
| RESEARCH ARTICLE

Contestation of Online Transportation Actors in Public Spaces

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| ABSTRACT

This article discusses the contestation that occurs between online motorcycle taxis and on-the-go taxis (locally known as *ojek pangkalan*) in gig economy situations in public spaces. Different from previous studies that emphasize aspects of factors, competitive strategies, and ways of adaptation, this paper explains more about their contestation in the public space arena and online media. This paper analyzed it using the concept of Social Network Analysis from Neil Fleigstein (2012), which identifies actor resources and collaborative networks that exist after a contestation situation. Data was collected through mixed methods utilizing digital data using the NVivo, Wordij, and Gephi applications, complemented by in-depth interviews and field observations supplemented by similar literature. Overall, the results show that online motorcycle uses their social skill to develop a strategy for maintaining the resources and access to the market. The resolution of the contestation between social actors operating in the transportation sector in public space produces a dominant group which can control the chaotic situation to win customers.

| KEYWORDS

Gig Economy, Contestation, Online Transportation, Digital Economy

| ARTICLE INFORMATION

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1. Introduction

Public transportation is a vital societal need for those who do not have private vehicles to be able to carry out daily social mobility. Indonesia is a country that has a high level of transportation use. According to data from the Central Statistics Agency, it appears that there has been a significant increase in the number of motorized vehicles, which amounted to 76 thousand in 2010 and 146 thousand in 2018 (BPS, 2018). This indicates that there is an increase in the percentage growth in the number of vehicles by one hundred to two hundred percent every ten years. Therefore, many individuals and groups take advantage of this phenomenon to gain benefits for themselves.

One type of transportation that people often use is motorcycle taxis (*ojek*). Based on Law No. 22 of 2009, motorcycle taxis are not categorized as public transportation. Starting from the existence of on-the-go motorcycle taxis (locally known as *ojek pangkalan*), which are usually located in public spaces that are easily accessible to the public. Motorcycle taxis have become popular because they are considered an alternative solution to avoid traffic jams on main roads in big cities (Kiki and Grendi, 2018:31). As a result of this popularity, companies operating in the transportation sector have begun to innovate by utilizing technology, giving rise to a new type of motorcycle taxi called online motorcycle taxis.

The contestation between online motorcycle taxis and online motorcycle taxis in a public space is a phenomenon that can be studied at the micro- and meso-levels. There are several studies that discuss the phenomenon of contestation in the transportation sector in terms of cause and effect and the influence of contestation (Kiki and Grendi, 2018), how actors adapt (Fania, 2016), and actors' competitive strategies (Dwi and Soni, 2017; Safitri and Kuntjoroat, 2009; Serafin, 2016). The locus of research is carried out

on a business in the form of Sharing Economy, where, according to Stephany (2015), there are several conditions for the operation of the profit sharing system, namely, first economic value, second there are assets, third there online accessibility, fourth there is a community; lastly, there is a need for the community, which discusses the sharing economy system from several sectors. Sharing profits online transportation companies in various countries apply a similar system where profit sharing is calculated based on mileage when delivering passengers (Wu and Li, 2019; Mittendorf, 2019; Polkowska, 2019; Pollio, 2019). Therefore, phenomena in the transportation sector have components or elements that support social actors so that they can excel in contests.

Online motorcycle taxis are a type of public transportation that uses applications as a medium to gain profits. In Indonesia, online motorcycle taxis are categorized as off-route public transportation, namely public transportation that has a clear destination but does not have a clear route and time (Ministerial Regulation No. 107, 2017). Online motorcycle taxis began to appear and develop around 2015 where to get work partners. They offer several benefits, such as a profit-sharing system, guaranteed income, and so on. This causes many people, especially motorcycle taxi drivers, to want to switch to pursuing this profession, resulting in competition between online motorcycle taxis and online motorcycle taxis, especially in public spaces in urban areas.

Contestation in the transportation sector is not merely to achieve their goals but occurs because of the urge to meet needs. Therefore, this paper departs from the argument that the contestation that occurs between online motorcycle taxis and on-the-go motorcycle taxis in public space is carried out by utilizing the resources that each actor has, which are represented through collective action and strategic action so as to produce a dominant group of actors in the public space. The dominant group is a group that is superior to other actors and, therefore, has high power in the public space. To support this argument, we will explain the transportation sector in Indonesia, social actors as fundamental units in public space that have resources as strengths to compete; then they were doing a contestation and developing strategic actions for resolving the conflict in the public space.

2. Literature Review

The transportation sector in public space can be defined using space theory. Space is a strategic order formed from the results of collective actions carried out by fundamental units (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012: 9). The fundamental units in space can be grouped into three, namely the structure that regulates space, social actors, and parties that have power. Therefore, space is formed from the relationship of these three elements, which are in synergy with each other. In space, there are two social orders of level units that are interconnected to form space. These level units consist of micro and macro level units (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012:64). The social order of micro-level units contains the relationships between social actors in space who have their respective roles and interests. At this unit level, social actors mutually carry out collective actions which are influenced by the abilities of individuals and groups of actors. They do this to achieve their goals and maintain their existence.

