



Agency Behind the Vortex of Power: Unveiling the Endeavors of Digital Labors in Opposition to Digital Capitalists

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Abstract. This paper delves into the manifestation of digital capitalism through the lens of Gojek, a prominent exponent of this paradigm. Gojek serves as a notable exemplar of digital capitalism, emblematic of the platform-based sharing economy model. Initially confined to ride-hailing services, Gojek evolution underscores the expansion of digital capitalism's purview. Integral to its operations are partnerships with two-wheeled drivers, denoted as independent contractors, a characteristic that foregrounds the intricate interplay between capitalists and the proletariat. To comprehensively elucidate the agency exhibited by driver-partners operating within this digital capitalist framework, a qualitative approach is adopted. Methodological tools encompass in-depth interviews and non-participant observations, facilitating a nuanced exploration of the multifaceted dynamics at play. The interplay of diverse forces intricately shapes the realm in which driver-partners operate. Foremost among these forces is the platform itself, which assumes a role akin to a digital capitalist, exploiting labor for its profit-maximizing objectives. Additionally, a patron-client relationship materializes between the platform and the state, contributing to the perpetuation of exploitative dynamics. Moreover, the larger digital society of Indonesia as algorithmic subjects, further entrenching the overarching exploitation inherent in digital capitalism. Amidst this complex backdrop, driver-partners exhibit agency through a spectrum of resistance actions. Their agency is manifested through a fusion of conventional and digital resistance strategies, which together form a robust resistance repertoire against the exploitative forces at play. This nuanced agency underscores the multifaceted responses developed by driver-partners to navigate the intricate web of digital capitalism.

Keywords: agency, digital capitalism, digital labor, Gojek, vortex of power

1 Introduction

In the realm of digital economics, enterprises operating under the sharing economy paradigm have assumed a pervasive global presence. Nonetheless, the establishment of such enterprises in different geographical regions is influenced by various factors. The most significant among these influences are the existing economic conditions and the

governmental regulations adopted by the respective jurisdictions that support this sharing economy model. These institutional frameworks have a noticeable impact on the policies implemented by the relevant government bodies. Alongside the governmental role, a range of additional factors come together to shape the inherent dynamism of the sharing economy model.

In the context of Indonesia's growing digital economy, Gojek is a prominent example in the ride-hailing industry, embodying the principles of the sharing economy. It serves as the leading application, meeting the daily needs of the Indonesian population comprehensively. Officially operating as PT. Aplikasi Karya Anak Bangsa (PT. AKAB), Gojek emerged as a tech startup from Indonesia, founded in 2010 by Nadiem Makarim. This aligns with the ideas put forth by Tran & Sokas[1], which suggest that the essence of the sharing/gig economy revolves around digital platforms or applications that seamlessly connect service seekers with service providers. Notably, platform-based companies like Gojek are primarily recognized as technology enterprises, going beyond mere service providers.

As thoroughly expounded by Asih, Nugroho & Budiawan [2], a comprehensive analysis highlights the intricate power dynamics between the Gojek platform and its driver-partners. The challenges faced by Gojek's driver-partners stem not only from the gamified labor framework and algorithmic governance intrinsic to the Gojek platform [3], but also from the lack of sufficient legal safeguards from the government, which impacts their work status. Additionally, the evolution of Indonesia's digital landscape into one marked by algorithmic dominance fosters the spread of capitalist commercial practices, forming the foundational operational ethos of the Gojek enterprise.

Similar to a powerful centrifugal force, the motivation that envelops the drivers within this structure can be likened to a vortex. This conceptual basis originates from Nick Dyer-Witherford's scholarly work [4]. As elucidated in his book titled "Cyberproletariat: Global Labour in the Digital Vortex.", on page 19 he expounds the vortex as the "rotating motion of a multitude of material particles around a common center." It's worth noting that Dyer-Witherford draws inspiration from Marx's Manifesto, where similar metaphors derived from natural phenomena are used to explain the principles of capitalism.

