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**Moving Out of Poverty
Go-jek as Innovative Support for Motorcycle Taxi in Jakarta**

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This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

ADO	Indonesian Online Driver Association
MoCI	Ministry of Communication and Information of Indonesia
MoL	Ministry of Labour of Indonesia
MoT	Ministry of Transportation of Indonesia

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Abstract

Since 2010, the motorcycle-based transportation system in Jakarta has been institutionalised by a start-up company named Go-jek through a mobile phone application. Due to the emergence of Go-jek, the population of motorcycle taxi drivers are divided into two types: online and traditional. Since then, the preference of customers has shifted to the online as it becomes the most popular mode of transportation for the residents of Jakarta. Initially, motorcycle taxi drivers are facing insecurities such as the absence of recognition and no protection related to their work. Hence, this paper seeks to address whether the innovation by Go-jek plays a part in reducing the vulnerability of motorcycle taxi drivers or not. It will be carried out by examining Go-jek drivers' (in)dependency, their type of entrepreneurship, and assets comparison with traditional *ojek* drivers along with before-after comparison prior to joining Go-jek. Assets in this context consist of financial productive assets, physical capital, human capital, and social capital. The evidence suggests that Go-jek drivers are dependent self-employed workers. Almost all of Go-jek drivers are classified into growth-oriented entrepreneurs while traditional *ojek* drivers are survivalist entrepreneurs because of their initially different nature. The inclusiveness that Go-jek claims do not seem to affect the drivers based on their asset vulnerability assessment, except for the increasing social capital.

Relevance to Development Studies

This study provides insights into urban poverty knowledge, especially on the informal transportation workers' vulnerabilities. It focuses on motorcycle taxi as one of the most popular paratransit modes with the addition of a local start-up that brought a more nuanced definition of employment and entrepreneurship. It is interesting since currently there are few studies about it in a developing country setting. As confirmed by Spooner (2011: 1), currently, there is not much of data on the informal transportation sector, especially on the "livelihood of transport workers in the urban informal economy".

Keywords

Motorcycle taxi, Go-jek, Jakarta, workers' dependency, entrepreneurship, assets vulnerability

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Background and Problem Indication

The urban poor are facing the challenge of accessing employment opportunities due to extensive urbanisation and their lack of capability to compete in the urban labour market. In fact, most of the urban poor are working in the informal sectors (Sattigeri 2014: 719, Starkey and Hine 2014: 29). In this context, the informal sector is a sector that is “not recognized, recorded, protected or regulated by the public authorities” as coined by Hart¹ through his study in Kenya (International Labour Office 2002: 1). Later on, the term was redefined as *informal employment* that captures a broader scope of informal jobs even in the formal sector or households (Husmanns 2004: 5-7).

In Indonesia, transportation is one of the sectors that contributes to the informal employment since there are many types of it: tricycle, motorcycle taxi, and *bemo*². The informal transportation modes are popular because they have a high adaptive response to the fluid demand of the customers compare to the formal one and also, cheaper cost (Cervero and Golub 2007: 448, Garnett 2001: 176, Spooner 2011: 9). Thus, they play a role in increasing mobility for the poor, middle class and entry-level workers (Cervero 2000: 5, Garnett 2001: 185).

Indonesia is home to over 257 million people in 2015, making it the fourth most populous country in the world (World Bank 2017). Its capital and the largest city as can be seen in Figure 1, Jakarta, accommodate 10,2 million people according to the Indonesia Statistics Agency (2014). For the past few years, there has been a shift in transportation mode used by the residents of Jakarta as can be seen in Figure 2. From the figure, it is clear that motorcycle was becoming the most popular mode of transportation by the almost-doubled number between 2002 to 2010. Furthermore, the Jakarta Regional Police Agency explained that 75% of motorcycle dominated Jakarta traffic with the amount of registered motorcycle reaching 13,1 million in 2014 (Jakarta Statistics Agency 2015: 13). It is an enormous number compared to 3,3 million for the car and 0,4 million for the bus. Those numbers counted not only for personal mobility but also commercial use as a mode of paratransit transportation, motorcycle taxi, or *ojek* as the locals call it. It is available at every housing complex gate, or big corner in their informal station called *pangkalan*, waiting for the customer. It is considered as the most popular mode in Jakarta because of its door-to-door nature, ability to run through traffic and narrow alleys, and is always available 24 hours a day.

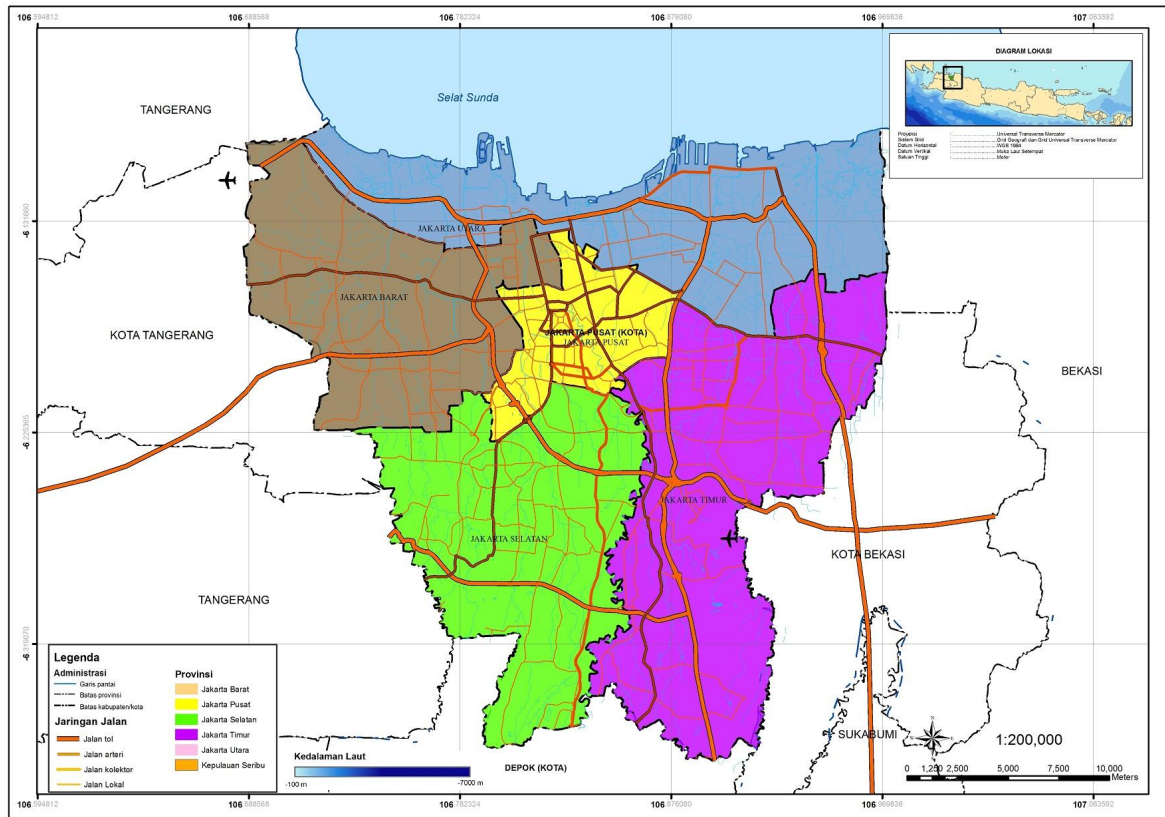
Ojek emerged in 1970 as bicycle taxi around the northern area of Jakarta due to the ban of tricycle rickshaw and minibuses (Hanggoro 2015). According to Sunarya (2016: 1), it also arose due to the reliance of private car for everyday mobilisation in the absence of reliable public transport and bad sidewalks while the remaining urban poor must deal with it by using ‘low-cost Japanese motorbike products’. Besides, it is really easy to obtain Japanese-brand motorcycle especially through leasing companies with a small down payment or even none (Jakarta Statistics Agency 2015: 14). As a result of previous problems, *ojek* emerged as a gap-filler. Although it exists until now, it is informal since Law No. 22/2009 concerning Road Traffic and Transportation does not recognise motorcycle taxi as a mode of public transportation. Despite

¹ As a part of ILO

² A kind of small jitney

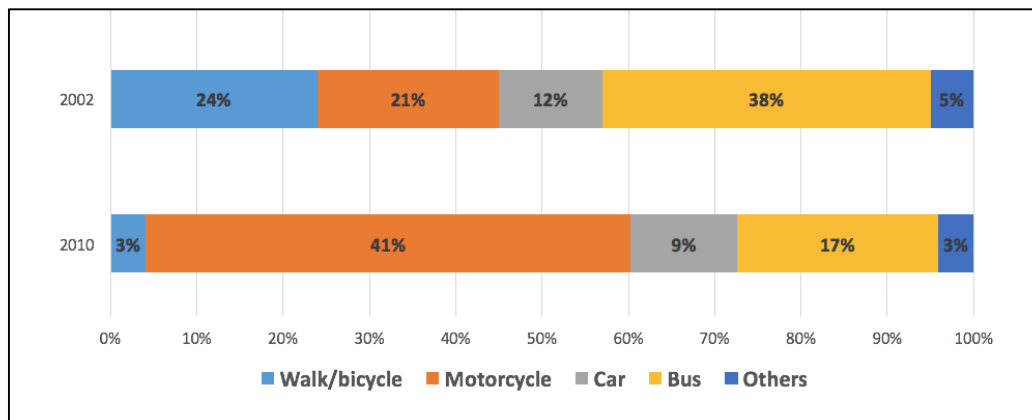
the absence, there is no sanction stated in the law for still using or providing this service. In its development, it has created a dilemmatic situation: regulatory-wise it is illegal, but the demand is always there and keeps increasing.

Figure 1 Map of Jakarta



Source: Ministry of Home Affairs 2012. Information: Blue depicted North Jakarta area; Brown depicted West Jakarta area; Yellow depicted Central Jakarta Area; Pink depicted East Jakarta area; and Green depicted South Jakarta area.

Figure 2 Jakarta's Share of Transportation Mode



Source: Sunarya (2016: 1)

Starting 2010, the motorcycle-based transportation system in Jakarta has been institutionalised by an application-based local company named Go-jek. Go-jek engages traditional *ojek* drivers through mobile phone application which acts as a bridge to meet supply and demand of *ojek*. Hence, Go-jek increases productivity by reducing the idle time of traditional motorcycle taxi in their unofficial station. Not only that, Go-jek also provides insurance system covering death premium and motorcycle loss for its drivers who can pay, complementing

universal-access health insurance³ by the Government for informal workers. Following its introduction, this start-up has been extremely popular among the citizens of Jakarta and affecting the dynamics of *ojek* development as 150.000 *ojek* drivers in Jakarta join the start-up (Sunarya 2016: 43). The success of Go-jek has lead similar transportation-based application company like Uber and Grab to include motorcycle taxi within their scope of service. Now, online *ojek* is the most used public transportation in Jakarta compare to the local train, regular bus, bus rapid transit (BRT), online taxi, regular taxi, and traditional *ojek* based on the survey by Jakpat (2016: 12). The study involves 384 respondents in Greater Jakarta Area about public transportation preference. As shown in the table below, online *ojek* has the highest percentage in all aspect except for the price, being the second after the local train. Thus, while talking about motorcycle taxi drivers in Jakarta, it is important to also focus on Go-jek drivers as the pioneer in online motorcycle taxi providers that might have displaced traditional *ojek* in a few years.

Table 1. Online and Traditional *Ojek*'s Shares in Public Transportation Preference by Greater Jakarta Area Residents in 2016

Consideration in Public Transportation Preference	Highest Option of Public Transportation	Online <i>Ojek</i>	Traditional <i>Ojek</i>
Price	Train (28,9%)	25,8%	2,1%
Easiness to order	Online Motorcycle Taxi (58,9%)	58,9%	5,5%
Fastness in reaching destination	Online Motorcycle Taxi (50,1%)	50,1%	4,7%
Safety	Online Motorcycle Taxi (27,3%)	27,3%	2,6%
Driver's Capability in Driving	Online Motorcycle Taxi (31,3%)	31,3%	2,9%
Driver's Knowledge in Road Routes	Online Motorcycle Taxi (40,6%)	40,6%	6,3%

Source: Derived from Jakpat (2016: 14-24)

The contours of motorcycle taxi sector stated before shown that the drivers currently experience several insecurities, for example, work instability due to the absence of recognition by the law. Also, motorcycle dependency and no social security benefit as Indonesia has a low degree of entitlement. Those insecurities attribute to the vulnerability of the drivers. Hence, with the addition of Go-jek, this paper seeks to address whether the innovation by Go-jek plays a part in reducing the vulnerability of motorcycle taxi drivers or not. The analysis consists of before-after and with-without Go-jek assets comparison. By with-without, it means between Go-jek drivers and traditional *ojek* drivers. The latter includes determining the entrepreneurship nature between two types of drivers, growth-oriented and survivalist, to extract an appropriate proposed policy intervention accordingly. Additionally, based on Berner et al. (2012: 387), the growth-oriented entrepreneur is able to accumulate assets more than the survivalist.

The analysis will be utilising asset-based approach because it sees poverty and vulnerability as a dynamic condition, changing due to the exposure toward risk (Moser 2007: 86). It considers

³ The insurance is contributory, not entitled

poverty from not only their deprivation but also the ‘resilience’ capacity by what they have (Moser 1998: 3, World Bank 2016). The assets mentioned before consist of financial-productive or labour assets, physical assets, human capital, and social capital (Moser and Felton 2007: 23). Based on the classification, it is clear that Go-jek will affect labour assets the most due to the blurry line of employment status which is extremely relevant to their vulnerability. The situation is kind of similar to Uber with its “independent contractor” drivers that turns out not independent. It is interesting since currently there are few studies about it in a developing country setting.

The assets vulnerability analysis also will include the role of gender identities under the umbrella of social capital as the number of women motorcycle taxi drivers are growing although the amount still small compare to men drivers. Sunarya (2016: 48) further proclaimed that Jakarta *ojek* drivers are male-dominated and mostly aged above thirty. How women *ojek* drivers sustain within the stigma of ‘motorcycle taxi driver is a masculine job’ is relevant to be further analysed as a form of examining gendered poverty.

1.2 Research Questions

As explained before, Go-jek is considered as an innovation in informal transportation workers’ vulnerability because it creates job opportunity, access to insurance, and increases drivers’ productivity through a mobile application. Meanwhile, Moser (1998: 3) explained that “the more assets people have, the less vulnerable they are, and the greater the erosion of people’s assets, the greater their insecurity“. Therefore, it is relevant to see how Go-jek changed its drivers’ vulnerability based on their assets: financial-productive assets, physical assets, human capital, and social capital.

There are one main question and three sub-questions as an operationalisation of the former. First, having a strong link with financial-productive assets, this paper will also dig deeper on Go-jek drivers’ employment security based on their dependency. Second, it will examine the type of entrepreneurship of Go-jek and traditional *ojek* drivers. Lastly, the third question aims to compare the drivers’ assets before-after and with-without joining Go-jek. By analysing the drivers’ employment and entrepreneurship type first, it allows the readers to have an insight for the comparison that will follow later. The questions are:

Main Question : How does the innovation by Go-jek affect motorcycle taxi drivers’ vulnerability in Jakarta?

Sub-questions : 1. How are Go-jek drivers classified based on their dependency in relation to their financial-productive assets?
2. What is the type of entrepreneurship of Go-jek drivers compare to traditional *ojek* drivers and how does it affect the proposed intervention to reduce their assets vulnerability?
3. How do the assets of Go-jek drivers change before and after joining Go-jek and compare to traditional *ojek* drivers?

1.3 Structure of the Paper

The paper covers six chapters: the first one describes the research’s background including the problem indication, questions, and the structure. The second chapter presents conceptual and analytical frameworks that become the instruments of analysis for the chapters forward.

Next, the third chapter outlined the research's methodology consisting background of the chosen methodology, data generation, samples, and analysis as well as ethical consideration and limitations of the research. After that, the analysis of Go-jek drivers' type of employment based on their (in)dependency and their entrepreneurship nature are present in chapter four. In chapter four, comparison before-after joining Go-jek and between Go-jek and traditional drivers will be performed, along with gender relations analysis under the umbrella of social capital. It also includes the analysis of linkage between types of entrepreneurs and their vulnerability. Lastly, the paper ends with chapter six which presents the conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2. Conceptual and Analytical Framework

This chapter will present the assets vulnerability framework as the primary analytical framework for this research. Other than that, this section will also explain about worker's (in)dependency to determine the financial-productive assets of the drivers and differences between two entrepreneurship types along with the scorecard to classify the drivers.

2.1 Asset Vulnerability Framework

Perception towards poverty reduction has shifted from giving capital to the poor to identifying the assets owned by the poor, by focusing on what they have instead of do not have (Moser 1998: 1). In this context, asset or capital means "stock of financial, human, natural or social resources that can be acquired, developed, improved and transferred across generations. It generates flows or consumption, as well as additional stock" according to Moser (2007: 84). There are many types of assets, but she compiled five different assets that are considered important as poverty reduction strategies:

a. Labour

This asset is the most important asset for the poor as it represents the highly commoditised character of the urban sector or a means to obtain income through production of goods and services (Moser 1998: 4, 2008: 50).

b. Human Capital

This asset is strongly related to the first asset because to compete in the labour market, the poor need to have a certain capacity (Moser 1998: 4, 2008: 50). Not only social services like education and healthcare, the economic infrastructure that supplies water and electricity also contribute to the poor's capacity (Moser 1998: 9).

c. Productive Assets

It is a mean for productive activity that generates income such as housing and its legal tenure that considered important for the urban poor (Moser 1998: 10, 2008: 50). Each work has a specific productive asset, in this context, the main productive asset is a motorcycle.

d. Household Relations

Although sometimes neglected by poverty reduction strategies, this asset is important because it affects households' ability to share and pool the income (Moser 1998: 4). It also acts as a safety net for the poor (Moser 1998: 11).

e. Social Capital

Moser and Felton (2007: 30) defined social capital as "the rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity, and trust embedded in social relations, social structures, and societies' institutional arrangements that enable society's members to achieve their individual and community objectives". This capital emerged from the social network; fluid in nature and exercised in a form of mutual trust within a group or community (Moser 1998: 4, 13, 2008: 50).

This study will use five types of assets explained before with different arrangement of classification adapted from Moser and Felton (2007: 23). The arrangement consists of four capitals:

a. Financial-productive

Different from previous classification, labour assets and productive assets are under the financial-productive assets. Labour assets will be determined by their employment security, through one of the sub-questions. By grouping employment security and productive assets, it will be easier to relate it to the dependency of the drivers due to the sharing-economy model adopted by Go-jek.

b. Physical

In the previous classification, all of the tangible resources owned by the drivers considered as productive assets. Based on this definition, it would be hard to identify the physical assets, so the assets are limited to housing and consumer durables for this research, excluding the productive durable. It is done to see the linkage between the drivers' (in)dependency and employment security under the financial-productive assets.

c. Human

Human capital in the previous classification holds the same meaning as this one, the skill and knowledge related to someone's capability. For this research, the definition is narrowed to education level, access to health care, and skill to drive the motorcycle through driving license ownership. The economic infrastructures are moved under housing category.

d. Social

The social capital covers two level of relations: household and community-level. Household relations will focus on the head of households while community relations on the solidarity group or their *pangkalan*. Furthermore, gender relations within motorcycle taxi drivers will also be discussed from two levels of relations: household and community especially the stigma of *ojek*'s drivers' masculinity.

The four types of assets are further being developed into asset index categories and components as structured by Moser and Felton (2007: 23). The categories and components are considered essential and strongly relate to the vulnerability of motorcycle taxi drivers through supported claims. Index component in the table below will be used as foundations to compare assets possessed by the traditional *ojek* and Go-jek drivers.

