



References

- Anner, M. & Liu, X. (2016) ‘Harmonious Unions and Rebellious Workers: A Study of Wildcat Strikes in Vietnam.’ *ILR Review* 69(1): 3 –28.
- Anner, M. (2015) “Labor control regimes and worker resistance in global supply chains”. *Labor History* 56 (3): 292-307.
- Arifianto, A. (2006) “The New Indonesian Social Security Law: A Blessing or Curse for Indonesians?”. *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 23 (1): 57-74.
- Arnold, D., and Campbell, S. (2017) Labour Regime Transformation in Myanmar: Constitutive Processes of Contestation’. *Development and Change* 48 (4): 801-824.
- Aspinall, E. (2013a) ‘A Nation in Fragments: Patronage and Neoliberalism in Contemporary Indonesia.’ *Critical Asian Studies* 45 (1): 27–54.
- Aspinall, E. (2013b) ‘Popular Agency and Interests in Indonesia's Democratic Transition and Consolidation.’ *Indonesia* 96 (1): 101-121.
- Aspinall, E. (2014) ‘Health care and democratization in Indonesia.’ *Democratization* 21(5): 803-823.
- Barrientos, A. (2004) ‘Latin America: towards a liberal-informal welfare regime’. In *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America: Social Policy in Development Contexts*, edited by I. Gough, G. Wood, A. Barrientos, P. Bevan, P. Davis, and G. Room, 121-168. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BeritaSatu (2016) Menaker: Yang Tak Setuju dengan PP 60 / 2015 Tentang JHT

Silakan Uji Materi ke MA. *BeritaSatu*. 08 September. Accessed from:

<https://www.beritasatu.com/ekonomi/384276/menaker-yang-tak-setuju-dengan-pp-60-2015-tentang-jht-silakan-ujи-materi-ke-ma>

Bernstein, H. (2007) *Capital and labour from centre to margins*. Paper presented at Living on the Margins Conference, Stellenbosch University, 26-28 March 2007.

Bivens, J. (2020) Fundamental health reform like ‘Medicare for All’ would help the labor market.’ *Economic Policy Institute* (March 5). Accessed from:

<https://www.epi.org/publication/medicare-for-all-would-help-the-labor-market/>

Booth, A. (2016) *Economic Change in Modern Indonesia: Colonial and Post-colonial Comparisons*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourchier, D. (2015) *Illiberal Democracy in Indonesia: The Ideology of the Family State*. New York: Routledge.

BPJS Health (2019) *Laporan Pengelolaan Program dan Laporan Keuangan Jaminan Sosial Kesehatan tahun 2018*. Jakarta: BPJS Kesehatan.

BPJS Labour (2019) *Laporan Tahunan Terintegrasi Tahun 2018: Unggul dalam Layanan, Kuatkan Operasional Andal*. Jakarta: BPJS Ketenagakerjaan.

Bryman, A. (2012) *Social Research Methods 4th Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Caraway, T. L. & Ford, M. (2020) *Labor and Politics in Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Caraway, T. L. (2004) "Protective Repression, International Pressure, and

Institutional Design: Explaining Labor Reform in Indonesia". *Studies in Comparative International Development* 39 (3): 28-49.

Caraway, T.L., Ford, M., and Nguyen, O.K. (2019) 'Politicizing the Minimum Wage: Wage Councils, Worker Mobilization, and Local Elections in

Indonesia.' *Politics & Society* 47 (2): 251–276.

Chan, C. K. C. (2009) "Strike and changing workplace relations in a Chinese global factory." *Industrial Relations Journal* 40 (1): 60–77.

Chan, C. K. C. (2014) "Constrained Labour Agency and the Changing Regulatory Regime in China." *Development and Change* 45(4): 685–709.

Chan, C. K. C., and Hui, E. S. L. (2014). The Development of Collective Bargaining in China: From "Collective Bargaining by Riot" to "Party State-led Wage Bargaining". *The China Quarterly* 217 (1): 221-242.

Coe, N. M. and Jordhus-Lier, D. C. (2011) Constrained agency? Re-evaluating the geographies of labour. *Progress in Human Geography* 35(2): 211–233.

