states that there are many various techniques, resources and strategies used by a policy entrepreneur to achieve his goals, both formally and informally so that the agendas they bring can enter the realm of discussion raised by policy makers at various levels of government.

An interesting thing that was done by these disability groups was to challenge the members of DPRD to experience what it feels like to be disabled. The members were "forced" to do their daily activities as if they were persons with disabilities. The chair and the members of DPRD were asked to close their eyes (as if they were blind) and use wheelchairs (as if they had no legs) all the way from the parking lot to the DPRD building. As a result, it was difficult for the chair and the members to get to the building because there was no building facility that could be easily accessed by persons with disabilities (see Figures 8 and 9).

Figure 8. Members of DPRD were challenged to get into the building with their eyes closed, 2016.



Source : PERPENCA (2016)

Figure 9. Chair of DPRD were challenged to exit the building using a wheelchair, 2016.



Source : PERPENCA (2016)

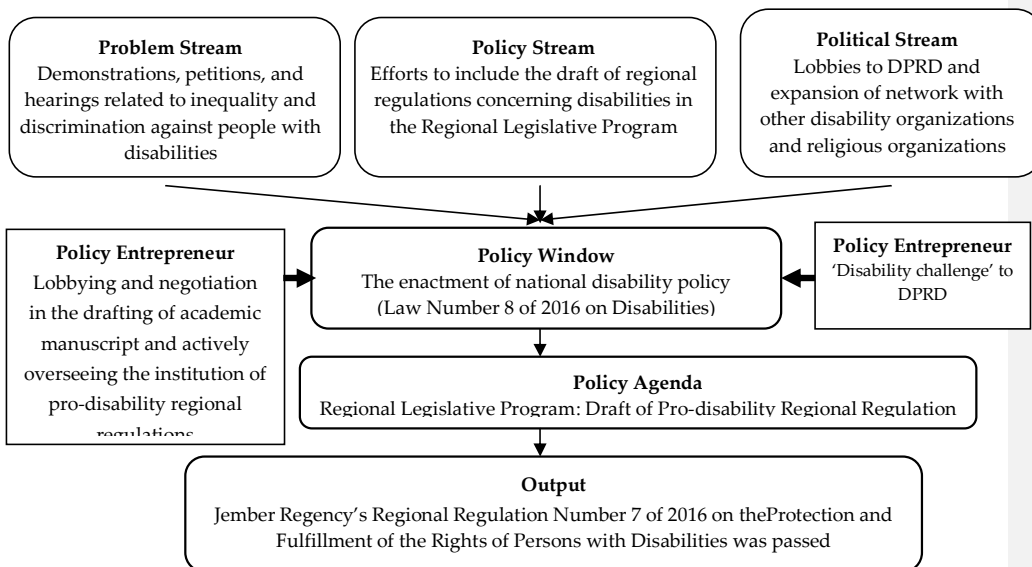
This study also finds that apart from disability groups who act as policy entrepreneur, the legislative board is also very influential at this stage. The chair and several members of DPRD were very intense in trying to get disability issues into the Regional Legislative Program. Finally, in 2016 the draft of regional regulation concerning disabilities was successfully included in the Regional Legislative Program. Up to this stage, the disability team's struggle is not over. Equipped with extensive networks that have been established previously, along with personal approaches to the chair and several members of

the DPRD, the disability team has sufficient energy and strength to bargain. The team continued to closely oversee the process until finally the Jember's Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed.

Conclusion

This study concludes that there was a simultaneous flow of problem stream, policy stream, political stream, policy windows, and policy entrepreneur in the institution of pro-disability policy in Jember Regency. In addition to the streams that took place simultaneously, there were several moments, specifically related to the policy entrepreneur that amplified the aggregate flow of the streams. In general, the MSF in the context of the institution of pro-disability regional regulation in Jember Regency is shown as follow (Figure 10)

Figure 10. Kingdon's MSF in the institution of pro-disability regional regulation in Jember Regency



Declaration of Conflict Interest

Both authors state that there is no potential conflict of interest associated with the research, authorship, and publication of this article. The informants also knew and agreed to the use of data in the writing this article.

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BUKTI KORESPONDENSI

ARTIKEL JURNAL NASIONAL TERAKREDITASI SINTA 2

Judul Artikel : The Power of Policy Entrepreneur in Pro-Disability Policy Making

Jurnal : Jurnal Public and Governance Review, 2022, vol 6 (2)

Penulis : Erna Setijaningrum, Ramaditya Rahardian

No.	Perihal	Tanggal
2.	Bukti Konfirmasi Pre Review Discussion	16 November 2021

Review ▾

desk review

Participants

Bevaola Kusumasari (iapabevaola)

Erna Setijaningrum (ernasetijaningrum)

BUKTI KORESPONDENSI

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No.	Perihal	Tanggal
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Review ▾

desk review

Participants

Bevaola Kusumasari (iapabevaola)

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Messages

Note

THE POWER OF POLICY ENTREPRENEUR IN PRO-DISABILITY POLICY MAKING

Erna Setijaningrum¹
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Abstract

Pro-disability policy in the Jember Regency of East Java, Indonesia is a result of a thirteen-year long struggle of the disability groups. Their struggle started as a series of demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the Regional House of Representatives and the Regent. It then continued with a series of debates and negotiations with the policy makers. This descriptive-qualitative research utilized Kingdon's multiple stream framework analysis to capture the stipulation of Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The informants were six disabled persons and two former members of the Regional House of Representatives. The study finds that the problem stream was raised through demonstrations, petitions, and hearings; the policy stream was done through efforts to include the draft of disability act in the regional legislative program; policy windows took place during the momentum initiated by the stipulation of nationwide pro-disability policy by the state government; and finally policy entrepreneur act through lobbies and negotiations. In conclusion, there was a simultaneous flow from the combination of problem stream, policy stream, policy window, and policy entrepreneur in the institution of pro-disability policy in Jember Regency. In addition to the streams that took place simultaneously, there were several moments, specifically related to the policy entrepreneur that amplified the aggregate flow of the streams.

Keywords: disability, multiple stream framework, policy, policy entrepreneur.

Introduction

In a democratic state, community involvement in policy making is made possible so that public policies are made in the favor of the people (Bevir, 2010). But in reality, not all public issues can become a subject of agenda of the policy makers to formulate solutions of

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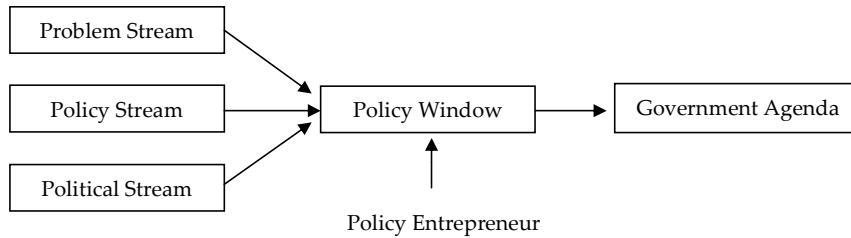
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(Dunn, 2018). Therefore, non-governmental actors try to voice their interests through advocacy. Advocacy is chosen by these actors to achieve their desired goals. Advocacy also becomes a widespread option when public policies made by the government are not in their favor. Advocacy can also be an alternative used by several non-profit organizations (both Non-Governmental Organizations, NGOs and Civil Society Organizations, CSOs) which until now have been used as a political step in an effort to include a policy agenda as well as a defense measure against a group that has not yet received support taking sides in public policy issues (Gen & Wright, 2020; Suharto, 2016; Topatimasang et al, 2016). The existing advocacy can be pursued through various media, both legally and paralegally in its implementation.

One of the approaches commonly used to examine the dynamics of these actors in an effort to include their agenda of interests is the Multiple Stream Framework (hereinafter referred to as MSF) from the thoughts of John W. Kingdon (1995) written in his work *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*. Kingdon explained that public policy is a meeting of three streams in the agenda-setting process, namely the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream. The essence of MSF is the meeting of the three streams at a certain condition or momentum in the policy window. Policy window is a description of opportunities that can drive or bring a public problem to the attention of the general public and the policy makers. If this public problem has come to the attention of both the general public and the policy makers, then it has arrived to a problem recognition. When such policy window opens, the role of policy entrepreneurs becomes very important in managing the meeting of the three streams. Their role is vital in taking advantage of the current opportunities to embed the problem recognition into agenda-setting. Brouwer and Biermann (2011) argue that the development of multiple stream frameworks and their interrelationships can be 'influenced and directed' which means that policy entrepreneurs can prepare windows of opportunity to open. In addition, research on policy entrepreneurs has explored factors that are less determined in various streams, namely the causal process that drives policy choices made. Finally, Paul Cairney (2016) argues that John W. Kingdon's multiple stream framework focuses on an interaction between two types of ideas: the type of policy solution that can attract attention very quickly and a set of established beliefs in the policy network. The following (Figure 1) is an illustration of the meeting of three streams in the

policy window, which will then be managed by the policy entrepreneur, so that it can be embedded to the government's agenda.

Figure 1. The meeting of three streams in policy window



Source: Kingdon, 1995

The problem stream is an issue that is raised by policy actors outside the government using various existing mechanisms, both through formal legal channels and paralegal channels, for example: network formation, demonstrations, deliberative polls, framing in mass media, and taking legal actions (Boydell et al., 2017; Gillad & Rimmerman, 2012; Landmark et al, 2017;Nohrstedt & Bodin, 2019; Rasmussen, et al, 2018; Sonnenberg, 2020; Zhang et al, 2017). The policy stream frames the process of making and changing policies so that policies are in line with what is desired (Béland & Howlett, 2016; Blum, 2018;Petridou & Mintrom, 2020; Shephard et al., 2020). Moreover, the political stream is a power that greatly influences policy, since political arena does influence policy greatly (Graaf & Snowden, 2020; Hsueh, 2020; Mauti et al., 2019; Wals, 2019). In addition, coalitions and strong network between actors in policy making or policy change is also needed (Rahardian & Zarkasi, 2021; Suherman, et al., 2021; Weible et al., 2011; Wong, 2016).

Problem stream, policy stream, and political stream will succeed in becoming into the government's agenda when there is a moment that brings the three of them together in the policy window. The policy window is a moment that brings the three streams together and is used to drive policy change (Beland, 2020;Giese, 2020; Mackey, 2019; Mockrin, 2018; Smith, 2017). Although the three streams have found momentum in the policy window, they still require management by the policy entrepreneur. Policy making is not merely the strength or capacity of one of the policy actors;the coherence of the coalition built by policy entrepreneur will greatly influence it (Brown, 2020; Saurugger & Terpan, 2016; Frisch-Aviram, et al., 2020; Ruvalcaba-Gomez, 2020; Schön-Quinlivan & Scipioni, 2017;Widyatama,

2018; Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2015). This MSF framework is a lens for capture how policies are made under uncertain conditions for decision making (Zahariadis, 2016). This is in line with what Kingdon (2013) said that (ambiguity in policy making) can be portrayed using the MSF framework. MSF framework is very well known, but it is underutilized (Cairney & Jones, 2015). Therefore, this study aims to capture the production of a policy using MSF framework.

The institution of the pro-disability policy in Jember Regency becomes the focal point of the MSF framework analysis in this study. Jember's Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities is the first regional regulation in Indonesia to be passed after the National Policy on Persons with Disabilities was promulgated. The enactment of a pro-disability policy in Jember Regency is the result of a long struggle by disability groups. For approximately thirteen years, these disability groups had been relentless in fighting for their interests. Their struggle started with demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the Regional House of Representatives (hereinafter referred to as DPRD-*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*) and the Regent, to holding debates with the policy makers. Another strategy that involved opening network access to the representatives was also carried out so that the means to fight for their rights could be formally stated in regulations.

Based on this brief description, it can be seen that it is very difficult for interest groups to put public issues into government's agenda. There needs to be pressure and encouragement from actors so that public issues can be raised by policy makers to become a prioritized policy agenda. The MSF framework by Kingdon will help the researchers to see the dynamics in pro-disability policy making in Jember Regency.

Research Method

This is a descriptive qualitative research which are based on textual context used to gain understanding on the reasons and motivations that underlie social phenomena (Neuman, 2016). Qualitative research is an approach to explore and understand the meaning made by an individual or a group as a social or human problem (Creswell, 2017). Data collection were done in three ways: observations, interviews, and documentation. Data analysis included three steps as proposed by Miles et al(2014), namely data collection, data

condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verifying. The research location was in Jember Regency, East Java, Indonesia. The research took place for three months from July to September 2020. Informants were selected using purposive and snowball sampling (Craswell, 2017), starting with an initial interview with the chairperson of the Jember Association of People with Disabilities (hereinafter referred to as PERPENCA Jember – *Persatuan Penyandang Cacat Jember*). In this initial interview, the chairperson recommended other informants to complete and refine the data. Since the research took place during the COVID-19 pandemic, focused group discussions (FGD) to get a complete picture of the struggles of people with disabilities were held under strict implementation of the COVID-19 prevention protocol. The first FGD was attended by the chairperson of the PERPENCA Jember, the head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, a member of PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, the Jember branch chair of the National Paralympic Committee of Indonesia (NPCI), the Jember branch secretary of the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI), the Jember branch chair of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI), and the Jember branch chair of the Disabled Motorcycle Indonesia. The meeting produced a discussion that illustrated these disability groups' long journey of struggle to fight for their rights. The second FGD was conducted online using Zoom and was attended by not just all participants of the first FGD, but also by the former chairperson of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019 period) and a member of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019 period). Furthermore, data collection was continued by conducting personal interviews with each informant by telephone. To cross-check the data, a discussion was also carried out through WhatsApp group. The following Table 1 lists the informants involved in this study.

Table 1. Research Informants

No	Informant's Name	Position
1	Thoif Zamroni	Chairperson of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019)
2	David Handoko Seto	Member of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019)
3	Moh Zaenuri Rofi'i	Chairperson of PERPENCA Jember
4	Asroul Mais	Head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council
5	Eko Puji Purwanto	Member of PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council
6	Kusbandono	Jember branch chair of the NPCI
7	Rachman Hadi	Jember branch secretary of the PERTUNI and Jember branch chair of the ITMI
8	Ahmad Yasin	Jember branch chair of the Disabled Motorcycle Indonesia

Source: Researchers' processed data, 2020

Results and Discussion

Problem Stream: Demonstrations, Petitions, and Hearings

Problem stream is a perception about public problems that require action and efforts from the government to solve (Kingdon, 2013). This flow of problem stream arises because the developing issues and opinions in the public are developing at large and need tangible solutions (Zahariadis, 2016).

Disability groups in Jember Regency started their struggle in 2003 by raising issues related to inequality and discrimination against disabilities. On July 9, 2003 the PERPENCA organization was established because Jember Regency had not had a disability organization that accommodates all types of disabilities. It is through PERPENCA that disability groups began fighting for their rights. The problem stream are carried out by these disability groups through demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the DPRD and the Regent. Issues that have been raised are inequality and discrimination in terms of education and job opportunities. The following Table 2 highlights the chronology of the problem stream carried out by the disability groups.

Table2. Chronology of Problem Stream Concerning Issues Of Inequality and Discrimination Against People With Disabilities

Year	Course of action	Description
2003	Establishment of PERPENCA	Jember Regency had not had a formal organization that accommodates all types of disabilities.
2003	Demonstration	The demonstration was done to protest inequality and discrimination against people with disabilities, triggered by the rejection of students with disabilities to enroll in regular schools.
2004	Hearing with DPRD and the Regent	The hearing was done to express the issue of inequality and discrimination, especially since some people with disabilities were denied from applying as civil servant.
2005	Demonstration	Fifty people with disabilities were involved in the demonstration to draw sympathy from journalists.
2006	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the pro-disability program plan.
2008	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the pro-disability program plan.
2011	Demonstration	The demonstration was a march to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2012	Demonstration	The demonstration was a march to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2013	Petition with 1,000 signatures	In addition to commemorating the International Day of People with Disability, the petition demanded to make Jember Regency as a disability-friendly inclusive city and to legally strengthen such status by instituting a regional regulation on it.

Source: Researchers' processed data, 2020

To get serious attention from policy makers, perceived issues must be framed urgently for a very long time and intensely voiced by certain groups (Birkland, 2016). Such issues will only influence public policy if several actors adjudicate the importance of the need to change under several circumstances and situations (Dunn, 2018). People with disabilities in Jember Regency started their action by holding demonstrations to raise the issue into public sphere. Demonstrations are commonly used by community groups to raise a public issue. Mobilization of people in the context of influencing policy making is aimed to create a framing so that the raised issue can be regarded by the policy makers as an important issue (Weible et al., 2011). Regarding demonstrations carried out by persons with disabilities, research from Gillad & Rimmerman (2012) shows that disability activist groups in Israel use demonstrations or social movements in their efforts to include their agenda of interests in a legislative agenda regarding disability rights. Additionally, to raise issues related to the rights of disabilities who are oppressed through inequality and discrimination, persons with disabilities in Jember Regency also make use of hearings or discussions with the DPRD and the Regent. This is in line with a research by Boydell et al. (2017), arguing that deliberative poll and dialogue can be used as potential approaches in discussing policies regarding disabilities. Figures 2 and 3 below portray the demonstration and petition signing carried out by persons with disabilities in Jember Regency to fight for their rights.

Figure 2. The 2003 demonstration



Source : PERPENCA (2013)

Figure 3. The 2013 petition signing



Source : PERPENCA (2013)

This study also finds the media has a very significant role in strengthening the problem stream. Printed media, radio, and television have all covered some of these demonstrations and hearings. The Jember Radar, a local newspaper, always covers all activities of persons with disabilities in Jember (see Figure 4). Likewise, Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) Jember, a Jember branch of Indonesia's national radio station, always

broadcasts these activities. In addition, although they do not cover every activity, several radio stations (Soka and Prosalina) and television channels (JTV Jember, Jember 1 TV, ANTV, Metro TV, and Indosiar) have also covered some of the activities of these people with disabilities.

Figure 4. Media coverage of the activity of people with disabilities



Source : PERPENCA (2013)

Kingdon (1995) explains that the media can cover an issue in a dramatic way so that it can influence a policy. Furthermore, Rasmussen, et al (2018) states that media advocacy and public opinion dominate political attention and policy change in parliament. The role of the media in raising strategic issues concerning people with disabilities is also seen in the research of Happer & Phillo (2013), which findings show how the media is able to raise issues of disabilities, especially in terms of the small amount of allowances received by disability groups and discrimination against them.

Policy Stream: Embedding the Drafting of Regional Regulation on Disabilities in the Region's Legislative Program

In Kingdon's (2013) theoretical concept, policy stream is the process of fighting of ideas as policy proposals. The actors involved in policy making will use the information they have as consideration in constructing the policy agenda (Béland & Howlett, 2016).

The policy stream of the disability groups is the drafting of Jember Regency Regional Regulation Plan. In 2009, persons with disabilities, led by the head of Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council, created a team to draft a regional regulation on disabilities. This draft refers to Law No. 4 of 1997 on Persons with Disabilities. The efforts to include this draft into

the Regional Legislative Program persisted from 2010 to 2014. However, these efforts failed despite the recurring hearings with members of the House of Representatives. One of those hearings between representatives of people with disabilities and the members of DPRD was to present the draft. The hearing is documented below (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Hearing with DPRD on 2014



Source : PERPENCA (2014)

Political Stream: Lobbying and Networking

Kingdon (2013) states that political stream is important because it contributes significantly in providing network access to policy makers so that the proposed agenda can be accepted. Political factors can provide changes in conditions, such as restructuring of the executive and legislative officials in the government as well as recurring social movements (Zahariadis, 2016). This is in line with the findings of Landmark et al. (2017) which show the significant influence of legislative advocacy as the main channel for actors with disabilities to influence disability-related policies.

The disability groups started their political streams by approaching members of the House of Representatives. Starting in 2015, approaches to these members of the House were carried out intensively to oversee the Draft of Regional Regulation so that it could gain access into the Regional Legislative Program. The disability groups, through the institutional edifices of PERPENCA Jember, began to develop better network with members of the House for the 2014-2019 period. This close relationship with the members of the House was personal, especially with the Chairperson of the DPRD, Deputy Chair of the DPRD, and the Chair of the Nasdem (Nasional Demokrat Party) Faction. PERPENCA Jember also expanded network access to other disability communities in Jember Regency such as the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI Jember) and the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI Jember), which have the same

vision and mission. The network was also expanded by engaging religious leaders from the Nahdatul Ulama (NU) of Jember Regency and academics.

Policy Window: The Issuance of National Pro-disabilities Policy

Kingdon (2013) states that policy windows "are rarely open and do not remain open for long." Therefore, given the importance of this momentum, timing is very important. The series of struggles by the disability groups to materialize regional regulations on the rights of people with disabilities in Jember Regency have started since 2003. This was a very lengthy struggle, because it took about thirteen years until the Regional Regulation on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed in 2016.

How did this policy window open? The struggle of the disability groups was wide open only when in 2016, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia enacted Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities. This regulation has changed the paradigm regarding disability. The Law regulates the status of persons with disabilities as subjects or as dignified human beings who have the same rights as other citizens. This Law places persons with disabilities in equal position from a human rights perspective, having equal opportunities to develop themselves through independence as human beings with dignity.

Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities is a momentum that brings together the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream that have been progressing for years. Policy window could open as a result of the interaction of several streams that are connected and in sync with each other; these three streams can create responsive momentum in the government's agenda (Rose et al., 2017).

The momentum in the policy window – driving policy changes or creating new policies – has also been disclosed in several studies. Unfortunately, the discussion on policy window related to disabilities is still minimal. Policy window is mostly explained in cases of policy changes outside of disability cases. Mockrin (2018) explains that forest fire disasters can open a window of opportunity that leads to changes in local government policies. The momentum of forest fires can lead to forest fire disaster mitigation policies. Mackey's research (2019) highlights the recent creation of the Global Network on Anti-Corruption, Transparency and Accountability (GNACTA) led by the World Health Organization (WHO), the Global Fund, and the United Nations Development Program in 2019 became the

momentum for opening the window to initiate policies related to corruption in health sector. Corruption in health system has indeed been a 'dirty secret'. Giese's (2020) research also concludes that opening a window can change a policy. The COVID-19 pandemic provides a window of opportunity for policy changes regarding the provision and reimbursement of telehealth costs. The issue of telehealth care has become the aspiration of many healthcare practices that were previously constrained by regulations related to reimbursement. The COVID-19 pandemic that caused a national emergency became the momentum for changes in federal policy in reimbursing the previously uncovered health costs.

Policy Entrepreneur: Lobbying, Negotiating, and Overseeing the Drafting and the Institution of Pro-disabilities Regional Regulation

Kingdon (2013) describes policy entrepreneurs as actors who seek to achieve policy change in favor of their interest through dynamic insinuation. Policy entrepreneurs try to attach their ideas so that their interests can be included in the government's agenda (Cairney & Jones, 2015).

After the enactment of Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities, disability groups have become increasingly active. Persons with disabilities – through PERPENCA and led by the Chairman of the Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council – assembled a team to discuss the draft of regional regulations. A similar team had actually been established in 2009 and had drafted a regional regulation that refers to Law Number 4 of 1997. Unfortunately, despite the struggle and advocacy, this draft could not be attached to the Regional Legislative Program. For this reason, another team is currently being formed to compose another draft of regional regulation that refers to the new regulation, namely Law Number 8 of 2016.

Around the same time, Jember DPRD had appointed a team of academics to compose the academic manuscripts and the draft of regional regulations. As a result, the draft was far from the expectations of persons with disabilities, and did not even reflect Law Number 8 of 2016. The draft also did not reflect several issues that have been raised in the policy stream since 2003. The draft was far from what is expected by persons with disabilities because the composing and drafting did not involve them at all.

The team created by the disability groups immediately took step and conducted negotiations. An exciting debate took place with the DPRD and the team of academics. With relentless effort day and night, the disability team dismantled the DPRD's version of the regional regulation draft consisting of 195 articles. The dismantling process refers to the 2009 draft which adheres to Law Number 4 of 1997, and then be adjusted according to Law Number 8 of 2016. Finally, a new draft of regional regulation is composed; one that is truly in line with the interests of people with disabilities. The following is the documentation when the disability team acted as a policy entrepreneur, at the time of writing the draft of regional regulation (Figures 6 and 7)

Figure 6. Composing the draft of regional regulation (September 2, 2016)



Source : PERPENCA (2016)

Figure 7. Composing the draft of regional regulation (September 8, 2016)



Source : PERPENCA (2016)

Negotiations and debates carried out by the disability team in Jember Regency are in a sense similar to the assertion of Petridou and Mintrom(2020) that in the policy stream, communities with an interest in policy generate and debate many ideas for policy solutions that will be taken later. In this series of processes, experts and actors who are involved in the problem propose solutions as alternative policies in order to create policies which favor those who have pressed it for a long time. (Béland & Howlett, 2016). Policy entrepreneurs have an important and significant role in policy making, considering that they will carry out advocacy to achieve alignment in public policies made. These policy entrepreneurs must be able to push an issue or a problem and frame it as the government's priority agenda (Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2015).

To acquire a policy that are in line with their interest, policy entrepreneurs must have a strong influence to push the issue. In this sense, it is important for policy entrepreneurs to

have power over the government as decision makers. They invest resources such as time, energy, reputation, and money in coalescing problems, solutions, and politics on the issues they are fighting for (Aukes, Lulofs, & Bressers, 2018). The disability groups in Jember Regency, which have established expanded networks with members of the legislative, various disability organizations, and religious organizations, have positioned themselves as a policy entrepreneur with considerable power and influence. In line with the views of Frisch-Aviram, N., Beer, I & Cohen, N (2020) states that there are many various techniques, resources and strategies used by a policy entrepreneur to achieve his goals, both formally and informally so that the agendas they bring can enter the realm of discussion raised by policy makers at various levels of government.

An interesting thing that was done by these disability groups was to challenge the members of DPRD to experience what it feels like to be disabled. The members were "forced" to do their daily activities as if they were persons with disabilities. The chair and the members of DPRD were asked to close their eyes (as if they were blind) and use wheelchairs (as if they had no legs) all the way from the parking lot to the DPRD building. As a result, it was difficult for the chair and the members to get to the building because there was no building facility that could be easily accessed by persons with disabilities (see Figures 8 and 9).

Figure 8. Members of DPRD were challenged to get into the building with their eyes closed, 2016.



Source : PERPENCA (2016)

Figure 9. Chair of DPRD were challenged to exit the building using a wheelchair, 2016.



