

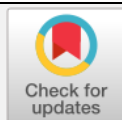
The Dilemma of Construction Laborers towards Welfare: Study of Young Workers in Malang City

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ABSTRACT

One essential thing is examining labor welfare aspects, especially for young workers with a long future journey. During difficulties and limitations in finding work, youth with social capital and experience in the field try to become construction laborers. Their transition did not appear to be as smooth as one might imagine, even though they entered jobs that required "muscle" or physical. This study uses qualitative methods using observation and in-depth interviews with informants in the field. While searching for data, several young people explained their transition process in their dreams of achieving better welfare than today. The fluctuating transitional phase does not seem to reach their ideas to work and their dream phase. The risk of global employment in the context of their future as laborers swaying around will encourage them to get a better life.

Keywords: Risk; Transition; Welfare; Young Worker

1. Introduction

Today, the concept of prosperity is still often questioned. This is because there is still ambiguity regarding the different welfare variables in society. However, one of the variables that are often used as a reference is related to economic welfare. Undeniably, after the reform, people in Indonesia have an increasingly better level of welfare when viewed in a macroeconomic context (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2019). This growth in welfare shows an increasing number of people with middle to upper-economic capabilities.

On the other hand, it shows the emergence of a massive middle class, especially in urban areas (Pusdiklat Pajak, 2015). However, there are not a few people who are still living under the condition of Indonesia's rising economy. There are still people who struggle in the lower-class economic structure. Without exception, the average age of their youth is a productive time to work.

One issue that is quite important in the context of employment is the issue of finding a job. It is undeniable that the data obtained from the ILO (International Labour Organization) shows that there has been a decline in the participation rate from 1999-2019, namely from 53.1 percent to 41.2 percent (where around 500 million young people are in that category) (International Labour Organization, 2020). This happens not only in Southern and Northern Countries (Kelly & Kamp, 2015). The transitional phase of youth that has not gone smoothly shows that the transitional phase that young people go through towards the world of work needs special attention. Issues related to equal distribution of wealth seem to still be a big challenge for the world if we reflect on the data described by the ILO, where there are still 500 million young people trying to find work. At least a more massive contribution is needed to fulfill aspects of employment in all world countries. Globalization, expected to positively impact the world of employment, has stagnated.

Indonesia, as a developing country, also shows symptoms that the number of jobs is still limited, where there is an increase in the number of unemployed (GenPI.co, 2020). Not to mention the factors of education and work experience, which are always a start for young people when registering in certain work sectors. Sectors that require labor in a physical context eventually become an alternative for young people in Indonesia to explore, such as construction labor. Construction labors are one of the excellent types of work, considering the level of education required to register is not as high as other types of work. Only by graduating from high school or even elementary school can someone become a construction laborer, although they still need social capital to enter this type of work.

The same thing happened in Malang City, one of the cities with significant developments, especially in the context of education and the economy in the East Java region. Especially with the development of a young population reaching 30% of the total population, the highest for cities in the East Java region (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2019). This has rapidly increased infrastructure development, especially in the education and economic sectors. It is not surprising then that Malang City, one of the big cities in East Java, can attract the attention of young job seekers, both full-time and part-time, including construction laborers (Meiji, 2019). As a result, many young construction laborers try to try their fortune from various regions to find income and experience in Malang City.

In the context of youth, construction labor jobs, which several CVs or PTs usually open through a contract or non-contract work system, are quite attractive. Especially for young people who are in socio-economic conditions and are in a lower-class environment. Becoming a construction laborer is related to their social environment, which is an important choice. It

cannot be denied that the habitus inherent in young individuals contributes later in the decision-making process to obtain a more decent livelihood (Warwick et al., 2017).

This study examines the context of the transition of young labor in several PTs in Malang City. Their dynamics in facing the difficult demands of life due to the relatively weak economic conditions have made these young people try to become young workers. Fulfilling economic welfare is a reference when they become young workers. Apart from that, this study will also explain how the dynamic transition of youth from childhood to adulthood will be explained.

