

INDONESIA'S INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS POLICIES DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC PERIOD: STRATEGIES AND PROBLEMS

Nindry Sulistya Widiastiani

Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta

Jl. Mrican Baru 28 Sleman DI Yogyakarta 55281, Indonesia ← 11pt, 1 spasi.

Tel./Fax: +62-274-514319 E-mail: nindry.widiastiani@uajy.ac.id

Submitted: July 27 2021 ; Reviewed: November 13, 2023; Accepted: December 28, 2023

Abstract:

Covid-19 pandemic is becoming major problem to all the world, including Indonesia. All sectors, including industrial relations, has been in chaos due to this outbreak. To face the pandemic, government must find effective and efficient solutions through the national policies. This article explores the Indonesia's industrial relations policies during covid-19 pandemic period. It also discusses the strategies and and problems about the polices. The policies are: (1) Restrictions on the use of foreign workers; (2) Protection of Indonesian migrant workers; (3) Integration of covid-19 mitigation health protocols in occupational safety and health systems in companies; (4) Protection through workers' social security; (5) Wage protection; (6) Launching of pre-employment cards; and (7) Wage subsidy assistance program for workers. Also, the problems that arises from those policies are: (1) Inappropriate use of the legal basis for the policies; (2) The use of the concept of solving problems through "agreements" that do not protect workers' rights; (3) Pre-employment card policy that is not well-targeted and effective; and (4) a wage subsidy assistance policy that does not cover all workers as the target recipients.

Keywords: *Industrial relation; Policy; Covid-19 pandemic; Indonesia.*

INTRODUCTION

At the end of 2019, the world was shocked by the massive spread of pneumonia in China. This is a pneumonia disease that was not known before the outbreak in Wuhan, the capital of Hubei Province, People's Republic of China, on December 31, 2019.¹ After going through the identification and isolation of the virus, the pathogen for pneumonia was originally called 2019 novel coronavirus

(2019-nCoV) 2 but it was later officially named the severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2) by the WHO.² The spread of this disease continues grow beyond national borders and on January 30, 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared the disease as a Public Health Emergency of International Concern (PHEIC).

On February 12, 2020, WHO officially

¹ M. Zahroni. (2020). "Cara Indonesia Menanggulangi Corona Virus Disease-19 Melalui Peraturan Perundang-Undangan". *Suloh Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, 8(2): 122-140.

² Ying-Ying Zheng, Yi-Tiong Ma, Jin-Ying Zhang, and Xiang Xie. (2020). "COVID-19 and The Cardiovascular System". *Nature Reviews Cardiology*, 17(5): 259-260.

designated the novel coronavirus disease in humans as Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19). This virus specifically attacks the human respiratory system.³ The infection can be mild or severe. Elderly people and people with pre-existing medical conditions such as high blood pressure, heart problems or diabetes, are more likely to develop severe infections.⁴ Covid-19 transmission can occur if people inhale the droplets that come out of a cough or breath from a person who has Covid-19.

Quickly, Covid-19 has become a world health problem.⁵ On March 11, 2020, WHO declared Covid-19 as a pandemic. According to WHO, a pandemic is said to occur when the following three conditions have been met, namely: (1) the occurrence of the disease concerned is something new in the population concerned; (2) the disease-causing agent infects humans and causes serious illness; and (3) disease-causing agents spread easily and sustainably in humans. As of this writing, in global data, there have been 97,464,094 confirmed cases and 2,112,689 confirmed deaths worldwide.⁶ All sectors, particularly health, social welfare, and economy sectors have been in chaos due to this outbreak.⁷

Indonesia is also not spared from the spread of Covid-19. The confirmed case of Covid-19 in Indonesia was first reported by the Indonesian government on March 2, 2020. The massive spread of Covid-19 in Indonesia

then forced the Indonesian government to designate Covid-19 as a national disaster on March 14, 2020, and the determination of a Covid-19 Public Health Emergency as of March 31, 2020. As of writing this article, there have been 999,256 confirmed cases and 28,132 confirmed deaths.⁸ In Indonesia, Covid-19 has also caused serious impacts, one of which is in the scope of industrial relations. Companies are losing money and closing, wages do not pay off, and layoffs are increasing. For this reason, the role of government interference in industrial relations is very important to deal with the serious effects of Covid-19. This article will review various policies and strategies undertaken by the Indonesian government in dealing with the impact of Covid-19 in the field of industrial relations, including outlining various problems and challenges.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Industrial Relations in Indonesia:

Overview

Indonesian labour law uses two main terms about the relationship between its actors. The two terms are work relations and industrial relations. Historically, work relations are a substitute for the term labour relations, referring to the discussion of the relationship between workers and employers.⁹ In its development, the relationship between workers and employers

³ Adityo Susilo. (2020). "Coronavirus Disease 2019: Tinjauan Literatur Terkini". *Jurnal Penyakit Dalam Indonesia*, 7(1): 45-67.

⁴ Qun Li, Xuhua Guan, Peng Hu, Xiaoye Wang, Lei Zhu, Yeqing Tong, Ruiqi Ren, Kathy S.M. Leung, Eric H.Y. Lau, Jessica Y. Wong, et al. (2020). "Early Transmission Dynamics in Wuhan, China, of Novel Coronavirus-Infected Pneumonia". *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 382(13): 1199-1207.

⁵ Richard Kennedy. (2020). "Legal Discourse on Manpower During Covid-19 Outbreak". *Law Reform Journal*, 16(1): 70-86.

⁶ World Health Organization. (2019). *Coronavirus Disease (COVID-19) Pandemic*. Available from: [https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-](https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019)

[coronavirus-2019](https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019). [Accessed: 25 January 2021].

⁷ Francesco Di Gennaro, Damiano Pizzol, Claudia Marotta, Mario Antunes, Vincenzo Racialbuto, Nicola Veronese, and Lee Smith. (2020). "Coronavirus Diseases (COVID-19) Current Status and Future Perspectives: A Narrative Review". *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17(8): 2690-2700.

⁸ Satuan Tugas Penanganan Covid-19 Indonesia. (2020). *Data Sebaran*. Available from: <https://covid19.go.id/>. [Accessed: 25 January 2021].

