

## Daftar Pustaka

- “2.000-an Media Belum Miliki Serikat Pekerja.” n.d. Aliansi Jurnalis Independen. Accessed June 9, 2020. <https://aji.or.id/read/berita/547/2000-an-media-belum-miliki-serikat-pekerja.html>.
- Abrar, Ana Nadhya. 2004. “Tantangan Dalam Mewujudkan Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Pers Di Indonesia.” *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 7 (3): 377–292.
- Adenia, Putri. n.d. “Jurnalis Semarang Inisiasi Pembentukan Serikat Pekerja Lintas Media.” Aliansi Jurnalis Independen. Accessed February 26, 2020. <https://aji.or.id/read/berita/610/jurnalis-semarang-inisiasi-pembentukan-serikat-pekerja-lintas-media.html>.
- Adiwijaya, Setiawan. 2017. “Imbas Covid-19, Pendapatan Iklan Surya Citra Anjlok.” *Tagar.id*. December 23, 2017. <https://www.tagar.id/imbas-covid19-pendapatan-iklan-surya-citra-anjlok>.
- Alanen, Leena. 2002. “Explorations in Generational Analysis.” *Conceptualising Child-Adult Relations*. Routledge. November 1, 2002. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203467220-7>.
- Alanen, Leena, and Berry Mayall. 2001. *Conceptualizing Child-Adult Relations*. Psychology Press.
- Allen, Emma. 2015. “Trend Ketenagakerjaan Dan Sosial Di Indonesia 2014-2015.” Jakarta: International Labour Organization.
- Anderson, C. W. 2013. *Rebuilding The News: Metropolitan Journalism in A Digital Age*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Anderson, C. W., Emily J. Bell, and Clay Shirky. 2014. “Post Industrial Journalism: Adapting to the Present.” <https://doi.org/10.7916/D8N01JS7>.
- Anner, Mark. 2015. “Labor Control Regimes and Worker Resistance in Global Supply Chains.” *Labor History* 56 (3): 292–307. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0023656X.2015.1042771>.
- Antara. 2020. Review of Pandemi Corona, Serikat Pekerja Viva Kecewa Gaji Terlambat - Metro Tempo.Co, by Martha Warta Silaban, 2020. <https://metro.tempo.co/read/1327965/pandemi-corona-serikat-pekerja-viva-kecewa-gaji-terlambat>.
- Arnold, Dennis, and Joseph R. Bongiovi. 2012. “Precarious, Informalizing, and Flexible Work: Transform.” *American Behavioral Scientist* 57 (3): 289–308.
- Arrighi, Giovanni, and Beverly J. Silver. n.d. *Antisystemic Movements*. London: Verso.
- Artini, Luh Putu, Pam Nilan, and Steven Threadgold. 2011. “Young Indonesian Cruise Workers, Symbolic Violence and International Class Relations.” *Asian Social Science* 7 (6): p3. <https://doi.org/10.5539/ass.v7n6p3>.
- Aspinall, Edward. 2013. “Kemenangan Modal? Kemenangan Kelas Dan Demokratisasi Indonesia.” *Majalah Prisma*, 2013.

- Babbie, Earl R. 2010. *The Practice of Social Research*. 12th ed. Belmont, Calif: Wadsworth Cengage.
- Bahagijo, Sugeng, ed. 2006. *Globalisasi Menghempas Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pustaka LP3ES dan Perkumpulan Prakarsa.
- Bangasser, Paul E. 2000. "The ILO and the Informal Sector : An Institutional History." Working paper.  
[http://www.ilo.org/employment/Whatwedo/Publications/WCMS\\_142295/lang--en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/employment/Whatwedo/Publications/WCMS_142295/lang--en/index.htm).
- Banks, Miranda J. 2010. "The Picket Line Online: Creative Labor, Digital Activism, and the 2007–2008 Writers Guild of America Strike." *Popular Communication* 8 (1): 20–33.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15405700903502387>.
- Beck, Ulrich. 2014. *The Brave New World of Work*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Benkler, Yochai. 2006. *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1084713807301373>.
- Berg, Heather, and Constance Penley. 2016. "Creative Precarity in the Adult Film Industry:: Heather Berg and Constance Penley." In *Precarious Creativity*, edited by Michael Curtin and Kevin Sanson, 159–71. Global Media, Local Labor. University of California Press. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1ffjn40.16>.
- Berg, Janine, Marianne Furrer, Ellie Harmon, Uma Rani, and M. Six Silberman. 2018. "Report: Digital Labour Platforms and the Future of Work: Towards Decent Work in the Online World." International Labour Organization.  
[https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS\\_645337/lang--en/index.htm](https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS_645337/lang--en/index.htm).
- Bernie, Mohammad. 2019. "Massa Buruh Demo Soal UU Ketenagakerjaan Depan DPR Diadang Polisi." *tirto.id*, August 16, 2019. <https://tirto.id/massa-buruh-demo-soal-uu-ketenagakerjaan-depan-dpr-diadang-polisi-egoR>.
- Bradford, Simon, and Fin Cullen. 2014. "Youth Policy in Austerity Europe." *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth* 19 (sup1): 1–4.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02673843.2013.874104>.
- Bratton, Benjamin H. 2016. *The Stack: On Software and Sovereignty*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Braverman, H. 1974. *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in The Twentieth Century*. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.
- Breman, Jan. 1997. *Menjinakkan sang kuli: politik kolonial, tuan kebun, dan kuli di Sumatra Timur pada awal abad ke-20*. Translated by Koesalah Soebagyo Toer. Hasil kerja sama antara PT Pustaka Utama Grafiti dan Perwakilan Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
- . 2013. "A Bogus Concept?" *New Left Review*, no. 84: 130–38.

- Breman, Jan, and Marcel van der Linden. 2014. "Informalizing the Economy: The Return of the Social Question at a Global Level." *Development and Change* 45 (5): 920–40. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12115>.
- Brenner, Robert. 2006. *The Economics of Global Turbulence: The Advanced Capitalist Economies from Long Boom to Long Downturn, 1945-2005*. Verso.
- Bryson, Alex, and Rafael Gomez. 2005. "Why Have Workers Stopped Joining Unions? The Rise in Never-Membership in Britain." *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 43 (1): 67–92. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8543.2005.00345.x>.
- Budiyanto, Rochman, and Mabroer M. S. 2000. *Kesejahteraan jurnalis: antara mitos dan kenyataan : potret sosial ekonomi jurnalis Jawa Timur*. Jakarta: Aliansi Jurnalis Independen Surabaya bekerjasama dengan the Asia Foundation (TAF).
- Burawoy, Michael. 1983. "Between the Labor Process and the State: The Changing Face of Factory Regimes Under Advanced Capitalism." *American Sociological Review* 48 (5): 587–605. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2094921>.
- Chang, Dae-oup. 2009. "Informalising Labour in Asia's Global Factory." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 39 (2): 161–79.
- Chapman, Ben. 2018. "Union Defeats Deliveroo in Latest Round of Gig Economy Rights Case." *The Independent*, June 15, 2018, sec. Business News. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/deliveroo-riders-rights-job-employment-union-case-gig-economy-iwgb-a8400336.html>.
- Clawson, Dan. 2003. *The Next Upsurge: Labor and The New Social Movements*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Clerwall, C. n.d. "Enter the Robot Journalist: Users' Perceptions of Automated Content." Ju.
- Cohen, Nicole S. 2011. "Negotiating Writers' Rights: Freelance Cultural Labour And The Challenge Of Organizing." *Just Labour*. <https://doi.org/10.25071/1705-1436.36>.
- . 2015a. "Cultural Work as a Site of Struggle: Freelancers and Exploitation." *Marx and the Political Economy of the Media*, January, 36–64. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004291416\\_004](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004291416_004).
- . 2015b. "From Pink Slips to Pink Slime: Transforming Media Labor in a Digital Age." *The Communication Review* 18 (2): 98–122. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10714421.2015.1031996>.
- . 2015c. "Entrepreneurial Journalism and the Precarious State of Media Work." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 114 (3): 513–33. <https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-3130723>.
- . 2016. *Writers' Rights: Freelance Journalism in a Digital Age*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- . 2019. "At Work in the Digital Newsroom." *Digital Journalism* 7 (5): 571–91. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1419821>.

