

Unrecognised and Vulnerable

Reviewing social protection instruments for platform workers

Issue Brief

Unrecognised and Vulnerable: Reviewing social protection instruments for platform workers

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Cover image – <u>Gabriel Cattaruzzi</u> on Unsplash Typeset in – IBM Plex Sans and IBM Plex Serif Platform work is often touted by industry and the state as a form of aspirational employment and opportunity. However, behind this promise lies exploitative working conditions, safety concerns, high operational costs, and inadequate earnings. A key concern is the denial of employment protections, as platform companies are notorious for evading their responsibility by classifying platform workers as "partners" or "micro-entrepreneurs" rather than employees. There has been growing pressure from platform workers' unions, workers' collectives, and civil society in the past several years towards recognising and securing platform workers' rights. This has resulted in steps taken by both governments and platform companies—although substantially limited—to extend social security benefits to platform workers. Currently, in India, social protection instruments available to platform workers are ad-hoc and fragmented across various government and platform initiatives.

This issue brief offers an overview of the various social protection instruments for platform workers designed by governments and platform companies. It highlights exclusions of platform workers in key social protection benefits, discusses challenges in accessing eligible social protections, reveals the insidious role of the design of social protection instruments in denying the legal employment recognition of platform workers. Finally, the brief frogrounds longstanding and unmet demands by platform workers and unions on critical social protections. The social protection instruments discussed in this brief include government responses including the Code on Social Security and the E-Shram portal, the Motor Vehicle Aggregator Guidelines, state-level legislation, as well platform-specific initiatives.

Reviewing social protection instruments for platform workers

The Code on Social Security, 2020

Under the **Code on Social Security, 2020** "platform work" is defined as a work arrangement outside of a traditional employer-employee relationship, where organisations or individuals use an online platform to provide services, and platform workers are those engaged in platform work. This excludes platform workers from social security and protections that can be availed by employees with wages tied to an eligible establishment.

Social security schemes such as the Employees' Provident Fund (EPF), Employees' Pension Scheme (EPS), and Employee State Insurance (ESI) are established solely for employees in the formal workforce which comprises less than 15% of the total workforce in India. However, as mentioned earlier, these schemes are only applicable to "employees" with wages tied to an eligible establishment, and excludes platform workers as a result.

Under the Code on Social Security, there are provisions specifically targeting platform workers. This includes the National Social Security Board, which would recommend the Central Government to formulate suitable schemes for gig workers and platform workers involving representation from platform companies, workers, and state governments. It also includes the Social Security Fund for the welfare of workers which would require platform companies to contribute a percentage of their annual turnover. However, interpretation of what an "annual turnover" could imply requires clarification. Further, workers continue to await clarity on these schemes and full implementation of these measures, almost five years after the enactment of the Code.

https://www.wiego.org/research-library-publications/informal-workers-india-statistical-profile/

¹ Raveendran, G., & Vanek, J. (2020). *Informal Workers in India: A Statistical Profile*. Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO).

The E-Shram portal

The E-Shram portal, which was introduced in 2021, seeks registration from workers in the informal economy in an attempt to create a national database of unorganised workers. The portal is claimed by the government as an attempt to formalise the unorganised economy and integrate different social security welfare schemes onto a single portal.² As of early 2025, there were 13 schemes listed out on the E-Shram portal under social security programmes.

Platform workers are eligible for the following schemes on the E-Shram portal:

- Pradhan Mantri Shram Yogi Maan-Dhan Yojana (PM-SYM) (old age protection)
- Pradhan Mantri Jeevan Jyoti Yojana (PMJJBY) (life and accidental Insurance)
- Pradhan Mantri Suraksha Bima Yojana (accidental death and disability cover)
- Ayushman Bharat-Pradhan Mantri Jan Arogya Yojana (AB-PMJAY)
- National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP)
- Public Distribution System (PDS)
- Atal Pension Yojana (APY)

While platform workers technically meet the eligibility criteria for these schemes, the coverage of these schemes for platform workers is limited. Some of the schemes have eligibility criteria based on income. For instance, one can avail the Pradhan Mantri Shram Yogi Maan-Dhan Yojana (PM-SYM) scheme for old age protection only if they earn Rs. 15,000 or less per month. This excludes platform workers especially if only their gross earnings are considered, without accounting for their work expenses (such as fuel, equipment, and so on) offloaded onto them by platforms. Further, eligibility criteria of the Public Distribution System (PDS) excludes households that possess a 4 wheeler motorised vehicle or internet enabled computer/ laptop. There are also restrictions on households that possess a 2 wheeler motorised vehicle. This excludes many platform workers, specifically those who are reliant on the internet and vehicles for their work. Migrant workers on platforms may also have difficulties accessing health insurance since schemes like the Pradham Mantri Jan Arogya Yojana (PM-JAY) are tied to the state governments through ration cards. Further, the coverage of PM-JAY for platform workers is limited. Only recently, the Union Budget for 2025 announced the expansion of PM-JAY for platform workers.