2. Literature Review

Not much research specifically discusses young workers (construction laborers) in the construction sector in Indonesia in the context of welfare. On average, research in Indonesia focuses more on the context of workers' welfare, which is getting lower and lower (Hendrastomo, 2010). Therefore, to analyze and study the context of youth in the world of work, at least several theories will be used to dissect the dynamics of young workers in this study.

2.1. Youth in Transition

Conceptions about youth are often only seen in the context of social agents, even though youth should be seen from various perspectives. This is because youth must be seen more holistically as a process (Sutopo & Meiji, 2014). As in the explanation regarding the concept of youth, which should be seen apart from the perspective of becoming, it is also in the context of being (Huijsmans, 2016). These two perspectives synergize, wherein the context of becoming a youth is interpreted as agents of social change (parental and societal expectations). While in the context of being is how young people interpret themselves and enjoy their youth.

Several concepts are used as analytical tools in studying the context of youth. One concept developed in youth studies is youth transition (Woodman & Bennett, 2016). In transition, youth becomes a relational phase between childhood and adulthood. So in the context of youth, the transition is a bridge phase from one domain to another in their life. There are at least three concepts described in the context of transition, namely towards the world of education, work, and marriage/family (Sutopo & Azca, 2013; Sutopo & Meiji, 2017; White & Naafs, 2012). In the transition phase the youth transition phase is often described as smooth, but what happens is different, especially if we look at the context in developing countries where the dynamics are, of course, different from countries in the North (Parker & Nilan, 2017; Sutopo, 2015). Therefore, in this study related to young workers, a transitional perspective will be used to provide an overview of their journey from the previous phase to when the research was conducted. The transition concept is expected to provide an overview of Indonesia's youth sector.

2.2. Laborer Welfare and Future Risks

The term work in the Big Indonesian Dictionary is for another person who gets the same wage or worker. At the same time, Law No. 13 of 2003 concerning Employment defines worker/laborer as any person who works and receives wages or other forms of remuneration (Republik Indonesia, 2003). In Indonesia, at a practical level, when discussing labor, it is always synonymous with poverty and slums. The level of workers' welfare is often seen at the level of the lower class of society (Hendrastomo, 2010). Even so, laborers in the construction sector in the employment context have high work risks (both in terms of work safety and the future). In this case, being a laborer looks simple but complex in form with the dynamics they go through.

The context of welfare has become a utopia for each individual, although it is interpreted differently because of the diverse perspectives in viewing that context. Therefore, each individual's indicators related to the well-being dimensions are different. There are at least two dimensions of well-being, namely subjective and objective, where in each domain, there are differences in how welfare is defined and interpreted (Fatchiya et al., 2019). In this context, the meaning of welfare can also be conceptualized by how individuals adapt to the risks that arise in an increasingly individualized society (Beck, 1992; Sutopo & Meiji, 2017). In this article, the concept explained by Beck will become a bridge that explains the dream of the ideal welfare of young workers. It cannot be denied that the dreams of welfare coveted by these young workers also have risks in the future, especially in the context of their work. Prosperity as a goal expected by young construction laborers seems to be hindered by the risks around them.

3. Research Methodology

This study uses qualitative research methods as a tool to obtain holistic data. As expected, this qualitative research method is primarily to obtain focused, quality, and in-depth data in the social context of society (Sugiyono, 2016). Through a phenomenological approach, this study seeks to see the dynamics that young workers go through to achieve their dreams. To obtain in-depth data, it is necessary to extract data that is quite targeted and comprehensive, starting from observation to conducting in-depth interviews with young construction laborers in several PTs. Through observation and in-depth interviews, data is obtained that is like a complete puzzle and complements one another (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Using a purposive sampling model to get the right informants to answer the research formulation sought by the researcher. This research lasted approximately 7-8 months in 2019 until early 2020 before the pandemic. So the data obtained through observation and in-depth interviews can be done optimally. The observation and in-depth interviews are conducted face-to-face, by telephone, or via message because the time these young workers have is limited. The criteria for the informants used in this study are that one uses the concept of age based on Law No. 40 of 2009, namely between 16-30 years (Republik Indonesia, 2009). In addition, the informants also worked for at least one year in the PT to provide a narrative of their work experiences to gain future prosperity. Data analysis was carried out using the technique from Miles and Huberman. The first was by collecting data by transcribing the informant interview data, then carrying out data reduction to choose the main and important things and look for patterns and themes from the interviews. After reducing the data, a presentation will be carried out. Data on 16 informants following the data reduction process to be organized and structured on the pattern of youth labor relations in Malang, then drawing conclusions describing the results of the data analysis (Moleong, n.d.).

