# Algorithmic and Gender-Specific Challenges of Gig Work in the Indonesian Ride-Hailing Industry: Preliminary Findings

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## Abstract

Gig platforms promise freedom and flexibility for their workers, yet their algorithm significantly restricts workers' autonomy. Women ride-hailing drivers in particular face additional safety risks and discrimination in this male-dominated industry, but little is known about their coping strategies to navigate algorithmic and gender-specific challenges in collectivist contexts such as Indonesia. Through semi-structured interviews with 16 Indonesian women drivers, we show that algorithmic and gender-specific challenges are deeply intertwined and that major ride-hailing platforms vary in their support for women drivers. Women drivers adopt strategies such as negotiating with customers to reduce gender-motivated trip cancellations and relying on driver communities to mitigate safety concerns. We conclude with policy and design recommendations to advance gender equity in the ride-hailing industry.

## CCS Concepts

• **Human-centered computing → Human computer interaction (HCI)**; • **Social and professional topics → Women**.

## Keywords

Gig work, ride-hailing, algorithm, women, gender, community, Indonesia, Global South

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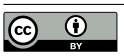
## 1 Introduction

The main promises of gig work, including ride-hailing, are its freedom and flexibility [15, 22]. For instance, Uber's landing page for prospective drivers states, "Drive when you want, make what you need, earn on your own schedule" as its headline. In Indonesia, the major ride-hailing platforms, Grab and Gojek, massively advertised their platforms as empowering informal workers, providing an opportunity for drivers to earn extra income in a flexible work arrangement where they can be "their own boss" [18].

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In reality, gig platforms exert significant control over their workers through their algorithms [2, 15, 17, 22, 23]. One key aspect of algorithmic control is information asymmetry: While algorithms dictate the core aspects of workers' jobs, platforms do not disclose the underlying mechanism of their algorithms [15–17, 26]. For instance, ride-hailing drivers have limited control over the trips assigned to them, as algorithms allocate rides based on performance metrics that platforms do not formally disclose [17]. Moreover, drivers often lack clarity on how platforms determine surge pricing, despite its direct impact on their earnings [22].

In addition to well-documented algorithmic challenges, women drivers face additional challenges specific to their gender. Ride-hailing is a male-dominated industry; in Indonesia, women drivers are estimated to comprise only 2.4% of ride-hailing drivers in 2019 [20]. As a minority group, women drivers are often discriminated against by their customers [19] and by their fellow drivers [13]. Additionally, they have to address safety concerns when driving at night or when traveling with male passengers [13, 26]. The algorithmic control exercised by platforms worsens the power imbalance between women drivers and their customers; as a result, many women drivers hesitate to confront harassing customers for fear of receiving poor ratings and facing account penalties [13].

Specifically in Indonesia, women drivers have to navigate additional challenges caused by patriarchal norms. As women in Indonesia are considered primary caregivers for their family [7], their family members can impose disproportionate household responsibilities on them compared to their spouse, even though both have a job. Additionally, Indonesian women drivers often get trip cancellations from customers, possibly due to the perception that it is unusual for women to provide ride-hailing services [19, 21] or due to the stereotype that women are poor drivers [11]. All of these factors can lead to lower ratings and consequently lower earnings compared to men drivers [21].

To cope with unfair algorithmic control and poor working conditions, gig workers often resort to informal online communities. These spaces provide critical opportunities to share knowledge and theories about how platform algorithms operate so that they can collectively identify effective strategies to optimize their performance [5, 9, 14, 19]. Beyond information exchange, these communities also serve as spaces for building collective resistance—such as organizing strikes—and for organizing mutual aid, including coordinating safety checks and raising funds for members in need [5, 9].

Despite the benefits of online communities, existing research conducted in the United States suggests that these gig worker communities are often led and dominated by men, which causes women

to avoid participating in online communities [13]. This may prevent them from receiving support and beneficial information about algorithmic workarounds from gig worker communities, thus limiting their opportunities to increase their earnings. However, it is unclear whether this also happens in a collectivist society like Indonesia, since gig worker communities in the Global North in general tend to be less supportive than those in the Global South [5]. Moreover, previous studies have not explored how additional challenges experienced by women gig workers—including safety concerns—are discussed within gig worker communities.

This work-in-progress paper presents our preliminary results for the following questions, specifically in the Indonesian context:

- 1a. What algorithmic and gender-specific challenges do Indonesian women ride-hailing drivers experience?
- 1b. How do they navigate such challenges?
- 2. What is the role of online communities, if any, in navigating these challenges?
- 3. How do women drivers perceive the level of support provided by ride-hailing platforms in addressing gender-specific challenges?

Our findings contribute empirical findings on the experiences, challenges, and coping strategies of women ride-hailing drivers. We extend prior research on algorithmic and gender-specific challenges in gig work by identifying strategies adopted by women workers in the Indonesian context. Drawing on these findings, we also propose policy and design recommendations to promote greater gender equity in the ride-hailing industry in Global South settings.

## 2 Method

We conducted semi-structured remote interviews with 16 women ride-hailing drivers in Indonesia. We hired a local agency to recruit participants using snowball sampling. Recruiters searched for potential participants in areas where ride-hailing drivers rest in between rides, such as areas near transit hubs. Each interview was conducted in Indonesian and lasted between 50 and 90 minutes ($\bar{x}$ = 77.3, $s$ = 12.4). During each interview, we explored topics around general work experiences, perceived algorithmic knowledge, benefits and challenges of ride-hailing work, gender-specific challenges, and experiences with driver communities. Some of the example questions are, *"Based on your understanding, how does the platform assign rides to you?"* and *"In what ways have your customers behaved or reacted differently than if they encountered a male driver? How do you respond to this?"*

### 2.1 Participant Characteristics

The ages of our participants range between 27 and 49 years of age ($\bar{x}$ = 40.2, $s$ = 5.6). The majority of our participants are motorcycle drivers, as motorcycles are a popular mode of transportation in Indonesia. Only two participants drive a car for work. All participants work in the Jakarta Metropolitan Area, which consists of Jakarta, Indonesia's capital city, and several urban satellite cities.

On average, our participants have worked as ride-hailing drivers for 5.9 years ($s$ = 2.7), ranging from one to ten years. As the major ride-hailing platforms in Indonesia offer multiple services in addition to ride-hailing, drivers can perform multiple types of services, including food, package, and grocery deliveries. We specifically recruited drivers who worked for ride-hailing platforms and had completed ride-hailing trips in the past six months, although they might also perform other types of services. Seven participants work exclusively for Grab, four exclusively for Gojek, and five have worked for multiple platforms (Gojek, Grab, or Maxim) either simultaneously or switching from one platform to another over the years.

## 3 Findings

Our preliminary analysis revealed three main findings: women drivers' strategies for navigating algorithmic and gender-specific challenges; the role of online communities in addressing these challenges; and women drivers' perceptions of platforms' support in addressing them. Unless stated otherwise, all findings related to platform algorithms are based on participants' perceived knowledge rather than verified platform practices.

### 3.1 RQs 1a and 1b: Navigating Algorithmic and Gender-Specific Challenges

We found that women drivers' algorithmic challenges are closely linked to gender-specific challenges. It is difficult to separate them, as they influence and exacerbate one another. Three of the most common challenges are (1) trip cancellation initiated by customers because they refuse to ride with a woman driver, (2) trip cancellation initiated by the driver due to reluctance to travel with a male customer or to drive to unfamiliar areas in the evening, and (3) juggling household and work responsibilities.

The first challenge, customer trip cancellations, may lead to fewer orders assigned to the driver in the future. This is especially true if the customer picks a cancellation reason that places the blame on the driver, such as the driver being unresponsive or having requested cancellation of the trip. Some participants speculate that certain customers refuse to ride with women drivers due to the stereotype that women have poor driving abilities or because they think it is unnatural for women to be ride-hailing drivers. As one participant said, *"Maybe they doubt us because they think that working on the road is not a woman's 'natural role.'"* To mitigate this issue, some drivers proactively notify customers that they are women via the in-app chat feature and ask whether the customer is comfortable riding with a woman driver. Some participants explicitly ask customers not to cancel the trip and emphasize that they are already on their way to the pickup location. According to participants, when they do this, even if customers end up canceling the order, customers are more likely to pick a cancellation reason that does not hurt the driver's performance compared to if they cancel the trip before having any interactions with the driver.

The second challenge, trip cancellation from the driver's side due to safety concerns, also has potential negative effects on the driver's performance. Participants use a similar negotiation strategy: They explain that they feel uncomfortable driving too far at night, apologize for not being able to take the trip, and ask the customer to cancel. Some participants believe that cancellation from the customer's side has less severe consequences on their performance than if the driver cancels the trip. This is because the latter scenario indicates that the driver is too picky, and the platform's algorithm

punishes overly selective drivers. Some drivers also ask customers to choose a cancellation option other than "the driver asks to cancel the trip" to avoid negative impacts on their performance.

The third challenge, navigating extra household responsibilities, can negatively impact drivers' performance due to inconsistent work hours. Most participants reported that during platform-initiated local gatherings, platform employees repeatedly emphasized that work hour consistency is a big factor influencing the number of rides assigned to drivers. However, participants stated that achieving consistency is challenging when they have to pick up their children, cook and do laundry for their family, or have caregiving responsibilities for their aging parents—all of which are more likely to be experienced by women than men in Indonesia. To mitigate this challenge, many participants strive to maintain a routine even in situations when it is difficult to do so. For example, a participant still turns on her driver's app even on days when her kid is sick and completes a small number of trips to maintain an active workday. Other participants try to do other tasks, such as picking up their kids or doing laundry at the same time every day.

## 3.2 RQ 2: Driver Communities as a Coping Strategy

Women drivers engage with communities to seek peer support that helps them cope with algorithmic challenges and, especially, the gender-specific challenges they encounter. All participants in this study participate in ride-hailing driver communities; one participant noted that, *"As women, if we're alone, no one will protect or help us if something happens. That's why I joined a community."* Smaller local communities usually have both online and offline presence, as they consist of drivers working in the same area. Some communities even have a physical base camp, either at a designated ride-hailing shelter near a public transport station or at a small kiosk. Bigger communities, like those for drivers across the Jakarta Metropolitan Area, tend to operate exclusively online, most commonly through WhatsApp groups. There are many varieties of driver communities, including women-only, mixed-gender, platform-specific, and area-based communities.

These communities are particularly valuable for women drivers as they navigate safety concerns. Two participants share their real-time location with their community's WhatsApp group when they must complete a trip at night, especially if they are unfamiliar with the destination. One participant reported calling a friend from her community via WhatsApp and staying on the line during the entire trip when she had to deliver a package to another city. Another participant described not feeling safe when she was driving three male passengers to a remote location at night. She initiated a group WhatsApp call with her community and remained on the line until she dropped off the passengers so that her friends could monitor her situation; both she and her friends remained silent to avoid drawing the passengers' attention. Women drivers also use communities for drivers in multiple cities across the Jakarta Metropolitan Area to ask questions about unfamiliar destination areas: whether these locations are safe or not, and the best and safest route to reach them.

In addition to safety concerns, women drivers also use communities to navigate other gender-specific and algorithmic challenges. One notable example is how they share profiles of customers who frequently cancel trips from women drivers to their communities. Drivers working near particular public transit hubs often encounter the same passengers, since many Indonesians rely on ride-hailing services for their daily commutes to the same locations. Sharing customers' profiles can serve as a precaution, either to avoid certain customers altogether or to encourage drivers to act with extra courtesy so that the customer does not cancel the trip.

## 3.3 RQ 3: Perception of Platforms' Support for Women Drivers

We found that across the two major platforms, most participants perceived Grab as more supportive of their women drivers compared to Gojek. This is because Grab acknowledges gender-specific challenges and performs a variety of affirmative actions to protect their women drivers. By contrast, Gojek treats all drivers the same regardless of gender.

One Grab policy that women drivers value the most is that it prioritizes matching women drivers with women customers, although they may still receive some men passengers during peak hours. Women drivers can turn on this gender-matching prioritization feature on the app. This alleviates safety concerns, particularly for drivers with previous experience of sexual harassment. In addition, Grab reportedly released a new automatic audio recording feature for the entire trip that can be used as evidence for any harassment cases. These policies and features help women drivers feel more protected against safety concerns.

Several participants also mentioned that Grab used to prioritize women drivers by assigning them more orders, especially for food deliveries, although it is no longer the case. The rationale behind this policy was (1) to reduce harassment risks, since women drivers do not have to ride with passengers when delivering food, and (2) to protect women drivers' earning capacity. It is possible that many women drivers on the platform are divorced or widowed and responsible for supporting themselves and their children, as this sentiment was expressed among many participants who were themselves divorced or widowed. Since many of them had been homemakers during their previous marriage, reentering the labor market after prolonged periods without paid employment is often difficult, prompting them to turn to gig work. Although many men drivers also provide for their families because men are generally viewed as primary breadwinners in Indonesia, such delivery order prioritization would better accommodate women breadwinners who typically have less time available for paid work due to household labor responsibilities. As one Gojek driver said, *"We have to take care of our house and children and cook for our family before we start working. Meanwhile, men can just wake up, eat breakfast prepared by their wife, and go to work."* She has tried suggesting the prioritization and gender-matching policies to Gojek during a local gathering with Gojek representatives, yet she does not perceive any signals that the platform will act on her feedback in the near future.

