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THE FACE OF PLATFORM ECONOMY IN FORE OF SOCIAL HARMS APPROACH: CASE STUDY OF ONLINE TAXI DRIVER Oleh Renny Candradewi Puspitarini¹), Abdul Basit²) & Chandra Adi Putra³) 1,2,3Department of Public Administration, FISIPOL UPM Email: 1renny.candradewi@upm.ac.id, 2abdulbasit@upm.ac.id & 3chandra.06036@gmail.com
Abstract The online transportation resentment emanates from circles mainly from conventional transportation driver who have been forging the legacy of public transportation.

The poor-quality control and assurance responding growing public mobility embedded in digital behavior have forced conventional transportation losing its merit. Messy regulations contribute to the complexity. Online drivers begin to question their future if the have become involuntarily exploited by company provider that this social phenomenon has become relentless and tiring agreement among government, companies, and public.

Using conceptualization introduced by Hillyard, Simon Pemberton and Sam Scott in the scope of social harms, this research purpose is to identify the mean of exploitation. Job insecurity and network-based control rise as two independent variables to identify exploitation as mean of dependent variables. It applies quantitative methods enabling job insecurity and network-based control acknowledged by identifying indicators.

Indicators are translated to questionnaires that are distributed to online drivers in cities of Surabaya, Sidoarjo, Malang, Probolinggo and Jember. The findings show that the relation between job insecurity and network-based control towards online driver exploitation can be understood by statistical result. The results show that both job insecurity and network-based control have significant impact to exploitation

experienced by online motorcycle taxi driver (ojek).

Job insecurity partially has significant impact towards Exploitation by .705 with p value (Sig.) of .00 while Network-Based Control has significant impact by .699 with p value (Sig.) .00. Thus theoretically, Exploitation is strongly influenced by Job Security rather than Network-Based Control. Simultaneously, Job Insecurity and Network-Based Control together have significant impact by f-ratio 634.554 greater than f-table that is 3.00.

Keywords: Job Insecurity; Network-Based Harm; Social Harm; Urban Transportation; Work- Based Harm

INTRODUCTION The resentment towards online transportation driver as has been amplified by conventional transportation driver has sparked social unrest (Kompas Cetak, 2017g). Clashes has been widely reported by media since 2017 as well as protest initiated in early 2018 (Hamdani, 2018; Indopos, t.t.;

Kompas Cetak, 2017b, 2017a, 2017d, 2017g). The resentment is going strong and conflicts hatch in several regions and places outside outer Jabodetabek. Thus, become national and municipal government attentiveness ever since (Kompas Cetak, 2018b). The presence of online transportation through application that can be downloaded from _App Store and PlayStore invites various attention and responsiveness (Anindhita, Arisanty, & Rahmawati, 2016; Sihombing, 2016; Wulandari, 2016).

This research defines online transportation as service provided by company enabling driver to pick up passenger in desired places. Mode of transportation is being used included motorcycle and private car. This research uses the term ojek as mean of online transportation as main discussion and research.

Undoubtedly, ordering online ojek has been found easily accessible (Sihombing, 2016; Wulandari, 2016). Demands have been incredibly high among smartphone users that are youth and digitally moved. Users have found it effective,

less social cost and cutting time efficiently to order either food or ride using the application without burden to negotiate the price as in conventional ojek experienced (Kompas Cetak, 2017e).

Users demand towards efficient and on time transportation has been affordably answered with the presence of technology (Kompas Cetak, 2017e). Technology helps to solve the tangible mobility challenges that **at the same time** initiate social transformation insisting all parties of government, municipalities, private sector, academics, and society to consolidate composing policy table (Kompas Cetak, 2017c).

The social event of online ojek (also known as motorcycle taxi) driver has become relentless. Hillyard argues neoliberalism is to blame for allowing company acting arbitrarily including reducing wages driver should receive for what they have worked for (Hillyard, Pantazis, Tombs, & Gordon, 2015). Some of identical cases show there's escalation of exploitation by companies toward their drivers.

