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The New Emerging World of Work: Growth Story of India's Gig Economy

Ajay Sood¹, Ritesh Singh²

¹Assistant Professor, CDOE, Department of Economics, Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla, Himachal Pradesh, India (171005) ²Research Scholar, Department of Economics, Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla, Himachal Pradesh, India (171005)

Published Online: 17 October 2023 The process of digitalization has increased rapidly around the world and this process has transformed societies and brought a new economic revolution. The use of technology has brought a new change in India as well. A paradigm shift in business models, service provisions, and working arrangements has taken place. Now flexible types of jobs are available to freelancers and part-time workers. The gig economy is a relatively new and emerging sector with immense potential for growth and employment generation. This study highlights the growth of the gig economy in India from 2011-12 to 2019-20. The number of gig workers increased from 25.2 lakhs in 2011-12 to 68 lakhs in 2019-20. The CAGR is 16.78 per cent which is statistically significant. The percentage share of gig workers is 37.6 per cent in the formal sector and 62.4 per cent in the informal sector. The percentage share of gig workers is high in retail trade than in any other industry. Gig workers are more visible as shop salespersons, demonstrates, and small market

KEYWORDS: Gig economy, Organized sector, Formal sector, Unorganized sector, Informal sector, Digitalization, Transformation, Flexible jobs.

salespersons. The gig economy has started playing a significant role in the Indian economy and

impacting various aspects of employment entrepreneurship and consumer behavior.

INTRODUCTION

Ajay Sood

Corresponding Author:

Traditionally, employment was structured around full-time, long-term positions with one employer. The accelerated adoption of digital technology has transformed the world of work with new flexible types of jobs. The rise of technology has enabled the gig economy to flourish, providing new opportunities both for workers and business houses. There is the prevalence of short-term jobs, where individuals are hired on a temporary or project basis often through platforms or apps. Gig workers are freelancers, independent constructors or on-demand workers who engage in temporary or short-term work arrangements. Gig workers often enjoy the flexibility to choose their working hours, select projects that attract them, and have a certain level of control over their work-life balance.

More than a third of the US labor force now opts for gig economy lifestyle. 30 per cent of gig workers elect to work this way because it means they are independent and efficiently free agents. An estimated 40 per cent of gig workers use such contract work. They also receive a complementary income. 16 per cent use gig works to create the most of the money. An estimated 14 per cent of gig workforce acknowledges consuming this type of work reluctantly. By 2027, 60 per cent of independent professionals

will make up 60 per cent of the workforce (Chaudhary, 2021). The gig economy can help to increase in multiple income streams and non-work identities. The gig economy has completely transformed the mode of engaging individuals at work and has taken an essential modification in how our economy runs. The gig economy is a market based on an assured agreement or project-based work that is remunerated through a company, indicator, or online trade. The figure of gig workers will keep growing as several of finest and brightest workers turns to gigs for their primary services. The gig economy provides enormous benefits to the workers in terms of flexibility, employment, freedom etc. (Hunts & Samman, 2019).

The gig economy has started growing after 4th Industrial Revolution. The availability of a Multigenerational workforce with various requirements is also increasing the size of gig economy. The gig economy provides work to skilled and semi- skilled workers. There are temporary and part-time jobs which are suitable for people looking for short-term assignments like freelancer. Many industries providing jobs in delivery, home services, and e-commerce have been boosting the gig economy (Kshatriya & Kurien, 2022). The fourth industrial revolution will further bring changes in the composition and skill sets of the workforce and will lead shift

and labor displacement. The nature of work and workplace will change with more work located away from designated work places and more work involving interaction with information and communication technologies. Work will become invisible and geographically dispersed through online leading to challenges for government in regulating employment identifying employers collecting taxes and supporting social population of gig workers (De Ruyter et al., 2018). The gig economy is resulting in the social gender income equality and women workers are getting more opportunity in the gig sector. Women resellers in India's gig economy have set up their online business through the Messho platforms. Women resellers are found to be highly motivated users who gave inputs, ideas and insights toward their challenges, barrier and interest (Sharma, 2023).

