Symbolic Violence Towards Precarious Worker of E-Commerce Company of Transportation Services

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Abstract


This research is motivated by the lack of research on the symbolic violence that raised the precarious workers as their subjects. Most studies on symbolic violence that occur in organizations are focused on hierarchical organizations, where obviously dominant and dominated positions are already visible. The phenomenon of precarious workers in Indonesia is widely discussed in the various field of academic, especially the field of law that discusses the unavailability of laws governing online transportation business. The absence of such laws, then becomes a chance for online transportation companies to gain profit by abusing the interests of others (in this case, their partners). Precarious workers in the online transportation business are recruited with a partnership agreement, which should place their position equal to the e-commerce transportation company. But in reality, precarious workers are dominated by e-commerce transportation companies. This study aims to determine the symbolic violence received by precarious workers in the online transport business. This study used the concept of symbolic violence from Pierre Bourdieu, where symbolic violence is closely related to doxa, habitus, capital and arena. This research uses the paradigm of critical constructivism and is descriptive qualitative research. This study also used in-depth interviews of 4 informants as the data collection techniques. The results of this study indicate the occurrence of symbolic violence towards precarious worker in the cooperative relations (partnership agreement) with the e-commerce company in the form of bonus gains policy, tariff policy, and punishment policy. This study has identified the doxa, habitus, capital and arena that encourage symbolic violence towards precarious workers. This study also found that there are two types of precariat workers and differing acceptance of symbolic violence. The differences are influenced by factors such as gender and the motive of the precarious workers when they join the e-commerce company.

Keywords:

symbolic violence, precarious worker, e-commerce, online transportation.

Introduction

Indonesian society is changing in line with technological developments. Changes in information technology, for example, the rapidly evolving Internet technology in the last two decades has encouraged Indonesians to access electronic news sources, social media and switch to electronic transactions. Public spaces that were
formerly face-to-face gatherings, reunions, markets, or associations, are now beginning to move into interactions or meetings facilitated by the internet in cyberspace. Thus, there is a shift in the pattern of communication, where before the internet, people communicate directly face to face or use the phone for call or text one on one, with the internet people become accustomed to communicate mediated by the internet for example through conversation applications.

According to the APJII (Indonesian Internet Service Association) survey in 2016, out of Indonesia’s total population of 256.2 million people, 132.7 million of them have used the internet (APJII). Sixty-two per cent of internet users in Indonesia visits commercial content in the form of online shopping websites (marketplace, online shop), 34.2% access personal business, and 3.8% access to other commercial content. While data from ICT infographics 2016 released by Balitbang Kominfo shows that the top three reasons for using the internet in Indonesia are to open social networking sites, find information about goods or services, and send messages via Instant Messaging (Balitbang Kominfo, 2017). In 2017, Indonesia’s Internet users growth ranked first in the world with a growth rate of 51% over a year (see http://databoks.katadata.co.id/data-publish/2017/05/22/pertumbuhan-pengguna-internet-indonesia-nomor-1-di-dunia). Thus, there are more than half the population of Indonesia already use the internet.

Indonesian people who use the internet are then seen as a new market, thus encouraging entrepreneurs and individuals to create internet-based businesses. This is also driven by the increasing interest of Indonesian internet users to transact with e-commerce from overseas which provides worldwide delivery services such as Amazon.com, Ebay.com, Alibaba.com and others. Therefore, early 1999 (Adhi, 2016) began to appear startups that offers various forms of e-commerce, ranging from the trade of goods such as clothing, daily necessities, electronic equipment, to trade services such as booking airline tickets and hotels. Some of the website-based startups created by Indonesians are Kaskus, Urbanesia, Hijup.com, Blibli.com, Traveloka.com. In 2016, Indonesia has the highest number of startups in Southeast Asia with a total of around 2000 startups and is expected to continue to grow in line with the increasing number of internet users in Indonesia (Pratama, 2016).

The development of e-commerce startup in Indonesia then opens wide job opportunities for Indonesian people. One of the e-commerce startups with a large employment absorption is e-commerce in transportation services. In Indonesia, e-commerce companies of transportation services begin with the emergence of Uber from San Francisco, then Go-Jek founded by Indonesian, and followed by Grab which came from Malaysia. E-commerce companies of transportation services such as Uber, Go-Jek, and Grab are recruiting large numbers of drivers not as employees, but as partners in the form of partnership contracts. People who interest to become their partners can register to the company with an easy process and must have a private vehicle such as a car or motorcycle. With this concept of recruitment (drivers as partners), the e-commerce company of transportation services is a sharing economy company, as one form of flexible capitalism institutions and employing the precarious worker (Andrianaanse, 2016). According to Standing (2011), the precarious worker is those who work in an insecure, short-term, and flexible arrangement. In his article, Andrianaanse (2016: 10), also mentions that Uber (and similar companies) drivers are precarious because they do not meet the seven job security expressed by Standing (2011: 10), i.e. labor market security, employment security, job security, work security, reproduction security skills, income security, and representation security.

