

Working with Passion: Digital Media Specialist as Precarious Worker in the Digital Age

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Abstract

This paper addresses issues the global concern of uncertainties of digital creative workers, emphasizing Indonesian case. This paper argues creative digital workers in digital media industry deal with uncertainty in "atypical," "contingent," "temporary," "informal," and, in particular, "precarious" settings. This research will provide arguments about new forms of labour exploitation in the era of "user-generated content" and "prosumption". This paper's primary theoretical contribution is to clarify the precarious nature of labor for digital labor in communication and media organizations, with a focus on creative workers in Yogyakarta and Jakarta. Additionally, this study will demonstrate how staff members in various communication and media companies routinely work under deadline pressure, work remotely, have short-term contracts, and participate in hustle cult practices. This study used qualitative and in-depth interview studies to look ten people at the lives of digital content officers in a social media specialist (as new media professionals) who produce digital content in social media, managing content for influencers, internet celebrities, and corporations. This research took place between January and June 2022, and it raised fundamental concerns regarding how these industries develop the rhetoric of flexibility, autonomy, and informality.

Keywords: creative worker, digital worker, precarious labour, digital media industry

1. Introduction

Every year, Indonesia's creative industry grows. From 2010 to 2016, creative industry exports accounted for 11.86 percent of overall non-oil and gas exports. In 2015, the creative economy industry employed 15.9% of all workers and generated \$19.4 billion in export revenue. In the last three years, the industry has constantly grown, increasing by 70 trillion IDR from 852 trillion IDR in 2015 to 922.58 trillion IDR in 2016, accounting for 7.44 percent of Indonesia's GDP (Global Business Guide, 2018). In 2017, the Indonesian creative industry grew at a rapid pace, adding 990.4 trillion IDR to the country's GDP. According to the Creative Economy Agency of the Republic of Indonesia's records (BEKRAF), the creative industry sector employed 16.4 million people in 2017, up from 16.2 million in 2016 (BEKRAF, 2016). The creative economy sub-sector contributes IDR 1,211 trillion to the national Gross Domestic Product, according to the 2020 Creative Economy OPUS report (GDP). This is a rise from the Rp1,105 trillion contributed in 2019. In 2016 data on creative economy has been conducted twice, this is because in current methods and analysis there are numerous limitations in current creative measurement in Indonesia (Lestariningsih et al., 2016).

According to the Indonesian creative economic statistic of 2019 the creative economy sector employed 19.39 million people in Indonesia, with the majority of these individuals 74,38% percent—belonging to Generation Z and millennials, who are between the ages of 25 and 40 (Kememparekraf, 2020). Previous research depicts Indonesian creative industry and innovation are mutual relation each other in conceptual level, furthermore, when since Joko Widodo has been President of republic Indonesia, creative economy is one of new economy sources which is promoted by Government of Indonesia (Hidayat & Asmara, 2017). As mentioned on (Burhanudin et al., 2020), changes in Indonesia's economy have taken place, and one of them has an impact on how creative industries like the arts and culture are linked to economic life and how assets from these industries can be generated, consumed, and dispersed there and throughout the world. Because the creative economy is a notion that heavily relies on the thoughts, ideas, or creativity of human resources as a

primary role in its economic operations, it has the ability to produce revenue and jobs while fostering social inclusion, cultural variety, and human growth. The increase in state income for the creative industry sector from year to year is shown by this data and earlier studies to be highly promising from a positivist perspective. However, talking paper study about Indonesian creative workers from a critical perspective is ultimately such a unique and unusual subject for discussion.

Previous research has indicated that job problems are a topic that is rarely covered in topics like communication studies, not just in Indonesia but on a global trend (Catherine & Mosco, 2006; de Peuter, 2014). Since that time, labor research in the fields of media and culture has greatly increased. In-depth descriptions of the working conditions and experiences in a variety of creative industry sectors, including, for example, television, fashion, journalism, new media, video games, and the arts, make up a sizable section of variety of research (Gill, 2007; Gill & Pratt, 2008; Hesmondhalgh, 2015; Lloyd, 2006; Neff et al., 2005). Then interestingly, during pandemic that happened in 2020-2022 many of communication and media firms labor rely on social media content industries to produce certain entertainment and informational content (Nguyen et al., 2020). Because of the Covid-19 pandemic, this issue can be used to gauge how communication and media companies have worked to adapt and deal with new circumstances. Because creative work is often synonymous with self-employment, it encounters challenging circumstances during the pandemic era (Pulignano et al., 2021).