The gig economy in India is increasing because of three key factors which are technological advancement, increasing demand of flexible work and because of increasing unemployment. The gig economy has the potential to provide 90 million jobs in non-farm sectors of India and to add 1.25 per cent to Indian Gross Domestic Product. Despite having positive side there are various challenges as people are not necessarily finding work as per their educational achievements and skills. More over there is no balance between flexibility and social security for gig workers (Suryayayanshi, 2022).

Gig workers in the present digital and on-demand platform economy face various challenges regarding minimum wages, long working hours. Gig economy also results in low pay, social isolation, working unsocial and irregular hours, overwork, sleep deprivation and exhaustion etc (Wood et al., 2019). Gig economy has also led to the prevalence of mysterious jobs, where wages are low and employment condition are not perfect, no time limits, no insurance no safety and security of the job. The gig economy has created a new market and greater flexibility in labour relations which has been driven, but social and economic growth, globalization and spreads of information technology (Ly,2020). The gig economy's business model may lead to extreme forms of labour commodification as the platforms in the gig economy provide digital work intermediation by closely controlling their workers. The platforms monitor the activities of their workers and hence interfere in their activities. The gig economy's success and value are largely based on regulatory arbitrage, which involves evading employment law, etc. (Gramano, 2018). India's work force is increasing at a faster pace in this sector and giving rise to challenges in term of education, skill development, and informal employment and gender disparities. Labor market is being transformed by the technology, creating new opportunities but this technology transformation is also displacing workers in some sectors. There is need for comprehensive policy reforms to address the challenges faced by India's workforce (Bandura & Sword, 2018).

The growth of online platform work has led to a new form of globalization labour arbitrage where work is distributed unequally across the world. Online workers are organizing against platforms against the previous label 'unorganizable' that has been applied to all platform workers (Woodcock, 2021). Gig workers are forming association to have a voice in the workplace, whether they are machinists or they are Uber drivers in New York and California and Massachusetts. The response of gig workers to various challenges and their efforts of collective power are shaping up an important new chapter in the nations labour history (Greenhouse, 2016).

To fulfill various research gaps, the present study addresses the following research questions in the context of gig workers in India.

RQ1: What is the growth story of gig workers in recent years in India?

RQ2: What is the contribution share of gig workers in the organized (formal) sector and unorganized (informal) sector in the country?

RQ3: Which industry and occupation has shown the highest growth of gig workers in recent years?

RQ4: What are the main challenges faced by gig workers in India?

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The gig economy has emerged rapidly in India. This study finds out the growth and trend of gig workers from (2011-12 to 2019-20). This study shows how people are continuously engaging with online platforms in India. This study is exploratory research to know the wide pattern of the gig economy. The data has been taken from NITI Aayog report "India Booming Gig and Platform Economy: Perspective and Recommendations on the Future of Work". Data is also taken from different data sets in India and different research papers.

To know the trend of the gig workers in years (2011-12 to 2019-20) we have calculated the Compound Annual Growth Rate (CAGR) of gig workers. This shows the growth rate of the gig workers in years (2011-12 to 2019-20) and also helps in checking the significance levels of different variables within a given time period. We have also analyzed the Compound Annual Growth Rate of gig workers *w.e.f.* 2011-12 to 2019-20. The linear, log-linear, and exponential power functions were employed to study growth rates

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Estimation of gig workers

For estimating the total number of gig workers in India. Two types of status were considered. The Usual Principal Status (UPS) which counts those workers who spend the majority of the reference year as gig workers and

Usual Subsidiary Status (USS) that counts those workers who did gig work for a shorter period of the year. The following table and figure gives the picture of gig workers in India over the period under study.

Table 1. Estimated Numbers of Gig Workers (in Lakhs)

Year	No. of Gig workers	No. of Gig workers	No. of Gig workers	
	(UPS)	(USS)	(UPSS)	
2011-12	24.5	0.7	25.2	
	(0.57)	(0.18)	(0.54)	
2017-18	52.1	0.5	52.6	
	(1.18)	(0.40)	(1.16)	
2018-19	53.4	0.5	53.9	
	(1.18)	(0.28)	(1.15)	
2019-20	67.0	1.1	68.0	
	(1.37)	(0.49)	(1.33)	
CAGR	16.97*	7.42	16.78*	
	(16.10)*	(15.36)**	(16.26)*	

Source: NITI Aayog

Note: Value in parenthesis is gig workers as the share of the total workforce.

