



Protecting Workers in the Digital Platform Economy

Investigating Ola and Uber Drivers' Occupational Health and Safety

Prepared by the **Indian Federation of App-based Transport workers (IFAT)** in collaboration with the **International Transport Workers' Federation (ITF)**, New Delhi Office



About

The **Indian Federation of App-based Transport Workers (IFAT)** is a worker's organisation representing app-based transport and delivery workers. It has affiliate unions from 10 cities across India with a membership of more than 20,000. It was founded in December 2019 in Mumbai. IFAT is working extensively to champion the labour rights of workers driving and riding for companies like Ola, Uber, Swiggy, Zomato etc. IFAT is committed to work for the interest of app-based transport and delivery workers through organizing, collectivizing, campaigning and collaborating with unions and other civil society organisations aiming for decent work conditions, policy formulation and regulation through advocacy and labour activism.

The **International Transport Workers Federation (ITF) in Asia Pacific** represents over 2 million paid membership of transport workers through its affiliates—the largest transport union membership outside of Europe. The Asia Pacific region covers 30 countries and has a number of regional teams working to strengthen transport workers' rights. ITF's Delhi Office is primarily responsible for affiliates in South Asia and is working to increase trade union membership, improve union capacities through education and skills building, and promote solidarity.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research studies occupational health and safety among app-based transport workers, and identifying health conditions, risk factors, and unhealthy patterns of behaviour that are a result of poor conditions of work. It also attempts to understand the factors that limit workers' access to health insurance or safety nets in case of emergencies. The research also focuses on harassment faced by drivers from customers, traffic officials and app-based transport companies significantly affects their mental health. It highlights workers' exposure to factors such as sleep deprivation and substance abuse, which further puts them at risk of poor health.

The report also studies expenditure on health and access to safety nets such as insurance, including the factors and priorities that workers take into account before taking a decision on healthcare expenses.

This research was initiated through the efforts of the International Transport Workers Federation (ITF), Delhi Office and the Indian Federation of App-based Transport Workers (IFAT) between July and November 2019.

Surveys were conducted with 2,128 respondents from the following 6 cities: Bengaluru, Chennai, Delhi NCR, Hyderabad, Jaipur, and Lucknow.

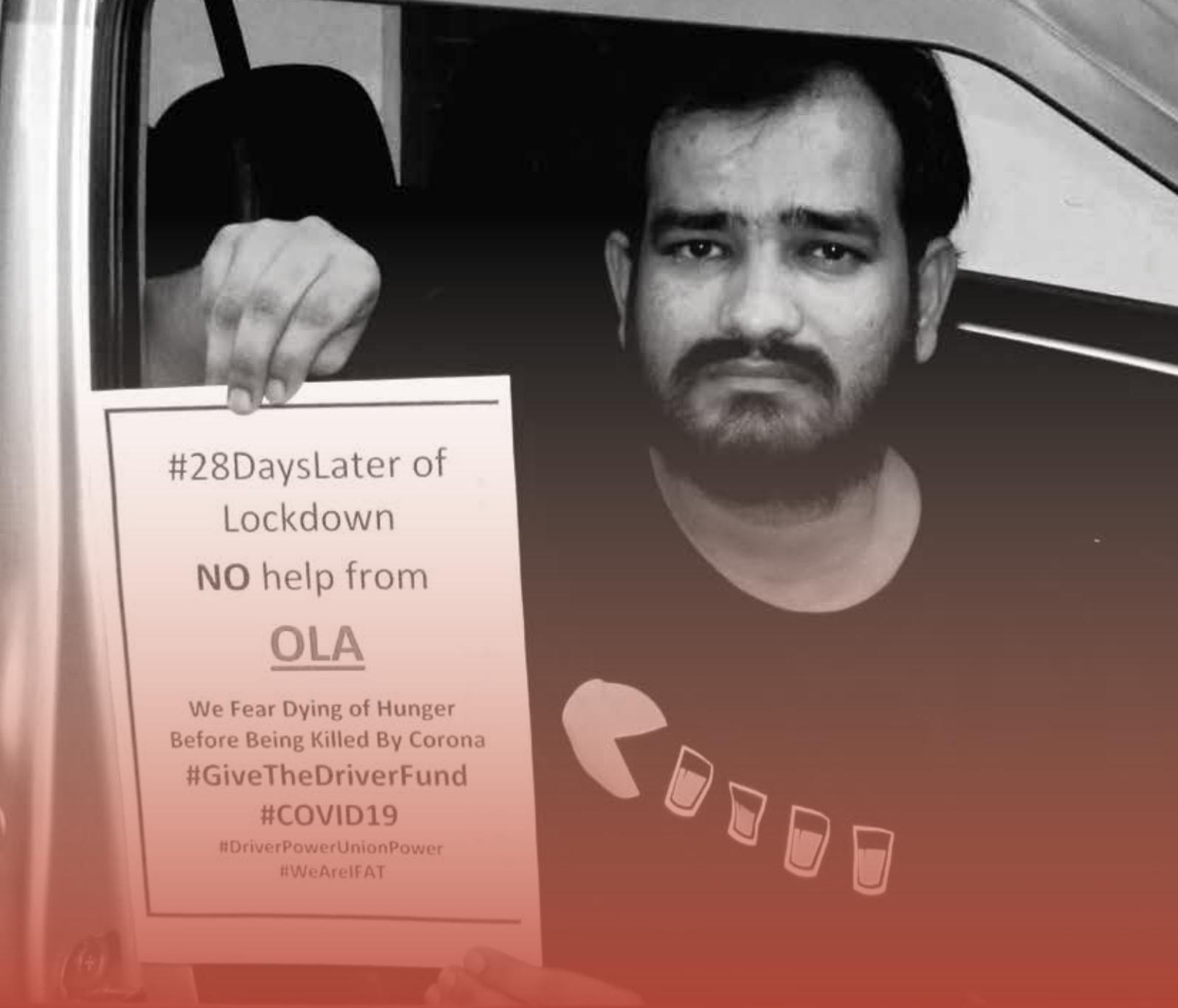
The questionnaires were distributed through WhatsApp. A majority of respondents were "young adults" i.e. aged between 20 to 40 years. The subsequent inferences in relation to work, income, health etc. were arrived at using age as the governing parameter.

We found that health issues arising directly as a result of conditions of work is affecting the day-to-day lives of workers. Backache, constipation, liver issues, waist pain and neck pain are the top five health ailments that app-based transport workers suffer from due to their work. A significant number of respondents, 60.7% identified backache as a major health issue.

Another key finding is the complete absence of social security and protection—a glaring 95.3% claimed to have no form of insurance, accidental, health or medical.

We discuss the role of app-based companies in exploiting workers through an opaque algorithmic system, which determines who gets to work and how they will be compensated. These systems also determine penalties and grievance redressal, which have an impact on the occupational health and safety. Critically, the design of systems and logics of compensation are completely invisible to workers, undermining their capacity to protect their rights.

We aim for this research to become a basic tool for trade unions and civil society organisations working to protect labour rights and dignity of app-based transport and delivery workers. This is the first step in a process to start this dialogue and undertake future research to further develop our understanding of workers' health and safety in the so-called gig economy.