In its early operation in Indonesia, the e-commerce company of transportation services is in great demand by the public. For the customer, the company offers a cheap transportation cost with comfortable journey (car) and speed (motorcycle). As for the job seekers, offering a high daily income, with subsidized travel rates from the company. Thus, in just a few years, the number of application users and drivers (partners) increased significantly. However, along with the success of online transportation, emerged various problems that occur in the community. First, the rejection of some parties, such as conventional transportation entrepreneurs and drivers (public transportation, taxis, and motorcycle taxis). Secondly, the government’s unpreparedness in handling the polemic of online transportation (Wirawan, 2016). The Indonesian government did not have regulations to deal with online transportation business, and tend to be slow in formulating the regulations. Third, internal organizational problems. This internal problem, for example, is the reduction of the travel tariff which is then protested by the drivers (Rizgo, 2017), the suspended driver’s account (Purnamasari, 2017), the refusal of the driver’s bonus reimbursement by the company (Putera, 2017), to fictitious order cases.

One of the e-commerce companies of transportation services is PT. Go-Jek Indonesia, which manages the business of online transportation service through Go-Jek application. With the Go-Jek app, the company recruited conventional motorcycle taxi drivers, or the general public to become partners. The performance appraisal system implemented by Go-Jek (and other transport companies) is a form of great corporate power over the driver (Nastiti, 2017). Through this performance appraisal system, Go-Jek drivers are forced to comply with company policies that prioritise customer satisfaction. Performance appraisal system is considered unfair because when
customers give a low rating and bad comments, then the company can suspend even unilateral termination of agreement without any compromise or confirmation to the driver. Coercion through the power of the company as mentioned above may lead to violence against the driver. However, this violence is more to non-physical violence by using certain symbols.

Non-physical violence using these symbols has been expressed by Pierre Bourdieu through the concept of symbolic violence. The concept of symbolic violence according to Bourdieu (1991), i.e., gentle violence, invisible, not recognizable, elected or lived, such as trust, duty, personal loyalty, hospitality, gifts, debt, in other words are all well upheld by ethics. Symbolic violence, perpetrated by the more powerful party by using language, symbols, or representations (symbolic instruments). This concept of symbolic violence cannot be separated with other Bourdieu concepts such as arena, habitus, capital, doxa, and symbolic dominance. Therefore, the question of this study is: “How does symbolic violence occur to drivers (partners) by the e-commerce company of transportation services Go-Jek?” The research questions can be elaborated into following:

- How doxa contained in transport services e-commerce company ‘Go-Jek’?
- How are the drivers (partners) habitus and capital in the arena of transport service e-commerce company’s ‘Go-Jek’?
- This study aims to reveal the practice of symbolic violence that occurs through a system of performance appraisal of drivers of Go-Jek by both customers and company. This study also aims to explain this phenomenon from another Bourdieu point of view that can not be separated with one another, namely habitus, capital, arena, and doxa.

The phenomenon of symbolic violence occurring in an organization has been researched by many previous researchers. Five of them are: “Symbolic Violence Against Women in the Arena of Official Event (Study on Female MCs at BPK RI)” wrote by Risma Nurismayanti for her master thesis in 2017, “Homosexual in Work Environment (Study of Symbolic Violence of Heterosexual Towards Homosexuals)” wrote by Mega Ayu Permatasari for her master thesis in 2017, “Auditor’s Language Strategy of BPK RI as an Effort to Facing Violence In Arena of Inspection” wrote by Lusiana Haryanti for her master thesis in 2016, “Teach for America and Symbolic Violence: A Bourdieuian Analysis of Education’s Next Quick-Fix” wrote by Ashlee Anderson for her research journal in 2013, and “Caring for Quality of Care: Symbolic Violence and The Bureaucracies of Audit Nathan Emmerich” wrote by Deborah Swinglehurst, Jo Maybin, Sophie Park, and Sally Quilligan for research journal in 2015.

Of the five previous studies mentioned above, it can be seen that previous studies of symbolic violence in organizations were conducted in rigid and bureaucratic organizations. This research can fill the gap of these studies by raising the problem of symbolic violence that occurred through the system of assessment of Go-Jek’s drivers, in which e-commerce companies of transportation services are flexible organization. Drivers themselves are precarious workers, where their position in employment is not safe and at great risk while working. Therefore, this research can be categorized as basic research. Basic research is a study designed to advance basic knowledge about how the world works and to form/test theoretical explanations by focusing on the question of ‘why’ (Patton, 2002).

