

Hidden exploitation of women’s care work in Indonesia’s gig economy

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<i>Keywords:</i> gig economy care work invisible gendered labor digital economy hidden exploitation	The rapid expansion of Indonesia’s digital economy has positioned the gig economy as a pathway for women’s economic inclusion through flexible, home-based digital work. However, this narrative often obscures the structural inequalities embedded in platform-based labor systems. This study examines how women’s digital labor intersects with unpaid care work to produce invisible, gendered forms of exploitation. Employing a qualitative case study approach, the research was conducted in the Greater Malang area of Indonesia and involved 15 women engaged in online selling, affiliate marketing, and content creation. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, limited observation, and digital documentation, and analyzed using thematic analysis informed by intersectionality and social reproduction perspectives. The findings reveal that women simultaneously perform domestic, digital, and emotional labor within blurred temporal boundaries. Rather than providing genuine flexibility, the gig economy operates through pseudo-flexibility characterized by algorithmic control, unstable income, an always-on work culture, and limited social protection. Women’s digital labor remains socially undervalued, reinforcing unequal household power relations and perpetuating the invisibility of gendered labor. The study argues that the gig economy functions as a regime of invisible gendered labor in which technological infrastructures and patriarchal social structures mutually reproduce inequality through subtle yet exploitative mechanisms.

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Introduction

The transformation of the digital economy over the past decade has fundamentally reshaped the global labor landscape through the expansion of platform-based work, commonly referred to as the gig economy (Acs et al., 2021). Globally, the International Labor Organization reports a rapid increase in digital platform work, with more than 777 active platforms worldwide and millions of workers engaged in app-based and online labor (International Labor Organization, 2018, 2021). The global platform economy is estimated to have reached a value exceeding USD 12 trillion in 2020 (Gawer & Srnicek, 2021), highlighting its significant role within contemporary capitalist systems (Gawer & Srnicek, 2021; UNCTAD, 2021). This model of work is characterized by flexibility, the decentralization of labor, and increased access to digital markets (Srnicek, 2017; Wood et al., 2019), enabling individuals to participate in economic activities (Williams & Nadin, 2012) without being bound by formal employment relationships.

In Indonesia, the development of the digital economy has demonstrated a significant upward trend (Tayibnapis et al., 2018; Uula & Surbakti, 2023). The e-Conomy SEA report by Google, Temasek, and Bain & Company (2023) estimates that Indonesia's digital economy exceeded USD 82 billion and is projected to surpass USD 130 billion by 2025 (Legislative Council, 2023). In addition, data from Badan Pusat Statistik indicate that approximately 34% of businesses in Indonesia have adopted digital platforms in their economic activities, with e-commerce emerging as the most dominant sector (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2024). In the context of employment, a study by International Labor Organization (2021) also highlights that women constitute a significant proportion of platform workers,

particularly in home-based sectors such as online selling, digital creative services, and affiliate marketing (International Labor Organization, 2021).

For women, the gig economy is often positioned as a flexible pathway to economic inclusion (Hunt & Samman, 2019b; Kasliwal, 2020). Data from UN Women (2020) (Women, 2020) indicate that the digital economy expands access to employment for women who previously faced structural barriers to entering the formal labor market, such as limited mobility, domestic responsibilities, and restrictive social norms (Neha, n.d.). In Indonesia, women's participation in the informal digital sector has also increased, particularly during and after the COVID-19 pandemic (Tayibnapis et al., 2018; Uula & Surbakti, 2023), as many women shifted to home-based economic activities as a survival strategy (World Bank, 2022b, 2022a). However, such flexibility is not inherently emancipatory. On the contrary, several studies show that women in the gig economy tend to experience lower earnings, longer working hours, and higher levels of job insecurity compared to men (Hunt & Samman, 2019a, 2019b).

From a feminist sociological perspective, care work is understood as part of social reproductive labor that has historically been undervalued and unpaid (Razavi, 2015), despite its fundamental contribution to the functioning of economic (Federici, 2020; Fraser, 2016). Global data indicate that women perform approximately 76.2% of total unpaid care work worldwide, which is more than three times the contribution of men (International Labor Organization, 2018, 2021). When women engage in the gig economy, the burden of care work does not diminish; instead, it intersects with digital labor, resulting in conditions of double burden and even triple burden (Hochschild, 2015). In the Indonesian context, data from

Badan Pusat Statistik (2024) similarly show that women spend, on average, two to three times more time on domestic work than men, even when they are actively engaged in income-generating activities (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2024).

