# Protecting workers in the platform economy, an analysis of tactics used by labor unions

Author: Vincent Schapers University of Twente P.O. Box 217, 7500AE Enschede The Netherlands

# ABSTRACT,

The internet has given rise to the sharing economy. Part of this sharing economy are online labor platforms, which are organizations acting as matchmakers between supply and demand. In the Netherlands, the way these platforms manage their human resources, the platform workers, has been a topic of debate. Like other organizations, platforms conduct their human resource practices in line with their strategic objectives. For platforms these objectives seem to be growth and cost reductions. Consequently, this results in a lack of job security as well as customer performance management for platform workers. Labor unions, who are established to protect workers, have found themselves against a new type of organization protecting a new type of employee. This research aims to uncover the tactics labor unions in the Netherlands adopt to protect platform workers. To answer the research question, a multiple stage research is conducted. The first stage is a document analysis uncovering how a specific platform conducts their human resource practices. In the second stage these findings are presented in interviews to labor union representatives, uncovering their opinion and how they aim to protect the platform workers. Furthermore, the difference between the power of labor unions to protect platform workers versus traditional employees is discussed. The results provide an insight into the power balance and provide the basis for the labor union influencing model.

Graduation Committee members: Dr. Jeroen Meijerink Dr. Anna Bos-Nehles

#### Keywords

Platform economy, Human Resource Management, Labor Union Tactics, Protecting Workers, the Netherlands

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# **1. INTRODUCTION**

The development of the internet has had an impact on the way we do things. What started as an area-wide network between laboratories in selected countries, is now a worldwide phenomenon, which connects people around the world (Kim, 2005). In the past fifteen years, this technology has given rise to the sharing economy. This new type of economy enables peer to peer sharing of resources via the internet (Hamari, Sjöklint, Ukkonen, 2015). Online labor platforms are part of this new sharing economy, which are online marketplaces, such as Uber, acting as matchmakers between customers and platform workers (Bergvall-Kåreborn & Howcroft, 2014). Workers in these platforms are often independent contractors who offer a service. The platform economy, which started in the United States, has also recently reached the Netherlands. Companies like Deliveroo, Werkspot and Uber provide this new type of work method to the Dutch public. An online survey of 2125 people in 2016 revealed that around 12% of the Dutch population sometimes work on crowd working platforms (TNO). This paper focuses on this type of marketplace, which uses algorithms to bring together actors, specifically, the online labor platforms providing short-term services, for example a taxi ride or food delivery.

The corporations behind these marketplaces have expanded in recent years. In the short-term service industry, these corporations are replacing the traditional way in which certain services are provided. One of the most well-known companies that shocked the taxi industry is Uber. This peer to peer ridesharing platform, which was founded in 2009, generated a revenue of 7.5 billion in 2017 (Lashinsky, 2018). Uber not only saw revenue increase in recent years, but also a rise in the amount of criticism directed their way due to their treatment of platform workers. According to a report, which included the testimonies of 83 workers in the U.K, driver earnings are often less than the minimum wage and barely sufficient to sustain existence (Field & Forsey, 2016). By classifying their drivers as self-employed, Uber tried to avoid minimum wage legislation in the U.K. In November 2017, as a reaction to losing the appeal against a lawsuit by 19 drivers who claimed their rights to minimum wage, Uber stated it would continue to challenge the decision through the courts (Davies, 2017). Like the platforms, working rights problems have also reached the Netherlands. Deliveroo, a UK based food delivery platform, made headlines in 2017 by forcing their workers to work as independent contractors instead of contracted employees.

Labor unions, which are created and maintained to protect employee rights, fear that these changes have impacted worker safety and income (Witteman, 2017). Being an independent contractor requires different types of insurance measures than being employed and does not guarantee a minimum wage (Witteman, 2017). The problems that arise between workers and the platforms are mostly related to the way in which platforms manage their human resources (HR). It is these human resource practices that the labor unions seek to control. Human resource management (HRM) is defined as managing human resources in such a way that employee performance is maximized in service of an employer's strategic objectives (Johnason, 2009). The three main HRM activities are work design and workforce planning, managing employee competencies and managing employee attitudes and behavior (Lepack & Gowan, 2016).

The increased competition between platforms and their drive for growth seem to have led these companies adopt aggressive growth strategies and cost reductions. The HR practices of the platforms are designed to reach those objectives. Growth is achieved by weak selection and short-term contracts, which provides the company with full workforce flexibility to the platform, but does not have an eye for job security. Furthermore, cost reductions are partly conducted by letting customers take on tasks normally performed by the HRM department. The customer feedback systems, which are integrated in online labor, have given customers the role of performance managers. This approach seems like a cost-effective and honest alternative to the standard performance management activities by companies, but the question arises as to whether it is fair that workers are being judged by customers. This way of conducting HRM has been questioned and challenged by labor unions in the Netherlands. The labor unions have not been backed by the law, which, according to van Slooten, professor in Dutch labor law, does not know how to handle the platform economy (Witteman, 2017). Companies are free to decide whether they hire contracted employees or independent contractors; no one forces someone to become a platform worker. However, do people have a choice when platforms are replacing the traditional firms in which workers are contracted?

In the platform economy, where workers are often classified as independent contractors reducing their rights and collectiveness, labor unions seem to have found themselves in a situation where they have less power. This brings up the question of whether the labor unions can still protect workers in this new type of employment marketplace. Growt of the platform economy, combined with a lack of research, provided motivation for this research paper, which aims to determine what labor unions can do to protect this 'new type' of employee from the manner in which crowd working platforms conduct their HRM activities This led to the following research question: Which tactics do labor unions in the Netherlands adopt to protect platform workers from the ways in which online labor platforms manage their human resources?

# 2. THEORY

## 2.1 Online Labor Platforms

Online labor platforms are online platforms that provide labor. Here, labor is treating effort for a reward, which is mostly monetary. Although there is no single definition of online platforms, there are some distinct features:

- 1. Facilitation of direct interactions/transactions for value creation between users;
- Collection and usage of a large amount of (non)personal data to optimize the service and user experience;
- 3. Existence of a "network effect", i.e., any additional user enhances the experience of all existing users;
- Creation of new markets and organization of new forms of participation bring benefits to users or disrupt traditional arrangements;
- 5. Usage of information and communication technology to achieve all the above-stated features.