Literature Review

Symbolic violence rests in the adjustment between the constitutive structure of the dominated habitus and the dominant relations structure applied by the dominating party through the legitimacy of disposition and doxa in the arena (Bourdieu, 1998). Doxa is the point of view of the ruler / dominant which is claimed and enforced by them as a universal point of view (Bourdieu, 1998). Habitus is an interpretive framework for understanding and assessing reality and simultaneously producing life practices in accordance with objective structures. Habitus becomes the basis of an individual personality (Bourdieu in Haryatmoko, 2016). Capital according to Bourdieu there are four, namely economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. Capital is an asset for individuals or agents to struggle in an arena (Haryatmoko, 2016). Each group is the location of the struggle to impose a legitimate principle of group construction and any distribution of traits. The location of the struggle is called the arena or field (Bourdieu, 1991).

Precariat is the making of the class (class in the making) or referring to the class itself (Standing, 2011). Precariats consist of persons who do not have seven security-related forms of work (Standing, 2011). Precarious workers are part-time workers, casual workers, fractionally employed workers, contract workers, fake entrepreneurs, and other workers whose employment is temporary, insecure, and low-income (Fuchs, 2010). The precarious workers are too exploited by the capitalists in that these jobs will cost more if they hire regular salaried worker.

Electronic Commerce (e-commerce) is part of electronic business that is all forms of trade
transactions/commerce of goods or services by using electronic media (Harisno & Pujadi, 2009: 67). From that definition, then e-commerce company is a company that relies on the internet network in running its business. The e-commerce company of transportation services is a company that provides internet-based transport services in every transaction activity, ranging from ordering, tracking monitoring, payment, and assessment of the service itself (Pratama et al., 2016).

An online motorcycle taxi is a conventional, single-handed motorcycle-based transportation business, now a commercial enterprise that provides public transportation and is professionally managed (Rifaldi et al., 2016). According to Nototmodjo (in Saleh, 2015), partnership is a formal cooperation between individuals, groups, or organizations to achieve certain tasks and goals. With understanding, then the partners are individuals, groups, or organizations that cooperate to achieve certain business tasks and objectives.

**Research Methodology**

This research is a study that used the paradigm of critical constructionism, which is a paradigm between constructionism and critical theories paradigm. This paradigm is different from mainstream constructionism paradigm (tend to be relativistic) using normative theoretical framework, allowing researchers to create value judgment, as well as in the critical theory paradigm (Hidayat, 2008). This research used a qualitative approach because the researcher intends to try to reveal the subjective reality of the informants by identifying the issues from the informant’s perspective, and to understand their point of view and interpretation of how they treated by Go-Jek.

This research is descriptive research that tries to explain social phenomenon that happened in society. This research is qualitative research that uses the tradition of phenomenology research, which is research that focuses on tracing how humans rationalize their experiences and transform the experience into individual, as well as community consciousness (Patton, 2002).

In this study, researchers used data collection techniques through in-depth interviews using nonprobability sampling, purposive sampling type. Purposive sampling is done to gain rich information, in which the researcher can study in depth on the important issues that are the aim of the research (Patton, 2002). The criteria of informants from this study are as follows:

An active Go-Jek driver who has worked over a year. According to Dick Grote in the Stibitz article (2015) states that in order to assimilate with his work, a new worker takes about one year, if the work is challenging and the worker comes from outside the company (Stibitz). Tannahill-Moran (2012) also mentions that usually a year is a period to assess whether a job is right for someone.

Go-Jek drivers who are active or have joined the Go-Jek driver community. The driver joins the Go-Jek community and communicates through the online platform for a specific purpose, namely to promote unity (solidarity) and strengthen individual relationships within the community (Nadadja & Setyawan, 2016). The Go-Jek community consolidates against actions that threaten community members and avenge the protesters (Nadadja & Setyawan, 2016).

Go-Jek driver of Jabodetabek area. This is because of the Go-Jek driver’s demonstration in October 2016 demanding the abolition of performance appraisal system conducted in Jakarta (Aminah, 2016). In addition, there was also a Go-Jek driver mass strike for 3 days (July 5-7, 2017) in the Jakarta area protesting the performance appraisal system (Ayuwuragil, 2017). A Go-Jek driver who applied and resides in one of Jabodetabek area are allowed to take orders anywhere in Jabodetabek area.

In this study, the researchers conducted a qualitative analysis by using thematic analysis in accordance with the development of codes done before, so as to access data obtained from in-depth interviews. This study builds the consistency of interview data coupled with codes related to symbolic violence towards precarious worker. In addition, to collect reliability, researchers also make consistent observations of past data information. The researcher builds a reliable relationship with informants, so they can talk freely about the behaviours that the company implements. In this study, triangulation is done by comparing and checking information statements with sources such as official websites or Go-Jek statements contained in the media, also journals and articles research from experts who write articles about Go-Jek and partners. The researchers also conducting informal interviews with Go-Jek drivers (partners) while using Go-Jek services. The researchers also analyzing electronics partnership agreements that are only available in Go-Jek drivers’ application.