According to earlier studies, creative professionals often provide online mythologies that are supposed to be enjoyable, free, and egalitarian, but in reality, these myths only serve to fuel rivalry, exacerbate insecurity, and personalize risk (Duffy & Wissinger, 2017). Previous research that depicts creativity as a component of a particular transition is significant historically because it represents capitalism's era-defining struggle to reorganize production relations and rebuild worker power and because it occurs at a time when the technology industry is growing more and more well-known (Nelligan, 2018). According another recent research, some services have seen an increase in demand due to their digital nature or necessity in the post-Covid world, especially among the "self-employed", who are among those who have been most negatively impacted by the economic effects of the Covid-19 pandemic. However, efforts made by the national government throughout Europe to lessen the impact of COVID-19 on workers' livelihoods proved insufficient to offer long-term protection (MacHado & Zanoni, 2021; Pulignano et al., 2021).

The impact that Covid-19 has had on the vulnerability of the creative and cultural industries (CCIs) and their employees in the United Kingdom (UK). Due to the frequently short-term perspective that fails to take into account how the sector needs longer-term planning (and rethinking) for sustainable and inclusive growth, which will, in turn, provide future resilience, this research also provided analysis that there is still no strategy for resilience (Comunian & England, 2020). Other research was conducted in Brazil on the labor force in the sharing economy (app-based-drivers) that depends on technology during epidemic times (Silva Júnior et al., 2022). The findings show they have a demanding work schedule since they put in more hours each week than people with regular jobs. Although the expenditures inherent in the business frequently have a considerable impact on their profits, they are mostly motivated by the additional income and flexibility that digital platforms of the shared private transportation sector may give. The key finding of previous studies on how technology use affected the particular scenario among labor.

In this paper, we are interested in critically evaluating the situation of creative workers in Jakarta and Yogyakarta, two Indonesian cities that have developed into major hubs for the supply of young and bright creative employees (Beta et al., 2021). The purpose of this essay is to analyze the precarious employment of digital workers in communication and media businesses, with a focus on creative workers in Yogyakarta and Jakarta. Additionally, this study will demonstrate how workers in various communication and media companies routinely work under deadline pressure, work remotely (there is no requirement to be present in the office all the time), have short-term contracts, and participate in hustle cult behaviors.

This study takes use of the idea of creative work developed by (Gill & Pratt, 2008) in relation to the concept of "immaterial labor" and informational capitalism, where labor produces immaterial things including services, cultural products, knowledge, and communication (Hardt & Negri, 2000). I also use (Kalleberg, 2009) term of job precarity to depict the type of structural vulnerability that employees are increasingly confronting today as a consequence of digital world. In addition, I've observed that, as a result of the neoliberal capitalism age, precariousness is systematically cultivated in today's economy (Lawn & Chris Prentice, 2015).

Given the promising captivating of such glorifications, the reality of work in the media and culture industries is significantly less glamorous. Creative workers are frequently found in sectors and establishments with astronomically high entry barriers, sporadic instability, and systemic forms of inequity and discrimination (Gill & Pratt, 2008; McRobbie, 2002). In digital era creative work can be understood through Marxism, post-structuralism and neoliberal approach that concern with inequality, exploitative divisions of labour, alienation that giving an attention to the complex politics of subjectivity (Hesmondhalgh, 2015). Cultural workers, also known as new media workers or digital media

workers today, who identify as entrepreneurial labour in the culture industries serve as a model for how employees in other industries should behave as well under flexible employment conditions because cultural work is prominently featured in popular discourse, especially in visual images, and associated with trendsetters, beautiful people, hipness, and coolness (Neff et al., 2005).

In the digital platform era, working as new media worker is important because that's where the majority of material is consumed. New media worker not only person who get their popularity through social media, but also creators that publish content online in order to build a following and eventually monetize their work namely digital content officers in a social media specialist. Their job including as a content developers include bloggers, online publishers, newsletter authors, podcasters, digital advertisement creator, YouTubers, course creators, video game streamers, and social media influencers in the same umbrella of creative work. Moreover, digital content officers in a social media specialist can be defined as digital media professionals who have taken center stage as a claimed "creative class" of model entrepreneurs (Gill & Pratt, 2008). Furthermore, creative labours are people who engage in the creative sectors and find their work to be profoundly rewarding, extremely joyful (most of the time), and a means of self-actualization and self-expression, which (McRobbie, 2011) refers to as "passionate labour."