The social order of the second macro level unit contains the relationship between social actors and those in power. The party that has power in this case can be identified as the state. The state is the party that provides space; therefore, it needs to maintain the stability of that space so as to obtain economic benefits. To maintain spatial stability, the state created a spatial management unit known as the Internal Government Unit (IGU). IGU is an organization or association within a field whose main task is to ensure the stability and routine order of a strategic field of action. There are five main functions of the IGU, namely (1) Administrative function, namely providing routine administrative services to field members; (2) Information function; (3) Regulatory Function, namely ensuring conformity with the rules of the strategic field of action by monitoring and regulating member behavior; (4) Enforcement Function, namely enforcing the rules by arresting and giving sanctions to those who violate the rules; and (5) Certification function, namely enforcing rules by arresting and giving sanctions to those who violate the rules (Flighstein and McAdam, 2012: 77). Therefore, by carrying out these five functions, spatial stability can be maintained and the country can gain benefits.

According to the space theory proposed by Flighstein, the transportation sector is one of the social actors in public space. One of the public spaces that will be discussed in this article is Manggarai Station (Located in Jakarta, Indonesia) and Depok Lama Station (Located in West Java, Indonesia). Manggarai Station has been operating since 1920 under the name of the Railway Company (Staatsspoorwegen), which bought the Jakarta-Bogor train network belonging to the private company Nederlandsch Indische Spoorweg Maatschappij (NISM) in 1913 (heritage.kai.id). This public space is important because Manggarai and Depok Lama stations are transportation centers for residents of Depok and surrounding areas to move to other areas using trains. The existence of Manggarai and Depok Lama stations has been known since the Dutch colonial era (Zulkarnain, 2018). After Indonesia's independence, Manggarai and Depok Lama stations functioned as transportation centers to transport people and goods outside Depok City. Therefore, Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations have become a business space that several parties are fighting over to gain profits.

3. Methodology

This study took place at Manggarai Station, Jakarta, and Depok Lama Station, West Java, Indonesia. We conduct a mixed-method digital research approach by using digital data through an article with the theme of the contestation between online motorcycle taxis and on-the-go motorcycle taxis. We collected 50 articles about contestation in the surrounding Jakarta Area. The informants

in this research were Depok station staff as well as local residents, on-the-go motorcycle taxi drivers, and online motorcycle taxi drivers at Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations. The selection of informants was based on the researcher's assessment of parties who knew the ins and outs of the contestation that occurred between on-the-go taxis and online motorcycle taxis at Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations. Data collection was carried out using in-depth and informal interview techniques, direct observation in the field, and study of existing documents. Apart from that, to deepen understanding of the data, researchers use the results of library research to gain a comprehensive understanding of the data that has been obtained.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Social Actors as Fundamental Units in the Public Space

Social actors are units that are a vital part of the public space. The reason is that the existence of social actors is an element in creating stability in public space. There are two types of social actors operating in the transportation sector at the Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations, namely motorcycle taxis and online motorcycle taxis. Motorcycle taxis and online motorcycle taxis are social actors that also become the only public transportation options for visitors of Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations to move to other places. Therefore, these two actors are the main supporting transportation at the Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations. The systems used by on-the-go motorcycles and online motorcycle taxis to get passengers are the same; the difference lies in the application used by online motorcycle taxis to get rentals from passengers.

From their presence in the public space, on-the-go motorcycle taxis are old actors, while online motorcycle taxis are new actors. According to the space theory proposed by Fligstein, there are two types of social actors in the public space, namely the incumbent social actor group and the challenger social actor group (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012: 47). In the public spaces of Manggarai Station and Depok Lama, on-the-go motorcycle taxis are an incumbent group because their existence has been around for a long time, while online motorcycle taxis are a challenger group because their existence emerged after the on-the-go motorcycle taxis at Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations. To map more deeply the explanation regarding on-the-go motorcycle taxis and online motorcycle taxis, sixteen drivers who come from each of these social actors participated in the study, namely three on-the-go motorcycle taxi drivers and three online motorcycle taxi drivers from Depok Lama Station, five on-the-go motorcycle taxi drivers, and five online motorcycle taxi drivers operating at Manggarai station. The author successfully obtained data classified based on length of profession, activity, capital, resources, operating time, income, profits, and weaknesses. It can be concluded that there are significant differences in the length of profession, activities, and total income of the six actors. Apart from that, there are differences in the connections each actor has. On-the-go motorcycle taxis, as the incumbent social actor group, have direct connections with the Manggarai and Depok Lama stations. This is because their business space is in the station area, so they pay rent to the station. With this rental money, indirectly, on-the-go taxi drivers receive protection from the station so that their rights to earn profits are maintained. In contrast, online motorcycle taxis, as challenger actors, have no connection with the station because their business space is outside the station area, and they only rent a piece of land inside the shophouse as their business space.