Source : PERPENCA (2016)

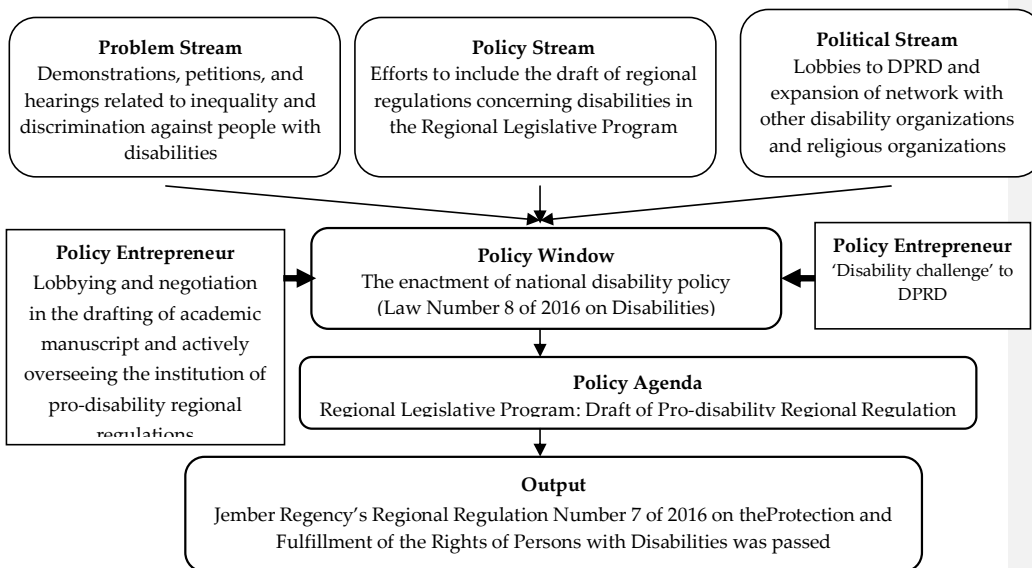
This study also finds that apart from disability groups who act as policy entrepreneur, the legislative board is also very influential at this stage. The chair and several members of Jember DPRD were very intense in trying to get disability issues into the Regional Legislative Program. Finally, in 2016 the draft of regional regulation concerning disabilities

was successfully included in the Regional Legislative Program. Up to this stage, the disability team's struggle is not over. Equipped with extensive networks that have been established previously, along with personal approaches to the chair and several members of the DPRD, the disability team has sufficient energy and strength to bargain. The team continued to closely oversee the process until finally the Jember's Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed.

Conclusion

This study concludes that there was a simultaneous flow of problem stream, policy stream, political stream, policy windows, and policy entrepreneur in the institution of pro-disability policy in Jember Regency. In addition to the streams that took place simultaneously, there were several moments, specifically related to the policy entrepreneur that amplified the aggregate flow of the streams. In general, the MSF in the context of the institution of pro-disability regional regulation in Jember Regency is shown as follow (Figure 10)

Figure 10. Kingdon's MSF in the institution of pro-disability regional regulation in Jember Regency



Declaration of Conflict Interest

Both authors state that there is no potential conflict of interest associated with the research, authorship, and publication of this article. The informants also knew and agreed to the use of data in the writing this article.

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BUKTI KORESPONDENSI

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Penulis : Erna Setijaningrum, Ramaditya Rahardian

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THE POWER OF POLICY ENTREPRENEUR IN PRO-DISABILITY POLICY MAKING

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Abstract

Pro-disability policy in the Jember Regency of East Java, Indonesia is a result of a thirteen-year long struggle of the disability groups. Their struggle started as a series of demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the Regional House of Representatives and the Regent. It then continued with a series of debates and negotiations with the policy makers. This descriptive-qualitative research utilized Kingdon's multiple stream framework analysis to capture the stipulation of Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The informants were six disabled persons and two former members of the Regional House of Representatives. The study finds that the problem stream was raised through demonstrations, petitions, and hearings; the policy stream was done through efforts to include the draft of disability act in the regional legislative program; policy windows took place during the momentum initiated by the stipulation of nationwide pro-disability policy by the state government; and finally policy entrepreneur act through lobbies and negotiations. In conclusion, there was a simultaneous flow from the combination of problem stream, policy stream, policy window, and policy entrepreneur in the institution of pro-disability policy in Jember Regency. In addition to the streams that took place simultaneously, there were several moments, specifically related to the policy entrepreneur that amplified the aggregate flow of the streams.

Keywords: disability, multiple stream framework, policy, policy entrepreneur.

Introduction

In a democratic state, community involvement in policy making is made possible so that public policies are made in the favor of the people (Bevir, 2010). But in reality, not all public issues can become a subject of agenda of the policy makers to formulate solutions of (Dunn, 2018). Therefore, non-governmental actors try to voice their interests through

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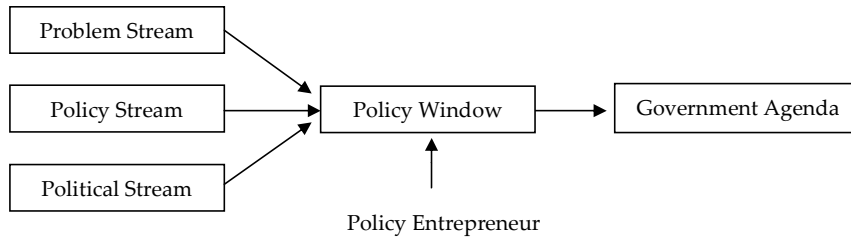
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advocacy. Advocacy is chosen by these actors to achieve their desired goals. Advocacy also becomes a widespread option when public policies made by the government are not in their favor. Advocacy can also be an alternative used by several non-profit organizations (both Non-Governmental Organizations, NGOs and Civil Society Organizations, CSOs) which until now have been used as a political step in an effort to include a policy agenda as well as a defense measure against a group that has not yet received support taking sides in public policy issues (Gen & Wright, 2020; Suharto, 2016; Topatimasang et al, 2016). The existing advocacy can be pursued through various media, both legally and paralegally in its implementation.

One of the approaches commonly used to examine the dynamics of these actors in an effort to include their agenda of interests is the Multiple Stream Framework (hereinafter referred to as MSF) from the thoughts of John W. Kingdon (1995) written in his work *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*. Kingdon explained that public policy is a meeting of three streams in the agenda-setting process, namely the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream. The essence of MSF is the meeting of the three streams at a certain condition or momentum in the policy window. Policy window is a description of opportunities that can drive or bring a public problem to the attention of the general public and the policy makers. If this public problem has come to the attention of both the general public and the policy makers, then it has arrived to a problem recognition. When such policy window opens, the role of policy entrepreneurs becomes very important in managing the meeting of the three streams. Their role is vital in taking advantage of the current opportunities to embed the problem recognition into agenda-setting. Brouwer and Biermann (2011) argue that the development of multiple stream frameworks and their interrelationships can be 'influenced and directed' which means that policy entrepreneurs can prepare windows of opportunity to open. In addition, research on policy entrepreneurs has explored factors that are less determined in various streams, namely the causal process that drives policy choices made. Finally, Paul Cairney (2016) argues that John W. Kingdon's multiple stream framework focuses on an interaction between two types of ideas: the type of policy solution that can attract attention very quickly and a set of established beliefs in the policy network. The following (Figure 1) is an illustration of the meeting of three streams in the

policy window, which will then be managed by the policy entrepreneur, so that it can be embedded to the government's agenda.

Figure 1. The meeting of three streams in policy window



Source: Kingdon, 1995

The problem stream is an issue that is raised by policy actors outside the government using various existing mechanisms, both through formal legal channels and paralegal channels, for example: network formation, demonstrations, deliberative polls, framing in mass media, and taking legal actions (Boydell et al., 2017; Gillad & Rimmerman, 2012; Landmark et al, 2017;Nohrstedt & Bodin, 2019; Rasmussen, et al, 2018; Sonnenberg, 2020; Zhang et al, 2017). The policy stream frames the process of making and changing policies so that policies are in line with what is desired (Béland & Howlett, 2016; Blum, 2018;Petridou & Mintrom, 2020; Shephard et al., 2020). Moreover, the political stream is a power that greatly influences policy, since political arena does influence policy greatly (Graaf & Snowden, 2020; Hsueh, 2020; Mauti et al., 2019; Wals, 2019). In addition, coalitions and strong network between actors in policy making or policy change is also needed (Rahardian & Zarkasi, 2021; Suherman, et al., 2021; Weible et al., 2011; Wong, 2016).

Problem stream, policy stream, and political stream will succeed in becoming into the government's agenda when there is a moment that brings the three of them together in the policy window. The policy window is a moment that brings the three streams together and is used to drive policy change (Beland, 2020;Giese, 2020; Mackey, 2019; Mockrin, 2018; Smith, 2017). Although the three streams have found momentum in the policy window, they still require management by the policy entrepreneur. Policy making is not merely the strength or capacity of one of the policy actors;the coherence of the coalition built by policy entrepreneur will greatly influence it (Brown, 2020; Saurugger & Terpan, 2016; Frisch-Aviram, et al., 2020; Ruvalcaba-Gomez, 2020; Schön-Quinlivan & Scipioni, 2017;Widyatama,

2018; Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2015). This MSF framework is a lens for capture how policies are made under uncertain conditions for decision making (Zahariadis, 2016). This is in line with what Kingdon (2013) said that (ambiguity in policy making) can be portrayed using the MSF framework. MSF framework is very well known, but it is underutilized (Cairney & Jones, 2015). Therefore, this study aims to capture the production of a policy using MSF framework.

The institution of the pro-disability policy in Jember Regency becomes the focal point of the MSF framework analysis in this study. Jember's Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities is the first regional regulation in Indonesia to be passed after the National Policy on Persons with Disabilities was promulgated. The enactment of a pro-disability policy in Jember Regency is the result of a long struggle by disability groups. For approximately thirteen years, these disability groups had been relentless in fighting for their interests. Their struggle started with demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the Regional House of Representatives (hereinafter referred to as DPRD-*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*) and the Regent, to holding debates with the policy makers. Another strategy that involved opening network access to the representatives was also carried out so that the means to fight for their rights could be formally stated in regulations.

Based on this brief description, it can be seen that it is very difficult for interest groups to put public issues into government's agenda. There needs to be pressure and encouragement from actors so that public issues can be raised by policy makers to become a prioritized policy agenda. The MSF framework by Kingdon will help the researchers to see the dynamics in pro-disability policy making in Jember Regency.

Research Method

This is a descriptive qualitative research which are based on textual context used to gain understanding on the reasons and motivations that underlie social phenomena (Neuman, 2016). Qualitative research is an approach to explore and understand the meaning made by an individual or a group as a social or human problem (Creswell, 2017). Data collection were done in three ways: observations, interviews, and documentation. Data analysis included three steps as proposed by Miles et al(2014), namely data collection, data

condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verifying. The research location was in Jember Regency, East Java, Indonesia. The research took place for three months from July to September 2020. Informants were selected using purposive and snowball sampling (Craswell, 2017), starting with an initial interview with the chairperson of the Jember Association of People with Disabilities (hereinafter referred to as PERPENCA Jember – *Persatuan Penyandang Cacat Jember*). In this initial interview, the chairperson recommended other informants to complete and refine the data. Since the research took place during the COVID-19 pandemic, focused group discussions (FGD) to get a complete picture of the struggles of people with disabilities were held under strict implementation of the COVID-19 prevention protocol. The first FGD was attended by the chairperson of the PERPENCA Jember, the head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, a member of PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, the Jember branch chair of the National Paralympic Committee of Indonesia (NPCI), the Jember branch secretary of the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI), the Jember branch chair of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI), and the Jember branch chair of the Disabled Motorcycle Indonesia. The meeting produced a discussion that illustrated these disability groups' long journey of struggle to fight for their rights. The second FGD was conducted online using Zoom and was attended by not just all participants of the first FGD, but also by the former chairperson of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019 period) and a member of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019 period). Furthermore, data collection was continued by conducting personal interviews with each informant by telephone. To cross-check the data, a discussion was also carried out through WhatsApp group. The following Table 1 lists the informants involved in this study.

Table 1. Research Informants

No	Informant's Name	Position
1	Thoif Zamroni	Chairperson of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019)
2	David Handoko Seto	Member of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019)
3	Moh Zaenuri Rofi'i	Chairperson of PERPENCA Jember
4	Asroul Mais	Head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council
5	Eko Puji Purwanto	Member of PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council
6	Kusbandono	Jember branch chair of the NPCI
7	Rachman Hadi	Jember branch secretary of the PERTUNI and Jember branch chair of the ITMI
8	Ahmad Yasin	Jember branch chair of the Disabled Motorcycle Indonesia

Source: Researchers' processed data, 2020

Results and Discussion

Problem Stream: Demonstrations, Petitions, and Hearings

Problem stream is a perception about public problems that require action and efforts from the government to solve (Kingdon, 2013). This flow of problem stream arises because the developing issues and opinions in the public are developing at large and need tangible solutions (Zahariadis, 2016).

Disability groups in Jember Regency started their struggle in 2003 by raising issues related to inequality and discrimination against disabilities. On July 9, 2003 the PERPENCA organization was established because Jember Regency had not had a disability organization that accommodates all types of disabilities. It is through PERPENCA that disability groups began fighting for their rights. The problem stream are carried out by these disability groups through demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the DPRD and the Regent. Issues that have been raised are inequality and discrimination in terms of education and job opportunities. The following Table 2 highlights the chronology of the problem stream carried out by the disability groups.

Table2. Chronology of Problem Stream Concerning Issues Of Inequality and Discrimination Against People With Disabilities

Year	Course of action	Description
2003	Establishment of PERPENCA	Jember Regency had not had a formal organization that accommodates all types of disabilities.
2003	Demonstration	The demonstration was done to protest inequality and discrimination against people with disabilities, triggered by the rejection of students with disabilities to enroll in regular schools.
2004	Hearing with DPRD and the Regent	The hearing was done to express the issue of inequality and discrimination, especially since some people with disabilities were denied from applying as civil servant.
2005	Demonstration	Fifty people with disabilities were involved in the demonstration to draw sympathy from journalists.
2006	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the pro-disability program plan.
2008	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the pro-disability program plan.
2011	Demonstration	The demonstration was a march to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2012	Demonstration	The demonstration was a march to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2013	Petition with 1,000 signatures	In addition to commemorating the International Day of People with Disability, the petition demanded to make Jember Regency as a disability-friendly inclusive city and to legally strengthen such status by instituting a regional regulation on it.

Source: Researchers' processed data, 2020

To get serious attention from policy makers, perceived issues must be framed urgently for a very long time and intensely voiced by certain groups (Birkland, 2016). Such issues will only influence public policy if several actors adjudicate the importance of the need to change under several circumstances and situations (Dunn, 2018). People with disabilities in Jember Regency started their action by holding demonstrations to raise the issue into public sphere. Demonstrations are commonly used by community groups to raise a public issue. Mobilization of people in the context of influencing policy making is aimed to create a framing so that the raised issue can be regarded by the policy makers as an important issue (Weible et al., 2011). Regarding demonstrations carried out by persons with disabilities, research from Gillad & Rimmerman (2012) shows that disability activist groups in Israel use demonstrations or social movements in their efforts to include their agenda of interests in a legislative agenda regarding disability rights. Additionally, to raise issues related to the rights of disabilities who are oppressed through inequality and discrimination, persons with disabilities in Jember Regency also make use of hearings or discussions with the DPRD and the Regent. This is in line with a research by Boydell et al. (2017), arguing that deliberative poll and dialogue can be used as potential approaches in discussing policies regarding disabilities. Figures 2 and 3 below portray the demonstration and petition signing carried out by persons with disabilities in Jember Regency to fight for their rights.

Figure 2. The 2003 demonstration



Source : PERPENCA (2013)

Figure 3. The 2013 petition signing



Source : PERPENCA (2013)

This study also finds the media has a very significant role in strengthening the problem stream. Printed media, radio, and television have all covered some of these demonstrations and hearings. The Jember Radar, a local newspaper, always covers all activities of persons with disabilities in Jember (see Figure 4). Likewise, Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) Jember, a Jember branch of Indonesia's national radio station, always

broadcasts these activities. In addition, although they do not cover every activity, several radio stations (Soka and Prosalina) and television channels (JTV Jember, Jember 1 TV, ANTV, Metro TV, and Indosiar) have also covered some of the activities of these people with disabilities.

Figure 4. Media coverage of the activity of people with disabilities



Source : PERPENCA (2013)

Kingdon (1995) explains that the media can cover an issue in a dramatic way so that it can influence a policy. Furthermore, Rasmussen, et al (2018) states that media advocacy and public opinion dominate political attention and policy change in parliament. The role of the media in raising strategic issues concerning people with disabilities is also seen in the research of Happer & Phillo (2013), which findings show how the media is able to raise issues of disabilities, especially in terms of the small amount of allowances received by disability groups and discrimination against them.

Policy Stream: Embedding the Drafting of Regional Regulation on Disabilities in the Region's Legislative Program

In Kingdon's (2013) theoretical concept, policy stream is the process of fighting of ideas as policy proposals. The actors involved in policy making will use the information they have as consideration in constructing the policy agenda (Béland & Howlett, 2016).

The policy stream of the disability groups is the drafting of Jember Regency Regional Regulation Plan. In 2009, persons with disabilities, led by the head of Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council, created a team to draft a regional regulation on disabilities. This draft refers to Law No. 4 of 1997 on Persons with Disabilities. The efforts to include this draft into

the Regional Legislative Program persisted from 2010 to 2014. However, these efforts failed despite the recurring hearings with members of the House of Representatives. One of those hearings between representatives of people with disabilities and the members of DPRD was to present the draft. The hearing is documented below (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Hearing with DPRD on 2014



Source : PERPENCA (2014)

Political Stream: Lobbying and Networking

Kingdon (2013) states that political stream is important because it contributes significantly in providing network access to policy makers so that the proposed agenda can be accepted. Political factors can provide changes in conditions, such as restructuring of the executive and legislative officials in the government as well as recurring social movements (Zahariadis, 2016). This is in line with the findings of Landmark et al. (2017) which show the significant influence of legislative advocacy as the main channel for actors with disabilities to influence disability-related policies.

The disability groups started their political streams by approaching members of the House of Representatives. Starting in 2015, approaches to these members of the House were carried out intensively to oversee the Draft of Regional Regulation so that it could gain access into the Regional Legislative Program. The disability groups, through the institutional edifices of PERPENCA Jember, began to develop better network with members of the House for the 2014-2019 period. This close relationship with the members of the House was personal, especially with the Chairperson of the DPRD, Deputy Chair of the DPRD, and the Chair of the Nasdem (Nasional Demokrat Party) Faction. PERPENCA Jember also expanded network access to other disability communities in Jember Regency such as the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI Jember) and the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI Jember), which have the same

vision and mission. The network was also expanded by engaging religious leaders from the Nahdatul Ulama (NU) of Jember Regency and academics.

Policy Window: The Issuance of National Pro-disabilities Policy

Kingdon (2013) states that policy windows "are rarely open and do not remain open for long." Therefore, given the importance of this momentum, timing is very important. The series of struggles by the disability groups to materialize regional regulations on the rights of people with disabilities in Jember Regency have started since 2003. This was a very lengthy struggle, because it took about thirteen years until the Regional Regulation on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed in 2016.

How did this policy window open? The struggle of the disability groups was wide open only when in 2016, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia enacted Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities. This regulation has changed the paradigm regarding disability. The Law regulates the status of persons with disabilities as subjects or as dignified human beings who have the same rights as other citizens. This Law places persons with disabilities in equal position from a human rights perspective, having equal opportunities to develop themselves through independence as human beings with dignity.

Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities is a momentum that brings together the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream that have been progressing for years. Policy window could open as a result of the interaction of several streams that are connected and in sync with each other; these three streams can create responsive momentum in the government's agenda (Rose et al., 2017).

The momentum in the policy window – driving policy changes or creating new policies – has also been disclosed in several studies. Unfortunately, the discussion on policy window related to disabilities is still minimal. Policy window is mostly explained in cases of policy changes outside of disability cases. Mockrin (2018) explains that forest fire disasters can open a window of opportunity that leads to changes in local government policies. The momentum of forest fires can lead to forest fire disaster mitigation policies. Mackey's research (2019) highlights the recent creation of the Global Network on Anti-Corruption, Transparency and Accountability (GNACTA) led by the World Health Organization (WHO), the Global Fund, and the United Nations Development Program in 2019 became the

momentum for opening the window to initiate policies related to corruption in health sector. Corruption in health system has indeed been a 'dirty secret'. Giese's (2020) research also concludes that opening a window can change a policy. The COVID-19 pandemic provides a window of opportunity for policy changes regarding the provision and reimbursement of telehealth costs. The issue of telehealth care has become the aspiration of many healthcare practices that were previously constrained by regulations related to reimbursement. The COVID-19 pandemic that caused a national emergency became the momentum for changes in federal policy in reimbursing the previously uncovered health costs.

Policy Entrepreneur: Lobbying, Negotiating, and Overseeing the Drafting and the Institution of Pro-disabilities Regional Regulation

Kingdon (2013) describes policy entrepreneurs as actors who seek to achieve policy change in favor of their interest through dynamic insinuation. Policy entrepreneurs try to attach their ideas so that their interests can be included in the government's agenda (Cairney & Jones, 2015).

After the enactment of Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities, disability groups have become increasingly active. Persons with disabilities – through PERPENCA and led by the Chairman of the Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council – assembled a team to discuss the draft of regional regulations. A similar team had actually been established in 2009 and had drafted a regional regulation that refers to Law Number 4 of 1997. Unfortunately, despite the struggle and advocacy, this draft could not be attached to the Regional Legislative Program. For this reason, another team is currently being formed to compose another draft of regional regulation that refers to the new regulation, namely Law Number 8 of 2016.

Around the same time, Jember DPRD had appointed a team of academics to compose the academic manuscripts and the draft of regional regulations. As a result, the draft was far from the expectations of persons with disabilities, and did not even reflect Law Number 8 of 2016. The draft also did not reflect several issues that have been raised in the policy stream since 2003. The draft was far from what is expected by persons with disabilities because the composing and drafting did not involve them at all.

The team created by the disability groups immediately took step and conducted negotiations. An exciting debate took place with the DPRD and the team of academics. With relentless effort day and night, the disability team dismantled the DPRD's version of the regional regulation draft consisting of 195 articles. The dismantling process refers to the 2009 draft which adheres to Law Number 4 of 1997, and then be adjusted according to Law Number 8 of 2016. Finally, a new draft of regional regulation is composed; one that is truly in line with the interests of people with disabilities. The following is the documentation when the disability team acted as a policy entrepreneur, at the time of writing the draft of regional regulation (Figures 6 and 7)

Figure 6. Composing the draft of regional regulation (September 2, 2016)



Source : PERPENCA (2016)

Figure 7. Composing the draft of regional regulation (September 8, 2016)



Source : PERPENCA (2016)

Negotiations and debates carried out by the disability team in Jember Regency are in a sense similar to the assertion of Petridou and Mintrom(2020) that in the policy stream, communities with an interest in policy generate and debate many ideas for policy solutions that will be taken later. In this series of processes, experts and actors who are involved in the problem propose solutions as alternative policies in order to create policies which favor those who have pressed it for a long time. (Béland & Howlett, 2016). Policy entrepreneurs have an important and significant role in policy making, considering that they will carry out advocacy to achieve alignment in public policies made. These policy entrepreneurs must be able to push an issue or a problem and frame it as the government's priority agenda (Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2015).

To acquire a policy that are in line with their interest, policy entrepreneurs must have a strong influence to push the issue. In this sense, it is important for policy entrepreneurs to

have power over the government as decision makers. They invest resources such as time, energy, reputation, and money in coalescing problems, solutions, and politics on the issues they are fighting for (Aukes, Lulofs, & Bressers, 2018). The disability groups in Jember Regency, which have established expanded networks with members of the legislative, various disability organizations, and religious organizations, have positioned themselves as a policy entrepreneur with considerable power and influence. In line with the views of Frisch-Aviram, N., Beer, I & Cohen, N (2020) states that there are many various techniques, resources and strategies used by a policy entrepreneur to achieve his goals, both formally and informally so that the agendas they bring can enter the realm of discussion raised by policy makers at various levels of government.

An interesting thing that was done by these disability groups was to challenge the members of DPRD to experience what it feels like to be disabled. The members were "forced" to do their daily activities as if they were persons with disabilities. The chair and the members of DPRD were asked to close their eyes (as if they were blind) and use wheelchairs (as if they had no legs) all the way from the parking lot to the DPRD building. As a result, it was difficult for the chair and the members to get to the building because there was no building facility that could be easily accessed by persons with disabilities (see Figures 8 and 9).

Figure 8. Members of DPRD were challenged to get into the building with their eyes closed, 2016.



Source : PERPENCA (2016)

Figure 9. Chair of DPRD were challenged to exit the building using a wheelchair, 2016.



Source : PERPENCA (2016)

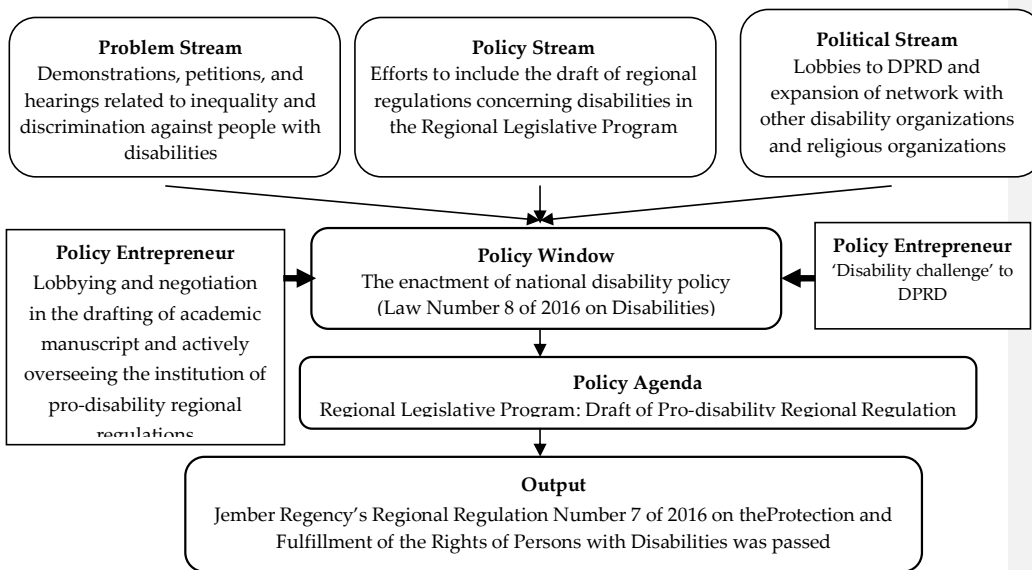
This study also finds that apart from disability groups who act as policy entrepreneur, the legislative board is also very influential at this stage. The chair and several members of Jember DPRD were very intense in trying to get disability issues into the Regional Legislative Program. Finally, in 2016 the draft of regional regulation concerning disabilities

was successfully included in the Regional Legislative Program. Up to this stage, the disability team's struggle is not over. Equipped with extensive networks that have been established previously, along with personal approaches to the chair and several members of the DPRD, the disability team has sufficient energy and strength to bargain. The team continued to closely oversee the process until finally the Jember's Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed.