Building upon this metaphor, I have extended it to describe the role of the driver-partners. The condition of the driver-partners can be seen as existing at the center of a convergence of powers held by influential actors. In this context, the driver-partners face the challenging task of navigating the power dynamics originating from platforms, government bodies, and even elements of civil society. Unfortunately, these power-holding actors often attempt to exploit the driver partners to further their own self-interests.

Furthermore, Dyer-Witherford [4] suggests that the vortex is not limited to circular motion; instead, it often takes on a vertical dimension characterized by a downward spiral and the simultaneous rise of a tornado-like funnel. Similarly, the business phenomenon of Gojek conforms to a comparable narrative. Despite being within the vortex of power, the driver-partners maintain an inherent ability to resist. In this regard, the following analysis describes the conditions that foster hegemonic relationships within the specific operational context of Gojek.

2 Method

This research employs a qualitative approach and methodology. Detailed characteristics of the qualitative approach are provided by Patton [5], highlighting its unique characteristics. In research, this approach aims to deeply investigate specific phenomena. Researchers in this paradigm immerse themselves in real-world situations, understanding emerging phenomena through a naturalistic inquiry perspective. Data is gathered through field observations, engaging with participants, and conducting thorough interviews. Researchers take an immersive and reflective stance, recognizing the inherent subjectivity and implicit values involved. The approach is conceptual, using open-ended questions to sensitively understand the nuances of the subjects' conceptual framework and how they practically use these concepts.

In this study, informants were carefully chosen based on data requirements. During the data analysis phase, the employed framework aims to identify common themes and patterns within the examined cases. The analytical process follows an inductive approach, allowing theories to naturally arise from the collected empirical material. The primary data for this study comes from informants, including Gojek driver-partners, community representatives of Gojek driver-partners, and labor activists. For the human data subset, data collection focuses on in-depth interviews. Non-human data, on the other hand, is obtained by thoroughly analyzing the Gojek application, covering both driver-partners and users/consumers, and by comprehensively reviewing relevant documents found on Gojek's official platform, as well as driver-partners' social media platforms, community-based social media forums, online forums for motorcycle taxi drivers, and other pertinent textual sources.

3 Results and Discussion

3.1 Gojek as a Digital Capitalist

At the start, Gojek aimed to improve driver incomes while embracing the rise of information technology. This compassionate foundation was championed by Nadiem Makarim, aiming to reduce the income gap for conventional motorcycle taxi drivers. This humanitarian aspect coexisted with the emerging trend of ride-hailing services in the sharing economy. These services emphasized solidarity and social bonding among underserved populations [6]. As Gojek expanded, securing significant investments from global stakeholders, the shift towards profit-seeking became more pronounced. The initial focus on establishing Gojek as a leading online motorcycle taxi service was aided by aggressive pricing strategies and promotional campaigns, resulting in significant capital investment. The allure of substantial driver earnings was enhanced by competitive advantages stemming from the industry's early stage, limited driver competition, and attractive incentive structures.

To ensure the ongoing operation of the business and maintain investor trust, Gojek adopted a path of ongoing innovation. This proactive strategy involved making occa-

sional changes to the operational guidelines, a right held by the platform owner. Although this approach made business operations smooth, it also had the effect of limiting the control of driver-partners, often leaving them with little influence in adapting to the changing corporate environment. Despite the potential decrease in their status, drivers were forced to accept these changes, which further solidified their position as the most at-risk participants in the business model.

