

LABOUR STANDARDS IN THE

PLATFORM ECONOMY

Fairwork Indonesia Ratings 2023



CONTENTS

Summary: Towards Fair Work in Indonesia
Fairwork Indonesia Scores 2023
The Fairwork Project: Towards Decent Labour Standards in the Platform Economy
The Fairwork Framework
Background: Overview of Platform Work in Indonesia
The Legal Context
Fairwork Indonesia Scores 2023
Theme In Focus 1: Strive on Our Own: Worker Strategies to Cope During Times of Crisis
Theme in Focus 2: Gig Workers and the Expansion of Electric Vehicles
Moving Forward: Towards a Sustainable Platform Work Economy in Indonesia
The Fairwork Pledge
Appendix: Fairwork Scoring System
Endnotes
Credits and Funding

SUMMARY

Towards Fair Work in Indonesia

The digital revolution in Indonesia has resulted in significant social change as digital technology impacts the way people live, work, and interact with each other.

Despite the recent COVID-19 pandemic, economic slowdown, and inflation in fuel and food prices, Indonesia remains South East Asia's largest digital economy; hitting US\$77bn in 2022 and on course to reach US\$130bn by 2025.1 Along with e-commerce, the digital economy in Indonesia has been dominated by the platform work economy,2 especially in groceries, transport, and food delivery. Its growth has been powered by increasing internet penetration and the rise of mobile technology use in the country. The development of the platform work economy has led to an increased demand for skilled workers such as software developers, user interface designers, and digital marketers. Conversely, it has also created job opportunities for unskilled workers such as online drivers, couriers, warehouse workers, cleaners, and customer service representatives. These jobs often require little or no experience or training and can provide a source of employment for those with limited job opportunities.

As a result of its rapid growth and low entry barriers, millions of individuals now rely on platform work as their primary source of livelihood. However, this growth has not been without challenges. As highlighted in previous Fairwork Indonesia reports, Indonesia's platform workers' pay and working conditions fall well short of decent work standards. The poor working conditions are characterised by the absence of labour rights, long working hours, unstable and low earnings, the absence of formally-recognised worker unions, risks to workers' safety, limited access to accident and health insurance, as well as varied gendered challenges for female workers. Yet, despite the concerns

and challenges associated with platform-based work, it is clear that this type of work has become a significant part of the Indonesian economy and is likely to continue to grow in the coming years.

INDONESIA'S PLATFORM WORKERS' PAY AND WORKING CONDITIONS FALL WELL SHORT OF DECENT WORK STANDARDS.

Unfortunately, these issues are still evident in the third year of the Fairwork initiative's research in Indonesia. We have not seen major improvements in working conditions, the sector's regulatory framework, or the platform workers' overall livelihoods. This year, we evaluated ten digital platforms that provide location-based services in Jakarta. This includes nine platforms that were evaluated last year: Grab, Gojek, InDriver, and Maxim which focus on transportation services, and Borzo, Deliveree, Lalamove, Paxel, and Shopeefood that focus on delivery services. The tenth platform we evaluate is KliknClean which focuses on cleaning services. The ratings achieved by the platforms this year have been relatively low, below the half-way mark of possible scores. Overall, Gojek and Grab were awarded two points out of ten, followed by Deliveree, KliknClean, Lalamove, Maxim, Paxel and Shopeefood which were awarded one point, and Borzo and inDrive did not receive any points.

While the lack of proper regulations and protections for workers' rights remains a key issue, the COVID-19 pandemic and its aftermath, plus recent macroeconomic challenges, have added further complications. Many platform workers have been adversely affected by the pandemic and by the fuel and food price rises that have followed, facing reduced demand for their services and increased competition for available work. Additionally, the rise of electric vehicles presents both opportunity and challenge for those workers who have relied on traditional modes of transportation for their work. This report examines how platform workers who provide location-based services in sectors like transportation, food and package delivery, logistics, and cleaning services experience these developments in Indonesia.

As the platform work economy continues to expand, policymakers and other stakeholders must navigate these complexities: seeking to maximise the benefits of this work while addressing potential drawbacks in order to ensure the sustainability of the sector. The purpose of this report is not only to present the working conditions of platform workers in Indonesia, but also to provide valuable insights and recommendations for all stakeholders involved. By examining the challenges platform workers face and the factors contributing to their work conditions, this report aims to shed light on the necessary steps that key stakeholders should take to improve their situation. This report also serves as a valuable source of data and insights for policymakers in their efforts to develop clear legal standing for platform workers within the regulatory framework. Finally, the report encourages platforms to continue improving their policies and practices to ensure fair treatment and adequate worker support, and calls for worker associations, civil society organisations, and researchers to contribute their expertise and collaborate in creating a sustainable platform work ecosystem in Indonesia.

Fairwork Indonesia Team

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Fairwork Indonesia Scores 2023

Minimum standards

of fair work 2/10 Gojek Grab 1 /10 **Deliveree** 1 /10 KliknClean 1 /10 Lalamove **1** /10 **Maxim** 1 /10 **Paxel** 1 /10 Shopeefood \bigcap /10 **Borzo** $\bigcap /10$ inDrive

THE BREAKDOWN OF SCORES FOR INDIVIDUAL PLATFORMS IS AVAILABLE AT

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THE FAIRWORK PROJECT

Towards Decent Labour Standards in the Platform Economy

Fairwork evaluates and ranks the working conditions of digital platforms. Our ratings are based on five principles that digital labour platforms should ensure in order to be considered to be offering basic minimum standards of fairness.

We evaluate platforms annually against these principles to show not only what the platform economy is today, but also what it could be. The Fairwork ratings provide an independent perspective on labour conditions of platform work for policymakers, platform companies, workers, and consumers. Our goal is to show that better, and fairer, jobs are possible in the platform economy.

The Fairwork project is coordinated from the Oxford Internet Institute and the WZB Berlin Social Science Centre. Our growing network of researchers currently rates platforms in 38 countries across five continents. In every country, Fairwork collaborates closely with workers, platforms, advocates and policymakers to promote a fairer future of platform work.

Fairwork countries

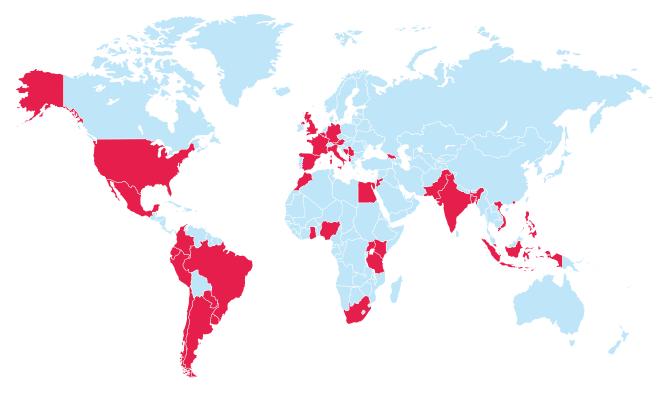


Figure 1. Fairwork currently rates platforms in 38 countries worldwide.

AFRICA

Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Morocco, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania

ASIA

Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Philippines, Singapore, Vietnam

EUROPE

Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia, France, Georgia, Germany, Italy, Serbia, Spain, UK

SOUTH AMERICA

Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay

NORTH AMERICA

Mexico, US

The Fairwork Framework

The five Fairwork principles were developed in multi-stakeholder workshops at the International Labour Organisation. To ensure that these global principles were applicable in the Indonesian context, we then revised and fine-tuned the criteria for measuring these in consultation with platforms, trade unions, regulators, academics, and labour lawyers in Jakarta.



STEP 1

The five principles



Fair Pay

Workers, irrespective of their employment classification, should earn a decent income after taking account of work-related costs and active hours worked. We assess earnings according to the mandated minimum wage in their home jurisdiction, as well as the current living wage.



Fair Conditions

Platforms should have policies in place to protect workers from foundational risks arising from the processes of work. They should take proactive measures to protect and promote the health and safety of workers, including compensation for workers who are unable to work due to sickness or injury.



Fair Contracts

Terms and conditions should be accessible, readable and comprehensible. The party contracting with the worker must be subject to local law and must be identified in the contract. Workers should be notified of proposed changes in a reasonable timeframe before changes come into effect. The contract should be free of clauses which unreasonably exclude liability on the part of the service user and/or platform, and which prevent workers from seeking redress for grievances.



Fair Management

There should be a documented due process for decisions affecting workers. Workers must have a clear channel of communication and the ability to appeal management decisions affecting them, such as disciplinary actions and deactivation, and be informed of the reasons behind those decisions. The use of algorithms must be transparent and not result in inequitable outcomes for workers. There should be an identifiable and documented policy that ensures equity in the way workers are managed on a platform (for example, in the hiring, disciplining, or firing of workers).



