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THE ALGORITHMIC ARTISAN AND THE DIGITAL SWEATSHOP: DATAFIED LABOR, POLICY DISCOURSE, AND CULTURAL PRODUCTION IN SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

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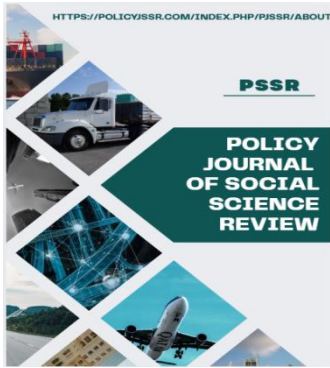
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ABSTRACT

The Western-centric case studies of the effects of artificial intelligence (AI) on creative labor often overlook the unique socio-economic conditions of the Global South where much of the digital work in the world is outsourced. This paper claims that the integration of AI in Asian creative industries has created a profound structural shift toward datafied labor, where creative output is increasingly treated as raw data for algorithmic training. Through a comparative analysis of Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Philippines, three different models of digital labor are explored: the individual freelance economy, the shifting outsourcing hub, and the industrial-scale creative services sector. We analyze how AI is integrated into professional workflows, the implications for labor precarity, and how national policy discourses frame AI as an engine for economic modernization. Offering a de-centered narrative, the paper uncovers a novel digital division of labor manifesting as a human-material nexus characterized by the extraction of grey labor from the Global South to maintain Northern-centric AI systems. The paper concludes by suggesting a research agenda on labor rights and culturally responsive policy frameworks to ensure the transition to an AI-based economy does not further marginalize workers in the Global South.

Keywords: AI; Datafied Labor; Policy Discourse; Global South; Creative Industries; Grey Labor; Human-Material Nexus; Pakistan; Philippines; Bangladesh; Cultural Production; Digital Sweatshop.

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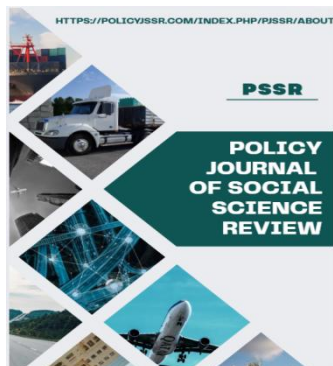
Introduction

The hype around the use of generative AI tools, including ChatGPT, Midjourney, and Stable Diffusion, is at a fever pitch, with a strong combination of utopian enthusiasm and existential anxiety (Cohen et al., 2024; Sabherwal and Grover, 2024). This increased attention has been interspersed by high-profile cultural events, the most notable being the Hollywood writers/actors strikes of 2023, which brought to vivid attention the fear of creative work being replaced by automation (Erickson, 2024). The Western idea of the AI panic is commonly presented as a struggle of the soul of creativity, in which human artists struggle to defend their intellectual property and employment stability against invasive algorithms (Cajulis et al., 2025; Nazar Manu Madhav, 2023). Nevertheless, this mainstream discourse mainly mirrors the experiences and concerns of the Global North and offers an incomplete understanding of the overall consequences of AI on the world (Abramova, 2025; Manovich, 2022). This is especially true in media communication studies, where the ethical consequences of generative AI are seldom considered from the perspective of South Asian workers (Nawaz & Siraj, 2025).

However, the realities playing out in the Global South, especially in the digital hives of Karachi, Dhaka and Manila, tell a very different tale. In such situations, AI impact

on creative work cannot be simplified into a mere dichotomy of human vs. machine. Rather, it entails complex and context-dependent negotiations, influenced by historical economic forms, precarious labor market formations, and historical involvement in global supply chains of digital forms (Wang, 2025). Creative labor has been a longstanding digital piecemeal done by millions of workers in South and Southeast Asia to remote clients. The implementation of AI in this ecosystem is not only threatening to displace jobs but is threatening to restructure the nature of value extraction of the Global South (Manić et al., 2024).

This paper employs a comparative framework in unpacking these dynamics using three case studies. We start with Pakistan, which is an emerging center of individual creative work through freelance, where a youth demographic and low employment have pushed a new generation of digital entrepreneurs to global markets as individuals (Ishaq and Akram, 2023). Second, we consider Bangladesh, a country in a critical transition, trying to transfer its economic prosperity, which is based on physical production (Ready-Made Garments) to a digital service-oriented economy (Bhuiyan et al., 2023). Third, we examine the Philippines, the recognized world leader in industrial-scale Business Process Outsourcing (BPO), where creative work is done in a platform-as-factory



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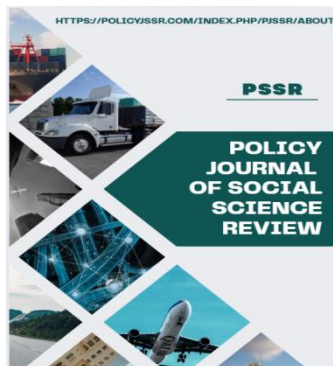
framework of large multinational corporations (Hayashi, 2023).

