Work in digital platforms: Literature review and exploratory interviews in Portugal

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Abstract: This report is the first Portuguese report elaborated for the project Crowd-work21. The project is financed by the European Union (DG EMP) and includes alongside with Portugal partners from Spain, Germany and Hungary. The report presents a literature review and results from exploratory interviews carried out to prepare an overview of the Portuguese scientific and public debates about digital labour platforms. It describes 8 activities (initiatives, actions, protests and conflicts) occurred in the country and reports the positioning of unions and other movements. The main outcomes point at the significantly low quantity of scientific production about this topic. The few studies detected are marked by a critical assessment of the effects of technology (and digital platforms) in the working conditions and the losses of workers' rights.

Keywords: Digital Labour platforms; Crowd-work; Trade unions; Alternative movements; Organization

JEL codes: J5; J61; J81; O33

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1. Introduction

The aim of this 1st national report is to collect information about the scientific and public debates, as well as the most prominent initiatives, actions, protests and conflicts related to digital platform workers and freelancers in Portugal. This report aims to map the Portuguese landscape of Crowd-work, often referred in this report as digital platforms of labour. In the first chapter, the report covers the scientific on crowd-work in Portugal. The methods used were based on the extensive literature review of Portuguese publications and studies in this field. The second chapter includes the panorama of the public debate about digital platforms in Portugal, based on extensive review of the Portuguese media. Given the fixation of the public debate around Uber and Airbnb, we decided to also conduct thirteen explorative interviews with researchers (2), experts (2), trade unionists (4), crowd workers (4), entrepreneurs (3) and activists (2)[1] involved in other sectors (see annex B with main questions and annex C for informed consent form). The methodological approach and results are summarised in chapter 4. The input from these interviews was used to support the media review as well as to back up chapter 4 of the report. The report ends with main conclusions in chapter 5. In the following, the term "digital platforms" will be used as this English term is mainly used to describe the Portuguese term "Uberização" (Uberization) in the Portuguese debate.

For this report we found almost no available data from the analysed literature. Most comparative studies and reports did not have included Portugal, neither we have found estimations. The only reference that can be used if the one developed by JRC and published last year. In fact, by 2017 the JRC in partnership with DG EMPL commissioned an online panel survey on digital labour platforms (COLLEEM) in fourteen Member States. Although COLLEEM is considered to be a full survey with a large number of respondents, it was already considered as a big pilot or exploratory survey. The survey was conducted by PPMI, and it aimed at being representative of all internet users between 16 and 74 years old in the selected countries, which included Portugal. As mentioned by the report (Pesole et al. 2018: 10), commercially available list of internet users in the selected countries (CINT) was used as sampling frame, with non-probability quota sampling of respondents by gender and age groups. The fieldwork was carried out in the second half of June 2017, with a final sample of 32,409 (around 2,300 per country).

There the information on Portugal showed a relative high number of platform workers in comparison with the other European member states as can be seen in the following table.

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[1] Some interviewees were simultaneously crowd workers, entrepreneurs and activists.

Table 1 - Percentage of platform workers in Europe according to the 2017 COLLEEM survey, initial estimate

	%	Unweighted Cases	Unweighted N
United Kingdom	12.6%	268	2,320
Spain	15.1%	388	2,331
Germany	11.8%	247	2,319
Netherlands	10.6%	217	2,314
Portugal	15.7%	405	2,305
Italy	13.5%	375	2,317
Lithuania	13.5%	296	2,308
Romania	14.2%	311	2,307
France	8.8%	170	2,315
Croatia	12.1%	274	2,300
Sweden	7.8%	164	2,321
Hungary	8.9%	200	2,309
Slovakia	8.5%	183	2,313
Finland	6.9%	121	2,310
Total	11.9%	3,619	32,389

Source: Pesole et al. (2018: 15).

Note: the percentages reported in column 1 are weighted. According to (Pesole et al. 2018) *it is reported that the total unweighted numbers in columns 2 and 3 for additional clarity.*

When it is provided an estimate of platform workers as a percentage of the total adult population, the research team from Joint Research Committee made corrections to the "COLLaborative Economy and Employment" survey (COLLEEM) figures. The Panel 1 of the following table below shows the figures of internet use for the entire adult population in each country according to the Eurostat ICT survey, which can be considered as the real population values.

Table 2 - Percentage of platform workers in Europe according to the 2017 COLLEEM survey, adjusted estimate

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI
	1. ICT survey Internet use			2. COLLEEM Internet use			3. COLLEEM/ ICT	4. Platf. W. within frequent			5. Adjusted estimate
	Daily	Weekly	Less	Daily	Weekly	Less		%	Cases	N	
United Kingdom	88%	5%	7%	93%	5%	2%	105%	12.9%	268	2,306	12.0%
Spain	67%	10%	23%	87%	10%	3%	126%	15.1%	386	2,319	11.6%
Germany	78%	9%	13%	87%	10%	3%	111%	12.0%	245	2,292	10.4%
Netherlands	86%	6%	8%	92%	6%	1%	108%	10.6%	212	2,280	9.7%
Portugal	60%	8%	32%	94%	4%	2%	144%	15.6%	403	2,295	10.6%
Italy	66%	1%	33%	96%	1%	2%	146%	13.3%	371	2,306	8.9%
Lithuania	60%	11%	29%	91%	7%	2%	138%	12.9%	292	2,300	9.1%
Romania	42%	14%	44%	92%	7%	1%	177%	14.4%	311	2,302	8.1%
France	70%	11%	19%	85%	11%	4%	119%	8.6%	168	2,299	7.0%
Croatia	63%	7%	30%	92%	7%	1%	142%	11.6%	272	2,298	8.1%
Sweden	85%	6%	9%	92%	6%	2%	108%	7.9%	163	2,299	7.2%
Hungary	71%	7%	22%	91%	8%	1%	127%	8.5%	198	2,303	6.7%
Slovakia	68%	11%	21%	87%	11%	2%	123%	8.7%	183	2,297	6.9%
Finland	85%	6%	9%	91%	6%	3%	107%	6.6%	119	2,297	6.0%
Total				90%	8%	3%		11.9%	3,591	32,193	9.7%

Source: Pesole et al. (2018: 15), based on the COLLEEM dataset and the Community survey on ICT usage in households and by individuals (ICT survey)

As the authors mention, according to the adjusted estimation explained in the report, "the share of adults that have ever done some work via online platform is slightly above 10% in UK, Spain, Germany and Portugal, and around 7% or lower in France, Sweden, Hungary, Slovakia and Finland, with the other countries in between" Pesole et al. (2018: 16).

Also the Online Labour Index (http://ilabour.oii.ox.ac.uk/online-labour-index/) present the information by region and country. It can also be used as a source of information on labour platforms. It was developed by the Oxford Internet Institute (Kässi and Lehdonvirta 2018). In the case of Portugal, they have found the top online occupations as being the following[2]:

1. Creative and multimedia

2. Software development and technology

3. Writing and translation

The OLI is constructed by tracking all the projects/tasks posted on the six largest English-language online labour platforms, representing at least 70% of the market by traffic. The projects are then classified by occupation and country of the employer. The results are published as an automatically updated open dataset and it is possible to visualize interactive charts showing changes by occupations and countries (cf. Pesole et al. (2018: 13).
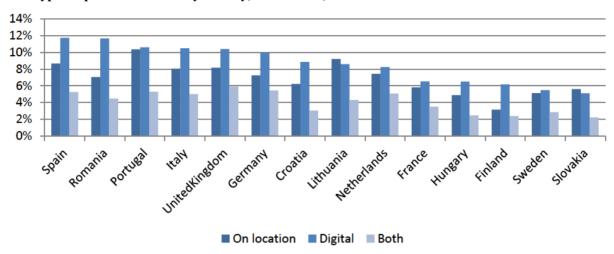
The JRC study includes relevant data information. It even suggests that platform work "it is, at the very least, an emerging phenomenon that has affected a significant number of workers, and that provides a small but perhaps important source of income to some of those workers too" (Pesole et al. (2018: 20), in particular to the Portuguese ones. The information on Portugal can be relevant as a starting level, and we intend to know further within our project.

A significant outcome that must explored is about the gender factor among the platform workforce. The COLLEEM survey reveals that, "in particular, for workers that carry significant platform work but not as main occupation, the women to men ratio varies from 0.18 (i.e. one woman for every six men) in Finland to 0.91 in Portugal, where nearly as many women as men spend at least 10 hours working on platforms or earn at least 25% of their income through platform work" (Pesole et al. (2018: 22).

Another information from the same JRC report mentions that the platform workers perform both digital and on-location services, suggesting that many platform workers perform more than a single type of task on digital labour platforms, as the following figure demonstrates.

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[2] Information that can be seen at https://livedataoxford.shinyapps.io/1490198815-8pmoe2dwg9r7n6d/

Table 3 - Types of provided services by country, COLLEEM, 2018

■ On location ■ Digital ■ Both

The figure reveals that Portugal is the country with the largest share of workers in "on location" services (e.g. co-working infrastructures or goods delivery) and amongst the "Top 5" in digital services (e.g. Upwork, Freelance).

2. Scientific debate about digital platforms

The literature about workers of digital platforms is meagre. Our systematic review identified three groups of literature:

Workers of digital platforms

- 1 thematic paper on research about platform work (Moniz and Boavida 2019)

- 1 article addresses partly the challenges digitalization presents to workers in a (national peer review) journal (Estanque et al. 2018)

- 1 working paper addressing broadly work in digital platforms (Teles, Nuno; Caldas 2019)

- 1 minor reference on work in platforms in a (national peer reviewed) journal (Lopes 2019)

- 1 thematic paper on governmental activity (Lima 2019)

- 2 minor references on legal aspects in a book and a report (Rebelo 2019; Ramalho 2019)

- 1 position in a conference proceeding (Gabinete de Estratégia e Planeamento, 2017)

Trade unions and digitalization

- 1 article on the challenges digitalization presents to trade unions in a (national peer review) journal (Estanque et al. 2018)

- 6 papers on call centres and unionization in (international peer reviewed) journals (Roque 2017; 2019; 2016b; 2018a; 2018b; 2016a)

Digital platforms & Digitalization

- Several on digital platforms from economics, engineering, data science or journalism

- 3 paid studies on digitalization by actors of the industrial relations systems (CIP, CGTP, Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional de Lisboa e Vale do Tejo)

- 6 studies on digitalization by multinationals and consultants (Augusto Mateus et al. 2017; Feijó et al. 2018; Deloitte 2015; Polar Insight 2019; Pina e Cunha et al. 2018; McKinsey & Company 2018).

Our desk research allowed the identification of three main research groups working with this topic: *Centro de Estudos Sociais* [CES - Centre on Social Studies, Group on Social Policies, Labour and Inequalities] of the *Universidade de Coimbra*; *Centro De Investigação De Estudos De Sociologia* [CIES - Research Centre on Studies of Sociology, Research Group on Work, Innovation and Social Structures of Economy] of *Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa* of the *Instituto Universitário de Lisboa*; *Centro Interdisciplinar de Ciências Sociais* [CICS.NOVA - Interdisciplinary Centre of Social Sciences, Research Group on Citizenship, Work and Technology] of the *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*; and more recently, a collaborative laboratory named CoLabor founded with researchers from CES and CIES.

In the next subchapter (2.1), the scientific production about workers of digital platforms will be reviewed. After there will be a subchapter with an extensive review of trade unions strategies and challenges of digitalization (2.2). The last subchapter focuses on general works about digital platforms (2.3). These publications consist of three Master dissertations and one book about journalists. We also detected other works about the larger field of digitalization that will not be reviewed here (e.g. Moniz 2019; Augusto Mateus et al. 2017; Correia et al. 2017; Gonçalves and Raimundo 2017).

2.1 Workers of digital platforms

According to Moniz and Boavida (2019)[3], little is known about how worker relationships are established on digital platforms. There are several studies in Portuguese literature about platforms, how they change value chains, how they change relationships between companies, how they contribute to economies of scale, but very little is known about workers who work in these platforms, often competing with each other, against others and without access to social support.

According to Estanque *et al.* (2018), institutional power of digital platform workers is practically non-existent, mainly because its status as self-employed is hardly linked to some kind of institutional security provided by the right to unionize and collective bargaining. These workers therefore have to rely on other resources to gain voice and bargaining skills. The increasing use of disruptive capacity by these workers points to an associative power that derives from their self-organization. The tactical repertoire used often combines online campaigns with grassroots protests. The aforementioned networks of mass self-communication, where it can be included, for example, Facebook, allow to connect atomized workers, linking national and international spaces, and thus contribute to the construction of shared identities and solidarity, but also to disseminate actions and attract the attention of the media.