Hillyard believes that excessive control by company places workers into prone subject of exploitation. Social harms approach is deemed able to provide decent explanation to answer question along cost a driver burdens while working in system as if government allows such exploitation flourish and company grasps legitimation to enable such exploitation.

Sam Scott, furthermore, mentions this situation as exploitation because of oppressive and excessive control. Scott argues in the mid of business competition, workers are prone to be subject of various control types in every level and where control can be somehow excessive and oppressive (Scott, 2017).

Other than that, this research argues to dispose lack of government control upon works and employees beyond its jurisdiction **and at the same time** greater control that results to exploitation still prevail ("Kesejahteraan Pengojek Daring Belum Sesuai Standar Kerja Layak," 2018). This research is also meant to expose aspects that become highlights in social harms approach to view social phenomena of online ojek driver nowadays.

Therefore, a _ research themed "Online Ojek Driver Exploitation in Social Harms" is picked and thus the research purposes is to explore the relations of **job insecurity and network-based** harms towards online ojek driver exploitation. This research is dedicated to contributing the development of social science in respect to social harms and work-based harms that continue to be relevant in digital-driven society.

LITERATURE REVIEW On June 9, 2015, the virtual world was shocked by the upload of an

online transport user who was intimidated when the motorcycle taxi (ojek) he was going to ride was intercepted (Media, 2015). Throughout 2015 to 2017, intimidation and discrimination of online drivers continued to color the news in the mass media ("Menjaga Hak Hidup Transportasi Daring dan Konvensional Nontrayek – Kompas.Id," 2017).

This invites all parties to sit together and immediately formulate a solution because the online driver is also human, as well as the people. Intimidation is one manifestation of social clash. Conflicts between online and conventional transport drivers continue to color the news in 2017 until now. In March 2015, there was a push- and-push action between online ojek transport drivers and taxi drivers who were marching in front of the Graha Merah Putih building, Jalan Gatot Soebroto, South Jakarta (Kompas.com, 2016). The refusal of online transportation and interstate conflicts spread to cities outside the Jabodetabek.

Several conventional transport associations in Palembang urged the Government of South Sumatra Province to limit the existence of online-based transportation. This pressure arises because online transportation is not licensed and is considered damaging the merit of conventional transport (Kompas Cetak, 2017d). About 200 conventional transport drivers in various routes in Palembang protested in front of the South Sumatra DPRD Office.

They protested online transportation because it caused their income to decline. The demonstration was marked by acts of persecution of one of the

minibuses suspected of being online transportation. An online transport driver was intimidated and received unpleasant treatment from several rental car drivers at Adi Sutjipto International Airport, Yogyakarta.

Rejection of online transportation also occurs in Cirebon, West Java and Malang, East Java (Kompas Cetak, 2017f). The rules regarding governance of online transportation are still incomplete ("Ini 9 Aturan Baru untuk Angkutan Online Versi Kemenhub," 2017). Both online transportation company providers and online transport drivers have not received permission from the central and municipal governments (Kompas Cetak, 2017b).

The government is considered late in anticipating rapid changes that have occurred due to the innovation of online transportation in Indonesia ("Konsisten Tolak PM 108/2017," 2018). The Ministry of Transportation was less responsive to this rapid change. Only on August 24, 2017, the Ministry of Transportation tried to reduce the situation by issuing the Minister of Transportation Number 26 of 2017 concerning the Implementation of People Transportation with Non-Route Public Vehicles (Media, 2015). Moreover, in the Minister of Transportation Regulation No.

26 of 2017 concerning the Implementation of Transport of People with Motor Vehicles Not in Route, the existence of online transportation must be limited. Through Law No. 22/2009, motorbikes cannot be recognized as one of the modes of public transportation. Meanwhile online taxi drivers and application companies continue to reject PM No 108/2017 because they are considered burdensome ("Konsisten Tolak PM 108/2017," 2018). Online drivers are forced to accept the state of being subjected to intimidation.

At **the same time the** online driver is also the subject of pressing and excessive control (Nastiti, 2017). Sam Scott called this situation an exploitation because of the oppressive and excessive control. Scott argued in the midst of competitive business competition, workers were targeted by various types of controls in various levels and this control could be excessive and _ pressing (Scott, 2017). Polanyi (1944) was also the first to blame capitalism for the emergence of such a type of control.

