

EVERYDAY POLITICS OF ONLINE OJEK DRIVERS: TAKING COVER AND FIGHTING APPLICATORS FROM THE COMMUNITY BASECAMP

Sakinah Nadir¹ and Sunardi²

¹Faculty of Social Science and Political Science, Universitas Hasanuddin, Jl. Perintis Kemerdekaan KM. 10
Makassar, 90245

²Universitas Islam Negeri Datokarama Palu

E-mail: sakinahnadir_unhas@yahoo.co.id; sunardi@uindatokarama.ac.id

ABSTRACT. The platform-based transportation business model has swept across almost all regions in Indonesia. Millions of workers have been absorbed into the workforce in this business model. However, the lack of government protection, compounded by the absence of regulations governing working conditions and safety for workers, often leads to working conditions that favor the applicator side. In this less-than-ideal situation, some workers (online motorcycle taxi drivers) have formed online motorcycle taxi communities as an alternative to cope with these less-than-ideal conditions. This article will look at how the online motorcycle taxi community is used as a medium of indirect resistance against applicators. Using a qualitative method, we adopt Browney Frey's (2020) framework on how the vulnerability of the platform workforce is produced by exploring the online motorcycle taxi community and resistance in Indonesia. Data collection is conducted through interviews and observations. We interviewed at least two communities and more than six drivers. This article argues that the organization of online motorcycle taxis that are formed through the community is part of political expression to get security guarantees. At a certain level, the existence of the community is used as a covert medium of everyday resistance. This fieldwork took place in Palu, Central Sulawesi. This article contributes to understanding the nature of organizers and models of workers' resistance to flexible work regimes sponsored by digital work platforms.

Keywords: community; everyday politics; resistance.

POLITIK SEHARI-HARI OJEK *ONLINE*: BERLINDUNG DAN MELAWAN APLIKATOR DARI *BASECAMP* KOMUNITAS

ABSTRAK. Model bisnis transportasi berbasis platform telah merambah hampir seluruh wilayah di Indonesia. Jutaan pekerja telah terserap ke dalam angkatan kerja dalam model bisnis ini. Namun, kurangnya perlindungan pemerintah, ditambah dengan tidak adanya peraturan yang mengatur kondisi kerja dan keselamatan pekerja, seringkali menimbulkan kondisi kerja yang menguntungkan pihak aplikator. Di dalam situasi yang kurang ideal tersebut, sebagian pekerja (pengendara ojek *online*) membentuk komunitas ojek *online* sebagai salah satu alternatif untuk mengatasi kondisi kurang ideal tersebut. Artikel ini akan melihat bagaimana komunitas ojek *online* digunakan sebagai media perlawanan secara tidak langsung kepada aplikator. Riset ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan mengadopsi kerangka kerja Browney Frey (2020) tentang bagaimana kerentanan tenaga kerja platform diproduksi dengan mengeksplorasi pada komunitas dan perlawanan ojek *online* di Indonesia. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara dan observasi. Sedikitnya ada dua komunitas dan lebih dari enam orang pengemudi yang kami wawancarai. Artikel ini berpendapat bahwa pengorganisasian ojek *online* yang terbentuk melalui komunitas merupakan bagian dari ekspresi politik untuk mendapatkan jaminan keamanan dan pada taraf tertentu keberadaan komunitas digunakan sebagai media perlawanan sehari-hari yang terselubung. Riset lapangan ini berlangsung di Palu, Sulawesi Tengah. Artikel ini berkontribusi pada upaya memahami watak pengorganisasi dan model perlawanan pekerja terhadap rezim kerja fleksibel yang disponsori oleh platform kerja digital.

Kata kunci: komunitas; perlawanan; politik sehari-hari.

