

Strengthening National Salt Management Policy Through Synchronization of Central and Regional Government Regulations

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ABSTRACT

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National salt management in Indonesia is encountering overlapping regulations between the central and regional governments. Therefore, this study aimed to analyze salt management regulations in Indonesia and examine the reinforcement of the national salt management policy through harmonization between central and regional government regulations. The analysis used a normative legal method, focusing on the analysis of positive legal norms regulating the governance of salt sector in Indonesia. The results showed that salt management regulations in Indonesia comprised multiple legal instruments. The analysis further showed that laws primarily prioritized the protection and welfare of farmers, while government regulations permitted imports, leading to the suppression of domestic salt prices. As laws secured a market for locally produced salt, the ministerial regulation facilitated industry access to imported salt. Government regulations predominantly focused on achieving quantitative self-sufficiency targets, and statutory laws prioritized welfare as well as social protection of salt farmers. Regional regulations protected local salt production, and Minister of Trade Regulation advanced industry interests. This study assumed that salt management regulations were available, but there was a regulatory asymmetry between laws and their subordinate regulations. The analysis recommended the development of an incorporated, participatory, and impact-based grand design for a national salt management policy, ensuring social justice in the governance in salt sector of Indonesia.



Introduction

Salt production is a strategic sector closely related to the basic needs of society, food security, and sustainability of the national industry.¹ Salt is not only used as a consumption ingredient, but is also a primary raw material in various industrial sectors, including pharmaceuticals, textiles, and petrochemicals.² In the context of Indonesia as an archipelagic country, the potential for salt production land is huge, but has not been optimally utilized.³ For more than two decades, Indonesia has continued to struggle with the classic problem of dependence on salt imports, despite having the second longest coastline in the world. This reality shows the imbalance between natural resource potential

¹ Michael Christian et al., "Business Performance Determinants of Salted Fish Distribution in Kapuk During the COVID-19," *Journal of Distribution Science* 9, no. 6 (2021): 29-39.

² Siwi Hadi Purnanto, Suadi Suadi, and Ustadhi Ustadhi, "Salt Supply Chain Management at Regional Level: Case Study of Salt Processing Industry and Salt Consumer Industry in Central Java," *Jurnal Perikanan Universitas Gadjah Mada* 22, no. 1 (2020): 63-70.

³ Hanif Sefa Al-kautsar et al., "Supply Chain Network Design Integration Model for Opening-Closing Decision Allocation Terminal Salt Warehouse Facility," in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Industrial Engineering and Operations Management*, 2022, 3180-3188.

and the policy governance that regulates it.⁴ This gap indicates that the problem is not merely technical, but rather structural and legal in nature. Hence, it is important to highlight how legal regulations work in managing salt resources. The regulatory aspect is a crucial point that determines the direction of sustainable and equitable salt development.⁵

At the national level, the government has issued various regulations aimed at regulating salt management, ranging from import regulations, protecting local farmers, to standardizing salt quality. Several key regulations, such as Presidential Regulation Number 126 of 2022 concerning the Acceleration of National Salt Development, Government Regulation Number 9 of 2018 concerning Procedures for the Control of Import of Fishery Commodities and Salt Commodities as Raw Materials and Supportig Materials, as well as the Minister of Trade Regulation and the Minister of Industry Regulation show the State's commitment to encourage national salt development.⁶ However, these regulations are often sectoral and not integrated into a solid legal framework. On the other hand, the regional government also drafted Regional Regulations to accommodate local potential and the needs of salt farming community. These regulations were born from the spirit of decentralization, but in practice they often clash with central regulations. As a result, dualism and disharmony in policies have emerged which not only confuse business actors but also create legal uncertainty. In various regions, salt farmers face a dilemma between complying with local regulations and adapting to fluctuating central policies. This shows the importance of legal review of policy synchronization between levels of government.⁷

Overlapping regulations between the central and regional governments not only cause administrative problems, but also have a direct impact on the effectiveness of salt policies.⁸ For example, the policy of limiting salt imports from the central government is not followed by strengthening the production and distribution capacity of people's salt in the regions. Meanwhile, several regional regulations actually prioritize local fish farmers without budgetary and policy support from the relevant technical ministries.⁹ This lack of synchronicity causes salt development programs to be inconsistent and even counterproductive.¹⁰ From the perspective of constitutional and administrative laws, this indicates weak coordination between levels of government in the implementation of non-basic service mandatory affairs. Regulations operating independently without harmonization cause conflict of authority and a waste of public resources. As a result, the

⁴ Malcolm Newson, John Lewin, and Paul Raven, "River Science and Flood Risk Management Policy in England," *Progress in Physical Geography* 46, no. 1 (2022): 105-123.

⁵ Silvia Albareda-Tiana, Salvador Vidal-Raméntol, and Mónica Fernández-Morilla, "Implementing the Sustainable Development Goals at University Level," *International Journal of Sustainability in Higher Education*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (February 23, 2018): 473-97, <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJSHE-05-2017-0069>.

⁶ Firdha Usmina Safitri and Atika Puspita Marzaman, "Dampak Perpres No. 126 Tahun 2022 Terhadap Upaya Mencapai Swasembada Garam 2024," *ALADALAH: Jurnal Politik, Sosial, Hukum dan Humaniora* 2, no. 1 (2023): 191-202.