According to him, capitalism has the implication of placing individuals and groups of people and even the environment in danger as excesses of industrialization that once developed in England, especially in North England which caused huge losses along with the disturbances experienced by individual groups (Polanyi, 1944, hlm. 364). This happens because capitalism considers the environment and humans as commodities that can be commodified as the neoliberal paradigm shapes them.

Sam Scott using a social hazard perspective shows that control is through targets, monitoring; direct controls such as debt and poverty and other exogenous controls such as the level of security can invite exploitation, losses and occupational hazards (Scott, 2017). Scott added that such control has a direct and indirect effect on the well-being, survival and health of the online driver.

Job insecurity is suspected to be one of the indirect factors that have an impact on the survival of the online driver. In addition, Scott also added that the control system in a complex network or network based control adds to the driver's misery as if what they are trying to do is part of a game the way Nastiti and Arianty call it gamification (Arianty, 2016; Nastiti, 2017).

One of the excesses in the spotlight is the online transport driver as a partner who does not have sufficient insurance covered by the company provider. Company providers refuse to bear the costs and risks that might occur on the road, whether on road accidents, incidents of collision with conventional and other transport drivers. The number of taxi drivers or online motorcycle taxis has fallen resulting in fierce and unhealthy competition between them (Hamdani, 2018).

In order to win the hearts of consumers, companies are intensely promoting lower tariffs which impact on reduced profit sharing with driver partners (Kompas Cetak, 2018a). This causes the problem to be examined to reveal negative excesses to the surface, namely things that are often ignored in criminology studies and can be accommodated by social harm

approaches. The presence of technology and information should increasingly improve the welfare of the workforce.

Lately, the trend of technology and information-based companies and big data has presented latent concerns and adversely affected the future of the workforce (Beck & Ritter, 1992; M. Featherstone, 1995; Mike Featherstone, 1990, 1990). Digital world has created new mode of exploitation that running to unprecedented level before (Giddens, 2013).

Everyone grows up and understands well what crime or crime means. As we grow up, we can, though a priori, judge an act that violates the norm and law as a crime. Road violence, theft, rape, credit card fraud and fraudulent investments, drug sales, drug abuse, violating other people's property are some of the crimes that can be ensnared by the law. The point is that any action that violates the law and harms can also be categorized as a crime.

The question is whether crime has limits? Is it enough for the current law to regulate and punish every form of crime? The answer is not yet. The existing law has been determined not to cover all activities that can be classified as crime. Crime actions have increasingly diverse motives. The motive for crime is increasingly varied and develops according to the reasons of the perpetrators of crime (Hillyard dkk., 2015).

However, there are many broader crimes. A person working in a company that does not provide decent work insurance can also be classified as an act of breaking the rules and therefore can be called a crime. A burning fireworks factory in the Kosambi area of West Jakarta can also be subject to several pleas beyond the violation of permission **to set up a** factory, but also demands for neglecting the security aspects if its employees work. This is the point where job insecurity meets harm.

Employees of firecrackers are accused of not accompanying their workers with knowledge of occupational safety, work security devices, adequate evacuation routes, insurance in the event of work accident that can lead to disability. The law has mentioned and regulated the _ provisions regarding this matter. Unfortunately, in these cases it is often ignored. Job insecurity in this research where exploitation may prevail among online drivers are harms.

The longer they stay on the road, more harms they can meet. Drivers must acknowledge that they are exposed to more accidents. They can be exposed to harms of extreme sunlight according to research (Dewi, 2016). They can be exposed to extreme air pollution that would compromise their health. Drivers also must be ready of probability

their property be stolen during the ride.

They must be ready of direct cost if their motorcycle had flat tire, run out of gasoline, broken engine, etc. Many more direct harms that aren't covered responsibly by company drivers have partnered with. Thus, harms are visible but often overlooked. Yet, drivers must pay for jacket, helmet, and smartphone they will be using during the ride with mortgage.