Fair Representation

Platforms should provide a documented process through which worker voice can be expressed. Irrespective of their employment classification, workers should have the right to organise in collective bodies, and platforms should have mechanisms that enable workers to have a meaningful say in the conditions of their work.

STEP 2

Methodology Overview

The Fairwork project uses three approaches to effectively measure fairness of working conditions at digital labour platforms: desk research, worker interviews and surveys, and interviews with platform management. Through these three methods, we seek evidence on whether platforms act in accordance with the five Fairwork Principles.

We recognise that not all platforms use a business model that allows them to impose certain contractual terms on service users and/or workers in such a way that meets the thresholds of the Fairwork principles. However, all platforms have the ability to influence the way in which users interact on the platform. Therefore, for platforms that do not set the terms on which workers are retained by service users, we look at a number of other factors including published policies and/or procedures, public statements, and website/app functionality to establish whether the platform has taken appropriate steps to ensure they meet the criteria for a point to be awarded against the relevant principle.

In the case of a location-based work platform, we seek evidence of compliance with our Fairwork principles for location-based or "gig work" platforms, and in the case of a cloudwork platform, with our Fairwork principles for cloudwork platforms.

Desk research

Each annual Fairwork ratings cycle starts with desk research to map the range of platforms to be scored, identify points of contact with management, develop suitable interview guides and survey instruments, and design recruitment strategies to access workers. For each platform, we also gather and analyse a wide range of documents including contracts, terms and conditions, published policies and procedures, as well as digital interfaces and website/app functionality. Desk research also flags up any publicly available information that could assist us in scoring different platforms, for instance the provision of particular services to workers, or the existence of past or ongoing disputes.

The desk research is also used to identify points of contact or ways to access workers. Once the list of platforms has been finalised, each platform is contacted to alert them about their inclusion in the annual ranking study and to provide them with information about the process.

Platform interviews

The second method involves approaching platforms for evidence. Platform managers are invited to participate in semi-structured interviews as well as to submit evidence for each of the Fairwork principles. This provides insights into the operation and business model of the platform, while also opening up a dialogue through which the platform could agree to implement changes based on the principles. In cases where platform managers do not agree to interviews, we limit our scoring to evidence obtained through desk research and worker interviews.

Worker interviews

The third method is interviewing platform workers directly. A sample of 6–10 workers are interviewed for each platform. These interviews do not aim to build a representative sample. They instead seek to understand the processes of work and the ways it is carried out and managed. These interviews enable the Fairwork researchers to see copies of the contracts issued to workers, and learn about platform policies that pertain to workers. The interviews also allow the team to confirm or refute that policies or practices are really in place on the platform.

Workers are approached using a range of different channels. The interviews are semi-structured and make use of a series of questions relating to the 10 Fairwork (sub)principles. In order to qualify for the interviews, workers have to be over the age of 18 and have worked with the platform for more than two months. In Indonesia, we undertook our worker interview sample in the Greater Jakarta area.

Putting it all together

This threefold approach provides a way to cross-check the claims made by platforms, while also providing the opportunity to collect both positive and negative evidence from multiple sources. Final scores are collectively decided by the Fairwork team based on all three forms of evidence. Points are only awarded if clear evidence exists on each threshold.

How we score

Each of the five Fairwork principles is broken down into two points: a first point and a second point that can only be awarded if the first point has been fulfilled.

Every platform receives a score out of 10. Platforms are only given a point when they can satisfactorily demonstrate their implementation of the principles. Failing to achieve a point does not necessarily mean that a platform does not comply with the principle in question. It simply means that we are not—for whatever reason—able to evidence its compliance.

The scoring involves a series of stages. First, the in-country team collates the evidence and assigns preliminary scores. The collated evidence is then sent to external reviewers for independent scoring. These reviewers are both members of the Fairwork teams in other countries, as well as members of the central Fairwork team. Once the external reviewers have assigned their scoring, all reviewers meet to discuss the scores and decide final scoring. These scores, as well as the justification for them being awarded or not, are then passed to the platforms for review. Platforms are then given the opportunity to submit further evidence to earn points that they were initially not awarded. These scores then form the final annual scoring that is published in the annual country Fairwork reports.



BACKGROUND

Overview of Platform Work in Indonesia

Platform work in Indonesia started in 2014 with the introduction of online car taxi services from Uber and Grab. In 2015, Gojek introduced their popular online motorcycle taxi service, followed by similar services from Grab (with GrabBike) and Uber (with UberMOTO). Online motorcycle services are popular because they are often cheaper than car taxis. In urban areas like Jakarta, which is known for its heavy traffic, motorcycles can navigate through traffic more easily than cars, allowing faster transportation. Eight years later, platform work in Indonesia has expanded rapidly into various sectors, such as food and grocery delivery, cleaning services, and even health and education.

Many factors have contributed to the development of platform work in Indonesia in recent years. Using the STEEPV framework,³ we can identify some of the key contributing factors as follows:

- Social: factors such as poor quality of public transportation as well as urbanisation, changing lifestyles, and a growing middle class that values convenience, drive the high demand for on-demand services like ride-hailing, food delivery, online marketplaces, and cleaning services.
- Technological: Internet and smartphone penetration, as well as the development and increasing number of digital platforms, have made it easier for workers

- to join and find jobs, for platforms to find workers, and for customers to order services.
- Economic: platform work has provided opportunities
 for workers to earn income and enter the workforce,
 particularly for low-skilled workers who may have
 limited job prospects in traditional industries.
 Additionally, customers are attracted to platform
 services because of their convenience and cost.
- Environmental: the lack of reliable public transportation options in Indonesia pushes citizens to use their own vehicles, causing traffic congestion and further environmental issues like increased carbon emissions, air pollution, and environmental

degradation. The emergence of electric vehicles and environmentally-friendly transportation options on platforms can potentially reduce environmental impact and encourage consumer demand.

- Political: platform work has faced regulatory and legal challenges, particularly around worker rights and safety. However, the government has also recognised the potential economic benefits of the platform work economy. It has taken steps to support its growth, including creating, in part, a new regulatory framework for ride-hailing services.
- Values: besides the growing value of convenience among customers, there is also a changing attitude towards work and employment. Many workers value flexibility and desire greater autonomy and control over their work, and see platform work as providing this.

With many crucial factors supporting its development, platform work has firmly established itself and is expected to remain a prominent feature of the modern labour market in Indonesia for years to come.

Today, platform work has expanded to hundreds of cities and districts in Indonesia.⁴ Ride-hailing services remain extremely popular, with Gojek and Grab being the dominant players with a combined market share of more than 90 percent.5 Both platforms have developed into "super apps" that offer ride-hailing services and various other on-demand services, including food, grocery, and package delivery, as well as digital payments for various products and services. Several competitors like Maxim and InDrive have been gaining popularity in recent years and are starting to expand beyond just ride-hailing services to include delivery services. The competition for delivery services has been especially strong during and after the pandemic with the development of delivery-focused platforms like Deliveree, Lalamove, Shopeefood, Borzo (previously MrSpeedy), and Paxel. Further, other types of location-based services, such as cleaning, have also been gaining popularity in urban areas through platforms like KliknClean.

There has yet to be official data on the number of platform workers in Indonesia. In 2019, GARDA, a collective organisation for online drivers, estimated that there were about 4 million online drivers in Indonesia. Using the national statistics data, de Ruyter and Rahmawati

(2020) estimated that the number of platform workers is approximately 2.5 million people, or about 1.8 percent of Indonesia's total workforce.⁷

Despite the continued rise of the platform work economy, the situation of platform workers is moving in the opposite direction. The average income of online drivers has steadily decreased over the years, with the number of worker protests increasing. For example, data show that between March 2020 and March 2022, there were 71 protests involving 132,960 online drivers. Fifty of those protests demanded decent fares and lower platform commission charges, among other changes to pay and conditions. It is improvements in pay and conditions that we particularly focus on in this report.

BETWEEN MARCH 2020 AND MARCH 2022, THERE WERE 71 PROTESTS INVOLVING 132,960 ONLINE DRIVERS.

The Legal Context

As the landscape of platform work in Indonesia has expanded from just ride-hailing services to food and package delivery and even cleaning services, the pressure for effective regulation has grown.

However, core issues remain in the fragmentation of legislation on platform work (see **Figure 2**) and that workers' legal status as "Partners" or "Mitra" prevents them from having the same rights as formal workers.