Furthermore, the logic of platform capitalism introduces new forms of labor control mediated by digital algorithms (Wang & Tomassetti, 2024). Workers are required to remain constantly active (always-on) in responding to market demands, following algorithmic trends, and maintaining visibility on digital platforms (Wood et al., 2019). Studies indicate that more than 60% of platform workers experience high levels of income instability and lack access to formal social protection (International Labor Organization, 2018, 2021). This condition has a more pronounced impact on women, as they must balance the demands of digital labor with inflexible domestic responsibilities. As a result, flexibility in the digital economy often transforms into a mechanism of hidden exploitation that is not easily recognized (Gregory & Sadowski, 2021).

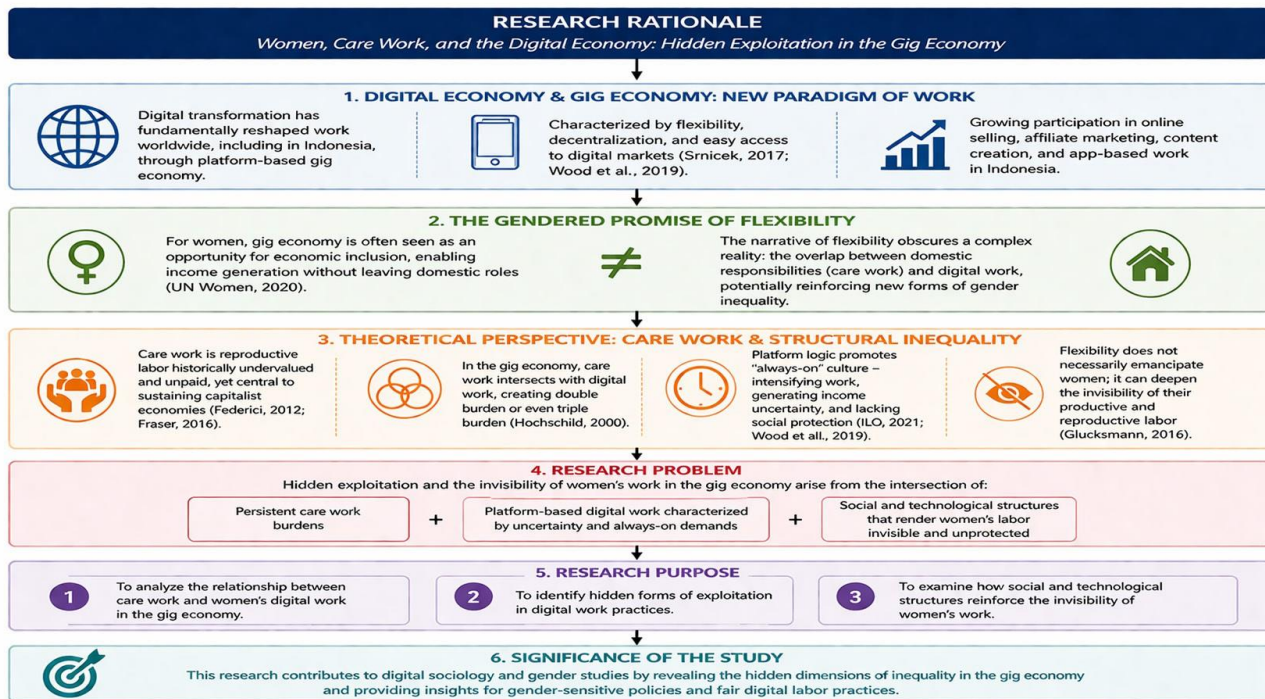
Moreover, the invisibility of women's work has emerged as a critical issue in the digital economy. Although women make significant contributions to platform-based economic activities, their work is often neither recognized as formal employment nor adequately captured in official economic statistics (Elson, 1999; Federici, 2020). In many cases, women's digital labor continues to be perceived as "supplementary" or "secondary," despite its tangible contribution to household income (Arcy, 2016). This condition suggests that the digital economy does not fundamentally transform existing gender inequalities; rather, it reproduces them in new forms that are more flexible yet increasingly invisible.

Based on the foregoing discussion, a significant gap exists in the literature on the digital economy, which has predominantly emphasized inclusion and flexibility while paying limited attention to issues of gender inequality, care work, and hidden exploitation within the gig economy. Therefore, this study aims to: (1) analyze the relationship between care work and women's digital labor in the gig economy; (2) identify forms of hidden exploitation in digital work practices; and (3) examine how social and technological structures reinforce the invisibility of women's work. This study is expected to contribute theoretically to the advancement of digital sociology and gender studies, as well as to offer practical insights for the formulation of more gender-sensitive policies in the contemporary digital economy.