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Owing to decline in earnings which forces long working hours, abetted by insecure and hazardous work, **drivers are faced with health issues and stress affecting their physical and mental well-being.**

INTRODUCTION

Ola Cabs (hereafter “Ola”) and Uber India (hereafter “Uber”) are India’s leading companies that provide taxi services through their mobile applications. They have successfully disrupted and changed the structure and operations of the Indian taxi industry in the last over 6 years. Their business model has made it possible for people to book a ride and pick-up from their doorstep at affordable rates and with a minimum wait time.

Uber had the 2nd largest market operations in the world in India till 2015¹ and it was reported that India had over 5 million weekly active riders in August 2017. Uber currently controls 40% of the market in India, the world's 3rd largest. Domestic rival Ola is the market leader, with a share of 56%². Ola operates in nearly 125 Indian cities, offering cabs, auto rickshaws, and even two-wheelers while Uber services are available in 36 cities.³ On a rough estimate available it is being speculated that there are about 4.75 lakh vehicles operating for Uber and approximately 10 lakh vehicles for Ola across India. Ola is also diversifying and making forays into the mobile payment business through Ola Money⁴, cloud kitchen, grocery delivery⁵ etc. Ola and Uber engage drivers for business purposes through three categories of vehicles; fleet, leased and partner.

These companies have a few categorisations of car ownership arrangements. These are:

- Partner vehicles are those which are owned by the drivers themselves and by registering with Ola and Uber through their online platform and after physical verification of relevant documents and the vehicle, drivers can utilize their ride

¹ "India Now Uber's Second Largest Market Following Expansion To 7".
<https://techcrunch.com/2015/07/01/uber-india/>.

² "Uber Revenue and Usage Statistics (2019) - Business of Apps".
<https://www.businessofapps.com/data/uber-statistics/>.

³ "Ola vs Uber: The latest score in the great Indian taxi-app game - Quartz".
<https://qz.com/india/1545042/ola-vs-uber-the-latest-score-in-the-great-indian-taxi-app-game/>.

⁴ "Ola enters the mobile payments space with Ola Money - Livemint".
<https://www.livemint.com/Companies/P4REFJgDkjHWkli6q9shBP/Ola-enters-mobile-payments-space-with-Ola-Money.html>.

⁵ "India's Ola switches gears on its food delivery business" 21 May. 2019,
<https://techcrunch.com/2019/05/21/ola-foodpanda-update/>.

sharing service for earnings for a certain commission claimed by Ola and Uber from the fare.

- Leased or “driver under a partner” (specifically for Uber), drivers who don't own a vehicle can lease a vehicle from Ola for Rs. 31,000 security deposit with a daily rental fee of Rs. 1,150⁶ while Uber drivers can start driving after registering for an Uber Fleet vehicle as a cab driver. These drivers drive exclusively for Ola or Uber, based on which company they register with.
- Fleet operators/owners have a number of vehicles registered with either of the companies. Ola also provides assistance in securing drivers for fleet vehicles if fleet operators/owners are unable to onboard them.

The drivers who drive for Ola and Uber end up driving for more than 15 hours a day. They do so in order to justify the cost of fuel consumed, to pay the commission/EMI they owe to Ola/Uber and even then, they don't take home a decent enough earning for survival.

The earnings of the driver have dwindled from Rs. 70,000-1,00,000 to Rs. 22,000-25,000 per month over the last 4 years⁷. This astronomical drop was fuelled by incentives and bonuses being cut coupled with the rise in fuel prices and decrease in per kilometre rates by Ola /Uber, pushing drivers towards urban poverty⁸.

Apart from the long hours they are plying their vehicles on the road, drivers also have to be wary of harassment and violence from riders, the police and rash drivers. There have been numerous reported incidences where drivers have been robbed, abducted or in some cases even murdered during/after a ride. The virtual employers bear no responsibility towards their driver partners in the event of an accident or any untoward episode they encounter while driving. Owing to decline in earnings which forces long working hours, abetted by insecure and hazardous work, drivers are

⁶ "How to Start Business with Ola and Uber in 2019 | WHITEDUST."

<https://www.whitedust.net/how-to-start-business-with-olauber-taxi-for-sure/>.

⁷ "No easy exit as Ola and Uber drivers in India face spiralling debt trap".

<https://www.thenewsminute.com/article/no-easy-exit-ola-and-uber-drivers-india-face-spiralling-debt-trap-102558>.

⁸ "The challenges before cab aggregators in India - The Economic Times."

<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/industry/transportation/shipping-/-transport/the-challenges-bef-ore-cab-aggregators-in-india/articleshow/66394551.cms>.

faced with health issues and stress affecting their physical and mental wellbeing. These exploitative practices by the companies and aggravating circumstances are a cause for an in-depth look into how the lives and livelihoods of the drivers are affected. A serious focus on health and safety is needed to address issues faced by the workers in the field.

To ascertain the wellbeing of drivers an elaborate study has been undertaken by International Transport Workers Federation (ITF), Delhi Office in collaboration with Indian Federation of App based Transport workers (IFAT) across major cities where Ola and Uber operate. The initial data that has been collected reiterates the legitimate concerns in relation to the health and safety of Ola and Uber drivers.

Although Ola and Uber have claimed that there exist health insurance schemes for drivers and future initiatives being advertised and announced, on the ground none of these plans or measures are available to the drivers.



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Service agreements essentially absolve the ride sharing/hailing company of all liabilities and responsibilities towards drivers and riders. Uber has also stopped using the word “partner” in the agreement and **now defines individuals utilizing their app service for commercial gains as “customers”.**

SURVEY INFORMATION

Cities & Respondents

Quantitative data has been collected through a questionnaire with Ola and Uber drivers in Lucknow, Jaipur and the Delhi NCR region. The questionnaire was prepared in both English and regional Indian languages in order to reach out to a larger base and develop a comprehensive understanding of health and safety issues and concerns of Ola and Uber drivers. It was designed to address three broad themes: security, safety and health of drivers, which were identified through preliminary interaction with drivers in these 3 cities. It is extensive in order to capture all of the concerns raised by drivers, but is not exhaustive as beyond the core issues, drivers in each city have their own set of problems and priorities.

Informal interviews with drivers in these cities were also conducted to ascertain their awareness in relation to mental wellbeing and other issues they might be facing due to their work. The questions in relation to mental health were not added to the questionnaire as enquiries about an individual's psychological constitution could be met with derision and denial. The questions in relation to understanding about the need for protection if engaging in sexual relations with multiple partners also provided an insight into how taboo issues are perceived in the Indian society and how there is always a push back to what is perceived to be immoral and corrupt.

In consultation with an external research organisation—IT for Change⁹—the questionnaire was further trimmed and tailored to focus on the central themes exclusively. The questionnaire was then translated into the vernacular regional languages for Bengaluru, Chennai and Hyderabad respondents. The respondents from these cities provided a better insight and comprehensive picture on how drivers driving for Ola and Uber are being exploited and the apathetic nature of the organisations and state. These southern cities are also IT hubs, this control condition provides an additional parameter that needs to be considered when gig/platform work is being evaluated. In these cities the drivers also drive for IT companies, so not

⁹ "IT for Change." <https://itforchange.net/>. IT for Change is an NGO based in Bengaluru, India. It works in the areas of education, gender, governance, community informatics and internet/digital policies push the boundaries of existing vocabulary and practice, exploring new development and social change frameworks.

only do they work for multiple platform operators, they also work for multiple forms of employers.