It is important to stress that the discursive aspect of the societal power of these workers is becoming increasingly important, especially in cases where the other types of power are particularly low. If exercised in the context of direct action, discursive power can be translated into institutional power (for example, by driving legislative changes). In this sense, discursive power can compensate for weaknesses relative to other types of power. As mentioned above, certain patterns of collective representation of so-called platform workers have emerged. Vandaele (idem) refers, for example, to basic unions, mutual organizations, cooperatives and union-like structures. All these forms of collective representation have, as the author points out, their own characteristics and sources of tension and possible rivalries, developing synergies between the organizational capacity of the most conventional forms and the spontaneity of what is new. But this coexistence of tradition and innovation effectively depends on a number of factors, such as the dynamics and strategies of digital work platforms, labour market institutions and legal frameworks in each country, union cultures and identities, choices of trade unions, and the resources of workers' power and their ability to put them into action. (Estanque *et al.*, 2018 p. 592)

The work in digital platforms had been addressed by a governance perspective by Helena Lopes (2019)[4]. To the author, the view of the firm progressively changed from that of a centre of production and employment to that of a centre for the management of an assets' portfolio, had huge consequences on its governance. In fact, agency theory became the dominant paradigm in corporate scholarship and corporate law in the 1990s (Armour, 2005): "both boardrooms and courts have taken the normative call for shareholder value maximisation increasingly at heart" (Bodie, 2012: 1033). In conformance with Friedman's rationale, the "shareholder primacy" governance model, grounded on the relationship principal/shareholders–agent/managers, eschews employees (Bodie, 2012) and, indeed, the productive organisation itself. The firm, a productive entity composed of collectives of work, is transformed into a set of financial assets. This view partly explains why we are now witnessing a regression to forms of work prior to wage work (e.g. Uber and other forms of digital platform work), leaving workers without the legal and social protections associated with their integration into the firm (Lopes 2019 p.158).

Teles and Caldas (2019) argued that the new platform companies need to quickly become monopolists in their markets if they are to succeed. Companies in the so-called collaborative economy

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[3] The article was published in "dossier" of the Esquerda.net platform in July 2019.
[4] There is one mention to work in digital platforms from the point of view of the evolution of the concept of the firm in the article of Helena Lopes, an academic from ISCTE/IUL.

(Uber, Deliveroo, Taskrabbit, etc.) continue to generate phenomenal losses while achieving record market valuations thanks to their growing monopoly power.

Carujo (2019)[5] presents several examples of "uberization" that "already reaches from traditional sectors such as education to the most surprising such as religion. Without contracts or rights, uber proletariat is more vulnerable to exploitation". The cases are all very recent and cover the distribution of water in France, religious services in Japan, and conflicts on Uber and Lyft from US to Brazil (Carujo, 2019).

Maria da Paz Lima (2019)[6] mentions that "although the issue of employment relationships between platform operators and drivers using them has been raised, this question has not elicited in all countries and cities as the answers that have emerged in Barcelona, London and New York. In many countries, including Portugal, the same level of legal attention was not given to the employment relationship and working conditions as to Uber's status and licensing issues with a view to combating unfair competition. However, concrete forms of response will establish uberization as a process of deregulation and reduction of labor and social rights and devaluation of labor".

Lima (2019) continues stating that "in Portugal the legislative proposals passed by the Commission of Economy, Innovation and Public Works of the Assembly of the Republic and not by the Commission of Labor and Social Security and the unions were not even part of the list of entities that were consulted. On the other hand, there was no strong social or union pressure focused on the regulation of employment relations between drivers and platform operators and concern with their working conditions. At least, such concerns were not as protested as taxi drivers' stoppages demanding legislation against unfair competition (Lima 2019).

There were two monographs that addressed work in digital platforms from a legal perspective (Rebelo 2019; Ramalho 2019). The legal expert Glória Rebelo (2019) argues that a key question is to know if digital platform workers are working for an employer, as the definition of this statute will give them will determine labour and social protection of the individual. It is important to reflect about the working conditions provided by these platform companies because to regulate labour in the new digital era will bring benefits to workers in terms of social protection or unfair dismissal to secure patterns of quality and security, as well as the sustainability of social security. Furthermore, the jurist points that Portuguese labour regulations do not contemplate a specific legal frame for digital platforms labour. Thus, the determination of the work in digital platforms as subordinate work or in the regime of services provider should, necessarily, follow the articles 11 and 12 of the Labour Code, as much as it configures work done with juridical subordination. On the other hand, in cases where work is done subordinated and usually outside companies premises through the use of ICT, it should be classified under the regime of telework as stated in the Labour Code. (Rebelo 2019 p.218).

The legal expert Rosário Ramalho (2019) states that digital platforms make available to companies and workers provide new and diversified business and work models. However, it is recognized that these platforms mainly favour self-employment, with the inherent risks: lack of job security, as business risks are primarily borne by the worker; and increased social risks, due to the possible lower coverage given by social security to the various eventualities that may affect the worker (illness, accident, maternity and paternity and unemployment). On this point, it should be noted that, unlike the traditional model of subordinate work, some of the employment and working models made possible by digital technologies are more opaque from the point of view of their legal nature: in some cases they are ffectively independent work; in other cases we will be dealing with subordinate work; and in many other cases we will be in the grey area of self-employment but economically dependent. As is well known, continues Ramalho, the qualification of these situations is not always easy to do because the

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[5] The article was published in "dossier" of the Esquerda.net platform in July 2019.
[6] This article was published in "dossier" of the Esquerda.net platform in July 2019.

typical evidence of legal subordination (such as subjecting the worker to a fixed working time, the performance of his activity in the creditor's premises and his insertion in the business organization, subject to orders and instructions in this context) are not always appropriate or operational. However, the opacity of these situations is worrying because it makes it difficult to determine which regime to apply to these workers, because it makes them invisible to their peers and collective institutions and because it increases their risks of unprotected bargaining and economic unprotection. (Ramalho 2019 p. 34).

The working paper of (Teles, Nuno; Caldas 2019) is a proposal to approach Technology and Work in the 21st Century. The work is not necessarily based in Portugal, as Nuno Teles works in the Faculdade de Economia of the Universidade Federal da Bahia in Brazil.

The authors Nuno Teles and José Castro Caldas write that recently, the same organizations that promoted the 'end-of-work' narrative have been moderating it with previews linking new technologies to net job creation (see, for example, the World Economic Forum (2018) and World Bank (2019)) (Teles, Nuno; Caldas 2019) p. 6. This shift is perhaps the result of the perception that pessimism about the effects of technologies on employment, combined with the revelation of unanticipated deleterious effects of digitization and connectivity, namely of social networks, could fuel movements of resistance to technological innovation considered undesirable. However, despite the evolving narratives of the above-mentioned international organizations regarding the anticipation of the consequences of technologies on the aggregate level of employment, there are characteristic aspects of these approaches that remain constant, among which the following stand out. (Teles, Nuno; Caldas 2019 p. 6).

First, the analytical amalgam made between the precarious work practices present around the world through so-called collaborative digital platforms such as Uber or Airbnb, and the effects of robotization and Artificial Intelligence in employment. In this amalgam, the work regulated by time, remuneration and, above all, its provision, appears as anachronistic, destined to disappear between the threat of mass unemployment and the precarious modalities of its provision. Unemployment, precariousness and low pay would be the new normal, against which political power could do nothing at the risk of stopping or reversing technological progress. (Teles, Nuno; Caldas 2019 p. 6).

According to Teles and Caldas, the impact in employment of adopting new technologies (the anticipation of which involves enormous uncertainty) must be separated analytically from how new digital technologies (many of them incorporating elements of Artificial Intelligence) are transforming the actual processes of labour. These digital technologies transform the labour process not so much because of their capacity to replace work or even productivity gains, but because they are based on increasing labour fragility, nourishing it with old and new modalities (Teles, Nuno; Caldas 2019 p. 12). The economics of digital platforms are perhaps the best example of how new technologies affect the labour process and labour relations without having significant effects on the number of jobs or increased productivity. The current technology debate is thus being emphasized with speculative exercises about the future effect of adopting new technologies on employment to recent labour developments and the way it is shaped by the introduction of new technologies in some sectors of activity. (Teles, Nuno; Caldas 2019) p. 12).

Teles and Caldas argued that the devaluation and disqualification of labour tend to emerge with monopolization and accumulation of surpluses in a stagnant economic environment, marked by unemployment and underemployment as business strategies to compete and to obtain greater surpluses. In the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis, the ongoing economic restructuring was once again particularly focused on the devaluation of labour, either through its disqualification by standardization of tasks and eventual replacement by machines, through new surveillance and discipline mechanisms, or finally by the new forms of commodification of labour through changes in consumer norms (e.g. the production of commodity information from 'likes' on Facebook or searches on Google). (Teles, Nuno; Caldas 2019 p. 23). The first two processes manifest themselves primarily in digital work platforms and are often presented as inevitabilities of a new labour paradigm in an automated world that public

(de)regulation of labour will have to follow. In fact, most of these platforms change workers' tasks very little and there are no significant productivity gains here. An Uber driver does essentially the same job as a taxi driver, Airbnb hosts are obliged to do the same booking, cleaning and guest advice tasks as traditional hoteliers, Deliveroo workers are hardly distinguished in their duties from corporate workers. of deliveries.

These new 'collaborative' platforms have as their greatest innovation the way they organize work, devaluing it through the illusory non-working relationship of their workers transformed into independent service providers, competing with each other and allegedly not subject to the hierarchy the company. In the clearest cases, such as Uber or Deliveroo, the platforms organize the work process into divisible, homogeneous tasks that are easy to monitor. In fact, the key technology that underpins the homogenization and devaluation of labour lies not in the mobile App, or even in the smartphone itself, but in the GPS that it integrates, because, thanks to this technology, the detailed knowledge of a given territory (and its traffic dynamics) is now within anyone's reach (Huws, 2016). (Teles, Nuno; Caldas 2019 p. 23).

Furthermore, the government published a conference proceeding about the future of work (Gabinete de Estratégia e Planeamento 2017).[7] The work captured the opinion of Manuel Carvalho da Silva, a the sociologist and former leader of CGTP-IN. Carvalho da Silva recalled that as part of the closer debate on digital technologies and new platforms, the emergence of the mistakenly titled 'collaborative economy' is heralded as a brave new world, where through digital platforms downloaded on our mobile phones we would have a new model of job offerings, flexible, tailored to the needs and "autonomy" of each worker, with possible benefits for consumers. If today the most notorious examples are transport, as is the case with Uber or Cabify, there are already numerous applications that extend this model to new services and activities and some work at home, some of which are of great responsibility for those who perform it. In the overwhelming majority of cases, worker independence is false. What is observed is an extension of working time and the invasion of non-working time, which is the sole responsibility of the citizen/worker. In this "collaborative economy" there is no work, but only "activities". And employment comes as an anachronistic concept. Those who make online work available do not assume their responsibility of being an employer. With more or less technology it is always possible to identify and regulate new working relationships in new ways of providing them. Political discourse cannot embark on technological dazzle. The reinstatement of the right to collective bargaining, fairer wages and pensions and fundamental social rights - today so much claimed in Portugal - under conditions that may differ from the past and from other forms of organization and provision of labour, only means a return to democracy and progress, always possible with more or less technology. (Gabinete de Estratégia e Planeamento 2017).

2.2 Trade unions and digitalization

We will now review another article about trade unionism strategies facing digitalization. Estanque et al. (2018) published an extensive peer reviewed article about labour organization and digitalization in Portugal. The paper will be reviewed with a focus on the most important arguments to our project.

2.2.1 Context

The paper of Estanque et al. (2018) reflects about "Digitization and precarious work: new challenges for unionism and social movements in the Portuguese context". According to the authors (p.

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[7] We also identified three examples of other works about the larger field of digitalization (Moniz 2019; Augusto Mateus et al. 2017; Correia et al. 2017).

592): Particularly since the 2000s, job insecurity and structural unemployment have been able to disorganize and fragment the working class, making their political and collective representation more difficult. Today, the digital economy and the 4th industrial revolution (industry 4.0) bring with them new difficulties that seem to result in the growing precariousness of labour relations. In the Portuguese context, although austerity and job restructuring have stimulated union responses that have promised revitalization, they have also prompted responses from new socio-labour movements. Thus, the authors assume that precariousness and austerity may have created conditions for the building of 'bridges' between old and new labour actors, but at the same time these conditions illustrate the nature of the installed contradictions. (Estanque *et al.*, 2018 p. 592).

According to Estanque et al., the 2008 crisis and technological trends, such as the digitization of the economy and labour, have been posing new challenges on several levels (Estanque, 2017). It is important to highlight the profound changes that occur in the world regarding the structure of employment, even if differently between countries and regions and sector of activity. Such processes positively affect the service sector (Valenduc and Vendramin 2016), leading to digitization becoming an unsurpassable trend, embracing new types of companies whose existence is due to three recent developments: (a) internet and network development high speed; (b) Big Data, that is, colossal masses of commercial, personal and geographic data incorporated by internet platforms and directly usable; and (c) the explosion of new forms of mobile devices that give access to mobile internet (Degryse, 2016, p.7). The breakthrough of digital platforms and, more broadly, the gig economy in the context of the 4th industrial revolution seems to point to the end of the salary-based work, also signalling the full liberalization of services and the spread of competition worldwide (Drahokoupil, 2015; Estanque *et al.*, 2018 p. 592).

However, Estanque *et al.* (2018 p. 592) argues that the direct causal relationship between the potential of new technologies and their effects on skills and jobs is debatable, particularly when referring to the negative impacts. For example, it can be argued that workers able to make the transition to Industry 4.0 may gain greater autonomy and perform more interesting or less arduous work. The digital economy relies largely on global virtual and communication networks, and it can be said to be defined on the basis of the following main features: the irrelevance of geographical location; the decisive role of computer platforms; the importance of networking; and the use of digitized databases. These aspects distinguish it from the traditional economy, in particular as a result of the rapid transformation of value chains. Largely supported by virtual work, it gave way to new forms of occupation and opened new opportunities to segments that would otherwise be excluded from the labour market. Nevertheless, as Valenduc and Vendramin (2016) point out, the emergence of these "new" (or not so much) forms of work has been accompanied by new forms of employment that combine unconventional workplaces with new contractual arrangements, moving ever further away from the working conditions once considered typical. Being neither entirely new nor entirely negative to workers, the new forms of labour require new forms of regulation. (Estanque *et al.*, 2018 p. 592).

