

Solidarity and Competition Among Gojek Drivers in Yogyakarta City

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Abstract

This article describes and analyzes the solidarity and competition among Gojek drivers in Yogyakarta. For data collection, it was carried out through observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. The result shows that PT. Gojek Indonesia created groups based on their criteria. The groups formed by PT. Gojek were included in the office Whatsapp group. Arena, capital, and habitus are important elements to reveal that there is the classification of Gojek drivers' accounts based on priority, regular, and 'gagu'. In the Bourdieu paradigm, the cultural capital owned by Gojek drivers plays an important role in benefiting them in the arena, such as time discipline to find customers, driver performance, drivers who always accept incoming orders and never reject orders, customer rating, or good customer ratings, customer-friendly drivers, and smartphone proficiency that will give advantage in the competition. Thus, the result of mapping the arena of competition among Gojek drivers in Yogyakarta shows that drivers indirectly have to have some strategies in the 'game' of competition among Gojek drivers across several social arenas, namely economy, culture, and social.

Keywords: *Arena; solidarity; competition; capital; the strategy of capital placement*

I. INTRODUCTION

Gojek is the pioneer of online *ojek* services in Indonesia, already operating since 3 October 2010. This company was created through the brainchild of Nadiem Makarim, who also served as its first CEO and Managing Director until 2019. *Ojek*, a kind of transportation service which uses motorcycle in its operation, is an efficient mode of public transportation to navigate the frequent traffic jams in Indonesia's cities. Learning through his experience with this particular mode of transportation, Nadiem Makarim then decided to provide an online application-based version of this *ojek* service. As an industry, Gojek is able to absorb thousands of labor force through the application of mutually-beneficial concept of shared economy in its operations. This concept is based on the mechanism of profit-sharing between actors in the production chain, in which the drivers that get called as "partner" can also gain benefits [1]. But in the practice, these drivers are always faced by big risks as they do this job. Accidents, conflicts, the absence of health insurance are just a few most visible ones that the

drivers have to shoulder on their own. There are also other latent risks that are hard to see at the first glance, such as the risk of capital depreciation of their own vehicles that becomes an externality cost. This is due to Gojek's policy of not providing additional facilities to cover up the service and maintenance of drivers' vehicles. On the other side, the company receives relatively no real risks, thus in reality it occupies a disproportionately advantageous situation in this so-called "partnership".

The absence of work hours limitation for Gojek drivers becomes a problem in the transportation industry. With the usage of target and bonus mechanism as achievement, Gojek drivers work for 12 hours or more daily. As a consequence, their health is compromised, and might cause accidents at the times when they operate while not in prime condition. Stated in the agreement between Gojek and drivers, drivers take 80% of the profit and PT Gojek Indonesia takes 20% [1]. Several studies attempted to analyze the causes of conflict that arise due to the Gojek drivers' dissatisfaction to the online application-based company's attempts at providing social welfare. These conflicts between Gojek and its drivers that happen in various districts were caused by the absence of regulations to define and manage the "partnership" between the drivers and PT. Gojek Indonesia. This has caused difficulties for drivers to demand the fulfillment of their rights as stipulated in UU Ketenagakerjaan [2], while there has been an absence of regulation for online transportation modes [3]. These studies explained about the absence of regulations to manage the working relations between the drivers and the company and the matter of drivers' welfare.

Furthermore, online Gojek drivers also don't know each other on a personal level, but they still have a strong bond. "Salam satu aspal" is Gojek's slogan, reinforcing the sentiment that all Gojek drivers are like brothers. This belief is shown through some small gestures, such as greeting each other then they meet on the road by honking. This slogan is established by PT. Gojek Indonesia so that the drivers will unite and try their best to live up to the customers' expectations. Jacket and helmet worn by Gojek drivers have unique design with their trademark green color and "Gojek" brand name printed on. This uniform equipment also serves as the drivers' identity: uniform design functions as Gojek's differentiator and identity, while the designs of jacket and helmet serve as the company's identity. With just one look, people can identify a Gojek driver through these attributes alone. Other than identification, the company's logo that depicts a person riding motorcycle also becomes a binding identity for the drivers that identify themselves as a part of Gojek community. That design unites them as the members of said community.