Conclusion

This study concludes that there was a simultaneous flow of problem stream, policy stream, political stream, policy windows, and policy entrepreneur in the institution of pro-disability policy in Jember Regency. In addition to the streams that took place simultaneously, there were several moments, specifically related to the policy entrepreneur that amplified the aggregate flow of the streams. In general, the MSF in the context of the institution of pro-disability regional regulation in Jember Regency is shown as follow (Figure 10)

Figure 10. Kingdon's MSF in the institution of pro-disability regional regulation in Jember Regency



Declaration of Conflict Interest

Both authors state that there is no potential conflict of interest associated with the research, authorship, and publication of this article. The informants also knew and agreed to the use of data in the writing this article.

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BUKTI KORESPONDENSI

ARTIKEL JURNAL NASIONAL TERAKREDITASI SINTA 2

Judul Artikel : The Power of Policy Entrepreneur in Pro-Disability Policy Making

Jurnal : Jurnal Public and Governance Review, 2022, vol 6 (2)

Penulis : Erna Setijaningrum, Ramaditya Rahardian

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We have reached a decision regarding your subn

BUKTI KORESPONDENSI

ARTIKEL JURNAL NASIONAL TERAKREDITASI SINTA 2

Judul Artikel : The Power of Policy Entrepreneur in Pro-Disability Policy Making

Jurnal : Jurnal Public and Governance Review, 2022, vol 6 (2)

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Review ▾

Review by Editorial Board

Participants

Erna Setijaningrum (ernasetijaningrum)

Messages

Note

Dear Author

The Power of Policy Entrepreneur in Disability Inclusive Policy Making

Abstract

This research aims to describe the power of policy entrepreneur in disability inclusive policy making. Disability inclusive policy in the Jember Regency of East Java, Indonesia is a result of a thirteen-year long struggle of the disability groups. Their struggle started as a series of demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the Regional House of Representatives and the Regent. It then continued with a series of debates and negotiations with the policy makers. This descriptive-qualitative research utilized Kingdon's multiple stream framework analysis to capture the stipulation of Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The informants were six disabled persons and two former members of the Regional House of Representatives. The study finds that the problem stream was raised through demonstrations, petitions, and hearings; the policy stream was done through efforts to include the draft of disability act in the regional legislative program; policy windows took place during the momentum initiated by the stipulation of nationwide disability inclusive policy by the state government; and finally policy entrepreneur act through lobbies and negotiations. This study concludes that the disability policy-making process in Jember Regency was influenced by the strong power of policy entrepreneurs. Disability groups and the the Regional House of Representatives as a policy entrepreneur force acted quickly to take advantage of the open policy window momentum and finally the policy maker ratifies local regulations regarding the protection and fulfillment of the rights of persons with disabilities.

Keywords: disability, multiple stream framework, policy, policy entrepreneur.

Introduction

In a democratic state, community involvement in policy making is made possible so that public policies are made in the favor of the people (Bevir, 2010). But in reality, not all public issues can become a subject of agenda of the policy makers to formulate solutions of (Dunn, 2018). Therefore, non-governmental actors try to voice their interests through advocacy. Advocacy is chosen by these actors to achieve their desired goals. Advocacy also becomes a widespread option when public policies made by the government are not in their favor. Advocacy can also be an alternative used by several non-profit organizations (both Non-Governmental Organizations, NGOs and Civil Society Organizations, CSOs) which until now have been used as a political step in an effort to include a policy agenda as well as

a defense measure against a group that has not yet received support taking sides in public policy issues (Gen & Wright, 2020; Suharto, 2016; Topatimasang et al, 2016). The existing advocacy can be pursued through various media, both legally and paralegally in its implementation.

One of the approaches commonly used to examine the dynamics of these actors in an effort to include their agenda of interests is the Multiple Stream Framework (hereinafter referred to as MSF) from the thoughts of John W. Kingdon (1995) written in his work *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*. Kingdon explained that public policy is a meeting of three streams in the agenda-setting process, namely the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream. The essence of MSF is the meeting of the three streams at a certain condition or momentum in the policy window. Policy window is a description of opportunities that can drive or bring a public problem to the attention of the general public and the policy makers.

The problem stream is an issue that is raised by policy actors outside the government using various existing mechanisms, both through formal legal channels and paralegal channels, for example: network formation, demonstrations, deliberative polls, framing in mass media, and taking legal actions (Boydell et al., 2017; Gillad & Rimmerman, 2012; Landmark et al, 2017; Nohrstedt & Bodin, 2019; Rasmussen, et al, 2018; Sonnenberg, 2020; Zhang et al, 2017). The policy stream frames the process of making and changing policies so that policies are in line with what is desired (Béland & Howlett, 2016; Blum, 2018; Petridou & Mintrom, 2020; Shephard et al., 2020). Moreover, the political stream is a power that greatly influences policy, since political arena does influence policy greatly (Graaf & Snowden, 2020; Hsueh, 2020; Mauti et al., 2019; Wals, 2019). In addition, coalitions and strong network between actors in policy making or policy change is also needed (Rahardian & Zarkasi, 2021; Suherman, et al., 2021; Weible et al., 2011; Wong, 2016). Several studies that review problem streams, policy streams, and political streams are on health policy making, education, media advocacy, reproduction, development, and the environment. Meanwhile, there are very few discussions related to disability inclusive policy making.

Problem stream, policy stream, and political stream will succeed in becoming into the government's agenda when there is a moment that brings the three of them together in the

policy window. The policy window is a moment that brings the three streams together and is used to drive policy change (Beland, 2020; Giese, 2020; Mackey, 2019; Mockrin, 2018; Smith, 2017). Although the three streams have found momentum in the policy window, they still require management by the policy entrepreneur. Policy making is not merely the strength or capacity of one of the policy actors; the coherence of the coalition built by policy entrepreneur will greatly influence it (Brown, 2020; Saurugger & Terpan, 2016; Frisch-Aviram, et al., 2020; Ruvalcaba-Gomez, 2020; Schön-Quinlivan & Scipioni, 2017; Widyatama, 2018; Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2015). This MSF framework is a lens for capture how policies are made under uncertain conditions for decision making (Zahariadis, 2016). This is in line with what Kingdon (2013) said that (ambiguity in policy making) can be portrayed using the MSF framework. Several studies on policy windows and policy entrepreneurs have not yet reviewed disability inclusive policy making. These studies discuss the making of regional expansion policies, water management, foreign, economic, and governance.

The institution of the disability inclusive policy in Jember Regency becomes the focal point of the MSF framework analysis in this study. Jember's Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities is the first regional regulation in Indonesia to be passed after the National Policy on Persons with Disabilities was promulgated. The enactment of a disability inclusive policy in Jember Regency is the result of a long struggle by disability groups. For approximately thirteen years, these disability groups had been relentless in fighting for their interests. Discrimination that has been going on for a long time has triggered protests by disability groups. Their struggle started with demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the Regional House of Representatives (here in after referred to as DPRD-*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*) and the Regent, to holding debates with the policy makers. Another strategy that involved opening network access to the representatives was also carried out so that the means to fight for their rights could be formally stated in regulations.

Based on this brief description, it can be seen that it is very difficult for interest groups to put public issues into government's agenda. There needs to be pressure and encouragement from actors so that public issues can be raised by policy makers to become a prioritized policy agenda. The MSF framework by Kingdon will help the researchers to see the dynamics in disability inclusive policy making in Jember Regency. MSF framework is

very well known, but it is underutilized (Cairney & Jones, 2015). Therefore, this study aims to capture the production of a policy using MSF framework.

Research Method

This is a descriptive qualitative research which are based on textual context used to gain understanding on the reasons and motivations that underlie social phenomena (Neuman, 2016). Qualitative research is an approach to explore and understand the meaning made by an individual or a group as a social or human problem (Creswell, 2017). Data collection were done in three ways: observations, interviews, and documentation. The validity of the data was carried out by the triangulation method, namely comparing the data from interviews, observations, and secondary data. Data analysis included three steps as proposed by Miles et al(2014), namely data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verifying. Data collection in this study was carried out through focus group discussions, discussions in WhatsApp groups, and in-depth interviews. All data obtained were abstracted, presented and then drawn conclusions.

The research location was in Jember Regency, East Java, Indonesia. The research took place for three months from July to September 2020. Informants were selected using purposive and snowball sampling (Craswell, 2017), starting with an initial interview with the chairperson of the Jember Association of People with Disabilities (hereinafter referred to as PERPENCA Jember– *Persatuan Penyandang Cacat Jember*). In this initial interview, the chairperson recommended other informants to complete and refine the data. Since the research took place during the COVID-19 pandemic, focused group discussions (FGD) to get a complete picture of the struggles of people with disabilities were held under strict implementation of the COVID-19 prevention protocol. The first FGD was attended by the chairperson of the PERPENCA Jember, the head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, a member of PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, the Jember branch chair of the National Paralympic Committee of Indonesia (NPCCI), the Jember branch secretary of the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI), the Jember branch chair of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI), and the Jember branch chair of the Disabled Motorcycle Indonesia. The meeting produced a discussion that illustrated these disability groups' long journey of struggle to fight for their rights. The second FGD was conducted online using

Comment [MOU1]: Please describe how the author did the triangulation

Zoom and was attended by not just all participants of the first FGD, but also by the former chairperson of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019 period) and a member of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019 period). Furthermore, data collection was continued by conducting personal interviews with each informant by telephone. To cross-check the data, a discussion was also carried out through WhatsApp group. The following Table 1 lists the informants involved in this study.

Table 1. Research Informants

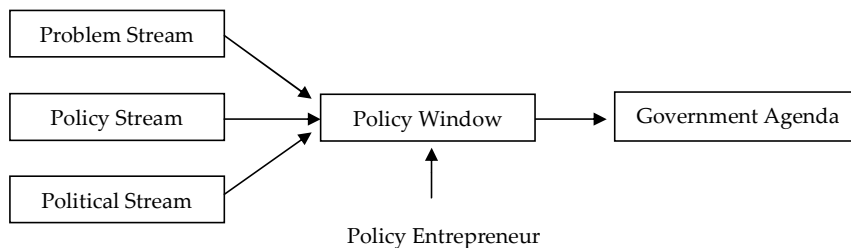
No	Informant's Name	Position
1	Thoif Zamroni	Chairperson of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019)
2	David Handoko Seto	Member of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019)
3	Moh Zaenuri Rofi'i	Chairperson of PERPENCA Jember
4	Asroul Mais	Head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council
5	Eko Puji Purwanto	Member of PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council
6	Kusbandono	Jember branch chair of the NPCI
7	Rachman Hadi	Jember branch secretary of the PERTUNI and Jember branch chair of the ITMI
8	Ahmad Yasin	Jember branch chair of the Disabled Motorcycle Indonesia

Source: Researchers' processed data, 2020

Results and Discussion

Paul Cairney (2016) argues that John W. Kingdon's multiple stream framework focuses on an interaction between two types of ideas: the type of policy solution that can attract attention very quickly and a set of established beliefs in the policy network. The following (Figure 1) is an illustration of the meeting of three streams in the policy window, which will then be managed by the policy entrepreneur, so that it can be embedded to the government's agenda.

Figure 1. The meeting of three streams in policy window



Source: Kingdon, 1995

Problem Stream: Demonstrations, Petitions, and Hearings

Problem stream is a perception about public problems that require action and efforts from the government to solve (Kingdon, 2013). This flow of problem stream arises because the developing issues and opinions in the public are developing at large and need tangible solutions (Zahariadis, 2016).

Disability groups in Jember Regency started their struggle in 2003 by raising issues related to inequality and discrimination against disabilities. On July 9, 2003 the PERPENCA organization was established because Jember Regency had not had a disability organization that accommodates all types of disabilities. It is through PERPENCA that disability groups began fighting for their rights. The problem stream arecarried out by these disability groups through demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the DPRD and the Regent. Issues that have been raised are inequality and discrimination in terms of education and job opportunities. The following Table 2 highlights the chronology of the problem stream carried out by the disability groups.

Table2. Chronology of Problem Stream Concerning Issues of Inequality and Discrimination Against People With Disabilities

Year	Course of action	Description
2003	Establishment of PERPENCA	Jember Regency had not had a formal organization that accommodates all types of disabilities.
2003	Demonstration	The demonstration was done to protest inequality and discrimination against people with disabilities, triggered by the rejection of students with disabilities to enroll in regular schools.
2004	Hearing with DPRD and the Regent	The hearing was done to express the issue of inequality and discrimination, especially since some people with disabilities were denied from applying as civil servant.
2005	Demonstration	Fifty people with disabilities were involved in the demonstration to draw sympathy from journalists.
2006	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the disability inclusive program plan.
2008	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the disability inclusive program plan.
2011	Demonstration	The demonstration was a march to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2012	Demonstration	The demonstration was a march to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2013	Petition with 1,000 signatures	In addition to commemorating the International Day of People with Disability, the petition demanded to make Jember Regency as a disability-friendly inclusive city and to legally strengthen such status by instituting a regional regulation on it.

Source: Researchers' processed data, 2020

To get serious attention from policy makers, perceived issues must be framed urgently for a very long time and intensely voiced by certain groups (Birkland, 2016). Such issues will only influence public policy if several actors adjudicate the importance of the need to change under several circumstances and situations (Dunn, 2018). People with disabilities in Jember Regency started their action by holding demonstrations to raise the issue into public sphere. Demonstrations are commonly used by community groups to raise a public issue. Mobilization of people in the context of influencing policy making is aimed to create a framing so that the raised issue can be regarded by the policy makers as an important issue (Weible et al., 2011). Regarding demonstrations carried out by persons with disabilities, research from Gillad&Rimmerman (2012) shows that disability activist groups in Israel use demonstrations or social movements in their efforts to include their agenda of interests in a legislative agenda regarding disability rights. Additionally, to raise issues related to the rights of disabilities who are oppressed through inequality and discrimination, persons with disabilities in Jember Regency also make use of hearings or discussions with the DPRD and the Regent. This is in line with a research by Boydell et al. (2017), arguing that deliberative poll and dialogue can be used as potential approaches in discussing policies regarding disabilities. Figures 2 and 3 below portray the demonstration and petition signing carried out by persons with disabilities in Jember Regency to fight for their rights.

Figure 2. The 2003 demonstration



Source :PERPENCA (2013)

Figure 3. The 2013 petition signing



Source : PERPENCA (2013)

This study also finds the media has a very significant role in strengthening the problem stream. Printed media, radio, and television have all covered some of these demonstrations and hearings. The Jember Radar, a local newspaper, always covers all activities of persons with disabilities in Jember (see Figure 4). Likewise, Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) Jember, a Jember branch of Indonesia's national radio station, always

broadcasts these activities. In addition, although they do not cover every activity, several radio stations (Soka and Prosalina) and television channels (JTV Jember, Jember 1 TV, ANTV, Metro TV, and Indosiar) have also covered some of the activities of these people with disabilities.

Figure 4. Media coverage of the activity of people with disabilities



Source : PERPENCA (2013)

Kingdon (1995) explains that the media can cover an issue in a dramatic way so that it can influence a policy. Furthermore, Rasmussen, et al (2018) states that media advocacy and public opinion dominate political attention and policy change in parliament. The role of the media in raising strategic issues concerning people with disabilities is also seen in the research of Happer&Phillo (2013), which findings show how the media is able to raise issues of disabilities, especially in terms of the small amount of allowances received by disability groups and discrimination against them.

Policy Stream: Embedding the Drafting of Regional Regulation on Disabilities in the Region's Legislative Program

In Kingdon's (2013) theoretical concept, policy stream is the process of fighting of ideas as policy proposals. The actors involved in policy making will use the information they have as consideration in constructing the policy agenda (Béland& Howlett, 2016).

The policy stream of the disability groups is the drafting of Jember Regency Regional Regulation Plan. In 2009, persons with disabilities, led by the head of Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council, created a team to draft a regional regulation on disabilities. This draft refers to Law No. 4 of 1997 on Persons with Disabilities. The efforts to include this draft into

the Regional Legislative Program persisted from 2010 to 2014. However, these efforts failed despite the recurring hearings with members of the House of Representatives. One of those hearings between representatives of people with disabilities and the members of DPRD was to present the draft. The hearing is documented below (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Hearing with DPRD on 2014



Source : PERPENCA (2014)

Political Stream: Lobbying and Networking

Kingdon (2013) states that political stream is important because it contributes significantly in providing network access to policy makers so that the proposed agenda can be accepted. Political factors can provide changes in conditions, such as restructuring of the executive and legislative officials in the government as well as recurring social movements (Zahariadis, 2016). This is in line with the findings of Landmark et al. (2017) which show the significant influence of legislative advocacy as the main channel for actors with disabilities to influence disability-related policies.

The disability groups started their political streams by approaching members of the House of Representatives. Starting in 2015, approaches to these members of the House - especially with the Chairperson of the DPRD, Deputy Chair of the DPRD, and the Chair of the Nasdem (Nasional Demokrat Party) Faction - were carried out intensively to oversee the Draft of Regional Regulation so that it could gain access into the Regional Legislative Program. The disability groups, through the institutional edifices of PERPENCA Jember, began to develop better network with members of the House for the 2014-2019 period. This is as conveyed by the Jember branch chair of the NPCI, Kusbandono bellow :

'on several occasions, we have had informal discussions with board members. We convey some of the problems we face, and try to convince them to make regulations that can protect the rights of people with disabilities.'

PERPENCA Jember also expanded network access to other disability communities in Jember Regency such as the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI Jember) and the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI Jember), which have the same vision and mission. The network was also expanded by engaging religious leaders from the Nahdatul Ulama (NU) of Jember Regency and academics. This is as stated by the Head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, Asroul Mais bellows:

'To strengthen the network, we held discussions with other disability communities in Jember Regency, the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI Jember) and the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI Jember). The discussion was about how to have a disability policy in Jember Regency, because we share the same vision in looking at disability issues. Then we also asked for advice and opinions from the Nahdatul Ulama (NU)'

Policy Window: The Issuance of National Pro-disabilities Policy

Kingdon (2013) states that policy windows "are rarely open and do not remain open for long." Therefore, given the importance of this momentum, timing is very important. The series of struggles by the disability groups to materialize regional regulations on the rights of people with disabilities in Jember Regency have started since 2003. This was a very lengthy struggle, because it took about thirteen years until the Regional Regulation on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed in 2016.

How did this policy window open? The struggle of the disability groups was wide open only when in 2016, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia enacted Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities. This regulation has changed the paradigm regarding disability. The Law regulates the status of persons with disabilities as subjects or as dignified human beings who have the same rights as other citizens. This Law places persons with disabilities in equal position from a human rights perspective, having equal opportunities to develop themselves through independence as human beings with dignity. The content of this law that can answer the issue of disability makes it a policy window opener.

Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities is a momentum that brings together the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream that have been progressing for years. Policy window could open as a result of the interaction of several streams that are connected and in sync with each other; these three streams can create responsive momentum in the government's agenda (Rose et al., 2017).

The momentum in the policy window – driving policy changes or creating new policies – has also been disclosed in several studies. Unfortunately, the discussion on policy window related to disabilities is still minimal. Policy window is mostly explained in cases of policy changes outside of disability cases. Mockrin (2018) explains that forest fire disasters can open a window of opportunity that leads to changes in local government policies. The momentum of forest fires can lead to forest fire disaster mitigation policies. Mackey's research (2019) highlights the recent creation of the Global Network on Anti-Corruption, Transparency and Accountability (GNACTA) led by the World Health Organization (WHO), the Global Fund, and the United Nations Development Program in 2019 became the momentum for opening the window to initiate policies related to corruption in health sector. Corruption in health system has indeed been a 'dirty secret'. Giese's (2020) research also concludes that opening a window can change a policy. The COVID-19 pandemic provides a window of opportunity for policy changes regarding the provision and reimbursement of telehealth costs. The issue of telehealth care has become the aspiration of many healthcare practices that were previously constrained by regulations related to reimbursement. The COVID-19 pandemic that caused a national emergency became the momentum for changes in federal policy in reimbursing the previously uncovered health costs.

Policy Entrepreneur: Lobbying, Negotiating, and Overseeing the Drafting and the Institution of Pro-disabilities Regional Regulation

Kingdon (2013) describes policy entrepreneurs as actors who seek to achieve policy change in favor of their interest through dynamic insinuation. Policy entrepreneurs try to attach their ideas so that their interests can be included in the government's agenda (Cairney & Jones, 2015).

After the enactment of Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities, disability groups have become increasingly active. Persons with disabilities – through PERPENCA and led by the Chairman of the Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council – assembled a team to discuss the draft of regional regulations. A similar team had actually been established in 2009 and had drafted a regional regulation that refers to Law Number 4 of 1997. Unfortunately, despite the struggle and advocacy, this draft could not be attached to the Regional Legislative Program. For this reason, another team is currently being formed to

compose another draft of regional regulation that refers to the new regulation, namely Law Number 8 of 2016.

Around the same time, Jember DPRD had appointed a team of academics to compose the academic manuscripts and the draft of regional regulations. As a result, the draft was far from the expectations of persons with disabilities, and did not even reflect Law Number 8 of 2016. The draft also did not reflect several issues that have been raised in the policy stream since 2003. The draft was far from what is expected by persons with disabilities because the composing and drafting did not involve them at all.

The team created by the disability groups immediately took step and conducted negotiations. An exciting debate took place with the DPRD and the team of academics. With relentless effort day and night, the disability team dismantled the DPRD's version of the regional regulation draft consisting of 195 articles. The dismantling process refers to the 2009 draft which adheres to Law Number 4 of 1997, and then be adjusted according to Law Number 8 of 2016. Finally, a new draft of regional regulation is composed; one that is truly in line with the interests of people with disabilities. The following is the documentation when the disability team acted as a policy entrepreneur, at the time of writing the draft of regional regulation (Figures 6 and 7)

Figure 6. Composing the draft of regional regulation (September 2, 2016)



Figure 7. Composing the draft of regional regulation (September 8, 2016)



Source : PERPENCA (2016)Source : PERPENCA (2016)

Negotiations and debates carried out by the disability team in Jember Regency are in a sense similar to the assertion of Petridou and Mintrom(2020) that in the policy stream, communities with an interest in policy generate and debate many ideas for policy solutions that will be taken later. In this series of processes, experts and actors who are involved in the

problem propose solutions as alternative policies in order to create policies which favor those who have pressed it for a long time. (Béland & Howlett, 2016). Policy entrepreneurs have an important and significant role in policy making, considering that they will carry out advocacy to achieve alignment in public policies made. These policy entrepreneurs must be able to push an issue or a problem and frame it as the government's priority agenda (Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2015).

To acquire a policy that are in line with their interest, policy entrepreneurs must have a strong influence to push the issue. In this sense, it is important for policy entrepreneurs to have power over the government as decision makers. They invest resources such as time, energy, reputation, and money in coalescing problems, solutions, and politics on the issues they are fighting for (Aukes, Lulofs, & Bressers, 2018). The disability groups in Jember Regency, which have established expanded networks with members of the legislative, various disability organizations, and religious organizations, have positioned themselves as a policy entrepreneur with considerable power and influence. In line with the views of Frisch-Aviram, N., Beer, I & Cohen, N (2020) states that there are many various techniques, resources and strategies used by a policy entrepreneur to achieve his goals, both formally and informally so that the agendas they bring can enter the realm of discussion raised by policy makers at various levels of government.

An interesting thing that was done by these disability groups was to challenge the members of DPRD to experience what it feels like to be disabled. The members were "forced" to do their daily activities as if they were persons with disabilities. The chair and the members of DPRD were asked to close their eyes (as if they were blind) and use wheelchairs (as if they had no legs) all the way from the parking lot to the DPRD building. As a result, it was difficult for the chair and the members to get to the building because there was no building facility that could be easily accessed by persons with disabilities (see Figures 8 and 9).

Figure 8. Members of DPRD were challenged to get into the building with their eyes closed, 2016.



Figure 9. Chair of DPRD were challenged to exit the building using a wheelchair, 2016.

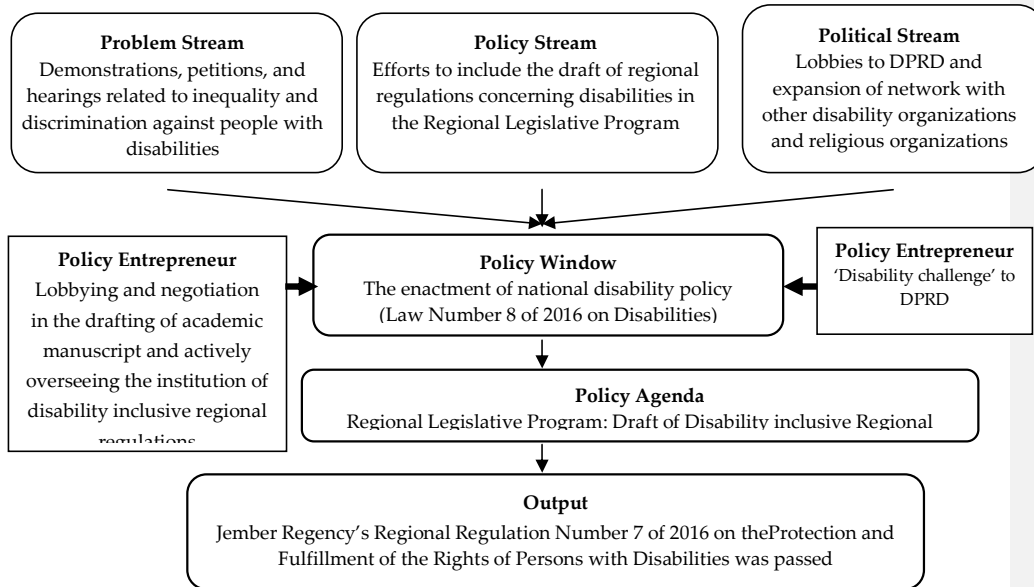


Source : PERPENCA (2016)Source : PERPENCA (2016)

This study also finds that apart from disability groups who act as policy entrepreneur, the legislative board is also very influential at this stage. The chair and several members of Jember DPRD were very intense in trying to get disability issues into the Regional Legislative Program. Finally, in 2016 the draft of regional regulation concerning disabilities was successfully included in the Regional Legislative Program. Up to this stage, the disability team's struggle is not over. Equipped with extensive networks that have been established previously, along with personal approaches to the chair and several members of the DPRD, the disability team has sufficient energy and strength to bargain. The team continued to closely oversee the process until finally the Jember's Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed.