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Narrative of Youth, Malang City Project Labors in the World of Education towards the World of Work

This section describes the narratives of 16 informants who work as construction laborers in Malang City. Informants working in Malang City come from various regions of Indonesia with different family backgrounds and education. Additionally, each informant has a different transition period from the world of education to the world of work. This difference is a form of youth in negotiating in the form of zigzag journeys, which are carried out to get the desired job through several long jumps of work to achieve the initial goal even though the work being done now is far different from the job desired, as explained by Nilan, Julian, and Germov "the

process of youth transition at the current time is usually not strained forward but can be described as a long zigzag" (Sutopo & Azca, 2013). Unlike the case with youth who are at a point where they can get jobs according to their dreams directly from the world of education to the world of work, the youth transition period will increase the chances of achieving the dreams they dream of in the future (Nilan et al., 2011). The success of the youth is measured when the youth goes through the education phase and the employment phase, which will provide easy opportunities to go to the maturity phase so that in the study of the ease of the education phase and the employment opportunity phase it requires serious attention (Sutopo & Meiji, 2014).

4.1.1. Youth Transition in the World of Education

The sixteen informants who worked on the Malang City project came from different areas and had different ages and educational backgrounds, starting from the last education they did not graduate from elementary school to the last education from vocational high school. Not only that, but the level of education also affects the expertise of certain work areas in project work. So that the data of 16 project laborer informants in Malang can be described as follows.

Table 1. Transitional Youth Profile and Educational Background

Informant	Age	Address	Educational Background
Ridwan	24 years old	Kudus	Senior High School
Trio	17 years old	Bojonegoro	Vocational High School
Ardi	25 years old	Malang	Primary School
Rofik	24 years old	Cilacap	Junior High School
Bambang	28 years old	Subang	Vocational High School
Putra	25 years old	Cilacap	Senior High School
Andre	20 years old	Ngawi	Senior High School
Iskandar	25 years old	Bumiayu	Vocational High School
Galih	18 years old	Malang	Senior High School
Bayu	26 years old	Jakarta	Junior High School
Deni	27 years old	Pati	Vocational High School
Hendra	22 years old	Bojonegoro	Senior High School
Ahmad	27 years old	Malang	Primary School
Pipit	29 years old	Jakarta	Vocational High School
Satrio	28 years old	Bogor	Vocational High School
Diki	20 years old	Cilacap	Vocational High School

Source: Interview Results (2019)

From the interview data of 16 informants, most of the informants belonged to a young age, where the age of youth has been regulated in Law Number 40 of 2009, which explains that Indonesian citizens are said to be young when they enter the age of 16 years up to the age of 30. The sixteen informants came from various cities in Indonesia and stayed for several months or even years to carry out project work in Malang. The sixteen informants had different educational backgrounds and different expertise according to the knowledge they had while studying.

The youth transition period is divided into several aspects, starting from aspects of going to school, aspects of going to the world of work, and aspects of going to the world of families or

starting a family (Wyn & White, 1997). In this case, this aspect is used to achieve the dreams that each informant wants. In the first aspect, youth face educational choices and transitions during schooling. In the second transition, youth are faced with the world after graduating from school to the world of work, in which they are faced with jobs that are appropriate or not following the desired job, and in The last aspect is the aspect where youth are faced with marriage and life in the household.

However, this article focuses on the aspects of educational transitions and world transitions. In the education aspect, the 16 informants experienced different twists and turns. For example, several informants who, while studying were funded by their parents or even older siblings also participated in financing the informant's education while studying. This was experienced by Trio, who was paid for by his parents, and Ridwan, who was paid for by his older brother.