⁹ Ari Hernawan. (2019). *Penyelesaian Sengketa Hubungan Industrial*. Yogyakarta: Universitas Islam Indonesia Press, p. 1.

turns out to be very complex, which is influenced by various factors such as economic, social, political, cultural, and so on. Therefore, the term labour relation is considered not sufficient to describe the problem and since then the term industrial relations has developed a broader meaning.¹⁰ Industrial relations cover a very broad aspect, namely social, cultural, psychological, economic, political, legal, and national defence and defence aspects, so that it does not only cover employers and workers but also involves the government.¹¹

In general, in industrial relations, workers and employers have different interests, and sometimes this situation makes the relationship between the two not harmonious. The relationship between workers and employers are also generally imbalanced, as a result of the existence of a superior-subordinate relationship. The relationship between workers and employers also contains fundamental conflict because their relationship is one-sided and exploitative.¹² In the context of the Indonesian region, this situation is exacerbated by the imbalance of supply and demand of the labour market.¹³ The relationship gap is more sharpened by industrialization, where the employers as owners of production factors are getting rich while the workers remain in the same

condition.¹⁴ As a result, the bargaining position of workers is weaker. On the basis of such facts, the government is present in industrial relations to protect workers as parties whose position is weaker. As stated in the theory of justice by John Rawls, that inequality in the socio-economic field must be arranged in such a way that the weakest party is the one who benefits the most, the party who has less opportunity is given a higher chance, and the party who gets difficulties should be alleviated.¹⁵ The government's involvement in industrial relations has also caused a shift in the nature of Indonesian labour law, which was originally part of private law only, to a slight shift towards public law as well.¹⁶

In general, the concept of industrial relations in each country will vary, adjusting to the ideology, principles or philosophy adopted in the country concerned.¹⁷ The Indonesian Manpower Act states that industrial relation is a system of relationships formed between actors in the process of producing goods and/or services consisting of elements from employers, workers/labourers and the government based on the values of Pancasila (Five Principles of the Indonesian State) and the Basic Law of The Republic of Indonesia in 1945.¹⁸ This law specifically states that the industrial relations system is based on the values of Pancasila,¹⁹ which are

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 2.

¹¹ Sentanoe Kertonegoro. (1999). *Hubungan Industrial, Hubungan Antara Pengusaha dan Pekerja (Bipartit) dan Pemerintah (Tripartit)*. Jakarta: Yayasan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia, p. 14.

¹² Susetiawan. (2000). *Konflik Sosial, Kajian Sosiologis Hubungan Buruh, Perusahaan dan Negara*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, p. 11.

¹³ Ari Hernawan. (2014). "Industrial Relations in The Perspective of Justice Theory by John Rawls". *Jurnal Mimbar Hukum*, 26(2): 275-284.

¹⁴ Hariyanto. (1991). *Elit, Massa dan Konflik*. Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada, p. 53-54.

¹⁵ John Rawls. (1971). *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p. 302.

¹⁶ M Koesnardi and H. Ibrahim. (2018). *Pengantar Hukum Tata Negara Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pusat Studi Hukum Tata Negara Fakultas Hukum Universitas Indonesia, p. 5.

¹⁷ Soeganda Priyantna. (2003). "The Pancasila Industrial Relations (The Industrial Relations Based on The Indonesian Five Principles-A Philosophical Approach)". *Jurnal Sosiohumaniora*, 5(2): 108-117.

¹⁸ Indonesia Law Number 13 Year 2003 Concerning Manpower, Art. 1 s. 16.

¹⁹ Pancasila is the ideology of the Indonesian state which contains five main values, namely: (1) Belief in the one and only God; (2) Just and civilized humanity; (3) Indonesian Unity; (4) Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives; and (5) Social

known as Pancasila Industrial Relations. This concept was born from the national seminar "Pancasila Labor Relations as Efforts towards Peaceful Work and Socio-Economic Stability for National Development" in Jakarta on December 4-7-1974 which was attended by representatives of the government, labourers, employers and intellectuals.²⁰

The concept of Pancasila Industrial Relations calls for the creation of industrial relations in Indonesia that are harmonious, dynamic, and fair. The concept of partnership and good cooperation from the government, employers and workers in the production process is put forward. Workers and employers are expected to become partners who ensure the achievement of the welfare of both parties. The embodiment of the values of democracy, justice, unity, humanity, and deliberation for consensus on the values of Pancasila are the main bases for the implementation of industrial relations.

There are three actors in Pancasila Industrial Relations, namely: (1) employers, who have the following functions: (a) creating partnerships, (b) developing businesses (c) expanding employment, and (d) providing

workers/labourers' welfare in an open, democratic manner, and fair; (2) workers, who have the function of (a) carrying out work in accordance with their obligations, (b) maintaining order for the continuity of production, (c) channelling aspirations in a democratic manner, and (d) developing skills and expertise and participating in advancing the company; and (3) the government, which has the following functions: (a) as the party that creates regulations in industrial relations, (b) provides services, (c) carries out supervision of the implementation of the rules that have been made, and (d) enforces the law if there are parties who broke the rules.

To achieve the goal of harmonious, dynamic, and just industrial relations in Indonesia, Pancasila Industrial Relations has the following means: (1) Workers Unions²¹, (2) Employers' Organizations, (3) Bipartite Cooperation Institutions²², (4) Tripartite Cooperation Institutions²³, (5) Company Regulations²⁴ and Collective Bargaining Agreements²⁵, (6) Laws and Regulations in the field of manpower, and (7) Mechanisms

justice for all Indonesian people. The concept of values in Pancasila is then used as a concept of industrial relations that applies in Indonesia. *See also* Novi Eka Saputri and Samsuri. (2020). "The Existence of Pancasila Ideology in The Concept in Indonesia Legal State", *International Journal of Multicultural and Multireligious Understanding*, 7(10): 535-543.

²⁰ Zainal Asikin. (2004). *Dasar-Dasar Hukum Perburuhan*. Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada, p. 235.

²¹ Specifically regulated in Indonesia Law Number 21 Year 2000 Concerning Workers/Labourers Union.

²² Internal company institutions consisting of representatives of workers and employers. In charge of conducting early detection of industrial relations problems in the company, as well as a forum for communication and consultation between the two parties in the company. Regulated in Indonesia Law Number 13 Year 2003 Concerning Manpower, Art. 106.

