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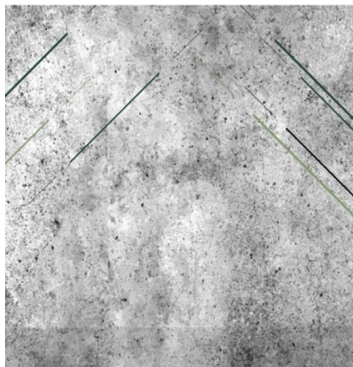
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## Three Faces of the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan in the Law Policy of the Job Creation

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### Abstract

Indonesia's contemporary political landscape is deeply shaped by the pivotal role of political parties in the formulation of public policy. As the ruling party with one of the largest grassroots constituencies, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-Perjuangan) holds a decisive influence in legislative decision-making. This study analyzes the role of the three faces of the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-Perjuangan) in the policymaking process of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation, using the theoretical framework of *The Three Faces of Party Organization* by Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair. These three faces include: the party in public office, the party on the ground, and the party central office. The research employs a qualitative method with a case study approach, based on interviews with party representatives as well as an analysis of documents, news sources, and academic literature. The research was conducted at the PDIP Branch Leadership Councils located in Depok, Tangerang, and East Jakarta. Data were collected through in-depth interviews with key informants and supported by relevant documentation analysis. The findings reveal a clear discrepancy between PDI-Perjuangan's ideological commitment to public welfare and its parliamentary faction's support for the Job Creation Law. This contradiction has sparked disappointment among labour groups and party sympathizers. By analyzing the party's three faces, this study uncovers internal tensions which are legislative elites prioritize political pragmatism, the central office struggles to balance control and coherence, while grassroots cadres resist policies seen as betraying party ideals. The study demonstrates that PDI-Perjuangan's political decisions are shaped by government pressure, economic interests, and internal fragmentation. Ultimately, the research highlights the ongoing dilemma between upholding party idealism and pursuing strategic political compromise in Indonesia's legislative process.

**Keywords:** PDI-Perjuangan; The Three Faces of Party Organization; Public Policy; Omnibus Law; Job Creation Law

### Introduction

Political parties are fundamentally the driving force behind the operation of government, as the political system of a country is inextricably linked to the role of political parties. These parties are formed with the primary aim of creating a just society, particularly when viewed from a socio-political perspective. Politics first emerged as a result of interactions between citizens and the state, with the purpose of ensuring public welfare (Kurniawan & Handayani, 2022). In this context, politics serves to regulate the interests of the people, while the government functions to implement rules and policies that guarantee the prosperity of its citizens. In practice, the realm of governance is often contested by citizens who engage in politics—commonly referred to as politicians. The term "politician" dates back centuries, originating when certain citizens sought to lead the government in order to formulate policies and enact laws (Samosir, 2022). Governance has thus become a platform for politicians to demonstrate their capacity to enhance public welfare and create beneficial policies for the nation.

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From the desire of certain citizens to lead the country, groups or organizations began to form, consisting of individuals united by a shared objective of national leadership. These groups gradually evolved into political parties, bound by common goals and ideologies (Sutrisman, 2019).

A political party is a stable, organized group of individuals whose principal aim is to acquire or maintain power within a government. Political parties play a critical role in the political system, serving to uphold governmental stability and effectiveness through a variety of functions (Hopkin & Voss, 2022). One of their core responsibilities is the recruitment and selection of leaders, identifying and preparing competent individuals to hold public office. Additionally, political parties function as instruments of political communication, acting as intermediaries between the government and the public by conveying citizens' aspirations to the government and communicating governmental policies back to the people (Siregar, 2020). Political parties also serve an essential role in political socialization by educating both the public and party members about political values and civic responsibilities, thereby fostering political awareness and encouraging civic engagement (Pasaribu, 2017). Moreover, they are involved in interest aggregation, consolidating and filtering diverse public interests to serve as a foundation for public policy formulation. Lastly, political parties are instrumental in policy-making; they formulate policy agendas based on public aspirations and implement these agendas when in power (Diamond & Gunther, 2021).

In the policy-making process, political parties must act as a tool to articulate the interests of the community. This process begins with identifying the aspirations and needs of the community. These aspirations are then processed into a concrete policy agenda that is used as a platform in the general election (Sabirin, 2021). If the party wins the election, the policy agenda is implemented in political decision-making. After the policy is implemented, the party also conducts an evaluation to assess the success and effectiveness of the policy, and makes adjustments if necessary (Lindberg et al., 2008).