Through these varied contexts, the present study demonstrates how the mediating role of local labor arrangements, economic policies, and global market demands mediate the effects of AI. This method goes beyond universalist discourses that do not recognize localized experiences and power imbalances (Erickson, 2024). In the sections that follow, a theoretical prism of post-colonial digital labor will be developed, the reorganized work processes of these so-called algorithmic artisans will be analyzed and the role of the state in mediating this technological shift will be discussed.

2. Theoretical Framework: Digital Labor in a Post-Colonial Context

To conceptualize AI in Global South, it is necessary to define what is meant by digital labor within the parameters of platform studies and algorithmic management. Digital labor is laboring using platforms in a way in which the tasks are directed or managed by AI systems (Wang, 2025). Drawing on the work of Piasna (2022) on platform precarity and Heeks (2019) on the digital gig economy, this paper proposes the new concept of 'Datafied Labor'. In this new form, the artisan's creation no longer serves merely as an aesthetic or cultural aspect, but as a high-quality input for training, maintenance, and validation of AI agents. This results in a double-extractive cycle referred to as a 'human-

material nexus' in which the physical infrastructure of AI acts as an energy vacuum while the labour market serves as a 'digital sweatshop' for the 'grey labour' of AI verification (Adelakun, 2023; Chakraborty, 2025). In this context, creative activity is deprived of its agency and presents as a series of 'datafied' activities devoid of social protection and stability of income, concealing the actual cost of human autonomy in the name of autonomous systems (Sethi, 2025). In this context, creative work is not an independent self-expression but a set of fragmented activities that are optimized to work on platforms (Corporaal et al., 2019). According to a post-colonial Science and Technology Studies (STS) view, technology is never neutral. The assumptions inherent in AI models, which are mostly created in the Global North with Western data and values, represent the legacies of colonization (Fowler et al., 2024). In their application in the Global South, these tools tend to introduce normative structures that marginalize the local knowledge systems and work practices (Regilme, 2024). It has resulted in the so-called digital colonialism where the Global South supplies raw data and inexpensive labor to train AI models, with the economic value and intellectual property being concentrated in the North (Chakraborty, 2025).



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This theoretical duality sets the opposition between the so-called digital sweatshop and the so-called leaping frogging paradigm. The digital sweatshop is a highly exploitative workplace where Asian creatives are confined to low-value, precarious piecework, like cleaning the data used by AI or doing repetitive graphic design, all under heavy surveillance (Kurennoy and Tomashevsky, 2024; Roulleau-Berger and Run, 2025). In its turn, the notion of leaping frogging indicates that AI may provide these economies with the opportunity to skip the conventional industrialization and transition to high-value, knowledge-intensive production (Dezhina and Egerev, 2022; M. Hossain, 2022). Nevertheless, according to post-colonial STS, the achievement of leapfrogging is strongly tied to local regulatory systems and movements of labor rights (Zhang, 2024).

These abstract tensions are best understood by situating them in the context of the real world, and so, we can see how theoretical discussions are played out in practice (Simons, 2020). As an illustration, empirical research has demonstrated that global technologies tend to fail when they do not take into consideration local infrastructure and regulatory limitations, especially in the shift to renewable energy or healthcare technology (Mkwashi, 2020; Paparini et al., 2021). This argument can be made in the

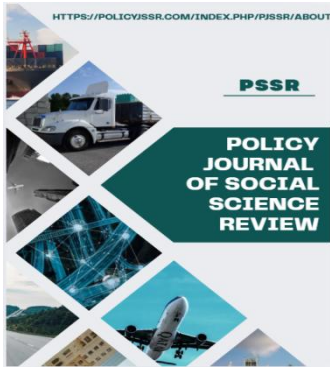
same way in relation to the creative industries, in which the logic of the algorithm tends to be in conflict with the logic of the local.

3. The Algorithmic Artisan at Work: A Comparative Analysis

The algorithmic artisan is an employee who has to work within the border of human creativity and automated systems. The experience of this worker in South and Southeast Asia is a wild ride depending on their national context and their location in the global supply chain.