From the vantage point of digital capitalism, Gojek's path embodies aspects of a sophisticated form of capitalism marked by persuasive pledges and idealistic principles. Ideas like participation, self-organization, and cooperation, as described by Therborn in Fuchs & Mosco [7], are essential aspects of this digital capitalism model. Gojek's dominant methods could be seen as a cover for the subtle practice of this specific type of capitalism. In the current digital environment, capitalism takes on a complex nature, going beyond traditional boundaries and resulting in an elevated form. Driver-partners, crucial to the operation of the company, unknowingly become entangled within a gamified and algorithm-driven system that requires significant capital investment. Paradoxically, this situation removes some of their social protections, leaving them vulnerable to a wide range of employment-related risks. Despite these sacrifices, drivers are compelled to share a portion of their earnings with the corporate entity, further emphasizing the imbalance of benefits within this evolving capitalist framework.

Sadowski [8] provides a clear explanation of digital capitalism as a version of capitalism that integrates and utilizes digital technology. This explanation is expanded upon by Sadowski [8], who presents ten key points about the complex landscape of digital capitalism. These points highlight the idea that in the realm of digital capitalism, capital adjusts to the digital environment while retaining its fundamental elements of exclusion, extraction, and exploitation. Additionally, it emphasizes the strategic role of smart technology in regulating public dynamics to promote the growth of digital capitalism. The recognition of data collection practices as instances of appropriation and exploitation is emphasized. Furthermore, the concept of datafication, which involves transforming various phenomena into data, is suggested as a form of aggression. Lastly, the rise of platforms as guardians of data is highlighted, solidifying their position as the new domains of digital capitalism. Sadowski's points ultimately depict advanced technology as an inherently "cruel" expression of capitalist machinery.

Gojek's operational framework is built on the collection and processing of large amounts of data from both driver-partners and customer accounts. This repository of big data forms the essential foundation for Gojek's efforts to expand its business activities. This utilization of big data is crucial in the era of digital capitalism as stated by Fuchs [9]. While Sadowski [8] describes datafication as a form of harm, in Gojek's digital platform context, the collected corporate data becomes proprietary assets, as specified by the terms and conditions outlined in user-approved application protocols.

An analysis of Gojek's business operations from a capitalist perspective reveals a complex web of factors including alienation, exploitative practices, and standardized procedures. The concept of alienation refers to the disconnection of individuals from essential aspects of life. In an economic context, this involves control over labor, tools, products, and outcomes, echoing ideas from Marxism [10]. This alienation goes beyond

mere control, encompassing a detachment from self, relationships, work processes, economic systems, and societal domains. In Gojek's model, this alienation is evident in the structured work system imposed on driver-partners, limiting their autonomy under the app's guidelines. The anonymity surrounding these driver-partners also diminishes their creative agency, making them conform to the dominant awards system. Paradoxically, even achievements are transformed into corporate recognition, reducing individual acknowledgment. Similarly, in GoFood or GoShop, the term alienation persists as drivers are unable to partake in the products they deliver, a clear example being a driver not being able to enjoy a pizza they deliver.

Exploitation, within Gojek's operational framework, occurs through the extraction of increased value from driver-partners. This accrual is based on the significant data and services provided by these voluntary drivers, often without equivalent economic compensation. This asymmetry creates customer loyalty to the platform, leading to increased corporate profits. At the same time, the introduction of modifications leads to more driver-partners and intensified competition. This results in higher labor demands, longer online hours, and a focus on generating higher revenue through fares and reduced supplementary bonuses. Additional communication methods, such as recognition programs, create competitive environments among driver-partners, contributing to corporate branding efforts. This competitive atmosphere drives capital accumulation and amplification through corporate-approved social media channels, sharing stories that highlight the benevolence of driver-partners to enhance the company's image.

In this context, Gojek stands as an example of a corporate entity and a manifestation of digital capitalism, relying on the labor of its driver-partners. According to McGuigan, platforms like this promote a commodity aesthetic ideology inherent in communication and information technologies. Similarly, Mosco labels them as constituting a digital sublime [10]. However, it's crucial to recognize that the surface appeal of this commodity aesthetic ideology in communication and information technology masks the transformation of hard work into aspects like pleasure, desire, appealing design, and lifestyle paradigms [10].

