Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

Labour Standards under Decentralisation and Globalisation: The Impact of the Minimum Wage Policy in West Java, Indonesia

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy In Development Studies

at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

> By Indra Murty Surbakti

> > 2005

ABSTRACT

This study explores the importance of the minimum wage policy in West Java, Indonesia, within the overall framework of development and in the face of globalisation and decentralisation. A holistic approach to the minimum wage policy is applied. Generally, the study assesses the impact of decentralized minimum wage fixing processes on employment and participation of trade unions. In addition, it explores whether the minimum wage policy assists workers in coping with the negative effects of globalisation. It also explores the link between minimum wages and *decent work*.

This study reveals that while there is some evidence of employment losses due to increases in wage levels in West Java, it did not find conclusive evidence that minimum wage levels were the main factor responsible for the employment decline. It is likely that a combination of factors such as a decrease in global demand for Indonesian manufacturing products and the current macro-economic conditions in the country, are also responsible for the employment decline.

This study finds that the process of minimum wage fixing at local level has a positive impact on trade union participation in wage bargaining. The empowerment of trade unions through new legislation has enabled independent trade unions to flourish, which allows workers to join any trade unions. Consequently, minimum wage bargaining at district/city level is more dynamic than the centralized system of minimum wage bargaining in the past. Trade unions are able to express their views on what the minimum wage levels should be.

Moreover, the minimum wage fixing processes at local level have the potential to promote *decent work*. The minimum wage fixing processes are an alternative to wage bargaining and can accommodate even sectors where trade unions are least active or non-existent. The minimum wage processes at district/city level are already established and

they are in position to expand to a wider framework of providing welfare for workers. However, decent work objectives will not be achieved without the full cooperation of both central and local governments. Under the current decentralisation process, where central and local government views are still not in agreement, it is difficult to see how *decent work* can be applied nationally.

Thus, the minimum wage policy and trade union development are important in the overall development paradigm. Both ensure the existence of a rights based approach to development where workers are given rights to organize as well as earn a basic living. Nevertheless, the development of trade unions in developing countries is under threat from flexibilisation of the workplace in which jobs have become less and less secure. The minimum wage policy, however, is still viable because it covers all types of workers. At the very least, minimum wages provide a safety net wage that can prevent real wages from falling.

The writer suggests that more studies should be conducted on the extent and effectiveness of trade union participation in minimum wage bargaining. In addition, further studies should be conducted on the effect of minimum wages and trade unions on non-standard or flexible workers. Flexible workers, whether they are fixed-term contract and outsourced workers, are becoming an important part of the global labour market and increasingly pose a challenge to the increasingly important role of trade unions in developing countries.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This thesis would not have come to fruition without the support and assistance of many people and institutions. I am greatly indebted for the guidance these people have provided, and for the facilities and resources given to conduct the research.

A very special appreciation is extended to my supervisors, Professor John Overton, Professor Hans-Jürgen Engelbrecht, and Dr. Donovan Storey for their encouragement, insights and guidance in conducting this research. I thank Professor Overton's invaluable inputs for the thesis, especially on the subjects of globalisation and decentralisation. I extend my appreciation to Professor Engelbrecht for his suggestions and feedbacks, particularly on the quantitative methodology. I am indebted to Dr. Storey for his advice in the development of, and general direction of, the contents of the research.

I would like to thank all the respondents, whether they are officials of trade unions, government offices and managers of manufacturing firms in West Java and Jakarta for their participation in the study and for allowing me to conduct interviews and survey during the fieldwork. The interactions with the above respondents have been very fruitful and cordial.

I would like to thank the School of People, Environment and Planning, Massey University, and the World Bank in Jakarta who provided me with additional funding for the fieldwork. I would like to thank Statistics Indonesia, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank for allowing me to participate in their survey and use some of their data for analysis.

I am deeply indebted to NZODA for providing me with a scholarship to pursue this doctoral degree in Development Studies and to the invaluable assistance given to my family and I by Ms. Sue Flynn and Ms. Sylvia Hooker of the International Student Office, Massey University.

Special gratitude is extended to my friends and colleagues in Statistics Indonesia, particularly in the large and medium industry sub-directorate, for their assistance and support during my fieldwork, and to the statistical offices of West Java and Jakarta for their assistance in providing information valuable to the fieldwork.

I would also like to extend my sincere thanks to my research assistant, Mr. Supardi Yasmuarto and Mr. Harya Bharata, for their abundant assistance during the fieldwork in Indonesia. Supardi and Harya helped in collecting data and information, setting-up interview appointments, providing transportation to and from the fieldwork area, and assisting in the interviews, survey and data entry.