**Results**

Informants in this study are 4 people, namely DA, JA, DS, and DY. The four are active motorcycle drivers (partners) at Go-Jek for more than 2 years. Of the four informants, 3 of them were men (DA, JA, and DS), and one was female (DY). All of them are fit to the category of informants selection set by the researchers. They have worked with Go-Jek for more than one year, and work in Jabodetabek area. The three informants (DA, JA, and DS) were active members of a Go-Jek’s driver association in Bekasi, where JA served as chairman of the association. While DY had joined a member of the Go-Jek driver’s group, but she was off with personal reasons. The four informants use the initials because they are uncomfortable using their real names. This is related to their concerns if their statements will be misused in the future, and their fears, if they will get into
trouble with Go-Jek companies as Go-Jek, is the source of their income.

Go-Jek has been seen as an application developer company by most Indonesians. But in fact, Go-Jek is not the creator, developer, or owner of the Go-Jek app. In electronic contract on partner (Go-Ride’s driver) apps, it can be seen that in running their business electronically, Go-Jek works with several parties. The parties referred to in the electronic contract are as follows:

Go-Jek is a company conducting business activities as a manager of third party service providers in collaboration with AKAB.

AKAB as PT. Application of Karya Anak Bangsa, is the owner of Go-Jek application that is utilized by a registered consumer to obtain shuttle service of goods and/or person, messaging service between goods or other services with two-wheeled vehicles, or four wheel or other services.

PAB as PT. Paket Anak Bangsa, is a company affiliated and cooperates with AKAB conducting business activities of postal administration.

DAB as PT. Dompet Anak Bangsa is a company affiliated and cooperates with AKAB conducting business of electronic money system.

Mitra (partner/driver) is the party that carries out the shuttle of goods and/or person, the message between goods that have been previously ordered by consumers, or other services through Go-Jek application by using two-wheeled vehicles that own by themselves.

Thus, it can be seen that Go-Jek is not an application or transportation company, but an e-commerce company that provides transportation services and works with the parties mentioned above. The e-commerce company of transportation services is a company that provides internet-based transport services in every transaction activity, ranging from ordering, track monitoring, payment, and assessment of the service itself (Pratama et al., 2016: 2-3).

In electronic contracts, it is mentioned that Go-Jek is an electronics-based service provider company in partnership with AKAB, DAB, PAB, and partners as well as customers. In a sense, AKAB, PAB, DAB and Mitra (partners) can only get customers through Go-Jek run business. Meanwhile, the so-called Mitra in electronic contracts are the drivers who are Go-Jek’s partners.

Go-Jek’s partners (drivers), categorized as a precarious worker, refers to the journal Andriaanse (2016: 10), which states that Uber (and similar companies) drivers are a precarious worker for failing to meet the seven security related to job expressed by Standing (2011: 10). The seven security are as follows:

- **Labour market security.** Go-Jek’s partner (driver) does not have a chance to full employment. Go-Jek’s partner (driver) works under a partnership contract, where the contract does not provide the security of the contract term. The partnership contract does not have a specified timeframe such as a certain time labour agreement, while it can be unilaterally terminated by the company. Partners (drivers) also did not get a chance to be appointed permanent worker in Go-Jek company.

- **Employment security.** In the interview, informant DS stated that Go-Jek was arbitrary towards their drivers (partners). The partners had to follow Go-Jek’s policies if they still wanted to work at Go-Jek. In addition, the driver (partner) of Go-Jek also has no security from the unilateral dismissal (termination of cooperation) made by Go-Jek. For example, the mass driver’s account suspension or the unilateral dismissal of the Go-Jek driver in December 2015. A total of 7,000 drivers (partners) are subject to a one-sided suspension, accused of making fictitious orders by Go-Jek, even though suspended drivers plead innocent in media. With the suspend, the partners (drivers) cannot work and get the daily earnings they normally earned through orders at Go-Jek app. Unilateral suspension or dismissal actually takes place every day at Go-Jek, but a mass suspension like this only in 2015.

- **Job security.** Go-Jek’s partners (drivers) also do not have this security, there is no guarantee for partners to be able to keep their position as driver. The system of punishment (suspend) applied by Go-Jek may haunt them everyday without even realized it. For example, according to informants, suspend-affected partner (driver) sometimes do not realized that they have violated Go-Jek’s rules. In some cases where suspend is caused by customer bad rating and comments, the driver sometimes is completely unaware that his account has been suspended. In addition, the existence of a bonus offer with the provisions of the achievement of large points can cause the driver only focused on the acquisition of points by ignoring other things, such as speeding up when riding a motorcycle, or in a hurry to complete orders, easy to get angry to customers. Thus, it is not only the quality of service from the driver decreases, the driver also has great potential to get the suspend from Go-Jek if the customer is not satisfied with the services provided. In addition, drivers may also endanger their own safety and customer safety. The driver also has no chance to improve his career, because there are not even a career path for the Go-Jek driver.