The convenience and ease enjoyed by Gojek's customers as they meet their needs efficiently through the platform serve as a substitute for the labor-intensive efforts that underlie these conveniences. The resulting corporate profits contribute to the accumulation of value. Additionally, the widespread recognition of Gojek's business model by various institutions conceals the transfer of power and the hard work of driver-partners, who effectively serve as the foundation of this enterprise.

3.2 The Patron-Client Relationship between Government and Platform

The Gojek app plays a significant role in the digital landscape of Indonesia, much like an oasis in a desert. This positioning is crucial due to transportation challenges in major Indonesian cities and high unemployment. These factors, along with global digital adoption, have greatly propelled Gojek's business success.

Empirical evidence concerning the unemployment landscape in Indonesia was amassed for the purpose of this investigation. Drawing upon data emanating from the

authoritative repository of the Central Bureau of Statistics, the ensuing graphical representation, denoted as Figure 1, elucidates the temporal undulations characterizing Indonesia's aggregated national unemployment rates spanning the temporal interval between 2007 and 2021.

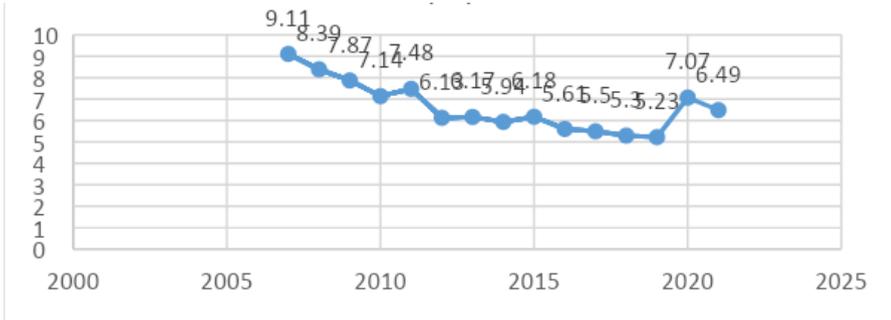


Fig. 1. The Rate of Indonesia's Unemployment 2000-2025
(Source: the Central Bureau of Statistics)

When Gojek became a prominent player in the Indonesian business scene, data showed a significant issue with unemployment in the country. It's worth noting that Gojek started in 2010 with small-scale operations, and then launched its mobile app in 2015. There was a noticeable decrease in Indonesia's unemployment rate between 2016 and 2019, which strongly suggests a potential link between Gojek's growth and the improvement of the country's high unemployment rates.

The government has often portrayed Gojek as a solution to many challenging problems. However, this viewpoint exists alongside a lack of comprehensive laws to protect the rights of both partners (drivers, presumably) and consumers. This situation makes Gojek's extensive operations vulnerable to corporate dominance.

Examining Gojek's business model within the sharing economy context suggests it needs less governmental intervention. The sharing economy relies on community-based economics, reducing the need for external regulation. However, Gojek's unique ecosystem requires a proactive government role to protect vulnerable stakeholders. A comprehensive policy framework is needed to mitigate potential negative aspects.

It's important to note that the state holds ultimate authority over Gojek's operations. While negotiation occurs with the government, the platform follows governmental mandates. Regulations, such as the Minister of Transportation's Regulation Number PM 12 of 2019, govern safety protocols for motorcycle usage in public transportation. The more recent Decree of the Minister of Transportation Number KP 667 of 2022 defines service costs for motorcycle usage through the app, including a 15% fee for application usage and passenger fares.

The interplay between Gojek's business trajectory and government highlights complex dynamics and implications. The symbiotic relationship between Gojek and the state, characterized by economic and societal reciprocity, needs careful management to mitigate vulnerabilities and promote fair growth.