I thank Robert Thompson and Christine Beach for helping proofread my thesis and improving the quality of my writing. Their assistance gave me valuable lessons in the English language.

Last but not the least, I would like to accord a special thank you to my wife, Maria Jacinta Arquisola and my son, Armand Faris, my parents and brothers for their love, inspiration, and support while I was completing this study. My wife was my unofficial advisor and critic. Her knowledge and insights on several aspects of the thesis have been very helpful to me. I thank her for putting-up with my antics during the development of this thesis. Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my son, Armand Faris, who was born prematurely in New Zealand. His strength and will to live gave me the immense motivation to finish this thesis. My son has been my greatest inspiration.

Table of Contents

	Page
A hotacot	::
Advantagement	ii •
Acknowledgement Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables	vi
	xi
List of Figures	xiii
List of Text Boxes	XV
List of Abbreviations	XVI
Chapter I	
Introduction	
The Impact of Globalisation on Indonesian Workers	2
Indonesia's Economic Crisis and Political Transformation	3
Background of the Problem	4
The Role of the Minimum Wage Policy in Indonesia	6
Objective of the Thesis	8
Overview of Theoretical Framework and Literature	9
The Economic dimension of Minimum Wages	9
Minimum Wages and Development	10
The Politics of Minimum Wages: Democratisation and	
Decentralisation	11
Industrial Relations	13
Decent Work	15
Overview of Methodology	15
Background of the Study Area	16
Thesis Summary	18
Thesis bummary	10
Chapter II	
Globalisation, Decent Work and Decentralisation	
Introduction	22
Economic Globalisation	23
Impact of Globalisation on Labour	24
Responses to Globalisation	28
The Concept of Decent Work	30
Decent Work Frontier	32
Decent Work as a New Paradigm	33
Social Dialogue in Decent Work	35
Labour Standards	36
Freedom of Association and Collective Bargaining	39
Re-Regulation of Labour Policies	42
Linking Minimum Wages with Decent Work	45
Decentralisation: A New Hope?	47
Decentralisation: A Panacea for Development?	49
Decentralisation of Collective Bargaining	50
Democratisation and Decentralisation in Indonesia	51

Decentralisation of Government Functions	51
Promoting Independent Trade Unions	53
The Research Question	55
Chapter III	
The International Minimum Wage Debate: Theoretical	
Framework and Literature Review	
Introduction	59
The Minimum Wage Policy	59
Administration of the Minimum Wage Policy	61
The Economic Dimension of Minimum Wages	62
The neo-classical model	62
Minimum wages in developing countries: a two-sector	
model	63
Competing economic models	66
The impact of trade unions	68
The Social Dimension of Minimum Wages	69
The Political Dimension of the Minimum Wages	71
The Minimum Wage Debate	77
Evidence from Developed Countries	79
Evidence of Support for the Minimum Wage Policy in	80
Developed Countries Minimum Wages in Developing Countries	83
Minimum Wages in Developing Countries Application of Minimum Wages in Developing Countries	84
Minimum Wage Studies in Developing Countries	85
Summary	89
Chapter IV	
Profile of Indonesian Economic Development and	
the Labour Market	
Introduction	92
Overview of Indonesian Economic Development	92
Indonesia's Development Path	93
Pre and Post Crisis Economic Development	97
The Role of the Manufacturing Sector	99
Large and Medium Manufacturing	100
Manufacturing Sector in West Java	103
The Indonesian labour market	106
Labour Market Conditions	109
Workers in Indonesia's Manufacturing Sector	111
Informal Sector Employment	113
The Employment Dilemma Firm Closures	115
Firm Closures Unemployment and Under Employment	115 117
Industrial Conflicts	117
Summary	122
Summary	1 4 4

Chapter V Wages and Minimum Wages in Indonesia Introduction 124 Overview of Wage Differentials in Indonesia 124 Wages in the Fieldwork Area 130 Social Protection 131 The Minimum Wage Policy 133 Historical Overview 133 Pre and Post Crisis Minimum Wage Levels 135 Minimum Wages and Average Wages 138 Determinants of Minimum Wages 142 The Minimum Wage Setting Process 148 Studies on the Impact of Minimum Wages in Indonesia 151 The Importance of the Minimum Wage Policy and Independent Trade Unions in Indonesia's Development 157 Summary 161 Chapter VI Methodology Introduction 164 Qualitative Analysis - The Fieldwork 165 Method of Fieldwork 166 Choosing the Sample for the Fieldwork 170 Total Samples Obtained from the Fieldwork 172 Characteristics of the Sample 172 Support for the Fieldwork 174 Additional Information 175 Pilot Study of the Productivity and Investment Climate Survey 175 Limitations to the Fieldwork 176 Fieldwork Experiences 179 Interview with human resource managers 179 Interview with trade union officials 180 Interview with government officials 185 Quantitative Analysis 186 Econometric Analysis