3.1. The Reconfigured Workflow: Augmentation and Automation in Practice

The use of AI in Pakistan and Bangladesh is mostly a personal survival mechanism. On websites such as Upwork and Fiverr, freelancers are employing AI to speed up the process of gig. To a Pakistani graphic designer or a Bangladeshi content writer, AI tools such as Midjourney or ChatGPT are productivity multipliers, enabling them to compete with thousands of other workers around the world by providing work at a lower price and faster (Sarker et al., 2025; K. Hossain et al., 2024). In this case, the AI is applied to augmentation - it accelerates manual processes such as background removal in pictures or simple blogging content, allowing the human employee to concentrate on the last polish (Afanasenko, 2025). This application of AI is task-focused and decentralized; a personal skill set on-demand enhancement



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(Joshi et al., 2024; Siva Sankar et al., 2025). In these decentralised markets, AI operates as a 'Digital Wakil' or an agency representative enabling freelancers to negotiate their professional and political identities in the global markets (Nawaz & Azmat, 2026a).

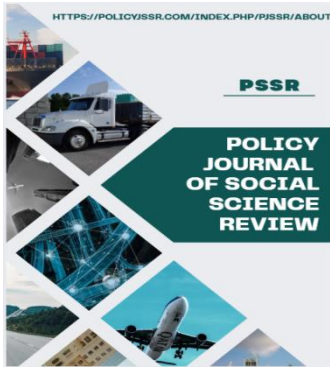
The Philippines, on the other hand, has an industrial-scale model. Manila and Cebu are home to large BPO companies not only employing AI to assist individual workers, but also incorporating AI into systemic, organizational processes. These firms are giant content factories of multinational organizations (Okuboye, 2021). In this context, AI is employed in automating whole processes. As an example, a creative BPO could see an AI produce thousands of variations of a social media advertisement, using a single brief, which would be moderated or tagged by human workers to ensure data quality (Mironova and Rubtsov, 2025). This strategic convergence enables Philippine BPOs to provide scalability which cannot be achieved by individual freelancers, but it also transforms the worker into an "editor" or a data labeler (Dhabliya et al., 2025; Kumar and Banerjee, 2025).

3.2. Labor, Precarity, and the New Digital Piecework

The relative effect on the state of labor demonstrates profound systemic inequalities. The volatility is the source of the precarity in Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Freelancers are self-employed individuals but without any safety net. In case an algorithm is modified on Upwork, or a customer opts to use a cheaper AI-generated version, the income of the freelancer can disappear overnight (Hasan, 2025). This model of digital piecework causes workers to be continuously upskilled, where they have to learn how to prompt AI to remain relevant in a marketplace in which the floor price of creative work is ever-decreasing (Md Nazrul Islam and Md Nahidul Islam, 2023; Casahay et al., 2025).

The precarity in the Philippines is based on regimentation. BPO industry is commonly referred to as a platform-as-factory model. Although workers are more likely to have stable contracts in comparison to freelancers, they are heavily algorithmically managed (Maquito & Andal, 2016). The creative work is processed into a series of repetitive, mechanized work, like content moderation or simple graphic templating. There is a great psychological cost of this deskilling of creative labor. Employees complain about stress and burnouts due to the need to achieve strict productivity goals imposed by automated surveillance (Mehmood et al., 2025; Ye et al., 2024). The human in such digital sweatshops is usually a so-called ghost in the machine, who does the creative work that AI cannot yet fully automate, but under industrial



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conditions (Alacovska et al., 2022; Piasna, 2022).

3.3. The Challenge to Cultural Authenticity

The challenge to cultural authenticity is perhaps the most significant effect of AI in the region. The datasets that are used to train AI models are overwhelmingly Western (Manovich, 2022). When a Pakistani freelancer asks a generative AI to generate a marketing campaign, the system tends to produce the so-called flattened cultural imagery, orientalist tropes or generic aesthetics, which are not specific to the local context (Cucio, 2025). This gives a sense of a multiple layers of distance: a Filipino employee, controlled by an algorithm created in Silicon Valley, producing content to a European brand to be used in a South Asian market.

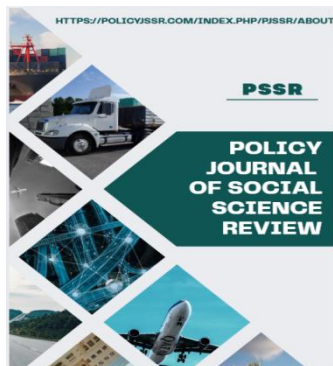
This leads to what is termed as algorithmic homogenization in which the local cultural specificity of Karachi or Dhaka is wiped out by the reasoning of global AI models (Craciun and Băluț Gaboroi, 2025). To the "algorithmic artisan, the end product no longer has to be something that is genuinely local, but rather something that will be accepted by the algorithm (and the international customer) as something professional (Alan et al., 2025; Erickson, 2024). This balancing of efficiency and authenticity points to the danger of the creative product of the Global South turning into a homogenized commodity

that will no longer have its own cultural identity due to the need to reach global scale (Murire, 2024; Pelakoski, 2024).