⁷ Peter Buchholz, Arne Schumacher, and Siyamend Al Barazi, *Big Data Analyses for Real-Time Tracking of Risks in the Mineral Raw Material Markets: Implications for Improved Supply Chain Risk Management*, *Mineral Economics*, vol. 35 (Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13563-022-00337-z>.

⁸ José Elenilson Cruz, Gabriel da Silva Medina, and João Ricardo de Oliveira Júnior, "Brazil's Agribusiness Economic Miracle: Exploring Food Supply Chain Transformations for Promoting Win-Win Investments," *Logistics* 6, no. 1 (2022): 1-19.

⁹ Christopher B Barrett et al., *Structural Transformation and Economic Development : Insights from the Agri-Food Value Chain Revolution **, 2019, http://barrett.dyson.cornell.edu/files/papers/BRSZ_13_Aug_2019.pdf.

¹⁰ Christian et al., "Business Performance Determinants of Salted Fish Distribution in Kapuk During the COVID-19."

government's target of salt self-sufficiency is far from reality. Salt farmers also feel increasingly marginalized by the strong wave of elitist and biased policies.¹¹

In the context of public policy, synergy between regulations is a prerequisite for the birth of inclusive and efficient sector governance. When central policies are top-down and regional policies are bottom-up without strong connections, fragmentation becomes inevitable. This situation not only weakens the effectiveness of implementation, but also creates a grey area in the implementation of the law. This gap is then exploited by certain actors to prioritize pragmatic interests that are detrimental to small-scale fish farmers. In fact, the spirit of decentralization in Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, along with its amendments, aims to improve the welfare of local communities by strengthening regional authority.¹² Unfortunately, in the case of salt production, decentralization has not yet produced maximum results due to minimal synchronization with central regulations. In modern public policy studies, this policy disharmony is known as policy misalignment. Therefore, it is important to analyze how Indonesia's legal structure responds to and resolves such misalignment in the context of salt governance.¹³

The national salt policy cannot be separated from the logic of political economy and the strong industrial interests. On the one hand, the state wants to protect salt farmers through regulations that favor local production. However, on the other hand, pressure from the salt-using industry on the government to allow import has become an inevitable reality. This tension places the country in a dilemma between safeguarding macroeconomic interests and providing affirmation to small-scale fish farmers. The legal implication of this situation is the emergence of ambiguous policies that tend to be adaptive to market pressures, rather than based on the principles of distributive justice. In the construction of constitutional law, this shows inconsistency in the translation of basic state norms into derivative regulations.¹⁴ The absence of a grand design for a legally based salt policy has led to the emergence of overlapping and unsustainable sectoral regulations. Therefore, a comprehensive legal approach is needed to reorganize the existing regulatory system.¹⁵ A legal analysis of this fragmentation is the first step in formulating a more harmonious salt policy framework.¹⁶

Legal protection for salt farmers is also a crucial issue in this study. Although Law No. 7 of 2016 concerning the Protection and Empowerment of Fishermen, Fish Farmers, and Salt Farmers (as amended by Law No. 11 of 2020 in conjunction with Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 2 of 2022 in conjunction with Law No. 6 of 2023 concerning Job Creation) affirms the protection and empowerment of salt farmers, its implementation remains weak. Many salt farmers do not have access to the subsidies, markets, or supporting infrastructure

¹¹ Swarnali Sharma et al., "Economic Performance and Cost-Effectiveness of Using a DEC-Salt Social Enterprise for Eliminating the Major Neglected Tropical Disease, Lymphatic Filariasis," *PLoS Neglected Tropical Diseases* 13, no. 7 (2019): 1–19.

¹² Poonam Choudhary et al., "Empowering Blue Economy: From Underrated Ecosystem to Sustainable Industry," *Journal of Environmental Management* 291, no. 1 August (August 2021): 112697, <https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S0301479721007593>.

¹³ Jane Berry et al., "Institutionalizing Innovation: From Pilot to Scale for Co-Packaged Oral Rehydration Salts and Zinc—A Case Study in Zambia," *Global Health Science and Practice* 12, no. 1 (2024): 1–15.

¹⁴ Berry et al., "Institutionalizing Innovation."

¹⁵ Berry et al., "Institutionalizing Innovation: From Pilot to Scale for Co-Packaged Oral Rehydration Salts and Zinc—A Case Study in Zambia."

¹⁶ Samrawit Melkamu et al., "Major Trade Sensitive Diseases and Problems in the Afar 's Dromedary Camels Market Chain and Its Impact on Livelihood of the Pastoral Community in Afar Region," *Journal of Animal Health and Behavioural Science* 6, no. April (2022): 1–6.

promised in the regulations.¹⁷ When regional regulations tried to fill this gap, they clashed with import policies from the central government that flooded the market with cheap salt¹⁸. This mismatch ultimately reduces the economic value of local salt and impacts the welfare of farmers. Within the framework of legal sociology, this is a form of structural injustice that needs to be corrected. There needs to be strengthening of legal norms through regulatory reforms and binding harmonization mechanisms. A critical and comparative legal analysis approach can be a solution to identify gaps to be addressed.¹⁹

Furthermore, the challenges of synchronizing salt policies reflect cross-sectoral governance issues in Indonesia. The Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, the Ministry of Trade, and the Ministry of Industry regulate salt from their own sectoral perspective, without systemic coordination. As a result, business actors, fish farmers, and even local governments are often in an ambiguous position in interpreting applicable policies. This inconsistency between regulations creates legal uncertainty which is the main obstacle to investment and development in salt sector. In the modern legal system, legal certainty is a fundamental principle that must be maintained in every formulation and implementation of regulations. Therefore, studies on the synchronization of regulations between ministries and between central and regional governments are not only important from an academic perspective, but also from a practical and normative perspective. This study aims to fill the gap to provide more effective and pro-government law-based policy solutions.