This digital revolution focuses on many aspects of the working world, such as: (i) mass clientelism, using advanced technologies and 3D prototyping and design forms for individualization; (ii) digital platforms, facilitating faster and remote working and the internet of things; (iii) the development of robotics adaptable to different contexts, needs and services; (iv) decentralized production networks; the increasingly widespread fragmentation of productive functions and value chains on a global scale; (v) the reconfiguration and blending of boundaries between industry and services and between production and consumption (World Economic Forum, 2016). These trends foresee deep turning points in society, but also some lines of continuity. The new business models and forms of chain production, for example, follow a logic of "redo the package", that is, following the old "winner gets everything" principle (Castells, 2000 and 2013). While offering greater flexibility, particularly as regards to reconciling employment and family life, these new forms of employment are costly at various levels to workers. (Estanque *et al.*, 2018 p. 592).

2.2.2 Trade unions

According to Estanque *et al.*, 2018 (p. 592), trade unions face a major challenge stemming from the cross-effect of precariousness and digitization. New technologies such as cloud, big data, mobile applications, geolocation, the internet of things and mobile robots, among others, are the main factors involved in what is said to be a "full technological revolution" (Valenduc and Vendramin 2016, p. 19). In articulating with new digital management methods, these new technologies are transforming work organization (Vandaele, 2018), challenging professional identities and restricting workers' opportunities for collective organization, which has implications for union action. The author will further elaborate on this point in a subsequent section. Here, it may be mentioned that the widespread dissemination of the Internet and Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) highlights the need to frame trade union action with new discursive forms. (Estanque *et al.*, 2018 p. 592).

For Estanque et al. (2018), the new forms of employment, where precariousness proliferates, are characterized by the distancing of workers from unions in the vast majority of cases, which poses the problem of the "organization of the unorganized" (Béroud, 2009). While such a need is widely recognized, the strategies put in place by the trade union movement are not always effective or even consistent. As Béroud points out, inclusion strategies in this segment of the workforce appear to emerge from the need to compensate for membership losses, which indicates a greater concern with maintaining numbers than with renewing strategies and adapting to new challenges. (idem). In turn, precarious workers exhibit some resistance to unions. Many have no contact with unions or are unaware of their presence in the workplace. In other cases, they are not unionized because they do not find any advantages in being so. In practical terms, precarious workers are not able to fit in the logic of political and ideological identification of the working class of the past (Estanque *et al.*, 2018 p. 592).

The same authors argue that the unions' focus on representing and defending a core of stable wage workers makes it difficult to extend union goals and strategies to other segments of the working class. If, on the one hand, the inclusion of precarious workers may mean the tacit acceptance of labor precariousness by unions, that is, their legitimation (precisely what they seek to combat in order to preserve wage labor), on the other, the fact of dedicating more time and resources to "atypical" workers can be perceived as a reduction in attention directed at "traditional" members. Many unions place obstacles to the membership of precarious workers by blocking access to workers not covered by a contract of employment or a full-time and dependent employment relationship (Standing, 2009; Bernaciak et al., 2014). To the extent that there is overwhelming evidence that the growth of "atypical" work will weaken the power of trade unions and their ability to act, the organization and insertion of workers covered by them is of increasing importance. This seems to imply, as has already been suggested by Béroud, a change in terms of union discourse, as well as the creation of new structures and more appropriate action modalities (Béroud, 2009). In this regard, Kurt Vandaele (2018) points to the possible coexistence or combinations of traditional or mainstream unions with union-like organizations focused on defending the needs and interests of platform workers. In such cases, patterns of representation seem to fluctuate between two types of logic: membership (or logic of membership) and influence. (Estanque *et al.*, 2018 p. 592).

2.2.3 Power resources

The analysis of the unions expansion in the platform economy by Kurt Vandaele (2018) draws attention to the obstacles while identifying emerging patterns of representation and collective voice. The possibilities identified present lines of continuity with other contexts of intense precariousness of labour relations. They can be viewed from a point of view focused on addressing power resources.

According to Vandaele (2018), in most cases of digital platform work, the structural power of workers is very weak. Nevertheless, some of these workers have a disruptive capacity, although their willingness to do so depends on the type of labour market connection (which is downright lower when costs associated with collective action are higher), and their associative power is being forged based on the use of networks of mass self-communication. According to Estanque et al. (2018), alliances and coalitions with other social actors are also important for the trade union movement not only because they can increase access to other social groups and thus reverse low levels of unionization, but also because they give increasing legitimacy to campaigns and union demands, strengthening the mobilization capacity.

2.2.4 Organizing collective actions

The rise in the number of workers with more flexible employment contracts and non-traditional forms of employment, as well as the latest technological trends such as the digitization of the economy and labour, pose new challenges to trade union agendas. For Estanque *et al.* (2018), given the difficulties of trade unions in dealing with the need to organize precarious work and adapt to the technological world, the fight against precariousness is inseparable from the question of union renewal. The case studies the authors present (strategic alliances of both CGTP and worker's fight in the health line Saúde 24) highlight two important facts in this regard: the collective action repertoires (diversifying and expanding the spectrum of actions in which unions are involved) and connectivity (how to be more competent in "interweaving" the interests and identities of so-called outsiders into a more general narrative and practice of the role of unions in society).

The repertoires of collective action are linked to the power strategies of the unions, are rooted in union practices and have been internalized by successive generations of unionists (Estanque *et al.* 2018). In the confederal case, the CGTP reflects not only the identity of the trade union movement, but also the national cleavage structure. There is a strong political and ideological dimension underlying the action of that structure, which is not matched by the ideals of the anti-austerity movement. The "class" language used by the CGTP has little resonance with activists and supporters of social movements who praise self-expression and direct action. Therefore, at this point, the challenge is to build a common narrative capable of bridging the gap between trade unionists and non-unionists, as in this case, social movements. Societal power, in its discursive aspect, is at stake here. The change in the collective action repertoires represents a significant change in the way trade union actions are framed.

We would like to argue here that building a common narrative with movements of workers of digital platforms should not be seen as an easy challenge to trade unions. First, crowd workers can be hard to reach in many digital platforms, because they work geographically disperse or are not always aware of colleagues' identity. When they are reachable (e.g. platform call centres), their WhatsApp group is not yet sufficient to create collective conscience and does not provide the trust needed to spread sensitive information. Second, the existing movements can be hard to mobilize because they function loosely and resemble more a network of contacts (e.g. call centres in digital platforms). The leadership of existing digital platform movements can also be weak or divided (e.g. Uber's union and employer's association) and members might not want to engage with trade unions (e.g. AirBnB). In some cases, members might even have political/ideologic antagonism to traditional organized labour, such as in the case of Upwork freelancers. Last, a bridge between unions and social movements is not automatically a connection between unions and workers. For example, the Portuguese *Precários Inflexíveis*[8] (a group that promotes the end of precarious work) faces significant difficulties in reaching and mobilising precarious workers. To this movement, an alliance with trade unions was of significant value because unions have societal and mobilization power useful to promote the Precários' goals. To trade unions it

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[8] http://www.precarios.net/

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was easier to connect with this organized movement because it has one (or more) leaders to discuss with, the movement had clear goals, and there was a clear pattern of collective behaviour that aims to promote similar goals within a similar ideological framework of action. The movement was also useful to unions' power strategies, namely societal influence and future membership. The situation of precarious improved recently in Portugal, when a special Programme – PREVPAP9 - was created in 2017 to secure long-term contracts with precarious working in the public sectors. Nevertheless, concrete gains to trade unions are not yet clear, at least in terms of membership, and there were members and unions complaints regarding pay increases for those within the labour force. Therefore, we believe that there is a case to argue that building a common narrative between unions and digital labour movements will require important changes in traditional strategies to reach to digital workers, obtain a deeper understanding of these workers' reality, support mechanisms for class conscience to arise and collectively create new mobilizing strategies.

To Estanque *et al.* (2018) unions' campaigns must also address the new reality of digitization. In the case study of the Saúde 24, it is clear that the use of new technologies as platforms for contact and organization and the impromptu use of informal representation mechanisms in a context of de-collectivisation of industrial relations were the great allies of mobilization. In both cases, the use of Facebook as a protest call was essential. In addition, the use of media in the Saúde 24 case as a means of taking labour disputes outside, which has shifted from the company to the legal, political and media arenas, demonstrates that, in the face of weakened collective negotiations and social dialogue - that is, institutional power - these alternative social protests have the ability to place labour disputes on the political agenda by creating new forms of political action.

The tensions pointed out above about confederal and sectoral case studies emerge from the fact that trade unions and social movements have distinct dynamics. As for connectivity, it is obvious that the growth of precarious work has intensified with the crisis and technological trends such as the digitization of the economy and labour. At the same time, trade unions can be seen as an institutional feature of the division between so-called insiders (sometimes considered 'privileged') in more stable and secure internal labour markets and outsiders with atypical employment contracts (read more flexible, more precarious and underpaid). This implies that the trade union movement needs to address issues such as identity, values and legitimacy in order to strengthen itself within these segments. The atomization of most current forms of work denies (or makes it more difficult) for particular segments affected by precariousness the experience of labour struggles in order to construct a new collective identity and overall feelings. Living in an individualized world, young skilled workers are more easily attracted to forms of consumerism than to political awareness. (Estanque *et al.* 2018)

In the sectoral case of Saúde 24, the digital platform workers were mostly young, women and skilled, working for the state under a system of "green receipts" (issued by self-employed) with low levels of union membership, which led them to create, organize and elect an informal works council. This was a way of giving legitimacy not only to the movement but also to the strike even without union approval. Moreover, even though unions supported the cause of workers, they found a more suitable ally in a specific organization: the "Precarious Inflexible", - a new and social movement organization concerned with defending the rights of precarious workers.

Such examples illustrate the importance of different types of institutional configurations in constructing the distinction between insiders and outsiders. In conclusion, from the confederal and sectoral cases presented, the authors suggest five ways to strengthen the capacity of unions to organize precarious workers:

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9 O PREVPAP é um programa de regularização extraordinária dos vínculos precários na Administração Pública. Através deste programa os trabalhadores da Administração Central e do Setor Empresarial do Estado podem regularizar o seu vínculo laboral com o Estado. Link: https://prevpap.gov.pt/

1) instigate new forms and criteria of membership to co-opt precarious work, for example directly at the confederal / national level, upholding minimum rights in national labour law, building a common narrative based on shared goals, and recognizing the rights of those to whom they are denied;

2) promote alliances and concerted actions in the context of protests and strikes and thus allowing better organization rates, reinforcement of union values and building of transversal solidarity and exchange of experiences with groups with more heterogeneous and complex identities;

3) foster a trade union openness to learning new skills in the field of new technologies and the use of social platforms/networks, a practice in which precarious workers' organizations and movements are particularly agile;

4) extend the capacity to occupy spaces that affect workers' lives so that unions are not confined to the workplace, thus creating new approaches, strategies and models of representation that go beyond the workplace;

5) create legitimate and institutional links with social movements linked to the organization of precarious workers through a broad network that enables both to be involved in the fight against precarious work. This does not exclude the possibility of inclusion (or even "absorption") of these movements by unions but would represent a legitimate cooperation towards common goals.

For Estanque et al. (2018), trade unions simultaneously need to maintain their institutional identity and expand their social, political and ideological identity to include new emerging realities in the world of work. In short, all of these challenges (and certainly many unreported ones) concur with the common goal (of unions and other socio-occupational organizations and movements) of overcoming labour precariousness. After all, a legitimate and contagious ambition for workers worldwide, but which the Portuguese context illustrates well in its contours and particular complexity in the context of the recent crisis and violent austerity that the country has experienced.

After the review of Estanque et al. (2018) article, it is possible to make a point about the problem of class consciousness and precariousness. First, nurses in call centres are a traditional professional group working in a new territory filled with telephones and desks instead of beds and patients. But the conditions to gain class consciousness are there, not just because they are all in the same professional group but also because they are physically together in the same call centre, most work also in hospitals, can be contacted by unions and other movements, are able to share ideas and histories about past mobilizations and mobilize for collective action. To workers of digital platforms, however, class consciousness is more complex to attain, as there are difficult conditions to recognize workers in the same situation, to contact and trust each other, to limit free riders or to be pinpointed by employers abound. Second, it is not entirely clear that to young platform workers precariousness is an ultimate cause. To some young workers at least earnings, taxes, mobility, flexibility can rank higher in their priorities. In cases where platform work is a complement to their income and not their main job, the precariousness of the work is in itself a positive feature to why they wish to carry out those tasks. One trade unionist mentioned the case of a worker that got a fixed contract but preferred to have a temporary contract.

2.3 Organizing in call centres

As mentioned before, there is a relatively significant literature about call centres in Portuguese labour studies. We will review these articles because we have evidence that some of these companies are now hiring to work from home, directly in digital platform through an app installed in a mobile phone. One trade unionist (Int12) confirmed the existence of this digital platform of work in the North

of Portugal. One worker of one of these platforms of call centres living in Lisbon (Call4), gave use direct confirmation of the existence of more than 20 workers in Portugal doing direct translation through an app installed in the company mobile phone.

