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# Application mediated communication: Panoptic surveillance in online transportation

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## Abstract

This study aims to reveal conditions that have been neglected regarding the development of communication technology in online transportation. With a large number of partners, the company provides features to service users to provide an assessment of online taxi bike drivers. Companies are no longer present to discipline their workers with strict regulations but by using a panopticon monitoring system delegated to service users. This study used a qualitative approach by conducting interviews with online taxi bike drivers and users. The results of the participant interviews were analyzed and supported by documentation studies originating from books, journals, and some data obtained from online media, also known as data triangulation. The result of the study shows that the panopticon system implemented by the company provides certainty of supervision so that it forms the discipline of those who are supervised by forming homogeneous behavior. The power relations between companies and their partners place online taxi bike drivers vulnerable to symbolic violence through supervision.
**Keywords**: gig economy; gig workers; partners; online taxi bike; Panopticon; Foucault.

## Introduction

Presently, people are faced with three transformations in their lives. First, the democratization of much of the world combined with advances in communications means that more people have agency and aspirations. Second, new information technologies have connected a large part of the global population to digital networks. Third, the weakening of the public sector and public space causes people to face emotional and mental challenges, especially in the context of privatization (Turner, 2007).

Technological developments in almost all parts of the world shift existing aspects of life little by little. The field of work transforms and adapts to technological developments. This development has spurred the rise of the sharing economy as a new business model. This business model shares access to goods and services coordinated through online services (Tan, 2021). Gig Economy is already developing in Europe early. The gig economy is described as a way of working by utilizing digital platforms provided by companies, accessed through applications or websites to get temporary or short-term jobs.

With digital technology, it has become possible to gather large numbers of workers worldwide to work together indirectly under the command of capital. The gig economy is a service that cannot be separated from capitalist logic (Tan, 2021). In a capitalist system, workers are paid less than the value they produce. In addition, companies also exploit workers outside the boundaries of the contract. The power in making decisions rests with one party, for example, in making the contents of the partnership agreement to the decision-making in the agreed working relationship.One of the companies implementing the gig economy is an application-based transportation company, such as an online taxi bike. The presence of the first online taxi bike in Indonesia began with Gojek. Gojek was initiated in 2010, but in 2015 this service was developed after its launch on Android and iOS phones (Salim &Ihalauw, 2017). The existence of Gojek then became a topic of discussion and research everywhere related to the breakthroughs and resistance it experienced. Global Post, media from the United States, talks about the breakthroughs and advantag

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offered by Gojek, including cost calculations and the availability of drivers anywhere. The media also reported on conventional online taxi bikes' resistance to the presence of online taxi bikes. Some found rejection of the presence of online taxi bikes in their area. The presence of online transportation causes a decrease in revenue for conventional transportation service providers and even affects the potential for national taxes (Sasongko, 2018). Over time, online taxi bikes attract people from various backgrounds to become their drivers. Indonesia has at least one million online transportation drivers (Ford & Honan, 2019).

With so many workers in the sector, companies need a system to control and discipline their workers. Panopticon surveillance is used to build discipline and awareness of being watched. This theory was introduced by Michel Foucault, who was inspired by the shape of the Panopticon prison built by Jeremy Bentham. The Panopticon prison was an architectural figure with a circular building consisting of cells. In the middle of the building was a watchtower with a wide mirror that allowed officers to see the occupants' activities for themselves, not vice versa. The main effect of the panopticon was the inspiration of the consciousness being controlled. The results of the panopticon were permanent even if monitoring was not carried out continuously. Bentham applied the principle that power might be visible and invincible. Most of them were in the sense that residents already knew about the existence of watchtowers. Although not being able to be inspected meant that the prisoners did not know whether they were being watched at the time, they believed they would always be watched (Foucault, 1995a). With technological developments, this type of supervision involves the sophistication of new technologies applied instrumentally. The panopticon surveillance system reduces individuals to relatively weak commodities that can be manipulated (Gill, 1995).

Companies only need to be present sometimes, which requires high operational costs. Digital developments and technological transformation also make it easy for companies to form features that delegate control systems to service users and empower two parties simultaneously. Research related to supervision has been carried out several times. In the health sector, panopticon monitoring is often used to monitor people's behavior related to their activities and prevent the spreading of viral diseases. In addition, it is also a forum for patients to share their experiences with the health services they receive (Couch et al., 2020; Keshet, 2020). Research related to online transportation has been carried out in Australia related to control by companies (Veen et al., 2020) and in Brazil related to algorithm management and working conditions (Amorim & Moda, 2020). Research on online transportation in Indonesia is related to the development of the gig economy (de Ruyter & Rachmawati, 2020; Kaine & Josserand, 2019; Tan, 2021). With the increasing number of drivers in online transportation, companies need a system to control and discipline their partners. This research discusses the supervision carried out by companies that have been handed over to passengers for online taxi bike driver services. In addition, there are unequal power relations between companies and partners and the gig economy in Indonesian online transportation.

