
The Problem of Setting the Minimum Wage in Indonesia From The Perspective of Worker Protection

Citra Kusuma Dewi*, Emilia Kusuma, Verdinand, Sugeng Santoso PN

Universitas Pelita Harapan, Indonesia

Email: citra29kusuma@gmail.com*, emilia.kusuma@gmail.com, verdinand@icloud.com, sugeng.santoso@lecturer.uph.edu

Keywords

minimum wage; worker protection; labor law; wage policy

Abstract

The minimum wage policy is one of the important instruments in the labor law system in Indonesia that aims to provide protection to workers and ensure the fulfillment of a decent livelihood. However, in practice, the determination of the minimum wage still faces various problems that affect its effectiveness in improving the welfare of workers. This study aims to analyze the regulation and mechanism of setting minimum wages in Indonesia, as well as examine various problems that arise in its implementation from the perspective of worker protection. The research method used was normative legal research with a statutory approach and a conceptual approach. The legal materials used consist of primary, secondary, and tertiary legal materials collected through literature studies and analyzed qualitatively. The results of the study show that normatively the regulation of the minimum wage has been regulated in various laws and regulations, and the determination mechanism involves the central government, local governments, and the Wage Council consisting of elements of the government, employers, labor unions, and academics. However, in practice, there are still various problems, such as the amount of the minimum wage that has not fully met the needs of a decent life, the difference in interests between workers and employers, and the influence of economic and investment policies on wage policies. Therefore, a more comprehensive and equitable wage policy is needed so that the determination of the minimum wage can function optimally as an instrument to protect workers while supporting sustainable economic development.

INTRODUCTION

The minimum wage policy in Indonesia is one of the important instruments in the labor protection system that aims to ensure the welfare of workers (Buana & Budiman, 2022; Hasanah et al., 2024; Indradjaja & Abadi, 2025; Santjoko & Suroso, 2024; Soedjarwo et al., 2025; Tampubolon et al., 2023). This policy began to be implemented more systematically since the issuance of the Regulation of the Minister of Manpower Number 05/Men/1989 concerning the Minimum Wage on May 29, 1989. In the regulation, the determination of the minimum wage is based on the concept of physical needs for a decent life which is the basic standard for workers in meeting the needs of daily life. This policy is a form of government intervention in industrial relations to ensure that there are minimum wage standards that must be adhered to by employers. With these provisions, it is hoped that workers will not receive wages that are too low which can result in inability to meet their living needs properly. In addition, the minimum wage policy is also intended as a social safety net for workers not to experience exploitation in employment relationships, as well as provide legal certainty regarding the minimum wage limit

that must be given by companies to workers or laborers (Paramita, 2021).

In its implementation, the minimum wage determination policy must pay attention to the balance between the interests of workers and the interests of employers (Amelia, 2023; Santjoko & Suroso, 2024; Tampubolon et al., 2023). This balance is very important because setting a minimum wage that is too high can have an impact on business sustainability, especially for companies that have limited production capacity and financial capabilities. This condition has the potential to encourage companies to reduce the number of workers or even shift workers to the informal sector to reduce production costs. On the other hand, if the minimum wage is set too low, then the main goal of the policy as an instrument for worker protection will not be optimally achieved. Low wages will cause workers to be unable to meet the needs of a decent life, thus potentially causing social disparities and welfare inequality in society. Therefore, the determination of the minimum wage requires careful consideration by taking into account economic conditions, the ability of the business world, and the living needs of workers (Widarti, 2006).

In addition, several studies show that the minimum wage policy does not always have a negative impact on the business world as is often feared by industry players. Through a certain economic approach, the minimum wage policy can actually have a positive impact on labor market stability. Research shows that the minimum wage policy in Indonesia does not significantly reduce the level of profitability of companies. Even under some conditions, such policies can help control the various factors that affect wage formation in the labor market, thus creating a more structured and transparent wage system. Thus, the minimum wage policy not only serves as an instrument of protection for workers, but can also be a control mechanism in the dynamics of the labor market so that it continues to run in a balanced manner between the interests of workers and employers (Islam & Nazara, 2000).