According to Roque (2017), there was an increase in the proportion of service workers, leading to a decline in the unionization rate the late 1980s. Portuguese trade unionism has been mainly characterized by the absence of a collective organization, not having adapted itself to the evolution of society. Therefore, trade unions face new and hard challenges concerning their organization, strategy of action, social and labour intervention with workers, trying to revive class consciousness lost to individualism. Call centres represent one of the areas which personifies the whole set of technological innovation, being considered as the fastest developing form of e-work. New social protest movements connected with digital labour have emerged in the Portuguese society, including the group of *Precários Inflexíveis, Mayday, Ferve, Precariações, Indignados* and more specifically the Call Centre Workers' Trade Union (STCC). Between 2008 and 2016, the author analysed how these "virtual real" social movements organize themselves and have become relevant to the "awakening" of Portuguese call centre workers' class consciousness.

The context of traditional call centres is not prone to unionism. Roque (2018) revealed that call centre workers appear to be more submissive and less engaged in trade unionism, preferring to hold on to something they may initially have expected to be temporary, but which has eventually become permanent (Roque, 2010). However, according to Isabel Roque[10], the appearance of independent trade union of call centres (STCC) in the national panorama was important (Roque 2018a). The author claimed that these workers are developing new forms of antibureaucratic and anticapitalistic forms of trade unionism, council communist and autonomist worker representation. Nevertheless, we believe that these forms of collective organization are characteristics of the germination of a new independent unionist movement under the strong influence of the main existing labour structure and under significant levels of job insecurity and poor labour conditions. According to one expert, the sectoral trade union of CGTP – CESP - is able to organize more workers of call centres than STCC.

2.4 Digital platforms in Portugal

There are four master dissertations about digital platforms in Portugal (Pugliese 2016; R. F. S. Gonçalves 2016; Gouveia 2018; Simões 2017). Pugliese (2016) studies how value is created through digital platforms in two companies – Uber and Airbnb - and analysed how their pricing model and some financial data is shown. A model is used to give a perspective of which elements generate value, when a platform is in use. Gonçalves (2016) assess the impact of mobile apps for sharing on the taxi sector. It was shown that Uber's prices are in general inferior to regular taxis, there was a negative relationship between price and population size and a positive relationship with the standards of living. Starting with an analysis of several existing regulatory solutions in the sector and discussing a few practical examples, a description of the competition between both business models (Uber and Táxis) is presented. The other two dissertations are dedicated to the impact of Uber in Portugal. Gouveia's 2018) research is based on a case study explored through the lens of Human Resources Management with fifteen semi-structured interviews to Uber drivers in Lisbon's Metropolitan Area. According to Gouveia (2018) results show that policies such as performance evaluation, qualification and income management should not be dealt with by algorithms, considering their direct impact on workers and, consequently, on their productivity. The dissertation of Simões (2017) analyses the sharing economy and the way it influences the taxi market, as well as taxi drivers' dissatisfaction and the proposals of resolution by the government, the analysis of models of competition present in the sectors presented and the point of view of industrial

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[10] There is a significant amount of research about call centers, developed by Isabel Roque since 2008 (Roque 2017; 2019; 2016b; 2018a; 2018b; 2016a).

organization. Simões (2017) study is based on an economic perspective of Uber's operations in Portugal and an analysis of economic news since 2014.

In a different research field, Quental's PhD thesis studies e-participation in the organizations, especially the relationship between teachers' unions, teachers, and other participants from the civil society (Quental 2014). Regarding the Portuguese teachers' unions, the adoption of information and communication technologies is already a reality. Nevertheless, the application of these technologies is usually limited to the unidirectional spread of information, either via email, SMS or newsletters, or through their Web portals. In other words, the unions still lack in interaction, participation and cooperation, according to Quental (2014). The author conceives a platform that promotes a structured participation and a multidirectional communication.

There are other studies that broadly address the general topic of digital platforms from other scientific disciplines. Murta (2014) considers that the Portuguese Táxi market fits a description of a free-entry cartel, run by associations, tolerated by a captured regulator, where neither entry nor exit budge price. For consumers, it is a raw deal. Meanwhile, monopoly profits are squandered among the maximum of deadbeats, who barely get by. Murta (2014) concluded that it would be better if regulation evolved from the capture by the drivers' organizations, towards price and licenses set according to traffic levels, after a clearing negative price shock. From a technological perspective Gomes et al. (2018) focuses on "a digital platform comprised of a web application (Backoffice) and a mobile application that aims to provide all the training materials that caregivers need to learn to treat their patients, focusing on what the caregivers need to learn in the moment" (p. 226). This first study has been the only one relatively close to the topic of work (caregiving) associated to a digital platform. Another experience is related to co-work, or more specifically, to cocreation of value of (footwear) product requiring the "active role" of customers in the product design (Oliveira, Cunha and Carvalho, 2019). Using the search function in several databases, we have found also another generally connected with the topic (Brochado, Troilo, and Shah 2017).

Cádima (2018) mentions that "there are significant issues that face journalism in the new digital context concerning the emergence of new web environments and the new convergences and interactions between journalists, audiences, and produsers. Several researchers point to the interactive or the intermediation issue (Oblak, 2005; Chung, 2007; Morozov, 2012), while others focus on aspects such as the renaissance of investigative journalism in digital media, which would depend, in this case, on whether or not journalists adopt 'profound shifts' in their work" (Cádima, 2018: 175). In the same line, (Cádima 2018) also mentions the use of digital platform work on this occupation that faces new challenges and changes, when he reveals that "there are several online platforms for the publication of creative work with media content or that is experimental in nature, such as MediaStorm, Medium, Stories From, Silk, and Mozilla Popcorn. There are also crowdfunding platforms for journalists such as Newspryng, Contributoria, and Uncoverage, as well as citizen journalism platforms, including Global Voices, Public Insight Network, iReport, GuardianWitness, and Allvoices. The different platforms, from journalism and non-fiction to transmedia storytelling, represent a process where the old narrative elements of a story or news system may disperse and recover systematically through multiple channels or digital platforms with strong interaction with its audiences and produsers. This new media ecosystem permits the expansion of a diversity of voices, the emergence of participatory media, and even locative media and the new skills of bottom-up 'produsage'. The new communication model is focused on identifying strategies for innovative ways of consuming content, from those which are merely adaptations of broadcast journalism to those already formatted in digital interfaces and prepared for multiple extensions and platforms of the new communication model. New audiences are now more micro- and hyper-targeted in their options and profiles. Each network and service, carrier, and terminal has its own complex experience, reorganizing and participating in different networks, but also increasingly unaware of the support through which their data are distributed" (Cádima, 2018: 176-177).

3.   Public debate in the media

This chapter describes the main public debates existent in the Portuguese media. The description reflects traditional media (newspapers, magazines and TV), as well as social media, digital fora and other discussions found in main social media (Facebook, LinkedIn, Meetups, blogs, etc). A media analysis has been conducted to show how the situation of digital platform workers is perceived by Portuguese newspapers, magazines, TV shows and blogs. The analysis features journalistic pieces collected through the news websites of the Portuguese weekly newspaper *Expresso*, the weekly magazines *Visão* and *Sábado* and the daily *Diário de Notícias* and *Correio da Manhã*. Since the *Expresso*, *Visão* and *Sábado* are regarded to represent a liberal-centre position in the Portuguese media landscape, the latter *Diário de Notícias* stand for a conservative position. Further, the *Jornal Económico, Dinheiro Vivo, Observador* and *Eco* have been analysed, which both stand for a market-liberal perspective. In addition, the leading daily newspaper *Público* has been included when possible, because access was a significant financial effort. The TV stations *RTP, SIC* and *TVI* were selected as they are the main national televisions in the country.

In order to conduct the analysis all mentioned databases have been searched via several key words related to crowd work. The most common word to describe the wider phenomenon of crowd-work was "Uberização", which derives from Uber. Other words used to search the databases were: crowd-work; economia de plataforma; economia gig; gig economy; gig economy; plataforma digital; plataformas digitais; Uber; Cabify; AirBnB; Booking; Trivago; Uber Eats; Glovo; UpWork; Freelancer; Freelancers; Nómada Digital; Nómadas Digitais; Digital Nomads; and Call centers. The focus of the analysis is how was the public debate about crowd work issues. We explain the kind of platform discussed in the Portuguese media and the general context of the discussion. Out of XXX articles, which have been derived from the publisher's databases 120 have been chosen as a first set for the quantitative analysis as they are primarily dealing with the platform economy discussing the issue of crowd work.

In 2016, the Portuguese gig economy was worth 265 million euros and the number of employed persons was around 8400 (Diário de Notícias 2018)[11]. The contribution to the Gross domestic product was 0.14% and represented 0.17% of total employment. By then, housing was the most important sector, with almost 5,000 workers and revenues of around 121 million euros. Secondly, the number of people employed was transport (2161 workers) and revenues of around 40 million. More recent reports from JRC, indicated that an "Invisible Army" has given work to 11.5% of Portuguese (Rocha 2019). There are accounts that the gig economy is by now significantly bigger and the transport sector (TVDE) employs more workers. In 2017 there were 814 Uber employees/contractors in Portugal (Baptista 2017). In 2019, there were 13015 certified TVDE drivers (Margado, Lourenço, and Santos 2019). By the end of September 2019, the entrepreneurial occupations spiked with 3209 companies with activity related to the TVDE sector were born, representing a 120% growth compared to the same period last year (Lusa 2019b). In the hotel sector, city councils received 29.3 million euros with the tourist tax in 2018, 56% more than in the previous year (Caetano 2019). A recent publication pointed that in response to the impact of the gig economy, the European Parliament has adopted new legislation[12] on issues such as tasks, schedules, salaries, exclusivity rules, and last-minute cancellation compensation (Marques da Silva 2019).

The Uber platform is central in the Portuguese public debate for several reasons. First, and like in other countries, its entrance in the Portuguese market has shaken the way public transport is organized in the country. Uber polarized public opinion and led to strong public debates in all media across the country.

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[11] Data are from a BPI Research study based on PwC consultant's estimates for the European Commission (EC)
[12] http://www.europarl/news/en/press- room / 20190410IPR37562 / European Parliament-enhancing platform-worker rights

In 2015, the entrance of Uber triggered episodes violence by Taxi drivers against Uber drivers, police and other taxi drivers (M. Pereira 2015; Coelho 2016; 2015). This year, the fight led the leader of the communist party PCP (and its coalition CDU) to support Taxis against the "clandestine" company Uber (Lusa 2015). Later in 2018, the main trade union confederation CGTP also publicly supported the Taxis fight. In the early 2019, and after a long legislative process that started in 2016 (Lusa 2016a), the "Uber law" became effective after parliament passed legislation that regulates the sector (Lusa 2018a). The law is currently under strong observation of media and politicians (Expresso 2018).

Second, the centrality of the public debate around the digital platform Uber is also a consequence of its decision in 2017 to open a technology centre with 400 workers to develop the platform in the European market (Nunes 2019). Later in 2019, Uber announced plans to add 200 new employees to this centre in Lisbon (Nunes 2019). According to its public relations, the US company's technology centre supports users, drivers and restaurants across Europe, and has also helped Uber improve its internal services, policies and processes (Nunes 2019).

Uber arrived in Portugal in July 2014 with the UberBlack service, which transported passengers in premium cars. The platform came to be known throughout the country in December of this year, with the UberX service, which generated strong opposition from taxi drivers for lack of regulation in Portuguese law - which would only happen from the end of the year. In March 2016, Lisbon and Porto were the first two cities to have electric cars in the passenger transport service, through the UberGreen service. This option was eventually extended to more cities inside and outside Europe. In November 2017, the Uber Eats Meal Delivery Service arrived, which started with 90 partner restaurants in Lisbon. There are currently over 2000 participating restaurants in 19 cities. In February 2019, Lisbon was the first European city to take advantage of the Jump electric bike sharing service, which started with 750 units. Currently, there are already 1750 Jump bikes in the Portuguese capital, hundreds of them made in Águeda. According to Nunes (2019) since the arrival of the transport platform in Portugal, more than 2.5 million downloads of the application have been made. In July 2019, there were 8000 Uber drivers in the country.

Third and last, the public debate was so centred around the Uber platform, that the word "Uber" or "Uberização" has entered the Portuguese vocabulary as synonymous to the new cloud process technology creates in the world of work.

Relevantly, the working conditions of the Uber drivers were rarely at stake in the newspapers analysed. Most of the public debate was centred around the benefits of having Uber in modern societies and the rights of the taxi industry. We were not able to find arguments about working conditions from the taxi lobby. However, we found concerns about working conditions of in the industry, coming from the communist party (Santos 2016). In 2015, the leader of communist party stated that: "On the day the taxi protests took place in Lisbon, Porto and Faro, we made sure that the public transport sector was defended against liberalization,", speaking out against that operator and "other clandestines", as "tuk-tuk" companies, "without complying with labour legislation, the requirements and licensing requirements of the taxi industry to evade taxes, all in the name of supposed modernity"(Lusa 2015). Furthermore, in 2018, the CGTP leader stated that Taxi drivers are not "second-rate Portuguese when there are first-rate foreigners", referring to the platforms, and demanding that there be no "discrimination" but "equal rights" (Lusa 2018b). Thus, PCP and CGTP voiced concerns about working conditions in the industry, although they also might be considered protectionist of the taxi industry. Most articles addressing workers conditions are the result of initiatives, such as the release of studies of OIT (Rocha 2019)(Cátia Mateus 2019), McKinsey (Dinheiro Vivo 2019a), JRC (Ribeiro 2018; Rocha 2019) and European directive (DN 2019; Europeu 2019)(Marques da Silva 2019). Some commentators used the Uber case to make the point that, in general, global digital platforms represent a worsening of working conditions (Neves 2018; Jochen Faget (ca) 2019; Oliveira 2015a; 2016d; 2015c; 2018c; 2019b; 2016c; 2018a; 2017; 2016f; 2016a; 2016e; 2018b; 2015b; 2019a; 2016b; Ferreira 2019; Marques 2016). Although our methodology was not extensive to all newspapers in Portugal, we

detected a few cases of journalistic coverage of pay and working time and health and safety (Ferreira 2019; Catia Mateus 2019; Mendonça 2017; J. M. Pereira 2016; Cátia Mateus 2019). Other news reported non-core activities of Uber, such as sustainability and electrification (Machado 2019)(Dinheiro Vivo 2018), drones (Albuquerque 2018) and autonomy (Bastos 2017; Salvador 2019; Expresso 2016; Lusa 2018c; Expresso 2019).

