Chapter 2
Remote platform work and the flexible workforce: what global dynamics can we see?

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1. Introduction

The growth of remote working arrangements, facilitated by the rapid digitalisation that has taken place over the past decade, has been accelerated by the Covid-19 pandemic. The widespread use of digital tools and technologies, as well as the rise of digital labour platforms, are driving the transformation of work and leading to changes in work organisation and work processes. This transformation encompasses not only the digitalisation of work previously carried out by individuals within a firm, but also its outsourcing to individuals with different skill sets working remotely in various locations across the globe through the use of online labour platforms and other technologies.

The lock downs during the Covid-19 pandemic created a greater awareness of the potential for remote work, even for jobs that were traditionally performed within a physical office. Firms facing financial constraints seized this opportunity to outsource work to remote workers, potentially saving costs and accessing talent from different countries (Rani and Dhir 2020) as they moved towards an agile workforce model. The pandemic has also made it easier for firms to hire remote workers from other countries (Brynjolfsson et al. 2020) which has helped drive the rise in remote work.

Based on data from Layoffs.fyi, which tracks redundancies, it was reported that 161 061 employees were laid off from more than 1000 tech companies in 2022. As of March 2023, the same source reports that approximately 123 000 employees have already been laid off in this calendar year from over 400 tech companies. Furthermore, based on a survey of 1000 US business leaders, it was estimated that forty-eight per cent of companies had replaced workers with ChatGPT since November 2022, with companies using it for tasks such as writing code, copywriting, content creation and customer support.

Despite the recent layoffs and the growing use of artificial intelligence (AI) tools, work still needs to be completed and human intervention here remains vital, leading firms to turn frequently to outsourcing via individual contractors or online labour platforms. Gusto, the payroll and HR platform serving over 200 000 small and medium-sized companies in the United States, has reported a 23 per cent increase in contractor payments over the last two years, with one in five employees now classified as a

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1. I would like to thank Marianne Furrer for extracting the data from the Online Labour Observatory and Rishabh Dhir for his comments on an earlier draft of this chapter.

2. See https://layoffs.fyi/; also see https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-64317078

3. See https://www.resumebuilder.com/1-in-4-companies-have-already-replaced-workers-with-chatgpt/
contractor (Wilke and Bowen 2022). Similarly Google, one of the major tech companies, reportedly utilises various types of employment contracts as well as a shadow workforce in its task completion.4

In addition to the rise in remote work, the pandemic has also accelerated the adoption of digital tools like Teams and Slack, creating collaborative workspaces for people to interact remotely even in traditional or regular workplaces. However, these tools also serve as management tools for monitoring and controlling work processes. Now that these digital tools have become embedded in the workplace, there is the potential for conventional workplaces to adopt some of the features seen on online labour platforms.

Remote work is defined in various ways in the literature – homework, telework, mobile work, etc. For the purposes of this chapter, we adopt a narrow definition of ‘remote platform work’ that specifically refers to individuals who use personal electronic devices to work from a location outside of an office or company premises. This definition encompasses individuals who work through online labour platforms and provide services remotely to clients in different parts of the world. These workers carry out tasks that require a wide range of skills.

This chapter examines the emerging issues related to remote platform work and whether remote working arrangements have led to an increase in flexible employment options, such as companies hiring more independent contractors or outsourcing tasks through online labour platforms. We also investigate whether these trends are changing the way companies organise work, alongside the blurring of the boundaries between internal and flexible workers. Additionally, we consider the types of tasks – that is, whether they are low-skilled or high-skilled – being outsourced. Finally, we analyse the working conditions of remote platform workers, including the control that firms and clients have when using various digital tools. The analysis for this chapter is based on data from the Online Labour Observatory, the online global surveys conducted by the ILO and other relevant data sources, as well as secondary literature.

2. Is remote work a new phenomenon?

Remote work is not a new phenomenon and has been around in various forms including homework, telework and mobile work. These terms have evolved with technological advances, as noted by Messenger and Gschwind (2016). During the 1970s, the term ‘telecommuting’ was coined, seemingly in response to the oil crisis and a perception of the need to reduce the time spent commuting. The latter was a major issue in California in the United States (Nilles et al. 1976; Nilles 1975). Telecommuting became popular in the US during that decade due to the oil shortages and long queues for scarce fuel supplies, resulting in alternative work arrangements (Ellison 2004). Workers began teleworking from home in order to reduce their daily gas-guzzling commutes and instead communicated through telephones (Bailey 2022).