Method

This study employed a qualitative approach with a case study design to gain an in-depth understanding of women's experiences in digital labor within the context of Indonesia's gig economy (Yin, 2011, 2017). This approach was selected because it enabled the exploration of social dynamics, power relations, and subjective experiences that could not be adequately measured through quantitative methods (Creswell, 2013, 2014), particularly those related to care work and hidden exploitation (Federici, 2020; Fraser, 2016) in platform-based labor systems. Analytically, this study integrated feminist sociology, intersectionality, and social reproduction perspectives to examine how gender relations, domestic responsibilities, and technological structures shaped women's experiences in digital work (Collins, 2015; K. Crenshaw, 2021; K. W. Crenshaw, 2013; Federici, 2020; Fraser, 2016).

Figure 1. Research Rationale



Source: Developed by the authors based on the research framework (2026).

The study was conducted in the Greater Malang area, Indonesia, including Malang City, Malang Regency, and Batu City, considering the rapid development of digital economic activities in the region. Participants were selected purposively based on several criteria: women actively engaged in gig economy activities such as online selling, affiliate marketing, content creation, or other platform-based work; women performing digital work from home or within domestic spaces; and women with household or childcare responsibilities. A total of 15 participants were involved in the study, and participant recruitment continued until data saturation was achieved, indicated by the absence of significant new themes or information.

To clarify the analytical logic of the study, Figure 1 presents the research rationale guiding the relationship between women's care work, digital labor, platform-based work arrangements, and hidden forms of exploitation in Indonesia's gig economy. The

figure functioned as an analytical framework that informed the research design, data collection, and interpretation of findings.

Data were collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews, limited observation, and digital documentation. Interviews were conducted to explore women's experiences in managing care work and digital labor, perceptions of work flexibility, and forms of pressure or exploitation encountered in everyday work practices. Limited observation was undertaken to examine patterns of digital work activities within domestic settings, including time management, interactions with digital platforms, and household role arrangements. In addition, digital documentation was conducted through the analysis of social media content, marketplace activities, and other relevant digital traces to better understand women's economic activities in platform-based work environments.

The data were analyzed using thematic analysis through several stages, including interview transcription, open coding, categorization of recurring themes, and interpretation using intersectionality and social reproduction frameworks. This analytical process enabled the identification of hidden forms of exploitation, including work intensification, emotional burden, algorithmic control, and the invisibility of women's labor within the gig economy.

To ensure validity, this study employed source and methodological triangulation by comparing findings from interviews, observations, and documentation. Member checking was also conducted with selected participants to verify the consistency between participants' experiences and the researchers' interpretations. In addition, an audit trail was maintained throughout the research process to strengthen reliability and transparency.

This study adhered to ethical principles in social research. All participants were informed about the objectives of the study and provided verbal informed consent prior to data collection. Participant confidentiality and anonymity were strictly maintained, and all data were used solely for academic purposes.

Results and Discussion

Intersections of care work and digital labor: Beyond pseudo-flexibility

The findings indicate that women's participation in the gig economy does not reduce the burden of care work; rather, it creates a complex intersection between reproductive and productive labor within the same temporal and spatial context. The majority of participants perform domestic activities—such as childcare, cooking, and household tasks—simultaneously with

digital work activities, including responding to customer inquiries, managing orders, and producing content. As expressed by one participant:

"I run my online business while taking care of my child. Sometimes, even while cooking, I have to respond to customer messages, so there is no specific time allocated for work." (Participant A, 32 years old)

These findings suggest that flexibility in the digital economy is more appropriately understood as pseudo-flexibility, defined as flexibility that is not accompanied by a redistribution of domestic labor, thereby leaving women bound to unavoidable reproductive responsibilities. This condition reinforces the concept of the double burden (Hochschild, 2015) and, in many cases, extends into a triple burden, in which women perform not only domestic and economic labor but also emotional labor in maintaining relationships with customers on digital platforms. In this context, the domestic sphere no longer functions solely as a private space but has increasingly transformed into a site of economic production, blurring the boundaries between working time and non-working time.

Empirically, these findings are consistent with data from the International Labour Organization, which show that women account for approximately 76.2% of total unpaid care work globally (International Labor Organization, 2018, 2021). In Indonesia, Badan Pusat Statistik (2024) also reports that women spend two to three times more time on domestic work than men, even when they are engaged in income-generating activities (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2024). Therefore, the relationship between care work and digital labor cannot be understood as two separate domains, but rather as a layered set of work practices that intersect within unequal social structures.

This finding aligns with the framework of the total social organization of labor (Glucksmann, 2016), which emphasizes that women's work in contemporary society is shaped by a complex integration of domestic, economic, and social spheres.