As long as they use the distinctive green-colored jacket and helmet set with Gojek's brand printed on them, Gojek's drivers often greet each other with certain signs, such as by waving hands, nodding, or honking at each other when they pass by each other on the street even when they don't know each other on personal level. The choice to use unique green colored jacket and helmet set with 'Gojek' printed on as

drivers' standard equipment is an intentional effort on Gojek's part to be eye catching: the combination of Gojek's logo that depicts motorcycle and the unique green color used on the equipment make it easy for the drivers to recognize each other from afar. This also applies to the general populace, that ends up associating the green jacket and helmet with Gojek drivers. There was a single case that can be used to showcase how this sense of solidarity among online *ojek* drivers comes into play in real life: A Grab driver named Lutfi got harassed by debt collector (DC).

The DC attempted to confiscate the motorcycle of another online *ojek* driver by force, and Lutfi intervened, saying that the confiscation of motorcycle should be conducted following proper procedures, with letter of assignment and should not be conducted forcefully on the street. Not long after, there were ten other DCs that came and harassed Lutfi. As a response to this harassment, around 500 only *ojek* drivers visited the DCs' leasing office as a showcase of their solidarity. From a chain of messages that circulated through the WhatsApp groups of various communities of online *ojek* drivers, it's reported that one of the online *ojek* drivers got punched at Wahid Hasyim Street. In those messages it's stated that the DC challenged 1000 online *ojek* drivers to come to him. Feeling agitated and an obligation to show solidarity to their harassed comrade, a number of online *ojek* drivers from both Gojek and Grab accepted the challenge and crowded the leasing office [4], as shown by Picture 1 below.



Fig 1. Solidarity Action of Online *Ojek* Drivers

Source: SuaraJogja.id

This particular case showed that there is a strong sense of solidarity among the Gojek drivers when they feel that their comrade is being harassed. In response to the repressive, dominant law enforcement process of said case, they decided to take matters into their own hands and directly confronted the DC that harassed their fellow driver. Hundreds of angry online *ojek* drivers broke into the leasing office at Wahid Hasyim Street, Condongcat, Depok, Sleman. The drivers were looking specifically to meet the DC in the protest, but ended up not finding him. The protest ended up in a

clash and caused extensive property damage on-site. On one side it's certain that these drivers indeed have high level of solidarity among their peers, but at the same time there's also a real competition between those drivers when it comes to the matter of fighting for customers. This competition happens through Gojek's own online application. Indeed, because this application is accessed through smartphone, it means that drivers don't need to meet each other directly to compete. Instead, they compete through the 'bidding' system that allows them to get orders from the Gojek system. Normally, this bidding process is conducted by pressing a button to take orders from customers through the Gojek application, done manually by each driver. When a driver doesn't push the button, then the order would be taken by another driver in the vicinity. Because of that we often find drivers crowding around a certain area to wait for customers, talking with each other while watching their smartphone closely to prepare for any order that can come at any time.

The showcase of solidarity among online *ojek* drivers above provides a good case study to bridge our understanding in regards to the matter of how much strength this particular bond among this certain group of people with same profession truly possesses. Even though they usually never interact on a personal basis, the sense of solidarity and togetherness built between them are really strong. How such solidarity can be built among the online *ojek* drivers? This research focused on the drivers from one specific provider of online *ojek* service in Indonesia, Gojek.

On one side, these Gojek drivers have solidarity among each other and built a robust group identity. But, on the other side they also compete with each other. Such background then raised some questions: how did the sense of solidarity formed among each group? How that sense of solidarity intertwined with the sense of competitiveness among the Gojek drivers? Based from our literature review, we found out that the topic of relations between solidarity and competition among online *ojek* drivers in Indonesia is still seldom discussed. For example, research by Fania Darma Amajida [5] has shown that the technology of Android application used by Gojek is a strategy to mitigate the risk of common urban transportation problems in Jakarta. Digital technology is utilized to support this particular mode of transportation, for example the usage of GPS feature to trace the driver's current location. It's concluded in this research that Gojek has come as a form of innovation from the conventional *ojek* by applying technology in its operations. This research succeeded in elaborating factors of certainty as a strategy to reduce transportation risks in urban settings.

