LEGAL BRIEF

ISSN 2722-4643 (Online) | 1979-522X (Print)

Volume 14, No. 2, 2025, pp. 242-252

Published by: IHSA Institute (Institut Hukum Sumberdaya Alam)



Legal Protection for the Welfare of the Generation Z Exodus: A Constitutional Law Perspective in Fulfilling Constitutional Rights

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Abstract: This study aims to examine legal protection for the welfare of Generation Z in the context of exodus or migration, both abroad and between regions, triggered by dissatisfaction with socio-economic conditions at home. From the perspective of constitutional law, Generation Z as part of Indonesian citizens has constitutional rights to work, education, and social welfare as guaranteed in Article 27 paragraph (2), Article 28C, Article 28D paragraph (1), and Article 28H paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. This study uses a qualitative method with a normative legal approach and descriptive-analytical specifications, with data collection techniques through literature studies of national laws and international legal instruments. The results of the study show that although the basic rights of Generation Z have been guaranteed in various laws, their implementation is still weak. High unemployment, unequal access to education and health, and minimal protection of the informal sector such as the gig economy, have encouraged the emergence of the Gen Z migration phenomenon, including through the hashtag "Kabur AjaDulu". This reflects the state's failure to provide decent employment and social security. This study recommends regulatory reform with a progressive legal approach and data-based affirmative policies. The state needs to strengthen institutions such as BP2MI and ensure real legal protection for Generation Z through a legal political commitment to social justice.

Keywords: Constitutional Rights, Generation Z, Exodus...

1. Introduction

Indonesia is a country based on law, as stated in Article 1 paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (Juanda, 2020), (Rais, 2022). As a country based on law, all implementation of state power must be based on just laws, uphold human rights, and guarantee legal certainty (Rambe & Sihombing, 2024), (Kambu, 2021). In this context, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia not only functions as the highest legal norm in the order of legal regulations, but also reflects the identity of the nation and becomes the embodiment of the noble values that originate from Pancasila (Indonesia, 2002). Since its inception, this Constitution was designed to guarantee the basic rights of every citizen, including the younger generation such as Generation Z, to be able to live with dignity and prosperity (Almahdali et al., 2024), (Tuhuteru, 2022).

In articles such as Article 27 Paragraph (2) and Article 28H Paragraph (1), there is a promise that every individual has the right to get decent work and a prosperous life, both physically and mentally. This is a reflection of the belief that humans, as God's creations, must be respected and treated fairly (ANANTASIAH, 2022),(SH, Syarief, Sugeng, Saptomo, & Si, 2021). For Generation Z, who are entering the workforce and struggling to carve out a future, this protection is crucial to ensure that they get equal opportunities and the dignity they deserve.(Agustin, Andira, & Khasanah,

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Received: May 03, 2025; Revised: May 14 2025; Accepted: May 26, 2025; Published: Jun 30, 2025:



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2021),(Ahdiyat & West, 2021).

In the concept of social justice contained in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Article 28D Paragraph (1) emphasizes that everyone not only has the right to decent work and a decent living, but also fair legal protection. (Suandi & Martinesya, 2021), (Berdame, 2024). Article 28D Paragraph (1) affirms the right of every citizen to fair legal protection and decent work and livelihood, as a manifestation of the state's commitment to social justice and reducing inequality. For Generation Z, this means that their rights and opportunities to develop are guaranteed without discrimination (Munir, 2023), (Itasari, 2020).

Article 28C Paragraph (1) of the 1945 Republic of Indonesia Constitution guarantees the right to adequate education as a means of self-development and national progress. (Hardjanti, 2016), (Usman, 2021). The state is responsible for providing access to quality education for all, including Generation Z, for a bright future. The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia is a call for all elements of the nation to actively build the country. The state is obliged to create a climate that supports the younger generation to grow productively and contribute. Through guarantees of education, employment, and welfare, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia reflects the noble ideals of the Indonesian nation (Sari, 2023), (Risdiany & Dewi, 2021).