Algorithmic control and the “always-on” work regime

This study finds that platform-based work fosters the emergence of an always-on work regime, in which workers—particularly women—are required to remain constantly responsive to digital market dynamics and platform algorithmic mechanisms. Participants vividly described this pressure in their everyday practices:

“If I don’t respond quickly, customers may switch to another seller. So, I have to keep my phone with me at all times, and even at night I still check incoming orders.” (Participant B, 28 years old)

This condition indicates that the temporal flexibility promised by the gig economy has, in practice, transformed into uncertainty in working hours and the erosion of clear boundaries between work and rest. Women are required not only to monitor notifications and respond promptly to customers, but also to follow algorithmic dynamics in order to remain competitive on digital platforms. As a result, working time becomes fragmented and unbounded, often extending beyond formal working hours into the night or occurring intermittently alongside domestic responsibilities.

Empirically, these findings are consistent with data from the International Labor Organization (2021), which indicate that more than 60% of platform workers experience irregular working hours and lack clear boundaries between work and non-work time (International Labor Organization,

2018, 2021). In addition, approximately 70% of digital platform workers report that they must remain continuously available in order to maintain access to work and income (International Labor Organization, 2018, 2021). Other studies show that gig economy workers spend, on average, more than 10 hours per day in an on-call state, although not all of this time is counted as productive working hours (Wood et al., 2019). In the Southeast Asian context, a report by the World Bank (2022) also highlights that home-based digital workers tend to have longer and more irregular working hours, particularly women who combine digital labor with domestic responsibilities (World Bank, 2022b, 2022a).

Wood et al. (2019) emphasize that platform algorithms function as mechanisms of invisible control, effectively regulating the rhythm, intensity, and productivity of work without direct interaction between workers and employers (Wood et al., 2019). Within the framework of platform capitalism (Srnicsek, 2017), this condition reflects a shift in labor control from hierarchical forms to those based on technology and data. This form of control operates through rating systems, algorithmic visibility, and response speed, which indirectly compel workers to remain continuously active in order to stay competitive.

In the context of women, the always-on work regime produces layered work intensification, as it must be carried out alongside inflexible domestic responsibilities. Evidence suggests that women in the gig economy tend to have longer total working hours—combining domestic and digital labor—than men, with time differentials reaching 2–3 hours per day in several studies conducted in developing countries (International Labor Organization, 2018, 2021; World Bank, 2022b, 2022a). The impacts are not only physical but also psychological,

including emotional exhaustion, chronic stress, and anxiety related to income instability. Thus, flexibility in the digital economy cannot be understood as a form of work autonomy; rather, it operates as a more subtle yet intensive mechanism of control that reinforces the vulnerability of women workers within the contemporary digital economic structure.

Hidden exploitation in the gig economy: Structural yet invisible

In line with the second research objective, the findings indicate that exploitation in the gig economy is structurally embedded yet largely invisible, operating through decentralized and concealed mechanisms. The identified forms of exploitation include: (1) unlimited working hours; (2) a high dependence on platform algorithms; (3) income instability and fluctuation; and (4) the absence of social protection. As expressed by one participant:

"My income is uncertain—sometimes it's busy, sometimes it's slow. But I still have to stay online constantly if I want to earn money." (Participant C, 35 years old)

The findings above indicate that exploitation in the digital economy no longer appears in the form of explicit formal employment relationships, but rather in more subtle forms that are internalized within everyday work practices. In contrast to classical industrial labor systems characterized by hierarchical relations, exploitation in the gig economy is individualized and fragmented, making it difficult to recognize as a form of structural injustice. Many women interpret these conditions as a consequence of work flexibility rather than as exploitation, which ultimately reinforces the invisibility of such inequalities.

Empirically, these findings are consistent with data from the International Labor Organization (2021), which indicate that approximately 56%–68% of global platform workers lack access to social protection, including health insurance and labor protection (International Labor Organization, 2021). In addition, more than 50% of platform workers report high levels of income uncertainty due to demand fluctuations and opaque algorithmic systems. A study by the World Bank (2022) further shows that digital workers in developing countries, including Indonesia, are more likely to be engaged in precarious work, characterized by unstable earnings and limited institutional protection (World Bank, 2022b, 2022a). Moreover, Hunt and Samman (2019) emphasize that women in the gig economy face higher levels of vulnerability than men in terms of income, job security, and access to social protection (Hunt & Samman, 2019a).

From the perspective of platform capitalism (Srnicek, 2017), this condition reflects a process of value extraction from labor that is not accompanied by corresponding responsibilities for worker protection on the part of platforms. Digital platforms function not merely as intermediaries but as active actors that control the distribution of work and income through algorithmic systems. Consequently, women are positioned not only as workers but also as integral components of a production system that remains formally unrecognized, where the value of their labor is continuously extracted without guarantees of economic stability. This form of exploitation becomes increasingly complex as it is framed within narratives of flexibility and autonomy, rendering it less visible and often unrecognized as a manifestation of structural inequality in the contemporary digital economy.