OLS estimates of labour demand using the Productivity

2SLS Estimates of inter district/city employment change

and Investment Survey (2003) data

Alternative Methods

Data Sources

Other Quantitative Methods

188

189

190

191

194

194

Chapter VII The Impact of the Minimum Wage Policy Introduction 202 203 **Findings** Levels of Minimum Wages 204 Minimum Wages and Basic Living 206 Misconceptions on the Meaning of Minimum Wages 209 Respondents' Views on the Decentralised Minimum Wage Fixing 212 Minimum Wages in 2001 and 2002 213 The Impact of Minimum Wages 217 Spill-over Effects of the Minimum Wage Increase 225 Minimum Wages and Firm Closures 227 Minimum Wages and Labour Productivity 228 Sectoral or Industrial Minimum Wages 230 Summary 232 Chapter VIII Analysis of the Employment Impact of the Minimum Wage **Policy Based on Secondary Data Sources** Introduction 236 238 **Data Sources** Characteristics of the Productivity and Investment Survey Data 240 Minimum Wage Compliance and Trade Union Density 242 244 Labour Demand OLS Estimates of Labour Demand using the Productivity and Investment Climate Survey Data 249 Diagnostics 250 Results of the Regression 251 Two-Stage Least Squares (2SLS) Estimation of Relative Inter-district/city Employment Change 255 Lagged Effect 260 Firm closures 261 Employment Change using Births and Deaths of firms 263 Summary of Results 268 Chapter IX The Minimum Wage Policy and Changing Industrial Relations in Indonesia Introduction 271 Industrial Relations in Indonesia 272 Trade Unions and Decent Work 275 The New Employment Law Number 13, 2003 276 Potential Cost of the New Law 283

Potential Impact of the New Employment Law on the Business

Law Number 2, 2004 on Industrial Relations Dispute Resolution

286

287

288

Other Significant Changes in the Law

Current Development of Trade Unions	290
Trade Unions in Manufacturing	290
Findings from the Fieldwork	292
Composition of Firm-level Unions	294
Impact of Unions	295
Impact of Decentralised Minimum Wage Fixing on Union	
Participation	299
'Best Practice' Industrial Relations	302
A Tale of Two Firms: Closures of Two Firms in the Jabotabek Region	on 303
Other Issues Affecting Employment and Business Climate	308
New Local Tax Provisions and other Regulations in the	
Decentralisation Process	308
Rent Seeking	309
Relocation	310
Globalisation	311
Concluding Remarks	311
Chapter X	
Conclusions	
Summary of Major Findings	316
Implications of Findings in the Research Location	320
Implications outside the Research Area	320
Implications for Indonesian Development	321
Industrial Relations	322
Decent Work	323
Globalisation and Decentralisation	323
Recommendations and Concluding Remarks	324
Appendices	327
References	365

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 3.1 Selected Empirical Studies on the Employment Impact of the Minimum Wage Policy in Developing Countries	88
Table 4.1 Real GDP (1993 prices) of Indonesia 1990-2000 by Industrial Sectors (Billion Rupiahs)	96
Table 4.2 Number of Workers in Indonesia by type of main Industry, 1996-2001	107
Table 4.3 Labour Market Conditions in Indonesia, 1997-2001	111
Table 4.4 Number of Workers in Large and Medium Manufacturing in Indonesia, 1998-2002	112
Table 4.5 Percentage of Formal and Informal Sector Workers in Indonesia by Year and Urban/Rural, 1995-1999	114
Table 4.6 Open Unemployment and Under Employment, 2000-2003 (000 persons)	118
Table 4.7 Number of Strikes in Indonesia, 1980-2003	119
Table 4.8 Number of Strikes by Selected Regions, 2001-2004	120
Table 4.9 Percent of Strikes by Economic Sector, 2001-2004	121
Table 5.1 Real Wage Growth in Selected Economic Activities during The New Order Period (% per Annum)	125
Table 5.2 Ratio of Average Wage of Informal Workers to Formal Workers by Urban and Rural, 1995-1999	129
Table 5.3 Real Provincial Minimum Wage Increases (% per annum) Pre and Post Crisis	137
Table 5.4 Significant Empirical Studies on the Effect of the Minimum Wage Polic Indonesia	y in 153
Table 6.1 Characteristics of the Sample for Establishments	172