INTRODUCTION

The platform-based transportation business model has become an interesting phenomenon in recent years (Barenji et al., 2019; McMillan Cotton, 2020; Papadimitropoulos, 2021; Rosano et al., 2018; Steinberg, 2022; Vallas, 2019; Wu et al., 2020), including in Indonesia (Ford & Honan, 2017; Panimbang, 2021). This business model has absorbed nearly a million workers in Indonesia (Ford & Honan, 2017; Ford & Honan, 2019). Palu, Central Sulawesi, is one of the cities that has felt the impact of the strengthening of the

platform-based transportation business. Gojek, Grab and Maxim are three giant applicators that absorb much labor. Especially in Palu, this platform-based business has strengthened since 2017-2018. Flexibility in acceptance as a "partner" is one of the reasons it is difficult to calculate with certainty the number of workers who are members of the business. However, in the prediction so far, hundreds of workers have had an impact on the business activities of this transformation. This figure will strengthen further in line with expanding business escalation.

So far, studies have raised many issues

related to online motorcycle taxi drivers as a research focus. Some of them highlight the problem of organizing online motorcycle taxi drivers (Frey, 2020), tactics and daily forms of resistance by online motorcycle taxi drivers against applicators (Mustika & Savirani, 2021), forms of solidarity networks and new models of collectivity for fellow online motorcycle taxi drivers (Ford & Honan, 2017; Ford & Honan, 2019; Panimbang, 2021) as well as the welfare and vulnerability of online motorcycle taxi drivers (Arif et al., 2021; Novianto, 2021). In general, the existing research departs from two big problems: the welfare of online motorcycle taxi drivers, who are considered inadequate, and security, which is still very vulnerable. Although departing from different points of view in exploring online motorcycle taxi drivers, almost all existing studies end in one significant conclusion: protection and well-being for online motorcycle taxi drivers have yet to reach a prosperous level.

Departing from previous studies, this study intends to provide a new incentive in understanding the problems that revolve around online motorcycle taxi drivers by taking a slightly different position to explore further the problems of online motorcycle taxi drivers on the Maxim Platform company. Considering that there were not many previous studies that touched drivers on the Maxim applicator, more specifically in the Palu region, Central Sulawesi. Empirically for the context in Palu, Maxim's applicators as newcomers in the transportation business have their characteristics and uniqueness, such as the control model and their relationship to job drivers. Maxim drivers for the Sulawesi area have reached 2,000 people, and more specifically, in the city of Palu, there are around 500 drivers. In addition, this regulator has its appeal from consumers with relatively lower rates when compared to other applications, Gojek and Grab. The high absorption of labor in online motorcycle taxi services (Ojol) is not accompanied by adequate legal protection. Until now, no law guarantees the safety of online motorcycle taxi drivers, including regarding labor unions for them. This condition starkly contrasts the ideal conditions for workers, who should be guaranteed the right to unionize by regulations. Unfortunately, the absence of unionization provisions contradicts the workers' significant conditions.

Furthermore, the treatment of app companies towards workers has been detrimental. Online motorcycle taxi drivers face heavy workloads and

risks. Other normative provisions, such as wages, still need to be improved. This complex situation has prompted some online motorcycle taxi drivers to form a community. The community is formed as an alternative to labor unions for informal workers. Its goal is to provide protection and demand accountability for all the consequences arising from the exploitative treatment by the app companies.

This study seeks to understand the nature of the organizers and models of workers' resistance to flexible work regimes sponsored by digital work platforms by looking at how communities are indirectly used as a medium of resistance. This study was inspired by Frey's research on incremental organization among transportation workers in Bandung. According to Frey, informal workers such as online motorcycle taxi drivers (Ojol) have undergone significant transformations, particularly in organizations. In the context of Bandung, Frey continues to state that incremental organization has taken place, where there is a diffusion between traditional motorcycle taxi organizations and online motorcycle taxi organizations. Over time, this incremental organization has become a political platform for informal workers to resist the app companies. Frey's approach is highly relevant for understanding the current context in Palu. There are similarities in the characteristics of informal workers in Bandung and Palu, such as the lack of formal organization within labor regulations. Additionally, the organizational and resistance traits portrayed by Frey are specific to online motorcycle taxi drivers. This specificity distinguishes this study from others in Indonesia, focusing more broadly on informal worker organizations (e.g., Ford & Honan, 2017; Ford & Honan, 2019; Panimbang, 2021).