In general, the MSF in the context of the institution of pro-disability regional regulation in Jember Regency is shown as follow (Figure 10)

Figure 10. Kingdon’s MSF in the institution of disability inclusive regional regulation in Jember Regency



Source: Data analysis

Conclusion

This study concludes that the disability policy-making process in Jember Regency was influenced by the strong power of policy entrepreneurs. Through MSF analysis, it can be seen that there was a simultaneous flow of problem streams, policy streams, political streams, policy windows, and policy entrepreneurs. The momentum for the opening of the policy window through the ratification of a national policy on disability was immediately responded by policy entrepreneurs. Disability groups and the the Regional House of Representatives as a policy entrepreneur force acted quickly to take advantage of the open policy window momentum. Finally, the struggle of this disability group had been successful and the policy maker had passed a regional regulation on the protection and fulfillment of the rights of persons with disabilities.

Declaration of Conflict Interest

Comment [MOU2]: Add a paragraph that explains how empirical findings contribute to the broader literature
Provide recommendation and state further research needed

Both authors state that there is no potential conflict of interest associated with the research, authorship, and publication of this article. The informants also knew and agreed to the use of data in the writing this article.

Acknowledgement

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Comment [MOU3]: The references still inconsistent, please write in APA style

Revision Summary
Policy & Governance Review

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7.	Bukti Konfirmasi "Revisions Article"	10 Mei 2022

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Participants

Erna Setijaningrum (ernasetijaningrum)

Messages

Note

Dear Author

The Power of Policy Entrepreneur in Disability Inclusive Policy Making

Abstract

This research aims to describe the power of policy entrepreneur in disability inclusive policy making. Disability inclusive policy in the Jember Regency of East Java, Indonesia is a result of a thirteen-year long struggle of the disability groups. Their struggle started as a series of demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the Regional House of Representatives and the Regent. It then continued with a series of debates and negotiations with the policy makers. This descriptive-qualitative research utilized Kingdon's multiple stream framework analysis to capture the stipulation of Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The informants were six disabled persons and two former members of the Regional House of Representatives. The study finds that the problem stream was raised through demonstrations, petitions, and hearings; the policy stream was done through efforts to include the draft of disability act in the regional legislative program; policy windows took place during the momentum initiated by the stipulation of nationwide disability inclusive policy by the state government; and finally policy entrepreneur act through lobbies and negotiations. This study concludes that the disability policy-making process in Jember Regency was influenced by the strong power of policy entrepreneurs. Disability groups and the the Regional House of Representatives as a policy entrepreneur force acted quickly to take advantage of the open policy window momentum and finally the policy maker ratifies local regulations regarding the protection and fulfillment of the rights of persons with disabilities.

Keywords: disability, multiple stream framework, policy, policy entrepreneur.

Introduction

In a democratic state, community involvement in policy making is made possible so that public policies are made in the favor of the people (Bevir, 2010). But in reality, not all public issues can become a subject of agenda of the policy makers to formulate solutions of (Dunn, 2018). Therefore, non-governmental actors try to voice their interests through advocacy. Advocacy is chosen by these actors to achieve their desired goals. Advocacy also becomes a widespread option when public policies made by the government are not in their favor. Advocacy can also be an alternative used by several non-profit organizations (both Non-Governmental Organizations, NGOs and Civil Society Organizations, CSOs) which until now have been used as a political step in an effort to include a policy agenda as well as

a defense measure against a group that has not yet received support taking sides in public policy issues (Gen & Wright, 2020; Suharto, 2016; Topatimasang et al, 2016). The existing advocacy can be pursued through various media, both legally and paralegally in its implementation.

One of the approaches commonly used to examine the dynamics of these actors in an effort to include their agenda of interests is the Multiple Stream Framework (hereinafter referred to as MSF) from the thoughts of John W. Kingdon (1995) written in his work *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*. Kingdon explained that public policy is a meeting of three streams in the agenda-setting process, namely the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream. The essence of MSF is the meeting of the three streams at a certain condition or momentum in the policy window. Policy window is a description of opportunities that can drive or bring a public problem to the attention of the general public and the policy makers.

The problem stream is an issue that is raised by policy actors outside the government using various existing mechanisms, both through formal legal channels and paralegal channels, for example: network formation, demonstrations, deliberative polls, framing in mass media, and taking legal actions (Boydell et al., 2017; Gillad & Rimmerman, 2012; Landmark et al, 2017; Nohrstedt & Bodin, 2019; Rasmussen, et al, 2018; Sonnenberg, 2020; Zhang et al, 2017). The policy stream frames the process of making and changing policies so that policies are in line with what is desired (Béland & Howlett, 2016; Blum, 2018; Petridou & Mintrom, 2020; Shephard et al., 2020). Moreover, the political stream is a power that greatly influences policy, since political arena does influence policy greatly (Graaf & Snowden, 2020; Hsueh, 2020; Mauti et al., 2019; Wals, 2019). In addition, coalitions and strong network between actors in policy making or policy change is also needed (Rahardian & Zarkasi, 2021; Suherman, et al., 2021; Weible et al., 2011; Wong, 2016). Several studies that review problem streams, policy streams, and political streams are on health policy making, education, media advocacy, reproduction, development, and the environment. Meanwhile, there are very few discussions related to disability inclusive policy making.

Problem stream, policy stream, and political stream will succeed in becoming into the government's agenda when there is a moment that brings the three of them together in the

policy window. The policy window is a moment that brings the three streams together and is used to drive policy change (Beland, 2020; Giese, 2020; Mackey, 2019; Mockrin, 2018; Smith, 2017). Although the three streams have found momentum in the policy window, they still require management by the policy entrepreneur. Policy making is not merely the strength or capacity of one of the policy actors; the coherence of the coalition built by policy entrepreneur will greatly influence it (Brown, 2020; Saurugger & Terpan, 2016; Frisch-Aviram, et al., 2020; Ruvalcaba-Gomez, 2020; Schön-Quinlivan & Scipioni, 2017; Widyatama, 2018; Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2015). This MSF framework is a lens for capture how policies are made under uncertain conditions for decision making (Zahariadis, 2016). This is in line with what Kingdon (2013) said that (ambiguity in policy making) can be portrayed using the MSF framework. Several studies on policy windows and policy entrepreneurs have not yet reviewed disability inclusive policy making. These studies discuss the making of regional expansion policies, water management, foreign, economic, and governance.

The institution of the disability inclusive policy in Jember Regency becomes the focal point of the MSF framework analysis in this study. Jember's Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities is the first regional regulation in Indonesia to be passed after the National Policy on Persons with Disabilities was promulgated. The enactment of a disability inclusive policy in Jember Regency is the result of a long struggle by disability groups. For approximately thirteen years, these disability groups had been relentless in fighting for their interests. Discrimination that has been going on for a long time has triggered protests by disability groups. Their struggle started with demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the Regional House of Representatives (hereinafter referred to as DPRD-*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*) and the Regent, to holding debates with the policy makers. Another strategy that involved opening network access to the representatives was also carried out so that the means to fight for their rights could be formally stated in regulations.

Based on this brief description, it can be seen that it is very difficult for interest groups to put public issues into government's agenda. There needs to be pressure and encouragement from actors so that public issues can be raised by policy makers to become a prioritized policy agenda. The MSF framework by Kingdon will help the researchers to see the dynamics in disability inclusive policy making in Jember Regency. MSF framework is

very well known, but it is underutilized (Cairney & Jones, 2015). Therefore, this study aims to capture the production of a policy using MSF framework.

Research Method

This is a descriptive qualitative research which are based on textual context used to gain understanding on the reasons and motivations that underlie social phenomena (Neuman, 2016). Qualitative research is an approach to explore and understand the meaning made by an individual or a group as a social or human problem (Creswell, 2017). Data collection were done in three ways: observations, interviews, and documentation. The validity of the data was carried out by the triangulation method, namely comparing the data from interviews, observations, and secondary data. Data about the flows in the MSF were asked to one informant who was then cross-checked with other informants. Furthermore, it was cross-checked again with field observations and secondary data. Data analysis included three steps as proposed by Miles et al(2014), namely data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verifying. Data collection in this study was carried out through focus group discussions, discussions in WhatsApp groups, and in-depth interviews. All data obtained were abstracted, presented and then drawn conclusions.

The research location was in Jember Regency, East Java, Indonesia. The research took place for three months from July to September 2020. Informants were selected using purposive and snowball sampling (Craswell, 2017), starting with an initial interview with the chairperson of the Jember Association of People with Disabilities (hereinafter referred to as PERPENCA Jember– *Persatuan Penyandang Cacat Jember*). In this initial interview, the chairperson recommended other informants to complete and refine the data. Since the research took place during the COVID-19 pandemic, focused group discussions (FGD) to get a complete picture of the struggles of people with disabilities were held under strict implementation of the COVID-19 prevention protocol. The first FGD was attended by the chairperson of the PERPENCA Jember, the head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, a member of PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, the Jember branch chair of the National Paralympic Committee of Indonesia (NPCCI), the Jember branch secretary of the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI), the Jember branch chair of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI), and the Jember branch chair of the Disabled Motorcycle

Indonesia. The meeting produced a discussion that illustrated these disability groups' long journey of struggle to fight for their rights. The second FGD was conducted online using Zoom and was attended by not just all participants of the first FGD, but also by the former chairperson of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019 period) and a member of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019 period). Furthermore, data collection was continued by conducting personal interviews with each informant by telephone. To cross-check the data, a discussion was also carried out through WhatsApp group. The following Table 1 lists the informants involved in this study.

Table 1. Research Informants

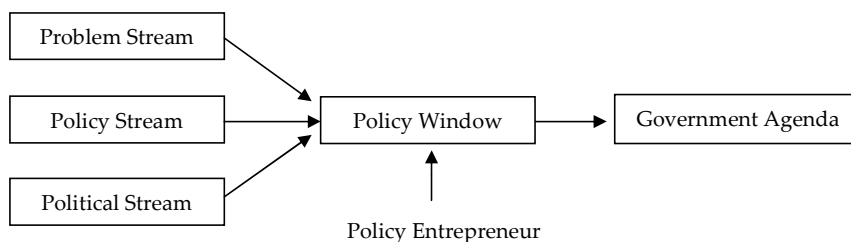
No	Informant's Name	Position
1	ThoifZamroni	Chairperson of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019)
2	David Handoko Seto	Member of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019)
3	MohZaenuri Rofi'i	Chairperson of PERPENCA Jember
4	Asroul Mais	Head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council
5	Eko Puji Purwanto	Member of PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council
6	Kusbandono	Jember branch chair of the NPCI
7	Rachman Hadi	Jember branch secretary of the PERTUNI and Jember branch chair of the ITMI
8	Ahmad Yasin	Jember branch chair of the Disabled Motorcycle Indonesia

Source: Researchers' processed data, 2020

Results and Discussion

Paul Cairney (2016) argues that John W. Kingdon's multiple stream framework focuses on an interaction between two types of ideas: the type of policy solution that can attract attention very quickly and a set of established beliefs in the policy network. The following (Figure 1) is an illustration of the meeting of three streams in the policy window, which will then be managed by the policy entrepreneur, so that it can be embedded to the government's agenda.

Figure 1. The meeting of three streams in policy window



Source: Kingdon, 1995

Problem Stream: Demonstrations, Petitions, and Hearings

Problem stream is a perception about public problems that require action and efforts from the government to solve (Kingdon, 2013). This flow of problem stream arises because the developing issues and opinions in the public are developing at large and need tangible solutions (Zahariadis, 2016).

Disability groups in Jember Regency started their struggle in 2003 by raising issues related to inequality and discrimination against disabilities. On July 9, 2003 the PERPENCA organization was established because Jember Regency had not had a disability organization that accommodates all types of disabilities. It is through PERPENCA that disability groups began fighting for their rights. The problem stream are carried out by these disability groups through demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the DPRD and the Regent. Issues that have been raised are inequality and discrimination in terms of education and job opportunities. The following Table 2 highlights the chronology of the problem stream carried out by the disability groups.

Table 2. Chronology of Problem Stream Concerning Issues of Inequality and Discrimination Against People With Disabilities

Year	Course of action	Description
2003	Establishment of PERPENCA	Jember Regency had not had a formal organization that accommodates all types of disabilities.
2003	Demonstration	The demonstration was done to protest inequality and discrimination against people with disabilities, triggered by the rejection of students with disabilities to enroll in regular schools.
2004	Hearing with DPRD and the Regent	The hearing was done to express the issue of inequality and discrimination, especially since some people with disabilities were denied from applying as civil servant.
2005	Demonstration	Fifty people with disabilities were involved in the demonstration to draw sympathy from journalists.
2006	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the disability inclusive program plan.
2008	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the disability inclusive program plan.
2011	Demonstration	The demonstration was a march to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2012	Demonstration	The demonstration was a march to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2013	Petition with 1,000 signatures	In addition to commemorating the International Day of People with Disability, the petition demanded to make Jember Regency as a disability-friendly inclusive city and to legally strengthen such status by instituting a regional regulation on it.

Source: Researchers' processed data, 2020

To get serious attention from policy makers, perceived issues must be framed urgently for a very long time and intensely voiced by certain groups (Birkland, 2016). Such issues will only influence public policy if several actors adjudicate the importance of the need to change under several circumstances and situations (Dunn, 2018). People with disabilities in Jember Regency started their action by holding demonstrations to raise the issue into public sphere. Demonstrations are commonly used by community groups to raise a public issue. Mobilization of people in the context of influencing policy making is aimed to create a framing so that the raised issue can be regarded by the policy makers as an important issue (Weible et al., 2011). Regarding demonstrations carried out by persons with disabilities, research from Gillad&Rimmerman (2012) shows that disability activist groups in Israel use demonstrations or social movements in their efforts to include their agenda of interests in a legislative agenda regarding disability rights. Additionally, to raise issues related to the rights of disabilities who are oppressed through inequality and discrimination, persons with disabilities in Jember Regency also make use of hearings or discussions with the DPRD and the Regent. This is in line with a research by Boydell et al. (2017), arguing that deliberative poll and dialogue can be used as potential approaches in discussing policies regarding disabilities. Figures 2 and 3 below portray the demonstration and petition signing carried out by persons with disabilities in Jember Regency to fight for their rights.

Figure 2. The 2003 demonstration



Source :PERPENCA (2013)

Figure 3. The 2013 petition signing



Source : PERPENCA (2013)

This study also finds the media has a very significant role in strengthening the problem stream. Printed media, radio, and television have all covered some of these demonstrations and hearings. The Jember Radar, a local newspaper, always covers all activities of persons with disabilities in Jember (see Figure 4). Likewise, Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) Jember, a Jember branch of Indonesia's national radio station, always

broadcasts these activities. In addition, although they do not cover every activity, several radio stations (Soka and Prosalina) and television channels (JTV Jember, Jember 1 TV, ANTV, Metro TV, and Indosiar) have also covered some of the activities of these people with disabilities.

Figure 4. Media coverage of the activity of people with disabilities



Source : PERPENCA (2013)

Kingdon (1995) explains that the media can cover an issue in a dramatic way so that it can influence a policy. Furthermore, Rasmussen, et al (2018) states that media advocacy and public opinion dominate political attention and policy change in parliament. The role of the media in raising strategic issues concerning people with disabilities is also seen in the research of Happer&Phillo (2013), which findings show how the media is able to raise issues of disabilities, especially in terms of the small amount of allowances received by disability groups and discrimination against them.

Policy Stream: Embedding the Drafting of Regional Regulation on Disabilities in the Region's Legislative Program

In Kingdon's (2013) theoretical concept, policy stream is the process of fighting of ideas as policy proposals. The actors involved in policy making will use the information they have as consideration in constructing the policy agenda (Béland& Howlett, 2016).

The policy stream of the disability groups is the drafting of Jember Regency Regional Regulation Plan. In 2009, persons with disabilities, led by the head of Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council, created a team to draft a regional regulation on disabilities. This draft refers to Law No. 4 of 1997 on Persons with Disabilities. The efforts to include this draft into

the Regional Legislative Program persisted from 2010 to 2014. However, these efforts failed despite the recurring hearings with members of the House of Representatives. One of those hearings between representatives of people with disabilities and the members of DPRD was to present the draft. The hearing is documented below (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Hearing with DPRD on 2014



Source : PERPENCA (2014)

Political Stream: Lobbying and Networking

Kingdon (2013) states that political stream is important because it contributes significantly in providing network access to policy makers so that the proposed agenda can be accepted. Political factors can provide changes in conditions, such as restructuring of the executive and legislative officials in the government as well as recurring social movements (Zahariadis, 2016). This is in line with the findings of Landmark et al. (2017) which show the significant influence of legislative advocacy as the main channel for actors with disabilities to influence disability-related policies.

The disability groups started their political streams by approaching members of the House of Representatives. Starting in 2015, approaches to these members of the House - especially with the Chairperson of the DPRD, Deputy Chair of the DPRD, and the Chair of the Nasdem (Nasional Demokrat Party) Faction - were carried out intensively to oversee the Draft of Regional Regulation so that it could gain access into the Regional Legislative Program. The disability groups, through the institutional edifices of PERPENCA Jember, began to develop better network with members of the House for the 2014-2019 period. This is as conveyed by the Jember branch chair of the NPCI, Kusbandono bellow :

'on several occasions, we have had informal discussions with board members. We convey some of the problems we face, and try to convince them to make regulations that can protect the rights of people with disabilities.'

PERPENCA Jember also expanded network access to other disability communities in Jember Regency such as the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI Jember) and the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI Jember), which have the same vision and mission. The network was also expanded by engaging religious leaders from the Nahdatul Ulama (NU) of Jember Regency and academics. This is as stated by the Head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, Asroul Mais bellows:

'To strengthen the network, we held discussions with other disability communities in Jember Regency, the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI Jember) and the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI Jember). The discussion was about how to have a disability policy in Jember Regency, because we share the same vision in looking at disability issues. Then we also asked for advice and opinions from the Nahdatul Ulama (NU)'

Policy Window: The Issuance of National Pro-disabilities Policy

Kingdon (2013) states that policy windows "are rarely open and do not remain open for long." Therefore, given the importance of this momentum, timing is very important. The series of struggles by the disability groups to materialize regional regulations on the rights of people with disabilities in Jember Regency have started since 2003. This was a very lengthy struggle, because it took about thirteen years until the Regional Regulation on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed in 2016.

How did this policy window open? The struggle of the disability groups was wide open only when in 2016, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia enacted Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities. This regulation has changed the paradigm regarding disability. The Law regulates the status of persons with disabilities as subjects or as dignified human beings who have the same rights as other citizens. This Law places persons with disabilities in equal position from a human rights perspective, having equal opportunities to develop themselves through independence as human beings with dignity. The content of this law that can answer the issue of disability makes it a policy window opener.

Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities is a momentum that brings together the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream that have been progressing for years. Policy window could open as a result of the interaction of several streams that are connected and in sync with each other; these three streams can create responsive momentum in the government's agenda (Rose et al., 2017).

The momentum in the policy window – driving policy changes or creating new policies – has also been disclosed in several studies. Unfortunately, the discussion on policy window related to disabilities is still minimal. Policy window is mostly explained in cases of policy changes outside of disability cases. Mockrin (2018) explains that forest fire disasters can open a window of opportunity that leads to changes in local government policies. The momentum of forest fires can lead to forest fire disaster mitigation policies. Mackey's research (2019) highlights the recent creation of the Global Network on Anti-Corruption, Transparency and Accountability (GNACTA) led by the World Health Organization (WHO), the Global Fund, and the United Nations Development Program in 2019 became the momentum for opening the window to initiate policies related to corruption in health sector. Corruption in health system has indeed been a 'dirty secret'. Giese's (2020) research also concludes that opening a window can change a policy. The COVID-19 pandemic provides a window of opportunity for policy changes regarding the provision and reimbursement of telehealth costs. The issue of telehealth care has become the aspiration of many healthcare practices that were previously constrained by regulations related to reimbursement. The COVID-19 pandemic that caused a national emergency became the momentum for changes in federal policy in reimbursing the previously uncovered health costs.

Policy Entrepreneur: Lobbying, Negotiating, and Overseeing the Drafting and the Institution of Pro-disabilities Regional Regulation

Kingdon (2013) describes policy entrepreneurs as actors who seek to achieve policy change in favor of their interest through dynamic insinuation. Policy entrepreneurs try to attach their ideas so that their interests can be included in the government's agenda (Cairney & Jones, 2015).

After the enactment of Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities, disability groups have become increasingly active. Persons with disabilities – through PERPENCA and led by the Chairman of the Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council – assembled a team to discuss the draft of regional regulations. A similar team had actually been established in 2009 and had drafted a regional regulation that refers to Law Number 4 of 1997. Unfortunately, despite the struggle and advocacy, this draft could not be attached to the Regional Legislative Program. For this reason, another team is currently being formed to

compose another draft of regional regulation that refers to the new regulation, namely Law Number 8 of 2016.

Around the same time, Jember DPRD had appointed a team of academics to compose the academic manuscripts and the draft of regional regulations. As a result, the draft was far from the expectations of persons with disabilities, and did not even reflect Law Number 8 of 2016. The draft also did not reflect several issues that have been raised in the policy stream since 2003. The draft was far from what is expected by persons with disabilities because the composing and drafting did not involve them at all.

The team created by the disability groups immediately took step and conducted negotiations. An exciting debate took place with the DPRD and the team of academics. With relentless effort day and night, the disability team dismantled the DPRD's version of the regional regulation draft consisting of 195 articles. The dismantling process refers to the 2009 draft which adheres to Law Number 4 of 1997, and then be adjusted according to Law Number 8 of 2016. Finally, a new draft of regional regulation is composed; one that is truly in line with the interests of people with disabilities. The following is the documentation when the disability team acted as a policy entrepreneur, at the time of writing the draft of regional regulation (Figures 6 and 7)

Figure 6. Composing the draft of regional regulation (September 2, 2016)



Figure 7. Composing the draft of regional regulation (September 8, 2016)



Source : PERPENCA (2016)Source : PERPENCA (2016)

Negotiations and debates carried out by the disability team in Jember Regency are in a sense similar to the assertion of Petridou and Mintrom(2020) that in the policy stream, communities with an interest in policy generate and debate many ideas for policy solutions that will be taken later. In this series of processes, experts and actors who are involved in the

problem propose solutions as alternative policies in order to create policies which favor those who have pressed it for a long time. (Béland & Howlett, 2016). Policy entrepreneurs have an important and significant role in policy making, considering that they will carry out advocacy to achieve alignment in public policies made. These policy entrepreneurs must be able to push an issue or a problem and frame it as the government's priority agenda (Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2015).

To acquire a policy that are in line with their interest, policy entrepreneurs must have a strong influence to push the issue. In this sense, it is important for policy entrepreneurs to have power over the government as decision makers. They invest resources such as time, energy, reputation, and money in coalescing problems, solutions, and politics on the issues they are fighting for (Aukes, Lulofs, & Bressers, 2018). The disability groups in Jember Regency, which have established expanded networks with members of the legislative, various disability organizations, and religious organizations, have positioned themselves as a policy entrepreneur with considerable power and influence. In line with the views of Frisch-Aviram, N., Beer, I & Cohen, N (2020) states that there are many various techniques, resources and strategies used by a policy entrepreneur to achieve his goals, both formally and informally so that the agendas they bring can enter the realm of discussion raised by policy makers at various levels of government.

An interesting thing that was done by these disability groups was to challenge the members of DPRD to experience what it feels like to be disabled. The members were "forced" to do their daily activities as if they were persons with disabilities. The chair and the members of DPRD were asked to close their eyes (as if they were blind) and use wheelchairs (as if they had no legs) all the way from the parking lot to the DPRD building. As a result, it was difficult for the chair and the members to get to the building because there was no building facility that could be easily accessed by persons with disabilities (see Figures 8 and 9).

Figure 8. Members of DPRD were challenged to get into the building with their eyes closed, 2016.



Figure 9. Chair of DPRD were challenged to exit the building using a wheelchair, 2016.

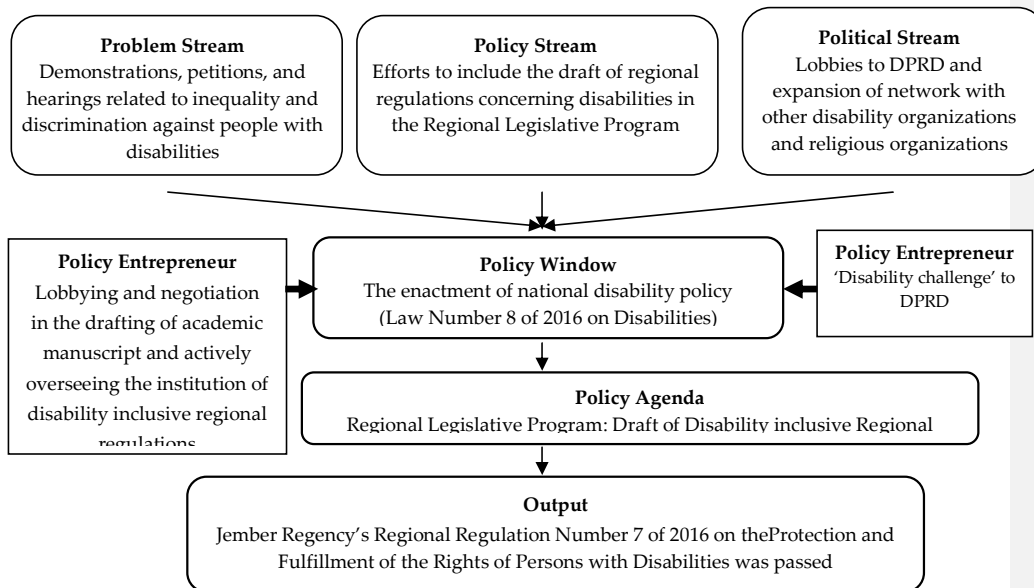


Source : PERPENCA (2016)Source : PERPENCA (2016)

This study also finds that apart from disability groups who act as policy entrepreneur, the legislative board is also very influential at this stage. The chair and several members of JemberDPRD were very intense in trying to get disability issues into the Regional Legislative Program. Finally, in 2016 the draft of regional regulation concerning disabilities was successfully included in the Regional Legislative Program. Up to this stage, the disability team's struggle is not over. Equipped with extensive networks that have been established previously, along with personal approaches to the chair and several members of the DPRD, the disability team has sufficient energy and strength to bargain. The team continued to closely overseethe process until finally the Jember'sRegional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on theProtection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilitieswas passed.