Drivers also must accept they are being participated in a company application that works as network control. These controls **can take many forms** including bonus system, point system, discount system, suspend system, deposit system, payment system and many more that keep developing in the future.

Therefore, researchers used a social harm approach as an analytical tool to dissect the exploitation practices of application provider companies to drivers of online transportation particularly online motorcycle taxi drivers. This is useful for making the public inform of the negative excesses of technological progress. **On the other hand,** the researchers hope that application provider companies can improve the quality and quality of their services without ignoring the welfare aspects and fundamental aspects of **online motorcycle taxi drivers** partnering with them.

METHODS This research is classified as basic research that comes from the gap between the event that should occur (das sollen) and what is happening (das sein). The presence of technology and

information and big data should make it easier for anyone to do something. The progress of technology and information wherever possible gives an increase in the welfare of the people who use it (Setiawan, 2019).

In fact, the sophistication of technology and information invite certain parties to seek reproach and use it to increase profits only. According to Hillyard and Scott (Hillyard dkk., 2015; Scott, 2017), the workforce is one of the victims of this action. Workers with asymmetric information know little that they are being subjected to exploitation from the presence of technology and information.

This has become the central argument mainly on Marxism view. Forms of exploitation are well explicated in the book of Social Harms where it accentuates the workers' experience and the harms exposed to them as the work. Two main conceptualizations that are introduced by both Hillyard and Sam Scoot are the presence of insecurity and excessive control upon workers by economic system and government.

Exploitation is the dependent variable examined in this study, while **job insecurity and network-based control** are independent variables whose influence on the dependent variable will be examined. Thus, this research uses quantitative methods which are analyzed quantitatively using statistical software, namely SPSS. This research is carried out in major cities where **online motorcycle taxi drivers** are concentrated in the East Java region.

These areas include Surabaya City, Malang City and Jember Regency which are affected by the presence of online drivers and application-based operating companies. The research steps are (1) the researcher will collect all information related to the concept of exploitation and social harm, (2) the researcher will conduct observations and in-depth observations on the system of application provider companies and complaints felt **by online motorcycle taxi drivers** through varied social networks, (3) research forms of control and demand through automation (network-based _ control) which is centrally controlled by application provider companies, (4) distributing questionnaires that contain questions that become indicators of job insecurity, network based control through its features, and exploitation, the last is (5) harmonizing concepts that have been adopted using a social harm approach in the findings identified in the contents of the questionnaire.

The types and sources of data to be used are primary data obtained directly through the technique of retrieving data using the survey method. This is because primary data sources have a greater proportion in determining the answer to the problem formulation and looking for relationships between the variables studied.

Primary data was collected through research into the field by distributing questionnaires to motorcycle taxi drivers in number of major cities in East Java Province. The problem question rests on relationship between job insecurity and network-based control towards exploitation of online motorcycle taxi drivers in major cities of East Java Province.

This generates research question on how strong job insecurity and network-based control on their forms to influence the emerging exploitation experienced by online motorcycle taxi drivers in major cities in East Java Province. Based on this research question, hypotheses are developed as follow: Null hypothesis results to there is no relationship between job insecurity and network-based control towards exploitation of online motorcycle taxi drivers.

Alternative hypothesis results there is relationship between job insecurity and network-based control towards exploitation experienced by online motorcycle taxi drivers. Hypotheses testing must be conducted to know if alternative hypotheses is accepted. This can be concluded by analyzing the significant value of f-ratio to f-table.

In quantitative research, population and sampling becomes strong method that must be visible to the research. Thus, the research involves at least 1000 population with no sampling is taken. This is taken because up till now the application-based operating companies

(later simply call company) are hesitant to share the exact numbers of their drivers.

Explanations are not available either in media or newspaper until the writing is made. The research conceptualization as follows: Picture 1. Research Framework Source: Researcher Analyst, 2019 RESULTS Research population consists of 1000 respondents of online motorcycle taxi drivers who have been operating in cities of Surabaya, Malang, Sidoarjo, Jember and Probolinggo. Questionnaires are distributed regularly during month of March and June 2019.

