

PROCESS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF PRECARIAT WORKERS IN THE CITY OF MAKASSAR: A CASE STUDY OF OUTSOURCING AND CONTRACT WORKERS IN PARANGLOE AND KIMA WAREHOUSE AREA

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the processes and impacts of social exclusion that arise among precariat workers in Makassar City. This research was conducted with a qualitative approach and used a case study research type with locations in the Parangloe and KIMA Warehousing Areas. The method of determining informants was carried out by purposive sampling, the informants in this study totaled 7 people from various backgrounds. Data collection was carried out through in-depth interviews, observation, and the collection of documents that were considered important. The results of the study show that social exclusion in the context of agency and contract workers is closely related to the vulnerability they feel. The process of social exclusion arises due to work flexibility policies that have an impact on several things. First, a surplus of labor makes workers more concerned with job security because if they don't, they will be easily replaced with reserve labor. Second, workers experience exclusion through the transition of working status which is very easy to occur, precariat workers are made to have no bargaining position and conditions of urgency. Third, in outsourcing and contracting schemes, the position of trade unions is increasingly reduced as an organization that accommodates workers' interests. Workers are preoccupied with working hours and a heavy workload that makes it impossible for them to form unions. Labor unions are also considered as "firefighters" which are only needed when problems occur with workers such as sudden termination of employment, inappropriate wages, or unpaid severance pay.

Keywords: Social Exclusion, Precariat Workers, Work Flexibility

INTRODUCTION

Precariat workers for Guy Standing (2011), are a class of workers who are vulnerable due to their uncertain work based on contracts, unclear working hours, inadequate social security mechanisms, and unspecified scope of work. For Standing, this arose as a result of the intervention of the neoliberalism system which ultimately conditioned a flexible working system. For supporters of the idea of work flexibility, the current job market is considered too rigid and no longer relevant to the competitive and liberal global economic conditions. The idea of labor market flexibility is seen as having two positive sides. First, the flexibility of the job market results in more open and competitive competition between workers which will have a positive impact on the economy because workers who are considered less contributing can be easily replaced with new workers so that companies are flexible (Islam, 2001). Second, the flexibility of the labor market will open up even wider job opportunities to job seekers, which

in turn can lead to improved income levels and reduced poverty levels. Economic actors are given full discretion to make rational exchanges (Rapley, 1997).

Precariat workers are said to be vulnerable because they are unable to survive social and economic problems including the pandemic that has occurred. The most recent problem that emerged was the storm of layoffs that occurred globally, including in Indonesia, which hit the textile industry due to the recession. For company owners, saving the company from bankruptcy is the most important and one of the ways is to reduce the burden of expenses on employees through termination of employment. Based on the November 2022 issue of Tempo Magazine's report on several large textile companies, several strategies were implemented including reducing working days (originally working for 6 days but changing to 5 days only) which automatically affects the amount of salary received by workers (cutting working days makes workers only paid 65% of total salary), laying off workers without certainty that they will be called back when conditions return to normal. Another strategy is to do layoffs (termination of employment). Based on data from the Ministry of Manpower, as many as 10,765 workers were laid off from January to September 2022. Other data, according to the Indonesian Employers' Association, there were 73,644 workers from 17 companies who were laid off. Many of the workers who were laid off were workers with contract status or outsourcing (Tempo Editor, 2022).

The vulnerability experienced by contract and outsourced workers ultimately results in social exclusion for them. Social exclusion is a situation where workers cannot access the resources that are their rights (Tarigan, 2015). Those who enter precariat work are considered to experience exclusion. They accept economic uncertainty including job security, temporal uncertainty due to contractual status, and social uncertainty because they do not receive social security and benefits. Jobs that are classified as precariat workers usually do not meet the criteria for decent work. A decent job according to Charlotte A.B. Yates and Bellinda Leach can provide factors for improvement in their workers. Decent work can increase feelings of worth, economic prosperity, and capacity building resulting in social inclusion and stability (Yates & Leach, 2006). More and more residents experience feelings of insecurity and become dependent on social protection programs that are uncertain or even nonexistent (Silver, 1994).