Cole, R. (2012) A new tactical toolkit. *Inside Indonesia* 110 (Oct-Dec). Accessed from: <https://www.insideindonesia.org/a-new-tactical-toolkit>

Collier, R. B. (1999) *Paths towards Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Creswell, J. (2009) *Research Design: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. California: SAGE Publications.



Crouch, H. (2007) *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*. Singapore: Equinox

Publishing.

Dahlum, S., Knutsen, C. H., and Wig, T. (2019) 'Who Revolts? Empirically Revisiting the Social Origins of Democracy'. *The Journal of Politics* 81(4): 1494-1499.

Detiknews (2015) Persoalkan JHT, Ratusan Buruh Geruduk Kantor BPJS Bandung. Detiknews.com. 11 August. Accessed from:

<https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-barat/d-2988758/persoalkan-jht-ratusan-buruh-geruduk-kantor-bpjs-bandung>

Djani, L., Saleh, M. D., and Saputro, P. A. (2018) Claiming a Welfare State: Universal Health Insurance and the Labour Movement Case Study of Jamkes Watch in Bekasi, West Java, Indonesia. In *The Politics of Welfare: Contested Welfare Regimes in Indonesia* edited by Wawan Mas'udi and Cornelis Lay. Jakarta: Pustaka Obor

Duncan, D. (2015) *Out of the Factory, Onto the Streets: The Indonesian Metalworkers Union Federation (FSPMI) as a Case of Union Revitalisation in Indonesia*. BA Honour Thesis, Australian National University, Canberra.

Esmara, H. and Tjiptoherijanto, P. (1986) 'The Social Security System in Indonesia'. *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 3 (1): 53-69.

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta (1990) *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity.

- Fahmi, A. Z. (2002) *Indonesia's Social Protection Policy: An Assessment of Mandatory Social Insurance Proposal*. MA Thesis, Institute of Social Studies, Den Haag.
- Fischer, A. M. (2020) 'The Dark Sides of Social Policy: From Neoliberalism to Resurgent Right-wing Populism.' *Development and Change* 51(2): 371—397.
- Feith, H. (2007) *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*. Singapore: Equinox Publishing.
- Ford, M. (2006) "Labour NGOs: An Alternative Form of Labour Organizing in Indonesia, 1991–1998". *Asia Pacific Business Review* 12 (2): 175-191.
- Ford, M., & Sirait, G.M. (2016) 'The state, democratic transition and employment relations in Indonesia.' *Journal of Industrial Relations* 58 (2): 229–242.
- Goldfrank, B. and Schrank, A. (2009) Municipal Neoliberalism and Municipal Socialism: Urban Political Economy in Latin America'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33 (2): 443–462.
- Gough, I., Wood, G., Barrientos, A., Bevan, P., Davis, P., and Room, G. (2004) *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America: Social Policy in Development Contexts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Habibi, M. & Juliawan, B. H. (2018) "Creating Surplus Labour: Neo-Liberal Transformations and the Development of Relative Surplus Population in Indonesia". *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 48 (4): 649-670.



Habibi, M. (2013) “Gerakan Buruh Pasca Soeharto: Politik Jalanan di Tengah Himpitan Pasar Kerja Fleksibel.” *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik* 16 (3): 200-216.

Hadiz, V. R. (1997). *Workers and the State in New Order Indonesia*. London: Routledge.

Hadiz, V. R. (2002) “The Indonesian Labour Movement: Resurgent or Constrained?” *Southeast Asian Affairs*. 130-142.

Hadiz, V. R. (2010) *Localising Power in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia: A Southeast Asia Perspective*. Stanford: Stanford University Press

Haggard, S. (2005) ‘The political economy of the Asian welfare state.’ In *Asian States: Beyond the Developmental Perspective*, edited by R. Boyd and T.W. Ngo, 145-171. London: Routledge.

Holliday, I. (2000). ‘Productivist welfare capitalism: Social policy in East Asia’. *Political Studies* 48 (4): 706–72.