"We must pay rent to PT. RESKA, the parking manager, as many as 120 thousand rupiahs. That's the amount they offered, but we agree on that. To collect it, my friends usually give it to me, and then I deposit it directly to PT. RESKA. So, it's not PT. RESKA itself who draws it; we are the ones who deposit it."

(Interview with Mr. Anwar, an on-the-go motorcycle taxi driver and Association Chairman of the On-the-go taxis of Depok Lama Station on April 17, 2022)

"To rent here, we don't pay to the station; we just pay directly to the shophouse. It's five thousand rupiahs a day for the whole day".

At Manggarai station, there is no rental fee; we pay it directly to the officer who keeps collecting it from us (from the FBR)

(Interview with Mr. Rendi, an online motorcycle taxi driver and Shelter Manager of Ojek Online at Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations on 05 May 2022.)

For more clarity regarding the social actors of on-the-go motorcycle taxis and online motorcycle taxis, you can see the following table.

4.2. Social Actor Resources as a Strength to Compete

The collective actions carried out by on-the-go and online motorcycle taxis as social actors in the public spaces of Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations are not without any basis. To take collective action to compete, on-the-go motorcycle taxis and online motorcycle taxis use the resources they each have. The resources themselves are from the social skills of individual actors. Social skills are the ability to encourage cooperation by invoking and helping create shared meaning and collective identity (Flighstein and McAdams, 2012:46). Therefore, the social skills of social actors are from individual actors who work together with each other.

The social skills possessed by on-the-go motorcycle taxis and online motorcycle taxis come from their individual skills, such as soft, capital, and social skills. These individual actors are mutually encouraged by each other to work together. This is due to social actors' awareness of their limitations in competing in the public space. Apart from being aware of their limitations, the cooperation between actors in public spaces is also driven by the urge to fulfill their needs. This is done so that they can survive daily. This condition follows on-the-go motorcycle taxis and online motorcycle taxis at Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations, which consist of groups of individuals who work together to create their group meaning and identity. The resources of on-the-go motorcycle taxis and online motorcycle taxis are from individual skills and their ability to take advantage of existing opportunities. Therefore, the resources they have can be grouped into three types, namely economic resources, social resources, and cultural resources. For more clarity, see Table 1.

Table 1. Resources of Online Motorcycle Taxis and On-the-go Motorcycle Taxis

	ECONOMY	SOCIAL	CULTURE
ON THE GO MOTORCYCLE TAXIS	Motorcycle	Relation Between: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manager Train Station • Train passengers • On the Ogo Motorcycle Taxii • Close Friend 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual activity routine as a on the go motorcycles • Regulation of picking up and dropping off passengers around the station for online motorcycle taxi • Passenger transportation system for On the go motorcycle Taxis
ONLINE MOTORCYCLE TAXIS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Motorcycle • Account Online Application • Attributes online Motorcycle 	Relation between: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Another Shelter • Shophouses owner at Stasiun Manggarai dan Depok Lama • Online motorcycle Taxis • Close Friend 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Company rule regarding safety transportation and code of conduct • Individual activity routine of online motorcycle

Source: Processed from field data (2022)

The resources owned by on-the-go motorcycle taxis can be grouped into these types. The economic resources owned by on-the-go motorcycle taxis are in the form of motorized vehicles, which are used by on-the-go motorcycle taxi drivers to collect passenger rentals. Furthermore, the social resources owned by on-the-go motorcycle taxis are relationships or connections such as relationships with the station, relationships between on-the-go motorcycle taxi drivers, and other relationships. Lastly, the cultural resources owned by on-the-go motorcycle taxis are the social values of each on-the-go motorcycle taxi, such as routines and activities, as well as in the on-the-go motorcycle taxi organization, such as regulations for attracting passengers at stations and the system for withdrawing on-the-go motorcycle taxi drivers.

Furthermore, regarding online motorcycle taxis, the economic resources owned by online motorcycle taxis at Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations are motorized vehicles, accounts on online motorcycle taxi applications, and online motorcycle taxi attributes. Furthermore, the social resources owned by online motorcycle taxis are relations or relationships with other shelters, the Manggarai and Depok Lama Station shophouses, and people close to online motorcycle taxi drivers. Therefore, the resources possessed by on-the-go taxi and online motorcycle taxi drivers become a strength that they use to contest the public spaces of Manggarai Station and Depok Lama.

4.3. Contestation of Social Actors in Public Space

Contestation or competition between on-the-go taxis and online motorcycle taxis is an ineluctable condition at Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations. Contestation itself is a condition created by the motives carried out by each actor in space to achieve goals and gain power in space (Flihgstein and McAdam, 2012: 65). Contestation in public space is supported by collective action that represents the motives in the form of goals of each social actor. In the public space, the condition of contestation is when various

groups compete to gain benefits without using violence. Therefore, good contestation does not have conflict in the form of violence in its implementation.

