UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Politik Hubungan Industrial Sektor Aviasi dalam Menghadapi Pandemi Covid-19 (Studi Kasus PT Garuda Maintenance Facility AeroAsia Tbk)
Lutviana Herawati, Alfath Bagus Panuntun El Nur Indonesia, S.I.P., M.A.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

Artikel Daring

Grand View Research. (2025). *Asia Pacific Aircraft Mro Market Size & Outlook, 2025-2030.* Grand View Research. Dikutip Mei 15, 2026. https://www.grandviewresearch.com/horizon/outlook/aircraft-mro-market/asia-pacific.

International Air Transport Association. (2021, Agustus 9). *Airlines struggle through the worst year on record*. Airlines IATA. Dikutip Mei 15, 2026. https://airlines.iata.org/2021/08/08/airlines-struggle-through-worst-year-record.

Mardiastuti, A. (2018). Nyak Sandang Lihat Hanggar Pesawat Narrow Body Terbesar di Dunia. Detik News. Dikutip Mei 15, 2026. https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3955948/nyak-sandang-lihat-hanggar-pesawat-narrow-body-terbesar-di-dunia.

Ramli. R. R., Setiawan, S.R.D. (2020, 6 Juli). *Garuda, Lion Air, dan Sriwijaya Air Mem-PHK Pegawai, Mengapa?* Kompas. Dikutip Mei 15, 2026 https://money.kompas.com/read/2020/07/06/160700926/garuda-lion-air-dan-sriwijaya-air-mem-phk-pegawai-mengapa.

Susanty, F. (2017, 12 September). *GMF AeroAsia sets biggest IPO for MRO in SE Asia in decades.* The Jakarta Post. Dikutip Mei 15, 2026. https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2017/09/12/gmf-aeroasia-sets-biggest-ipo-mro-se-asia-decades.html.

Buku, Jurnal, dan Skripsi

Behrens, M., & Pekarek, A. (2022). Delivering the goods? German industrial relations institutions during the COVID -19 crisis. *Industrial Relations: A Journal of Economy and Society*, *62*(2), 126–144. https://doi.org/10.1111/irel.12319.

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Politik Hubungan Industrial Sektor Aviasi dalam Menghadapi Pandemi Covid-19 (Studi Kasus PT Garuda Maintenance Facility AeroAsia Tbk)
Lutviana Herawati, Alfath Bagus Panuntun El Nur Indonesia, S.I.P., M.A.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Bertheau, A., Kudlyak, M., Larsen, B., & Bennedsen, M. (2025). *Why firms lay off workers instead of cutting wages: Evidence from linked survey-administrative data* (Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco Working Paper No. 2025-05). Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco. https://doi.org/10.24148/wp2025-05.

Bertrand, M., Chang-Tai, H., & Tsivanidis, N. (2021). Contract labor and firm growth in india. Cambridge: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc. https://doi.org/10.3386/w29151.

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2025). Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches (5th ed.). SAGE Publications.

Didier, T., Huneeus, F., Larrain, M., & Schmukler, S. L. (2021). Financing firms in hibernation during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Journal of Financial Stability*, 53, 100837-100837. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jfs.2020.100837.

Dlouhy, K., & Casper, A. (2021). Downsizing and surviving employees' engagement and strain: The role of job resources and job demands. *Human Resource Management, 60*(3), 435–454. https://doi.org/10.1002/hrm.22032.

Dunlop, J.T. (1958). Industrial Relations System. Holt. New York.

Freeman, R. B., & Medoff, J. L. (1984). *What do unions do?* Basic Books.

Fishman, R. M. (2012). *The politics of industrial relations: Labor unions in spain*. Taylor & Francis Group. https://doi.org/10.1080/13608746.2012.686212.

Foster, C., & Thelen, K. (2025). Coordination rights, competition law and varieties of capitalism. *Comparative Political Studies*, 58(6), 1199-1237. https://doi.org/10.1177/00104140241259461.

Gunadi, F. (2020). Upah proses dalam pemutusan hubungan kerja. *Jurnal Hukum & Pembangunan*, 50(4), 858–878. https://doi.org/10.21143/jhp.vol50.no4.2856

Hamann, K. (2012). *The politics of industrial relations: Labor unions in Spain*. Routledge.