## Method

This research applies a qualitative research method with a case study to explain the implications of panopticon supervision in shaping the discipline of online transportation drivers. According to (Creswell, 2007), a case study is a researcher's approach to exploring real life, a limited system of certain cases, through detailed and in-depth data collection from various sources of information. So according to (Yin, 2018), Case studies are not just exploratory to find relevant evidence but also state research objectives through explanation, alternative, and comparison functions from previous research. Case study is selected to gain an in-depth understanding of a complex and intricate event. With case study, researcher could collect data from various sources, such as mass media reports, interviews, and field observations.

At first, the researcher read and found various problems related to giving online motorcycle taxi ratings in the mass media. The ease of access technology offers for users to make judgments puts the driver at a disadvantage. Researchers then collect data from various sources to be

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elaborated. After that, the authors conducted interviews to confirm directly what was found in the field.

For primary data, the population in this study are drivers and users of online transportation services. This is to see the trend of the impact felt by the driver and the intensity of the assessment by users. This research involved five drivers and six users of online transportation located in Jabodetabek. In-depth interviews were conducted by asking about the driver's experience against user ratings. In addition, the authors also interviewed several online motorcycle taxi users with intensity who often use online motorcycle taxis and provided an assessment. The research used observation and interview techniques to look at general views, the assessment process, and the implications of supervision for drivers. Meanwhile, this research also applies for a literature review from books, journals, and online media for secondary data.

The results of the participant interviews are then analyzed and supported by documentation studies originating from books, journals, and several data obtained from online media, also known as data triangulation. (Yin, 2018) it is an approach to individual sources of evidence when conducting case study research because the main strength of data collection in case studies is the use of many different sources of evidence. Furthermore, the data obtained continued into the data validity stage through some procedures.

## Results and Discussion

### Power of Attorney Relations between the Company and Partners

Online taxi bike drivers are closely related to control. In behavior and working conditions, they are very closely monitored in the algorithm's logic. They are vulnerable to the rating given by service users, which will impact their future performance. If you get a bad review, this will affect the low acceptance of bids on their application. When a service user makes a complaint and gives a bad rating to the driver, the existing system only accepts the complaint without further investigation. The driver is not given the opportunity to make an explanation and defense. Conversely, it is more difficult for drivers to assess bad treatment from service users (Rachmawati et al., 2021).

To see the ability of its workers, the gig economy depends on ratings. The core concept of the gig economy is performance and management related to the concepts of people, control, systems, technology, and data. Algorithmic management becomes closely related to the gig economy (Kaine & Josserand, 2019). Algorithmic management is based on constant data collection that occurs through a rating system and data collection of individual workers (Jarrahi et al., 2021). Algorithm management includes three main functions: first, discipline and control, which aims to strengthen compliance and is based on the panoptic nature of the applied technology (Veen et al., 2020); secondly, performance management, primarily through customer appraisal but also by providing incentives to drive performance (Shafiei Gol et al., 2019); and finally, by providing legitimacy for the decision to terminate the partner (Chan & Wang, 2018).

The position of the parties in this process is unequal and unbalanced. The power in making decisions rests with one party, for example, in making the contents of a partnership agreement to making decisions in an agreed working relationship. This unequal condition if left unchecked, will become a boomerang for the company itself. So it is necessary to make several breakthroughs to accommodate input and inspiration from partners in the online transportation company. It is necessary to redefine the workforce, which refers not only to the existence of a worker contract with the company but also to people whose work is controlled and supervised by the company. Aspirations that are not heard will gradually accumulate and reach a culmination point. Poor service by online taxi bike drivers will impact the company. In addition, several social movements have been carried out by online taxi bike drivers. Marx stated that workers cannot work together without being united and that their gathering in one place is necessary for cooperation.

The monitoring system implemented by online motorcycle taxi companies provides an opportunity for users to assess drivers for the services offered. The data collected will be a picture

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of driver performance that the company and users can see. It also provides transparency and illustrates the company's seriousness in providing the best service for its customers.