Samples are taken using simple random probability sampling with no criteria applied. Thus, drivers are mostly using Go-Jek and Grab or both as their application. A summary has been made to gather information of respondent collected and their characteristics. Table 1. Company Affiliation of Online Motorcycle Taxi Drivers _ Source: Analysis result, 2019 Based on above table, we can conclude that respondents whose company affiliated with Go- Jek as much as 337 drivers or 33.7%. While another 341 drivers or 34.1% are affiliated with Grab. Interesting facts, there are 322 drivers or 32.2% have been registered with both companies together. This means, 322 drivers are using two applications at the same time from two different companies. _ Table 2.

Driver Gender Source: Analysis result, 2019 Above table gives information the gender of respondents. There are 464 drivers or 46.4% are female. While the remaining drivers or 536 drivers or 53.6% are male. This data suggests that there are more male drivers than female drivers. This could explain that more male has obligation to work than female especially as motorcycle taxi drivers. Table 3.

Driver Marriage Status _ Source: Analysis result, 2019 Above table provides information of respondents which questionnaires are collected. There are 487 drivers or 51.3% are singles. While another 487 drivers or 48.7% are married. This information concludes that more drivers who are singles than married. Which brings us to conclusion that applications are used by mainly singles for various reason they have. Table 4.

Driver Age _ Source: Analysis result, 2019 Above table gives us information the driver age. The driver age varies. There are 172 drivers which age falls between 17-25. 243 drivers age between 26-34. 223 drivers, age between 35-43. 200 drivers, age between 44-53. 163 drivers age between 53-60. Most drivers, age between 26-34 tops amongst all with percentage by 24.3%.

Table 5.

Time Being **Online Motorcycle Taxi Driver** _ Source: Analysis result, 2019 The table gives us information of how long respondents have been registered as online motorcycle taxi drivers. 139 drivers have been registered as online driver for less than a month. Another 117 drivers are registered for between 2- 3 month. 127 drivers are registered for 4-5 month. And the most drivers that have filled the questionnaire have been registered for 6 month or a year.

This category has most percentage by 18.4% among all. VALIDITY TEST RESULT Table below informs that the validity result shows that r count for several item are greater than r table which is for n=1000, is 0.0619. Table 6.

Validity Analysis Results

Question Items _r-ratio _r-table _criteria _ _Do you agree, that 1- star rating would send drivers to suspend? _0,748 _0,0619 _VALID _ _Source: Analyst result, 2019 Valid items above which r-ratio is greater than r-table are going to be proceed to data analysis. While invalid items will be eliminated. Reliability Result Table 7.

Reliability Results Reliability Statistics _ _Cronbach's Alpha _N of Items _ _0,848 _33 _ _Source: Researcher Analyst, 2019 Based on Reliability test, the result shows the Cronbach's Alpha is .848. Because Cronbach's Alpha is greater than .60, the model is fit and reliable. Hypotheses null results to no relation between job insecurity and network-based control on online driver exploitation; Hypotheses alternative: shows there is positive relation between job insecurity and network-based control on online driver exploitation.

With conditions as follow apply: (1) null hypotheses accepted if r-ratio = r-table or Sig. > 0.05, and (2) alternative hypotheses accepted if r-ratio= r-table or Sig. = 0.05. The result of Pearson Correlations as follows: Table 8. Pearson Correlations one-tailed _ Source: Analyst result, 2019 Using Pearson correlations because data is set to parametric for its nominal type, it shows the correlation coefficients between Job Insecurity towards Exploitation is .705 with Sig. 0.00.

While correlation coefficients between Network Based Control towards Exploitation is .669 with Sig. 0.00. Because r-ratio is greater than r-table

(.0619), null hypotheses is rejected and alternative hypotheses is accepted. Thus, there is relation between Job Insecurity with Exploitation, as well as Network Based Control with Exploitation respectively.

The table above can be understood as follows, that X1 (Job Insecurity) correlation value with Y (Exploitation) is equal to .705 with p value (Sig.) 0.00. Thus, it can be concluded that there is a very strong and significant relationship (p-value <0.05) between the number of Job Insecurity and Exploitation rates. X2 (Network based Control) correlation value with Y (Exploitation) is equal to .669 with p-value (Sig.) 0.00.