Invisibility of women's work in digital and domestic spheres

The findings indicate that the invisibility of women's work occurs simultaneously within both domestic and digital spheres. Although women make significant contributions to household economies through their engagement in the gig economy, their work is often not recognized as formal or productive labor. As expressed by one participant:

"My husband says it's just helping out, even though the income is actually quite significant for our household needs." (Participant D, 30 years old)

This phenomenon indicates that women's digital labor continues to be perceived as secondary or supplementary work rather than a primary source of livelihood, despite its tangible economic contributions. Many participants also reported that their activities are often regarded as "side jobs" or merely a way to "fill spare time," reflecting deeply embedded social constructions that undervalue women's labor. This condition demonstrates that the digital economy does not automatically transform the recognition of women's work; instead, it shifts such invisibility into more subtle and concealed forms.

Theoretically, these findings align with the perspective of social reproduction, which positions care work and women's labor as forms of invisible labor that remain unrecognized within the capitalist economic system (Federici, 2020; Fraser, 2016). Within this framework, women's work—both domestic and digital—is framed as an extension of household responsibilities rather than as economically valuable activities. Consequently, even as women enter the digital economy, their position remains embedded within structures that do

not provide formal recognition or equitable protection.

Empirically, this invisibility is also reflected in statistical data. The International Labor Organization reports that women account for approximately 76.2% of total unpaid care work globally (International Labor Organization, 2018, 2021); however, this contribution is not included in Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In Indonesia, data from Badan Pusat Statistik (2024) indicate that the majority of women working in the informal sector—including home-based digital economic activities—are not recorded as formal workers and therefore lack access to social protection, such as health insurance and pensions (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2024). Furthermore, a study by the World Bank (2022) shows that women in the digital economy in developing countries tend to experience under-recognition, a condition in which their economic contributions are not acknowledged institutionally or socially (World Bank, 2022b, 2022a).

Furthermore, the invisibility of women's work has direct implications for their limited access to economic resources and control over the outcomes of their labor. When women's work is not recognized as formal employment, they lack the legitimacy to fully claim economic rights, both within the household and in the broader economic system. This condition reinforces Elson's (1999) argument that women's labor in informal and domestic sectors is often excluded from official statistics, thereby perpetuating structural marginalization within the economy (Elson, 1999).

Moreover, this invisibility also has implications for the reproduction of gender inequality within the digital economy. Rather than serving as a space of emancipation, the gig economy has the potential to reproduce existing structures of inequality, in which women remain in subordinate positions

despite their participation in economic activities. In other words, the digital economy is not gender-neutral; rather, it operates within already unequal social structures, thereby producing forms of invisibility that are more flexible yet remain exploitative.

Household power relations and control over digital income

This study finds that power relations within the household play a significant role in determining women's level of control over the outcomes of their digital labor. Although women actively participate in the gig economy and contribute to household income, their autonomy in managing these earnings is often limited. In some cases, the income generated by women remains under the control of their husbands or is allocated to household needs without recognition of women's individual economic rights. As expressed by one participant:

"The money is still controlled by my husband; I only manage it." (Participant E, 38 years old)

These findings indicate that women's participation in the digital economy does not automatically enhance their economic agency or bargaining power within the household. Instead, entrenched patriarchal structures continue to shape the distribution of power and access to economic resources. In this context, women's digital labor is not fully translated into equitable economic control but remains embedded within unequal gender relations.

Empirically, this condition is consistent with data from the World Bank (2022), which indicate that in many developing countries, including Indonesia, only around 50–60% of women have full control over the income they generate (World Bank, 2022a). In addition, UN Women (2022) reports

that women working in the informal and digital sectors tend to have lower levels of financial autonomy than men, particularly in household contexts dominated by patriarchal norms (UN Women, 2022). Data from Badan Pusat Statistik (2024) further show that economic decision-making within households in Indonesia remains largely dominated by men, especially in the management of income and productive assets (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2024).

From a theoretical perspective, these findings reinforce the intersectionality approach, which emphasizes that women's experiences in the gig economy are shaped not only by gender but also by the complex interplay of household power relations, social class, and cultural (K. Crenshaw, 2021; K. W. Crenshaw, 2013). Therefore, women's participation in the digital economy cannot be understood in isolation from broader social contexts, in which patriarchal structures continue to play a significant role in limiting women's access to economic control.