- **Work security.** Based on the statements of the informants, Go-Jek does not provide health and safety protection. Go-Jek may circumvent to provide health and safety protection according to Indonesian Law no. 13 of 2003 on Employment, as Go-Jek positions the driver as a partner not a worker. According to informants, Go-Jek only provides drivers access to insurance (affiliated) companies. However, the driver signs up for the insurance individually and pays his/her own insurance. Thus, having health and safety protection is an option for drivers, while they have a great risk in this line of work, from traffic accidents to illness due to urination, rain, heat,
or exposure to dirty air. In addition, from the informant’s statement can also be seen that Go-Jek’s driver (partner) have long working hours. Although they can take a rest any time, they also work in unnatural hours (outside of general business hours). The informants also state that they are not getting compensation when the accident occurred. JA informant even stated that the driver will not get compensation or financing for the treatment when they get a work accident.

**Reproduction security skill.** Partners (drivers) who work with Go-Jek do not have the opportunity to get training that can develop their skills. Based on the informant’s acknowledgement, two informants who joined before 2016 (JA and DS) only received 2 types of training at the beginning of joining Go-Jek, that is safety riding training and training of Android usage. While the other two who joined after 2016 (DA and DY) only get one type of training at the beginning they join Go-Jek, the safety riding training. In addition, Go-Jek drivers also have no chance to show their potential or skills to the company. This is because work as a Go-Jek partner (driver) only allows horizontal mobilization, no vertical career path.

**Income security.** The profession of an online motorcycle taxi driver is not included in the minimum wage mechanism set by the local government. Their revenue system is only based on the tariff policy issued by Go-Jek which, according to the informant with terms of profit-sharing per order, is 80% for the driver and 20% for Go-Jek. This tariff policy then causes problems between Go-Jek and driver management. This is due to the tariff set by Go-Jek has reduced several times by Go-Jek is considered unfair to the driver. This tariff reduction is believed by two informants (DA and JA) as a result of business competition, where Go-Jek does not want to lose its customers because the tariff is more expensive than its competitors. Therefore, Go-Jek made tariff adjustments. However, this leads to an adjustment of revenue also for the driver in accordance with tariffs set by Go-Jek with the aim of maintaining and attracting customers. With the reduction in tariffs made by Go-Jek will decrease the amount of income earned by the driver every day. If they want to get the same amount as their previous earnings, they have to run orders twice as much as the previous order amount. In the end the driver staged a demonstration and a strike for Go-Jek to negotiate the tariff issue.

**Representation security.** The Go-Jek driver does not have any union or representative organization recognized by the company or government. Thus, the actions undertaken by the bevy of the impressed driver are not well organized. In addition, in the absence of an official union of motorcycle taxi (ojek) drivers, the aspirations or complaints of drivers cannot be properly conveyed to appropriate forums such as discussions with Go-Jek management and with the DPR (people representative). Thus their aspirations cannot be fought properly. Such as the issue of tariff reduction and suspend removal that has been aspirated through demonstrations by Go-Jek drivers. Although Go-Jek has promised to raise tariffs if its competitor (Grab) also raises tariffs in March 2018 (DA informant statement), but until now (June 2018) there has been no further settlement of the statement. In this case, the government only gave an appeal to Go-Jek and Grab to be able to raise the online motorcycle taxi (ojek) fare when the demonstration occurred, but until now there has been no follow-up.

According to Standing (2011: 8), class characteristics of the precarious worker are as follows; first, the precariat consists of people who have a minimum trust relationship with capital or state. Second, it has no social contracting relationship that provides labor securities as subordination and loyalty together. Third, the precarious has a distinctive status position, that is with neither mapped neatly in a professional high status, nor a middle status whose work requires expertise. This is in accordance with the informant’s statements submitted to the researchers. For example, the DA informant gave a statement that there was a suspicion among Go-Jek drivers that Go-Jek’s staff had committed cheats such as deliberately making fictitious orders to decrease the driver’s performance, resulting in many drivers not getting bonuses. The statement of DA lends itself to a minimal trust relationship between partners and Go-Jek. This is consistent with the first order given by Standing.

For the second characteristic, where Go-Jek partners do not have the social contracting relationship that provides job security has been discussed above. While the third characteristic, Go-Jek’s (driver) partner is not a job that requires professionalism or special skills. Motorcycle driving skills is actually a skill that is mastered by many people whose mobility is using a motorcycle. Even today, many high school students are able to ride a motorcycle even if they do not have a driver’s license. Therefore, with the fulfillment of the above three characteristics, the Go-Jek partner (driver) can be categorized as precarious worker.