Hooghe, M., & Oser, J. (2015). Trade union density and social expenditure: a longitudinal analysis of policy feedback effects in OECD countries, 1980–2010. *Journal of European Public Policy* 23 (10): 1520–1542.

Huber, E., Mustillo, T., and Stephens, J. D. (2008) “Politics and Social Spending in Latin America”. *The Journal of Politics* 70 (2): 420-436.

ILO (2017) *World Social Protection Report 2017–19: Universal social protection to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals*. Geneva: ILO.



Joedadibrata, D. (2012) *A Study of the Shift towards Universal Social Policy in*

Indonesia. Master thesis, Institute of Social Studies, Den Haag.

Jordan, J. (2013) “Policy feedback and support for the welfare state.” *Journal of*

European Social Policy 23 (2): 134 –148.

Juliawan, B. H. (2010) “Extracting Labor from Its Owner: Private Employment Agencies and Labor Market Flexibility in Indonesia.” *Critical Asian Studies* 42 (1): 25-52.

Juliawan, B. H. (2011). “Street-level Politics: Labour Protests in Post-authoritarian Indonesia.” *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 41 (3): 349-370.

Jung, E. (2016) “Campaigning for All Indonesians: The Politics of Healthcare in Indonesia”. *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 38 (3): 476–94.

Komite Aksi Jaminan Sosial (KAJS) (2010) Gugatan Perbuatan Melawan Hukum atas Penyelenggaraan Jaminan Sosial. Accessed from
http://www.jamsosindonesia.com/kjs/files/KAJS_Gugatan%2010%20juni%202010-final.pdf

Kompas (2011) Buruh Bentuk BPJS Watch. *Kompas.com*. 29 October. Accessed from:

<https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2011/10/29/17413990/Buruh.Bentuk.BPJS.Watch>

Kompas (2019) Akses ke BPJS Kesehatan Ditutup karena PHK, Buruh Tak Bisa Berobat. *Kompas.com*. 04 December. Accessed from:



<https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2019/12/04/13070661/akses-ke-bpjs-kesehatan-ditutup-karena-phk-buruh-tak-bisa-berobat>

Korpi, W., and Palme, J. (1998) “The Paradox of Redistribution and Strategies of Equality: Welfare State Institutions, Inequality, and Poverty in the Western Countries”. *American Sociological Review* 63 (5): 661-687.

Kwon, H. J. (2003) “Advocacy coalitions and the politics of welfare in Korea after the economic crisis”. *Policy and Politics* 31 (1): 69–83.

Kwon, H. J. (2005) “Transforming the Developmental Welfare State in East Asia”. *Development and Change* 36 (3): 477–497.

Lane, M. (2010) ‘Indonesia and the Fall of Suharto: Proletarian Politics in the “Planet of Slums” Era’. *The Journal of Labor and Society* 13 (2): 185–200.

Lane, M. (2019) *An Introduction to the Politics of the Indonesian Union Movement*. Singapore: ISEAS Publishing.

Larsen, C. A. (2008) “The Institutional Logic of Welfare Attitudes: How Welfare Regimes Influence Public Support.” *Comparative Political Studies* 41(2): 145–168.

Lee, J. and Kim, T. (2019) “Social politics of welfare reform in Korea and Japan: a new way of mobilising power resources”. *Voluntas* 30 (2): 393–407.

Lue, J. D. (2014) “Globalisation, Democratisation and the Institutional Transformation of Taiwan’s Welfare Regime”. *Social Policy and Society* 13 (2): 275–284.



Madrid, R. L. (2003) “Labouring against Neoliberalism: Unions and Patterns of

Reform in Latin America”. *Journal of Latin American Studies* 35(1): 53-88.

Majalah Sedane (2019) BPJS Kesehatan Rampas Hak Kesehatan Anak. *Majalah Sedane*. 21 December. Accessed from: <http://majalahsedane.org/bpjss-kesehatan-rampas-hak-kesehatan-anak/>

Majalah Tempo (2019a) Berebut Premi di Masa Transisi. *Majalah Tempo*. 13 July. Accessed from: <https://majalah.tempo.co/read/ekonomi-dan-bisnis/158010/berebut-premi-di-masa-transisi>

Majalah Tempo (2019b) Kotak Pandora Jaminan Sosial. *Majalah Tempo*. 27 April. Accessed from: <https://majalah.tempo.co/read/ekonomi-dan-bisnis/158100/kotak-pandora-jaminan-sosial>

Manning, C. & Roesad, K. 2007. “The Manpower Law of 2003 and its implementing regulations: Genesis, key articles and potential impact.” *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 43 (1): 59-86.