² Ministry of Labour and Employment (MoLE), Government of India. (n.d.). *About e-Shram Portal | e-Shram*. Retrieved 31 May 2025, from https://eshram.gov.in/e-shram-portal

The Union Budget for 2025 announced identity cards and streamlined registration on the E-Shram portal for gig workers.³ However, issues with E-Shram registration have long persisted in the years since its introduction, which may continue to pose challenges for platform workers. To register on E-Shram, one requires an Aadhaar number and an Aadhaar-linked phone number. This requirement may make it difficult for migrant workers to register since many of them often change their phone numbers, or may share a common phone number. This may also make it difficult for women workers who are more likely to not have their own phones and rely on shared usage of phones. There have been frequent glitches reported, with workers receiving error messages even when the correct one time password is entered. Further, the web portal has been reported to crash multiple times, and workers have frequently received notices that the portal was under maintenance.⁴ There are also concerns regarding data protection and a lack of transparency and accountability safeguards in data sharing and usage.

Four years on, barriers to registration persist and remain unaddressed, including barriers relating to high documentation requirements, lack of language accessibility on the portal, and challenges in self-registration for eligible beneficiaries with limited digital literacy.^{5, 6} Further, low awareness-building remains a major hurdle. A lack of investment on the part of the government, both in dissemination activities, and in building capacity and resources amongst local labour officers and Common Service Centres has played a role in an awareness and information deficit. These information asymmetries continue for those workers, including platform workers, who have registered on the portal and secured ID cards. They have found no visible benefits from the registration, even in times of critical need.⁷

Labour collectives and activists have highlighted that the portal is yet to see substantive benefits for workers in terms of the disbursal of schemes. They caution that, in an absence

³ Press Information Bureau. (2025, February 2). *Union Minister Dr. Mansukh Mandaviya Lauds Historic Budgetary Allocation for Labour Welfare; Says Social Security for Gig Workers a Transformative Step.* https://www.pib.gov.in/www.pib.gov.in/Pressreleaseshare.aspx?PRID=2098901

⁴ Sriram, V. (2024, September 18). 'What Benefits?': The Reality of e-Shram and Informal Workers Dependent on it. *TheQuint*.

https://www.thequint.com/jobs/eshram-portal-unorganised-workers-gig-economy-social-security-schemes

⁵ Chauhan, S. (2024, September 4). Three years on, e-Shram portal falters due to digital and technical hurdles. *Scroll.In*.

https://scroll.in/article/1072425/three-years-on-e-shram-portal-falters-due-to-digital-and-technical-hurdles Sinha, S., & Chauhan, S. (2024, February 28). Registering Informal Workers in India: E-Shram, an Opportunity Lost? *WIEGO*. https://www.wiego.org/blog/registering-informal-workers-india-e-shram-opportunity-lost/ Kar P, S. (2024, September 18). Why Informal Workers Aren't Using Or Don't Know Of Modi Govt Plan To Deliver Welfare Benefits To 380 Million. *Article 14*.

 $[\]frac{https://article-14.com/post/why-informal-workers-aren-t-using-or-don-t-know-of-modi-govt-plan-to-deliver-welfare-benefits-to-380-million-66ea1e93b741c}{\\$

of efforts and resources mobilised towards building an architecture of comprehensive social protection, the portal is bound to remain an empty gesture by the government.^{8, 9}