One of the policies that exemplifies the active role of political parties in governance is the enactment of Law Number 11 of 2020 on Job Creation (commonly known as the Omnibus Law). This law aims to generate employment opportunities by boosting investment, empowering micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs), and accelerating national strategic projects. The Job Creation Law replaces several previous regulations, including Law Number 13 of 2003 on Manpower (Prasetyo et al., 2022). In 2020, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia enacted the Omnibus Law on Job Creation, which is stipulated in Law Number 11 of 2020 (Job Creation Law) (Catur et al., 2020). The Job Creation Law represents an initiative to generate employment through measures aimed at facilitating, protecting, and empowering micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs), enhancing the investment ecosystem and ease of doing business, promoting central government investment, and accelerating national strategic projects. The term *Omnibus Law* refers to a new legislative framework intentionally designed to replace pre-existing regulations (Mingkid, 2023). In this context, Law Number 11 of 2020 on Job Creation supersedes Law Number 13 of 2003 on Manpower. Several key provisions in Law Number 11 of 2020 on Job Creation replace those in Law Number 13 of 2003 on manpower, including the following aspects:

Table 1: Comparison of the Employment Law with the Job Creation Law

Law No. 13 of 2003	Law No. 11 of 2020
Minimum wages are regulated by district/city standards (UMK)	Minimum wages are regulated using Provincial standards (UMP). (Article 88C)
There is no explanation in the law regarding the provision of bonuses or awards for workers.	Worker providers are obliged to provide bonuses and rewards to workers according to their length of service.

Law No. 13 of 2003	Law No. 11 of 2020
Overtime working hours are a maximum of 3 hours per day and 14 hours per week.	Overtime working hours are a maximum of 4 hours per day and 18 hours per week. (Article 78 Paragraph 1)
There are wages that must be given to workers who are absent (sick) of 25-100 percent, and those who do not work for 1-3 days due to marriage, childbirth or a death in the worker's family.	In Law Number 11 of 2020, there are no longer any regulations regarding payment of wages for workers who are absent.
In the event of Termination of Employment (PHK), workers are entitled to receive severance pay or appreciation money for length of service and compensation for rights.	Replacement money for rights was removed in Law Number 11 of 2020

Source: Humaira, 2020

The table above illustrates several changes introduced by the Omnibus Law on Job Creation, particularly concerning the regulation of minimum wage, bonuses and rewards for workers, overtime arrangements, and compensation for employees affected by termination of employment (Teguh & Wahjuningati, 2021). The Omnibus Law on Job Creation was officially enacted by the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) through a plenary session held on October 5, 2020, which was attended by several key government officials, including the Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs Airlangga Hartarto, Minister of Manpower Ida Fauziyah, Minister of Environment and Forestry Siti Nurbaya, Minister of Finance Sri Mulyani, Minister of Home Affairs Tito Karnavian, Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning/Head of the National Land Agency Sofyan Djalil, and Minister of Law and Human Rights Yasonna Laoly (Ikhwanudin, 2024). During the plenary session, six out of the nine factions in the DPR RI approved the enactment of the Omnibus Law, namely the factions of the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P), Golkar, Gerindra, NasDem, the National Awakening Party (PKB), and the United Development Party (PPP). One faction, the National Mandate Party (PAN) approved the law with notes, while two factions the Democratic Party and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) rejected it. There have been several significant amendments in the Omnibus Law on Job Creation that have drawn public attention, particularly from labour groups. Notable changes include the adjustment of the minimum wage regulation from the Regency/City level (UMK) to the Provincial level (UMP), the introduction of mandatory bonus payments by employers, and the extension of the maximum allowable overtime from three to four hours per day. Additionally, provisions related to wage payments for employees unable to work and compensation entitlements in the event of employment termination (PHK) have been removed under the new law (Mulia et al., 2024).

The Omnibus Law on Job Creation was enacted through a plenary session of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) on October 5, 2020. Of the nine political party factions represented in the DPR RI, six factions approved the law, one approved with reservations, and two rejected it. The factions that supported the law included the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P), Golkar, Gerindra, NasDem, PKB, and PPP. In contrast, the Democratic Party and PKS opposed the legislation. The law subsequently sparked a wave of protests from labour groups, who argued that the law did not prioritize workers' welfare and was instead burdensome. The opposition culminated in a nationwide strike involving approximately two million workers from around 10,000 companies across 25 provinces. The Confederation of Indonesian Trade Unions (KSPI) firmly asserted that the Omnibus Law eliminates the UMK, revokes paid leave entitlements, and removes compensation rights in the event of termination all of which are considered detrimental to workers and contrary to the principles of social justice (Dahwir, 2020).

One of the parties under scrutiny in this controversy is the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-Perjuangan). The party's faction in the House of Representatives (DPR RI) was among those that approved the enactment of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation. Andreas Eddy Susetyo, a member of the Legislative Body of the DPR RI from the PDI Perjuangan faction, stated that the party supported the law to ensure legal certainty and to anticipate national economic instability. This support was maintained even when the government issued a Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (Perppu) to revise the Job Creation Law (Hasnu & Syam, 2021). However, this political stance has drawn strong criticism for being considered inconsistent with the party's core ideology and foundational principles as outlined in its Statutes and Bylaws (AD/ART). According to the AD/ART, PDI Perjuangan adopts the June 1, 1945 version of Pancasila as its ideological foundation. Chapter III, Article 8 of the document states that the party's goal is to advocate for the people's rights in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres, and to promote socially just welfare. This implies that the party should be at the forefront of championing the rights and protection of workers as part of the people's movement (Geraldly, 2019).