Contestation in the public space of Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations, especially in the transportation sector, occurs between on-the-go and online motorcycle taxis. According to several informants, contestation or competition between on-the-go motorcycle taxis began to occur since the emergence of online motorcycle taxis at Manggarai and Depok Lama stations, namely around 2010.

Contestation between on-the-go motorcycle taxis and online motorcycle taxis is indeed visible. According to Mr. Rendi and Mr. Ridwan, on-the-go motorcycle taxi drivers, the competition between on-the-go and online motorcycle taxis does occur and is visible, but on a small scale. According to these two informants, there is little competition because online motorcycle taxis systematically use applications to search for passengers, while on-the-go motorcycle taxis do not.

"Of course, there is competition, but it's small because we use applications and they don't." (Interview with Mr. Rendi, an online motorcycle taxi driver and online motorcycle taxi shelter administrator at Manggarai Station on 05 May 2022).

"There is competition, bro, but it's small because we, online motorcycle taxis, use applications to get passengers, whereas they don't." (Interview with Mr Ridwan, online motorcycle taxi driver at Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations on 05 May 2022)

Apart from contestation or competition for passengers, there is competition for space at Manggarai and Depok Lama stations. This struggle for space is influenced by the entry of online motorcycle taxis into the station area and looking for passengers there. Previously, the station area was a space used by on-the-go motorcycle taxis to search for passengers, so the presence of online motorcycle taxis disturbed the space belonging to on-the-go motorcycle taxis. The on-the-go motorcycle taxi itself, which is the existing actor, has started to make efforts to maintain its existence in the station area, namely by giving warnings to online motorcycle taxis that pick up passengers in that space.

The contestation between online and on-the-go motorcycle taxis is starting to heat up, and there is a conflict between these two social actors. This conflict began to occur around 2015 when online motorcycle taxis began to develop in Indonesia, so the number of online motorcycle taxi units began to increase. At Manggarai and Depok Lama stations, the increasing presence of online motorcycle taxis is starting to cause on-the-go motorcycle taxis to have difficulty getting passengers. The conflict between on-the-go and online motorcycle taxis was triggered by online motorcycle taxi drivers who started picking up passengers in the station area. The station area is a space that becomes a business space for on-the-go motorcycle taxis to get passengers. Because of this, the on-the-go motorcycle taxis are starting to worry because they have difficulty getting passengers, raising conflicts between the on-the-go and online motorcycle taxis.

According to several informants, the conflict between on-the-go and online motorcycle taxis is latent and manifest. The latent conflict that occurred was the contestation between on-the-go and online motorcycle taxis in seeking passengers at the Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations. Meanwhile, the manifest conflict was in the form of fighting over passengers and verbal warnings. The conflict manifested in the form of a verbal warning launched by on-the-go and online motorcycle taxis who were looking for or picking up passengers at the Manggarai and Depok Lama Station areas because this made it difficult for on-the-go motorcycle taxis to get passengers.

"There is a conflict, but we let them know, for example, if they pick up passengers here, we will reprimand them." (Interview with Mr. Helmi, an on-the-go motorcycle taxi driver at Depok Lama on April 17, 2022)

Usually, we have conflicts because the online taxi drivers don't want to understand; they go around picking up passengers (Budi, a driver in Manggarai)

"The conflict is just a warning, bro; so far, there have been no beatings. Besides, the online motorcycle taxis that we have reprimanded have so far also understood, for example, if someone violates the rule, we will let them know carefully." (Anwar, an on-the-go motorcycle taxi driver and Chairman of the Manggarai Station on-the-go Motorcycle Taxi Association on April 17, 2022)