²³ An institution whose members are representatives of employers, government, and trade unions at various

levels, namely district/city, provincial and national levels. It is assigned to carry out early detection of industrial relations problems in the regions, as well as a forum for communication and consultation between stakeholders in the regions. Regulated in Indonesia Law Number 13 Year 2003 Concerning Manpower, Art. 107.

²⁴ It is a regulation made by employers in the company. Containing regulations for industrial relations, terms of work and rights and obligations of the parties within the company. Companies that have ten or more workers are required to make company regulations. Regulated in Indonesia Law Number 13 Year 2003 Concerning Manpower, Art. 108-115.

²⁵ It is an agreement made between employers and workers' unions within the company. Containing regulations for industrial relations, terms of work and rights and obligations of the parties within the company. Regulated in Indonesia Law Number 13 Year 2003 Concerning Manpower, Art. 116-135. Indonesia Law Number 13 Year 2003 Concerning Manpower, Art. 116-135.

for settling industrial relations disputes²⁶.

Indonesia's Industrial Relation Policies During Covid-19 Pandemic Period: The Strategies

The Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia has had an impact on various sectors, including on the course of industrial relations. Social restrictions and community activities have had a significant economic impact, companies have suffered losses, and many have closed down. The result has an impact on workers, such as rampant layoffs and unpaid wages. The government as part of the industrial relations actor must intervene, in order to protect workers and employers. The goal is for business continuity and work continuity that must be maintained, including in order to protect the health of workers and employers from the covid-19 attack. For this reason, various policies in the field of industrial relations in order to deal with the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic were issued.

Restriction of The Use of Foreign Workers

The initial policy taken by the Indonesian government is to temporarily stop the use and arrival of foreign workers to Indonesia. This is based on the aim of reducing the spread of Covid-19 in Indonesia from the arrival of foreign citizens. The first policy regarding restrictions on foreign workers is contained in the Circular of the Minister of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia Number M/1/HK.04/II/2020 which specifically prohibits and temporarily stops the use of foreign workers originating from China. For foreign workers from China who have lived in Indonesia before the Covid-19 pandemic took place, their permits can be extended for a maximum of six months.

Restrictions on the use of foreign workers in Indonesia are also applied to

foreign workers who come from other countries. The Indonesian government has also temporarily suspended the permit process for the use of foreign workers for new applications. This policy is of course based as a form of mitigation of the prevention of covid-19 transmission, as well as implementing the provisions of the Regulation of the Minister of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia Number 11 of 2020 concerning the Temporary Prohibition of Foreigners Entering Indonesian Territory. However, this policy is exempted for foreign workers who are needed based on special or urgent considerations from ministries or institutions.

For foreign workers who are still living in the territory of Indonesia, especially those who cannot return to their country of origin due to the closure of access, their license to use can be extended based on an application from the employers. All policies to restrict the use of foreign workers during the Covid-19 pandemic are regulated in: (1) Circular of the Minister of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia Number M/4/HK.04/IV/2020 concerning the Prohibition of Using Foreign Workers in Efforts to Prevent the Entry of the Covid-19 Virus; (2) Circular of the Minister of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia Number M/15/HK.04/XII/2020 concerning Services for Using Foreign Workers in Efforts to Prevent the Entry of Covid-19; and (3) Circular of the Minister of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia Number M/1/HK.04/I /2021 concerning Services for Using Foreign Workers in Efforts to Prevent the Entry of Covid-19.

Protection for Indonesian Migrant Workers

In addition to limiting the arrival of foreign workers to Indonesia, the Indonesian government has also issued a policy to

²⁶ Specifically regulated in Indonesia Law Number 2 Year 2004 Concerning Industrial Relations Dispute

Settlement.

temporarily stop the departure of Indonesian migrant workers to other countries. This policy is regulated in the Decree of the Minister of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia Number 151 of 2020 concerning the Temporary Cessation of Placement of Indonesian Migrant Workers. Migrant workers who are meant to be terminated from their departure include crews of commercial ships or fishing boat crews on ships with foreign flags. However, Indonesian migrant workers who have worked in the destination country can continue working until the work agreement ends. When the work agreement has ended, Indonesian migrant workers can extend or return to Indonesia by reporting their return to the nearest Indonesian Representative before leaving the country.

Integration of Covid-19 Mitigation Health Protocols in Occupational Health and Safety Systems in Companies

The most important part in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic in the scope of industrial relations is handling the situation so that production activities or company operations continue to run. Various health protocols recommended by WHO and the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Indonesia, such as physical distancing, wearing masks, and washing hands must be integrated into the work operational system in order to achieve occupational safety and health. Another thing that needs to be considered is how to organize work shifts and calculate the maximum occupancy of workers in a certain time to avoid crowds within the company. Good air circulation

and workplace sterilization also need attention. It is also important to carry out health checks and covid-19 checks on workers in companies.

The guidelines regarding this policy are regulated in: (1) Decree of the Minister of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia Number 312 of 2020 concerning Guidelines for Preparation of Business Continuity Planning in Facing Disease Pandemic; (2) Circular of the Minister of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia Number M/7/AS.02.02/V/2020 concerning Business Continuity Plans in Facing the Covid-19 Pandemic and Protocols to Prevent Covid-19 Transmission in Companies; (3) Decree of the Director General of Labor Inspection and Occupational Safety and Health Number 5/36/HM.01/IV/2020 concerning Guidelines for Preparation of Business Continuity Planning in Facing the Covid-19 Pandemic; and (4) Decree of the Director General of Labor Inspection and Occupational Safety and Health Number 5/151/AS/02/XI/2020 concerning Guidelines for Occupational Safety and Health Examination of Labor Health during the Covid-19 Pandemic.