Digital labour platform firms often argue that they are simply providing the technology, a means to connect independent contractors with clients or customers, rather than employing workers directly. The term "Mitra" or "Kemitraan" (Partner or Partnership Agreement) is then used to describe the working relationship between platforms and their workers. This applies to the drivers, couriers, and cleaners who find work via these platforms, that we focus on in this study, but it has also encouraged other businesses beyond the platform work economy to follow suit. Hence, in recent years, other Indonesian

companies have begun opting for a partnership agreement model instead of a standard work agreement, and some have even changed their employees' status to partners.9

However, Indonesia's Labour Law (Law No. 13 of 2003 on Manpower) does not even recognise the term 'partnership'. Thus, platform work is not seen to be bound by any traditional labour laws or regulations, and this remains true despite the opportunity that could have been taken to change this with the introduction of the Omnibus Law (Law No. 11 of 2020 on Job Creation). Instead, the term <code>kemitraan/partnership</code> originates from the MSMEs Law (Law No. 20 of 2008 on Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises). Intended to regulate the work of businesses in Indonesia, ¹⁰ this law clearly represents a very different context from that faced by individual workers who earn

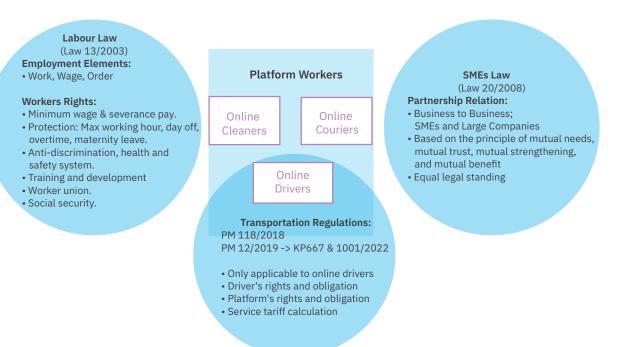


Figure 2. The Legal Landscape for Platform Work in Indonesia.

their livelihoods from platform work. The MSME Law was intended to apply between clients and independent contractors of roughly equal standing. Yet, the platform—worker relationship is anything but equal. Platforms exercise significant control over the work that platform workers do, such as setting payment rates, dictating the terms and conditions of work, and monitoring performance. Furthermore, platform workers also have huge economic dependence on the platform, which prevents them from being able to negotiate with their "partners" on equal terms. Unsurprisingly, researchers and others therefore argue that, from a regulatory perspective, to categorise platform workers as "partners" is a misclassification.¹¹

But could platform work be brought under existing labour law?

Article 15 of the Indonesian Labour Law states that "employment is a relationship between employers and workers/labourers based on work agreements, which have elements of work, wages, and orders." Of the three elements, the element of pay/wages may be the most challenging to prove because platforms will state that the payment goes from the customer to the worker and that they only take a percentage of each customer's payment to the worker.¹² Concerning orders and work, platforms would argue that these come only from the customer, not the platform. Consequently, some argue that the current partnership model between platforms and their workers cannot be considered an employment relationship.13 However, there could be some grounds to test this in a court of law: the payments for workers often come via the platform, not directly from the customer, and payments also include incentives from the platform itself. It is the platform that delivers the order, determines which worker fulfils the order, and monitors that fulfilment. It is the platform that filters, channels, delivers, and manages the work.

Until and unless the applicability of current labour law to platform work is legally tested, it sits in a kind of limbo, with neither the traditional labour laws nor the enterprise partnership law fitting the unique challenges of the new work relationship between platforms and their workers.

This absence of clear legal definitions of the rights and responsibilities of both platform workers and the platforms that hire them hampers attempts to effectively regulate platform work in Indonesia. To address this pressing issue, a specialised regulation specifically tailored to

platform workers is urgently needed. This regulation does not necessarily have to be in the form of a Law; it can be developed at the ministerial level through a Ministerial Regulation (*Peraturan Menteri*, "*Permen*") which should require fewer resources and time to develop. Aside from the clear legal definitions, such a regulation should provide clear standards on at least three aspects: platform workers' working hours, pay (to be based on time or output), and work safety. More importantly, such a regulation should be equipped with the necessary implementation infrastructure (e.g., to check that it is being put into practice) and be applicable to all platform workers, regardless of their employment status, sector, or the type of service that they provide. By establishing a specialised regulation, Indonesia will ensure the necessary clarity and guidance for both platform workers and platforms, enabling fair and equitable treatment while ensuring accountability.

A SPECIALISED REGULATION SPECIFICALLY TAILORED TO PLATFORM WORKERS IS URGENTLY NEEDED.

The potential for regulating the platform work economy using this approach has already been demonstrated. Despite the lack of policy innovation to address the issue from a labour perspective, some notable regulations related to platform workers have been established from the transportation side. The Minister of Transportation has established two Permen, PM.118 of 2018 and PM.12 of 2019, which provide the legal basis for ride-hailing services in Indonesia. Without these regulations, online taxi and motorcycle services would still be considered to be illegal business practices. While there have been criticisms concerning these regulations,14 especially regarding the logic of the partnership relation and the obligations on drivers, the main weakness of these regulations and their derivative rules remains their scope, which only applies to transportation services like ride-hailing. Although there have been some discussions and plans to establish new regulations for other sectors of the platform work economy,15 there is still no regulation that specifically regulates other services like online couriers and online cleaning services. The two existing Permen show what is possible, given the political will, and in the final section of the Report ("Moving Forward") we summarise recommended next steps on policy reform.

Fairwork Indonesia Scores 2023

		Minimum standards of fair work
Gojek	2 /10	••0000000
Grab	2/10	••0000000
Deliveree	1/10	•00000000
KliknClean	1/10	•00000000
Lalamove	1/10	•00000000
Maxim	1/10	•00000000
Paxel	1/10	•00000000
Shopeefood	1/10	•00000000
Borzo	0 /10	000000000
inDrive	0 /10	000000000

THE BREAKDOWN OF SCORES FOR INDIVIDUAL PLATFORMS IS AVAILABLE AT

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Explaining the scores



Fair Pay

Platforms can meet this threshold by ensuring that workers are paid at least the local minimum wage after work-related costs are subtracted from workers' earnings (those costs including—but not limited to—vehicle fuel and maintenance, rent and lease fees, insurance costs, and mobile data). In 2023, Jakarta's monthly minimum wage was set at IDR 4,901,798 which converts to IDR 28,171 per hour (ca. US\$ 1.9 per hour). Using this figure as our threshold, we were not able to find evidence enabling award of a point for any of the ten platforms that we assessed this year.

While a small number of car-based workers earned above the threshold in our study, they appeared to be the exception, as the majority of the workers in each platform we interviewed earned below the threshold and, based on the data we gathered, none of the platforms had a mechanism to ensure workers earned above the minimum wage. Platforms like Gojek and Grab have developed various initiatives aimed at worker incomes. As well as incentive schemes and promos to boost demand from customers, the platforms provide various benefits through programmes such as Gojek Swadaya and GrabBenefit which help with workers' daily costs of operations by providing discounts on buying fuel, mobile data, vehicle maintenance, and everyday-needs household products. Gojek even established the Gotong Royong Share Program, which distributed 4,000 company shares to workers who started driving between 2010 and 2016, and 1,000 shares to those who registered between 2017 and 2022. While these initiatives have been beneficial and gained positive responses from the workers, they fell short of ensuring all workers earned above the minimum wage on the platforms.



Fair Conditions

Platforms that show that they are aware of workers' risks and provide steps to mitigate them at no additional cost to the workers are awarded the first point of this principle.

KliknKlin and Paxel are the only two platforms that were awarded a point for this principle this year. We found sufficient evidence that the two platforms provide safety equipment, safety training, and call centres at no additional cost to the workers. KliknKlin provides free cleaning tools, chemicals, and uniforms for workers. Similarly, Paxel provides workers with safety equipment (jacket and delivery box), safety training, and a place to rest for free. However, we were not able to gather evidence of additional support provided to workers such as insurance, or compensation for when they were unable to work due to sickness or accident.

The two largest platforms, Gojek and Grab, provided support at no additional cost to workers including accident insurance, safety training, an emergency help button and call centre, and education and reskilling/upskilling programs. They also offer optional health insurance at a low price for the workers. However, without evidence of free provision of safety equipment such as helmets and jackets, we were unable to award a point on this principle to these platforms.

Overall, we exhort all platforms to provide features such as accident insurance and safety equipment at no additional cost for workers in the future.



Fair Contracts

For platforms to meet this principle, they must demonstrate that workers' contracts or terms and conditions (T&Cs) are clear and transparent, accessible to all workers, and ensure that no unfair contract terms are imposed.

In total, six platforms were awarded a point for this principle. They are Deliveree, Gojek, Grab, Lalamove, Maxim, and Shopeefood. The six platforms provide terms and conditions in Bahasa with a clearly identified contracting party, subject to Indonesian law, and rules on data protection and management. Their T&Cs are also available at all times on the web or in the worker's app.

