



Tripartite Problems in the Labor Conflict of Pertamina's Tank Car Crew in Java in 2010-2019

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ABSTRACT

This study employs a juridical-normative method supported by interviews to analyze how the Tripartite Cooperation Institution functions in the context of labor market flexibility and the Pertamina outsourcing case. The research examines the regulations and role of the Tripartite Cooperation Institution, analyzes the implementation and challenges of labor market flexibility in Indonesia, and explains the role and difficulties faced by the Institution in resolving the industrial relations dispute involving Pertamina tanker crews. The findings reveal persistent regulatory and procedural weaknesses, indicating that the Institution has not effectively mitigated industrial disputes. Despite the comprehensive regulations stipulated in Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 8 of 2005, the Tripartite Cooperation Institution continues to encounter various challenges in addressing the negative impacts of the labor market flexibility policy, particularly in cases involving outsourcing practices and Fixed-Term Employment Agreements (PKWT) that create uncertainty in employment relationships, wage instability, and a lack of career paths.

Keywords: Labor market flexibility, Fixed-term work agreements, Pertamina tank crew.

INTRODUCTION

The structure of today's labor market has become more flexible (flexible labor market) due to the emergence of a flexible industrial production system believed to promote economic growth. On the other hand, globalization has reduced state intervention in labor relations, including in labor regulation, as work dynamics and workers' welfare issues are increasingly left to market mechanisms (He, 2022; McCollum & Findlay, 2015, 2018, 2020, 2021; Rubery et al., 2016). This flexibility in the labor market—particularly manifested through outsourcing and Fixed-Term Employment Agreements (PKWT)—has generated numerous adverse effects, including uncertainty in employment relationships, wage instability, and the lack of career development opportunities for workers (Borman et al., 2024; Fedryca, 2021; Giri Santosa, 2021; Lusarno, 2020; Setiawan et al., 2023).

Based on Law No. 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower and Law No. 2 of 2004 concerning the Settlement of Industrial Relations Disputes, Tripartite Cooperation Institutions (LKS) are defined as one of the means of industrial relations in the form of a forum between employers' organizations, labor unions/laborers, and the government. This institution is expected to address labor issues in Indonesia effectively (Andi et al., 2022; Dara & Sumardi, 2022; Dean Fadhurohman Hafizh et al., 2022; Handayani, 2020; Kirana, 2022; Zubi et al., 2021). The tripartite mechanism, in accordance with the International Labour Organization (ILO) framework on social dialogue, underscores the importance of balanced representation and meaningful participation from all three

parties in managing workplace disputes and developing policy formulations (Ameen & Keizer, 2023; Grimshaw, 2020; Hepburn & Jackson, 2022; Koliev, 2022; Thomas & Anner, 2023).

In practice, however, there are instances when the Tripartite Cooperation Institution does not function optimally and instead gives rise to new problems—one of which is exemplified by the case of Pertamina's tank car crew during 2010–2019 (Tripartite Problems in the Labor Conflict of Pertamina's Tank Car Crew in Java in 2010–2019). Nevertheless, existing studies have primarily concentrated on the normative-legal aspects of tripartite institutions without sufficiently assessing their practical effectiveness in resolving specific industrial conflicts. This research addresses that gap by evaluating the actual performance of the LKS in an applied industrial dispute context.

Departing from previous works that emphasize statutory analysis, this study integrates empirical findings from the Pertamina tank car crew case to assess how structural limitations, enforcement gaps, and institutional dynamics undermine the tripartite system's effectiveness. The novelty of the research lies in its comprehensive review of LKS performance across multiple dimensions: regulatory frameworks, institutional procedures, dispute resolution processes, and enforcement mechanisms—all examined through the lens of a prolonged labor conflict involving a state-owned enterprise.