The existence of an assessment with a rating system encourages drivers to provide the best service for users. However, providing a review with a rating also has weaknesses. System ratings tend to be subjective because other factors besides the quality of driver services, such as weather, traffic, and technical aspects, influence user ratings. Bad ratings affect driver performance and performance, with few users using its services, which impacts the income of online motorcycle taxi bike drivers more broadly.

**Forming Discipline**

One of the figures who discuss power and discipline is Foucault in his book Surveiller er Punir, which was translated into English as Discipline and Punish in 1995. Foucault was inspired by the shape of the Panopticon prison designed by Jeremi Bentham in the 18th century. Jeremy Bentham first introduced the Panopticon theory in the 18th century. The Panopticon refers to an institutional building, namely a prison specifically designed to control behavior. The shape of the Panopticon prison introduced by Bentham was a circular building with a watch tower in the center with expansive windows that opened. The tower is surrounded by cells. A supervisor in the tower can observe each person in the cell with the help of light entering the cell. The Panopticon allows the observer to have constant viewing and immediately recognize the movements of the detainees (Foucault, 1995b). By this function, the main effect of the Panopticon is the awareness and permanent visibility of prisoners that they are being watched. Although supervision can be inconsistent and discontinuous, it still has its effect. Such a building model allows supervisors to control detainee activities without being noticed. Prisoners do not know the number and who is in the tower. They only know when they are being watched.

Power wants obedience. Foucault did not state that sovereignty is the result of the agreement of individuals but that power shapes individuals. Discipline is part of the power technology of modern society. Discipline is not synonymous with a particular institution or officer. Discipline can be carried out by specialized agencies such as prisons. Discipline is also used to achieve certain goals, such as in hospitals, schools, or educational institutions. In addition, discipline is also to strengthen and organize power, such as in the family and the military. Discipline is needed to show the functioning of the organization and the existence of officers who guarantee the discipline of the community (Haryatmoko, 2016). With the panoptic monitoring model, supervision can be comprehensive, and total discipline can be enforced more easily.

There are two poles related to discipline. One point discipline is formed with closed institutions with more stringent implementation. Nevertheless, discipline is formed at another point by exercising power through lighter, faster, and more effective panopticons. Panoptic surveillance does not require physical violence. This type of oversight is a hidden system of power that is operating but cannot be possessed, a function that can be felt in general but cannot be recognized except for its effects, from the oversight that is felt, from the checks carried out, and from the enforcement of discipline (Haryatmoko, 2016).

Humphreys (Humphreys, 2013) divides the surveillance model into three types. The first is the voluntary Panopticon which refers to voluntary submission to corporate supervision. Whitaker (Whitaker, 1999) called it the participatory Panopticon. Voluntary panopticons are consensual. Participatory Panopticon is very similar to participatory monitoring in that people are willing to monitor their behavior because they benefit from it (Albrechtslund, 1969). The second form, lateral supervision, is monitoring citizens who are asymmetrical and not transparent to one another (Andrejevic, 2006). With the advent of the internet and interactive media, people have technological capabilities that were previously only possessed by corporations and state entities. Communities can monitor the behavior of other citizens through non-reciprocal forms of viewing. Every day people may seek information about citizens of other countries without their knowledge or permission. The rise of social media has given rise to another form of lateral scrutiny. Like lateral monitoring, social monitoring involves a non-hierarchical form of monitoring. Social surveillance is also reciprocal. The last type of supervision is self-control. Self-monitoring is how a person records himself or has

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someone else do it for possible playback at another time and place. Surveillance of this model involves technology such as video cameras and telephone cameras.

On the one hand, supervision forms discipline. However, on the other hand, controlling behavior is part of the power that cannot be separated from interests (Bataona, 2021). Power is exercised in two forms, the first is the formation of legitimacy through coercion, and the second is the formation of legitimacy through the creation of awareness (Bataona, 2021). In this case, online transportation companies apply multi-dimensional power. The company forms awareness of online transportation drivers that they are being monitored through an assessment feature. Bad ratings given by users will have an impact on driver performance.

**Company Powers: Oversight Delegation**

Online transportation companies need a monitoring system to control a large number of partners. One of the surveillance systems that can be used is Foucault's idea inspired by Bentham's prison architecture, the Panopticon prison. Bentham's Panopticon replaces the old controls with heavy attributes like bars, chains, and walls with something lighter, namely the certainty of surveillance. Surveillance is done secretly but has a visible effect. The system provides an injection to the mind with high-intensity schemes. The Panopticon forms an awareness of being watched by the presence of other people. This condition can be seen in the rampant development of digital technology in surveillance capitalism (Walton, 2021). Panopticon places an imbalance of power between workers and platforms, in this case, companies and service users. On the one hand, this supervision forms discipline within the partners. However, on the other hand, controlling a group of people is a power system that cannot be separated from interests (Bataona, 2021).