Protection Through Labor Social Security

During Covid-19 pandemic, protection of workers through labor social security was also very important considering how easy and massive the spread of Covid-19 is. The health and safety of workers must be protected so that the provision of social security for workers must be considered. The Indonesian government established a policy of adjusting contributions for employment social security programs²⁷ during the Covid-

²⁷ Indonesia organizes social security for workers in the framework of protecting the health and safety of workers and their families. Workforce social security is administered by: (1) Health Social Security Administering Agency with a health insurance program for all Indonesian citizens, including workers; and (2) Employment Social Security Administering

Agency with the following programs: (a) work accident insurance, (b) death security, (c) old age security, and (d) pension security. This contribution payment varies depending on the type of program, can be paid by the employer himself, or paid jointly between the worker and the employer. Regulations regarding workers' social security are regulated in Law

19 pandemic. This contribution adjustment policy includes: (1) the leniency of the monthly payment deadline for workers' social security program contributions; (2) contribution relief; and (3) postponement of payment of part of the contribution. This policy is contained in the Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 49 of 2020 concerning Adjustment of Employment Social Security Program Contribution during Non-Natural Disaster of the Spread of Covid-19.

In addition, the Indonesian government has also issued a policy in the form of determining covid-19 as a category of occupational diseases for workers who are at high risk of covid-19. These workers are: (1) Health/medical personnel; (2) support personnel in hospitals and health facilities, such as cleaning services and laundry workers; and (3) a team of covid-19 volunteers. With the stipulation of Covid-19 as a Work-related Disease, if these workers are exposed, these workers will get social security benefits from the work accident program. This policy is regulated in the Circular of the Minister of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia Number M/8/HK/04/V/2020 concerning Worker Protection in the Work Accident Security Program in Cases of Occupational Diseases Due to Covid-19.

Wage Protection

Wages are a basic right for workers which are very important because they are directly related to the fulfilment of the needs of life and the welfare of workers and their families. Therefore, it is important for the government to pay attention to policies in order to protect guarantees for the fulfilment of workers' wages. Especially if we remember that wages are compensation for work performed by workers, that workers will only be paid their wages when they do their work. This principle is known as no work no pay. The state of the Covid-19 pandemic will affect the fulfilment of workers' wages, for example when workers are infected with Covid-19 they must undergo a quarantine period. Under quarantine means being unable to enter work and unable to carry out his work, which will have an impact on the payment of his wages. To protect workers, the Indonesian government has issued a wage protection policy as stipulated in the Circular of the Minister of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia Number M/3/HK.04/III/2020 concerning Worker Protection and Business Continuity in the Context of Prevention and Eradication of Covid-19.

Workers are categorized as people under monitoring²⁸ or the suspect of Covid-19²⁹ according to a certificate from a doctor, during the quarantine period the wages must

Number 24 of 2011 concerning Social Security Administering Agency. See Siti Kurniati, Tedi Sudrajat, and Sri Wahyu Handayani. (2018). "Transformation of Social Security Administrative Agency (BPJS) within Social Security Reform in Indonesia". 54 *SHS Web of Conference: The 1st International Conference of Law, Governance and Social Justice*, 54: 03017. See also Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial Ketenagakerjaan. (2014). *Informasi Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial Ketenagakerjaan: Informasi Pekerja Penerima Upah*. Available from: <https://www.bpjsketenagakerjaan.go.id/#informasi>. [Accessed: 26 January 2021]., and, Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial Kesehatan. (2014). *Peserta Program Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan*

Sosial Kesehatan. Available from: <https://bpjs-kesehatan.go.id/bpjs/pages/detail/2014/1126>. [Accessed: 26 January 2021].

²⁸ People who have traveled to other countries which are the center of the spread of the Covid-19 virus or people who have had direct contact with people who have been confirmed positive for Covid-19. See Pemerintah Provinsi Jawa Barat Indonesia. (2020). *Perbedaan ODP, PDP, Suspek, dan Positif*. Available from: <https://jabarprov.go.id/index.php/news/37107/2020/03/20/Perbedaan-ODP-PDP-Suspect-dan-Positif>. [Accessed: 20 October 2020].

²⁹ People who are strongly suspected of contracting a covid-19 infection by showing symptoms of covid-19

be paid in full. For workers who do not come to work because they are confirmed positive for Covid-19 according to a doctor's certificate, their wages are paid according to statutory regulations. The legislation in question is Indonesia Law Number 13 Year 2003 Concerning Manpower Art. 93. Whereas if the worker is sick and unable to come to work, then the wage is still paid. This arrangement is an exception to the no work no pay principle. If the worker's illness continues for more than four consecutive months, the wage payment system changes to: (1) for the first 4 months, 100% of wages are paid; (2) for the second 4 months, 75% of wages are paid; (3) for the third 4 months, paid 50% of wages; and (4) for the following month 25% of wages are paid prior to termination of employment by the employers.

The Covid-19 pandemic has an impact that makes the situation for employers severe. Restrictions on community activities often have an impact on the economic situation of the company. As a result, in practice, there have been various cases of late payment of wages, wage deductions, and even failure to pay wages. To deal with this, the Indonesian government established a policy in the Circular Letter above, namely if there is a change in the number of wages and the method of payment of wages, it must be done in accordance with the agreement between the employer and the worker. This policy emphasizes that any changes in wage payments must be agreed upon in advance between employers and workers in the

company. The goal is to protect workers' wage rights and at the same time the company's business continuity in this difficult time.

The wage system in Indonesian industrial relations also recognizes the existence of a minimum wage. The minimum wage is used as a safety net so that no worker is paid below the minimum wage. In addition, the minimum wage can only be applied to workers whose work period is less than 1 year and single. This means that if the worker no longer fulfils these requirements, that is, is not single, or has worked for more than one year, then the wage is no longer allowed to be paid according to the minimum wage. The determination of the minimum wage uses a formula that has been regulated in statutory regulations, which is related to the percentage of national inflation and the percentage of gross domestic product/national economic growth. The higher the rate of inflation and economic growth, the higher the nominal minimum wage.

The problem is, the covid-19 pandemic has a negative impact on the Indonesian economy. The Central Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Indonesia reported that Indonesia's economic growth in the third quarter of 2020 recorded a contraction or minus 3,49%³⁰ and the inflation rate was only 0,28%³¹. This drastic reduction will have an impact on the calculation of the minimum wage. So that the nominal

such as fever, cough, runny nose, and shortness of breath. People with suspected status have also had close contact with patients who have been confirmed positive for Covid-19 or have led to the disease in question, but have not obtained positive laboratory results. See n. 28 above, (*Loc. Cit.*)

³⁰ BISNIS ID. (2020). *Indonesia Resesi: Simak Definisi, Faktor Penyebab, dan Dampak ke Masyarakat*. Available from: <https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/20201106/9/131425/0/indonesia-resesi-simak-definisi-faktor-penyebab->

[dan-dampak-ke-masyarakat](#). [Accessed: 6 November 2020].