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Politik Hubungan Industrial Sektor Aviasi dalam Menghadapi Pandemi Covid-19 (Studi Kasus PT Garuda Maintenance Facility AeroAsia Tbk)
Lutviana Herawati, Alfath Bagus Panuntun El Nur Indonesia, S.I.P., M.A.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Hodges, A. C. (2021). The U.S. Labor Relations System after Janus v. AFSCME: An Early Assessment. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, *33*(1), 49–60. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10672-020-09362-y.

Hyman, R. (2004). Is industrial relations theory always ethnocentric? Dalam B. E. Kaufman (Ed.), *Theoretical perspectives on work and the employment relationship* (pp. 265–292). Cornell University Press.

Johnstone, S. (2024). Human resource management in recession: Restructuring and alternatives to downsizing in times of crisis. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 34(1), 138-157. https://doi.org/10.1111/1748-8583.12512.

Kementerian Perhubungan. (2021). Statistik angkutan udara tahun 2020. Direktorat Jenderal Perhubungan Udara.

———. (2025). Statistik angkutan udara tahun 2020. Direktorat Jenderal Perhubungan Udara.

Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldana, J. (2020). Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook (4th ed.). SAGE Publications.

Moran, M. (1977). *The Politics of Industrial Relations*. Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-01950-2.

Nowak, J. (2021). From industrial relations research to global labour studies: Moving labour research beyond eurocentrism. *Globalizations*, 18(8), 1335-1348. https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2021.1874210.

Nugroho, A. W., & Dr.rer.pol. Mada Sukmajati, S.I.P., M.P.P. (2023). *Analisis strategi serikat pekerja lamis (SP lamis) dalam mengawal pemenuhan hak kesejahteraan pekerja: (studi kasus tentang serikat pekerja di waralaba kebab bosman cabang D.I. yogyakarta tahun 2022)*

Oyetunde, K., Prouska, R., & Mckearney, A. (2026). Workers' resistance to managerial silencing: A comparative study of temporary agency and platform workers' voice in a developing context. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 47(1), 218-244. https://doi.org/10.1177/0143831X241305495.

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Politik Hubungan Industrial Sektor Aviasi dalam Menghadapi Pandemi Covid-19 (Studi Kasus PT Garuda Maintenance Facility AeroAsia Tbk)
Lutviana Herawati, Alfath Bagus Panuntun El Nur Indonesia, S.I.P., M.A.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Page, T. (2025). The role of trade unions as experts in the industrial policy process: Maximising the opportunity. *Contemporary Social Science*, 20(2–3), 470–483. https://doi.org/10.1080/21582041.2025.2587881

PT Angkasa Pura II. (2021). *Laporan Tahunan 2020: Smart Connected: The Best Airport in the Region.* PT Angkasa Pura II (Persero).

PT GMF AeroAsia Tbk. (2019). *Navigating the Challenges and Moving Forward*.

———. (2020). *Embracing a New Reality for Better Performance*.

———. (2021). *Optimizing Momentum for Fundamental Development and Stability*.

———. (2022). *Financial and Operational Restructuring for Sustainable Recovery in the New Era*.

———. (2023). *Navigating Profitability Through Operational Advancements for Sustainable Growth*.

———. (2024). *Advancing Operational Agility and Transformation for a Future-Ready, Customer-Centric MRO*. PT GMF AeroAsia Tbk.

Rochadi, AF. S., Primanti, A., & Sulaiman, A. (2020). *Hubungan Industrial Era Demokrasi*. Pensil 324.

Rusilowati, U. (2020). Praktek Manajemen Sumber Daya Manusia selama Pandemi COVID-19 pada Karyawan yang Bergerak di Sektor Formal di Indonesia. Jurnal Ilmiah Manajemen, Ekonomi, & Akuntansi (MEA), 4(2), 481-491. https://doi.org/10.31955/mea.v4i2.721.

Rybnikova, I. (2016). Employee voice and silence in temporary agency work. *German Journal of Human Resource Management (Online)*, 30(3/4), 287-309. https://doi.org/10.1177/2397002216649897.

Shirom, A. (2005). The Labor Relations System: A Proposed Conceptual Framework. *Relations Industrielles*, *40*(2), 303–323. https://doi.org/10.7202/050135ar.