Table 2. Assets Vulnerability Framework of Motorcycle Taxi Drivers

Capital Type	Assets Index Categories	Index Component	Supporting Previous Research/ Claim
Financial-productive	Employment Security	Private sector permanent worker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Someone's vulnerability is affected by their employment stability (Moser and Felton 2007: 27) Go-jek considers the drivers as partners instead of using employer-employees relation (Darmajaya 2016: 5)
		Self-employed	
		Contract or temporary worker	
		Another type (will be analysed in section 4.1)	
	Productive Durable	Motorcycle ownership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Different access to motorcycle contributes to their vulnerability especially the one who rented it from the 'motorcycle lord'
Average number of motorcycle			

Capital Type	Assets Index Categories	Index Component	Supporting Previous Research/ Claim
			(Goodfellow 2015: 138) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The rent often amounted to half or more of their daily income after subtracting gas, maintenance, and fines (Cervero and Golub 2007: 449, Spooner 2011: 6)
Physical	Housing	Housing tenure	Illegal tenure depicts high vulnerability, and the poor tend to invest their income in their home (Moser 1998: 10)
		Average housing size	
	Consumer durables	Television	Consumer durables are influenced by income availability and used as a benchmark, for example, television that is commonly owned by the poor. Thus, absence of television ownership could imply a severe poverty (Moser and Felton 2007: 26)
		Refrigerator	
Computer or Notebook			
	Car		
Human	Education	Level of Education	Education as a means for people to increase their capabilities by obtaining new skills and knowledge (Moser 1998: 9)
	Motorcycle driving skill	Motorcycle driving license	Legal requirement to drive a motorcycle in Indonesia
	Health Insurance	National Insurance	Supporting people to use their skills and knowledge productively (Moser 1998: 9)
		Go-jek Insurance	
	Both national and Go-jek insurance		
		Government Support Insurance	
Social	Household	Average total of household member	Household acts as a safety net for the poor (Moser 1998: 11 and Moser and Felton 2007: 31). Moser and Felton (2007: 31) further stated that household makes decisions to reduce their vulnerability.
		Supporting other members outside Jakarta	
		Household perception toward Go-jek profession	
	Community	Participation in <i>pangkalan</i>	In Rwanda, motorcycle taxi drivers are organised through an association

Capital Type	Assets Index Categories	Index Component	Supporting Previous Research/ Claim
		Participation in other types of solidarity group or Formal Association ⁴	called Uganda Association of Motorcycle and Bicycle Operators, but it was disbanded due to the chaos in regulatory system (Goodfellow 2015: 138)

Source: Compiled and analysed by Author from Moser (1998), Moser and Felton (2007), Goodfellow (2015), Darmajaya (2016), Cervero and Golub (2007), Spooner (2011), and Go-jek (2017).

2.2 (In)dependency of Workers

The emerging of modern economy like sharing economy and crowdsourcing has made the type of employment cannot be rigidly classified into conservative categories: state/private permanent worker, state/private temporary worker, and independent contractor. This varied employment security plays a significant part in one's vulnerability because it may contribute to precarious livelihood. This subsection will cover conceptual framework in a search for Go-jek and its workers' relations as one of the asset index categories of financial-productive assets.

Based on the definition of sharing economy by Taeihagh (2017: 3), Go-jek considered as one too along with similar application like Uber and Lyft. The definition is "consumption of physical goods, assets, or services is carried out through rental, sharing, or exchange of resources using IT through crowd-based services or intermediates without any permanent transfer of ownership". Highlighting the absence of permanent transfers, it creates a blurry line to determine the type of employment for the drivers. It siblings, Uber, utilises "independent contractor" to describe its drivers' employment status due to the flexibility it offers. The term used initially for high-skilled workers with entrepreneurial characteristic, so it is not covered in the labour law due to their low vulnerability (Cunningham-Parmeter 2016: 1684). However, now the term includes the more vulnerable low-paid workers that need more protection.

There are several ways to determine the type of workers based on their dependencies, such as through standards, laws, or tests. Groff et al. (2015: 167-170) summarised some of the mechanism, for example, Economic Realities Test under *Fair Labor Standards Act* with a set of questions like whether the work performed by the employee considered "an integral part of business" and whether the business affected by the employee's managerial skill. Another example listed in Groff et al. (2015: 169-170) is a test performed by the European Union by checking the mutuality of obligation, personal service, control, financial risk, and integration. In fact, Indonesia does not have any framework or test of employment type. Law No. 13 Year 2003 concerning Employment only mention the difference between contractual and permanent employment without exploring the possibilities of another kind.

The conceptual framework chosen for this paper is "three aspects of control assessment" in employer-employee relations or between Go-jek and the drivers as elaborated by Cunningham-Parmeter (2016: 1704-1713). The assessment was developed as a response to the realities test that uses a narrow definition of control: employer's control to work carried out by the drivers. This narrow definition would be irrelevant as the modern business model contain a

⁴ The latter is only for Go-Jek

varied “manifestations of control”. The manifestations of control allow this study to critically assess “what it means to employ workers today” according to Cunningham-Parmeter (2016: 1674). So, instead of fitting specific labour relations into one category, the assessment allows us to gain a more profound understanding of control as an indication of dependency. Higher control for the workers indicates higher dependency toward their employer, for example, a permanent employee that has a clear understanding of their entitlements and obligations.

The three aspects of control as stated Cunningham-Parmeter (2016: 1704-1713) are:

a. Subjects of Control

This aspect is commonly used in dependency test for workers. It asks whether the business control how the workers do their job including the supervision done by the firm, including the wage, hours, and what stated in their contract.

b. Direction of Control

It means the flow of control, whether it is exercised unidirectional, bidirectional or even more if the business uses intermediary to assign the workers. One-way control from the firm to the workers indicates employer-employee relations. Conversely, the two-way control means the workers are more likely to be independent workers.

c. Obligations of Control

This aspect seeks whether a firm has prevention action toward the opportunity it has to violate labour acts. Cunningham-Parmeter (2016: 1711) further described “the more a firm controls working conditions, the more opportunities it gives for illegal wage practises if the firm does nothing to detect and prevent them”.

2.3 Entrepreneurship Nature of Motorcycle Taxi Drivers

2.3.1 Survivalist and Growth-oriented Entrepreneurs

The framework to assess the type of entrepreneurship is the different nature of survivalist and growth-oriented entrepreneurs by Berner et al. (2012: 382-383). These characters will become a benchmark in defining the type of entrepreneurs for both Go-jek and traditional drivers, to see their different logic in an informal economy setting. Berner et al. (2012: 383) further explained that these different types of entrepreneur lead to consequences of different policy approach. They also complement the framework with different policy schemes and access to services and network, poverty alleviation strategy for survivalist entrepreneurs and local economic promotion for growth-oriented entrepreneurs (Berner et al. 2012: 390-393).

Table 3. Characteristics of Survival and Growth-oriented Enterprises

Survivalist	Growth-oriented
Ease of entry, low capital requirements, skills and technology	Barriers to entry
Female majority	Male majority
Maximizing security, smoothing consumption	Willingness to take risks
Part of diversification strategy, often run by idle labour, with interruptions, and part-time	Specialization
Embedded in networks of family and kin	Embedded in business networks
Obligated to share income generated	Ability to accumulate part of the income generated

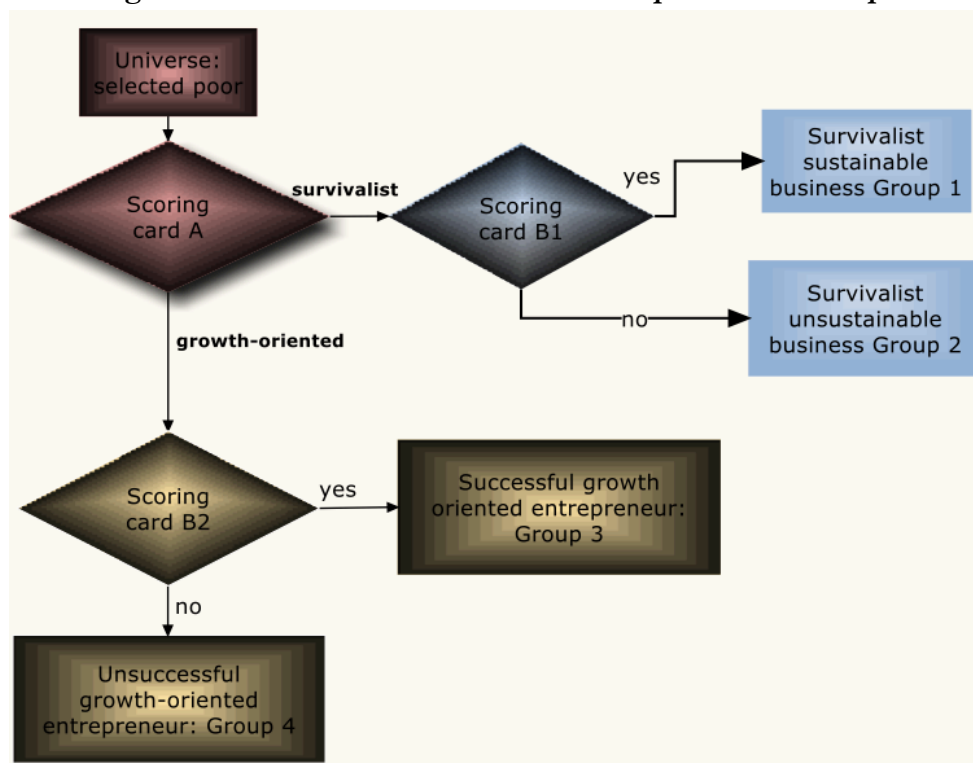
Source: Berner et al. (2012: 387)

The two types of entrepreneurs listed above can be further divided into two again based on their sustainability and chances of graduation (Gomez 2008: 2-3). The survivalist entrepreneurs consist of those who have sustainable and not-sustainable business. Sustainable survivalists are able to fulfil their basic needs and security for some other needs. Although they likely will not be able to graduate to growth-oriented, basic business development program will work on them. On the contrary, non-sustainable survivalists are those who even can not fulfil their basic needs and highly vulnerable. Intervention for this type of entrepreneurs are more likely not business-oriented but how to sustain their life, like cash transfer or food grants. For the growth-oriented entrepreneurs, they also divided into two sub-groups: the one with realistic chances to graduate and the one with unrealistic chances. The realistic chances group is uncommon with the best development program for them is an advanced business skill. The latter group, the unsuccessful growth-oriented entrepreneur, is kind of in between sustainable survivalist and the successful one. They have the will to cope with their business but merely not in developing business. Policy for the last group can be business development program, but it will take time and high cost with a really small rate of success.

2.3.2 Micro-enterprise Scorecard as a Classification Tool

Gomez (2008) not only came with the concept of these four types of entrepreneurs, but she also created a scorecard as a tool to classify the entrepreneurs. The scorecard is a set of multiple-choice questions with a specific score for each response. It has two tiers of identification (A, B1, and B2), A is to distinguish the survivalist and growth-oriented, B1 is to determine sustainable or unsustainable survivalist and for B2, successful or unsuccessful entrepreneur as depicted in the figure below.

Figure 3. Two-tier Identification of Entrepreneurial Groups



Source: Gomez (2008: 3)

Each tier contains a different set of questions. Initially, Gomez (2008) developed the questions for small and medium enterprises owners. In fact, the scorecard is tailor-made, adaptable to all kind of entrepreneurs and country. Hence, for this research, it is adapted to motorcycle taxi drivers and Jakarta as the case of an urban area in Indonesia. The detailed scorecard development can be seen in Appendix 2 along with the questions.

The identification of successful or unsuccessful growth-oriented in Scorecard B2 will not be conducted in this research because the assessment reaches beyond the scoring system or including justification between their skill, motivation, and business plan. The tool is developed from balanced scorecard tool by Kaplan and Norton and aims to enrich the entrepreneurs with “organisational performance” (Gomez 2008: 6). Also, it is irrelevant for motorcycle taxi drivers. Most of them do not have a business plan, both in traditional or online, especially for Go-jek drivers, the business plan is determined by the firm.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1 Background

This research will be using narrative as an embodiment of qualitative approach with a simple descriptive quantitative analysis for depicting the questionnaire's result of the motorcycle taxi drivers' contour. As seen in Section 1.2, three sub-questions are meant to be answered to unpack the main question. The first sub-question regarding drivers' dependency will be analysed using narrative based on three aspects of control, the second about the type of entrepreneurship will be determined using Gomez's (2008) scorecard, and the last one using four assets' category classification to compare the driver's assets. The latter will be conducted using a questionnaire developed from Table 2 in Chapter 2 and the scorecard questions.

In parallel, the case study is chosen as an approach for this research because the phenomenon of online motorcycle taxi drivers is currently happening in big cities in South Asia and South East Asia, especially Indonesia. Now, Go-jek's service covers 25 cities, making it the pioneer in South East Asia and the biggest of its kind. Moreover, different kind of online *ojek* providers and its service coverage can be seen in the table below. There are maybe more in other cities with city-level coverage like the case in Palembang and other countries as well. By using case study approach, it allows this research to opt for the depth analysis on motorcycle taxi drivers in Jakarta, and use the knowledge for other cities or even other developing countries.

Table 4. Online Motorcycle Taxi Companies in Indonesia

Company	Country	Coverage	Number of Drivers (estimation)	Year of Launching
Go-jek	Indonesia	25 cities in Indonesia such as Jakarta, Lampung, Bandung, Samarinda, Makassar, and Gresik	150.000 in Jakarta (Sunarya 2016: 43)	2010
GrabBike by Grab	International	Indonesia: Jakarta Thailand: Bangkok Vietnam: Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi	1000 in Jakarta (Rendra 2015)	Indonesia: 2015
UberMoto by Uber	International	India: Bangalore, Hyderabad (Chepuri 2017) Thailand: Bangkok (Burgess 2016) Indonesia: Bali, Bandung, Jakarta, Surabaya, Yogyakarta	700 in Jakarta (Reza 2016)	India: 2017 Thailand: 2016 Indonesia: 2016
Mang Jek	Indonesia	Palembang	400 (Rizal 2016)	2016

Source: Extracted by Author (2017) from Burgess (2016), Chepuri (2017), Go-jek (2017), Grab (2017), Mang-jek (2016), Rendra (2015), Reza (2016), Rizal (2016), Sunarya (2016: 43), and Uber (2017).

The relevancy in using case study also because it fits the three conditions for conducting a case study research based on Yin (2013: 10-15). First, the questions are not descriptive but causal

questions by asking how a phenomenon occurred. In this case, the contribution of Go-jek which is allegedly increasing access to assets for the motorcycle taxi drivers. Second, the research does not involve an experiment on behavioural events, and third, the event is contemporary as the firm established in 2010, yet it attracts enormous attention from the society due to its success and popularity.

By choosing case study as the research technique, the population, case, and observation need to be explained clearly. In this research, the population refers to motorcycle taxi drivers in major cities that are included in the scope of services by Go-jek. Furthermore, the cases in this study are both traditional *ojek* and Go-jek drivers in Jakarta (N = 2). According to Gerring (2006: 97-98), this strategy in selecting cases that embrace variety among cases of motorcycle taxi drivers called 'diverse' with the variation in its type of workers, the one who contracted by Go-jek and not. The scope is limited to Jakarta because it is where Go-jek first emerges, the largest city in Indonesia and has the highest number of *ojek* drivers by estimating from the fact that even for Go-jek drivers only, it covers 150.000 drivers. Due to the high demand for its service in an urban area with high density and bad traffic, motorcycle taxi is always an option for mobilisation in Jakarta.

3.2 Data Generation, Samples and Analysis

Most of the data required for this research is primary data and obtained through structured interview or questionnaires and semi-structured interviews toward respondents shown in the table below. The structured interviews itself use a survey approach to maintain even replicability among samples and produce quantitative data regarding their capital ownership and other characteristics. The term 'survey approach' means this research does not use inferential statistic methods for sampling.

The survey will be equipped with some open questions to gain depth understanding of particular aspect, for example, gender relations. The interviews are one-on-one interviews, conducted in their informal station for traditional *ojek* drivers. For Go-jek drivers, some of them were interviewed in the station, on the street, or other public places. Meanwhile, I managed to interview one female Go-jek driver and got the other by snowball sampling through the first driver that I have met. The details of the fieldwork are included in Appendix 1.

The third sub-questions will be carried out through two comparisons: first is before-after Go-jek drivers joined Go-jek to measure their change of assets. Second, the comparison between traditional *ojek* and Go-jek drivers to see the different contours of assets that yield from different types of employment. In total, 47 drivers managed to be interviewed (27 Go-jek drivers and 20 traditional *ojek* drivers). It is more than enough to reflect the characteristics of informal motorcycle taxi drivers in Jakarta as stated in Della Porta and Keating (2008: 202). They said that what is considered a small number of samples range between 2-20 for comparative studies. Two respondents are not coming from Jakarta area based on their location of interviews so that they will be excluded from the aggregate calculation. However, their qualitative stories will still be included, especially regarding Go-jek's policy. The same condition also applies to five additional respondents of Go-jek drivers in the analysis that require comparison. Hence, there are 20 respondents for each type of drivers to create a balanced comparison. One thing that needs to be remembered regarding the sampling selection is the *scattered nature* of motorcycle taxi, and there is *no estimation* of the number of the drivers' population due to its low entry barrier.

Aside from the structured interviews, semi-structured interviews also took place. These are aimed to generate in-depth understanding. Not only that, these interviews are meant for data triangulation to increase the evidence convergence and validity construction of arguments in this research. These semi-structured interviews will be analysed qualitatively by simple manual coding because there are only four respondents in total: Government representative, online drivers' association representative, and two female Go-jek drivers. The details about why these respondents are important for this research can be seen in Appendix 1. Other than interviews, documents in the form of previous studies are also used as sources to collect evidence especially in the context of Jakarta, urban livelihood, and motorcycle taxi drivers' characteristics.

Meanwhile, to answer the second sub-questions on the types of entrepreneurship this research will use scorecard developed by Gomez (2008) and adapted to suit the context of motorcycle taxi drivers' livelihood. Forty respondents are included in the scoring, consisting 20 Go-jek drivers and 20 traditional *ojek* drivers. The questions already outlined in Section 2.3 and each of it has a set of responses carrying out a score, for example, the first question in scorecard A:

1. **Is this business your main source of income?**
 - a. **A full-time and only source of income: 3**
 - b. **Main but not only source of income: 2**
 - c. **Second important source of income: 1**
 - d. **Neither first nor second source of income: 0**

If in total the score reaches 10 or more for five questions, it will be classified as growth-oriented entrepreneurs. This benchmark of 10 is the exact benchmark used by Gomez too. Unlike the scorecard A mechanism, in scorecard B1 the benchmark differently set although it has the same number of questions as Gomez's (2008). Gomez's (2008) benchmark is also 10 for six questions, all of the questions got four scales of responses. For this paper, it also uses six questions, but the benchmark is 13 because half of the questions' responses are turned into yes or no with 1 and 3 score. This two-options response has made the probability of scoring above 10 is higher than Gomez's scorecard, so the benchmark is added by 3 points for three questions with 2 responses.

3.3 Ethical Consideration and Limitations

The ethical consideration in this research consists of the participant's consent and confidentiality. The participant must know that I will be using their data only for academic purpose and I also tell them about myself: as a student, including the aim of this study, rather than merely digging information about them aimlessly. Another thing is the awareness on how to ask and probe modestly because poverty is a sensitive issue, so in conducting interviews toward the drivers, a researcher must always reflect on her positionality.

During my fieldwork in Jakarta, I have encountered several limitations. First, I could not interview the representative from Go-jek due to privacy matters. Correspondingly, I interviewed more Go-jek drivers and asked additional questions about Go-jek's labour policy to them. Second, I intended to interview eight motorcycle taxi drivers from each sub-region of Jakarta, but I found it difficult to do, especially in West Jakarta which is dominated by closed clusters of

high-income residents. So, it was hard to find *ojek* station there compare to other regions. In response to this, I maintained the proportion of 20 Go-jek drivers and 20 traditional *ojek* drivers but did not limit to certain sub-region as long as they were in Jakarta. Third, I managed only to interview two female Go-jek drivers as they were pretty hard to be found. However, this is not much of a problem because they were so helpful throughout the process and available for follow-up conversation through personal communication. I intended to include female-male drivers' comparison for each type of assets, but due to the outnumbered respondents, I could not make this happened and put the gender relations under the social capital section instead.

Chapter 4. Go-jek Drivers' (In)dependency and Its Entrepreneurship Nature

This chapter provides analysis toward the (in)dependency of Go-jek drivers as an integral part of financial-productive assets vulnerability especially employment security. The analysis includes the type of entrepreneurship of motorcycle taxi drivers in Jakarta, in this context, both Go-jek drivers, and traditional *ojek* drivers. By knowing whether they have the same or different entrepreneurship nature, it will shape the proposed recommendations towards their assets accumulation strategy to reduce their vulnerability.