In the 1980s, there was a belief that advances in the information and communications technology (ICT) infrastructure would usher in a new era of teleworking (Toffler 1980) as desktop computers, along with file transfer protocols, enabled file sharing thus allowing work to be done remotely (Bailey 2022). Additionally, the development of ICT led firms to realise that work could be relocated to other countries or locations, enabling them to reduce costs, including labour, and improve productivity (Messener and Gschwind 2016; Ellison 2004). This led to the outsourcing of work through business process outsourcing (BPO) companies and the siting of call centres in developing and emerging economies. These technologies facilitated the easy transfer of the knowledge required to perform service-related tasks, resulting in the relocation of work from one place to another. However, work was still carried out in the destination country on the premises of an employer. This process led to the substitution of labour in advanced economies with workers in developing countries and might have led to the disappearance, or relocation, of some occupations and tasks in advanced economies, these being integrated instead within the production process in developing ones.

Since the 2000s, new technologies like cloud computing and infrastructure have paved the way for innovative outsourcing methods through online labour platforms. In addition to outsourcing work, some companies allowed their employees to work remotely even before the Covid-19 pandemic. However, the early phases of the pandemic led many businesses to adopt full-time remote working for their employees. As a result, there is an emerging divide in the labour market: some companies are allowing their employees to continue working remotely full-time while maintaining the employment relationship; others are outsourcing work through online labour platforms, often resulting in work arrangements that deny workers an employment relationship. This trend has caused firms to restructure and reorganise, making them more agile and adaptable to changing market conditions. Moreover, it has led to the emergence of ‘digital nomads’ – workers who utilise innovative approaches to remote work and who are in the process of moving towards the concept of a ‘virtual office’ (Messener and Gschwind 2016; Rasnača, this volume).

Firms are exploring innovative approaches to the outsourcing of work through alternative work arrangements that incorporate independent contractors, freelancers, gig workers and crowdworkers. In recent times, freelance and talent platforms such as InnoCentive, Toptal, Topcoder, Kaggle and Upwork are becoming increasingly popular for outsourced work. According to Deloitte (2019), these talent platforms now manage over two billion dollars in outsourced activities and employ hundreds of millions of people globally. A survey of 700 business leaders in the United States (Fuller et al. 2020) has revealed that these platforms are considered critical to a company’s future competitive advantage. It also found that companies are moving beyond experimentation and using platforms with the aim of developing an integrated strategy to tap the best talent. Moreover certain technology companies, such as Google and Wipro, have adopted a hybrid business model by acquiring online talent platforms like Kaggle and Topcoder, respectively (ILO 2021).

This has led to a new generation of remote work which can be understood as ‘remote platform work’, with two observable trends. The first is the rise of online labour
platforms, including talent, freelance and microtask platforms, which allow firms to outsource work globally to workers with varying skills from around the world. The second trend is the emergence of a new generation of call centres that offer artificial intelligence-enabled services using human labour. Unlike the earlier three generations of remote work, where workers still had an employment relationship and enjoyed work-related benefits with their employer, this generation has made employment relationships rather complex.

3. **Occupations with the potential for remote work**

The pandemic has been associated with a growing literature investigating which occupations have the potential for remote work, largely focused on advanced economies. Dingel and Neiman (2020) analysed the Occupational Information Network (O*NET) database for the United States and found that occupations that do not require physical activities, such as computer or IT-related, education, legal, business and financial activities, are more amenable to being performed remotely from home. Sostero et al. (2020) used detailed occupational data to show a huge divide in the potential for remote work between white collar and blue collar occupations as the latter are more likely to be physical and place dependent. They identify managerial, professional and clerical support workers as those most amenable to remote work compared to other occupations. These findings are supported by firm-level surveys conducted in North America which show that knowledge-intensive work done by skilled professionals can be done remotely compared to work in factories or in the hospitality sector (Bartik et al. 2020).

Some studies use online job postings to analyse the possibilities of performing certain tasks remotely. Adrjan et al. (2021), in their study of 20 OECD countries, found an increase in advertised telework between 2019 and 2021 in some high-skilled sectors, such as IT-related services and insurance. They also argue that countries and sectors that are digitally prepared have a higher potential for remote work compared to others.

Several real-time surveys have also been conducted to estimate the number of people working remotely and to identify the occupations involved. A survey in Germany revealed that the sectors where remote work is most prevalent include IT and communications, education and real estate (Möhring et al. 2020). A cross-national survey carried out in the USA, China, Japan, Italy, South Korea and the UK showed that remote work is more prevalent in managerial and professional occupations compared to blue collar or sales and service ones (Belot et al. 2020). A comparative real-time survey in the US and the UK in 2020 revealed that there are significant differences across occupations and industries in the extent to which tasks can be done remotely (Adams-Prassl et al. 2020).

Even before the pandemic, there was increasing debate about automation and AI potentially replacing some clerical tasks, such as the offer of AI ‘virtual assistants’ to carry out secretarial tasks. However, these tasks are currently not only being performed by remote human workers based in India and the Philippines for clients in the Global North, but they are also training the AI itself (ILO 2021). Additionally, there has been a
rise in the outsourcing by big technology companies of clerical and short-term tasks such as data annotation, image tagging, object labelling, etc. to business process outsourcing companies or to workers through microtask platforms. These tasks are often performed by workers in the Global South because they can be done at a very low cost (ILO 2021). Recent cases, such as OpenAI, which outsourced tasks to workers in Kenya with the aim of making ChatGPT less toxic for users (Perrigo 2023), highlight this trend. While these efforts aim to reduce toxicity for users, the workers who are responsible for taking on such tasks are often exposed to significant psychological risks that could have lifelong effects on their health and mental wellbeing. At the same time, however, it also raises the concerns about the beneficial development outcomes for highly educated workers in these developing countries.

The ability to work remotely can vary depending on the country and sector, and it may not be feasible for all tasks and types of work. In developed countries, remote work may lead to job losses or the reclassification of tasks while in developing countries it may create new employment opportunities, albeit with significant changes in work processes. However, when tasks are outsourced to developing countries, such as those in Asia or in Africa, they are often fragmented and result in low-paid work whereas the same tasks in developed countries are relatively well paid. This changing nature of tasks raises questions about the content and quality of work as well as the nature of the employment relationship. Many online remote tasks are unrelated to workers’ educational levels and there is often little opportunity for career progression or skill development (Rani et al. 2023). These developments raise fundamental questions about the nature of the jobs that are being created.

4. **Remote platform work in recent times: what do the data tell us?**

In 2019, data collected from one of the largest freelance platforms revealed a huge volume of work being outsourced remotely, with a total transaction volume of approximately 135 million dollars (ILO 2021).

To understand the global dynamics of the demand for online labour, we look at the Online Labour Observatory (OLO) which tracks the tasks and projects posted on the five largest freelance and microtask platforms. This measure is a good indicator of whether companies are outsourcing tasks through online labour platforms and using online labour. Figure 1 illustrates a significant increase in the demand for online work on the five major tracked platforms since 2016. Since the onset of the pandemic, the demand for online labour has grown phenomenally, with the number of projects posted on these platforms more than doubling in 2022. As of early 2023, there were approximately 80 per cent more projects compared to mid-2016.
Online labour demand: projects posted on major freelance and microtask platforms, 2016 to 2023

Source: Online Labour Observatory (ILabour Project, Oxford Internet Institute and ILO).

In Spring and Autumn 2021, the European Trade Union Institute (ETUI) conducted an Internet and Platform Work Survey using a random sampling method on the working age population in 14 European countries to estimate the extent to which workers are earning incomes through online platforms (Piasna et al. 2022). The survey captured two types of online task: short-term microtasks; and high-skilled IT, software related, copy editing and other tasks. Roughly 6.2 per cent of respondents in these countries had performed either of these two types of online tasks remotely, with women being underrepresented in IT and related tasks (41 per cent) compared to microtasks (56 per cent), which is consistent with the global trend.

Table 1 Online labour demand: share of tasks by occupational categories on major freelance and microtask platforms, 2016-2022 (%)

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<td>Clerical and data entry</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>11.8</td>
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<td>9.8</td>
<td>17.6</td>
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<td>Creative and multimedia</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>23.8</td>
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<td>3.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sales and marketing support</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>10.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Software development and technology</td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>35.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Writing and translation</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>11.9</td>
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Source: Online Labour Observatory, ILO and Oxford Internet Institute.