From the findings in this research, it can be seen that DY is the only female informant. Thus she made the income from Go-Jek only as additional income, because with the status as a housewife she earns monthly income from her husband’s salary. Against this background, DY are not interested in continuing to join the driver’s association, as she is uncomfortable with the habits of some lackluster member in association and doing negative things like drinking alcohol or smoking. Although DY only makes Go-Jek as an additional income, she still earns an equal or greater income than the other two informants, JA and DS. Thus, it can be said that DY is more serious in working than another informant. DY’s mo-
tivation to join Go-Jek is also more likely because she works in order to buy the things she wants without relying on her husband’s salary alone. Therefore, DY motivation in joining Go-Jek is a social motivation, because she wants to achieve something or get something from the symbols she has in society. With no formal job background, DY tends to be less amenable to the movement of a bevvy of drivers such as demonstrations. This is because she has never had contact with unions and their various activities. DY informant is not exposed by provocation from fellow drivers who protest Go-Jek policies. DY is also more likely to be grateful to Go-Jek for the job opportunities and to better accept Go-Jek policies and it changes. DY has a positive image of Go-Jek, but when we dig deeper, there are actually some things she complains, mainly about punishment policies.

Meanwhile, male informants who regard Go-Jek as the main source of income tend to be active in associations to socialize and cultivate the fraternity among Go-Jek partners, so that when Go-Jek policies are perceived to be detrimental, they can demonstrate as solidarity partners. They tend to criticize Go-Jek’s policies and realize that during this time the driver’s position is weak over Go-Jek’s power, so Go-Jek treats the driver arbitrarily. This awareness may also be awakened because they are exposed to various information and thoughts within the bevvy of drivers. With the background of those who have experienced working in the company (formal work), they are familiar with the UMR mechanism as well as the movement of the union. Therefore, it is common for them to join the association, and conduct demonstrations if there is a policy that is perceived to be detrimental to their group. The demonstration was the reaction of some of the drivers who fought back against Go-Jek’s arbitrary power.

Discussion

The concept of symbolic violence from Bourdieu (1998: 121), states that symbolic violence rests in the adjustment between the constitutive structure of predominant habitus and the dominant relations structure applied by the dominating party through the legitimacy of disposition and doxa in the arena. Thus the dominated party will be subjected to symbolic violence because of its position in the constitutive structure of the habitus and the weak relational structure of the dominating party, where it is governed through doxa created in a particular arena. The dominant party will create the doxa to be able to control the habitus and arena they dominate, in this process of control is vulnerable to the occurrence of symbolic violence.

The result of this study is the symbolic violence occurring in the phenomenon of these precarious workers in line with the order in the Bourdieu concept. Beginning with the doxa created by e-commerce company which is a customer and loyalty satisfaction oriented company. The created Doxa is prioritizing customer satisfaction, where customers are prioritized in everything. It is known by the term ‘customer is king’ or ‘customer is God’. This Doxa is the main idea which is then embedded in corporate culture and derived in internal and external policies. In this phenomenon, the arena is Go-Jek’s corporate social space governed or controlled in the rules applied by Go-Jek’s management, such as bonus gains policies, tariff policies, and punishment policies. Doxa to give priority to customers is seen in all three policies. These three policies govern how partners interact with customers and are referred to as arenas in this phenomenon.

In the arena governed by the three policies, the partners then have habitus that are in line with the arena and doxa. This habitus such as partners trying hard not to anger customers, the partners invite customers to chat and provide snacks and soft drinks, or partners cancel orders in order to avoid potential customers causing problems even with the cancellation they sacrifice daily bonuses. All these habitus in order to avoid being punished by the punishment policy (account suspension). The other habitus deals with bonus earning policies that are optional to partners, wherein the process of earning rewards, partners will prioritize customers with fast and satisfactory service.

In addition to the habitus, in the arena there are also capitals dominated by the e-commerce company of transportation services. The company controls all four capitals mentioned by Bourdieu. Here’s the description:

Economic capital. In the e-commerce business of online transport services, partners have the economic capital with the motorcycle they owned. Where this motorcycle becomes a service production tool to run orders from customers. In the electronic contract on a driver’s application, it is stated that owning a privately owned motorcycle is an absolute requirement to be a Go-Jek partner. But Go-Jek also has an economic capital in the form of Go-Jek application (affiliate with AKAB) which is used as a place of partner transactions with customers. Meanwhile, customers have economic capital in the form of financial means, in which partners earn income from customers for services that have been given.

Cultural capital. In this phenomenon, the largest cultural capital is owned by Go-Jek. Go-Jek (through AKAB companies) have the knowledge to build and develop Go-Jek application systems used by partners (drivers) in work. With this knowledge, Go-Jek can create gaps in policies that can benefit the company, while partners are unaware because of their lack of knowledge to agree on a partnership agreement.

Social capital. Both partners (drivers) and Go-Jek companies have social capital. Partners (drivers) have social capital in the form of a strong fraternal relationship between Go-Jek
drivers and other online motorcycle taxis (ojek) driver. Given the strong connection of friends, partners (drivers) can perform actions such as demonstrations and strikes. These demonstrations and strikes are intended to get the attention of Go-Jek and related parties such as the government and the wider community. On the other hand, the social capital owned by Go-Jek is a network of cooperation with companies such as AKAB, PAB and DAB. Go-Jek also has a network of cooperation that it uses to obtain funding or investment from overseas companies. Given the incoming investment, Go-Jek can grow into a larger company and recruit more partners (drivers). Thus, Go-Jek tends to be arbitrary to the driver, such as easily gives unilateral suspend, because there are still many people who are interested in signing up as a Go-Jek partner (driver).