However, it should be noted that existing studies have indeed addressed aspects of organization among informal workers in Indonesia, but the approach has been through case studies. Therefore, methodologically, they provide unique and exciting case nuances while failing to examine certain material conditions, such as those in Palu. Palu offers a new perspective compared to other locations previously explored by scholars, notably due to the need for more adequate employment sectors. This absence makes jobs like online motorcycle taxi driving one of the preferred options for job seekers. This condition, in turn, creates a different dynamic regarding how app companies treat workers and how workers resist these companies.

This dynamic has been relatively unexplored in previous studies.

By duplicating the framework developed by Browney Frey on how the vulnerability of the platform workforce is produced by exploring the online motorcycle taxi community and resistance in Indonesia (Frey, 2020). Frey introduced the concept of incremental organization as transforming in response to flexible work regimes. The flexible work regime referred to in this study is the work arrangement imposed on online motorcycle taxi drivers by the app companies as employers. According to Frey, conditioning occurs, leading to incremental organization as an alternative to flexible work regimes. Firstly, there is a need for more government protection for informal workers like online motorcycle taxi drivers. Secondly, this condition is exacerbated by the increasing informality of work conditions, distributing work vulnerability to online motorcycle taxi drivers. Thirdly, the app companies provide minimal protection and job guarantees. These conditions ultimately trigger resistance from informal workers against the app companies.

In the context of Palu, incremental organization is interpreted as the historical process of forming online motorcycle taxi communities. Meanwhile, the informal workers referred to in this study are those involved in the transportation business, specifically online motorcycle taxi drivers. As for daily resistance, it is a response to exploitative conditioning by the app companies towards workers. Daily resistance here refers to how online motorcycle taxi drivers respond to the conditions imposed by the app companies' policies. Some forms of response

include whether online motorcycle taxi drivers remain silent, express criticism, or discuss the app companies' shortcomings behind their backs, as examples of daily resistance within the community. Lastly, the online motorcycle taxi community is a voluntary association formed by online motorcycle taxi drivers.

METHOD

This research is a field research with qualitative methods. Data collection techniques were carried out through interviews and direct observation. The fieldwork lasted approximately two months, from December 2022 to January 2023. Located in Palu City, Central Sulawesi. During the field research, the interviews were conducted informally. It takes place naturally, like an ordinary conversation, and is not tied to a structured list of questions. Researchers only pay attention to any information obtained from the drivers' conversations and occasionally ask in-depth questions on some exciting information relevant to the articles written here. All the information obtained results from the daily conversations of online motorcycle taxi drivers in their base camp. To validate, we employ a process of source triangulation. Information obtained from one party will be cross-checked with another. If both sources provide conflicting information, we prioritize discretion. Data and information used in this article are only those validated by considering more than one source. Furthermore, for the results, we compare them with findings from previously conducted research, focusing on thematic and issue similarities. Following are the profiles of the informants we interviewed:

Table 1. Informant Profile

No	Name*	Age	Status	Gender	Long Working as Ojol	Position in Community
1	Jasman	38	Married	Man	3 years	Community Builder
2	Haneng	30	Married	Man	2 years	Community Leader
3	Mawan	40	Married	Man	1.5 Years	Community member (Oldest)
4	Saeda	26	Not married yet	Woman	2 years	Community Treasurer
5	Peace	32	Married	Woman	2 years	Mother Canteen in the Community
6	Mino	26	Not married yet	Man	1 year	Community Members

*The name shown is not the real name

During the research period, I intensively visited two Maxim communities in Palu, with an unlimited number of visits (See Table 2). On one visit, I spent about three to four hours hanging out at the base camp and listening to their conversations. The community was very

well received, and on several occasions, I took part in playing cards with them while building closer kinship. The goal is to break the ice even more and make it easier for me to enter into their conversation. Several online Ojek drivers I met even considered me one of the drivers and became

part of their community. This is because, since I first met the community leader, I asked to keep my identity as a researcher confidential. The goal is so that I can be involved in their conversation without any partitions and temporarily for them to be able to tell stories without feeling burdened or afraid because of my presence as someone outside the community. Unless, under certain circumstances, I am forced to introduce myself as a researcher.