The basic rights of generation Z are guaranteed through various national regulations. Law No. 39 of 1999 affirms the rights to work, education, and social welfare (Piran & Mardjono, 2022), (Pratama, Lestari, & Katari, 2022). Law No. 11 of 2009 strengthens the government's responsibility in organizing welfare programs for people in need, including generation Z who are facing economic challenges. Meanwhile, in articles 4 to 6 of Law No. 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower, the rights of generation Z in the world of work are protected, such as social security and protection without discrimination. All of these regulations complement each other in ensuring a decent and fair life for the young generation of Indonesia. All of these regulations complement each other in ensuring a decent and fair life for the young generation of Indonesia (Prihatiningtyas, Wijoyo, Wahyuni, & Fitriana, 2023), (Mahmudah et al., 2023).

In the employment regulations stipulated in Law No. 6 of 2011 through the ratification of the ILO Convention on decent work for young workers. This shows the state's commitment to protecting the rights of generation Z in the world of work in the international scope. In the context of work, of course, Indonesia must have superior and educated human resources in accordance with the Right to education guaranteed in Law No. 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System and Article 31 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which emphasizes the importance of quality education to form superior human resources. As for the authority to implement welfare policies for generation *Z*, it is strengthened by Law No. 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, which gives a strategic role to local governments in adjusting programs according to the needs of the younger generation in their regions (Soesatyo, 2024),(Rahim, 2024).

Government Regulation No. 47 of 2012 affirms the active role of Generation Z in development through education, entrepreneurship, and socio-economics. However, its implementation is not evenly distributed and does not meet regional needs. Govern-

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ment Regulation No. 45 of 2015 guarantees access to health for all, including Generation Z. The problem is that many are still not registered or have difficulty accessing services, especially in remote areas. Law No. 15 of 2019 concerning Child Protection remains relevant for Generation Z who are still children or adolescents. This law guarantees social, economic, and educational protection. However, its implementation is still hampered by inequality of access and is not evenly distributed in all regions. Presidential Regulation No. 68 of 2017 concerning the RPJMN emphasizes the priority of improving the quality of human resources, including the younger generation. Even so, there are still many challenges in equalizing access to education, employment, and poverty alleviation effectively.

Hukum harus mampu menanggapi kebutuhan sosial yang berkembang, dan sosiologis menjadi landasan penting dalam pembentukannya. Generasi Z, yang lahir antara 1990-an hingga 2010-an, tumbuh dalam era digitalisasi dan globalisasi. Oleh karena itu, regulasi hukum perlu disesuaikan untuk memberikan perlindungan yang relevan dengan dinamika kehidupan mereka yang terus berubah.(Astuty dkk., t.t.). UU No. 39 Tahun 1999 tentang Hak Asasi Manusia menjamin hak generasi Z dalam memilih pekerjaan, mendapatkan pendidikan, dan kesejahteraan sosial. Namun, tantangan yang dihadapi generasi Z semakin kompleks, seperti persaingan kerja yang ketat dan ketidakstabilan ekonomi global, yang mempersulit mereka dalam mengakses peluang dan perlindungan yang layak.(Raharjo dkk., t.t.). Selain itu, Undang-Undang No. 11 Tahun 2009 tentang Kesejahteraan Sosial memberikan jaminan bagi generasi muda yang berada dalam kondisi sosial yang rentan. Banyak generasi Z yang tumbuh dalam keluarga dengan kondisi ekonomi yang beragam, sehingga regulasi ini berfungsi sebagai mekanisme perlindungan sosial yang memastikan mereka tetap mendapatkan akses terhadap layanan sosial dan bantuan pemerintah jika diperlukan (Huraerah, 2022), (Mustikasari, 2024).

Generasi Z menghadapi tantangan baru dalam dunia kerja, seperti gig economy yang mengandalkan pekerjaan fleksibel melalui platform digital. Hal ini memunculkan isu terkait hak-hak tenaga kerja, seperti jaminan sosial, upah minimum, dan perlindungan dari eksploitasi. UU No. 13 Tahun 2003 tentang Ketenagakerjaan mengatur hak pekerja, termasuk generasi muda, terkait upah, perlindungan, dan jaminan sosial. Selain itu, Indonesia juga meratifikasi Konvensi ILO melalui UU No. 6 Tahun 2011 untuk memastikan pekerja muda mendapatkan hak-hak mereka dan terhindar dari eksploitasi.(IKAN dkk., 2020). Pasal 31 UUD 1945 mengamanatkan bahwa setiap warga negara berhak mendapatkan pendidikan yang layak, dengan tujuan menciptakan generasi yang cerdas dan inovatif. Sementara itu, UU No. 20 Tahun 2003 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional menjamin akses pendidikan yang berkualitas bagi setiap warga negara, termasuk generasi Z, serta menekankan pentingnya pemerataan pendidikan yang merata di seluruh Indonesia(Omayra, 2021), (Danugroho, 2022).