Furthermore, this limitation in economic agency also affects women's ability to make strategic decisions, such as investment, business development, and long-term income management. Studies show that women who lack control over their earnings tend to experience higher levels of economic dependency, even when they contribute financially to household income (Kabeer, 1999a, 1999b; World Bank, 2022b, 2022a). In the context of the gig economy, this condition reinforces the paradox of participation, whereby women are actively engaged in economic activities but do not fully benefit from the economic gains they generate.

Thus, these findings indicate that the digital economy is not inherently emancipatory; rather, it continues to operate within unequal social structures. Household power relations emerge as a key factor in determining the extent to which digital labor

can enhance women's bargaining power. Without transformations in gender relations, women's participation in the gig economy risks merely expanding their workload without corresponding increases in control and economic independence.

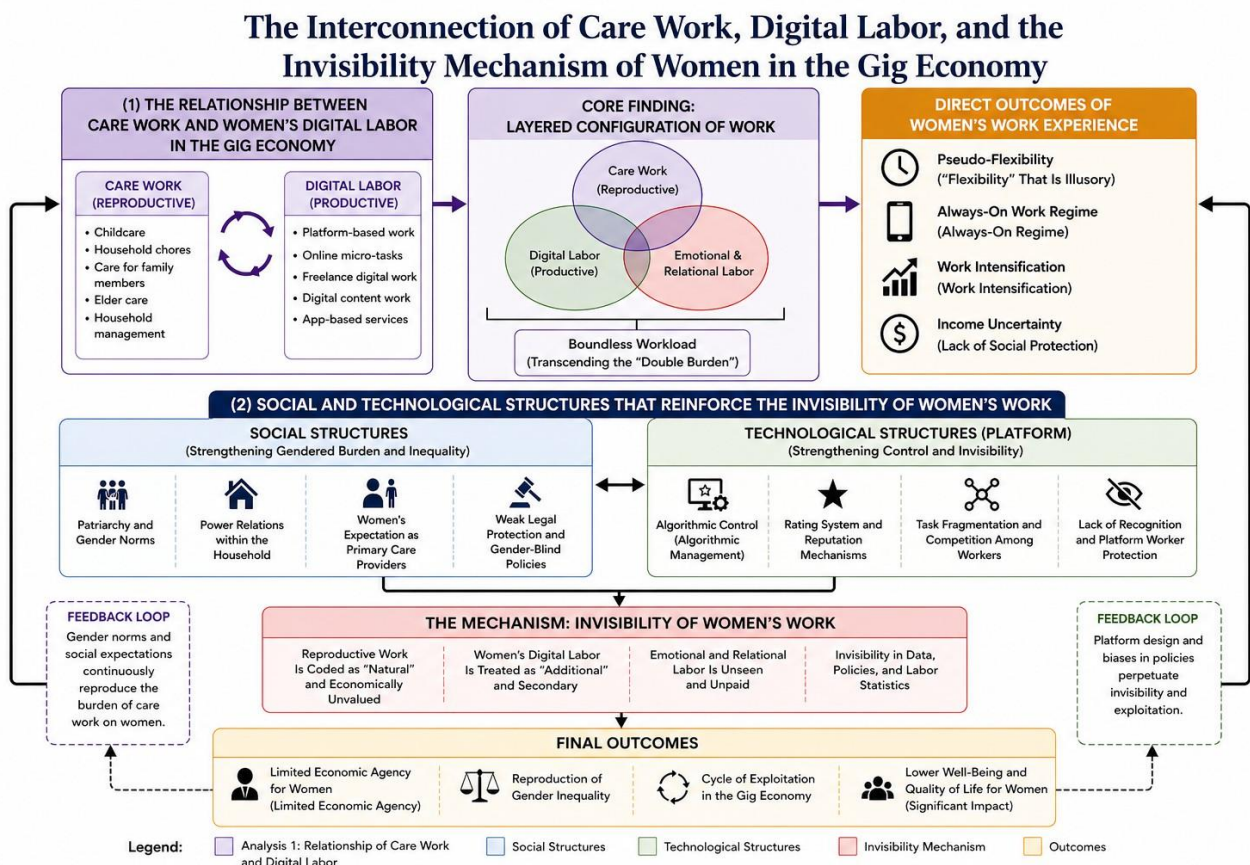
The gig economy as an ambivalent space between inclusion and exploitation

Overall, the findings of this study indicate that the gig economy constitutes an ambivalent space that simultaneously offers opportunities for economic inclusion while reproducing new forms of exploitation. On the one hand, the digital economy expands access to employment for women, particularly those who previously faced structural barriers to entering the formal

labor market. Data from the World Bank (2022) show that women's participation in digital economic activities in developing countries has increased significantly in recent years, especially in home-based sectors such as e-commerce and digital services (World Bank, 2022b). This suggests that the gig economy holds potential as a relatively flexible and adaptive mechanism for economic inclusion, particularly in addressing women's diverse needs and constraints.