Table 2. Ojek Online Community Profile

No	Community	Formed Year	Number of Members
1	A Community	2021	32 People
2	B Community	2022	53 People

Source: Field notes are processed from interview results, 2023

The information I get is quite varied. Everyone has a different case story. I listened very well to all the stories and complaints conveyed by the driver. I secretly record every complaint and their story on my cellphone without their knowledge. Then, when I got home, I copied these notes again while remembering the context being discussed. Then, I categorize all the discussion results according to the needs for writing this article. To make the categorization easier for me, I duplicated the fieldwork of anthropologist Browney Frey (Frey, 2020). Frey's framework guides me in creating data categorization. I created three categories of data; the first is the use of basecamp and community for drivers, their complaints, and ways of solving their problems, and the third is a political expression and forms of driver resistance to applicators.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Maxim in Palu City

Maxim has been proliferating in the city of Palu since the 2020s. Compared to Gojek and Grab, Maxim is somewhat newer. However, Maxim has quite a large driver in terms of driver quantity. According to data, the total number of Maxim drivers in Palu is predicted to reach 500. The ongoing recruitment process is one of the reasons Maxim absorbs so many workers, not to mention the conditions needed to register, as Maxim is easier than Gojek and Grab. Maxim registration can be done independently and can be done via the application. This convenience was seen once I tried to register as a driver via the application, and as a result, I managed to get a Maxim account. Meanwhile, from a consumer perspective, Maxim is of great interest to the people of Palu. The price is lower than that of

other competitors, such as Gojek and Grab. To determine the price difference, I simulated ordering in three applications with the same pick-up and destination points. As a result, of the three applications, Maxim offers a lower price with a difference of around IDR 1,500 to IDR 2,000 from other applicators.

This was followed by the rapid development of Maxim in Palu, followed by the emergence of online motorcycle taxi driver communities. This phenomenon is getting busier after the COVID-19 pandemic. Starting from the easing of social activities, it also contributes to the mobility of people, which has a domino effect on the activities of online motorcycle taxi drivers, who are increasingly busy on the road. Not a few are active on the road, then one to two people meet at a stopover point by accident. They rest while waiting for the next order. Usually, they move from one place to another. They utilize roadside halls, uninhabited shophouses, or areas around the shopping area as their temporary resting place. In situations like these, the conversation about forming a community begins to roll out. Togetherness and exchanging information are two of the urgent reasons that are considered urgent in forming a community. Furthermore, after the community was formed to make it easier for them to keep sharing, they agreed on a place to gather, called the community base camp. In my field notes, two Maxim driver communities have been formed since the pandemic in the past year alone. The number of drivers who joined reached 85 drivers.

The location of offices, schools, and supermarkets, as well as the existence of food stalls, in short, the level of mobility of people and economic activity, are the main reasons for determining the location of the community base camp. In Palu City, locations that meet these criteria are around the Jln. RA Kartini. Around this location, there are so many office areas, both privately owned and by state-owned agencies. At this location, there is also the former first modern shopping area in Palu City, Tantura Mall, which is scattered around with other service sectors and is directly adjacent to one of the largest traditional markets in Palu City, Masomba Market. and most importantly, the number of food stalls around this area is the main attraction for determining the community basecamp.