Generasi Z, yang kritis dan inovatif, memiliki peran penting dalam perubahan sosial dan politik. Untuk mendukung partisipasi mereka, pemerintah mengeluarkan PP No. 47 Tahun 2012 tentang Pemberdayaan Pemuda, yang memberikan ruang dalam pendidikan, keterampilan, dan kegiatan sosial-politik. UU No. 23 Tahun 2014 memperkuat pemberdayaan pemuda di tingkat daerah. Terkait kesehatan, PP No. 45 Tahun

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2015 menjamin akses pelayanan kesehatan melalui JKN, hal itu merupakan upaya untuk menekan peningkatan yang disebabkan tantangan sosial, akademik, dan dunia kerja yang dapat mempengaruhi kesehatan mental. Selain itu, UU No. 15 Tahun 2019 tentang Perlindungan Anak juga memastikan perlindungan bagi generasi muda dari eksploitasi dan kekerasan.

The implementation of regulations that should guarantee the constitutional rights of Generation Z still faces various obstacles in the field. Inequality in access to education still occurs, especially in the 3T (remote, frontier, and outermost) regions, where educational infrastructure and the quality of educators are inadequate. In the health sector, even though the JKN program is available, there are still many Generation Z who are not registered or have difficulty accessing health services, especially in remote areas. In the world of work, Generation Z, who are widely involved in the gig economy, have not received adequate legal protection, because the Manpower Law does not specifically regulate flexible work patterns based on digital platforms, so that rights such as social security, living wages, and job protection are not fully guaranteed. On the other hand, the government's youth empowerment program has not yet reached all regions evenly and has not been based on mapping the real needs of the younger generation in the regions. This condition is exacerbated by the socio-economic problems faced by most Generation Z, such as high unemployment rates, economic disparities, and minimal access to welfare facilities. As a result, the fulfillment of Generation Z's constitutional rights, such as the right to education, work, and social security, is still far from expectations.

From the description above, the purpose of this study focuses more on how legal protection for the welfare of the exodus of generation Z is in the perspective of Constitutional Law in Indonesia and the challenges of fulfilling constitutional rights in the context of the exodus of Generation Z. The benefits of this study are to provide an understanding of legal protection for generation Z, suggest policies to support their access to constitutional rights, and strengthen understanding regarding the social and economic challenges they face.

2. Materials and Methods

This study uses a qualitative method with a Normative Juridical approach, the specifications in this paper are descriptive analytical, namely aiming to describe the problems discussed in depth. This study collected two types of primary and secondary data, primary data was obtained from laws and regulations, and the Central Statistics Agency, while secondary data was obtained from relevant books and journal articles, both of which were used as study materials and descriptions to fulfill data validation regarding legal protection for the welfare of the exodus of generation Z in fulfilling constitutional rights. (Yuniar et al., 2021).

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Legal Protection of the Welfare of the Generation Z Exodus in the Perspective of Constitutional Law in Indonesia.

Protecting the entire Indonesian nation is the main goal of the state as stated in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. This protection does not only apply domestically, but also to Indonesian citizens (WNI) who are abroad. The phenomenon of the exodus of

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Generation Z abroad for education, work, or self-development is increasing and is in the public spotlight, especially with the viral hashtag "KaburAjaDulu" on social media. (Ardafillah et al., tt) The controversial statement from Immanuel Ebenezer suggesting that Indonesian citizens who leave should not return has sparked various responses. On the one hand, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasized that every citizen has the right to move abroad as long as it is in accordance with legal provisions.

However, on the other hand, a number of figures such as DPD Chairman Sultan Najamudin considered the trend to be contrary to the fighting spirit of Indonesian youth who are known to never give up. In this context, the state not only needs to respond morally and culturally, but also legally. Protection for Indonesian citizens, including Generation Z who choose to live abroad, must be ensured to continue without severing the bonds of nationality and guaranteeing their constitutional rights as Indonesian citizens.