Thus, it can be concluded that there is a very strong and significant relationship (p-value <0.05) between the number of Network based Control and Exploitation rates.

Theoretically it can be said that Exploitation is more influenced by Job Insecurity than Network- Based Control. Multiple Regression Analysis Table 9. Model Summaryb _ Source: Analyst result, 2019 Table 10.

Coefficients Source: Analyst result, 2019 Table Coefficients shows that the regression follows formula of $Y' = a + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + \dots + b_nX_n$ Above coefficients can be added to the formula. Thus, helps to explain and predict how Exploitation changes can be explained by the changes in Job Insecurity and Network Based Control. Therefore, Exploitation can be understood by changes as formula follows: $Y' = -.400 + .096 X_1 + .157 X_2$ Notes: _ Y' : Dependent Variable X1 : Job Insecurity as independent variable X2 : Network Based Control as independent variable Multiple Regression Analysis can be utilized to predict changes of dependent variable as affected by changes of its independent variables.

As the formula above, it can be interpreted that if Job Insecurity and Network Based Control result to zero, the Exploitation would equal to negative .400. It also reflects the condition that the less Job Insecurity and Network Based Control applied, the less Exploitation would be because it would result to negative. The greater Job Insecurity and Network Based Control applied, the greater the exploitation would be.

Path Analysis Path analysis has been carried and results as follow: Picture 4. The Structural Model _ Source: Analyst result, 2019 Above mentioned can be understood in the that Job Insecurity as X1 has significant impact to Exploitation or Y by 0,705 with Sig. 0,00. While Network Based Control as X2 has significant impact to Exploitation or Y by 0,669 with Sig. 0,00.

Exploitation also has been affected by excluded variables by 0,664. These excluded variables can be varied and thus can be a recommendation for future research.

Hypotheses Testing Hypotheses test can be conducted by using univariate variable analysis or ANOVA test. The result as follows in table 12:

Table 12. Univariate Variable Analysis _ Source: Analyst result, 2019 The significant level can be concluded by comparing f-ratio to f-table. F-ratio of ANOVA results to 634.554 while f-table equals to 3.00. because f-ratio > f-table, it results to alternative hypotheses is accepted.

This means that there is strong relation simultaneously between independent variables of Job Insecurity and Network Based Control with dependent variable which is Exploitation at Sig. 0.00 that is greater than p-value of. 0.05. F-table can be calculated by defining df2 as defined as the number of independent variables and the df1 as acknowledged as n-2 (1000-2=998). With Sig. 0.00.

Because f-ratio is greater than value of f- table or Sig. < 0.05, thus the model is fit, and alternative hypotheses is accepted. Alternative hypotheses states that there is relationship between independent variables (Job Insecurity and Network Based Control) towards dependent variable that is Exploitation on online motorcycle taxi drivers.

DISCUSSION The social harm approach has several advantages.

This approach put harm that has been neglected because it is considered natural and reasonable to be a crucial harm and therefore should be reduced. Interpretation of the collected data allows the researcher to build explanation where there is linkage between job insecurity and network-based control towards exploitation of online motorcycle taxi drivers.

Such influence is systematically flourished because companies, governments and society indisputably contribute to creating and maintaining the climate so that harm can grow. _ The interpretation of the data collected also enables researchers to provide insight into the fact where harms should be circumvented. The method is to minimize the level of job security and network-based control embedded in the running system.

As a result, exploitation will also decrease by itself at certain and acceptable level. Thus, social or social harm can be reduced significantly when the influencing variables of building factors can be reduced. Since the danger or loss that can be experienced by online motorcycle taxi drivers if they are partners of the supply company is still largely borne by the driver himself. The factor that causes this danger or loss is the existence of work inconveniences and network-based controls.

This work inconvenience and control places risk distribution and unequal rewards between company drivers and companies. This asymmetry allows companies to apply any desired rules with a variety of systems and without notice of changes that consider input from their driver. As a result, exploitation appears which results in risks from these

changes, and system implemented is borne by the driver completely.