Other research focused on analyzing the design of Gojek drivers' uniform, conducted by Listia Natadjaya and Paulus Benny Setyawan [6] titled "Creating Community through Design: The Case of Online Gojek". This research aimed to observe the effect of online application on people. Using the phenomenology perspective to analyze the online Gojek, this research has shown that the rapid development of internet has caused social changes in society. This research concluded

that the design of Gojek's uniform serves as a differentiator and identity of the company. Both the unique design and signature green color have united the Gojek drivers as members of a single community to build solidarity, brotherhood, and friendship. This research succeeded in explaining how a sense of solidarity is formed through the design of Gojek drivers' uniform. There was also a research by Dedy Setiawan Syam [7] about the competition between Gojek drivers titled "Competition Between Online Gojek Drivers in Pekanbaru City", that aimed to analyze the various forms of competition that happened between the online *ojek* drivers in their efforts to provide their services to the customers. This research has shown that the antagonism that exists between online application-based Gojek drivers manifests through the act of giving bad information to the customers in regards to their fellow Gojek drivers. Such act is done with specific purpose to make the other parties or other Gojek drivers appear less trustworthy to customers.

Meanwhile, research conducted by Pranoto [8] aimed to describe and analyze various manipulative strategies employed by Gojek drivers in Surabaya to compete with each other. This research has shown that there are 1) two distinctive work patterns of Gojek drivers: drivers that work from morning until night and drivers that work from afternoon until night; 2) common troubles faced by Gojek drivers, such as (i) company system, (ii) facing customers with varying characteristics, (iii) work-related risks, and; 3) manipulative strategies employed in competition between Gojek drivers in Surabaya. However, while this research provided some insight in regards to how these Gojek drivers search for customers and solve their problems through these manipulative strategies, it's not explained how these drivers managed to get their account upgraded to the 'priority' status.

Thus, to address these research gaps, researchers aimed to analyze this topic in detail using qualitative research method. In this research, researchers will bring two new arguments. First, this research will use the theory of arena contestation, which will describe how solidarity among Gojek drivers intertwine with competition in their efforts to fight for economic space. How far that solidarity will be manifested in the background of socio-economic pressure and rampant exploitation at work.

II. METHODS

This research aims to describe and analyze the solidarity and competition among Gojek drivers in Yogyakarta. To reach this objective, researchers conducted a series of in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation as data collection methods. Interview in this context is an activity aimed to acquire information about the practice of solidarity and the arena of competition between Gojek drivers in Yogyakarta City. Researchers selected five Gojek drivers and one of Gojek's own representative in Yogyakarta to be interviewed. The interviews were conducted in semi-structured way, in which researchers provided a set of open-ended questions,

arranged so that the informants' answers can develop further as the interviews go on, maximizing the amount of information gained from the process.

The data collection process consisted of these steps: Researchers conducted interviews with Gojek drivers stationed at different places:

- 1) Jlagran Corner Community (JCO) members stationed at Pasar Kembang Street, near Yogyakarta Tugu Train Station;
- 2) Sorjan community members stationed below Lempuyangan flyover;
- 3) Gojek drivers stationed near Jombor Bus Terminal.

Before the interviews, researchers did some preliminary observations on the Gojek drivers. In these observations, researchers closely monitored the informants' daily activities at their respective stations, more specifically the moments when they were waiting for customers. This research utilized data from two different types of sources, primary and secondary data. Primary data is obtained from direct interview or on-site observation. In the context of this research, the primary data used is the result of in-depth interviews conducted with the online Gojek drivers in Yogyakarta. Meanwhile, secondary data is obtained through indirect data sources, such as books, news articles, internet references, artifacts, and archive records that serve to support and complement the primary data.

To measure the accuracy of the research's results, the researchers showed the final interview results to the informants and asked them to re-check the collected data. This re-check process is intended to:

- (1) Prevent misinterpretations of the interview's answers;
- (2) Prevent misinterpretations of behavior observed throughout the interview;
- (3) To confirm the informants' unique perspectives to the ongoing process.