3.3 Indonesian Digital Society as Algorithmic Subjects

Indonesia holds the position of being the fifth-largest global downloader of applications. This, along with the increasing rates of Internet penetration and a tendency to use online transportation services, aligns with the rapid growth seen in the operations of Gojek. The popularity of Gojek is highlighted by its application having been downloaded 190 million times as of June 2021. Furthermore, a survey by the Research and Development Agency of the Ministry of Transportation reveals that a significant 59.13 percent of respondents prefer Gojek's online transportation services.

The attraction of the Gojek application lies in its ability to efficiently cater to various daily needs. This is evident from indicators such as a growing user base (experiencing a 46% annual growth rate), increased utilization of Gopay, and public demonstrations against temporary bans on Gojek operations. It's clear that the platform provides an addictive user experience.

A theoretical exploration of this user behavior can be explained through Nugroho et al.'s analysis [11], where the manipulation of digital society is attributed to the power of algorithmic structures influencing actions within virtual domains. As algorithmic subjects, users of the Gojek application find themselves under the influence of these governing elites. This dependence on the platform leads to vocal opposition if the platform faces cessation.

However, it's important to note that this research does not endorse the use of Gojek applications by its customers. Instead, an empirical investigation is conducted to understand the interplay between customer subjectivity and the Gojek application. An interview with a Gojek customer (referred to as "T") is a key part of this investigation. T's use of the Gojek app since 2016 reveals a preference for services like GoFood, GoRide, and Gosend for various daily needs, including food ordering, transportation, and item delivery.

T emphasizes the convenience derived from using the Gojek app, stating it's indispensable for various daily tasks. During the Covid-19 pandemic, Gojek became a life-line for T, helping with obtaining sustenance, essential items, and dispatching goods. T made use of the benefits offered by the Gojek platform, especially within the domains of GoFood, GoCar, GoRide, and GoPay, by leveraging promotional offers.

When asked about the user experience of the Gojek app, T praises its user-friendly interface, describing it as intuitive and easy to use. A noteworthy feature is the app's ability to store previous usage data, eliminating the need for repetitive input. T shares an instance where the app automatically remembered his office address, making subsequent orders smoother. This functionality contributes to the app's appeal.

Moreover, T acknowledges the influence of promotional factors in her engagement with the Gojek app, singling out promotions related to GoFood as particularly effective in capturing her interest. T's interaction with the Gojek app embodies the characteristics of an algorithmic subject, where her consumption patterns are shaped and guided by algorithmic forces, leading to continued usage.

Similarly, a study conducted by the Center for Communication Studies at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Indonesia [12], examines the impact of the Gojek platform within the digital communities of Indonesian metropolises. This study emphasizes the positive socio-technological impact of Gojek, with most consumers reporting improved safety, comfort, enhanced technological proficiency, and increased productivity as a result of their engagement with the Gojek app.

3.4 The Cyber-proletariat Agency Within the Constraints of the Vortex of Power

The coexistence of counter-hegemony alongside hegemony is a persistent phenomenon. The drivers, commonly known as "partners," consistently contest exploitative practices perpetrated by the platform. The arena of resistance is always accessible, as argued by Gramsci, since hegemony serves as a battleground. Hegemony, inherently relational and precarious, is marked by conflict rather than entitlement. The likelihood of challenges from marginalized groups and classes, subjected to subordination, remains constant. Any form of counter-hegemonic action taken by the driver-partners represents a type of resistance that is bound to face opposition from those subjected to subjugation. Thus, it's the dynamic nature inherent to the Gojek enterprise that makes its business hegemony attractive to participants involved in it.

Demonstration. Gojek driver-partners deliberately choose public demonstrations to respond to perceived injustices in prevailing business models. This choice is highlighted by active driver-participants who consistently engage in demonstrations to critique the operational framework of the Gojek platform.

One of my primary informants, who goes by the name "Mawar," openly shared her active involvement in demonstrations advocating for driver-partner rights. Mawar explained that she participates in these demonstrations due to her perception of inequity arising from the Gojek platform's use of gamification techniques and algorithms in its operational structure. Pertinent issues related to tariff policies, labor protocols, and fuel price increases are recurring themes voiced through these demonstrations.