Adnan Hamid emphasized that working is a basic right of every individual as well as a citizen's right. This statement has a strong constitutional basis, as stated 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 living." This norm not only provides recognition of the right to work, but also emphasizes the state's responsibility in ensuring that this right is fulfilled fairly and humanely. To implement the constitutional mandate, the state presents sectoral regulations through Law Number 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower.

This law specifically regulates the basic principles in workforce development. Article 4 states that workforce development aims to empower the workforce optimally and humanely, realize equal employment opportunities in accordance with national and regional development needs, provide protection to workers, and improve the welfare of workers and their families. This reflects the state's commitment to creating a fair, safe, and people-friendly employment system.

Furthermore, the explanation of Article 5 and Article 6 of the Manpower Law emphasizes the principle of non-discrimination in the world of work, both in terms of access to work and treatment from employers. Both guarantee equal rights for every worker, while also being a legal basis for preventing discriminatory treatment and avoiding efforts to marginalize workers, in line with international legal standards. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 23 paragraph (1) states that everyone has the right to obtain work, choose work freely, receive fair and pleasant working conditions, and protection from unemployment.

Protection of migrant workers is also emphasized in the Philadelphia Declaration (1944) adopted by the ILO, as well as through ILO Convention No. 97 of 1949 concerning Migration for Employment and ILO Convention No. 143 of 1975 concerning Migrant Workers. In addition, the 1998 ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work emphasizes that all ILO members, including Indonesia, are obliged to uphold equal rights for all workers without discrimination, either based on status or economic sector.

The Indonesian government responded by establishing the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency (BP2MI) through Presidential Regulation No. 90 of 2019, replacing BNP2TKI. This institution is tasked with ensuring comprehensive protection for Indonesian migrant workers, including Generation Z, from before departure, while working abroad, until after returning home. This transformation is a concrete form of the state's responsibility in protecting the rights of young workers who are now part of the global exodus.

According to Erman Rajagukguk, developed countries generally develop in three stages gradually, unification for political stability, then industrialization, and then achieving social welfare. However, developing countries like Indonesia are trying to achieve all three at once: maintaining unity, restoring the economy, and increasing wel-

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fare. This poses a major challenge, especially in the employment sector, how to encourage economic growth without ignoring workers' rights, such as providing decent wages and guaranteeing social protection. (Uwiyono, 2001).

Protection of migrant workers in the context of the exodus of Generation Z should be accommodated through a legislative process that favors the interests of the younger generation. Law No. 12 of 2011 regulates the stages of the formation of laws and regulations, from planning to dissemination, as regulated in Articles 6 to 16. This mechanism ensures that every regulation, including those concerning young migrant workers, must be discussed carefully, transparently, and accountably. However, as criticized by Satjipto Rahardjo, the law often favors groups that are politically and economically dominant. Therefore, so that protection for Generation Z is not just a formality, the legislative process must truly absorb their aspirations and side with social justice. (Rahardjo & Dimyati, 2004)

According to Yudi Kristiana, the progressive legal approach provides freedom for law enforcers to think creatively, take the initiative, and interpret the law according to the needs of society. Within this framework, law enforcement is not rigid, but rather directed to achieve more substantive legal objectives that are responsive to social reality. Although the law remains rooted in norms written in regulations (rules), the law is also seen as a dynamic social behavior (behavior). This means that although the law must still be regulated in a clear legal system, its validity is highly dependent on the actions of law enforcers. If there is no intervention from law enforcers, the regulations will only be empty formulas, merely "rules on paper" or black letter law.

Therefore, the law can only be realized as a reality if there is active involvement and creativity from law enforcers to move and implement the rules in real life. (Widodo & Belgrado Putra, 2019). The emphasis on the active role of law enforcers in this progressive law is very relevant in the context of the application of law in Indonesia, including in overcoming the problems faced by migrant workers or the younger generation who are exodus to seek employment opportunities. The law is not enough to exist only in text form, but must be implemented with courage and commitment that reflects the needs of society.

3.2 Challenges of Generation Z Exodus to Fulfillment of Constitutional Rights

Constitutional rights are basic rights that every citizen has and are guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In the context of generation *Z*, which is a productive age group and part of the future of the nation, protection of their rights is very important to be considered and guaranteed by the state. (Munte et al., 2021) As emphasized by Soemantri, the constitution is an absolute requirement for the establishment of a state of law. This is in line with CF Strong's view that a constitutional state is the result of a historical process that institutionalizes the basic rights of citizens.