Three factors have a substantial impact on the creative industry's export value: creativity, technological innovation, and social media. There are sixteen sub-sectors in the creative industry including; apps and game development, architecture, interior design, fashion, product design, visual communication design, movies, animation, and video, photography, crafts, culinary, arts, music, publishing, advertising, performing arts, fine art, television and radio (Jewell & Division, 2019). Creative world is linked to the visual, broadcasting media, and communication, as part of Indonesia's creative sector. This article will investigate if digital content officers in a social media specialist in communication and media companies such as advertising agencies, talent management firms, and audio-visual production houses are regarded the new 'precariat.' According to (Standing, 2014) the root of 'Precariat' comes from French word "précarité," this present the notion as "the new emergent social class" that is confronted with uncertainty and job insecurity.

Yogyakarta is well-known for its talented and innovative youth. Despite the fact that its workers are paid low salaries due to regional minimum wage regulations, Yogyakarta has transformed into a resource-rich hub as a result of this circumstance. In addition, a number of communication and media companies based in Jakarta have managed to establish offices in Yogyakarta in order to hire qualified but low-wage workers. Furthermore, due to the pandemic that occurred in 2020-2021, many young creative workers have had to earn a living and even had to take on additional professions in order to survive (Beta et al., 2021).

2. Method

This research using qualitative approach to analyze data compiled through desk research, interview and focus group discussion this study attempts to showcase three areas also represent media industries that rapidly evolving and growing because of Covid-19 pandemic. During the 2020-2021 pandemic, social distancing and lockdown rapidly turn to the internet, technology, social media and digital platforms as a public arena corporate, influencer and advertising industries to uphold their marketing brand. As a result, numerous digital platforms have gained subscribers, created trends, and produced a large number of professions based on social media creations (Kennedy, 2020).

2.1 Identifying the Participants

This study began by identifying the participants were chosen based on interviews with potential informants from a variety of backgrounds. They ranged in age from 25 to 40, had at least two years of experience working in the media industries, and had connections with offices in Yogyakarta, which serves as a hub for the city's creative workers. I identify and compile a list of potential key informants as the first step in choosing key informants. When compiling this list, it was tried to include a variety of individuals from various backgrounds and groups within the media industry.

The list also provides a convenient sampling strategy, which shows that participants in the target population who meet certain practical requirements, such as ease of accessibility, proximity to another location, availability at a specific time, or willingness to participate, are included for the purpose of the study (also known as Haphazard Sampling or Accidental Sampling) (Etikan et al., 2016). The informant derives from a set of research objectives, hypotheses, and assumptions and is willing to share information due to their background, training, and experience (Bernard, 2000).

Each participant was interviewed using (Weiss, 1994) interview matrix for participants-directed interview. The interviews focused on open-ended questions involving; how digital and technology communication assist their job during pandemic happened, their perceptions of social media industries and their experience working as social media specialist during pandemic, their perceptions about the flow of work, time management (deadline, job desk) and their life balance related work from home during pandemic part of the research questions. I also used an anonymous to protect the informant's identity.

2.2 Participant (Subject) Characteristics

The informants of this study are ten creative workers, included 6 females and 4 males that work in three area in communication and media companies using technology as a media platform, such as advertising agencies, talent management firms, and audio-visual production houses. This media industries were chosen because it allows for the use of a digital platform and technology as collaborative work.

Table 1. Table 1. List of informants

Name	Gender	Work area	Age	Length year of work
Anonymous1	Female	advertising agencies	27	3
Anonymous2	Female	advertising agencies	25	2
Anonymous3	Male	advertising agencies	25	2
Anonymous4	Female	advertising agencies	31	5
Anonymous5	Female	talent management firms	29	2
Anonymous6	Male	audio-visual production houses	38	10
Anonymous7	Male	talent management firms	32	6
Anonymous8	Female	audio-visual production houses	28	5
Anonymous9	Male	talent management firms	29	3
Anonymous10	Male	audio-visual production houses	35	3