This study was designed to examine how effective the Tripartite Cooperation Institution is as a means of industrial relations in addressing labor disputes, with particular focus on the employment relations of outsourcing Pertamina tank car crews. This conflict emerged as a consequence of Indonesia's labor market flexibility, analyzed through various aspects of labor law encompassing regulation, institutional structure, dispute resolution procedures, and the execution of industrial relations court decisions. The findings of this research have direct implications for labor policy reform in Indonesia, particularly in strengthening tripartite mechanisms, enhancing labor supervision systems, and clarifying regulatory frameworks governing outsourcing practices within core business operations.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research adopts a juridical-normative approach, emphasizing statutory and conceptual analysis of labor laws and regulations governing tripartite institutions and outsourcing practices. The method involves comprehensive review of literature and secondary legal data, including Law No. 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower, Law No. 2 of 2004 on Industrial Relations Dispute Resolution, and Government Regulation Number 8 of 2005 on Tripartite Cooperation Institutions. The normative analysis is complemented by qualitative interviews with key informants, including officials from the Ministry of Manpower and local government agencies involved in the dispute resolution process.

The research scope focuses specifically on the Java region during the 2010-2019 period, examining the case of Pertamina's tank car crew employment dispute. Data were analyzed through triangulation between legal norms and empirical evidence from interviews, allowing for a comprehensive assessment of the gap between regulatory frameworks and practical

implementation. The analytical focus centers on evaluating the effectiveness of the LKS in dispute settlement, identifying structural weaknesses, and examining the challenges faced by tripartite mechanisms in addressing labor market flexibility issues.

This research was carried out systematically in examining the role of Tripartite Cooperation Institutions regulated in Law No. 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower and Law No. 2 of 2004 on Industrial Relations Dispute Resolution on the problem of labor market flexibility experienced by Pertamina's tank car crew in the form of termination of employment of outsourced workers.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Chronology of Pertamina's Tank Car Crew Problems

This case began when PT. Pertamina Patra Niaga has carried out a work contract for all its tank car crews on the island of Java for 5 years since 2007. However, around 2011-2012, they were transferred to an outsourced company instead of being appointed as permanent employees in accordance with Law No. 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower. In fact, based on the provisions of the law, the work that is the core of the company's operations may not use outsourced companies. Protests related to this diversion have actually been going on since 2012, where at the end of 2013, the tank car crew on behalf of the Indonesian Tank Car Crew Solidarity Union filed a lawsuit against PT. Pertamina Patra Niaga, PT. Pertamina Training & Consulting, PT. Pertamina, and PT. Cahaya Andhika Tamara at the Jakarta Industrial Relations Court.

In the lawsuit, the tank car crew explained that during the employment relationship between the plaintiffs and the defendants, many documents were not provided related to the legality of the work. This causes losses for the Plaintiff members because they do not know their rights and obligations as workers who should be protected. In addition, there was persecution of members of the Plaintiff carried out by PT. Pertamina Training & Consulting as Defendant I which can be proven by the existence of a Police Report Receipt Letter No. STTL/840/VII/2013/JABAR / RES KRW that occurred in the Karawang area. During the employment relationship, Defendant I made many unilateral dismissals without layoff procedures in accordance with the applicable provisions which happened to Mr. M. Haiban, Mr. Sukanto, Mr. Triyono, Mr. Topan etc. Even though the Collective Agreement has scheduled the completion of the re-hire, until now the person concerned has not been rehired by Defendant I, including Mr. Suharisman, who has been recommended by the Karawang Regency Directorate of Transmigration to be rehired.

In response to the lawsuit, PT. Pertamina Training & Consulting even further summoned the tank car crew to prove its evidence in the execution. PT. Pertamina Training & Consulting has expressly never signed a cooperation agreement with PT. Pertamina Patra Niaga, namely the Implementation of Service Provision and Tank Car Crew Management Work at the Java & Madura Fuel Terminal Number 789 / PN000.201 / KTR / 2012 dated October 22, 2012 as mentioned in point 10 of the lawsuit. PT. Pertamina Training & Consulting also stated expressly that it had never received the switch to the use of tank car crew services on April 1, 2011 from PT. Pertamina Patra