From my field observations, I observed three communities around this area. The three communities are the Vantelemo Community, the Family Driver Palu Community, and the Maxim

Palu Brotherhood Community. However, it is noteworthy that there are still other communities besides the three mentioned in Palu. We only focused on these three communities because their locations are similar. For the same reason, making the characteristics of mobility and economic activity the primary reference, they place the community base camp. As stated by the community administrator as follows:

“One of the reasons for placing the basecamp location in this area is because there are many offices here. Many employees usually use Maxim’s services to go to or from work. So I think the point here is very strategic.” (Interview, January 13, 2023)

“There are high schools and elementary schools around here. When coming home around 15.00 to 16.00, many orders come in, and those are usually from this school. That is why, before school hours, there are usually many drivers who stand by at the base because it is certain that there are those who do not have the gate.” (Interview, January 12, 2023)

It should be noted that a basecamp for the context in Palu is more than just a place to gather and charge cell phones. Basecamp has a function that goes beyond just that. For drivers, basecamp is a place to express political expression and indirectly fight against flexible work regimes sponsored by digital platforms. We have identified at least three forms of political expression by online motorcycle taxi drivers using community basecamps. These include the community as a refuge, the community base camp as a platform for indirectly resisting applicators, and the daily resistance of online motorcycle taxi drivers. The following section will elaborate on these three forms of political expression.

Community as a Shelter

Basecamp in a community is used as a forum for political expression to seek a sense of security and protection (Frey, 2020). In the context of Palu, political expressions of feeling safe and seeking protection are manifested through three activities. First, the community is used as a forum for exchanging information between online motorcycle taxi drivers. Second, the community protects drivers who are begging, and finally, the community acts as a mediator when they have to deal with the applicator.

First, the community is used as a forum for exchanging information between online motorcycle taxi drivers. Information exchange

was carried out through two media: directly at the community base camp and through the WhatsApp (WA) group. To be carried out directly at the base camp, community members share stories with other community members. Information is shared about everything experienced on the road, such as accidents, sweeping, or traffic jams.

“Usually, if an incident such as sweeping, traffic jam, or something happens on the road, the information is directly conveyed to the WA group. So that all members of the community can avoid these streets.” (Interview, January 16, 2023)

Furthermore, the information from the story conveyed by the driver was then forwarded by a community member to the WA group, which is the second method of exchanging information through the WA group. The WA group’s delivery method is carried out using the voice recorder feature. One day, I caught information from a driver who told me about a sweep on a road in the city of Palu, which a community member then forwarded to their WA group. The story told is more or less like the following:

“Attention... attention... there is sweeping around the tax office, be careful going there and make sure the motorbike documents are complete.” (Interview, 16 January 2023)

Not only sweeping, information about the distribution of groceries or food by someone is also often forwarded to the WA group. One of the coaches in one of the communities told me about the exchange of information that is usually done by community members when grocery distribution occurs. Information is directly forwarded to the WA group. Given the amount of assistance that is usually very limited, the group’s information speed makes it easier for all members to get to the TKP more quickly.

“So there is also the usual distribution of groceries, usually if there is a coincidence that a friend who crosses the road is immediately informed in the group. So, all members who are around the TKP can go straight there. Not bad. Usually, there is rice, food but the amount is limited, so you have to be fast.” (Interview, January 16, 2023)”

They are second, making the community a place of refuge guarantees a sense of security for drivers—the manifestation of the protection carried out by the community by forming the Night Task Force. The night task force is part

of the community's efforts to protect against threats drivers will face. The way the night task force works, they will monitor every community member who works after 10.00 pm. First, community members should be notified through the WA group that they will be interested. To facilitate monitoring, nosing drivers are asked to send their location to the WA group. This is where the night task force starts working. He will oversee the movement of the location points sent by the driver. If the location point stops before the pick-up point or drop-off point, the night task force will make a phone call to the driver to confirm the situation on the road. If the driver does not pick up the phone, the night task force will head to the location of the stopping point to confirm what happened. The night task force is determined voluntarily, and those who do not stay up at night will act as the night task force. The night task force was formed due to the context in Palu; in the last few months, there have been increasing cases of robbery and robbery on the streets. One of the community leaders in Palu was even a victim of robbery. At that time, the cell phone used by robbers took Maxim Raif's account.