Based on the complexity of the problems, this study aims to focus on a legal analysis of the overlapping salt regulations between the central and regional governments. A legal approach was used to identify disharmony in norms and potential regulatory conflicts that hinder the effectiveness of national salt governance. This study also evaluates the extent to which the existing regulatory system supports or hinders sustainable salt self-sufficiency efforts. Through an interdisciplinary approach that combines constitutional law, administrative law, and public policy, it is expected that this study can provide theoretical and practical contributions.²⁰ Special emphasis is placed on regulatory harmonization strategies so that policy synchronization is not just jargon, but a reality in government practice.²¹ This study is important to encourage a more inclusive, fair, and adaptive salt policy reform to national dynamics. Ultimately, synchronized regulations across levels of government can create a healthy, sustainable, and competitive salt ecosystem. This is the main contribution expected from this legal study towards national development based on local resources.²²

¹⁷ Liam Cole Young, "Salt: Fragments from the History of a Medium," *Theory, Culture & Society* 37, no. 6 (November 16, 2020): 135–158, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0263276420915992>.

¹⁸ Elliott White and David Kaplan, "Restore or Retreat? Saltwater Intrusion and Water Management in Coastal Wetlands," *Ecosystem Health and Sustainability* 3, no. 1 (2017): 1–18.

¹⁹ Ali Saberi Mehr et al., "Recent Challenges and Development of Technical and Technoeconomic Aspects for Hydrogen Storage, Insights at Different Scales; A State of Art Review," *International Journal of Hydrogen Energy* 70, no. May (2024): 786–815, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhydene.2024.05.182>.

²⁰ Andress Deny Bakarbesy, "Interaksi Antara Negara Dan Desa Adat Dalam Konstruksi Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia," *Sasi* 24, no. 1 (2018): 59–72.

²¹ Khawaja Muhammad Imran Bashir et al., "Strategies for Improving the Competitiveness of Korean Seafood Companies in the Overseas Halal Food Market," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 10, no. 2 (June 6, 2019): 606–632.

²² Leisy J. Abrego, "Relational Legal Consciousness of U.S. Citizenship: Privilege, Responsibility, Guilt, and Love in Latino Mixed-Status Families," *Law and Society Review* 53, no. 3 (2019): 641–670.

Research Methods

This study applied a normative legal method with an emphasis on the analysis of positive legal norms regulating the governance of salt sector in Indonesia. The legal materials used were Emergency Law Number 25 of 1957 concerning the Elimination of Salt Monopoly and the Making of People's Salt/Law Number 13 of 1959 concerning the Determination, Law Number 7 of 2016 concerning the Protection and Empowerment of Fishermen, Fish Cultivators, and Salt Farmers, Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (Perpu) Number 2 of 2022 concerning Job Creation, Government Regulation Number 27 of 2021 concerning Business Process in the Maritime and Fisheries Sector, Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 61 of 2024 concerning the Commodity Balance, Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 17 of 2025 concerning the Acceleration of National Salt Development, Presidential Decree (Keppres) Number 69 of 1994 concerning the Procurement of Iodized Salt, Regulation of the Minister of Trade Number 20 of 2021 concerning Import Policies and Regulations, Regulation of the Minister of Trade Number 19 of 2025 concerning Policy and Regulation of Salt and Fishery Commodity Imports, Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number 31/Permen-KP/2014 of 2014 concerning Guidelines for the Empowerment of Private Fisheries Extension Workers and Independent Fisheries Extension Workers, Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number 27 of 2022 concerning the Revocation of Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number 66/Permen-KP/2017 concerning Control of Imports of Salt Commodities, Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number 28 of 2021 concerning the Implementation of Marine Spatial Planning, Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number 15 of 2023 concerning Procedures for Determining People's Salt Economic Centers, Regulation of the Minister of Industry Number 16 of 2025 concerning the Mandatory Implementation of Indonesian National Standards for Iodized Consumption Salt, Regional Regulation on RZWP3K (Coastal Area and Small Island Zoning Plan). This study used the statute approach which inventories and analyzes the relationships between regulations, both vertically and horizontally. With this strategy, researchers assess regulatory coherence and potential for emerging conflicts of authority, so that normative structure can be mapped as a basis for resolving legal disharmony. In addition, this approach is complemented by the conceptualization of legal theory and public policy in order to assess the suitability of regulations to the principles of justice, legal certainty, and benefit.²³

In this study, the main theory used was the legal system theory by Lawrence M. Friedman, stating that the legal system consists of three main elements: legal structure, legal substance, and legal culture.²⁴ This theory leads to the idea that regulatory overlap is not only caused by normative weaknesses, but also by weak institutional coordination (structure), misalignment between norms and objectives (substance), and the policymakers' perspective on the law (culture). In the context of salt policy, the legal structure is reflected in various institutional authorities, such as the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, the Ministry of Trade, and local governments. All have legitimate legal authority, but without synergy, the legal structure becomes a source of conflict rather than a solution. The legal substance often

²³ Xiaowei Chen et al., "Sustainable Supply Chain Management in the Leather Industry: A Systematic Literature Review," *International Journal of Logistics Research and Applications* 26, no. 12 (2023): 1663–1703, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13675567.2022.2104233>.