The Airbnb and Booking have also been in the public debate. The country has seen a boom of touristic activity pushed mostly by low cost flights and accommodations and consequences of the financial crisis that severely hit the county. According to (Moreira 2019), if in 2011 there were a total of 523 properties registered in the 18 municipalities of AML, four years later, by 2015, that number had already increased to 15,577. Looking at the October 2018 data (up to the 23rd, the date set by the study), there are already 48,785 units listed on the platform, and 31,866 are located in the capital. The number of guests in the city, the authors write, has increased by 27% since 2014, and by 2018 the airport has recorded a record number of arrivals - "14.5 million people, which is more than 26 times the number of inhabitants in the city", according to the report of (Moreira 2019). Presently, the sector lives the best year ever, with growth above 10% (Pinto 2016). Portugal was the 10th largest booking platform market in the world (Antunes 2019).

Importantly, the working conditions are rarely addressed in these public debates. In 2016, the 4th Precarious Forum was an example of how a small debate about working conditions was initiated. One main newspaper mentioned that the gains in the tourism sector are not for everyone (Pinto 2016). In an interview, a trade unionist speaks of "very serious situation" and the Government guarantees to be aware (Pinto 2016). "We have a small group of people enjoying a tourist boom to increase their wealth at the expense of precarious work," says Patrícia Martins a precariousness activist from the association of *Precários Inflexíveis*. And the Habita association, by the voice of Daniela Alves Pereira, added: "We are not against tourism. But one must take into account the harmful effects of this activity. One of them is to have cities with a refurbished face, but where people have no place". The two associations created an email (workhoprecario@gmail.com) to receive testimonials from those who feel exploited at work, from those who have suffered from the growth of temporary accommodation in the city from those affected by tourism (Pinto 2016).

This newspaper (Pinto 2016) found that The Northern Hotel, Tourism, Restaurant and Similar Industry Workers Union recently surveyed the situation of catering and beverage workers and found worrying figures: in the 320 companies surveyed, with 3936 employees, "33% were working illegally," says the structure coordinator in the north. Based on these data, the union estimates that there are around 82500 people working at national level without making discounts. Clandestine work - "the worst of precariousness" - is the sector's number one problem, says the unionist. And it happens mainly "outside the shopping centres and in the coastal areas, with municipalities where the situation is frightening": Matosinhos, Vila Nova de Gaia and Póvoa de Varzim get a red card. But the precarious modalities fill a long list, he says: workers who receive part of their salary on the receipt and the other informally, temporary work, outsourcing, internships, 10 to 12 hours a day without pay per job extraordinary, often without the two days of rest provided by law, without the right to vocational training or occupational medicine. It has become "common practice," he laments.

With regard to local housing, the Government admitted that "the legislation needs some adjustments", reports (Pinto 2016). But some measures have already been put in place: in conjunction with Airbnb, the socialists governments made a "communication to all owners registered on the platform alerting to the need for registration" and managed, as a result of this action, that the number of registrations skyrocketed, said in writing to *Público*.

This elite newspaper also reported about the position of the sector federation of trade unions (Pinto 2016). For Francisco Figueiredo, change can only happen with a strong stance from the Government, as the Federation of Hotel and Restaurant Unions (FESAHT) recently complained in a hearing with the Secretary of State for Tourism. Trade unionists demand more vigorous action by the Labour Inspection

(ACT), in particular as regards undeclared work, and call for criminalization of illegal and clandestine work. Also, on the priority list are canteen staff, where "over 90% of workers are precarious". To open doors, they suggest, any establishment should be required to have a staff; and to ensure quality of service, temporary employment and outsourcing companies should apply collective bargaining. "This way, employers may use them less," he says.

Our analysis revealed that Portuguese media had not a regular debate about the digital platforms. In fact, the public debate about digital platforms in Portugal was often triggered by reaction to the operations of these companies in the Portuguese economy, such as the case of Taxis and Hotel sectors. The debate was centred on the benefits of these platforms, dangers to the local economy and impacts in society. For example, the *Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos*, a central Foundation promoting public debates in Portugal financed by one of biggest capitalists in the country, promoted a conference intitled "Work Gives Thought" where renowned specialists were invited to talk about the future of work and digital platforms, such as David Author, Jimmy Wales, Luis Garicano, Luís Moniz Pereira, Norberto Pires and Sérgio Rebelo ("Sete Ideias de Como Vai Ser o Trabalho No Futuro" 2019). The national debate was also often informed by international studies, such as OIT (Mateus 2019; Rocha 2019), JRC and the European Commission (Diário de Notícias 2018). These studies had a strong emphasis on working conditions, the quantification of this workforce and future legislative actions, such as European legal initiatives (Marques da Silva 2019). In rare occasions the debate addressed workers' needs and concerns (Mateus 2019; 2019; Aguiar 2019; Oliveira 2018a; 2016b; 2019a; 2016e; 2015b; 2016c; 2016b; 2015c; 2019b; 2018b; 2016f; 2016a; 2018c; 2016d; 2015a; Covas 2018b; 2019; 2017; 2018a). In these debates, individual workers participated and sometimes trade unions were inquired. Three commentators were particularly significant in this analysis: Daniel Oliveira (Oliveira 2016d; 2018b; 2015a; 2016c; 2017; 2016a; 2019a; 2018a; 2015c; 2019b; 2016f; 2016e; 2015b; 2016b) and António Covas (Covas 2018a; 2019b; 2018b; 2019a; 2017). And Cátia Mateus(Airlines and America 2019; Carvalho 2019; Evrard and Images 2019; Cátia Mateus 2018; Suhareva and Henning 2019; Cátia Mateus 2019a; Catia Mateus 2019a; Cátia Mateus 2019b; Catia Mateus 2019b; Cátia Mateus 2019b). There were opinions lined to PSD, such as (As 2019).

In sum, it can be concluded that the public debate about digital platforms started in early 2014 and remains significantly centered around the Uber and Airbnb cases. The public debates about other platforms working in other sectors were not very significant. The public debates detected approach more general topics related to the impact of digitalization in work, technology and work and less intensively about digital platforms.

4. Labour organisation in digital platforms

4.1 Description

This chapter describes 8 initiatives, actions, protests or conflicts of workers organized in Portugal. They were selected according to the guidelines defined by the project (see guidelines in annex 1) through desk research, media analysis and exploratory interviews. They represent the cases where we think it is possible to find useful information to build a case study with relevance to this project.

In the chapter initiatives are considered new legal provisions, policy positions or any public definition of principles by some (even informal) organizations, such as group of digital workers, political parties, confederations of trade unions, trade unions, NGOs, associations, foundations or other non-governmental entities. To differentiate among them, initiatives, actions, protests and conflicts can be understood in a *crescendo* of involvement in organization efforts and mobilization activities by one (or more) groups of digital workers. An initiative may (or may not) include the elaboration of pamphlets or manifests by crowd-workers (or others – e.g. Taxi-Uber fights). Actions, protests or conflicts refers to the collective organization and mobilization of digital workers (with or without the help of others) to promote stronger awareness towards platforms owners, employers, political representatives or even media. An action can include dissemination of information, publicity events, meetings and petitions. A protest is a stronger mobilization effort and implies the organization of a demonstration expressing strong objection to anyone's course of action or an official policy. It can include street demonstrations, marches, rallies, sit-downs, campaigns by email or phone calls, hackings, etc. A conflict is an active and often public disagreement between people with opposing opinions or principles. A conflict may include legal confrontation up to strikes. The following table illustrates the characteristics of the mentioned *crescendo*:

Table – Type of activities and degrees mobilization

Type of activity	Examples for concrete activities	Degree of involvement in organization efforts and mobilization
Initiatives	Elaboration of pamphlets or manifests	Low
Actions	Distribution of pamphlets, dealing with journalists, campaigns by email or phone calls, hackings	Medium low
Protests	Street demonstrations, marches, rallies, sit-downs	Medium high
Conflicts	Strikes, industrial actions	High

4.1.1 Creation of drivers' association and an embryo of a trade union after Taxi protests

Guidelines classification:

A - Type: a) initiative

B – Where: c) Both digital and physical presence

C – Ways of organizing

C.1 – How: a) Self-organization

C.2 – Impact: a) Low impact

D – Context

D.1 – Type of communication: a) Digital channel

D.2. - Channel: i) Facebook group;

E - Level of the organization

E.1) a): Lose organization

F): The reaction of Taxi protests triggered the creation of ANPPAT and an embryo of trade union.

Summary:

In 2014, the arrival of the first Uber operations in Portugal triggered a strong reaction of the Taxi community (Correio da Manhã 2016; Ferreira 2014). The first ruling in the Portuguese courts in 2015 was supportive, although ineffective (Rodrigues 2015), and considered that Uber illegally carried out commercial passenger transport in light vehicles and constituted "a serious risk to the public" (Marques 2015). Frustratingly, the court ruled Uber to "immediately" suspend the operation, something that did not happen because it was not notified (Lusa 2015). In fact, the application remained active and demand continued in Lisbon and Porto, where the services UberBlack (with state-of-the-art cars) and UberX (the low-cost version, competing for taxis) were available (Correio da Manhã 2015). The company's CEO in Portugal said that the decision even had a positive effect: it aroused the curiosity of several people who did not know the service and ended up accessing the platform (Marques 2015). One year later a higher court ruled in support of Uber's operations (Sábado 2016). Since 2015, the violence that occurred caused many incidences with both Uber drivers and police. In addition, the strong opposition of some sectors of Portuguese society (e.g. communist party, main trade union confederation and Lisbon mayor) supported Taxis' position.

The long legislative process also contributed, and the strong opposition of some sectors Portuguese society triggered to the creation of two associations - ANPPAT and ANTUPE - born at the same time to defend the "entrepreneurs of the sector". ANPPAT was founded in September 2019 and it is the result of the merger of two previously associations: ANPPAT and ANTUPE. These organizations were born at the same time to defend the entrepreneurs of the sector. Presently, ANPPAT considers that they represent the entrepreneurs of the TVDE sector. The partners of Uber and Cabify have organized this initiative because they want a quota and an increase in travel prices. In addition, these partners accuse tax evasion taxis and unfair competition (Coelho, 2017). Furthermore, ANPPAT is the most dynamic organization in the TVDE sector (Coelho 2017). There is also a Drivers Union of platform drivers on facebook[13], named Sindicato Motoristas TVDE Portugal. Despite an attempt to contact them, no reply was received. The facebook group[14] has 230 members in 15/10/2019.

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[13] https://www.facebook.com/Sindicato-Motoristas-TVDE-Portugal-145582389718115/
[14] https://www.facebook.com/groups/2367630439925861

4.1.2 Road accident triggers reaction of trade union and Glovo workers

Guidelines classification:

A - Type: a) Action

B – Where: c) Physical presence

C – Ways of organizing

C.1 – How: a) Self-organization and c) Trade union

C.2 – Impact: b) Some impact

D – Context

D.1 – Type of communication: b) Traditional channel

D.2. - Channel: q) Personal contact and t) Help of a trade union

E - Level of the organization

E.1) a): Lose organization

F): Road accident sparks reactions of trade union and Glovo workers

Summary:

On Wednesday, January 9, 2019, more than a dozen delivery riders rushed to Glovo's Porto office (A. C. Pereira 2019). A colleague had a motorcycle accident in service, broke his collarbone and the company representative in the city was not being able to clarify the insurance. Other couriers went there demanding to know if it exists and what its reach. Speaking to the newspaper Público (A. C. Pereira 2019), Glovo has assured that it provides liability and personal accident insurance for couriers, which acts in parallel with what they should have as self-employed workers. Uber Eats also said it has an international partnership with an insurer.

Safety is the biggest concern of Francisco Figueiredo, president of the Northern Hotel Industry Workers Union. "They have their packs on their backs." In the case of Glovo's, they can even bring a soup pot from a mother to a daughter. "They are in a more vulnerable situation." Francisco Figueiredo's other "major concern" is precariousness. The Union will investigate the situation of digital delivery platforms relay (A. C. Pereira 2019).

Workers on new digital delivery platforms such as Glovo or Uber Eats are not yet organized, but there is some movement to claim some kind of rights. According to the newspaper Público, the North Hotel Industry Workers Union is preparing for a street action (A. C. Pereira 2019) . In fact, on March 6, 2019, the union announced that it would meet the next day with workers from Uber Eats and Glovo to discuss a claim book (Dinheiro Vivo and Lusa 2019). Later, the union announced that it would present the notebook to the companies and also request a meeting with the Working Conditions Authority (ACT) (Figueiredo 2019).

It is important to understand the actual context of these action. According to Público, each digital platform for work in this sector has its own policy (A. C. Pereira 2019). At Glovo, for example, every courier is a worker on behalf of it establishes partnerships with delivery companies that manage their fleets and employ their couriers. Uber Eats partner companies pay the courier only a percentage of what they do, providing them with transportation and fuel. Others have a pass (600 euros per month to work from 12h to 15h and from 19h to 23h, with one week off, for example).