Table 6.2 List of Trade Unions Interviewed during the Fieldwork	182
Table 7.1 Monthly Real Minimum Wages in Selected Provinces and Districts in Jakarta, West Java and Banten, 1999-2003 (000 rupiahs)	204
Table 7.2 Effect of the Increase in Minimum Wages on Employment Lay-offs	218
Table 7.3 Effect of Minimum Wage Increases on Future Ability of Firms to Hire more Workers	219
Table 7.4 Effect of Minimum Wage Increase on Labour Productivity	229
Table 8.1 Distribution of Respondents by Province, ISIC and Firm Size	241
Table 8.2 Percentage of Minimum Wage Compliance, Union Density in West Java And Jakarta, by 2 Digit ISIC in 2002	243
Table 8.3 Number of Vacancies by type of Permanent Workers and 2-digit ISIC	245
Table 8.4 Number of Temporary Workers by 2-digit ISIC, 2000-2002	247
Table 8.5 Percent of Permanent Employment Change in 2001 and 2002 by Level of Occupation and Area (in percent)	248
Table 8.6 OLS Estimates of Change in Permanent and Temporary Employment: dependent variable Δ log E_{it}	253
Table 8.7 Regression Results of Relative Employment Change in West Java Using OLS and alternative 2SLS Estimates – dependent variable employment $\Delta \log e_i$	259
Table 8.8 Number of Establishments (New, Old, Downscaled and Closed) in the Larg and Medium Manufacturing Sectors in Indonesia, 2000-2004	ge 262
Table 8.9 Percent of Employment Change in Indonesia, West Java and Jakarta using Births and Deaths of Manufacturing Establishments	265
Table 8.10 Percent of Employment Change in Sector 32 in Indonesia, West Java and Jakarta using Births and Deaths of Manufacturing Establishments	267
Table 9.1 Selected Comparison of old and new Employment law	278

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 2.1 Decent Work Frontier Model of Increasing Earnings and Employment	32
Figure 2.2 Theoretical Basis: Developing a Research Question	57
Figure 3.1 Neo-classical Economic Model of Employment Effect of Minimum Wage Legislation	63
Figure 3.2 Neo-Classical Economic Model of Employment Effects of Minimum Wages in the Formal and Informal Sector	65
Figure 4.1 Number of Large and Medium Manufacturing Establishments in Indonesia and Selected Provinces, 1975-2000	102
Figure 4.2 Map of West Java, Java Island, Indonesia	104
Figure 4.3 Number of Large and Medium Manufacturing Establishments by two-digit ISIC in Indonesia, 1991-2000	106
Figure 4.4 Number of Large and Medium Manufacturing Workers in Four Major Provinces, 1991-2000	113
Figure 4.5 New, Downscaled and Closed Large and Medium Manufacturing (Total and TGF industries) Establishments in Indonesia, 2000-2004	116
Figure 4.6 Main Factors for Strike Incidences in Indonesia (2002)	122
Figure 5.1 Summary of Real Wages in Indonesia, 1996-2002	126
Figure 5.2 Real Wage Index of Workers below Supervisor Level by 3 Main Secto Indonesia 1997-2002	ors, 127
Figure 5.3 Average Monthly Wages of Manufacturing Workers below Supervisors Level, 1994-2002 (US \$)	129
Figure 5.4 Real Weekly Manufacturing Wages, Indonesia & Selected Regions, 1996 - 2001 (000 rupiahs)	131
Figure 5.5 Nominal Monthly Wages of Large, Medium and Small Manufacturing Establishments and Minimum Wages, 1993-2000	138
Figure 5.6 Average Nominal Monthly Wage of Local and Foreign investment Establishments and Minimum Wage in Jakarta, 1991-2000	139

Figure 5.7 Average Nominal Wages of Local and Foreign Investment Establishme and Minimum Wage in West Java, 1991-2000	ents 140
Figure 5.8 Ratio of Minimum Wage to Average Wages in Large, Medium and Sm Manufacturing Establishments, 1993-2000	nall 141
Figure 5.9 Real and Dollar Values of Minimum Wages in Indonesia and Jakarta	142
Figure 5.10 Minimum Wage Setting Process according to the New Employment I Number 13, 2003	Law 149
Figure 7.1 Proportion of Minimum Wages to Minimum Daily Needs in Selected Provinces	208

LIST OF TEXT BOXES

	Page
Box 5.1 The Minimum Subsistence Need (KHM)	146
Box 7.1 Minimum Wage Calculation	216

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

2SLS – Two-stage least squares estimation method, also known as TSLS.