However, we were unable to award the second point to any of the platforms. While there are different reasons for each platform, overall our findings indicate that platform T&Cs included clauses that exclude liability for negligence and/ or which unreasonably exempt the platform from liability for working conditions and/or that prevent workers from effectively seeking redress for grievances that arise from the working relationship they have with the platform.

Such clauses need to be amended in future to help create a fairer relationship between platform and worker. Similarly, our study indicates that several platforms in Indonesia do not give workers sufficient advance notice of changes to their terms and conditions, and also do not explain to workers important determinants of their work conditions, such as dynamic pricing.



Fair Management

To be awarded points for this principle, platforms must demonstrate that they provide due process for decisions affecting workers and that they provide equity in the management process.

This year, Grab and Gojek are the only two platforms that were awarded a point for this principle, as they offered accessible channels through which workers could communicate with the platform, including appealing decisions around payments and deactivations. They were also building towards award of the second point for fair management, with examples of anti-discrimination policies, and policies seeking to address inequalities in platform work such as gender inequalities.

We were unable to award a point for the second threshold to any of the platforms because there was insufficient evidence that the platforms we studied had mechanisms that demonstrate the algorithms they use do not exhibit discriminatory outcomes for particular groups.



Fair Representation

For platforms to score the first point for this principle, they must assure freedom of association and the expression of collective worker voice for all workers. Numerous groups and associations exist today that have been created by platform workers themselves. However, they lack legal standing and—while most platforms do not actively prevent their workers from joining such groups—none of the platforms have yet publicly acknowledged any of these groups or associations as legitimate collective representatives of the workers. This lack of recognition hinders the establishment of a fair and inclusive system where platform workers can voice their collective concerns and negotiate for better working conditions.

There were examples of platforms organising online forums and events through which they engaged with workers. However, these were not worker-led initiatives and functioned rather as platform-led channels for sharing information with workers, or for gathering specific feedback. They did not function as a basis for independent expression of collective worker voice. Thus, we were unable to award a point to any of the platforms for this principle.

THEME IN FOCUS 1

Strive on Our Own: Worker Strategies to Cope During Times of Crisis

Indonesian platform workers are in a vulnerable position as no appropriate protection exists for them. Worker vulnerability is especially high during times of crisis; something which seems almost continuous at present with the COVID-19 crisis followed by the cost-of-living crisis. With these crises platform workers were thrown into survival mode, and forced to be more "creative" to survive.

At the end of 2022, during what was hoped to be a post-pandemic recovery period, the Indonesian government increased fuel prices by 30 percent. This policy has directly affected most platform workers, especially ride-hailing drivers for whom fuel represents a major portion of their work-related costs. The direct result was decreased net income for workers. In response, the Ministry of Transportation stipulated the Minister of Transportation Decree Number KP.667 of 2022 (Kepmenhub 667/2022), which allowed the tariff charged to customers in Zone 2 (greater Jakarta) to be increased by 8–12 percent and restricted the maximum platform use fee to 15 percent. While platform workers we interviewed are happy with the tariff increase, many still feel that the tariff increase should be higher to mitigate the impact of the increased fuel price.

Unfortunately, this regulation did not solve the problem; instead, there were unintended consequences as the number of customer orders dwindled. A survey conducted by the Ministry of Transportation showed that, in a day,

drivers typically carried fewer than five passengers, compared to having five to ten passengers before the introduction of the new tariffs. ¹⁶ Customers think that the new tariffs are too expensive, causing them to choose cheaper alternatives for their daily travel. This is due to the fact that, after the tariff changed, despite the intended percentage increases specified in the decree, the price actually increased by about 25 percent from IDR 12,000 to IDR 15,000 for a short trip (no longer than 4 km). However, for such trips, drivers' earnings only increased by about 8 percent, from IDR 9,600 to IDR 10,400. ¹⁷ This disparity happened because KP.667 is set as the tariff guidance without any clear sanction or punishment mechanism linked to its implementation.

One common factor explaining reduced demand for platform work services and the challenges platform workers face is broader inflation beyond just fuel prices. This has arisen from supply-demand mismatches in the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic, the global trade tensions between

the US and China, and the war in Ukraine. For example, annual food price inflation in Indonesia hit 9.35 percent in July 2022, and was 7.23 percent in February 2023. Despite the downward trends, inflation is still relatively high, ultimately constraining both consumer demand and the spending power of platform workers—almost all of whom in our interviews appear to earn less than the minimum wage.

Given that neither the government nor platforms have been able to protect workers effectively against the negative impacts of inflation, workers have been forced to develop their own strategies to try to ensure a decent living. Some have simply been working even longer hours. For example, we came across instances in our interviews of workers activating their account at dawn, around 5 am, and remaining available for work until midnight in order to try to receive enough orders to earn sufficient income.

Others have been choosing to work on more than one platform to increase their chances of obtaining orders. As one of our interviewees noted:

"I used to work just for [Platform X], but starting last year, I also work for [Platform Y] and [Platform Z].

I just couldn't earn enough from [Platform X] like before COVID-19."

By practising "multi-homing" 19 (i.e., using multiple platforms as their "workplace"), workers can get an additional income of between IDR 20,000–IDR 50,000 (ca. US\$ 1.3–3.3) per day. Although this is relatively small, this figure is considered sufficient in helping workers to at least meet their basic daily needs. Beyond providing an additional income in times of crisis, this multi-homing behaviour has become a popular option among drivers as a backup. Thus, if their account on the main platform is suspended or deactivated (given what many perceive as an ineffective appeal mechanism), they can still earn money on other platforms.

A third strategy to earn sufficient income during these times of crisis—used, for instance, by some delivery couriers—is to build a relationship of trust with their customers and do their work without the intermediation of the platform: what local workers call "offline work". By bypassing the platform, their income will be higher because there is no need to pay for the platform fees. Some couriers who use this method also claim that the number of offline orders is much greater and more profitable than their platform work. As one told us:

"Nowadays, you need offline work to earn enough because the platform cut is increasing."



Some of these strategies can be seen as a form of worker resistance to company policies that they feel cannot guarantee even a minimum level of welfare during a time of crisis. Platforms may feel unhappy about multi-homing and, particularly, about offline working. Their response in the past to such worker strategies—such as workers' use of fake GPS locations or "ghost" accounts in order to increase their chances of obtaining orders or bonus payments—has been to alter the app and algorithm in order to block them.²⁰ But this approach addresses symptoms, not the underlying "disease".

Worker strategies like the ones described will continue unless and until platforms and/or the government act to ensure that all workers can earn a decent wage from their labour. Workers in many sectors in Indonesia are guaranteed to earn at least the minimum wage. It is the right time to extend this basic right to platform workers; particularly given the pressures they are experiencing as a result of the cost-of-living crisis.

Workers' stories

All the strategies mentioned above are familiar to most of the platform workers we interviewed this year. Although not all of them are implemented, workers must have used one or two strategies to secure their own lives. Linda* (32), a young mother of one, would directly seize her phone after finishing prayers at 5 am to activate her Grab account and be ready to start working as a food delivery courier. She learned from her fellow workers that she needed to keep a regular pattern of work in order to maintain a good performance rating on the platform. As a food delivery courier, some orders will appear on her account after 9 am and she will see a peak at lunchtime. She therefore usually uses the waiting time between 6 am to 9 am to be with her child at home before finally going to work and returning home at 8 pm.

Ryan* (26), a former conventional courier who became an online driver, also follows the same pattern. He will activate his account from 5 am until 9 pm. By doing this, he hopes that his performance will be considered consistent and then he can receive orders quickly. As a ride-hailing driver, the number of orders tends to be higher in the morning when

people leave for work, so if he gets an order at 5 am sharp, he takes it immediately if he wants his account performance to be maintained.

Linda and Ryan admit that following this pattern has made their accounts more "gacor"—meaning orders are easy to find, so they can earn a daily gross income of IDR 230,000 and IDR 180,000, respectively (ca. US\$ 15.3 and US\$ 11.9). However, that figure is still far from the minimum wage in Jakarta, given that they also have to pay work-related costs from this.

Drivers face risks on the road, including accidents.

Linda once had an accident when driving home after completing an order. She was so exhausted at the time that she lost her balance while driving and hit a road divider. Luckily, there were no serious injuries and only minor damage to the motorcycle. She knew that her platform provided accident insurance. Still, she understood that such insurance could only be claimed when the driver has an accident while carrying out the order. In other words, the trip home following a task falls outside the eligible category. She therefore didn't file any report to the platform because she believed there would be no benefit.