These demonstrations, often organized by Gojek driver-partners independently or under the online motorcycle driver alliance, have sometimes led to governmental discussions on policy adjustments. An important example is the Minister of Transportation Decree Number KP 667 of 2022, scheduled for enforcement on September 11, 2022. This decree includes provisions concerning increased tariffs for online motorcycle taxi services and a revision of profit-sharing proportions between platform operators and driver-partners, with the cap revised from a maximum of 20% to a maximum of 15%. This legislative development was conveyed by my informant, MJP, an active member of the driver-partner community who has been advocating for reforms favoring driver-partner interests.

Boycott. Another method of resistance used by driver-partners involves the strategic use of boycotts. Differing from demonstrations, which involve expressing dissent

through collective action and vocal expressions often coupled with attempts to engage relevant authorities in dialogue, boycotts consist of a deliberate withdrawal of collaborative involvement. The boycott or strike initiated by Gojek driver-partners involves completely ceasing their engagement with the platform's application (referred to as 'off-bid'). This strategic move is aimed at disrupting the operational continuity of Gojek's service infrastructure.

Between June 8 and 10, 2021, GoSend drivers from Jabodetabek and Bandung organized a coordinated strike in response to perceived reductions in incentives allocated to GoSend partners, a result of the merger between Gojek and Tokopedia. The company implemented a policy revision transitioning from a fixed incentive amount of IDR 30,000 for a minimum of five deliveries to a reduced sum of IDR 1,000 per individual delivery (for quantities ranging from one to nine deliveries). This revised incentive structure was seen as detrimental, given its reduced value compared to the previous arrangement. After the company did not respond to the boycott during June 8-10, 2021, a renewed boycott was initiated on June 29 and 30, 2021, further emphasizing concerns over reductions in driver-partner incentives.

A critical aspect of the off-bid strategy is the need to clarify the nature of the relationship between online drivers and the Gojek company. If a partnership framework exists, it's emphasized that the principles of parity and mutuality should guide interactions. Alternatively, in the context of a labor-employer relationship, the rights and privileges suitable for formal labor constituents must be enforced.

Another instance of boycott activity among Gojek's driver-partners occurred following the platform's downward revision of the minimum Gofood service fee, from IDR 9,600 for distances of less than two kilometers (KM) to IDR 8,000. This adjustment elicited a reaction within the Gojek driver-partner community, leading to a call for a boycott by deactivating (off-bid) Gojek accounts, making them unable to accept new orders. The inception of this boycott call can be traced back to November 11, 2021.

Application Modifications (App Mod). The operational approach of digital capitalism is evident in the way the Gojek platform operates, where the strategic use of digital technology establishes a form of hegemony. Correspondingly, Gojek driver-partners leverage digital technology to implement counter-hegemonic measures aimed at mitigating platform dominance. Noteworthy methods of counter-hegemony pursued by Gojek affiliates include the utilization of "tuyul" accounts, "jockey" accounts, and engagement in "account therapy" as the results of a study by Mustika & Savirani [13], manipulation of Global Positioning System (GPS) data, repeating touch interactions, using Xposed Installer, and implementing signal jammers [14]. Additionally, the use of fictitious order strategies is also observed [15].

One of my informants, Mawar, acknowledged the implementation of account therapy as a means to enhance the likelihood of receiving orders. Within the online ojek driver community, individuals skilled in conducting account therapy are colloquially referred to as "suhu." Mawar explained that the effectiveness of the Gojek application depends on particular specifications related to the mobile device's memory capacity and Random Access Memory (RAM), which govern multitasking proficiency within the

Android ecosystem. Furthermore, Mawar emphasized the necessity for drivers to regularly clear cache files from their mobile devices. This practice is essential to maintain optimal application performance and prevent any sluggishness during operation.