The Motor Vehicle Aggregator Guidelines, 2020

Other government initiatives for social security for platform workers include the **Motor Vehicle Aggregator Guidelines, 2020** introduced by the Ministry of Road Transport and Highways of India. The Guidelines outline measures to improve drivers' welfare and working conditions. Platforms (termed as "aggregators") are required to provide health insurance and term insurance. They are also mandated to limit platform workers' working hours to 12 hours per day, with a mandatory 10 hour break after 12 hours of login. Ride fares are regulated with a 20% cap on commission fees deducted from the workers' earnings. In addition, the Guidelines mandate driver induction and refresher training programmes. Platforms are also required to comply with conditions on transparency on algorithms, earnings, incentives and charges. Workers and unions have questioned the benefits of working hour restrictions, as platforms' earnings and incentive models on taxi platforms are closely tied to hours logged. The unions also expressed concerns around the commission fee cap of 20%, with calls for a 5-10% limit. ¹¹

Moreover, platforms have been found to not be compliant with the Guidelines. This was seen in Maharashtra where taxi platforms like Ola and Uber were found to have failed to comply with certain provisions under the Guidelines.¹²

The lack of adherence to the Guidelines also stems from the precursors of this policy instrument, and a deprioritisation of labour rights within motor vehicle aggregator policies introduced by transport departments across states. The Guidelines are a result of

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Sundar, K. R. S., & Sapkal, R. S. (2025, February 26). E-Shram registrations are occurring at a snail's pace. The Supreme Court should take note. *The Leaflet*.

https://theleaflet.in/leaflet-reports/e-shram-registrations-are-occurring-at-a-snails-pace-the-supreme-court-should-take-note

¹⁰ Motor Vehicle Aggregator Guidelines, 2020

¹¹ Rao, Shishir. (2020, December 5). Bengaluru Ola, Uber drivers say new aggregator rules don't offer real solutions. *The News Minute*,

 $[\]underline{\text{https://www.thenewsminute.com/article/bengaluru-ola-uber-drivers-say-new-aggregator-rules-don-t-offer-real-solutions-139067}$

¹² PTI. (2023, June 22). App-based taxi services: Four aggregator firms have failed to comply with Centre's guidelines, say Maha officials. *ThePrint*.

https://theprint.in/india/app-based-taxi-services-four-aggregator-firms-have-failed-to-comply-with-centres-guidelines-say-maha-officials/1637911/

recommendations from an earlier report on taxi policy and urban mobility. The report focused on concerns for passenger mobility and safety and liberalising business norms, acting as a precursor to the Guidelines which similarly focuses its outcomes on platforms and customers. With transport policy being a state subject, the Guidelines are non-binding on state governments. State governments have subsequently chosen to deprioritise labour welfare in their Motor Vehicle Aggregator schemes, and clauses on labour welfare have been differentially applied in various state schemes. The Delhi Motor Vehicle Aggregator And Delivery Service Provider Scheme, 2023, for instance, has failed to include any of the Guidelines stipulations on social protection and occupational health safeguards for workers. On the other hand, whereas the Kerala State Motor Vehicle Aggregator Policy notified in 2024 includes stipulations on insurance, it has ignored the Guidelines stipulations on occupational health related to mandatory work breaks and cap on daily working hours.

State-level platform labour legislation

Since 2023, state governments have proposed, and some have introduced, welfare-only or welfare-first legislation specifically for platform workers. These policy developments have marked the first time that governments attempted to introduce dedicated legislation for platform workers at the state level. Beginning in Rajasthan, the state government enacted the Rajasthan Platform Based Gig Workers (Registration and Welfare) Act, 2023. The Rajasthan Act draws largely from the Code on Social Security, 2020 in terms of its legislative ambit—the Act limits its provisions solely to social security benefits; and it follows the legislative definition of a "platform worker" as defined under the Code, therefore deemed to be in a work arrangement "outside of a traditional employer-employee relationship". In terms of its instrumental form, the Act relies on a tripartite welfare board structure, drawing from a welfare model for informally employed head-loaders dating back over 60 years. 16 The central objectives of the Act are to register platform workers and platforms operating in the state, to constitute a welfare board and welfare fund for platform workers, to mandate a welfare fee/cess to be deducted by the platform on each transaction related to the platform worker, and to facilitate social security for platform workers in the state. ¹⁷ While some platform worker unions viewed the Act as a crucial first step towards securing rights for platform workers, some other unions found that the Act was too narrow in its ambit of

https://morth.gov.in/sites/default/files/circulars document/Report of the Committee of Ministry of Road Transport.pdf

¹³ Ministry of Road Transport and Highways (MoRTH), Government of India. (2025). Report Of The Committee Constituted To Propose Taxi Policy Guideline To Promote Urban Mobility.