Niaga as directed by the tank car crew at points 11, points 13, and points 14 of the lawsuit. In Point 28 page 7 in the lawsuit, it is stated that on August 23, 2013, a "Collective Agreement" had been agreed upon which at that time was signed by PT. Pertamina Training & Consulting and PT. Pertamina Patra Niaga, where PT. Pertamina Training & Consulting as defendant I was represented by Budi Sampurno den Rudi Permana. However, PT. Pertamina Training & Consulting denied and stated emphatically that there had never been any workers on behalf of Budi Sampurno and Rudi Permana who worked within the company, let alone signed the agreement.¹³ The lawsuit was ultimately rejected by decision No. 246/PHI. G/2013/PN. JKT. PST dated February 20, 2014 on the grounds that the Industrial Relations Court did not have the authority to examine and adjudicate the case. Likewise, the Supreme Court refused to accept the cassation application submitted by the tank car crew as decided in Decision No. 351 K / Rev. Sus-PHI / 2014.

The conflict between the tank car crew and PT. Pertamina and its subsidiaries then continued with the report of PT. Pertamina Niaga to the North Jakarta Manpower Office in September 2016. Based on the examination of this report, an examination memorandum No. 1943/-1.838 dated May 5, 2017 was issued from the North Jakarta Manpower Office (Sudisnaker) to PT. Pertamina Patra Niaga, which ordered the appointment of Pertamina Patra Niaga tank car crews, was appointed as Permanent Employees. ¹⁴ Law Number 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower itself stipulates that outsourcing should not be applied to core job groups, where the type of work carried out by tank car crews is included. The two subsidiaries of PT. Pertamina instead unilaterally terminated its employment relationship through a short message instead of carrying out Sudisnaker's orders after two strikes in November 2016 and July 2017.

On October 13, 2017, as many as 75 tank crew representatives from 10 depots held a long march from Gedung Sate, Bandung to the State Palace in Jakarta. In their demands, they asked President Jokowi for clarity on the pending fate, especially regarding the appointment of permanent employees and unpaid retirement wages and overtime. Pertamina's tank car crew has actually asked the Ministry of Manpower to be involved in the dispute resolution process before continuing with these various non-litigation actions. Unfortunately, these efforts also did not produce a solution that could be accepted by the parties. The Ministry of Manpower, for example, on July 6, 2017, has committed to closing fuel transportation outsourcing vendors at Pertamina. But in reality, there were no concrete steps to realize this until the long march was held.

On December 20, 2018, three AMT representatives held a self-burial action in front of the Ministry of SOEs. A week later, this action was held again in front of the State Palace. However, requests to meet President Jokowi and related ministers were not responded to. On January 31, 2019, they were finally able to meet President Jokowi accompanied by Cabinet Secretary Pramono Agung at the State Palace. At that time, Pramono was instructed to coordinate with the tank crew representative, but later communication via telephone was not responded to and the progress of this problem seemed to stop. When they tried to meet Pramono, on February 6, 2019 to ask about the realization of the plan, they could not meet.

The action of the tank car crew continued until a number of their mobs intercepted President Jokowi's car as it exited the State Palace on February 13, 2019. About 50 people, including the former driver and his family, tried to get close to the president to talk but were eventually stopped by security. Furthermore, on March 18, 2019, the tank car crew again carried out their action at the Monas Viewing Park by bringing 2 Pertamina fuel tank trucks. This action also led to the arrest of 10 tank car crews at the North Jakarta Police Station after being lured into solving their cases. However, when they arrived at the police station, they were instead asked to fill out the Examination Report and were not allowed to be accompanied by a lawyer after signing the file refusing legal aid under pressure.

Regulatory Context of Tripartite Cooperation Institutions

In addition to Law No. 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower and Law No. 2 of 2004 concerning the Settlement of Industrial Relations Disputes, the Regulation of Tripartite Cooperation Institutions in more detail has been contained in Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 8 of 2005 concerning Work Procedures and Organizational Structure of Tripartite Cooperation Institutions which was later revised twice, namely by Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 46 of 2008 and Regulation Government of the Republic of Indonesia Number 4 of 2017. These regulations establish a comprehensive framework for tripartite dialogue, defining the composition, functions, and operational procedures of LKS at national, provincial, and district/city levels.