AFTA – Asian Free Trade Area

APINDO – Asosiasi Pengusaha Indonesia (Indonesian Employers Association)

APEC – Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation

ASEAN - Association of South-east Asian Nations

Bappenas – Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan National (Indonesia's Development Planning Board)

BGDC Method – Birth, growth, death and contraction of firms method to calculate net employment change

BPS – Badan Pusat Statistik, Indonesia's statistical agency. Also referred to as Statistics Indonesia

CAFTA – China and ASEAN Free Trade Area

EJIP – East Jakarta Industrial Park

EOI – Export Oriented Industrialisation

FNPBI – Front Nasional Perjuangan Buruh Indonesia

FDI – Foreign Direct Investment

FKTU - Federation of Korean Trade Unions

FSP-LEM – Federasi Sekerikat Pekerja – Logam, Elektronik dan Mobil.

Gasbiindo – Gabungan Serikat Buruh Industri Indonesia – Federation of Industrial Trade Unions of Indonesia

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

GDRP – Gross Domestic Regional Product

GSBI – Gabungan Serikat Buruh Indonesia

GSP – Generalised system of Preferences

HDI – Human Development Index

ICFTU – International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

IMF – International Monetary Fund

ILO – International Labour Organisation

IOE – International Organisation of Employers

ISIC – International Standard Industrial Classification

IV – Instrumental Variables

JABOTABEK – Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi Regions

JAMSOSTEK – Jaminan Sosial Tenaga Kerja – Workers' social security benefit

KBN – *Kawasan Berikat Nusantara* (Bonded Industrial Zones)

KEPMEN – Keputusan menteri Tenaga Kerja – Manpower Ministerial Decree

KFM – *Kebutuhan Fisik Minimum* (Minimum Physical Need)

KHM – *Kebutuhan Hidup Minimum* (Minimum Subsistence need)

KSPI – Konfederasi Serikat Pekerja Indonesia (Confederation of Independent Workers Union of Indonesia)

KSPSI – Konfederasi Serikat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia

MERCOSUR - Mercado Común Del Sur (South American Free Trade Agreement)

MM2000 – Bekasi Industrial Park

MNC – Multi-national Corporations (also see TNC)

NAFTA – North American Free Trade Area

Nakertrans – Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi (Manpower and transmigration)

NGO – Non-governmental Organisation

NIC – Newly Industrialised Countries

OECD – Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development

OLS - Ordinary Least Squares estimation method

PERMENAKER – Peraturan Menteri Tenaga Kerja – Manpower Minister's Regulation

PIR - Pancasila Industrial Relations

PJP – Pembangunan Jangka Panjang (Long Term Development)

PPHI – Penyeleseian Perselisihan Hubungan Industrial (Industrial relations dispute resolution)

REPELITA – Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun (Five Year Development Plan)

Sakernas – Survei Tenaga Kerja Nasional – The National Labour Force Survey

SBM – Serikat Buruh Merdeka (Freedom Workers Union of Indonesia)

SBSI - Serikat Buruh Sejahtera Indonesia (All Indonesia Workers' Welfare Union).

SMERU – Smeru Research Institute

SOBSI – Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia (All Indonesia Central Organization of Trade unions

SPMI – *Serikat Pekerja Metal Indonesia* (Indonesian Metal Workers Union)

- SPSI Serikat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesian (All Indonesia Workers union). Currently known as KSPSI or Konfederasi Serikat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia (Confederation of All Indonesia Workers Union)
- SPSI-Reformasi Serikat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia Reformasi (Reformed All Indonesia Workers Union)
- SPTSK Serikat Pekerja Tekstil, Sandang dan Kulit (Textile, footwear and leather industrial workers' union)
- TGF Textile, Garment and Footwear
- TNC Trans-national Corporations, also known as Multi-national Firms (see MNC)
- **UNDP** United Nations Development Programme
- US United States of America
- UU *Undang-undang* (law or legislation)
- **WB** The World Bank
- WTO World Trade Organisation.