¹⁴ Delhi Motor Vehicle Aggregator And Delivery Service Provider Scheme, 2023

¹⁵ Kerala State Motor Vehicle Aggregator Policy, 2024

¹⁶ Rajasthan Platform Based Gig Workers (Registration and Welfare) Act, 2023

¹⁷ Rajasthan Platform Based Gig Workers (Registration and Welfare) Act, 2023

welfare-only legislation, omitting crucial labour protections such as a guarantee of minimum wages and safe working conditions and occupational standards, as well as evading platform workers' recognition as employees.^{18, 19}

The Karnataka Platform Based Gig Workers (Social Security And Welfare) Ordinance, 2025 is also a welfare-first legislation, but involves a substantially broader ambit, mandating formal and fair contracts between platforms and workers, income security and safe working conditions for platform workers, explainability of algorithmic work management systems, and a two-tier grievance redressal system available to platform workers to contest violations in the terms of work.²⁰ The draft Jharkhand Platform Based Gig Workers (Registration And Welfare) Bill, 2024 and draft Telangana Gig and Platform Workers (Registration, Social Security and Welfare) Bill, 2025 have similarly followed a broader ambit going beyond social security in their proposed legislation.^{21, 22}

Notwithstanding the developments in state-level policies for platforms workers, workers' recognition as employees remains invisibilised. Prior to being passed as an Ordinance, the draft Karnataka platform workers Bill faced high opposition from industry bodies such as NASSCOM and IAMAI on the Bill's implicit assumption of platform work as a traditional employee-employer relationship, and on including broader labour rights legislation such as the provision for platform workers to raise disputes under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947.²³ The Ordinance that was passed thereafter has made no mention of the Industrial Disputes Act and has remained silent on platform workers' recognition as employees.

Crucially, both enacted and proposed legislation across states continue to rely on the welfare board model as their central structure. The welfare board model adopted within state-level platform legislation has drawn criticism for becoming yet another social protection instrument that has evaded calls for reforming in India's social protection

¹⁸ Minhaz, A. (2023, August 10). Rajasthan's gig law a step in the right direction, but more needed to protect platform workers. *Frontline*.

https://frontline.thehindu.com/the-nation/human-rights/how-gig-workers-livelihoods-are-rife-with-uncertainties-and-exploitation-rajasthan-becomes-first-state-to-pass-law-bringing-gig-workers-under-a-social-security-net/article67130992.ece

¹⁹ Dutta, A. (2023, August 12). Rajasthan law 'good start', but Delhi gig workers want safety net as employees. *The Hindu*.

https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Delhi/rajasthan-law-good-start-but-delhi-gig-workers-want-safety-net-as-employees/article67188814.ece

²⁰ Karnataka Platform Based Gig Workers (Social Security And Welfare) Ordinance, 2025

²¹ Draft Jharkhand Platform Based Gig Workers (Registration And Welfare) Bill, 2024

²² Draft Telangana Gig and Platform Workers (Registration, Social Security and Welfare) Bill, 2025

²³ Sanzgiri, V. (2024, July 18). Industry reps and labor union clash over Karnataka gig workers Bill. *MEDIANAMA*. https://www.medianama.com/2024/07/223-karnataka-gig-workers-welfare-bill-key-stakeholders-comments/

architecture towards a universalised and comprehensive system.²⁴ By drawing on a model historically designed for self employed informal workers, the platform work welfare board model has reinforced the view of platform work as self employment, and has relied on a model that is not designed to address employment relations.²⁵ Moreover, the welfare board model deployed in other sectors has proven to lack adequate protections for workers and has been mired in administrative and funds management challenges.^{26, 27}

Platform social security initiatives

While many platforms like Ola, Uber, Swiggy, Zomato, and Urban Company offer **medical insurance** of some form, accessing the same has been challenging. Some platforms like Swiggy have tied social security benefits to the algorithmic management systems of the platform, offering health insurance on a conditional basis depending on whether the worker has fulfilled a set quota of deliveries.²⁸ There are also different modes of work arrangements on certain platforms which can affect access to medical and accident insurance. For instance, workers who are engaged on platforms through third-party subcontractors have been denied social protection from the platform.²⁹ Platforms have also been providing **accident insurance** to workers, but there are difficulties in availing the same.^{30, 31} Workers are required to fulfill onerous eligibility and evidentiary requirements, such as extensive