The interview data was conducted from 16 informants who were taken from several regions and had different backgrounds. When viewed from the educational transition period, most of the informants in their education was financed by their parents and older siblings. Following the quote above, the youth, in this case (brother) informant, has a responsibility to help parents, one of which is to ease the burden on parents in paying for their younger sibling's schooling, following what was explained by Bourdieu and Wacquant that youth is taught related to the concept of filial piety to parents, which is a noble attitude according to religious and social teachings (Sutopo & Azca, 2013).

In the transition period, youth have a period when youth feel happy and proud for informants, even with difficult things, so it becomes the worst period for informants while studying. The worst transitional period that the informant has can be the process of choosing a school to receive an education which ends in a decision from parents with more roles.

In this case, in the selection of education, Trio experienced obstacles or a painful transition period, where Trio wanted to study in high school, but there were obstacles in the form of family income and the culture of their social environment. He explained that a child must obey their parents in making various decisions so that Trio must obey and continue their studies at Vocational High School and suppress their desire to continue to High School. Unlike the case of Putra, whose family directed them to choose Vocational High School over Senior High School because Putra's own family thinks that Vocational High School is a school with a free and uncontrolled association. The son finally had to obey orders from his family because if he didn't do this, he could not pursue further education and was asked to go straight to work.

In this case, the family has a very important role in making decisions related to education for the two informants. However, in the family's decision, other factors influence the sustainability of the informant's education, namely the socio-economic level. The family's socio-economic status influences the education level of the children in the family (Areva, 2015). With the informant's family's limitations, several informants had to continue their education by working side jobs that were used to meet their educational needs, as experienced by Bambang, who sold fruit ice at school or Galih, who also worked at a sound system.

The two informants used side jobs while studying to fulfill their needs at school. Bambang also works out of obedience to his parents to help his parents work by selling fruit ice at school. From the two informants, it was a difficult transition period, in contrast to the students who were more focused on their education for learning in the middle and upper-class circles. Even though with inadequate economic conditions, many informants won prizes as a form of seriousness in pursuing education, the achievements of these informants entered a transitional period that made the informants happy and proud.

Table 2. Transitional Youth Profile in the World of Education

Informant	Proud Events for Informants
Ridwan	Grade 5 Elementary School was ranked Top 3
Trio	Grade 2 Junior High School was ranked Top 10
Rofik	1st place in the Adhan Competition at the Junior High School level
Putra	1st Place in Painting Competition at Grade 6 Elementary School
Iskandar	3rd Place in Silat Competition
Bayu	3rd Place in Elementary School Calligraphy Competition
Deni	2nd Place in Junior High School Football Competition
Ahmad	1st Place in Grade 6 Elementary School
Diki	3rd Place in Elementary School High Jump Competition

Source: Interview Results (2019)

The achievements that informants get are the fruit of a transitional journey that can be said to be fun. This is stated by Deni, who often wins football matches at his junior high school, or even Diki, who won the high jump in elementary school. The achievements they get are related to their dreams, and it's the same with Deni, who wants to be a soccer athlete. Still, due to his life's transitional journey that doesn't allow it and the environment that makes Deni have to work as a construction laborer, this makes Deni put down his wish.

It was different when some informants could not continue their education to the next step due to various factors, including the social class owned by the family. As described by youth in the lower social class, continuing education at the next level will be hindered by family economic constraints, access, and networks (Bourdieu, 1988; Sutopo, 2015). The family economy is classified as low, and the family's work that is not well-established causes poverty in the family. Other alternatives require children to work to earn a living to support the family (Nurwati, 2008).

Poverty itself must be immediately minimized, abolished or resolved because it causes a low quality of human beings and children, which is useful as the younger generation gets a big impact. As felt by Iskandar, who has to work to help the family economy. Even though he intends to pursue further education, Iskandar has to look at his family's economic situation, especially having a younger sibling who must go to school. If we look at other informants who have the same problems from an economic perspective, including Ridwan and Galih, where they decide to work because they cannot afford to pay for their education.