In an attempt to earn more, some rent motorbikes to work directly with the platforms. "Only motorcycle rental paid 220 euros per month. Spending 150 to 180 on the drop depends on the pace, "says one young man, who prefers not to identify himself. "You get 1.40 euros per collection, 0.53 per

delivery, 0.88 per kilometre. Only it discounts 25% for Uber Eats. From what is left, you have to deduct 23% VAT. At the end of the year, you still have to pay IRS. "As this is your first year of work, you are exempt from Social Security. "You can live." He came from Brazil last year with this work in view. "1000 to 1200 left. To do that, you have to stay from 12h to 24h. Direct. When there are no people, you have to stay until two or four in the morning making bonuses". (A. C. Pereira 2019)

The company declined to confirm the values, which the boy proves showing the delivery receipts: "Our delivery rate in Portugal is currently 2.90 euros, but this is not corresponding to the value of the service provided by the partners for each. Delivery partners receive an amount that results from the sum of three components: (1) a value for meal collection at the restaurant, (2) a value proportional to the distance travelled, and (3) a value for the meal delivery to the user. These components vary between the different cities where we are present." He does not live paranoid with the score, like his apartment mate who works through Glovo. Every day, as soon as you wake up, the latter will see if you have had any negative feedback. The courier is evaluated by the platform, the partner and the customer. A poor customer rating, for example, entails a penalty of three points and that is enough to see the reduced hours. To recover you need to respond to 50 requests without problems. It has happened to pick up food from a restaurant that refused to issue the bill, cancel delivery and watch the app take you three points. Instead of opening her 13 hours of work, as she had been doing, to choose the ones she wanted to work for, she opened seven. Asked by Público, Glovo does not say how many such situations have occurred, or how it has handled them. It merely states that invoicing is a legal obligation. Half a year ago, the union rounded up the couriers stopping points. As it was summer, he was amazed at the low values earned. At the beginning of next month, will do another. "There are people who are afraid to talk and talk about working conditions, but we will not hide," says Figueiredo. "It is our intention to see what has changed in these six months" (A. C. Pereira 2019) .

The trade union belongs to the Federation FESAHT affiliated to CGTP. The federation representative Maria das Dores Gomes acknowledged activities with Uber Eats in two of their trade unions in the north of Portugal: Hotel Industry, Tourism, Restaurants and Similar Industry Workers 'Union and STIANOR - Hotels, Tourism, Restaurants and Similar Industry Workers' Union. The first one is significantly larger than the second.

4.1.3 Traditional hotel workers organized against Airbnb standards

Guidelines classification:

A - Type: c) Protest

B – Where: b) Physical presence

C – Ways of organizing

C.1 – How: c) Trade union

C.2 – Impact: b) Some impact

D – Context

D.1 – Type of communication: b) Traditional channel

D.2. - Channel: j) Website; k) Email; l) Newspaper; v) Membership of a trade union

E - Level of the organization

E.1) d): Well organization

F): Traditional hotel workers organized against AirBnB (and Booking?) standards

Summary:

Unionized hotels workers considered that the workers of digital platforms contributed to curb the rights of traditional hotel workers. According to a motion of the trade union of Hotel, Tourism, Restaurants and Similar of the South, it "is necessary to prioritize rights, to value work and workers and to abandon the low-wage policy and effectively combat precariousness in the sector and illegal, clandestine and non-open labour" (Lusa 2019a).

About 30 Lisbon hotel workers protested against withdrawal of rights (Lusa 2019a). The protesters started a march in the Lisbon's Marquês de Pombal, near the Hotel Fénix, having descended and climbed Avenida da Liberdade, in an action to fight for the public denunciation of the situation, and to deliver a motion, approved by the workers, to ten of the largest hotels in the capital. Maria das Dores Gomes, head of the Federation of Food, Beverage, Hotel and Tourism Trade Unions of Portugal (FESAHT), said that "workers are fighting for the signing of the Collective Bargaining Agreement (CCT of Hotels of Centro and Sul)", because they consider that the position of the Hotel Association of Portugal (AHP) "is retrograde and goes against the rights of workers".

However, the sector lives prosperous days, according to (Pinto 2016). In the first half of 2016, the National Statistics Institute registered a growth of 10.8% over the same period of the previous year, and the number of overnight stays increased by 11.2% over the same period. An "Asian growth" in the words of Economy Minister Manuel Caldeira Cabral to the Lusa agency in September during the signing of a protocol between his ministry and 27 Portuguese start-ups. The Secretary of State for Tourism, Ana Mendes Godinho, welcomes the numbers, but guarantees to have up her sleeve some measures to face the precariousness that has affected the sector. Regarding local housing, the Government admits that "the legislation needs some adjustments". But some measures have already been put in place: in conjunction with Airbnb, the socialists made a "communication to all owners registered on the platform warning of the need for registration," following that action, so that the number of registrations skyrocketed. With ASAE, "actions to promote registration" have also been undertaken. Already for the classification system of tourist enterprises is planned to create "an area dedicated to human resources", to promote the "valorisation and dignity of people", told (Pinto 2016) in writing. Nevertheless, a major employer supported the view that labour shortages should be solved with emigration (Lusa 2019b).

4.1.4 Home-based call-centres

Guidelines classification:

A - Type: a) initiative

B – Where: a) Digital presence

C – Ways of organizing

C.1 – How: a) Self-organization

C.2 – Impact: a) Low impact

D – Context

D.1 – Type of communication: a) Digital channel

D.2. - Channel: i) WhatsApp

E - Level of the organization

E.1) a): Lose organization

F): Call-centres through virtual work

Summary:

In the three preliminary interviews conducted it was possible to identify cases where traditional call centres are moving to digital work platforms (Int3[15], Int12[16] e Int10[17]). In fact, two union delegates (Int3 and Int12) have identified several cases of call-centre recruitment to work from home. The particularity of the identified cases was that during the training period, colleagues shared WhatsApp numbers and use it to comment on work-related problems. Int10 declared that they are aware of the attitudes of colleagues towards the company. In particular, she mentioned that one colleague is more tolerant towards the control and checks of their current manager, as she is more ambitious and aims for a coordination position.

An important factor in this home-based call-centre is that these workers are very precarious and carry out these activities with a temporary employment contract. Tasks are collected through digital platforms and mobile apps. In the case of Int10 she receives in the app a case where the accused needs simultaneous translation and goes through with the case, even if it takes longer than 7 hours of work. She has to be available at that time and they pay overtime. The contract is temporary. I think of six months. The training is online, where he met colleagues with whom he has contact outside the company. In the interview with Int10, possible through the Call Centre Workers Union (STCC)[18], she confirmed that the work is done at home via an app existent in a company mobile phone and she has to be available during a period of fixed time. She does simultaneous English-Portuguese interpretation for the Canadian and US judicial system. In this case too, call centres operating in Portugal benefit from Portugal's intermediate position in the international context. It is cheaper to hire call centre services in Portugal from Canada, the USA and northern European countries than to hire in these home countries this kind of tasks.

The appearance of independent trade union of call centres (STCC) in the national panorama was difficult (Roque 2018a). There is a significant amount of research about call centres, developed by Isabel Roque (Roque 2019; 2016b; 2018a; 2018b; 2016a). Roque (2018) revealed that Call centre

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[15] Int3, founder and trade unionist of Call Center Workers Union (STCC).

[16] Int12, researcher at CESMinho e trade union delegate of STCC.

[17] Int10, anonymous remote operator of a call center.

[18] http://www.stcc.pt/stcc.html

workers appear to be more submissive and less engaged in trade unionism, preferring to hold on to something they may initially have expected to be temporary, but which has eventually become permanent (Roque, 2010).

According to one interviewee founder of STCC (Int3) the emergence of a new trade union was marked by a known bulletin among call centre workers: "We started as a small group of call centre workers from various companies, fed up with their precarious working condition and the successive abuse by the companies. After we created the bulletin "Estás logado?" to denounce the precariousness and the various irregularities that are the rule in this type of work. The newsletter began to be distributed in July 2013 and the small initial group was able to gather more and more workers, culminating in the creation of the Call Center Workers Union (STCC) on 26 April 2014".

According to Isabel Roque (Roque 2016a), "Cyberactivism dynamics were extremely relevant for the processes of dissemination, organization, and mobilization of social protest movements in Portugal. Among call centre cyberactivism, STCC operates through a website, a blog and a Facebook page named "Tas Logado." Through these virtual platforms call centre workers can pose their labour and legal questions, interact with the leaders and delegates and also collect information on labour rights and trade union activities. STCC's range of action is broadened and open to cooperate with society, namely with other trade unions, social movements, and even with various political parties at the national and international levels. They frequently organize plenary debates to revive the notion of collective and juridical support" (Roque 2016: 11 - 12).

However, according to one expert, the sectoral trade union of CGTP – CESP - is now able to organize more workers of call centres than STCC. This mobilization capacity suggests that the traditional labour union is now strong in a sector where no union had significative presence and trigerred the creation of an independent union. The arrival of CESP can be partially explained by the significant increase of workers in this sector. According to the Portuguese Contact Center Association, in 2016 there were 30862 workers in contact centres, 27078 of whom were operators (88% of the total[19]). The number of operators increased by 10,798 compared to 2014, or 54% more.

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[19] The rest were supervisors, clerks and others and chiefs.

4.1.5 Digital Nomads

Guidelines classification:

A - Type: a) initiative

B – Where: a) Digital presence

C – Ways of organizing

C.1 – How: b) Movement

C.2 – Impact: a) Low impact

D – Context

D.1 – Type of communication: a) Digital channel

D.2. - Channel: a) Twitter and other digital media; LinkedIn; Facebook person; Facebook group; Website; Movement with a leader

E - Level of the organization

E.1) a): Lose organization

F): Digital Nomads

Summary:

The initiative Digital Nomads identifies the activities of a growing and highly integrated network of activists that advocate for non-presential work both in Portugal and abroad. These workers are very dynamic and entrepreneurial with activities that span from creating and actively maintaining institutional websites and Facebook pages and groups, founding movements, promoting events, job posting and social gatherings in several cities across the country (Aveiro, Lisboa, Porto, Évora, etc), elaborating city and accommodation guides, youtube channels, podcasts, counselling, etc. There are a few examples of these activities: Digital Nomads Portugal has an informative website[20] and a dynamic Facebook page[21] where most activities related to digital nomadism are advertised. DigitalNomads.PT provides resources to the community and counselling and intends to be a community of like-minded digital nomads living in Portugal. The most active members of these community also participate in other on-line forums, such as Digital Nomads Forum[22], Digital Nomads Porto[23], Lisbon Digital Nomads[24], SecretNomads[25] and NomadX[26]. There also strong links with the podcast Remote Work Movement[27], launched in August 2019 to lead listeners to meet the leaders engaged in remote work and who "are changing the way we work". Some of the activists involved in this community also promoted an event called Remote Shift[28] in October 2019 with freelancers, remote workers, digital nomads and entrepreneurs in workshops and networking events in ISCTE-IUL.

Some of the activism detected also appears to stimulate networking and personal activities to r promotion and raise tasks and projects. According to an intermediary (Int8), networking activities associated with digital nomadism are mostly trying to sell something, which is boring and inefficient

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[20] https://digitalnomads.pt/

[21] https://www.facebook.com/digitalnomads.pt/

[22] https://www.facebook.com/groups/digitalnomadsforum/

[23] https://www.facebook.com/groups/portodigitalnomads/

[24] https://www.facebook.com/groups/532696873566509/

[25] https://www.facebook.com/secretnomads/ and https://www.secretnomads.com/

[26] https://www.facebook.com/groups/888899887851508/?ref=pages_group_cta

[27] https://www.facebook.com/Remote-Work-Movement-638602213320096/ or https://remoteworkmovement.com/

[28] https://www.remote-shift.com/

from a work standpoint. To the interviewee (Int8), co-working places are contact points with these nomad freelancers. Furthermore, our attempts to carry exploratory interviews in co-working spaces lead the interviewer to the idea that it is easier to contact these nomads via the internet than in person. In fact, most interviews with digital nomads occurred through the internet, using apps for calendar booking and skype, messenger and facetime to communicate via webcam. We came to the conclusion that digital nomadism has a lot of digital activism today and also serves as an individual promotion for freelancers. One interviewee (Int9) underlines the idea that to be productive and cost-effective, a freelancer has usually needs to invest a one or two years in the digital job market being underpaid. Our research also shows that these freelancers do not have children or other dependents, tend to pay little taxes through their housing roaming and appear to be not very concern about the future of their careers. There are also strong perceptions of entrepreneurship and reported about their leisure activities (e.g. surfing in Bali). It is difficult to think that they are interested in organizing labour activities in the traditional trade union terms, despite the fact that they engage emphatically on organizing labour activities.

Digital nomads in Portugal develop professional activities mainly related to ICT, web design and marketing. Its significant stabilization in the country, and particularly in the Lisbon area, has been mentioned in some Portuguese interviews and newspapers as the product of several factors, such as the tourism boom in Portugal, cheap living by the sea and nautical activities such as surf, a tax regime for liberal professionals from abroad very competitive with other countries of the European Union (in particular France, Belgium and some Eastern countries), the good existing ICT infrastructure in the country and the rapid opening of companies in Portugal (for reasons tax competitiveness allows a significant reduction in the tax burden of these taxpayers, at least in the early years).