1 %level of significance, ** 5 % level of significance, ***10% level of significance, No star- no significance

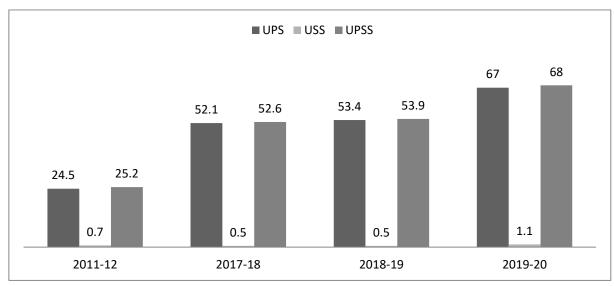


Figure 1. Representing the data of Table1 *Source:* Data taken from Table1

Table-1 and Figure-1 give a picture of the number of gig workers. As far as Usual Principal Status (UPS) of gig workers is concerned, in 2011-12 (24.5) lakh gig workers were there in India and their number increased to 67 lakhs in 2019-20. This shows an increasing trend with a 16.97 per cent compound annual growth rate. Usual Subsidiary Status of gig workers is different because gig workers have spent very less days and obviously their number is also very low. Only 0.7 lakh (USS) gig workers were there in 2011-12 and after one decade there was also an increase in their number which reached to 1.1 lakh in 2019-20. The CAGR percentage is 7.42

which is not statistically significant. As far as UPSS is concerned it is Usual Principal Subsidiary Status of gig workers which gives the combined value of the previous two. This combined number was 25.2 lakh in 2011-12 and finally increased to 68 lakhs in 2019-20 with a CAGR percentage of 16.78 which is statically significant. It is also important to mention here that in 2011-12 the percentage share of UPS gig workers was only 0.57 per cent which increased to 1.37 per cent of the total workforce in 2019-20. The CAGR of the share of gig workers is 16.10 percent which is also statistically significant. Whereas the percentage shares of

USS gig workers was very low *i.e.* 0.18 per cent in 2011-12, which increased to only 0.49 per cent in 2019-20. But the CAGR of the share of USS gig workers of total workforce is 15.36 per cent which is again statistically significant. These results indicate that the gig workers are increasing significantly and it seems that the future belongs to them.

Share of Gig workers in organized (formal) and unorganized (informal) sectors

All gig workers are engaging in organized (formal) and unorganized (informal) sectors. These two sectors are connected and complement to each other. The organized sector refers to those sectors of the economy where employment terms and conditions are regulated by the government. In contrast, an unorganized sector is a sector which is not regulated by the government. The following table and figure give a picture of the percentage share gig workers engaged in organized and unorganized sectors.

Table 2. Share of Gig Workers in the organized (formal) and unorganized (informal) sector.

Year	% Share in organized and	% Share in unorganized	Total
	formal Sector	and informal Sector	
2011-12	25.9	74.1	100
	(16.3)	(83.7)	(100)
2017-18	30.6	69.4	100
	(18.2)	(81.8)	(100)
2018-19	35.7	64.3	100
	(18.6)	(81.4)	(100)
2019-20	37.6	62.4	100
	(17.5)	(82.5)	(100)
CGR	10.59***	5.09	
	(7.91)	(6.59)	

Source: NITI Aayog

Note- Value in parenthesis is gig workers as the share of the total workforce.

^{*1 %}level of significance, **5 % level of significance, ***10% level of significance, No star- no significance

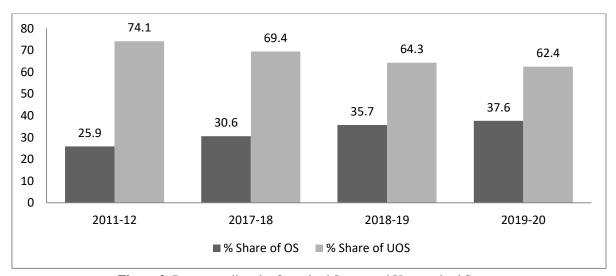


Figure 2. Data regarding the Organised Sector and Unorganised Sector.