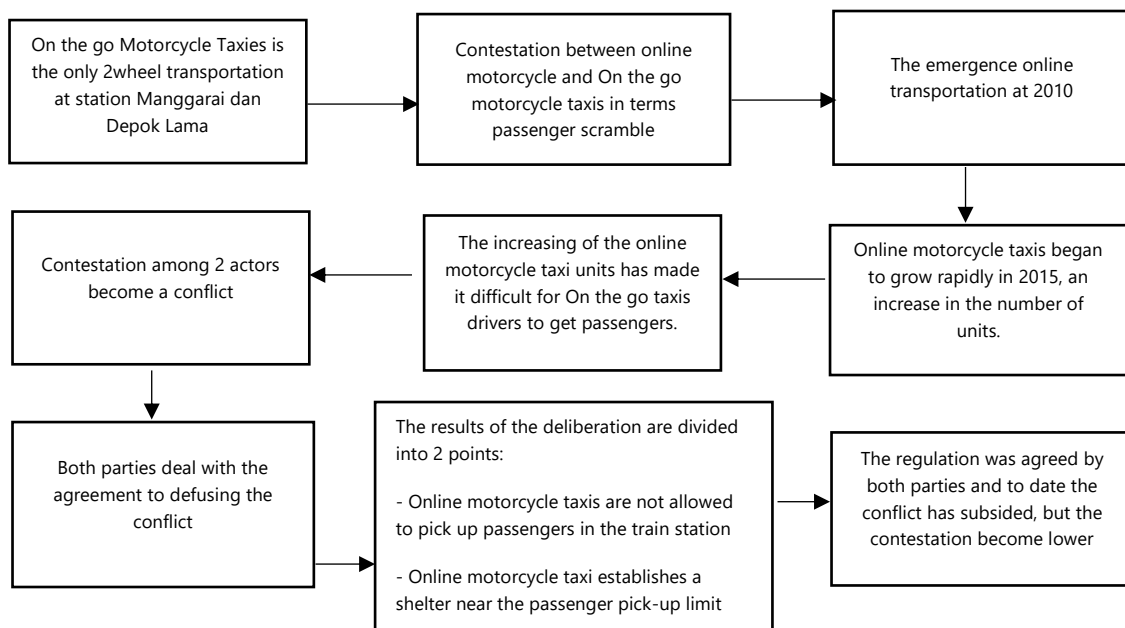
After the conflict occurred, an effort emerged by on-the-go motorcycle taxis and online motorcycle taxis. As a form of conflict resolution, both parties agreed to hold discussions attended by representatives of each party. The deliberations carried out produced results that were agreed upon by both parties, namely regulations or rules for picking up and dropping off passengers, where online motorcycle taxis were not allowed to pick up passengers in the Manggarai and Depok Lama Station areas and were only allowed to pick up passengers on the main highway at the station. Apart from the regulations, there is another agreement, namely that online motorcycle taxis are allowed by on-the-go motorcycle taxis to build a shelter near the main road so that online motorcycle taxi drivers can wait for passengers.

"To resolve this, we will discuss with online motorcycle taxis, and there we agreed, bro, that online motorcycle taxis cannot pick up passengers here." (Interview with Mr. Anwar, an on-the-go motorcycle taxi driver and Chairman of the Manggarai and Depok Lama Station on-the-go taxi Association on April 17, 2022)

"I don't know the details, bro; as far as I remember, there was a meeting to discuss this issue. Then, after that deliberation, this shelter existed." (Interview with Mr. Rendi, online motorcycle taxi driver and online motorcycle taxi shelter administrator at Manggarai and Depok Lama stations on 05 May 2022)

After implementing the regulations agreed upon by both parties, the conflicts began to subside, but it was indisputable that currently, the conflict between on-the-go motorcycle taxis and online motorcycle taxis no longer occurs. However, online motorcycle taxi drivers themselves still reprimand online motorcycle taxi drivers who do not know these regulations. For more details, the flow of contestation and conflict that occurred between on-the-go taxis and online motorcycle taxis at Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations is in Scheme 1.

Scheme 1. Contestation Flow between On-the-go and online taxis at Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations



Source: Processed based on researcher's analysis (2022)

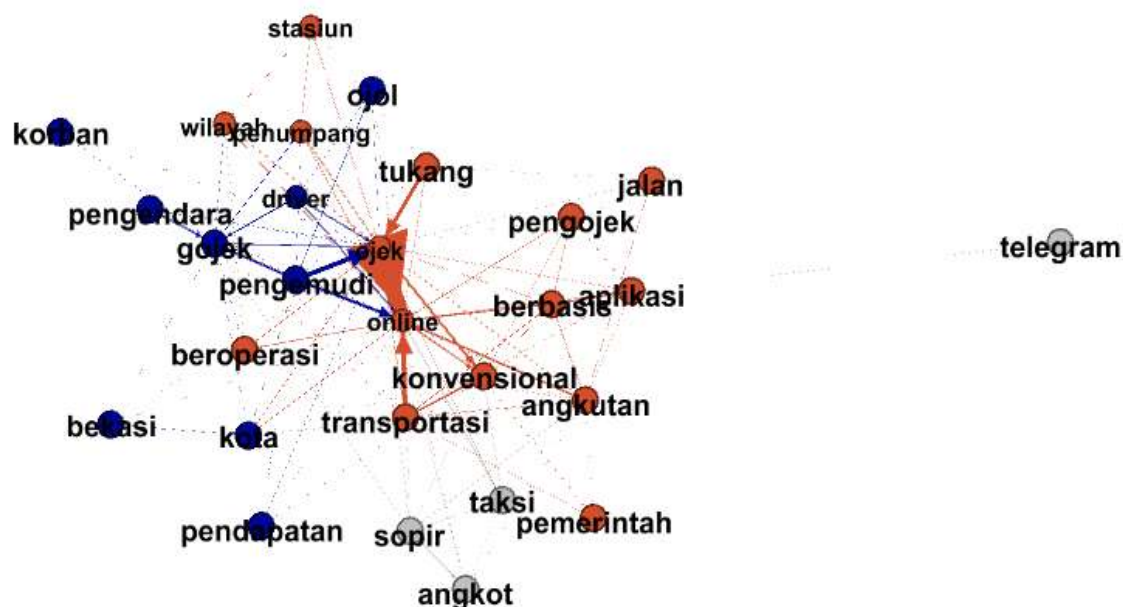
The contestation between social actors at Manggarai Station and Depok Lama, which occurred between on-the-go motorcycle taxis and online motorcycle taxis, was carried out through the collective actions they took. The collective actions carried out are supported by the resources they each have. These resources are represented by on-the-go taxis and online motorcycle taxis as forms of action to support them in contestation in public spaces. There are several forms of action carried out by the two actors to contest. The form of contestation is that on-the-go motorcycle taxis use economic resources in the form of motorized vehicles that are in demand by passengers. Motor vehicles are an essential asset for motorcycle taxi drivers; if there are no motorized vehicles, motorcycle taxi drivers cannot make a profit. Therefore, motorized vehicles are a vital resource for competition. The form of contestation that motorcycle taxis use is to utilize social resources in the form of relationships with the station, passengers, and close people. Relationships are a decisive resource because by having relationships with other people, you will get added value, and likewise, on-the-go taxis.