The panopticon system creates and maintains power relationships independent of who runs them. Those being watched are trapped in a power situation where they are the obstacle. Bentham laid down the principle that power must be visible and not verifiable. In the case of online taxi bike drivers, power points can be seen in the sense that their application contains an assessment feature of their service users. This feature replaces the watchtower. The driver was also unable to verify the whereabouts of his supervisor. Drivers cannot ensure that the passengers they serve will give how many stars, what they do is only do the best possible service in the hope of getting a good rating. Drivers also do not know whether the customer will give an assessment or not. But one thing is certain, there is an awareness among online taxi bike drivers that they are being monitored and assessed.

Apart from passengers, the driver also realizes that every assessment will lead to an algorithmic mechanism system. The bad rating of one of the service users will affect the performance of the offers that enter their application. Even if it accumulates in large numbers, it can result in the company's termination of the cooperation partner. On the other hand, there are no incentives for online taxi bike drivers who consistently get good or even perfect ratings, besides, their accounts are never missed to get potential customers. The effect of the panoptic surveillance system is to induce in a person an awareness of being constantly under surveillance. Supervision is carried out irregularly but has the effect of being continuously monitored. Panopticon is a form of supervision to form discipline by minimizing difficult-to-calculate actions. Power does not require the actuality of its implementation but provides effects that can be felt. The three objectives of implementing the Panopticon are first to make the exercise of power cheaper from an economic point of view. The second is from a political perspective, where there is an invisible form of control. The third is to maximize the benefits of pedagogical, military, and industrial facilities to increase the compliance and usability of the entire system. Discipline formation through the Panopticon becomes effective and reaches into the most intimate lives without knowing it comes from a particular subject (Haryatmoko, 2016).

By combining visibility and power in the context of modernity, the Panopticon becomes a growing form of surveillance. It explores the expansion of the meaning of surveillance in an oppressive contemporary society (Caluya, 2010). Several studies have used the Panopticon to study modern surveillance. This is to analyze the improvement of the ability of supervisors in modern times, such as countries and companies. This scrutiny goes deep into individuals' private lives to learn more about their actions. The capacity to exercise control over individuals signifies the

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domination made possible by technological developments. This type of supervision is the most efficient and difficult to resist (Manokha, 2018). Panopticon surveillance has grown. Firstly, due to technological capabilities in surveillance that have advanced, and secondly, supervision has become a daily routine in an individual's daily life. The new dimension of the Panopticon is surveillance through digital code or information processing in computer-based technology. Through computer-based technology, surveillance is processed quickly and extensively so that surveillance can be carried out anywhere and anytime (Basturk, 2017).

Technology contributes to the information panopticon. Technologies offer features and capacities that enable continuous, real-time monitoring through automated data collection and storage. This system collects not only databases of information but also more visible individuals, thus creating a nebulous effect on power relations. Panopticons can have counterproductive effects in the workplace. However, this surveillance model is also well received by enterprises as it allows for remote and invisible control, thereby avoiding the inconvenience and tension caused by face-to-face control and physical confrontation. This type of supervision also tends to guarantee efficiency and consolidate control by the company (de Moya & Pallud, 2020).

Companies are only here to sometimes show their power. However, they pay attention to every user's assessment of online taxi bike driver services through the features provided. That way, the company has a mechanism to form partner discipline to minimize actions that are detrimental to the company. With the monitoring of the panoptic model, companies do not have to spend more to discipline their partners. The company provides service users to provide an assessment of the experience they feel. Drivers also feel the presence of supervision that is not visible but its influence can be felt. Ratings are in the form of star features that are accumulated in an algorithmic system that the driver himself does not have access to see. In one feature of this assessment, a homogeneity of driver compliance has been formed to provide the best service they can and prevent undesirable things from arising.