- Cohen, Nicole S., E. Comor, J. Compton, and B. Watts. n.d. "Journalistic Labour and Digital Transformation: A Survey of Working Conditions. Paper Presented at The Canadian Association of Work and Labour Studies." In . Brock University, St. Catherine's, Ontario, Canada.
- Cottle, S., and M. Ashton. 1999. "From BBC Newsroom to BBC Newscentre: On Changing Technology and Journalist Practices." *Convergence* 5 (22): 22–43.
- Cruz, Katie, Kate Hardy, and Teela Sanders. 2017. "False Self-Employment, Autonomy and Regulating for Decent Work: Improving Working Conditions in the UK Stripping Industry." *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 55 (2): 274–94.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/bjir.12201>.
- Darmaningtyas. 2004. *Pendidikan Yang Memiskinkan*. Cetakan Ke-1. Yogyakarta: Galang Press.
- Darmawan, Arif Budi, Faishal Abdul Azis, and Mei Nurul Aini. 2019. "Negosiasi Pemuda dalam Fleksibilitas Pasar Kerja: Studi Netnografi terhadap Mikro-Selebriti di Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta." *Jurnal Studi Pemuda* 8 (1): 47–58.  
<https://doi.org/10.22146/studipemudaugm.45231>.
- Deakin, Simon. 2000. "Legal Origins of Wage Labour: The Evolution of the Contract of Employment from Industrialisation to the Welfare State." In *The Dynamics of Wage Relations in the New Europe*, edited by Linda Clarke, Peter de Gijssel, and Jörn Janssen, 32–44. Boston, MA: Springer US. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4615-4445-6\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4615-4445-6_4).
- DePillis, Lydia. 2015. "Why Internet Journalists Don't Organize." *The Washington Post*, January 30, 2015.  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/storyline/wp/2015/01/30/why-internet-journalists-dont-organize/>.
- Deuze, Mark. 2007. "Convergence Culture in The Creative Industries." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 10 (2): 243–63.
- . 2013. *Media Work*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Deuze, Mark, and L Fortunati. 2011. "Journalism without Journalists: On the Power Shift from Journalists to Employers and Audiences." In *News Online: Transformations and Continuities*, edited by G. Meikle and G. Redden, 164–67. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Deuze, Mark, L Fortunati, and Mark Deuze. 2010. "Atypical Newswork, Atypical Media Management." In *Managing Media Work*, 111–20. London: Sage.
- Dewanto, Nugroho. 2003. *Banyak Jalan Menuju Tujuan*. Jakarta: Aliansi Jurnalis Independen (AJI) Indonesia.
- Dhakidae, Daniel. 1991. "The State, The Rise of Capital, and The Fall of Political Journalism: Political Economy of the Indonesian News Industry." Cornell University.

- “Diberhentikan Sepihak, 12 Karyawan Harian Semarang Tuntut Pesangon.” 2012, April 30, 2012. <https://news.detik.com/berita/1904867/diberhentikan-sepihak-12-karyawan-harian-semarang-tuntut-pesangon?n991102605>.
- Dodds, Tomás. 2019. “Reporting with WhatsApp: Mobile Chat Applications’ Impact on Journalistic Practices.” *Digital Journalism* 7 (6): 725–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2019.1592693>.
- Dore, Ronald. 2003. “New Forms and Meaning of Work in An Increasingly Globalized World.” In . Tokyo: International Institute for Labour Studies.
- Ebralidze, Ellen. 2012. *Rising Employment Flexibility and Young Workers’ Economic Insecurity: A Comparative Analysis of the Danish Model of Flexicurity*. 1st ed. Verlag Barbara Budrich. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvhkthz1>.
- Emma Walters, Christopher Warren and Mike Dobbie. 2006. “The Changing Nature of Work: A Global Survey and Case Study of Atypical Work in the Media Industry.” Report. [http://www.ilo.org/sector/Resources/publications/WCMS\\_161547/lang--en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/sector/Resources/publications/WCMS_161547/lang--en/index.htm).
- Farrell, Diana, and Fiona Greig. 2016. *Paychecks, Paydays, and The Online Platform Economy: Big Data on Income Volatility*. New York: JP Morgan & Chase Co. Institute.
- Fasseur, C. 1988. “J. Breman, Koelies, Planters En Koloniale Politiek. Het Arbeidsregime Op de Grootlandbouwondernemingen Aan Sumatra’s Oostkust in Het Begin van de Twintigste Eeuw.” *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review* 103 (3): 461–63. <https://doi.org/10.18352/bmgn-lchr.3005>.
- Fatmawati, Dian, Falikul Isbah, and Amelinda Pandu Kusumaningtyas. 2019. “Pekerja Muda dan Ancaman Deskillling-Skill Trap di Sektor Transportasi Berbasis Daring.” *Jurnal Studi Pemuda* 8 (1): 29–46. <https://doi.org/10.22146/studipemudaugm.45301>.
- Fitriyani, Ema. 2020. Review of *Bisnis Media Online di Masa Pandemi: Pembaca Naik, Tapi Pendapatan Turun Drastis*, by Michael Agustinus. kumparan, June 5, 2020. <https://kumparan.com/kumparanbisnis/bisnis-media-online-di-masa-pandemi-pembaca-naik-tapi-pendapatan-turun-drastis-1tYQXMczDfj>.
- Ford, Michele. 2013. “Employer Anti-Unionism in Democratic Indonesia.” In *Global Anti-Unionism: Nature, Dynamics, Trajectories and Outcomes*, edited by Gregor Gall and Tony Dundon, 224–43. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137319067\\_12](https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137319067_12).
- Freire, Paulo. 2014. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed: 30th Anniversary Edition*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
- Friedman, Gerald. 2007. *Reigniting the Labor Movement: Restoring Means to Ends in a Democratic Labor Movement*. Routledge.
- . 2014. “Workers without Employers: Shadow Corporations and the Rise of the Gig Economy.” *Review of Keynesian Economics* 2 (2): 171–88. <https://doi.org/10.4337/roke.2014.02.03>.

- Fuchs, Christian. 2014. *Digital Labour and Karl Marx*. New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Furlong, Andy, and Fred Cartmel. 2006. *Young People And Social Change*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).
- Gaizka, Diana. 2019. "Jadi Wartawan Online Itu Mesti Menguasai Kage Bunshin Untuk Kejar Kuota Berita." *Remotivi*. November 6, 2019. <https://www.remotivi.or.id/di-balik-layar/557/jadi-wartawan-online-itu-mesti-menguasai-kage-bunshin-untuk-kejar-kuota-berita>.
- Giroux, Henry A. 2011. *On Critical Pedagogy*. A&C Black.
- . 2014. *Neoliberalism's War on Higher Education. Between the Lines*.
- Graham, Mark, Isis Hjorth, and Vili Lehdonvirta. 2017. "Digital Labour and Development: Impacts of Global Digital Labour Platforms and the Gig Economy on Worker Livelihoods." *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research* 23 (2). <https://doi.org/10.1177/1024258916687250>.
- Graham, Mark, Vili Lehdonvirta, Alex Wood, Helena Barnard, Isis Hjorth, and David Peter Simon. 2017. "The Risk and Rewards of Online Gig Work At the Global Margins." Oxford: Oxford Internet Institute, University of Oxford. <https://www.oii.ox.ac.uk/publications/gigwork.pdf>.
- Grantham, George. 2002. "Economic History and the History of Labour Markets." In *Labour Market Evolution: The Economic History of Market Integration Wage Flexibility and The Employment Relation*, edited by George Grantham and Mary MacKinnon, 1–26. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203021774-1>.
- Greenwald, Richard. 2012. "Contingent, Transient and at Risk: Modern Workers in a Gig Economy | HuffPost." *Huffpost*, 2012. [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/contingent-transient-and-\\_b\\_1554619](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/contingent-transient-and-_b_1554619).
- Habibi, Muhtar. 2009. *Gemuruh buruh di tengah pusaran neoliberalisme: pengadopsian kebijakan perburuhan neoliberal pasca Orde Baru*. Kerjasama Jurusan Ilmu Administrasi Negara Fisipol- UGM dan Penerbit Gava Media.
- . 2013a. "Gerakan Buruh Pasca Soeharto: Politik Jalanan Di Tengah Himpitan Pasar Kerja Fleksibel | Habibi | Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik." *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 16 (3): 200–216. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jsp.10903>.
- . 2013b. "Politik Jalanan Dan Pembentukan Kelas Buruh." *Majalah Basis*, 2013.
- . 2016. *Surplus Pekerja Di Kapitalisme Pinggiran*. Jakarta, Indonesia: Marjin Kiri.
- Habibi, Muhtar, and Benny Hari Juliawan. 2018. "Creating Surplus Labour: Neo-Liberal Transformations and the Development of Relative Surplus Population in Indonesia." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 48 (4): 649–70.
- Hadiz, Vedi R. 1998. "Reformasi Total? Labor after Suharto." *Indonesia*, no. 66: 109–25. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3351449>.



- . 2002. “The Indonesian Labour Movement Resurgent or Constrained?” *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 130–42.
- . 2005. *Dinamika Kekuasaan: Ekonomi Politik Indonesia Pasca Soeharto*. Jakarta, Indonesia: LP3ES.
- . 2013. “The Rise of Capital Dan Keniscayaan Ekonomi-Politik.” *Majalah Prisma*, 2013.
- . 2016. “Neoliberalisme Dan Pekerja Rentan.” In *Surplus Pekerja Di Kapitalisme Pinggiran*, v–xi. Jakarta, Indonesia: Marjin Kiri.
- Hadiz, Vedi R., and Richard Robison. 2013. “The Political Economy of Oligarchy and the Reorganization of Power in Indonesia,” October. <https://ecommons.cornell.edu/handle/1813/54629>.
- Hakim, Wildan. 2016. “Strategi Komunikasi Serikat Pekerja Pers dalam Menyelesaikan Konflik Hubungan Industrial di Perusahaan Media” 8 (2): 20.
- Hanitzsch, Thomas. 2005. “Journalists in Indonesia: Educated but Timid Watchdogs.” *Journalism Studies* 6 (4): 493–508. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616700500250396>.
- Haque, Irvan ul. 2004. “Globalization, Neoliberalism, and Labour.” In . *United Nations Conference on Trade and Development*.
- Hardt, Hanno, and H. Tumber. 2000. “Conflict of Interest: Newswriters, Media, and Patronage Journalism.” In *Media Power, Professionals, and Policies*, 209–24. London: Routledge.
- Harvey, David. 2005. *The New Imperialism*. OUP Oxford.
- . 2009. *Neoliberalisme dan Restorasi Kelas Kapitalis*. Translated by Eko Prasetyo Darmawan. Yogyakarta: Resist Book.
- Haryanto, Ignatius. 2011. “Media Ownership and Its Implications for Journalists and Journalism in Indonesia.” In *Politics and The Media in Twenty-First Century Indonesia: Decade of Democracy*, edited by Krishna Sen and David T. Hill, 1st Edition, 104–18. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203840429>.
- Haut, Rachel, Natalie Kelly, and Max Mishler. 2009. “Youth Activism in the Labor Movement: 3 Perspectives.” *New Labor Forum* 18 (1): 98–107.
- Haynes, Peter, Jack Vowles, and Peter Boxall. 2005. “Explaining the Younger– Older Worker Union Density Gap: Evidence from New Zealand.” *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 43 (1): 93–116. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8543.2005.00346.x>.
- Heery, Edmund, Hazel Conley, Rick Delbridge, and Paul Stewart. 2004. “Beyond the Enterprise: Trade Union Representation of Freelances in the UK.” *Human Resource Management Journal* 14 (2): 20–35. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1748-8583.2004.tb00117.x>.

- Herawati, Maimon. 2016. "Pemaknaan Gender Perempuan Pekerja Media Di Jawa Barat." *Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi* 4 (1): 84–94. <https://doi.org/10.24198/jkk.vol4n1.8>.
- Herawati, Rina. 2010. *Kontrak Dan Outsourcing Harus Makin Diwaspadai*. Seri Buku Saku AKATIGA. Bandung: Yayasan Akatiga.
- Heryanto, Ariel. 1993. "Demokratisasi Kelas Menengah." *Kompas*, September 3, 1993.
- Heyes, Jason, and Paul Lewis. 2014. "Employment Protection under Fire: Labour Market Deregulation and Employment in the European Union." *Economic and Industrial Democracy* 35 (4): 587–607. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0143831X13491842>.
- Heyward, Anna. 2018. "Joining The Ranks: What's Driving The New Wave of Unionization Sweeping Digital Newsroom?" *Columbia Journalism Review*, Spring/Summer 2018. [https://www.cjr.org/special\\_report/media-unions.php](https://www.cjr.org/special_report/media-unions.php).
- Hidayah, Aguslia. 2006. Review of Pemecatan Wartawan Kompas Menuai Protes - Metro - koran.tempo.co, by Reh Atemalem S. Koran Tempo, December 11, 2006, sec. metro. <https://koran.tempo.co/read/metro/89078/pemecatan-wartawan-kompas-menuai-protes>.
- Hill, David T. 2003. "Plotting Public Participation on Indonesia's Internet." *South East Asia Research* 11 (3): 297–325.
- . 2011. *Pers Di Masa Order Baru*. Translated by Gita Widya Laksmi Soerjoatmodjo. 1st ed. Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Hodder, A., and L. Kretsos, eds. 2015. *Young Workers and Trade Unions: A Global View*. Palgrave Macmillan UK. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137429537>.
- Horowitz, Sara. 2011. "The Freelance Surge Is the Industrial Revolution of Our Time." *The Atlantic*, September 1, 2011, sec. Business. <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2011/09/the-freelance-surge-is-the-industrial-revolution-of-our-time/244229/>.
- Hubungan Kerja; Panduan Terperinci Mengenai Rekomendasi ILO No. 198. 2012. Jakarta: International Labour Organization.
- "Indian Entertainment and Media Outlook." 2010. New York: Pricewaterhouse Coopers.
- "Ini Strategi Pemerintah Siapkan SDM Hadapi Revolusi Industri 4.0." n.d. Accessed July 7, 2020. <https://www.kemenkeu.go.id/publikasi/berita/ini-strategi-pemerintah-siapkan-sdm-hadapi-revolusi-industri-40/>.
- Islahuddin, and Kaka Prakasa. 2020. "Durasi dan jaminan kerja freelancer tak pasti." Lokadata.ID, 2020. <https://lokadata.id/artikel/durasi-dan-jaminan-kerja-freelancer-tak-pasti>.
- Islam, Iyanatul. 2000. "Employment Labour Markets and Economic Recovery in Indonesia: Issues and Options." In . UNSFIR Discussion Paper Series No. 00/04.
- . 2002. "Poverty, Employment, and Wages: An Indonesian Perspective." In . Jakarta: International Labour Organization.



Izzati, Fathimah Fildzah. n.d. “Di Balik Toko \_online\_ Ada Kerja Perempuan Yang Terabaikan.” *The Conversation*. Accessed March 5, 2020. <http://theconversation.com/di-balik-toko-online-ada-kerja-perempuan-yang-terabaikan-126030>.

Jalil, Abdul. 2015. “AJI Indonesia Dorong Jurnalis Bentuk Serikat Pekerja.” *Aliansi Jurnalis Independen*. December 1, 2015. <https://aji.or.id/read/berita/472/aji-indonesia-dorong-jurnalis-bentuk-serikat-pekerja.html>.

Johnson, Nancy Brown, and Paul Jarley. 2005. “Unions as Social Capital: The Impact of Trade Union Youth Programmes on Young Workers’ Political and Community Engagement.” *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research* 11 (4): 605–16. <https://doi.org/10.1177/102425890501100409>.

Jones, Trevor, Monder Ram, and Paul Edwards. 2006. “Shades of Grey in the Informal Economy.” *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 26 (9/10): 357–73. <https://doi.org/10.1108/01443330610690514>.

Juliawan, Benny Hari. 2009. “Menakar Ulang Fragmentasi Kelas Buruh.” *Majalah Basis*, 2009.

———. 2010. “Extracting Labor from Its Owner.” *Critical Asian Studies* 42 (1): 25–52.

———. 2011. “Street-Level Politics: Labour Protests in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia.” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 41 (3): 349–70. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2011.582706>.

Juliawan, Benny Hari, Hans Sinelir, Idha Saraswati, Febrian A. Hasibuan, and Emmanuel Kurniawan. 2020. *Buruh Digital: Peluang Keuntungan Dan Intaian Kerentanan*. Yogyakarta: Sanata Dharma University Press.

Jurriens, Edwin, and Ross Tapsell. 2017. *Digital Indonesia: Connectivity and Divergence*. ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute. <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/57005>.

Kamim, Anggalih Bayu Muh, and M. Rusmul Khandiq. 2019. “Mitra Pengemudi Gojek dalam Jeratan Ekonomi Berbagi Melalui Platform.” *Jurnal Studi Pemuda* 8 (1): 57–74. <https://doi.org/10.22146/studipemudaugm.45240>.

Katz, Daniel, and Richard A. Greenwald. 2012. *Labor Rising: The Past and Future of Working People in America*. New Press.

King, Martha W. 2018. “Protecting and Representing Workers in the New Gig Economy: The Case of the Freelancers Union.” In *New Labor in New York: Precarious Workers and The Future of The Labor Movement*, edited by Ruth Milkman and Edward Ott, 150–70. Cornell: Cornell University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7591/9780801470752-009>.

Kloosterman, Robert, Joanne Van Der Leun, and Jan Rath. 1999. “Mixed Embeddedness: (In)Formal Economic Activities and Immigrant Businesses in the Netherlands.” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 23 (2): 252–66. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.00194>.

- Kretsos, Lefteris. 2010. "The Persistent Pandemic of Precariousness: Young People at Work." In *A Young Generation Under Pressure?*, edited by Joerg Tremmel, 3–21. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-03483-1\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-03483-1_1).
- Kristiawan, R. 2013. *Penumpang Gelap Demokrasi: Kajian Liberalisasi Media Di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Aliansi Jurnalis Independen (AJI) Indonesia.
- Kurniawati, Endri. 2018. "Harian Bernas Tutup, Separuh Karyawan Dipecat." *Tempo*, February 28, 2018, sec. nasional. <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1065239/harian-bernas-tutup-separuh-karyawan-dipecat>.
- Laily, Hamidah Izzatu, and Kuskridho Ambardi. 2019. "Serikat Pekerja Media Lokal (Studi Kasus Ekonomi Politik Pembentukan Serikat Pekerja Pers di Solo Pos)." Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Lavinas, Lena. 2013. "21st Century Welfare, NLR 84, November–December 2013." *New Left Review* 84 November-Desember. <https://newleftreview.org/issues/II84/articles/lena-lavinas-21st-century-welfare>.
- Lehdonvirta, Vili. 2016. "Algorithms That Divide and Unite: Delocalisation, Identity and Collective Action in 'Microwork.'" In *Space, Place and Global Digital Work*, edited by Jörg Flecker, 53–80. Dynamics of Virtual Work. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. [https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-48087-3\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-48087-3_4).
- Lehndorff, Steffen. 2013. "Trade Unions: The Difficult Path to Solidarity in One's Own Interest." *Transform! Europe*. 2013. <https://www.transform-network.net/en/publications/yearbook/overview/article/issue-122013/trade-unions-the-difficult-path-to-solidarity-in-ones-own-interest>.
- Lim, Merlyna. 2011. "@crossroads: Democratization & Corporatization of Media in Indonesia." Participatory Media Lab Dan Ford Foundation. [https://www.academia.edu/1032616/Lim\\_M\\_2011\\_at\\_crossroads\\_Democratization\\_and\\_Corporatization\\_of\\_Media\\_in\\_Indonesia](https://www.academia.edu/1032616/Lim_M_2011_at_crossroads_Democratization_and_Corporatization_of_Media_in_Indonesia).
- . 2012. "The League of Thirteen: Media Concentration in Indonesia." Report:Report. Ford Foundation. <https://www.neliti.com/publications/51157/the-league-of-thirteen-media-concentration-in-indonesia>.
- Linden, Marcel van der. 1AD. "The Crisis of World Labor." *Solidarity* (blog). November 30, 1AD. <http://solidarity-us.org/atc/176/p4424/>.
- Luviana. 2012. *Jejak Jurnalis Perempuan: Pemetaan Kondisi Kerja Jurnalis Perempuan Di Indonesia*. Aliansi Jurnalis Independen.
- Makkuraga, Afdal. 2013. "Ekonomi Politik Kebebasan Pers Di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi: Kritik Atas Praktek Neoliberalisme Pada Industri Media." *Jurnal Visi Komunikasi* 12 (1): 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.22441/jvk.v12i1.350>.
- . 2017. "Ekonomi Politik Kebebasan Pers Di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi: Kritik Atas Praktek Neoliberalisme Pada Industri Media." *Jurnal Visi Komunikasi* 12 (1): 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.22441/jvk.v12i1.350>.

- Manan, Abdul. 2011. "Upah Layak Jurnalis: Survei Upah Layak AJI Di 16 Kota Di Indonesia." Jakarta: Aliansi Jurnalis Independen.
- Manan, Abdul, and Joni Aswira. 2017. "Hantu Senjakala Dan Intimidasi." Jakarta: Aliansi Jurnalis Independen.
- Manan, Abdul, Arfi Bambani, Wenri Wanhar, Agustinus Eko Rahardjo, and Wensesiaus Manggut. 2014. Semangat Sirnagalih: 20 Tahun Aliansi Jurnalis Independen. Aliansi Jurnalis Independen.
- Maree, Johann. 1982. "Democracy and Oligarchy in Trade Unions: The Independent Trade Unions in the Transvaal and the Western Province General Workers' Union in the 1970s." *Social Dynamics* 8 (1): 41–52. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02533958208458314>.
- Marjoribanks, Tim. 2009. "Media Work, by Mark Deuze." *International Journal on Media Management* 11 (1): 44–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14241270802627371>.
- McChesney, Robert W. 2013. *Digital Disconnect: How Capitalism Is Turning The Internet Against Democracy*. New York: The New Press.
- McKeon, Lauren. n.d. "The Inside Story of VICE's \$100 Million Television Gamble." *Sharp Magazine*. Accessed June 7, 2020. <https://sharpmagazine.com/2016/05/19/the-inside-story-of-vices-100-million-television-gamble/>.
- Meiji, Nanda Harda Pratama. 2019. "Pemuda (Pe)kerja Paruh Waktu: Dependensi dan Negosiasi." *Jurnal Studi Pemuda* 8 (1): 15–28. <https://doi.org/10.22146/studipemudaugm.46133>.
- Meulders, Danièle, and Luc Wilkin. 1987. "Labour Market Flexibility: Critical Introduction to the Analysis of a Concept'." *Labour and Society* 12 (January).
- Meyer, Robinson. 2016. "How Many Stories Do Newspapers Publish Per Day?" *The Atlantic*, May 26, 2016, sec. Technology. <https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2016/05/how-many-stories-do-newspapers-publish-per-day/483845/>.
- Minza, Wenty Marina. 2016. "Migran Muda dan Transisi dari Pendidikan ke Dunia Kerja di Pontianak, Kalimantan Barat\*." *Jurnal Studi Pemuda* 1 (2): 153–64. <https://doi.org/10.22146/studipemudaugm.32067>.
- Miyamura, Satoshi. 2016. "Diverse Trajectories of Industrial Restructuring and Labour Organising in India." *Third World Quarterly* 37 (10): 1921–41. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2016.1198228>.
- Naafs, Suzanne. 2016. "Meniti Transisi Dari Sekolah Menuju Dunia Kerja Di Kota Industri Indonesia: Perempuan Muda Di Cilegon\*." *Jurnal Studi Pemuda* 1 (2): 138–52. <https://doi.org/10.22146/studipemudaugm.32066>.
- Naafs, Suzanne, and Ben White. 2012. "Generasi Antara: Refleksi tentang Studi Pemuda Indonesia." *Jurnal Studi Pemuda* 1 (2): 89–106.
- Nathan, Alnick. 2020. "Omnibus Law & Kebijakan Pasar Kerja Fleksibel." Laporan Diskusi. Yogyakarta: MAP Corner-Klub MKP.

- Nazara, Suahasil. 2010. "The Informal Economy in Indonesia: Size, Composition and Evolution." Working paper.  
[http://www.ilo.org/jakarta/whatwedo/publications/WCMS\\_145781/lang-en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/jakarta/whatwedo/publications/WCMS_145781/lang-en/index.htm).
- Neilson, David, and Thomas Stubbs. 2011. "Relative Surplus Population and Uneven Development in the Neoliberal Era: Theory and Empirical Application." *Capital & Class* 35 (3): 435–53. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309816811418952>.
- Nicolaas Warouw. 2005. "Pekerja Industri Indonesia, Gerakan Buruh, Dan New Social Movement: Merajut Sebuah Kemungkinan." *Jurnal Analisis Sosial*, October, 1–18.
- Nilan, Palm. 2008. "Youth Transitions to Urban, Middle Class Marriage in Indonesia: Faith, Family, and Finances." *Journal of Youth Studies* 11 (1): 3–20.
- Nilan, Pam. 2008. Can We Apply Class Analysis to Indonesian Youth? The Australian Sociological Association (TASA).  
<https://nova.newcastle.edu.au/vital/access/manager/Repository/uon:6063>.
- Nilan, Pam, Roberta Julian, and John Germov. 2007. *Australian Youth: Social and Cultural Issues*. Pearson Education Australia.
- Nilan, Pam, Lynette Parker, Linda Bennett, and Kathryn Robinson. 2011. "Indonesian Youth Looking towards the Future." *Journal of Youth Studies* 14 (6): 709–28.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2011.580523>.
- Novianto, Arif. 2018. "Memperbesar Tentara Cadangan Pekerja: 'Bonus Demografi' Dan Ekonomi Politik Negara Neoliberal Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Kawistara* 7 (2): 187–200.  
<https://doi.org/10.22146/kawistara.18834>.
- Nugroho, Hari Wahyu, and Indrasari Tjandraningsih. 2007. "Fleksibilitas Pasar Kerja Dan Tanggung Jawab Negara." AKATIGA.
- Nugroho, Hery. 2005. "The Political Economy of Higher Education: The University as an Arena for The Struggle for Powers." In *Social Science and Power in Indonesia*, edited by Vedi R. Hadiz and Daniel Dhakidae. Equinox Publishing.
- Nugroho, Yanuar, Dinita Andriani Putri, and Shita Laksmi. 2012. "Mapping the Landscape of the Media Industry in Contemporary Indonesia." *Engaging Media, Empowering Society: Assessing Media Policy and Governance in Indonesia through Lens of Citizen's Right*. Jakarta: CIPG and HIVOS. <https://cipg.or.id/report-on-mapping-media-industry-in-indonesia/>.
- Nusantara, Samiaji Bintang, Ignatius Haryanto, and Albertus Magnus Prestianta. 2019. "Setelah Guncangan Digital." *Ultimacomm: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi* 11 (1): 1–13.  
<https://doi.org/10.31937/ultimacomm.v11i1.1113>.
- Paath, Carlos KY. n.d. "Pandemi Covid-19, Nasib Media Penuh Ketidakpastian." *beritasatu.com*. Accessed June 19, 2020.  
<https://www.beritasatu.com/ekonomi/632725-pandemi-covid19-nasib-media-penuh-ketidakpastian>.

- Patria, Nezar, Esther Samboh, and Adrian Wail Akhlah. 2020. "Indonesia Hopes to Attract \$87b Investment, Create 3m Jobs through Omnibus Bill: Airlangga." *The Jakarta Post*, February 25, 2020. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/02/24/omnibus-bill-to-attract-87b-investment-open-3m-jobs-airlangga.html>.
- Paulussen, Steve. 2012. "Technology and The Transformation of News Work: Are Labor Conditions in (Online) Journalism Changing?" In *The Handbook of Global Online Journalism*, 192–208. Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell.
- "Pemecatan Wartawan Kompas Menuai Protes - Koran.Tempo.Co." n.d. Accessed July 10, 2020. <https://koran.tempo.co/amp/metro/89078/pemecatan-wartawan-kompas-menuai-protes>.
- Perry, Elizabeth J. 1995. *Shanghai on Strike: The Politics of Chinese Labor*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Petre, Caitlin. 2015. "The Traffic Factories: Metrics at Chartbeat, Gawker Media, and the New York Times," May.
- Polanyi, Karl. 2001. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Beacon Press.
- Poon, Teresa Shuk-Ching. 2019. "Independent Workers: Growth Trends, Categories, and Employee Relations Implications in the Emerging Gig Economy." *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal* 31 (1): 63–69. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10672-018-9318-8>.
- Portes, Alejandro. 1994. "The Informal Economy and Its Paradoxes." In *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*, edited by Neil J. Smelser and Richard Swedberg, Student Edition, 426–52. Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Portes, Alejandro, Manuel Castells, and Lauren A. Benton. 1989. *The Informal Economy: Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries*. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Potret jurnalis Indonesia: survey AJI tahun 2005 tentang media dan jurnalis Indonesia di 17 kota. 2006. Jakarta: Aliansi Jurnalis Independen (AJI).
- Purbo, Onno W. 1999. *Teknologi Warung Internet*. Jakarta: PT. Elex Media Komputindo.
- Purdy, David. 1988. *Social Power and the Labour Market: A Radical Approach to Labour Economics*. Palgrave Macmillan UK. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-19545-9>.
- Putri, Restu Diantina. 2017. "Krisis Femina Group: Gaji Wartawan Dicicil, Bisnis Singset Majalah." *Tirto.Id*, November 2, 2017. <https://tirto.id/krisis-femina-group-gaji-wartawan-dicicil-bisnis-singset-majalah-czsf>.
- Rabbani, Disi Riwanda. 2019. "Kerja Layak Bagi Mahasiswa Pekerja Kontrak Paruh Waktu (Garda Depan) Di PT.Aseli Dagadu Djokdja." *Jurnal Studi Pemuda* 6 (2): 605–18. <https://doi.org/10.22146/studipemudaugm.39490>.

- Raeymaeckers, K, Steve Paulussen, and J De Keyser. 2012. "A Survey of Professional Journalists in Flanders (Belgium)." In *The Global Journalist in The 21st Century*, edited by D Weaver and L Willnat. London: Routledge.
- Rajagukguk, Zantermans. 2008. *Pengaruh Upah, Jamsostek, Dan Efektivitas LKS Bipartit Terhadap Ketenangan Kerja Di Perusahaan*. Jakarta: Bangkit Daya Insana.
- . 2010. "Pasar Kerja Fleksibel Versus Perlindungan Pekerja Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Kependudukan Indonesia* 2 (2): 1–28.
- Rakhmani, Inaya. 2019. "Reproducing Academic Insularity in a Time of Neo-Liberal Markets: The Case of Social Science Research in Indonesian State Universities." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 0 (0): 1–23.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2019.1627389>.
- Rakhmawati, Fariza Yuniar. 2014. "Keputusan Etis Pekerja Media Dalam Menghadapi Kekuatan Pemilik Media." *Jurnal An-Nida: Jurnal Komunikasi Islam* 6 (2): 91–100.
- Rasnača, Zane, Stefan Clauwaert, and Isabelle Schömann. n.d. "The Crisis and National Labour Law Reforms: A Mapping Exercise." Etui. Accessed September 25, 2020.  
<https://www.etui.org/publications/working-papers/the-crisis-and-national-labour-law-reforms-a-mapping-exercise>.
- Reinardy, Scott. 2012. "TV Sportscasters 1, Burnout 0: Resources Sideline the Job Stressors of Sports Broadcasters." *Journal of Sports Media* 7 (1): 89–107.
- Reyneri, Emilio. 1998. "The Role of the Underground Economy in Irregular Migration to Italy: Cause or Effect?" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 24 (2): 313–31.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.1998.9976635>.
- Riyanto, Guruh Dwi. 2013. "AJI Jakarta: Pemecatan Luvi Melanggar Undang-Undang." *Kantor Berita Rakyat*, November 2013. [https://kbr.id/nasional/11-2013/aji\\_jakarta\\_\\_pemecatan\\_luvi\\_melanggar\\_undang\\_undang/24761.html](https://kbr.id/nasional/11-2013/aji_jakarta__pemecatan_luvi_melanggar_undang_undang/24761.html).
- Roberts, Yvonne. 2018. "The Tiny Union Beating the Gig Economy Giants." *The Guardian*, July 1, 2018, sec. Politics. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/jul/01/union-beating-gig-economy-giants-iwgb-zero-hours-workers>.
- Robison, Richard. 1986. *Indonesia: The Rise of Capital*. Sydney: Allen dan Unwin.
- Robison, Richard, and Vedi R. Hadiz. 2004. *Reorganising Power in Indonesia: The Politics of Oligarchy in an Age of Markets*. Psychology Press.
- Romano, Angela. 2000. "Bribes, Gifts and Graft in Indonesian Journalism." *Media International Australia Incorporating Culture and Policy* 94 (1): 157–71.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1329878X0009400115>.
- Roser, Max, Hannah Ritchie, and Esteban Ortiz-Ospina. 2015. "Internet." *Our World in Data*, July. <https://ourworldindata.org/internet>.
- Ross, Andrew. n.d. "In Search of the Lost Paycheck." In *The Internet As Playground and Factory*, edited by Trebor Scholz. Routledge.



- Rudiono, D. 1992. "Kebijakan Perburuahan Pasca Boom Minyak." *Majalah Prisma*, 1992.
- Santoso, Bangun, and Erick Tanjung. 2020. "Gelombang PHK Industri Media Saat Pandemi Corona, Ini Catatan AJI Jakarta." *Suara.com*, April 21, 2020, sec. suara.com. <https://www.suara.com/news/2020/04/21/120056/gelombang-phk-industri-media-saat-pandemi-corona-ini-catatan-aji-jakarta>.
- Sasmito. 2016. "Inews TV Klaim Serikat Pekerja Adalah Mitra." *Kantor Berita Rakyat*, October 2016. [https://kbr.id/nasional/10-2016/inews\\_tv\\_klaim\\_serikat\\_pekerja\\_adalah\\_mitra/85848.html](https://kbr.id/nasional/10-2016/inews_tv_klaim_serikat_pekerja_adalah_mitra/85848.html).
- Sassen, Saskia. 1999. *Globalization and Its Discontents: Essays on The New Mobility of People and Money*. New York: The New Press. <https://thenewpress.com/books/globalization-its-discontents>.
- Sassen, Saskia-International Labour Office Development and Technical Cooperation Dept. 1997. "Informalization in Advanced Market Economies." Working paper. [http://www.ilo.org/employment/Whatwedo/Publications/WCMS\\_123590/lang--en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/employment/Whatwedo/Publications/WCMS_123590/lang--en/index.htm).
- Saundry, Richard, Mark Stuart, and Valerie Antcliff. 2012. "Social Capital and Union Revitalization: A Study of Worker Networks in the UK Audio-Visual Industries." *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 50 (2): 263–86. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8543.2011.00850.x>.
- Scholz, Trebor, ed. 2013. *Digital Labor: The Internet as Playground and Factory*. New York: Routledge.
- Selwyn, Benjamin, and Satoshi Miyamura. 2014. "Class Struggle or Embedded Markets? Marx, Polanyi and the Meanings and Possibilities of Social Transformation." *New Political Economy* 19 (5): 639–61. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2013.844117>.
- Setiawan, Riyan. n.d. "Minimnya Serikat Pekerja Media Dinilai karena Takut Pada Perusahaan." *tirto.id*. Accessed March 5, 2020. <https://tirto.id/minimnya-serikat-pekerja-media-dinilai-karena-takut-pada-perusahaan-dnqz>.
- Sharer. n.d. "Polemik Wartawan Kontributor." *Merdeka.Com*. Accessed July 13, 2020. <https://www.merdeka.com/ireporters/peristiwa/polemik-wartawan-kontributor.html>.
- Silver, Beverly. 2014. "Theorising the Working Class in Twenty-First Century Global Capitalism." In *Workers and Labor in a Globalised Capitalism*, 46–69. Management, Work, and Organisations. Red Globe Press.
- Silver, Beverly J. 2003. *Forces of Labor: Workers' Movements and Globalization Since 1870*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge University Press. <http://gen.lib.rus.ec/book/index.php?md5=9a2654e0b37467a3e44c8f2d2586e1f2>.
- Silver, Beverly J., and Giovanni Arrighi. 2001. "Workers North and South." *Socialist Register* 37. <https://socialistregister.com/index.php/srv/article/view/5755>.
- Silver, Beverly J., and Sahan Savas Karatasli. 2015. "Historical Dynamics of Capitalism and Labor Movements." In *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*, edited by

- Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani. Oxford University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199678402.013.14>.
- Smeru. 2004. Kebijakan Pasar Tenaga Kerja Dan Hubungan Industrial Untuk Memperluas Kesempatan Kerja. 2004: SMERU, PEG, Bappenas.
- Smith, Adrian, Mirela Barbu, Liam Campling, James Harrison, and Ben Richardson. 2018. "Labor Regimes, Global Production Networks, and European Union Trade Policy: Labor Standards and Export Production in the Moldovan Clothing Industry." *Economic Geography* 94 (5): 550–74.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00130095.2018.1434410>.
- Smith, Paul, and Gary Morton. 2006. "Nine Years of New Labour: Neoliberalism and Workers' Rights." *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 44 (September): 401–20.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8543.2006.00506.x>.
- Smith, Ryan. 2012. "Journatic: Newspaper Executives Are Responsible for This Faustian Deal | Ryan Smith." *The Guardian*, July 16, 2012, sec. Opinion.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/jul/16/journatic-newspaper-executives-responsible-faustian>.
- Smith-Hefner, Nancy J. 2007. "Youth Language, Gaul Sociability, and the New Indonesian Middle Class." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 17 (2): 184–203.  
<https://doi.org/10.1525/jlin.2007.17.2.184>.
- Standing, Guy. 2011. *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*. New York, NY, USA: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Stanford, Jim. 2017. "The Resurgence of Gig Work: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives." *The Economic and Labour Relations Review* 28 (3): 382–401.
- Steinfeld, Robert J. 2001. *Coercion, Contract, and Free Labor in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge Historical Studies in American Law and Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511549564>.
- Stellarosa, Yolanda, and Martha Warta Silaban. 2019. "Perempuan, media dan profesi jurnalis." *Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi* 7 (1): 97.  
<https://doi.org/10.24198/jkk.v7i1.18844>.
- Stewart, Paul, Tommy McKearney, and Brian Garvey. 2014. "The Independent Workers Union: Class, Nation and Oppositional Labour Movements in Ireland from 1900 to the Celtic Tiger." *Labor History* 55 (4): 486–500.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0023656X.2014.936693>.
- Stockhammer, Engelbert. 2013. "Why Have Wage Shares Fallen? An Analysis of the Determinants of Functional Income Distribution." In *Wage-Led Growth: An Equitable Strategy for Economic Recovery*, edited by Marc Lavoie and Engelbert Stockhammer, 40–70. *Advances in Labour Studies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137357939\\_3](https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137357939_3).
- Sudibyo, Agus. 2004. *Ekonomi Politik Penyiaran*. Yogyakarta: LKiS.

- Sukardi, Wina Armada. 2009. *Menakar Kesejahteraan Wartawan*. Jakarta: Dewan Pers.
- Sutopo, Oki. 2011. “Masih Ada Alternatif Lain : Jazz Sebagai Jalan Hidup Pemuda (2011).” In *Pemuda Pasca Orba : Potret Kontemporer Pemuda Indonesia*, 1st ed. Yogyakarta: Youth Studies Center, Gadjah Mada University and Ministry of Youth and Sport Indonesia.
- Sutopo, Oki Rahadiano. 2014. “Social Generation, Class and Experiences of Youth Transition in Indonesia.” *Asian Journal of Social Science & Humanities* 3 (3): 126–34.
- . 2016. “Pemuda Dan Resistensi: Sebuah Refleksi Kritis.” *Jurnal Studi Pemuda* 5 (2): 502–6.
- Sutopo, Oki Rahadiano, and Muhammad Najib Azca. 2013. “Transisi Pemuda Yogyakarta Menuju Dunia Kerja: Narasi Dan Perspektif Dari Selatan.” *Jurnal Universitas Paramadina Jakarta* 10 (2): 698–719.
- Sutopo, Oki Rahadiano, and Nanda Harda Pratama Meiji. 2014. “Transisi Pemuda Dalam Masyarakat Risiko: Antara Aspirasi, Hambatan, Dan Ketidakpastian.” *Jurnal Universitas Paramadina Jakarta*. 11 (3): 1164–86.
- . 2017. “Kapasitas Refleksif Pemuda Dalam Transisi Menuju Dunia Kerja.” *Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo* 1 (1): 1–16.
- Sy, Zulfikar. 2020. “Serikat Pekerja Lintas Media Didirikan Di Jakarta.” *MerahPutih*, February 25, 2020, sec. Berita. <https://merahputih.com/post/read/serikat-pekerja-lintas-media-didirikan-di-jakarta>.
- Syambudi, Irwan, and Adi Briantika. 2020. “Eksplotasi Jurnalis: Upah Murah & Telat hingga Korban Kekerasan.” *tirto.id*, January 27, 2020. <https://tirto.id/eksplotasi-jurnalis-upah-murah-telat-hingga-korban-kekerasan-eu7q>.
- Tailby, Stephanie, and Anna Pollert. 2011. “Non-Unionized Young Workers and Organizing the Unorganized:” *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, April. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0143831X10388532>.
- Tapia, Maite, and Lowell Turner. 2018. “Renewed Activism for the Labor Movement: The Urgency of Young Worker Engagement:” *Work and Occupations*, July. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0730888418785657>.
- Tapsell, Ross. 2014. “Platform Convergence in Indonesia: Challenges and Opportunities for Media Freedom.” *Convergence* 21 (2): 182–97. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856514531527>
- Tapsell, Ross. 2018. *Kuasa Media Di Indonesia: Kaum Oligarki, Warga, Dan Revolusi Digital*. Translated by Wisnu Prasetya Utomo. Tangerang Selatan: CV. Marjin Kiri.
- “The Evolution of News and The Internet.” 2010. DSTI/ICCP/IE(2009)14/FINAL. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

- The Jakarta Post. 2020. "Workers, Students Continue to Protest Omnibus Bill," January 14, 2020. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/01/14/workers-students-continue-to-protest-omnibus-bill.html>.
- Thee, Kian Wie. 2004. *Pembangunan, kebebasan, dan "mukjizat" Orde Baru: esai-esai*. Penerbit Kompas bekerjasama dengan Freedom Institute dan Kedutaan Besar Denmark.
- Threadgold, Steven, and Pam Nilan. 2009. "Reflexivity of Contemporary Youth, Risk and Cultural Capital:" *Current Sociology*, January. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392108097452>.
- Tjandraningsih, Indrasari. 2004. "Bahasan Untuk Bappenas: Kebijakan Pasar Kerja Untuk Memperluas Kesempatan Kerja." In . Bandung: Bappenas-Universitas Parahyangan Bandung.
- . 2012. "State-Sponsored Precarious Work in Indonesia." *American Behavioral Scientist* 57 (4): 403–19.
- Tjandraningsih, Indrasari, and Hari Nugroho. 2009. "The Flexibility Regime and Organised Labour in Indonesia." *Labour and Management in Development* 9: 1–15.
- "Tolak Revisi UU Ketenagakerjaan! Revisi Undang-undang Ketenagakerjaan Miskinkan Rakyat!" 2019. *Buruh.co* (blog). July 10, 2019. <https://buruh.co/tolak-revisi-uu-ketenagakerjaan-revisi-undang-undang-ketenagakerjaan-miskinkan-rakyat/>.
- Tri, Rahma. 2019. "Menteri Hanif: UU Ketenagakerjaan Kita Kaku Seperti Kanebo Kering." *Tempo*, June 24, 2019, sec. bisnis. <https://bisnis.tempo.co/read/1217752/menteri-hanif-uu-ketenagakerjaan-kita-kaku-seperti-kanebo-kering>.
- Turow, Joseph. 2012. "Buying Digital Advertising: A Brief Overview." *Pew Research Center* 13.
- Wahono, Francis X, and I Wibowo. 2003. *Neoliberalisme*. Yogyakarta: Cindekaras Pustaka Rakyat Cerdas.
- Wahyudi, Eko. 2019. *Review of Bantah Beritagar Tutup, Pemred: 17 Karyawan Redaksi Dirumahkan*, by Kodrat Setiawan. *Tempo.Co*, October 21, 2019. <https://bisnis.tempo.co/read/1262529/bantah-beritagar-tutup-pemred-17-karyawan-di-redaksi-dirumahkan>.
- Wahyuni, Ribut Nurul, and Anugerah Karta Monika. 2016. "Pengaruh Pendidikan Terhadap Ketimpangan Pendapatan Tenaga Kerja Di Indonesia." *Jurnal Kependudukan Indonesia* 11 (1): 15–28.
- Wallach, Jeremy. 2002. "Modern Noise and Ethnic Accents: Indonesian Popular Music in the Era of Reformasi." *Dissertations Available from ProQuest*, January.
- Walters, Emma, Christopher Warren, and Mike Dobbie. 2006. "The Changing Nature of Work: A Global Survey and Case Study of Atypical Work in The Media Industry." *International Federation of Journalists and International Labour Office*.

- Warouw, N. 2005. "Pekerja Industri Indonesia, Gerakan Buruh, Dan New Social Movement: Merajut Sebuah Kemungkinan." *Jurnal Analisis Sosial* 10 (2): 1–18.
- Weber, Matthew S., and Allie Kosterich. 2018. "Managing a 21st-Century Newsroom Workforce: A Case Study of NYC News Media." *Columbia Journalism Review*. [https://www.cjr.org/tow\\_center\\_reports/managing-a-newsroom-workforce-nyc-case-study.php/](https://www.cjr.org/tow_center_reports/managing-a-newsroom-workforce-nyc-case-study.php/).
- Webster, Edward, Robert Vincent Lambert, Rob Lambert, and Andries Beziudenhout. 2008. *Grounding Globalization: Labour in the Age of Insecurity*. Wiley.
- Webster, Tracy Wright. n.d. "The Ongoing Culture Debate: Female Youth and Pergaulan (Bebas) in Yogyakarta, Indonesia." *Youth Identities and Social Transformations in Modern Indonesia*, 215–37.
- Wells, Karen. 2009. *Childhood in Global Perspective*. Polity.
- White, Ben. 2012a. "Agriculture and the Generation Problem: Rural Youth, Employment and the Future of Farming." *IDS Bulletin* 43 (6): 9–19. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1759-5436.2012.00375.x>.
- . 2012b. "Changing Childhoods: Javanese Village Children in Three Generations." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 12 (1): 81–97. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0366.2011.00338.x>.
- "WHO | Burn-out an 'Occupational Phenomenon': International Classification of Diseases." n.d. WHO. World Health Organization. Accessed March 5, 2020. [http://www.who.int/mental\\_health/evidence/burn-out/en/](http://www.who.int/mental_health/evidence/burn-out/en/).
- Widhana, Dieqy Hasbi. 2017. "Kondisi Kerja Buruh Aice Tak Semanis Iklan 'Have an Aice Day.'" *tirto.id*, 2017. <https://tirto.id/kondisi-kerja-buruh-aice-tak-semanis-iklan-have-an-aice-day-cA7f>.
- Widodari, Gendis Syari, and Andeta Karamina. 2019. "Paradoks Kerja di Era Post-Industrial: Antara Fleksibilitas, Ketidakpastian, dan Kepuasan." *Jurnal Studi Pemuda* 8 (1): 81–85. <https://doi.org/10.22146/studipemudaugm.45580>.
- Wijaya, Hanny. 2014. "Dalam Pusaran Liberalisasi Media." In *Di Balik Kisah Gemerlap: Pergulatan Gerakan Sosial Di Aceh Sesudah Tsunami*, 39–59. Yogyakarta: Insist Press.
- Williams, Colin C., and Janice Windebank. 1998. *Informal Employment in the Advanced Economies: Implications for Work and Welfare*. Psychology Press.
- Willnat, L, and D Weaver. 2014. *The American Journalist in the Digital Age: Key Findings*. Bloomington, IN: School of Journalism, Indiana University.
- Wilpert, Czarina. 1998. "Migration and Informal Work in the New Berlin: New Forms of Work or New Sources of Labour?" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 24 (2): 269–94. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.1998.9976633>.

- Winseck, Dwayne. 2011. "The Political Economies of Media and The Transformation of The Global Media Industries." In *The Political Economies of Media*, edited by Dal Yong Jin and Dwayne Winseck, 3–48. London: Bloomsbury.
- Wood, A., M. Graham, V. Lehdonvirta, H. Barnard, and I. Hjorth. 2016. "Virtual Production Networks: Fixing Commodification and Disembeddedness." <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:b17c46f0-8cb5-4e9f-bb08-18223146c23d>.
- Wood, Alex J., Vili Lehdonvirta, and Mark Graham. 2018. "Workers of the Internet Unite? Online Freelancer Organisation among Remote Gig Economy Workers in Six Asian and African Countries." *New Technology, Work and Employment* 33 (2): 95–112. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ntwe.12112>.
- Woodcock, Andrew. 2020. "Union to Sue Government over Failure to Protect Self-Employed Workers during Pandemic." *The Independent*, March 23, 2020, sec. UK Politics. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/coronavirus-uk-news-self-employed-gig-economy-union-a9418421.html>.
- Woodman, Dan, and Johanna Wyn. 2015. *Youth and Generation: Rethinking Change and Inequality in the Lives of Young People*. SAGE.
- Wyn, Johanna, and Rob White. 1997. *Rethinking Youth*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446250297>.
- Wyn, Johanna, and Dan Woodman. 2006. "Generation, Youth, and Social Change in Australia." *Journal of Youth Studies* 9 (5): 495–514.
- Žmolek, Michael Andrew. 2013. *Rethinking the Industrial Revolution: Five Centuries of Transition from Agrarian to Industrial Capitalism in England*. Rethinking the Industrial Revolution. Brill. <https://brill.com/view/title/21001>.