²⁴ Dewan, S. (2023, August 22). Big Problems, Small Wins. *The India Forum*. https://www.theindiaforum.in/public-policy/big-problems-small-wins

²⁵ Sarkar, K. (2024, July 14). The problem with the Karnataka gig workers Bill. *The Hindu*.

https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/the-problem-with-the-karnataka-gig-workers-bill/article68403672.ec

²⁶ Jigeesh, A. M. (2025, January 23). States yet to use ₹70,744 cr. Funds for welfare of construction workers. *The Hindu*

 $[\]underline{https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/states-yet-to-use-70744-cr-funds-for-welfare-of-construction-worke}\\ \underline{rs/article69132724.ece}$

²⁷ News Desk. (2025, October 3). '15 welfare boards in crisis, 45 lakh workers affected': Kerala LoP blames state govt. *Mathrubhumi.Com*.

 $[\]underline{https://english.mathrubhumi.com/news/kerala/opposition-leader-vd-satheesan-slams-finance-minister-for-not-addressing-crisis-cfedcfd5}$

²⁸ Bansal, V. (2024, April 12). This delivery app takes away health insurance when workers don't meet quotas. *Rest of World*. https://restofworld.org/2024/swiggy-health-insurance-quotas/

²⁹ Singaravel, B. (2022, June 2). 20-year-old Chennai delivery agent dies in accident, family asks company to compensate. *The News Minute*.

 $[\]frac{https://www.thenewsminute.com/tamil-nadu/20-year-old-chennai-delivery-agent-dies-accident-family-asks-company-compensate-164619$

³⁰Rathi, A., Sekharan, A., Tandon, A., V M, Chetna., Furtado, C., Sekhar, N., & Devulapalli, S. (2024). *Platforming precarity: Data narratives of workers sustaining urban platform services*. Centre for Internet and Society. https://cis-india.org/raw/platforming-precarity-data-narratives-workers

³¹ Verma, S. (2022, August 27). Food delivery partners run the risk but can't count on cover. *The Morning Context*. https://themorningcontext.com/chaos/food-delivery-partners-run-the-risk-but-cant-count-on-cover

photographic evidence.³² Further, there is no insurance in case of temporary or permanent disability. Platform workers face severe safety and security concerns with frequent reports of deaths and accidents occuring while they are on the job. Although some platforms may occasionally offer survivor benefits to the families of deceased workers, there is no standard compensation provided to the platform workers who lose their lives while on duty.³³

³² Ibid.

³³ PTI. (2022, January 13). Delivery executive's death | Wife to be provided job, insurance and other support, says Zomato CEO. *The Hindu*.

https://www.thehindu.com/business/Industry/delivery-executives-death-wife-to-be-provided-job-insurance-and-other-support-says-zomato-ceo/article38266651.ece

Foregrounding platform workers' demands for social protection

The following outlines key demands of workers and unions relating to essential social security provisions that should be made available to platform workers through either government programmes or platform specific initiatives.^{34, 35, 36} It is crucial that platform workers are not only merely eligible for benefits, but can easily access them. To achieve this, structural barriers to accessing these programmes must be addressed.

- 1. Employment status: Platform workers are still defined as independent contractors, and not employees. They must be recognised as employees and must be covered under government programmes pertaining to employees' specifically. The provision of Employee Provident Fund and Employees' State Insurance must be made available to platform workers.
- 2. **Minimum wages:** A study on the app-based taxi and delivery sectors found that a substantial proportion of workers earned below state minimum wages (ranging from 23% to as high as 87% of workers).³⁷ Ensuring minimum wages (after accounting for work-related costs such as fuel, equipment, and so on) in accordance with state statutory regulations is critical. Some unions have demanded an effective minimum wage of INR 26,000 across sectors of platform work.

afety

³⁴ IFAT & ITF. (2020a). *Locking Down the Impact of Covid-19*. Centre for Internet and Society. https://cis-india.org/raw/ifat-itf-locking-down-the-impact-of-covid-19

³⁵ IFAT & ITF. (2020b). *Protecting Workers in the Digital Platform Economy: Investigating Ola and Uber Drivers' Occupational Health and Safety*. Centre for Internet and Society.

https://cis-india.org/raw/ifat-itf-protecting-workers-in-digital-platform-economy-ola-uber-occupational-health-s