The formation of discipline with punishment techniques shifted to supervision and correction. Central to the formation of discipline is the political economy of the body both as a productive force and as something formed in a system of submission. Foucault states that the system works at the level of knowledge or through institutions with training. This condition makes consciousness visible permanently. The panopticon system works in two ways, namely with the awareness that it can always be watched and the presence of supervisors that can be hidden. Panopticon features an ever-present watchdog. This has the effect of always being under surveillance so that it normalizes the behavior being monitored. This supervision model is economical, has a physical structure, is limited to a certain space, and disciplines those being supervised without additional costs from the institution. The monitoring system clearly illustrates this in the online transportation assessment feature. Service users can assess online taxi bike drivers through features in the application. In addition, the company can also monitor the real-time whereabouts of drivers (Veen et al., 2020). The company has provided space for customers to provide an assessment of online taxi bike drivers and then provide follow-up.

New techniques of power emerged to enforce discipline. This new technique is faster and more flexible. The establishment of control is no longer by strict regulations but through passwords or codes. The control is not tied to a heavy architecture but takes the form of a power that can be modulated and its range can be varied. On digital developments. control can be through information technology which is none other than the capitalist system. The combination of digital development and control delivers spatial improvements to consumers. This system is also to see that someone is where allowed. This development is also characterized by the collapse of the heavy institutional structures of modernity and the emergence of new, more fluid forms of sociality. The essence of the transition is the process of individualization in which power previously held by institutions is then delegated to each individual (Gane, 2012).

The more anonymous surveillance, the more they build their awareness to be observed. The Panopticon is a surveillance system that produces a homogeneous force effect. It does not matter who exercises power, i.e. the service user or the company. Any individual can operate the

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surveillance system. The principle of strict regulations to bind online taxi bike drivers is no longer used. It is enough for the company to give authority to service users to provide supervision in the form of an assessment. The company is behind the scenes to determine the next actions that can be taken, such as taking action against drivers who get low ratings by freezing their performance until the termination of the work contract. In the company's system, online taxi bike drivers apart from receiving supervision from their service users also receive control and supervision from their company.

**Driver and Passenger Vulnerabilities**

Communication is a process of human interaction in conveying messages in the form of code, writing, or symbols (Tarsani, 2016). With the development of technology, communication has become faster and more efficient. Communication is closely related to giving meaning because it can attract someone's perception so that it can construct a symbol (Sadono, 2015). In online transportation, dialogue is not built and tends to be one-way. Service users can provide an assessment and then a longer relationship is not established through discussion. Online taxi bike drivers are vulnerable to this continuous and one-way monitoring system. In addition to providing ratings, users can also comment on the driver's service. When a company gets a low rating for a driver, the company doesn't have to punish the driver immediately. Companies can view the comments provided. It becomes more complicated when the user needs to include a reason for giving the driver a low rating. However, the company needs to establish a dialogue with the driver in both scenarios. Companies must be present and become a good bridge for drivers and service users.

By implementing a rating system, online taxi bike drivers are expected to provide the best service for customers. Rating is an assessment customers give to online taxi bike drivers for their services (Catriana, 2022). If an online taxi bike driver gets a good rating, then he is considered to have provided satisfactory service under company standards. Bad things happen if drivers whose service values are below standard then their partnership status threatened, such as the imposition of suspensions up to the termination of cooperation. Ratings or ratings given by customers will affect the performance of online taxi bike drivers. By system, they will be empty of orders if they get a low rating from previous customers (Catriana, 2022).

Providing a review is intended to increase transparency, improve quality, provide choices, and build user relationships with corporate institutions. The features that have been provided also do not give freedom to the user to give an assessment. The application has formed a review structure. Thus, users are not only asked to share their experiences but also the results of their reviews are monitored and shaped (Adams, 2013).

The scoring by rating systems to ensure safety and service quality is also questionable. Drivers see this system as inadequate in assessing their performance. Drivers rarely look at the score of potential service users to accept orders and never refuse to provide their services based on user ratings. The main criticism expressed by drivers is that it is difficult to know what each passenger evaluates, and often some assessments are not related to their job or performance (Amorim & Moda, 2020). In addition, the motives for giving assessments also vary. Assessment of service is not the only reason passengers give stars from one to five. Giving one star to online taxi bike drivers is not always associated with unsatisfactory service.

The various motives of users giving one star will certainly impact the performance of online taxi bike drivers. The Vice President of Corporate Affairs for an online transportation company explained that if a driver gets a low rating for unclear reasons, then they are free from sanctions. However, the definition of a standard if something is included for clear or unclear reasons, of course, lies entirely with the company. It becomes a question then, what if there is a low rating without any reason? The company becomes the sole party that defines every text included in the assessment service users give to their partners. An integrated system with a bad rating will have an automatic impact with a decrease in the performance of online taxi bike drivers by decreasing the bids that enter their accounts due to the algorithm determined by the company. Online taxi bike drivers do not have access and the opportunity to confirm if they get a bad rating. But on the other hand, drivers are also not given incentives or defenses if they get bad service users. Inequality has

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even occurred in the selection of prospective drivers and passengers. Even the rating system in giving stars can lead to discrimination (Wardhana et al., 2020).