Reliability serves as an indicator of consistence in a researcher's research. The standard of reliability shows the reliability of the research instruments (Bungin, 2015: 58). The quality of qualitative research is determined through reliability indicators: methods, procedures, and analysis techniques.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Solidarity Among Gojek Drivers, As Observed in Daily Life

If we take a look at the Gojek drivers, we might find that oftentimes they engage in certain behaviors when meeting each other, such as greeting each other or honking when they happen to pass each other on the street. These Gojek drivers don't know each other on personal level, but they certainly have strong bonds with each other. "Salam satu aspal" (meaning "Greetings from the ones sharing one asphalt" in Bahasa Indonesia) is Gojek's slogan, utilized to strengthen the imagery of Gojek drivers as brothers in arms. By invoking this sense of camaraderie, the company hopes that Gojek drivers will unite and give their best efforts to fulfill customers' expectations.

This is as stated by Ismoyo:

“Salam satu aspal” is a slogan from the HQ, made so that Gojek drivers become mutually supportive of each other and don’t act hostile to each other.” (Interview with Ismoyo, 4 December 2018) The company’s management also urges the drivers to greet each other each time they meet, by honking at each other as stated by one of our informants, Agus: *“There’s indeed a directive from the HQ to care of fellow drivers, they’re encouraged to greet each other when they pass by each other on the street* (Interview with Agus, 4 Desember 2018)” These set of behaviors were implemented by PT. Gojek Indonesia so that the drivers working for the company are always solid and develop commitment to stay loyal to the company. PT. Gojek Indonesia forms groups of drivers based on the time they joined Gojek. Those groups were included in the HQ’s WhatsApp group. There are 150-200 members in each group. Other than the official groups formed by the company, the drivers also form various independent communities among themselves. These communities are formed based on the drivers’ common sense of camaraderie and familiarity as a group of people with same job, the feeling of sharing the same fate on the road. They also vent to each other about their daily hardships as Gojek drivers, and cooperate together to arrange themselves in an orderly way when waiting for customers. All of these habits further enhance their sense of camaraderie against the conventional ojek drivers.

The drivers always shake hands when they arrive at the base camp. While not all of the drivers that visit the base camp is a member of a particular community, there’s a sense of familiarity between those drivers that hang out there. These base camps are formed in places such as street food stalls and kiosks, below flyovers or big trees, and any other places deemed as ‘strategic’ for their operations. Usually this means places near public places such as shopping malls, train stations, bus terminals, school, and other places with high people density. Living up to its function as a place to help drivers, in these base camps one can usually find electricity plugs used to charge the drivers’ phone battery. The atmosphere in these base camps in general is very friendly, and the sense of familiarity between the drivers is really apparent. There are various activities that they usually do when waiting for customers, such as playing games, chatting with friends, talking and joking with fellow drivers. Common conversation topics revolve around the customers’ orders, possible hotspot locations for customers, and experiences when dealing with customers.

“There are various topics to talk about during waiting for customers, such as weird stories about customers, there’s this one weird case when a customer urged me to go to their location with haste while they hadn’t even appear yet at the agreed upon spot, sometimes they’re quite selfish with their demands...” (Interview with Lilik, 15 December 2018)” When waiting for customers, Gojek drivers usually talk with each other, discussing things with such familiarity like they’re siblings. When any of the drivers need assistance they always come to the rescue, as shown from interviews with

our informants Fatur and Nala quoted below: *“Just talking and relaxing while waiting for customers, discussing various topics when there are few orders, talking about our orders, sometimes shaking hands while passing each other on the traffic lamps, and sometimes we are also exchanging information about possible customer hotspot places to be visited later. (Interview with Fatur, 16 November 2018)”* Similar sentiment is also shared by Nala, JCO Community’s secretary: *“Because of our habit of interacting with each other at the base camp, when there’s any of our fellow drivers got into road accidents they can easily contact the community through our WhatsApp group, then we immediately come to that driver.” (Interview with Nala, 4 July 2019)”*

Not only that, sometimes these community members also talk to each other about their personal problems, such as family problem etc. Every human society needs solidarity. This form of mechanic solidarity is more focused on a common, collective consciousness that can be related to the sense totality of trust and sentiment among Gojek drivers. Theory of solidarity stated by Emile Durkheim [9] is a good theory to frame this behavior. This set of behaviors and interactions that happen between Gojek drivers is a solidarity formed through the context of profession, especially with a job such as Gojek driver that has a very high risk. The phenomenon happening in the Gojek driver’s work place have a distinct meaning, in which it can be used to explain the phenomenon of ‘solidarity’, be it the mechanic or the organic variety.