The two informants chose not to continue their studies because they felt sorry for their parents. Ridwan, who felt sad for his father, worked on a project still in an uncertain economy, so Ridwan had to choose a job rather than continue his studies. Things were different again with Putra, who his family fully supported to continue studying. Still, by looking at the economy, Putra's family discouraged his dream because he felt that he would become a burden on his parents, so he decided to work.

Putra and Ardi are informants who still want to continue higher education and get full support from their families, but they choose to work because they feel it burdens their families. Even though Ardi chose to work, he still fought for himself to pursue higher education by saving from his work salary. Iskandar also experienced the same thing. However, due to

economic factors, Iskandar chose another way to work. However, his enthusiasm still emerged to receive further education, so this dream was passed on to his younger sibling so that Iskandar himself would work and pay for his younger sibling's education.

Iskandar dashed his hopes so that he had to take the path to work, but his dream was channeled to his younger brother by paying for his schooling. The fate of his younger brother changed and raised the family's dignity. The two informants (Putra, Ardi, Iskandar) still wanted to continue to the next level of education but were constrained by the family's economy. This phenomenon is known as the fast track transition, where the informant chooses to work not voluntarily or is called the voluntary model (Sutopo & Azca, 2013).

4.1.2. Youth Transition in the World of Work

After leaving school, youth will be faced with work life, sometimes following what is desired, even not following what is desired in terms of employment or is usually referred to as uncertainty. Therefore, youth must negotiate with the situation to make zigzag journeys to get a job (Sutopo & Azca, 2013). It's the same as some informants who wanted a job that was different from the job they are currently doing, so working as a project worker in the city of Malang can be a leap to realize the job they want, as narrated by Bambang who works in convection with a salary of under 1 million a month. This is also the case for Putra, who only looks after the boarding house with a salary of 700 thousand. Their initial job was a springboard for a career in construction.

The three informants (Rofik, Putra, Andre) experienced a transitional period using a zigzag journey where they started with choosing a job other than labor, starting from working in a convection, factory, or restaurant to a cooperative so that at this point, they are both taking work as a project laborer in Malang City. As Bourdieu said, actors in making choices in their lives have freedom so that agents can calculate the strategy they have (Swartz, 1998). In this case, the strategy undertaken does not lead to deliberate efforts but rather to accidental without prior planning, so it is more to the flow of actions in which it is objectively oriented to form patterns that can be understood socially, even though they do not follow the flow according to goals they planned (Ritzer & Goodman, 2007) as was passed by the three informants who made a zigzag journey of work in their life without going through planning but rather doing it according to the path that is in their future. Like one of the informants (Bambang), this informant also went through a zigzag journey in his work process. Still, at the endpoint, Rasmani chose to work on a project in the elevator or elevator improvement section that was following the desired job with the capital of a Mechanical Engineering Vocational School Education that Bambang had already travelled and master various techniques so that they could be applied in current jobs with their expertise. In this case, the informant is looking for work following the cultural capital he has in the form of legitimate knowledge so that he masters the job skills of the informant (Swartz, 1998).

Bambang went through a zigzag journey in terms of his work starting at PT Honda to becoming a construction laborer because the job currently being taken is following the skills he has. It's the same with several informants who made a zigzag journey in looking for work until they decided to work on a project or construction labor according to their reasons.

From the interviews of the two informants (Diki and Putra), the background for choosing a job in the project was that it was more convenient, different from the work they did before, with lots of demands, so they chose to work as project laborers. They enjoy working as laborers more than in their previous jobs. Unlike the case with the two informants, Bayu and Pipit have different dynamics.

Sparrows are informants who work according to obedience or devotion to their parents. When viewed using a pathological lens, according to White and Wyn, as cited in [Sutopo & Azca \(2013\)](#), youth are in times of storm and stress or unstable times, so youth are prone to conflict and are affected by negative things in this period the role of the family is very important for the process guiding and demanding in the right direction. The three informants chose to work as project laborers. After all, their families directed them, just like Pipit, who was not allowed to work far from the family environment because they were afraid of falling into bad associations. This then shows the transitional phase experienced by these young construction laborers.