³¹ Badan Pusat Statistik Republik Indonesia. (2020). *Inflasi Terjadi Pada November 2020 Sebesar 0,28 Persen: Inflasi Tertinggi Terjadi di Tual Sebesar 1,15 Persen*. Available from: <https://www.bps.go.id/pressrelease/2020/12/01/1665/inflasi-terjadi-pada-november-2020-sebesar-0-28-persen--inflasi-tertinggi-terjadi-di-tual-sebesar-1-15-persen-.html>. [Accessed: 1 December 2020].

minimum wage for workers does not drop drastically, the Indonesian government has also issued a policy that the nominal amount of the minimum wage in 2021 is determined to be the same as the nominal minimum wage in 2020. This policy is contained in the Circular of the Minister of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia Number M/11/HK.04/XII/2020 concerning the Determination of the Minimum Wage in 2021 During the Covid-19 Pandemic.

Other wage-related policies are related to the payment of Religious Holiday Allowances as regulated in the Circular of the Minister of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia Number M/6/HL.00.01/V/2020 concerning the Implementation of 2020 Religious Holidays Allowances in Companies During the Covid-Pandemic Period 19. This Circular Letter aims to emphasize the rights of all workers to obtain Religious Holiday Allowances despite Covid-19. However, if the employer is unable to pay the allowance in full, or is unable to pay it on time, or is unable to pay the allowance at all, then the employer and the worker are obliged to enter into an agreement regarding the mechanism for paying the benefits. The agreement can be in the form of postponement of payment or instalment of payment. What is clear is that the fulfilment of religious holiday allowances is the right of workers.

The Launching of Pre-Employment Card

The pre-employment card policy was launched in March 2020 with the issuance of Presidential Regulation Number 36 of 2020 concerning Work Competency Development through the Pre-Employment Card Program. Then the rules were followed by the issuance of implementing regulations through the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Regulation Number 3 of 2020. This pre-employment card policy is a work competency development program aimed at job seekers, workers who have been laid off

and/or workers who need increased competence. It's just that, during the Covid-19 pandemic, giving priority to the affected party. The affected parties that are prioritized are workers, both formal and informal, as well as small and micro business actors who have been affected by Covid-19. In addition, there are additional special requirements related to who can be a pre-employment card holder or participant. These requirements are regulated in Article 3 paragraph (4) of Presidential Regulation Number 36 of 2020, namely: (1) Indonesian citizens; (2) is at least 18 (eighteen years old); and (3) not currently attending formal education.

Each pre-employment card recipient will get a total benefits package of IDR 3,550,000 (around 252 USD) consisting of: (1) training fee assistance of IDR 1,000,000 (around 71 USD) which can be used to purchase various training on partner digital platforms; (2) incentives to be transferred to participants, which consists of two parts: (a) post-completion incentive of IDR 600,000 (around 42 USD) per month for 4 months (total IDR 2,400,000 (around 170 USD)); and (b) post-filling incentives for the evaluation survey of IDR 50,000 (around 3 USD) per survey for 3 surveys (a total of IDR 150,000 (around 10 USD)). All of these benefits are only given once to each pre-employment card holder.

Wage Subsidy Assistance Program for Workers

The Indonesian government has again issued a policy to deal with the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic in the field of industrial relations. The number of workers' wages that have been cut or even not paid has prompted the government to issue a policy of providing wage subsidies for workers. This policy is regulated in the Regulation of the Minister of Manpower of Indonesia Number 14 of 2020 concerning Guidelines for Providing Government Assistance in the Form of Salary / Wage Subsidies for Workers in Handling the

Impact of Covid-19.

The assistance is in the form of cash which is sent to the worker's account in the amount of IDR 600,000 (around 42 USD) per month for four months (total IDR 2,400,000 (around 169 USD)). This assistance is provided to workers whose wages are below Rp. 5,000,000 (around 353 USD) and are actively registered as workers' social security participants at the Manpower Social Security Administration. During 2020, at least 11,023,780 workers in Indonesia have received this wage subsidy assistance. The plan is that the wage subsidy policy will be implemented again in 2021. The aim is to help the economy of workers during the Covid-19 pandemic, especially those whose rights to wages are hampered due to company conditions.

Indonesia's Industrial Relation Policies During Covid-19 Pandemic Period: The Problems

In the previous section, we discussed the steps and policies taken by the Indonesian government as a response to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic in the field of industrial relations. However, in their implementation, these policies raise certain problems and become challenges to face.

Problems Of The Legal Basis Of The Policies

The first thing that became a policy problem in the industrial relations sector of the Indonesian government during the Covid-19 pandemic was the use of a legal basis for policies that were deemed inappropriate. Most of these industrial relations policies were published in the form of a circular letter from the Minister of

Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia. The binding strength of this Circular is a matter of debate, because Circular Letters are not included in the hierarchy of Indonesian legislation.

Hans Kelsen stated that the legal system is a system of steps with tiered principles, so that legal norms have two faces (*das doppelte recht stanilitz*), namely: (1) sourced from and based on the existing norms on it; and (2) become the source and basis of existing norms under it.³² This also relates to Nawiasky's theory, namely *theorie von stufenaufbau der rechtsordnung*, which shows a gap in norms: (1) *Staatsfundamentalnorm*; (2) *Staatsgrundgesetz*; (3) *Formellgesetz*; dan (4) *Verordnungen Autonome Satzung*.³³ The gap / hierarchy of Indonesian laws and regulations follows this theory. In Law Number 12 of 2011 and Law Number 15 of 2019 concerning the Formation of Legislative Regulations, the hierarchy of Indonesian laws and regulations: (1) the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia; (2) Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly; (3) Laws/Government Regulations in Lieu of Laws; (4) Government Regulations; (5) Presidential Regulation; (6) Provincial Regulations; and (7) Regency/City Regional Regulations.