The rejection by labour groups and the statement from KSPI (Confederation of Indonesian Trade Unions) indicate that the Omnibus Law on Job Creation actually diminishes fundamental workers' rights. This stands in contrast to the spirit of social welfare, which constitutes the core of PDI-P's (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan) ideological foundation. Consequently, the party's support for the law is perceived as a betrayal of its own struggle ideals as enshrined in its statutes and bylaws (AD/ART). The PDI-P parliamentary faction is seen as having failed to uphold the core values that underpin the party's movement. This controversy reflects the dynamics of practical politics in Indonesia, where political and economic interests often override party idealism. While official party documents emphasize the values of populism and social justice, in practice, the policies they support do not always reflect those principles (Anggadifa, 2022). This highlights a disjunction between party ideology and political practice on the ground. Political parties, therefore, hold a central role in shaping national policy directions. However, in the case of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation, there appears to be a significant discrepancy between the party's ideological declarations and its political actions in parliament. As a party that champions populist and socially just ideals, PDI-P ought to demonstrate greater consistency in advocating for policies that protect workers' rights. Support for the Omnibus Law should have been subject to more thorough deliberation to avoid compromising the party's foundational principles and to prevent public distrust regarding the political party's integrity in advancing the interests of the people.

## Method

This research employs a qualitative approach with a case study design to explore in depth how the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-Perjuangan) played its role and positioned itself in the formulation and ratification processes of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation. The case study design was selected as it enables the researcher to examine socio-political phenomena contextually, taking into account institutional backgrounds, key actors, and the interactions across various organizational levels within the party. The study was conducted in three local branches (Dewan Pimpinan Cabang, DPC) of PDI-Perjuangan Depok City, Tangerang City, and East Jakarta City that representing regions with diverse socio-political characteristics within the Greater Jakarta (Jabodetabek) area. These sites were selected purposively based on geographical representation and the significance of their participation in public discourse surrounding the Job Creation Law.

The data sources comprised both primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained through semi-structured in-depth interviews with three key informants from the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-Perjuangan) at the branch (DPC) level. These informants were selected purposively based on their strategic positions in internal party communication and their active involvement in interactions with constituents, including labour groups and local communities. The details of the interviewees are presented in the following matrix:

No.	Name of Informant	Party Position	Institution/ Structure	Rationale for Selection
1	Ikravany Hilman, S.IP.	Secretary	DPC PDI-Perjuangan Depok City	Oversees internal communication and organizational management within the Depok branch, directly engaged with community and labour representatives.
2	Eko Witjaksono, S.IP., M.IP.	Secretary	DPC PDI-Perjuangan East Jakarta City	Coordinates party activities and constituent relations in East Jakarta, particularly in translating central policies to grassroots implementation.
3	Gatot Wibowo, S.IP., M.IP.	Chairman	DPC PDI-Perjuangan Tangerang City	Holds the highest leadership role at the branch level, responsible for strategic decision-making and representing the party's stance toward local stakeholders.

These interviews aimed to uncover the party's perceptions, experiences, and political communication strategies in responding to national policies. Meanwhile, secondary data were collected from documentation such as meeting minutes, party decisions, mass media reports, and official transcripts of public hearings related to the legislative process of the Job Creation Law. A triangulation approach was employed to enhance data validity by comparing findings from interviews and documentary sources. Data analysis was conducted inductively, grouping information based on emerging key themes from the field, which were then interpreted contextually using the theoretical framework of Katz and Mair. The analysis involved thematic and interpretative coding to understand power relations, communication patterns, and the representation of interests between central and local levels within PDI-Perjuangan. This approach aims to provide a comprehensive depiction of the party's character in the context of contemporary political dynamics.

## Results

### *The Three Faces of Party Organization*

The theory of *The Three Faces of Party Organization*, developed by Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair, posits that political parties operate through three main organizational roles or "faces": the Party in Public Office, the Party on the Ground, and the Party Central Office (Currie-Wood & Pruyers, 2025). The *Party in Public Office* refers to party members who hold public office and are responsible for implementing policies in line with the party's platform. This face depends on electoral success and must maintain public support in order to remain in power. The *Party on the Ground* encompasses grassroots members and activists who constitute the party's support base and play a vital role in campaign activities and voter mobilization. Meanwhile, the *Party Central Office* functions as the party's strategic hub, responsible for formulating national policies, coordinating activities, and managing external relations.

These three faces are interdependent and shape the party's internal dynamics. Katz and Mair also classify parties according to which face dominates: *Cadre Parties*, *Mass Parties*, and *Catch-All Parties*. *Cadre Parties* are dominated by elites, *Mass Parties* rely on broad membership bases, and *Catch-All Parties* prioritize electoral strategies and broad voter appeal (Arif et al., 2021). Understanding the interactions among these three faces is essential for evaluating the distribution of power and the operational effectiveness of political parties. This theory is relevant to the present research as it offers a framework for analyzing how power dynamics and influence among different party elements impact policy-making processes and the party's strategic direction, particularly in the context of relations between central and regional levels or between elites and grassroots cadres.