"So, at that time, our leader immediately became a victim of robbery. So the story goes, Mr. Chairman was about to go home after pulling. Incidentally, the direction of the road back to his house is rather dark. Suddenly, on the way, I was intercepted by a group of people. He said that at that time, they had taken out a sharp weapon. Fortunately, our chairman's motorbike was not taken, but instead, he took his cellphone" (Interview, 20 January 2023)

Third, the community is used as a mediator when dealing with applicators. Many problems have befallen online motorcycle taxi drivers due to problems with the applicator. Account suspension is one example. When an account suspension occurs, the driver will find it challenging to accept orders. Suspension of orders usually occurs due to a report from the customer to the applicator. The applicator provides sanctions based on reporting from the customer with allegations of violations or fraud committed by the driver. However, some reports submitted by customers differ from the field's conditions. In such a situation, the driver is disadvantaged when only one party conveys the information. The community is usually present to mediate between the driver and the applicator.

Along with drivers, the community often

approaches applicators directly to address issues considered more detrimental to drivers. The possibility of withdrawal or account suspension is much greater when the driver joins the community. Moreover, some communities have a reasonably good relationship with the applicator.

"We always mediate with community members when the applicator has a problem. We do this because part of our community commitment is to protect community members. Even if you are not a member of the community, if you come to us, we will help to communicate it to the applicator" (Interview, 27 January 2023)

There is a relationship of exchange of interests between the community and the applicator. On the one hand, the applicator "selects" the community with specific goals. The aim of disciplining drivers is one example. When a demonstration demands the applicator, several communities are often used as "defenders" of the applicator. However, loyalty and loyalty to applicators will be replaced with privileges that not all communities will get. Mediation pathways to reduce the risk of being exposed to violations when a community member is subject to sanctions are one of the concrete manifestations of the privileges granted.

Community Basecamp as a Place of Indirect Resistance to Applicators

In the context of Palu, the community is used as a forum for indirectly expressing resistance to applicators. Through the community-based camp, drivers express their anxieties and frustrations. It is a place for sharing and strengthening each other, and no less importantly, it becomes a place for outlets and indirect expressions of resistance for drivers against applicators. Indirect resistance is manifested through expressions of annoyance coupled with swearing by the driver. This expression is a reaction to the driver's disapproval of the conditions, such as cheap fares with a risky working mechanism. What is interesting about our security is that their expression of annoyance was not conveyed directly to the applicator. Swearing at the base camp is the only way for drivers to express frustration. One day, we witnessed an online motorcycle taxi driver who vented his frustration because the fare was too cheap.

"It's hot, and the pick-up point is far away. However, only Rp8,000 was given. Not to mention that many people want it. We will get angry if you want to

hurry up or come late. Thankfully, it was not canceled. What do they think we can fly?” (Interview, January 18, 2023)

This indirect resistance was carried out sporadically and unplanned. Sometimes, they suddenly swear with their fellow drivers, saying bad things about the applicator who has not shown his side to the driver. Complaints about tariffs are one of the things that many talk about in their swearing. The mounting annoyance of the driver is often expressed in words that, in the understanding of people here, are considered impolite. Even though they indirectly refuse, the driver still accepts this non-ideal situation. The absence of other alternative jobs in urgent economic demands closes the door for drivers to leave this job. The choice of “just live it” advice is used to calm those who are too emotional.