One of the online ojek drivers interviewed stated that he had been given a low rating due to technical issues that the driver could not mitigate.

*Once (given a low rating) because I was late picking up passengers when it was raining, so I took shelter first (Ma, 38 years old).*

With the various obstacles online transportation drivers face in the field, a forum should be opened for discussions and clarifications for drivers and service users. Drivers who have been online transportation drivers are also experiencing constraints for a long time. De (46 years) has worked as an online taxi bike driver since 2016. He once received a low rating because the user's willingness was not communicated properly,

*I (got a low rating) (because) at that time, the passenger said he was in a hurry, but after I got off the passenger, he gave me 1 star and said I was too fast (driving), (De, 46 years old).*

Transportation drivers can also provide an assessment to their service users. The interview results illustrate that all drivers who are respondents to this study also provide an assessment of their service users. However, the driver's intensity and user assessment do not significantly impact the algorithmic processes that occur around the use of online transportation.

Not infrequently encountered in the field, there are clashes between online taxi bike drivers and their service users. Observers see the customer's position with the driver in equal status or head-to-head. However, in practice, even though they have a head-to-head position, online taxi bike drivers are the most disadvantaged. If there is a clash between the two, the company is not the first to be blamed and held accountable. All processes are within the scope of the driver with his service users. Based on interviews conducted by researchers, users of online transportation services know the impact that arises when customers give low ratings to drivers, but this does not rule out giving low ratings if the driver's service does not match user expectations.

One user revealed that he gave a low rating for personal reasons,

*The driver (online taxi bike driver) was angry because it was difficult to find my address (the user) and I didn't pick up the phone because I was busy taking care of the baby (Ha, 30 years old).*

Companies are absent and withdraw too far in clashes between customers and their partners. Online taxi bike drivers experience a series of supervision in working. First, they must provide good service to service users. In addition, they are also recorded with remote algorithm technology in the physical part of the company's office. The shape of the Panopticon tower is felt to be tall and visible to keep an eye on their work. With a digital system that can provide real-time reports, reviews, and ratings from service users, it can describe the position and activities of online taxi bike drivers even when they do not want to be monitored. Review systems are becoming a form of modern panoptic facilitated by digital technology. The system built in the app replaces the towers in a panoptic prison. However, the results created are the same, namely, awareness of the existence of supervision so that the nature of discipline is formed for those who are supervised.

Companies need the scheme to ensure that their business goes well between their partners and service users. The system is established to form a cooperative behavior that is agreed upon to achieve excellent service. Service users also have the opportunity to share their experiences and provide evaluations that are deemed necessary. Moreover, they also provide payment for the services they have received. The reciprocal relationship between the driver and the service recipient will build a good relationship for the continuity of the company. However, this becomes a paradox when there is an unequal position and makes the assessment of service users the main part of assessing the performance of online taxi bike drivers. A more humane supervisory system is needed to shape its partners' discipline and accommodate their needs so that they are not always the ones who are at a disadvantage. Supervision is important to provide good service. However, this kindness must also be encouraged with an equal system and opportunity.

It is hoped that the supervision implemented by the company does not discriminate against its workers. Companies can focus on consistent and specific assessment factors based on situations that drivers can control to minimize giving judgments that can harm drivers. Companies can also

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apply a more humane approach when drivers have problems with their rating system. When ratings from users are aggregated and form statistical ratings for drivers, the company will look at who has the highest and lowest ratings. For those with low ratings, companies can take approaches to rebuild their performance before imposing sanctions. In addition, for those with exemplary achievements, the company is expected to compensate for their performance.

## Conclusion

Implementing panopticon monitoring by online transportation companies has placed their partners, in this case, drivers, in a vulnerable position. Online transportation users are given the authority to assess their drivers. On the one hand, supervision is intended to build driver discipline without having to build physical infrastructure. Nevertheless, on the other hand, the driver becomes a vulnerable party. Based on research conducted, drivers often get an assessment not based on their performance. The character and psychological atmosphere of the user can influence the assessment given. Even though they can provide an assessment to the user, these conditions do not give the driver an advantage. Power relations place the driver in the most disadvantaged position. The company establishes discipline with the application of dominant power. Technological developments that facilitate communication are not free from interests.

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