*Analysis of The Party in Public Office Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan in the Omnibus Law Policy of the Job Creation Law*

The concept of The Party in Public Office according to Katz and Mair refers to the face of a political party filled by party actors who hold public office such as members of the legislature or executive. They have direct power in the formulation and implementation of policies, with access to political resources, bureaucratic networks, and influence on the direction of state policy. In this case, the PDI-P Faction in the Indonesian House of Representatives is a real representation of this concept because it plays a major role in the national legislative process, one of which is through its support for the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Law.

The PDI-Perjuangan faction not only acts as a policy approver but also actively participates from the initial drafting stage. This involvement includes discussions in the working committee, cross-faction negotiations, and the preparation of academic manuscripts in collaboration with relevant ministries. The faction also holds the responsibility to balance various interests, including the aspirations of the public, the party's political strategy, and national interests, particularly concerning labour and investment issues (Tarigan, 2024). The PDI-Perjuangan faction's support for the Job Creation Law is based on the view that this regulation can create a more conducive investment climate and generate new employment opportunities. The Chairperson of the PDI-Perjuangan faction, Utut Adianto, stated that the Job Creation Bill was designed with consideration for balancing the interests of workers and the national economy.

"The Job Creation Law is designed to facilitate business operations for Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) and to establish more flexible and adaptive labour protections in the era of globalization." (Rakyat Merdeka, RM.id, 2020)

Other faction members, such as Hendrawan Supratikno and Arteria Dahlan, also emphasized that the regulation serves to enhance national competitiveness and adapt labour regulations to the development of modern industries, without eliminating workers' fundamental rights.

"This regulation is expected to serve as an instrument to enhance national competitiveness amid global economic pressures." (KOMPAS.com, 2020)

From the internal party perspective, the communication structure between the parliamentary faction at the central level and the Branch Leadership Council (Dewan Pimpinan Cabang, DPC) at the regional level constitutes a crucial aspect in maintaining policy alignment with the party's ideology as articulated in the party's constitution (AD/ART). Interviews conducted with the DPCs of PDI-Perjuangan in Depok City and East Jakarta indicate that although the Omnibus Law on Job Creation (UU Cipta Kerja) has elicited both support and opposition, the decisions made by the DPR RI faction are still considered to be consistent with the party's vision, particularly in the effort to advocate for workers' welfare.

The Secretary of the DPC in Depok City, Ikhravany Hilman, emphasized that although policies such as the Job Creation Law are products of political compromise, the faction remains committed to the party's principles. However, the effectiveness of communication between the faction and the DPC varies across regions. In Depok City, communication is considered intensive and open, primarily due to the personal closeness between the DPC and the DPR RI member representing the local electoral district, Sukur Nababan. The information conveyed by this DPR member helps the DPC understand the dynamics and rationale behind the policies adopted, including during discussions related to the Job Creation Law.

"Actually, if we examine the Job Creation Law, it is not a poorly formulated policy product. This law has undergone various meetings in the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI), which led to its establishment. Therefore, the factions in the DPR RI always consider the principles of struggle contained in the Articles of Association/Bylaws (AD/ART) as guidelines in their political conduct. This also applies to all cadres of the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P), including the Branch Leadership Council (DPC) of Depok City. Coincidentally, the member of the Indonesian House of Representatives



(DPR RI) from the Depok electoral district is also one of the Chairman of the Central Leadership Council (DPP) of the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-Perjuangan), Mr. Sukur Nababan. He maintains a good friendship with us, and we frequently communicate regarding the current primary focus of policy-making in the DPR RI. For instance, during the deliberations on the Job Creation Law (UU Cipta Kerja) by the DPR RI, Mr. Sukur Nababan informed me about the dynamics within the House. It can be said that the DPR RI member from the Depok electoral district is quite open with us, as the Branch Leadership Council (DPC), concerning the national policies being formulated." (Ikhravany, Interview, 7 February 2025)

Conversely, similar statements were made by the DPC in East Jakarta, which assessed that despite the dissatisfaction among certain societal groups, the policy still reflects the party's core principles, such as support for labour welfare and ease of doing business. However, communication is deemed limited because the DPR member from that electoral district does not serve on the commission directly handling labour issues. This results in the information received by the DPC being general and lacking in depth, making it difficult for them to provide substantial feedback or comprehensively explain the policy to the local community.

"For us, the provisions set forth in the Articles of Association and Bylaws (AD/ART) serve as the fundamental basis for our political activities. For instance, our AD/ART mandates that we advocate for the welfare issues of workers; thus, as party cadres, we must be capable of championing this cause. Therefore, the actions taken by the PDI-Perjuangan faction in the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) are, in our view, in accordance with the AD/ART. However, policies inevitably cannot satisfy all stakeholders. In this context, many clauses within the Job Creation Law (UU Cipta Kerja) also benefit labourers, such as the creation of employment opportunities resulting from eased investment procedures. Regarding communication, when we engage with DPR RI members, it is primarily to discuss ongoing developments policies in the parliamentary process in Senayan so that our Branch Leadership Council (DPC) can also understand the current political dynamics. Thus, our communication is limited to the deliberations of the bill and the reasons behind the various societal dynamics surrounding it." (Witjaksono, Interview, 15 January 2025)

A similar situation is observed in the DPC of Tangerang City. Although communication continues, the Chairperson of the DPC, Gatot Wibowo, noted that the assignment of the DPR member from the Tangerang electoral district to other commissions (such as the Education Commission and Commission VII) limits their focus on the Job Creation Law discussions. Consequently, the DPR member from this district cannot fully engage with this issue, and the DPC faces constraints in obtaining detailed information.