5. Calculations from the ETUI IPWS data, Spring and Autumn 2021 waves.
The OLO data also help us in understanding the nature of the tasks being outsourced; that is, whether they are low-skilled or high-skilled. Soon after the pandemic, there was greater demand for labour in software development and technology occupations, the share of which peaked at 44.5 per cent in 2020, followed by creative and multimedia. However, by the end of December 2022, the demand for labour in software development and technology had declined by almost nine percentage points while it had doubled in the clerical and data entry category (Table 1).

Globally, the demand for online or remote work in 2022 was dominated by the US (37 per cent), followed by the UK (8 per cent) and India (7.6 per cent). The demand for online work in Canada and Australia has declined in the past few years. In India, more than 50 per cent of the demand for online labour relates to software development and technology, which is quite high compared to other countries (Figure 2). This is not surprising as a number of tech companies in India laid off workers soon after the pandemic appeared, outsourcing their tasks through online labour platforms, which process has continued to date. This is also evident from the significant increase in the number of registered workers on online platforms since the start of the pandemic (ILO 2021).

There are some similarities between the impact of remote work on online labour and the outsourcing of business processes that occurred in the mid-1980s and 1990s. Both involved the outsourcing of knowledge-intensive work as well as low-skilled back-end operations or clerical work. In both cases, firms or clients originated largely from North America, western Europe and Australia, and work was outsourced to developing countries, primarily in Asia and in Africa, to take advantage of low labour costs.
However, there are also significant differences between the two models. In the 1980s and 1990s, a large proportion of outsourcing took place between firms and was guided by supply chain requirements and agreements. Work was executed on the basis of strict compliance and workers continued to benefit from an employment relationship, with labour and some forms of social protection being provided by a firm even if jobs had been relocated to developing countries. In this outsourcing model, firms absorbed the risks as well as the costs, without workers being involved in either.

The current model of outsourcing through online labour platforms operates differently. The business practices of these platforms are laid down in the terms of service agreements, which are unilaterally determined by each platform, and they govern how workers and clients interact with it (ILO 2021). These platforms are emerging as significant players in the temporary staffing industry, offering an efficient matching system to their clients and firms, thereby allowing for greater productivity and reduced transaction costs for firms. However, this often comes at the expense of workers who are forced to bear the brunt of the costs and risks associated with the work.

The platform business model thus represents a new form of workplace fissuring (Weil 2014) that is altering the boundaries of contemporary firms, restructuring work organisation and reconfiguring the relationship between capital and labour. Technological advances have allowed clients to access workers from a global pool of labour, increasing competition between workers, and we are now seeing a return to piece rate work which can be dehumanising and which makes workers vulnerable. Only a small proportion of workers with highly specialised skills are able to attract valuable projects and succeed in the remote labour market.

5. Implications of remote platform work: wage gaps and inequalities

Remote platform work has diverse implications. The classification of workers as freelancers, independent contractors or self-employed can result in job insecurity and a lack of employment and social protection benefits, and it may increase precariousness and vulnerability for workers. The rise of remote platform work may have far-reaching consequences for the earnings of workers and could affect wages worldwide.

Based on 200,000 projects included on one of the largest freelance platforms, we found that work is being outsourced there by firms in the Global North and performed by workers in the Global South (see Figure 3). Online work demand mainly originates from Australia, Canada, Germany, New Zealand, the UK and the US. This is denoted by the outer circle which shows whether demand comes from within the country or abroad. The size of the circle indicates the volume of work being performed, with a significant proportion being done by workers in developing countries, particularly India (20 per cent), the Philippines and Ukraine. Remote wages differ significantly among workers located in different countries, as shown by the colours in the inner circle. For instance, the median hourly wages of workers in the US were about twice those of workers in India and three times those of workers in the Philippines.
Figure 3  The outsourcing of tasks on one freelance platform across countries, inflow of work and earnings, 2019