²⁴ Mustafa Afifi, Ab Halim, and Shabrina Zata Amni, "Legal System in the Perspectives of H.L.A Hart and Lawrence M. Friedman," *Peradaban Journal Law and Society* 2, no. 1 (2023): 51–61.

does not take into account local needs or socio-economic conditions of salt farmers, so that the regulations created are elitist and lack context. The sectoral and bureaucratic legal culture of policymakers also exacerbates regulatory inconsistencies. Therefore, Friedman's framework is highly relevant for understanding the structural and cultural roots of legal disharmony in national salt governance.

Results and Discussion

1. *Salt Management Regulations in Indonesia*

The main problem in national salt management is the lack of synchronization between the central and regional government which has a direct impact on the welfare of salt farmers. Law No. 7 of 2016 has emphasized the protection and empowerment of fishermen, fish cultivators, and salt farmers as part of state policy. However, in practice, the derivative regulations that should be implemented are actually sectoral and overlapping. For example, Presidential Decree No. 126 of 2022 concerning the acceleration of national salt development does not show integration with various Regional Regulations, such as Regional Regulation of East Java Province Number 1 of 2018 concerning the Zoning Plan for Coastal Areas and Small Islands of East Java Province 2018-2038 or Regional Regulation of East Nusa Tenggara Province Number 4 of 2017 concerning the Zoning Plan for Coastal Areas and Small Islands of East Nusa Tenggara Province for 2017-2023 which is actually more operational. In many cases, these regional regulations do not receive budget support or program synergy from the central government, even though local regulations are more in tune with the real conditions of fish farmers. This situation creates a legal dualism between normative expectations at the regional level and policy instructions from the central government. In Friedman's legal system theory, this represents a failure of both legal structure and legal substance. Without integration, law loses its stable guiding function for society. Table 1 illustrates the relevant regulations and legislation to be described in this section.

Table 1. Collection of Regulations and Legislation

No.	Regulasi	Main Contents	Policy Focus	Implications
1.	Emergency Law Number 25 of 1957 concerning the Elimination of Salt Monopoly and the Making of People's Salt/ Law Number 13 of 1959 concerning the Determination	Elimination of the state salt monopoly & support for people's salt	Welfare of Fish Cultivators (historical)	The historical basis of people's salt; important in the study of the history of policy
2.	Law Number 7 of 2016 concerning the Protection and Empowerment of Fishermen, Fish Cultivators, and Salt Farmers	Protection and empowerment of fishermen, fish cultivators, and salt farmers	Welfare of Fish Cultivators	Legal basis for assistance programs, social protection, and empowerment of fish cultivators

3.	Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (Perpu) Number 2 of 2022 concerning Job Creation	Regulating regulatory simplification in various sectors, including the maritime and fisheries sector	Self-Sufficiency & Production Protection	Legal basis for monitoring salt imports, such as salt production permits, sanctions for illegal imports
4.	Government Regulation (PP) Number 27 of 2021 concerning Business Process in the Maritime and Fisheries Sector	Regulating national salt production and fulfillment	Self-sufficiency and Welfare of Fish Cultivators	Regulations on empowering fish cultivators, but still providing space for imports as a solution to supply shortages
5.	Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 61 of 2024 concerning the Commodity Balance	Regulating salt import permits	Self-sufficiency and Welfare of Fish Cultivators	Ensuring imports meet national needs, absorbing people's salt
6.	Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 17 of 2025 concerning the Acceleration of National Salt Development	Strategic policy on the availability of industrial salt	Self-sufficiency	Guaranteeing industrial supply; suppressing imports; influencing prices/production allocation
7.	Presidential Decree (Keppres) Number 69 of 1994 concerning the Procurement of Iodized Salt	Procurement of iodized salt	Health and Quality	Public health focus (iodization) and quality requirements for consumption salt
8.	Minister of Trade Regulation Number 20 of 2021 concerning Import Policies and Regulations	Salt import provisions	Self-sufficiency and production protection	Import regulation (consumption/industry), domestic market protection
9.	Minister of Trade Regulation Number 19 of 2025 concerning Policy and Regulation of Salt and Fishery Commodity Imports	Policy and regulations on imports of salt and fishery commodities	Self-sufficiency and production protection	Import supervision; import restrictions; need to be synchronized with empowerment
10.	Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number 31/Permen-KP/2014 of 2014 concerning Guidelines for Empowering Private Fisheries Extension	Guidelines for Empowering Fisheries Extension Workers	Welfare of Fish Cultivators	Formation and understanding of the People's Salt Business Group (KUGAR)