4.1 The (In)dependency of Go-jek Drivers

As previously described in Section 2.2, the dependency of Go-jek drivers will be explored by identifying three aspects of control according to Cunningham-Parmeter (2016: 1704-1713). Correspondingly, the more manifestations of control identified in Go-jek with its drivers' relations, the more dependent the drivers. Hypothetically, that should be the ideal condition. One analogy that is best presenting the control and dependency correlation is about Indonesian Government's employee or civil servants. Their ordinate often dictates civil servants' work, and one should get the ordinate's approval in the decision-making process. Not only that, even the civil servants have a particular code of conduct that must be obeyed for example wearing a uniform to their office, work minimum 8 hours a day, even to the personal issue like forbidden to have an affair as a form of infidelity. Along with a set of control like that, civil servants are entitled to several benefits like health insurance and pension according to Law No.5 Year 2014 concerning State Civil Apparatus.

Before looking further to the control assessment, an overview of Go-jek's scope of services will be outlined so that the readers can contextualise the analysis better. Go-jek has claimed itself to be a 'social enterprise' because they include the informal workers in its business plan. It even declares social impact as one of its values along with speed and innovation (Go-jek Homepage 2017). Started the business by only providing transportation service, now it is expanding into three major services: Go-jek, Go-pay, and Go-life. Go-jek is for transportation service and other services related to mobilisation consisting *ojek*, car-sharing like Uber, food delivery, shopping assistance, instant courier, moving service using truck, buying a ticket, and buying medicine from a registered pharmacy. Meanwhile, Go-life is for lifestyle services which are massage, home cleaning, automotive service, and beauty salon. The last one, Go-pay, is virtual money platform for Go-jek and Go-life transaction which provides financial services like virtual wallet, points collection and mobile data top-up. Customers can use cash for their transaction, but if they use Go-pay, they will get a discount. It is a promotion to enforce people to use this virtual money. Though there are many kinds of services, the motorcycle taxi drivers will only receive a transportation order from Go-jek platform.

The control assessment is started with the subjects of control, the most common manifestation of control, that seek for "whether the firm has the right to control the manner and means of the agent's performance of work" (Cunningham-Parmeter 2016: 1672). Go-jek drivers are seen as partners with 20-80 income sharing, 20% for Go-jek and 80% for the driver for each

trip that they have made both in cash and Go-pay⁵. This kind of ‘partnership’ contract offers high flexibility because it does not set the minimum working hours and the amount of wage that will be received by the drivers. The wage is what they earned according to the trip on a daily basis. For customer who pays using Go-pay, the amount of money will go straight to the drivers’ deposit account. All of those traits imply a low degree of control from Go-jek toward the drivers.

However, the rating system used by Go-jek is indicating the opposite condition. Instead of establishing direct supervision toward its drivers, Go-jek obligates the customer to rate its drivers after they have finished their trip. As a Go-jek customer itself, I have rated the driver whom I had a ride with and found that if you do not assess your previous trip, you can not place an order for the next one. The customer has to rate from scale 1 to 5 with 5 being the best and provide comment on their trip. Not only that, the customer must tick the list of whether the driver using helmet and jacket with Go-jek logo and whether the picture in the driver’s profile is the same in person. Little did the customer know, if the driver receives bad rating or comment, does not wear a helmet or jacket also if the photo does not match, the driver’s account will get suspension accordingly. The suspended account will not be able to take any order which means no earning. Duration of the suspension is different; it can be 1 hour, 3 hours, one day or even a week, depending on the ‘mistake’. This external evaluation of driver’s work is high in risk as it can be misused by the customer, for example, a driver given a bad rating because the customer had waited for a long time. It is as quoted from Respondent 29: “...customer do not understand especially for food delivery which sometimes needs an extra time due to the long line and waiting for the food”. Based on the explanation above, it turns out that working in Go-jek is *not as independent* as what they consider ‘partner’. It is because the subject of control is broader, under the supervision of the customer through rating system instead of the firm itself.

The second manifestation of control that needs to be examined is the direction, specifically whether the direction is exercised one way, two way or even more due to the existing of intermediates (Cunningham-Parmeter 2016: 1708). Cunningham-Parmeter 2016: 1709 further stated it is essential to analyse the direction because when the control flows in a unidirectional way, there is an increased chance of the employer-employee relations occurrence. By looking at the previous example of the rating system, the control inevitably flows from Go-jek management to the drivers. Although the rating is not coming directly from Go-jek, Go-jek has created the system of external control. Respondent 29 even said that Go-jek evaluates its drivers one-sidedly by rating only and that makes “the customer is a king while the drivers at the bottom of the pyramid”.

Unlike the flow of control from Go-jek management, the drivers do not seem to have control of the firm. It is confirmed through the absence of the drivers’ involvement in Go-jek’s policy formulation. In fact, several respondents⁶ have claimed that Go-jek often one-sidedly change the policy without drivers’ consent, for example regarding points to earn a daily bonus. Sometimes, it changes so often even on a weekly basis. Even though the drivers have their association called Indonesian Online Drivers Association (ADO), it does not make their direction of control becoming two-way due to the increase of bargaining power. It is because the

⁵ Interview with Respondent 31

⁶ Interview with Respondent 21, 24, and 39

company never heard their voices, so they shifted their effort toward the government instead⁷. In fact, as shown in Table 7 in Appendix 4, most of the Go-jek driver respondents did not know about the organisation's existence. The imbalance exercise of control in only one direction like this supposedly is an *indication of dependent relations* regardless the term "partnership" that Go-jek uses.

Lastly, obligations of control will be analysed as the last manifestation of control. As explained before in 2.2, it seeks the preventive action of Go-jek toward labour rights violation. The analogy could be if a company using an intermediary to hire workers, the firm should monitor whether they employ eligible workers or child workers, whether the workers receive the wage according to minimum wage or higher, and many more. In the case of Go-jek drivers, this section will explore how it manages to create an opportunity for wage violation. The sharing system of 20%-80% without a fixed amount of tariff per trip allows Go-jek to modify the price frequently. The price keeps changing, and it is not as higher as it used to be⁸. Furthermore, not all of the income received by the drivers are in cash, some of it in the form of Go-pay deposit that can be redeemed once a week. Unfortunately, this allows higher opportunity to violate the driver's wage. Because in some cases, when a driver gets suspended, they can not redeem what they had earned before in their Go-pay deposit according to the Head of ADO who said: "Go-jek had practised one-sided suspension so that they (the drivers) lost their deposit money". This evidence has shown that Go-jek does not exercise its obligation to ensure the drivers to receive their earning accordingly. Go-jek obligated to do so because its control over working conditions increases through the sharing system earning.

Based on the explanation of the three manifestations of control, it seems that Go-jek drivers are not as independent as they think. Flexibility and income-sharing might be the ultimate justification for Go-jek to support its "partnership" strategy. However, the control exercised by Go-jek through a set of work conduct by using a uniform, rating system by the customer, and frequent unidirectional change of tariff and compensation, has shown that the drivers are dependent. Adding to their dependent character, this "partner" surely will not be entitled to a set of employer benefits like insurance or overtime wage. In fact, Go-jek drivers must provide the capitals, such as motorcycle and mobile phone, themselves to be able to work with Go-jek as a partner. Hence, by their dependency based on the control assessment and "partnership"-type of relations, the employment type of Go-jek drivers are *dependent self-employed*. About the financial-productive assets, index component for Go-jek drivers' employment security falls under "another type" since dependent self-employed is considered new. It emerged as a consequence of this partnership status used by Go-jek. This result will be elaborate later in the next chapter about comparison analysis.

The additional remark about the employment status is that the drivers had proposed to be classified as self-employed in a small and medium enterprise at the latest meeting between ADO and the Government's representatives from the Ministry of Transportation (MoT) and Ministry of Communication and Information (MoCI)⁹. They have invited the Ministry of Labour, but they could not come. The meeting was held to discuss the drivers' type of employment which he further proclaimed as "ADO's biggest homework to solve". The Head of ADO further

⁷ Interview with Head of ADO

⁸ Interview with Respondent 31

⁹ Interview with Head of ADO

elaborated that the Government is slow in responding this issue although the President already said that this service could not be rejected due to the enormous demand¹⁰. Even though the President gave the green light to Go-jek, its recognition process will not be as easy as four-wheeled online transportation like Uber because two-wheeled transportation mode does not exist in the classification of public transportation. Consequently, this will take a toll on Go-jek drivers' job stability.

4.2 Entrepreneurship Nature of Traditional *Ojek* and Go-jek Drivers

As stated earlier in Section 2.3, this research using scorecards adapted from Gomez (2008) as an instrument to classify motorcycle taxi drivers' entrepreneurship nature. It is aimed to see whether traditional *ojek* and Go-jek drivers possess the same entrepreneurship nature or not. Before the explanation of score calculation, a general overview of both types of drivers will be outlined as follows:

Table 5. General Overview of Respondents

		Go-jek		Traditional <i>Ojek</i>	
Age	20-29	6	30%	0	0%
	30-39	6	30%	2	4%
	40-49	4	20%	6	12%
	50-59	3	15%	8	16%
	60-69	1	5%	4	8%
	Average	37		50	
Sex	Female	2	10%	0	0%
	Male	18	90%	20	100%
Education	Bachelor	2	10%	0	0%
	Academy	2	10%	0	0%
	High School	12	60%	8	40%
	Junior High	2	10%	8	40%
	Elementary	2	10%	4	20%

Source: Author's analysis (2017)

From the table above, it can be seen that Go-jek drivers' average age are lower than traditional *ojek* drivers with 13 years' gap. Go-jek drivers mostly aged between 20-39 while the traditional drivers in 40-59 age group. Both types of drivers consist of mainly men, even all-men for traditional *ojek*. The respondents are picked randomly, so the absence of female traditional *ojek* in the ubiquitous *pangkalan* signifies the really small number or even zero of its population. Regarding education, mostly Go-jek drivers are high school graduates while traditional *ojek* drivers hold the same share for high school and junior high school graduates. The interesting thing is that among Go-jek drivers, there are drivers who hold bachelor and academy degree while for traditional *ojek*, high school graduate is the highest level of its drivers' education.

¹⁰ See more on Prihadi and Armenia (2015) for CNN Indonesia

Table 6. Scorecard Result for Motorcycle Taxi Drivers in Jakarta

Classification		Go-jek		Traditional	
		Number	%	Number	%
Survivalist	Sustainable	2	10	2	10
	Non Sustainable	0	0	18	90
Growth Oriented		18	90	0	0
Sub-total		20	100	20	100

Source: Author (2017)

Scorecards calculation result are shown in the tables above while the specific scoring process per scorecard contained in Table 3 in Appendix 2. Based on that, 90% of the Go-jek drivers are classified into growth-oriented entrepreneurship, 10% of them are sustainable survivalists, while none of them is classified into non-sustainable survivalist entrepreneurs. On the contrary, the same percentage of traditional *ojek* drivers, 90%, are organised into non-sustainable survivalist entrepreneurs, 10% of them are sustainable survivalists with no growth-oriented entrepreneurs. In another way, although they both share the same work by using the motorcycle as an alternative to public transport, their type of business is apparently on the opposed poles: *growth-oriented for Go-jek drivers and survivalist for traditional ojek*.

Based on their responses, the main differences between growth-oriented and survivalist drivers are regarding the written record of the business and their relations with previous work. All growth-oriented drivers keep written business records. It might also because all of them is Go-jek drivers. Thus, their trips are recorded in the application along with the details of what kind of service that they have performed, the time and duration, the track or route, and their earning. On the contrary, for the survivalist drivers that are not Go-jek drivers, all of them do not keep any record of their business. Concerning their previous work, 67% of the growth-oriented drivers were a paid employee before they join Go-jek. For both types of entrepreneurs, most of them have this work as their only source of income. Also, both of the types have their own motorcycle with Go-jek has a higher percentage of 94% compared to traditional *ojek* that has 59%.

Most of the drivers in both types also will spend their extra money, if they have some, on other expenses unrelated to the business or start another business. In fact, there are only three among forty respondents that will invest their lottery money in productive assets for their work as motorcycle taxi drivers. It is interesting because it means that innovation brought by Go-jek is necessarily not an option for a permanent job to its drivers. The main reason is that working in Go-jek is physically demanding as Respondent 2, 4¹², and 22 stated in their interviews. They have to bear with constant outdoor weather and drive their motorcycle carefully for long hours. Respondent 22 further explained that Go-jek is just her stepping stone to collect money and start

¹² Respondent 2 and 4 are traditional *ojek* drivers. They both had been working in Go-jek before but left after 1-3 months.

another business. Half of the respondents who work as a Go-jek driver want to establish a micro-business like a small shop and rice stalls if they have more capital.

Looking back to Table 3 in Section 2.3, Gomez (2008: 2-3) and Berner et al. (2012: 387) further specifying the typical characters of each type of entrepreneurs. Similar to Gomez and Berner et al. premise, growth-oriented entrepreneurs have barriers to entry as Go-jek drivers have to be literate at the minimum, know how to operate a smartphone, and license to drive a motorcycle. In this context, looking at the figure previously stated, the education level of Go-jek drivers are higher than the traditional one.

The premise of Berner et al. (2012: 387) about how both types of entrepreneurs' perspectives toward business strategy seem in contrary with motorcycle taxi drivers' case. The growth-oriented drivers are, in fact, not specialised because they must take other services such as food delivery and instant courier rather than only as motorcycle taxi as quoted from Respondent 23 "...now driver must accept all kind of order without choosing whether is food delivery or transportation service...". The survivalist drivers are the specialised one because they only offer transportation service by waiting for the customer in their station. This difference is because all of the drivers that classified into growth-oriented entrepreneurs are embedded in Go-jek's business plan and policy while the traditional drivers are stand on their own management.

Regarding the sustainable and unsustainable survivalist, there are only four drivers that classified into the sustainable survivalist while 18 are unsustainable survivalist drivers. Two drivers from both types are classified into sustainable survivalist. The main differences between sustainable and the non-sustainable is the sustainable drivers all own a license *and* health insurance. It is an indication of their awareness of the consequences for their high-risk work that makes them potentially sustainable. This sustainability is seen from the perspective of the drivers, not the external factors because *ojek* is informal. Thus, it can be banned anytime. Still, they need assistance to minimise their vulnerability because they are classified as survivalist entrepreneurs.

Build upon previous statements, it turned out that both Go-jek and traditional *ojek* drivers inhabit different entrepreneurial characteristics. Hence, they need different interventions to reduce their vulnerabilities. The survivalist, which consist of all traditional drivers plus a small number of Go-jek drivers, should be intervened with basic needs provision as one of the forms of social protection. This idea is strengthened by the quote of Respondent 8 on his capability in obtaining food:

... ever since online ojek like Go-jek exists, our income is decreasing. By 12 PM, I used to get IDR 200,000¹³, but now I only earn IDR 30,000 if I am lucky. Now, even it is hard to eat...

In contrast, Go-jek drivers that are classified into growth-oriented entrepreneurs should increase their business and IT-operation skill, following the suggestion by Gomez (2008:2). However, this proposed intervention need to be reconsidered due to the hesitation of Go-jek drivers to stay in business by looking at the fact that most of them do not want to invest in the business, they want to start another business instead. Hence, the result of the types of entrepreneurship will be linked to assets comparison analysis to see whether their different nature is a result of Go-jek's innovation or even before in the next chapter.

¹³ EUR 1 equivalent to IDR 15,819, so IDR 200,000 is around EUR 12,6 while IDR 30,000 is equivalent to EUR 1,9.

Chapter 5. Assets Vulnerability Assessment

This chapter provides a comparative analysis of assets own by Go-jek drivers before and after they join Go-jek and between Go-jek and traditional *ojek* drivers. The assets are identified according to the framework previously outlined in Section 2.1 which mainly derived from Moser (1998) and Moser and Felton (2007). The comparative analysis will be linked to the result of scorecards in Section 4.2 to see whether they different entrepreneurship character is due to the emergence of Go-jek or not.

5.1 Financial-productive Assets

Financial-productive assets consist of two assets index categories, employment security and productive durable that will be analysed through this following sub-sections.

5.1.1 Employment Security

First, the comparison of before-after joining Go-jek will be described. Based on the responses from 20 Go-jek drivers that summarised in Table 1 Appendix 4, surprisingly, most of Go-jek drivers were working as an employee and never been working in other online *ojek* company. The employee is defined as a permanent worker, can be in private or government sector. Following as the second is those who previously work as traditional *ojek* drivers. These drivers who previously worked as an employee are willing to resign from a stable employment to work as a dependent self-employed worker in Go-jek due to the customer guarantee (35%) offered through the application and the flexibility (25%). Not only women drivers, but men drivers also appreciate this flexibility nature in Go-jek. However, as already explained before in the dependency analysis, this flexibility only applies to working schedule. In fact, Go-jek exercised many kinds of controls toward its drivers that suppress their flexibility. Another interesting finding is that Go-jek drivers¹⁴ choose Go-jek over traditional *ojek* because it is more modern and sophisticated by involving a smartphone application.

As former employees before, the drivers are not as vulnerable as contractual or other informal transportation workers, so it is reasonable that 80% of the drivers claimed it is not hard to comply Go-jek's legal requirement. Those legal documents consist of national identification card, driving license and vehicle license, police clearance report and a guarantee document which can be school certificate, family registration card, or other valid certificates. Not only legal requirements, additional entry barrier set by Go-jek including an android smartphone ownership. After joining Go-jek, 75% of the drivers claimed that they could accumulate money higher than their previous job although they experienced certain disadvantage, like frequent change of Go-jek's policy, conflict with traditional *ojek*, and demanding customer.

Comparison between Go-jek and traditional *ojek* drivers will be started from their income. For both types of drivers, this work is mostly their primary and only source of income. Although they have the same occupation as an *ojek* driver, their income is entirely different as Go-jek drivers can generate up to three times of what traditional *ojek* earned. As can be seen in Table 2 in Appendix 4, average daily income for traditional *ojek* drivers are IDR 70,500 while for Go-jek drivers are IDR 215,500 after subtracted by gasoline. Both of them generating their income on a daily basis but for Go-jek drivers who were paid through Go-pay account, they can only redeem

¹⁴ Stated by Respondent 23 in the interview

their deposit once a week¹⁵. By multiplying their daily income with their number of working days for a week and assuming that a month consists of 4 weeks, the net revenue per month can be calculated: IDR 6,465,000 for Go-jek drivers and IDR 2,115,000 for traditional *ojek* drivers. Given the fact that Jakarta's minimum wage for 2017 is IDR 3,355,750 as stated in Jakarta's Governor Regulation No.227 Year 2016, it is clear that by working as traditional *ojek* does not give an opportunity to accumulate capitals. Even it is impossible for subsistence as the income is 37% lower than it supposed to although they have been working for 67 hours a week, 27 hours more than it should be according to Article 77 Law No.13 Year 2003 concerning Employment. This condition also happened to Go-jek drivers. Although they earn e than the minimum wage, they obtained that amount for 77 hours of working per week almost doubled than the standard of 40 hours. It is also the reason why Go-jek drivers feel discouraged and want to move on to open up a business instead, as quoted from Respondent 22:

...I'd like to start a business, for example, a rice stalls. I think to be a part of Go-jek drivers just a stepping stone for me to set a business, particularly to save money first and then use the money as a capital. Besides, this work is physically exhausting...

Also, it must be remembered that Go-jek drivers must allocate their money for other expenses like mobile phone credit because they need that to be always online in the application to take an order. Sometimes, they need to call the customer to ask about the pick-up address. Not only that, Go-jek drivers also required to wear Go-jek's jacket and helmet. To obtain this, they must buy each item from Go-jek in 38 days for IDR 5,000. So, in total, Go-jek drivers must spend another IDR 380,000 for both 'uniform'. If a driver decided to quit from Go-jek, he/she must give back the attributes so that it will not be misused. Unfortunately, the driver's money will not be given back because of depreciation value (Rudi 2015). Even sometimes, the customer cheats on the distance by entering a different address to make the price lower, but the driver can not do anything because he/she already accepted the order that can not be erased by the system¹⁶. In addition, one thing should be highlighted is that Go-jek keeps decreasing their tariff to be able to compete in the online *ojek* market with its rival: Uber and Grab. Responding to this, ADO already proposed both minimum tariff to protect the drivers and maximum tariff to protect the customer¹⁷.

Compare to before, after joining Go-jek, its drivers are able to earn a higher income and thus accumulate more capitals. It might be an indication of lower vulnerability, but a comparative insight with traditional *ojek* is needed to obtain more robust remarks. In attribution to traditional *ojek* drivers, they both share the same type of employment as self-employed. However, Go-jek drivers are more dependent as Go-jek exercised several manifestations of control, for example through a rating system. They also generated more income due to the irrationally long hours of working time. Although Go-jek attracts more customer via the application, there are several "hidden" expenses that they imposed to its drivers outside the obligatory 20% share committed to Go-jek. To sum up, both drivers might possess the same level of employment vulnerability but in a different form: high dependency and hidden cost for Go-jek drivers and the scarcity of customers for traditional *ojek* drivers.