Source: ILO 2021 (Figure 1.2).
Brinatti et al. (2022), in their study of one of the large web-based platforms, found that remote wages vary considerably, influenced by workers’ countries and local labour market conditions, despite the marketplace being global. They also found that the wage differential is strongly linked to GDP per capita in the worker’s location. Additionally, even when working for the same employer, remote workers from richer countries earn more than workers from developing ones. An ILO global survey of workers on freelance platforms found that workers in developed countries earn 60 per cent more per hour than their counterparts in developing countries, even after controlling for basic characteristics and the type of task being performed. This wage gap suggests that workers in developing countries may face unequal access to work opportunities due to the design of the platform and to client perceptions (ILO 2021). While some researchers attribute this gap to information asymmetry and stereotypes about worker quality (Galperin and Greppi 2017; Beerepoot and Lambregts 2015; Lehdonvirta et al. 2014), such differentials could also be due to pure discrimination, with clients simply paying less to workers in developing countries (as reported by workers in the ILO interviews). Additionally, well-paid tasks may not be equally accessible to workers from developing countries, further contributing to the wage gap.

The existence of wage differentials raises the question of why workers participate in remote platform work. According to the analysis of the ETUI Internet and Platform Work Survey by Zwysen and Piasna (2023), workers engage in remote IT-related and microtasks as a consequence of the local labour market conditions in their regions or countries. The percentage of workers participating in remote work is higher in regions or countries with high unemployment rates, while job quality and quantity, including underemployment, are also important factors. These findings are consistent with global trends (ILO 2021). Approximately 40 per cent of workers performing remote IT-related and other tasks are either on fixed-term contracts or are self-employed, and are likely to be doing these tasks to earn supplementary income.

The findings of a survey of workers on the Gusto platform, among US firms which utilise international contractors, further support this notion. The survey showed that 69 per cent of international contractors state that their pay from contracting is better than pay for similar work in their home country; with 38 per cent saying that it is ‘much better’ (Wilke and Bowen 2022). For these workers, contracting enables them to leverage their skills and earn more than what is accessible in their local labour market. Firms are taking advantage of this situation and using it to avoid their responsibility to provide work and employment-related social protection benefits. This survey of workers further revealed that ‘among contractors that do not already have full-time traditional employment, approximately 67 per cent of the contractors would prefer a traditional employee arrangement’ (Wilke and Bowen 2022).

The business model of these platforms is also a cause for concern. Platforms generate revenue through commission fees or subscription plans which can reach up to 35 per cent of workers’ earnings in some cases. This significantly reduces workers’ income and contributes to the increasing inequality. In addition to commission fees, workers also report bearing other costs such as buying ‘connects’ or proposal credits in order to bid for projects on Upwork (69 per cent) or for paying fees to withdraw money from the
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Remote platform work (60 per cent) (ILO 2021). Workers have little choice but to bear the burden of the costs imposed on them in this way. This highlights the unequal power dynamic between platforms and workers, with platforms able to extract a significant share of workers’ earnings. Moreover, requiring a subscription plan or payment to bid for projects creates an entry barrier for workers from developing countries and low income households who may lack the financial capacity to access such work. This can result in de facto discrimination and limit their participation, further exacerbating inequality.

Due to the global nature of platforms, there is fierce competition within the global labour force as workers underbid each other for tasks and projects, particularly on freelance platforms. This can potentially drive down wages and increase inequality. An ILO survey of freelance platform workers found that about 67 per cent of workers reported underbidding for tasks and projects while 79 per cent accepted work for low pay or even performed tasks for free. Additionally, 37 per cent of workers reported accepting tasks that they would otherwise have declined in order to build up their platform rating and reputation (Rani et al. 2023). This indicates that competition for work has become so intense that some workers are willing to accept any task, including unpaid work, simply to access work on the platforms.

Besides low wages, remote platform workers often lack access to social protection benefits, with only 16 per cent reporting such access in the ILO global survey. As a result, they may be dependent on family members for support. In some ways, workers in traditional workplaces end up subsidising these workers (ILO 2021).

The growth of remote platform work has also led to the fragmentation of tasks, including in translation or transcription, which were previously carried out in the traditional labour market and which are now outsourced to workers on a per-task basis. However, this trend can have unexpected consequences, including the potential deskilling of work and the replacement of skilled labour with unskilled labour (ILO 2021; Cheng et al. 2015). Additionally, low-skilled tasks related to data processing, such as tagging, classifying, cleaning, structuring and organising, are now increasingly being outsourced to highly educated workers in developing countries. This trend raises concerns about the underutilisation of workers’ skills and their limited career progression (Rani and Furrer 2019).