Contestation is a part of social life. Thus, it can be found at every single part of social life. The actors maneuver to possess certain positions in society or to defend theirs. Because of that, to analyze the competition between online Gojek drivers, researchers used the sociology theory from Bourdieu. Researchers assessed that this conceptual framework offered by Bourdieu is fitting to be utilized to read more into the practice of competition between Gojek drivers in Yogyakarta. Bourdieu offered the concept of arena (field), habitus, and capital. These concepts will be explained further in the next part.

Contestation, Arena, Habitus, and Capital

Contestation is a part of social life, and so it can be found in every part of social life. Actors struggle to obtain certain positions or to defend their established ones. To analyze the contestation that happens between online *ojek* drivers, researchers used Bourdieu’s theoretical framework. In this framework, Bourdieu [5] analogizes social life as a game, in which there are various components such as agents, arenas, strategies, rules, and capital. To become a winner in this so-called ‘game’, agents should not only know and obey the rules, but also have an innate understanding of the sense of game: they have to know what kind of game that they’re involved in, the types of agents involved in said game, decide what steps that they should take, and also identify their strengths and weaknesses. Agents should also be able to anticipate the steps that other agents might take. Other than that, to gain victory agents should also

master the ability to modify the game itself, that will make it possible for them to bypass some of the game's rules unnoticed [11].

In this framework, 'arena' means a place to compete, or a place of contestation for individual or group agents. These agents have to master rules or codes of the game that apply in that particular arena. Agents that fail to do so will inevitably be eliminated. Arena is a dynamic space that is always influenced by the presence of various powers, and every change in the agents' position will inevitably affect the arena's structure. Even inside the arena, agents that occupy various kinds of position or create the new ones are also involved in the process of competition to fight for control of interests or resources available in said arena. Every agent will fight to acquire the highest and most important positions, influence and power to decide on certain policies. Because of that, it's inevitable that there are certain agents that end up as the 'dominating' party and others that end up as the 'dominated' party in the arena. If a certain agent wishes to reach his/her goal in a certain arena, then said agent should possess the 'correct' type of capital(s). Capital according to Bourdieu is divided into three categories: cultural capital, economic capital, and social capital [12].

Meanwhile, "habitus" referred in this framework is a framework used to interpret and assess reality while also produce life's practices according to the objective structures. Habitus is social values formed through the process of long-term internalization, crystallized as a way of thinking, a way of conduct, and a set of perspectives that rule how agents conduct their daily life. For example, there are specific behaviors for different kinds people: diligent, tenacious, honest, sly, smart, nimble, generous, etc. Habitus will adjust in accordance to the social arena. When someone enters a new social arena, the habitus will quickly adjust to the situation [13].

Bourdieu offers the concept of 'capital', categorized into these categories: 1) Economic capital that can become a means of production and financial means; 2) Cultural capital, such as academic certificate, knowledge, a way of speech, a way of conduct, a way of socializing that will affect the agents' social standing; 3) Social capital, that view networks as a resource to determine one's social standing; 4) Symbolic capital to produce symbolic power [14]. Those four forms of capital make it possible for agents to form the structure of social scope. This categorization is an incredibly helpful tool for understanding the underlying interests hidden behind the process of contestation between Gojek drivers; while each of them have differing forms of capital, at the end of the day, it is the specific set of capitals of 'skills in using the app', 'diligence' and 'perseverance' in finishing each order that they receive that will make them the winners in this particular contestation.

To map the arena of competition based on the account position of Gojek drivers, researchers used Bourdieu's theoretical framework. Social arena is an arena of power and struggle for agents, in which they struggle to be the winner of a contestation and fight over the position of power. If certain agent gains a of position of power in a

certain scope, the chances to acquire capital is bigger. Actors struggle to widen their influence, not only in respect to their competitors but also in respect to those that exist in their social arena. That interest is contested as an effort to acquire symbolic, economic, and social capitals [15]. Inside an arena, every component tries to produce a cultural production. That is, they have become drivers with different interests and hopes. This is understandable since every single one of them have different habitus. They have different social and individual backgrounds. They also have different interests. There are some that have an inclination towards ideological interests, there are also those who focus more on the economic interest, and there are also the ones that have overlapping ideological and economic interests. Those interests then contested as an effort to gain symbolic, economic, or social capitals [15]. Those interests are not monolithic, instead they have multi-dimensional components that may have multiple interests, such as ideological and economic. Those interests often get transformed one another so that they can gain as many goals as possible from the expected interests. There are also a few that stand behind ideological interest, even though the real interest is economic in nature, while the opposite cases also exist [16].