There is no exact figure about the dimension of this phenomenon. A newspaper reported an indirect number that might be close to reality: According to JIL (2019), Lisbon is the largest digital nomads city in Europe with 5,000 nomads. The real-estate company JLL stated that there are more 570 beds being constructed and it also estimates a potential demand for 16,000 – 18,000 Coliving beds in Lisbon and Porto29.

4.1.6 Intermediation of freelancers

Guidelines classification:

A - Type: a) initiative

B – Where: a) Digital presence

C – Ways of organizing

C.1 – How: b) Movement

C.2 – Impact: a) Low impact

D – Context

D.1 – Type of communication: a) Digital channel

D.2. - Channel: a) Twitter and other digital media; Meetup, Instagram or other similar

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[29] This potential number of beds was calculated based on the digital nomads who stay for shorter periods of time, the expats attracted by recently established multinationals in Portugal, international entrepreneurs who moved to Lisbon to live and want to network and require soft landing services, as well as young workers between 20 – 35 years old that hold at least a bachelor, earn more than €1,200 net salary per month and live alone or with a wife/husband with no children. Usually they seek flexibility and don't aim to form a family in the coming years. International students from PhD programs and Portuguese students displaced from their birthplace that have financial conditions were also taken into account.

LinkedIn; Facebook person; Facebook group; Website; Email; Personal contact; Movement with a leader

E - Level of the organization

E.1) d): Well organized

F): Intermediation of freelancers through UpWork

Summary:

After several years working to Upwork, three freelancers decided to organize as an intermediare enterprise to obtain more complex projects. This company functions as a network of freelancers that know each other from past projects and distribute tasks and assignments to each other. The founders collect a fee for the project. The managers contacts, distributes and monitor the tasks and assignments. There is a large pool of workers (18 to 20), in case there are quality problems.

Within the context referred to by Graham, Hjorth, and Lehdonvirta (2017), existing intermediation activities on the Upwork digital platform (as well as Freelancer.com) exist because some clients need to hire a set of freelancers in order to be able to perform quality tasks and work with projects of greater complexity. In an example reported by an intermediary (Int1) operating from Portugal[30], the launch of a new product from a marketing company can be hired from freelancers but requires a team with a project manager, a digital marketing expert, a web designer, a programmer, and, with less involvement, an administrative to process payments, and an accountant. By hiring an intermediary to carry out these activities, the company removes a set of tasks for which it may have little competence or internal workforce (Int8).[31] The interviewee added that is particularly useful in his sector of IT, but acknowledge that it might be different in other sectors (Int8). According to another interviewee, the intermediary collects a higher turnover and therefore income and stability (Int9).[32] The freelancers involved collect work more easily, but they see part of their income diminished, as in addition to the 25% that the digital platform (an intermediary) charges them for their work, they also have a (sub) intermediary that charges about 10% to 20% of the distributed work.

This set of digital intermediaries face two significant problems. First, freelancers and intermediaries who work via digital platforms seek to work off the platform as soon as they can build customer loyalty to avoid paying the commission. Secondly, the intermediaries feel strong competition from other freelancers / intermediaries operating in cheaper countries such as Pakistan, India and Indonesia, eventually not go to many of the auctions work.

In the exploratory interview to an intermediate operating from Portugal (Int8) it was possible to detect evidence to suggest that the Portuguese freelancers is internationally positioned in the middle of the price scale. For one thing, they are not as expensive as freelancers from the US, UK and Germany. On the other hand, they offer some guarantees of efficient English communication skills and quality in the work provided to companies from more developed markets (e.g. USA, Canada). The data collected point to the idea that these companies do not want to assign tasks and projects to very cheap freelancers from developing economies who then do not perform the assigned tasks with quality, and avoid taking risks inherent in these digital operations such as cybercrime, data confidentiality, and other digital platform schemas that are reported on the Internet frequently.

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[30] June Ann Bolneo, founder of The Digital Workforce, https://www.facebook.com/groups/1818221268396166/, https://www.facebook.com/digitalworker/, founder of WorkRemote https://www.facebook.com/iworkremote, and founder of the non-profit group Grow Remote PT (a closed group with 303 members https://www.facebook.com/groups/744774765884911

[31] Int8, founder of an Intermediation company in IT

[32] Int9, intermediary and founder of an advocacy website

From the point of view of digital platform workers, it is important to mention that the phenomenon of non-payment appears recurrently reported on the internet and in the interviews conducted. There is also a strong concern regarding the rating (staff and intermediary) regarding the quality of work performed. The stability of earned income is also often identified in interviews and literature. One of the two intermediaries interviewed also reports the difficulty in creating a solid reputation as a freelancer, and that the time associated with this creation should not be less than two years, by which time a freelancer can already operate with relative financial will and subsequently set up your brokerage firm. The second interviewee (Int2) refers to the business of digital intermediation as a network of trusted freelancers who must be large enough to have redundant backups to ensure project management and delivery and quality rating. good for later leaving the platform and making the leap into economic activity without the original intermediation of the digital platform.

4.1.7 Study of CIP about Industry 4.0

Guidelines classification:

A - Type: a) initiative/study

B – Where: c) Both digital and physical presence

C – Ways of organizing

C.1 – How: a) Other

C.2 – Impact: a) Some impact

D – Context

D.1 – Type of communication: a) Digital channel

D.2. - Channel: Other - Book

E - Level of the organization

E.1) a): Well organized

F): Study of CIP about Industry 4.0

Summary:

The study "*O Conceito de Reindustrialização, Indústria 4.0 e Política Industrial Para O Século XXI - O Caso Português"* of the (Conselho da Indústria Portuguesa 2017) presents the view of CIP, the main employers' confederation in Portugal. It was coordinated by Luís Mira Amaral (an academic and ex-ministry of the economy) and reveals the concerns of the majority of the Portuguese economy. Here is a brief of the position report:

"Digital platform technologies that were the source of the best-known examples of the sharing economy (Airbnb, eBay) are now facilitating new ways of organizing and delivering work. In a first phase, they are revolutionizing the provision of individual or small teamwork, small crafts or specialized work. This is the case with TaskRabbit or Upwork. They started with home repair service providers, but already include engineering, accounting, consulting, and other highly complex and skilled project work. Amazon has a platform called "Mechanical Turk" just for what they call HIT-Human Intelligence Tasks where they buy and sell elementary and unskilled intellectual work tasks. But PWC, for example, offers a platform called Talent Exchange that enables flexible employment, temporary work, freelance opportunities and short-term contracts.

This is happening with the increasing digitization of the economy and with Industry 4.0. It is estimated that 10-15% of current industrial jobs will disappear in the next 10 years, but more will be created. [In Portugal] We have less skilled jobs that can be automated, but more will be created. There

will be job destruction: In administrative services; In manufacturing and industrial production; In civil construction; In the arts, entertainment and media sector; In legal services; In the installation and maintenance of equipment. But we will have job creation: In financial operations with the advent of new business models caused by the technological disruption that FINTECHS are generating; Management associated with the new business models caused by the disruption that digitization generates; Data analysis and processing, mathematics, software and computer industry, robotics, linked to the advancement of artificial intelligence, big data, cloud, autonomous vehicles; In engineering and architecture with the introduction of Industry 4.0 and Construction 4.0 models; Sales and related activities related to the introduction of new digital platforms; In education and vocational training.

In the face of increasing digitization, there are no unchanging sectors or professions. That is why we have to educate and train young people not for the current disappearing professions, but to provide them with a set of transversal skills that will help them to have their employability skills permanently for the needs of the labor and employment markets. throughout your future active life. What is needed is skills and competences for the future.

These platforms are creating a true "human cloud" that will nonetheless influence how companies, including industrial companies, organize and hire work. Technological evolution always causes job destruction in one area and creation in another. This is happening with the increasing digitization of the economy and with Industry 4.0. It is estimated that 10-15% of current industrial jobs will disappear in the next 10 years, but more will be created." (Conselho da Indústria Portuguesa 2017, p. 16).

4.1.8 Manifest of CGTP about the future of work

Guidelines classification:

A - Type: a) initiative/manifest

B – Where: c) Both digital and physical presence

C – Ways of organizing

C.1 – How: a) Trade Union

C.2 – Impact: a) Low impact

D – Context

D.1 – Type of communication: a) Digital channel

D.2. - Channel: Website

E - Level of the organization

E.1) a): Well organized

F): Manifest of CGTP about the future of work

Summary:

The reflection manifesto of the main confederation of trade unions (CGTP 2019) entitled "*Reflexão para o debate - Conferência Sindical Internacional 'O futuro do trabalho'*", published in June 2019 presents a hard-line position towards the technology impact in Portuguese labour rights. The text is not signed which attributes the author to CGTP itself.

"Temporary employment companies, outsourcing and digital platforms are some converging examples of blackmailing workers to lower their rights. These and other forms of work organization are creations linked exclusively to the interests of big capital. They create webs of dependency only possible by actively promoting governments at their service, in many cases associated with corruption

and fraud schemes involving tax havens. In a context of high unemployment and a shortage of new job vacancies, the so-called digital platforms (often associated with banking and finance capital) simultaneously aim for maximum profit with the minimum (or no) burden arising from mass labour relations. At the same time, there is growing recognition that the gains to the economy of this type of business are nil. With a common nature, platforms take on many different forms of work organization, reflecting the tendency to outsource services as a way to reduce costs and weaken labour relations. It is a relationship of economic dependence on the parent company whereby, whenever workers are organized, the parent company strangles them to prevent workers from fighting for their individual and collective rights.

The expansion of organized work through digital platforms has fuelled proposals for the creation of a third category of workers (supposedly between wage labour and 'self-employed' work). What is hidden behind this proposal is the pressure for the deregulation of labour relations of all workers. Platform workers have a relationship of subordination and economic dependence that they seek to conceal. Basically, these platforms are large transnational corporations (in many cases), camouflaged behind a false virtuality arising from the use of the internet as an intermediary, so as not to assume risks and obligations arising from labour legislation. Well-known examples of working through digital platforms prove that by advertising the job offer on the internet and hiring the lowest bidder, it is competition between workers rather than companies, subverting the right to work and to work with rights. They impose an ever-tending lower remuneration, also undermining the health and safety of workers.

This form of organization individualizes labour relations, seeking to weaken the possibility for workers to organize collectively to fight for better wages, better working and living conditions - to get a job without any rights. The work performed is close to the conditions of servitude because it is a form of absolute appropriation of work (including the creative process and individual organization), because, being the only source of income for these workers, they are not free to work. decide in conscience. They have no rights as workers, companies do not pay social security discounts, pay (or pay a few) taxes, do not comply with health and safety working conditions, nor do they have to guarantee a daily journey or the right to rest weekly. In addition, as these are transnational companies and (often) work done outside national borders, legal action becomes more difficult. And the situation will worsen if workers and peoples do not oppose so-called free trade agreements which, through supranational regulation (or deregulation), deprive workers of their rights and determine whether or not to influence decisions taken." (CGTP 2019: 6-7).

4.2 Analysis

The 8 cases presented previously can be compared to help reflect about their analytical interest and real possibility to be developed in the next phase of the project. The following table presents an overview of the cases identified:

Table 4 – Overview of the main characteristics of the cases identified

Questions	1 Taxi protests triggered creation of na association and an embryo of trade union	2 Road accident with Glovo sparks actions among workers and trade union	3 Traditional hotel workers organized against AirBnB (and Booking?) standards	4 Call-centers with telework	5 Study of CIP about Industry 4.0	6 Manifest of CGTP about the future of work	7 Digital Nomads	8 Intermediation of freelancers through UpWork
What type of organization/mobilization did you identify?								
Initiative	◉			◉	◉	◉	◉	◉
Action		◉						
Protest			◉					
Conflict								
Where did it occur?								
Digitally							◉	◉
Physical presence		◉	◉	◉				
Both	◉				◉	◉		
Ways of organizing								
How was organized? (Please, identify all involved)								
Self-organization	◉	◉						
Movement/association					◉	◉	◉	◉
Trade union(s)		◉	◉	◉				
Other: _____								
How important were each of these previous ways of organizing?								
Low impact	◉			◉	◉	◉	◉	◉
Some impact		◉	◉					
High impact								
Context of the organization/mobilization								
Type of channel								
Digital channel	◉			◉		◉	◉	◉
Traditional channel		◉	◉					
Both					◉			
Describe which channels of communication were used								
Twitter and other digital media							◉	◉
WhatsApp				◉				
LinkedIn							◉	◉
Facebook person							◉	◉
Facebook messenger								
Online forums								
Social media groups								
Meetup, Instagram or other similar								◉
Facebook group	◉						◉	◉
Website			◉			◉	◉	◉
Email			◉					
Newspaper			◉					
Pamphlets								
Manifests								
Telephone								
SMS								
Personal contact		◉						◉
Movement without a leader								
Movement with a leader							◉	◉
Help of a trade union		◉						
Help of a confederation of trade unions								
Membership of a trade union				◉				
Membership of trade union and movement								
Membership in a trade union and movement and other ways								
Other: _____					◉			
Level of the organization/mobilization								
How well organized was it?								
Loose organization	◉	◉		◉	◉		◉	
Some organization								
Organized as possible								
Well organized			◉			◉		◉

The table shows in general a low level of intensity and impact in the cases identified. Six of the cases are initiatives and six have low impact. Five were loosely organized. Six used digital channels. Thus, the Portuguese team will need to be concentrated on those that either present or inspire more analytical relevance.