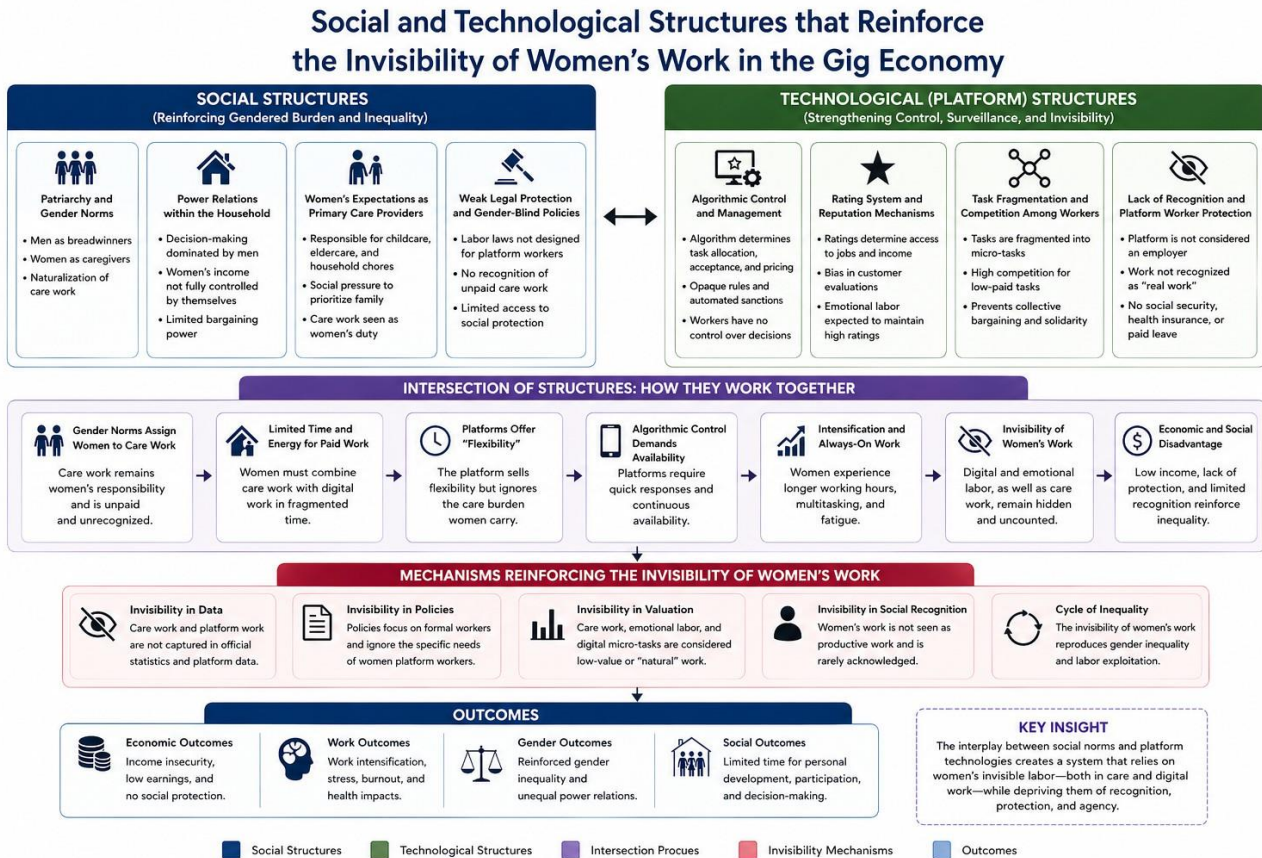
However, on the other hand, the findings of this study reveal that such flexibility is accompanied by the emergence of new forms of exploitation that are flexible, invisible, and internalized within everyday work practices. As demonstrated earlier, women face an overlap between care work

Figure 2. The Interconnection of Care Work, Digital Labor, and the Invisibility Mechanism of Women in the Gig Economy



Source: Developed by the authors based on field findings (2026).

Figure 3. Social and Technological Structure that Reinforce the Invisibility of Women's Work in the Gig Economy



Source: Developed by the authors based on thematic analysis of interview, observation, and digital documentation data (2026).

and digital labor, an always-on work regime, and limited control over the outcomes of their labor. Globally, the International Labor Organization (2021) reports that more than 60% of platform workers experience income instability and lack access to social protection, with women being more vulnerable to precarious working conditions (International Labor Organization, 2021). This condition indicates that flexibility in the digital economy cannot be separated from the logic of platform capitalism, which emphasizes efficiency, responsiveness, and the extraction of value from labor without adequate guarantees of protection (Srnicke, 2017).