Apart from statutory regulations in the hierarchy, there are also statutory regulations that are recognized and have binding legal force, as long as their formation is ordered by a higher level of statutory regulations or established based on authority. These statutory regulations are regulations stipulated by: (1) the People's Consultative Assembly; (2) House of Representatives; (3) Regional Representative Council; (4) the

³² Jimly Asshiddiqie and M. Ali Safaa'at. (2006). *Theory Hans Kelsen Tentang Hukum*. Jakarta: Sekretariat Jenderal & Kepaniteraan Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia, p. 110.

³³ Hamid S. Attamimi. (1990). *Peranan Keputusan*

Presiden Republik Indonesia dalam Penyelenggaraan Pemerintahan Negara; Suatu Studi Analisis Mengenai Keputusan Presiden yang Berfungsi Pengaturan dalam Kurun Waktu Pelita I–Pelita IV. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia, p. 287.

Supreme Court; (5) the Constitutional Court; (6) the Supreme Audit Agency; (7) Judicial Commission; (8) Bank Indonesia; (9) Minister; (10) Agencies, institutions, or commissions at the same level as established by law or the government by order of law; (11) Provincial and regency/city Regional People's Representative Council; and (12) Governors, regents/mayors, village heads or the like.

It can be seen that a circular letter is not included in the laws and regulations that exist in the Indonesian legal hierarchy. Circular letters are actually policy regulations (*quasi legislation*).³⁴ This policy regulation is a policy product that is independent in nature stipulated by state administrative officials in the context of carrying out their duties.³⁵ Its content contains an appeal to clarify existing regulations, so that they are not directly binding in general.

The use of circular letter forms as the legal basis for various industrial relations policies during the Covid-19 pandemic is considered inappropriate, because circular letters are not statutory regulations in the hierarchy of Indonesian legislation. Circular letters are not binding in general and are merely an appeal, so that the implementation of matters contained in them cannot be forced. This causes the protection of workers' rights during the Covid-19 pandemic to be less protected. However, when viewed from a theoretical point of view in the realm of state administrative law, the use of this policy regulation is actually a breakthrough that is flexible in nature to overcome obstacles that force quick decision making due to certain things that occur in society³⁶, like this Covid-19 pandemic.

The "Agreement" Policy Between Workers and Employers Related To Wage Less Protect The Workers' Rights

Protection of workers' wages is one of the things that is included as a policy during the Covid-19 pandemic by the Indonesian government. Wages are a basic right of workers, and their fulfilment is very vulnerable and needs to be considered considering that Covid-19 has proven to put many companies in a difficult economic situation. However, policies related to wage protection during the Covid-19 pandemic are considered to cause new problems, especially those contained in: (1) Circular of the Minister of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia Number M/3/HK.04/III/2020 concerning Worker Protection and Business Continuity in the Context of Covid-19 Prevention and Control; and (2) Circular of the Minister of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia Number M/6/HI.00.01/V/2020 concerning the Implementation of 2020 Religious Holidays in Companies During the Covid-19 Pandemic.

During the Covid-19 pandemic, if employers experience difficulties in paying wages and religious holiday allowances, changes and methods of payment for these two rights can be adjusted to the agreement between employers and workers. At first glance, the policy of this agreement seems to be able to provide justice for both parties, where employers and workers can achieve a win-win solution during this difficult Covid-19 pandemic. If examined further, the existence of this policy could pose a threat to the fulfilment of workers' rights. It must not be forgotten that in general, the position of employers and workers is not balanced. The existence of a superior-subordinate relationship and social-economic imbalance

³⁴ Jimly Asshiddiqie. (2010). *Perihal Undang-Undang*. Jakarta: Rajawali Press, p. 393.

³⁵ Hotman P. Sibuea. (2010). *Asas Negara Hukum: Peraturan Kebijaksanaan*. Jakarta: Erlangga, p. 101.

³⁶ Albertjan Tollenaar. (2012). *Soft Law and Policy Rules in The Netherlands*. Den Haag: Netherlands Administrative Law Library, p. 4

causes the workers' bargaining position to become weak.

The position of the bargaining position between workers and employers cannot necessarily be equated in other general civil law relationships. The existence of an unbalanced bargaining position can cause the agreement reached does not actually represent what the workers want. This is not to mention if you see that in reality, work agreements are always in the form of standard contracts: take it or leave it in nature. The same analogy can be applied to the issue of paying wages and religious holiday allowances during the covid-19 period. Policies that lead to an agreement between workers and employers are basically not beneficial for workers. Workers' rights to fulfil wages and religious holiday allowances are less protected and there is potential for many violations.

Problems in Pre-Employment Card Policy

The pre-employment card policy is launched as a solution in the context of handling the crisis in the industrial relations sector during the Covid-19 pandemic. The main targets and priorities are for those affected by the Covid-19 pandemic, especially workers who have been laid off. This is seen as ineffective because the pre-employment card focuses on providing job training assistance. In fact, during the Covid-19 crisis like this, workers actually do not really need job training.

The covid-19 pandemic caused workers to lose their jobs, which are a source of income. Therefore, workers today need cash flow to survive. At this time, job training was not a top priority for these workers. This becomes the basis for the argument that the pre-employment card policy is considered

neither on target nor effective.

Indeed, this pre-employment card policy does not only provide job training, but also a number of cash incentives for the holder. These incentives are: (1) post-completion incentive of IDR 600,000 (around 42 USD) per month for 4 months (total IDR 2,400,000 (around 170 USD)); and (2) incentives after filling out the evaluation survey of IDR 50,000 (around 3 USD) per survey for 3 surveys (a total of IDR 150,000 (around 10 USD)). The question is, is this amount of money then enough to replace the source of workers' income lost due to Covid-19?