These online platforms have allowed businesses to act as online matchmakers. Businesses acting as a medium have existed for centuries; evidence has been found that people were acting as matchmakers for men and women to find suitable wedding partners dating back to at least 1100BC (Evans & Schmalensee, 2016). The internet, which gave rise to a still expanding data connection, allowed companies to conduct this matchmaking online (Evans & Schmalensee, 2016).

Companies established in the platform economy use this technology to deploy workers to perform a variety of tasks, depending on the nature of the business, requestors in the real world then pay with an app or website (Stefano, 2016). The platform earns revenue by keeping a percentage or vast amount per order (Stefano, 2016). The flexibility of these platforms allows workers to work at several jobs at once or not work at all. This phenomenon makes it is difficult to define the true size of this new economy (Singer, 2014).

The rise of the online platform economy caused social debate when Deliveroo workers were forced to become independent contractors (Witteman, 2017). This strategy to demand workers to be independent contractors is adopted by most companies operating in the platform economy (Risak & Warter, 2015). Independent contractors, also named freelancers and in the early years boundaryless workers, are workers who work with temporary contracts instead of traditional employment contracts (Kazi et al., 2014). Organizations hire freelancers instead of employers to achieve flexibility and cost savings (Stanworth & Stanworth, 1997). In Dutch law, independent contractors have fewer rights than employed workers. In the traditional employer relationship, employers are held to a set of rules set by the Dutch government they must comply with. These rules, among other things, ensure workers enjoy the benefits of healthcare provision and employee rights concerning contract termination, minimum wage and working hours. Independent contractors, by Dutch law, do not have to receive the same rights given to employed workers (Annick & Dulk, 2014).

# 2.2 HR Practices

## 2.2.1 Why HR practices

Companies depend on their workers for overall business performance. A study conducted by Huselid in 1995, which involved 1000 US firms, revealed a strong relationship between HR practices and measures of performance. Although the online platform economy has enabled a new type of relationship between worker and platform, companies are still dependent on the performance of their workers. For example, Uber has been banned in Delhi because a customer was assaulted by one of their drivers (Singh, 2014). Because online platforms, like traditional businesses, depend on their workers' performances, platforms adopt HR practices, which a company implements to manage their employees (Lepack & Gowan). By adopting these practices, the organization aims to align worker actions with the company strategy (Boddy, 2006). In this research, the three HRM activities introduced in section 1 are executed by six different HR practices.

#### 2.2.2 Managing employee competencies

The HR practice of recruitment and selection first provides a pool of possible candidates from which the person who best fits the company is selected (Muchinsky, 2012). In the platform economy this HR practice is mostly conducted online. Platforms are continually expanding their workforce and do not work with vacancies, which means that people can continually apply. In some cases, candidates are not personally seen by the platforms before they are considered workers. The relatively weak selection process the platforms adopt saves money and facilitates organizational growth. However, selection is there to ensure a worker can meet the job requirements (Muchinsky, 2012). If a worker is selected who is not able to do the job in a safe manner, risky situations can arise.

Employee development is defined as the process an employee undergoes to increase his or her skills and acquire new knowledge and skills (Armstrong, 2001). Employee development can be executed in through either practical or theoretical training programs. Long-term employee replayee relationships are not common in the platform economy. For this reason, there does not seem to be an incentive for platforms to offer training to the worker. In the traditional employer relationship, employers offer training because they know they are likely to benefit from increased employee skills in the future. In the platform economy, short-term contract mostly exists, and therefore, employees do not seem to find this arrangement beneficial.

## 2.2.3 Work design and workforce planning

Job design refers to determining the responsibilities and tasks that workers are expected to perform and how they interact with their coworkers to realize those contributions (Lepack&Gowan, 2016). When considering the differences between work conducted in the platform economy and traditional economy, there is almost no interaction with co-workers in platformeconomy-based jobs. In traditional firms, most workers have a basis from which to come together, whereas crowd workers typically work from home. An example of the lack contact between colleagues is the food delivery market where in traditional firms, couriers work for one restaurant where they meet their coworkers, whereas online couriers deliver food for multiple restaurant by only picking up and delivering the order for the customer. In the platform economy, traditional jobs are divided into 'gigs'. Which means, workers are hired for one task and then fired when it is completed (Schmidt, 2017). These shortterm contracts increase flexibility for both the platform and the worker but produces the downside of not providing any guarantees of employment.

In 2010 Julie Sloan defined Workforce planning as the continual process organizations used to align the needs and priorities of the organization with those of its workforce. To ensure the workforce can meet its legislative, regulatory, service and production requirements and organizational objectives. In the platform economy, workers are managed by and through data; it is often algorithms that connect the demand for services with the providers (Aloisi, 2015). Workers work on an on-demand bases, which allows the platforms to have a scalable workforce and pay only for performance. The algorithms are designed in a way that independent contractors who do meet the clients' expectations can be rejected by blocking specific worker jobs available. The replacement of managers by algorithms saves costs for the platform but raises questions about having a human's financial security be decided by a computer.

## 2.2.4 Managing employee attitudes and behavior

Workers are compensated for the labor they provide the organization, which can be provided by granting several types of rewards, both tangible and intangible. Reward management is about controlling employee benefits, compensation and remuneration (Armstrong & Murlis, 2014). As previously defined, online labor platforms work with short-term contracts instead hourly salaries, which allows workers more flexibility, but because they are seen as independent contractors, they also have no legal rights to external benefits such as health insurance and vacation bonuses (De Stefano, 2017). The amount of money a worker receives for a service can also be altered at any time by the platform. Platforms are also not obligated to provide compensation for costs incurred to facilitate job performance. For instance, there has been discussion in the United States about platform drivers who are required to use their own vehicles (Smith, 2018). Because workers are not compensated for fuel, maintenance, tolls, insurance and other vehicle expenses, their true salary is hard to define and often lower than that claimed by the company (Weiner, 2015).