Source: Data taken from Table 2.

Table-2 and Figure-2 show the percentage share of gig workers in the organized (formal) sector and unorganized (informal) sector. In the organized sector percentage share of gig workers was 25.9 per cent in 2011-12 which increased to 37.6 per cent in 2019-20. The CAGR of the percentage share of gig workers in the organized sector is 10.59 per cent, which shows a 10 per cent level of significance. Whereas the percentage share of gig workers was very high in formal sector *i.e.* 74.1 per cent in 2011-12 which kept reducing

throughout the period and finally reduced to 62.4 per cent in 2019-20. Although the percentage share of gig workers is higher in the informal sector than in the formal sector. Because of continuous fall in the percentage of gig workers in Informal sector, the CAGR of gig workers in the Informal sector is only 5.09 which is not significant. It is clear from the table that the percentage share of gig workers is increasing in the formal sector and it is statistically significant at a 10 per cent level. Whereas in the informal sector percentage share of

gig workers is falling consistently which is not statistically significant.

Industrial Classification of Gig Workers

Gig workers are engaging in different industries. For estimating the number of gig workers, industrial classification

is done here. Industrial classification is the systematic method of categorizing different economic activities or businesses. The following Table and Graph gives the Industrial classification of gig workers in India.

Table 3. Industrial Classification of Gig Workers (in Lakhs).

Industrial Classification	2011-12	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20	CGR
Manufacturing (M)	2.3	5.5	5.4	6.2	17.18*
	(9.09)	(10.50)	(10.03)	(9.17)	(7.44)
Electricity, gas, steam and air	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.2	9.79
conditioning supplies (EGSA)	(0.69)	(0.67)	(0.73)	(0.33)	(2.03)
Water supply, sewerage, waste	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.18
management and remediation	(0.00)	(0.59)	(0.49)	(0.47)	(4.31)
activities (WSWR)					
Construction (C)	0.3	1.2	1.4	2.1	30.56*
	(1.24)	(2.31)	(2.58)	(3.06)	(16.08) *
Retail trade, except of motor vehicles	10.6	19.2	21.7	26.5	15.9*
and motor cycles (RT)	(41.97)	(36.48)	(40.30)	(38.95)	(6.01)
Transportation and storage (T&S)	5.2	11.0	9.4	13.0	15.67**
	(20.69)	(20.86)	(17.40)	(19.18)	(5.67)
Accommodation and food service	1.4	3.2	2.8	4.0	16.98*
activities (A&F)	(5.49)	(6.05)	(5.20)	(5.94)	(7.24)
Information and communication (IC)	1.6	4.2	4.2	5.0	19.20*
	(6.43)	(7.91)	(7.74)	(7.39)	(8.67)
Financial and insurance activities	2.4	4.1	4.8	6.3	16.07*
(FIA)	(9.32)	(7.78)	(8.89)	(9.21)	(8.67)
Real estate activities (RA)	0.4	2.0	1.5	2.4	24.84*
	(1.72)	(3.77)	(2.84)	(3.53)	(14.72) **
Administrative and Support service	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.4	13.47**
activities (ASSA)	(0.64)	(0.36)	(0.68)	(0.55)	(5.40)
Other education group (OEG)	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.5	2.36
	(0.08)	(0.38)	(0.58)	(0.67)	(29.53) *
Education support services (ESS)	0.7	1.2	1.3	1.1	12.78**
	(2.64)	(2.34)	(2.44)	(1.56)	(2.92)
Total	25.2	52.6	53.9	68.0	16.78*
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	

Source: NITI Aayog

Note- Value in parenthesis is gig workers as the share of the total workforce.