	Workers and Independent Fisheries Extension Workers			
11.	Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number 27 of 2022 concerning the Revocation of Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number 66/Permen-KP/2017 concerning Control of Imports of Salt Commodities	Control of imports of salt commodities	Self-sufficiency and production protection	Import restrictions, protecting local producers; focus on import flows
12.	Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number 28 of 2021 concerning the Implementation of Marine Spatial Planning	Regulating marine spatial planning, including small salt farmers	Welfare of Fish Cultivators	Strengthening the rights of access and sustainability of smallholder salt farming businesses
13.	Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number 15 of 2023 concerning Procedures for Establishing People's Salt Economic Centers	Procedures for determining the People's Salt Economic Center (SEGAR)	Welfare of Fish Cultivators	Encourage the formation of people's salt economic centers, market access, government support
14.	Regulation of the Minister of Industry Number 16 of 2025 concerning the Mandatory Enforcement of Indonesian National Standards for Iodized Consumption Salt.	Mandatory Indonesian National Standards implementation for iodized Consumption salt	Well-being and Quality	Guaranteeing quality, sales value, encouraging processing industry; demands for quality upgrades
15.	Regional Regulation on RZWP _{3K} (Coastal Area and Small Island Zoning Plan)	Coastal Area and Small Islands Zoning Plan	Production protection	Regulating permits for managing salt production activities

One of the prominent aspects of this lack of synchronization is the salt import policy regulated in the Minister of Trade Regulation No. 20 of 2021 concerning Import Policies and

Regulations and updated through the Minister of Trade Regulation No. 25 of 2022 concerning Amendments to the Minister of Trade Regulation No. 20 of 2021 concerning Import Policies and Regulations. This policy opens up wide space for the needs of the salt-using industry, but does not adequately take into account the people's salt production capacity. In fact, Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number 15 of 2023 concerning Procedures for Establishing People's Salt Economic Centers actually regulates the establishment of people's salt economic centers, which should be the backbone of strengthening local production. This is where conflicts arise: when technical ministries design policies based on sectoral logic, without systematic coordination across sectors. In addition, Government Regulation No. 9 of 2018 concerning procedures for controlling imports of fishery and salt commodities should create a protective fence for national production, but does not have a mechanism for regional involvement in quota preparation. From a constitutional law perspective, the lack of regional involvement is contrary to the principle of autonomy guaranteed by Law No. 23 of 2014. When local governments only act as implementers without strong regulatory initiative space, the meaning of decentralization becomes illusory. The structure of the incident in the description above weakens the legitimacy of the law in the eyes of the local community who feel its direct impact.

The commodity balance policy stipulated in Presidential Regulation Number 32 of 2022 concerning the Commodity Balance is an important effort to control import needs based on real data, but its implementation mechanism is not yet inclusive. The central government often does not involve regions in validating data on people's salt production and distribution, even though it is the regions that better understand local needs and potential. The lack of space for regional participation in the preparation of the balance sheet creates information inequality and elitist decision-making. In the national legal system, this represents a weak deliberative process in public policy legislation. As a result, many salt farmers feel that policies are made "on paper," far removed from the realities on the ground. From Friedman's legal culture perspective, this condition illustrates the weak awareness of the importance of participation in the legal process. When state actors draft regulations without dialogue with affected communities, the effectiveness of the regulations will be low. Therefore, synchronization cannot be merely administrative, but must prioritize communication across levels of government.

Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries No. 3 of 2019 concerning Community Participation in the Implementation of Protection and Empowerment of Fishermen, Fish Cultivators, and Salt Farmers and Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number 18 of 2016 concerning Guaranteed Protection Against Risks to Fishermen, Fish Cultivators, and Salt Farmers has regulated the importance of community participation and risk protection for salt farmers, but its implementation is less than optimal as it is not integrated with other central policies. Many farmers are unaware of their rights to production risk protection, or do not have access to empowerment programs. This regulation has also not been able to balance the flow of trade policies which tend to be liberal towards imports.²⁵ This disharmony reinforces the impression that salt farmers are merely objects of policy, not empowered subjects. An analysis of the legal substance reveals

²⁵ Purnanto, Suadi, and Ustadi, "Salt Supply Chain Management at Regional Level: Case Study of Salt Processing Industry and Salt Consumer Industry in Central Java."

a gap between protection norms and a fair distribution system. The Minister of Trade and the Minister of Industry should consider the substance of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Regulation so that the policy is more integrative. This harmonization is crucial as a form of equality between economic policy and social justice. When regulations operate independently, salt governance will remain in a cycle of structural failure.

Issues of quality and standardization also add to the complexity of salt regulations in Indonesia. SNI 3556:2016, which regulates iodized consumption salt, is a crucial standard for ensuring the quality of national salt products. However, its implementation still faces major challenges, especially in terms of access to technology and coaching for small-scale farmers. Regulation of the Minister of Industry No. 44 of 2020 concerning the Implementation of the Indonesian National Qualification Framework in the Field of Salt Processing and Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries No. 27 of 2018 concerning the Implementation of the Indonesian National Qualification Framework in the Field of Salt Production which regulates the implementation of the Indonesian National Qualification Framework in the field of salt processing and production have not been widely implemented. Many regions do not have the facilities to adopt these quality standards so that people's salt is often considered unfit for the market. In the context of development law, this demonstrates the need for affirmative policies that guarantee shrimp farmers' access to training, technology, and certification facilities. Without state intervention, standardization will only become a tool of market discrimination against local products. Therefore, regulatory synchronization must encompass quality aspects to ensure that farmers are not left behind in the national salt industry value chain. Restructuring quality regulations is a crucial part of a just and inclusive legal system.