The hurdles in relation to collecting data included the limited time available to the respondents to fill out the questionnaire and issues the drivers had with understanding the questionnaire. Even though the questionnaire was in both English and the regional vernacular language, due to the educational drawbacks of some of the drivers, comprehending it was hard for several respondents. Possibility of interviewing the families of the driver also needs to be considered in the future to ensure that a holistic view of how the work of these respondents affects not only their lives but also that of their dependents, relations and friends. This research is necessary to work towards the ILO's has proposed policy intervention to ensure the well-being of workers engaged in digital labour platforms¹⁰. The balance between work and life for these app-based "drivers" needs to be scrutinized and the impact their work has on multiple individuals connected directly or indirectly with them needs to be evaluated.

Need for this Study

The requirement of this research at this juncture in India is critical in order to initiate a dialogue between the government and the "aggregators" as they have been defined in the Motor Vehicles (Amendment) Act, 2019,¹¹ to safeguard the interests of the vulnerable workforce. The government through various news media outlets has announced that it plans to approach stakeholders for discussion in order to draw up guidelines on how app-based ride sharing companies should be regulated in the cities. In doing so the government has taken a positive step in reining in the irregular operations and shedding light on the inscrutable business practices of these companies. But if the "drivers/driver partners", who comprise the workforce running these businesses, are not represented in this policy and guideline making process, they shall continue to remain disenfranchised.

¹⁰ "The architecture of digital labour platforms: Policy recommendations on platform design for worker well-being - ILO."
https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---cabinet/documents/publication/wcms_630603.pdf.

¹¹ "THE MOTOR VEHICLES (AMENDMENT) ACT, 2019 ... - Gazette of India." 9 Aug. 2019,
<http://egazette.nic.in/WriteReadData/2019/210413.pdf>.

With the new code on wages¹² they are rendered even more invisible as neither the “aggregator” nor the “driver partner” are recognised or mentioned in the new wage codes. The government has proposed in the Motor Vehicle Amendment Act 2019 that the “aggregator” will be governed by the Information and Technology Act of 2000. This further insulates the companies from labour litigations and allows them a freehand in how they can operate and employ the workforce to run their businesses.

It also needs to be pointed out that Ola and Uber have recently updated their service agreement for both their riders and drivers^{13,14}. It has been observed that service agreements essentially absolve the ride sharing/hailing company of all liabilities and responsibilities towards drivers and riders. Uber has also stopped using the word “partner” in the agreement and now defines individuals utilizing their app service for commercial gains as “customers”. This can be seen as Uber distancing itself from any language that would make them accountable towards providing the drivers with social security or any form of protection and acknowledging any form of “employee-employer” relationship. It is essential for any new regulation that the government may initiate to safeguard the interests of the drivers needs to be cognizant of this.

To make sure that the government takes cognizance of the issues of the workforce not only in formulating the guidelines but also to ensure a holistic understanding of how work affects the drivers and their family, there is an urgency for this research.

Occupational health is a very important indicator that has been used globally in determining under what circumstances are drivers working and its effect on their lives¹⁵.

¹² "THE CODE ON WAGES, 2019." 18 Jul. 2019, http://164.100.47.4/BillsTexts/LSBillTexts/Asintroduced/184_2019_LS_Eng.pdf.

¹³ "Changes in lease agreement take Ola cabbies for a ride" 21 Jul. 2019, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/hyderabad/changes-in-lease-agreement-take-ola-cabbies-for-a-ride/articleshow/70321535.cms>.

¹⁴ "Uber's new terms for users say it's a 'tech co connecting riders" 1 Oct. 2019, <https://www.livemint.com/companies/start-ups/uber-s-new-terms-for-users-say-it-s-a-tech-co-connecting-riders-and-drivers-11569922192623.html>.

¹⁵ "The Gig Economy and Contingent Work: An Occupational ... - NCBI." 27 Feb. 2017, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5374746/>.

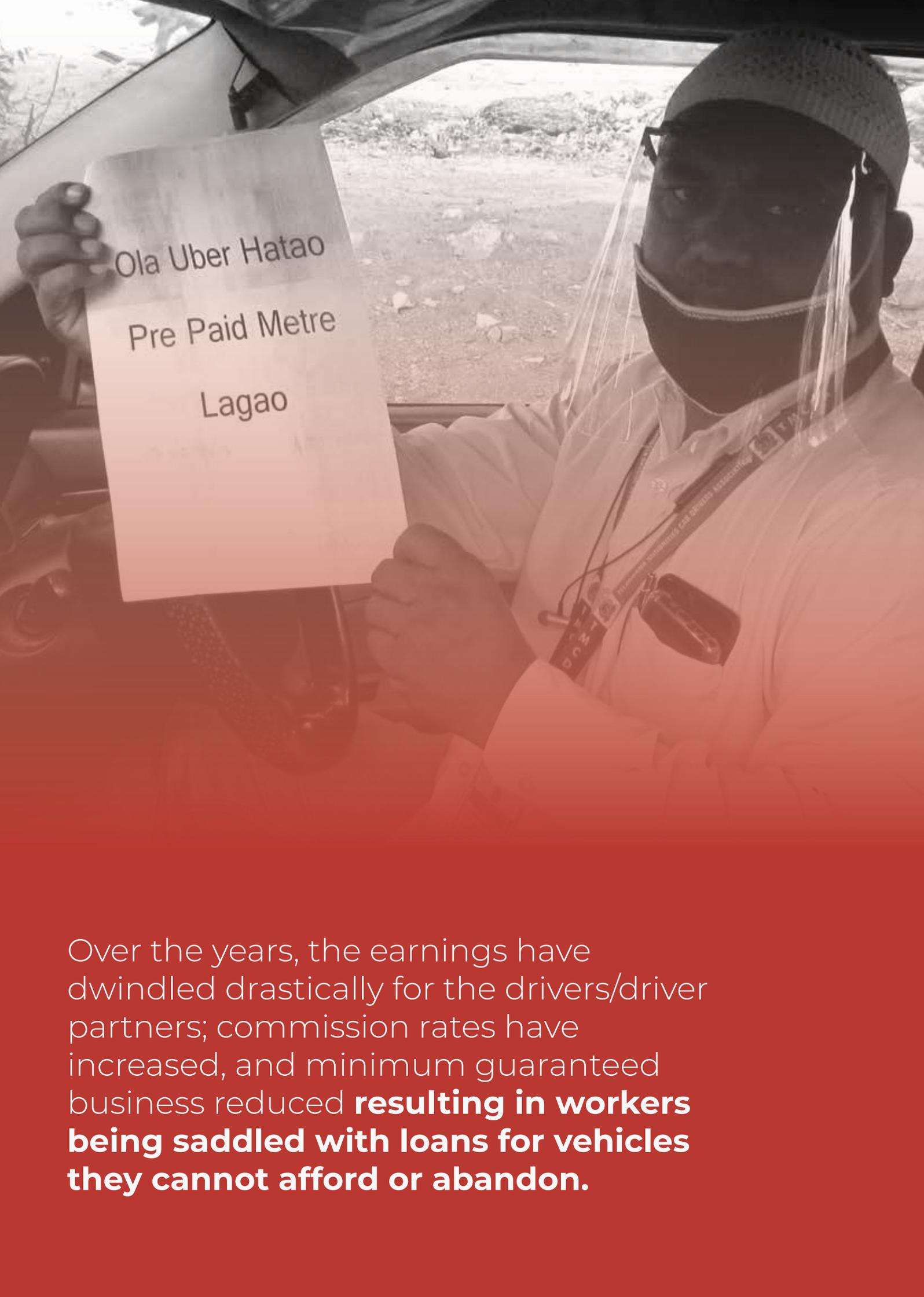
This involves understanding the impact that the precarious and hazardous nature of work affects drivers' physical and mental health. The absence of any form of social protection or insurance schemes increases the precarity of the work due to the health and social inequalities associated with it¹⁶. This current assessment of health for Ola and Uber drivers will provide a baseline to further negotiations on the critical issues the drivers are plagued with.