In general, the MSF in the context of the institution of pro-disability regional regulation in Jember Regency is shown as follow (Figure 10)

Figure 10. Kingdon's MSF in the institution of disability inclusive regional regulation in Jember Regency



Source: Data analysis

Conclusion

This study concludes that the disability policy-making process in Jember Regency was influenced by the strong power of policy entrepreneurs. Through MSF analysis, it can be seen that there was a simultaneous flow of problem streams, policy streams, political streams, policy windows, and policy entrepreneurs. The momentum for the opening of the policy window through the ratification of a national policy on disability was immediately responded by policy entrepreneurs. Disability groups and the the Regional House of Representatives as a policy entrepreneur force acted quickly to take advantage of the open policy window momentum. Finally, the struggle of this disability group had been successful and the policy maker had passed a regional regulation on the protection and fulfillment of the rights of persons with disabilities. This study strengthens the MSF theory by emphasizing the importance of entrepreneurial power to include an issue in the agenda setting.

The role of mass media has not been explained in this study. Therefore, the recommendation for further researchers is to look at the role of mass media in the MSF stream to blow up certain issues so that they get the attention of policy makers and encourage them to include these issues in the agenda setting.

Declaration of Conflict Interest

Both authors state that there is no potential conflict of interest associated with the research, authorship, and publication of this article. The informants also knew and agreed to the use of data in the writing this article.

Acknowledgement

Both authors would like to express their highest gratitude and appreciation to the persons with disabilities who have been willing to become informants and share their time, energy, and thoughts in supporting the authors to collect necessary data. The authors also thank the Chair and Members of Jember DPRD (2014-2019 period) who have provided the opportunity for the authors to acquire complete data.

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Revision Summary
Policy & Governance Review

Title of the Manuscript:	The Power of Policy Entrepreneur in Disability Inclusive Policy Making
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Reviewer's Comment	Author's Comment
Please describe how the author did the triangulation	Information has been added to the research method in the first paragraph
Add a paragraph that explains how empirical findings contribute to the broader literature	The research contribution to the literature has been described in the first paragraph of the conclusion section
Provide recommendation and state further research needed	Recommendations for further researchers have been explained in the second paragraph of the conclusion section
The references still inconsistent, please write in APA style	Reference has been written in APA style

BUKTI KORESPONDENSI

ARTIKEL JURNAL NASIONAL TERAKREDITASI SINTA 2

Judul Artikel : The Power of Policy Entrepreneur in Pro-Disability Policy Making

Jurnal : Jurnal Public and Governance Review, 2022, vol 6 (2)

Penulis : Erna Setijaningrum, Ramaditya Rahardian

No.	Perihal	Tanggal
8.	Bukti konfirmasi review dan hasil review “2nd review by Editorial”	13 Mei 2022

Review ▾

2nd review by Editorial

Participants

Erna Setijaningrum (ernasetijaningrum)

Messages

Note

Dear Ms. Erna

The Power of Policy Entrepreneur in Disability Inclusive Policy Making

Comment [Ms Office4]: Maximum 2 photos used in the manuscript.
After the photos is deleted, please adjust the explanation

Abstract

This research aims to describe the power of policy entrepreneur in disability inclusive policy making. Disability inclusive policy in the Jember Regency of East Java, Indonesia is a result of a thirteen-year long struggle of the disability groups. Their struggle started as a series of demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the Regional House of Representatives and the Regent. It then continued with a series of debates and negotiations with the policy makers. This descriptive-qualitative research utilized Kingdon's multiple stream framework analysis to capture the stipulation of Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The informants were six disabled persons and two former members of the Regional House of Representatives. The study finds that the problem stream was raised through demonstrations, petitions, and hearings; the policy stream was done through efforts to include the draft of disability act in the regional legislative program; policy windows took place during the momentum initiated by the stipulation of nationwide disability inclusive policy by the state government; and finally policy entrepreneur act through lobbies and negotiations. This study concludes that the disability policy-making process in Jember Regency was influenced by the strong power of policy entrepreneurs. Disability groups and the the Regional House of Representatives as a policy entrepreneur force acted quickly to take advantage of the open policy window momentum and finally the policy maker ratifies local regulations regarding the protection and fulfillment of the rights of persons with disabilities.

Keywords: disability, multiple stream framework, policy, policy entrepreneur.

Introduction

In a democratic state, community involvement in policy making is made possible so that public policies are made in the favor of the people (Bevir, 2010). But in reality, not all public issues can become a subject of agenda of the policy makers to formulate solutions of (Dunn, 2018). Therefore, non-governmental actors try to voice their interests through advocacy. Advocacy is chosen by these actors to achieve their desired goals. Advocacy also becomes a widespread option when public policies made by the government are not in their favor. Advocacy can also be an alternative used by several non-profit organizations (both Non-Governmental Organizations, NGOs and Civil Society Organizations, CSOs) which until now have been used as a political step in an effort to include a policy agenda as well as

a defense measure against a group that has not yet received support taking sides in public policy issues (Gen & Wright, 2020; Suharto, 2016; Topatimasang et al, 2016). The existing advocacy can be pursued through various media, both legally and paralegally in its implementation.

One of the approaches commonly used to examine the dynamics of these actors in an effort to include their agenda of interests is the Multiple Stream Framework (hereinafter referred to as MSF) from the thoughts of John W. Kingdon (1995) written in his work *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*. Kingdon explained that public policy is a meeting of three streams in the agenda-setting process, namely the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream. The essence of MSF is the meeting of the three streams at a certain condition or momentum in the policy window. Policy window is a description of opportunities that can drive or bring a public problem to the attention of the general public and the policy makers.

The problem stream is an issue that is raised by policy actors outside the government using various existing mechanisms, both through formal legal channels and paralegal channels, for example: network formation, demonstrations, deliberative polls, framing in mass media, and taking legal actions (Boydell et al., 2017; Gillad & Rimmerman, 2012; Landmark et al, 2017; Nohrstedt & Bodin, 2019; Rasmussen, et al, 2018; Sonnenberg, 2020; Zhang et al, 2017). The policy stream frames the process of making and changing policies so that policies are in line with what is desired (Béland & Howlett, 2016; Blum, 2018; Petridou & Mintrom, 2020; Shephard et al., 2020). Moreover, the political stream is a power that greatly influences policy, since political arena does influence policy greatly (Graaf & Snowden, 2020; Hsueh, 2020; Mauti et al., 2019; Wals, 2019). In addition, coalitions and strong network between actors in policy making or policy change is also needed (Rahardian & Zarkasi, 2021; Suherman, et al., 2021; Weible et al., 2011; Wong, 2016). Several studies that review problem streams, policy streams, and political streams are on health policy making, education, media advocacy, reproduction, development, and the environment. Meanwhile, there are very few discussions related to disability inclusive policy making.

Problem stream, policy stream, and political stream will succeed in becoming into the government's agenda when there is a moment that brings the three of them together in the

policy window. The policy window is a moment that brings the three streams together and is used to drive policy change (Beland, 2020; Giese, 2020; Mackey, 2019; Mockrin, 2018; Smith, 2017). Although the three streams have found momentum in the policy window, they still require management by the policy entrepreneur. Policy making is not merely the strength or capacity of one of the policy actors; the coherence of the coalition built by policy entrepreneur will greatly influence it (Brown, 2020; Saurugger & Terpan, 2016; Frisch-Aviram, et al., 2020; Ruvalcaba-Gomez, 2020; Schön-Quinlivan & Scipioni, 2017; Widyatama, 2018; Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2015). This MSF framework is a lens for capture how policies are made under uncertain conditions for decision making (Zahariadis, 2016). This is in line with what Kingdon (2013) said that (ambiguity in policy making) can be portrayed using the MSF framework. Several studies on policy windows and policy entrepreneurs have not yet reviewed disability inclusive policy making. These studies discuss the making of regional expansion policies, water management, foreign, economic, and governance.

The institution of the disability inclusive policy in Jember Regency becomes the focal point of the MSF framework analysis in this study. Jember's Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities is the first regional regulation in Indonesia to be passed after the National Policy on Persons with Disabilities was promulgated. The enactment of a disability inclusive policy in Jember Regency is the result of a long struggle by disability groups. For approximately thirteen years, these disability groups had been relentless in fighting for their interests. Discrimination that has been going on for a long time has triggered protests by disability groups. Their struggle started with demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the Regional House of Representatives (hereinafter referred to as DPRD-*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*) and the Regent, to holding debates with the policy makers. Another strategy that involved opening network access to the representatives was also carried out so that the means to fight for their rights could be formally stated in regulations.

Based on this brief description, it can be seen that it is very difficult for interest groups to put public issues into government's agenda. There needs to be pressure and encouragement from actors so that public issues can be raised by policy makers to become a prioritized policy agenda. The MSF framework by Kingdon will help the researchers to see the dynamics in disability inclusive policy making in Jember Regency. MSF framework is

very well known, but it is underutilized (Cairney & Jones, 2015). Therefore, this study aims to capture the production of a policy using MSF framework.

Research Method

This is a descriptive qualitative research which are based on textual context used to gain understanding on the reasons and motivations that underlie social phenomena (Neuman, 2016). Qualitative research is an approach to explore and understand the meaning made by an individual or a group as a social or human problem (Creswell, 2017). Data collection were done in three ways: observations, interviews, and documentation. The validity of the data was carried out by the triangulation method, namely comparing the data from interviews, observations, and secondary data. Data about the flows in the MSF were asked to one informant who was then cross-checked with other informants. Furthermore, it was cross-checked again with field observations and secondary data. Data analysis included three steps as proposed by Miles et al(2014), namely data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verifying. Data collection in this study was carried out through focus group discussions, discussions in WhatsApp groups, and in-depth interviews. All data obtained were abstracted, presented and then drawn conclusions.

The research location was in Jember Regency, East Java, Indonesia. The research took place for three months from July to September 2020. Informants were selected using purposive and snowball sampling (Craswell, 2017), starting with an initial interview with the chairperson of the Jember Association of People with Disabilities (hereinafter referred to as PERPENCA Jember– *Persatuan Penyandang Cacat Jember*). In this initial interview, the chairperson recommended other informants to complete and refine the data. Since the research took place during the COVID-19 pandemic, focused group discussions (FGD) to get a complete picture of the struggles of people with disabilities were held under strict implementation of the COVID-19 prevention protocol. The first FGD was attended by the chairperson of the PERPENCA Jember, the head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, a member of PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, the Jember branch chair of the National Paralympic Committee of Indonesia (NPCCI), the Jember branch secretary of the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI), the Jember branch chair of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI), and the Jember branch chair of the Disabled Motorcycle

Indonesia. The meeting produced a discussion that illustrated these disability groups' long journey of struggle to fight for their rights. The second FGD was conducted online using Zoom and was attended by not just all participants of the first FGD, but also by the former chairperson of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019 period) and a member of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019 period). Furthermore, data collection was continued by conducting personal interviews with each informant by telephone. To cross-check the data, a discussion was also carried out through WhatsApp group. The following Table 1 lists the informants involved in this study.

Table 1. Research Informants

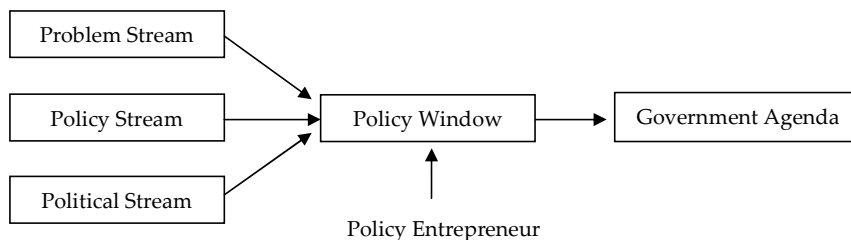
No	Informant's Name	Position
1	ThoifZamroni	Chairperson of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019)
2	David Handoko Seto	Member of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019)
3	MohZaenuri Rofi'i	Chairperson of PERPENCA Jember
4	Asroul Mais	Head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council
5	Eko Puji Purwanto	Member of PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council
6	Kusbandono	Jember branch chair of the NPCI
7	Rachman Hadi	Jember branch secretary of the PERTUNI and Jember branch chair of the ITMI
8	Ahmad Yasin	Jember branch chair of the Disabled Motorcycle Indonesia

Source: Researchers' processed data, 2020

Results and Discussion

Paul Cairney (2016) argues that John W. Kingdon's multiple stream framework focuses on an interaction between two types of ideas: the type of policy solution that can attract attention very quickly and a set of established beliefs in the policy network. The following (Figure 1) is an illustration of the meeting of three streams in the policy window, which will then be managed by the policy entrepreneur, so that it can be embedded to the government's agenda.

Figure 1. The meeting of three streams in policy window



Source: Kingdon, 1995

Problem Stream: Demonstrations, Petitions, and Hearings

Problem stream is a perception about public problems that require action and efforts from the government to solve (Kingdon, 2013). This flow of problem stream arises because the developing issues and opinions in the public are developing at large and need tangible solutions (Zahariadis, 2016).

Disability groups in Jember Regency started their struggle in 2003 by raising issues related to inequality and discrimination against disabilities. On July 9, 2003 the PERPENCA organization was established because Jember Regency had not had a disability organization that accommodates all types of disabilities. It is through PERPENCA that disability groups began fighting for their rights. The problem stream are carried out by these disability groups through demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the DPRD and the Regent. Issues that have been raised are inequality and discrimination in terms of education and job opportunities. The following Table 2 highlights the chronology of the problem stream carried out by the disability groups.

Table 2. Chronology of Problem Stream Concerning Issues of Inequality and Discrimination Against People With Disabilities

Year	Course of action	Description
2003	Establishment of PERPENCA	Jember Regency had not had a formal organization that accommodates all types of disabilities.
2003	Demonstration	The demonstration was done to protest inequality and discrimination against people with disabilities, triggered by the rejection of students with disabilities to enroll in regular schools.
2004	Hearing with DPRD and the Regent	The hearing was done to express the issue of inequality and discrimination, especially since some people with disabilities were denied from applying as civil servant.
2005	Demonstration	Fifty people with disabilities were involved in the demonstration to draw sympathy from journalists.
2006	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the disability inclusive program plan.
2008	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the disability inclusive program plan.
2011	Demonstration	The demonstration was a march to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2012	Demonstration	The demonstration was a march to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2013	Petition with 1,000 signatures	In addition to commemorating the International Day of People with Disability, the petition demanded to make Jember Regency as a disability-friendly inclusive city and to legally strengthen such status by instituting a regional regulation on it.

Source: Researchers' processed data, 2020

To get serious attention from policy makers, perceived issues must be framed urgently for a very long time and intensely voiced by certain groups (Birkland, 2016). Such issues will only influence public policy if several actors adjudicate the importance of the need to change under several circumstances and situations (Dunn, 2018). People with disabilities in Jember Regency started their action by holding demonstrations to raise the issue into public sphere. Demonstrations are commonly used by community groups to raise a public issue. Mobilization of people in the context of influencing policy making is aimed to create a framing so that the raised issue can be regarded by the policy makers as an important issue (Weible et al., 2011). Regarding demonstrations carried out by persons with disabilities, research from Gillad&Rimmerman (2012) shows that disability activist groups in Israel use demonstrations or social movements in their efforts to include their agenda of interests in a legislative agenda regarding disability rights. Additionally, to raise issues related to the rights of disabilities who are oppressed through inequality and discrimination, persons with disabilities in Jember Regency also make use of hearings or discussions with the DPRD and the Regent. This is in line with a research by Boydell et al. (2017), arguing that deliberative poll and dialogue can be used as potential approaches in discussing policies regarding disabilities. Figures 2 and 3 below portray the demonstration and petition signing carried out by persons with disabilities in Jember Regency to fight for their rights.

Figure 2. The 2003 demonstration



Source :PERPENCA (2013)

Figure 3. The 2013 petition signing



Source : PERPENCA (2013)

This study also finds the media has a very significant role in strengthening the problem stream. Printed media, radio, and television have all covered some of these demonstrations and hearings. The Jember Radar, a local newspaper, always covers all activities of persons with disabilities in Jember (see Figure 4). Likewise, Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) Jember, a Jember branch of Indonesia's national radio station, always

broadcasts these activities. In addition, although they do not cover every activity, several radio stations (Soka and Prosalina) and television channels (JTV Jember, Jember 1 TV, ANTV, Metro TV, and Indosiar) have also covered some of the activities of these people with disabilities.

Figure 4. Media coverage of the activity of people with disabilities



Source : PERPENCA (2013)

Kingdon (1995) explains that the media can cover an issue in a dramatic way so that it can influence a policy. Furthermore, Rasmussen, et al (2018) states that media advocacy and public opinion dominate political attention and policy change in parliament. The role of the media in raising strategic issues concerning people with disabilities is also seen in the research of Happer&Phillo (2013), which findings show how the media is able to raise issues of disabilities, especially in terms of the small amount of allowances received by disability groups and discrimination against them.

Policy Stream: Embedding the Drafting of Regional Regulation on Disabilities in the Region's Legislative Program

In Kingdon's (2013) theoretical concept, policy stream is the process of fighting of ideas as policy proposals. The actors involved in policy making will use the information they have as consideration in constructing the policy agenda (Béland& Howlett, 2016).

The policy stream of the disability groups is the drafting of Jember Regency Regional Regulation Plan. In 2009, persons with disabilities, led by the head of Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council, created a team to draft a regional regulation on disabilities. This draft refers to Law No. 4 of 1997 on Persons with Disabilities. The efforts to include this draft into

the Regional Legislative Program persisted from 2010 to 2014. However, these efforts failed despite the recurring hearings with members of the House of Representatives. One of those hearings between representatives of people with disabilities and the members of DPRD was to present the draft. The hearing is documented below (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Hearing with DPRD on 2014



Source : PERPENCA (2014)

Political Stream: Lobbying and Networking

Kingdon (2013) states that political stream is important because it contributes significantly in providing network access to policy makers so that the proposed agenda can be accepted. Political factors can provide changes in conditions, such as restructuring of the executive and legislative officials in the government as well as recurring social movements (Zahariadis, 2016). This is in line with the findings of Landmark et al. (2017) which show the significant influence of legislative advocacy as the main channel for actors with disabilities to influence disability-related policies.

The disability groups started their political streams by approaching members of the House of Representatives. Starting in 2015, approaches to these members of the House - especially with the Chairperson of the DPRD, Deputy Chair of the DPRD, and the Chair of the Nasdem (Nasional Demokrat Party) Faction - were carried out intensively to oversee the Draft of Regional Regulation so that it could gain access into the Regional Legislative Program. The disability groups, through the institutional edifices of PERPENCA Jember, began to develop better network with members of the House for the 2014-2019 period. This is as conveyed by the Jember branch chair of the NPCI, Kusbandono bellow :

'on several occasions, we have had informal discussions with board members. We convey some of the problems we face, and try to convince them to make regulations that can protect the rights of people with disabilities.'

PERPENCA Jember also expanded network access to other disability communities in Jember Regency such as the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI Jember) and the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI Jember), which have the same vision and mission. The network was also expanded by engaging religious leaders from the Nahdatul Ulama (NU) of Jember Regency and academics. This is as stated by the Head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, Asroul Mais bellows:

'To strengthen the network, we held discussions with other disability communities in Jember Regency, the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI Jember) and the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI Jember). The discussion was about how to have a disability policy in Jember Regency, because we share the same vision in looking at disability issues. Then we also asked for advice and opinions from the Nahdatul Ulama (NU)'

Policy Window: The Issuance of National Pro-disabilities Policy

Kingdon (2013) states that policy windows "are rarely open and do not remain open for long." Therefore, given the importance of this momentum, timing is very important. The series of struggles by the disability groups to materialize regional regulations on the rights of people with disabilities in Jember Regency have started since 2003. This was a very lengthy struggle, because it took about thirteen years until the Regional Regulation on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed in 2016.

How did this policy window open? The struggle of the disability groups was wide open only when in 2016, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia enacted Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities. This regulation has changed the paradigm regarding disability. The Law regulates the status of persons with disabilities as subjects or as dignified human beings who have the same rights as other citizens. This Law places persons with disabilities in equal position from a human rights perspective, having equal opportunities to develop themselves through independence as human beings with dignity. The content of this law that can answer the issue of disability makes it a policy window opener.

Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities is a momentum that brings together the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream that have been progressing for years. Policy window could open as a result of the interaction of several streams that are connected and in sync with each other; these three streams can create responsive momentum in the government's agenda (Rose et al., 2017).

The momentum in the policy window – driving policy changes or creating new policies – has also been disclosed in several studies. Unfortunately, the discussion on policy window related to disabilities is still minimal. Policy window is mostly explained in cases of policy changes outside of disability cases. Mockrin (2018) explains that forest fire disasters can open a window of opportunity that leads to changes in local government policies. The momentum of forest fires can lead to forest fire disaster mitigation policies. Mackey's research (2019) highlights the recent creation of the Global Network on Anti-Corruption, Transparency and Accountability (GNACTA) led by the World Health Organization (WHO), the Global Fund, and the United Nations Development Program in 2019 became the momentum for opening the window to initiate policies related to corruption in health sector. Corruption in health system has indeed been a 'dirty secret'. Giese's (2020) research also concludes that opening a window can change a policy. The COVID-19 pandemic provides a window of opportunity for policy changes regarding the provision and reimbursement of telehealth costs. The issue of telehealth care has become the aspiration of many healthcare practices that were previously constrained by regulations related to reimbursement. The COVID-19 pandemic that caused a national emergency became the momentum for changes in federal policy in reimbursing the previously uncovered health costs.

Policy Entrepreneur: Lobbying, Negotiating, and Overseeing the Drafting and the Institution of Pro-disabilities Regional Regulation

Kingdon (2013) describes policy entrepreneurs as actors who seek to achieve policy change in favor of their interest through dynamic insinuation. Policy entrepreneurs try to attach their ideas so that their interests can be included in the government's agenda (Cairney & Jones, 2015).

After the enactment of Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities, disability groups have become increasingly active. Persons with disabilities – through PERPENCA and led by the Chairman of the Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council – assembled a team to discuss the draft of regional regulations. A similar team had actually been established in 2009 and had drafted a regional regulation that refers to Law Number 4 of 1997. Unfortunately, despite the struggle and advocacy, this draft could not be attached to the Regional Legislative Program. For this reason, another team is currently being formed to

compose another draft of regional regulation that refers to the new regulation, namely Law Number 8 of 2016.

Around the same time, Jember DPRD had appointed a team of academics to compose the academic manuscripts and the draft of regional regulations. As a result, the draft was far from the expectations of persons with disabilities, and did not even reflect Law Number 8 of 2016. The draft also did not reflect several issues that have been raised in the policy stream since 2003. The draft was far from what is expected by persons with disabilities because the composing and drafting did not involve them at all.

The team created by the disability groups immediately took step and conducted negotiations. An exciting debate took place with the DPRD and the team of academics. With relentless effort day and night, the disability team dismantled the DPRD's version of the regional regulation draft consisting of 195 articles. The dismantling process refers to the 2009 draft which adheres to Law Number 4 of 1997, and then be adjusted according to Law Number 8 of 2016. Finally, a new draft of regional regulation is composed; one that is truly in line with the interests of people with disabilities. The following is the documentation when the disability team acted as a policy entrepreneur, at the time of writing the draft of regional regulation (Figures 6 and 7)

Figure 6. Composing the draft of regional regulation (September 2, 2016)



Figure 7. Composing the draft of regional regulation (September 8, 2016)



Source : PERPENCA (2016)Source : PERPENCA (2016)

Negotiations and debates carried out by the disability team in Jember Regency are in a sense similar to the assertion of Petridou and Mintrom(2020) that in the policy stream, communities with an interest in policy generate and debate many ideas for policy solutions that will be taken later. In this series of processes, experts and actors who are involved in the

problem propose solutions as alternative policies in order to create policies which favor those who have pressed it for a long time. (Béland & Howlett, 2016). Policy entrepreneurs have an important and significant role in policy making, considering that they will carry out advocacy to achieve alignment in public policies made. These policy entrepreneurs must be able to push an issue or a problem and frame it as the government's priority agenda (Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2015).

To acquire a policy that are in line with their interest, policy entrepreneurs must have a strong influence to push the issue. In this sense, it is important for policy entrepreneurs to have power over the government as decision makers. They invest resources such as time, energy, reputation, and money in coalescing problems, solutions, and politics on the issues they are fighting for (Aukes, Lulofs, & Bressers, 2018). The disability groups in Jember Regency, which have established expanded networks with members of the legislative, various disability organizations, and religious organizations, have positioned themselves as a policy entrepreneur with considerable power and influence. In line with the views of Frisch-Aviram, N., Beer, I & Cohen, N (2020) states that there are many various techniques, resources and strategies used by a policy entrepreneur to achieve his goals, both formally and informally so that the agendas they bring can enter the realm of discussion raised by policy makers at various levels of government.

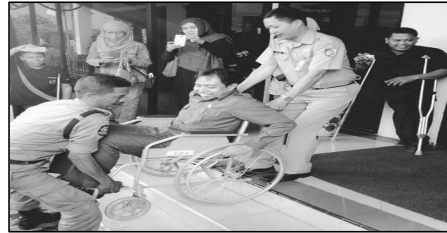
An interesting thing that was done by these disability groups was to challenge the members of DPRD to experience what it feels like to be disabled. The members were "forced" to do their daily activities as if they were persons with disabilities. The chair and the members of DPRD were asked to close their eyes (as if they were blind) and use wheelchairs (as if they had no legs) all the way from the parking lot to the DPRD building. As a result, it was difficult for the chair and the members to get to the building because there was no building facility that could be easily accessed by persons with disabilities (see Figures 8 and 9).

Figure 8. Members of DPRD were challenged to get into the building with their eyes closed, 2016.



Source : PERPENCA (2016)

Figure 9. Chair of DPRD were challenged to exit the building using a wheelchair, 2016.