Matthews, D. (2018) “The Working-Class Struggle for Welfare in Britain.” *Monthly Review* 69 (9): 33-45.

Mezzadri, A. (2017) *The Sweatshop Regime Labouring Bodies, Exploitation, and Garments Made in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mietzner, M. (2012) ‘Indonesia's democratic stagnation: anti-reformist elites and resilient civil society.’ *Democratization* 19 (2): 209-229.



Mietzner, M. (2013) ‘Fighting the Hellhounds: Pro-democracy Activists and Party Politics in Post-Suharto Indonesia.’ *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 43 (1): 28-50.

Miller, R. L. & Brewer, J. D. (2003) *The A-Z of Social Research*. London: SAGE Publications

Mortimer, R. (2006) *Indonesian Communism Under Sukarno Ideology and Politics, 1959-1965*. Singapore: Equinox Publishing.

Murphy, J. (2019) “The Historical Development of Indonesian Social Security.” *Asian Journal of Social Science* 47 (2): 255-279.

Niedzwiecki, S. (2015) ‘Social Policy Commitment in South America: The Effect of Organized Labor on Social Spending from 1980 to 2010’. *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 7(2): 3–42.

Nowak, J. (2017) “Mass Strikes in India and Brazil as the Terrain for a New Social Movement Unionism”. *Development and Change* 48 (5): 965–986.

Oesch, D. (2015) ‘Welfare regimes and change in the employment structure: Britain, Denmark and Germany since 1990.’ *Journal of European Social Policy* 25(1): 94-110.

Panglaykim, J. (1965) ‘Worker-Management Councils in Indonesia.’ *World Politics* 17(2): 243-255.

Panimbang, F. & A. Mufakhir (2018) “Labour Strikes in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia, 1998-2013.” In *Workers’ Movements and Strikes in the Twenty-*

First Century: A Global Perspective, edited by J. Nowak, M. Dutta, & P.

Birke, 21-46. London: Rowman & Littlefield.

Pattenden, J. (2015) ‘Class and Social Policy: The National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme in Karnataka, India’. *Journal of Agrarian Change* 17(1): 43–66.

Pattenden, J. (2016) “Working at the margins of global production networks: local labour control regimes and rural-based labourers in South India.” *Third World Quarterly* 37 (10): 1809-1833.

Pierson, P. (1996) ‘The New Politics of the Welfare State.’ *World Politics* 48 (2): 143-179.

Pribble, J., Huber, E. and Stephens, J. D. (2009) “Politics, Policies, and Poverty in Latin America.” *Comparative Politics* 41(4): 387-407.

Pringle, T. (2017) “A Class Against Capital: Class and Collective Bargaining in Guangdong,” *Globalizations* 14 (2): 245-258.

Przeworski, A. (2009) ‘Conquered or Granted? A History of Suffrage Extensions’. *British Journal of Political Science* 39(2): 291-321.

Purwoko, B. (1996) “Indonesian social security in transition: An empirical analysis.” *International Social Security Review* 49 (1): 51-71.

Rizzo, M. (2017) *Taken for a Ride: Grounding Neoliberalism, Precarious Labour, and Public Transport in an African Metropolis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.



Robinson, G. B. (2018) *The Killing Season: A History of the Indonesian*

Massacres, 1965-1966. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Robison, R. & Hadiz, V. R. (2004) *Reorganising Power in Indonesia: The politics of oligarchy in an age of market*. London: RoutledgeCurzon

Robison, R. (2009) *Indonesia: The Rise of Capital*. Singapore: Equinox Publishing.

Roosa, J. (2006) *Pretext for Mass Murder: The September 30th Movement and Suharto's Coup d 'État in Indonesia*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

Rosfadhila, M. (2019) *Developing an Unemployment Insurance Scheme for Indonesia*. SMERU Working Paper September 2019.