"In the formulation process of the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Act, communication between the Branch Leadership Council (DPC) and the PDI-P Faction in the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) was maintained through members originating from the electoral district (Dapil) of Tangerang City. However, it is important to understand that each DPR member is assigned to their respective commissions. For instance, in the previous period, Mr. Rano Karno was assigned to the Commission on Education, while Mr. Marinus was assigned to Commission VII. Consequently, the existing members could not fully focus on this issue as each had responsibilities in their respective fields." (Gatot, Interview, 11 January 2025)

This condition shows that although the party structure formally guarantees communication between the central faction and the regional DPC, in practice the effectiveness of communication is highly dependent on personal closeness, commission assignments, and internal party communication mechanisms. This imbalance in access to information can result in a gap between central policy and reality in the regions, and affect the legitimacy of policies in the eyes of grassroots communities.



### *Analysis of The Party on the Ground PDI-Perjuangan in the Job Creation Law Policy*

The concept of The Party on the Ground refers to the role of political parties at the grassroots level, which consists of members, activists, and sympathizers who are actively involved in the socio-political life of the community. They function as direct links between the party and the public to foster ideological engagement and enhance support through intensive interaction. In this context, the Branch Leadership Council (Dewan Pimpinan Cabang, DPC), as the party's extension at the district/city level, holds a strategic role in maintaining close ties with the community and ensuring that their aspirations are conveyed to higher party structures (Sari, 2018).

Regarding the Job Creation Law that was passed in 2020, the results of interviews with the PDI-P DPC in several regions showed a variety of public responses. In Depok City, the DPC did not find any significant debate or discussion about the law in the party's internal forum, but in society, especially among workers and students, there were strikes and large demonstrations as a form of rejection of the law which was considered detrimental to workers' rights. This shows a difference between the internal dynamics of the party and the social response in society.

"Based on the interview with Ikrahyani Hilman, S.IP., Secretary of the DPC PDI-Perjuangan Depok City, conducted on 7 February 2025, he explained that there were no substantial deliberations regarding the Omnibus Law on Job Creation within the organizational structures of the DPC, PAC, Ranting, or Anak Ranting. However, following the law's ratification during the 2020 plenary session of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI), a labour strike occurred in Depok, accompanied by demonstrations involving both labour unions and university students"

In Tangerang City, although there was criticism from labour groups who considered this policy to be more beneficial to employers, there were no large demonstrations. The criticism was mostly conveyed in internal discussions and meeting forums with the DPC. Meanwhile, in East Jakarta, the community focused more on regional policies such as Perda or Pergub, so the response to the Job Creation Law was relatively smaller, although criticism from workers was still received by the DPC.

"Based on the interview with Witjaksono, representative of DPC PDI-Perjuangan East Jakarta, conducted on 15 January 2025, he explained that "the community tends to adhere more closely to regional regulations, such as local ordinances or gubernatorial regulations, rather than to national policies like the Job Creation Law. As a result, there were no large-scale demonstrations. However, criticisms were still voiced by labour groups, and we have received these critiques constructively."

As part of The Party on the Ground, the DPC plays an important role in maintaining communication with labour groups and affected communities. The strategies implemented include open dialogue with the labour community, attending discussion forums, and channeling their aspirations to higher levels within the party structure. The DPC also functions as a mediator that connects labour interests with government policies in order to create a balance between community demands and party policies. The PDI-Perjuangan DPC of Depok City actively communicates with labour groups through meetings involving the DPC, Depok City DPRD, and labour representatives. Through this forum, labour aspirations can be conveyed to the DPR RI Fraction and the Central Leadership Council (DPP), so that the DPC plays a strategic role as a bridge for aspirations from the grassroots to the center of policy making. This step shows the DPC's efforts not only to absorb aspirations but also to seek solutions through formal channels.

"Based on the interview with Ikrahyani Hilman, S.IP., Secretary of the DPC PDI-Perjuangan Depok City, conducted on 7 February 2025, he explained that "we previously facilitated a meeting between the Branch Leadership Council (DPC), the Regional House of Representatives of Depok City (DPRD Kota Depok), and labour groups from Depok City. Through this forum, we were able to convey our aspirations to the parliamentary factions in the House of Representatives (DPR) as well as to the Central Executive Board (DPP). The DPRD is able to submit an official letter to the national legislature (DPR RI), while we, as

the DPC, are able to maintain direct communication with the DPP.”

In East Jakarta, the DPC approach is more inclusive by considering the entire community as stakeholders who have the right to convey complaints and aspirations. Open and continuous communication is maintained so that community aspirations can be fought for in government. This strategy aims to maintain the stability of community support and strengthen trust in the party. In Tangerang, although not all worker aspirations can be accommodated, the DPC continues to open communication space and channel each aspiration to a higher level. This shows the party's mechanism in responding to community complaints despite limitations in accommodating all demands.