4. The State's Hand: National AI Policies and Industrial Strategy

The importance of the role of the state is a decisive factor in the way these countries cope with the AI transition. The governments of Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Philippines are proactively engaging in the creation of their digital future, unlike the libertarian hands-off approach that is typical of the US tech industry (Djeffal et al., 2022).

The emphasis in Pakistan and Bangladesh is on the Freelance Economy. The two governments have realized that they are unable to offer their huge youth populations sufficient traditional job opportunities. As a result, they have initiated national campaigns to encourage digital work. As an example, the Pakistani program, DigiSkills, has educated millions of people in freelancing and entry-level AI application (Ishaq and Akram, 2023). The Digital Bangladesh plan in Bangladesh has been targeting infrastructure, whereby rural regions are given tax breaks and high-speed internet so that digital entrepreneurship can thrive (Hasan, 2025; Lata, 2024). These states are simply attempting to make the informal formal and include millions of freelance workers in the national economy by training and fiscal policy (Hussain & Rizwan, 2024; Tomer and



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Singh, 2025). Yet, this leads to the "Sovereign's Dilemma" as Global South governments seek to establish digital sovereignty while remaining embedded in platform governance structures over which they have little control (Nawaz & Azmat, 2026b).

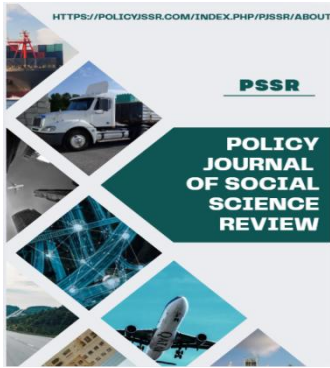
The Philippines provides a contrast in maturity. The Philippine government has long been a supporter of the BPO industry, and the current strategy of AI is aimed at Industry-Government Partnership. The state is horrified by the prospect of AI-driven automation eliminating these jobs due to the fact that the BPO industry is responsible for almost 10% of the GDP of the country (Dili et al., 2022). Consequently, the Philippine "AI Roadmap" is aimed at upskilling BPO employees to perform more advanced, AI-related tasks, shifting them off basic data entry and on to AI supervision and high-end creative service (Hayashi, 2023; U et al., 2025). The state mediates, collaborating with multinational BPO companies to make sure that AI implementation does not cause mass unemployment, and considers new labor regulations to safeguard gig workers (Dickinson and Yates, 2021; Onifade et al., 2022).

Such an active state role proves that the influence of AI is not only a market phenomenon but a political one. The state is the main actor in trying to transform the

menace of the so-called digital sweatshop into the opportunity of so-called leapfrogging, whether it is through the model of the interventionist of South Asia or the model of the mature partnership of the Philippines (Aldaba & Aldaba, 2024; Santos, 2026; Sy, 2025).

4.1. Policy Discourse: Modernization vs. Marginalization

The policy discourse on AI in both South and South-East Asian countries shows a clear conflict between economic modernisation and labour precarity (Abramova, 2025; Djeflal et al., 2022). State initiatives in Pakistan and Bangladesh like the DigiSkills and Digital Bangladesh, position AI as a discourse of 'youth empowerment' and 'entrepreneurship' to bring informal workers into the global digital economy (Ishaq & Akram, 2023; Bhuiyan et al., 2023). Yet, critical analysis of the above narrative shows that the state is continuously shifting its employment responsibilities to the individual worker, thereby forcing the freelance worker to keep upgrading themselves to remain competitive in the highly volatile global job market (Hussain & Rizwan, 2024; Hasan, 2025). This discourse effectively obscures the underlying vulnerability of the digital gig economy, and the absence of social protection that it entails (Wang, 2025, Md Nazrul Islam & Md Nahidul Islam, 2023). Alternatively, the Philippine 'AI Roadmap' adopts a 'workforce adaptation' and



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'partnership' narrative, intended to safeguard the large BPO industry against automation-induced job losses (Hayashi, 2023; U et al., 2025). The state identifies this as a high-value industrial transition (Aldaba & Aldaba, 2024), but the debate mostly centres on the productivity and scalability of the institution, neglecting the issue of mental health, autonomy and deskilling of those who are managed by rigid algorithms (Santos, 2026; Mehmood et al., 2025). In the end, in all three countries, the policy issue is still one of 'technological adoption' rather than 'technological sovereignty.' This continues to reinforce a digital divide and a reliance and dependence of the Global South on Western AI architectures, and the repetition of post-colonial power disparity (Chakraborty, 2025; Regilme, 2024).