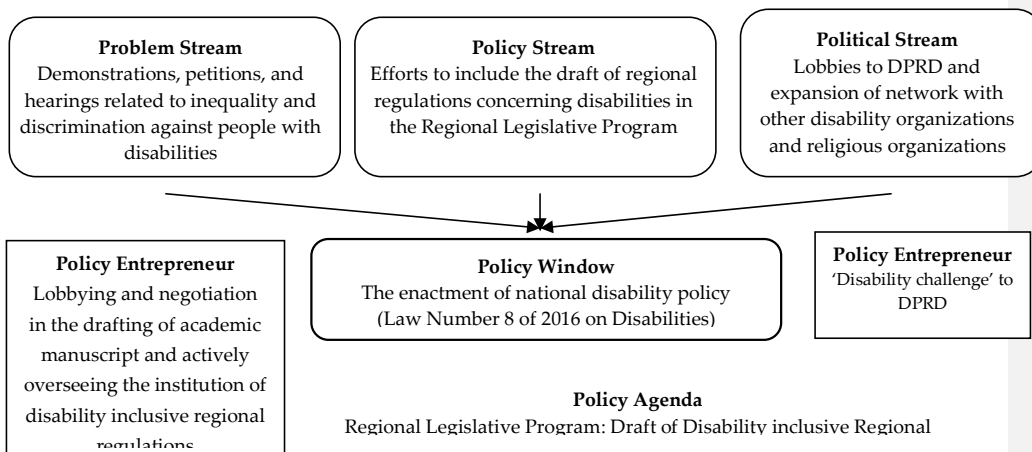


Source : PERPENCA (2016)

This study also finds that apart from disability groups who act as policy entrepreneur, the legislative board is also very influential at this stage. The chair and several members of JemberDPRD were very intense in trying to get disability issues into the Regional Legislative Program. Finally, in 2016 the draft of regional regulation concerning disabilities was successfully included in the Regional Legislative Program. Up to this stage, the disability team's struggle is not over. Equipped with extensive networks that have been established previously, along with personal approaches to the chair and several members of the DPRD, the disability team has sufficient energy and strength to bargain. The team continued to closely overseethe process until finally the Jember'sRegional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on theProtection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilitieswas passed.

In general, the MSF in the context of the institution of pro-disability regional regulation in Jember Regency is shown as follow (Figure 10)

Figure 10. Kingdon's MSF in the institution of disability inclusive regional regulation in Jember Regency



Output
Jember Regency's Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on theProtection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed

Source: Data analysis

Conclusion

This study concludes that the disability policy-making process in Jember Regency was influenced by the strong power of policy entrepreneurs. Through MSF analysis, it can be seen that there was a simultaneous flow of problem streams, policy streams, political streams, policy windows, and policy entrepreneurs. The momentum for the opening of the policy window through the ratification of a national policy on disability was immediately responded by policy entrepreneurs. Disability groups and the the Regional House of Representatives as a policy entrepreneur force acted quickly to take advantage of the open policy window momentum. Finally, the struggle of this disability group had been successful and the policy maker had passed a regional regulation on the protection and fulfillment of the rights of persons with disabilities. This study strengthens the MSF theory by emphasizing the importance of entrepreneurial power to include an issue in the agenda setting.

The role of mass media has not been explained in this study. Therefore, the recommendation for further researchers is to look at the role of mass media in the MSF stream to blow up certain issues so that they get the attention of policy makers and encourage them to include these issues in the agenda setting.

Declaration of Conflict Interest

Both authors state that there is no potential conflict of interest associated with the research, authorship, and publication of this article. The informants also knew and agreed to the use of data in the writing this article.

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BUKTI KORESPONDENSI


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Penulis : Erna Setijaningrum, Ramaditya Rahardian

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The Power of Policy Entrepreneur in Disability Inclusive Policy Making

Abstract

This research aims to describe the power of policy entrepreneur in disability inclusive policy making. Disability inclusive policy in the Jember Regency of East Java, Indonesia is a result of a thirteen-year long struggle of the disability groups. Their struggle started as a series of demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the Regional House of Representatives and the Regent. It then continued with a series of debates and negotiations with the policy makers. This descriptive-qualitative research utilized Kingdon's multiple stream framework analysis to capture the stipulation of Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The informants were six disabled persons and two former members of the Regional House of Representatives. The study finds that the problem stream was raised through demonstrations, petitions, and hearings; the policy stream was done through efforts to include the draft of disability act in the regional legislative program; policy windows took place during the momentum initiated by the stipulation of nationwide disability inclusive policy by the state government; and finally policy entrepreneur act through lobbies and negotiations. This study concludes that the disability policy-making process in Jember Regency was influenced by the strong power of policy entrepreneurs. Disability groups and the the Regional House of Representatives as a policy entrepreneur force acted quickly to take advantage of the open policy window momentum and finally the policy maker ratifies local regulations regarding the protection and fulfillment of the rights of persons with disabilities.

Keywords: disability, multiple stream framework, policy, policy entrepreneur.

Introduction

In a democratic state, community involvement in policy making is made possible so that public policies are made in the favor of the people (Bevir, 2010). But in reality, not all public issues can become a subject of agenda of the policy makers to formulate solutions of (Dunn, 2018). Therefore, non-governmental actors try to voice their interests through advocacy. Advocacy is chosen by these actors to achieve their desired goals. Advocacy also becomes a widespread option when public policies made by the government are not in their favor. Advocacy can also be an alternative used by several non-profit organizations (both Non-Governmental Organizations, NGOs and Civil Society Organizations, CSOs) which until now have been used as a political step in an effort to include a policy agenda as well as

a defense measure against a group that has not yet received support taking sides in public policy issues (Gen & Wright, 2020; Suharto, 2016; Topatimasang et al, 2016). The existing advocacy can be pursued through various media, both legally and paralegally in its implementation.

One of the approaches commonly used to examine the dynamics of these actors in an effort to include their agenda of interests is the Multiple Stream Framework (hereinafter referred to as MSF) from the thoughts of John W. Kingdon (1995) written in his work *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*. Kingdon explained that public policy is a meeting of three streams in the agenda-setting process, namely the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream. The essence of MSF is the meeting of the three streams at a certain condition or momentum in the policy window. Policy window is a description of opportunities that can drive or bring a public problem to the attention of the general public and the policy makers.

The problem stream is an issue that is raised by policy actors outside the government using various existing mechanisms, both through formal legal channels and paralegal channels, for example: network formation, demonstrations, deliberative polls, framing in mass media, and taking legal actions (Boydell et al., 2017; Gillad & Rimmerman, 2012; Landmark et al, 2017; Nohrstedt & Bodin, 2019; Rasmussen, et al, 2018; Sonnenberg, 2020; Zhang et al, 2017). The policy stream frames the process of making and changing policies so that policies are in line with what is desired (Béland & Howlett, 2016; Blum, 2018; Petridou & Mintrom, 2020; Shephard et al., 2020). Moreover, the political stream is a power that greatly influences policy, since political arena does influence policy greatly (Graaf & Snowden, 2020; Hsueh, 2020; Mauti et al., 2019; Wals, 2019). In addition, coalitions and strong network between actors in policy making or policy change is also needed (Rahardian & Zarkasi, 2021; Suherman, et al., 2021; Weible et al., 2011; Wong, 2016). Several studies that review problem streams, policy streams, and political streams are on health policy making, education, media advocacy, reproduction, development, and the environment. Meanwhile, there are very few discussions related to disability inclusive policy making.

Problem stream, policy stream, and political stream will succeed in becoming into the government's agenda when there is a moment that brings the three of them together in the

policy window. The policy window is a moment that brings the three streams together and is used to drive policy change (Beland, 2020; Giese, 2020; Mackey, 2019; Mockrin, 2018; Smith, 2017). Although the three streams have found momentum in the policy window, they still require management by the policy entrepreneur. Policy making is not merely the strength or capacity of one of the policy actors; the coherence of the coalition built by policy entrepreneur will greatly influence it (Brown, 2020; Saurugger & Terpan, 2016; Frisch-Aviram, et al., 2020; Ruvalcaba-Gomez, 2020; Schön-Quinlivan & Scipioni, 2017; Widyatama, 2018; Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2015). This MSF framework is a lens for capture how policies are made under uncertain conditions for decision making (Zahariadis, 2016). This is in line with what Kingdon (2013) said that (ambiguity in policy making) can be portrayed using the MSF framework. Several studies on policy windows and policy entrepreneurs have not yet reviewed disability inclusive policy making. These studies discuss the making of regional expansion policies, water management, foreign, economic, and governance.

The institution of the disability inclusive policy in Jember Regency becomes the focal point of the MSF framework analysis in this study. Jember's Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities is the first regional regulation in Indonesia to be passed after the National Policy on Persons with Disabilities was promulgated. The enactment of a disability inclusive policy in Jember Regency is the result of a long struggle by disability groups. For approximately thirteen years, these disability groups had been relentless in fighting for their interests. Discrimination that has been going on for a long time has triggered protests by disability groups. Their struggle started with demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the Regional House of Representatives (hereinafter referred to as DPRD-*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*) and the Regent, to holding debates with the policy makers. Another strategy that involved opening network access to the representatives was also carried out so that the means to fight for their rights could be formally stated in regulations.

Based on this brief description, it can be seen that it is very difficult for interest groups to put public issues into government's agenda. There needs to be pressure and encouragement from actors so that public issues can be raised by policy makers to become a prioritized policy agenda. The MSF framework by Kingdon will help the researchers to see the dynamics in disability inclusive policy making in Jember Regency. MSF framework is

very well known, but it is underutilized (Cairney & Jones, 2015). Therefore, this study aims to capture the production of a policy using MSF framework.

Research Method

This is a descriptive qualitative research which are based on textual context used to gain understanding on the reasons and motivations that underlie social phenomena (Neuman, 2016). Qualitative research is an approach to explore and understand the meaning made by an individual or a group as a social or human problem (Creswell, 2017). Data collection were done in three ways: observations, interviews, and documentation. The validity of the data was carried out by the triangulation method, namely comparing the data from interviews, observations, and secondary data. Data about the flows in the MSF were asked to one informant who was then cross-checked with other informants. Furthermore, it was cross-checked again with field observations and secondary data. Data analysis included three steps as proposed by Miles et al(2014), namely data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verifying. Data collection in this study was carried out through focus group discussions, discussions in WhatsApp groups, and in-depth interviews. All data obtained were abstracted, presented and then drawn conclusions.

The research location was in Jember Regency, East Java, Indonesia. The research took place for three months from July to September 2020. Informants were selected using purposive and snowball sampling (Craswell, 2017), starting with an initial interview with the chairperson of the Jember Association of People with Disabilities (hereinafter referred to as PERPENCA Jember– *Persatuan Penyandang Cacat Jember*). In this initial interview, the chairperson recommended other informants to complete and refine the data. Since the research took place during the COVID-19 pandemic, focused group discussions (FGD) to get a complete picture of the struggles of people with disabilities were held under strict implementation of the COVID-19 prevention protocol. The first FGD was attended by the chairperson of the PERPENCA Jember, the head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, a member of PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, the Jember branch chair of the National Paralympic Committee of Indonesia (NPCCI), the Jember branch secretary of the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI), the Jember branch chair of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI), and the Jember branch chair of the Disabled Motorcycle

Indonesia. The meeting produced a discussion that illustrated these disability groups' long journey of struggle to fight for their rights. The second FGD was conducted online using Zoom and was attended by not just all participants of the first FGD, but also by the former chairperson of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019 period) and a member of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019 period). Furthermore, data collection was continued by conducting personal interviews with each informant by telephone. To cross-check the data, a discussion was also carried out through WhatsApp group. The following Table 1 lists the informants involved in this study.

Table 1. Research Informants

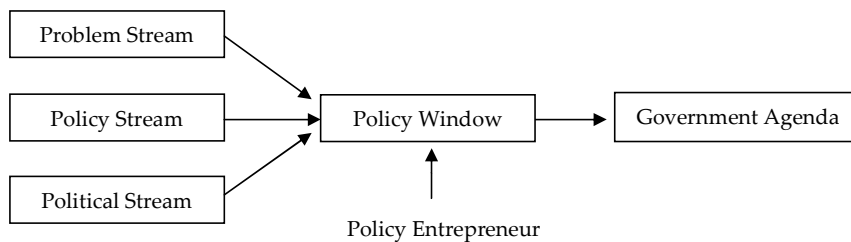
No	Informant's Name	Position
1	ThoifZamroni	Chairperson of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019)
2	David HandokoSeto	Member of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019)
3	MohZaenuriRof'i	Chairperson of PERPENCA Jember
4	AsroulMais	Head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council
5	EkoPujiPurwanto	Member of PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council
6	Kusbandono	Jember branch chair of the NPCI
7	RachmanHadi	Jember branch secretary of the PERTUNI and Jember branch chair of the ITMI
8	Ahmad Yasin	Jember branch chair of the Disabled Motorcycle Indonesia

Source: Researchers' processed data, 2020

Results and Discussion

Paul Cairney (2016) argues that John W. Kingdon's multiple stream framework focuses on an interaction between two types of ideas: the type of policy solution that can attract attention very quickly and a set of established beliefs in the policy network. The following (Figure 1) is an illustration of the meeting of three streams in the policy window, which will then be managed by the policy entrepreneur, so that it can be embedded to the government's agenda.

Figure 1. The meeting of three streams in policy window



Source: Kingdon, 1995

Problem Stream: Demonstrations, Petitions, and Hearings

Problem stream is a perception about public problems that require action and efforts from the government to solve (Kingdon, 2013). This flow of problem stream arises because the developing issues and opinions in the public are developing at large and need tangible solutions (Zahariadis, 2016).

Disability groups in Jember Regency started their struggle in 2003 by raising issues related to inequality and discrimination against disabilities. On July 9, 2003 the PERPENCA organization was established because Jember Regency had not had a disability organization that accommodates all types of disabilities. It is through PERPENCA that disability groups began fighting for their rights. The problem stream arecarried out by these disability groups through demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the DPRD and the Regent. Issues that have been raised are inequality and discrimination in terms of education and job opportunities. The following Table 2 highlights the chronology of the problem stream carried out by the disability groups.

Table2. Chronology of Problem Stream Concerning Issues of Inequality and Discrimination Against People With Disabilities

Year	Course of action	Description
2003	Establishment of PERPENCA	Jember Regency had not had a formal organization that accommodates all types of disabilities.
2003	Demonstration	The demonstration was done to protest inequality and discrimination against people with disabilities, triggered by the rejection of students with disabilities to enroll in regular schools.
2004	Hearing with DPRD and the Regent	The hearing was done to express the issue of inequality and discrimination, especially since some people with disabilities were denied from applying as civil servant.
2005	Demonstration	Fifty people with disabilities were involved in the demonstration to draw sympathy from journalists.
2006	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the disability inclusive program plan.
2008	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the disability inclusive program plan.
2011	Demonstration	The demonstration was a march to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2012	Demonstration	The demonstration was a march to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2013	Petition with 1,000 signatures	In addition to commemorating the International Day of People with Disability, the petition demanded to make Jember Regency as a disability-friendly inclusive city and to legally strengthen such status by instituting a regional regulation on it.

Source: Researchers' processed data, 2020

To get serious attention from policy makers, perceived issues must be framed urgently for a very long time and intensely voiced by certain groups (Birkland, 2016). Such issues will only influence public policy if several actors adjudicate the importance of the need to change under several circumstances and situations (Dunn, 2018). People with disabilities in Jember Regency started their action by holding demonstrations to raise the issue into public sphere. Demonstrations are commonly used by community groups to raise a public issue. Mobilization of people in the context of influencing policy making is aimed to create a framing so that the raised issue can be regarded by the policy makers as an important issue (Weible et al., 2011). Regarding demonstrations carried out by persons with disabilities, research from Gillad&Rimmerman (2012) shows that disability activist groups in Israel use demonstrations or social movements in their efforts to include their agenda of interests in a legislative agenda regarding disability rights. Additionally, to raise issues related to the rights of disabilities who are oppressed through inequality and discrimination, persons with disabilities in Jember Regency also make use of hearings or discussions with the DPRD and the Regent. This is in line with a research by Boydell et al. (2017), arguing that deliberative poll and dialogue can be used as potential approaches in discussing policies regarding disabilities. Figures 2 below portray the petition signing carried out by persons with disabilities in Jember Regency to fight for their rights.

Figure 2. The 2013 petition signing



Source : PERPENCA (2013)

This study also finds the media has a very significant role in strengthening the problem stream. Printed media, radio, and television have all covered some of these demonstrations and hearings. The Jember Radar, a local newspaper, always covers all activities of persons with disabilities in Jember. Likewise, Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) Jember, a Jember branch of Indonesia's national radio station, always broadcasts these activities. In addition, although they do not cover every activity, several radio stations (Soka and Prosalina) and television channels (JTV Jember, Jember 1 TV, ANTV, Metro TV, and Indosiar) have also covered some of the activities of these people with disabilities.

Kingdon (1995) explains that the media can cover an issue in a dramatic way so that it can influence a policy. Furthermore, Rasmussen, et al (2018) states that media advocacy and public opinion dominate political attention and policy change in parliament. The role of the media in raising strategic issues concerning people with disabilities is also seen in the research of Happer&Phillo (2013), which findings show how the media is able to raise issues of disabilities, especially in terms of the small amount of allowances received by disability groups and discrimination against them.

Policy Stream: Embedding the Drafting of Regional Regulation on Disabilities in the Region's Legislative Program

In Kingdon's (2013) theoretical concept, policy stream is the process of fighting of ideas as policy proposals. The actors involved in policy making will use the information they have as consideration in constructing the policy agenda (Béland& Howlett, 2016).

The policy stream of the disability groups is the drafting of Jember Regency Regional Regulation Plan. In 2009, persons with disabilities, led by the head of Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council, created a team to draft a regional regulation on disabilities. This draft refers to Law No. 4 of 1997 on Persons with Disabilities. The efforts to include this draft into the Regional Legislative Program persisted from 2010 to 2014. However, these efforts failed despite the recurring hearings with members of the House of Representatives.

Political Stream: Lobbying and Networking

Kingdon (2013) states that political stream is important because it contributes significantly in providing network access to policy makers so that the proposed agenda can be accepted. Political factors can provide changes in conditions, such as restructuring of the

executive and legislative officials in the government as well as recurring social movements (Zahariadis, 2016). This is in line with the findings of Landmark et al. (2017) which show the significant influence of legislative advocacy as the main channel for actors with disabilities to influence disability-related policies.

The disability groups started their political streams by approaching members of the House of Representatives. Starting in 2015, approaches to these members of the House - especially with the Chairperson of the DPRD, Deputy Chair of the DPRD, and the Chair of the Nasdem (Nasional Demokrat Party) Faction - were carried out intensively to oversee the Draft of Regional Regulation so that it could gain access into the Regional Legislative Program. The disability groups, through the institutional edifices of PERPENCA Jember, began to develop better network with members of the House for the 2014-2019 period. This is as conveyed by the Jember branch chair of the NPCI, Kusbandonobellow :

'on several occasions, we have had informal discussions with board members. We convey some of the problems we face, and try to convince them to make regulations that can protect the rights of people with disabilities.'

PERPENCA Jember also expanded network access to other disability communities in Jember Regency such as the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI Jember) and the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI Jember), which have the same vision and mission. The network was also expanded by engaging religious leaders from the Nahdatul Ulama (NU) of Jember Regency and academics. This is as stated by the Head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, AsroulMais bellows:

'To strengthen the network, we held discussions with other disability communities in Jember Regency, the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI Jember) and the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI Jember). The discussion was about how to have a disability policy in Jember Regency, because we share the same vision in looking at disability issues. Then we also asked for advice and opinions from the Nahdatul Ulama (NU)'

Policy Window: The Issuance of National Pro-disabilities Policy

Kingdon (2013) states that policy windows "are rarely open and do not remain open for long." Therefore, given the importance of this momentum, timing is very important. The series of struggles by the disability groups to materialize regional regulations on the rights of people with disabilities in Jember Regency have started since 2003. This was a very lengthy

struggle, because it took about thirteen years until the Regional Regulation on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed in 2016.

How did this policy window open? The struggle of the disability groups was wide open only when in 2016, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia enacted Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities. This regulation has changed the paradigm regarding disability. The Law regulates the status of persons with disabilities as subjects or as dignified human beings who have the same rights as other citizens. This Law places persons with disabilities in equal position from a human rights perspective, having equal opportunities to develop themselves through independence as human beings with dignity. The content of this law that can answer the issue of disability makes it a policy window opener.

Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities is a momentum that brings together the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream that have been progressing for years. Policy window could open as a result of the interaction of several streams that are connected and in sync with each other; these three streams can create responsive momentum in the government's agenda (Rose et al., 2017).

The momentum in the policy window – driving policy changes or creating new policies – has also been disclosed in several studies. Unfortunately, the discussion on policy window related to disabilities is still minimal. Policy window is mostly explained in cases of policy changes outside of disability cases. Mockrin (2018) explains that forest fire disasters can open a window of opportunity that leads to changes in local government policies. The momentum of forest fires can lead to forest fire disaster mitigation policies. Mackey's research (2019) highlights the recent creation of the Global Network on Anti-Corruption, Transparency and Accountability (GNACTA) led by the World Health Organization (WHO), the Global Fund, and the United Nations Development Program in 2019 became the momentum for opening the window to initiate policies related to corruption in health sector. Corruption in health system has indeed been a 'dirty secret'. Giese's (2020) research also concludes that opening a window can change a policy. The COVID-19 pandemic provides a window of opportunity for policy changes regarding the provision and reimbursement of telehealth costs. The issue of telehealth care has become the aspiration of many healthcare practices that were previously constrained by regulations related to reimbursement. The

COVID-19 pandemic that caused a national emergency became the momentum for changes in federal policy in reimbursing the previously uncovered health costs.

Policy Entrepreneur: Lobbying, Negotiating, and Overseeing the Drafting and the Institution of Pro-disabilities Regional Regulation

Kingdon (2013) describes policy entrepreneurs as actors who seek to achieve policy change in favor of their interest through dynamic insinuation. Policy entrepreneurs try to attach their ideas so that their interests can be included in the government's agenda (Cairney& Jones, 2015).

After the enactment of Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities, disability groups have become increasingly active. Persons with disabilities – through PERPENCA and led by the Chairman of the Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council – assembled a team to discuss the draft of regional regulations. A similar team had actually been established in 2009 and had drafted a regional regulation that refers to Law Number 4 of 1997. Unfortunately, despite the struggle and advocacy, this draft could not be attached to the Regional Legislative Program. For this reason, another team is currently being formed to compose another draft of regional regulation that refers to the new regulation, namely Law Number 8 of 2016.

Around the same time, Jember DPRD had appointed a team of academics to compose the academic manuscripts and the draft of regional regulations. As a result, the draft was far from the expectations of persons with disabilities, and did not even reflect Law Number 8 of 2016. The draft also did not reflect several issues that have been raised in the policy stream since 2003. The draft was far from what is expected by persons with disabilities because the composing and drafting did not involve them at all.

The team created by the disability groups immediately took step and conducted negotiations. An exciting debate took place with the DPRD and the team of academics. With relentless effort day and night, the disability team dismantled the DPRD's version of the regional regulation draft consisting of 195 articles. The dismantling process refers to the 2009 draft which adheres to Law Number 4 of 1997, and then be adjusted according to Law Number 8 of 2016. Finally, a new draft of regional regulation is composed; **one that is truly in line with the interests of people with disabilities.**

Negotiations and debates carried out by the disability team in Jember Regency are in a sense similar to the assertion of Petridou and Mintrom(2020) that in the policy stream, communities with an interest in policy generate and debate many ideas for policy solutions that will be taken later. In this series of processes, experts and actors who are involved in the problem propose solutions as alternative policies in order to create policies which favor those who have pressed it for a long time. (Béland& Howlett, 2016). Policy entrepreneurs have an important and significant role in policy making, considering that they will carry out advocacy to achieve alignment in public policies made. These policy entrepreneurs must be able to push an issue or a problem and frame it as the government's priority agenda (Zahariadis&Exadaktylos, 2015).

To acquire a policy that are in line with their interest, policy entrepreneurs must have a strong influence to push the issue. In this sense, it is important for policy entrepreneurs to have power over the government as decision makers. They invest resources such as time, energy, reputation, and money in coalescing problems, solutions, and politics on the issues they are fighting for (Aukes, Lulofs, & Bressers, 2018). The disability groups in Jember Regency, which have established expanded networks with members of the legislative, various disability organizations, and religious organizations, have positioned themselves as a policy entrepreneur with considerable power and influence. In line with the views of Frisch-Aviram, N., Beeri, I & Cohen, N (2020) states that there are many various techniques, resources and strategies used by a policy entrepreneur to achieve his goals, both formally and informally so that the agendas they bring can enter the realm of discussion raised by policy makers at various levels of government.

An interesting thing that was done by these disability groups was to challenge the members of DPRD to experience what it feels like to be disabled. The members were "forced" to do their daily activities as if they were persons with disabilities. The chair and the members of DPRD were asked to close their eyes (as if they were blind) and use wheelchairs (as if they had no legs) all the way from the parking lot to the DPRD building. As a result, it was difficult for the members to get to the building because there was no building facility that could be easily accessed by persons with disabilities (see Figure 3).

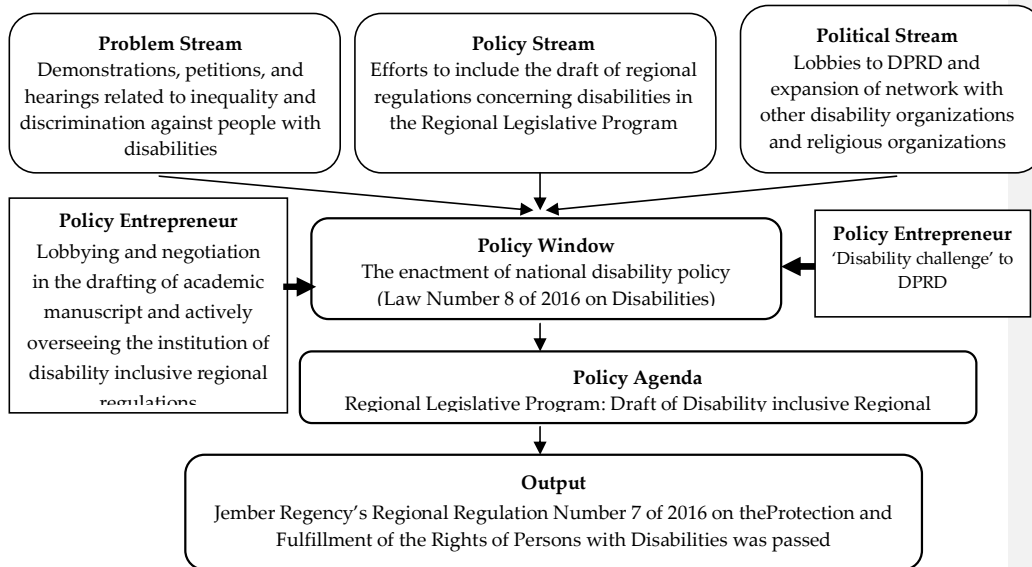
Figure 3. Members of DPRD were challenged to get into the building with their eyes closed, 2016.