The community’s existence still needs to be more robust to appear as a political mouthpiece to echo the discordant voices of drivers. However, in the community, a social environment supports swearing and annoyance by drivers. Even though it is not visible, it provides a channel for drivers to express their political stance. Swearing and insults are the culmination of the crystallization of the driver’s disapproval of the applicator’s policies. At the same time, it shows that some kind of relationship between the applicator and the online motorcycle taxi driver could be better. Drivers in a fragile political situation have little power to deal directly with applicators. Options are limited; they can only do what scouts call daily resistance (Scott, 1986). This kind of method is one of the resistance methods most likely to be used by drivers against applicators (Mustika & Savirani, 2021). Even though the results are insufficient to urge applicators to improve worker conditions. The limitations and vulnerability of the community’s position in the relationship built between online motorcycle taxi drivers and applicators is the leading cause.

Online Ojek Driver’s Daily Resistance

Online motorcycle taxi drivers express resistance through the community by swearing and discussing the ugliness of applicators as a form of daily resistance. This form of resistance results from a situation where a lack of state protection is given to online motorcycle taxi drivers. As a result, the fundamental rights for online motorcycle taxi drivers that should be guaranteed by the state, such as decent wages, protection, and security guarantees for online motorcycle taxi drivers, still need to be fulfilled, creating vulnerability for drivers.

This vulnerability then becomes a fundamental problem faced by online motorcycle taxi drivers, so at some level,, it triggers resistance from the grassroots. This form of resistance is nothing new. Some scholars have seen patterns with characters like this that have taken place elsewhere (Mustika & Savirani, 2021). However, what is interesting in the context of Palu is that the daily resistance by online motorcycle taxi drivers takes place through community forums.

In addition, the existence of a community, on the one hand, is an embryo of the emergence of what Pnimbang calls a new form of collectivity for online motorcycle taxi drivers (Panimbang, 2021). In specific contexts, the existence of this community has not reached the level of being able to organize online motorcycle taxi drivers properly. The existence of a new community at this stage is limited to a gathering place where people can discuss and share information about fares and matters relating to issues surrounding passengers. As Ford said, the community has not been able to be encouraged to go beyond mere normative issues by trying to highlight industrial relations that are more concrete by moving together on issues of tariffs, shared welfare, and job security. This trend is also seen in Palu’s context. However, the limited movement of the community to move collectively is also inseparable from the primary problem: low rates with vulnerable work risks hinder the imagination of online motorcycle taxi drivers to move more progressively.

With these limited conditions, in the end, the daily resistance by exploiting the existence of the community, although not directly able to change and influence working conditions, at least the daily resistance through the community leaves a place for drivers to express their political expression. As Frey said, the community is an embryo that will create the imagination for online motorcycle taxi drivers to organize themselves to respond to changes and dynamics (Frey, 2020).

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study show that the community’s presence has so far assisted drivers in obtaining safety guarantees during a situation of minimal protection by the state and applicators. The community, although to a minimal extent, can fill this void by protecting drivers. In addition, the community serves as a forum for expressing political attitudes of rejection of the working relationship between drivers and applicators that are not very profitable for drivers. Community is

a medium of resistance indirectly, through insults and applicator terrible stories. This practice manifests the daily politics of online motorcycle taxi drivers.

The existence of an online Ojek driver organization in the form of a community does politically have some severe problems. As many previous researchers have concluded, the formed community does not have a political agenda capable of fighting for the welfare of online motorcycle taxi drivers (Ford & Honan, 2017; Ford & Honan, 2019). Instead of getting welfare, even in some conditions, the community has been used as part of an applicator to control and discipline workers who are considered “naughty” (Sunardi (Edt. Yereimias T. Keban Ari Herwaman Arif Novianto), 2021). According to Ford, this limitation is an obstacle for the online motorcycle taxi driver community to reach further demands for applicators to pay more attention to the welfare of drivers (Ford & Honan, 2017). On other issues, the form of community in online motorcycle taxi drivers has given rise to new ideas for building collective collectiveness in society (Frey, 2020; Panimbang, 2021). Moreover, it can raise resistance in specific contexts, although it is still minimal and hidden (Frey, 2020; Mustika & Savirani, 2021).