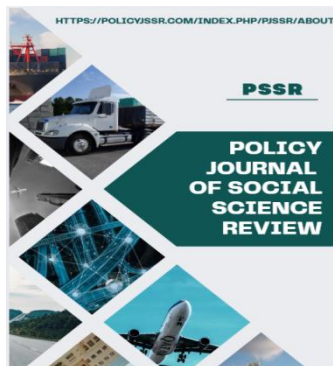
5. Conclusion: Toward a More Equitable AI Future

When comparing Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Philippines, it becomes evident that the effects of AI on the creative labor are hardly a global narrative of technological displacement. Rather, it is a nation-specific, dense negotiation, that is conditioned by the historical standing of individual countries in the world digital economy. In Pakistan and Bangladesh, AI offers a precarious lifeline to individual freelancers who have to continuously adjust to constantly changing global marketplaces. Institutionalization of AI is

underway in the Philippines with an established industrial BPO model, in which the dangers of deskilling and algorithmic management is offset by the state-led upskilling and workforce protection.

The main conclusion of this paper is that AI is establishing a new digital division of labor. The Global North keeps controlling the design of AI architectures and the rights to intellectual property, whereas the Global South is more and more burdened with the human-in-the-loop work, i.e., training, filtering, and perfecting the results of such algorithms with the different levels of precarity. This de-centered viewpoint is critical to the full comprehension of the effect of AI on society. Any discussion of AI ethics or the future of work is incomplete and biased towards the West without considering the millions of digital workers in Asia.

As such, a new research agenda is needed - one that does not generalize on the likelihood of job loss, but instead examines the lived experiences of digital workers in a more granular way. To comprehend the ways in which workers are opposing or accustoming to algorithmic management, we must conduct rigorous ethnographic research of AI-integrated workplaces in Karachi, Dhaka, and Manila. Second, the issue of the algorithmic homogenization risk needs to be tackled with cultural policy



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research, and how local creative industries can implement AI without losing their cultural specificity. Lastly, the international labor rights movements should strive to promote fair standards to safeguard digital pieceworkers irrespective of their geographical location.

The shift to AI-based creative economy does not necessarily lead to a global digital sweatshop. With the adoption of technology coupled with strong labor rights, culturally sensitive policy, and active state intervention, AI can indeed be a means of leapfrogging, and the creative craftsmen of the Global South can regain their agency in the digital era. The future of AI is not only being coded in Silicon Valley, it is being outsourced in the daily negotiations in the co-working and BPO offices in South and South East Asia. One of the most urgent issues of the modern world is to make this future fair.

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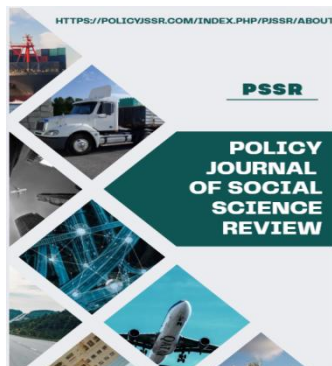
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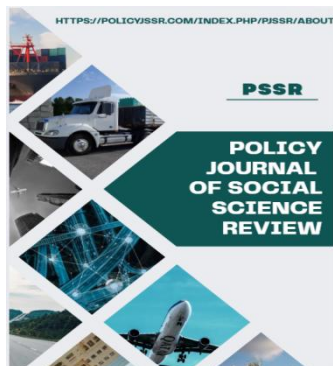
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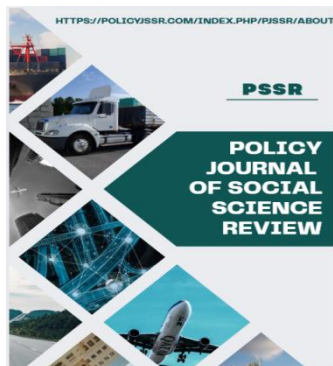


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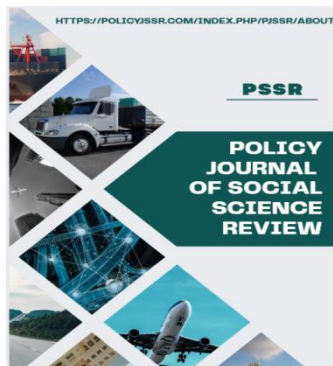


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