The condition of the vulnerability of workers and the difficulty in getting a job is felt in big cities, including Makassar City. As the largest city and one of the economic centers in Eastern Indonesia, 95,596 residents are classified as openly unemployed in Makassar and 629,933 residents are working as of August 2021. Based on data compiled, casual workers or workers who do not have permanent employment in one month the last recorded were 20,601 people (Ministry of Manpower, 2022). Makassar as the center of economic activity in South Sulawesi is the main destination for anyone who wants to improve their economic conditions. Not only the people of South Sulawesi but some of them who come from other provinces and are working on a better life in the city of Makassar. Naturally, the labor market in Makassar City is filled with job seekers from various regions in Indonesia every year. In 2020, Makassar City has 585,325 working population (BPS, 2022).

Makassar as a city that is developing quite rapidly cannot be separated from various employment problems. Quoting data from LBH (Legal Aid Institute) Makassar throughout 2020 there were 23 industrial relations cases that they assisted and ranked second most after violence against women. There were four cases related to layoffs for reasons of Covid 29, because at least that year based on data from the Makassar City Employment Office, there were 614 workers affected by layoffs and 9,013 who were laid off. In 2021 employment cases assisted by LBH Makassar decreased to 9 cases, which included termination of employment, non-renewal of contracts, and fulfillment of workers' rights, such as paying THR and sudden salary deductions. The termination of employment that was experienced was not accompanied by severance payments to workers, causing disputes. Data for 2022, LBH Makassar assisted in 13 cases with 19 workers who were victims. Like previous cases, unilateral layoffs by employers were the most frequent cases with 12 cases. The problem accompanying the layoffs is that workers' rights in the form of severance pay are not paid. A more serious case was experienced by 13 workers in one of the CVs who received unilateral layoffs based on allegations of violations by the employer, after being laid off the wages that were the workers' rights were not paid. The ijaza of the victimized workers is also retained by the employer as collateral for the payment of fines due to alleged violations (Makassar Legal Aid Institute, 2022).

From this introductory review, at least a red thread can be drawn between work flexibility which then produces a class of workers called precariat workers who in this study are focused on outsourced workers, and casual workers in Makassar experiencing a process of social exclusion which is correlated with the vulnerabilities they receive. Vulnerable conditions for work, minimum wages, inadequate social security, and their inability to access basic things that social exclusion arises. This study aims to analyze the processes and impacts of social exclusion that arise among precariat workers in Makassar City.

METHOD

This research was carried out using a qualitative descriptive approach which was intended to reveal and describe in detail what is behind the phenomenon which is not even a little known. Taylor and Bogdan (1984) define qualitative research as research that produces descriptive data regarding spoken and written words, and the observable behavior of the people studied (Hendarso, 2015). This research is descriptive in nature and tends to use inductive analysis. Process and meaning (subject perspective) are highlighted in this qualitative research to analyze phenomena that occur in the field. Therefore, this research is in-depth on research objectives. The basis of this research uses case studies or field studies intended to study intensively the background of the current situation and position, as well as the environmental interactions of certain social units that are given (Danim, 2002).

This research was conducted in Makassar City by targeting workers at the Parangloe Warehousing and KIMA as centers of industrial activity. This location is intended to make it easier for researchers to find informants as workers or laborers. Purposive sampling was chosen as the method of determining informants to make it easier for researchers to directly search for

informants based on specific criteria. In this study, there were 7 informants consisting of several backgrounds, namely 3 outsourced workers (working as a Sorter and Security) at a logistics company, 3 freelance production workers at a light steel factory, the head of a labor union, employee outsourcing company management, and labor academics. In addition, this research also refers to some secondary data obtained from institutions or agencies that focus on employment issues such as the Central Bureau of Statistics, the Ministry of Manpower, Labor Unions, and Legal Aid Institutes, as well as journals or articles about precariat workers. Methods of data collection are done in three ways. First, in-depth interviews are used as the main method in this study. Interviews were conducted face-to-face directly between the researcher and the informant. Interviews were mostly conducted at the informants' workplaces during their breaks. Only two informants were interviewed via the video call application because both of them were outside Makassar City at the time of the interview. The instrument used in this study was an interview guide that had been prepared by the researcher beforehand. The interview guidelines were made differently according to the background of the informants that had been determined. Apart from that, the researchers also used a recording device to make it easier for the researchers to hear back the results of the conversations with the informants. Second, observations were made to observe directly how the activity and behavior of the informant. Third, documentation is defined as the collection of written materials, photos, or videos to help researchers enrich data (Moleong, 2016).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Social exclusion in the context of workers is closely related to vulnerability. Precariat workers receive a series of exclusions because their bargaining position is not strong enough to provide job security, social security, and expected salary levels. They were excluded even from the beginning when they were looking for work until they might get laid off or contracts that were not renewed. The following is the impact of exclusion that precariat workers receive.