Thus, flexibility in the gig economy cannot be understood as a neutral form of empowerment; rather, it should be analyzed within the broader context of power relations, social structures, and the dynamics of digital capitalism. These findings affirm that the digital economy operates within already unequal social frameworks, where gendered divisions of labor, patriarchal norms within households, and algorithmic control mechanisms interact in shaping women's work experiences. In this context, the gig economy functions not only as an economic space but also as a site for the reproduction of gender inequality in more flexible and concealed forms.

Furthermore, this ambivalence reveals a paradox within the digital economy: while it provides access to economic opportunities, it does not automatically enhance women's economic agency or overall well-being. Studies indicate that although women's participation in the digital economy has increased, disparities in income, access to social protection, and control over economic resources remain substantial (UN Women, 2022; World Bank, 2022b). In other words, participation does not necessarily translate into empowerment.

Therefore, these findings directly address the third research objective by demonstrating that social and technological structures—through the interplay of platform capitalism, gender norms, and household power relations—reinforce the invisibility of women's labor in the contemporary digital economy. Accordingly, analyses of the gig economy cannot be separated from a critical approach that simultaneously considers the dimensions of gender, power, and social structure.

These findings demonstrate that the invisibility of women's labor in the gig economy is not produced solely through individual experiences, but is structurally reinforced through the interaction between technological systems and unequal social relations. Platform algorithms, patriarchal household norms, unstable labor arrangements, and the absence of social protection collectively shape a work environment that normalizes invisible and gendered exploitation. The interconnection between these dimensions is illustrated in Figure 2, while Figure 3 presents the broader social and technological structures that sustain the invisibility of women's work within the contemporary digital economy.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that women's participation in the gig economy does not automatically lead to economic empowerment; rather, it produces a layered work configuration that integrates care work, digital labor, and emotional labor within the same space. This condition results in an unbounded workload that extends beyond the concept of the double burden and underscores that flexibility in the digital economy is pseudo-flexibility, as it is accompanied by algorithmic control that generates an always-on work regime, work intensification, and income instability without adequate social protection.

Furthermore, this study finds that women's participation in the digital economy does not necessarily enhance their economic agency. Household power relations continue to constrain women's control over the outcomes of their labor, such that economic benefits do not fully translate into increased bargaining power. In this context, the gig economy functions not only as an economic space but also as a site for the reproduction of gender inequality in forms that are both concealed and internalized.

Conceptually, this study affirms that the digital economy operates as a "regime of invisible gendered labor," in which work flexibility, the invisibility of women's contributions, and patriarchal structures are deeply intertwined in shaping work experiences. The theoretical implications of these findings contribute to the advancement of digital sociology and gender studies by demonstrating that platform capitalism not only transforms labor relations but also reproduces reproductive labor in new forms that are more flexible yet remain invisible. Accordingly, the integration of social reproduction theory, intersectionality, and

platform capitalism is essential for a more comprehensive understanding of women's labor dynamics in the digital economy.

The practical implications of this study highlight the importance of policy interventions that not only expand access to the digital economy but also ensure worker protection, promote the redistribution of care work, and regulate digital platforms in a more equitable manner. This study also opens avenues for more comprehensive future research, particularly in measuring women's workload and examining variations in experiences across different social contexts.

Nevertheless, this study has several limitations. The research was conducted within a limited geographical context involving a relatively small number of participants, which may not fully represent the diverse experiences of women engaged in the gig economy across Indonesia. In addition, this study primarily focused on home-based digital workers, thereby excluding other forms of platform labor operating in different socio-economic contexts. Future research could explore comparative studies across regions, digital platforms, and social classes, as well as employ mixed-method or quantitative approaches to examine the broader structural impacts of the gig economy on women's labor, economic agency, and well-being over time.

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Declaration of Ownership

The authors declare that this article is an original work and has not been published previously, nor is it currently under consideration for publication in any other journal. All data, analyses, and interpretations presented in this study are the result of the authors' own research. All sources used in the preparation of this article have been properly acknowledged and cited in accordance with academic standards.

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare that there are no conflicts of interest regarding the publication of this article. This research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

Ethical Clearance

This study was conducted in accordance with established research ethics standards and received approval from the relevant institutional authority. All participants were informed about the purpose of the

study and provided informed consent prior to data collection. The confidentiality and anonymity of participants were strictly maintained throughout the research process.

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