The findings in this study also reinforce Frey’s anthropological argument that, at one point, the community can become a driver’s shelter from work insecurity and vulnerability (Frey, 2020). However, similar research still needs to be carried out to broaden further understanding of the nature of the organization and the model of workers’ resistance to flexible work regimes, rather than not at all, by looking at the position of online motorcycle taxi drivers who are very politically vulnerable, indirect resistance that arises from communities is the best alternative for now.

REFERENCES

- Arif Novianto, Anindya Dessi Wulansari, AH (2021). *Research: four reasons why the partnership between Gojek, Grab and Maxim is detrimental to Ojols*.
- Barenji, AV, Wang, WM, Li, Z., & Guerra-Zubiaga, DA (2019). Intelligent E-commerce logistics platform using hybrid agent based approach. *Transportation Research Part E: Logistics and Transportation Review*, 126 (April), 15–31. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tre.2019.04.002>
- Ford, M., & Honan, V. (2017). The Go-Jek Effect. *Digital Indonesia Connectivity and Divergence*. ISEAS-Yusuf Ishak Institute, 275–278.
- Ford, M., & Honan, V. (2019). The limits of mutual aid_ Emerging forms of collectivity among app-based transport workers in Indonesia. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 61(4), 528–548. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022185619839428>
- Frey, B. (2020). Platform Labor and In/Formality: Organization among Motorcycle Taxi Drivers in Bandung, Indonesia. *Anthropology of Work Review*, 41(1), 36–49. <https://doi.org/10.1111/awr.12187>
- McMillan Cotton, T. (2020). Where Platform Capitalism and Racial Capitalism Meet: The Sociology of Race and Racism in the Digital Society. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 6(4), 441–449. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649220949473>
- Mustika, W., & Savirani, A. (2021). “Ghost accounts”, “joki accounts” and “account therapy”: Everyday resistance among ride-hailing motorcycle drivers in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. *Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies*, 39(1), 48–67. <https://doi.org/10.22439/CJAS.V39I1.6175>
- Novianto, A. (2021). *Goto Keeps GIG Workers Away from Decent and Fair Work*. <https://igpa.map.ugm.ac.id/2021/07/05/insight-goto-menjuangkan-pekerja-gig-dari-kerja-layak-dan-adil-survei-condition-kerja-kurir-gokilat/>
- Panimbang, F. (2021). Solidarity across boundaries: a new practice of collectivity among workers in the app-based transport sector in Indonesia. *Globalizations*, 0(8), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2021.1884789>
- Papadimitropoulos, E. (2021). Platform Capitalism, Platform Cooperativism, and the Commons. *Rethinking Marxism*, 33 (2), 246–262. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08935696.2021.1893108>
- Rosano, M., Demartini, CG, Lamberti, F., & Perboli, G. (2018). A mobile platform for collaborative urban freight transportation. *Transportation Research Procedia*, 30, 14–22. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.trpro.2018.09.003>

- Scott, J. (1986). Everyday forms of peasant resistance. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 13(2), 5–35.
- Steinberg, M. (2022). From Automobile Capitalism to Platform Capitalism: Toyotism as a prehistory of digital platforms. *Organization Studies*, 43(7), 1069–1090. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01708406211030681>
- Sunardi (Edt. Yermias T. Keban Ari Herwaman Arif Novianto). (2021). Illusion of Incentives in Gojek: How Platform Companies Control Gig Workers in Pseudo Partnership Relationships. In *Questioning Decent and Fair Work in the GIG Economy in Indonesia* (pp. 63–77). IGPA Press.
- Vallas, SP (2019). Platform Capitalism: What's at Stake for Workers? *New Labor Forum*, 28 (1), 48–59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1095796018817059>
- Wu, YJ, Liu, WJ, & Yuan, CH (2020). A mobile-based barrier-free service transportation platform for people with disabilities. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 107(October), 0–1. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2018.11.005>