The aspect of marine spatial planning also has a major contribution to the sustainability of salt sector. Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Number 28 of 2021 concerning the Implementation of Marine Spatial Planning gives the government authority to regulate coastal area zoning, including salt production areas. However, there are still many regions that have not yet aligned their regional spatial planning (RTRW) with the land needs for people's salt production. This leads to overlapping land use between the fisheries, tourism, and other industrial sectors. In spatial planning law, this is known as sectoral conflict, a legal asynchronous use of space. In fact, Law Number 26 of 2007 concerning Spatial Planning mandates that all sectors must adjust zoning to avoid conflicts of interest. If not addressed, this spatial conflict will lead to the marginalization of fish farmers who will be forced to leave their own production areas. Therefore, synchronization of salt policies must also take into account cross-sector synchronization in a spatial context. This shows that resource management is not only about production, but also access and control over production space.

The political will and intentions of local governments are very important in the context of strengthening institutions and public services to salt farmers. A number of Regional Regulations, such as West Kalimantan Provincial Regulation Number 1 of 2019 concerning the Zoning Plan for Coastal Areas and Small Islands of West Kalimantan Province for 2018-2038 and Bangka Belitung Islands Provincial Regulation Number 3 of 2020 concerning the Zoning Plan for Coastal Areas and Small Islands of Bangka Belitung Islands Province for 2020-2040, target strengthening local institutions and production incentives. However, these regulations are often not supported by adequate fiscal support from the central

government. In the national financial system, budget imbalances are one of the causes of the low level of regional policy execution. Therefore, regulatory synchronization must be accompanied by function-based funding reform, so that regions can optimally carry out their regulatory mandates. In addition, it is important to build a regulatory interaction mechanism between the central and regional governments on a sustainable basis, not just a consultative one. Decentralization without harmonization will only create the illusion of independence without regulatory sovereignty. From an administrative law perspective, this condition reflects the need for updating collaboration instruments in the sectoral legislative and budgeting processes.

2. Strengthening National Salt Management Policy Through Synchronization of Central and Regional Government Regulations

This regulatory conflict also impacts the sociological aspects of the salt farmers who feel their role is not fully recognized by the state²⁶. When local salt is flooded with imported salt, the farmers lose bargaining power and trust in state policies. In many cases, farmers are not sufficiently informed about the policies in place²⁷. This creates a distance between policymakers and affected communities, which ultimately reduces the legitimacy of the law. Within Friedman's legal culture framework, this is a sign of weak internalization of legal values within the community. The success of law is determined not only by the strength of sanctions, but also by social acceptance of prevailing norms. Therefore, efforts to synchronize regulations must begin with strengthening dialogue between levels of government and society. This process is crucial to ensuring that the law exists not as a tool of coercion, but rather as a protector of shared needs.

Salt policy also needs to be viewed from an economic law perspective, where the state's role should be to ensure a balance between market efficiency and social justice. In the Indonesian context, the government is often caught in a dilemma between meeting the needs of large industries and protecting local salt farmers whose economies are vulnerable. When regulations, such as Minister of Trade Regulation No. 63 of 2019, further facilitate import procedures without mitigating the impact on people's salt, the state is absent as a protector of minority interests. This policy ignores the principle of preferential treatment which in economic law can be given to the people's sector as a correction to the dominance of market forces. In the long term, if the legal system does not intervene affirmatively, it will create an unequal economic structure that is prone to social conflict. Therefore, regulatory harmonization should also include strengthening support for the people's sector, which has long been the mainstay of local food security. Legal instruments can be directed toward regulating subsidy models, salt floor prices, and distribution access that favor small-scale farmers. This way, the law will become a corrective instrument against market distortions, not simply a justification for fiscal and trade policies.

On the other hand, the presence of regional regulations from more than 30 provinces, as stated in the Salt Regulation Summary document, shows that local governments have a strong commitment to strengthening local salt production. However, these regional regulations tend to stand alone, without a national normative framework that regulates the

²⁶ Mukhlis Mukhlis et al., "Regional Regulation Problems in the Field of Salt Industry," *Trunojoyo Law Review* 6, no. 1 (2023): 78-95.

²⁷ Fara Winda, Dea Putri Utami, and Jesica Puspa Maharani, "Analysis of Salt Policy and Its Impact on Farmers: Balancing Regulation and Protection," *Journal of Political And Legal Sovereignty* 3, no. 1 (2025): 352-358.

principles of vertical and horizontal harmonization. In the Indonesian legal system, there is no single regulation that explicitly regulates the regulatory harmonization mechanism between the central and regional governments in salt sector. As a result, regions tend to move independently with an autonomy paradigm, but without a uniform compass for development direction. However, in accordance with the principle of responsible autonomy in the Regional Government Law, synchronization is still necessary to prevent conflict of interests between regions. Therefore, binding regulations are needed, such as cross-sectoral coordination regulations (for example in the form of a Presidential Instruction or a Ministerial Regulation on Maritime Affairs and Investment) which can bridge these differences. The presence of these synchronized norms will strengthen policy integration and avoid potential legal conflicts between regions or between the central and regional governments. This will ensure that salt policies can be implemented efficiently, fairly, and sustainably.