1. The reaction to Uber entrance in Portugal and the legislative process to legalize this activity have led to a merger of the associations and a (tentative) trade union. The legal framework is not yet

clear, as to whether Uber drivers are workers of Uber or self-employment. This has nurtured opposing perceptions of autonomy: some consider themselves as entrepreneurs or even employers, and others see themselves as employees of Uber. These perceptions led to the creation of professional associations that organize this workforce, fight for safety, defend their rights and lobby policy makers.

2. The Glovo action led to a movement of solidarity among riders and the mobilization of one trade union in the north. Presently, two traditional trade unions in the North of Portugal are involved with Uber Eats, according to FESAHT. This was the result of a workers' action that led to involvement of traditional trade unions.

3. The operation of Airbnb in Portugal did not lead to mobilization of its workers directly but push to lower standards in the sector. The reaction to Airbnb led to workers of the traditional economy to call their trade unions to defend their rights against employers' attempts to lower their rights based on arguments of the Airbnb standards and the treat to import foreigners to work in the sector, amid a boom in the tourism sector. There is also the public debate about the Ubers' taxes being paid abroad. Recent news revealed that Airbnb pay taxes of their economic activity in Ireland, raising also the problem of the local representation of the company in Portugal and the legal definition of the firm (National Platform or Company Entity).

4. The case of home-based call centres appears to be interesting as not only they are seen the new sweatshops of techno-capitalism, but there is also literature, public debate and we know that the unions are in alert and workers might be mobilizable.

5. The case of the CIP's commissioned study about digitalization and industrialization remains an interesting case. We believed we could interview the main author. However, the analytical value to this case could be fragile.

6. Similarly, the CGTP's categoric rejection of any positive effects of technology in workers' rights and conquests is also an interesting case. The CGTP's rejection of platform work does not take into account the fact it exists and requires a response from the traditional labour movement. By rejecting platform work categorically CGTP avoids responding to the challenge of a complicated problem for a significant and fast-growing number of workers. It also removes itself from the debate and the possibilities it may bring in terms of societal power and new memberships. In particular, the contextualization of this position among European main trade unions confederations could prove to be interesting, as we believe not many maintain such an extreme position. Nevertheless, we have some doubts about the case's overall analytical value to this project because it will be a case about unions closing out to secure conditions of existing members and avoid consequences of technological developments in the short-term. Besides, it is not easy to approach CGTP about this topic

7. The case related to freelancer presents, in reality, difficulties. The digital nomads are difficult to contact in person, as shown by our seven failed attempts to contact them in coworking spaces. However, our contact made in the digital world proved to be much more successful. We were able to interview three freelancers this way. Another interview happened through personal contact. Overall, we can say the freelancer's activism exists very significantly in Portugal. We were able to detect daily activities in Facebook, weekly meeting to engage in co-work, weekly social gatherings, and even a big event at the university ISCTE/IUL. Nevertheless, it appears that this activism appears to be self-centred (digital and presential) and not so much a case of associativism. In fact, most of our interviews and contacts revealed that these freelancers (in some cased on-the-move digital nomads) need to call attention to clients to their presence/existence or need to create/stimulate a network of other freelancers that can act as distributers of more work or projects. Furthermore, there is a significant concentration of freelancers in ICT sector, despite some work in web design and

translation services. Therefore, we will leave this case as a backup, in case others proved to be too difficult to develop for this project.

8. The case of intermediation hinted to a new form of association of workers, but with a entrepreneurial flavour. It appears to be interesting in terms of new organizational strategies of digital workers. The main problem resides in the fact that we were only able to contact one employers/worker in these conditions. Although the interviewee promised help, we are not sure that will present sufficient analytical value to pursue it.

In sum, the case of Uber (transport), Glovo (couriers), Airbnb (hotels) and home-based call centres (Telecommunications) appear to be of more analytical values because they have either significant public debates in the media and/or scientific literature to develop our field research.

5. Main conclusions

This chapter presents the main conclusions of this desk research in relation to the scientific debate, the public debate in Portugal and the most relevant initiatives, actions, protests or conflicts that we considered relevant to understand how to organize platform workers or freelancers.

According to the latest survey, the relevance of the digital platform work in Portugal is already significative. Portugal has the third largest workforce ever executing platform work of 14 European countries (Brancati and Fernández-Macías 2019). However, the level of national scientific production about this topic is significantly low. The few studies identified here are marked by a critical assessment of the effects of technology (and occasionally of digital platforms) in the working conditions and the losses of workers' rights. Some reasons for this weak scientific production can be found in the small size of the scientific community, chronical lack of scientific funding and, possibly, a side effect of the historical politization of national industrial relations.

Furthermore, the Portuguese debate about digital platforms was characterized by a significant focus on Uber and Airbnb. Actors engaged with the public debate, such as the Communist Party (PCP) and the trade union confederation CGTP publicly supported the taxi drivers. But, the mainstream public discourse endorsed the arrival of Uber-type platforms as the inexorable start of a new flexible world of work, where every worker can choose what and when to work and where future entrepreneurs will unleash their full potential with new firms freed from the "old" industrial relations systems, which is marked by the past ideological/political wars of the 1970-90s. Many commentators describe these platforms as innovative ways of knowledge sharing, new form of capitalist organization, with freedom gains in individual autonomy and, to some extent, the arrival of work-life balance. A few commentators consistently held a distinct critical view of these developments, like the commentators Daniel Oliveira, António Covas and Cátia Nunes.

In addition, the main industrial actors assume opposing perspectives. For example, the main studies validated by the more representative confederations, CIP from the employers' side and CGTP from the workers, indicated different positions about the debate on digital technology and implications for human work. CIP has a position emphasizing the positive nature of technology developments and the challenges of these impacts in companies and the need to change current skills. CGTP has a position paper that situates the debate on the ongoing job destruction caused by technology developments, the employers' advantage to further explore workers and to undermine workers' rights, and the state's continued support for employers. Some reasons for these polarized perspectives can be both based on the historical developments of labour rights, the politization of trade unions, the centrality of the state in regulating labour relations, and the political divisions existent in the Portuguese industrial actors.

The digital economy relies largely on global virtual and communication networks, and it can be said to be defined on the basis of the following main features: the irrelevance of geographical location; the decisive role of computer platforms; the importance of networking; and the use of digitized databases. These aspects distinguish it from the traditional economy, in particular as a result of the rapid transformation of value chains. Largely supported by virtual work, it gave way to new forms of occupation and opened new opportunities to segments that would otherwise be excluded from the labour market. Nevertheless, as Valenduc and Vendramin (2016) point out, the emergence of these "new" (or not so much) forms of work has been accompanied by new forms of employment that combine unconventional workplaces with new contractual arrangements, moving ever further away from the working conditions once considered typical.

Institutional power of digital platform workers in Portugal is practically non-existent, mainly because its status as self-employed provides little institutional security, such as the right to unionize and to collective bargaining. These workers, therefore, have to rely on other resources to gain voice and bargaining skills. The context of traditional call centres, for example, is not prone to unionism. In fact, most call centre workers appear to be more submissive and less engaged in trade unionism (Roque 2018) but, at the same time, significant developments occurred in the last years, with the creation of an

independent trade union (STCC) and the reaction of the traditional trade union of the sector (CESP). Nevertheless, Portuguese trade unions still lack in interaction, participation and cooperation with digital platform workers. There is room, for example, to create a website to organize and promote a structured participation and to stimulate multidirectional communication of these digital workers with organized labour in Portugal.

Portuguese precariousness and austerity may have created conditions for the building of 'bridges' between old and new industrial actors. But little is known about how worker relationships are established on the digital platforms. Moniz and Boavida (2019) mention also that there are many studies about platforms, how these digital platforms change value chains, how they change relationships between companies, how they contribute to economies of scale, "but very little about workers who are contractually embedded in these platforms, often competing with each other, against others and without access to social support" (Moniz and Boavida, 2019). We were expecting to find union strategies towards this segment of the workforce both to gain societal power and/or to compensate for recent membership losses (Vandaele 2000). However, there is not strong union pressure focused on the regulation of employment relations between, for example, drivers and platform operators and concerned with their working conditions (Lima, 2019). Furthermore, the CGTP's Manifesto seems to confirm the idea that the unions' focus on representing and defending a core of stable wage workers makes it difficult to extend union goals and strategies to other segments of the working class. Nevertheless, we found some hope in the activities involving two trade unions involved in the Glovo case (Northern Hotel Industry Workers Union) and, possibly, in the action of the trade union of Hotel, Tourism, Restaurants and Similar of the South. These two cases show that there is a diversity of trade union responses to digital platforms that deserve to be studied in more detail.

The political programme of the recently elected government announces its political will to address digital platforms problems. In fact, the government declared:

"In a future whose concrete contours are still uncertain, the need to respond to realities such as working on digital platforms or the collaborative economy forces us to revisit the principles of our model of labor regulation and social welfare, ensuring the balance of responsibilities and risks, the effectiveness of social protection, protection against arbitrary dismissal, full access to continuing vocational training and adequate occupational safety and health conditions for all workers. Steps must also be taken to ensure that our education and training system responds effectively to changes in the skills standard required by the labor market, so as not to generate new forms of social exclusion." (XXII Governo Constitucional 2019, p.193)

In a state-led industrial relations system, Portuguese workers of digital platforms may find the right political context to improve their conditions in the coming years, particularly if organization efforts are taken to secure their rights in this new legislature.

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7. Annex A – Questions for explorative interviews

Exploratory interviews (open script, non-structured)

Interviewee name:

Date, hour and place:

A - Do you work in digital platforms? Which ones? How often?

B - Why do you work on this/these platform(s)? Do you like it? What you don't like? What would you improve in the(se) platform(s)?

C - Do you know more people who work in the(se) platform(s)? Digitally or personally? Can you name some (now or later) to participate in this project?

D - Did you ever had a problem? How did you solve it? Is there a way to communicate with other colleagues about work or problems related to the work being developed? Is this enough or you should have other channels of communications?

E - How do you see your future in the(se) platform(s)? Do you have vertical mobility? Can you be more independent? Do you want to?

F - How much money can you make? (Anonymous) Do you pay taxes? (Anonymous)

Do you pay social security? correctly? (Anonymous) Do you have health insurance? Is it important?

G - What kind of social protections do you feel the need to have today and in the future?

8. Annex B – Questionnaire about the organization of initiatives, actions, protests or conflicts

What type of organization/mobilization did you identify?

- Initiative ☐
- Action ☐
- Protest ☐
- Conflict ☐

Where did it occur?

- Digitally ☐
- Physical presence ☐
- Both ☐

Ways of organizing

How was organized? (Please, identify all involved)

- Self-organization ☐
- Movement/association ☐
- Trade union(s) ☐
- Other: _____ ☐

How important were each of these previous ways of organizing? (Please identify the importance for each one)

- Low impact ☐
- Some impact ☐
- High impact ☐

Context of the organization/mobilization

Type of channel

- Digital channel ☐
- Traditional channel ☐
- Both ☐

Describe which channels of communication were used

Twitter and other digital media	☐
WhatsApp	☐
LinkedIn	☐
Facebook person	☐
Facebook messenger	☐
Online forums	☐
Social media groups	☐
Meetup, Instagram or other similar	☐
Facebook group	☐
Website	☐
Email	☐
Newspaper	☐
Pamphlets	☐
Manifests	☐
Telephone	☐
SMS	☐
Personal contact	☐
Movement without a leader	☐
Movement with a leader	☐
Help of a trade union	☐
Help of a confederation of trade unions	☐
Membership of a trade union	☐
Membership of trade union and movement	☐
Membership in a trade union and movement and other ways	☐
Other:	☐

Level of the organization/mobilization

How well organized was it?

- Loose organization ☐
- Some organization ☐
- Organized as possible ☐
- Well organized ☐

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Please add any other aspects that you consider important to this organisation/mobilization

9. **Annex C – Informed Consent**

Formulário de Consentimento do projeto Crowd-work

Eu _____, concordo em participar do projeto de investigação intitulado "Crowd-Work: novas estratégias para organizar o trabalho na Europa", conduzido por _____ que discutiu comigo o projeto de investigação. Tive a oportunidade de fazer perguntas sobre esta investigação, recebi respostas satisfatórias e compreendi os propósitos gerais, riscos e métodos de investigação.

Concordo em participar no projeto de investigação e o seguinte foi suficientemente explicado:

	Sim
a investigação pode não ter nenhum benefício direto para mim	
a minha participação é completamente voluntária	
tenho o direito de me retirar do estudo a qualquer momento sem quaisquer implicações para mim	
os riscos, incluindo qualquer possível inconveniente, desconforto ou dano como consequência da minha participação no projeto de pesquisa	
os passos que foram dados para minimizar possíveis riscos	
o que se espera e sou obrigado a fazer	
com quem devo contatar para qualquer reclamação relacionada com a investigação ou com a conduta da mesma	
posso solicitar uma cópia dos resultados e relatórios de investigação	
segurança e confidencialidade de minhas informações pessoais	

Além disso, eu concordo com:

	Sim
gravação audiovisual de qualquer parte ou de todas as atividades de investigação (se aplicável)	
publicação dos resultados deste estudo sobre a condição de que minha **identidade seja revelada**	
publicação dos resultados deste estudo sobre a condição de que minha **organização seja revelada**	
publicação dos resultados deste estudo sobre a condição de que a minha **identidade não seja revelada**	

| publicação dos resultados deste estudo sobre a condição de que minha **organização não seja revelada** | |

Nome do participante:

Assinatura:

Data:

Nome do investigador:

Assinatura:

Data: