

The collectivization and the enforcement of better working
conditions of workers in the gig economy
A case study on Gorillas employees.

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Master's Thesis
June 2022

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Abstract

This research provides an understanding of the collectivization and the enforcement of better working conditions for workers in the gig economy through a case study of Gorillas employees. To fully unpack this research question, three other questions have been answered: who are these Gorillas' employees and what is their motivation? What are the experiences of Gorillas employees? And how do Gorillas collectivize? This has been researched through a triangulation of methods. A qualitative content analysis has been executed on both primary and secondary data, consisting of tweets from the Twitter account @GorillasWorkers and through the analysis of public articles. In addition, six in-depth interviews have been conducted with three different types of Gorillas workers: (1), Gorillas employees who are part of Gorillas Workers Collective, (2) Gorillas workers who are not part of Gorillas Workers Collective and (3), board members of Gorillas Workers Collective and the Gorillas Workers Council. All data has been analyzed and coded and has been turned into compelling arguments. Interesting is the difference in motivation and job satisfaction between national and migrant gig workers. For all the national workers, gig work has proven to be their free choice resulting in higher job satisfaction and less knowledge about collectivization. Their main motivation to work in the gig economy is the flexibility of the work. Many migrants who work in the gig economy experience their gig work as a way of survival. With the discrimination in the job market, they experience the gig market as one of their few job possibilities. Even though their job satisfaction is low and experience racism and exploitation, they do not dare to resign as the risk of not being able to find a new job is too high. As many of the migrants experience low job satisfaction, they collectivize on digital platforms, for example, on @GorillasWorkers. Through these platforms, gig workers try to enforce better working conditions through four different tactics: the announcement and organization of offline strikes, the creation of collective action by asking for support and solidarity, damaging the brand by creating ‘online “shitstorms” and by using legal action to create a workers union. The establishment of a legal workers union is the ultimate goal for gig workers as it provides them with legal power and finally gives the workers a voice within the company.

KEYWORDS:

Gig economy, labour conditions, collectivization, platformization, job satisfaction

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Introduction

As the gig economy has expanded rapidly over the past years, it has become an important topic for research. But with the implementation of the new European laws, European companies are permitted to provide their employees with employment contracts including benefits, to make the workers less vulnerable (Press Corner, 2021). However, even with the implementation of these laws, gig-workers are still protesting against the same grievances they had before namely: “conflicts over platform fees, pay rates, and a lack of worker's voice” (Wood & Lehdonvirta, 2019, p.1). So even though these new laws have been created to make the gig workers less vulnerable and to increase their job satisfaction, it looks like the working conditions have not been improved.

Understanding the collectivization of gig workers and their enforcement of better working conditions is important to understand as a specific type of gig worker has no other choice than to work in this economy even though the labour conditions might be bad. There are four types of gig workers in the Global North: free agents, casual earners, reluctants and the financially strapped (Manyika et al., 2016). For the reluctants and financially strapped workers, the money they earn with the gig work is essential for their survival, even though they would rather not be part of the gig economy. So, even when the labour conditions within the gig economy are not good, it is too high of a risk for these workers to resign. As a result, these workers keep working at jobs with bad labour conditions even when they are being exploited. As gig work is individualized and fragmented, the organization of collective bargaining is difficult for workers. However, the collective workers' resistance and solidarity toward each other make them fight for their rights. This paper investigated how gig workers collectivize and enforce better working conditions in the gig economy. To fully understand and unpack this, multiple sub-questions have been answered first: what kinds of issues drive them to collectivize? Who are these workers and what are their grievances? What motivates them to be in this business? These questions have been answered through the topics of the gig economy itself, platformization and by researching the job satisfaction and collectivization of Gorillas employees as an instrumental case study.

Gorillas was founded in 2020 and stated to be a “counter-model to the gig economy” and promised all of its riders an “employment contract, e-bike, health insurance, employer-financed accident insurance, and paid vacation” (Gorillas, n.d). However, since October 2021, many Gorillas employees have protested for issues that have still remained a concern

like better contracts, a higher wage, better work gear and less work pressure, regardless of all the promises made by Gorillas to be against the gig economy. This collective feeling of workers' resistance has led to the establishment of Gorillas Workers Collective, an online group based on Twitter, enforcing better working conditions for all of the Gorillas employees.

For this research, a triangulation of methods has been used: a qualitative content analysis of both primary and secondary data combined with in-depth interviews. The combination of these three methods has allowed for a deeper understanding of the way the workers collectivize, their grievances, experiences and the issues they raise attention for. Besides, by using a triangulation of methods, the amount of personal bias has been minimized.

For the qualitative content analysis, 349 materials of public twitter content from Gorillas Workers Collective have been analyzed and coded. The secondary data existed out of online articles written about Gorillas Workers Collective and have been analyzed in the same manner. For the in-depth interviews, six interviews have been conducted with participants that have or are still working at Gorillas. These participants differ from members of Gorillas Workers Collective, and two types of riders: some who are members of Gorillas Workers Collective and some who are not. All of the data has been analyzed by coding the material and by relating it back to the existing literature to provide valid and reliable claims.

With the gig economy being an important topic for research, much has been written about the gig economy itself, labour precarity and ongoing initiatives like the FairWork foundation. This research has made an impact on the European legislation, where gig companies are now permitted to provide their workers with employment contracts to make them less vulnerable. But even with the implementation of these new European laws, gig workers are still collectivizing and striving for better working conditions, which proves that these laws are not sufficient enough in solving the grievances of gig workers. This research contributes to existing scholarship by explaining the grievances of gig workers after the implementation of the new European Laws, showing that more legislation has to be done to ensure good labour conditions for all gig workers. This demonstrates the high societal impact of this research as better legislation could help in strengthening the worker rights and platform governance by minimizing the platform's power over its workers. This would diminish the grievances these gig workers are protesting for namely: pay rates, exploitation

and the lack of a worker's voice, especially important for gig workers who are now forced to work in the gig economy to survive.

Theoretical Framework

The gig economy has been expanding rapidly over the past few years and is changing the working environment for many businesses and workers. The gig economy refers to a labour market that is characterized by short-term, on-demand, casual and non-permanent work, with independent contracting, little possibility of career advancement and with the jobs being facilitated through online platforms (Tan et al., 2020; Woodcock & Graham, 2020).

The word ‘gig’ refers back to the music industry where a start-up musician could do a short-term arrangement. This gig meant no guarantee for future work nor did it guarantee payment in the form of a fixed fee (Woodcock & Graham, 2020). This means that the word gig in the gig economy stands for the short-term and uncertain characteristics that belong to the jobs. The CEO of Crowdfunder captured the nature of the short-term gigs as he said:

“Before the Internet, it would be really difficult to find someone, sit them down for ten minutes and get them to work for you, and then fire them after those ten minutes. But with technology, you can actually find them, pay them the tiny amount of money, and then get rid of them when you don't need them anymore” (as cited in De Stefano, 2015, p.476).

Interesting is the definition of two businesses in the gig economy namely Deliveroo and Uber who describe themselves as technology companies instead of a delivery or taxi company (Sargeant, 2017). Through this, these companies can argue that their workers are “independent entrepreneurs operating as self-employed business people” (Sargeant, 2017, p.3). This is the grey area of the gig economy as it creates a “pseudo employment market” in which workers are told to be independent workers who provide service via a digital platform (Sargeant, 2017, p.5). However, in order to work at Deliveroo, you need to be recruited by Deliveroo through an interview and a trial shift, you are permitted to wear Deliveroo clothing while working and Deliveroo determines where and how you need to work (Sargeant, 2017). This shows that a worker at Deliveroo is not as independent and self-employed as Deliveroo and other gig economies claim. The new legislation in Europe permits companies to provide their workers with employment contracts, diminishing the grey area of the gig economy and thus changing the politics of work. Through this, the

definition of the gig economy is changing as the short-term and uncertain characteristics of the job are getting minimized as employment contracts are now permitted in the EU. This requires a change in the definition of the gig economy, focusing more on work provided through digital platforms instead of the short-term and uncertain nature of the work. This theoretical framework touches upon different concepts necessary for understanding how gig workers collectivize and strive for better working conditions. By explaining the types of gig workers, the platformization, the motivations and ultimately the collectivization of these workers, a strong basis has been created in which the data can be analyzed.

The gig economy is not the first form of short-term and occasional labour. Tan et al., (2020) state the three characteristics that differentiate gig work from other forms of short-term labour.

Types of Gig Work

Firstly, the enormous scope of the number of industries and workers in the gig economy (Tan et al., 2020). The gig economy is divided into many different industries with different types of work. Many of this work is lower-skilled work and does not require much education, making the work available for many workers. Examples of these different types of industries are ridesharing, food-delivery riders, home repair and care work (Vallas & Schor, 2020). It is important to understand how gig work can shift from side hustle to a full-time job in terms of hours. This is due to the flexibility of the work which makes it possible to work simultaneously for multiple employers within different industries. This pushes us to rethink the nature of gig work and the differences between part-time versus full-time on the basis of dignity, social respect, financial dependence and social inequality.

Watson et al. (2021), describe in their research the different profiles of gig-workers. They categorized the gig workers on the type of work they perform in a specific industry. The categories they created are Gig Service Providers, Gig Goods Providers, Gig Data Providers, Agency Gig Workers and Traditional Gig Workers.

Gig Service Providers provide services through crowdsourcing on app-based sharing economies like Uber and Airbnb. Gig Goods Providers sell self-created goods online via a technological platform like Etsy. Gig Data Providers work remotely and use a platform for crowdsourcing. Interestingly, gig data providers do not sell their services to consumers, but instead, they fill in online surveys for which they get paid. The last two types of gig work namely agency and traditional are not dependent on online platforms and relate more to the

historical definition of gig work; which meant short-term and no guarantee for future work and no fixed fees (Woodcock & Graham, 2020). Agency Gig Work means that the work is being assigned to workers by a third party and not an app perse. Traditional Gig Work is not dependent on an app or an agency. But the gig workers in this profile, for example, artists, have to do project-based work and cannot be formally self-employed (Watson et al., 2021).

It is important to understand the different types of gig profiles as they show that not all gig workers are experiencing the same issues. For example, the gig profiles of Gig Data Providers and Gig Goods Providers have little to no contact with their customer which results in the experience of alienation. This is in contrast to the profiles of Gig Service Providers and Traditional Gig Workers who are in contact with their customers, however, they experience a higher sense of emotional labour as they have to deal with sometimes angry and difficult customers (Watson et al., 2021). So, as we tend to only see the trailblazers of the gig economy like workers for Amazon Mechanical Turk, Uber and Deliveroo (Williams et al., 2022), it is important to acknowledge and research the other profiles of gig workers as well as they might shine a light on different issues and grievances.

When describing the size of the gig economy, it is important to make a distinction between part-time work and full-time work. According to Williams et al. (2022), the majority of gig-workers in the Global North work part-time to earn additional money whenever they need it. Important to understand is the difference between the Global North and the Global South when describing the gig economy. According to Wood et al. (2019), many gig workers in the Global South are relatively high-skilled, full-time workers who are bounded to work in the gig economy due to the high unemployment rates and the lack of a social security net. This is different in the Global North, where “closed employment relations” have been the norm for many years and where many countries are provided with strong social security systems, therefore leading to a higher percentage of part-time workers.

The amount of platform workers in Europe varies per country with a participation rate of less than 7% in France, Sweden, Poland and Slovakia and with over 10% in Spain, Germany, Portugal and the Netherlands. (Williams et al., 2022; Pesole et al., 2018; Piasna & Drahokoupil. 2019). Within the European continent, the United Kingdom has the highest adult population working in the gig economy with over 12.6% (Pesole et al., 2018 as cited by Williams et al., 2022). These percentages are way lower than the research conducted by McKinsey Global Institute in 2019 as they state that one out of four workers has engaged

with gig work (as cited by Watson et al., 2021). However, the research from Pesole et al. (2018), states that the percentage of gig-workers decreases when considering the frequency of work. Which could explain the differences between the number of gig workers as it can be debated when to classify someone as a gig worker. For example, the number of gig workers in the UK decreased from over 12% of people that have done some platform labour to 4% of gig workers who do it as a full-time job. The average of their research shows a decrease of 8% of gig-workers when measuring the frequency from 'ever' to 'main job'. Besides, it is important to understand that the percentage of gig-workers gets influenced by external circumstances, for example, during the Covid-19 pandemic. Cao et al. (2020), explained the impact of the pandemic on gig-workers and found that "gig-workers change their quality of work, and how their earning potential on the platform relates to their changes in behavior during the pandemic" (p.0). So when describing the future of the gig economy, it is important to take into consideration factors like a possible recession, care work, gender dimensions or another pandemic. But who are these workers in the gig economy?

Research that has been done on gig-workers divides the gig-workers into different groups based on the hour worked in the gig economy and their financial dependence on the work. For this research I will use the categories from Manyika et al. (2016), who state that there are four different types of workers in the gig economy; 1) 30% are free agents: these workers earn their primary income from gig work and they prefer it. 2) 40% are casual earners; workers that use their gig work to earn additional money, this is their free choice. 3) 14% are the reluctant: these workers also earn their primary income from gig work; however, they would rather have a traditional job. 4) 16% are financially strapped: these workers earn supplementary money with their gig work; however, they would prefer not to have a side job. Other distinctions for profiling the gig workers are age and gender, income and level of education.

Age and Gender

Research from Pesole et al. (2018), found that the majority of platform workers are young males. Interesting to see is that the amount of female platform workers decreases as the online work intensifies in frequency. From a male-female ratio of 60-40 in the very little amount of gig work category to a 74-26 ratio in the category of using gig work as the main source of income. Taking age into consideration as well, it becomes clear that the categories of 'young male' and 'over 35 males' are increasing when the platform work becomes more

intense. This is also found in research from Manyika et al. (2019). However, the young male has been the dominant category in the gig economy regardless of the frequency of work. Manyika et al. (2019), state that there is gender parity in gig work, however, they state that men are more likely to be free agents while females are the supplementary type of gig workers. This is explained by the fact that most females are also in charge of the household work and the children. Doing flexible gig work allows them to earn money while being able to complete all their other daily tasks.

Educational level

Research from Manyika et al. (2019), shows that there is little to no difference in educational level for gig-workers.

Low-income household

According to Manyika et al. (2019), the majority of gig workers are from low-income households. They state that 48% per cent of people with a low income participate in independent work of which 37% per cent do so out of necessity, making the earned income the highest motivation for these types of gig workers. In contrast, for high-income households, less than one-third participate in some type of gig work, and almost all of them participate by choice (Manyika et al., 2019). Research from Broughton et al. (2018), explains their main motivations namely: flexibility, pursuing the dream job, health reasons and gaining work experience, which will be further discussed under motivations.

Platformization

Secondly, the facilitation of the work through digital platforms (Tan et al., 2020). Platforms are not new; however, they are new in the way they are used. Platforms are ‘tools to bring together the supply of, and demand for, labour’ (Graham & Woodcock, 2018, p.42). This way of using platforms is called the platform economy. Srnicek (2017) introduces the term ‘lean platform economy’ (p.91). This specific type of platform economy focuses on low-wage work. He explains that these platforms operate “by outsourcing as much of their costs as possible” (Srnicek, 2017a, p.256). He states as well that even though these companies outsource most of their costs, they are not sustainable. “Sharing economy firms have been ‘successful’ only by leaping ahead of regulations and workers. As regulation catches up, and as workers mobilise, they will only become less rather than more financially viable” (Srnicek, 2017a, p.256). According to De Stefano (2015) there are two forms of

“gig-economy” namely: “crowd-work”, and “work-on-demand”. Crowd work, also called ‘cloud work’ (Graham & Woodcock, 2020) is “work that is executed through online platforms that put in contact an indefinite number of organizations, businesses and individuals through the internet, potentially allowing connecting clients and workers on a global basis” (De Stefano, 2015, p.4). With the “work on-demand via apps”, traditional working activities like for example, transport, cleaning and clerical work, are provided and mediated through platforms (De Stefano, 2015). The main difference between these types of ‘gig work’ is where they operate. Crowd-work can operate globally, while ‘work on-demand’ only operates and connects clients and customers on a local basis. With both forms of the gig economy, transactions are being made online. This leads to a new type of worker, namely: “the invisible workers” which can have serious consequences for the way the clients see the employees (De Stefano, 2015). Firstly, De Stefano (2015) explains how the IT channels can contribute to the dehumanization of gig workers' activity. This is confirmed by the CEO of Amazon Mechanical Turk who calls gig work “humans-as-a-service” which shows the condescending way of thinking about gig work (as cited by De Stefano, 2015). Another patronizing characteristic of the gig economy is the language that is used to avoid the word ‘work’. According to Prassl (2018), “by rebranding labour as a kind of goodwill effort toward others, ... on-demand platforms are hoping to avoid the regulatory obligations that most jurisdictions impose on ordinary employers and on business generally” (p.42). Instead of using the word ‘work’ companies twist the language into “‘gigs’, ‘tasks’, ‘rides’, ‘lifts’, ‘hustles’, ‘hits’, and ‘favours’” (Prassl, 2018, p.42). Cherry (2018) also explains the misleading language used within the gig economy. She states: “Rather than referring to volunteer efforts for collective benefit, many references to “sharing” in the “sharing economy” refer to the concept of the commodification of previously underutilized assets” (Cherry, 2018, p.2). Through this, the language of “sharing” is used to cover up for the poor working circumstances many gig workers face (Cherry, 2018).

Motivations

Thirdly, one of the main characteristics of gig work is the amount of flexibility. Which for many gig workers is one of the main reasons why they decide to do gig work in the first place (Prassl, 2018). However, according to research from Prassl (2018), this only counts for workers who have the freedom of choice, and who choose themselves to work in the gig economy instead of being forced by their financial situation. As said before there are four types of gig workers as explained by Manyika et al. (2019), 1) Free agents: these

workers earn their primary income from gig work and they prefer it. 2) Casual earners; are the workers that use their gig work to earn additional money, this is their free choice. 3) Reluctants: these workers also earn their primary income from gig work; however, they would rather have a traditional job. 4) The financially strapped: these workers earn supplementary money with their gig work; however, they would prefer not to have a side job.

Interesting is to understand the difference in motivations for the free agents and casual earners versus the reluctants and the financially strapped. As the free agents and casual earners choose to work in the gig economy by choice their motivations are not only financially focused. As stated before, according to Broughton et al. (2018), the main motivations for these types of gig workers are flexibility, pursuing the dream job, health reasons and gaining work experience. The flexible nature of the gig work is attractive for many workers, however especially female workers have stated this to be one of their main motivations (Broughton et al. 2018). With children at home, gig work allowed them to combine their work with childcare and taking care of the household (Broughton et al. 2018). But also, students mentioned that the flexible nature of the work allowed them to earn money besides their study schedule (Broughton et al. 2018). In the creative business, many workers use the online platform to pursue their dream jobs, by using the platforms as “a substitute for a traditional agent or an additional way to in which to find work” (Broughton et al. 2018, p.29). These workers saw their gig work as a permanent practice instead of temporary. For workers with health issues, one of the main motivations to work in the gig economy was the possibility for them to work from home and manage their workload. Not having an employment contract allowed them to choose the number of hours they wanted to work themselves. Workers also used the gig economy to gain work experience, “to build a CV or portfolio and network with potential future employers” (Broughton et al. 2018, p.30).

As the reluctants and the financially strapped workers are bound to work in the gig economy to survive, earning money is their main motivation to do gig work. When the labour precautions are not good it is too high of a risk for them to resign and (hopefully) find another job. This is where the worker resistance starts. Woodcock (2021) explains that “Platforms only want to pay the worker for the time that is profitable, while expecting workers to take on the costs of the work and the waiting time” (Woodcock, 2021, p.69) Through this, the workers have to work even harder and more hours to earn the money they need to survive. This is the contradiction between capital and labour (Woodcock, 2021). As

there are so many workers in the gig economy, many workers experience similar issues with the same platforms, namely, “conflicts over platform fees, pay rates, and a lack of worker's voice” which is due to the “structured antagonism” in platform labour (Wood & Lehdonvirta, 2019, p.1). Rogers (2016) explains that the structured antagonism comes from the platform's dominant position over its workers (as cited by Wood & Lehdonvirta, 2019).

Workers Collectivism

These workers with collective feelings of worker resistance organize together for change. According to Tassinari and Maccarone (2019), these ‘organizations’ come together for “low-risk participation in collective action’, mainly involving refusing to work (with a lower risk than in other forms of work given the contracts), sharing publicity, or engaging in what they refer to as ‘online “shitstorms”’, attempting to damage the platform brand for example; and ‘visible forms of collective action’, including strikes and picketing, demonstrations, and legal action (as cited by Woodcock, 2021). According to Gray (2013), the right to refuse dangerous work is part of the internal responsibility system. This means that “the health and safety at work relies on individual workers taking initiative and voicing safety concerns in a non-confrontational manner” (Gray, 2013, p.134). He states that there are three different ways to refuse work namely: informal-non confrontational, informal confrontational and formal confrontational. Informal non-confrontational work refusals are issues which can be solved through a complaint file while the workers do not refuse to work in the first place, these are most of the time relatively easy issues to solve. with informal confrontational refusal, a worker decides to refuse to do the job as the work task is too dangerous. Important to understand is that the task is not a continuous hazard for the worker (Gray, 2013). Lastly is the formal confrontational work refusal, where a worker seeks external support for an internal issue within the company. This is often the last resort for workers when all of the other actions have been proven to be ineffective (Gray, 2013). These work refusal actions can often be combined with visible forms of collective action to raise media attention.

According to the research from Maffie (2020), due to the lack of ‘real’ coworkers or a union, gig workers connect with other workers for support through social media networks. This is also explained by Tassinari and Maccarone (2017) as it demonstrates the success of collective action in a fragmented workforce full of individual workers. However, they state that collective action is much easier for psychical gig work as it is for online gig work.

One initiative to help gig-workers collectivize and strive for better working conditions is the Fair Work foundation created by Graham et al. (2020). The Fair Work foundation created a set of principles necessary for decent work namely; pay, conditions, contracts, management and representations. These criteria have been used to rank and compare different platforms to encourage decent and fair platform work. The main theory behind this ranking system is the reputation of companies. As reputation damage can be destructive for companies, companies want to avoid having a bad ranking on the Fair Work rate. By publishing yearly rankings, the Fair Work System expects to “encourage a movement towards fairer working practices” (Graham et al., 2020, p.103).

Projects like the Fair Work foundation are especially important in the gig economy as these economies do not have agreements for collective bargaining, making negotiating for better working conditions more difficult and in some cases even illegal. That is why it is important to use the collective worker's resistance of gig workers to legally form a worker's union. According to Johnston & Land-Kazlauskas “unionization, worker centres, cooperatives, and online forums represent a host of initiatives aimed at encouraging communication and contact between workers, engaging with employers, increasing workers' political and legal consciousness, and improving workplace standards (2018, p.31). Especially in Europe, many employees have the right to form a workers union or council. Even though these two bodies are officially not exactly the same, they are intertwined. Unions are important for workers as “even though trade unions are generally defined as associations with no legal capacity, they are legally entitled to collectively bargain as well as to take legal action or to be taken to court” (International Labour Organization, 2011). In Germany, the works council, Betriebsrat in German, is the main point of contact for operational problems within the company. “It monitors that the applicable laws, occupational safety regulations, collective agreements and organization-level agreements are observed by the employer. The works council also advocates the equal treatment of employees and the integration of foreign employees” (International Labour Organization, 2011). Both the council and the union work closely together. The works council serves as the voice of the employees and fulfils tasks as for example: “ensure a fair play classification, determines working conditions (start and end of work, break times, overtime, on-call service, part-time, etc.), ensures occupational health and safety” (Trade Unions, n.d.). According to (Trade Unions, n.d.), all organizations with more than five persons who are entitled to vote to have the right to form a worker's council. This means that workers have to

work for a minimum of six months at the organization, with residence and nationality irrelevant, after which they can be voted on by other workers through an election process.

One of the ways employees fight for better working conditions is through the organization of strikes. These strikes are regulated by case law through the decisions of the German Federal Labour Court (International Labour Organization, 2011). Important to note is that strikes can only be called by a trade union as a last resort and are permitted to comply with the preparation guidelines. These guidelines are: “firstly strike ballots are passing a strike resolution and secondly strike pickets, which at any rate must not prevent the work of those who are willing to work” (International Labour Organization, 2011). Illegal strike actions, thus strikes which are not organized by a trade union or that do not comply with the guidelines, are permitted to pay for the damages of “the persons or enterprises affected” and the involved employees are risking “extraordinary dismissal” (International Labour Organization, 2011).

Even though much research has been conducted on the gig economy, the literature still covers the old characteristics of the gig economy where gig workers were not yet employed at companies and thus did not have the power to form a workers council or union. The new European laws permit European companies to provide their workers with an employment contract including benefits, aiming to make the workers less vulnerable (Press Corner, 2021). These new laws change one of the major characteristics of the gig economy as it provides the workers with more job security but less flexibility. Besides, there remains a considerable gap in the research on everyday organizing among laborers using digital tools. These new forms of unionizing may create solidarities across national borders due to the digital platforms used by workers that allow for global participation and while sometimes not legal in their collective form, they can continue to add public pressure through digital reputation damage to the company.

This literature review describes the characteristics of the gig economy in a Global North Context. As described, it is important to understand the different types of gig-workers and their motivations as they contributed to the job satisfaction of the work. As many of the reluctants experience low job satisfaction a feeling of collective workers' resistance arises. These collective feelings of workers' resistance are the basis for the collectivization of the workers through digital tools and by ultimately forming legal councils and unions necessary for gig-workers to raise their voices.

Methods Chapter

To answer the research question of "how do gig workers collectivize and enforce better working conditions in the gig economy through the usage of digital tools?" and the sub-questions of "what kinds of issues drive them to collectivize?" "Who are these workers and what are their grievances?" "What motivates them to be in the business?" It is necessary to have a multiple method approach namely; qualitative content analysis and in-depth interviews. Both of these methods are part of the qualitative research approach. Both quantitative and qualitative research is used within the field of media studies. However, for this research, a qualitative approach is the most sufficient as it is used to "answer questions about experience, meaning and perspective, most often from the standpoint of the participant", which is necessary for answering the research question of this thesis (Hammarberg et al., 2016, p.466). The data collected is both primary and secondary data, consisting of public content on the channels from Gorillas Workers Collective, public articles and transcribed data from the conducted in-depth interviews. The combination of qualitative content analysis and in-depth interviews was deliberately chosen for two reasons. Firstly, combining the outcome of the three data sources allowed for a deeper understanding as the qualitative content analysis provides an understanding of the way the workers collectivize, the grievances of the Gorillas workers and the issues they want to raise attention for, from both primary and secondary sources. This is strengthened by the results of the in-depth interviews, as this focuses more on the individual grievances, experiences, motivations and everyday stories of the gig workers. Secondly, the usage of three methods serves as a triangulation of methods. The triangulation of methods strengthens a study and allows for a higher level of validity and reliability within a study (Golafshani, 2015). This is especially important in qualitative research, as it focuses more on personal interpretation. By using triangulation, it is possible to minimize biases and false conclusions.

The data of the research methods are going to be analyzed by coding the materials. After the conducted qualitative content analysis and in-depth interviews, a coding frame will be developed. In the case of this research, the findings of the coding scheme will be presented in combination with academic literature to provide the reader with valid and reliable claims.

Context

For this research, a case study on Gorillas employees has been established. According to Gerring (2004) “A “case study,” I argue, is best defined as an intensive study of a single unit with an aim to generalize across a larger set of units” (p.341). This case study of Gorillas employees is an instrumental case study as it is secondary to understanding the way gig-workers in general collectivize and strive for better working conditions (Baxter & Jack, 2015). To do so, it is important to understand Gorillas history and business model.

In 2020 the German start-up Gorillas was founded by its CEO Kağan Sümer. He wanted to combine the service culture and his love for cycling and “envisioned a world where grocery shopping would be radically faster and far more convenient” (Gorillas, n.d.). Within 2 years the company managed to expand itself to nine countries and 55 cities with globally over 11.000 riders (Gorillas, n.d.; Delivery Areas, n.d.). Looking at their website, Gorillas says to put the “riders first” and states to be a “counter-model to the gig economy” (Gorillas, n.d.). They promise all of their Riders an “employment contract, e-bike, health insurance, employer-financed accident insurance, and paid vacation” (Gorillas, n.d.). But even though they claim to be against the gig economy, many of their employees still protest for the same reasons as other gig workers. In Germany last year, many Gorillas drivers went on the street to protest for better working conditions (Meaker, 2021). They protested for better contracts, a higher wage, better work gear and less work pressure. And because of the lack of a collective labour agreement, Gorillas workers decided to collectivize themselves by establishing the Gorillas Workers Collective. The Gorillas Workers Collective is an online group that exists on Twitter and Telegram. On these social media platforms content is shared about working at Gorillas. Scrolling through these profiles it becomes clear that there is a lot of negative content shared about Gorillas. Gorillas Workers Collective is closely involved with the strikes and is even encouraging them. (Gorillas Workers Collective @GorillasWorkers) | Twitter, n.d.) This leads to a paradoxical situation between Gorillas promises to put the “riders first” and the experiences of the riders themselves.

Sampling

The main sample criteria for this research were that all of the participants work or used to work at Gorillas. This included riders that are part of Gorillas Workers Collective (N=1), riders that are not part of Gorillas Workers Collective (N=3) and the board members of Gorillas Workers Collective (N= 2). These participants were selected through

purposive sampling, specifically through criterion sampling. Purposive sampling was used to find participants, with different key characteristics, that are relevant to the research question (Bryman & Bell, 2012). In total, six in-depth interviews have been conducted. The riders that are part of Gorillas Workers Collective were recruited by sending a message to the Twitter account of Gorillas Workers Collective. The riders that are not part of Gorillas Workers Collective have responded to my recruitment message on my personal social networking profiles. The board members of Gorillas Workers Collective were contacted by email.

For the qualitative content analysis, 349 materials of public social media content from Gorillas Workers Collective have been analyzed. This material exists of 55 photos and 289 tweets. The analyzed content has a period of 3 months, from October 1st 2021 to the 28th of December 2021. This period has been chosen as this is when the Gorillas strikes were most frequent. In addition to this primary data, also secondary data has been collected in the form of articles. These articles about Gorillas Workers Collective and the strikes have been collected through convenience sampling by using the search terms “Gorillas Workers Collective” on Google.

Qualitative Content Analysis

The method of qualitative content analysis was used to research the online collectivization of the Gorillas employees on the Twitter account of Gorillas Workers Collective in combination with articles written about the collective. Schreier (2014) explains the core of this research method as “a method for systematically describing the meaning of qualitative data” (p.170). This is done by re-reading and coding the primary data existing of textual and visual aspects of photos and tweets placed in the social networking group of Gorillas Workers Collective. To avoid a cognitive overload and to increase the generalizability, in the first step, a sample of the findings of both research methods will be used (Schreier, 2014). Afterwards, all of the materials will be analyzed, coded and defined into different themes within the software program Atlas.ti. Through the method of qualitative content analysis, an understanding of the way workers collectivize is provided, together with the understanding of the grievances of Gorillas employees and the issues they raise attention for.

In-depth interviews

For this thesis, seven in-depth interviews have been conducted to understand the “same deep level of knowledge and understanding as to the members of participants” (Johnson, 2001, p.5). The in-depth interviews are conducted with seven participants, consisting of three groups, all based on a different key characteristic related to the research question. The first group of participants consisted of Gorillas employees that are part of Gorillas Workers Collective (N=1), the second group consisted of Gorillas employees that are not part of Gorillas Workers Collective (N=3), the third group consisted of board members of Gorillas Workers Collective (N=2). For this practice, a topic guide has been created. The guide consisted of four different topics, all with room for discussion, elaboration and freedom within the conversation. The four different topics are personal information of the participant, job satisfaction, labour precautions and the collectivization of Gorillas employees/members of Gorillas Workers Collective. The topic guide has been the same for every participant, regardless of their key characteristic. However, the specific questions varied per participant based on their answers, stories, grievances and experiences.

By combining the participants with three different key characteristics and the practice of in-depth interviews, a much deeper and generalizable result has been reached. The results of the interviews allowed for a deep understanding of the grievances, experiences, motivations and everyday stories of the Gorillas employees. In addition, to the unstructured nature of the interviews, new insights, information, patterns and stories have come to light.

Operationalization

The theoretical concepts that arose from the literature review are job satisfaction, labour precautions and the collectivization of workers. These concepts have been measured through the combination of the research methods: qualitative content analysis on primary and secondary data and in-depth interviews. The qualitative content analysis researched these concepts by coding and analyzing the written and visual content on the Twitter profiles of Gorillas Workers Collective and the written articles about the collective. The codes that have occurred through the literature review are the reasons for strikes, the positive and negative experiences of riders, the striking measures and unionism. More codes and sub-codes have been added during the analysis itself. The in-depth interviews researched the concepts of job satisfaction, labour precautions and the collectivization of workers by interviewing six participants, by gathering the “same deep level of knowledge and

understanding as to the members of participants” (Johnson, 2001, p.5). The concepts are listed in the order of the topic guide used for the in-depth interviews. Here, it is explained how they contribute to the research questions, how they are defined and how they are researched.

Personal information

In this topic, the participants got introduced to the in-depth interviews. They got explained that the purpose of this research is learning to understand how gig workers collectivize and strive for better working conditions, through a case study of Gorillas employees. They all signed the informed consent form before the start of the interview and were asked to agree to the recording of the interview. Besides they were made clear that the participation in this research is completely voluntary, that their identity remained anonymous and that they have the right to drawback at every moment.

Afterwards, the participants got asked personal questions about their backgrounds, previous job experience, financial status and occupations besides their work as a Gorillas employee. Understanding the personal background of participants is important and has served as a contextual framework in which the answers have been analyzed.

Job satisfaction

Job satisfaction is the concept of how satisfied a person is with their job (Scarpello & Campbell, 1983). This concept has been researched through in-depth interviews in which participants were asked a few basic questions about their job satisfaction according to a pre-made topic guide. An example of these questions are: “how satisfied are you with your job?” and “what was your motivation to start working as a Gorillas rider?”. These questions also contributed to the understanding of the grievances of Gorillas employees by asking what they did and did not like about working at Gorillas.

Labour precautions and conditions

The labour conditions and precautions of Gorillas workers have been researched through a combination of the research methods. The qualitative content methods have analyzed the social media content and articles of Gorillas Workers Collective. This has brought the hierarchal and decision-making practices to light. This knowledge has been incorporated into the topic guide for the in-depth interviews. This existed of questions like:

“Do you feel like you have much labour rights as a Gorillas employee?” and “When filing a complaint, does it change anything in the policy-making/is it taken seriously?”

Through the unstructured nature of the in-depth interviews, questions within these topics have varied per individual based on their answers, experiences and backgrounds. Combining the results of both methods in combination with the literature provided a deep understanding of the labour precautions and conditions within Gorillas.

Collectivization

The collectivization of the Gorillas workers has been measured through a combination of qualitative content analysis and in-depth interviews. By analyzing the social media content of Gorillas Workers Collective, the way of unionizing has become clear. The in-depth interviews have provided a thick understanding of how collectivization works and why they are collectivizing. This topic contained questions like “Do you find it important to have a workers union?” or “How do you collectivize with co-workers to address the grievances in your job?”. Besides, this category also researched how the members of the council have been chosen and how the council has been formed in general. The findings of the methods have been analyzed and coded and have been compared to existing literature.

Analysis

The data of both research methods have been analyzed through the practice of coding. For the qualitative content analysis, this meant that a coding frame has been established through the help of a coding manual. This has been done by using a sample of the data, in combination with the codes that arose from the literature review, to avoid a cognitive overload and to increase the level of generalizability and consistency within the coding practice (Schreier, 2014). In this coding frame, the visual and written content has been split up into themes and sub-themes for example; reasons for strikes, negative and positive experiences of riders, and motivations.

The data of the in-depth interviews are all transcribed verbatim, to capture the real nature of the conversation. Afterwards, the in-depth interviews have been coded similarly to the qualitative content analysis. A sample has firstly used to create a coding manual, which again allowed for more consistent coding practice. This ultimately led to 13 themes consisting of 51 sub-themes.

For the coding of the data, the software program Atlas.ti has been used. This software program helped to build a transparent and uncluttered coding frame, necessary for the large amount of data that was analyzed through the research methods.

The patterns and themes that have appeared through the coding will be further discussed and analyzed in the results and discussion chapter of this research.

Validity and Reliability

In qualitative research, validity and reliability have a different meaning than within the practice of quantitative research. According to Golafshani (2015) “Reliability and validity are conceptualized as trustworthiness, rigor and quality in qualitative paradigm” (p.604). To ensure this, a triangulation of research methods has been chosen. By combining multiple research methods, a higher level of validity and reliability is ensured. This helps to minimize personal biases and false conclusion as the findings of each research method is checked by the other method and is compared to existing academic literature.

Limitations

The generalizability of the interviews is limited due to the lack of varied participants. Finding the right participants have been more difficult than initially expected. This resulted in only having male participants either based in the Netherlands or in Germany. It would have been interesting to have female participants as well, as they might have different experiences. However, the data from both the Twitter of Gorillas Workers Collective and the articles about the collective do contain data about both genders.

The literature on the legal worker's council and union are being described according to German Law. Even though these regulations are quite similar to the rest of the Global North, it is important to take this into consideration and that the specifics might differ per country.

As it is qualitative research, the discussion is based on my own interpretation. To limit the amount of bias, multiple measures have been taken. Firstly, presenting the results before the discussion allows the reader to interpret the data himself. Secondly, by using a triangulation of methods and by relating it back to existing literature.

Results

After analyzing the textual tweets (N=289), the visual tweets (N=55), the in-depth interviews (N=6) and the articles (N=7) 13 codes and 51 subcodes have occurred. In this section, all of the codes and subcodes will be discussed and presented through the means of re-occurring patterns, opinions and experiences.

Asking for Support

This code consists of data relating to the Twitter account of Gorillas Workers Collective in which they ask for support via tweets. The way of support varies from asking people to donate money for their Strike Fund to physical support by attending the strikes. Examples of this are: “Workers need your immediate support in #Schöneberg (Martin-Luther-Str. 12)!!” (Gorillas Workers Collective [@GorillasWorkers], 2022)]

“Our strike fund's current balance is about 7300€. These days we will be using the money to compensate for the striking workers' loss in tips. Yesterday's strike day with 3 warehouses will have cost us about 1400€. This is why we need your support! Please share widely! <https://t.co/iGur7n0k0w>” (Gorillas Workers Collective [@GorillasWorkers], 2022)]

Demographics

This code gives insight into the demographics of Gorillas in the Netherlands and Germany. According to the interviewees, the number of migrants working at Gorillas is much higher in Germany than in the Netherlands. According to interviewee 4 who works in Germany: “It's mostly migrants. It's I would say easily 80, 90% are people on a working holiday visa or a student visa.” But according to Interviewee 3, the number of international Gorillas employees in the Netherlands is around 50 per cent. This brings visibility to another issue namely: migrants and gig work. Due to “structural factors such as discrimination and adversarial labour market policies are also important determinants in limiting migrants’ employability, resulting in wide-scale underemployment and occupational downgrading even for high skilled migrants” (Bernson et al., 2006 as cited by Newlands, 2022, p.2). The low entry barriers of gig work do help migrants to “bridge their distance to local labor markets and start making money in a way that other types of employment could not accommodate” (Doorn & Vijay, 2021, p.15). Due to the low-skilled characteristics of the gig economy, high-skilled migrants working in the gig economy see their work as something

temporarily and even as a stepping stone to something better or towards their dream job (Newlands, 2022; Doorn & Vijay, 2021).

Looking at the male-female ratio in Gorillas, there are significantly more males than females. According to Interviewee 4, “If you look at the number of riders, I do not think there is more than 10 or 20 per cent who are female and no more than 5 per cent were German”. This differs from the Netherlands as even though there are few female riders, there is a fifty-fifty male-female ratio in the Warehouse picking the orders (Interviewee 3). According to all of the interviewees, the large number of international riders can be explained as it is not necessary to speak the native language to become a Gorillas employee.

Legal and Court

In this category, data is captured related to legal practices and court cases. This category occurs from data from tweets, interviews and articles. The data in this code consists of announcing new court hearings, giving legal advice to workers and practices of union-busting and the right to strike.

“#reminder: Tomorrow (Monday) Oct. 25 at 11.45 - Magdeburger Pl. 1, 10785. The first in a series of injunctions for workers who participated in the #strike at @gorillasapp a few weeks back will be ruled on at the Arbeitsgericht! Come and show your support! #solidarity” (Gorillas Workers Collective [@GorillasWorkers], 2022)]

Management

The code management consists of five subcategories namely: false promises, negative responses by management, negotiations by management, power structures and threats by management. The overall arching theme for this category is the actions taken by management in response to the strikes and complaints of Gorillas employees. According to the tweets, interviews and articles, the management of Gorillas frequently responds negatively to the demands made by Gorillas Workers Collective: “RT @oguzbikbik : “if you don’t like it here, then go to another company” - @gorillasapp #Schoeneberg WH Manager. followed by “this strike is illegal under German labour Law” Does this sound like a company that cares about its workers? to me, no f’ing way...”

The interviewees also state that they do feel threatened by the management as the management tries to scare them with being fired for striking and unionizing. “So, they

always try to scare us, you know, like. They tried to fire us, you know, he told you, when most of us don't know about all our rights. (Interviewee 6).

Motivations

In this code, it becomes clear what the motivation for Gorillas employees is to start working at Gorillas. These are primary motivations gained through the conducted interviews with the riders. After conducting the interview 3 sub-codes have emerged explaining the motivation of Gorillas Workers namely; affinity with the company, financial, flexibility and outside and active. Multiple interviewees explain that one of their reasons for working at Gorillas was their affinity with the company. This differed per interviewee from liking the message and KPI of Gorillas to liking the originality of the company. “And the new idea of gorillas, you know, delivering 10 minutes and following the KPIs of gorillas. Mm hmm. And. And reaching and giving your best. Fulfilling your KPI responsibility. That's what I like the most. Yeah, that's it.” (Interviewee 5). All interviewees were financially dependent on Gorillas besides their student grants. However, the main reason for working at Gorillas was the flexibility in hours and shifts, but also the few qualifications needed to get the job. This was especially important for the international interviewees: “It's easy to get. I mean, you don't need like a language or a good CV or whatever.” (Interviewee 6).

Negative Experiences from Riders

This code has explained all of the negative experiences riders are having, without necessarily going on strike for it. These negative experiences have been discovered through the conducted in-depth interviews. This code consists of 13 sub-codes namely: bad communication, equipment, getting fired, lack of support system, location, payment issues, rapid change of co-workers, scheduling, supervisors, understaffing, working atmosphere and working pressure. The most common negative experience from the riders is the quality of the equipment, which differs from bad quality bikes to phone holders not being available.

Positive Experiences from Riders

This code explained all of the positive experiences Gorillas riders had working at Gorillas. These codes have been established through the in-depth interviews and have been split into 10 sub-codes namely: benefits, enough staff, equipment, flexibility, fun with co-workers, low work pressure, payment, scheduling, supervisors and working atmosphere. Interesting is that many of these sub-categories are also part of the code “negative

experiences from riders”. This shows the personal experiences of riders, based on the location of the warehouse. Besides, looking at the codes, almost all positive experiences are from the riders in the Netherlands, who either worked as free agents or casual earners at Gorillas via employment agencies. They have not experienced any payment issues or troubles with benefits. Among all of the interviewees, the most positive experience is the contact with other riders. “Yes. I mean, I don't really like the company working there because it's certainly a very bad company, to be honest. But my colleagues are nice. You know, riders are really nice” (Interviewee 6).

Reasons for strikes

This is the largest code as it explains all the grievances and issues of Gorillas employees that were used for strikes and court hearings. This code consists of 13 sub-codes created through the analysis of all 4 types of data: textual and visual tweets, in-depth interviews and articles. The subcodes are anger towards management, not consulting the workers with big changes, contracts, general demands, exploiting migrants, fired for unfair reasons, high working pressure, not listening to concerns, payment issues, safer working conditions, scheduling, sexism & racism and understaffing. Especially fired for unfair reasons, safer working conditions, payment issues and anger towards management are frequently discussed topics.

“The Gorillas Workers Collective sent the company a list of 19 demands, which included a deadline by which missing salaries should be paid, a demand that cargo baskets be added to bikes, and a demand to reduce the six-month probation period” (Meaker, 2021).

Solidarity

This code is formed around one specific theme namely: solidarity. This term was broadly used through the Twitter account of Gorillas Workers Collective to create and strengthen a feeling of unity among Gorillas riders but also towards other gig workers in different industries. There are forms of passive and active solidarity. With passive solidarity, there is no action rather than stating that Gorillas is in solidarity with riders or other gig workers. “We stand by the fair struggle of the workers in Gorillas You have our #Solidarity” (Gorillas Workers Collective [@GorillasWorkers], 2022)]. With active solidarity, Gorillas Workers Collective asks their following to show solidarity through active participation. “We are calling all delivery workers to turn their bikes upside down to turn the system upside

down! In solidarity, Gorillas Workers” (Gorillas Workers Collective [@GorillasWorkers], 2022)].

Strikes

This code explains how the strikes are being announced and portrayed. The Twitter account of Gorillas Workers Collective is one of the main ways strikes are being announced. “#b0610 Come tomorrow at 1 pm to #Gorillas Headquarters to join our #NoiseDemo” (Gorillas Workers Collective [@GorillasWorkers], 2022)]. During the strikes, Gorillas Workers Collective is sharing updates, photos and videos of the strikes to keep their followers updated. “Private security has arrived to @gorillasapp BKIEZ to lock the workers out!” (Gorillas Workers Collective [@GorillasWorkers], 2022)].

Striking Measures

This code portrays how Gorillas riders are striking in online and offline ways. This is done by the Twitter account of Gorillas Workers Collective by sharing photos and videos of strikes and protesting actions in combination with multiple hashtags. One of the main hashtags used is #StartUpsideDown to encourage other riders to turn their bikes upside down as a form of protesting. “We are turning our bikes upside down and striking until our demands are met! Enough with the hypocrisy of "start-up" mentality! We are calling all delivery workers to turn their bikes upside down to turn the system upside down! In solidarity, Gorillas Workers #StartUpsideDown” (Gorillas Workers Collective [@GorillasWorkers], 2022)].

Other forms of online and offline protesting are the creation and distribution of memes, creating banners and asking people to give Gorillas app a low rating in the apple/play store with #BoycottGorillas.

Success stories

This code contains the success stories from Gorillas Workers Collective. Most of the success stories are part of the court hearings from November 2021 and onwards, where Gorillas Workers Collective booked some successes as they won the right to form a worker’s council. “GOOD NEWS from labour court! We won! Workers' council elections are on! @gorillasapp has all the resources, money, expensive lawyers... Yet again they are not as powerful as a group of workers who stay together against every storm #b1711” (Gorillas Workers Collective [@GorillasWorkers], 2022)].

Unionism

This code shows the struggle for Gorillas employees to be able to form a union, also called a worker's council, within Gorillas. This struggle is portrayed by the hashtag #Unionbusting on the Twitter account of Gorillas Workers Collective. According to the tweets, interviewees and articles, union-busting is the practice of Gorillas to prevent the Gorillas employees from creating a legal worker's council and thus to have an official voice within the company. Through this hashtag, they are not only exposing their own problems with union-busting but also the practices of other companies for example Amazon or Hellofresh "Solidarity from the #Berlin Hello Fresh workers to their US counterparts who are suffering from #unionbusting!" (Gorillas Workers Collective [@GorillasWorkers], 2022)]. This is important as the global solidarity of gig workers shapes how transnational networks strategize. Because the more empowered workers in such networks, "the more informed decisions their allies can make, and the more strategically effective the movement can be" (Williams, 2020, p.394).

Also, the interviewees explain the importance of having a union and explain why Gorillas try to intervene in creating one. "Because it's not good for them to have a council because they don't care about labour rights." (Interviewee 6).

Discussion

To fully understand how gig workers collectivize and enforce better working conditions in the gig economy, three sub-questions need to be answered: Who are these Gorillas employees and what is their motivation? What are the experiences of Gorillas employees? And how do Gorillas employees collectivize?

Who are these Gorillas' workers and what is their motivation?

So, who are these Gorillas' workers and what is their motivation? To understand the demographic of the Gorillas workers it is important to consider the following points: type of gig worker, financial situation, age and gender.

Through the conducted interviews, it becomes clear that the majority of the gig workers are migrants, which aligns with the literature from Newlands (2022) and Doorn and Vijay (2021). However, the percentage differs per country as in Germany 80 or 90 per cent of the workers are migrants, working on a holiday visa or student visa (interviewee 4). According to Interviewee 3, the number of migrants working for Gorillas in the Netherlands is lower, around 50 per cent. As many migrants work via a visa, they experience their gig work as low entry and temporarily work in order to make money in their country of residence, regardless of their class (Newlands, 2022; Doorn & Vijay, 2021). The high number of international workers is typical for the gig economy as much of the work is lower-skilled work and does not require much education, making the work available for many people (Vallas & Schor, 2020). This is also founded in the interviews, according to interviewee 6, most of the workers are international students who do not speak German and because of the lower-skilled work, it is not required to speak the native language or to have a good CV. This is in contrast to many jobs outside of the gig economy, which explains why many international students feel like they do not have a choice when applying for a job at Gorillas.

Many of these Gorillas workers are working part-time. Important to note is the differences in financial motivations between national and international workers in Europe. Even though all of the workers earn their primary income with Gorillas, the native workers are considered free agents, while the international students qualify as reluctant. This is because the international students feel like they have little to no chances in the job market of their residence country. This gives them the idea of having no choice other than to work in the gig economy.

Besides the financial motivations, also the flexible aspect of the gig-work is attractive for all the gig-workers. They explain that the flexibility of the work helps to combine their work with their study. However as also explained by Prassl (2018), this is only the case for workers who have the freedom of choice, and choose to work in the gig economy instead of being forced by their financial situation like the reluctant. This is also shown in the type of contracts the interviewees have; the free agents are working as freelancers, while the reluctant do not have that freedom and are bound to work via an employment contract at Gorillas. This explains why all of the international interviewees still work at Gorillas while their level of job satisfaction is low. They consider the gig economy necessary to survive as resigning gives too high of a risk to become unemployed. This phenomenon leads to worker resistance which is shown in Gorillas Workers Collective. The male-female ratio of Gorillas workers, especially among the riders, of which the work is the primary source of income is around 80-20, this is similar to the research of Presole (2018). As stated by Manyika et al. (2019), one of the reasons for this ratio is that females use gig work to earn supplementary money while being able to complete other daily tasks like the household and taking care of the children. However, according to all of the data, the majority of Gorillas workers are part-time working students. This makes it unlikely that the male-female ratio within Gorillas can be explained through the daily tasks of women. However, one interviewee working at Gorillas Workers Collective explained the gender gap among Gorillas employees. He stated that there was a systematic issue with females facing sexual harassment within the company. But as only a few of them raised the issue, the company chose to neglect them. Besides harassment, also the wage gap between males and females is also an issue in many gig work. According to Tan et al. (2021), research proves that many female gig workers earn only two-thirds of what their male counterparts would earn on an hourly basis.

However, this hierarchal trend is also visible on the topic of race. Racism and the exploitation of migrant workers is a frequently discussed topics across the data. The same interviewee accuses the company of “toxic masculinity” and white supremacy: “yeah, there is this boys club. Go in and like you need to look at it, look at management. It's mostly young, rich white men” (interviewee 3). And the fact that the management uses the little knowledge of migrants about their rights as a way to exploit them. He states: “you don't know what basic necessities this company needs to meet before they head off before you start working.” (interviewee 3). According to the Twitter account from Gorillas Workers

Collective, this is not a problem only for Gorillas, but a systematic problem in the gig economy itself: “IT’S OFFICIAL NOW! On Nov. 16 at 17.00 we will be taking to the streets to show our bosses and all other exploiters that the struggle at @gorillasapp is not unique. Our struggle is that of the migrant working class against precarisation of labour! Come out and show your support!” (Gorillas Workers Collective [@GorillasWorkers], 2022).

Leung (2022), explains that racist discourses on mainstream news media trigger online hate speech. Through the customer focus of the gig economy, customers express their racist demands online and offline, creating “‘additional ‘precarities’ that racial minority gig workers must suffer, on top of the various problems embedded in the seemingly boundaryless platformed society”. This shows that racism within the gig economy does not only happen through ‘white supremacy’ of the management but also happens on the consumer side of the economy.

The experiences and grievances of Gorillas employees.

After analyzing the data, it has become clear what the working experiences and grievances are of the Gorillas employees. Even though there are some systematic problems within Gorillas, the experiences differ per person, location and nationality.

Almost all positive experiences occurred from the interviews with the riders from the Netherlands. All of them worked at Gorillas via an employment agency and thus worked at Gorillas on a freelance basis. This resulted in more flexibility for the riders as they could decide last-minute when and how many hours per week they wanted to work. Besides, it automatically increased their safety while working as they did not have to ride when the weather circumstances were dangerous. Working via the employment agency also meant that they were the ones responsible for paying your salary, which according to the interviewees never resulted in any issues regarding payments. In contrast, the workers who did have an employment contract at Gorillas did experience many payment issues where riders got paid less than they earned or when they did not receive payment at all. “Even by the standards of Gorillas, this payday is a total disaster. We’re hearing reports of workers being paid under 100 Euros #giveusourmoney” (Gorillas Workers Collective [@GorillasWorkers], 2022). Besides, many Gorillas riders experienced dangerous working conditions. The main reason for these working conditions was the bad equipment the riders had to work with. This included broken bikes, heavy bags, no phone holders on the bikes and a shortage of helmets. Besides being dangerous, some of these practices, for example, having your phone in your hands while cycling is illegal as well.

Even though being a rider at Gorillas can be seen as individual gig-work, all of the interviewees stated that they enjoyed the company and the contact with other riders and did acknowledge them as colleagues. However, at Gorillas, there is a rapid change of co-workers, which according to the interviewees negatively impacted their job satisfaction as it increased the social aspect of the work.

When filing a complaint, all of the interviewees did not experience any changes or in some cases even answers from supervisors or management. To share their grievances and get support, the Gorillas workers connected with other workers through social media, which ultimately resulted in the success of the Gorillas Workers Collective.

The collectivization of Gorillas employees.

The collectivization of the Gorillas workers starts with the collective feeling of workers' resistance which is caused by collective grievances workers are experiencing. In the case of the Gorillas employees, this is mainly caused by payment issues, dangerous working conditions and not having a voice. As the main worker population is migrants, many feel that working in these circumstances is necessary for survival as they believe they cannot find a job elsewhere. This results in workers willing to fight for better working conditions instead of resigning as free agents can do. This is the structured antagonism as explained by Rogers (2016), where the platform has a dominant position of its workers (as cited by Wood & Lehdonvirta, 2019). To minimize the dominance of the platform, to gain a worker's voice and strive for better working conditions, Gorillas employees have connected with other workers for support through social media networks and created Gorillas Workers Collective. Online communities are important for gig workers as they do not only help to enforce better working conditions but also “serve as a support mechanism that justifies their work choices and strategies for thriving despite its difficult conditions, thereby helping pacify their feelings of defeat and marginality” (Soriano & Cabañes, 2020, p.9). Besides, the online communities also contribute to the development of a collective identity in which they develop collective norms, engage in communal activity and create offline rituals. (Maffie, 2020). Interesting is the role of the group ‘orchestrators’ “monitoring who engages in appropriate conduct; and directing the group’s collective actions, like calls to Uber’s customer service line” (Maffie, 2020, p.140).

So how do they strive for changes within the company? Gorillas Workers Collective has used four tactics: *the announcement and organization of offline strikes, the creation of collective action by asking for support and solidarity, damaging the brand by creating*

‘online “shitstorms” and using legal action to create a workers union. These tactics are in line with theory from Tassinari and Maccarone (2019), however, as the new European laws permitted companies to provide their workers with an employment contract, workers who now actively participate in a collective have a higher risk of losing their job than when they had when they were freelancing, making this collective action more hazardous than it used to be.

The announcement and organization of offline strikes.

Gorillas Workers Collective announces and organizes many strikes via their Twitter account. They share the exact date, location, and reason for the strikes. During the strikes, Gorillas Workers Collective keeps its following updated by sharing photos, videos, and reports. As the Gorillas Workers Collective is not an official union, organizing strikes are illegal according to German law. This makes participating in the strikes a hazardous action, especially since the workers are now bound to an employment contract instead of freelancing. The employment contracts are implemented to protect the gig-workers, however, Gorillas is allowed to give the workers a contract with a six-month probation period allowing Gorillas to fire the workers without specific reasoning. As hundreds of Gorillas workers have been fired due to their participation in strikes, many workers are now afraid to participate (interviewee 6). That is why it has become more important to form a legal union.

The creation of selective action by asking for support and solidarity

By using digital tools like Twitter, it has become possible to create support and solidarity across national borders. Looking at the Twitter from Gorillas Workers Collective, it has become clear that many people and organizations from different countries are showing their solidarity and support towards the Gorillas workers. And by the large following Gorillas Workers Collective has on Twitter, they have also been noticed by the national and international press who have written about Gorillas, the strikes, and the working conditions. Altogether, this adds public pressure through digital reputation damage to Gorillas. The support and solidarity are also visible through workers attending the strikes, sharing photos and videos online and donating money to the Strike Fund.

Damaging the brand by creating online shitshows.

As stated before, due to the digital tools it has become possible to create global participation to add public pressure through digital reputation damage to the company. However, Gorillas Workers Collective does these practices themselves as well. One way to create online shitshows is by the creation and distribution of memes on their Twitter account. But also, through the power of hashtags. These hashtags are short slogans, expressing negative emotions towards Gorillas but most of the time asking the reader to do something to damage the brand Gorillas. Examples of these hashtags are #BoycottGorillas #DeleteGorillas #StartUpSideDown all asking readers to actively participate in damaging the brand.

Another way to damage the reputation of Gorillas is by sharing negative stories about Gorillas either on the Twitter account Gorillas Workers Collective or by talking to media outlets.

Using legal action to form a union.

Even though the Gorillas Workers Collective has achieved many successes, it has been difficult for them to form a legal worker's union. This means that the strikes organized by Gorillas Workers Elective were for a long time an illegal practice by German law. This meant, that an official workers union was the ultimate goal for effective collectivization and the creation of better working conditions. As described before, by German law, all of the employees within a company have the legal right to form a worker's union. However, when a company does not allow a workers union, the employees have the right to go to court. This happened at Gorillas Workers Collective, as Gorillas did not allow a worker's union to avoid the workers having a voice in the company (Interviewee 6). To avoid a workers union, Gorillas decided to use multiple tactics: try to "lure riders away from a work council vote" (Geiger, 2021) but more importantly, try to use a franchise tactic to make a workers union almost impossible. This franchise tactic was developed by Amazon. Weeks before the worker's elections, Gorillas decided to announce an experiment to franchise all of the warehouses in Berlin. According to Gorillas, this would allow warehouses to "respond better to local conditions, and that the election of a works council "remains possible for each entity.'" (Meaker, 2021). However, this would mean that for every warehouse an individual workers council needs to be formed. The success of Gorillas Workers Collective also allowed for legal understanding and action in the courtroom. Which lead to the ultimate

success of Gorillas Workers Collective; the allowance to form a legal worker's union. The importance of this official workers council is captured by one of the interviewees as he stated that even though the company does not want to deal with them, Gorillas now legally have to, as they are now an official stakeholder in the company.

So, what started as collective feelings of workers' resistance, turned into a large digital unofficial collective, which ultimately led to a legal union fighting for better working conditions for their workers.

Conclusion

Even though the fragmented and individualized characteristics of the gig economy, gig workers do find many ways to collectivize and enforce better working conditions.

As the job satisfaction of the reluctant and financially strapped workers is low, a collective feeling of worker resistance arises. This leads to gig workers connecting online on social media platforms to form a collective action. The collective action of gig workers can take many forms such as refusing to work, creating publicity by talking to the media, creating an online shitstorm to damage the reputation of the brand and by strikes. However, without the existence of a legal body, in the form of a worker's council or union, striking and protesting are illegal. Through this, companies are legally allowed to terminate the contracts of workers who contributed to strikes. This means that gig-workers can only safely express their voice by forming a legal body in the form of a workers council or union.

The existing literature on the collectivization of gig-workers does not cover the changes that have come with the implementation of the new European Law. More research on this is necessary as this research shows that the working conditions for some gig workers have not yet improved. Especially as the reluctant and financially strapped gig workers are bound to the gig economy to survive, working in the gig economy is a compulsory practice for them. This leads to workers being exploited and forced to work under bad conditions. More research on this phenomenon can untimely improve the working conditions for these types of gig workers and prevent the exploitation of workers.

The triangulation of methods in this research has provided a deep understanding of the grievances and experiences of Gorillas workers, and the power structures within the company and has explained how the workers collectivize and strive for better working conditions. Finding the right participants for the in-depth interviews was difficult and resulted in participants only being generalizable for the Global North.

For future research, it will be interesting to dive deeper into the legislation of gig work to see what implementation needs to be made to fully protect gig workers from exploitation and to improve their labor conditions. This is important as this research has proven that even though new European Laws have been implemented, the working conditions of gig-workers in the Global North, especially migrants, are still not good enough. More research could change this with the ultimate goal of preventing the exploitation for migrants in the gig economy.

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Appendices

Participants

For the in-depth interviews of this research, six Gorillas employees participated. In here an overview of all of the six participants will be given in the terms of age, gender, place of residence, international background, occupation and type of organization they work for.

Participant 1

Age: 22

Gender: Male

Place of Residence: Utrecht & Rotterdam

International background: Netherlands

Occupation: Student

Organization they work for: Gorillas via employment company.

Participant 2

Age: 22

Gender: Male

Place of Residence: Utrecht

International background: Netherlands

Occupation: Student

Organization they work for: Gorillas via employment company.

Participant 3

Age: 21

Gender: Male

Place of Residence: Utrecht

International background: Netherlands

Occupation: Student

Organization they work for: Gorillas via employment company.

Interviewee 4

Age: Mid-twenties

Gender: Male

Place of Residence: Berlin

International background: Indian

Occupation: Student and working for Gorillas Workers Collective

Organization they work for: Gorillas Workers Collective

Interviewee 5

Age: Mid-twenties

Gender: Male

Place of Residence: Berlin

International background: Indian

Occupation: Fulltime Gorillas Rider

Organization they work for: Gorillas

Interviewee 6

Age: Late twenties

Gender: Male

Place of Residence: Berlin

International background: Migrant

Occupation: Part of the Workers Council and Workers Union

Organization they work for: Part of the Workers Council and Workers Union

Gorillas Workers Collective [@GorillasWorkers]

Gorillas Workers Collective is an online Twitter account created to strive for better working conditions for Gorillas employees. Their Twitter account is public and accessible for everyone.

Topic guide

Personal information

- Explain the research
- Explain the method
- Informed Consent Form
- Start:
 - *Introduction of themselves*
 - *Previous Job experience*
 - *Financial Status*
 - *Occupations besides their work as a Gorillas Employee.*

Job satisfaction

- *What was your motivation to start working as a Gorillas rider?*
- *How satisfied are you with your job?*
- *What do you like most about working at Gorillas?*
- *What do you dislike about working at Gorillas?*
- *Why did you quit/continue working at Gorillas?*

Labour precautions and conditions

- *How do you feel about the labour precautions and conditions at Gorillas?*
- *Do you feel like you have much labour rights as a Gorillas Employee?*
- *How do you experience the working conditions at Gorillas?*
- *Who do you go to with your grievances/complains?*
- *When filing a complaint, does it change anything in the policy making/is it taken seriously?*

Collectivization

- *Do you find it important to have a workers union?*
- *Have you experienced a form of collectivization/unionism within Gorillas?*
- *Do you know Gorillas Workers Collective? (with board members, talk about this collective)*
- *How do you collectivize with co-workers to address the grievances in your job?*
- *How are the spokespersons/members of Gorillas Workers Collective being chosen?*
- *When together, how do you protest/strive for changes? -> eg. Go onto the streets, expose them online/offline*

Codebook – Atlast.ti

This is the codebook that has been used to code all of the data from the qualitative content analysis and in-depth interviews. It consists of thirteen main themes, all marked with different colors.

- Asking for support
- demographics
- Legal / court
- management
- management: False promises
- management: negative respond management
- management: negotiations by managment
- management: Power structures
- management: Threats by management
- Motivations
- Motivations: affinity with company
- Motivations: financial
- Motivations: flexibility
- Motivations: outside & active
- Negative experiences
- Negative experiences: bad communication
- Negative experiences: equipment
- Negative experiences: fired
- Negative experiences: lack of support system
- Negative experiences: Location
- Negative experiences: payment issues
- Negative experiences: rapid change of co-workers
- Negative experiences: safer working conditions

- Negative experiences: scheduling
- Negative experiences: smoking
- Negative experiences: supervisors
- Negative experiences: understaffing
- Negative experiences: working atmosphere
- Negative experiences: working pressure
- Positive experiences
- Positive experiences: benefits
- Positive experiences: enough staff
- Positive experiences: equipment
- Positive experiences: flexible
- Positive experiences: fun with co-workers
- Positive experiences: Low work pressure
- Positive experiences: payment
- Positive experiences: scheduling
- Positive experiences: Supervisors
- Positive experiences: Working atmosphere
- Reasons for strikes
- Reasons for strikes: angry towards management
- Reasons for strikes: contracts
- Reasons for strikes: demands
- Reasons for strikes: exploiting migrants
- Reasons for strikes: Fired for unfair reasons
- Reasons for strikes: high working pressure
- Reasons for strikes: listen to concerns
- Reasons for strikes: not consulting the workers with big changes

- Reasons for strikes: payment issues
- Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions
- Reasons for strikes: scheduling
- Reasons for strikes: sexism & racism
- Reasons for strikes: understaffing
- Solidarity
- strikes
- strikes: Announcing strikes
- strikes: Strikes happening
- striking measures
- Succes stories
- unionism

Code saturation– Atlas.ti

This is an overview of the code saturation which shows the main codes used for every text or visual. This explains the themes for every document.

7 Gorillas_Tweets_MA_Thesis_Sample_goed

Text Document

Codes:

● Asking for support ● Legal / court ● management: negative respond management ● management: negotiations by management ● management: Threats by management ● Reasons for strikes: angry towards management ● Reasons for strikes: contracts ● Reasons for strikes: demands ● Reasons for strikes: exploiting migrants ● Reasons for strikes: Fired for unfair reasons ● Reasons for strikes: payment issues ● Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions ● Reasons for strikes: scheduling ● Reasons for strikes: sexism & racism ● Reasons for strikes: understaffing ● Solidarity ● strikes: Announcing strikes ● strikes: Strikes happening ● striking measures ● Succes stories ● unionism

8 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-07 om 15.23.08.png

Image Document

Codes:

● Reasons for strikes: payment issues ● Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions ● Reasons for strikes: scheduling ● Reasons for strikes: understaffing ● Solidarity ● strikes: Strikes happening ● unionism

9 FAsBCN3WYAUVsPL.jpg

Image Document

Codes:

● striking measures

10 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-08 om 10.58.01.png

Image Document

Codes:

● Reasons for strikes: payment issues

11 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-08 om 11.02.44.png

Image Document

Codes:

● Reasons for strikes: angry towards management ● Reasons for strikes: payment issues ● striking measures

12 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-08 om 11.03.06.png

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: listen to concerns
- Reasons for strikes: payment issues
- Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions
- Reasons for strikes: scheduling
- Reasons for strikes: understaffing

 **13 FAuFNhQXsAoRIYX.jpg**

Image Document

Codes:

- striking measures

 **14 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-08 om 11.31.23.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Solidarity
- unionism

 **15 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-08 om 11.36.23.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- management: negative respond management
- Reasons for strikes: angry towards management
- strikes: Strikes happening

 **16 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-08 om 11.38.32.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Solidarity
- striking measures

 **17 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-19 om 15.47.30.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- management: negative respond management

 **18 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-19 om 15.53.13.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- striking measures

 **19 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-19 om 16.03.20.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: contracts
- Reasons for strikes: payment issues
- Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions
- Reasons for strikes: scheduling
- Reasons for strikes: understaffing

 **20 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-20 om 14.39.18.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: demands
- striking measures

 **21 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-20 om 15.01.07.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- strikes: Announcing strikes

 **22 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-20 om 15.05.04.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: exploiting migrants
- Reasons for strikes: Fired for unfair reasons
- Reasons for strikes: not consulting the workers with big changes
- Reasons for strikes: payment issues
- Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions
- Reasons for strikes: scheduling

 **23 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-23 om 12.13.21.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Solidarity
- strikes: Announcing strikes
- striking measures

 **24 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-23 om 12.24.47.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions

 **25 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-23 om 12.25.56.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions

 **26 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-23 om 12.28.51.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: scheduling

 **27 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-23 om 12.28.57.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: scheduling

 **28 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-23 om 12.34.59.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- striking measures

 **29 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-23 om 12.52.13.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: high working pressure

 **30 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-23 om 13.05.46.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Solidarity ● striking measures

 **31 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-23 om 13.08.19.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: understaffing

 **32 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-23 om 13.23.53.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- striking measures

 **33 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-23 om 13.24.41.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- striking measures

 **34 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-23 om 13.26.23.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- striking measures

 **35 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-23 om 13.27.41.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- strikes: Strikes happening ● striking measures

 **36 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-23 om 13.43.00.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: Fired for unfair reasons
- strikes: Strikes happening
- striking measures

 **37 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-25 om 14.01.15.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- management: negative respond management
- striking measures

 **38 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-25 om 14.05.36.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: payment issues
- Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions
- Reasons for strikes: scheduling
- Solidarity
- striking measures
- unionism

 **39 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 15.53.08.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: Fired for unfair reasons
- Reasons for strikes: scheduling
- Solidarity
- unionism

 **40 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 16.11.25.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- strikes: Strikes happening
- striking measures

 **41 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 16.55.55.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- striking measures

 **42 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 17.27.23.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Solidarity
- strikes: Strikes happening
- striking measures

 **43 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 18.10.15.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Solidarity
- striking measures

 **44 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 20.34.39.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: angry towards management
- striking measures

 **45 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 20.36.32.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- management: negative respond management
- Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions

 **46 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 20.48.50.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Solidarity

 **47 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 20.54.37.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: payment issues

 **48 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 21.02.11.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- management: negative respond management
- Reasons for strikes: angry towards management
- Reasons for strikes: payment issues

 **49 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 21.04.57.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- striking measures

 **50 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 21.20.36.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- management: negative respond management
- management: negotiations by managment
- Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions

 **51 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 21.20.42.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions

 **52 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 21.24.07.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions

 **53 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 21.27.09.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- striking measures

 **54 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 21.41.20.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: Fired for unfair reasons • striking measures

 **55 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 21.57.17.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- management: negative respond management • management: Threats by management • unionism

 **56 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 22.00.10.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions • strikes: Announcing strikes

 **57 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-26 om 22.19.40.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- striking measures

 **58 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-27 om 15.02.42.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- striking measures

 **59 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-27 om 15.12.52.png**

Image Document

Codes:

- management: negative respond management

60 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-27 om 15.13.54.png

Image Document

Codes:

- striking measures ● Succes stories

61 Schermafbeelding 2022-05-27 om 15.22.12.png

Image Document

Codes:

- Asking for support ● Legal / court ● Reasons for strikes: payment issues

62 Interviews_Nederlands.docx

Text Document

Codes:

- demographics ○ interviewee 1 ○ Interviewee 2 ○ interviewee 3 ● Motivations: affinity with company ● Motivations: financial ● Motivations: flexibility ● Motivations: outside & active ● Negative experiences: bad communication ● Negative experiences: equipment ● Negative experiences: Location ● Negative experiences: rapid change of co-workers ● Negative experiences: safer working conditions ● Negative experiences: scheduling ● Negative experiences: smoking ● Negative experiences: supervisors ● Negative experiences: understaffing ● Negative experiences: working atmosphere ● Negative experiences: working pressure ● Positive experiences: benefits ● Positive experiences: enough staff ● Positive experiences: equipment ● Positive experiences: flexible ● Positive experiences: fun with co-workers ● Positive experiences: Low work pressure ● Positive experiences: payment ● Positive experiences: scheduling ● Positive experiences: Supervisors ● Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions ● Reasons for strikes: sexism & racism ● unionism

63 engels_interview.docx

Text Document

Codes:

- demographics ○ Interviewee 4 ○ Interviewee 5 ○ interviewee 6 ● Legal / court ● management: Threats by management ● Motivations: affinity with company ● Motivations: financial ● Motivations: flexibility ● Negative experiences: bad communication ● Negative experiences: equipment ● Negative experiences: fired ● Negative experiences: lack of support system ● Negative experiences: payment issues ● Negative experiences: rapid change of co-workers ● Negative experiences: safer working conditions ● Negative experiences: scheduling ● Negative experiences: supervisors ● Negative experiences: understaffing ● Negative experiences: working atmosphere ● Positive experiences: fun with co-workers ● Positive experiences: Supervisors ● Positive experiences: Working atmosphere ● Reasons for strikes: angry towards management ● Reasons for strikes: Fired for unfair reasons ● Reasons for strikes: payment issues ● Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions ● Reasons for strikes: sexism & racism ● Solidarity ● strikes: Strikes happening ● unionism

64 'Giftige werkcultuur bij flitsbezorger Gorillas en een bullebak als CEO'.pdf

PDF Document

Codes:

- management: negative respond management ● Negative experiences: payment issues ● Negative experiences: supervisors ● Negative experiences: working atmosphere ● Reasons for strikes: angry

towards management • Reasons for strikes: exploiting migrants • Reasons for strikes: Fired for unfair reasons • Reasons for strikes: payment issues

65 Europe Went Bananas for Gorillas. Then Its Workers Rose Up | WIRED UK.pdf

PDF Document

Codes:

• Legal / court • management: False promises • management: negative respond management • management: negotiations by management • management: Power structures • management: Threats by management • Negative experiences: equipment • Negative experiences: payment issues • Negative experiences: safer working conditions • Negative experiences: working pressure • Reasons for strikes: contracts • Reasons for strikes: demands • Reasons for strikes: Fired for unfair reasons • Reasons for strikes: high working pressure • Reasons for strikes: payment issues • Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions • strikes: Strikes happening • striking measures • unionism

66 Gorillas delivery app fires hundreds of Berlin workers for strikes over pay and working conditions |.pdf

PDF Document

Codes:

• Legal / court • management: negative respond management • Reasons for strikes: Fired for unfair reasons • Reasons for strikes: payment issues • Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions • Reasons for strikes: scheduling • Reasons for strikes: understaffing

67 Gorillas Delivery App Fires Workers for Striking.pdf

PDF Document

Codes:

• Legal / court • management: False promises • management: negative respond management • management: negotiations by management • management: Threats by management • Reasons for strikes: angry towards management • Reasons for strikes: Fired for unfair reasons • Reasons for strikes: payment issues • Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions • Reasons for strikes: understaffing • strikes: Strikes happening • striking measures • unionism

68 Gorillas delivery service fires back over workers' strike | Business | Economy and finance news from.pdf

PDF Document

Codes:

• Legal / court • management: False promises • management: negative respond management • management: Threats by management • Negative experiences: Location • Positive experiences: Supervisors • Reasons for strikes: exploiting migrants • Reasons for strikes: Fired for unfair reasons • Reasons for strikes: high working pressure • Reasons for strikes: payment issues • Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions • Reasons for strikes: scheduling • strikes: Strikes happening

70 Gorillas Workers Collective | Eurofound.pdf

PDF Document

Codes:

● Reasons for strikes: contracts ● Reasons for strikes: Fired for unfair reasons ● Reasons for strikes: high working pressure ● Reasons for strikes: payment issues ● Reasons for strikes: safer working conditions ● strikes: Strikes happening

 **71 Red Flag: Union Busting in Berlin - Exberliner.pdf**

PDF Document

Codes:

● Legal / court ● management: False promises ● management: negative respond management ● Reasons for strikes: demands ● Reasons for strikes: Fired for unfair reasons ● strikes: Strikes happening ● striking measures ● unionism