The role of the Tripartite Cooperation Institution should be carried out with the principle of tripartism which emphasizes community involvement in decision-making and the spirit that the interests of entrepreneurs, workers/laborers and the government are common interests in the production process. This principle aligns with ILO Convention No. 144 on Tripartite Consultation, which promotes cooperation between government authorities and employers' and workers' organizations for economic and social policy formulation. However, the effectiveness of this framework depends critically on balanced representation, adequate institutional support, and meaningful enforcement mechanisms—areas where significant gaps exist in Indonesian practice.

Institutional Dynamics and Implementation Challenges

In an interview conducted with Dr. Ir. Dwi Untoro P. H. S.H., M.A., as the former Head of the North Jakarta Manpower Office as well as the former vice chairman of the North Jakarta Regional Tripartite Cooperation Institute for the 2016-2019 period, it was known that when the case occurred, the Sectoral Regional Tripartite Cooperation Institute was not formed, so there was no special communication forum that discussed the mechanism of wages and work agreements in the transportation sector. This institutional gap is particularly concerning given the large number of transportation sector workers in North Jakarta, revealing a fundamental weakness in the sectoral coverage of tripartite mechanisms.

Especially for tank car crews. At first glance, this is certainly a bit surprising considering the

number of transportation sector workers in North Jakarta. Even so, Dr. Dwi Untoro as the head of the North Jakarta Manpower Office remains committed to advocating for workers by providing an official memorandum considering the fact that workers have worked with a certain time contract of up to 15 years. However, his efforts highlight a critical limitation: individual advocacy by sympathetic officials cannot substitute for systemic institutional mechanisms.

Regarding the meeting held by the Tripartite Cooperation Institute itself, Dr. Dwi Untoro said that in the meeting activities, the problem of the Tank Car Crew itself was almost not discussed at all. One of the reasons why this is not discussed is because the membership and management of the Tripartite LKS is dominated by companies and private workers. It is very rare to find State-Owned Enterprises and their workers who are administrators, or participate in attending the Tripartite LKS activities themselves. This structural imbalance fundamentally undermines the tripartite principle of equal representation. The absence of SOE participation creates a significant blind spot in the institution's capacity to address disputes involving state enterprises, which constitute a substantial portion of Indonesia's formal labor market.

At the National Tripartite LKS level, based on an interview conducted with Dr. Reytman Aruan, S.H., M.H. as the Head of the Sub-Directorate of Industrial Relations Dispute Resolution, Ministry of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia in 2020 Hanif Dhakiri, former Minister of Manpower for the 2014-2019 period and chairman of the National Tripartite LKS for the 2014-2016 and 2016-2019 periods, has actually tried to recommend Pertamina to change the contract and wage system. Pertamina also carried out this by introducing new vendors, changing the form of work agreements, and changing the system and proof of wages slips. However, this was accompanied by the termination of employment which eventually gave rise to various forms of resistance by the tank car crew. This outcome demonstrates that recommendations without binding enforcement mechanisms fail to protect workers' rights and may even exacerbate conflicts when employers exploit flexibility to circumvent labor protections.

Actually, since 2002, the International Labour Organization (ILO) has highlighted that tripartite communication forums in Indonesia have not been effective. At that time, one of the main problems faced was the problem of sustainability where the forum did not receive substantial institutional support and its existence could not be maintained unless it was given adequate budget and funding. The supporters of the forum at that time volunteered their time and resources to discuss various short-term industrial problems and disputes.

In the process of resolving the labor dispute that occurred between the tank car crew and PT. Pertamina and its subsidiaries and vendors can clearly see that there has been no significant change in the working procedures of the Tripartite Cooperation Institution. This can be shown by the absence of a resolution that can be agreed upon by the three parties from the tripartite communication and mediation forum, plus the emergence of new legal problems in the dispute resolution process that make the course of this case even more protracted. One of the things that the Tripartite Cooperation Institution of this case must look at carefully and discuss further, is the issue of legal voids related to the working time of tank car crews.