^{* 1 %}level of significance, ** 5 % level of significance, ***10% level of significance, No star- no significance

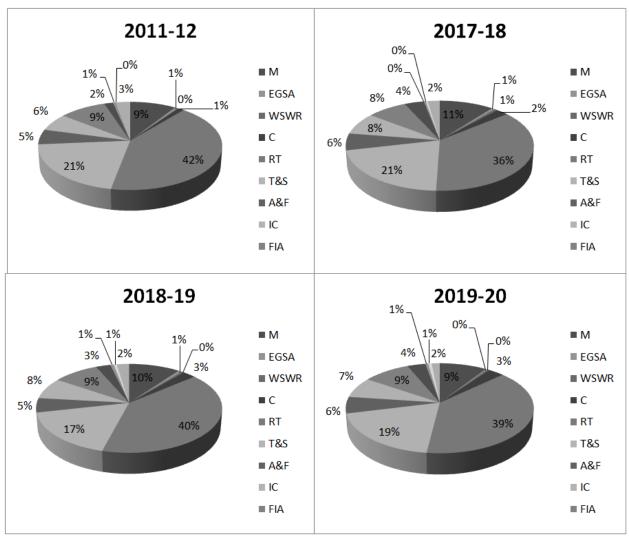


Figure 3. Data Regarding Industrial Classification of Gig Workers' Percentage Share. *Source:* Data taken from Table 3.

Table-3 and Figure-3 give the data of industrial classification and gig workers engaged in these sectors. The 10.6 lakh lakhs gig workers were working in the retail trade sector in 2011-12, this number increased to 26.5 lahks in 2019-20 with a CAGR value of 15.9 per cent which is statistically significant. But the percentage share of gig workers in this sector was coming down from 41.99 per cent in 2011-12 to 38.95 per cent in 2019-20. That is the reason the CAGR of percentage contribution is low at 6.01 levels and not statistically significant. The number of gig workers involved in the Transportation and storage sector was 5.2 lakh in 2011-12 which increased to 13 lakh in 2019-20 with a CAGR value of the period 15.67 per cent which is statistically significant. But again in this sector also percentage share of gig workers has also come down. The gig workers are visible in large numbers in the Real estate manufacturing sector followed by financial and insurance activities, information

and communication, accommodation and food services activities, and construction. There are few other sectors like electricity, gas, steam, and air condition supplies, water supply, sewerage, waste management and remediation activities, administration and support service activities, education support services, and another education group where gig workers are very less in numbers.

Occupation classification of Gig workers

For estimating gig workers not only industrial classification is required but occupational classification is also very important. Occupation and job classification is a systematic method of categorizing different job roles, occupations, or types of work based on specific tasks, skills, and responsibilities. The following table and graph estimate the gig workers on the basis of occupational classification.

Table 4. Occupation classification of gig workers.

Classification of Occupation		2017 10	2019 10	2010 20	CCD
Classification of Occupation	2011-12	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20	CGR
Computing Professionals (CP)	0.4	1.8	2.2	2.7	27.02*
Alice	(1.47)	(3.44)	(4.15)	(3.96)	(17.99)*
Architects, Engineers and Related	0.5	1.0	1.6	1.7	19.56*
professionals (AERP)	(1.80)	(1.88)	(2.91)	(2.43)	(10.56)*
Business professionals (BP)	2.0	2.6	3.0	3.8	12.70**
	(7.84)	(5.00)	(5.53)	(5.63)	(2.74)
Computer Associate Professionals	0.4	2.6	3.0	3.8	30.75*
& Optical and electronic Equipment	(1.46)	(4.92)	(3.16)	(2.33)	(13.54)**
Operators (CAPO)					
Finance and sales associate	1.3	3.3	3.4	5.2	20.11*
professionals & Business Services	(5.34)	(6.31)	(6.32)	(7.60)	(6.97)
Agents and Trade broker (FSAP &					
BSAT)					
Secretaries and keyboard Operating	2.4	3.4	2.8	6.2	13.37**
Clerks & Numerical Clerks &	(9.33)	(6.53)	(5.11)	(9.05)	(3.63)
Material Recording & Transport					
Clerks (SKOC &NC&MR&TC)					
Cashier, Teller and related Clerks &	0.9	1.6	1.7	2.0	15.01**
Client Information Clerks	(3.46)	(2.97)	(3.18)	(3.01)	(5.46)
(CTRC&CIC)					
Travel attendance, Guides and	0.3	0.7	0.3	0.9	14.09*
Related workers (TA, GRW)	(1.32)	(1.27)	(0.57)	(1.27)	(2.74)
Housekeeping and restaurant	1.4	2.6	3.0	3.9	16.76*
Service Workers & Personal Care	(5.39)	(4.99)	(5.63)	(5.68)	(7.12)
workers (HRSW&PCW)					
Shop Salespersons and	9.9	18.9	22.0	22.8	15.85*
demonstrators & Stall and Market	(39.31)	(35.98)	(40.80)	(35.53)	(6.19)
Salespersons (SSD&SMS)					
Motor Vehicle Driver (MVD)	4.4	10.9	9.2	13.0	17.43*
	(17.62)	(20.80)	(17.12)	(19.06)	(7.40)
Street vendors and Related workers	0.8	1.5	1.7	2.6	17.72*
(SVRW)	(3.29)	(2.78)	(3.19)	(3.86)	(7.44)
Domestic and related Helper,	0.6	1.4	1.0	1.7	16.07**
cleaners and Launderers (DRH,C)	(2.36)	(2.68)	(1.92)	(2.43)	(6.25)
Building Caretakers, Window and	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.1	-6.66
related Cleaners (BC,WRC)	(0.00)	(0.44)	(0.41)	(0.17)	(-1.95)
Total	25.2	52.6	53.9	68.0	16.79*
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	
Source: NITI A avog		1 ` '/	1 \ ''	1 \ /	