On the other hand, regulatory changes in wage policies also have an important role in reducing income distribution inequality in society. Reforms in the minimum wage system can contribute to efforts to slow wage inequality between high-income and low-income groups. Income inequality that is too large has the potential to cause various social and economic problems, so a wage policy that is able to create a fairer income distribution is needed. Therefore, the minimum wage policy is not only related to the aspect of worker protection in employment relations, but also related to the government's efforts to maintain economic balance and improve the welfare of the community at large. With the right wage policy, it is hoped that the income gap between groups of workers can be minimized and a more equitable employment system can be created (Chun & Khor, 2010).

From a labor economics perspective, wage levels have a close relationship with the dynamics of labor demand and supply in the labor market. An increase in wage rates will generally increase the production costs that must be borne by the company. This condition has the potential to reduce labor demand because companies tend to be efficient in the use of labor to maintain the stability of production costs. Conversely, rising wage rates may encourage increased labor supply as more individuals are interested in entering the job market in hopes of earning higher incomes (Lestari, 2024). Thus, changes in wage rates not only affect the welfare of workers, but also affect the structure of the labor market as well as the level of employment opportunities in a region.

In addition to influencing the labor market, wage levels also have a relationship with a

country's economic growth. Increased economic growth generally reflects an increase in production and distribution activities of goods and services in a region. This condition can create wider job opportunities and improve people's welfare (Marcal et al., 2024). However, an increase in wages that is not balanced with labor productivity and the ability of the business world can cause various economic problems, such as increasing production costs and declining industrial competitiveness (Siregar et al., 2025). Therefore, wage policy must be carefully designed by considering the balance between the interests of workers, employers, and national economic stability.

Along with the development of economic conditions and the dynamics of industrial relations, the government continues to make adjustments to wage policies through various regulations. One of the latest regulations governing the wage system is Government Regulation Number 51 of 2023 concerning Amendments to Government Regulation Number 36 of 2021 concerning Wages. In the regulation, the minimum wage determination mechanism is updated to take into account several important economic indicators, such as inflation rates, economic growth, as well as certain indices used as variables in the calculation of minimum wage increases. This regulation is intended to create a wage system that is more adaptive to changes in national and regional economic conditions.

However, in practice, the policy of setting the minimum wage in Indonesia still faces various challenges. One of the problems that often arises is the lack of uniformity of wage standards that can ensure the welfare of workers equally. Differences in the company's financial capabilities, business sector characteristics, and labor productivity levels cause variations in wage levels in various companies and regions. This condition shows that the implementation of wage policies is still not fully able to provide optimal protection for workers. Therefore, further study is needed on the problem of setting the minimum wage in Indonesia, especially in the perspective of worker protection in the labor law system. (Sutedi, 2009).

The problem formulation in this study is based on the background described previously, focusing on how the regulation and mechanism for determining the minimum wage are implemented within Indonesia's labor law system, as well as identifying the various problems that arise in setting the minimum wage in terms of providing protection and improving the welfare of workers in Indonesia.

The objective of this study is to examine and analyze the regulation and mechanism of minimum wage determination within the Indonesian labor law framework. Furthermore, this study aims to analyze the challenges and issues that emerge in the implementation of minimum wage policies and to evaluate the extent to which these policies are able to ensure worker protection and welfare. Ultimately, this research is expected to provide a more comprehensive understanding of wage policies and contribute valuable insights toward strengthening worker protection through minimum wage regulations.

METHOD

This research was normative legal research, which is research conducted by examining legal norms contained in laws and regulations, doctrines, and legal literature related to the problem being studied. Normative legal research aims to find legal rules, legal principles, and legal concepts that are relevant in answering legal issues raised in research. The approaches used in this study are the statute *approach* and the *conceptual approach*. The legislative

approach is carried out by examining various laws and regulations related to wage policies and the determination of minimum wages in Indonesia, while the conceptual approach is carried out by examining the concepts and views of experts regarding worker protection in labor law (Marzuki, 2016).

The sources of legal materials used in this study consist of primary legal materials, secondary legal materials, and tertiary legal materials. Primary legal materials include laws and regulations related to employment and wages. Secondary legal materials are in the form of books, scientific journals, and research results relevant to the research topic, while tertiary legal materials are in the form of legal dictionaries and encyclopedias that support the understanding of the legal terms used. The collection of legal materials is carried out through *library research*, then analyzed qualitatively by systematically describing and interpreting legal materials in order to obtain conclusions about the regulation and problems of determining minimum wages from the perspective of worker protection (Soekanto & Mamudji, 2015).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Minimum Wage Setting Regulations and Mechanisms in Indonesia

Wages are one of the most important elements in the employment relationship between workers and employers. From the perspective of labor law, wages are not only seen as a reward for the work that has been done by the worker, but also as a means to ensure the proper survival of the worker and his family. Wages have a social and economic function because they are the main source of income for workers in meeting the needs of life such as food, clothing, board, education, and health (Budijanto, 2017). Therefore, the existence of wages has a strategic role in improving the welfare of workers while maintaining social stability in society. In employment relations, the right to wages basically arises from the existence of a labor agreement between workers and employers that creates a reciprocal relationship in the form of the obligation of the worker to carry out the work and the obligation of the employer to provide wages in return. Thus, wages are one of the basic rights of workers that must be guaranteed and protected by law so that unfair wage practices do not occur or harm workers.

The protection of the right to wages also has a constitutional basis in the Indonesian legal system. This is reflected in Article 27 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which states that every citizen has the right to work and a decent livelihood for humanity. The provision emphasizes that the state has a responsibility to create policies that can guarantee the availability of job opportunities while ensuring that every worker earns a decent income. In the context of a *welfare state*, the government not only plays the role of a regulator, but also as a responsible party for creating social policies that are able to protect working groups from economic inequality and exploitation in labor relations (Eriranda & Kusdarini, 2024). Therefore, one form of policy carried out by the government to ensure the fulfillment of the right to a decent livelihood is through the regulation of the wage system, including the policy of setting the minimum wage (Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945, Pasal 27 ayat (2)).

In the employment system in Indonesia, the concept of the minimum wage functions as a minimum wage limit that must be complied with by employers in providing wages to workers. This policy is a form of government intervention in the labor market to provide protection to workers who have a relatively weak bargaining position in labor relations. The minimum wage

basically functions as a safety *net* so that workers do not receive wages that are below the eligibility standard (Putra & Wiridin, 2022). With this policy, it is hoped that workers can obtain a minimum income level that can be used to meet basic living needs for themselves and their families. In addition, the minimum wage also aims to create fairer wage standards and prevent unfair wage competition practices among workers in the labor market.

Regulations regarding the concept of minimum wage can be found in the Regulation of the Minister of Manpower and Transmigration Number 7 of 2013 concerning the Minimum Wage, which replaces the Regulation of the Minister of Manpower and Transmigration Number PER-01/MEN/1999 concerning the Minimum Wage. In Article 1 paragraph (1) of the regulation, it is stated that the minimum wage is the lowest monthly wage consisting of basic wages including fixed allowances set by the governor as a safety net. This provision shows that the minimum wage consists of two main components, namely basic wages and fixed allowances. Thus, employers are required to provide wages to workers at least as much as the minimum wage that has been set by the local government. The regulation also emphasizes that local governments have an important role in determining the amount of the minimum wage in accordance with economic and social conditions in their respective regions (Halim, 2021).

Nonetheless, the concept of a minimum wage that includes components of basic wages and fixed benefits is often controversial in practice. This is due to the tendency of some companies to include various types of benefits as part of the minimum wage component, so that the value of the basic wage received by workers becomes relatively smaller. This condition can cause problems in the protection of workers' rights, because allowances basically have a different character from basic wages. Therefore, some experts argue that the protection of basic wages and the benefits component should be separated more clearly so that workers' rights can be protected more optimally. The separation is also important to ensure that workers earn an adequate basic wage without relying on the component of the allowance which can change at any time (Hart, 2025).

Regulations regarding the wage system in Indonesian positive law are regulated in various laws and regulations. One of the main regulations that regulate employment is Law Number 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower, which provides a legal basis for the implementation of industrial relations in Indonesia, including regulations on workers' rights to a living wage. This law regulates various aspects of employment, ranging from labor relations, labor protection, to industrial relations dispute resolution mechanisms. In relation to wages, the law affirms that every worker has the right to an income that meets a decent livelihood for humanity. This provision is the basis for the government to set various wage policies, including the policy of setting the minimum wage as the minimum standard of income for workers.

In addition to Law Number 13 of 2003, the regulations regarding the wage system are also clarified through various implementing regulations, one of which is Government Regulation Number 78 of 2015 concerning Wages which regulates in more detail the wage policy in Indonesia. This regulation regulates various aspects related to wages, such as wage structure and scale, wage components, and minimum wage determination mechanisms. Through these regulations, the government seeks to create a wage system that is more transparent, fair, and able to provide legal certainty for workers and employers. However, various studies show that the existing wage arrangements are not fully able to create harmonious and conducive industrial relations in Indonesia. This is due to the difference in interests between

workers and employers, inequality in economic capabilities between companies, and the dynamics of economic conditions that affect the company's ability to provide wages to workers (Yetniwati, 2017).

In practice, the determination of the minimum wage in Indonesia is carried out by the government periodically for each province and district/city. This policy aims to create minimum wage standards that can protect workers from unfair wage practices. In general, the objectives of setting the minimum wage include the following (Sutama et al., 2019):

1. Avoid or reduce unfair competition between workers in surplus labor market conditions that encourage them to receive wages below the level of eligibility.
2. Avoid or reduce the possibility of exploitation of workers by employers who take advantage of labor market conditions to obtain greater profits.
3. Creating safer and more harmonious industrial relations between workers and employers.
4. Reduce the poverty rate of workers, especially when the minimum wage is linked to the basic needs of workers and their families.
5. Increase people's purchasing power, which can ultimately encourage economic growth in general.

The minimum wage determination mechanism basically involves the role of the central government and local governments in the framework of national wage policy. The central government has the authority to establish general policies regarding the wage system through various laws and regulations that serve as guidelines for local governments in determining the minimum wage. The national policy regulates the formula for calculating the minimum wage, economic variables used in determining wages, and procedures for determining and announcing the minimum wage every year. With the guidelines from the central government, it is hoped that there will be uniformity in the basic principles of determining the minimum wage throughout Indonesia, although in practice the amount of the minimum wage can vary according to the economic conditions of each region (CNBC Indonesia, 2026).

Furthermore, local governments have the authority to set the minimum wage in their respective regions through the governor's decree. In the wage system in Indonesia, there are several types of minimum wages, namely the Provincial Minimum Wage (UMP) and the Regency/City Minimum Wage (UMK). The determination of UMP is carried out by the governor as the minimum wage standard at the provincial level, while MSEs are determined for certain districts or cities that have different economic conditions and levels of living needs than the provincial average. The determination of MSEs is usually based on recommendations from the district/city government and considers the capabilities of the business world and economic conditions in the region (Soimah, 2017). Thus, the minimum wage policy is not uniform nationally, but is adjusted to the characteristics of the regional economy so that it can be implemented more realistically and effectively.

In the process of determining the minimum wage, the governor does not determine the amount of wages unilaterally, but considers the recommendations of the Regional Wage Council. The Wage Board is a non-structural institution that functions to provide consideration and advice to local governments in determining wage policies. The membership of the wage council consists of various elements that represent the interests of the parties in industrial relations, namely elements of the government, employers' organizations, labor unions or labor unions, as well as elements of academics or experts in the field of employment. The composition

is intended so that the process of determining the minimum wage can reflect the interests of various parties in a balanced manner and avoid the dominance of the interests of only one party in the decision-making process.

The Regional Wage Council has the main task of conducting studies and analyses of various economic indicators that are the basis for determining the minimum wage. Some of the indicators that are usually used include the inflation rate, economic growth, labor productivity, and labor market conditions in the region concerned. In addition, the wage board also considers other factors such as the company's capabilities, investment levels, and socio-economic conditions of the local community. Based on the results of the study, the wage council then compiled recommendations regarding the amount of the minimum wage that was considered most suitable for regional economic conditions. The recommendation is then submitted to the governor as a consideration in determining the decision on the minimum wage that will take effect in the following year (Kuma et al., 2025).

With this mechanism, it is hoped that the policy of setting the minimum wage can be carried out more objectively and transparently. The process involving various parties in the wage board also aims to create a balance between the interests of workers who want to improve welfare through wage increases and the interests of employers who consider the sustainability of the business and the ability of the company to pay wages. Therefore, the minimum wage determination mechanism is not only an economic policy, but also part of the government's efforts to create harmonious, fair, and sustainable industrial relations in Indonesia.

The Problem of Setting the Minimum Wage in the Perspective of Worker Protection

The policy of setting the minimum wage basically aims to provide protection to workers in order to obtain an income that is able to guarantee a decent life. Within the framework of labor law, the minimum wage is an important instrument used by the state to protect workers from wage practices that are too low and prevent labor exploitation by employers (Dwianisa & Andriyani, 2025). Through this policy, the government seeks to create a balance between the interests of workers in obtaining a decent livelihood and the interests of entrepreneurs in maintaining the sustainability of business activities. However, in practice, the implementation of the minimum wage policy in Indonesia still faces various challenges that are quite complex. Various economic, social, and government policies in the field of employment and investment often affect the effectiveness of these policies in providing optimal protection for workers (Irayadi, 2024).

This problem is increasingly visible because the condition of the labor market in Indonesia is still characterized by a large number of workers and a fairly high level of job competition (Ria & Zainuddin, 2019). This situation causes the bargaining position of workers to be relatively weaker compared to employers, so the minimum wage policy is very important as an instrument of protection for workers. However, in the process of setting the minimum wage, there are often differences of interest between the various parties involved, such as the government, employers, and labor unions. These differences in interests can affect the process of formulating wage policies so that the results set are not always able to meet the expectations of all parties. Therefore, the minimum wage policy is often one of the most sensitive issues in industrial relations in Indonesia (Riyanto, 2026).

One of the main problems in wage policy is that the minimum wage is not yet able to fully

meet the needs of a decent life for workers. Conceptually, the minimum wage should reflect the standard of living needs (KHL) which covers various basic needs of workers such as food, clothing, housing, education, health, and other social needs (Podungge, 2020). But in reality, the minimum wage set in various regions is often still below the level of real needs of workers. This is due to various considerations in the process of determining the minimum wage, such as the ability of the business world, the level of labor productivity, and regional economic conditions. As a result, even if workers have received wages in accordance with the applicable minimum standards, these income are often not enough to meet the needs of living properly, especially for workers who have family dependents.

In addition, the increase in the price of basic necessities and the increase in the cost of living in various regions are also factors that worsen the welfare condition of workers. In some cases, the increase in the minimum wage is not always proportional to the increase in the cost of living that occurs in society. This condition causes the purchasing power of workers to not experience a significant increase even though there is a policy of increasing the minimum wage every year (Sulistiawati, 2013). Therefore, the policy of setting the minimum wage needs to consider more comprehensively the economic conditions of the community and the development of the cost of living so that the main goal of the policy, which is to improve the welfare of workers, can be achieved more effectively.

The next problem is the imbalance of interests between workers and the interests of industry in the process of setting the minimum wage. From a workers' perspective, an increase in the minimum wage is very important to improve welfare and adjust to the increasing needs of life. Trade unions in general encourage significant wage increases so that workers can earn a more decent income. On the contrary, from an employer's perspective, an increase in the minimum wage is often considered a factor that can increase production costs and potentially reduce the company's competitiveness. This condition poses a dilemma for the government in setting wage policies, because the government must be able to balance the interests of workers with the interests of the business world so that economic activities continue to run stably.

These differences in interests often give rise to conflicts in industrial relations, especially during the process of setting the minimum wage every year. It is not uncommon for there to be quite sharp differences of opinion between labor unions and employer organizations in determining the amount of the minimum wage increase (Saepulloh et al., 2024). Unions typically demand higher wage increases citing the rising cost of living, while employers tend to want more limited increases considering the company's financial condition and business stability. If these differences in interests cannot be managed properly, it can cause tension in industrial relations, such as demonstrations, strikes, or rejection of wage policies that are considered unfair by one of the parties (Rochadi et al., 2020).

Another problem is related to the influence of economic and investment policies on wage policy. In an effort to encourage economic growth and increase investment, the government often considers industrial competitiveness factors in determining wage policies. This causes the minimum wage policy to not only be determined based on the living needs of workers, but also to consider the capabilities of the business world and the investment climate in a region. In some conditions, the government tends to set a relatively moderate minimum wage increase so as not to create too much burden on companies, especially for labor-intensive industrial sectors. Although the policy aims to maintain economic stability and maintain jobs, on the other hand

this often causes criticism because it is considered not fully on the side of efforts to improve workers' welfare.