The form of contestation that on-the-go motorcycle taxis take advantage of is cultural resources in the form of carrying out longer routines and activities to get passengers, making regulations for transporting passengers for online motorcycle taxis and implementing a passenger transportation system for on-the-go motorcycle taxi drivers. The routines and activities of on-the-go motorcycle taxi drivers influence each individual's ability to earn income. On-the-go motorcycle taxi drivers who have a longer activity period have the opportunity to earn a higher income than other drivers. Apart from the forms of contestation carried out by on-the-go motorcycle taxis, there are other forms of contestation actions carried out by online motorcycle taxis to compete. The form of online motorcycle taxi contestation that uses economic resources is to use motorized vehicles that are popular with

passengers and provide good service to get maximum stars. Just like on-the-go taxis, motorized vehicles are an essential resource for online motorcycle taxis facing competition in the public spaces of Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations.

The form of contest that online motorcycle taxis carry out is by utilizing social resources in the form of establishing relationships with other shelters, establishing good relationships with shophouses, and building relationships with close people to earn more income. Relationships or social relations are primary because having connections with other parties undoubtedly provides advantages for online motorcycle taxis in public spaces. Relations with other shelters are a crucial resource for online motorcycle taxis at Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations. This relationship provides benefits, especially if online motorcycle taxi drivers at the Manggarai and Depok Lama Station shelters have problems with the station, the Depok City Transportation Service, or on-the-go motorcycle taxis. Motorcycle taxi drivers from other shelters will help resolve this problem so that the existence of online motorcycle taxi drivers at the Manggarai Station and Depok Lama shelters is maintained.

Scheme 2. Discourse in Mass Media Online about Contestation between On the go Motorcycle Taxis and Online Motorcycle Taxis



Discourse in the mass media also signals that three conflict clusters occur in the online transportation market. First is the conflict related to the problem of reduced income between operating on-the-go taxis. Sometimes, this conflict results in casualties. Second is the discourse related to the struggle for territory and passengers that occurs between on-the-go motorcycle taxis and online motorcycle taxis, involving the government and station managers as mediators or conflict mediators. Third is the conflict related to the struggle for consumers between online motorcycle taxis, taxis, and public transportation drivers.

The form of contest that online motorcycle taxis carry out by utilizing cultural resources is by exploiting their daily habits. Regulations set by online motorcycle taxi companies and the routines and activities of individual online motorcycle taxi drivers. This regulation is in the form of a profit-sharing system between the company and online motorcycle taxi drivers. Regulations for sharing online motorcycle taxi profits, especially Grab, are in the form of a profit-sharing system. The profit-sharing system itself refers to a system that takes value in distributing an asset that is underutilized and then uses it online to the community so that it becomes a profit for the owner of the asset (Stephany, 2015: 9). The profit-sharing the Grab motorcycle taxi company offers has a percentage of 10% for the informal sector and 90% for work partners (Ikhsanti, 2018). Therefore, online motorcycle taxi drivers earn 90% of the profits from the rental proceeds. Furthermore, the company also implements a meter system to measure the income earned, namely IDR 12,000 for trips under 6 km and an additional IDR 2,500 per km (Ikhsanti, 2018). Apart from that, the company provides a bonus system for online motorcycle taxi drivers under its auspices. The bonus system given to online motorcycle taxi drivers takes the form of points called "diamonds", which, of course, can also be exchanged for cash.

Table 1. Form of Contestation among on the go Motorcycle Taxis and Online Motorcycle Taxis

Form of Resources	On The Go Motorcycle Taxis	Online Motorcycle Taxis
Economic Resources	Make an arrangement about pick up point with train station manager Using motorcycle that consumers like	Using motorcycle that consumers like Companies and train stations Make an arrangement about pick up point
Social Resources	Making a good relationship with customer Making relationship with station manager in order to have power to control the station area	Making a good relationship with shop owner in order to get ojek station Giving a better service in order to get high rating
Cultural Resources	1. Apply arrangement about pick up point with the customer 2. Make consent arrangement about pick up point with train station Manager 3. Over working hours	over working hours for getting bonus Making relationship with station manager in order to have power to control the station area Apply arrangement about pick up point with the customer.