4.2. The Scale of Youth Workers in Building Projects in Malang City to Prosper the Family

4.2.1. The welfare of Building Project Labors Families in Malang City

Based on the results of interviews with 16 construction project labor informants in Malang City who came from various regions spread across Malang City or outside Malang City, the socio-economic background influences the welfare level of the informants' lives. The economy in a family can occur because of the drive to achieve a level of well-being and satisfaction. So families are required to achieve this level of welfare with various choices of activities or work ([Masithoh et al., 2016](#)), where welfare is a benchmark that the family is in a prosperous condition or vice versa.

According to Ferguson Horwood and Beutrais, Welfare in the family can be measured in two, namely economic and material well-being. Family economic welfare is based on meeting the needs of the family's income, wages, and expenses. Meanwhile, material well-being can be measured in goods or services ([Purwanto & Taftazani, 2018](#)). Income is obtained from producing, by working, selling goods or trading, renting out assets such as land owners, and providing services such as project and farm laborers. In this way, someone will get an income. The following is the employment data of parents of building project laborers in Malang:

Table 3. Transitional Youth Profile (Parents of Building Project Laborers)

Parents' job	Amount
Project Labor	4
Farmers/Land Owners	4
Farm workers	3
Small traders	2
Private Labor	2
Female workers	1
Total	16

Source: Interview Results (2019)

From the data on the work of the parents of the project laborers above, it is very closely related to the income that will be obtained and used to meet family needs. The occupation of informant's parents, who work in building projects, has an average income of Rp2,500,000-Rp4,000,000/month, farmers with their land have an income of around Rp3,000,000/harvest, farm laborers have an average income of ≤ Rp2,500,000/harvest, and traders have an average income of ≤ Rp3,500,000/month, Female worker has an income of Rp8,000,000/month. Several classifications of parents' income of building project laborers serve as a measure of welfare in a family, where welfare is often associated with income. The higher one's income, the greater

one's productivity (Awal, 2018). This was manifested in the informants' parents, who chose to work as migrant workers and struggled to make their families prosperous by working abroad. Besides that, they also became heroes of the country's foreign exchange. But vice versa, the lower the productivity, the lower the person's income (Awal, 2018).

In a household, the number of members will greatly determine the number of family needs. This can be realized by spending on food and non-food items such as necessities for daily life, education and distribution of pocket money to children. Several informants explained that when they entered the world of education, Elementary Schools, Junior High Schools and Senior High Schools required a very large amount of money, especially in the distribution of pocket money, where several informants at Elementary Schools, Middle Schools and High School were given an average allowance of around Rp2,000 - Rp10,000 used for school needs such as taking public transportation, buying snacks, coffee, playing, etc. The more dependents in the family, the more burdened the head of the family is to pay for their children to go to school (Awal, 2018).

Apart from the reason for wages, other aspects are being pursued by some of these young labor informants how Iskandar tries to send his younger sibling to school to improve his younger sibling's quality of life in the future. Even so, with the choices made by several informants who tried to get additional costs to continue their education. They are not solely pursuing economic concepts, but more than that, they are trying to achieve the prosperity they dream of in the future.

In the family, material welfare is implemented in the form of services in the field of education. Several informants explained that they did not get proper education, where they received education until they graduated from elementary or junior high school and did not continue to the upper secondary or tertiary level. According to Pratama and Mandala, having a level of education as a benchmark will influence people's views in defining a prosperous family, one of which is that they will be able to send their family members to school as high as possible (Widyastuti, 2012). Likewise, the higher a person's education level, the more it brings the family into prosperity because it gets reciprocal relationships such as a job and sufficient income. This is inversely proportional to the life felt by the informants. Each informant had a different background; the last education did not graduate from elementary school, only elementary and junior high school graduates. This was due to constraints on costs to pay for school, so the informant decided to quit school and look for a job that followed his educational history, but several informants are in families who are able and continue their education up to the high school level. After graduating, they immediately decided to continue looking for jobs according to their educational history.