“Based on the interview with Witjaksono, representative of the DPC PDI-Perjuangan East Jakarta, conducted on 15 January 2025, he explained that “for the Branch Leadership Council (DPC), we consider all residents of East Jakarta as stakeholders. Therefore, anyone residing in East Jakarta is regarded as a partner. When the public wishes to express grievances, they are inevitably required to channel them through political parties, as it is the political parties that ultimately formulate governmental policies by taking public concerns into account.”

The Regional Leadership Council (DPC) of the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P) in Tangerang City also strives to maintain constructive relations with labour groups, despite the fact that not all of their demands can be fully accommodated in party policies. This effort is pursued by ensuring open channels of communication through which labour groups can express their grievances and aspirations to the party. Moreover, the DPC guarantees that every submitted aspiration is conveyed to higher levels within the party's organizational structure, thereby providing a mechanism for labour groups to participate in policy discussions. Thus, although not all demands can be met, the presence of active and open communication serves as a strategic approach to maintaining positive relations between the party and labor groups.

“Based on the interview with Gatot, a representative of PDI-Perjuangan East Jakarta, conducted on 11 January 2025, he emphasized that “we always receive the aspirations conveyed to us, and we issue a written response as a form of acknowledgment. However, whether these aspirations can be fully accommodated depends on many factors, including the political dynamics at the national level and the party's overarching policies. What is certain is that every submitted aspiration is forwarded for further consideration at a higher level.”

#### *Analysis of The Party in Central Office of the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan in the Omnibus Law Policy of the Job Creation Law*

The concept of The Party in Central Office in the theory of the three faces of the party by Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair refers to the central structure of the party that is responsible for administrative, ideological, and strategic coordination. This structure includes the party's national leadership such as the executive committee and the central secretariat, which function as policy makers and controllers of the party's internal and external relations. They are also tasked with formulating election strategies, public communication, and determining the list of legislative candidates, as well as distributing resources to ensure cadre alignment and loyalty. In this context, the PDI-P Central Leadership Council (DPP) plays an important role in responding to national policies, including the Omnibus Law on the Job Creation Law. The statement by the Secretary General of PDI-P, Hasto Kristiyanto, emphasized that the DPP formed a special team to oversee the discussion of the bill in the DPR so that it is in accordance with the principles of justice and siding with the people. This shows that the DPP acts as the main director of policies that must be followed by all cadres. As explained by Katz and Mair, the party center has the authority to coordinate internal structures to remain compliant with central directives.

In addition to its legislative function, the DPP also opens up a dialogue space with the public in responding to the Omnibus Law policy. PDI-Perjuangan emphasized that they do not want this

policy to harm workers, so they bridge the public's voice through a consultation process. This reflects that the party center also plays a mediating role between the party and the public to maintain public support and strengthen the party's legitimacy. The DPP becomes a facilitator between national interests, constituents, and party ideology, which also shows the strategic role of The Party in Central Office in bridging vertical and horizontal communication. The DPP is also tasked with conveying instructions to party factions in the DPR so that all political stances taken are in line with party decisions. Hasto Kristiyanto's assertion that the party's official stance must be obeyed by all cadres indicates that every political step taken by party members, including in parliament, is controlled by the DPP. (KABAR24, 2020)

In the party structure, the DPP also coordinates relations with the Branch Leadership Council (DPC) at the regional level. Based on interviews with several DPCs, it appears that their involvement in the formation of national policies is quite limited. As conveyed by the Depok City DPC, they were not directly involved in the discussion of the Job Creation Law, except in forums such as the National Working Meeting. In this forum, the DPP conveys the party's official stance on strategic issues, such as employment. Thus, the DPP functions as the main policy maker, while the DPC plays a greater role as a policy implementer at the regional level.

"In relation to the Central Executive Board (DPP), if there are no matters of a national nature meaning those involving decisions at the city/regency level we are not included by the DPP. Our engagement with the DPP typically occurs through National Working Meetings or Extended DPP Meetings. Regarding the Omnibus Law on Job Creation, no specific meetings were held between the DPP and the Branch Executive Boards (DPC). However, during the National Working Meeting, the DPP conveyed various societal issues, such as labour and social welfare." (Ikrahyani, Interview, 7 February 2025)

Interviews with the East Jakarta DPC showed that the DPP gave strict instructions to the DPC to get closer to the community and labour groups in response to the Omnibus Law. The DPC stated that the instructions must be carried out without any differences in attitude because the DPP's decision automatically becomes the official position of the DPC. This hierarchical structure shows that the DPP has full authority in determining the political direction of the party, and the DPC does not have much room for modification or deviation from central policy.