Source: Processed from Data Analysis (2022)

Based on the form of contestation that on-the-go motorcycle taxis and online motorcycle taxis carry out at Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations, when viewed from an economic perspective, online motorcycle taxis as the challenger group are more dominant than on-the-go motorcycle taxis as the incumbent group. Based on the rent amount that each actor gets, the average income of online motorcycle taxi drivers is higher than IDR 150,000/day, while that of on-the-go motorcycle taxi drivers is less than IDR 150,000/day. This indicates that the rent obtained by online motorcycle taxis is higher than that of on-the-go motorcycle taxis. Therefore, when viewed from an economic perspective, the challenger group is more dominant than the incumbent group.

Furthermore, if viewed in terms of the power possessed by the two actors in the public space, on-the-go motorcycle taxis, as the incumbent group, are more dominant than online motorcycle taxis, as the challenger group. This can be seen from the power that on-the-go motorcycle taxis have so that they can create regulations for online motorcycle taxis. This is influenced by the relationships that on-the-go motorcycle taxis have with parties who have power, such as stations, so that they can set regulations in the form of limits for transporting passengers on online motorcycle taxis. Therefore, the incumbent group is the dominant group in terms of power.

4.4. Actors' Strategic Actions in Resolving Contestations in Public Spaces

Apart from being influenced by the collective actions of social actors, the contestation of on-the-go motorcycle taxis and online motorcycle taxis is also influenced by strategic actions. Strategic action refers to a way in which skilled actors use empathy and capacity to strategically shape and deploy shared meaning and identity in the service of institutional projects in fields (Flighstein and McAdam, 2012: 87). By carrying out these strategic actions, the meaning and identity of social actors increase so that they can create their own field in space. Apart from competition, social actors in the public space also carry out social actions that aim to create their own field.

On-the-go motorcycle taxis, as the incumbent, need an effort to maintain their position in the public space of Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations. This is to the conditions mentioned in space theory, namely that skilled strategic actors in the incumbent group will use existing rules and resources to reproduce their advantages so that they have an impressive set of tools to maintain their position Flighstein and McAdam, 2012: 17). Several efforts are made by on-the-go motorcycle taxis to maintain their meaning and identity in the public spaces of Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations. First, it complies with the regulations set by the station. The station, namely KCI, is the party that has authority over the station, both within the station and the surrounding environment. Therefore, to survive at Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations, on-the-go taxis follow and comply with the policies implemented by the station. PT. KCI itself is an organization that operates under the government to manage and regulate everything within the Manggarai and Depok Lama Station areas. PT. KCI manages everything at the Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations. On-the-go motorcycle taxis follow the policies and rules enforced by PT. KCI, such as the space management policy at stations and station rentals. The management spatial policy implemented by the station is a placement arrangement for on-the-go motorcycle taxis.

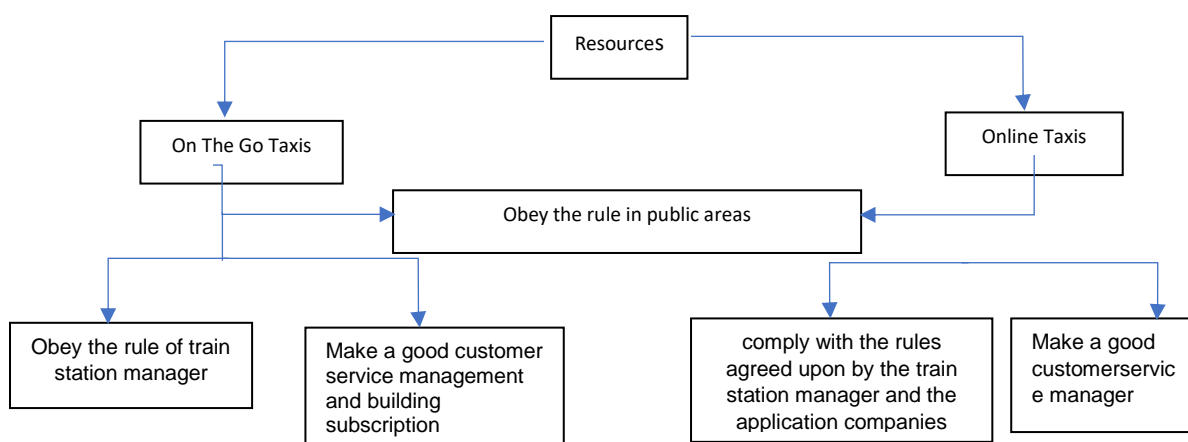
Therefore, by complying with the policies implemented by the station, on-the-go motorcycle taxis can survive at Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations because they still have business space that can be used to get passengers.