Ryan explained to us how one day, he had a minor accident while carrying a passenger due to sand on the road which made him slip. He was fortunate as neither he nor the passenger suffered any injuries. When the accident happened, he immediately apologised to the customer and asked them not to give a bad rating for his service. Ratings from customers are crucial for drivers since it affects their account performance. Ryan had this experience when he received a bad rating from a customer, which caused his account to be suspended for three days. Even though there are mechanisms to appeal to the platform, he chose to let it go because he thought the appeals would not really solve the problem and were a waste of time. This incident made him realise how vulnerable drivers are following an accident, without any insurance support from the platform. He therefore enrolled in the free national healthcare insurance service from the government (BPJS Kesehatan) as a safety cushion if something unexpected happened. This service provides medical and nursing expenses for individual accidents experienced by BPJS Kesehatan participants.

*Names changed to protect worker identity

THEME IN FOCUS 2

Platform Workers and the Expansion of Electric Vehicles

The Indonesian government has implemented various regulations in line with the massive global movement on sustainability transitions. Among these has been a focus on electric vehicle (EV) usage, which began with the Presidential Regulation 55/2019 to accelerate the battery-electric-vehicle programme for road transportation. This regulation aims to provide a foundation for EV adoption in Indonesia.

The government scaled up their effort to push for nationwide adoption of EVs in 2022 by, among others, instructing online ride-hailing platforms (i.e., Gojek, Grab, Maxim, and inDrive) to start leaning towards EVs to minimise emissions. Of those four, Gojek and Grab have been particularly active in following the Indonesian government's instructions. Under the GoRide Electric programme, Gojek launched a commercial trial in South Jakarta involving 500 electric Gojek motorcycles.²¹ Meanwhile, as of December 2022, Grab has equipped 8,500 drivers in Greater Jakarta, Medan, Bandung, Solo, Jogjakarta, Semarang, Surabaya, and Bali with EVs; something it claims has avoided 10,000 tonnes of carbon emissions.²²

The expansion of EV usage by platforms has pushed their drivers to change how they work. Previously, most drivers owned their vehicles—be it fully owned or still on lease—meaning that they needed to cover their vehicle's daily and monthly expenses, including petrol, repairs, or lease instalments. Now, and given the high cost of electric

vehicles, drivers have been following only a rental model whereby they rent EVs (which are owned by platforms) by paying a daily fee of IDR 40,000 (Gojek) or IDR 50,000 (Grab) (between X-YUS\$ 2.7–3.3), freeing them from costly vehicle maintenance and petrol expenses.

The adoption of EVs by ride-hailing platforms brings three main advantages for drivers. First, it presents opportunities for anyone who does not own a vehicle but wants to become a platform worker since not all of them are able to take out a loan to buy a regular motorcycle. As one driver told us:

"With EV, even though I don't own any vehicle, I can still work and make ends meet."

It also provides a route to work on some platforms which have excluded some workers with older motorcycles due to rules that vehicles must be less than eight years old.²³

Second, it can reduce platform workers' costs. By paying the EV rental charge of IDR 40,000-50,000 per day—depending on which platform they are registered to—they can worry

less about daily petrol expenses that vary from IDR 30,000–50,000, and monthly maintenance that typically costs them at least IDR 100,000 per month. One driver told us:

"I don't have to worry about taking my motorcycle to the repair shop every month, neither do I need to spend that much for petrol."

The third advantage is that some EV drivers stated that they could earn more compared to regular drivers, although this claim remains debatable. EV drivers can take both regular and electric motorcycle orders (Gojek customers can pay an extra IDR 1,500 to specifically order EV-based services). Some drivers even claimed to us that they get prioritised for incoming orders compared to regular online motorcycle drivers:

"I think EV drivers are more favoured than other regular drivers."

There are also incentive schemes that apply specifically for EV drivers, like exemption from paying the EV rent for 5–7 days each month.

Nevertheless, behind all these perks, various disadvantages are lurking. First, the compulsory IDR 40,000–50,000 rental fee that should be paid daily can be a little too much. Often, drivers are forced to work every day during the week as their daily income fluctuates from time to time, and they may get fewer orders during a specific period.

EV drivers are managed differently by the platform. For example in the case of Grab, the EV drivers we spoke to stated that they are bound to pay the rent expense even on days they are unable to work because of illness, unless they can provide a letter of proof from a local hospital. If Grab's EV drivers fail to pay the rent for three consecutive days, their accounts are temporarily suspended until they pay the debt. In contrast, EV drivers from Gojek mentioned that they are entitled to 5–7 days of rent exemption per month. Additionally, once they have reached 15 trips in one day, Gojek EV drivers will get a bonus in the form of cashback for their daily rent, which other regular drivers do not get.

The next disadvantage faced by EV drivers is that recharging the battery is problematic. Gojek EV drivers can acquire fully-charged vehicle batteries for free at seven designated locations in South Jakarta. However, the distance between these locations is quite far, and getting to one may be too time-consuming for drivers who are trying to take as

many orders as possible. Meanwhile, Grab offers various options for battery charging, but it can still be a challenge. The alternatives are between charging at home—which will take at least four hours with the bill being the driver's responsibility—or finding partnered minimarts to swap their empty batteries with charged ones for approximately IDR 8,000 per battery.

From a broader viewpoint, there is no denying that the transition into EV usage by both Gojek and Grab should be a positive first step toward sustainability. Drawing from data elsewhere, EV adoption by ride-hailing platforms could lead to significant emissions and other environmental benefits compared to use of regular vehicles.²⁴ Of course, the zero direct CO₂ emissions²⁵ produced by EVs have to be set against the carbon emissions during vehicle production, delivery, and disposal as well as the emissions linked to electricity production, which unfortunately is still fossil fueldominated in Indonesia.

Beyond the obvious impacts on sustainability, contradictory consequences may arise. Given the rental system, with the vehicles being owned by platforms, the risks and dangers from the job itself may be loaded onto the workers. If an accident occurs with an EV driver that results in the vehicle being damaged, the driver may be forced to pay for the damages. And knowing that there is still a great gap in safety measures, such an occurrence may well happen.

If EV adoption grows further based on a rental model, then it may lead to further disempowerment and marginalisation of workers. Platforms already hold much more power than workers within the platform work ecosystem. Further expansion of platform ownership of the main work tool will only exacerbate this, leading to a situation in which workers hold even less power and in which they are even more dependent on the platforms, thus giving platforms even more leverage over their workers. While regular drivers have always suffered from the asymmetry of power, the rise of EV usage by ride-hailing platforms risks amplifying the imbalance even more.

Although EV usage in ride-hailing platforms has proven beneficial for some workers in reducing the barriers to work, as well as contributing to a greener world, there are still current obstacles and future challenges. The problems outlined in this report are only the tip of the iceberg, and both the government and platforms should be responsible for addressing them before the EV usage policy is fully adopted.

Workers' Stories

The advantages and disadvantages of EV usage by ride-hailing platforms were highlighted by a number of the workers we spoke to. Dian*, a 47-year-old mother, joined Grab in November 2022 due to financial needs, but she was unable to register her motorcycle with the platform due to tax issues. Grab's EV policy allowed her to be an EV driver through the rental system instead.

For Dian, the obvious benefit of the EV scheme is being able to earn money despite lacking a suitable vehicle. Dian leaves home every day to take orders until lunchtime. At around 1 PM, she will return home to charge her batteries fully, and while waiting, she does house chores. At 6 PM, she again leaves home to take more orders. Her main complaint is that she struggles every day to make enough money to cover the rental fee, especially on some days when she finds herself getting fewer orders.

Dian also shared her experience of having her account suspended for not paying the EV rental fee three days in a row. It was difficult for her to pay off the dues in order to get her account reactivated, particularly because she could not earn anything during the days when her account

was suspended. She was involved in an unfortunate minor accident which damaged her rented EV and in which she herself was injured. Dian had to pay 10 percent of the total repair cost and the daily IDR 50,000 rent even while the motorcycle was being repaired. She also told us about her fellow Grab EV driver who lost the keys to the EV and was charged IDR 175,000 for a new set.

When asked if EV drivers are more favoured than regular drivers, Dian's tone changed. According to her, such a claim is nonsense. She said she would rather be a regular driver with her own vehicle instead of renting an EV from the platform, and would definitely switch if and when she manages to earn enough.

A different attitude came from Hendra*, a 50-year-old platform worker from Gojek. Hendra joined the platform eight years ago and is now an EV driver. After shifting to an EV, his daily expenses dropped. Before using an EV, his petrol consumption cost around IDR 40,000 per day, which is the same as his EV daily rent. However, the greatest deal that came out of it for Hendra is that he does not have to worry about maintenance costs, as these are the



responsibility of the platform. Moreover, Hendra has the privilege of having seven days off every month, during which he pays no EV rental, and it gives him time to run his decoration business on an occasional basis.

Hendra's main concern is recharging the batteries. With the limited battery power, he often worries about his vehicle running out of power in an area where the nearest charging station is far away, especially when taking a long-trip order. Even under normal circumstances, the trips to the charging station are time-consuming for him. Therefore, he tends to only take short-distance orders that do not pay as much as those covering longer distances.