A. Keeping things first: Job security

In a work flexibility system, intense labor circulation is an advantage for companies because they can easily replace workers who are considered problematic and then recruit new workers without having to worry about running out of potential workers. In Makassar alone, there are at least 95.596 open unemployed who are certainly ready to replace workers if they are fired, especially since this figure does not include the number of open unemployed people in other regions who also want to try their luck in Makassar. For workers, a large "reserve" workforce makes them even more vulnerable, job security is one thing that is very important to maintain. Likewise, explained by RD (32 years), an informant who works as a contract worker in the production section that *"If the contract is continued, I still want to (work) here because I think it will be difficult to find another job because I have to have an insider, my average experience is that in warehousing, there must be an insider before I can enter"*. This statement is also similar to that of AM (34 years), a security guard at a factory at KIMA who said that *"I hope I can continue working here even though it's hard because if I stop, it's not certain that I'll be able to work again"*. According to Marx, the condition of precariat workers who are more

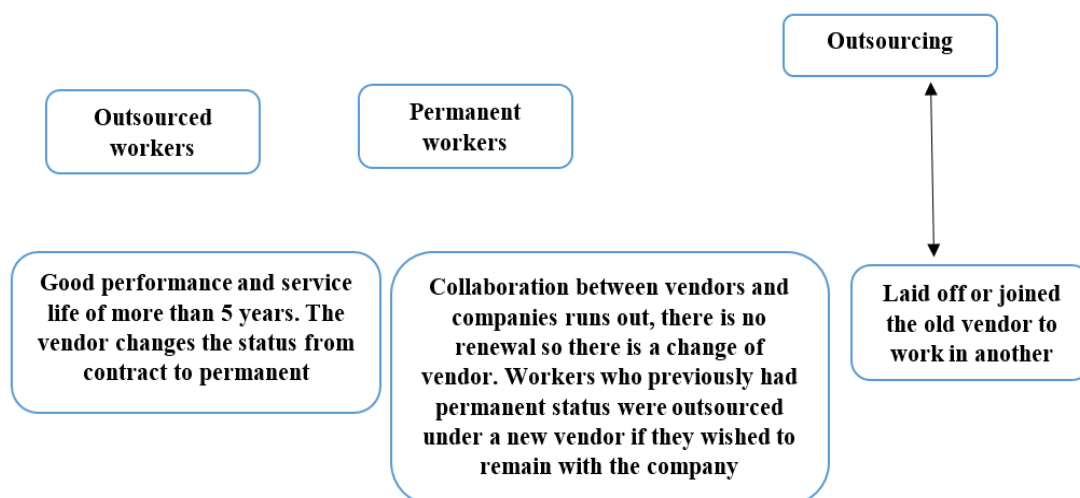
concerned with job security is due to the increasing labor force which Marx called relative population surplus or industrial reserve army. For Marx, relative population surplus consisted of the workers available in excess for capital accumulation. In simple terms, they are needed as a "reserve" in case workers do things the company doesn't like. In addition, the condition of relative population surplus also directly affects labor wages which are conditioned to remain minimal. The reason is that active workers will choose to save their job security from those who cannot be absorbed in the world of work (Habibi, 2016). This condition ultimately creates social exclusion for workers like the two informants above. The problem of finding a job is also related to access to adequate information on the job vacancies themselves. So far the informants have only relied on friendship in looking for work.

B. Exclusion of Precariat Workers: From Vendor to Vendor

Work flexibility policies are also very influential in the uncertainty of work status, especially for outsourced and contract workers. Several things are considered to be vulnerable to these workers, including work status that often changes, the scope of work is not specific, and the duration of the contract is not clear. In this study, it was found that workers experienced two changes in work status.