The second strategic action taken by on-the-go motorcycle taxis is protecting the business space by establishing regulations. The business space is the area used by on-the-go motorcycle taxis to obtain passengers. Therefore, with the existence of the business space, on-the-go motorcycle taxis can survive in the public space of Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations. The on-the-go motorcycle taxi business space is in the Manggarai and Depok Lama Station area, which is one of the strategic points at the station. Therefore, several other parties want to seize this space directly or indirectly. The third strategic action taken by on-the-go motorcycle taxis is to provide special services and discounts for the passengers. After getting space in Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations and successfully maintaining it, on-the-go motorcycle taxis need passengers to survive because passenger rentals are the primary purpose of on-the-go motorcycle taxis. On-the-go motorcycle taxis need effort to get passengers at Manggarai and Depok Lama stations to want to rent transportation services from them. Therefore, they made several efforts aimed at attracting the interest of these passengers.

Apart from on-the-go motorcycle taxis, online motorcycle taxis also take strategic actions. This is following the conditions mentioned in space theory, namely that challenger groups present new opportunities to improve their position with the ability to have social skills to mobilize resources and frame innovative lines of action to secure cooperation (Flighstein and Mc Adams, 2012: 54). The actions they take are as follows. First is following the rules set by those in power in the public space. Online motorcycle taxis, as challenging social actors, need a way to enter the public spaces of Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations. Therefore, they do something by following and obeying the rules set by those in power. The parties in power here include the station, the on-the-go motorcycle taxi, and the Transportation Department. The station is the party that has power over Manggarai and Depok Lama stations, such as space management for passenger drop-off limits and so on. Therefore, online motorcycle taxis comply with these rules as a good-faith gesture on the part of the station so that they can be well received.

The second is establishing good relations with the incumbent group. After having their own business space, online motorcycle taxis feel the need to avoid conflicts with parties who have more power, especially on-the-go motorcycle taxis. Therefore, they maintain good relations with them. The way they do this is by holding a friendly event between the two parties, regularly every two months. The event they held was aimed at creating good relations with the on-the-go motorcycle taxis so that the conflict between them could subside. Apart from that, they have also improved their good relations with the on-the-go motorcycle taxis at Manggarai Station and Depok Lama by inviting the on-the-go motorcycle taxis to participate in events they organize, such as social services. In these two ways, good relations with on-the-go motorcycle taxis can be created, and online motorcycle taxis can maintain their existence in the public space. The third is to create special services and maintain the quality of service to passengers. After having a business space and establishing a good relationship with on-the-go motorcycle taxis, online motorcycle taxis need to obtain passenger rentals to get passengers. As previously explained, to obtain online motorcycle taxi passenger rentals, an application is used as a medium for connecting drivers and passengers.

Scheme 3. Strategic Actions for On-the-go Taxis and Online Taxis



Source: Processed from the author's analysis

5. Conclusion

The contestation between on-the-go taxis and online motorcycle taxis in the public space of Depok Station, which was influenced by collective and strategic actions carried out by each actor, resulted in a dominant group. In essence, in a contestation, some parties win while others lose. The winning party becomes the dominant actor in the public space so that it has power over the

losing one. Therefore, if we look at the contestation at the macro and micro levels in Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations, the on-the-go motorcycle taxis as the incumbent group are the dominant or winning group. Meanwhile, online motorcycle taxis are the losing group. This can be concluded from the real conditions in the public spaces of Manggarai Station and Depok Lama, where even though online motorcycle taxis have advantages from an economic perspective, they are still subordinate to on-the-go motorcycle taxis. This is influenced by the power that the on-the-go motorcycle taxis have through the regulations they made with the support of the station so that they have control over the space at Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations.

Apart from losing in the contestation in public space at the micro level, online motorcycle taxis are also under pressure from units at the macro level, namely from the Depok city government, by enacting policies in the form of regulations to regulate online motorcycle taxis. The regulation is in the form of Depok Perwal No. 11 of 2017, which contains rules for online motorcycle taxis in the form of a prohibition on parking their vehicles on roads and sidewalks, picking up passengers in terminal areas, and picking up passengers on the shoulders of roads passing by public transport routes. This regulation imposed by the Depok city government certainly puts pressure on online motorcycle taxis in terms of getting passengers, so they need a place that can be used to pick up and drop off passengers. On the other hand, Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations are one of the routes used by public transportation, so online motorcycle taxis are prohibited from picking up passengers on the shoulder of the road. Therefore, online motorcycle taxis inevitably submit to the on-the-go motorcycle taxis so that they can find a place to use as their business space so that they agree with the rules imposed by the on-the-go motorcycle taxis at Manggarai and Depok Lama Stations.

This study is limited to observing the phenomenon of contestation that occurs in two train stations within sub-urban community characteristics. So, it could be that the conflict problems encountered could be different, which may involve aspects of culture, race, and ethnicity, considering that Indonesia is a pluralistic society. For the future, it is important to raise this online ojek contestation associated with gender aspects, considering that women experience gender inequality and double burden in their daily lives.

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