Theoretically, these rights can be analyzed through the theory of will, which places rights as the free will of individuals, and the theory of interests, which sees rights as a tool to protect the legitimate interests of individuals. Satjipto Rahardjo emphasized that new rights are meaningful when accompanied by social recognition and legal protection. Audi also added that rights do not only come from positive law (legal rights), but also from human natural values (natural rights). (El-Muhtaj, 2015).

The constitutional guarantee is then strengthened through various laws and regulations. Law Number 39 of 1999 concerning Human Rights provides protection for basic rights such as freedom to choose a job, obtain education, and social welfare. Furthermore, Law Number 11 of 2009 concerning Social Welfare emphasizes the state's responsibility in organizing social welfare, which is very important for Generation Z who face various economic and social challenges, including those affected by high mobility or vulnerable conditions. Legal certainty in the formation of these policies is guaranteed by Law Number 12 of 2011 concerning the Formation of Legislation, so that all policies concerning the

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interests of Generation Z are formed through legitimate and democratic legal mechanisms.

Then, Government Regulation Number 47 of 2012 concerning Youth Empowerment provides a legal basis for empowering the younger generation, including in aspects of education, skills, and entrepreneurship. All of these efforts are in line with Presidential Regulation Number 68 of 2017 concerning the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) 2015–2019, in which the government has set improving the quality of human resources as a development priority, which includes access to education, poverty alleviation, and job creation.

Furthermore, Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government provides a legal basis for the division of authority between the central and regional governments, including in terms of organizing social welfare. In the context of Generation Z, which is spread across various regions with different geographical, economic, and social challenges, this regulation ensures that the protection of their social and economic rights remains the responsibility of the state, both at the central and regional levels. This is also important in anticipating the phenomenon of exodus or migration between regions that may be experienced by the younger generation. In the international scope, recognition of the rights of young workers is strengthened through Law Number 6 of 2011 concerning the Ratification of ILO Convention Number 122 concerning Employment Policy.

This regulation regulates the importance of providing decent work for young workers, including generation Z, as well as preventing exploitation and discrimination practices. Law Number 15 of 2019 concerning Amendments to Law Number 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection, although generally intended for children, remains relevant for some of generation Z who are still in the category of children or adolescents. Protection of the right to education, social protection, and the right to grow and develop properly is also an integral part of the constitutional guarantees that must be provided by the state to all citizens, without exception.

Thus, all of these legal instruments show that the rights of generation *Z*, both in terms of education, employment, health, and social protection, have a strong place in the Indonesian legal system. The constitution as the highest norm of the state is the main foundation, which is then explained concretely through national laws and regulations and recognition of international standards, to ensure that the young generation of Indonesia is guaranteed a just, prosperous, and dignified life.

Indonesia is experiencing a demographic bonus with 70.72% of its population being of productive age, where Generation Z is the largest group, reaching 27.94% of the total population. This situation should be an opportunity for economic growth and national development. However, the exodus phenomenon of Generation Z due to migration to cities or abroad for education and work poses challenges in fulfilling their constitutional rights. Special attention needs to be given to Generation Z, because almost half of them have entered productive age, while the rest will soon follow in the next few years. As a generation born and raised after the 1998 reformation and familiar with digital technology from an early age, their character and behavior are certainly different from previous generations. Understanding the lifestyle, views, values, goals and challenges faced by Generation Z is an important key in formulating a strategy towards achieving Indonesia's golden age.

Indonesian Generation Z is deeply concerned about the current issue of social inequality, which includes various gaps including economic, educational, and social gaps. Indonesian Generation Z is very aware of the increasing level of inequality, and they realize the importance of addressing this gap. They understand that this will not only benefit society at large, but also provide equal opportunities for those in their generation who were born without economic advantages or social privileges. Over the past few years, economic inequality in Indonesia has continued to increase. This inequality is often measured using the Gini coefficient, which ranges from 0 (indicating perfect equality) to 1

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(indicating maximum inequality). Data from the Central Statistics Agency shows that in March 2023, the Gini coefficient was at 0.388, compared to 0.381 in March 2020. (Statistics Indonesia 2020 - Central Statistics Agency of Indonesia, tt)

Atgo Mardiyanto, Secretary General of the Central Statistics Agency, attributed the rising inequality to the uneven economic recovery after the pandemic. The impact of the pandemic on various segments of society has led to unequal economic outcomes, exacerbating the gap between different socio-economic groups. Indeed, the problem of social inequality transcends national borders and generational divides. The World Social Report 2020, published by the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) highlights that income inequality has soared not only in developing countries but also in many developed countries. This trend extends to middle-income countries such as China, which boasts the world's fastest-growing economy.