The income for the work that the worker receives is wages. Wages are a major factor for workers, because they are used to finance the lives of workers and their families. If, for example, it is compared to the existing minimum wage, the incentive of IDR 600,000 (around 42 USD) for one month is a very small nominal. For example, taking the Provincial Minimum Wage for the Special Region of Yogyakarta, which is often included in the category of the lowest nominal minimum wage in Indonesia. For 2021 the minimum wage is in figures Rp 1.765.000 (around 125 USD).³⁷

The incentives provided are very small, so they cannot solve the problems that arise as a result of lost income experienced by workers. In fact, the minimum wage is the wage applied to workers who have a working period of less than 1 year and are single or have not yet married.³⁸ If the nominal value of Rp 1,765,000 (around 125 USD) per month is considered to be the minimum standard required for a decent living for single workers, then the nominal incentive of Rp. 600,000 (around 42 USD) per month certainly cannot be said to be able to meet the

³⁷ Humas Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. (2020). *Sri Sultan Tetapkan Upah Minimum Provinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 2021 naik 3,54%*. Available from: <https://jogjaprov.go.id/berita/detail/8960-sri->

[sultan-tetapkan-ump-diy-naik-3-54](#). [Accessed: 31 October 2020].

³⁸ Eko Wahyudi. (2016). *Hukum Ketenagakerjaan*. Jakarta: Sinar Grafika, p. 129.

living needs of workers, let alone together with his family.

The main activity of the pre-employment card policy is to provide job training for the holder. The question is, after the workers affected by layoffs have completed job training, where will they work later in an economic depression due to the Covid-19 pandemic?³⁹ The fact is, many companies have suffered losses and made massive layoffs. Of course, the existence of this job training was launched at the wrong moment.

On the other hand, if the direction of the pre-employment card policy is so that workers who have been laid off can get new skills to open a business. The next question is, what about the business capital? Where did the laid-off worker get it? It is difficult to make ends meet, especially to set aside capital to start a new business. Indeed, the incentives provided by pre-employment card policies will not be able to meet this.

Or, for example, the skills that the worker has acquired can turn out to be developed into a new business. With the economic conditions at the time of Covid-19, then who are the consumers or users of its services? Currently, people's purchasing power is proven to be decreasing drastically.

Problems On Wage Subsidy Assistance Policy For Workers

The wage subsidy assistance policy for workers by providing a cash flow of IDR 600,000 (around 42 USD) per month for four months (total IDR 2,400,000 (around 169 USD)) is also considered not very effective in overcoming the problem. This is based on the argument that the target of

wage subsidy assistance is not able to target all those affected by the Covid-19 pandemic in the scope of industrial relations. The target recipients of this policy are formal workers whose membership is registered at the Manpower Social Security Administration and whose wages are below IDR 5,000,000 (around 353 USD). In fact, there are actually many informal workers whose fate is no less bad than these formal workers.⁴⁰

Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Indonesia shows that the number of informal workers in Indonesia reaches 70.49 million people or around 55.72% of the total workforce. Whereas the number of formal workers only amounted to 56.02 million people or around 44.28%. This data shows that the number of Indonesian informal workers is actually higher than that of formal workers. Data from the Indonesian Ministry of Manpower also stated that 29.12 million people were affected by the Covid-19 pandemic, at least 314,833 informal workers were also affected. These informal workers are not covered in this wage subsidy assistance policy. Though informal workers also feel the same impact.

In addition, the determination of beneficiary criteria based on membership in the Manpower Social Security Administering Agency is also considered inappropriate at this critical time. The goal is actually good, namely to direct workers and employers to pay more attention to membership in the Labor Social Security Administering Agency. However, in reality, there are still many workers (even formal workers) who have not been registered with the Manpower Social Security

³⁹ Heri Kurniawansyah, Amrullah, M Salahuddin, Muslim, and Sri Nurhidayati. (2020). "Konsep Kebijakan Strategis Dalam Menangani Eksternalitas Ekonomi Dari Covid-19 Pada Masyarakat Rentan Di Indonesia". *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 1(2): 130-139.

⁴⁰ Hartini Retnaningsih. (2020). "Bantuan Sosial bagi Pekerja di Tengah Pandemi Covid-19: Sebuah Analisis Terhadap Kebijakan Sosial Pemerintah". *Aspirasi: Jurnal Masalah-Masalah Sosial*, 1(2): 215-227.

Administration, for example because they have not been registered by the employer. Even though the wages of these workers are also below IDR 5,000,000 (around 353 USD). These workers are not the recipients of this wage subsidy assistance.

CONCLUSION

The Covid-19 pandemic has had a serious impact on the Indonesian state, especially in the field of industrial relations. The role of the Indonesian government as an actor in the concept of Pancasila Industrial Relations as a bridge between employers and workers in this precarious situation is very important. For this reason, various policies in order to overcome the impact of Covid-19 in industrial relations are stipulated by the Indonesian government. These policies are: (1) Restrictions on the use of foreign workers; (2) Protection of Indonesian migrant workers; (3) Integration of covid-19 mitigation health protocols in occupational safety and health systems in companies; (4) Protection through workers' social security; (5) Wage protection; (6) Launching of pre-employment cards; and (7) Wage subsidy assistance program for workers.

These various policies are aimed at protecting workers' rights and the sustainability entrepreneurial businesses. However, the existence of these policies raises various problems. The problems in the policies are: (1) Inappropriate use of the legal basis for the policies; (2) The use of the concept of solving problems through "agreements" that do not protect workers' rights; (3) Pre-employment card policy that is not well-targeted and effective; and (4) a wage subsidy assistance policy that does not cover all workers as the target recipients.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adityo Susilo. (2020). "Coronavirus Disease 2019: Tinjauan Literatur Terkini". *Jurnal Penyakit Dalam Indonesia*, 7(1): 45-67.
- Albertjan Tollenaar. (2012). *Soft Law and Policy Rules in The Netherlands*. Den Haag: Netherlands Administrative Law Library.
- Ari Hernawan. (2014). "Industrial Relations in The Perspective of Justice Theory by John Rawls". *Jurnal Mimbar Hukum*, 26(2): 275-284.
- Ari Hernawan. (2019). *Penyelesaian Sengketa Hubungan Industrial*. Yogyakarta: Universitas Islam Indonesia Press.
- Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial Kesehatan. (2014). *Peserta Program Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial Kesehatan*. Available online from: <https://bpjs-kesehatan.go.id/bpjs/pages/detail/2014/11>. [Accessed January 26, 2021].
- Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial Ketenagakerjaan. (2014). *Informasi Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial Ketenagakerjaan: Informasi Pekerja Penerima Upah*. Available online from: <https://www.bpjsketenagakerjaan.go.id/#informasi>. [Accessed January 26, 2021].
- Badan Pusat Statistik Republik Indonesia. (2020). *Inflasi Terjadi Pada November 2020 Sebesar 0,28 Persen: Inflasi Tertinggi Terjadi di Tual Sebesar 1,15 Persen*. Available online from: <https://www.bps.go.id/pressrelease/2020/12/01/1665/inflasi-terjadi-pada-november-2020-sebesar-0-28-persen--inflasi-tertinggi-terjadi-di-tual-sebesar-1-15-persen-.html>. [Accessed December 30, 2020].
- BISNIS ID. (2020). *Indonesia Resesi: Simak Definisi, Faktor Penyebab, dan Dampak ke Masyarakat*. Available online from: [https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/2020106/9/1314250/indonesia-resesi-simak-definisi-faktor-penyebab-dan-](https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/2020106/9/1314250/indonesia-resesi-simak-definisi-faktor-penyebab-dan)