Finally, performance management is the process of evaluating employee performance against the set standards and helping develop action plans to improve employee performance (Lepack & Gowan, 2016). Online platform technology has enabled them to continuously receive feedback about and ratings of worker performance (Dzieza, 2015). Uber is known for deactivating driver accounts if they do not meet the companies' standard (Connor et al., 2015). This way of performance management raises questions, for example, whether there are situations in which circumstances not in workers' control influence their performance rating. Also, a courier who received the wrong order by the restaurant is likely to receive a more negative rating by the customer than a worker who received the right meal.

## 2.3 Labor Unions

The platform economy has provided companies acting as middlemen with different methods to conduct HR practices. The way in which these practices are conducted can raise questions about whether the practices are considered fair to the workers. Protecting workers from unfair employer practices is an activity of labor unions, which can be identified as an organization of employees who aim to increase the economic and social situation of their members (Arslan, 1999). The primary task is to protect its members from the employers' actions (McCarthy, 1985). To influence the employer, the union will need power, ''power refers to a capacity that A has to influence the behavior of B so B acts in accordance with A's wishes'' (Robbins, 2005, p 413). In the labor union context, A is the labor union and B the employer.

To influence the employer's decision making, labor unions adopt a variety of tactics, of which the collective bargaining process is the most common. Collective bargaining is the process the labor unions uses to come to agreements with employers concerning wages, benefits, hours worked and other terms and conditions (Lepack & Gowan, 2016). By negotiating on behalf of a large number of employees, the unions strengthen their negotiation position. Collective bargaining can be carried out either in good faith or bad faith, where good faith means coming together and being willing to achieve an agreement. In bad faith bargaining, there is no intention of reaching an agreement (Lepack & Gowan, 2016). The labor union can decide to conduct further actions if negotiations do not result in a satisfying agreement, such as parading or striking. Parading refers to organizing a parade to inform the public about the way the organizing treats its workers. Organizing a strike means workers do not fulfill their tasks a given period of time. Because strikes are not paid by employers, they are viewed as a last resort. A study by the European Trade institute revealed that the Netherlands is among the lowest striking countries in Europe, with an average of nine days not worked due to industrial action per 1,000 employees in the periods 2000-2009 and 2010-2016.

Labor unions gain their power from the fact that they represent a number of united workers. Labor union power is related to the number of members (Arslan, 1999) and if a labor union represents a large group of workers, their actions will have a greater impact on business performance. One can imagine that a strike with sixty percent of the workers would have more consequences than a strike with five percent. Not only the number of workers but also the dependence on the workers decides the effect of tactics in which workers do not fulfill their tasks. Dependence increases when a resource is important, scare and non-substitutable (Robbins, 2005). The strike of an astronaut a day before the launce will have more effect than the strike of a mission control employee.

Collective bargaining, striking and parading are coercive power tools used by labor unions. Coercive power is dependent on the employer's fear of failing to comply with the set demands of the labor unions (Robbins, 2005). Where coercive power focuses on fearing the consequences, rewards power aims for actors to comply because due to positive benefits (Robbins, 2005). These benefits can be monetary, for example, government subsidies or non-monetary, for example, a quality mark.

A power tool used by labor unions, which does not necessarily relate to the number of members, is influencing companies by making use of the rules and regulation(R&R) of a country. A form of this tool is taking companies to court. The Dutch government base their regulations on the international labor standards (ILS), which is a tool used by governments to draft and implement labor laws. The ILS was designed in compliance with the international labor organization (ILO). The ILO oversees the development of international labor standards and policies by employers, workers and governments in ILO member states (ILO, 2014). The ILO currently contains two types of employment, self-employment and subordinate employment (ILO, 2014). As previously stated, online labor platforms typically classify their workers as independent contractors, which allows them, by law, to not provide health insurances, pension or other benefits (Weil, 2014), as well as not guaranteeing job security (Torpey, 2016). Because companies are free to decide which form of labor they prefer, and workers are free to determine whether they work for these companies, labor unions have difficulty legally fighting the downward pressure on wages and working conditions enabled by the platform economy (Weil, 2014).

## 2.4 Framework

The introduction and rapid development of the platform economy seem to have given rise to a situation in which labor unions have less power. The new platform worker, classified as an independent contractor, lacks protection from the law and labor unions. This research is designed to determine which powert tools, implemented by tactics, labor unions adopt to protect workers from the way online labor platforms conduct their HR practices and whether these tactics are still seen as valid. A framework, which consists of the introduced HR practices and different labor union tactics, is used to answer this question. Tactics not yet defined in the theory may be used by unions, and for this reason, the framework can be adjusted to add or delete tactics.

 Table 1: Theoretical framework

HR Practice↓	Collective Bargaining	Striking	Parading	R&R	Reward Power
R&S					
JD					
RM					
WP					
PM					
ED					

## **3. METHODS**

## 3.1 Research design

#### 3.1.1 Platform Data Collection

Online labor platforms and how labor unions protect workers from their HR practices is a novel topic, and therefore, lacks empirical research. That is why there was chosen for an explorative study which made use of the appropriate qualitative research techniques (Babbie, 2012). To complete the framework introduced in section 2.4, this study used a multi-stage research approach, which first focused on an online labor platform and the HR practices they adopt. These HR practices were presented to labor union experts in interviews to gather data on their opinions and tactics for worker protection. The third variable measured was labor union power. The discovered tactics were examined regarding success in influencing the way in which the platform conducts their HR practices.

HR practices can be conducted in a variety of ways and differ for every company (Lepack & Gowan, 2016). To design a feasible data analysis, one specific company was selected as the focus in this study. Deliveroo is a digital platform, founded in 2013, which uses an app and website on which orders can be placed, and self-employed couriers then transport orders from the restaurant to the customer. Deliveroo was selected because it made headlines in the Dutch press in the fall of 2017 after it forced their employees to become independent contractors. The discussion that followed was one of the triggers for this research because it symbolizes the current struggle between online labor platforms, workers and labor unions. The recent discussions about online labor platforms and the related scandals has led to them being hard to reach companies. Because the unlikelihood of them willing to cooperate in this research, the literature review and document analysis made use of secondary data. These data consist of previously conducted scientific research, relevant news articles, previous interviews, Deliveroo their company website and other sources about how the company conducts their HR practices. Online search engines were used to collect these data, and included google, google scholar, web of science, YouTube and Scopus. Because Deliveroo is a novel company, documents concerning Deliveroo and their operations in every European city were included. Rider interviews from news sites were also included in the document analyses. Reactions from riders on forums were excluded because verifying whether these persons had real experiences with Deliveroo is not possible.

#### Table 2: Inclusion/exclusion criteria

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
English or Dutch language	Non-English or Non-Dutch language
Mentioning Deliveroo	No mention of Deliveroo
Document from later than 2016	Document earlier than 2016
Cornering Deliveroo HR	Not concerning Deliveroo HR practices
Practices in European city	in European city
Verification of personal title	No verification of personal title

#### Table 3: Search terms

Search term	Example result	
'Deliveroo' AND 'Rider' AND 'Recruitment'	Deliveroo company website	
'Deliveroo' AND 'Rider' AND 'Requirements'	Interview with London rider	

'Deliveroo' AND 'Gear' AND	Deliveroo rider community	
'Costs''		
'Deliveroo' AND 'Rider' AND	Deliveroo rider website FAQ	
'Payment'		
'Deliveroo' AND	Dutch YouTube documentary	
'Independent contractor'	about Deliveroo	
'Deliveroo' AND 'Rider'	Deliveroo rider community	
AND 'discounts'	page	
'Deliveroo' AND	Deliveroo rider community	
'Rider scheduling'	website	
'Deliveroo' AND 'Rider'	Financial Times news article	
AND 'Assessment'		
'Deliveroo' AND 'Rider'	London restaurant new	
AND 'Replacement'	website	

Three main information sources were most common in the document analyses. First, Deliveroo their websites, the general company website and another website especially for Deliveroo riders. Second, news articles from the UK and the Netherlands, which included rider testimonials about the way they were managed, and third, a Dutch YouTube documentary by Tim Hoffman in cooperation with Deliveroo riders. This documentary was mainly about Deliveroo their choice to hire independent contractors instead of employers and what this decision meant for the riders.

#### 3.1.2 Labor Union Data Collection

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with labor union employees to gather data on which tactics labor unions adopt to protect workers from HR practices and whether these tactics have influenced the platform. The interview method was used because it allows for an explorative study to discover unknown answers. Following the discussion between Deliveroo and its workers, an action group named Riders Union was established, which consists of couriers working for meal delivery services. This group was supported by the two largest unions by members in the Netherlands, the Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging (FNV) and the Christelijk Nationaal Vakbond (CNV) (Wals, 2017). The labor unions support this action group, suggesting that these two labor unions are interested in protecting platform workers. As such, these two labor unions are defined as target organizations for the interviews in this study. Another labor union of interest is the Alternatief Voor Vakbond (AVV), which is known as a democratic labor union and not only causing votes around their members but considers opinions from workers that are not members. Because platform workers are not known for their unionization, these labor unions were thought to be a suitable target for an interview.

## 3.2 Interview design

This research aims to provide a deeper understanding of how labor unions aim to protect platform workers. Open-ended questions are a suitable tool in interview to achieve an understating of certain issues (Kastl, 1970). By using open-ended questions, the respondent is given the change to provide their view on the topic without being constrained by scales or the pressure to provide relevant information. The questions are constructed in line with and help answer the research question defined in the introduction. The interview started with an introduction on the topic and why this research is being conducted. After this introduction, the questionnaire, which consisted of four parts, was provided. The first part aimed to gather background knowledge about the respondent and included questions concerning function and years of experience. The second part of the interview consisted of open- and close-ended questions asking about the tactics labor unions adopt to protect workers from online labor platforms and whether these tactics changed with the introduction of online labor platforms. The third part was about Deliveroo their specific HR practices and the interview ended with room for comments by the interviewee.

# 3.3 Operationalization

## 3.3.1 Deliveroo HR Practices

This research required the operationalization of two data sets, which could only be retrieved one after the other. The first data set constituted the analysis of the secondary data of Deliveroo their HR practices. Six HR practices, to execute the three HRM activities, conducted by online labor platforms were defined in section 2.2. These constructs were dived into three sub-questions to operationalize each practice (figure 1). Each sub-question was answered by analyzing secondary data to provide an understanding of how Deliveroo conduct their HR practices. During the document analysis, any other remarkable notes about Deliveroo and their way of HRM were noted and are presented in the results.

#### 3.3.2 Labor union opinions and tactics

The findings of the document analysis were implemented into the questions for the labor union employees. The interview was constructed to examine four main questions:

- Do they consider the way Deliveroo executes their HR practices fair?
- Which tactics do they use to protect platform workers?
- Do they consider these tactics as still valid and why?
- Did the tactic succeed in influencing the platform's decision making?

Each HR practice was discussed by showing the interviewee the literature review findings and asking the respondents opinion and whether they think labor unions should act and why. Then, the questions addressed which tactics their union uses to protect workers from any wrongdoings by the platform. As previously stated, there is concern about whether these tactics are still valid, which was a focus of examination in the final question. Because of the explorative nature of this study, an opportunity was provided for the interviewee to provide more knowledge about the struggle labor unions have with protecting platform workers, which may be included in this study.

#### Table 4: Operationalization HR practices

Concept	Definition	Operationalization		
Recruitment & Selection	Gaining a pool of possible candidates and then	Which methods are used to attract workers?		
	selecting the person that best fits the company.	What are the steps undertaken in the selection process?		
		On which criteria are workers selected?		
Job Design	Determining the responsibilities and tasks that workers in a particular	What are the task characteristics of a courier?		
	job are expected to perform and how they interact with coworkers to realize those contributions	What are the knowledge characteristics of a courier?		
	contributions	What are the social job characteristics of a courier?		
Reward Management	Employee benefits, compensation and remuneration	What type of rewards do workers receive for their labor?		
		Which non-monetary benefits does the worker receive?		
		What costs do workers need to incur to performs their tasks?		
Workforce Planning	A continual process used to align the needs and priorities of the	Which techniques are used to plan the workforce?		
	organization with those of its workforce to ensure legislative, regulatory, service and production	Are employees' opinions considered in workforce planning?		
	requirements and organizational objectives are met.	What are the characteristics of the workforce?		
Performance Management	Evaluating employee performance against the set standards and helping	Who is responsible for performance management?		
	develop action plans to improve performance.	On which criteria are workers judged?		
		What are the consequences of under/over performance?		
Employee	The process an employee undergoes to increase his or	Which methods are used to improve worker skills?		
Development	her skills and acquire new knowledge and skills	How much investment is made in employee development?		
		What is the rider's future perspective?		
		1		

The first interview was held with a director of AVV, the interview was conducted on the 18<sup>th</sup> of May and took 40 minutes. The second interview, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of June, was with the Manager of Transport and Logistics at CNV and took 56 minutes. The third interview was on June the 5<sup>th</sup> with the director of FNV youth. The interviews were recorded and transcribed to ensure all data was stored and could be analyzed. Analysis was done by making use of coding. By assigning codes to part of the texts the information was structured in such a way that all relevant information is included in the result section.

Table 5: Operationalization labor union opinion/tactics

Category	Times codes
HR practice opinion	40
Experience with Deliveroo	20
Labor union tactic/role	38
Labor union power position	7
(false)Self-employment/independent contractors	16
Problematic	24
Tactic(s) results	7

## 4. RESULTS

## 4.1 Deliveroo HR practices

Deliveroo, a company founded in the UK, operates as an online matchmaker in the Netherlands. The company currently delivers food to people in 14 Dutch cities and works with more than 2000 riders. The three main competitors of Deliveroo are Thuisbezorgd, Foodora and Ubereats. The food delivery market is growing and a major Dutch financial institution in 2016 estimated that 876 million deliveries occur a year (Driessen, 2016). However, according to Cor Molenaar, a Dutch professor in e-marketing, there will eventually be room for one or two companies to take the monopoly position. This race for the market has led to companies investing rapidly in growth to meet this growing need and concur the market (Ven, 2016). To meet the clients' demand for deliveries, Deliveroo is continuously recruiting new riders (Deliveroo). Riders is the term used by Deliveroo to describe the people who pick up food orders at the restaurant and then deliver it to the clients. Deliveroo does not work with vacancies; people can apply at any time. Everybody at least sixteen years of age with a smartphone and bike can sign up via Deliveroo their site to become a rider (Deliveroo). Applying is a process where the applicant sends in a request to work for Deliveroo, who then invites these applicants for an interview at their location (Ledger, 2018). During this interview, Deliveroo checks the applicant's documents concerning identity and whether they have the legal right to work in the Netherlands. Riders who have experienced this interview stated that it is an interview asking whether people can ride a bike and use an app (Ledger, 2018, #BOOS, 2018). If the rider is accepted, they are required to purchase gear in lines with the company guidelines. Deliveroo often offers discounts codes to new riders to buy the Deliveroo version of this gear (Deliveroo). To expand the workforce, riders are offered bonuses when they find a friend who joins Deliveroo as a rider. People are also motivated are also motivated to become a rider by bonuses on a first delivery (Deliveroo).

Since January 2018, Deliveroo has forced its riders to work as independent contractors (Witteman, 2017), meaning that instead of receiving an hourly payment, riders receive a compensation of five euros per delivered order. If a rider picks up two orders from the same restaurant, the order is 'stacked', which has a total compensation of 7.5 euros (Deliveroo). Any tips given by a customer can also be held by the rider. Riders furthermore receive discounts on language courses, specific restaurants and bicycle costs (Deliveroo). Deliveroo stated that they adopted the independent contractor structure to provide more flexibility, whereas opponents say the choice for independent contractors was profit driven (Witteman, 2017). Regardless of whether the decision was profit driven, a study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the United Stated found that organizations can save

up to 30 percent in labor costs by opting for independent contract workers over full-time employees (Walter & Bahn, 2017).

Deliveroo puts incentives in place to stimulate riders to complete more deliveries. Monetary rewards are provided to riders who deliver more than x amount of orders in a certain period (Deliveroo). These incentives vary per city. Like other online platforms, Deliveroo uses algorithms to match supply with demand. Riders can schedule themselves in Deliveroo their management system to work a certain shift and location (Deliveroo). After each delivery, the customer can judge the rider in the app or website and the app checks whether the rider delivered the food on time. Rider performance is judged by the app and customer. Deliveroo distributes monthly service-level assessments based on six points (O'Connor, 2016):

- Time to accept order
- Travel time to restaurant
- Travel time to customer
- Time at customer
- Amount of late ordersAmount of unassigned order

The sixth and final HR practice analyzed was employee development. Deliveroo does not offer any type of training to their riders. Instead, they invest in automating tactics using artificial intelligence and robotics to replace its riders. These automations should reduce the delivery costs and make it a more profitable company (Panja, 2018).

# 4.2 Implication Worker Interests

#### 4.2.1 Managing employee competencies

The way Deliveroo conducts their HR practices raises questions on whether workers interests are violated. Deliveroo is continuously recruiting riders by stimulating them with bonuses such as first delivery rewards. This recruitment process ensures that Deliveroo meets the supply needs, but it does not seem to take the riders job security into consideration. In the UK, riders have stated, that they often need to wait between receiving delivery orders (Khaleeli, 2016). Because Deliveroo works with a pay per performance system, riders are not compensated for this waiting time. In the Netherlands, there have not been any reports on this waiting time as of yet. However, the emphasis Deliveroo puts on recruiting new riders may result in rider waiting times in the future. The selection process of Deliveroo does sometimes include a test ride, but according to rider testimonials, it is not based on the experiences of real rider problems in traffic. The question arises whether workers should be protected from facing situations in which their qualifications do not assure a safe outcome

The selection process, which according to the document analysis does not consist of extensive testing, is not seen as problematic by the manager of CNV. According to the manager, most people in the Netherlands are able to ride a bike in a safe manner. The weak selection process is for the director of AVV exemplary for the view of Deliveroo on labor to be as cost effective as possible regardless rider safety. For the director of FNV, the problematic element in Deliveroo's recruitment and selection process is the continues recruitment, which according to the respondent gives Deliveroo flexibility, but does not take into account job security. The director further stated that 'the increasing number of riders leads to competition between riders.'

The employee development program of Deliveroo, which does not include any training for riders, is not seen as problematic by one of the labor union representatives. The fact that instead Deliveroo is investing in automation and robotics food delivery, was for the director of AVV a perfect example for Deliveroo's perspective on labor; 'a production factor to keep as low as possible.' The director of FNV did not directly have an opinion on this matter, because according to the director the outcomes of these investments are too unclear. The manager of CNV also did not believe in a direct implication for automated delivery, because 'drones would never be allowed by the government of larger cities.'

#### 4.2.2 Work design and workforce planning

None of the respondents judge the tasks that need to be performed by riders as problematic. However, the way Deliveroo designs these tasks is, according to the manager of CNV, pushing riders to ride fast. The respondent still acknowledges that every person stays responsible for their own unsafe behavior. The director of AVV criticized the lack of contact with fellow riders and management, because there is not a physical person to go to when they have a problem. In the FNV director's conversations with riders, the respondent noted that the management of Deliveroo is hard to reach when the riders have a problem.

In the platform economy, algorithms are used to match supply with demand (Aloisi, 2015). Using algorithms is not seen as problematic by none of respondents. However, the director of FNV noted that Deliveroo uses the algorithms to let the riders who are under the age of 18, which are still making use of the hourly pay structure, get deliveries faster than riders above the age of 18. This saves Deliveroo labor costs but is unfair to older riders. Testimonials by Belgian riders have also showed that the faster riders receive the longer distance deliveries. This reduces waiting times for the customer but lowers rider earnings.

#### 4.2.3 Managing employee attitudes and behavior

The shift of performance monitoring, from the manager to the consumer and computer, is according to the director of AVV, causing for a stressed relationship between employer, employee and consumer. Furthermore, the respondent stated that the six assessment criteria, shown in section 4.1, do not include save and secure riding. For the manager of CNV, it depended on what Deliveroo does with the assessment data. If the data is used to calculate more realistic waiting times, it does not have to be a problem. However, when rider salary depends on these criteria, the manager perceives them as problematic. The director of FNV acknowledges that the in the platform economy there is a hype to let costumer conduct ratings. The director stated that this is causing for a stressed relationship between consumer and workers, but changing the way Deliveroo conducts this HR practice is not a focus point of the labor union.

The independent contractor system seems to include some unfair elements. Because riders are independent contractors, they are not entitled to benefits of healthcare provision and employee rights concerning contract termination, minimum wage and working hours (Section 2.1). In a short Dutch documentary, made in cooperation with Deliveroo riders, disadvantages of the independent contractor structure were discussed. Riders stated that colleagues became competitors, only busy hours are set to be well paying and there is no pension (#BOOS, 2018). The pay construction Deliveroo uses was according to all three of the respondents 'false self-employment'. According to the director of FNV 'Riders cannot decide their own price or negotiate on it, furthermore they have to wear clothes of Deliveroo and there no room to decide how riders fulfil their tasks'. Furthermore, the respondent finds it problematic that riders do not have a say on the labor terms. According to the manager of CNV, Deliveroo uses the pay per order system because it is easy to use and saves Deliveroo costs. The manager noted that that the task characterizes are so pre-determined, it is not necessary to hire independent contractors. Furthermore, the manager stated that the way Deliveroo uses the independent contractor systems is not always according to the laws agreed on. Independent contractors are by law entitled to a minimum working pay of three hours. According to the manager, riders who are sent home after one hour often do not always get this minimum of three hours pay. For the director of FNV, it did not matter whether riders receive an hour pay or order pay, as long as they are getting minimum wage. The director of AVV criticized the pay per order system because it stimulates rider to ride fast, which can lead to unsafe situations.

Deliveroo stated on the 8<sup>th</sup> of May, that they would insure their workers for any work-related accidents and liability and cover up to 75% of the rider's average income for one month. Riders are insured from the moment riders log in until our hour after work, that Deliveroo decided to insure their rider was according to the manager of CNV only showing that they are employees instead of independent contractors. According to the director of AVV, with real self-employment insurances are taken care of by the independent contractor. The measure of Deliveroo to insure the riders was according to all three of the respond not enough. The manager of CNV stressed that one moth of salary will not cover up the cost incurred by riders in accidents.

Deliveroo riders are responsible for purchasing their own gear and maintaining their bike or scooter. Because maintenance costs are often variable, it can be difficult for riders to determine their true salary. The fact that riders need to maintain their own bike was by the director of FNV compared to ''working in office and maintain your own printer''. The director of AVV reacted to this by saying companies that riders should not paying production costs.

# 4.3 Protecting Deliveroo Riders

The director of AVV stated that the AVV is not actively participating in the implementation of tactics to protect Deliveroo riders. The labor union does participate in the discussion that arose concerning the rise of the platform economy and which implication this brings to worker rights. According to the director of AVV, the main problems with protecting riders from the way Deliveroo executes their HR practices, are that riders are tough to unite and easily replaceable. The director elaborated on this by stating that in opposite of the traditional economy firms, riders do not have a meeting point where they can discuss their struggles and unite to make a collective fist against the company. The other obstacle according to the director of AVV is that riders are often not members of labor unions, which lowers labor union their bargaining position. According to the respondent, the low percentage of members is caused by the fact that often independent contractors do not want to be protected or pay the labor union fee. This low member percentage and low union enthusiasm is according to the manager of CNV partly caused by a lack of knowledge. Riders often do not what their rights are which according to manager of CNV leads to low willingness for conducting labor union actions, for example; striking or parading.

The FNV is according to the interviewed director actively participating in protecting the rights of riders. The main focus point of the FNV is to influence Deliveroo into using employment instead of the independent contractor structure. The union incubated a group of riders that united after Deliveroo changed the employer relationship. By incubating a group of riders, they aimed to higher their bargaining position and gather information. After, for the union unsatisfying negotiations, the union facilitated a strike on the 13<sup>th</sup> of April. During this strike, a group of Deliveroo laid down their tasks for the several hours.

This tactic did not achieve the demanded results, which resulted in the labor union deciding to challenge the company into court. The director of AVV also discussed the strike facilitated by the FNV. The director explained that independent contractors are less likely to conduct further and more lasting strikes, because in their pay structure, riders immediately see their income drop.

When Deliveroo released the plan to switch from employed riders to independent contractors, the manager of CNV reacted by contacting Deliveroo. Their unwillingness to negotiate let the labor union to conduct further actions. On the question about what these actions included, the manager of CNV explained that because Deliveroo riders are transporting goods, they should be protected by the Collective Employment Agreement(CEA) of logistics of goods. In this CEA, agreements about premiums and pension and HR practices are negotiated with employers. By using an independent contractor structure, Deliveroo is not obligated to keep on to those agreements. But, the CNV concluded that riders who deliver goods should have an employment relationship, meaning Deliveroo should employ their riders and keep to the CEA. Following this conclusion, the labor union have urged the pension and development funds to send out claims to Deliveroo. The manager does not expect that Deliveroo admits that their riders should be employed and thinks it will turn out in a court case. The tactic of bringing companies up to court is according to the director of AVV a promising one, the respondent stated that by law false self-employment is forbidden. The manager only fears that Deliveroo found a way to execute false self-employment legally.

According to the director of AVV, labor unions should focus on getting rid of the false self-employment, which on one hand reduces labor union power, independent contractors are less likely labor union members, and on the other hand lowers the worker standards. Labor unions should achieve this by spreading information and challenging companies into court. Information spreading should aim to show the consumer and restaurants about how Deliveroo is treating the riders. The director gave as example the successful copper strike in which a boycott by costumers forced employers to give workers better rights. According to the director of AVV, informing the public also leads to social pressure on Deliveroo, this social pressure lead to Deliveroo insuring their riders.

The director of FNV stated that they have exerted social pressure in the form of framing. According to the director, labor unions should make the public aware about what type of company Deliveroo is and the problems with how Deliveroo manage their riders. According to the director, Deliveroo sets out their own frame, in which Deliveroo tends to presents themselves as a responsible company. Labor unions should make this frame more realistic by either information sharing via the media or informing the public directly. The manager of CNV stated that their labor union is conducting successful framing; 'all the negative publicity Deliveroo have been receiving, several restaurant owners have chosen for a different

## 4.4 Labor Union Influencing Model

Labor unions adopt a casual model to establish organizational change according to their wishes(OC). This is in contrast with the framework introduced in section 2,5. This framework hypothesized that labor union use distinct tactics for distinct practices. Instead, adopt a casual model which starts with collective bargaining(CB) between the union and the organization. To increase the effectiveness of CB, labor unions try to represent the highest number of workers as possible. This is achieved by the facilitating role the union adopts. If CB does not have the demanded result(work), the labor union initiates framing and escalation tactics(ET). The ET such as parading and

striking aim to force the organization to comply to their demands. If the ET do not work, labor unions try to influence the organization via rules and regulation(R&R), for example; a court case. When collective bargaining does not have the desired effect, besides the escalation tactics, the tactic of information spreading, framing, is also implemented. Framing tends to influence customers by informing them about what the labor unions perceive as problematic. This lowers organizational performance, which will increase the willingness(IW) of the organization to comply and make this framing stop.



Figure 1: Labor Union influencing model

## 4.5 Labor Union Power

In section 2.4 three types of power were discussed, namely; coercive power, reward power and power based on rules and regulations. Furthermore, the characteristics of dependence were shown. The director of AVV stated that in the platform economy labor unions have less power over the platforms because they are representing workers who are not scare, not important and easily replaceable. This are all three characteristics of dependence. Because Deliveroo is not dependent on a vast group rider, the negative consequences, used as bargaining power, are not as significant as in the traditional organizations. The director of FNV supported the hypotheses that traditional tactics are less effective. The respondent acknowledged that the escalation model used by their labor union, based on coercive power, have not proven to result in Deliveroo acting in according to their wishes. The reason for this lack of effectiveness according to the director of FNV linking to Deliveroo not being dependent on their riders. The director of FNV does note that with their union they have tried to established more labor union power by incubating a united group of riders willing to participate in actions against Deliveroo. By incubating a group of riders, the union have raised their coercive power, because their tactics will have more negative consequences for Deliveroo. To increase labor union power the focus of the labor unions according to the manager of CNV should be on replacing the self-employment. If riders are employed, Deliveroo will need to apply to the CEA of logistics. This CEA was negotiated by a large number of members in the sector and contains agreements on the different HR practices. During these negotiations Labor union represent a large number of member, which provide the union with more coercive power over the employers.

## 5. DISCUSSION

In section 2.4 a framework was introduced which hypothesized that labor unions use distinct tactics to protect workers from the different HR practices implemented by online labor platforms. In the interview data no evidence was found which supports this hypothesis. Rather than having distinct tactics for the different practices, the data supports the assumptions that labor unions adopt a model to influence organizations into changing their HR practices. In the casual model, the effectiveness of each tactic leads to different outcomes (Section 4.4). The tactics substitute for each other and do not show a synergistic effect. For further research this implies that tactics can be individually tested on effectiveness. Furthermore, an interesting research topic emerges, which would be testing whether the same tactic has different outcomes when it is used to influence different types of organizations. In the data collection of this research paper, three respondents were interviewed and interesting tactics were uncovered. All labor union representatives were representing a labor union based in the Netherlands. Therefore, an opportunity for further research will be to uncover which tactics labor unions in other countries adopt and whether they differ from the tactics used in the Netherlands.

The tactics uncovered in the model link to two types of power introduced in section 2.3, namely; coercive power and power based on rules and regulation. In this research, there is chosen to focus on one specific platform. Following the ineffectiveness of collective bargaining and escalation tactics, labor unions are now in the stage where they adopt framing and power based on rules and regulations. In the Netherlands different court cases are announced and taking place. The outcome of these cases will provide answers on whether the organization is by law allowed to use self-employment. Subsequently, this will have an impact on labor union power. When the court decides that the platform has to employ their workers, the HR practices will need to be in line with the CEA. As stated in section 2.4, this arrangement is negotiated in a situation where labor unions have higher bargaining power. The model of section 4.3 does not support the theory on labor unions using tactics based on reward power to influence organizations. Instead of reward power tactics, this research shows the importance of social pressure used by labor unions to influence organizations, which is defined as framing. The internet did not only give rise to the platform economy, but also to social media. These information platforms provide labor unions with new ways of information sharing with the public. An interesting topic for extensive testing would be to research whether the effectiveness of social media framing differs from framing that makes use of the traditional information platforms.