2.3 Data Analysis Technique

In the analysis session, the researcher divides each informant into groups during the analysis session according to their name, gender, line of work, age, and number of years of employment. The researcher also evaluated Indonesia's employment laws as they pertain to media professionals. The study also looked at how media creative worker perceptions and experiences of their actual work in the pandemic era were related to employment media rules. This made it easier to analyze the perspectives on how media industries and companies during a pandemic treated and placed media creative worker, using digital platforms and technology as an extension of their labor exploitation.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1 Discipline, Control and Surveillance

The Covid-19 pandemic crisis generally has the ability to quicken digital development in Indonesia. First, digitalization and automation have been given priority in the effort to limit in-person interactions during the Covid-19 pandemic. Second, since the pandemic began, efforts to speed up digitization and automation have been made, in part because their adoption helps lessen the necessity for direct physical contact. Additionally, the pandemic has caused an additional acceleration of the worldwide digital transition (World Bank, 2020). This has happened as a result of an increasing number of individuals using their computers and devices to survive and replace numerous in-person activities. Through accelerating the digital transformation of the economy, these social shifts have had an effect on economic growth (Pristy, 2022).

Due to its brief duration, short video content is simple to produce and receives a speedy response from the public. The popularity of short video clips has grown during the pandemic. For Instance, TikTok is also used by different product and service brands to promote their goods and services to the social media community and to show behind-the-scenes footage (Wahyuni, 2022). Creative workers that manage a corporation's social media are under intense pressure to constantly update their media material as a result of the pandemic crisis and the rising use of social media. Below is an excerpt from an interview with a social media professional who talks about their experiences with this.

“I always have deadlines, I always have to follow head office (placed in Jakarta) instructions when producing news articles and curating news content using good photos and data, and I always have to upload news in order to have exciting content on the company's Instagram account. I have to post on time in order to receive the stated hours' worth of social media engagement traffic. It shouldn't be missed” (Anonymous1, 27yo).

“We must be cognizant of the level of interaction, exposure, and audience response while presenting content in the media because we are continuously being reviewed by supervisors. Each person is required to submit a report to their supervisor. I routinely hold meetings and work on content till midnight or even until the next morning because digital content needs to be executed immediately” (Anonymous2, 25yo).

“We must stay in touch and remain approachable even while we are on vacation. If I cannot be reached even when I am on leave, my boss can become extremely irate” (Anonymous3, 25yo).

“Because the information we make will spread and one of the aims of the content is viral, if you become a digital officer, you really have to show of your work to the employer numerous times. We will receive a reward if the viral level is high; otherwise, it will be risky because so many people will notice it” (Anonymous5, 29yo).

In the glitzy new digital play industries, there is a crisis of overwork. Even though many young workers still consider it to be one of the coolest jobs, the business is increasingly subject to corporate procedures that not only encourage but also demand employees to put in long hours (Catherine & Mosco, 2006). Digital Labor is a type of employment in the digital environment (digital workers) (Fuchs, 2020a) a media and communication researcher. Digital Labor is a new type of work in the online world that explains the logic of power accumulation and capital accumulation acceleration achieved through the use of technology. This work is inextricably linked to the neoliberal mentality that allows individuals to strive for power and influence on social media. Due of the open competition for economic attention, social media is a digital platform that stresses neoliberal logic. Digital platforms place a strong emphasis on speed and ongoing updating. Following the information society, attention is a contested resource, as the saying goes on social media platforms and online social networks (Hendricks & Vestergaard, 2018). Because of this, those working in the digital world must constantly produce content to pique the interest of users.

Digital media work is becoming a more insecure class as a result of this employment. They are members of the working class who have access, education, and information but lack bargaining power. The events that demolish creative people on a daily basis are frequently covered by myths that extol passion, pride, and ambition as important things rather than health, wealth and legal certainty. Employees of digital platform companies constitute a new social class or that they do not belong to any social class (Standing, 2014). However, the class conflict interests of employees of digital platforms (wages, benefits, employment and working conditions, collective action) are similar to those of other workers.

3.2 *Networking and Reputation*

According to (Haunschild & Eikhof, 2011) creative industries worker they are "self-employed employees" that exhibit three key traits: a high level of self-control, self-promotion, and economization of life, as well as a blurring of the lines between work and personal life. Also mentioned by (Jörg Sydow and & Windeler, 2003) the primary area of content development in the media sector is characterized by various organizational systems and working conditions. As content is created for collaborative, artistic projects, participants are expected to be active and visible within established networks. In this sense, creative workers are employed in a peculiar employment structure that is characterized by temporary employment as opposed to full-time commitments, a lack of economic security, low levels of social security, and occasionally appalling working conditions (Duffy & Wissinger, 2017; Dul et al., 2011).