This cultural phenomenon of overlapping policies is not only a technocratic problem, but also a matter of legal justice and political representation.²⁸ When the voices of fish cultivators are not represented in the policy-making process, the law loses its essence as a form of a just social contract. In a democratic legal system, regulation-making must ensure representation of all affected actors, especially vulnerable groups, such as traditional fish cultivators. Therefore, in addition to reforming legal structure, it is also necessary to establish a mechanism for public representation and consultation at every stage of salt policy legislation. Community involvement not only increases legal legitimacy, but also ensures that the resulting policies are in line with realities and needs. Without this involvement, regulations will only be administrative documents far from the substance of justice. Therefore, reform of the salt regulatory system must be participatory, not solely based on economic indicators or bureaucratic efficiency. In this way, the law can become a tool of emancipation, not domination.

As a conclusion to the analysis, it can be emphasized that the research objective has been addressed, namely that synchronizing national salt policies is not merely an administrative effort, but rather a major agenda to build an inclusive, reflective, and contextual legal system. The overlapping regulations between the Presidential Decree, Government Regulation, Minister of Trade Regulation, Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Regulation, and Regional Regulations have resulted in implementation confusion and legal uncertainty for business actors, especially small salt farmers. This lack of integration not only weakens the effectiveness of policies, but also undermines the basic principles of the rule of law, which prioritize certainty, justice, and benefit. Within Friedman's theoretical framework, this is a strong signal that our legal system has not been able to operate harmoniously between legal structure, substance, and culture. Therefore, breakthrough steps are needed through harmonization of regulations across government levels and sectors, accompanied by strengthening public participation. The state must be present not merely as a regulator, but as a facilitator of justice and empowerment for strategic sectors, such as salt. This effort requires cross-institutional commitment and future

²⁸ Ahmad Roghib and Umar Ma'ruf, "Legal Analysis of The Right of Advocate Immunity in The Criminal Act of Obstruction of Justice (Case Study of the Decision of the Central Jakarta District Court Number 84/Pid. Sus-TPK/2023/PN. JKT. PST in Conjunction with the Decision of the Jakarta High , " *Ratio Legis Journal* 3, no. 3 (2024): 77-91.

reform of the salt law. This is where the law's contribution will truly be felt as a foundation for equitable and sustainable development.

It can be said that the conflict between the goal of salt self-sufficiency and improving the welfare of salt farmers shows a policy dilemma that has not been fully resolved. Regulations born from a macro-economic orientation place more emphasis on achieving self-sufficiency figures as a symbol of national independence, but tend to ignore aspects of distributive justice. In practice, achieving self-sufficiency actually benefits large salt farmers who function as middlemen, while small and medium salt farmers are marginalized by their inability to meet quality and quantity standards. This phenomenon creates a widening structure of injustice between large business actors and small people in salt sector. Philosophically, this indicates a shift in the orientation of law from the goal of social justice to the interests of mere economic efficiency. In the context of constitutional law, this condition shows the state's failure to present the principle of justice as mandated by Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution.

Analysis of the regulations underlying salt policy shows that the government's primary orientation is still focused on achieving self-sufficiency, rather than on improving the welfare of fish cultivators as a whole. This is clearly evident from the dominance of policies aimed at suppressing imports and pursuing national production targets, without affirmative strategies for the sustainability of small-scale farmers. The legal implication is the creation of ambiguous regulations, on the one hand wanting to protect local production, but on the other hand subject to pressure from large salt-using industries. As a result, legal uncertainty and policy ambivalence emerge that are more responsive to market logic than to principles of social justice. At the normative level, this pattern reflects the absence of a grand policy design that places people's welfare as a fundamental goal. Furthermore, the law seems to function merely as an administrative instrument to pursue economic indicators, not as a means of social engineering to achieve general welfare. This reinforces and emphasizes the tension between the protection of local farmers and the pressure of salt import industry.

This condition shows that the postulate that "self-sufficiency in salt automatically increases the welfare of the salt farming community" cannot be accepted absolutely. In fact, without affirmative intervention, achieving self-sufficiency strengthens the dominant structure of large players and weakens the position of traditional fish farmers. From a legal philosophy perspective, this illustrates the reduction of the meaning of justice to merely achieving quantitative targets, not inclusive social transformation. Therefore, future regulatory revisions must place the welfare of small and medium-sized MPGs as an intrinsic goal, not merely a derivative of self-sufficiency. Legal instruments that can be taken include setting a basic price for people's salt, quality-based subsidies, and guaranteeing access to distribution. Thus, the law no longer stops at its repressive-administrative function, but rather is present as a corrective instrument against market inequality. This condition correlates with the need for regulatory harmonization so that the law is not only adaptive to the market but also supports distributive justice. A brief description of policy disharmony can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Policy disharmony table