Source : PERPENCA (2016)Source : PERPENCA (2016)

This study also finds that apart from disability groups who act as policy entrepreneur, the legislative board is also very influential at this stage. The chair and several members of JemberDPRD were very intense in trying to get disability issues into the Regional Legislative Program. Finally, in 2016 the draft of regional regulation concerning disabilities was successfully included in the Regional Legislative Program. Up to this stage, the disability team's struggle is not over. Equipped with extensive networks that have been established previously, along with personal approaches to the chair and several members of the DPRD, the disability team has sufficient energy and strength to bargain. The team continued to closely oversee the process until finally the Jember's Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed. In general, the MSF in the context of the institution of pro-disability regional regulation in Jember Regency is shown as follow (figure 4)

Figure 4. Kingdon's MSF in the institution of disability inclusive regional regulation in Jember Regency



Source: Data analysis

Conclusion

This study concludes that the disability policy-making process in Jember Regency was influenced by the strong power of policy entrepreneurs. Through MSF analysis, it can be seen that there was a simultaneous flow of problem streams, policy streams, political streams, policy windows, and policy entrepreneurs. The momentum for the opening of the policy window through the ratification of a national policy on disability was immediately responded by policy entrepreneurs. Disability groups and the the Regional House of Representatives as a policy entrepreneur force acted quickly to take advantage of the open policy window momentum. Finally, the struggle of this disability group had been successful and the policy maker had passed a regional regulation on the protection and fulfillment of the rights of persons with disabilities. This study strengthens the MSF theory by emphasizing the importance of entrepreneurial power to include an issue in the agenda setting.

The role of mass media has not been explained in this study. Therefore, the recommendation for further researchers is to look at the role of mass media in the MSF

stream to blow up certain issues so that they get the attention of policy makers and encourage them to include these issues in the agenda setting.

Declaration of Conflict Interest

Both authors state that there is no potential conflict of interest associated with the research, authorship, and publication of this article. The informants also knew and agreed to the use of data in the writing this article.

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Revision Summary
Policy & Governance Review

Title of the Manuscript:	The Power of Policy Entrepreneur in Disability Inclusive Policy Making
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Reviewer's Comment	Author's Comment
Maximum 2 photos used in the manuscript. After the photos is deleted, please adjust the explanation	<i>The photos have been deleted down to 2 photos only. The captions related to the photos have also been adjusted (yellow highlights)</i>

ARTIKEL JURNAL NASIONAL TERAKREDITASI SINTA 2

Judul Artikel : The Power of Policy Entrepreneur in Pro-Disability Policy Making

Jurnal : Jurnal Public and Governance Review, 2022, vol 6 (2)

Penulis : Erna Setijaningrum, Ramaditya Rahardian

No.	Perihal	Tanggal
10.	Bukti konfirmasi submit revisi "Publication Information (Proofread and Author CV)"	18 Mei 2022

Publication Information (Proofread and Author CV)



Participants

Erna Setijaningrum (ernasetijaningrum)

Messages

Note

From

Dear Ms. Setijaningrum

iapabevaola
May 18

I write you in regards to the manuscript "**The Power of Policy Entrepreneur in Pro-Disability Policy Making**" which will publish in PGR Volume 6 Issue 2 May 2022. We inform you that:

1. The manuscript is need to proofread. The proofread will be done through <https://www.fiverr.com/categories/writing-translation/proofreading-editing?source=gallery-listing>, for proofread fees will be charged to the author (\$30- \$100).
The proofread processed by PGR Secretariat.

2. Please send your CV to fill "About Author" (100-120words)

Example:

journal.iapa.or.id/pgr/authorDashboard/submission/504

Review ▾

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BUKTI KORESPONDENSI

ARTIKEL JURNAL NASIONAL TERAKREDITASI SINTA 2

Judul Artikel : The Power of Policy Entrepreneur in Pro-Disability Policy Making

Jurnal : Jurnal Public and Governance Review, 2022, vol 6 (2)

Penulis : Erna Setijaningrum, Ramaditya Rahardian

No.	Perihal	Tanggal
11.	Bukti konfirmasi "CV"	23 Mei 2022



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BUKTI KORESPONDENSI

ARTIKEL JURNAL NASIONAL TERAKREDITASI SINTA 2

Judul Artikel : The Power of Policy Entrepreneur in Pro-Disability Policy Making

Jurnal : Jurnal Public and Governance Review, 2022, vol 6 (2)

Penulis : Erna Setijaningrum, Ramaditya Rahardian

No.	Perihal	Tanggal
12.	Bukti konfirmasi “proofread results”	30 Mei 2022

Review ▾

proofread results

Participants

Erna Setijaningrum (ernasetijaningrum)

Messages

Note

Dear Ms. Setijaningrum

The Power of Policy Entrepreneur in ~~Disability-Inclusive~~Disability-inclusive Policy-Making

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Ramaditya Rahardian, Master of Public Policy student, Universitas Airlangga. He has interests in policy advocacy, policy formulation, policy analysis, policy innovation, and policy design. His research is related to social movements, policy advocacy, and critical policy studies.

Abstract

This research aims to describe the power of policy entrepreneurs in ~~disability-disability-~~inclusive ~~policy-making~~policy-making. ~~Disability-inclusive~~Disability-inclusive policy in the Jember Regency of East Java, Indonesia, is a result of a ~~thirteen-year-long~~thirteen-year-long struggle of the disability groups. Their struggle started as a series of demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the Regional House of Representatives and the Regent. It then continued with a series of debates and negotiations with the ~~policy-makers~~policy-makers. This descriptive-qualitative research utilized Kingdon's multiple stream framework analysis to capture the stipulation of Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The informants were six disabled persons and two former members of the Regional House of Representatives. The study finds that the problem stream was raised through demonstrations, petitions, and hearings; the policy stream was done through efforts to include the draft of the disability act in the regional legislative program; ~~P~~Policy windows took place during the momentum initiated by the stipulation of a nationwide ~~disability-disability-~~inclusive policy by the state government; and, finally, policy entrepreneurs act through lobbies and negotiations. This study concludes that the disability policy-making process in Jember Regency was influenced by the strong power of policy entrepreneurs. Disability groups and ~~the~~ the Regional House

of Representatives as a policy entrepreneur force acted quickly to take advantage of the open policy window momentum, and finally, the policy maker ratifies local regulations ~~regarding the~~ regarding the protection and fulfillment of the rights of persons with disabilities.

Keywords: disability, multiple stream framework, policy, policy entrepreneur.

Introduction

In a democratic state, community involvement in ~~policy making~~ policy-making is made possible so that public policies are made in the favor of the people (Bevir, 2010). But in reality, not all public issues can become a subject of the agenda of the policy -makers to formulate solutions of (Dunn, 2018). Therefore, non-governmental actors try to voice their interests through advocacy. Advocacy is chosen by these actors to achieve their desired goals. Advocacy also becomes a widespread option when public policies made by the government are not in their favor. Advocacy can also be an alternative used by several non-profit organizations (both Non-Governmental Organizations, NGOs, and Civil Society Organizations, CSOs), which until now have been used as a political step in an effort to include a policy agenda as well as a defense measure against a group that has not yet received support taking sides in public policy issues (Gen & Wright, 2020; Suharto, 2016; Topatimasang et al, 2016). The existing advocacy can be pursued through various media, both legally and paralegally, in its implementation.

One of the approaches commonly used to examine the dynamics of these actors in an effort to include their agenda of interests is the Multiple Stream Framework (hereinafter referred to as MSF) from the thoughts of John W. Kingdon (1995) and written in his work, *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies*. Kingdon explained that public policy is a meeting of three streams in the agenda-setting process, namely the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream. The essence of MSF is the meeting of the three streams at a certain condition or momentum in the policy window. Policy window is a description of opportunities that can drive or bring a public problem to the attention of the general public and the ~~policy makers~~ policy-makers.

The problem stream is an issue that is raised by policy actors outside the government using various existing mechanisms, both through formal legal channels and paralegal

channels, for example, network formation, demonstrations, deliberative polls, framing in mass media, and taking legal actions (Boydell et al., 2017; Gillad & Rimmerman, 2012; Landmark et al., 2017; Nohrstedt & Bodin, 2019; Rasmussen, et al., 2018; Sonnenberg, 2020; Zhang et al., 2017). The policy stream frames the process of making and changing policies so that policies are in line with what is desired (Béland & Howlett, 2016; Blum, 2018; Petridou & Mintrom, 2020; Shephard et al., 2020). Moreover, the political stream is a power that greatly influences policy, since the political arena does influence policy greatly (Graaf & Snowden, 2020; Hsueh, 2020; Mauti et al., 2019; Wals, 2019). In addition, coalitions and a strong network between actors in policy-making or policy change is also needed (Rahardian & Zarkasi, 2021; Suherman, et al., 2021; Weible et al., 2011; Wong, 2016). Several studies that review problem streams, policy streams, and political streams are on health policy-making, education, media advocacy, reproduction, development, and the environment. Meanwhile, there are very few discussions related to disability-inclusive policy-making.

The Problem stream, policy stream, and political stream will succeed in becoming into the government's agenda when there is a moment that brings the three of them together in the policy window. The policy window is a moment that brings the three streams together and is used to drive policy change (Beland, 2020; Giese, 2020; Mackey, 2019; Mockrin, 2018; Smith, 2017). Although the three streams have found momentum in the policy window, they still require management by the policy entrepreneur. Policy-making is not merely the strength or capacity of one of the policy actors; the coherence of the coalition built by policy entrepreneurs will greatly influence it (Brown, 2020; Saurugger & Terpan, 2016; Frisch-Aviram, et al., 2020; Ruvalcaba-Gomez, 2020; Schön-Quinlivan & Scipioni, 2017; Widyatama, 2018; Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2015). This MSF framework is a lens for capturing how policies are made under uncertain conditions for decision-making (Zahariadis, 2016). This is in line with what Kingdon (2013) said that ambiguity in policy-making can be portrayed using the MSF framework. Several studies on policy windows and policy entrepreneurs have not yet reviewed disability-inclusive policy-making. These studies discuss the making of regional expansion policies, water management, foreign, economic, and governance.

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The institution of the ~~disability-disability~~-inclusive policy in Jember Regency becomes the focal point of the MSF framework analysis in this study. Jember's Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities is the first regional regulation in Indonesia to be passed after the National Policy on Persons with Disabilities was promulgated. The enactment of a ~~disability-disability~~-inclusive policy in Jember Regency is the result of a long struggle by disability groups. For approximately thirteen years, these ~~disability~~ groups had been relentless in fighting for their interests. Discrimination that has been going on for a long time has triggered protests by disability groups. Their struggle started with demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the Regional House of Representatives (hereinafter referred to as DPRD-*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*) and the Regent, to holding debates with the ~~policy-makers~~~~policy-makers~~. Another strategy that involved opening network access to the representatives was also carried out so that the means to fight for their rights could be formally stated in regulations.

Based on this brief description, it can be seen that it is very difficult for interest groups to put public issues ~~into-on the~~ government's agenda. There needs to be pressure and encouragement from actors so that public issues can be raised by ~~policy-makers~~~~policy-makers~~ to become a prioritized policy agenda. The MSF framework by Kingdon will help the researchers to see the dynamics in ~~disability-inclusive~~~~disability-inclusive~~ ~~policy-making~~~~policy-making~~ in Jember Regency. MSF framework is very well known, but it is underutilized (Cairney & Jones, 2015). Therefore, this study aims to capture the production of a policy using ~~the~~ MSF framework.

Research Method

This is a descriptive qualitative research ~~which-that is are~~-based on textual context used to gain ~~an~~ understanding ~~on-of~~ the reasons and motivations that underlie social phenomena (Neuman, 2016). Qualitative research is an approach to ~~explore-exploring~~ and understand~~ing~~ the meaning made by an individual or a group as a social or human problem (Creswell, 2017). Data collection ~~were-was~~ done in three ways: observations, interviews, and documentation. The validity of the data was carried out by the triangulation method, namely comparing the data from interviews, observations, and secondary data. ~~-~~Data about the flows in the MSF ~~were-was asked-requested to-from~~ one informant, who ~~was~~ then cross-

checked with other informants. Furthermore, it was cross-checked again with field observations and secondary data. Data analysis included ~~three-four~~ steps, as proposed by Miles et al. (2014), namely data collection, data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verifying. Data collection in this study was carried out through focus group discussions, discussions in WhatsApp groups, and in-depth interviews. All data obtained were abstracted, presented, and then drawn to conclusions.

The research location was in Jember Regency, East Java, Indonesia. The research took place for three months, from July to September 2020. Informants were selected using purposive and snowball sampling (Craswell, 2017), starting with an initial interview with the chairperson of the Jember Association of People with Disabilities (hereinafter referred to as PERPENCA Jember– *Persatuan Penyandang Cacat Jember*). In this initial interview, the chairperson recommended other informants ~~to~~ complete and refine the data. Since the research took place during the COVID-19 pandemic, focused group discussions (FGD) to get a complete picture of the struggles of people with disabilities were held under a strict implementation of the COVID-19 prevention protocol. The first FGD was attended by the chairperson of the PERPENCA Jember, the head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, a member of PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, the Jember branch chair of the National Paralympic Committee of Indonesia (NPCI), the Jember branch secretary of the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI), the Jember branch chair of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI), and the Jember branch chair of the Disabled Motorcycle Indonesia. The meeting produced a discussion that illustrated these disability groups' long journey of struggle to fight for their rights. The second FGD was conducted online using Zoom and was attended by not just all participants of the first FGD, but also by the former chairperson of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019 period) and a member of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019 period). Furthermore, data collection was continued by conducting personal interviews with each informant by telephone. To cross-check the data, a discussion was also carried out through WhatsApp group. The following Table 1 lists the informants involved in this study.

Table 1. Research Informants

No	Informant's Name	Position
1	Thoif Zamroni	Chairperson of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019)
2	David Handoko Seto	Member of the Jember DPRD (2014 - 2019)
3	Moh Zaenuri Rofi'i	Chairperson of PERPENCA Jember

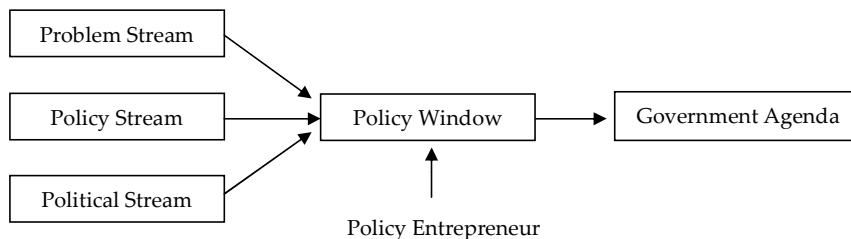
4	AsroulMais	Head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council
5	EkoPujiPurwanto	Member of PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council
6	Kusbandono	Jember branch chair of the NPCI
7	RachmanHadi	Jember branch secretary of the PERTUNI and Jember branch chair of the ITMI
8	Ahmad Yasin	Jember branch chair of the Disabled Motorcycle Indonesia

Source: Researchers' processed data, 2020

Results and Discussion

Paul Cairney (2016) argues that John W. Kingdon's multiple stream framework focuses on an interaction between two types of ideas: the type of policy solution that can attract attention very quickly and a set of established beliefs in the policy network. The following (Figure 1) is an illustration of the meeting of three streams in the policy window, which will then be managed by the policy entrepreneur, so that it can be embedded into the government's agenda.

Figure 1. The meeting of three streams in policy window



Source: Kingdon, 1995

Problem Stream: Demonstrations, Petitions, and Hearings

A problem stream is a perception about public problems that require action and efforts from the government to solve (Kingdon, 2013). This flow of problem stream arises because the developing issues and opinions in the public are developing at large and need tangible solutions (Zahariadis, 2016).

Disability groups in Jember Regency started their struggle in 2003 by raising issues related to inequality and discrimination against disabilities. On July 9, 2003, the PERPENCA organization was established because Jember Regency had not had a disability organization that accommodates all types of disabilities. It is through PERPENCA that disability groups began fighting for their rights. The problem stream is carried out by these disability groups through demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the DPRD and the Regent. Issues that have been raised are inequality and discrimination in terms of education and job

opportunities. The following Table 2 highlights the chronology of the problem stream carried out by the disability groups.

Table 2. Chronology of Problem Stream Concerning Issues of Inequality and Discrimination ~~Against~~ People ~~With~~ Disabilities

Year	Course of action	Description
2003	Establishment of PERPENCA	Jember Regency had not had a formal organization that accommodates all types of disabilities.
2003	Demonstration	The demonstration was done to protest inequality and discrimination against people with disabilities, triggered by the rejection of students with disabilities to enroll in regular schools.
2004	Hearing with DPRD and the Regent	The hearing was done to express the issue of inequality and discrimination, especially since some people with disabilities were denied from applying as civil servants.
2005	Demonstration	Fifty people with disabilities were involved in the demonstration to draw sympathy from journalists.
2006	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the disability-inclusive <u>disability-inclusive</u> program plan.
2008	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the disability-inclusive <u>disability-inclusive</u> program plan.
2011	Demonstration	The demonstration was a march <u>carried out</u> to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2012	Demonstration	The demonstration was a <u>carried out</u> march to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2013	Petition with 1,000 signatures	In addition to commemorating the International Day of People with Disability, the petition demanded to make Jember Regency as a disability-friendly inclusive city and to legally strengthen such status by instituting a regional regulation on it.

-- Source: Researchers' processed data, 2020

To get serious attention from ~~policy-makers~~ policy-makers, perceived issues must be framed urgently for a very long time and intensely voiced by certain groups (Birkland, 2016). Such issues will only influence public policy if several actors adjudicate the importance of the need to change under several circumstances and situations (Dunn, 2018). People with disabilities in Jember Regency started their action by holding demonstrations to raise the issue ~~into~~ the public sphere. Demonstrations are commonly used by community groups to raise a public issue. Mobilization of people in the context of influencing ~~policy making~~ policy-making is aimed to create a framing so that the raised issue can be regarded by the ~~policy-makers~~ policy-makers as an important issue (Weible et al., 2011). Regarding demonstrations carried out by persons with disabilities, research from Gillad & Rimmerman (2012) shows that disability activist groups in Israel use demonstrations or social movements in their efforts to include their agenda of interests in a legislative agenda regarding disability

rights. Additionally, to raise issues related to the rights of disabilities who are oppressed through inequality and discrimination, persons with disabilities in Jember Regency also make use of hearings or discussions with the DPRD and the Regent. This is in line with a research by Boydell et al. (2017), arguing that deliberative polls and dialogue can be used as potential approaches ~~in-to~~ discussing policies regarding disabilities. Figures 2 below portray the petition signing carried out by persons with disabilities in Jember Regency to fight for their rights.

Figure 2. The 2013 petition signing



----- Source: PERPENCA (2013)

This study also finds the media has a very significant role in strengthening the problem stream. Printed media, radio, and television have all covered some of these demonstrations and hearings. The Jember Radar, a local newspaper, always covers all activities of persons with disabilities in Jember. Likewise, Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) Jember, a Jember branch of Indonesia's national radio station, always broadcasts these activities. In addition, although they do not cover every activity, several radio stations (Soka and Prosalina) and television channels (JTV Jember, Jember 1 TV, ANTV, Metro TV, and Indosiar) have also covered some of the activities of these people with disabilities.

Kingdon (1995) explains that the media can cover an issue in a dramatic way so that it can influence a policy. Furthermore, Rasmussen, et al (2018) states that media advocacy and public opinion dominate political attention and policy change in parliament. The role of the media in raising strategic issues concerning people with disabilities is also seen in the

research of Happer & Phillo (2013), ~~which and~~ findings show how the media is able to raise issues of disabilities, especially in terms of the small ~~amount-number~~ of allowances received by disability groups and discrimination against them.

Policy Stream: Embedding the Drafting of Regional Regulation on Disabilities in the Region's Legislative Program

In Kingdon's (2013) theoretical concept, policy stream is the process of fighting ~~of~~ ideas as policy proposals. The actors involved in ~~policy-making~~~~policy-making~~ will use the information they have as a consideration in constructing the policy agenda (Béland & Howlett, 2016).

The policy stream of the disability groups ~~is-in~~ the drafting of Jember Regency Regional Regulation Plan. In 2009, persons with disabilities, led by the head of Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council, created a team to draft a regional regulation on disabilities. This draft refers to Law No. 4 of 1997 on Persons with Disabilities. The efforts to include this draft into the Regional Legislative Program persisted from 2010 to 2014. However, these efforts failed despite the recurring hearings with members of the House of Representatives.

Political Stream: Lobbying and Networking

Kingdon (2013) states that the political stream is important because it contributes significantly ~~in-to~~ providing network access to ~~policy-makers~~~~policy-makers~~ so that the proposed agenda can be accepted. Political factors can provide changes in conditions, such as restructuring of the executive and legislative officials in the government as well as recurring social movements (Zahariadis, 2016). This is in line with the findings of Landmark et al. (2017), which show the significant influence of legislative advocacy as the main channel for actors with disabilities to influence disability-related policies.

The disability groups started their political streams by approaching members of the House of Representatives. Starting in 2015, approaches to these members of the House, ~~—~~ especially with the Chairperson of the DPRD, Deputy Chair of the DPRD, and the Chair of the Nasdem (Nasional Demokrat Party) Faction, ~~—~~ were carried out intensively to oversee the Draft of Regional Regulation so that it could gain access into the Regional Legislative Program. The disability groups, through the institutional edifices of PERPENCA Jember, began to develop a better network with members of the House for the 2014-2019 period. This

is as conveyed by the Jember branch chair of the NPCI, ~~Kusbandonobellow~~ Kusbandono, ~~below~~:

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"on several occasions, we have had informal discussions with board members. We convey some of the problems we face, and try to convince them to make regulations that can protect the rights of people with disabilities."

PERPENCA Jember also expanded network access to other disability communities in Jember Regency such as the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI Jember) and the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI Jember), which have the same vision and mission. The network was also expanded by engaging religious leaders from the Nahdatul Ulama (NU) of Jember Regency and academics. This is as stated by the Head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, Asroul Mais, ~~below~~:

'To strengthen the network, we held discussions with other disability communities in Jember Regency, the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI Jember) and the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI Jember). The discussion was about how to have a disability policy in Jember Regency, because we share the same vision in looking at disability issues. Then we also asked for advice and opinions from the Nahdatul Ulama (NU)'

Policy Window: The Issuance of National Pro-disabilities Policy

Kingdon (2013) states that policy windows "are rarely open and do not remain open for long." Therefore, given the importance of this momentum, timing is ~~very important~~ paramount. The series of struggles by the disability groups to materialize regional regulations on the rights of people with disabilities in Jember Regency ~~have had~~ started ~~since in~~ 2003. This was a very lengthy struggle, because it took about thirteen years until the Regional Regulation on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed in 2016.

How did this policy window open? The struggle of the disability groups was wide open only when in 2016, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia enacted Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities. This regulation has changed the paradigm regarding disability. The Law regulates the status of persons with disabilities as subjects or as dignified human beings who have the same rights as other citizens. This Law places persons with disabilities in equal position from a human rights perspective, having equal opportunities to

develop themselves through independence as human beings with dignity. The content of this law that can answer the issue of disability makes it a policy window opener.

Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities is a momentum that brings together the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream that have been progressing for years. Policy window could open as a result of the interaction of several streams that are connected and in sync with each other; these three streams can create responsive momentum in the government's agenda (Rose et al., 2017).

The momentum in the policy window – driving policy changes or creating new policies – has also been disclosed in several studies. Unfortunately, the discussion on policy windows related to disabilities is still minimal. Policy window is mostly explained in cases of policy changes outside of disability cases. Mockrin (2018) explains that forest fire disasters can open a window of opportunity that leads to changes in local government policies. The momentum of forest fires can lead to forest fire disaster mitigation policies. Mackey's research (2019) highlights the recent creation of the Global Network on Anti-Corruption, Transparency and Accountability (GNACTA), led by the World Health Organization (WHO), the Global Fund, and the United Nations Development Program in 2019 became the momentum for opening the window to initiate policies related to corruption in the health sector. Corruption in the health system has indeed been a 'dirty secret'. Giese's (2020) research also concludes that opening a window can change a policy. The COVID-19 pandemic provides a window of opportunity for policy changes regarding the provision and reimbursement of telehealth costs. The issue of telehealth-care has become the aspiration of many healthcare practices that were previously constrained by regulations related to reimbursement. The COVID-19 pandemic that caused a national emergency became the momentum for changes in federal policy in reimbursing the previously uncovered health costs.

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Policy Entrepreneur: Lobbying, Negotiating, and Overseeing the Drafting and the Institution of Pro-disabilities Regional Regulation

Kingdon (2013) describes policy entrepreneurs as actors who seek to achieve policy change in favor of their interests through dynamic insinuation. Policy entrepreneurs try to

attach their ideas so that their interests can be included in the government's agenda (Cairney& Jones, 2015).

After the enactment of Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities, disability groups have become increasingly active. Persons with disabilities – through PERPENCA and led by the Chairman of the Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council – assembled a team to discuss the draft of regional regulations. A similar team had actually been established in 2009 and had drafted a regional regulation that refers to Law Number 4 of 1997. Unfortunately, despite the struggle and advocacy, this draft could not be attached to the Regional Legislative Program. For this reason, another team is currently being formed to compose another draft of regional regulation that refers to the new regulation, namely Law Number 8 of 2016.

Around the same time, Jember DPRD had appointed a team of academics to compose the academic manuscripts and the draft of regional regulations. As a result, the draft was far from the expectations of persons with disabilities, and did not even reflect Law Number 8 of 2016. The draft also did not reflect several issues that have been raised in the policy stream since 2003. The draft was far from what is expected by persons with disabilities because the composing and drafting did not involve them at all.

The team created by the disability groups immediately took the step and conducted negotiations. An exciting debate took place with-between the DPRD and the team of academics. With relentless effort day and night, the disability team dismantled the DPRD's version of the regional regulation draft consisting of 195 articles. The dismantling process refers to the 2009 draft which adheres to Law Number 4 of 1997, and then be adjusted according to Law Number 8 of 2016. Finally, a new draft of regional regulation is composed; one that is truly in line with the interests of people with disabilities.