In the context of risk described by Ulrich Beck, each individual can reflect on the risks that arise (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). In his book *The Brave New World of Work*, he explains that it is important to review the political economy of insecurity which is not only in developing countries but also in developed countries like Germany (Beck, 2000). This is recorded in the context of how the young workers in this study experience uncertainty in achieving their hopes or dreams about the welfare they desire. The data shows they are trying to make their dreams come true regarding three things: family, education, and a better economic level.

It is undeniable that the concept of conventional transition also underlines three things, namely the transition to marriage (family), higher education, and also the world of work (economic improvement) (White & Naafs, 2012). Therefore, when expressing hopes regarding the future of young people who work as young laborers, they generally state the same thing as

their explanation that they work to earn income to improve the economic welfare of their families. Starting from those trying to meet the needs of their nuclear family, parents, and siblings to saving money to continue higher education. This was explained by Ahmad, who decided to work on projects to increase family income. Meanwhile, Iskandar, because he dreamed of becoming a servant of the state, failed and finally chose to become a construction project laborer. Ardi experienced the same thing when he had to pay for his younger sibling's schooling while at the same time supporting the family's economy.

However, construction laborers also carry significant risks related to working safety. PT provides work safety guarantees in case of an accident or mistake while working through BPJS Employment. However, if we look closely at some construction laborers, not all are permanent. Some workers have a contract system mechanism (Hendrastomo, 2010). This does not guarantee whether they will remain in this one type of work, especially in the longer term. As explained by Beck, risk has two faces, namely in the form of opportunity or danger, especially in the context of industrial society (Beck, 2009). In the long period, if we look at it further, the job as a construction laborer is a concrete opportunity considering that no higher education is required to work as a construction laborer. However, on the other hand, apart from concrete employment guarantees, it cannot be denied that the age factor also constrains employment as a construction laborer. This makes this job somewhat vulnerable concerning the work safety they must go through in their old age.

On the other hand, some informants also expressed doubts about surviving as construction laborers with a high enough safety risk. As explained in the previous chapter, they said they wanted to be entrepreneurs, and one of the informants wanted to continue their education. So, in this case, they have doubts about their future work as construction laborers, given the high risk of work when they get older; as stated by Beck that in the future, a person's life will be increasingly unpredictable due to the emergence of unprecedented dangers (dangers that never existed and emerged) (Beck, 2009). Therefore, in such uncertain conditions, these young workers must be more vigilant and prepare themselves for risks for a better future.

The dream of achieving prosperity for young workers in this study is filled with twists and turns with various emerging dynamics. Therefore, young people who work as construction laborers must make choices during limited opportunities. The work that is carried out, even though it is risky, is still carried out to fulfill economic needs as well as an effort to prove it to increase the family's standard of living. The decision to become a laborer was ultimately passed despite all the uncertainties.

Based on these matters, it can be seen that these young construction laborers are in a very risky condition in carrying out their work. The risks that arise at the start when they take the job are due to the limited types of work they can take part in (considering the classification level of education and limited economic conditions). Then the risks in their world of work related to work safety aspects in the field. Meanwhile, in the future, amidst various uncertainties that occur, they also have to face increasing physical weakness due to age, as is the conception of youth that is in the structure and culture of being and becoming where, on the one hand, they want to enjoy youth. On the other hand, they also must work hard to meet household income needs (Huijsmans, 2016).

5. Conclusion

In this research, going through a tortuous transition phase is necessary, especially for young people in third-world countries, including young construction laborers. The demand to make ends meet during limited economic conditions makes them work faster than most young people

who are still studying. This condition was finally taken to achieve better welfare for themselves and their families. Even so, the risks that arise as time goes by they work as construction laborers. Both from the initial decision-making to when working on several projects. Especially later, when they are at a vulnerable age, it is difficult for them to carry out work in the future, considering that this work requires more energy. Even so, their preparations for facing the risks that arise are quite diverse, ranging from saving for business capital preparation to further education. Of course, this is not only limited to expectations but also requires careful preparation and planning regarding the welfare improvement mechanisms they must go through. This is because the risks that arise are not only in the work context but also related to the social relations they have in the future.

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