This research is also in line with the recent push by the Government of India to introduce the Code on Social Security, 2019. A third draft has been circulated for comments and discussions between concerned and expert individuals and organisations¹⁷. The Occupational Safety, Health and Working Conditions Code, 2019¹⁸ is also in the works. This research can provide a foundation on which a policy stand can be taken on how perspectives of workers of the platform economy need to be taken into account when negotiation over labour rights takes place.

¹⁶ (n.d.). OECD 2015 In It Together Chapter 1 Overview Inequality. Retrieved August 20, 2019, from <https://www.oecd.org/els/soc/OECD2015-In-It-Together-Chapter1-Overview-Inequality.pdf>

¹⁷ "THE CODE ON SOCIAL SECURITY, 2019 - Ministry of Labour" https://labour.gov.in/sites/default/files/THE_CODE_ON_SOCIAL_SECURITY%2C2019.pdf.

¹⁸ "The Occupational Safety, Health and Working Conditions" 16 Jul. 2019, http://164.100.47.4/BillsTexts/LSBillTexts/Asintroduced/186_2019_LS_Eng.pdf.

A photograph of a man, likely a driver, wearing a grey cap and glasses. He is holding a white sign with black text that reads "Ola Uber Hatao", "Pre Paid Metre", and "Lagao". The background shows a car's interior and a view through the window of a dry, rocky landscape. The image has a red overlay at the bottom.

Ola Uber Hatao
Pre Paid Metre
Lagao

Over the years, the earnings have dwindled drastically for the drivers/driver partners; commission rates have increased, and minimum guaranteed business reduced **resulting in workers being saddled with loans for vehicles they cannot afford or abandon.**

DATA ANALYSIS

Surveys for this study were conducted across 6 cities in India to assess the health and safety issues faced by Ola and Uber driver partners due to their work. The surveys were conducted between July-November, 2019. There were 2128 respondents, with the largest number of respondents from Bengaluru (1,159). The broad aim of the surveys was to ascertain the nature of health ailments that afflict the driver partners as a result of their working conditions. The survey also focused on their expenses and savings, harassment they faced on road, safety and security, impact and stress due to work etc. The findings from the survey captured in this report will be a tool that the workers can use against Ola and Uber in their fight for dignity and decent work.

Ola and Uber are engaged in court battles with various states to retain their identity of being an aggregator and as a service provider. The corporate and legal parlance used by Ola and Uber obfuscates the nature of the working relationship that exists between them and the drivers. In doing so, they also ignore almost all concerns and predicaments faced by their partners on the road; be it legal, criminal, medical, financial or otherwise.

Drivers for Ola and Uber have reiterated that the organisations provide no assistance with regard to harassment and violence while they are on the road.

Ola or Uber for the most part do not intervene if there is any intimidation from traffic police or local authorities, incidents of road rage, violent attack by customers or criminal elements that endanger drivers' lives, accidents while driving etc. Efforts in terms of providing assistance after the drivers/driver partners have faced these unfortunate events has also been absent. Ola and Uber always fall back to the argument that their organisation being an aggregator and drivers being partners absolves them of any responsibility they have towards the drivers. It is curious then, how these companies regulate the manner in which drivers operate, through their commission and incentive structures, penalising through the blocking of drivers' IDs based on *ad hoc* company policies and rules.

The survey instrument was a questionnaire dispensed via Google Forms. These questionnaires were forwarded by WhatsApp messages to the drivers. The process has been a lengthy exercise, but the responses collected provide an initial understanding of the health and safety concerns of the drivers engaged with app-based ride sharing companies.

Demographic Information

The basic demographic details that have been collected from the respondents of 6 cities can be segregated into age, gender, and employer they work for. Additional information on educational qualification, income, family size, marital status, religious faith, migration etc. was not consistently available from all the respondents, so they have not been included in the analysis.

Although this shortcoming in terms of data collection reveals the research gaps that affect this research, this also presents the opportunity for future research to focus on and use these data points as determinant parameters/factors for evaluating how app-based transport and delivery workers lives and work are affected by them. Also, in this research 'age' has come across as a significant variable against which the rest of the data collected have been scrutinized.

Age Groups

The details that have been collected have been listed and analyzed in the following sections.

Age group (in years)	No. of Respondents
20 - 30	917
30 - 40	949
40 - 50	188
50 - 60	19
60 and above	5

This shows that the largest section of the workforce is “young adults”¹⁹. When we connect the data for the age group 20 to 40 years of age against the number of years they have been working with the companies, some basic correlations can be made.

No. of years in service	No. of Respondents
0 - 2	477
2 - 4	1017
5 - 6	300

From the table it can be inferred that most of the driver partners have joined the app-based companies quite recently. It was also observed from the data that 48% of the respondents were in the 30 to 40 years of age bracket who have been working with the companies for the last 4 years.

This also tips us to the information that these individuals are essential breadwinners for their families. If we correlate this data with the accounts²⁰ of the app-based transport workers that have been chronicled over the years it can be observed that the respondents had initially joined the work at a time when there was an unprecedented competition between app-based transport companies in India. This was during the period when Uber had started its operation in India and was offering cut throat prices and earnings to both its customers and driver partners in comparison to the local competitor Ola. So, it can be assumed that the respondents had joined the “gig economy” in the period between 2015 - 17. This was also the period when Ola and Uber started the leased part of their business model. An individual could on down payment (usually between Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 40,000) lease a

¹⁹ "Young Adults (Ages 18-35) | UUA.org." <https://www.uua.org/young-adults>. Based on Erik H. Erikson's research this stage is between the ages of 19 and 39.

²⁰ "A Case study on Ola and Uber from the driver partners" https://tiss.edu/uploads/files/Cab_Aggregator_Services.pdf.

vehicle from either company. Over the course of 3 years, while working for the company as a driver partner, they could keep paying a fixed daily EMI (usually between Rs. 1300 to Rs. 1500), and he/she could eventually own the vehicle.

Gender Composition

Additional demographic details in relation to gender from the data that has been collected shows us that it is homogeneous in nature as all the respondents were male across 6 cities. Although there are female cab drivers driving for app-based companies in India they represent a miniscule component of the workforce. The unions that have contributed to the research have claimed to have female membership, but the data does not reflect that. To get a better picture of how the female workforce in this sector are surviving in the rising platform economy there is a need for future research focused solely on understanding the female perspective who work for app-based transport and delivery companies. It is suggested that any future exercise should take this into consideration and focus on the gender concerns in this industry.