After an extensive investigation, two additional applications emerged as viable tools for driver-partners to implement counter-hegemony via platform mechanisms: Signal Ojol and Driver Assistant (for Gojek). Both of these applications are easily accessible through the Play Store. The Signal Ojol application functions to enhance signal strength on devices where it's installed. Its utility extends to improving driver-partners' order acquisition prospects by boosting cellular signal strength. Meanwhile, the Driver Assistant application automates signal refresh operations, ensuring more precise address guidance.

Transactions Outside the Application. In addition to application modifications, another form of counter-hegemonic agency is evident among driver-partners, manifested in transactions outside the application. Insights from an interview with other informant, AS, highlight the ability of driver-partners to negotiate and execute transactions beyond the scope of the application. For example, passengers might prearrange trip details and associated fares, followed by the driver partner proposing to transport the passenger back to the initial point of origin for a predetermined fee, without the formal ordering process of the application mediating this arrangement.

This strategic maneuver provides driver-partners with dual advantages. Firstly, it circumvents competition among driver-partners, making order acquisition easier. Secondly, it allows for income generation without platform commission deductions.

Multiapplicator. Importantly, Gojek does not impose prohibitions on its driver partners regarding engagement with competing entities as partners. This practice is routinely adopted by driver-partners to maximize earning prospects. The strategic affiliation with multiple applicators increases the likelihood of order acquisition. This perspective finds support from informant MJP, Mawar, and SH, who also suggests that diversifying beyond a sole partnership, such as registering as both a Gojek driver-partner and a Shopee Food partner, is a pragmatic approach. The rationale behind such diversification is rooted in the perceived higher chances of receiving orders from newer platforms like Shopee Food, compared to the increasingly competitive environment within Gojek. Consequently, driver-partners affiliated with multiple applicators adhere to distinct uniform requirements stipulated by each respective platform, resulting in motorcyclists adorned with distinctive helmets, jackets, and food containers emblematic of varied applicator affiliations.

4 Conclusion

In the context of Gojek's business, the relationship between the platform and driver-partners is influenced by various factors that support this interaction. This is shaped by

global trends, including economic, socio-cultural, and political aspects within Indonesia, along with deliberate efforts to prevent driver-partners from transitioning to autonomous vehicles. All of these factors contribute to the dynamic nature of Gojek's business.

The alignment of interests among different stakeholders in Gojek's business creates a situation of power struggles. This power struggle puts driver-partners in a vulnerable position, making them susceptible to exploitation in the global sharing economy and the digital environment.

This research presents new insights aimed at improving and critically examining previous scholarly studies in the field of digital capitalism and the sharing economy, specifically in the context of the digital industrial society. The study builds on the foundation laid by Nastiti [16] and Aloisi [17], shedding light on the idea that the resistance shown by the cyber-proletariat is closely tied to corporate interests. However, taking a Gramscian perspective reveals that this resistance has not yet formed a comprehensive counter-hegemonic movement.

Additionally, this research thoroughly evaluates earlier scholarly works, particularly those by Nastiti [16] and Aloisi [17]. These scholars, while expressing some optimism about the agency of the cyber-proletariat, unfortunately, overlook a detailed analysis of the intricate power dynamics among the various actors in this field. The study by Rosenblat [18], which emphasizes the transformative potential of communal entities, also requires critical examination within this context.

The complex interaction of different forces involving the driver-partners, the state, capitalist organizations, civil society, trade unions, and legislative bodies creates a dynamic power structure. This structure is driven by the specific agendas pursued by each actor, often leading to the domination of the driver-partners. Simultaneously, the internal conflicts within the driver-partner community contribute to a complex interplay between resistance narratives and counter-narratives. Interestingly, scholarly discussions have thus far failed to address this internal conflict, which significantly influences the dominant relationship between digital capitalists and the cyber-proletariat.

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