Competition between Gojek drivers to obtain customers is inevitably tied to their competition to get higher income. This is because of the presence of a system that makes a rule that a Gojek driver's income will increase if said driver manages to reach certain points targeted by the company. By doing so, they will gain bigger bonus from the company. To win in this particular competition, they need big economic capital in the form of high-tech smartphone with complete applications, cultural capital in the form of skills to operate smartphone and a clean, well-kept motorcycle, and social capital in the form of hospitality towards customers and the can-do attitude to never reject any orders that come to them, all for the sake of high performances rating.

Capitals Possessed by Gojek Drivers

'Capital' in this research refers to Bourdieu's paradigm about cultural and social capital. Assessment of Gojek driver's performance is very influential for the driver's account. In this competition, forms of cultural capital such as driver's performance is essential, as drivers are urged to always accept every incoming order. Drivers can choose between two bidding methods to accept orders, auto bid and manual bid. If a driver chooses auto bid, every order that comes will be automatically directed toward said driver's account. If the driver rejects the order, this will automatically reduce said driver's performance rate. Meanwhile, if the driver chooses manual bid the driver is given 10 seconds to accept or reject the order. Same as the auto bid option, if said driver rejects the order, the reduction of performance rate also gets reduced.

The addition of performance system starting from application version 1.0.5 is frequently deemed as incriminatory and lacks transparency. In this system, each time a customer cancels an order, the driver's performance rating drops drastically, up to 30%

decrease. Meanwhile, if a driver has good ratings and never has order cancellations from the customers, said driver's performance rate only increases from 10-15%. This system disadvantages the drivers. If a driver wishes to get a bonus increase from the company, said driver needs to increase the performance rate above 50%. If the performance rate is below 50%, then bonus increase is impossible [17]. Before this new system, bonus was still given by the company without factoring in the performance rate. Drivers that often reject, ignore, or taking too much time in receiving orders are referred to as *gagu* (mute), meanwhile drivers that always receive orders are referred to as *gacor* and get to receive orders more often. More orders mean more trips, that will result in more bonus received.

To map the arena of competition between Gojek drivers, researchers classified the Gojek drivers into three categories, based on the researchers' on-site data collection. The first category is the 'priority' account, usually referred to as *gacor*. The owners of this type of account receive all of the orders given by the server, from every line of services provided by Gojek. The second category is the 'normal' account, and the third category is the *gagu* account. This third category indicates accounts that are active but only receive orders occasionally even though the account owners are situated in a hotspot location. In some cases these accounts don't receive orders for as long as three days. This categorization is mapped from information gained through interviews, one of them from informant Fatur:

"Actually, various nicknames of statuses like 'priority', 'normal', and 'gagu' were invented by the drivers themselves, based on their own experiences on the job. Officially, PT. Gojek Indonesia never establish such system of classification. (Interview with respondent Fatur) Other than that, based on the in-depth interview with representative from PT. Gojek Indonesia, this company also set three classifications to rate the drivers' performance: 1) Quality of service review by customers; 2) 1 to 5 stars scale; 3) History of accepted orders archived by the server. These three factors directly impact the amount of bonus that each driver will get from the company.

Social arena is an arena of power and struggle between agents to be the winner in their efforts to fight over the position of power. When an agent has a position that warrants a certain level of power in a certain scope, then said agent's chances to accumulate capital become bigger. The agents involved in this contestation use a variety of ways to emerge victorious. The drivers actively struggle to be the winner in this game by taking advantage of the situation, actively searching the opponents' weaknesses, understanding the rules, learning from previous experiences to be one step closer to victory. The account ranking system in Gojek is important to observe the existence of social classification of Gojek drivers. The arena of competition between Gojek drivers can be perceived as an arena where the agents fight. This 'ranking' system exists to differentiate between each Gojek drivers' positions, because the accounts that have 'priority' status are already recorded in the system as 'diligent' and

never reject orders. Because of that, every time there's an order coming in near the account's current location, these drivers will always get the order.