Employers

The respondents working for app-based transport companies from the data that was collected show that they work for both the competitors, Ola and Uber. They tend to switch between application based on the “surge pricing”²¹ or daily incentives they are able to achieve on a particular day based on the business they can rake up.

Employers	Ola	Uber	Both
No. of Respondents	520	320	1235

It can be seen from the data that the larger section of the workforce, even if they are working independently, have preferred to work for Ola. The implications of this

²¹ "What Is Surge Pricing? | Transportation Plus." 20 May. 2018, <https://www.tplusride.com/what-is-surge-pricing/>. Commuters need to pay an extra amount to avail the service during odd hours or high demand periods.

information on why people drive for Ola more than Uber also brings to light the issue of ownership of the vehicle. Who are the people who drive for Ola?

		Ownership of the Vehicle			
Employer		Ola	Uber	Somebody Else	Own
	Ola	73	1	87	355
	Uber	1	19	57	241
	Both	14	4	191	1020

It can be observed from the data that a large section of the people who either drive for Ola or Uber or for both, own their vehicle while only 14% for Ola and 5% for Uber have informed that they drive vehicles owned by the company (leased vehicle).

On further probing and subsequent interviews with the driver/driver partners it was uncovered that of the respondents who own their own vehicle, a significant number are also driving “leased vehicles” but are at the cusp of making the final payments to claim it as their own²². Although Ola and Uber both have their own leasing arms (Ola Fleet Technologies and Xchange Leasing India Pvt. Ltd), Ola captures a much larger chunk of the market in terms of number of vehicles on the road in India. This revelation also emphasizes the need to differentiate between the various types of drivers who are driving for Ola and Uber.

²² This refers to the leasing scheme of Ola where on completion of EMI payment over the period of 3 years, the vehicle taken from the company on lease comes into the possession of the driver.

Within the ridesharing and gig economy model of operation of app-based companies there also exists the third-party outsourcing of work by individuals who informally lease out their vehicles on a fixed rate to individuals who do not own any vehicle of their own.

The type of contract and gig work these workers are engaged in comes with its own sets of problems and exploitative practices.

On further inquiry it is also seen that the drivers who drive for “Somebody else” (15.7% of the respondents), are migrants.

This also shines light on how much it is necessary to bring in the outlook of these workers and their concerns in relation to their lives and livelihood.

Additional Information

Although the data collected from 6 cities have some inconsistencies and disparities, it can be grouped into two zones, North Zone comprising Delhi NCR, Jaipur, Lucknow, and South Zone made up of Bengaluru, Chennai, Hyderabad. In the data collected from each zone there are some unique data points which are significant and can be extrapolated to represent the total workforce working with the app-based transport companies.

This distinction in the data collected was due to a slight variation in the questionnaires distributed in each zone. The questionnaires were modified based on the inputs received from the respondents and experts involved in the survey exercise. These changes in the questionnaires were also done in order to keep it concise and targeted, and to ensure that there was a better chance of getting responses from the participants and reaching out to a larger section of the workforce.

Marital Status

Age group (in years)	Are you married?	
	Yes	No
20 - 30	114	20
30 - 40	61	2
40 - 50	29	2
50 - 60	3	0
60 and above	17	1

This data was collected from the North Zone in relation to age and marital status of the workforce. It reflects what was assumed earlier in relation to how the app-based transport workers had a family to take care of, their spouse, children, immediate relations etc. Although additional inquiry in relation to the size of said family is being speculated based on the subsequent interviews that were conducted, on average the family size of the app-based drivers was between 5-7 members. This information collected from the North Zone will hold true for the South Zone, there may exist outliers but all in all the pattern can be generalized across the country in case of app-based transport workers. From the data it can be seen that 89.9% of the respondents were married.

Educational Qualification

	Educational qualification of the respondents				
Age groups (in years)	Primary (Class 1 - 5)	Secondary (Class 9 - 10)	Higher Secondary (Class 11 - 12)	Graduate	Post Graduate
20 - 30	19	38	40	33	4
30 - 40	9	21	15	14	4
40 - 50	1	14	12	4	0
50 - 60	0	1	2	0	0
60 and above	1	8	6	3	0

This data has again been collected from the North Zone and depicts the educational qualification of the respondents. The largest section of the participants has completed secondary education as per the Indian schooling system. Overall, 63% of the respondents have completed either their secondary or higher secondary education. India being a lower middle-income country, individuals have to participate in the job market at an early age. But given the global economic downturn and rise of the “gig economy” we are also seeing the rise of the “graduate employee” entering into gig work and platform economy in the absence of any other opportunity. This is no doubt a skilled profession but the influx of graduates and in some cases post graduates in this sector points to the dismal state of the job market.

Income Groups

	Monthly income groups (in thousand rupees)				
Age group	< 20	20-30	30-40	40-50	>50
20-30	563	160	28	5	5
30-40	648	156	43	6	3
40-50	120	22	5	2	2
50-60	13	2	0	0	0
60 and above	20	7	1	0	0

The monthly household income of an app based transport driver, as per government standards who is considered to be self-employed is anywhere between Rs. 12,153 to Rs. 21,462²³.

75.3% of the South Zone respondents have quoted to earn less than Rs. 20,000 in a month after they have paid for the EMI, fuel expense, commission, penalties etc.

It is almost twice the national per capita monthly income of Rs. 11,254²⁴. But if we are rejoicing at this fact, we are ignoring the cost required to keep a vehicle running on the street in India. The cost of fuel, vehicle maintenance, vehicle insurance, road tax, license renewal etc. All of this coupled with corrupt officials demanding kickbacks and cuts to allow the drivers/driver partners to operate and earn a living.

²³ "Driving for Ola or Uber in India: How Much Do You Need to" 16 Sep. 2019, <https://in.finance.yahoo.com/news/driving-ola-uber-india-much-194831509.html>.

²⁴ "India's per-capita income rises 6.8% to Rs. 11,254 a month in" 7 Jan. 2020, <https://www.businesstoday.in/current/economy-politics/india-per-capita-income-rises-68-to-rs-11254-a-month-in-fy20/story/393333.html>.

These additional and at times hidden costs limit the choice for individuals engaged to take care of their own health. Investing on one's own health becomes a very precarious decision, allocating or saving for health emergencies becomes secondary and, in most cases, as it was observed amongst the respondent almost none of them had health insurance.

Over the years, the earnings have changed drastically for the drivers/driver partners, and with dwindling earnings feel that they are being cheated by the companies. This is in reaction to the commission rates going up, minimum guaranteed business going down and being saddled with loans for the vehicles they cannot afford or abandon. Loans they had taken out based on the promises and advertisements by the app-based companies assuring high returns on their investments. This is when the work and work practices associated around working in the “gig economy” also changed for the worse.

It became increasingly tough for the respondents to earn enough for survival after their commission, penalties and EMIs were deducted by working for only 8 hours a day.

It can be observed from the data that the number of hours against earnings for the drivers is atrocious and borderline inhumane.