A changed status was experienced by AM (34 years), a security guard in one of the factories at KIMA, he experienced a change in status from an outsourced worker, then was appointed as a permanent worker, but again changed to an outsourced worker until now. The change in status was due to the change in the outsourcing vendor working with the company. This is common in the outsourcing work system which is usually caused by the expiration of the duration of the cooperation contract between the vendor and the company, a dispute occurring between the vendor and the company, or the company wanting to change the worker's status to remain directly under the company. The change in working status also automatically affects workers' rights (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Change of worker status



In Figure 1 you can see the transformation of the job status experienced by the informant. The changed status was experienced by AM (34 years), a security guard in one of the factories at KIMA, he experienced a change in status from an outsourced worker, then was appointed a permanent worker, but again changed to an outsourced worker until the time the research was carried out, in contrast to a study conducted by Sunardi (2017) which revealed the transformation of the working status of workers when the outsourcing wave came to Makassar, only from permanent or contract workers to outsourcing.

The change in status was due to the change in the outsourcing vendor working with the company. This is common in the outsourcing work system which is usually caused by the expiration of the duration of the cooperation contract between the vendor and the company, a dispute occurring between the vendor and the company, or the company wanting to change the worker's status to remain directly under the company. The change in working status also automatically affects workers' rights.

When he heard for the first time that the vendor had appointed him as a permanent employee, AM was faced with two choices. First, he will still be a permanent employee under the old vendor but must be ready to be placed anywhere (at that time he was asked to relocate to Manado City, North Sulawesi). Even though with permanent worker status he can secure a job until retirement age along with salary and career path, AM finds it hard to leave his family and feels that he has a strong bond with the company where he works from the start. The second option, he still works at the company but he has to move to a new vendor, the impact is that his permanent work status has to change to an outsourced worker again with a one-year contract period without certainty of a contract extension. AM finally chose to stay at the company even though his status changed back to being an outsourced worker at a new vendor.

Changes in status and changes of vendors are things that often occur in companies that use vendor outsourcing services. Companies are comfortable using outsourcing services because they do not need to deal with employment issues such as recruitment, salary, social security, and severance pay. In Makassar itself, the practice of changing work status to outsourcing, according to SN (31 years), a labor academic and researcher, began to become popular around 2010 when workers in various factories received a change in status. Status changes are made with two models. First, companies change the status of permanent workers to contract workers by laying off workers first, usually for two weeks. Laying off workers directly means making workers have no income so they are in a state of urgency to make ends meet. This situation then made him lose bargaining power economically and politically so he was "forced" to choose to work as a contract worker under an outsourcing vendor.

The second model targets workers who have had contract status at the company from the start. Initially, they received a unilateral termination of the contract from the company, then were directed to become contract workers through an outsourcing vendor or were terminated. This practice is rife, especially for workers who have passed the contract period of two or three years. According to SN, the cause of the change in status was carried out by the company to avoid the consequences of the labor law that was in force at that time. As stipulated in Labor Law No. 13 of 2003, article 59 that workers who are contracted for more than three years will

automatically switch to becoming permanent workers. In addition, based on a study conducted by Juliawan (2010) shows that companies tend to try to use contract and outsourced labor because the labor costs offered can be kept as low as possible. The Job Creation Law, which summarizes labor regulations, eliminates the three-year provision, thereby extending the term of workers' contracts without job security.

A different case from AM was experienced by AS (40 years) who is currently working as a package sorter in one of the E-Commerce warehouses at the Parangloe Warehousing Center with outsourced work status. In an interview on November 4, he explained "During my work (4 years) I have changed flags twice, first I worked as a cleaning service in warehouse A but because it was closed there I was offered to be a sorter here (warehouse B)". Based on the interview excerpts several things can be analyzed. First, the term "change the flag" emerged, a term that describes the condition that outsourced workers can change vendors but still work in the same company. This condition further affirms that companies do not want to be involved in labor affairs because they avoid the legal consequences contained in the law (decent wages, social security, and other benefits) and the economic consequences that also arise side by side. Negotiations between companies are only carried out with vendors providing labor, this makes labor costs minimal. Second, numerical flexibility occurs, this flexibility is a condition where companies have the authority to regulate the number of workers (including outsourced workers) (Blossfeld et al., 2005). For the AM context, numerical flexibility occurs after the company policy closes warehouse A and focuses sorting activities in warehouse B for reasons of work efficiency and budget savings, cooperation with labor supply vendors automatically ends. This policy caused outsourced workers in warehouse A to be laid off. This condition occurs when all workers still have one month of work contract remaining, the company only pays one month's salary without severance pay. Third, considering good performance, AS was offered to work in Warehouse A with a new vendor as a sorter. AS explained that he had been working with a new vendor for two weeks but had never been awarded a contract, even though his workload was the same as that of regular sorters.