*Names changed to protect worker identity

MOVING FORWARD

Towards a Sustainable Platform Work Economy in Indonesia

This report demonstrates how the sustainability of the platform work economy in Indonesia is at a crucial juncture. While platform work continues to expand and evolve, platforms can no longer retain the payment incentive schemes seen in their early years.

This makes it increasingly challenging for platform workers to earn enough income, prompting workers to turn to additional sources of income to make ends meet. This has resulted in a growing number of platform workers working on multiple platforms or bypassing platforms to undertake work offline. On the other hand, the increasing number of platform workers who use rental vehicles—from the platform or a third party—to work has put them in an even more dependent and pressured situation, with an obligation to pay the daily rent regardless of how much work they get or how much money they make. Platform workers can work for 15 hours a day, trying to find work from up to five platforms at once, and yet, there is still no guarantee that they will earn enough at the end of the day.

This situation raises concerns about the long-term viability and fairness of the platform work economy in Indonesia, as the absence of adequate earnings can lead to financial instability and precarious livelihoods for platform workers. If the situation continues, there could be a decline in the number of individuals willing to participate in platform work. Several platform workers we interviewed already expressed their willingness to switch jobs should the opportunity come. This could lead to a shortage of available services, reduced consumer trust in the platform work economy, and a negative impact on the overall growth and sustainability of the whole platform ecosystem. It is crucial for all stakeholders, including governments, platforms, platform workers, and the public, to collaborate and take proactive steps to ensure that the platform work economy in Indonesia promotes sustainable and equitable opportunities for all participants.

A significant opportunity exists in Indonesia due to the upcoming election in 2024. Depending on the political agenda and priorities of the incoming government,

there could be changes in public discourse, policies, and regulations that directly affect platform work.

This includes potential shifts in labour laws, worker protections, taxation, and licensing requirements for platform firms. Campaigns often focus on workers' rights and social protections, presenting an opportunity for discussions and potential improvements in the conditions of platform workers. Platform worker associations must be actively involved in these discussions to ensure that each candidate engages with, prioritises, and provides practical proposals covering all the critical issues of platform work raised in this report.

Pathways to Change

So what can be done to improve the working conditions of platform workers in order to promote sustainable platform work in Indonesia? Based on our examination of the challenges that platform workers face and the factors contributing to their work conditions, there are several pathways (see **Figure 3**) that could be followed by the five key stakeholders to improve the situation.

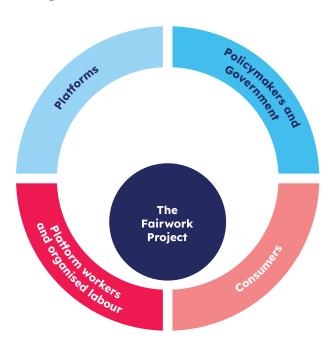
1. Next steps for policymakers

The first and most important step to improving working conditions for platform workers is to *develop the necessary regulatory framework for platform work in Indonesia*. The regulatory framework should cover the following critical issues:

Figure 3. Fairwork's Pathways to Change

- Clear legal definitions for platform work, which include
 the rights and responsibilities of both platform workers
 and platforms in the working arrangement between
 the two. Platform workers have enough unique
 characteristics that separate them from traditional
 employees and from independent contractors.
 In order to effectively regulate and provide them with
 the necessary protections, a clear legal definition that
 actually represents their characteristics is required;
 for example an in-between status such as "dependent
 contractor".
- Provide clear standards on at least three aspects:
 - · Maximum working hours for platform workers.
 - Minimum pay, which could be based on output (completed tasks) or work time.
 - Safety measures for platform workers.
- Ensure legal rights for platform workers to form a legally recognized worker association and to voice their collective concerns and inputs. This could include a fair mechanism for platforms and platform workers' representatives to settle their differences directly or through assistance from a third-party organisation.

Alongside these policy content issues, there are a number of policy process next steps:



- Ensure that regulations on platform work come from the appropriate state body; in this case, most likely the Ministry of Manpower, which regulates general issues regarding working relations. In this way, regulations would be applicable to all platform workers, regardless of their employment status, sector, or the type of service that they provide; rather than only workers in specified sectors like online drivers or couriers.
- Development of regulations should be a multilateral process involving platforms, workers, and other stakeholders.
- The necessary implementation infrastructure must be created to ensure that the policy is being put into practice. This could include assigning one government body or division to actively monitor and evaluate the platform work economy.

2. Next steps for platforms

It is important for platforms to *prioritise the well-being* and rights of platform workers and go beyond mere compliance with legal requirements or profit. This can be achieved by implementing these measures:

- Implement transparent and fair payment mechanisms, ensuring that all workers receive adequate compensation for their services, enabling workers to earn at least the minimum wage after costs. Platforms can reinstate earlier incentive schemes that were more helpful for worker earnings, but can also introduce top-up schemes to ensure no worker can fall below a basic minimum standard of fair earnings.
- Be transparent about how their algorithm affects the
 distribution of jobs and publish this information for
 all workers. Currently, many workers are making a lot
 of assumptions and speculations about variance in
 the number of jobs different workers get or variance
 from one day to the next. This is stressful for workers,
 and leads to a lack of trust in platforms; problems that
 could be alleviated with clear explanations about the
 functioning of algorithms.
- Publicly acknowledge workers groups/associations as the collective voice and representation of the workers.
 Without this acknowledgement, workers' groups will not be able to participate effectively in discussions on

- significant changes in platform policy that will affect the workers.
- Implement the good practices that already exist in some platforms. For example, providing accident insurance, safety training, an emergency response system, and safety equipment at no additional cost for the platform workers. Other good practices that some platforms have already demonstrated to be feasible include fully functioning call centres with human representatives, appeal mechanisms for all workers, a well-disseminated anti-discrimination policy, and active measures to promote diversity, equality, and inclusion.
- Develop an audit system to periodically monitor and evaluate their algorithm; ensuring that it is working as intended and is not discriminating against certain groups.

Next steps for consumers and public

Fairwork's theory of change relies on a humanist belief in the power of empathy and knowledge. If they have the economic means to choose, many consumers will be discerning about the platform services they use. Our yearly ratings give consumers the ability to choose the highest-scoring platform operating in a sector, thus contributing to pressure on platforms to improve their working conditions and their scores. In this way, consumer solidarity with workers' allies can be leveraged in the fight for fairer working conditions. Consumers can:

- Support platforms that prioritise fair labour practices and worker protections, fostering demand for ethical and sustainable platform services over purely low-cost services.
- Recognise that customers are always prioritised by
 the platforms and that they therefore have a voice in
 ensuring that workers are treated fairly. Customers
 often forget that the platform workers are not machines;
 they are fellow humans who face low pay, precarity,
 and poor and dangerous working conditions—something
 which has been summarised in a series of worker
 videos available on the Fairwork YouTube channel.
 They also often underestimate how their small actions

(e.g., giving low ratings or reporting workers for small mistakes) could actually make a worker lose their job, or lower their performance ratings, which will affect the amount of work or money that they receive.

4. Next steps for platform workers, groups and associations

- Organise, and keep the discussion and flow of information active to collectively advocate for workers rights, negotiate better working conditions, and influence policy decisions.
- Share experiences and concerns with relevant stakeholders, including government representatives, academic / NGO / civil society organisations, and the media.
- Engage in dialogue with the other platform work stakeholders and participate in consultation forums to provide valuable insights into the challenges faced by platform workers.
- Educate fellow platform workers about the crucial issues in platform work, about their importance, and about what needs to be changed.

Next steps for academics, research organisations, and civil society organisations

- Conduct research and gather data on platform work to understand the dynamics of the situation and its impact on workers and society.
- Inform evidence-based policies and advocate for the rights and well-being of platform workers, raising public awareness through campaigns, reports, and publications.
- Collaborate with governments, platforms, and workers to develop best practices, guidelines, and recommendations for improving working conditions in the platform economy.
- Act as a strategic hub that connects and provides important data for platform workers, platforms, and policymakers to work together towards sustainable platform work in Indonesia.
- Sign the Fairwork Pledge (see pg. 30) in order to indicate support for progressive change in the Indonesian platform work economy.



The Fairwork Pledge

As part of this process of change, Fairwork has introduced the Fairwork Pledge. This pledge leverages the power of organisations' procurement, investment, and partnership policies to support fairer platform work. Organisations like universities, schools, businesses, and charities who make use of platform labour can make a difference by supporting the best labour practices, guided by our five principles of fair work. Organisations who sign the pledge get to display our badge on organisational materials.