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion of the regulation and mechanism of determining the minimum wage in Indonesia and the problems that arise in its implementation, it can be concluded that the minimum wage policy is an important instrument in the labor law system that aims to provide protection to workers and ensure the fulfillment of a decent livelihood. Normatively, the regulation of the minimum wage has a fairly clear legal basis in various laws and regulations, ranging from the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Law Number 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower, to various implementing regulations such as Government Regulations and Ministerial Regulations that regulate in more detail the wage system. In its implementation, the determination of the minimum wage is carried out through a mechanism involving the central government and local governments, taking into account various economic indicators and recommendations from the Regional Wage Council consisting of elements of the government, employers, labor unions, and academics. The mechanism is intended to create a balance between the interests of workers in obtaining decent wages and the interests of the business world in maintaining the sustainability of economic activities. However, in practice, the minimum wage determination policy in Indonesia still faces various problems that affect its effectiveness as an instrument for worker protection. One of the main problems is the amount of the minimum wage which in many cases is not fully able to meet the needs of a decent life for workers, especially due to considerations of the capabilities of the business world and regional economic conditions. In addition, differences in interests between workers and employers often cause conflicts in the process of setting minimum wages, so wage policy becomes a sensitive issue in industrial relations. On the other hand, economic and investment policies that aim to maintain industrial competitiveness also affect wage policies, so the government must balance efforts to improve workers' welfare by maintaining economic stability and investment climate. Therefore, a more comprehensive and equitable wage policy is needed so that the determination of the minimum wage can truly function as an instrument to protect workers while supporting sustainable economic development.

REFERENCE

- Amelia, L. A. (2023). Legal protection for workers' rights in the Indonesian labor system. *The International Journal of Politics and Sociology Research*, 11(2), 373–380.
- Buana, M. S., & Budiman, R. (2022). Indonesia's minimum wage policy after the Omnibus Law: A comparative analysis from Islamic principles. *UUM Journal of Legal Studies*, 13(2), 187–214.
- Budijanto, Oki Wahyu. 2017. "Decent Wages for Workers/Laborers in the Perspective of Law and Human Rights." *Journal of De Jure Legal Research*, Vol. 17 No. 3.
- Chun, Natalie, and Niny Khor. 2010. Minimum Wages and Changing Wage Inequality in Indonesia. ADB Economics Working Paper Series No. 196. Asian Development Bank.
- CNBC Indonesia. 2026. "Measures & Mechanisms for Setting the Minimum Wage in the New Rule Version." Retrieved 7 March 2026.
- Dwianisa, Shindy, and Sindi Andriyani. 2025. "Minimum Wage Policy and Factory Worker Protection in a Legal and Human Rights Perspective." *Journal of Legal Studies and Civic Education*, Vol. 2 No. 1.
- Eriranda, Afgha Okza, and Eny Kusdarini. 2024. "The Meaning of the Welfare State Reviewed from the Implementation of Article 34 Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution." *Ius Quia Iustum Legal Journal*, Vol. 31 No. 3.
- Hasanah, H., Nachrowi, N. D., Wisana, I. D. G. K., & Siregar, H. (2024). Could the minimum wage policy reduce food insecurity among households of formal workers in Indonesia? *Agriculture & Food Security*, 13(1), 7.
- Halim, Aji Rahman. 2021. "Wage System Based on the Principle of Justice in the Concept of a Welfare State." *Journal Presumption of Law*, Vol. 3 No. 2.
- Hart, Rima. 2025. Justice-Based Regional Minimum Wage. CV. Azka Pustaka.
- Indradjaja, N., & Abadi, S. (2025). Minimum Wage Determination For Employees/Workers: A Principle of Legal Protection on Manpower. *Journal of Law, Politic and Humanities*, 5(3), 2026–2034.
- Irayadi, Muhammad. 2024. "Constitutional Court Decision on Living Wage: New Hope for the Indonesian Labor World." *Humaniorum*, Vol. 2 No. 4.
- Islam, Iyanatul, and Suahasil Nazara. 2000. Estimating Employment Elasticity for The Indonesian Economy: Technical Note on the Indonesian Labour Market. Jakarta: International Labour Office.
- Kuma, Ignatius Loyola Julio Doni, Kotan Y. Stefanus, and Rafael Rape Tupen. 2025. "The Position and Function of the Wage Board in the Context of Determining the Minimum Wage for Labor in East Nusa Tenggara Province." *Journal of Law, Politics and Social Sciences*, Vol. 4 No. 2.
- Lestari, Resanti. 2024. "Labor Demand." In *Economics and Human Resource Management*.
- Marcal, Ivonia Auxiliadora Freitas, Yosse Putra Oentoro, and Muhammad Yasin. 2024. "Economic Growth as a Reflection of the Economic Development of a Country." *Journal of Management and Business Economics*, Vol. 2 No. 3.
- Marzuki, Peter Mahmud. 2016. *Legal Research*. Jakarta: Kencana.
- Paramita, Rastri. 2021. "Looking at Minimum Wage and Income Inequality in Indonesia." *Journal of Budget: Issues and Problems of State Finance*, Vol. 6 No. 2.
- Podungge, Ismi Pratiwi. 2020. "The Existence of the Role of Trade Unions in Efforts to Fight for Workers' Wage Rights (in Determining the Minimum Wage)." *Lex Generalis Legal Journal*, Vol. 1 No. 2.
- Putra, Zulfikar, and Darmawan Wiridin. 2022. *Implementation of Minimum Wage on Worker Welfare*. Ahlimedia Book.
- Ria, Anita, and Didi Zainuddin. 2019. "Graduate Quality and Job Field Orientation to the Ability to Face Job Competition in College Students." *Research and Development Journal*