¹⁵ Personal communication with Respondent 22

¹⁶ Interview with Respondent 24

¹⁷ Interview with Head of ADO

The explanation above and the control analysis in the previous chapter has shown that there is so many “hidden” misappropriation of labour behind the flexibility and “higher” income. Through this evidence, Government should already make a step toward motorcycle taxi recognition and thus, the implementation of tariff limitation (minimum and maximum) to reduce their precariousness, especially regarding their “dependent self-employed” status. In fact, when I asked the drivers whether this mode should be formalised or not, 80% of Go-jek drivers and 25% of traditional *ojek* drivers agree while 70% of them did not respond as presented in Table 3 in Appendix 4. Although the drivers decide to formalise the mode, the Government seems reluctant to do so according to the Head of ADO. He said that when ADO had a meeting with several ministries, they were throwing this problem to the MoT. He further stated that MoT did not talk about partnership contract-related issue because this is not their concern.

Despite the informality, the traditional drivers have been working for 17 years on average based on Table 2 in Appendix 4, and their earning had become lower due to the emergence of Go-jek instead of the informality nature. The absence of traditional *ojek*'s opinion regarding formalisation of *ojek* might be because they think Go-jek should not exist on the first hand. The reason is that Go-jek set an irrationally low tariff, so the customers are shifted to Go-jek instead of tradition *ojek*¹⁸.

5.1.2 Productive Durable

Productive durable in this context means the motorcycle, the only instrument to earn income for motorcycle taxi drivers. The before-after comparison will be measured by whether by joining Go-jek affected the drivers' access to motorcycle along with its insurance. Based on the drivers' testimony, it turned out that Go-jek provides information for motorcycle instalment and insurance for the drivers. However, Go-jek does not subsidise nor supplement the insurance, all charges went to the drivers itself. Also, the information about motorcycle instalment only for the drivers with the high rating and good track record. The motorcycle insurance offered by Go-jek come in many types: work-related insurance package or insurance that is provided by other company for damage and get stolen. The work-related insurance package with compensation for stolen motorcycle and damaged customer's goods that are being delivered through Go-food or instant courier with a relatively affordable price, IDR 15,000 a month. With that amount, the coverage also only compensates for motorcycle down-payment and the damaged goods but just up to IDR 200,000.

According to Table 2 in Appendix 4, as much as 90% Go-jek drivers and 75% traditional drivers own their motorcycles, and no respondents rent his/her motorcycle through motorcycle “lord”. It indicates that both Go-jek and traditional *ojek* drivers have full access to their means of production to generate income. This motorcycle ownership is reasonable as Sunarya (2016: 36-37) previously stated that motorcycle is easily obtained in Indonesia, due to its low price. In fact, the average number of motorcycle own by Go-jek drivers is higher than the traditional, 2 compare to 1. Usually, the other motorcycle is used by their household member to go to work, go to school, and doing domestic work like groceries shopping and taking the children to school. It also can be a back-up in case their main motorcycle is broken. When I ask whether their other motorcycle is due to the information from Go-jek about the instalment, none of the respondents said so. Another information can be derived from the table mentioned above is that most of Go-

¹⁸ Interview with Respondent 3, 4, 11, and 14

jek drivers insured their motorcycle while traditional *ojek* drivers do not. It is because they have an awareness of the means of production's importance and access to relatively cheap insurance provided by Go-jek.

Before-after wise, through Go-jek, some of the drivers can get access to obtain motorcycle with their capability to pay the instalment. However, it is exclusive to those with the high rating. Compare to the traditional drivers, Go-jek drivers own more motorcycle also insured their motorcycle. Hence, Go-jek drivers' vulnerability in term of productive durable assets are lower than the traditional. It is not because the contribution by Go-jek that provides productive capitals to them since Go-jek only provides its drivers with information and access to cheap insurance with relatively low coverage.

5.2 Physical Assets

There is not much to say for before-after comparison regarding physical assets because when I ask two or three first drivers when I was doing the data collection, they could not recall. I specifically question about what kind of physical assets they managed to obtain because of the relatively higher earning by working with Go-jek. Physical assets in this context refer to housing as primary assets in supporting one's life, also other supplemental secondary assets such as TV, refrigerator, computer, and car. They did say that through Go-jek, they were able to save more money than their previous job as elaborated during the last chapter but none related to physical assets ownership. They did identify their physical assets ownership but not because of working in Go-jek, it is because they have already acquired those even before they join Go-jek. Consequently, this section will focus on the with-without comparison as following.

As can be seen in Table 4 in Appendix 4, 50% of Go-jek drivers own their house and 30% live in their parents' or in-laws'. Likewise, 45% of traditional *ojek* drivers also live in their own house, but 30% of them live in rented house. However, I did not gain deeper on the type of their house whether it is located in slum area or supported by the government through cheap flats program called *Rumah Susun* or *Rusun* to keep the questionnaire short. Since most of the drivers have access to private water and electricity connections, it implies that their housing is at least not inadequate. Additionally, average housing size of Go-jek drivers is 54 m², 20m² more than traditional *ojek*'s but this cannot be generalised as some of the houses that they live in are not their own. For other physical assets, as depicted in Table 4 in Appendix 4, Go-jek drivers and traditional *ojek* drivers have relatively the same percentage: 90% and 95% for television ownership also 80% and 60% for refrigerator. Besides, 15% and 10% for computer or notebook and a small share of car ownership for traditional *ojek* drivers. After further questioned, turned out that he obtained the card before he became an *ojek* driver over ten years ago and it was second-hand¹⁹. Based on the explanation, it can be summarised that Go-jek drivers and traditional *ojek* drivers have relatively the same level of assets ownership which are secure tenure of housing and other durable goods. Hence, physical-assets wise, both types vulnerability is *more or less the same*. It is based on the premise of more physical assets ownership: they will be less vulnerable because they can sell the physical assets as one of the coping strategies to subsist their life.

¹⁹ Interview with Respondent 10

5.3 Human Capital

Sub-section 2.1 on Assets Vulnerability Framework has shown the indicators for human capital that will be outlined in this analysis based on their education level, motorcycle driving skill, and health insurance. For before-after analysis, it would be irrelevant to ask whether by joining Go-jek, the drivers will gain access to higher educational level. It is because the relations of their labour is only limited to dependent self-employed with really small benefit entailment. The benefit is by joining Go-jek, the drivers are entitled to three types of training: application utilisation, safety riding, and traffic knowledge. Nevertheless, these skills offered by Go-jek are mostly already acquired by the drivers because it is considered very basic, for example, safety riding skills and traffic knowledge are required to obtain motorcycle driving license, and without it, one can not even apply to Go-jek. Accordingly, 100% of Go-jek drivers have a license, in contrast to traditional *ojek* drivers which only 55%. Regardless, the skills are useful, especially safety riding and as a preventive skill for drivers who do not own a license. In few cases, the drivers without a permit are accepted as stated by Respondent 22:

...when I first registered to become a Go-jek driver, frankly speaking, I do not have a license. However, they still accept me anyway with one condition: I must get my license as soon as possible, but the truth, I obtained it a year later...

By joining Go-jek, the drivers get access to subscribe to Go-jek work-related insurance as explained in 5.1.2. This insurance has limited coverage, and only covers death compensation instead of healthcare for its drivers²⁰. It is not included as health insurance, but most of Go-jek drivers mentioned this when I asked them about health insurance, without specifying about healthcare.

Previously, section 4.2 already mentioned about the education level of Go-jek and traditional *ojek* drivers when explaining about general overview. In a nutshell, Go-jek drivers mostly hold a high school degree with several of them hold a bachelor or academy degree while most of the traditional *ojek* drivers are high school and junior high school graduates with several of them are elementary graduates. Even there is one Go-jek driver²¹ who wants to take a master class if he wins a lottery. Other human capital's index component is health insurance because a fit condition is required for them. Also, because the accumulation of fatigue is dangerous for the body considering most of them work longer than 40 hours a week. According to Table 5 in Appendix 4, though it is essential, 70% of Go-jek drivers and 50% of traditional *ojek* drivers do not subscribe to health insurance. The rest of the respondents share the small percentage of National Health Insurance and KJS subscription. National Health Insurance is universal-coverage health insurance system providing full coverage of healthcare, covering maternity, out and inpatient service, laboratory service, even the medicine, starting from IDR25,500 per month per person for third-class service. It allows the informal workers to access this service with a low fee because the Government subsidises it. Meanwhile, *Kartu Jakarta Sehat*/KJS (Jakarta Health Card) is one of the pro-poor policy by Jakarta's government. KJS using the same National Health Insurance system, but Jakarta's Government is the one who pays the fee. It is entirely free and the eligible for the citizen of Jakarta who does not have any health insurance and coming from a low-income family (Jakarta Official Website 2017).

²⁰ Work-related insurance is obtained through drivers' contribution

²¹ Interview with Respondent 38

To conclude, by working with Go-jek do not reduce its drivers' vulnerability through human capital enhancement. Although Go-jek provides training, it is not much of help. Healthcare, which is vital due to the physically demanding nature of the work, is also not provided. It is not surprising considering the 'partnership' type of employment. Hence, their access to health care has no difference with traditional drivers. In other words, both types of drivers have limited access to healthcare. Also, compare to traditional *ojek* drivers, Go-jek drivers' educational level is considerably higher, even before they joined Go-jek. Consider two previous statements, it can be summarised that traditional *ojek* drivers are more vulnerable than Go-jek drivers because they have lower education level.

5.4 Social Capital

There are two levels of social capital that will be analysed: household and community. Comparison of before-after and with-without Go-jek will be performed on both levels along with gender relations analysis. Those can be seen as follows.

5.4.1 Household-level

According to Table 6 in Appendix 4, 70% of the Go-jek drivers' family are supportive toward the drivers' decision to join Go-jek. By this, when the drivers somehow encounter shock, they already have a safety net. Most of the Go-jek and traditional *ojek* drivers were born and live in Jakarta. However, 30% Go-jek and 45% traditional drivers are migrants from another region in Java Island and been living in Jakarta since 25 years ago. Majority of drivers live together with their nuclear family, average 3-4 people including the drivers him/herself. There is not a single respondent who is receiving support from their extended family. In fact, 35% of Go-jek drivers were able to send some money to their extended family compare to only 5% of traditional drivers. This figure is signalling, by working at Go-jek, their capability to become other's safety nets is increasing although there is another factor that affects this inference. Those factor for example, not all extended family need or demand support from their Go-jek drivers' relative. Regardless, there is one statement from Respondent 22 that support the argument: "...my friends in the village (were shocked), where my parents live, when they know I am able to support my family after working in Go-jek".

Not all of the household member supported the decision of the drivers, especially women Go-jek drivers. This statement will be shown through gender relations analysis at the household level. One of the respondents that work in Go-jek is a divorced widow, and she stated that working in Go-jek has affected her relations with her former husband. It is because her husband adopts the traditional identity of male as a breadwinner and female act like a caregiver. She further elaborated: her former husband's reaction was feeling humiliated, like his "pride has fallen", especially toward the type of job that she had chosen. Hence, he coped with the situation by filing a divorce. It was also because of the accumulation of other problems too, but the prominent one of was this gender division of labour issue. The stigma of '*ojek* driver is a men's work' will be discussed in the next subsection or community level, since it is embedded in the society as a stigma. The situation explained above can be seen through the Respondent 23's statement:

In fact, one of the reasons I separated with my ex-husband is because of this work.

He did not earn that much from his job, so I decided to help him by becoming an

ojek driver. He did not like it, and we argue every day, but our bills need to get paid.

His pride did not allow me to work to contribute to our household.

Another interesting story is the driver is able to motivate her friends in the village to work in Go-jek too so that they are "...not depending on their husband"²². This evidence indicated that working in Go-jek has become a mean for women to be independent and contribute to their household so that they have more bargaining power in household's decision-making process. The latter statement is supported by Sen's theory that when women earn something for their household, their "perceived contributions to the family's economic position" are higher, thus increasing women's bargaining power (Chhachhi 2017: 26).

By previous explanation, it can be concluded that Go-jek had contributed to reducing vulnerability for the household member based on the support given by the family to its member who works in Go-jek, and their ability to become safety nets for their extended family. However, related to gender relations, not all member of the household can cope with the new gender division of labour especially within the stigma of motorcycle taxi drivers' masculinity.

5.4.2 Community-level

The index component for community-level social capital under before-after joining Go-jek will talk about its drivers' participation in solidarity group. The premise is whether by joining Go-jek will gain them access to solidarity groups. Although 40% of Go-jek drivers do not belong to any solidarity group or work independently, this premise has proven to be true. It is because Go-jek drivers have access to four types of solidarity group: *pangkalan*-based; regional-based; and gender-based which are informal. Another group is a formal legalised association called ADO. However, as depicted in Table 7 Appendix 4, only 3 among 20 respondents who are a member of ADO and most of them did not know that such association exists despite the extensive socialisation done by ADO. Currently, ADO members are spread over 11 out of 34 provinces in Indonesia.

Back to the other solidarity groups, the first one called *pangkalan*-based. As mentioned before in the background, it is ubiquitous in every corner of Jakarta's street and the most common form of motorcycle taxi drivers' solidarity groups. There is *pangkalan* who exclusively for traditional *ojek*, online *ojek*, or a mix of both as can be seen in the pictures below. Each *pangkalan* has a different degree of network, it might be just a place for waiting for a customer and to interact with each other or it might be had established a structure of organisation equipped with a coordinator, secretary, and treasurer. In the latter type of station, usually, they also have a system of contributory money. It can be daily, weekly, or monthly depend on the deal among the drivers. For the station that adopts the method of contributory money, the members are entitled to receive something when they are in need. For example, a station set the contribution of IDR 3000 per week (EUR 0,2) if the member gets sick or having a family who died according to Respondent 34. The other types, regional-based and gender-based commonly exist among online *ojek* drivers. Region-based is membership within an administrative region, for example, Jakarta while for gender-based the prominent example is a women-exclusive group called *Laskar Srikandi* (Heroine Club). One driver can have many kinds of social group, but

²² Interview with Respondent 22

mostly they are adhering to one *pangkalan* and have other groups such as gender-based, region-based, or in ADO²³.

Figure 4. Traditional *Ojek* Station



Source: Author (2017)

Figure 5. Mixed *Ojek* Station



Source: Author (2017)

Different with Go-jek drivers, all of the traditional *ojek* drivers belong to a *pangkalan* because they need to wait for the customer there. Compare to Go-jek drivers that mostly have been in the *pangkalan* for 0-2 years, the traditional drivers' duration is between 3-30 years. The *pangkalan* is more or less an identity for motorcycle taxi drivers as they spent their time there for years. Both types of drivers chose the *pangkalan* based on the proximity from where they live. For traditional drivers, some of their reason for choosing *pangkalan* is because it is near from potential customer which irrelevant for Go-jek drivers. However, when being asked about the degree of social interaction in their station, there is an indication of inequality between the traditional and Go-jek drivers. All traditional drivers said that their station used to have an established organisation but because of the members are moving to online *ojek*, the drivers are decreasing and now only act as a place to have a little chitchat while waiting for the customer. The function of the social group is more pronounced among Go-jek drivers because it can be an instrument to negotiate with Go-jek management. It is what happened with the Heroine Club. They often use the group as a means to exchange information with Go-jek representative regarding a change of policy²⁴. In fact, Respondent 22 also stated that "...solidarity is one of Go-jek's strength and is rarely found among traditional *ojek* drivers...".

As shown in Table 5 before, Go-jek drivers hold a small proportion of women drivers while traditional drivers do not have any among 20 respondents. In fact, when I am doing the survey, I never see female traditional *ojek* drivers waiting in the station. According to Sunarya (2016: 48) in his research about online motorcycle taxi in the informal transportation setting, he managed to get only one female sample versus 173 sample of male in a randomised sampling survey. This figure indicates that undoubtedly male outnumbered female in term of motorcycle taxi sectors, hence it suggested a form of inequality within the sector. Regardless, the number of

²³ Interview with Respondent 26

²⁴ Interview with Respondent 22 and 23

women online *ojek*, including Go-jek drivers, is growing about 15-20% as explained by the Head of ADO. Due to this, it is becoming more relevant to explore about gender relations at community-level despite the existing stigma embedded in the society that motorcycle taxi is men's work. For that reason, two female Go-jek driver' respondents²⁵ experienced discrimination in the form of order cancellation even on the daily basis as they said in the interview. Most of the customers that cancel the order were men and it is because they feel burdened by the fact that a woman is driving²⁶. Even the Head of ADO told about his encounter with female Go-jek drivers and said "... sometimes I confused when I ordered, and the driver turned out to be a woman. I will offer to drive instead of her, *hababa...*". From that comment, even from the head of ADO himself, it is clear that social construction of gender in certain occupation still occur. The comment and cancellation also imply underestimation, which women perceived to have lower skill in driving a motorcycle than men. Regardless the stigma, the drivers do not let that affect their livelihood and keep working, just like other people do their work. They even got their own group called Heroine Club with other 53 women Go-jek drivers. Furthermore, Respondent 23 said that a quarter of the members are a widow, so she thought she is not alone. They were able to motivate each other, and as Respondents 23 said: "because of it (the solidarity group), I feel at ease".

Given the statements above, it is reliable to argue that Go-jek drivers have lower vulnerability than traditional *ojek* drivers because they have more access to solidarity group. It is also because the degree of solidarity in the group is higher than traditional drivers. Through the solidarity group also, female Go-jek drivers who experienced discrimination through the stigma given by masculine image of the work, can encourage each other.

5.5 Types of Entrepreneurs and Their Vulnerability

The previous section has provided details on how Go-jek drivers' assets changed because of Go-jek and its difference compare to traditional *ojek* drivers'. The result will be elaborated further to see whether their different entrepreneurship natures is due to Go-jek or were they different even before. According to Section 4.2, Go-jek drivers are classified into growth-oriented entrepreneurs while traditional *ojek* drivers are the survivalist entrepreneurs. Elaborating the previous finding with comparison analysis, the Go-jek drivers' growth-oriented entrepreneurship nature has already existed before they join Go-jek. In another way, it is not because Go-jek values infiltrate to them. The debates are as follows.

First of all, related to financial-productive components, most of the drivers are working as paid employees before joining Go-jek. Thus they can easily pass the entry barriers set by Go-jek. It is supported by the fact that the reason why traditional *ojek* drivers do not join Go-jek is not that the income-sharing system but because the drivers do not have license and smartphone according to Table 2 in Appendix 4. Also, it turned out that Go-jek drivers do not exercise their managerial nor business skill as embedded in Go-jek business networks due to the high degree of unidirectional control exercised by Go-jek. The managerial skill that they have practised might be limited to scheduling as their working time is flexible.

On top of that debates, as shown in Table 8 in Appendix 4, 75% of Go-jek drivers' respondents consider themselves never poor, before and after joining Go-jek while the

²⁵ Interview with Respondent 22 and 23

²⁶ Interview with Respondent 23

traditional drivers claimed that they were not poor before, but now they are because the customer shifted to Go-jek. The former sentence indicates that Go-jek drivers consider themselves as not vulnerable even before they join Go-jek. In term of human capital, as been said in Section 5.3, Go-jek drivers level of education is higher than traditional drivers. Therefore, it strengthens the arguments of entrepreneurship difference before even joining Go-jek.

Another interesting remark about Go-jek and traditional *ojek* drivers' difference founded in Go-jek drivers' social capital. According to Table 3 about the different characteristics of survivalist and growth-oriented entrepreneurs by Berner et al. (2012:387), survivalist entrepreneurs are more likely feel responsible to share their income, and the business is embedded in their family and kin. However, as explained in 5.4, Go-jek drivers exercised a higher degree of social trust trough organised station and has wider access to several kinds of solidarity group compare to traditional *ojek* drivers. They even held some events like gathering if there is a celebration, for example, Muslim's religious celebration or Christmas²⁷.

²⁷ Interview with Respondent 22

Chapter 6. Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusions

The emerging of Go-jek gives a nuance in the realm of informal transportation mode because of its claim to include informal workers into their business plan. Hypothetically, it will increase the drivers' welfare and thus, affect the drivers' vulnerabilities. In this context, their vulnerabilities are analysed through their assets as a form of dynamic poverty by answering three sub-questions as outlined in Section 1.2.