³⁶ Shukla, W. C., Krishnaswamy, R., Garg, R., Jena, G., & Natarajan, S. B. (2024). *Your economy, our livelihoods: A policy brief by the All India Gig Workers' Union—Centre for Internet and Society*. Centre for Internet and Society. https://cis-india.org/raw/your-econonomy-our-livelihoods-a-policy-brief-by-the-all-india-gigi-workers-union
³⁷ Rathi, A., Sekharan, A., Tandon, A., V M, C., Furtado, C., Sekhar, N., & Devulapalli, S. (2024). *Platforming precarity: Data narratives of workers sustaining urban platform services*. Centre for Internet and Society. https://cis-india.org/raw/platforming-precarity-data-narratives-workers

- **3.** Access to healthcare/health insurance: While health insurance is available through government programmes and platforms, issues of exclusions, limited coverage, and conditional access must be addressed.
- 4. Insurance in case of workplace accidents and temporary disability benefits:

 Accident insurance is available, but documentation burdens for availing this through government programmes are too high. Only a few platforms in certain sectors like delivery work offer workplace accident insurance, but with high eligibility and evidentiary requirements to claim insurance.
- **5. Permanent disability benefits:** In case a worker meets with an accident while at work that leaves them permanently disabled, appropriate and sufficient compensation must be provided to cover employment losses.
- **6. Survivors benefits:** A lump sum payment must be provided to workers' families, in cases of the death of the sole or primary earner in the family. While in some cases, certain platforms provide survivor benefits in case of sudden deaths, this is not uniform for all workers. Survivor benefits must be made available irrespective of the cause of the death.
- 7. Safety provisions: Some delivery platforms, such as Zomato, provide safety provisions like pepper spray and torch for women drivers. Platforms must be mandated to provide similar provisions for all workers. Further, government ID cards ought to be issued to help platform workers seek assistance and establish credibility in unknown localities. However, these are not sufficient safety provisions, and the guarantee of safe working conditions must be the primary responsibility of the platforms.
- **8. Old age pension:** Coverage of existing government pension programmes must be extended to platform workers.
- **9. Maternity benefits:** Some platforms, such as Swiggy, provide maternity and period leave for platform workers. Provision of maternity benefits must be extended to all platform workers in accordance with the Maternity Benefit Act 1961 and the amendments of 2017.
- **10.** Childcare benefits such as access to education and creche facilities: Provisions for childcare must be made available to platform workers either through government programmes or platform initiatives.
- **11. Fuel surcharge while on duty:** Fuel surcharges for platform workers on duty must be waived. Platform workers can use a government issued ID at petrol stations to claim the waiver.

Reorienting the policy discourse on social protection for platform workers

This review of various government and platform social protection instruments shows large gaps in the implementation of policies and initiatives meant to guarantee social protection for platform workers. Initiatives such as the E-Shram portal and state-level legislation may provide avenues to formalise and guarantee long due social protections for platform workers.

However, one must examine the broader trajectory of social protection for platform workers in India to critically evaluate the possibility of guaranteed protections for workers. Current policy conversations around social protection for platform workers focus predominantly on offering basic and minimal provisions such as accident insurance and health insurance. In the past few years, platform work has been viewed by the state and industry as a legitimate source of aspirational employment and opportunity, and consistently pushed by the state as the answer to the unemployment crisis. In line with this narrative, the state and industry have called for 'light touch' regulation and responsibilities for platform companies. These actors have leveraged the policy discourse and developments around social protection as a smokescreen to evade steps towards securing labour rights for platform workers. A key aspect that requires immediate attention is that platform workers have not been recognised as employees. As a result, platform workers have been excluded from several existing social protection measures, while platform companies continue to evade accountability.

Given this context, social protection must be reimagined beyond bare minimum subsistence for platform workers. Instead, it is important to view comprehensive and rights-affirming social protection for platform workers against the realities of exploitative platform business models. Extractive algorithmic systems that optimise for wage minimisation, constant pressures to intensify work hours, nearly unattainable performance targets that drive unsafe working conditions, all features inherent to platform business models are primarily

responsible for creating extreme income and health vulnerabilities faced by platform workers in the first place. It is, therefore, crucial for any policy or initiative to enable mechanisms towards addressing harms from platform business models for any meaningful conversation around rights-affirming social protection. It remains important to strengthen and recognise workers' voices and collective action to address their longstanding demands towards this rights-affirming vision of social protection.



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