Referring to the two cases that occurred with AM and AS outsourced workers, it can be seen that precariat workers experience exclusion because they do not have a choice that makes them secure about employment status. Their bargaining position is also low so they are not taken into account in the world of work. They are always in a state of compulsion to choose to become outsourced workers even with unclear contracts. They are also very likely to be thrown out of the world of work when companies or vendors lay them off for various reasons.

In the system of outsourcing work, contracts or work agreements are very crucial because they contain provisions on the rights that workers receive. For precariat workers, the fulfillment of basic rights such as wages is the only hope to meet the needs of family life. Article 88 of the Job Creation Law states that every worker/laborer has the right to a life that is worthy of humanity. But the reality on the ground is different, precariat workers receive inadequate wages for their lives. Research by Tjandraningsih (2013) for example shows that the adoption of a flexible labor system in labor regulations makes the position of workers weaker through differences in work status (permanent, contract, outsourcing workers). Contract and outsourced

workers tend to receive lower wages than regular workers. These precariat workers receive 17% less wages than contract workers and 27% less for outsourced workers than regular workers.

This difficulty was also felt by RD (32 years) in an interview on November 7, who said “now I am paid a week, once my salary includes overtime, 500,000 more than 515 is the basic salary as well as meal and craft allowances. I'm lacking because my salary is mediocrity while there are daily necessities, and my children are also going to school". Salaries that are far below the minimum standard make it difficult to access necessities such as buying food and children's education. According to him, the factory manager paid a small salary on purpose because he was only seen as a casual worker who could be fired at any time. This also happened to MS (37 years), a production contract worker (same as RD) who has worked at the company for the longest time. In an interview on 7 November, he said "I am paid 515 thousand per week, the company that registers and is responsible for BPJS Employment but no BPJS Health. "For contract workers such as RD and MS, the risk of work accidents is not stated in the contract, this makes them vulnerable because if at any time a work accident occurs, they are unable to bear the costs. So far, they have only relied on the generosity of factory management to pay for their treatment t, as stated by RD (32 years) in an interview on November 7, 2022, "The company is responsible, like the other day a friend had a towing on his leg, he was immediately taken to the hospital and the boss (factory manager) who bears the costs without deducting salary. Instead, he is on leave and still being paid his salary”.

TH (27 years old) also receives a minimum salary. He has worked as a sorter of goods with an outsourced work system since 2018. In an interview on November 7, 2022, he said "I have worked for 4 years and paid 3.2 million net, my salary has never increased." He receives this salary after being deducted by social security in the form of Employment BPJS, every month Rp. 150.000 from his salary is deducted by the vendor to be paid. He also explained that the difference between permanent workers under direct companies and those as outsourced workers is that the wages are quite high, BPJS Ketenagakerjaan, and permanent workers will receive health insurance including check-up services every month, while outsourced workers do not.

C. Trade Unions between the Two Sides

The main purpose of flexibility is to remove all barriers to the movement of capital and weaken trade unions, so an example is one of them. The function of protecting the state for workers and labor unions is "forced" by capital to be eliminated through various political economy mechanisms. In the history of the application of flexibility in the UK, flexibility was carried out to break the power of union control which was indeed very strong in the era before the 80s over work and their negotiating power (Dore, 2003).

In a study conducted by Setia (2005), it appears that workers in Majalaya identify themselves as a community as their strategy for dealing with the problems that occur. The worker community emphasizes the processes of worker organization, plural worker identities, and the relationship between industry and community. However, in the neoliberal system, there is a

systematic weakening of labor unions (as a community) through the application of flexibility in work relations in the form of contract work relations and outsourcing of labor, which has the effect of reducing the number of permanent workers who form the basis of labor unions. Several major unions admit membership losses of up to 30% due to the flexibilization of labor relations. At the base level, the loss even reaches 50%. The increasing number of contract and outsourced workers replacing permanent workers has automatically reduced labor union membership which is the union's main power base.

From the worker's point of view, there are several reasons why he is reluctant to join a union. As stated by TH (27 years) in an interview on November 7, "I don't think I'm interested because I'm too busy with my work, I don't have time to join a union either. What's more, as far as I know, if you join a union, you have to be actively involved in meetings, there's no time." According to TH, the high workload is the reason for not joining a labor union. A work schedule that exceeds 8 hours per day and the workload of having to sort 1500 items a day overwhelms her especially if she has a night shift. TH also explained "Besides joining a union, I rarely go home, especially during the night shift. I often stay in the barn." Another consideration was also from AS (40 years) during an interview on 4 November 2022, "actually I want to join because it's good especially if I get help for workers' rights, but I don't know and I don't have access to join a trade union." According to AS, the presence of a labor union is certainly useful if at any time there are disputes between him and vendors, especially those related to workers' rights, but he feels he does not get sufficient information and access if he wants to join a labor union. "In the last year, I was only paid 1.3 or 1.4 million, out of the supposed 2.7 million. For 12 months it went on until finally gradually the rest of his salary was paid. We also didn't get THR in the last year"

RD (32 years) experienced a case related to workers' rights at his previous workplace, one last year before finally quitting, he only received half of the salary agreed upon at the beginning, in an interview on November 7, 2022, he explained When this problem occurred, there was no intention at all to ask the trade union to assist because RD and other friends who had the same fate had no access and information to the labor union. The only way to get his rights fulfilled right away is to pressure the head of the factory, as he said, "We just insist on the head of the warehouse because he has a direct connection to the center (Jakarta). He asked "how come the children's salaries haven't been paid?" he said, wait for the tender to be completed to be paid from Pertamina and then paid. So Management is also waiting for money. We're just going to talk about service facilities, they'll pay later".

Low interest in joining labor unions is something that automatically arises when work flexibility policies are implemented. Workers will be preoccupied with busy working hours and shifts, as well as high work demands so they do not have enough time and energy to participate in trade union activities, they will prioritize resting and meeting with the family. From the side of the trade unions, this is also realized. According to KS (45 years), the coordinator of a labor union in Makassar, in an interview on 9 December 2022, said "At least after the reform, workers' interest in joining the union has diminished. Usually, the workers who come to us are workers who have problems, whether they are laid off, and their wages are

not paid, or their severance pay is not paid. That's why we (the unions) are like firefighters." The term "fireman" is an illustration that new workers need a union only when experiencing problems such as being fired for no apparent reason or unpaid salaries and severance pay. According to KS, he and other union officials often find workers who suddenly want to join when they are in a tight situation. The position of trade unions as organizations that accommodate workers' interests is considered to be in a dilemma. First, labor unions are organizations that are recognized by law to become mouthpieces for workers' aspirations for their rights, but on the other hand, this strategic position is precisely what companies don't like. As explained by KS, "sometimes the company will make it more difficult for the worker if he knows he is an active trade union member or accompanied by a trade union." This condition eventually results in social exclusion for precariat workers because from the start they try to be kept away from trade unions which are considered too often interfere with production activities, but at the same time workers need trade unions to ensure that their basic rights can be fulfilled.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the research that has been described previously, several conclusions can be drawn. First, the social exclusion in the context of precariat workers is closely related to the vulnerability they experience. This social exclusion and its vulnerabilities occur because the neoliberal economic system requires work flexibility. The flexibility policy led to the birth of contract work and outsourcing models which made workers not have job security. Therefore, job security is more important than job security itself. The presence of a large number of labor reserves makes workers have no other choice but to accept contracts that make them vulnerable. That's all they do solely to keep working. Second, precariat workers are excluded from the time they seek work until their contract expires. With the condition of a surplus of labor, it becomes difficult for them to get a job. At the same time, there are not many skills and access that they can use. So far all the informants have only deepened their network of friends to get a job.

Third, the work flexibility that occurs makes them vulnerable to layoffs or changes in work status. Workers who initially have permanent or contract status must accept the reality of being exposed to the outsourcing process. Their only choice is to accept a change in status or be dismissed, causing them not to have high bargaining power in the world of work. Another effect is the uncertainty over the length of service and wages which are far below those of permanent workers. Some of them also do not get work accident insurance because of their contract status. In addition, it has become commonplace when workers move from one vendor providing labor to another. This happened because of the company's reluctance to appoint them as permanent employees based on the balance of the consequences of the budget and applicable law. Fourth, in the system of work flexibility, the role of trade unions is increasingly reduced. Precariat workers are preoccupied with their obligations to work, including a high workload, so they do not have time to organize. The strategic position of trade unions is also regarded as a "fire extinguisher" for workers. They only want to join when they encounter problems at work such as unilateral layoffs, unpaid wages, or unpaid severance pay.

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