The report underlines the seriousness of the situation by emphasizing that income disparities and limited opportunities fuel a vicious cycle of inequality, discontent and frustration that spans generations. In his foreword to the report, UN Secretary-General António Guterres acknowledged the profound implications of these inequalities for society. The prominence of social and economic disparities among the issues facing Indonesia's Generation Z can be attributed to their far-reaching consequences on a range of interrelated issues. Inequality acts as a catalyst, exacerbating challenges across multiple domains.

Borrowing from research related to the Gen Z Indonesia Report 2024 survey on socio-political issues, the results reveal various priorities. The largest portion, more than half (60%) identified social and economic inequality as a major issue. Mental health and well-being followed with 51%, while human rights and social justice were noted by 42% of respondents. Access to education was a concern for 34%, while the social impact of technological developments was a concern for 31% of Gen Z. Next is More than half of Gen Z still live and depend financially on their families. Generation Z who choose to stay with their families are generally due to financial factors and the need for parental support. With limited or no personal income, they still rely on their families to meet their daily needs.

This often happens, so it is not surprising that multigenerational household patterns are common in Indonesia. Gen Z does not only live with parents, but also with grandparents or other extended family members. Based on data from Statistics Indonesia, as many as 30.70% of households consist of parents, of which 56.73% act as heads of households. In addition, 7.25% of parents live alone, 20.85% live with a partner, while the rest live in nuclear or multigenerational families. This situation shows the major role of the family in supporting the welfare of Generation Z amidst various social and economic challenges. (Indonesia Gen Z Report 2024 | PDF | Poverty & Homelessness | Economic Inequality, tt-a)

The income gap in Indonesia reflects significant economic disparities across age groups and regions. Residents aged 25 to 54 working in the informal sector have an average income of IDR 2,007,345 per month, higher than Generation Z aged 15-24 who only earn IDR 1,555,374 per month. Meanwhile, the age group 55 years and above has an average income of IDR 1,566,025 per month. This difference shows the limited access of Generation Z to decent work and stable income, thus driving their exodus to seek better opportunities.

In addition, wage disparities between regions are widening the wage gap and the cost of living is worsening the economic uncertainty for Generation Z, as evidenced by the UMP in DKI Jakarta in 2025 set at IDR 5,396,761 per month, only equivalent to 36% of the total cost of living, the standard of which is 14.88 million, while provinces such as Central Java set a minimum wage of only IDR 1.9 million per month. As a result, most Generation Z live on incomes below IDR 2.5 million per month, which is difficult to meet their needs amidst the rising cost of living. This gap shows that the fulfillment of Generation Z's

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constitutional rights to obtain decent work and a humane life is not yet optimal throughout Indonesia. (Employment Conditions in DKI Jakarta Province February 2025 - Central Statistics Agency of DKI Jakarta Province, tt)

In 2024, youth employment data shows that there is still a gap that reflects the weak constitutional guarantees of the state in protecting the economic rights of its citizens. Sakernas employment data records that more than half of young people are working (56.98 percent), and 7.95% are unemployed, while the NEET (Not in Employment, Education, and Training) indicator reveals that 23.78 percent of young people aged 15–24 are not working, not attending school, and not taking training, with women experiencing higher vulnerability (33.10 percent) than men (14.98 percent). In addition, data on the Open Unemployment Rate for young people reached 12 percent, higher than the national average, with high school/vocational school graduates as the most vulnerable group (14.39 percent). Ironically, even college graduates still face a fairly high unemployment rate (12.01 percent), indicating a mismatch between the world of education and the job market.