"Indeed, we are involved in meetings, as every meeting conducted by the Central Executive Board (DPP) always results in a decision. Subsequently, the DPP promptly issues instructions to the Branch Executive Boards (DPC) to implement the decisions made. In the case of the Omnibus Law on Job Creation, the directive from the DPP was that the DPC must engage closely with the public and labour groups. Once the DPP has reached a decision and issued such instructions, it is obligatory for us as the DPC to comply, as the stance of the DPP represents the stance of the DPC." (Witjaksono, Interview, 15 January 2025)

However, the DPC is still given space to express their opinions before the final decision is taken. As expressed by the Depok DPC, they are free to voice their views to the DPP on various issues, including disagreement with the Job Creation Law which is considered rushed and has minimal socialization. The DPP responded openly to this opinion. This shows the existence of a consultative mechanism between the center and the regions, although it remains in a centralized structure. This communication mechanism is usually channeled through formal forums such as the National Working Meeting, but can also occur informally. The DPP is tasked with socializing policies and listening to input from the regions, but still has full authority in making final decisions. The DPC plays a role in implementing these policies in their respective regions and communicating them to the public.

This finding shows that the role of the DPP as The Party in Central Office is very dominant in the PDI-Perjuangan party structure. The DPP has control over the creation, formulation, and implementation of policies, including in responding to the Job Creation Law. The involvement of the DPC is limited and consultative, with participation space available only before a decision is made. After a decision is made, the DPC is obliged to comply with it as a representation of party loyalty

and discipline. This structure reflects a centralized party system, where the party center plays a dominant role in the entire strategic decision-making process. Although the party opens up space for aspirations from below, the final decision is still held by the DPP as the main controller. In the framework of Katz and Mair's theory, this practice is in accordance with the concept of The Party in Central Office which emphasizes the dominance of the party center as the main director of the party's political direction, both internally and externally. Thus, the involvement of the PDI-Perjuangan DPP in the Omnibus Law policy shows how the party structure works in practice, by balancing central control and communication with the grassroots, but still maintaining the ideological direction and political strategy centrally.

*Analysis of Identification of Types of Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan in the Omnibus Law Policy of the Job Creation Law*

This study analyzes the type of the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-Perjuangan) in the context of the Omnibus Law policy of the Job Creation Law using the theoretical framework of Katz and Mair regarding the three faces of political parties: The Party in Public Office, The Party Central Office, and The Party on the Ground. Through this approach, it is seen that PDI-Perjuangan shows diverse roles and dynamics, but tends towards the characteristics of a cartel party.

The Party in Public Office reflects the role of PDI-P cadres in legislative institutions, such as the Indonesian House of Representatives Faction, in the process of forming the Job Creation Law. Figures such as Arteria Dahlan and Hendrawan Supratikno emphasized that this law is important to increase competitiveness and adjust employment regulations to industrial developments. This statement shows the party's legislative focus on macroeconomic stability and the structural reform agenda. However, it also indicates that grassroots aspirations, especially from workers who largely reject this law, are not a top priority in decision-making.

The Party Central Office also describes the central party structure (DPP) as the main decision maker and policy director. The results of interviews with the DPC administrators of Depok City and East Jakarta showed minimal vertical communication and limited deliberative space at the regional level. Instructions from the center are top-down and must be followed without much room for input. Decisions regarding the Job Creation Law are taken by the central elite, while regional administrators are only tasked with responding and bridging communication with the community without substantive authority and The Party on the Ground describes the reality of the party at the grassroots level, especially among DPC administrators and regional cadres. Although they try to maintain good relations with constituents, including labour groups, their influence in the policy formulation process is very limited. Aspirations from the community are more often conveyed to the center as an administrative form, not as part of a deliberative decision-making process. Statements such as "we only forward to the faction" show the weak position of grassroots politics in influencing the direction of party policy.

Based on these three faces, the study identified that PDI-Perjuangan shows characteristics as a cartel party, according to the concept of Katz and Mair. A cartel party is characterized by dependence on state resources, inter-party collusion, weakening of relations with the community, and institutionalization of relations with the state. These indicators are seen in PDI-Perjuangan through (1) elite support for the government for political stability, (2) centralization of decisions in the DPP without room for negotiation in the regions. (3) marginalization of grassroots aspirations, (4) and top-down policy instructions. The party focuses more on maintaining the status quo and access to state resources than building strong relations with the mass base. (Kosiara-Pedersen, 2024).

## Discussion

This study contributes to the scholarly understanding of intra-party dynamics by analyzing the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-Perjuangan) through the framework of *The Three Faces of Party Organization* proposed by Katz and Mair. The findings demonstrate that the

party's internal structure exhibits a highly centralized model, with the central office (DPP) and parliamentary faction (Party in Public Office) holding disproportionate authority compared to the grassroots level (Party on the Ground). The research elaborates on how party elites navigate political pressures by prioritizing macroeconomic goals, often at the expense of grassroots demands and ideological consistency. This supports and expands existing literature on party cartelization, where parties become more aligned with state institutions than with their voter base. By applying this framework in the Indonesian context, the study enriches comparative political theory with empirical evidence from a non-Western democracy.