It is known that on March 25, 2019, the panel of judges of the Yogyakarta Industrial Relations Court (PHI) chaired by Suryanta, S.H., M.H., through Decision Number 32/Pdt.SusPHI/2018/PN Yyk granted part of the overtime wage lawsuit filed by 77 former Pertamina tank car crews against PT. Pertamina Training and Consulting, PT. Pertamina Patra Niaga, and PT. Pertamina (Persero). However, the Supreme Court itself is of the opinion that the decision of Decision Number 32/Pdt.SusPHI/2018/PN Yyk is contrary to the provisions of Article 3 of the Attachment to the Fixed-Time Work Agreement (PKWT), which determines that the parties have agreed that the Workers/Cassation Respondents have agreed to carry out their duties and responsibilities based on the working hours determined by the Company/Cassation Applicant, and contrary to the provisions of Article 77 paragraph (3) of Law Number 13 of 2003 and its explanation, which determines that the provisions of working time referred to in paragraph (2) do not apply to certain business sectors or work, which in the explanation describe the meaning of certain business sectors in this paragraph, such as offshore oil drilling, long-distance transport drivers, long-distance flights, work on ships (sea), deforestation, and also contrary to Article 2, 5 of the Ministry of Transportation Number 102/MEN/VI/2004, which outlines working hours and overtime wages are excluded for companies in certain business sectors and certain occupations.

The absence of specific work time arrangements for certain sectors, which is ultimately determined only through a work agreement is a source of conflict in itself which is considered a form of injustice by tank car crews. The Tripartite Cooperation Institution must also review the provisions regarding working hours in certain sectors along with the measurement of overtime wages related to these sectors. This is not impossible to do considering that the Tripartite Cooperation Institution can also ask for advice from experts or similar company associations in order to handle this dispute. On the other hand, if these provisions are left unchecked, it will obviously provide a lot of legal uncertainty and a sense of injustice to workers/workers in similar sectors which will undoubtedly be the seeds of new conflicts between workers/workers and employers as employers.

Policy Implications and Enforcement Mechanisms

The government and the community should carry out evaluation and structural reforms of the Tripartite Cooperation Institution, especially in terms of socialization and labor supervision. The government must be present to provide protection and ensure legal certainty for both workers and employers in carrying out the outsourcing practice. One of the things that must be done in carrying out this is from the beginning to carry out socialization and evaluation routinely both internally and to every company that employs workers starting from the regional level.

The problem that often arises is the lack of labor supervisors who are tasked with providing socialization as well as evaluation to workers / workers and employers regarding the applicable laws. In fact, it needs to be looked further, in addition to increasing the number of supervisors, the regulation of labor supervision also needs to be improved. One of the main problems is the labor supervision arrangement that is not comprehensive and needs to be adjusted to current labor

conditions. In practice, the Ministry of Manpower itself does not have any authority and power to force companies to follow labor outsourcing regulations that have been violated according to the findings of the audit memorandum.

Based on the Circular Letter of the Minister of Manpower and Transmigration Number SE.04/MEN/VIII/2013 as an implementing guideline of the Regulation of the Minister of Manpower and Transmigration Number 19 of 2012 concerning the Terms and Conditions for Handing over Part of the Implementation of Work to Other Companies, there is only a sanction for the revocation of the operational license of the outsourcing worker provider company, if the worker service provider company does not register a cooperation agreement with the service user company workers and against companies that do not record their outsourced worker employment agreements. The weak coercion of these sanctions is one of the main factors that makes the low level of compliance with the applicable outsourcing regulations. It can be concluded that this is one of the main factors in the effective running of the Tripartite Cooperation Institute.

CONCLUSION

The Tripartite Cooperation Institution at the national, provincial, and district/city levels proved ineffective in resolving the 2010–2019 disputes between Pertamina's tank car crews, its subsidiaries, and vendor companies across Java, as it failed to optimize mediation processes. The institution's shortcomings stemmed from the absence of formal employment agreements, low inter-party cooperation, legal ambiguities, misinterpretations of regulations, and inefficient operational procedures. These weaknesses highlight the need for comprehensive evaluation and structural reform, particularly in enhancing socialization, regulatory clarity, and labor supervision mechanisms. Future research should focus on developing an integrated tripartite model that incorporates expert consultation and comparative analyses with effective social dialogue frameworks in other key industries to strengthen dispute resolution and institutional accountability.

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