Negotiations and debates carried out by the disability team in Jember Regency are in a sense similar to the assertion of Petridou and Mintrom_(2020) that in the policy stream, communities with an interest in policy generate and debate many ideas for policy solutions that will be taken later. In this series of processes, experts and actors who are involved in the problem propose solutions as alternative policies in order to create policies which-that favor those who have pressed it for a long time. (Béland& Howlett, 2016). Policy entrepreneurs have an important and significant role in policy-makingpolicy-making, considering that they

will carry out advocacy to achieve alignment in public policies made. These policy entrepreneurs must be able to push an issue or a problem and frame it as the government's priority agenda (Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2015).

To acquire a policy that ~~are-is~~ in line with their interest, policy entrepreneurs must have a strong influence to push the issue. In this sense, it is important for policy entrepreneurs to have power over the government as ~~decision-decision~~-makers. They invest resources such as time, energy, reputation, and money in coalescing problems, solutions, and politics on the issues they are fighting for (Aukes, Lulofs, & Bressers, 2018). The disability groups in Jember Regency, which have established expanded networks with members of the ~~legislativelegislative~~, various disability organizations, and religious organizations, have positioned themselves as ~~a-policy entrepreneurs~~ with considerable power and influence. In line with the views of Frisch-Aviram, N., Beeri, I & Cohen, N (2020), ~~it~~ states that there are many various techniques, resources, and strategies used by a policy entrepreneur to achieve his goals, both formally and informally so that the agendas they bring can enter the realm of discussion raised by ~~policy-makerspolicy-makers~~ at various levels of government.

An interesting thing that was done by these disability groups was to challenge the members of DPRD to experience what it feels like to be disabled. The members were "forced" to do their daily activities as if they were persons with disabilities. The chair and the members of DPRD were asked to close their eyes (as if they were blind) and use wheelchairs (as if they had no legs) all the way from the parking lot to the DPRD building. As a result, it was difficult for the members to get to the building because ~~there was no building facility~~ ~~thatno building facility~~ could be easily accessed by persons with disabilities (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Members of DPRD were ~~hallenged-challenged~~ to get into the building

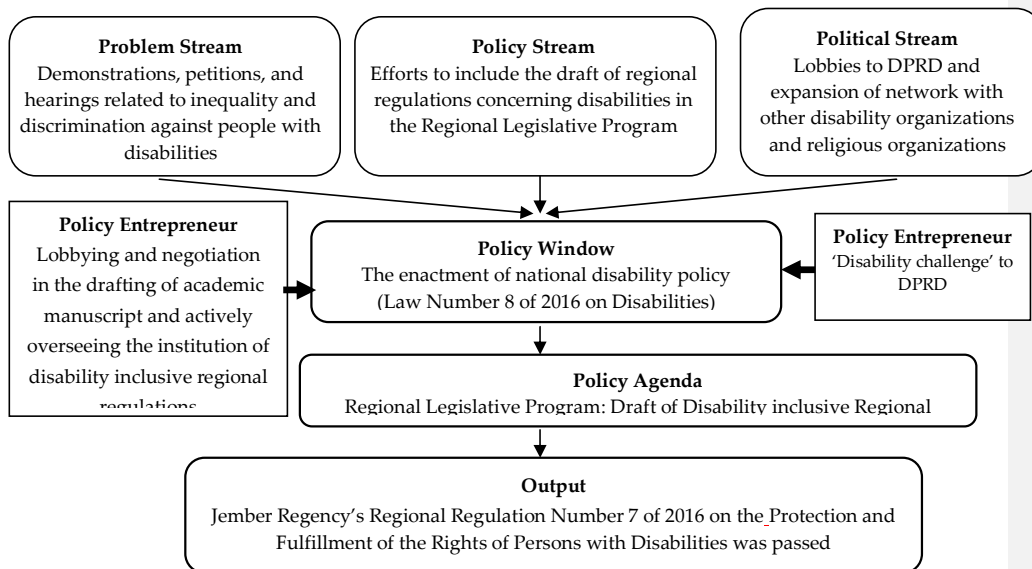
with their eyes closed, 2016.



~~Source: PERPENCA (2016)~~ ~~Source: PERPENCA (2016)~~

This study also finds that apart from disability groups who act as policy entrepreneurs, the legislative board is also very influential at this stage. The chair and several members of Jember DPRD were very intense in trying to get disability issues into the Regional Legislative Program. Finally, in 2016, the draft of regional regulation concerning disabilities was successfully included in the Regional Legislative Program. Up to this stage, the disability team's struggle is not over. Equipped with extensive networks that have been established previously, along with personal approaches to the chair and several members of the DPRD, the disability team has sufficient energy and strength to bargain. The team continued to closely oversee the process until, finally, the Jember's Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed. In general, the MSF in the context of the institution of pro-disability regional regulation in Jember Regency is shown as follows (figure 4):

Figure 4. Kingdon's MSF in the institution of ~~disability-inclusive~~ disability-inclusive regional regulation in Jember Regency



Source: Data analysis

Conclusion

This study concludes that the disability policy-making process in Jember Regency was influenced by the strong power of policy entrepreneurs. Through MSF analysis, it can be seen that there was a simultaneous flow of problem streams, policy streams, political streams, policy windows, and policy entrepreneurs. The momentum for the opening of the policy window through the ratification of a national policy on disability was immediately responded to by policy entrepreneurs. Disability groups and ~~the~~ the Regional House of Representatives as a policy entrepreneur force acted quickly to take advantage of the open policy window momentum. Finally, the struggle of this disability group had been successful and the policy-maker had passed a regional regulation on the protection and fulfillment of the rights of persons with disabilities. This study strengthens the MSF theory by emphasizing the importance of entrepreneurial power to include an issue in the agenda agenda-setting.

The role of mass media has not been explained in this study. Therefore, the recommendation for further researchers is to look at the role of mass media in the MSF stream to blow up certain issues so that they get the attention of ~~policy-makers~~policy-makers and encourage them to include these issues in the ~~agenda~~agenda-setting.

Declaration of Conflict Interest

Both authors state that there is no potential conflict of interest associated with the research, authorship, and publication of this article. ~~The informants also knew and agreed to the use of data in the writing this article.~~ The informants also knew and agreed to the use of the data in this article.

~~Acknowledgement~~

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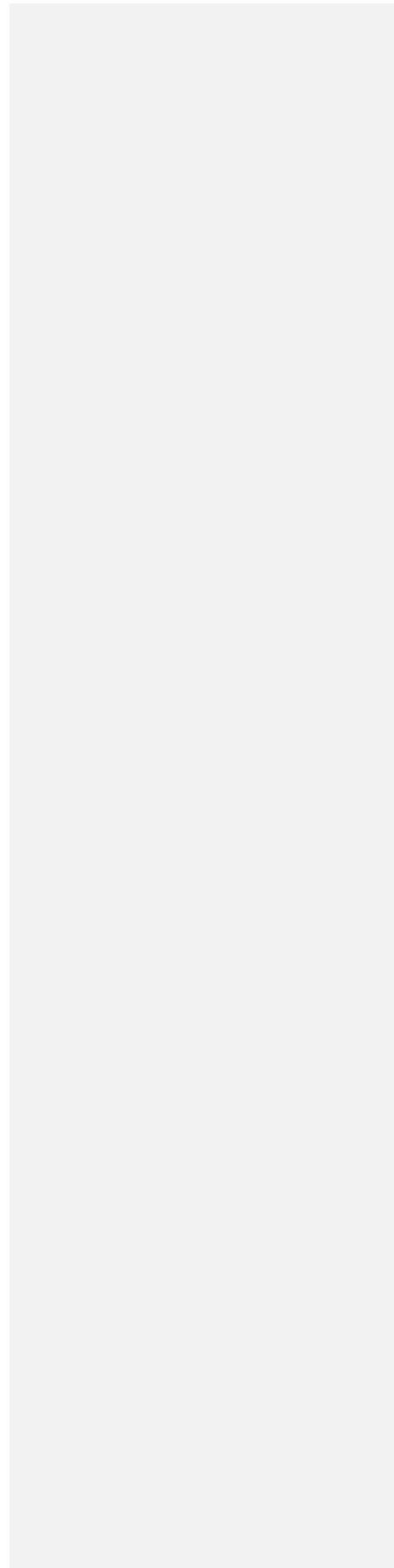
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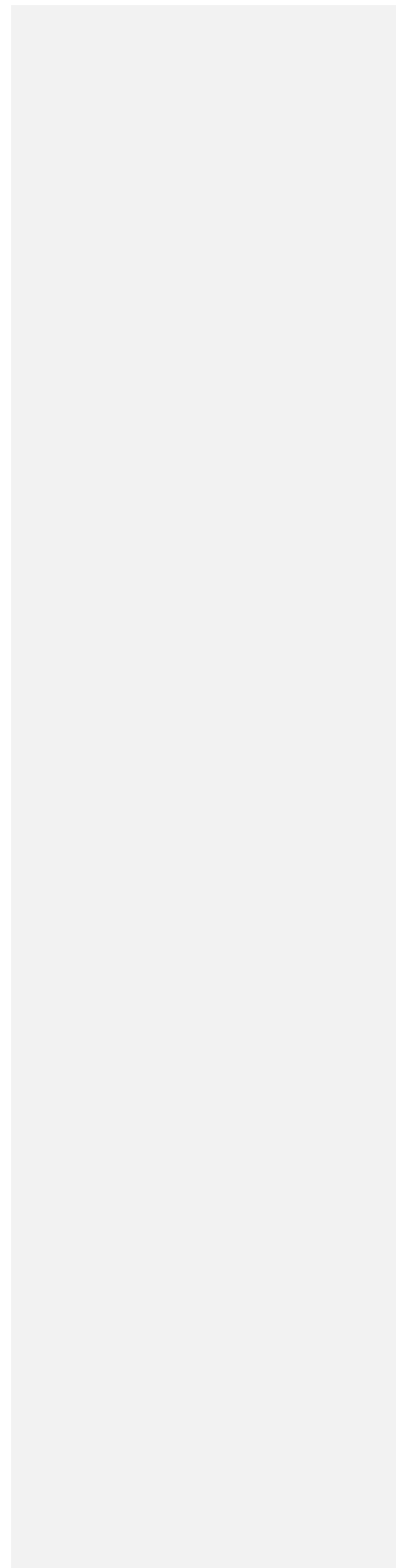
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BUKTI KORESPONDENSI

ARTIKEL JURNAL NASIONAL TERAKREDITASI SINTA 2

Judul Artikel : The Power of Policy Entrepreneur in Pro-Disability Policy Making

Jurnal : Jurnal Public and Governance Review, 2022, vol 6 (2)

Penulis : Erna Setijaningrum, Ramaditya Rahardian

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Erna Setijaningrum, Ramaditya Rahardian (Author)

We have reached a decision regarding your submission.

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ARTIKEL JURNAL NASIONAL TERAKREDITASI SINTA 2

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Participants

Erna Setijaningrum (ernasetijaningrum)

Messages

Note

Dear Author

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issues and opinions in the public are developing at large and need tangible solutions (Zahariadis, 2016).

Disability groups in Jember Regency started their struggle in 2003 by raising issues related to inequality and discrimination against disabilities. On July 9, 2003, the PERPENCA organization was established because Jember Regency had not had a disability organization that accommodates all types of disabilities. It is through PERPENCA that disability groups began fighting for their rights. The problem stream is carried out by these disability groups through demonstrations, petitions, and hearings with the DPRD and the Regent. Issues that have been raised are inequality and discrimination in terms of education and job opportunities. The following Table 2 highlights the chronology of the problem stream carried out by the disability groups.

To get serious attention from policy-makers, perceived issues must be framed urgently for a very long time and intensely voiced by certain groups (Birkland, 2016). Such issues will only influence public policy if several actors adjudicate the importance of the need to change under several

circumstances and situations (Dunn, 2018). People with disabilities in Jember Regency started their action by holding demonstrations to raise the issue in the public sphere. Demonstrations are commonly used by community groups to raise a public issue. Mobilization of people in the context of influencing policy-making is aimed to create a framing so that the raised issue can be regarded by the policy-makers as an important issue (Weible et al., 2011). Regarding demonstrations carried out by persons with disabilities, research from Gillad & Rimmerman (2012) shows that disability activist groups in Israel use demonstrations or social movements in their efforts to include their agenda of interests in a legislative agenda regarding disability rights. Additionally, to raise issues related to the rights of disabilities who are oppressed through inequality and discrimination, persons with disabilities in Jember Regency also make use of hearings or discussions with the DPRD and the Regent. This is in line with research by Boydell et al. (2017), arguing that deliberative polls and dialogue can be used as potential approaches to discussing policies regarding disabilities. Figures 2 below portray the petition

Table 2.
Chronology of Problem Stream Concerning Issues of Inequality and Discrimination against People with Disabilities

Year	Course of action	Description
2003	Establishment of PERPENCA	Jember Regency had not had a formal organization that accommodates all types of disabilities.
2003	Demonstration	The demonstration was done to protest inequality and discrimination against people with disabilities, triggered by the rejection of students with disabilities to enroll in regular schools.
2004	Hearing with DPRD and the Regent	The hearing was done to express the issue of inequality and discrimination, especially since some people with disabilities were denied from applying as civil servants.
2006	Demonstration	Fifty people with disabilities were involved in the demonstration to draw sympathy from journalists.
2006	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the disability-inclusive program plan.
2008	Hearing with the Regent	The hearing was done to present the disability-inclusive program plan.
2011	Demonstration	The demonstration was carried out to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2012	Demonstration	The demonstration was carried out to commemorate the International Day of People with Disability.
2013	Petition with 1,000 signatures	In addition to commemorating the International Day of People with Disability, the petition demanded to make Jember Regency a disability-friendly inclusive city and to legally strengthen such status by instituting a regional regulation on it.

Source: Researchers' processed data, 2020

signing carried out by persons with disabilities in Jember Regency to fight for their rights.

Figure 2.
The 2013 petition signing



Source: PERPENCA (2013)

This study also finds the media has a very significant role in strengthening the problem stream. Printed media, radio, and television have all covered some of these demonstrations and hearings. The Jember Radar, a local newspaper, always covers all activities of persons with disabilities in Jember. Likewise, Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) Jember, a Jember branch of Indonesia's national radio station, always broadcasts these activities. In addition, although they do not cover every activity, several radio stations (Soka and Prosalina) and television channels (JTV Jember, Jember 1 TV, ANTV, Metro TV, and Indosiar) have also covered some of the activities of these people with disabilities.

Kingdon (1995) explains that the media can cover an issue in a dramatic way so that it can influence a policy. Furthermore, Rasmussen, et al (2018) states that media advocacy and public opinion dominate political attention and policy change in parliament. The role of the media in raising strategic issues concerning people with disabilities is also seen in the research of Harper & Phillo (2013), and findings show how the media is able to raise issues of disabilities, especially in

terms of the small number of allowances received by disability groups and discrimination against them.

Policy Stream: Embedding the Drafting of Regional Regulation on Disabilities in the Region's Legislative Program

In Kingdon's (2013) theoretical concept, policy stream is the process of fighting ideas as policy proposals. The actors involved in policy-making will use the information they have as a consideration in constructing the policy agenda (Béland & Howlett, 2016).

The policy stream of the disability groups in the drafting of Jember Regency Regional Regulation Plan. In 2009, persons with disabilities, led by the head of Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council, created a team to draft a regional regulation on disabilities. This draft refers to Law No. 4 of 1997 on Persons with Disabilities. The efforts to include this draft into the Regional Legislative Program persisted from 2010 to 2014. However, these efforts failed despite the recurring hearings with members of the House of Representatives.

Political Stream: Lobbying and Networking

Kingdon (2013) states that the political stream is important because it contributes significantly to providing network access to policy-makers so that the proposed agenda can be accepted. Political factors can provide changes in conditions, such as restructuring of the executive and legislative officials in the government as well as recurring social movements (Zahariadis, 2016). This is in line with the findings of Landmark et al. (2017), which show the significant influence of legislative advocacy as the main channel for actors with disabilities to influence disability-related policies.

The disability groups started their political streams by approaching members of the House

of Representatives. Starting in 2015, approaches to these members of the House, especially with the Chairperson of the DPRD, Deputy Chair of the DPRD, and the Chair of the Nasdem (Nasional Demokrat Party) Faction, were carried out intensively to oversee the Draft of Regional Regulation so that it could gain access into the Regional Legislative Program. The disability groups, through the institutional edifices of PERPENCA Jember, began to develop a better network with members of the House for the 2014-2019 period. This is as conveyed by the Jember branch chair of the NPCI, Kusbandono, below:

"on several occasions, we have had informal discussions with board members. We convey some of the problems we face, and try to convince them to make regulations that can protect the rights of people with disabilities."

PERPENCA Jember also expanded network access to other disability communities in Jember Regency such as the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI Jember) and the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI Jember), which have the same vision and mission. The network was also expanded by engaging religious leaders from the Nahdatul Ulama (NU) of Jember Regency and academics. This is as stated by the Head of the PERPENCA Jember Advisory Council, Asroul Mats, below:

"To strengthen the network, we held discussions with other disability communities in Jember Regency, the Indonesian Blind People Association (PERTUNI Jember) and the Jember branch of the Indonesian Blind Muslim Association (ITMI Jember). The discussion was about how to have a disability policy in Jember Regency, because we share the same vision in looking at disability issues. Then we also asked for advice and opinions from the Nahdatul Ulama (NU)"

Policy Window: The Issuance of National Pro-disabilities Policy

Kingdon (2013) states that policy windows "are rarely open and do not remain open for long." Therefore, given the importance of this momentum, timing is paramount. The series of struggles by the disability groups to materialize regional regulations on the rights of people with disabilities in Jember Regency had started in 2003. This was a very lengthy struggle because it took about thirteen years until the Regional Regulation on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed in 2016.

How did this policy window open? The struggle of the disability groups was wide open only when in 2016, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia enacted Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities. This regulation has changed the paradigm regarding disability. The Law regulates the status of persons with disabilities as subjects or as dignified human beings who have the same rights as other citizens. This Law places persons with disabilities in equal position from a human rights perspective, having equal opportunities to develop themselves through independence as human beings with dignity. The content of this law that can answer the issue of disability makes it a policy window opener.

Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities is a momentum that brings together the problem stream, policy stream, and political stream that have been progressing for years. Policy window could open as a result of the interaction of several streams that are connected and in sync with each other; these three streams can create responsive momentum in the government's agenda (Rose et al., 2017).

The momentum in the policy window - driving policy changes or creating new policies - has also been disclosed in several studies. Unfortunately, the discussion on policy windows

related to disabilities is still minimal. Policy window is mostly explained in cases of policy changes outside of disability cases. Mockrin (2018) explains that forest fire disasters can open a window of opportunity that leads to changes in local government policies. The momentum of forest fires can lead to forest fire disaster mitigation policies. Mackey's research (2019) highlights the recent creation of the Global Network on Anti-Corruption, Transparency and Accountability (GNACTA), led by the World Health Organization (WHO), the Global Fund, and the United Nations Development Program in 2019 became the momentum for opening the window to initiate policies related to corruption in the health sector. Corruption in the health system has indeed been a 'dirty secret'. Giese's (2020) research also concludes that opening a window can change a policy. The COVID-19 pandemic provides a window of opportunity for policy changes regarding the provision and reimbursement of telehealth costs. The issue of telehealthcare has become the aspiration of many healthcare practices that were previously constrained by regulations related to reimbursement. The COVID-19 pandemic that caused a national emergency became the momentum for changes in federal policy in reimbursing the previously uncovered health costs.

Policy Entrepreneur: Lobbying, Negotiating, and Overseeing the Drafting and the Institution of Pro-disabilities Regional Regulation

Kingdon (2013) describes policy entrepreneurs as actors who seek to achieve policy change in favor of their interests through dynamic insinuation. Policy entrepreneurs try to attach their ideas so that their interests can be included in the government's agenda (Cairney & Jones, 2015).

After the enactment of Law Number 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities, disability groups have become increasingly active. Persons

with disabilities – through PERPENCA and led by the Chairman of the Jember PERPENCA Advisory Council – assembled a team to discuss the draft of regional regulations. A similar team had actually been established in 2009 and had drafted a regional regulation that refers to Law Number 4 of 1997. Unfortunately, despite the struggle and advocacy, this draft could not be attached to the Regional Legislative Program. For this reason, another team is currently being formed to compose another draft of regional regulation that refers to the new regulation, namely Law Number 8 of 2016.

Around the same time, Jember DPRD had appointed a team of academics to compose the academic manuscripts and the draft of regional regulations. As a result, the draft was far from the expectations of persons with disabilities and did not even reflect Law Number 8 of 2016. The draft also did not reflect several issues that have been raised in the policy stream since 2003. The draft was far from what is expected by persons with disabilities because the composing and drafting did not involve them at all.

The team created by the disability groups immediately took the step and conducted negotiations. An exciting debate took place between the DPRD and the team of academics. With relentless effort day and night, the disability team dismantled the DPRD's version of the regional regulation draft consisting of 195 articles. The dismantling process refers to the 2009 draft which adheres to Law Number 4 of 1997, and then be adjusted according to Law Number 8 of 2016. Finally, a new draft of regional regulation is composed; one that is truly in line with the interests of people with disabilities.

Negotiations and debates carried out by the disability team in Jember Regency are in a sense similar to the assertion of Petridou and Mintrom (2020) that in the policy stream, communities with an interest in policy generate and debate many ideas for policy solutions that will be taken

later. In this series of processes, experts and actors who are involved in the problem propose solutions as alternative policies in order to create policies that favor those who have pressed it for a long time (Béland & Howlett, 2016). Policy entrepreneurs have an important and significant role in policy-making, considering that they will carry out advocacy to achieve alignment in public policies made. These policy entrepreneurs must be able to push an issue or a problem and frame it as the government's priority agenda (Zahariadis & Exadaktylos, 2015).

To acquire a policy that is in line with their interest, policy entrepreneurs must have a strong influence to push the issue. In this sense, it is important for policy entrepreneurs to have power over the government as decision-makers. They invest resources such as time, energy, reputation, and money in coalescing problems, solutions, and politics on the issues they are fighting for (Aukes, Lulofs, & Bressers, 2018). The disability groups in Jember Regency, which have established expanded networks with members of the legislative, various disability organizations, and religious organizations, have positioned themselves as policy entrepreneurs with considerable power and influence. In line with the views of Frisch-Aviram, N., Beeri, I. & Cohen, N. (2020), it states that there are many various techniques, resources, and strategies used by a policy entrepreneur to achieve his goals, both formally and informally so that the agendas they bring can enter the realm of discussion raised by policy-makers at various levels of government.

An interesting thing that was done by these disability groups was to challenge the members of DPRD to experience what it feels like to be disabled. The members were "forced" to do their daily activities as if they were persons with disabilities. The chair and the members of DPRD were asked to close their eyes (as if they were blind) and use wheelchairs (as if they had no legs) all the way from the parking lot to

the DPRD building. As a result, it was difficult for the members to get to the building because no building facility could be easily accessed by persons with disabilities (see Figure 3).

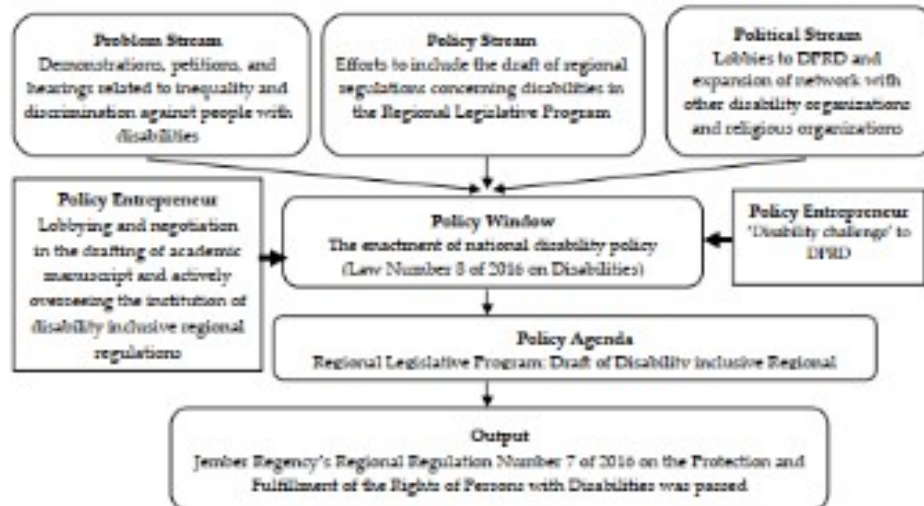
Figure 3.
Members of DPRD were challenged to get into the building with their eyes closed, 2016.



Source: PERPENCA (2016) Source: PERPENCA (2016)

This study also finds that apart from disability groups who act as policy entrepreneurs, the legislative board is also very influential at this stage. The chair and several members of Jember DPRD were very intense in trying to get disability issues into the Regional Legislative Program. Finally, in 2016, the draft of regional regulation concerning disabilities was successfully included in the Regional Legislative Program. Up to this stage, the disability team's struggle is not over. Equipped with extensive networks that have been established previously, along with personal approaches to the chair and several members of the DPRD, the disability team has sufficient energy and strength to bargain. The team continued to closely oversee the process until, finally, Jember's Regional Regulation Number 7 of 2016 on the Protection and Fulfillment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities was passed. In general, the MSF in the context of the institution of pro-disability regional regulation in Jember Regency is shown as follows (figure 4).

Figure 4.
Kingdon's MSF in the institution of disability-inclusive regional regulation in Jember Regency



Source: Data analysis

Conclusion

This study concludes that the disability policy-making process in Jember Regency was influenced by the strong power of policy entrepreneurs. Through MSF analysis, it can be seen that there was a simultaneous flow of problem streams, policy streams, political streams, policy windows, and policy entrepreneurs. The momentum for the opening of the policy window through the ratification of a national policy on disability was immediately responded to by policy entrepreneurs. Disability groups and the Regional House of Representatives as a policy entrepreneur force acted quickly to take advantage of the open policy window momentum. Finally, the struggle of this disability group had been successful and the policy-maker had passed a regional regulation on the protection and fulfillment of the rights of persons with disabilities. This study strengthens the MSF theory by emphasizing the importance of entrepreneurial power to include an issue in the agenda-setting.

The role of mass media has not been explained in this study. Therefore, the recommendation for further researchers is to look at the role of mass media in the MSF stream to blow up certain issues so that they get the attention of policy-makers and encourage them to include these issues in the agenda-setting.

Declaration of Conflict Interest

Both authors state that there is no potential conflict of interest associated with the research, authorship, and publication of this article. The informants also knew and agreed to the use of the data in this article.

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