Due of increased access to digital media during a pandemic, digital content officers and social media specialists frequently need to take on additional work. Furthermore, the majority of the informants agree that the pandemic has made opportunities for independent work and self-employment. As mentioned by several informants:

“Indeed, this pandemic is creating additional job opportunities in the internet world, especially if we already have a respectable name here (social media talent management). Everyone wants to work as an influencer on social media, so I can find clients more quickly. Many people are now aware that they can use social media to earn money as a result of the working at home” (Anonymous8, 28yo).

“I'm happy to be able to work from Yogya, which has its main office in Jakarta and a branch office with many of talented employees. We work primarily to evaluate specific facts, and then we must present the findings in a fascinating and engaging way” (Anonymous2, 25yo).

“I've been working here for two years (refers to her company); my friend recommended me for the position because we got along well working together while we were both in college. She knows I'm a quick learner. Actually, I had two jobs, as administration in private University and do my part time job in advertising agency. On next August I choose to work in agency full time, is more beneficial for me” (Anonymous2, 25yo).

“Through LinkedIn and Facebook group I can get along with the agency job, following certain group and application surely makes easier to get a job, latest information and additional skill that we need to upgrade (skill) related our job” (Anonymous3, 25yo).

Networking and reputation take major roles to face this situation. As mentioned by (Florida, 2002) "creative class" in the media industry sectors culture has emerged as a result of regulation modifications, increasing flexibility in working relationships, and increased individualization and entrepreneurship within the workforce. According to (McRobbie, 2002), one of the characteristics of urban cities is the place of creative worker. They were referred to as enterprising employees or as entrepreneurs. This group was founded by recently graduated fashion designers in England, and

includes individuals who work in visual arts, graphic design, documentary filmmaking, stage design, and performing arts in addition to fashion design. An unusual social group, or middle-class faction, whose professions are no longer protected by health insurance, pensions, and other security networks, was born out of this environment.

As mentioned by (McRobbie, 2016; Toffoletti, 2016) of the arguments from the Fordism-Post-Fordism study later influenced conceptions of the city held by postmodernists in general. As (Hardt & Negri, 2000) claimed, the Fordist worker was a "mass worker," the post-Fordist worker is a "social worker," who has identity and intellectually educated. Post-Fordism workers might be considered to be the results of deindustrialization, globalization, and the related rise in immaterial labor in industries like finance, technology, and media design (Florida, 2002; Gill & Pratt, 2008; Lloyd, 2006).

3.3 Collaboration Work and the Myth of Flexibility

Freedom, autonomy, and choice are attributes that foster creativity and provide employees a sense of power, comfort, and control. According to this reasoning, free labor is capable of escaping the authority of powerful organizations and taking charge of their life (Florida, 2002). The flexible work environment that allows for flex scheduling and the opportunity to express oneself was exalted in the environment for creative employees. For creative people, working outside of an office—at home, cafe, in a radio or film studio, even while traveling—is a beneficial. But actually, flexibility is just a myth. Young workers place a high value on their employment's autonomy, freedom, and adaptation on the computerized information and control technology. Because they promote independence and initiative in the workplace, space and time are bent. If a person worked during set hours, their right to compensation in accordance with their employment contract was to be protected by a labor union. But on technological media digital creative professionals now must deal with the "de-standardization of employment, de-unionization of labor, dis-aggregation of production, [and] de-industrialization of economies" (de Peuter, 2014).

Faced is below – some social media specialist who shares her experience of working in the creative industries:

"I work in my comfort zone like in my bedroom, dining room, my mom house, even in cafeteria. Basically, I can work in everywhere. This is benefiting me I can save my transport cost, saving my energy in not to stuck in the middle of traffic to reach my office" (Anonymous4, 31yo).

"Work can be everywhere, every time, see how I can manage my work remotely, furthest when PPKM (restrictions towards community activities) many clients doubling their contents in social media. High attention when work from home increasing viewer and also audience expectations in digital content" (Anonymous3, 25yo).

"Remote work is much easier rather than work in the office. Furthermore, we use variety of communications application, digital media and our college also can accept and do collaboration work with us in another city like in Jakarta" (Anonymous6, 38yo).