The youth Labor Force Participation Rate (TPAK) is at 64.93 percent, with a striking gap between men (76.43 percent) and women (52.77 percent). This gap is not just a difference in choice, but a reflection of the lack of affirmative policies to encourage women's economic participation. In terms of job quality, the majority of youth work in the service sector (56.55 percent), while the agricultural sector remains dominant in rural areas (36.15 percent). However, employment status still shows instability. As many as 54.36 percent of youth are in the precarious employment category, especially men (57.79 percent) and urban youth (60.50 percent). In addition, 28.98 percent of youth receive low wages, with higher figures for women (37.53 percent) and rural workers (39.92 percent). This condition indicates that the state has not fully provided constitutional guarantees for youth to obtain decent work and adequate social protection. Without more progressive policies in increasing access to education, training, and workforce protection, this gap will continue to widen and hamper the productive potential of the younger generation. (Indonesian Youth Statistics 2024 - Central Statistics Agency of Indonesia, tt).

Indonesian labor migration has undergone significant changes in the last five years, influenced by global economic dynamics and labor protection policies. The 2020–2021 period was a difficult time for migrant workers due to the COVID-19 pandemic which restricted international mobility. Many destination countries such as Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, and Taiwan closed access to foreign workers, resulting in a drastic decline in the number of workers placed. However, along with the global economic recovery in 2022–2024, the number of migrant workers will increase again, especially in the manufacturing, construction, and domestic service sectors. Data from the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency (BP2MI) shows that cases of violations of migrant workers' rights are still high. During 2020–2024, reports of violence, fraud by illegal recruitment agencies, and abuse of work contracts continued to occur. Although the government has increased bilateral cooperation with destination countries and strengthened protection policies, implementation in the field is still not optimal. (Indonesia Gen Z Report 2024 | PDF | Poverty & Homelessness | Economic Inequality, tt).

The increasing phenomenon of labor migration post-pandemic is in line with the "Kabur Aja Dulu" trend among Generation Z, which reflects dissatisfaction with working conditions at home. Low wages, minimal protection, and economic uncertainty drive them to seek opportunities abroad, despite the risks. This trend indicates the country's failure to provide decent work and labor protection. Without progressive policy reforms, the exodus of young workers will continue to increase, potentially triggering a brain drain. Strict regulations, increased job opportunities, and protection of migrant workers are needed so that they are valued, not just cheap labor abroad.

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4. Conclusions

The exodus of Generation Z abroad demands that the state guarantee legal protection for citizens, as stipulated in Article 27 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution. This guarantee is emphasized through Law No. 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower, Law No. 18 of 2017 concerning Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, and Presidential Regulation No. 90 of 2019 concerning BP2MI. Legal protection is also in line with international instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and ILO Conventions No. 97 of 1949 and No. 143 of 1975. To be effective, regulations must be drafted in accordance with the mechanism of Law No. 12 of 2011 and enforced progressively so that the law truly answers the needs of the younger generation. Generation Z as part of the productive age has constitutional rights guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia and various national regulations, but in reality they face increasing socio-economic inequality, marked by low access to decent work, high unemployment rates, and financial dependence on family. The demographic bonus that should be an opportunity is instead colored by the exodus of young workers abroad due to dissatisfaction with domestic working conditions. This phenomenon reflects the state's suboptimal fulfillment of the basic rights of the younger generation, so that more progressive and pro-Generation Z policies are needed so that Generation Z can live decently, prosperously, and with dignity.

The results of this research can be an important foundation in formulating affirmative policies that favor generation Z through a progressive and social justice-based constitutional approach. To prevent the deviant practice of surrogacy from becoming a new form of human trafficking, strict and integrated regulations between civil, criminal and child protection laws are needed, as well as stronger supervision of state institutions. Reform of Indonesia's positive legal structure needs to be geared towards adjusting to the dynamics of flexible work, global mobility, and the guarantee of generation Z's constitutional rights, including by revising the Manpower Law and Migrant Workers Protection Law to be relevant to the realities of the gig economy and digital workforce. The findings also serve as a strategic basis for the Constitutional Court, lawmakers, and local governments in formulating a participatory and data-based affirmative policy model to address disparities in education, employment, and access to welfare for Generation Z. By making the results of this research a reference, it is hoped that a legal and policy ecosystem will be born that is able to protect the basic rights of the younger generation and support their potential as agents of national change.

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