# 4 Discussion

In response to our research questions, we discovered that women drivers adopt strategies such as negotiating with customers and

striving to maintain consistent work schedules to reduce the impact of gender-specific challenges on their algorithmic outcomes. We also found that driver communities, both online and offline, provide significant support for women in navigating both types of challenges. Moreover, major ride-hailing platforms differ in their support for women drivers, with one platform perceived as more supportive than the other.

Our findings about women drivers drawing support from online communities bring a new perspective on women's participation in online communities that contradicts previous work. Ma et al. found that women gig workers in the United States rarely participate in gig workers' online communities because they do not perceive these communities as safe spaces for women [13]. Instead, we found that Indonesian women ride-hailing drivers not only feel safe within their communities but also feel safer at work as a result of their participation in online communities. This aligns with Bonini et al.'s findings that (1) gig workers' online communities are more common in collectivist societies in the Global South than in the individualistic, more-competitive culture in the Global North, and that (2) such communities facilitate the exchange of mutual support and algorithmic knowledge for gig workers [5].

Our study also confirms findings from prior studies that Indonesian women drivers experience frequent trip cancellations [11, 19, 21], possibly due to patriarchal culture and stigma around women working in a masculine industry [19, 21]. This finding also reflects a broader, long-standing stereotype that questions women's driving abilities and is also present in China [24], France [10], Turkey [27], and the United States [3]. We extend this finding by exploring women drivers' strategies to mitigate the occurrence of gender-motivated trip cancellations and lessen the impact on their performance by negotiating with their customers.

Since women drivers face a higher risk of penalties resulting from trip cancellations, ride-hailing platforms should reevaluate their algorithms and cancellation policies to ensure they do not disproportionately disadvantage women workers. For example, platforms can adjust their algorithm so that trip cancellations contribute less to women drivers' performance, particularly if they were initiated by customers. Platforms can also flag customers who repeatedly cancel trips with women drivers and discourage this behavior. A similar example of a platform responding to discriminatory user behavior is Airbnb's initiative to combat racial discrimination, which included auditing reservation rejection data to detect discrimination-related patterns [1]. Since ride-hailing platforms already penalize customers who cancel multiple rides in a row, such as by temporarily suspending their accounts [4], they can extend this mechanism to suspend or delay ride matching for customers who repeatedly engage in gender-motivated cancellations over longer periods.

Additionally, ride-hailing platforms should consider performing interventions to challenge riders' prejudice towards women drivers. One type of intervention that has been proven effective to reduce gender biases is raising awareness about gender discrimination with detailed evidence about how women have been discriminated against in the past [6]. Platforms could publicly share statistics comparing cancellation rates for women and men drivers and launch customer-facing campaigns to promote more respectful and equitable treatment of women drivers. Another successful intervention to combat prejudice towards minority groups is providing more detailed information about their traits or capabilities, particularly information that contradicts existing stereotypes [8, 25], such as the stereotype that women have poor driving skills. Since platforms' rating systems prompt riders to indicate particular qualities they appreciate from their driver, including good driving ability, platforms can leverage these data to highlight a woman driver's driving skill on her profile if she receives a high percentage of ratings that endorse this attribute. Interventions aimed at addressing gender discrimination would not only benefit women drivers but also advantage platforms, as increased earnings among women drivers would contribute to platform revenues as well.

Another example of a policy that reduces the likelihood of trip cancellations while also promoting safety is the gender-matching algorithm currently implemented by Grab. Since it reduces the likelihood of trip cancellations initiated by women drivers to minimize harassment risks, this policy can improve the reliability of ride-hailing services for riders as well. However, safeguards are necessary to prevent unintended consequences—for example, when Grab Thailand allowed women riders to choose women drivers in 2023, it unintentionally led to greater harassment risks for women drivers because men could disguise their gender on the platform [12]. As many participants explicitly preferred working for Grab due to its gender-matching policy, platforms that adopt similar policies may attract more women drivers and, in turn, appeal to more women customers who associate women drivers with greater safety [13].

As our next step, we plan to further analyze findings from this study. We aim to unpack women drivers' algorithmic and gender-specific challenges and their strategies to navigate these challenges in more detail. This will include an analysis of platform-specific challenges, since our preliminary findings suggest that Indonesian ride-hailing platforms vary in their features and policies. We will also analyze the different types of drivers' online communities and their unique contributions in making ride-hailing safer for women drivers in Indonesia.

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