In the theory section 2.3, labor union power is related to the number of members. This is based on the research of Arslan (1999). In the model of section 4.3, 50% of the tactics are related to effectiveness of the number of members a union has, namely; collective bargaining and escalation tactics. Framing and making using of rules and regulation are in effectiveness not necessarily related to the number of members a labor union has. The nineteen years in between both researches can be the reason for the different outcome. This leads to the hypothesis that labor unions are less reliable on the number of members than nineteen years ago.

The model of section 4.4 is based on the findings of the data collection of this research and has yet to be empirically tested on whether it is valid for other labor unions. Due to time constraints the results of this data analysis have not been triangulated Interviewing different representatives of the same labor union might lead to different outcomes.

# 6. RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this research paper support the use and effectiveness of framing. Labor unions execute this tactic to lower organizational performance, which consequently increases the platforms willingness to change. In case of the platform used in this research, there are two types of users, namely; customers who order and the restaurants who deliver. Following the results, a recommendation for labor unions would be to target restaurant owners directly. This direct framing can be executed by informing owners on the problematic worker conditions of the platform they use. At the same time, a labor union can provide the restaurants with alternative solutions. In the past, restaurant owners, seeing the worker right violations, have shown to end their services on a platform. Given the race for market-share between the platforms, a decrease in the number restaurants that want to use their service can be an effective tactic to increase the platform's willingness to change the worker conditions. Targeting restaurant owners seems more feasible than targeting customers, which are higher in number and harder to find. The model also shows that labor unions adopt tactics based on rules and regulation. The success of these tactics has still to be proven in the platform economy. A recommendation for labor unions would be to implement tactics which result in rules and regulations made according to their wishes.

## 7. CONCLUSION

The aim of this research was to uncover which tactics labor unions in the Netherlands adopt to protect platform workers from the new ways in which online labor platforms manage their human resources. The model of section 4.4 shows the different type of tactics labor unions use. Labor unions start with collective bargaining, which are negotiations between the union and the platform on behalf of their members. To improve the collective bargaining position, labor unions try to represent the highest number of workers as possible. To achieve this, labor unions provide workers with a communication platform, both online and offline, that aims to unite them. This communication platform substitutes for the lack of contact with fellow workers during work. Despite labor union efforts, the interview data showed no evidence, which suggests that collective bargaining succeeded in protecting platform workers. Findings support that this is caused by the fact that the negative consequences, used as bargaining power, are lower for companies operating in the platform economy. These negative consequences are the escalation tactics used by labor unions. These escalation tactics vary, having striking as a last resort. However, because platforms are not dependent on vast employees, striking workers are easily replaceable. This lowers the impact on organizational performance. When escalations are not effective, labor unions aim to protect workers making use of rules and regulation. Labor unions support court cases who force platforms to change according to their wishes. When collective bargaining does not have the desired effect, besides the escalation tactics, the tactic of information spreading, framing, is also implemented. By influencing the users of the platform, the union aims to lower platform performance. This puts pressure on the platform to change according to their wishes. The platform economy provides the customer with more options than ever before. A taxi ride can be ordered with an easy app and the favorite meal of your restaurant delivered to your doorstep. It is now up to labor unions and online labor platforms to get the HR practices designed in such a way, that in the future, the entire society benefits from the platform economy.

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# APPENDIX

#### **Interview protocol**

Interview Union representative: XXX Interviewer: XXX

The essence of the interview is to find out how labor unions can use their tactics to counteract the HR practices of platform companies.

Interview structure: Introduction Research related questions Comments and end

#### Introduction

Introduce yourself and the purpose of the interview:

- Bachelor student University of Twente
- Interest in online labour platforms:
  - Online marketplace
  - o Acts as an intermediary / matchmaker / middle-man
  - To match supply and demand for labour
  - The ones that supply labor is what I call: platform workers
- Main research question: What tactics do labour unions use to safeguard worker interests?
- In this interview I specifically want to focus on the tactics that your labour union uses to protect the interest of the platform workers of Uber/Foodora/Deliveroo

Inform the interviewee about the interview being confidential. Ask for approval to record the interview. Ask whether the transcript can be send for verification.

#### Introductory questions

- What is your present position in the labour union?
- Which responsibilities do you have?
- What experience do you have with Uber/Foodora/Deliveroo as a labor union representative?
- What experiences do you have regards protecting independent contractors?

#### Labour union tactics

- Does your labour aim to protect the interest of the workers that find work via the Uber/Deliveroo/Foodora platform?
  - If not, can you explain why?
  - If so, how does your labor union aim to protect the interest of the workers that find work via the Uber/Deliveroo/Foodora platform?
- Has the introduction of online labour platforms changed the way your labor union protect worker interests? Or: did you have to change the traditional ways how you used to protect worker rights which might not work for online platforms?
  - If so, how and why? Can you give examples?
  - If not, why?
- What difference is there between representing a platform worker compared to a traditional worker? What is the difference / can you give examples? Why do these differences manifest?
- How effective are the activities that your labour union engages in to protect the interest of the workers that find work via the Uber/Deliveroo/Foodora platform?
  - If so, can you explain why these tactics are so effective? And which outcomes do/did they bring for the workers?
  - If not, can you explain why these tactics are not effective in terms of protecting worker interests?

#### Influence of labour unions on selected HR practices of online platforms

- Recruitment and selection
- Job design
- Rewards
- Performance management

- Workforce planning
- Training
- Employability/career management
- Facilities or lack thereof (e-bikes/self-driving cars, equipment)
- Employee benefits: social security, insurances, pensions,
- Fairness

Follow-up questions after presenting a workers' interest issue:

- We saw that platform X does X HR practice in X way.
- Do you consider the way they conduct the HR practice problematic?
   Why?
- What does your labour union do about this issue?
  - How? Can you give examples?
  - Why (not)
- How would/can you help the worker with this?
- How effective are the initiatives by your labour union to solve this issue?
  - Why?

## Comments and end

- Are there any remaining problems with Uber/Foodora/Deliveroo that we have not addressed yet?
  - If so, can you give examples? Why are they problematic?
  - What does your labor union do to help workers in this situation?

Ask if there are undiscussed topics that the interviewee would like to discuss. Ask if the interviewee has remaining questions.

Ask if the interviewee has remarks on the interview.