"Jakarta is not preferable place for work, I have my link there, to connect me with the work. Mostly from big agencies and then the company gives sub-work to us. In past years it's works. I do a lot of job from there (Jakarta) but build my own agency in Yogyakarta (Anonymous10, 35yo).

Time and space do not appear to be an issue when working as a freelancer because work is "thought" to be done at any time and from any location. Due to the global pandemic crisis that began at the end of 2019 and ended in early 2022, new work cultures were also created (Fuchs, 2020b). Collaboration and flexible work part of post-Fordist mode of dynamics of capitalism. Fordism is a term used in modern economic theory to describe a style of life centered on the assembly-line-based mass production of consumer goods. A small number of significant businesses eventually developed to control the major economic sectors, dictating both the market and the options available to consumers. They were prepared to pay high wages, offer benefits, and respect labor unions in exchange for the long-term commitment they expected from their employees. Furthermore, a flexible and adaptable work force that could continuously contribute actively was necessary for post-Fordist competitiveness to ensure continuous improvements to both products and processes. Workers would increasingly need to build new occupations by fostering the abilities of adaptability and the capacity and willingness to offer their creativity and imagination to work teams in order to avoid relying on a stock of established technical skills for their careers (Lovering, 2009).

These workers frequently advocate for "passionate labor" and the pursuit of "joy at work." Despite some people nothing benefits of precarious work in terms of flexibility and autonomy (Ravenelle et al., 2021) precarious work is increasingly recognized as a significant factor in poor health and an integral part of the overall relationship between work, socioeconomic status, and health and well-being (Benach et al., 2014) economic globalization is projected to boost interest in epidemiology due to the rise in insecure employment, its extension into a number of occupations, and the prevalence of "flexibility" in talks about employment relations (Kalleberg, 2009).

Freelance work is "considered" to be done at any time and from any location, hence time and location don't seem to be a problem when doing it. Work from home cultures were also developed as a result of the worldwide pandemic crisis,

which started at the end of 2019 and ended in early 2022 (Fuchs, 2020b). By spreading work among various worker groups and geographical areas, businesses would be able to re-establish control as a result of the availability of modern computerized information and control technology. The massive factories that had typified Fordism, employing enormous labor forces for routine activities, would be replaced by a variety of workspaces (Lovering, 2009). In other hand post-Fordism would give workers the opportunity to develop highly skilled abilities and do a wider range of tasks by employing labor on more flexible terms. These workers would have more autonomy, but new technologies and the competitive disincentives would guarantee their contribution to the overall task of production. Due to this circumstance, labor was under a lot of pressure to produce a lot of work.

4. Conclusion

This paper addressed first, in the age of social media, these digital content makers promote an interconnected network of mythologies about "work," invoking the ideals of enjoyment, authenticity, and creative freedom. Such formulaic stories, on the other hand, disguise the job's less attractive features, a digital creator and digital media worker, living with strict deadline and control. Because they employ technology, digital workers must be reachable at all times and able to work anywhere. This situation is gaining traction in conversations about living with freedom, work balance, and an always-on mode of entrepreneurial labor that relies on creativity.

Secondly, Creative worker work through reputation. Networking and reputation play significant roles to get a job. This indicates how the "creative class" in the media industry sectors culture has arisen as a result of legal changes, expanding workplace freedom, and rising individualism and entrepreneurship among employees. Third, more collaboration and flexible work are encouraged by the pandemic, which is part of the post-Fordist form of capitalism's dynamics. Creative new media employees are among the workers who face a lot of pressure in this pandemic period since working remotely causes them to lose track of time and space. Precarious employment is a result of neoliberal policies that have been implemented in some countries, such as Indonesia (Kalleberg, 2021).

We fairly concluded neoliberalism has changed culture just as much as it has influenced the economy (Lawn & Chris Prentice, 2015). In fact, "young workers" in Indonesia, the largest digital economy in Southeast Asia, take on novel and risky types of work (Kalleberg, 2021). Employed by digital platforms, often known as the "precarariat," are a new social class or that they are not a part of any social class at all (Anisimov, 2021; Muntaner, 2018; Popov & Soloveva, 2020). However, in terms of benefits, wages, employment and working conditions, and collective action, the class conflict interests of those who work for digital platforms are comparable to those of other working-class people.

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