No. of working hours in a day	0 - 8			8 - 14			14 - 20		
	Monthly earnings (in thousand Rupees)	<20	20 - 30	30 - 40	<20	20 - 30	30 - 40	<20	20 - 30
No. of respondents	78	13	6	628	149	28	655	181	22

This data has been collected from respondents from Bengaluru, Chennai and Hyderabad. Data from Delhi, Jaipur and Lucknow was not available.

From this data it can be observed that the 94.6% respondents had to work for an average of 8 to 20 hours a day to earn between Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000 a month. 49.8% of the respondents have claimed that they work 14 to 20 hours a day. At least 72.8% of the respondents (from Bengaluru, Chennai and Hyderabad) have claimed that they drive for close to 20 hours a day and after paying off their EMIs, penalties and commission to the companies and have less than Rs. 20,000 left at the end of the month.

Given the current rate of inflation and ever-increasing expenses for the family in relation to education, health care, food and rent surviving on such meagre earnings for an average sized family sounds impossible.

Harassment Faced by Drivers

The dangers app-based drivers and delivery partners face just to do their job have been documented over the years. There are instances of robbery, physical attacks and criminal accusations by customers, intimidation by authorities and at times harassment by the company itself. The harassment faced by the workers is not sporadic or intermittent in nature; it is systemic of the society and industry that they have to engage and manoeuvre through. In the survey there were questions in relation to the issues that the drivers/driver partners have faced on the road in the last 12 months.

In the last 12 months have you been		
	Yes	No
Robbed	493	1584
Confronted by a violent customer	1456	628
Attacked while on road	708	1191
Harassed by the police	1246	823

Although instances of getting robbed or attacked on the road is of lesser probability to occur as it can be inferred from the responses, in quite a few cases these encounters have been fatal²⁵. While on road they would be left stranded even if they encountered any emergency.

The app-based companies claim to have a robust and technology driven grievance resolution and help support for both its customers and partners. But for drivers and delivery partners the experience has always been disappointing and unsatisfactory. The drivers and delivery personnel have always been left on their own as the companies have shied away from resolving their issues. This combined with the state apathy to their problems and the administrative machinery and officials trying to fleece off the app-based workers at every opportunity available is representative of harassment which has been reported to be egregious and vengeful in nature. This also takes a toll on their mental health, manifestation of it is noticeable in their behaviour. During the interview when it was inquired how the respondents felt when they returned back home after work, most of them replied they were irritable and stressed and interaction with family and friends was always tense²⁶. The long

²⁵ "Delhi: Ola driver cab murdered after being robbed, killer" 4 Jun. 2020, <https://www.indiatoday.in/crime/story/delhi-ola-driver-cab-murdered-after-being-robbed-killer-arrested-from-jharkhand-1685541-2020-06-04>.

²⁶ "Give them a brake: Ola, Uber drivers are overworking to meet" 30 Mar. 2017, <https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/give-them-a-brake-ola-uber-drivers-are-overworking-to-meet-targets/article17739979.ece>.

hours they have to put in for incentives and for a decent wage while essentially soldiering through constant abuse and insensitivity on the part of customers and the government officials takes a toll on their health, physically and mentally.

Social Security & Protection

Although the monthly household income for the app-based transport drivers and delivery riders are almost twice the median household income of the country, they are still a vulnerable workforce in the absence of social security and protection. Since, the companies they work for deem them to be independent contractors and not as employees they abdicate their responsibility in terms of providing them with any cover; insurance, safety measures or otherwise. The workers given the inhumane hours they put in to earn just enough for survival tend to ignore various underlying health issues they suffer due to their work. The survey tried to find out what possible health and safety protections they might have, given the fact that they are working for transnational companies, the data can be represented in the following table.

App-based workers who received social security protections from companies	
Type of social security	Number of workers
Accidental Insurance	3
Compensation for death on job	40
Health Insurance	34
ESI	6
Provident fund	8
Nothing	1826

It can be seen that the largest section of the workforce has no form of social security or protection while working in a comparatively high-risk profession. And even if some of the respondents may have claimed they receive Employee State Insurance (ESI) or Provident Fund from the companies as per the contracts of the companies (Ola and Uber) there is no provision of such access or availability of said schemes to the drivers/driver partners.

Through this data it is also being impressed upon that only 0.15% of the respondents have reported that they have had access to “Accidental Insurance” which should have been the bare minimum companies like Ola and Uber should have provided to its drivers/driver partners. So, even if the companies are not providing social security and protection to all of their drivers/driver partners, for their own wellbeing the workers have secured some insurance for themselves.

The agencies or organisations they have secured the insurance from can be tabulated as below.

Who has provided you with insurance?				
Ola	Uber	Union	Yourself	Nobody
17	9	162	366	1544

From the table, it can be clearly observed that a large section of the workforce still doesn't have any form of social protection. When the respondents were interviewed it was realized that the insurance that was secured from Ola, Uber and Union were "Accidental Insurance". For personal health insurance only 17.4% of the respondents could afford it while 73.5% of the workforce didn't have any safety net in case of health emergencies. When it was further probed, the respondents informed that decisions had to be made in determining which expense takes precedence in the household for the month and usually health always takes a backseat. This shows the dilemma in the lives of the driver/driver partner in giving importance to their own health over running their family and lives.

Health Issues & Indicators

A 5-point "Likert Scale" was used to ascertain how the respondents felt in relation to their health with 1 being very poor and 5 being very good. This data is representative of all the 6 cities. Focusing on the respondents in the age group of 20 to 40 as they compose the largest section of the workforce engaged by the app-based companies, their responses can be listed as below.

	Age groups in years	
Health (1 = very poor; 5 = very good)	20 - 30	30 - 40
1	267	282
2	159	175
3	241	246
4	89	94
5	115	96

From this data set it can be observed that a large number of respondents have self-assessed themselves to be either being extremely poor in health or having a more or less neutral stand in terms of any fitness issue. Although this may seem like a redundant test but when it is evaluated in conjunction with the number of hours these individuals work for, sleep or rest they can get and their consumption habits (smoking, gutkha, alcohol) this will provide an understanding of what the respondent terms or considers an health emergency.

Effects of Long Working Hours & Insufficient Rest

	Number of hours driving the customers			Number of hours staying in the car		
	0 - 8	8 - 14	14 - 20	0 - 10	10 - 16	16 - 24
No. of Respondents	113	914	1022	144	1101	803

	Number of hours of sleep after work		
	0 - 4	4 - 6	6 - 8
No. of Respondents	788	1104	214

In the survey details in relation to the hours an individual is driving and the amount of time spent in a day in the car was inquired.

From this data we can see that on average drivers/driver partners spend close to 16-20 hours in their cars in a day. As per the data 39.8% of the respondents spent close to 20 hours in their vehicle in a day, and nearly for the same amount of time 49.2% spend driving customers in their vehicle.

The long hours of work in fixed positions affects cab drivers physically²⁷ (muscle and joint pains) and also mentally due to the work they have to perform in a hostile environment. Insensitive, indifferent customers and traffic officials who are disrespectful and contemptuous, this tied in with an isolated workspace marked exclusively with stressful human interaction exasperates their mental wellbeing.

²⁷ "Low back pain among taxi drivers: A cross-sectional study." 23 Aug. 2017, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316896904_Low_back_pain_among_taxi_drivers_A_cross-sectional_study.