Source: NITI Aayog

Note: Value in parenthesis is gig workers as the share of the total workforce.

^{* 1 %}level of significance, ** 5 % level of significance, ***10% level of significance, No star- no significance

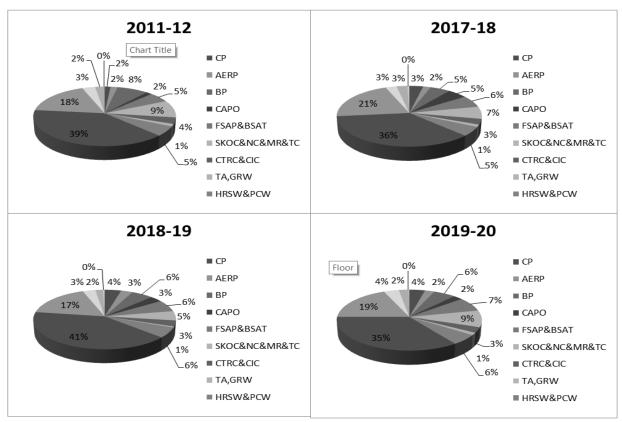


Figure 4. Data presentation of percentage share Occupation classification of gig workers *Source:* Data taken from Table 4.

Table-4 and Figure-4 give the occupation distribution of gig workers in India. It is clear from the table that the largest number of gig workers is found as shop salespersons and demonstrates & stall and market salespersons. Only 9.9 lakh gig workers were engaged in this sector in 2011-12 and their number increased to 22.8 lakh in 2019-20 with CAGR value of 15.85 which is statistically significant. It is also observed here that the percentage share of gig workers in this sector kept fluctuating with a CAGR value of 6.19 which is not statistically significant. Similarly, the number of gig workers as motor vehicle drivers was 4.4 lakh in 2011-12 which increased to 13 lakhs in 2019-20 with a CAGR value of 17.43 which is statistically significant. But in this occupation percentage share of gig workers also kept fluctuating and the CAGR value is only 7.4 which is not statistically significant. Similarly trend of gig workers as Secretaries/Clerks, Housekeeping and Restaurant Services Workers, Business Professionals, Finance and Sale Associate Professionals, Cashier, Travel Workers, Street Vendors, Domestic and related helpers is observed increasing. Gig workers as Computing Associate professionals have increased in absolute numbers in the last decade with statistically significant CAGR as well and their percentage share has also increased significantly.