Moreover, the outsourcing of traditional labour market tasks through online labour platforms to remote workers on a per-task basis has widened the wage gap for similar tasks in the same market. Remote platform workers earn significantly less than their counterparts in the traditional labour market. ILO analysis shows that, in India, remote platform workers earn 64 per cent less, and in the United States they earn 81 per cent less, than workers in the traditional labour market. Furthermore, the earnings gap is wider for women than it is for men (ILO 2021). The low earnings of remote platform workers can be attributed to various factors including the payment structure, irregular and unstable work opportunities, unpaid tasks, lack of work-related benefits and the time spent searching for work. This trend has the potential to exacerbate inequalities in the labour market.
Finally, remote platform work can facilitate the greater monitoring and control of workers by firms which may potentially undermine worker privacy and autonomy. A global survey conducted by the ILO of freelance workers found that many were required to install hardware and software programs by platforms or clients enabling them to be monitored to ensure their efficiency (ILO 2021). These tools allow clients to track the progress of their project and monitor worker performance, with nearly half of workers reporting regular monitoring through digital tools: approximately 46 per cent indicated that they were required to take and send regular screenshots of their work to their clients. Furthermore, around 43 per cent reported being requested to be available at specific times. In many instances, remote platform workers need to be available during asocial hours as their clients tend to be based in different time zones which not only creates challenges for work-life balance but also has health implications.

The use of digital tools for monitoring and managing workers is not limited to remote platform work, as it may also be observed in traditional work settings. A recent study conducted in Spain and Germany found that between 10 and 20 per cent of workers were subject to some degree of digital monitoring and algorithmic management at their workplace (Fernández-Macías et al. 2023).

Despite being classified as ‘independent contractors’ by platforms, workers have limited control over their work schedule and are required to follow the rules set by the platform. Non-compliance can have a negative impact on their ratings and their access to work. Moreover, platform algorithms closely monitor and evaluate work processes and interactions between workers and clients. As the platforms have exclusive control over the design of their review systems and the algorithms used to evaluate workers, it gives them significant power to influence workers’ employability and they can be deactivated from the platform without any reason or explanation.

6. Making workers' conditions more precarious: the need for regulation and universal labour standards for all

The wage gap and the inequalities entailed by remote work discussed in this chapter highlight the need for platforms to address these issues and ensure fair and equal pay for all workers, regardless of their location or background. This can be achieved by addressing information asymmetry and stereotyping, eliminating discrimination and improving access to well-paid tasks for all workers, in addition to ensuring that these workers are correctly classified. Platforms have the potential to use technology to provide decent working conditions for workers but, instead, they are using it to reduce workers’ terms and conditions as it makes cheap labour available in abundance. This has created a situation where workers are struggling to make a decent living and lack job and income security. It is important for platforms to recognise the value of their workforce and work towards creating a fair and sustainable model that benefits both the platform and the workers. This would not only benefit workers but would also help to reduce inequality and promote greater economic stability in the long run.
Given the transnational nature of work, where platforms, clients and workers are located in different jurisdictions, it becomes difficult to regulate the activities of these platforms and poses significant challenges in enforcing regulations. In order to protect the rights of remote platform workers, it is essential to engage in international policy dialogue and coordination to ensure that universal labour standards are applied to all workers regardless of their employment classification as employees or as self-employed. This requires a concerted effort to establish comprehensive regulations that safeguard the interests and wellbeing of all workers in the platform economy, such as ensuring employment status is correctly classified, ensuring transparency and accountability in algorithms, ensuring that self-employed workers enjoy the right to bargain collectively, protecting workers’ personal and work data, ensuring adequate social security benefits, providing for wage protection, fair payments and working time standards, and fair termination process among others. However, regulating platforms is not sufficient on its own. It is equally important to implement employment or job creation policies at national level in order to generate enough jobs that utilise the skills of workers and support the development of both society and the economy. By doing so, policymakers can help ensure that platform work complements traditional employment, rather than replacing it, and that all workers are able to enjoy the benefits of a thriving and inclusive labour market.

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