The pledge constitutes two levels. This first is as an official Fairwork Supporter, which entails publicly demonstrating support for fairer platform work, and making resources available to staff and members to help them in deciding which platforms to engage with. A second level of the pledge entails organisations committing to concrete and meaningful changes in their own practices as official Fairwork Partners; for example by committing to using better-rated platforms where there is a choice.

To date, organisations in Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, Egypt, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Nigeria, Spain, Turkey, the UK and the USA have signed up as Supporters and Partners.

MORE INFORMATION ABOUT
THE PLEDGE, AND HOW TO SIGN UP,
IS AVAILABLE AT

FAIR.WORK/PLEDGE



APPENDIX

Fairwork Scoring System

Which companies are covered by the Fairwork principles?

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) defines a "digital labour platform" as an enterprise that mediates and facilitates "labour exchange between different users, such as businesses, workers and consumers". Fhat includes digital labour "marketplaces" where "businesses set up the tasks and requirements and the platforms match these to a global pool of workers who can complete the tasks within the specified time". Marketplaces that do not facilitate labour exchanges - for example, Airbnb (which matches owners of accommodation with those seeking to rent short term accommodation) and eBay (which matches buyers and sellers of goods)—are obviously excluded from the definition. The ILO's definition of "digital labour platform" is widely accepted and includes many different business models. Reference of the service of the

Fairwork's research covers digital labour platforms that fall within this definition that aim to connect individual service providers with consumers of the service through the platform interface. Fairwork's research does not cover platforms that mediate offers of employment between individuals and employers (whether on a long-term or on a temporary basis).

Fairwork distinguishes between two types of these platforms. The first, is "geographically-tethered" platforms where the work is required to be done in a particular location such as delivering food from a restaurant to an apartment, driving a person from one part of town to another or cleaning. These are often referred to as "gig work platforms". The second is "cloudwork" platforms where the work can, in theory, be performed from any location via the internet.

The thresholds for meeting each principle are different for location-based and cloudwork platforms because location-based work platforms can be benchmarked against local market factors, risks/harms, and regulations that apply in that country, whereas cloudwork platforms cannot because (by their nature) the work can be performed from anywhere and so different market factors, risks/harms, and regulations apply depending on where the work is performed.

The platforms covered by Fairwork's research have different business, revenue and governance models including employment-based, subcontractor, commission-based, franchise, piece-rate, shift-based, and subscription models. Some of those models involve the platforms making direct payments to workers (including through sub-contractors).

How does the scoring system work?

The five Principles of Fairwork were developed through an extensive literature review of published research on job quality, stakeholder meetings at UNCTAD and the ILO in Geneva (involving platform operators, policymakers, trade unions, and academics), and in-country meetings with local stakeholders.

Each Fairwork Principle is divided into two thresholds. Accordingly, for each Principle, the scoring system allows the first to be awarded corresponding to the first threshold, and an additional second point to be awarded corresponding to the second threshold (see Table 1).

The second point under each Principle can only be awarded if the first point for that Principle has been awarded. The thresholds specify the evidence required for a platform to receive a given point. Where no verifiable evidence is available that meets a given threshold, the platform is not awarded that point.

A platform can therefore receive a maximum Fairwork score of ten points. Fairwork scores are updated on a yearly basis; the scores presented in this report were derived from data pertaining to the 12 months between September 2022 and September 2023, and are valid until September 2024.

Table 1 Fairwork: Scoring System

Principle		First point	Second point	Total
	Principle 1: Fair Pay	Ensures workers earn least the local minimu wage after costs		
	Principle 2: Fair Conditions	Mitigates task-specific risks	Provides a safety net	2
	Principle 3: Fair Contracts	Provides clear and transparent terms and conditions	Ensures that no unfair contract terms a imposed	are 2
	Principle 4: Fair Management	Provides due process for decisions affecting workers	Provides equity in the management process	2
\(\xi\) !	Principle 5: Fair Representation	Assures freedom of association and the expression of collectiv worker voice	Supports democratic governance	2

Maximum possible Fairwork Score



Principle 1: Fair Pay

1.1 – Ensures workers earn at least the local minimum wage after costs (one point)

Platform workers often have substantial work-related costs to cover, such as transport between jobs, supplies, or fuel, insurance, and maintenance on a vehicle.²⁹ Workers' costs sometimes mean their take-home earnings may fall below the local minimum wage.³⁰ Workers also absorb the costs of extra time commitment, when they spend time waiting or travelling between jobs, or other unpaid activities necessary for their work, such as mandatory training, which are also considered active hours.³¹ To achieve this point platforms must ensure that work-related costs do not push workers below local minimum wage.

The platform takes appropriate steps to ensure both of the following:

- Payment must be on time and in-full.
- Workers earn at least the local minimum wage, or the wage set by collective sectoral agreement (whichever is higher) in the place where they work, in their active hours, after costs.³²

1.2 – Ensures workers earn at least a local living wage after costs (one additional point)

In some places, the minimum wage is not enough to allow workers to afford a basic but decent standard of living. To achieve this point platforms must ensure that work-related costs do not push workers below local living wage.

The platform takes appropriate steps to ensure the following:

 Workers earn at least a local living wage, or the wage set by collective sectoral agreement (whichever is higher) in the place where they work, in their active hours, after costs.^{33,34}

Principle 2: Fair Conditions

2.1 - Mitigates task-specific risks (one point)

Platform workers may encounter a number of risks in the course of their work, including accidents and injuries, harmful materials, and crime and violence. To achieve this point platforms must show that they are aware of these risks and take basic steps to mitigate them.

The platform must satisfy the following:

- Adequate equipment and training is provided to protect workers' health and safety from task-specific risks.³⁵
 These should be implemented at no additional cost to the worker.
- The platform mitigates the risks of lone working by providing adequate support and designing processes with occupational safety and health in mind.

2.2 – Ensures safe working conditions and a safety net (one additional point)

Platform workers are vulnerable to the possibility of abruptly losing their income as the result of unexpected or external circumstances, such as sickness or injury.

Most countries provide a social safety net to ensure workers don't experience sudden poverty due to circumstances outside their control. However, platform workers usually don't qualify for protections such as sick pay, because of their independent contractor status. In recognition of the fact that most workers are dependent on income they earn from platform work, platforms should ensure that workers are compensated for loss of income due to inability to work. In addition, platforms must minimise the risk of sickness and injury even when all the basic steps have been taken.

The platform must satisfy ALL of the following:

- Platforms take meaningful steps to ensure that workers do not suffer significant costs as a result of accident, injury or disease resulting from work.
- Workers should be compensated for income loss due to inability to work commensurate with the worker's average earnings over the past three months.
- Where workers are unable to work for an extended period due to unexpected circumstances, their standing on the platform is not negatively impacted.
- The platform implements policies or practices that protect workers' safety from task-specific risks.³⁶
 In particular, the platform should ensure that pay is not structured in a way that incentivizes workers to take excessive levels of risk.

Principle 3: Fair Contracts

3.1 – Provides clear and transparent terms and conditions (one point)

The terms and conditions governing platform work are not always clear and accessible to workers.³⁷ To achieve this point, the platform must demonstrate that workers are able

to understand, agree to, and access the conditions of their work at all times, and that they have legal recourse if the other party breaches those conditions.

The platform must satisfy ALL of the following:

- The party contracting with the worker must be identified in the contract, and subject to the law of the place in which the worker works.
- The contract/terms & conditions are presented in full in clear and comprehensible language that all workers could be expected to understand.
- Workers have to sign a contract and/or give informed consent to terms of conditions upon signing up for the platform.
- The contracts/terms and conditions are easily accessible to workers in paper form, or via the app/platform interface at all times.
- Contracts/terms & conditions do not include clauses that revert prevailing legal frameworks in the respective countries.
- Platforms take adequate, responsible and ethical data protection and management measures, laid out in a documented policy.

3.2 – Ensures that no unfair contract terms are imposed (one additional point)

In some cases, especially under "independent contractor" classifications, workers carry a disproportionate amount of risk for engaging in a contract with the service user. They may be liable for any damage arising in the course of their work, and they may be prevented by unfair clauses from seeking legal redress for grievances. To achieve this point, platforms must demonstrate that risks and liability of engaging in the work is shared between parties.

Regardless of how the contractual status of the worker is classified, the platform must satisfy ALL of the following:

- Every worker is notified of proposed changes in clear and understandable language within a reasonable timeframe before changes come into effect; and the changes should not reverse existing accrued benefits and reasonable expectations on which workers have relied.
- The contract/terms and conditions neither include clauses which exclude liability for negligence nor

unreasonably exempt the platform from liability for working conditions. The platform takes appropriate steps to ensure that the contract does not include clauses which prevent workers from effectively seeking redress for grievances which arise from the working relationship.