This might not be apparent through the data presented but follow up interviews point to how stressed and agitated drivers/driver partners are towards the customers and the company they have to communicate or provide service to in order to make an earning and survive for the day. With limited to almost negligible amount of rest to recuperate and still having to continue to work in the same work environment day in and day out also aggravates the problem.

89.8% of the respondents claim they get less than 6 hours of sleep. “Young adults”, who comprise a majority of this workforce, are supposed to have a sleep duration of 7-9 hours²⁸, inadequate sleep endangers not only the lives of the drivers/driver partners but also the customers, not to mention having negative health consequences because of it.

²⁸ "National Sleep Foundation's sleep time duration recommendations"
<https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/29073412/>.

Addiction due to Work

Long working hours not only affect the health of an individual but also gives rise to other complications. It has been observed in research that long working hours and a stressful job push people to smoke incrementally over a period of time²⁹. Drawing parallels with the app-based transport workers, it can be recognized that they face a similar predicament. In the survey questions were also asked in relation to their cigarette and tobacco (gutkha, pan masala etc.) consumption and a relation was attempted to be established based on the hours they had to spend in their vehicle for the day.

No. of hours spent in the cab in a day	How many cigarettes/beedi do you smoke in a day?			How many gutkha/pan masala packets do you consume in a day?		
	1 - 3	4 - 6	7 or more	1 - 3	4 - 6	7 or more
0 - 10	51	11	10	32	3	3
10 - 16	374	123	96	285	46	38
16 - 24	319	85	133	258	49	65

It is obvious that the number of respondents who consume cigarettes and tobacco increases as the working hours increase.

It was seen that almost 40% of the people who were smoking were also consuming gutkha/pan masala. This puts into perspective on how to keep themselves active, as per their accounts and interview response; driver/driver partners use cigarettes and tobacco containing substances as a stimulant. The effect it has on their health is going to be disastrous in the long run, but they still do so in order to work for longer hours. In line with this they have put forward the argument on their alcohol consumption, where they consider it to be a release at the end of the day or week to a stressful and draining work routine.

²⁹ "Long Working Hours And Stressful Jobs Keep Men Smoking" 23 Aug. 2007, <https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2007/08/070823102338.htm>.

How many times in a week do you consume alcohol?	
1 - 2	847
3 - 4	119
5 - 7	93

It can be observed that a significant number of respondents consume alcohol. The impact or significance of the consumption, whether it is binge drinking or moderate consumption is not clear from the data that is available. A more elaborate study on alcohol consumption and its impact on various facets of the lives of drivers/driver partners needs to be undertaken in the future to ascertain its effects on their lives and livelihood. But as we have proceeded to question whether the respondents felt their work has affected their consumption habits the data that has come up highlights how an individual has observed a change in their own pattern.

	Did your cigarette/beedi consumption increase due to your work?	Did your gutkha/pan masala consumption increase due to your work?	Did your alcohol consumption increase due to your work?
Yes	724	455	608
No	445	599	572
Maybe	171	166	159

This data has been collected from the respondents from Bengaluru, Chennai and Hyderabad, similar data was not available for the North Zone.

The data set shows how the respondents themselves have felt that their consumption of cigarette, tobacco and alcohol have significantly increased due to their work.

Medical journals over the years have chronicled how stressful work and work environments contribute to addiction. The implications of this data set is that the health issues such a lifestyle will entitle to will be severe and deleterious. These are precursors of serious health ailments that the respondents would suffer from subsequently, but in the absence of a proper safety net or social security or protection, their family and they themselves will be left in the lurch.

Additional Health Issues due to Work

Below is a table listing out the health concerns that could be identified from the interactions with the driver partners which they attributed to their work.

Health Issues faced by the driver partners	Age group of the respondents in years		
	20-30	30-40	Total
Back Ache	544	589	1133
High Blood Pressure	290	320	610
Neck Pain	321	384	705
Neck Pain	360	404	764
Respiratory Problems	244	265	509
Hand Tremors	177	208	385
Stress	337	348	685
Dizziness	155	168	323
Skin Inflammation	306	311	617
Eyesight	327	359	686
Constipation	413	491	904
Joint Pain	221	221	442
Piles	340	390	730

Headache	234	223	457
Liver Issues	427	454	881
Waist Pain	418	457	875
Obesity	323	338	661
Diabetes	168	197	365
Urinary Issues	242	306	548
Stomach Problems	270	279	549

The most frequent ailments faced by the respondents in the age group of 20-40 that are back ache, constipation, liver issues, waist pain and neck pain.

60.7% of the respondents have claimed to have back problems. This can be attributed to the long hours the app-based workers have to be on the road and keep on driving in a rigid fashion.

Irregular food hours available to them due to their work also contributes to their problem in relation to constipation and other stomach related issues. What is also evident is that physical discomfort due to work such as back, neck and waist pain was acknowledged by the workers but its long-term impact on their health is still overlooked. The other issues that need to be looked into are in relation to stress that they face and high blood pressure. These are silent killers that creep up on an individual unbeknownst to them. Although high blood pressure is less frequently observed, when paired with the more frequent obesity, diabetes and stress it's a sure shot recipe for disaster for the workers. And workers tend to ignore, overlook or simply put these concerns on hold to just survive. When this issue was probed further the lack of financial stability due to the nature of their work was the most important reason that popped up due to which the respondents tend to ignore the severity of these health issues that arise due to their work.

This can also be traced back on the basis of what they earn in a month and how much they are willing to spend on health in a year. This will also bring into light how vulnerable the workers are and how much hardships and tough decisions they have to take in terms of their own and their families health. The data here is for the cities of Bengaluru, Chennai and Hyderabad, similar could not be collected from the other cities. The data is again fixed for age groups between 20 to 40 as that is the target population the research deems significant in identifying the problems of the app-based workers.

Age group of the respondents (in years)	20-30				30-40				
	Annual expenditure on health and medical expenses (in thousand rupees)								
Monthly income (in thousand rupees)	1-5	5-15	15	> 15	1-5	5-15	15	>15	No. of respondents
<20	188 (36)	208 (40)	104 (20)	22 (4)	225	228	101	43	
20-30	72 (56)	50 (39)	20 (16)	5	56	56	21	7	
30-40	10/28	11	4	2	18	11	4	8	

Irrespective of age and income group, most drivers are unable to contribute even a month's earnings to their annual expenditure on health. This is particularly telling in light of the frequency of health issues that they face.

Due to absence of health insurance and other social security and protection services, the allocation of monthly expenses on health is a decision that the driver partner has to take after serious thought and is made in times of urgency.

73.5% of the respondents did not have any health insurance.

This elaborates the point that the workers were unlikely to invest in health insurance as they are faced with financial constraints in relation to running their families and to ensure basic survival. With the absence of any form of social security or protection , untreated problems developed from work tend to become chronic, and coupled with addictive habits brought on by their work and stress, reduce life expectancy of the workforce significantly. As we see the ground reality, the gig economy is far from the emancipatory road to self-actualization and freedom. It has the same, if not more aggressive, vectors of worker exploitation.



The "gig economy" is far from the emancipatory road to self-actualization and freedom. It has the same, if not more aggressive, vectors of worker exploitation.