- of Education, Vol. 5 No. 2.
- Riyanto, Wahyu Hidayat. 2026. Dynamics of Employer-Worker Relations in Minimum Wage Policy. Malang: UMM Press.
- Rochadi, Sigit, Adilita Pramanti, and Angga Sulaiman. 2020. Industrial Relations in the Era of Democracy.
- Saepulloh, Asep, et al. 2024. "Analysis of Social Dynamics for Trade Union Organizations in the Policy of the Job Creation Law Government Regulation Number 51 in the Determination of the 2024 Minimum Wage in Banten Province." PASTOR: Interdisciplinary Journal of Public Affairs, Vol. 7 No. 1.
- Santjoko, M. W., & Suroso, I. (2024). Legal Protection for Waged Workers Under the Minimum Wage at the Regency/Municipality Level. *Acitya Wisesa: Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 61–70.
- Siregar, Ilman Ashari, et al. 2025. "Analysis of the Influence of Human Capital, Minimum Wage and Labor Force on Economic Growth of the Industrial Sector in Gunung Sitoli City in 2018–2022." *Journal of Management and Economic Research (JRIME)*, Vol. 3 No. 3.
- Soekanto, Soerjono, and Sri Mamudji. 2015. Normative Law Research: A Brief Review. Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada.
- Soedjarwo, R. S., Karim, K., & Sugiharto, S. (2025). Juridical Study of the Provision of Payment of Wages below the Minimum Wage by Employers to Workers. *IUS POSITUM: Journal of Law Theory and Law Enforcement*, 33–46.
- Soimah, Mar'atus. 2017. Analysis of the Determination of the District Minimum Wage (UMK) on the Welfare of Workers in the Perspective of Islamic Economics (Study on South Lampung Regency). Dissertation. UIN Raden Intan Lampung.
- Sulistiawati, Rini. 2013. "The Effect of Minimum Wage on Labor Absorption and Community Welfare in Provinces in Indonesia."
- Sutama, I Nyoman, Astika Asmini, and Suci Astika. 2019. "Analysis of Factors Affecting the Determination of the Minimum Wage in Sumbawa Regency in 2013–2017." *Journal of Economics & Business*, Vol. 7 No. 3.
- Sutedi, Adrian. 2009. Labor Law. Jakarta: Sinar Grafika.
- Tampubolon, L. R. R. U., Sayidah, N., & Amiq, B. (2023). The role of labor unions in determining minimum wage in Indonesia. *International Journal of Professional Business Review: Int. J. Prof. Bus. Rev.*, 8(7), 73.
- Widarti, Diah. 2006. The Role of Minimum Wage in Wage Determination in the Informal Sector in Indonesia. International Labour Organization (ILO).
- Yetniwati. 2017. "Wage Arrangements Based on the Principle of Justice." *Journal of the Law Pulpit, Faculty of Law, Gadjah Mada University*, Vol. 29 No. 1.