While the company only receives benefits from the running system and controls. Meanwhile, work control is strictly imposed by the company through the establishment of a task force which acts to discipline drivers who are caught using "mod" or "ghost application", embrace accounts, or lend their accounts, and others. Drivers who violate these rules set by the company will immediately be subject to suspended.

Not only that, another form of control is that if the driver continues to get a few stars with an accumulation of 1 star, it will also be immediately suspended. In addition, there is direct control imposed on workers in forms of targets, monitoring, and supervision. When targets, monitoring and supervision are carried out through a system in the network, it develops into a form of network- based control.

Companies can use a variety of control mechanisms and use different systems. Companies exercise full power over the system and controls that run on the application.

This power transformed from direct control to indirect control. Although the essence is different, the imposition of this control remains the same. Online control allows companies to reduce risk and direct responsibility because they never met even with their driving partners.

This gives several strategic advantages for the company. Pemberton (2016, p. 99) says capitalist function through scattered networks is about maintaining control through indirect means. This allows the capitalist to maintain power but not be directly responsible for the implications of maintaining the system.

On the contrary, the networked dispersion of capitalist functions is about the maintenance of control through indirect means. This enables capital to maintain power but not to be as directly accountable for the implications of this maintenance. In the current era **of the digital revolution** and gig economic, companies are increasingly vague in their control because everything is run on the network.

Because it is run over the network, very few workers can affect the system that is running. However, **online motorcycle taxi drivers** use a third-party system that can intervene in the control while making it easier for them to ride and pick up orders ("Use the 'Ghost' Application Can Earn Rp. 30 Million a Month, Go-Jek and Grab Race Eradicate," 2018).

This system is commonly referred to by ojek users with the name "'Ghost' application" even though the real name is "mod application" ("How the Tuyul Application Works on Hp, Location Data Can Be Faked, But Remember Don't Imitate!" "2018;" "It's Different Fake GPS and the Tuyul Application, Online Drivers Can Earn IDR 10 Million a Month While Sleeping - All Pages - Nextren.grid.id, "2018).

However, motorcycle taxi drivers caught by the system using the "ghost application" are immediately subject to suspend and cannot register again at the same company. Lately Grab has a way to reduce this "cheating" ("Fight Fake GPS, Grab Launches the Anti Tuyul Feature," 2018). However, it doesn't ultimately reduce number of drivers who will use "ghost application".

_ However, there are still groups of **online motorcycle taxi drivers** who choose not to try and or use the "tuyul application". They think they don't need to use it for fear of getting PM. This situation is called by Beck (1992, p. 80): Never before have working people, irrespective of their talents and educational achievements, been as dependent and vulnerable as they are today, **working in individualized situations without countervailing, collective powers, and within flexible networks** which **meaning and rules**

are impossible for most of them to fathom.

Beck (1992) reveals this situation with even unprecedented occurrence in citizens with education and its achievements being so dependent and fragile as they are today when working in individual situations without being able to overcome, have collective power and in networks whose rules are impossible for them to understanding. Everything that is made by humans especially companies has several shortcomings.

This deficiency is in the domain intentionally made or intentionally left rather than overcome. Control over this network often gets complaints from online motorcycle taxi drivers. One complaint is that many online motorcycle taxi drivers are confused by arranging discounts, tariff warfare, and remote order pick up ("East Java Online Driver Demo in Surabaya, Customers Complain about Difficult Orders," 2019 .; Media, 2018, 2019; ray, 2018).

Discount settings and tariff war are one of the network-based control manifestations. Edwards (1979, p. 13) calls it a form of modern employment in which the arrangement and organization of workers is to maintain power by releasing it. In the sense that control of workers becomes increasingly ignorant of individuals and places so that workers do not know who complains, are reluctant to complain, are reluctant to change the situation to get a better space. Scott (2017, p.

5) defines exploitation as a situation when control becomes very problematic resulting in three conditions: (1) when control

becomes excessive or excessive and oppressive, (2) when control destroys or reduces physical and psychological health, erodes social communal structure, or destroying the environment, and (3) control, exploitation and harm together associated with structural violence and therefore reflecting social inequalities between class, race, citizenship, ethnicity, gender, and gender boundaries.