Shuto, W. (2025). Employment adjustment and labor-management relations during COVID-19: A case study of Japan's All Nippon airways. *Journal of*

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Politik Hubungan Industrial Sektor Aviasi dalam Menghadapi Pandemi Covid-19 (Studi Kasus PT Garuda Maintenance Facility AeroAsia Tbk)
Lutviana Herawati, Alfath Bagus Panuntun El Nur Indonesia, S.I.P., M.A.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Participation and Employee Ownership (Online), 1-10. https://doi.org/10.1108/JPEO-04-2025-0025.

Signoretti, A., Pederiva, L., & Zaninotto, E. (2022). Trading-off flexibility: Contingent workers or human resource practices? A configurational approach. *Human Resource Management Journal,* 32(1), 58-75. https://doi.org/10.1111/1748-8583.12394.

Spurk, D., & Straub, C. (2020). Flexible employment relationships and careers in times of the COVID-19 pandemic. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 119, 103435-103435. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2020.103435.

Standing, G. (2021). The precariat: The new dangerous class (4th ed.). Bloomsbury Academic.

Thelen, K. (2009). Institutional change in advanced political economies. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 47(3), 471-498. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8543.2009.00746.x.

Thelen, K. (2014). *Varieties of liberalization and the new politics of social solidarity*. Cambridge University Press.

Tony, D., Johnstone, S., Kahancová, M., Lamare, R. J., & Wilkinson, A. (2023). Comparative Impacts of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Work and Employment-Why Industrial Relations Institutions Matter. *Industrial Relations: A Journal of Economy and Society*, *62*(2), 115–125. https://doi.org/10.1111/irel.12328.

Voncken, L., & Otjes, S. (2024). "Without union power, there is no way of pursuing your policy goals": When do labor unions use political mobilization as a revitalization strategy? *Journal of Industrial Relations*, *66*(1), 7–32. https://doi.org/10.1177/00221856231201776.

Yeves, J., Bargsted, M., & Torres-Ochoa, C. (2022). Work schedule flexibility and teleworking were not good together during COVID-19 when testing their effects on work overload and mental health. *Frontiers in Psychology, 13*, 998977. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.99897.

UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA
Politik Hubungan Industrial Sektor Aviasi dalam Menghadapi Pandemi Covid-19 (Studi Kasus PT Garuda Maintenance Facility AeroAsia Tbk)
Lutviana Herawati, Alfath Bagus Panuntun El Nur Indonesia, S.I.P., M.A.
Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2026 | Diunduh dari http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/

Peraturan Perundang-Undangan

Peraturan Menteri Ketenagakerjaan Nomor 2 Tahun 2021 Pelaksanaan Pengupahan pada Industri Padat Karya Tertentu dalam Masa Pandemi Coronavirus Disease 2019 (Covid-19)

Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 21 Tahun 2020 tentang Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar dalam Rangka Percepatan Penanganan Corona Virus Disease 2019 (Covid-19)

Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 36 Tahun 2021 tentang Pengupahan

Surat Dinas Ketenagakerjaan dan Kependudukan Kota Tangerang Nomor 560/226-DKK/OP/Kota-TNG/IX/2003 tentang Pencatatan Serikat Pekerja GMF Employee Club (GEC).

Surat Edaran Menteri Ketenagakerjaan Nomor M/3/HK.04/III/2020 tentang Perlindungan Pekerja/Buruh dan Kelangsungan Usaha dalam Rangka Pencegahan dan Penanggulangan Covid-19

Undang-Undang Nomor 13 Tahun 2003 tentang Ketenagakerjaan

Wawancara

Cahyono, B. (2025a, November 7). Ketua Umum GEC.

Cahyono, B. (2025b, Desember 12). Ketua Umum GEC.

Editiya, M. D. (2025, November 7). Wakil Ketua II GEC.

Fitriyanti, S. (2025, Desember 17). *People Acquisition* GMF AeroAsia.

Nugroho, P. (2026, April 11). Pekerja Kontrak GMF AeroAsia.

Prayitno, E. K. (2025, Desember 12). Ketua Bidang Organisasi, Kaderisasi, dan Kemitraan GEC.

Sartono. (2025, Desember 23). Sekretaris Jenderal GEC.

Sugiyono, A. A. (2025, Desember 17). Manajer Hubungan Industri GMF AeroAsia.