- In case platform labour is mediated by subcontractors:
 The platform implements a reliable mechanism to monitor and ensure that the subcontractor is living up to the standards expected from the platform itself regarding working conditions.
- In cases where there is dynamic pricing used for services, the data collected and calculations used to allocate payment must be transparent and documented in a form available to workers.

Principle 4: Fair Management

4.1 – Provides due process for decisions affecting workers (one point)

Platform workers can experience arbitrary deactivation; being barred from accessing the platform without explanation, and potentially losing their income. Workers may be subject to other penalties or disciplinary decisions without the ability to contact the service user or the platform to challenge or appeal them if they believe they are unfair. To achieve this point, platforms must demonstrate an avenue for workers to meaningfully appeal disciplinary actions.

The platform must satisfy ALL of the following:

- There is an easily accessible channel for workers to communicate with a human representative of the platform and to effectively solve problems. This channel is documented in the contract and available on the platform interface. Platforms should respond to workers within a reasonable timeframe. There is a process for workers to meaningfully and effectively appeal low ratings, non-payment, payment issues, deactivations, and other penalties and disciplinary actions. This process is documented in a contract and available on the platform interface.³⁸
- In the case of deactivations, the appeals process must be available to workers who no longer have access to the platform.
- Workers are not disadvantaged for voicing concerns or appealing disciplinary actions.

4.2 – Provides equity in the management process (one additional point)

The majority of platforms do not actively discriminate against particular groups of workers. However, they may inadvertently exacerbate already existing inequalities in their design and management. For example, there is a lot of gender segregation between different types of platform work. To achieve this point, platforms must show not only that they have policies against discrimination, but also that they seek to remove barriers for disadvantaged groups, and promote inclusion.

Platforms must satisfy ALL of the following:

- The platform has an effective anti-discrimination policy laying out a clear process for reporting, correcting and penalising discrimination of workers on the platform on grounds such as race, social origin, caste, ethnicity, nationality, gender, sex, gender identity and expression, sexual orientation, disability, religion or belief, age or any other status.³⁹
- The platform has measures in place to promote diversity, equality and inclusion on the platform. It takes practical measures to promote equality of opportunity for workers from disadvantaged groups, including reasonable accommodation for pregnancy, disability, and religion or belief.
- Where persons from a disadvantaged group (such as women) are significantly under-represented among a pool of workers, it seeks to identify and remove barriers to access by persons from that group.
- If algorithms are used to determine access to work or remuneration or the type of work and pay scales available to workers seeking to use the platform, these are transparent and do not result in inequitable outcomes for workers from historically or currently disadvantaged groups.
- It has mechanisms to reduce the risk of users discriminating against workers from disadvantaged groups in accessing and carrying out work.

Principle 5: Fair Representation

5.1 – Assures freedom of association and the expression of worker voice (one point)

Freedom of association is a fundamental right for all workers, and enshrined in the constitution of the International Labour Organisation, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The right for workers to organise, collectively express their wishes—and importantly—be listened to, is an important prerequisite for fair working conditions. However, rates of organisation amongst platform workers remain low. To achieve this point, platforms must ensure that the conditions are in place to encourage the expression of collective worker voice.

Platforms must satisfy ALL of the following:

- There is a documented mechanism⁴⁰ for the expression of collective worker voice that allows ALL workers, regardless of employment status, to participate without risks.
- There is a formal, written statement of willingness to recognise, and bargain with, a collective, independent body of workers or trade union, that is clearly communicated to all workers, and available on the platform interface.⁴¹
- Freedom of association is not inhibited, and workers are not disadvantaged in any way for communicating their concerns, wishes and demands to the platform, or expressing willingness to form independent collective bodies of representation.⁴²

5.2 – Supports democratic governance (one additional point)

While rates of organisation remain low, platform workers' associations are emerging in many sectors and countries. We are also seeing a growing number of cooperative worker-owned platforms. To realise fair representation, workers must have a say in the conditions of their work. This could be through a democratically governed cooperative model, a formally recognised union, or the ability to undertake collective bargaining with the platform.

The platform must satisfy at least ONE of the following:

- 1. Workers play a meaningful role in governing it.
- 2. In a written document available at all times on the platform interface, the platform publicly and formally recognises an independent collective body of workers, an elected works council, or trade union. This recognition is not exclusive and, when the legal framework allows, the platform should recognise any significant collective body seeking representation.⁴³

ENDNOTES

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- 29 Work-related costs include direct costs the worker may incur in performing the job. This may include, for instance, transport in between jobs, supplies, vehicle repair and maintenance, fuel, road tolls and vehicle insurance. However, it does not include transport to and from the job (unless in-between tasks) nor taxes, social security contributions or health insurance.
- 30 The ILO defines minimum wage as the "minimum amount of remuneration that an employer is required to pay wage earners for the work performed during a given period, which cannot be reduced by collective agreement or an individual contract." Minimum wage laws protect workers from unduly low pay and help them attain a minimum standard of living. The ILO's Minimum Wage Fixing Convention, 1970 C135 sets the conditions and requirements of establishing minimum wages and calls upon all ratifying countries to act in accordance. Minimum wage laws exist in more than 90 per cent of the ILO member states.
- **31** In addition to direct working hours where workers are completing tasks, workers also spend time performing unpaid activities necessary for their work, such as waiting for delivery orders at restaurants and travelling between jobs. These indirect working hours are also considered part of active hours as workers are giving this time to the platform. Thus, "active hours" are defined as including both direct and indirect working hours.
- **32** In order to evidence this, where the platform is responsible for paying workers the platform must either: (a) have a documented policy that ensures the workers receive at least the local minimum wage after costs in their active hours; or (b) provide summary statistics of transaction and cost.
- **33** Where a living wage does not exist, Fairwork will use the Global Living Wage Coalition's Anker Methodology to estimate one.
- **34** In order to evidence this, where the platform is responsible for paying workers the platform must either: (a) have a documented policy that ensures the workers receive at least the local living wage after costs in their active hours; or (b) provide summary statistics of transaction and cost data evidencing all workers earn a minimum wage after costs.
- 35 The ILO recognises health and safety at work as a fundamental right. Where the platform directly engages the worker, the starting point is the ILO's Occupational Safety and Health Convention, 1981 (C155). This stipulates that employers shall be required "so far as is reasonably practicable, the workplaces, machinery, equipment and processes under their control are safe and without risk to health", and that "where necessary, adequate protective clothing and protective equipment [should be provided] to prevent, so far as is reasonably practicable, risk of accidents or of adverse effects on health."
- **36** The ILO recognises health and safety at work as a fundamental right. Where the platform directly engages the worker, the starting point is the ILO's Occupational Safety and Health Convention, 1981 (C155). This stipulates that employers shall be required "so far as is reasonably practicable, the workplaces, machinery, equipment and processes under their control are safe and without risk to health", and that "where necessary, adequate protective clothing and protective equipment [should be provided] to prevent, so far as is reasonably practicable, risk of accidents or of adverse effects on health."

- **37** The ILO's Maritime Labour Convention, 2006 (MLC 2006), Reg. 2.1, and the Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (C189), Articles 7 and 15, serve as helpful guiding examples of adequate provisions in workers' terms and conditions, as well as worker access to those terms and conditions
- **38** Workers should have the option of escalating grievances that have not been satisfactorily addressed and, in the case of automated decisions, should have the option of escalating it for human mediation.
- **39** In accordance with the ILO Convention No. 111 concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation and applicable national law.
- **40** A mechanism for the expression of collective worker voice will allow workers to participate in the setting of agendas so as to be able to table issues that most concern them. This mechanism can be in physical or virtual form (e.g. online meetings) and should involve meaningful interaction (e.g. not surveys). It should also allow for ALL workers to participate in regular meetings with the management.
- **41** For example, "[the platform] will support any effort by its workers to collectively organise or form a trade union. Collective bargaining through trade unions can often bring about more favourable working conditions."
- 42 See the ILO's Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise Convention, 1948 (C087), which stipulates that "workers and employers, without distinction, shall have the right to establish and join organisations of their own choosing without previous authorisation" (Article 2); "the public authorities shall refrain from any interference which would restrict the right or impede the lawful exercise thereof" (Article 3) and that "workers' and employers' organisations shall not be liable to be dissolved or suspended by administrative authority" (Article 4). Similarly the ILO's Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (C098) protects the workers against acts of antiunion discrimination in respect of their employment, explaining that not joining a union or relinquishing trade union membership cannot be made a condition of employment or cause for dismissal. Out of the 185 ILO member states, currently 155 ratified C087 and 167 ratified C098.
- **43** If workers choose to seek representation from an independent collective body of workers or union that is not readily recognized by the platform, the platform should then be open to adopt multiple channels of representation, when the legal framework allows, or seek ways to implement workers' queries to its communication with the existing representative body.

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