The first question seeks for Go-jek drivers' dependency in relation to financial-productive assets. Based on the assessment towards three manifestations of control: subjects of control; the direction of control; and obligations of control, Go-jek drivers are classified as *dependent self-employed*. It is different to what Go-jek called their drivers as independent contractors through partnership system. Subjects of control exercised by Go-jek are apparently ranging pretty wide, from the mandatory uniform to the service quality by the implementation of the rating system solely from the customer. Even though Go-jek does not exercise it, but Go-jek has made the system allowing unidirectional control to be practised. This unidirectional control is prominent although there is a formal association for the drivers to increase their bargaining power. Unfortunately, the drivers who knew about the association's existence is still limited in number. Additionally, Go-jek also frequently change its tariff and perform suspension so that the drivers cannot obtain their virtual earning through Go-pay. Through the latter condition, Go-jek does not exercise its obligation to ensure protection toward labour rights' violation.

A consequence of dependent self-employed status is the existence of labour misappropriation in the form of high obligations with limited or even no benefit entails. The example of misappropriation in this context is Go-jek drivers' 'hidden' cost for mobile data to run the application and contact their customers. This type of employment is currently trending in business, especially in sharing economy, such as Uber. It avoids adopting employer-employee labour relations by mandating their employment responsibilities to workers and intermediaries as stated by Cunningham-Parmer (2016: 1673). Moreover, it contributes to Go-jek drivers' precariousness. Hence, concerning Go-jek drivers' employment security as one of the components of financial-productive assets, the dependent self-employed status does not contribute to reducing their vulnerability. The latter also take into consideration that most of Go-jek drivers were working as formal employees before.

The second question explores the type of entrepreneurship between Go-jek and traditional *ojek* drivers to give insight on the suitable intervention for them. It was using a scorecard adapted from Gomez (2008) to capture the motorcycle taxi drivers' condition better. Surprisingly, almost all of Go-jek drivers are classified into growth-oriented entrepreneurs. Meanwhile, the same proportion of traditional *ojek* drivers are survivalist entrepreneurs. This "too good too be true" binary classification occurred because of their initially different nature instead of Go-jek's policy influence. In other way, Go-jek drivers already inhibit growth-oriented characters even before they join Go-jek. This division emerged due to the high entry barriers set by Go-jek and their previous secured employment status. The latter had made their condition not as vulnerable as traditional *ojek* drivers even before they were included in Go-jek's system.

The entry barriers set by Go-jek has made the well-off traditional *ojek* drivers, with relatively higher capacity than the others, are able to join Go-jek. In effect, drivers who stay in

the traditional *ojek* are those who are relatively unfortunate. This situation is resulting in a wider gap between the two types of *ojek* drivers with the displacement and exclusion of the traditional because the customers are shifted to Go-jek. It will leave no space for the traditional *ojek* drivers to accumulate their capitals. Thus, the problem needs different approaches to be solved. Go-jek drivers' intervention will be focused on labour rights protection considering their dependent self-employed status. For traditional *ojek* drivers, the intervention is related to social protection to fulfil their basic needs and get through Go-jek's entry barriers to reach the customers.

The last question is looking for the difference before-after joining Go-jek and between Go-jek drivers and traditional *ojek* drivers through a comparison. By knowing the difference, one could argue whether Go-jek bring positive changes toward its drivers' assets or not. Assets vulnerability analysis is outlined according to Moser (1998) and Moser and Felton (2007) classification of assets: financial productive, physical, human capital, and social capital. After joining Go-jek, the drivers have higher opportunity to get a customer because of the application. They also have access to information to obtain motorcycle in instalments although it is exclusive only for high-rated drivers. The same condition with health insurance, Go-jek only provides information regarding the service both from the private insurance company or national insurance. Besides, the drivers have access to work-related insurance at a relatively low price. All of Go-jek policy to the drivers are not consider benefit because it depends on the drivers' ability to obtain the services. Go-jek does not contribute to providing or subsidising those services. However, through Go-jek, the drivers have broader access to various solidarity group not limited to the station-based one.

In comparison with traditional *ojek* drivers, Go-jek drivers share the same employment vulnerability because Go-jek drivers are not independent while traditional drivers are facing the scarcity of customers because they have shifted to the online mode. However, Go-jek drivers on average have more than one motorcycle, so their vulnerability is lower than traditional drivers. Regardless the productive durable, both types of drivers also share the same level of housing security and durable goods ownership. Moreover, Go-jek drivers have a higher level of education level compared to traditional drivers, and they both have limited access to healthcare. Hence, Go-jek drivers' vulnerability in term of human capital is lower than the traditional. Lastly, Go-jek drivers have a higher degree of social capital than traditional drivers due to the supportive household members and extensive solidarity within the group. Unfortunately, the discrimination still happened toward female Go-jek drivers due to the stigma that is given by the masculine image of the work. Through the gender-based solidarity group, they can overcome this issue by socialising and encouraging each other.

The comparisons above indicating that Go-jek drivers have relatively lower vulnerability than the traditional one, mainly because they have higher education level and productive durable asset. Unfortunately, those assets are higher not because of Go-jek's contribution because they have already obtained it even before they join Go-jek. The only capital that is increased due to Go-jek is the social capital. It is due to the extensive degree of solidarity and the wide variety of groups, ranging from the station-based to formal association. This group could be their safety nets through their initiated-organisation system, for example, a collective endowment for sick member and a fixed amount of contribution for the member's interest.

Overall, Go-jek is one of the forms of innovation diffusion through a software platform to increase its drivers' productivity. The innovation diffusion means that it offers similar service to what its sibling, Uber, does. Uber was founded in the United States as a pioneer in sharing

economy platform by allowing people to rent a car from another. Go-jek is seen as the ‘localized Uber’ which offers transportation service using motorcycle taxi, a mode that is popular in Indonesia especially Jakarta. It is adapted by adding social inclusion value of engaging informal *ojek* driver into the system.

The innovation brought by Go-jek has affected motorcycle taxi drivers’ vulnerability in Jakarta, both who included in Go-Jek and those who are not. As explained in the former paragraphs, Go-jek affected its drivers’ vulnerability prominently by the dependent self-employed status and solidarity groups. Meanwhile, traditional *ojek* drivers are affected because of the shifting of the customers and a great possibility of displacement. The event has illustrated a concept of creative destruction by Schumpeter in a way that the neighbourhood-based traditional *ojek* drivers slowly being crowded out or “destroyed” by a start-up firm.

Consider a significant role of technology innovation in the displacement, it could be further elaborated with Clayton Christensen’s disruptive innovation (2015). According to Christensen et al. (2015: 3-4), a process can be claimed as disruptive innovation if an incumbent business focuses only on the profitable market and ignoring the mainstream and lower-income market. The disrupter then serves the “overlooked segments” and eventually grows bigger. In a setting of the land transportation business, Go-jek can be classified as the disrupter to other formal land transportation providers, for example, conventional taxi and Uber. It is because Go-jek starts with the low-end market by taking over “good-enough”³³ transportation service: motorcycle taxi, in their “inclusive” business plan. However, the inclusiveness that Go-jek claims do not seem to affect the drivers based on their asset vulnerability assessment, except for the social capital.

6.2 Recommendations

Recommendations in this section will be outlined in two parts: substantial recommendations regarding their assets vulnerability and recommendations for further studies as a response to this study’s limitations.

Based on the analysis done before, these are the proposed recommendations to reduce the vulnerabilities of motorcycle taxi drivers: the first step is to recognise online motorcycle taxi as work. The scope is not limited to Go-jek as there is similar company emerged after its success, such as Uber and Grab, as presented in Table 4. It is because it has become the primary source of income for the drivers and demanded by the 15 million people who have downloaded the Go-jek application³⁴, so it means more if we include other firms. By recognising the work, it allows the Government to set up an intervention toward Go-jek’s labour misappropriation, especially regarding their unclaimed rights due to the unidirectional suspension. It is also inline with the drivers’ desire to formalised this type of work. Recognising motorcycle taxi can be done by revising the law on land transportation and establish a partnership with Jakarta Provincial Government through their local regulation. Even more, because the land transportation law is valid nationally, it will affect not only drivers in Jakarta but also in Indonesia. Banning the mode

³³ The mode is seen as “good-enough” because it is cheap, informal, has higher risk of accident, and not so comfortable. After the mainstream market shifted to Go-jek, the big company such as Uber, releasing similar services called Ubermotor.

³⁴ As written by Prasetya and Subagja (2017)

is not a solution because it is impossible to provide a job for current drivers in a short time if the government is enforcing the existing law which sees *ojek* as an informal mode.

Parallel with or after the step above, the Government should also provide social welfare program for the traditional *ojek* drivers considering their trait as survivalist entrepreneur. The source of financing can be through partial earmarking from the drivers' income also subsidised by the Government to reduce their vulnerabilities.

Consideration for focusing on the online *ojek* only because it is easier to monitor for the customer's safety reasons, as the traditional drivers mostly do not have a license and do not record their activities. Also responding to the fact that the Government is reluctant to recognise this mode is because of motorcycle's accident rate as quoted by the representative from Ministry of Transportation: "*Ojek is a dilemmatic phenomenon, if we recognised and legalised, it has a high risk of accident. On the other side, it is the most popular type of transport in Jakarta*". The strategy should be done without neglecting traditional drivers by encouraging them to join the online company after the Government make sure the company does not exercise the labour violation toward the drivers. A way is to support the drivers to be able to pass the entry barriers of Go-jek through an efficient process to obtain a license without having to use a broker³⁵ and providing access to get a smartphone, for example, a subsidy, long-term instalment, or zero interest loan.

The last step is to ensure and monitor that the business is conducted according to the regulation and there are no labour violation rights. It is because only recognising the mode is not going to solve the problem by looking at Uber's recognition process in Indonesia. The last step can be done by firstly establish a secretariat or agency to monitor the online transportation as a whole entity consist of related ministries, such as: Ministry of Transportation, Ministry of Communication and Information, Ministry of Labour; local governments; ADO as drivers' representatives; and also include the enterprises to have a continuous coordination. Although this strategy seems like a utopia, the discoordination and negligence among stakeholders are also part of the reason why the Government have never taken any action for motorcycle taxi sector.

Recommendation regarding the research scope is that this could use a more quantitative measurement of the assets with statistic approach toward its sampling. Also, a more sensitive income and working hour calculation can be done to see whether the "hidden" cost in Go-jek is bigger or smaller compared to their profit before comparing it with the traditional *ojek* driver and their working hours. Another recommendation is one research can simply focus on one asset like financial-productive or social capital which are extremely relevant for Go-jek drivers' livelihood.

³⁵ It is common to use broker in obtaining driving license in Indonesia because sometimes it takes a long time and high price.

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Appendix 1 Fieldwork Report

The fieldwork was conducted between 10th of July 2017 to 24th of August 2017 in Jakarta, Indonesia. I originally wanted to do the interviews according to the sub-regions but in fact, you can find *ojek*'s station in every corner of the street. So, what I did is randomly visit a station near different spot in Jakarta: shopping malls, housing complexes, slum areas, tourist attractions, and schools. Not all of the respondents come from the station, I also interviewed those who were waiting for the customer and those who just finished working (I used them a lot in Jakarta, so sometimes after they delivered me, I asked whether they want to participate or not). Aside from the drivers, I also interview other stakeholders as seen in the table below.

Table 1. Interview Respondents

No.	Respondents	Aim
1	Conventional <i>ojek</i> drivers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To identify the reason why they did not join Go-jek To gain information on their assets and compare the assets vulnerability with Go-jek drivers
2	Go-jek drivers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To identify their type of employment To identify the benefit of joining Go-jek in relation with their assets ownership, including check whether the system set by Go-jek really affect the drivers as expected To gain information on their assets and compare the assets vulnerability before they join Go-jek and with traditional <i>ojek</i> drivers. Extra open questions for female drivers to know about gender relations within online motorcycle taxi environment
3	Head of Online Drivers Association (<i>Asosiasi Driver Online/ ADO</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To identify their type of employment To identify whether the association provide access to decrease the vulnerability
4	Policy makers: Head of Section Planning and Development, Greater Jakarta Transport Authority (BPTJ), Ministry of Transportation of Indonesia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To know more about the decision maker's perspective regarding motorcycle taxi (especially on why <i>ojek</i> does not considered as a transportation mode and whether there is an initiation to include it into the formal transportation system) To dig more information regarding conflict between Go-jek and other public transportation

Source: Author's analysis (2017)

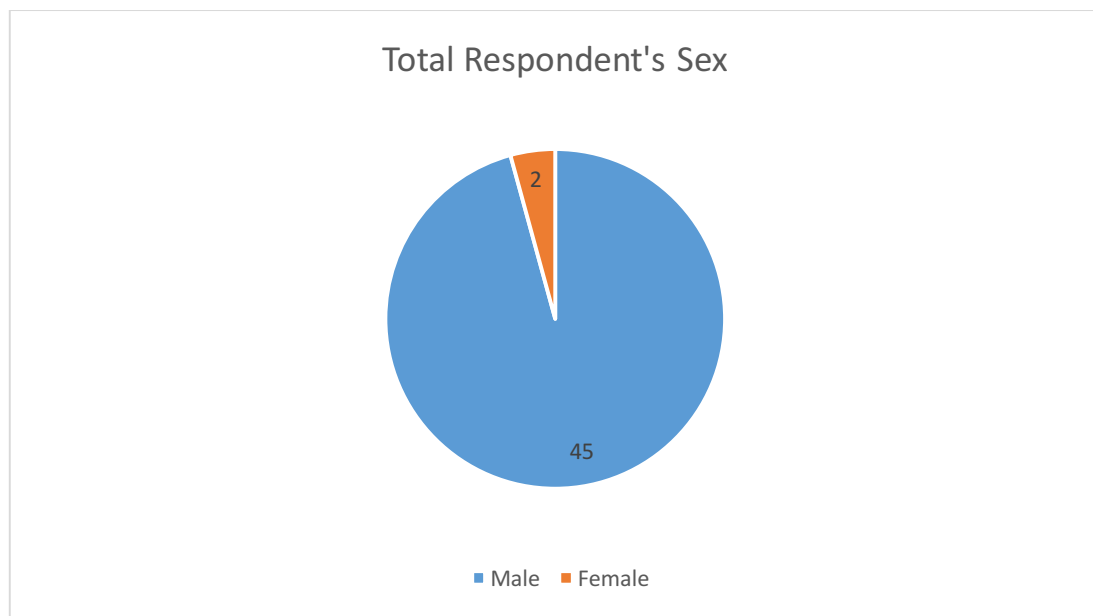
In my fieldwork plan, I stated that I would choose the drivers based on their living area (South Jakarta, Central Jakarta, etc.) but it is not possible since their mobility is really high. Distribution of the respondents can be seen in the table below. In total, I have interviewed 27 Go-jek drivers (with 2 of them from stations outside Jakarta) and 20 traditional *ojek* drivers. The implication from this uneven number is when I am doing my Go-jek and traditional *ojek*

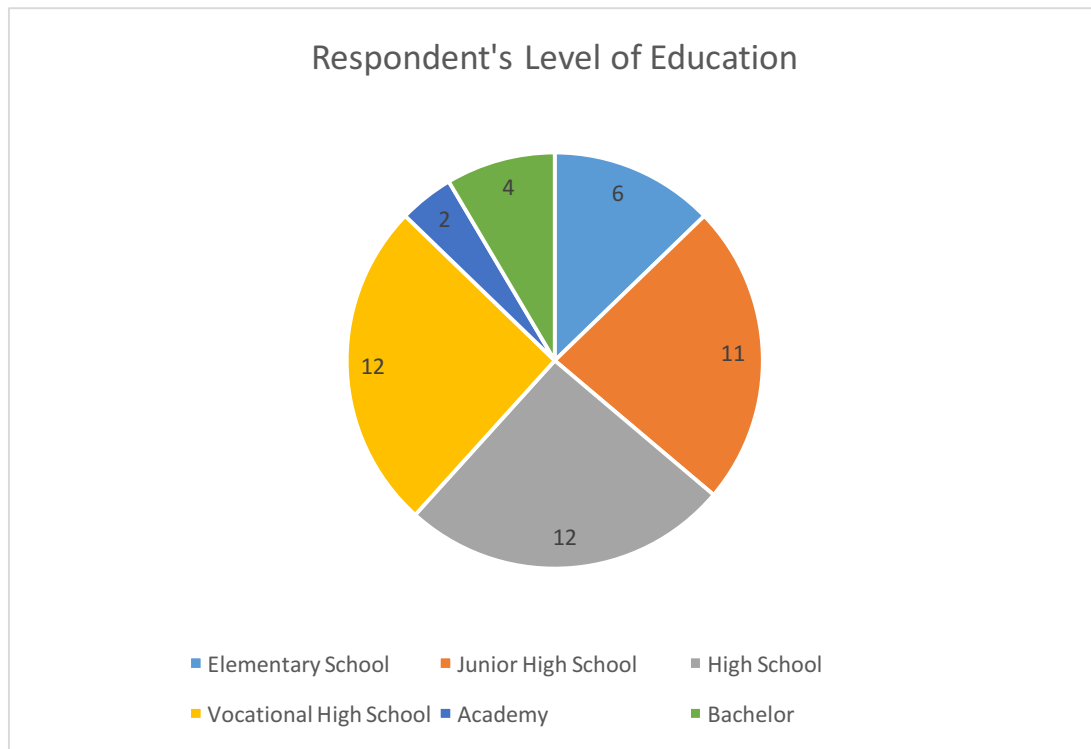
comparison analysis, I have to make sure that the number is proportional by taking out 7 respondents from the Go-jek sample (2 from Outside Jakarta and 5 from South Jakarta as the biggest number of respondents). These 7 drivers will be useful when I analyse their responses for my open questions to increase the reliability.

Table 2. Total Interviewees

Area	Type	Number
South Jakarta	Gojek	12
	Traditional	4
East Jakarta	Gojek	5
	Traditional	6
North Jakarta	Gojek	4
	Traditional	4
Central Jakarta	Gojek	3
	Traditional	3
West Jakarta	Gojek	1
	Traditional	3
Outside Jakarta	Gojek	2
TOTAL		47

Source: Author's analysis (2017)





While I am in Jakarta, I stumbled upon an event related to this research topic. This event was called research-to-policy forum provided by a knowledge hub institution called RuangWaktu. The forum is basically a small discussion of 20-25 people about Mobility App and Citizens: Social and Governance Implications of Innovation in Urban Informal Sector presented by Ying Gao, a PhD researcher of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. This is her pre-research for her PhD degree and she was very happy to share and discuss about this topic. Surprisingly, Ying also did not get the chance to interview Go-jek’s representative. Some pictures/documentation of the fieldwork can be seen as follow:

Figure 1. Mobility App and Citizens Forum in Jakarta (1)



Source: Author (2017)

Figure 3. Online Ojek Drivers Station

Figure 2. Mobility App and Citizens Forum in Jakarta (2)



Source: Author (2017)

Figure 4. Ojek Sign at the Crossroads



Source: Author (2017)



Source: Author (2017)

Appendix 2 Scorecard

The questions in the Scorecard are adapted from Gomez (2008) with several modifications to suit the condition of motorcycle taxi drivers. The questions are in the questionnaire but listed on different sections as the questionnaire was structured based on the assets vulnerabilities (labour, human capital, productive assets, household relations, and social capital). In this section, the questions, responses, and scores are shown in a different arrangement from the questionnaire although the questions are the same.

The tables below present comparison between Gomez's (2008) questions and the questions used for this research along with the reason why it is changed to suit the context of motorcycle taxi better. If the adaptation reasoning is marked with "-", then it means no change has been made, or the question is the same question with Gomez's (2008) scorecard. Table 1 contains adaptation for scorecard A, while Table 2 for scorecard B. As can be seen in Table 1, there is only one question that is changed for scorecard A. On the opposite, for scorecard B1, most of the questions are adapted so it is not only comparable to financial sustainability but also other factors such as health and motorcycle insurance, working hours a week, and license. Those factors are strongly related to physical ability, an absolute requirement for motorcycle taxi drivers with high mobility. The next step, the scoring mechanism will be described in Methodology while the result and analysis in Section 4.2.