Strategies to Become A Priority Account in Gojek

Priority Account

To upgrade their account to the 'priority' status, drivers have to possess certain cultural capital. In searching for orders, they have to consistently maximize their working hours, practice discipline and politeness in their speech, conducts, and socializing with others. These factors then affected their social standing (Bourdieu, 1994). Just like regular office employees, there is a fixed schedule that they have to adhere to. For example, drivers start working from 05.00 AM to 22.00 PM. They work these long hours because this duration is closely monitored by the Gojek server, and the duration affects their overall points and chances to get more orders from the server. The account of a Gojek driver can become *gacor* when said driver succeeds in finishing every order that the server gives, be it *go ride*, *go food*, *go send*, or *go shop*. For *go ride*, every single order has to be completed consistently for two weeks before the account's status could change into *gacor*. Gojek driver with highest point will be viewed as 'diligent' by the system, and will be rewarded with more chances to take more orders from the customers.

Not only the amount of working hours, the company also takes note of the drivers' overall schedule; they're expected to keep a consistent weekly schedule, including on which day (s) they usually take a break from their job as a driver. For example, if a driver takes Monday and Tuesday as their off-duty days, the company expects them to do the same in the following weeks in order to form a sense of discipline. If inconsistencies were found in a driver's schedule, this may affect his/her account, transforming it into a *gagu* account. The company also expects the drivers to take all of the orders that the system gives to them, without exception. Gojek drivers are not allowed to reject any of the orders, regardless of location, gender of the customer, or the specifics of their order. If the drivers manage to accept all the orders, their rating in the application would be save. Because of that, many of the drivers decide to just turn the application off when they can't take orders.

After 2019, the company also established another scheme to regulate the drivers' movement when looking for customers. The system made some adjustments so that drivers won't stay at one place and wait at base camp, but instead rotate to 4-5 different spots to bid for orders. Because of this system, drivers have to take note of certain good locations to improve their overall account rating. If a Gojek driver arrives at a certain spot and in there there's already a lot of other Gojek drivers stationed, it's advised for the new Gojek driver to search for another spot if he/she already fails to bid for an order twice. One more important strategy to increase a driver's account status is by reminding customers to give ratings for each services given. After a driver finish an order from customer, said driver can ask the customer politely to give a good rating for

their services. In order for this strategy to work, the driver have to ensure that their performance is top-notch, and he/she also has to willingly apologize to the customer if their services is deemed less than satisfactory. Gojek's priority account status is given to accounts that manage to finish the set target points after 7-8 hours of operation daily. The system recognizes these accounts as 'diligent' accounts that never rejects orders given by the server.

Gojek Drivers with Normal Account

Generally, Gojek driver with normal account can reach 20 points from the system after working for 8 hours or more per day. The pick-up location is usually situated near their waiting spot, and the kinds of orders that get in vary from *go ride*, *go food*, *go send*, and *go shop*.

Gojek Drivers with Gagu Account

Getting a *gagu* account status from the server becomes one of Gojek driver's biggest fears. This is understandable, since *gagu* status greatly impacts the account's frequency of getting orders; in some cases, accounts with *gagu* status don't get any orders for as long as three days. There are some behaviors of the drivers that will trigger this status, such as a history cancelling customer's confirmed orders, cherry-picking incoming orders that come from the server, and not accepting any variety of orders from the customers (short and long-distance *go-ride* trips, *go-food* and *go-send* orders). Sometimes the effect of these behavior is not immediately apparent, but suddenly the driver's account status gets demoted to *gagu* after a certain history of these minor transgressions.

The contestation to get the status of Gojek's 'priority' driver is not an easy fight, as drivers have to employ various strategies to gain the much sought-after status of 'priority driver'. These drivers compete in a variety of social arenas, in which there are several forms of capitals used such as economic, cultural, and social capital. In these competition arenas regulated by the application of technology, drivers with cultural capital such as discipline in looking for customers and finishing every orders satisfactorily will get 5-star ratings from customers, good hospitality practices towards customers, skills in using smartphone are highly valued. Thus, drivers are 'shaped' to be winners in the competition arena. Cultural capital of the Gojek drivers is highly appreciated by the system. Priority account owners also get 'Appreciation Emblem' from PT. Gojek Indonesia.