- dampak-ke-masyarakat*. [Accessed November 6, 2020].
- Eko Wahyudi. (2016). *Hukum Ketenagakerjaan*. Jakarta: Sinar Grafika.
- Francesco Di Gennaro, Damiano Pizzol, Claudia Marotta, Mario Antunes, Vincenzo Racalbutto, Nicola Veronese, and Lee Smith. (2020). "Coronavirus Diseases (COVID-19) Current Status and Future Perspectives: A Narrative Review". *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 17(8): 2690.
- Hamid S Attamimi. (1990). *Peranan Keputusan Presiden Republik Indonesia dalam Penyelenggaraan Pemerintahan Negara: Suatu Studi Analisis Mengenai Keputusan Presiden yang Berfungsi Pengaturan dalam Kurun Waktu Pelita I–Pelita IV*. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia.
- Hariyanto. (1991). *Elit, Massa dan Konflik*. Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Hartini Retnaningsih. (2020). "Bantuan Sosial bagi Pekerja di Tengah Pandemi Covid-19: Sebuah Analisis Terhadap Kebijakan Sosial Pemerintah". *Aspirasi: Jurnal Masalah-Masalah Sosial*, 1(2): 215-227.
- Heri Kurniawansyah, Amrullah, M Salahuddin, Muslim, and Sri Nurhidayati. (2020). "Konsep Kebijakan Strategis Dalam Menangani Eksternalitas Ekonomi Dari Covid-19 Pada Masyarakat Rentan Di Indonesia". *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 1(2): 130-139.
- Hotman P. Sibuea. (2010). *Asas Negara Hukum: Peraturan Kebijakan*. Jakarta: Erlangga.
- Humas Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. (2020). *Sri Sultan Tetapkan Upah Minimum Provinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 2021 naik 3,54%*. Available online from: <https://jogjaprov.go.id/berita/detail/8960-sri-sultan-tetapkan-ump-diy-naik-3-54>. [Accessed October 31, 2020].
- Jimly Asshiddiqie and M. Ali Safaa'at. (2006). *Theory Hans Kelsen Tentang Hukum*. Jakarta: Sekretariat Jenderal & Kepaniteraan Mahkamah Konstitusi Republik Indonesia.
- Jimly Asshiddiqie. (2010). *Perihal Undang-Undang*. Jakarta: Rajawali Press.
- John Rawls. (1971). *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- M.Koesnardi and H. Ibrahim. (2018). *Pengantar Hukum Tata Negara Indonesia*. (Jakarta: Pusat Studi Hukum Tata Negara Fakultas Hukum Universitas Indonesia.
- M.Zahroni. (2020). "Cara Indonesia Menanggulangi Corona Virus Disease-19 Melalui Peraturan Perundang-Undangan", *Suloh Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, 8(2): 122-140.
- Novi Eka Saputri, and Samsuri. (2020). "The Existence of Pancasila Ideology in The Concept in Indonesia Legal State". *International Journal of Multicultural and Multireligious Understanding*, 7(10): 535-543.
- Pemerintah Provinsi Jawa Barat Indonesia. (2020). *Perbedaan ODP, PDP, Suspek, dan Positif*. Available online from: <https://jabarprov.go.id/index.php/news/37107/2020/03/20/Perbedaan-ODP-PDP-Suspect-dan-Positif>. [Accessed October 20, 2020].
- Qun Li, Xuhua Guan, Peng Hu, Xiaoye Wang, Lei Zhu, Yeqing Tong, Ruiqi Ren, Kathy S.M. Leung, Eric H.Y. Lau, Jessica Y. Wong, et al. (2020). "Early Transmission Dynamics in Wuhan, China, of Novel Coronavirus–Infected Pneumonia". *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 382(13): 1199-1207.
- Richard Kennedy. (2020). "Legal Discourse on Manpower During Covid-19

- Outbreak". *Law Reform Journal*, 16(1): 70-86.
- Satuan Tugas Penanganan Covid-19 Indonesia. (2020). *Data Sebaran*. Available online from: <https://covid19.go.id/>. [Accessed January 25, 2021].
- Sentanoe Kertonegoro. (1999). *Hubungan Industrial, Hubungan Antara Pengusaha dan Pekerja (Bipartit) dan Pemerintah (Tripartit)*. Jakarta: Yayasan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia.
- Siti Kurniati, Tedi Sudrajat, and Sri Wahyu Handayani. (2018). "Transformation of Social Security Administrative Agency (BPJS) within Social Security Reform in Indonesia" *54 SHS Web of Conference: The 1st International Conference of Law, Governance and Social Justice*, 54: 03017.
- Soeganda Priyantna. (2003). "The Pancasila Industrial Relations (The Industrial Relations Based on The Indonesian Five Principles-A Philosophical Approach". *Jurnal Sosiohumaniora*, 5(2): 108-117
- Susetiawan. (2000). *Konflik Sosial, Kajian Sosiologis Hubungan Buruh, Perusahaan dan Negara*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- World Health Organization. (2019). *Coronavirus Disease (COVID-19) Pandemic*. Available online from: <https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019>. [Accessed January 25, 2021].
- Ying-Ying, Zheng, Yi-Tiong Ma, Jin-Ying Zhang, and Xiang Xie. (2020). "COVID-19 and The Cardiovascular System". *Nature Reviews Cardiology*, 17(5): 259-260.