Table 1. Questions and Scoring Comparison in Determining Survivalist or Growth-oriented *Ojek* Drivers (Scorecard A)

Gomez's (2008) Question	Motorcycle Taxi Drivers' Question	Adaptation reasoning
Is this business your main source of income?	Is this business your main source of income?	-
Do you keep written business records?	Do you keep written business records?	-
Did you leave a paid job to open your business?	Did you leave a paid job to open your business?	-
If you win six months' sales in the Lottery, what would you do?	If you win IDR 10 million (EUR 630) in the Lottery, what would you do?	-
Did you have regular paid staff in the last year?	Do you own your motorcycle?	The motorcycle taxi drivers conduct the business themselves, unlike vendors who can employ staff. Hence, the question is changed to driver's relation with their main productive asset which is vital for them to generate income
Total questions: 5	Total questions: 5	

Source: Gomez (2008) and Author's Analysis (2017)

Table 2. Question and Scoring Comparison in Determining Sustainable or Unsustainable Survivalist *Ojek* Drivers (Scorecard B1)

Gomez's (2008) Question	Motorcycle Taxi Drivers' Question	Adaptation reasoning
How many days a year do you run this activity?	How many years do you run this activity?	It changed into years because most of the traditional <i>ojek</i> drivers have been in the business more than ten years
Do the revenues of this activity allow you to buy more inputs to be able to face days of larger sales?		The demand for motorcycle taxi is always available, depend on the working hours which is affected by their body condition. The absence of proper health condition implies a higher risk of accident (Goodfellow 2015: 138). Also, their access toward motorcycle and license ownership also contribute to the sustainability as an initial requirement of the business (Goodfellow 2015: 138). So, the sustainability of the business is more relatable to the health aspect and their motorcycle as a mean to generate income.
Can you normally predict your revenues at the beginning of the day?		
	How many hours a week that you spent for working?	
	Do you own a health insurance?	
	Do you own a motorcycle insurance?	
	Do you have a license?	
Have you taken a loan in the last year?		
In periods when your revenues are higher, do you invest more in this activity?		The sustainability of the business is more relatable to the health aspect and their access toward motorcycle. Hence, this question is being replaced.
If your other paid activities do badly for a while, can you expect this one to do better?	If your other paid activities do badly for a while, can you expect this one to do better?	-
Total questions: 6	Total questions: 6	

Source: Gomez (2008) and Author's Analysis (2017)

Scorecard A (Determining Survivalist or Growth Oriented)

1. Is this business your main source of income?
 - a. A full-time and only source of income: 3
 - b. Main but not only source of income: 2
 - c. Second important source of income: 1
 - d. Neither first nor second source of income: 0
2. Do you keep written business records?
 - a. Yes: 3
 - b. Not updated or irregular accountancy: 2
 - c. Partially (e.g. only sales) :1
 - d. No: 0
3. Did you leave a paid job to open your business?
 - a. Yes: 3
 - b. First job after school and first choice of employment: 2
 - c. Left another micro-business: 1
 - d. No other choice: 0.
4. If you win IDR 10 millions in the Lottery, what would you do?
 - a. Buy new motorcycle or repair motorcycle:3
 - b. Repay debts or improve home installations that also affect the business:2
 - c. Start another business:1
 - d. Any expenses unrelated to the business: 0
5. Do you own your motorcycle?
 - a. Yes:3
 - b. My parents or in laws own it:2
 - c. It is someone else's, we do income sharing:1
 - d. No, I just borrow it temporarily: 0

If the sum of all the answers is less than 10, the entrepreneur is a survivalist. If it is 10 or more than 10, the entrepreneur can be considered a growth-oriented. If a growth-oriented entrepreneur scores 0 or 1 in a question(s), it may be his/her weak area and can be solved with a development program.

Scorecard B1 (Determining Sustainable or Unsustainable Survivalist)

1. How many years do you run this activity?
 - a. More than 1 year: 3
 - b. Between 4-12 months: 2
 - c. Less than 4 months: 1

- d. Cannot tell: 0
- 2. How many hours a week that you spent for working?
 - a. Less than 50 hours: 3
 - b. 50-70: 2
 - c. 71-83: 1
 - d. More than 84 hours: 0
- 3. Do you own a motorcycle insurance?
 - a. Yes: 3
 - b. No: 1
- 4. Do you own a health insurance?
 - a. Yes: 3
 - b. No: 1
- 5. If your other paid activities do badly for a while, can you expect this one to do better?
 - a. Normally yes: 3
 - b. Probably: 2
 - c. Most likely not: 1
 - d. No: 0
- 6. Do you have a license?
 - a. Yes = 3
 - b. No = 1

If the sum of all the answers is less than 13, the entrepreneur is an unsustainable survivalist or the business can not sustain itself. On the contrary, for score 13 or more than 13, the entrepreneur can be considered a sustainable survivalist. Factor that makes the business unsustainable can be financial, health, or other reason, depend on the question that scores low. For the sustainable survivalist, the business can be supported to grow, hence, it reduces the vulnerabilities.

Table 3. Survivalist and Growth Oriented Classification

Label	Type of Ojek	Age	Gender	Education	Main Source	Written Records	Leave paid job	Lottery	Motorcycle	Total Score A	Business Classification*
2	Traditional Ojek	45	M	Junior High School	3	0	0	0	3	6	S
8	Traditional Ojek	65	M	Junior High School	3	0	0	0	3	6	S

Label	Type of Ojek	Age	Gender	Education	Main Source	Written Records	Leave paid job	Lottery	Motorcycle	Total Score A	Business Classification*
9	Traditional Ojek	48	M	Vocational High School	3	0	0	0	3	6	S
25	Gojek	45	M	Junior High School	3	3	1	0	2	9	S
38	Gojek	30	M	Bachelor	2	3	1	0	3	9	S
1	Traditional Ojek	39	M	High School	3	0	1	0	2	6	S
3	Traditional Ojek	54	M	Vocational High School	3	0	0	1	3	7	S
4	Traditional Ojek	52	M	Junior High School	3	0	0	1	3	7	S
5	Traditional Ojek	61	M	Junior High School	3	0	0	0	3	6	S
6	Traditional Ojek	62	M	Elementary School	2	0	0	0	0	2	S
7	Traditional Ojek	60	M	High School	3	0	0	0	3	6	S
10	Traditional Ojek	51	M	Junior High School	3	0	0	0	3	6	S
11	Traditional Ojek	50	M	Elementary School	3	0	0	0	3	6	S
12	Traditional Ojek	44	M	Junior High School	3	0	0	0	3	6	S
13	Traditional Ojek	49	M	Junior High School	3	0	0	1	3	7	S
14	Traditional Ojek	43	M	Elementary School	3	0	0	0	3	6	S
15	Traditional Ojek	34	M	Vocational High School	3	0	1	0	2	6	S
16	Traditional Ojek	51	M	Vocational High School	3	0	0	3	3	9	S
17	Traditional Ojek	53	M	Vocational High School	2	0	0	1	1	4	S
18	Traditional Ojek	50	M	Elementary School	3	0	0	0	0	3	S
19	Traditional Ojek	46	M	Vocational High School	3	0	0	0	3	6	S
20	Traditional Ojek	52	M	Junior High School	3	0	0	0	3	6	S
21	Gojek	49	M	Vocational High School	3	3	1	0	3	10	GO

Label	Type of Ojek	Age	Gender	Education	Main Source	Written Records	Leave paid job	Lottery	Motorcycle	Total Score A	Business Classification*
22	Gojek	27	F	High School	3	3	3	1	3	13	GO
23	Gojek	35	F	Vocational High School	3	3	3	1	3	13	GO
24	Gojek	54	M	High School	3	3	1	0	3	10	GO
26	Gojek	34	M	Vocational High School	3	3	3	1	0	10	GO
27	Gojek	33	M	High School	3	3	1	1	3	11	GO
28	Gojek	60	M	Elementary School	2	3	1	1	3	10	GO
29	Gojek	40	M	High School	3	3	3	0	3	12	GO
30	Gojek	20	M	Vocational High School	3	3	3	3	3	15	GO
31	Gojek	42	M	Vocational High School	3	3	3	3	3	15	GO
32	Gojek	26	M	High School	3	3	3	0	3	12	GO
33	Gojek	29	M	Junior High School	3	3	3	1	3	13	GO
34	Gojek	32	M	Academy	3	3	3	1	3	13	GO
35	Gojek	27	M	High School	3	3	3	1	3	13	GO
36	Gojek	50	M	Elementary School	3	3	1	0	3	10	GO
37	Gojek	52	M	High School	3	3	1	1	3	11	GO
39	Gojek	28	M	Bachelor	2	3	3	2	3	13	GO
40	Gojek	34	M	Academy	3	3	3	1	3	13	GO

Source: Author's Analysis (2017)

*) S stand for Survivalist, GO stand for Growth-Oriented

Table 4. Sustainable and Non-Sustainable Survivalist Classification

Label	Type of Ojek	Age	Gender	Education	Duration	Hours per week	Motorcycle insurance	Health insurance	Expectation	License	Total Score B1	Business Classification*
8	Traditional Ojek	65	M	Junior High School	3	3	1	3	0	3	13	SB
9	Traditional Ojek	48	M	Vocational High School	3	3	1	3	0	3	13	SB

Label	Type of Ojek	Age	Gender	Education	Duration	Hours per week	Motorcycle insurance	Health insurance	Expectation	License	Total Score B1	Business Classification*
25	Gojek	45	M	Junior High School	3	1	1	3	2	3	13	SB
38	Gojek	30	M	Bachelor	2	0	3	3	2	3	13	SB
1	Traditional Ojek	39	M	High School	3	2	1	3	1	1	11	NSB
2	Traditional Ojek	45	M	Junior High School	3	0	3	1	2	3	12	NSB
3	Traditional Ojek	54	M	Vocational High School	3	2	1	1	1	3	11	NSB
4	Traditional Ojek	52	M	Junior High School	3	2	1	1	0	3	10	NSB
5	Traditional Ojek	61	M	Junior High School	3	2	1	1	0	3	10	NSB
6	Traditional Ojek	62	M	Elementary School	3	2	1	1	0	1	8	NSB
7	Traditional Ojek	60	M	High School	3	0	1	3	0	3	10	NSB
10	Traditional Ojek	51	M	Junior High School	3	2	1	1	0	1	8	NSB
11	Traditional Ojek	50	M	Elementary School	3	2	1	1	0	1	8	NSB
12	Traditional Ojek	44	M	Junior High School	3	0	1	3	0	3	10	NSB
13	Traditional Ojek	49	M	Junior High School	3	1	1	3	0	3	11	NSB
14	Traditional Ojek	43	M	Elementary School	3	2	1	3	0	1	10	NSB
15	Traditional Ojek	34	M	Vocational High School	3	0	1	1	0	1	6	NSB
16	Traditional Ojek	51	M	Vocational High School	3	2	1	1	0	1	8	NSB
17	Traditional Ojek	53	M	Vocational High School	3	2	1	3	0	1	10	NSB
18	Traditional Ojek	50	M	Elementary School	3	3	1	3	0	1	11	NSB
19	Traditional Ojek	46	M	Vocational High School	3	0	1	3	1	3	11	NSB
20	Traditional Ojek	52	M	Junior High School	3	1	1	1	0	3	9	NSB

Source: Author's Analysis (2017)

*) SB stand for Sustainable Business, NSB stand for Non-Sustainable Business

Table 5. Summary of Characteristic Between Growth-Oriented and Survivalist Entrepreneurs

		Growth-oriented		Survivalist	
Average age		37 years old		49 years old	
Sex	Male	16	88.9%	22	100.0%
	Female	2	11.1%	0	0.0%
Education	Bachelor	1	5.6%	1	4.5%
	Academy	2	11.1%	0	0.0%
	High School	12	66.7%	8	36.4%
	Junior High School	1	5.6%	9	40.9%
	Elementary	2	11.1%	4	18.2%

Source: Author's Analysis (2017)

Appendix 3 Questionnaire

Survey of Motorcycle Taxi Drivers Assets Vulnerability

Name : _____
Age : _____
Gender : _____
Phone Number : _____
Address : _____
Station : No/Yes: _____
Education : _____

A. Labour

Both Drivers

1. For how long have you been working as an *ojek* drivers?

2. Does *ojek* is your main source of income?
 Full-time and only source of income
 Main but not only source of income
 Second important source of income, what is your main source of income?

 Neither first nor second source of income, what is your main source of income?

3. How do you manage your working time?
 Work on weekdays (five days), for _____ hours each day
 Work on weekdays and Saturday, for _____ hours each day
 Work everyday, for _____ hours each day
4. Do you have day(s) off? (they could be working for another job in the weekend or other day)
 Yes, on _____ No
5. Where are your service coverage?
 North Jakarta Central Jakarta
 West Jakarta East Jakarta
 South Jakarta Other: _____
6. How much the estimated income that you get?

7. Do your family members are working too? (how many people, what are their job)
 Yes, _____ people, as _____
 No

Traditional Drivers

8. Why you did not join Go-jek?
 Do not have license Can not operate a smartphone
 Do not want to share the income Other: _____

Go-jek Drivers

9. For how long have you been working as a Go-jek drivers?

10. Why did you join Go-jek?
 Transparency and customer guarantee Travel insurance

- Formal working environment Diverse business (ex: food delivery)
 Other: _____
11. What did you do before joining Go-jek?
 Traditional *ojek* drivers Other online firm's *ojek* drivers
 Other work/ occupation: _____
12. Do you work in other online-based motorcycle taxi providers, such as Grab and Uber?
13. Yes: _____ No
14. What is the requirement to become a Go-jek driver?

15. Did you find it is hard to comply?
 Yes No
16. What type of contract that Go-jek offered?
 Employer-Employee Short-term contract (max. 1 year)
 Partnership (sharing income) Not contracted from Go-jek
 Other: _____
17. How do you manage your working time after joining Go-jek?
 Same as when I was a traditional *ojek* drivers
 Lesser working hours: _____
 Higher working hours: _____
18. How much the estimated income after you join Go-jek?

19. After joining Go-jek, can you accumulate capitals or manage a saving for the future?
 Yes, higher than before joining Go-jek Yes, it is the same
 No
20. Does by joining Go-jek affected your service coverage area?
 Wider coverage area, including _____
 Lesser coverage area, excluding _____
 Did not affected _____

B. Human Capital

Both Drivers

1. Do you have an active SIM C (license for motorcycle)?
 Yes No
2. Do you have a membership in health insurance system?
 Yes, it is BPJS (universal coverage health insurance, covered informal workers)
 Yes, other: _____
 No
3. How much do you pay for health insurance?

4. Do you ever have received a training related to your work (formal or informal)?
 Yes, from Government/ NGO/ Other: _____
5. Have you ever received support from the Government?
 Yes, _____
 No

Go-jek Drivers

6. Does Go-jek contributes to the health insurance system for its drivers?
 Yes, according to BPJS system: 4% employer and 1% for employee
 Yes, _____

- No
7. Does Go-jek gives training to its workers?
 Yes, _____
 No
8. Does Go-jek provides other social programme (such as pension or paid sick leave) for its workers?
 Yes, _____
 No

C. Productive Assets

Both drivers

1. What is your housing type/tenure?
 Rented house Rented room
 Own house Rented flat
 Other: _____
2. What size is your housing (in metre)? _____ x _____
3. Does your housing have private water connection?
 Yes No
4. Does your housing have private electricity connection?
 Yes No
5. Which of the following assets do you and your family own?
 Refrigerator TV
 Computer Car
 Other: _____
6. Do you consider yourself to be poor?
 Always poor Not poor before, but now
 Before poor but no more Never poor
7. Do you own your motorcycle?
 Yes No
8. If not, who own it? _____
9. What is your relation with him/her? _____
10. How do you obtain the motorcycle from him/her?
 Lease, how much _____ Borrow
 Income sharing, how much _____
 Other: _____
11. Do you insure your motorcycle?
 Yes No
12. If yes, who is paying the insurance? _____

Go-jek Drivers

13. Does by joining Go-jek affected your ownership toward motorcycle?
 Yes, provide access/information to second-hand motorcycle
 Yes, provide access to other landlord
 Yes, allow opportunities to accumulate money to buy his/her own motorcycle
 Yes, other reason: _____
 No
14. Does Go-jek provide insurance for your motorcycle?
 Yes No
15. Does Go-jek provides other assets?
 Yes, _____ No
16. Before joining Go-jek, do you consider yourself to be poor?
 Always poor Not poor before, but now

Before poor but no more

Never poor

D. Household Relations

Both Drivers

1. Where are your hometown?

Jakarta

Other city/ town: _____

Village: _____

2. When were you migrate to Jakarta (if applicable)? _____

3. Where do your family live?

Same as you

Different: _____

4. Your family (dependent) consist of:

Mother

Father

Mother in law

Father in Law

Wife

Other: _____

Children, how many _____ Age: _____

5. Do you have a business in your hometown?

Yes: _____

No

6. Do your family still support your living expenses or sending money to you?

Yes: how much _____

No

7. Do you send money to your family?

Yes: how much _____

No

Go-jek drivers

8. Does by joining Go-jek affected your relations with your family?

Yes, my family is even more in harmony because they are proud of my job

Yes, other reason _____

No difference

E. Social Capital

Both Drivers

1. How long have you been in this station? _____

2. Why you belong to this station?

Nearest from where I live

Nearest from potential customer

My other colleagues join this station

Other: _____

3. Do you belong to an association (formal/informal) within motorcycle taxi drivers' community?

Yes: _____

No

4. What kind of benefit that you gain from this association?

Go-jek Drivers

5. Did you join *Asosiasi Driver Online Indonesia/ Indonesian Online Drivers Association (ADO)*?

Yes

No

6. If not, why?

Do not know any organisation exist

Did not gain any benefit

Waste of time and money

Other: _____

7. What benefit that you gain after joining ADO, if applicable?

8. Other than ADO and station-based club, is there any association that you join?

Yes: _____

No

F. Overall Questions

Go-jek Drivers

1. What is the difference before and after joining Go-jek?

Gain: _____

- Loss: _____
2. If you have IDR 10 Million capital, will you still work as a Go-jek drivers? And what will you do?

 3. What is your opinion regarding *ojek* business in Jakarta?

 4. Do you think the formalisation through legal framework will make *ojek* drivers' livelihood better?

 5. Do you have any suggestion on Go-jek improvement?

G. Additional Interview Guide for Female Drivers: Gender Stigma

1. Why do you want to become motorcycle taxi drivers?

2. Have you ever face any discrimination in doing your job as an *ojek* driver, for example customer declined the order after find out the gender and being underestimated?

3. Do you feel comfortable working as an *ojek* driver? Why?

4. Why do you prefer to join Go-jek instead of traditional *ojek* driver?

5. Does Go-jek give maternity leave or other benefit for female driver?

Appendix 4 Dataset's Descriptive Tables

These descriptive tables are the results of raw dataset. This is more quantitative in nature by showing the percentage, although while doing the fieldwork, there is also qualitative open questions.

Table 1. Go-jek Driver's Characteristics

		Go-jek	
		Count	%
Have been an <i>ojek</i> driver before		6	30%
Have been working in other online <i>ojek</i> firm	Uber	3	15%
	Grab	3	15%
	Both	1	5%
	No	13	65%
	Duration (average, in month)	7	
Previous work	Traditional <i>ojek</i>	6	30%
	Paid worker/ employee	9	45%
	Contractual worker	3	15%
	Other micro-business (street vendor, homemaker, etc.)	2	10%
Hard to comply legal requirement	Yes	4	20%
	No	16	80%
Ability to accumulate capitals	Yes, higher in Go-jek	15	75%
	It is the same	4	20%
	No, better my previous work	1	5%
Reason join Go-jek	Customer guarantee	7	35%
	Flexible	5	25%
	Higher tariff	2	10%
	No other skill	2	10%
	Other	4	20%
Loss after join Go-jek	No loss	1	5%
	Conflict	3	15%
	Go-jek policy often change	4	20%
	Customer-related problem	3	15%
	Did not say	5	25%
	Other	4	20%

Source: Author's analysis (2017)

Table 2. Comparison of Go-jek and Traditional *Ojek* Drivers' Assets Related to Financial-productive

		Go-jek		Traditional	
		Count	%	Count	%
Source of Income	Main and the only source	17	85%	18	90%
	Main but not only source	3	15%	2	10%
Other occupation	Freelance	3	15%	2	10%
	Paid work	0	0%	0	0%
Working hours/ week		77		67	
Average net income per day (IDR)		IDR215,500		IDR70,500	
Average net income per month* (IDR)		IDR6,465,000		IDR2,115,000	
Reason not join Go-jek	Do not have a license	-	-	6	30%
	Do not have a smartphone	-	-	6	30%
	Health issue	-	-	2	10%
	Do not want to share the income	-	-	2	10%
	Other	-	-	4	20%
Duration in becoming an <i>ojek</i> driver		1,5 years		17 years	
Motorcycle tenure	Self-owned	18	90%	15	75%
	Parent's or in law's	0	0%	2	10%
	Friend (borrow)	1	5%	2	10%
	Motorcycle "lord"	0	0%	0	0%
	Other	1	5%	1	5%
Average number of motorcycles		2		1	
Motorcycle insurance	Yes	12	60%	1	5%
	No	8	40%	19	95%

Source: Author's analysis (2017). *) by multiplying working days per week, assumption a month consist of 4 weeks and daily income.