IMPLICATIONS OF PRECARIETY

The platform economy is churning out jobs which are precarious and hazardous in nature at an unprecedented rate in the last few years. Although the free market maxim of these companies would argue that the worker being a free agent and not an employee has the free will to log out whenever they want to. But this rationale ignores the fact that it's the companies themselves that had enticed and entrapped the vulnerable and marginalized workforce through initial programmes of high incentives and bonuses.

Drivers can't exit their current occupational status even if they want to because they are shackled in debts and outstanding EMIs. As a result, they race every day to complete targets so that they may earn just enough to pay these liabilities.

The responses from the drivers in relation to their work when analysed through the lens of precarity³⁰ and forced/bonded labour³¹ ticks all the checkboxes. The work these drivers are engaged in cannot be considered to be within the ambit of decent work and in reality, is representative of modern slavery³² where a worker is not bound by chains anymore but by debts and contracts.

The apathy of the state and the exploitation by app-based companies have brought the transport and delivery workers in a precipitous position across the globe. This is underlined and explained by the absence and lack of any social security or protection for the workforce, there are some other issues that the workforce is battling in these perilous times not only with the company but also the state. The core issues that the Ola and Uber drivers are gripped with can be broadly classified into these three categories, but these categories are not conclusive or exhaustive as in each city the drivers will have their own set of problems which they prioritize over the others.

³⁰ "An Index of Precarity for Measuring Early Employment Insecurity." 18 Oct. 2018, https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-95420-2_16.

³¹ "Measurement of forced labour - ILO." 19 Oct. 2018, https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---stat/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_636050.pdf.

³² "What is modern slavery? - Anti-Slavery International." <https://www.antislavery.org/slavery-today/modern-slavery/>.

The Opacity of the System

Drivers working in various cities and working for different app-based platforms have complained about the lack of transparency in how these app-based companies determine fares, promotional cost, surge pricing, incentives, penalties and bonuses. There is little to no information on how rides are being fixed or are being allocated.

The drivers are always in the dark in terms of what is happening at the software end of the business. Companies need to answer critical questions that determine the income of workers: how does the rating system work for a driver in getting rides/fares or their income? Are the customers rated on the same parameters as the driver is being adjudged on? What is the relationship between the state monitoring and regulating authorities/agencies and the companies?

Dehumanizing Work Practices

The drivers have complained how there doesn't exist any effective grievance redressal mechanism to resolve any of the issues faced by them.

The automated system and scripted responses from the call centre personnel tend to overlook and trivialize their problems and concerns. The algorithm keeps nudging and needling them to complete at times impossible targets for insubstantial incentives and bonuses³³. Due to long working hours the drivers lead a very isolated existence in terms of social interaction with their families or friends, which have become limited to non-existent in case of some of the drivers. The riders/customers also exacerbate the problem, as most of the times the interaction between a driver with the rider/customer is confrontational and the tone the rider/customer addresses the driver is that of indignation and disdain.

³³ "What People Hate About Being Managed by Algorithms"
<https://hbr.org/2019/08/what-people-hate-about-being-managed-by-algorithms-according-to-a-study-of-uber-drivers>.

The drivers feel like they have been reduced to a cog of the machinery that exists only to generate profit for its shareholders while shunning the human who drives the business.

State Apathy & Excesses

The drivers also expressed their discontent on how the state machinery seems to be working hand in glove with the companies.

The disappointing outcomes to major agitations spearheaded by drivers unions and associations in recent times³⁴, ever increasing road and municipal taxes for commercial vehicles³⁵, little to no regulation of how these “aggregators” operate in the city, the precariousness and hazardous nature of the job with no intervention from either the state agencies or employers/aggregators, absence of social security and protection.

These are but the tip of the iceberg on how the state regulatory authorities are relegating their role in restraining the malpractices and bad faith conduct by the aggregators towards the drivers. With the new Motor Vehicle (Amendment) Act 2019, the drivers have been further disenfranchised, all issues pertaining to “aggregators” would be resolved under the Information and Technology Act 2000, further denying the drivers their identity as employees working for an employer³⁶.

Although the concerns of the drivers have been categorized in these 3 major brackets, the grave issues of importance or engagement if we have to pinpoint, it is of fare and health. Commission deduction and how these aggregators determine penalty and overall fare for the trip is not a transparent process. The confounding nature of the financial statements the drivers are provided in relation to their remuneration seems to edge on duplicity and deception.

³⁴ "Ola, Uber drivers' strike to continue till Thursday, union to take" 31 Oct. 2018, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/mumbai/ola-uber-drivers-strike-to-continue-till-thursday-union-to-take-final-call-after-discussions/articleshow/66443088.cms>.

³⁵ "No RFID tag? Pay double the toll to enter Delhi post-August" 16 Aug. 2019, <https://www.financialexpress.com/auto/car-news/no-rfid-tag-pay-double-the-toll-to-enter-delhi-post-august-16th/1675171/>.

³⁶ "THE MOTOR VEHICLES (AMENDMENT) ACT ... - eGazette." 9 Aug. 2019, <http://egazette.nic.in/WriteReadData/2019/210413.pdf>.

The health issues that the drivers face due to the work, both physical and mental, has been put in the backburner or has been simply ignored by all, even by the drivers themselves.



Drivers feel that they have been reduced to a cog of the machinery.

A machinery obsessed with maximising value for its shareholders while shunning the humans driving the business.

CONCLUSION

This research and survey expects to highlight the decision-making process involved for individuals working in the app-based industry as driver/driver partner in relation to their health. It brings into focus on how precarious and hazardous this work is, affecting health both physically and mentally. The long arduous hours of being in the driver seat, sleep deprived to make sure to earn enough to pay for the day's EMI. They are forced to navigate the indifference of the customers they have to ferry and the nagging traffic officials out there to penalize even the slightest of infractions. All these hoops to jump through to still be stuck in a false consciousness of being an "independent contractor" or "free agent" for the company so that they can forego the liability of taking care of their employees. App-based drivers/driver partners work in a very toxic and isolated work environment. The toll that it takes on their physical health manifests in body ache, waist pain, muscle cramps, stomach problems due to irregular food routine, sleep deprivation etc. Mentally they are always stressed and agitated, a more comprehensive study in relation to their stressors and how these affect their health in the long term is a necessary project to be pursued. The impact of work and work environment in fuelling addictive habits in the workers in order to perform their work.

Although this research and survey was not able to bring in the female drivers/driver partners perspective, it acknowledges that there needs to be an independent research project exclusively focused on their issues and concerns, beyond just health and safety, but also in relation to their concerns with the work and equality of rights and treatment in this profession. This research should be considered as an overview of what the app-based transport and delivery partners have faced in order to work in this industry and eke out a decent living in an unforgiving and competitive workplace. The algorithm of the companies they work for, pits them against their peers in order to maximize profit, while at the same time denying them social security or protection and essentially refusing to acknowledge them as employees. This research and survey report is expected to be used as a tool, a baseline if it may be projected as, to further the agenda in securing the labour rights of the app-based

workers not only from the companies that they work from but also from the government.

This research based on the survey expects to empower trade unions and organisations working on the issues of app-based transport and delivery workers with talking points to kick off conversations to acknowledge and protect the labour rights of workers and create decent work standards. This research focused on occupational health and safety of the workers but has also pointed to other significant areas of intervention and action for future campaigns and initiatives.

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