**Symbolic capital.** In this phenomenon, the largest symbolic capital is owned by the Go-Jek company. In its business activities and embodied in an electronic contract with the driver, Go-Jek clearly illustrates that Go-Jek is a large company of capital owners. Thus, Go-Jek can treat the driver with arbitrary, while the driver can not demand anything from Go-Jek. In addition, with the rapid development, Go-Jek became a large company that has a prestige name, that they easily get attention from job searchers and investors.

With the capture of all four capital by e-commerce companies, the position of partners becomes weak and powerless over corporate (Go-Jek) power. Under conditions of predominantly dominated habitus and capital, partners subsequently were unaware that during this time they had received symbolic violence from e-commerce companies. They are still under illusion of power of freedom they had. They have freedom to choose where or when they work, but this is not complete freedom since their decision will affect their income. The following is a scheme of symbolic violence in the phenomenon of precarious workers:

Based on the research findings, the partner (driver) of the e-commerce company in the field of transportation services received symbolic violence based on two things, namely:

- **Position as a precarious worker.** Based on his/her position as a precarious worker, the partner (driver) receive symbolic violence in the following form:
  a) **Partnership agreement.** In the electronic partnership agreement, it is mentioned that if the partner clicks OK when the app update notification appears then he/she agrees to all the contents of the agreement in it, including changes to company policy, even though the policy is not mentioned in the electronic agreement. Partners can only use the app to accept orders if they update the app by clicking OK.
  b) **Unilateral termination.** Partners feel anxious every day because there is no guarantee his account does not get auto-suspend from the company unilaterally.
  c) **Communication channels.** Partners can not voice aspirations or input to the company even when they feel unfairly treated by the company. Partner communication channels only through call centres that only deal with technical issues related to customer orders.

E-commerce system of transportation services. Based on the e-commerce system of transportation services, the symbolic violence received by precarious worker (partner) takes place in the following forms:

- **a) Bonus gains policy.** The bonus earning policy is symbolic violence by offering rewards. E-commerce companies force partners to work harder and earn more money with a daily bonus offer as a reward, but ignore the conditions themselves and the vehicle. Requirements on a bonus earning policy such as a minimum number of points and a percentage of performance are admittedly hard to be met by a partner, but

![Picture 1. How Symbolic Violence occur toward Precarious of E-Commerce Company of Transportation Service](Image)
the bonus offer is too tempting that can result in the partner ignoring his or her own condition and vehicle to meet those requirements which often result in an accident on the partner.

b) Tariff policy. The tariff policy is symbolic of violence through a sense of obligation or duty from partners to comply with e-commerce company policy. As a partner, they have the right to negotiate tariff issues before the rates are applied by the company. Tariff policy decided unilaterally by e-commerce companies, shows the great power of e-commerce companies over partners even to the control of partner-owned capital. There is an understanding among the partners that by doing the demonstration, it will only affect the partners with the added decrease in tariffs, and not receive orders to the account of partners who participated in the demonstration.

c) Punishment policy. In this punishment policy, the symbolic violence rests in how the company delivers the punishment. Punishment policy is given to partners in the form of threats to partners in order not to commit violations such as disappointing customers or doing rude to customers. Punishment policy is decided unilaterally by the e-commerce company through the auto-suspend system based on comments and rating provided by the customer after the driver completing the order. Punishments as suspension given to partner accounts are in various length of time, the accounts are suspended based on the severity of violations committed by partners. But the auto-suspend, most suspend suspects do not know the account has been suspended and do not know why the account is suspended. Partners must go to the office of the e-commerce company to be able to find out details of why their account is suspended.

With the doxa that instructs partners to prioritize customer satisfaction, making customers also have power over partners. Where the power is in the form of comments and rating so that partners can get punishment (suspension), in the hardest case until a unilateral partnership termination occurs. This is why partners are always careful in interactions with customers. Based on the information of the informants, many customers also cheat the argo in the application by arranging the pick-up point not in accordance with the location. Many customers set the pickup point almost 1 km away so the argo is lower. But if the partner protests, they will threaten to give comments and a bad rating to the partner (the driver). In addition, partners are also often made to wait for some time, stopping at several places before reaching their destination, to force partners to take another route without compensation. Partners can only be silent and doing accordingly, because they are afraid of getting bad comments and ratings if the customer protest to the e-commerce company which culminate in driver getting a suspend by Go-Jek.