A central finding of this research is the discrepancy between the ideological principles articulated in the party's statutes and the legislative actions taken by its representatives. The support of PDI-Perjuangan for the Job Creation Law reflects an instrumental approach to governance that prioritizes economic growth, regulatory simplification, and investor confidence. However, this position has been criticized for undermining workers' rights an issue that contradicts the party's foundational commitment to social justice and pro-labour advocacy. Such contradictions expose a significant challenge in maintaining ideological cohesion within parties operating in highly pragmatic political environments. This divergence is not only perceived by the public but is also acknowledged by party officials at the regional level who express concern over their limited role in national decision-making.

The study also reveals that the party's internal communication mechanisms are largely top-down, limiting the capacity of local branches to influence or even critically engage with national policy directions. Interviews with party officials in Depok, East Jakarta, and Tangerang indicate that while consultation does occur, it is often symbolic rather than substantive. The decision-making authority remains concentrated in the central leadership, and regional cadres are expected to comply with established directives regardless of local feedback. This communication gap leads to tensions between the center and the periphery, especially when controversial policies provoke public backlash. Consequently, the legitimacy of party decisions is weakened among constituents who feel their voices are not meaningfully represented.

While the findings emphasize structural centralization, alternative explanations merit consideration. It could be argued that the party's support for the Job Creation Law was driven by post-pandemic economic imperatives, including the need for rapid legislative reform to ensure investment stability and job creation. However, the failure to adequately socialize these motivations to the grassroots and general public highlights a lack of transparency and participatory governance. This suggests that even when policies are substantively justifiable, poor communication and insufficient deliberation can generate widespread dissatisfaction. In this light, the disconnect becomes not only ideological but procedural, reflecting weaknesses in internal democratic practice.

Methodologically, this research is strengthened by its triangulated approach, incorporating interviews, document analysis, and media reports to capture a multifaceted view of party operations. Nonetheless, limitations persist. The study's geographic focus on urban areas in Greater Jakarta may limit the generalizability of the findings across rural contexts or different political parties. Furthermore, while regional officials were consulted, direct engagement with labour representatives and grassroots activists was limited to second-hand accounts. Future studies should expand on these perspectives to better capture the voice of those most affected by policy decisions. A broader scope could also explore how intra-party tensions manifest in other legislative debates beyond the Job Creation Law.

The implications of this study extend beyond academic theorization. For political practice, the findings underscore the urgency of revitalizing internal party democracy, ensuring that decisions reflect collective deliberation rather than centralized mandates. Policymakers and party leaders must acknowledge that ideological coherence and grassroots inclusion are essential for long-term legitimacy. In the policy realm, parties must be more responsive to constituent feedback, especially when formulating laws that significantly alter labour rights and economic structures. Ethically, researchers and parties alike must remain vigilant in maintaining transparent, inclusive, and accountable processes. The path forward for PDI-Perjuangan and similar parties lies in balancing

strategic governance with the normative commitments that define their identity.

## Conclusion

This study examines the role of the three faces of the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-Perjuangan) in the Omnibus Law policy of the Job Creation Law using the theoretical approach of The Three Faces of Party Organization by Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair. The three faces include The Party in Public Office (the party in public office), The Party on the Ground (the party at the grassroots level), and The Party Central Office (the party's central office). The results of the study show that PDI-Perjuangan plays a complex and dynamic role in the process of formulating and ratifying this policy, while also facing a dilemma between ideological commitment and power strategy.

In the aspect of The Party in Public Office, PDI-Perjuangan is actively involved in the formation of the Job Creation Law through its faction in the Indonesian House of Representatives. This faction provides support for the law with the argument that this policy is important to create legal certainty, increase investment, and expand employment opportunities. However, this support has drawn criticism, especially from workers who are the main constituent base of PDI-Perjuangan, because it is considered inconsistent with the spirit of social justice and protection of workers' rights contained in the party's AD/ART.

On the other hand, in the dimension of The Party on the Ground, there was an imbalance in communication and consolidation between the DPR factions and the party structure at the regional level. The results of interviews with PDI-Perjuangan DPC administrators in Depok, East Jakarta, and Tangerang revealed that not all DPCs had adequate access to information or were involved in strategic decision-making related to the Job Creation Law. This condition shows the gap in representation and the weak articulation of aspirations from the bottom up within the party.

In the context of The Party Central Office, the role of the PDI-Perjuangan central structure is considered less dominant in directing faction policies ideologically. Decisions taken by the faction are more influenced by the national political context and government interests, rather than the results of internal consolidation or reading of grassroots dynamics. This raises questions about the extent to which the party's ideological integrity is maintained in the face of power pressures.

Based on these findings, PDI-Perjuangan shows a tendency as a cartel party, namely a party that relies on state resources and prioritizes the stability of power over responding to public or constituent aspirations. Although ideologically this party upholds people's values, in practice its political strategy is more oriented towards elite interests and government stability. This phenomenon reflects a serious challenge for PDI-Perjuangan in maintaining a balance between ideological values, constituent aspirations, and national political demands.

Thus, this study concludes that the role of PDI-Perjuangan in the Omnibus Law policy cannot be separated from the complexity of internal and external politics, which encourages institutional transformation towards a cartel party model. The challenge ahead for PDI-Perjuangan is how to maintain internal cohesion, ideological consistency, and strengthen communication channels between the central elite and the grassroots base in order to remain relevant as a party that sides with the people.

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