No.	Regulation	Article/Main Content	Conflicting Regulations	Forms of Conflict
1.	Law Number 7 of 2016 concerning Protection and Empowerment of Fishermen, Fish Cultivators, and Salt Farmers	Article 4: Regulates procedures for importing industrial salt without a mechanism for protecting the price of people's salt.	Government Regulation (PP) Number 9 of 2018 concerning Procedures for Controlling Imports of Fishery Commodities and Salt Commodities as Raw Materials and Industrial Supporting Materials	The law emphasizes the protection and welfare of farmers, while the government regulation opens up space for imports, which suppresses the price of salt for the people
2.	Law Number 7 of 2016 concerning Protection and Empowerment of Fishermen, Fish Cultivators, and Salt Farmers	Article 3: Facilitating salt imports for large industries	Regulation of the Minister of Trade Number 63 of 2019 concerning Provisions for Salt Imports	The law guarantees a market for people's salt, but the Minister of Trade's regulation actually makes it easier for industry to access imported salt.
3.	Law Number 7 of 2016 concerning Protection and Empowerment of Fishermen, Fish Cultivators, and Salt Farmers	Article 37: The government is obliged to provide subsidies, assistance and protection to fish farmers	Government Regulation (PP) Number 27 of 2021 concerning Business Process in the Maritime and Fisheries Sector	Government Regulation emphasizes quantitative self-sufficiency targets, Law emphasizes welfare and social protection of fish farmers
4.	East Java Provincial Regulation No. 6 of 2012 regulates the Management and Zoning Plan for Coastal Areas and Small Islands (RZZP) of East Java Province for 2012-2032.	Article 2: Imports of industrial salt are permitted without the obligation to absorb people's salt.	Minister of Trade Regulation Number 20 of 2021 concerning Import Policies and Regulations	Regional regulations protect local people's salt, while the Minister of Trade's regulations favor industrial interests.

The analysis on the reinforcement of National Salt Management Policy Through Synchronization of Central and Regional Government Regulations found that Law emphasizes the protection and welfare of farmers, while Government Regulation allows imports leading to the suppression of domestic salt prices. Law guarantees a market for domestic salt, while the Ministerial Regulation facilitates industry to access imported salt. When government regulations emphasize quantitative self-sufficiency targets, Law emphasizes the welfare and social protection of fish farmers. Besides, regional regulations protect local salt, while the Minister of Trade's regulation favors industrial interests.

Conclusion

Based on the description, it can be concluded that the problem of overlapping and disharmony of regulations in national salt governance is a reflection of the weak integration

of the legal system between the central and regional governments. Various regulations, such as Presidential Regulation No. 126 of 2022, Government Regulation No. 9 of 2018, and Minister of Trade Regulation No. 20/2021 and Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Regulation No. 15/2023, demonstrate fragmented, non-mutually supportive sectoral policies. This condition is exacerbated by the absence of a standard and binding harmonization mechanism, both in the preparation of regulations and the implementation of cross-sectoral and regional policies. Most of the Regional Regulations drafted by local governments, such as East Java Regional Regulation No. 1/2018 and NTT Regional Regulation No. 4/2017, reflect a bias towards salt farmers, but are not reinforced by fiscal and legal synergy from the central government. From the perspective of Friedman's legal system theory, the dysfunction of legal structure and substance has weakened the legitimacy of regulation and marginalized local salt farmers. More than just administrative chaos, this disharmony marks the state's failure to guarantee substantive justice for the common people. When the principles of protection and empowerment in Law No. 7 of 2016 are not actualized in derivative policies, the law loses its social transformation power. Overlapping and inconsistent regulations also create legal uncertainty, which results in low investment and stagnation in the national salt sector. Therefore, this problem is not merely a sectoral issue, but a systemic one that touches on the foundations of Indonesia's rule of law. Synchronized salt policies are a key prerequisite for establishing a just, adaptive, and pro-salt legal system.

Suggestion

Based on the description, it is suggested that strategic efforts are needed to build a regulatory framework that is synchronous, integrated, and responsive to local needs. The central government needs to formulate a grand design for national salt regulations involving the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Industry, and representatives of regional governments, based on the principles of sectoral coordination and decentralized justice as stipulated in Law No. 23 of 2014. Instruments, such as the Regulatory Impact Assessment (RIA), must be implemented in every new policy formulation to prevent clashes between norms and ensure the involvement of local actors, especially salt farmers. The government also needs to consider issuing a Presidential Instruction or National Coordinating Regulation that regulates the regulatory harmonization mechanism between the central and regional governments on a periodic and binding basis. On the other hand, regions must strengthen the position of regional regulations by integrating the SNI 3556:2016 standard and the substance of fish cultivator protection in the Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries No. 3/2019 Regulation of the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries No. 18/2016. Synchronization must also address spatial planning aspects, as stipulated in the Minister of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Regulation No. 28/2021, to ensure that smallholder salt production areas are not displaced by other, non-synergistic interests. In addition, strengthening regional salt institutions needs to be supported by function-based sectoral fiscal transfers, so that the implementation of regional regulations is not merely symbolic. The state needs to ensure that salt farmers are not only protected normatively, but also empowered economically through policy affirmation. Synchronous and inclusive laws will open up space for people's participation in managing resources in a sovereign and fair manner. With a more

humanistic and adaptive legal approach, Indonesia can build a sustainable and dignified national salt system.

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