Table 3. *Ojek* Drivers' Perception toward Its Formalisation

		Go-jek		Traditional	
		Count	%	Count	%
Formalised <i>ojek</i> or not?	Yes	16	80%	5	25%
	No	2	10%	1	5%
	Did not say	2	10%	14	70%
Subject to be formalised (who said yes)	Tariff	6	38%	0	0%
	Customer penalty	2	13%	0	0%
	Drivers' obligation and right	4	25%	3	60%
	Conflict	3	19%	2	40%
	Other	1	6%	0	0%

Source: Author's analysis (2017)

Table 4. Comparison of Go-jek and Traditional *Ojek* Drivers' Physical Assets

		Go-jek		Traditional	
		Count	%	Count	%
Housing type	Own house	10	50%	9	45%
	Rented house	1	5%	6	30%
	Rented room	2	10%	1	5%
	Parent's or in law's	6	30%	4	20%
	Other	1	5%	0	0%
Average housing size (m2)		54		34	
Access to	Private water connection	18	90%	19	95%
	Private electricity connection	18	90%	19	95%
Owned assets	TV	18	90%	19	95%
	Refrigerator	16	80%	12	60%
	Computer/Notebook	3	15%	2	10%
	Car	0	0%	1	5%

Source: Author's analysis (2017)

Table 5. Comparison of Go-jek and Traditional *Ojek* Drivers' Human Capital

		Go-jek		Traditional	
		Count	%	Count	%
Education	Bachelor	2	10%	0	0%
	Academy	2	10%	0	0%
	High School	12	60%	8	40%
	Junior High	2	10%	8	40%
	Elementary	2	10%	4	20%
Active License	Yes	20	100%	11	55%
	No	0	0%	9	45%
Health Insurance	BPJS	4	20%	4	20%
	KJS (government support)	2	10%	6	30%
	Not insured*	14	70%	10	50%

Source: Author's analysis (2017). *) Included drivers who are in the system of work-related insurance provided by Go-jek. Healthcare is not covered, only death compensation is covered.

Table 6. Comparison of Household-level Social Capital between Go-jek and Traditional Ojek Drivers

		Go-jek		Traditional	
		Count	%	Count	%
Hometown	Jakarta	13	65%	11	55%
	Other city/village in the Island of Java	6	30%	9	45%
	Other city/village outside the island of Java	1	5%	0	0%
Average duration of living in Jakarta (years)		25		38	
Live together with the family	Yes	14	70%	19	95%
	No	6	30%	1	5%
Average total of household member (including the driver him/herself)		3		4	
Living expenses supported by family		0	0%	0	0%
Sending money back home		7	35%	1	5%
Working family member	Yes, wife	3	15%	6	30%
	Yes, child/children	1	5%	1	5%
	Yes, mother	2	10%	-	-
	No	14	70%	13	65%
Household perception toward Go-jek	Supportive	14	70%	-	-
	Regretful at first, but now okay	1	5%	-	-
	No difference	3	15%	-	-
	Not supported by the family	1	5%	-	-

Source: Author's analysis (2017)

Table 7. Comparison of Community-level Social Capital Characteristics between Go-jek and Traditional *Ojek* Drivers

		Go-jek		Traditional	
		Count	%	Count	%
Member of a social group	Yes	12	60%	20	100%
	No	8	40%	0	0%
Duration in the station*	0-2 years	7	58,33%	0	0%
	3-10 years	0	0%	7	35%
	11-20 years	3	25%	6	30%
	21-30 years	1	8,33%	7	35%
	> 30 years	1	8,33%	0	0%
Reason for joining this station*	Nearest from where I live	9	75%	10	50%
	Nearest from potential customer	0	0%	5	25%
	Colleagues also in this station	3	25%	4	20%
	Other	0	0%	1	5%
Member of ADO	Yes	3	15%	-	-
	No	17	85%	-	-
Reason did not join ADO	Do not know	14	70%	-	-
	Waste of time	1	5%	-	-
	Both	2	10%	-	-

Source: Author's analysis (2017). *) Station in this sense means *pangkalan*.

Table 8. Go-jek and Traditional *Ojek* Perception Towards Poverty

		Gojek		Traditional	
		Count	%	Count	%
Consider himself/herself as poor	Never poor	15	75%	5	25%
	Not poor before, but now	2	10%	12	60%
	Before poor but no more	2	10%	0	0%
	Always poor	1	5%	3	15%

Source: Author's analysis (2017)

Appendix 5 Interview Reports

Four interview reports will be presented in this appendix: (1) ADO's representative; (2) Ministry of Transportation representative; (3) and (4) are female Go-jek drivers representatives.

Interview Report of Association of Indonesian Online Drivers (ADO)

I. General Information

Name : Christiansen Wagey
Age : 44
Phone Number : 0852 8674 8494
Email : ketuaumum.ado@gmail.com
Position : Head of Association of Indonesian Online Drivers

II. Background of ADO

1. What is the motivation behind ADO's establishment? When was this organisation established?

Our motivation is to deliver the aspiration of online drivers. This is started by a conflict between the local government of Jakarta and online drivers in late July 2016. The local government did a raid to ban online transportation while in fact, the legal basis that restricts online transportation was not finalized yet. At that time, it was still being socialised or promoted in period 1st of April until 1st of October 2016. However, the government did the raided and arrested 11 online transportation vehicles. Then, by using social media to connect with each other, the drivers within their respective community gathered in Senayan (Central Jakarta) and agreed to act a protest in early August 2016. This is happened because the only way to be heard in Indonesia is by conducting a protest. This action has made Mr. Cucu, Director of Multimode Transportation from the Ministry of Transportation, to release the vehicles. Based on this experience, we start to learn more about *Permenhub* (Ministry of Transportation's Regulation) 32 Year 2016 on Transportation Mode for People with Motorized Vehicles Outside the Trajectory⁴³ because we just focus on Law No 22 Year 2009 on Indonesian Traffic Law. We learned that there are some clauses that we cannot comply for online transportation, such as KIR test (commercial vehicle licensing), because most of us using private vehicles. Then we made another action on 22nd of August 2016 aiming to give a letter to the President and Fifth Commission of the House of Representatives (DPR) of Indonesia. The meeting was led by the Fifth Commission representatives, Mr. Michael Wattimena, and he suggested that we should form an association that is registered and legalised because we want to change the Law. In other way, we need to make our aspiration heard by the Central Government in order to do so. Thus, on 28th of August 2016, we gathered again and formed the association. In 20th of October 2016, we organised our first national forum where I was chosen as the head of this association. Up until now, the national forum has only been done once and it is meant to be held once every three years inline with the association's governing body period. The latest activity that we have done was conducting a protest about three things on the 10th of July 2017: (1) the implementation of *Permenhub* that does not carried accordance to the clause stated there; (2) we demand for the lifting of online transportation ban at the airport; and (3) re-assessment of application's policy that harm drivers' rights.

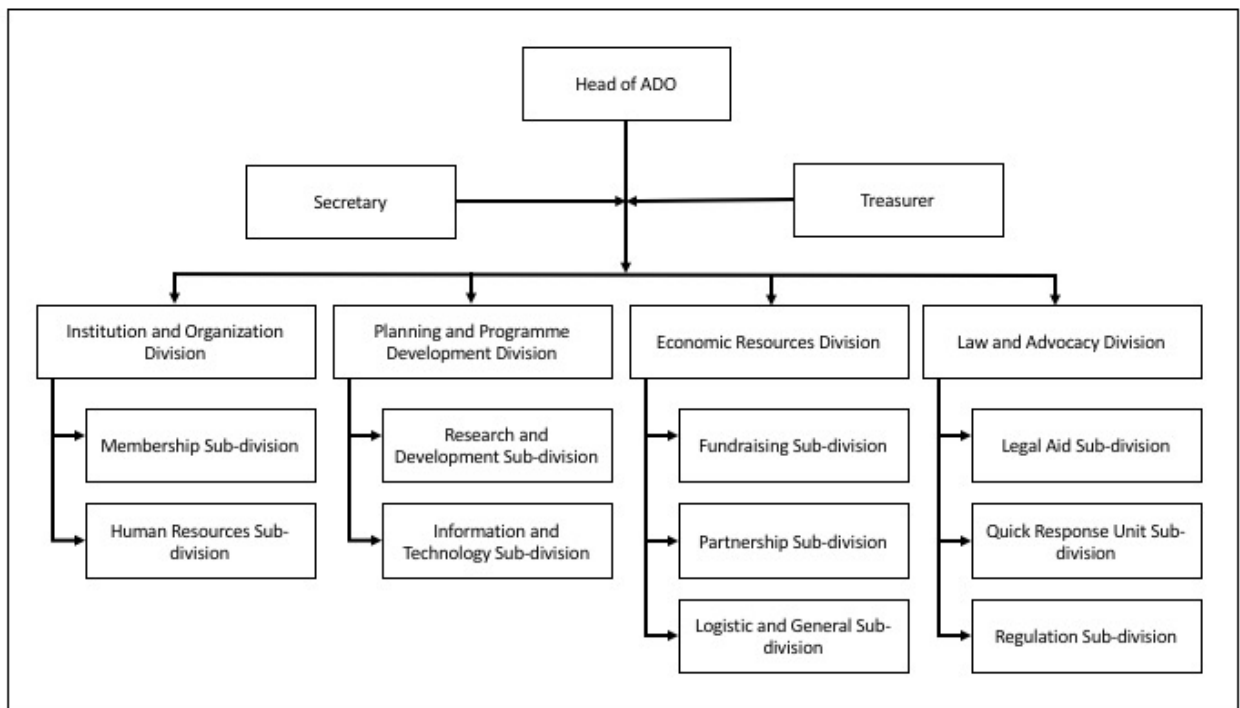
⁴³ Later, it was revised to *Permenhub* No. 26 Year 2017 concerning the same topic.

2. What is the aim of this organisation?

The vision of ADO is to make Indonesian online drivers professional, independent, and prosperous. What we would like to give to them is to work safely and comfortably because they experience many intimidations, from other transportation mode which is supported, I could say, by the government. So, we legalise this association to make our aspiration really get to the Central Government. Thank God, now, the Government really consider our voice and even we could say 80% of the revised material from *Permenhub* 32 to *Permenhub* 26 is our recommendation.

3. How does ADO being structured?

The chairman is supervising four divisions: Institution and Organisation; Planning and Programme Development; Economic Resources; and Law and Advocacy. In each division, there are several functions that are being conduction by subdivisions (the details can be seen in the image below). The head of divisions and subdivisions are residing in the capital to ease the coordination process. The appointment of the governing body is done by mutual desire or voluntarily also my rights to choose whom am I going to work intensely with. This is because they need to sacrifice their time and energy to deal with many issues related to online transportation. In the process, there are some people who resigned and we need to look for the replacement by personal approach. However, still the governing body must give their approval first. Up until now, only the chairman who was being elected.



4. Until now, what is ADO's biggest mission and/or achievement?

I think our existence can be seen through the recommendation, which we proposed for the revised *Permenhub*, are being accommodated. We are not trying to resist the Government; we just seek for justice because this profession is not a side job anymore but main or the only source of income for our members. The next achievement, I must say, is we have been the only source or speaker in national medias to talk about online transportation aside from academician and Government. At the local level, we develop something that we called URC (*Unit Reaksi Cepat* or Quick Reaction Unit) to help the drivers if they are facing problems on the street, for example intimidation from external

party. This unit need support from the government and it is already there in the regulation and we hope this is being implemented thoroughly. Now, we are advocating for the affirmation of the drivers' status: whether they are considered as a self-employed (businessman) or an employee? If we see from the perspective of application as a provider, we are more or less their employee but it is still ambiguous. The latest discussion is to classify the drivers as self-employed in the small and medium enterprise because we use our private assets to conduct the business. In our latest meeting (in response to the 10th of July 2017 protest) with the Ministry of Transportation and Ministry of Communication and Information (we also invited Ministry of Labours but they could not come), this issue still become our biggest homework to solve. This is a cross-sector issues so it takes a lot of effort. We really push to be consider as self-employed because the application companies are suppressing us through their unilaterally-determine policy. They (the companies) should embrace us because we take several functions for them such as drivers training, but learning from the *ojek* online drivers, they are never heard by the companies so I guess it is just wasting our time. For example, they did suspension without any defence or plea by the drivers. So, our biggest homework is to make clear our position as a businessman in Indonesian legal framework. The government's function is to regulate but we think that they are responding really late to this issue.

5. How to obtained a membership in ADO?

It is easy to gather the drivers because, nowadays, the technology makes it easier to do. We use several platforms like Facebook and Whatsapp to invite and engage people into this association. At first, the members are from the communities who gathered for the protest we did earlier. Forty-two communities were present on the 28th of August 2016 including Uber Jabodetabek dan Gojek Jakarta. Back then, it was really easy but in the implementation until now there are some communities that stepped down, maybe because their aspiration could not be accommodated. Inline with that, our existence is getting stronger too with the addition of drivers from other regions. Now, we exist in 11 provinces (out of 34 Provinces): North Sumatera, South Sumatera, Riau, Lampung, Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, Jogjakarta, East Java, South Sulawesi, and North Sulawesi. Next month, we will expand to Jambi, South Borneo and East Borneo. The structure is more or less like this: there are also regional representative councils that coordinate with me, as the head of the association. Sometimes, I visit the regional councils too. To obtained a membership, we open two ways: through the communities also the individuals. Later, the individual need to join one of the communities under ADO. Even now, there are small online ojek company at city level, for example in Bandar Lampung City they have Mas Ojek (<https://www.masojek.com>) and in Palembang City they have Mang-Jek (<https://www.mangjek.com>). They are also part of our members, as long that they are drivers within an online application system. The community's obligation is obligated to pay certain amount of contribution for their membership and determined through mutual agreement in our first national forum.

6. What is ADO legal position (formal or informal association)?

Formal. This association has legal basis and registration number for established organisation in Indonesia.

7. How is the division between four-wheels and two-wheels online transportation in ADO?

We do not see this division. We are a unity under the umbrella of online transportation because how we take order from application is the same including how we drive on the street; all is the same. Although now the four-wheels already got their legal basis through

Permenhub No.26 Year 2017, we also fighting for the two-wheels. In fact, we started as only four-wheels association but in our national forum, we decided to go under the online transportation umbrella which include the two-wheels vehicles too. Even in several regions, *ojek* online is dominating the business for example North Sulawesi and Lampung.

III. Current Issue regarding Motorcycle Taxi Drivers

1. How many online *ojek* drivers that hold a membership in ADO?

I do not own the latest data, yet, but I can assure you it is more than 20.000 people. At first, we were using only Facebook to post our activity and people join us spontaneously. It is growing in number because almost everyday we got invitation to promote ADO to the communities that have not join us and/or educate them about the regulation. In fact, there are many online drivers that do not know ADO's existence yet. The one who does not know mostly individual driver or coming from rental company so they do not really think about the driver's rights, only focus in generating income. Now, not only men but women drivers also growing in number, I think about 15-20% of our total members. Though sometimes I kind of confused when I ordered online *ojek* and the driver turned out to be woman. I will offer to drive instead of her, hahaha. The truth is, two-wheels drivers are more idealist than the four-wheels but they have their own community such as Laskar Srikandi (Heroine Club, a club for female Gojek drivers).

2. Does ADO promote to advocate the legalisation of this type of transportation mode?

Of course, by advocating it to be regulated in the law. Now, it is only four-wheels online transportation that is recognized and legalised but soon our aim is to include the two-wheels too. As I said earlier, we managed to lobby the Government to changed the *Permenhub* to support online transportation. Four main points that we promoted to be changed in the *Permenhub* at the 3rd of October 2016 meeting with the Ministry of Transportation are: (1) Minimum volume of vehicles are 1300cc while the application companies allow 1000cc vehicles too; (2) The license plate for online transportation vehicles do not have to be in yellow, colour for public transportation plate such as taxi and bus, so for us it is allowed to use black license plate for personal vehicles; (3) Minimum tariff to protect the drivers so that the application companies do not make it lower and lower also maximum tariff to protect the users; and (4) Quota or limitation for online drivers recruitment. The last point has not been implemented yet by the companies.

We also proposed to erase a clause which said online transportation vehicles must have a pool. This clause implies that the government wanted us to become an employer of the companies. Finally, the government erase the clause by complementing it with a letter that stated we have a garage to keep the vehicles safe in our home. The last thing is to have vehicle registration certificate (STNK) under legalised corporation (like a Limited Liability Company (LLC) for example), so if any accident happened, the government would sue that corporate instead of individual driver. This is solved by including the local cooperative agency instead of only LLC to be the umbrella of the drivers while the asset (private vehicles) still listed as individual possession. All of these changes are applied for four-wheels online transportation. Furthermore, the Ministry of Transportation said that this regulation is adhere to the principles of equality and justice, so no banning is allowed. In this case, the banning of online transportation at the airport should be lift too as it contradicts the principles.

For two-wheels vehicles, currently we are fighting for their legalisation as now they are considered informal. I forgot the exact date, but back in March 2017, we were invited for a meeting with the Fifth Commission and we have voiced our intention to promote that. After that meeting, Mr. Puji, General Director of Land Transportation at the Ministry of Transportation said that there will be a limited revision for Law No. 22 Year 2009 to accommodate two-wheels online transportation as a mode of public transportation too. Now, the process is still in the pre-feasibility study by a team of academician appointed by the Ministry of Transportation, to seek whether this kind of transportation mode really fit for the public or not. However, we kind of stressing the point that fit or not fit, this mode is already mushroomed and demanded by the public. This is their main job and only source of income, if this mode is disbanded, can the Government provides another job for them? Even the President also said that we can not reject this kind of service so we must regulate it well. It is already five months since the Government started the pre-feasibility study but we have not seen the result yet. Until now, ADO has not involved in the discussion at DPR level to revise Law No. 22 Year 2009, even I do not know if the discussion already started or not. The Ministry of Transportation always responds to our questions, but there is no clarity for the implementation of our aspiration aside from the revision of *Permenhub*.

In the future, ADO hope to change the Law because the binding degree of *Permenhub* is low. If the minister is changed, then the *Permenhub* might be evaluated and changed too while as a job, this is a long-term deal. So, we need a Law that exclusively regulate online transportation because this is a cross-sectoral issue that we are facing with. The vehicles are the Ministry of Transportation's concern; the applications are the Ministry of Communication and Information's concern; then how about the drivers? I think we should be Ministry of UKM's concern as a businessman with our own private assets. One of the example is a demonstration done by around 1000 GrabCar drivers to Grab Management in Jakarta, early this month, because the management does not pay their incentives for working in the middle of holiday week (Moslem celebration day that lasts for 5 days). Instead of paying the drivers, Grab suspended their account due to several reasons so that they could not even take their money in that account. It is not related to the vehicle so it is not Ministry of Transportation's business. The drivers also confused to whom they should negotiate with. Even there is one member who were crying in front of me because his wife wanted a divorce. He already sacrificed the holy celebration day to meet with the family. His deposit accounts for more than IDR 2,000,000 and Grab rule is if your account get suspended, you can not take your deposit. It is not fair because he already earned and worked for that deposit money. Up until now, the problem is not solved yet. It is more or less the same with Gojek, the only difference is Gojek's issue is not as frontal as and not as many as Grab, the same problem like one-sided suspension so that they lost their deposit money.

3. What is the current issue concerning online *ojek* drivers now?

I already mentioned before about the type of labour of the drivers (see point 4 previous section). Also, we are advocating for the legalisation of two-wheels online transportation (see point 2 this section). Aside from that, the implementation of the revised regulation that already accommodates our aspiration. The implementation of the revised *Permenhub* is really bad, for example related the minimum tariffs, the application companies (Uber, Grab, and Gojek) have not implemented it until now. The government reaction is only silence. The same thing happened for limitation of drivers, the companies still recruiting even until this time. I do not know why the Government seems reluctant to socialise this regulation to the companies. Right now, there are more or less 80,000 online taxi in

Jabodetabek⁴⁴ but I heard BPTJ only set the quota to maximum 30,000 online taxi. Then what happen to the remaining 50,000? I do not know how they calculate this and by what kind of assumptions. This will become another social issue.