Using the concept of exploitation invites (1) how the distribution of power **between workers and capital** holders' changes, (2) how workers are controlled, (3) what are the negative impacts of these controls, and (4) how the negative impacts can be reduced (Scott, 2017, p. 4). The meaning of exploitation was first revealed by Marxists.

Understanding of Marxist and legal definitions of exploitation, debates about the definition and meaning of exploitation still occur continuously starting from the practice of workers who are far from the practice of decent workforce. Underlying the debate is the existence of excessive and oppressive control and the presence of harm (Hannah et al., 2015).

The definition of work exploitation according to the European Agency for Fundamental Rights includes slavery to both modern and conventional slavery and forced labor, exploitation of extreme labor, and exploitation of labor. The danger / loss is in the three constellations of the meaning of the exploitation. Which is where individual hazards can be linked to the existence of **a negative impact on** a person's physical and psychological health.

There is also socio-communal harm that is synonymous with the conditions of the people who contribute to fertility and can happen to the people affected. In relation to exploitation, social harm contains the idea that government, society, economy, politics, law and cultural systems cause harm (Scott, 2017, p. 8). The analysis results to strong **relationship between Job Insecurity and Network** Based Control on Exploitation.

Albeit Job Insecurity influence is greater than Network Based Control, we can conclude both variables have significant _ influence and impacts to reduce or amplify the level of Exploitation. There're many forms of job insecurity felt **by online motorcycle taxi** drivers. Analysis results that many drivers have admitted the insecurity exposed during their rides.

Amit prior information about duty, task, and limits been delivered by city-based operating company through short orientation, drivers aren't well informed the latent insecurity they must face. New driver who has less time engagement in social network such as Facebook and Telegram group, will have little knowledge how to cope with the

system.

Some drivers complain about how system of bonuses, points, and payment could change over time without prior notice. Drivers also complain how they must evade the parking fee and earn unpleasant look from parking management staffs. Drivers also must pay direct cost for flat tire, gasoline, broken engine, minor accidents, and major accident such as traffic accident.

Even if company has companied drivers with insurance (BPJS-TK, 2017; Go-Jek.com, 2017), the insurance can't be claimed for such direct cost. **At the same time**, they must accept of being suspended if their customers gave them 1-star. This will lead to losing all bonus they have collected all day. Drivers also must be aware they can't exceed maximum deposit, according to some talks, because the possibility deposit can't be cash in is very high.

Those insecurities and controls place drivers in a compromise state that they must handle by themselves. This also follows the logic, the more distant companies have between their partnering drivers, the more profit they have. CONCLUSION Harms are attached to every profession and job. But, these harms are not well identified easily though workers interact with them daily.

Harms can be resulted from economic system that meet growing digital needs. Passengers need mobility that matches their needs of consumption digitally. People need jobs they can do well to earn more money and increase their welfare. Companies simply create profit whenever possible.

Unfortunately, harms are produced in between those three parties. In the running digital society, online drivers are subjected to harms autonomously.

They never meet the central company that has planted a system to run control and create insecurities. Excessive control and burgeoning insecurity yield exploitation. Most drivers feel they have been exploited by company to produce profit. Profit can be escalated by playing control of how bonus and payment system should run. While drivers must burden direct cost that is harmful to them.

Social harm approach helps us to understand how these harms happen to each driver and these harms aren't reduced. The quantitative method suggests that there is strong relation between Job Insecurity and Network-based Harms with Exploitation that's experienced by drivers in their respective partnering companies. REFERENCES [1] Beck, U., & Ritter, M. (1992). Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity. Diambil dari <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=QUDMaGlCuEQC> [2] Featherstone, M. (1995). Undoing Culture: Globalization, Postmodernism and Identity. Diambil dari <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=ZMe9c v6N5IQC> [3] Featherstone, M. (2007). Consumer Culture and Postmodernism. Diambil dari <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=czfeN2 hV6xIC> [4] Featherstone, Mike. (1990).

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