Challenges of gig workers

Gig workers are facing many problems, they often face uncertainty and instability in their employment, lacking

the benefits and protection that come with traditional employment. Gig workers do not receive benefits such as healthcare, retirement plans, or paid leave, leaving them financially vulnerable, Gig workers are often at risk of losing their income sources if demand for their services decreases or if they receive negative ratings or reviews (Kuhn et al., 2021). There is a lack of formal employment contracts and job security in the gig economy and uncertain project delivery and payment process is also there. There is digital disruption leading to major changes in the work environment (Roy & Shrivastava, 2020).

The challenges of gig work can be categorized into six main areas: viability, organizational, identity, relational and career path uncertainty. Gig workers bear the full economic risk for their work and often experience a great deal of discretion over what work they take on, as well as how much and when they do it. Gig workers may experience intense emotional highs and lows due to the variability in their work, and their work may be emotionally taxing (Caza et al., 2022). Gig workers face limitations in their interaction with clients and receive limited feedback, which hinders their personal growth and learning. Gig workers typically do not have supervision or a hierarchical structure, which limits their ability to advance in their careers. They may experience stagnant career growth and can also develop horizontally by switching between platforms or gigs. The platform is not obligated to provide training or career advancement

opportunities, further hindering gig workers' career development (Kost et al., 2020).

The short-to-medium-term engagement of gig workers and the dependence on their skills and tools can lead to challenges such as failure to meet quality expectations or disengagement during work. The lack of HR policy implementation exacerbates these risks (Dey et al., 2022).

CONCLUSION

On the basis of the study, it can be concluded that gig workers have the ability to choose when where, and how much to work. They have more control over their schedules and they have diverse job opportunities. Digital platforms play a central role in the gig economy. They provide a conventional way for gig workers to connect with potential clients, manage their work arrangements, and facilitate payment transactions. In 2011-12 only 25.2 lakh gig workers were there in India. This number increased significantly to 68 lakhs in 2019-20 with a CAGR of 16.8 percent. The study shows that the number of gig workers is increasing in the organized (formal) sector whereas their number is reducing in the unorganized (informal) sector. But still, 81.4 percent of gig workers are working in the informal sector. As far as industrial classification is concerned more gig workers are engaged in Retail Trade, Transportation and storage, Real estate activities, manufacturing, Financial and Insurance activities, information and communication, accommodation and food services activities, and the construction sector. If we talk about occupation classification largest number of gig workers are found as Shop Salespersons and demonstrators & and stalls and Market Salespersons, Gig workers, and Motor Vehicle drivers are also increasing gradually. Other gig workers such as Secretaries/ Clerks, Housekeeping and restaurant services workers, business professionals, Finance and sales associate professionals, cashiers, Travel workers, Street Vendors, and domestic-related helpers are observed to increase over the period of time. The gig economy offers individuals greater flexibility, income opportunities, and the ability to leverage their skills. It can also provide costeffective and on-demand services to businesses and consumers.

The review of various studies also helps us to conclude that gig workers some time face uncertainty and instability in their employment. They also lack benefits and protection that comes with traditional employment. Gig workers may experience intense emotional highs and lows due to the variability in their work. But despite all these challenges, gig economy is growing and it will keep attracting unemployed people, part time workers and freelancers, multi taskers and other skilful people of the economy because of availability of part time works and continuous digitalization of the economy.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The classification and rights of gig workers are not yet very clear including issues related to minimum wages, employment benefits, and worker protection. The policy makers need to protect rights of gig workers.

As the gig economy continues to evolve, policymakers need to find a balance that ensures fair and sustainable working conditions while harnessing the benefits of flexibility and innovation provided by this new way of working.

The gig economy flexibility can sometimes lead to excessive working hours and a lack of work-life balance, leading to burnout and mental health issues. The exact impact and role of the gig economy in the Indian economy are still evolving and the full extent of its effects will be shaped by on-going developments and wisdom of policy makers.

Ethical concerns relating to algorithmic systems as mechanisms of control and the discrimination, exclusion, and disconnectedness faced by gig workers require further deliberation and policy concerns and unfair and unequal treatment of gig workers due to a lack of labor law protection.

Policymakers and stakeholders need to explore ways to address the various challenges and promote fair working conditions within the gig economy while maintaining the balance between flexibility and social security as well as in work and benefits.

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