The classification of priority, normal, and *gagu* accounts can be used to ascertain the differences of status between Gojek drivers. Drivers with priority account are positioned at the top, since the account is already recorded by Gojek's algorithm system as 'diligent' and never rejects any orders. Every single order received is finished, so in the future the accounts get more orders that also increase their income. PT. Gojek Indonesia also gives "Appreciation Emblems" to the drivers with priority status. This form of appreciation is categorized into symbolic appreciation, that can

also as a form of capital in itself. This type of emblem will automatically appear on the driver's application for each accomplishment that the driver gains, for example 'appreciation emblem' for joining Gojek, total distances travelled, the amount of 5 stars collected from the customers. These emblems are all part of PT. Gojek Indonesia's strategy to make the drivers compete with each other and maximize the company's gains in the process.

Even though there's indeed a fierce competition between Gojek drivers to get orders, at the same time they also share a strong sense of solidarity. According to Gerungan [18], solidarity happens when there's a strong awareness as a group, the existence of a sense of belongingness in each of a group's members. Then, this sense is further reinforced if there's a concrete form of solidarity in action and efforts to move as a group. Mechanic solidarity among the community of Gojek drivers has a few defining characteristics: it has relatively low level of individualism, focuses more on the interests of the group, and has an underlying strong sense of solidarity. These characteristics then manifest in their tendency to share a common sense of threat towards any kinds of danger that might threaten any of these Gojek drivers, be it debt collectors, conventional *ojek* drivers, and other groups that threaten one of them. As a community, they usually deal with these threats together, actively protecting the affected driver(s). This showcases their strong collective consciousness, there's strong sense of trust and common sentiment shared among these drivers. In the community of Gojek drivers, the main underlying values of this strong bond are mutual trust, mutual purpose, mutual commitment.

PT. Gojek Indonesia already constructed a sense of solidarity, mutual trust, and mutual commitment among Gojek drivers. The company urges the drivers to treat this job as a career, so that they want to improve the quality of their work (taking care of the customers' safety, obeying every regulations set by Gojek), and develop an emotional attachment to PT. Gojek Indonesia. This commitment of Gojek drivers to the company then leads to a sense of identification, that is, feeling of trust towards the company's organizational values that will trigger the need to involve themselves for the betterment of the company and their sense of loyalty (wishing to become a part of Gojek).

IV. CONCLUSION

PT. Gojek Indonesia creates solidarity among its drivers, in which it serves as a social binding. This solidarity is constructed by PT. Gojek Indonesia so that the drivers would unite to face Gojek's competitors, the conventional *ojek* drivers. The appearance of this online application-based transportation service triggers conflicts in society, in which those conflicts were experienced mainly by the company that provides online transportation service and the traditional transportation service providers, such as conventional *ojek*, argo-based taxi, public transportations, and *becak* among others.

The existence of Gojek causes a reduction of their income. The type of solidarity constructed by PT. Gojek Indonesia, based on the values of trust and solidarity, is called by Durkheim as conscience collective. This is a system of belief and feeling shared evenly among the Gojek drivers. With “Salam satu aspal” slogan, the Gojek drivers are conditioned to feel a sense of unity, that will motivate them to give their best services towards the customers.

Solidarity is created inside the groups of Gojek drivers. Solidarity here means ‘the feeling of togetherness’ as a fellow member of a certain social class or a group with common interests. This solidarity is formed through two core principles of ‘sharing the same fate’ and ‘helping each other’. In this research, we find that the sense of solidarity is intertwined with the sense of competitiveness. Gojek drivers have common moral bonds and a strong sense of *esprit de corps* among their fellow drivers. They trust each other a lot, forming bonds of friendship, sharing mutual respect, being attentive towards their common needs, and develops a sense of responsibility towards their group. On the other hand, there also exists a sense of competition between those same drivers, most apparent when it comes to the matter of getting customers. They incorporate various ways and manipulative strategies to get orders from customers, that will make them gain bigger bonus from the company. Other than cultural capital, economic capital is also needed in the area of Gojek competition. The company has power to control and record the activities of its drivers when they use the application.

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