Rueschemeyer, D. Stephens, E. H., Huber, E. and Stephens, J. D. (1992) *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Selwyn, B. (2011) 'The Political Economy of Class Compromise: Trade Unions, Capital-Labour Relations and Development in North East Brazil'. *Antipode* 43(4): 1305–1329.

Selwyn, B. (2014) 'Capital–Labour and State Dynamics in Export Horticulture in North-east Brazil'. *Development and Change* 45(4): 1019-1036.

Silver, B. J. 2003. *Forces of Labor: Workers' Movements and Globalization since 1870*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



Smith, C., & Pun, N. (2006) ‘The dormitory labour regime in China as a site for control and resistance’. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management* 17 (8): 1456-1470.

Sumarto, M. (2017) “Welfare Regime Change in Developing Countries: Evidence from Indonesia.” *Social Policy & Administration* 51 (6): 940-959.

Suryahadi, A., Febriany, V., & Yumna, A. (2014) *Expanding Social Security in Indonesia: The Processes and Challenges*. UNRISD Working Paper No. 2014-14.

Tambunan, T.T.H., & Purwoko, B. (2002) “Social Protection in Indonesia.” In *Social Protection in Southeast and East Asia: Towards a Comprehensive Picture*, edited by J. Marei, 21-74. Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung.

Tenorio, B. Z. (2014) ‘Social Spending Responses to Organized Labor and Mass Protests in Latin America, 1970- 2007’. *Comparative Political Studies* 47(14): 1945–1972.

Tim SJSN (2004) Naskah Akademik Sistem Jaminan Sosial Nasional. Accessed from <http://www.jamsosindonesia.com/files/NA%20SJSN.pdf>

Tjandra, S. (2014) “The Indonesian Trade Union Movement: A Clash of Paradigm.” In *Worker Activism after Reformasi 1998: A New Phase for Indonesian Unions?* Edited by Jafar Suryomenggolo. 45-65. Hong Kong: Asia Monitoring Resource Center.

Tjandra, S. (2016) *Labour Law and Development in Indonesia*. PhD thesis, Leiden University, Leiden.



Tjandraningsih, I. (2013) "State-Sponsored Precarious Work in Indonesia."

American Behavioral Scientist 57 (4) 403–419.

Törnquist, O. 2004. "Labour and democracy? Reflections on the Indonesian impasse." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 34 (3): 377-399.

Van den Heever, A. M. (2021) 'Social insurance.' In *Handbook on Social Protection Systems*, edited by E. Schüring and M. Loewe, 68-77. Gloucestershire: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Widjaja, M. (2012) "Indonesia: In Search of a Placement-Support Social Protection." *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 29 (3): 184-196.

Winters, J.A. (2013) 'Oligarchy and Democracy in Indonesia.' *Indonesia* 96 (1): 11-33.

Wisnu, D. (2007) *Governing Social Security: Economic Crisis and Reform in Indonesia, The Philippines and Singapore*. PhD Dissertation, Ohio State University, Ohio.

Wood, G. (2004) Informal security regimes: the strength of relationships. In *Insecurity and Welfare Regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America: Social Policy in Development Contexts*, edited by I. Gough, G. Wood, A. Barrientos, P. Bevan, P. Davis, and G. Room, 49-87. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wright, E. O. 2000. "Working-class Power, Capitalist-class Interests, and Class Compromise." *American Journal of Sociology* 105 (4): 957-1002.



UNIVERSITAS
GADJAH MADA

Welfare Regime and Workers: BPJS Health, BPJS Labour Social Insurance, and Labour Union Activism in Post-Suharto Indonesia

ALNICK MUHAMMAD N, Dr. Agus Heruanto Hadna, S.I.P., M.Si.

Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2021 | Diunduh dari <http://etd.repository.ugm.ac.id/>

Yuda, T.K. (2019) 'Welfare regime and the patrimonial state in contemporary

Asia: visiting Indonesian cases.' *Journal of Asian Public Policy* 12 (3): 351-

365.