4. How about the conflict that recently happened between online *ojek* drivers and traditional *ojek* drivers or other public transportation or even within online *ojek* drivers' population? Was there any mediation effort?

Of course, there are still a lot especially between online ojek drivers with traditional ojek in the red zone. What I mean by red zone is zone with high record of conflicts that happened before, for example Cikarang (Jawa Barat) and Pondok Ranji Commuter Line Station (Banten)⁴⁵. For two-wheels, this conflict never stopped. If conflict like this happened, they can not sue because their work itself is informal. That is why we are focusing on the legalisation of two-wheels online transportation so that they can claim their rights. I believe that when the legal basis exists, there is no more red-zone. This red zone is marked or set by two-wheels community to protect themselves by staying away from that zone. They were not only get beaten but sometimes their helmet and motorcycle are taken too. This kind of *premanisme* (thuggery) is not right. Yesterday, in Medan, four-wheels drivers were clashed with *bentor* (*becak-motor*, motorized tricycle). Up until now, if the drivers report it to the local police, the police only use mediation or negotiation instead of firm sanction. It is not what we need, we need a clear regulation.

In relation to other type of land public transportation, there is also an association dealing with that called ORGANDA (*Organisasi Angkutan Darat* or Land Transport Organisation) that is established since 1962. Conventional taxi, bus, jitney, even bajaj (motorized three-wheels jitney) and bemo (small jitney) are under this organisation. Once, there were *bajaj* drivers complaining to me not to take a short distance trip. However, I can not do that because that is the market for online transport too. On the other hand, I feel really sorry for them and told them to join online transport instead. They said they do not have any capital to buy motorcycle because no one wants to buy *bajaj*. This is why the price must be regulated.

IV. Concluding Questions

1. What is the next step for ADO to enhance Go-jek drivers' welfare?

We will conduct hearings and/or audiences to the Government about two major issues: the first one is the legalisation of two-wheels online transport and the second is the implementation of the revised *Permenhub*. These two will be parallel with revising Law No. 22 Year 2009 as the highest legal framework of public transportation in Indonesia along with the clarification of the drivers' status. We only realized a few weeks ago that we should not only focus on the vehicles, but on the application and the workers also, which are the concerns of different ministries. To make things worse, when we had meetings with all of these ministries, as if they were throwing this issues to the Ministry of Transportation. This is really regretful.

2. Other comment and suggestion related motorcycle taxi drivers?

ADO wishes that the Government should be more firm in regulating online transportation as a new industry that emerge in Indonesia. Assertiveness and justice, two things that we demand from the Government, not only pro-capitalist but also think

⁴⁴ Sometimes called Greater Jakarta, urban area around DKI Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia that consist of: Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi.

⁴⁵ Both regions are outside Jakarta

about the drivers' welfare. They should be bold in regulating the companies also, give them sanction if needed. We do not know who is the actor behind these companies, unlike ADO that only voicing the aspiration of the workers.

Looking back to the first time these application operating in Indonesia, they must register only from the Ministry of Communication and Information. Not even obtaining a license, only register. The registration only consider that the application is safe from race/ethnicity/religious issues, terrorism, pornography and other restricted subjects. Suddenly, the application company were recruiting people to work with them. At that time, Uber is the only online transport application in Indonesia. They got complained and because of that Uber establish a cooperative agency called TransUB Jakarta. So, the drivers must join this cooperative agency before being recruited by Uber to fulfil the requirement regarding public transportation company by the Law No. 22 Year 2009. The weird thing is Uber does not want to be consider a public transportation company, only smartphone application, so the cooperative agency acts like a bridge. Another weird thing is, Uber still recruiting drivers through not only the agency but also the application. This is a mistake from the start because with this system, Grab and Gojek was born. Same as Uber, Grab also establish a cooperative agency while for Gojek, it is an LLC. Responding to this, the revised *Permenhub* tries to give back the function of an application: (1) Not conducting a recruitment; (2) Not determining the price; and (3) Not suspending the drivers one-sidedly. This three functions should be under the cooperative agency or the LLC, although in reality, this is not happening.

To conclude, all of this issues are in total blunder. Why? Because the one who is keeping up with the problem from the first is Ministry of Transportation but not only them who is involved. The drivers really want to comply with all of the standards that Ministry of Transportation regulates such as commercial vehicle licensing (KIR) but when they got suspended by the company, they can not enter the business again then who is responsible for this? Ministry of Transportation would not want to talk about this partnership-type of contract because this is not their concern. The ministries should think about this urge problem on their level first, then discuss it with us and other party like local government and the company also. This is a very unique issue as the local government must give a recommendation regarding minimum tariff and drivers' quota according to the *Permenhub*. The reality is, sometimes Governor regulations or we called *Pergub*, regulate the opposite thing with the *Permenhub* such as in Yogyakarta that stated that the vehicles volume should be minimum 1300cc contrary to 1000cc by the *Permenhub*. Moreover, Yogyakarta also regulates the quota for online taxi which is 10% from conventional taxi or 100 while the latest data shown that the number of online taxi now reaching 500. The dilemma is *Permenhub* can not regulates *Pergub*.

It should be simultaneous, when we regulate the vehicles, we should regulate the application and the labours too. Our ultimate wish is through law about online transportation, all of these problems can be solved.

Interview Report of Policy Maker: Head of Land Transportation, Jakarta Transportation Department

I. General Information

Name : Muiz Thohir
Age : Around 40

Phone Number : 0817 7147 71
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Position : Head of Section Planning and Development
Greater Jakarta Transport Authority (BPTJ)
Ministry of Transportation of Indonesia

(some of the responses are typed in Bahasa Indonesia by the interviewee)

II. Regulatory Framework and Legal Issue

1. What is the motivation behind the establishment of BPTJ?

To integrate the transportation system in the Greater Area of Jakarta because this area is well known, even internationally, for the traffic and inconsistent public transportation. So, in 2015 under the Ministry of Transportation, BPTJ is established. At that time, massive infrastructure development was started in the Greater Jakarta after the new president was elected, for example the MRT, fast highways, and new fly-overs (elevated corridors) for Transjakarta. In other words, we integrate and coordinate the inter-faces and inter-regions of transportation system in Greater Area of Jakarta. Greater Jakarta Area itself consists of five regions: Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi. Before BPTJ and until now, there is an agency called BKSP (*Badan Kerja Sama Pemerintah* or Government Cooperation Agency) that covers Jakarta, West Java and Banten, like joint secretariat for the local governments. They are an independent agency, not under the Ministry of Transportation. However, I never heard about them anymore, like their programme and existence.

2. Currently, what is the legal position of motorcycle taxi in public transportation mode? What consideration take into account regarding that type of legal position?

Motorcycle taxi is not existed in any transportation-related regulation, as far as I know. In the highest level of regulation about Indonesian traffic law, No. 22 Year 2009, it is also did not mentioned as one of the motorized vehicles used for public transport. In the clause No. 47, the motorized vehicles for public and goods transportation consist of passenger car, bus, and freight car. These three types of vehicles can carry people and goods and used for land transportation business. However, as the two-wheels transport keep growing, the House of Representatives (DPR) had a discussion about this matters. Under the umbrella of this Law, there are several Government's Regulation as technical explanation of the Law's clauses and local government also have their own regulation such as Governor Regulation and Local Regulation. I do not know whether there is a regulation that consider motorcycle as a public transport but the ideal way is it should not be because the regulation must be inline with each other. However, in some cases we found that the regulation is Indonesia mostly overlap or contrary especially at the local level.

Ojek is a dilemmatic phenomenon, if we recognized and legalised, it has high risk of accident but on the other side, it is the most popular type of transport in Jakarta. Currently, we are conducting a study to seek whether this type of vehicles really safe or not, we will see the result. In addition, Jakarta has also restricted two-wheels transport in several streets, such as Thamrin the main national street because it contributes to the severe traffic there as their nature to always cut other vehicles and take on the pedestrian there. They do that to shorten their trip time. Also, they are waiting for their customer in the place that not supposed to be, like the street or near the shopping malls. The companies did not provide a pool or a waiting place so this worsen the traffic too. In the future, the restriction will also include Sudirman street. Now, the media is talking about it.

In other countries, such as Germany, Uber and other application-based transport is a feeder for people to move from one place to another in short distance or to major public transportation station like train or bus. Another example, using motorcycle to the market to do groceries within short-distance range. I approve the two-wheels vehicles if it is going to be a feeder. In fact, now in the station there are already many Gojek or Grab drivers waiting for the customer. For long distance trip, I would not recommend it because it is really dangerous as the highest accident rate is by motorcycles. However, the fact is people use motorcycle on long distance trip, even from Jakarta to Central Java or as far as 456 kilometre or 283 miles like when the holy celebration of Muslim last week and people did *mudik*⁴⁶. When they did that, sometimes they break the rules like bringing their family of three in one motorcycle. Because of that, the Government intervened through providing free mass *mudik* transport by bus, ship, or train where they can also bring their motorcycle along. Even now the condition is supported by the easiness in obtaining motorcycle license and instalment. So, everyone now can have their own motorcycle with a really cheap price.

3. Why Go-jek has legal permit to operation in Jakarta?

As far as I know, Gojek has a permit as an online application company not as a public transport provider so that is not under the authority of the Ministry of Transportation. Until now, the Ministry of Transportation and Transportation Department of DKI Jakarta have never issued a permit for Gojek for operating as a public transport company. The permit will never be issued because on the first hand, we do not recognize *ojek* as a public transport. For recruitment, the companies must have a legal business institution or agency. The drivers applied to the institutions, they can not serve as an individual. In case there is an accident or complaint, the government can establish a coordination with this legal agency of the company.

4. Is there any plan to formalised this type of public transportation?

Of course there has been a talk, but the follow up is has not been done yet. Even the President has requested to legalised ojek as a response of a demonstration done by online ojek drivers. I think this was happened when the Minister of Transportation was still Mr. Jonan, so probably around 2015 or early 2016. Currently, the Ministry of Transportation is preparing a Law about National Transportation System as an umbrella for all Laws concerning transportation: Law No. 38 Year 2004 on Road; Law No. 17 Year 2008 on Shipping, Law No. 23 Year 2007 on Railroad System, Law No. 1 Year 2009 on Aviation, and Law No. 22 Year 2009 on Traffic. There is a possibility for two-wheels transport to be recognized and legalised through this law. But before that, we must revise the Law No. 22 Year 2009 first to include motorcycle in clause 47 as one of the vehicles for public transport. The existing regulation concerning National Transportation System is at the ministry level, so it can not bind the Laws, which has higher power. That is why we proposed the new National Transportation System is in a form of Law. In this realm of online transportation, government acts as a referee in order to accommodate many interests of the public.

5. How is the division of affairs among Ministry of Transportation, BPTJ, DKI Jakarta Local Government, Ministry of Communication and Information, and Ministry of Labour regarding online ojek? Is there intensive coordination?

⁴⁶ When migrants return to their hometown during major holidays.

For two-wheels vehicles? No, not yet. I think a couple of discussions did happened regarding the four-wheels for *special lease transport*, we called online transport by this name too. For four-wheels vehicles, there is already *Permenhub* No. 26 Year 2017 as their legal basis. I think the clauses have pretty much been implemented right now, except the quota limitation for drivers' recruitment. Furthermore, we also determine the minimum tariff for the drivers. We also established a coordination with application company, but until now, it is only Uber. We have not invite Gojek for a discussion, yet.

6. How does the conflict between other public transportation/ online ojek drivers and traditional drivers can be mediated by the Government?

Online transportation received a strong opposition by ORGANDA, an organisation for land public transportation such as taxi; bus; and jitney. Arranging a quota for online transportation, as I said earlier, is a form of mediation for them. In fact, Grab and Gojek have established a partnership with public transportation that is under ORGANDA supervision, GrabTaxi for Grab and GoBusway⁴⁷ for Gojek. For conflict between online ojek and traditional ojek, I think it is still going on, prominently in the area of Tangerang and Bogor. Whether we like it or not, we should mediate it with the help of local police too. In Jakarta, there is not much of a conflict, I guess it is because too many demand. Sometimes, the *pangkalan* (station) solved it on their own by setting up a mixed station consist of traditional and online ojek. Plus, the culture here in Indonesia is people think that "their livelihood and fortune are already arranged by God" so it will never pass to someone else.

III. Concluding Questions

1. Other comment and suggestion related motorcycle taxi drivers, both traditional and online?

Our hope is to make a transportation system that is synergistic and accommodate all interest including the online transport and the local government, too. We hope that this is can be realized through the law on national transportation system.

Interview Report of Women Gojek Driver I

I. General Information

Name : Desiana (Respondent 22)
Age : 27
Phone Number : 0812 8815 7709

II. Interview Guide for Female Drivers: Gender Stigma

6. Why do you want to become motorcycle taxi drivers?

Because it is a flexible job, I can manage my own time and suits it for my expenses. For example, I want to go somewhere to have a holiday then I need to work extra hours but suits it accordingly. At first, my friends did not support me working as an ojek driver. They were shocked, especially my friends in the village where my parents live when they know I am able to support my family after working in Go-jek. However, I really like this job because I do not need to be dependent to anyone, as I said before, I can manage my own time and need. Sometimes my customers commenting on this: how tough I am to

⁴⁷ Gojek serves a paratransit from/to Transjakarta Stop.

work like this but in fact, it is not that hard. It is just like any other work, for example women taxi driver. In addition, regarding my shocked friends, I am able to motivate them to work, not depending on their husband. Even some of my friends join Gojek now! For me, I have not married yet, so I still have an advantage of being single which is deciding my own carrier.

7. Have you ever face any discrimination in doing your job as an *ojek* driver, for example customer declined the order after find out the gender and being underestimated?
This happens to me everyday, like, in a daily basis. There is always one customer who cancel the order after they found out that I am a woman, even when I already in their pick-up place. At first, I often disappointed on this condition but now I am used to it.
8. Do you feel comfortable working as an *ojek* driver? Why?
I do feel comfortable working as a women *ojek* driver despite the cancellation of order that I often experienced. I think this job is perfect for married women because, you know, you can take order from 9-12 then go back home to prepare lunch and then work again from 3-6 and then do your homework. I do not know this only applies for women or if men were given this privilege too, but when I first registered to become a Gojek driver, frankly speaking, I do not have a license. However, they still accept me anyway with one condition: I must get my license as soon as possible but the truth is I obtained it a year later. Another thing that make me comfortable is, just recently, I even got myself a boyfriend from Gojek! This will become a memorable moment for my life. There was one customer who talked to me that my boyfriend will be another driver and there he is! I met him at one of the Gojek Drivers' Gathering Event. Also, maybe because of my work is surrounded by men. The stereotype of *ojek* driver is a 'manly' job still exist but I think it gives me an advantage, my boyfriend. I do sometimes feel uncomfortable when I have to work until midnight when there was many 'begal' (robbers in motorcycle and usually coming after motorcycle drivers to steal the bike) roaming around the city. I overcome the problem by not taking any order after 8 or 9 PM. In fact, the problem not only for women but for men *ojek* drivers too.
9. Why do you prefer to join Go-jek instead of traditional *ojek* driver?
It never crosses in my mind before to become an *ojek* driver. I am doing this because two years ago, Gojek open a mass recruitment in a football stadium and I suddenly thought 'hey, I should try this'. I do not think a traditional *ojek* driver is really suitable for me because they just sit there in their station, waiting for customer to come. On top of that, I'd really like to start a business, for example a 'warung nasi' (rice stalls). I think be a part of Gojek drivers just a stepping stone for me to set a business, particularly to save money first and then use the money as a capital. In addition, this work is physically exhausting so you need a balance between work and proper rest.
10. Does Go-jek give maternity leave or other benefit for female driver?
Not exactly that kind of benefit. We have this group of more or less 45 female Gojek drivers called Laskar Srikandi (Heroine Club) and sometimes this group is invited to an event coordinated by Gojek and their investment/sponsorship partner. If their partner is a brand related to women, sometimes the club is invited and received goodie bags such as cosmetics. This group is a Whatsapp group, and the member are recruited via colleagues or you can say by networking, so it is geographically diverse from North to South Jakarta. Like me, I was invited to join this club because of my friend that is already a member. Even some of the members was recruited in the street! If I saw a woman Gojek driver on the street, I will ask her whether she already in this group or not. If not, then I will ask her to join if she wants. This club is an established one, it has a leader, a vice leader, and even a treasurer. This club often make a gathering so that the members can know each other, the latest gathering was held on the 16th of June 2017 in Tomang Garden. I think this kind of kinship is rarely found in the traditional *ojek*, so, I guess I

am lucky to be able to socialise and meet other drivers and share our stories. It will motivate me to work harder and also able to access some information for example Gojek new policies; promotion; and events. Still, it is a choice and different for everyone.

Interview Report of Women Gojek Driver II

I. General Information

Name : Umi (Respondent 23)
Age : 35
Phone Number : 0813 1131 9474

II. Interview Guide for Female Drivers: Gender Stigma

1. Why do you want to become motorcycle taxi drivers?
First of all, I am a widow. I need to take care of my three children while still be able to work. So, I think working as an online ojek driver allows me to do that because it gives flexibility, you can work freely anytime you like. I can take my children to school and working while waiting for them, then working again after bring them home until night. If I work at the office, I am not able to do that. Since I decided to work as an online ojek driver, I choose Gojek because of its image and popularity. So, it does not matter even if they change the tariff or other policy, I will stay in Gojek, although there are many offers from another company, especially Grab, which has some kind of street recruitment. In fact, one of the reasons I separated with my ex-husband is because of this work. He did not earn that much from his job so I decided to help him by becoming an ojek driver. He did not like it and we argue everyday but our bills need to get paid. His pride did not allow me to work to contribute in our household.
2. Have you ever face any discrimination in doing your job as an *ojek* driver, for example customer declined the order after find out the gender and being underestimated?
Yes, of course. In fact, it was happening this morning. After I took the order, the customer cancelled it immediately and later he was calling me to apologize. He said sorry and feel burdened because I am a woman. Most of them who cancel the orders are men.
3. Do you feel comfortable working as an *ojek* driver? Why?
I am very comfortable being an ojek driver because I feel comfortable riding a motorbike. Furthermore, I also join this group for women Gojek drivers called 'Laskar Srikandi' (Heroine Club in English). It has 55 members, 2 are men: one of them is the founder; he is a Gojek driver too and another is a Gojek representative, giving information from the management to the group members or act as a bridge. Moreover, around a quarter from 53 women are widows too, so I am not alone. Because of it, I feel at ease. It is more on the safety aspect, I think. I have seen a motorcycle driver being robbed by 'begal' in Senayan Central Business District in the middle of the night. Since then, I prefer to go home if the time is close to midnight or stay away from the underpass.
4. Why do you prefer to join Go-jek instead of traditional *ojek* driver?
Hmmm I do not know, maybe because it is more sophisticated and modern by using a smartphone application instead of waiting in the station all day long. It is also safer for women to be in online ojek because the passenger's data are recorded and your mobility is being tracked by the GPS in the system. My children know that I am working as a Gojek driver and they really proud instead of ashamed. They said to their friends: "Look! My mother is a Gojek driver" because I always pick them up from school using these driver's attributes like helmet and jacket. I am the only parent who is working as a Gojek driver at my children's school. Their friends used to tease them, saying "Your mother is a

Gojek driver, she is a poor woman” but my children said “Have you ever saw the news? How much Gojek driver earn every day?” (laughs). It is really funny. The fact is now Gojek’s tariff keep decreasing. Maybe because most of the stock now owned by foreign party so it is more on the profit side than to empower the locals, you know what I mean right? However, I also compare the tariff among Uber-motor, Grab-bike and Gojek by downloading the apps; entering the same pick-up point and destination. The differences are pretty obvious, with Uber being the lowest out of three and Gojek is the decent one. Still, I am not thinking of change my work to Go-Massage or Go-Clean, I am staying as an ojek driver.

5. Does Go-jek give maternity leave or other benefit for female driver?

No, we do not get that kind of benefit because we are their partners not an employee. There is not even a credit that is exclusively for women. All drivers are the same, both men and women. However, if there is an event like promotion event of a brand and it is partnered with Gojek like cosmetic or something, of course, the women drivers get the benefit like goodie bag or sample product.