Thus partners become uneasy at work and are always anxiously afraid of making mistakes to customers. Partners will always be anxious when getting customers. According to them, sometimes customers who look okay can also provide bad comments and rating directly on the application without reprimanding partner (driver) first. Partners are always overwhelmed by anxiety when carrying passengers or goods, because they are aware that they can get suspended at any time. According to Samuel (2013: 6) symbolic violence is an experience of feeling out of place, anxious, awkward, ashamed, ignorant, and so forth, since those experiencing symbolic violence can not develop objective behaviour (since the resources needed to do so available to them) and committed subjectively, in this understanding, the rules distinguish by whose not dominated.

The results also found that there are two types of precarious worker in transportation services e-commerce business, ie full-time and part-time precariat. The full-time precariat type makes the income of an online motorcycle taxi driver the main source of income. Therefore, their motivation to join the e-commerce company of transportation services is an economic motivation. This type joins the bevvy of the driver with the goal of socializing and helping each other in need. They will often encounter crowding in certain places, especially basecamps of bundles of drivers when off bid. This type of members are mostly male and have experience working formally in a company. This type tends to take reactive action on Go-Jek policy changes that are considered unfair to the driver by engaging in mass demonstrations or strikes.

Meanwhile, part-time precariat which makes the income as an ojek (motorcycle taxi) partner only as an additional income. Women usually includes in this type, who have social motivation when deciding to join together with e-commerce company of transportation services. This type of precariat is a precariat that is not included in the bundle of drivers, but works individually. This type does not have the experience of working formally in the company, so they never entered the environment with the workers’ organizations in it. They tend to be serious and focus on working with no confusing policy changes such as tariff issues. This type tends to have a positive image of Go-Jek, and accepts Go-Jek’s policies without any resistance.

There are differences when these two types of precarious receive symbolic violence from e-commerce companies of transportation services. The full-time precariat, tend not to accept symbolic violence just like that and do resistance within the limits of their ability. This type rejects or opposes tariff policies and punishment policies, but they accept or are neutral to bonus earning policies, partnership agreements, and communication channels. Their resistance is reactive to company policies that are considered harmful to
them. This type focuses on the policies that affect their income and security of their positions (excluding bonuses). They believe that they must fight for fate by taking actions such as demonstrations and strikes even though they have fears about the risks that may be received after the action. They have great hopes for any change in their fate. On the other hand, they do not realize that what they are doing is not enough to cause the impact of change, because in addition to the organization, their own legal status is still questionable.

Meanwhile, the type of part-time precariat tends to accept the symbolic violence of the company as something reasonable and participate in the continuity of symbolic violence without realizing it. This type of precariat does not resist even though in its group (fellow drivers) there is a movement of resistance over the accepted symbolic violence. They even see the movements made by some of their colleagues is a futile and gratuitous act. They tend to focus only on working to fulfill their goals and ‘play within safe limits’ by trying not to commit the offences set in the company’s punishment policy. They focus on precarious characteristics such as flexible work, as well as various services offered in the application.

**Conclusion**

Based on the explanation of the research findings and discussion above, the conclusions of this research are as follows:

Symbolic violence towards precarious workers in the relationship between e-commerce companies of transport services and partners, due to domination or corporate power over the arena, habitus, and partner capital controlled through doxa in the form of dispositions created by the company.

Doxa or disposition created by e-commerce companies is prioritizing customer satisfaction. This Doxa is a grand idea which is then embedded and derived in both internal and external policy forms.

Mitra (partners) then has habitues in line with the arena and doxa formed by e-commerce companies, such as; partners do their best not to anger customers, partners invite customers to chat and provide snacks and soft drinks, or partners cancel orders in order to avoid potential customers causing problems even with the cancellation they sacrifice daily bonuses (to avoid account suspension).

All the capitals in the arena are controlled by an e-commerce company of transportation services. The company controls all four capitals mentioned by Bourdieu, namely economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital.

Symbolic violence towards the precarious worker can be found in the form of bonus earning policy, tariff policy, and punishment policy.

With doxa prioritizing customer satisfaction, precarious workers are not only subjected to violence from the e-commerce company, but also from customers.

**Recommendations**

The academic recommendation of this research is that it is hoped that further research can expand the research by obtaining more diverse informants in terms of areas and associations of online ojek drivers. It aims to identify whether there are differences in findings on different areas and associations of drivers with this study. Further research is also expected to deepen gender precarious studies, especially in e-commerce companies of transportation services.

In the practical aspect, this research recommends PT. Go-Jek Indonesia to review the policies implemented, refine the policies adopted taking into account the security and welfare of the online motorcycle taxi drivers (its partners), as well as partner’s rights to participate in policy formulation that could harm either party. Meanwhile, in the social aspect, this study recommends people, especially users of online transport applications to be more sensitive and attentive when interacting with others via the internet (both applications and social media). This is because our daily actions can unwittingly potentially become a symbolic violence, and harm others (in this case the motorcycle taxi (ojek) driver).

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