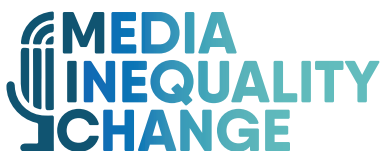




THE PLATFORM ECONOMY
— AND —
THE FUTURE OF THE CITY



About MIC



The Media, Inequality & Change (MIC) Center is a collaboration between the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School and Rutgers University's School of Communication and Information. The Center explores the intersections between media, democracy, technology, policy, and social justice. MIC produces engaged research and analysis while collaborating with community leaders to help support activist initiatives and policy interventions. The Center's objective is to develop a local-to-national strategy that focuses on communication issues important to local communities and social movements in the region, while also addressing how these local issues intersect with national and international policy challenges.

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Policy Recommendations

Powerful new digital technologies are remaking our economy and could help the City of Philadelphia (and other cities like it) improve quality of life, effectiveness of services and address critical problems of inequality. None of this will happen, however, without thoughtful policy. This report summarizes the *Platform Economy and the Future of the City Convening* held at Philadelphia's City Hall and at the University of Pennsylvania, hosted by the Media, Inequality & Change Center, a joint venture of Penn's Annenberg School for Communication and the Rutgers School of Communication and Information. This convening brought together innovative thinkers from around the US and Europe and local organizers, academics, policymakers and workers in the Platform Economy. During the 2-day event, participants discussed how Philadelphia can maximize the benefits of the Platform Economy for all and the intense, productive conversations identified key challenges and opportunities, with the following recommendations:

Recommendation #1

Establish a Platform Economy Research Consortium

The Platform Economy is transforming local and global economies, affecting everything from traffic congestion to employment opportunities to energy consumption to tax revenue. The speed at which the Platform Economy has taken root has seriously outpaced the research on its impacts, handicapping effective public policy responses. More research is critical, and research that harnesses the expertise of multiple organizations, agencies and academic disciplines (economics, urban studies, political science, communications, sociology, etc.) is necessary in order to shore up evidence-based policy. Under this consortium, a number of research trajectories could be established, but of primary importance is understanding how City resources and policies intersect with the Platform Economy and the impacts on workers.

The City of Philadelphia should establish a **City Commission on Platform Economy Research** to coordinate city-wide research projects and working groups composed of the full array of stakeholders, including business, city policymakers, and consumer advocates, along with strong representation from workers and disadvantaged communities to better understand how the Platform Economy is impacting the City. In particular, the City needs to understand how to maximize the value of data collected in the Platform Economy. The Platform Economy is dependent upon and generates enormous amounts of data about consumption, mobility and work in the City. This data is produced by Philadelphians every day as they go about their daily lives as consumers and workers. It should be recognized as a public good of tremendous value for meeting many of

the City's fundamental goals of making the City a more livable, efficient and equitable place to live and work. The potential uses of this data are endless. At the same time, the collection and use of this data by private businesses presents a number of risks to consumer and worker privacy, the seriousness of which we are just beginning to recognize. Once these impacts and the potential of data are clearly understood, the City can begin to play a role in fostering technological innovation that supports the City's goals.

Higher Education partners are plentiful in the City and represent major resources to help perform research, engage with underrepresented stakeholders and serve as convener to develop innovative policy approaches. Toward that end, a Center should be established to coordinate Platform Economy research, bringing together academics, workers and worker organizations, and policymakers to identify pressing research needs and increase participation in research by underrepresented stakeholders.

Recommendation #2

Enhance Stakeholder Engagement on the Platform Economy

The Platform Economy affects us all, but current debates are largely driven by technology companies. There is an urgent need to broaden engagement with consumers and others with critical perspectives including, among many others: disadvantaged workers, consumers without adequate access to services, and environmental groups. The City, in partnership with community groups, non-profits and higher education, should conduct a series of broadly inclusive stakeholder engagements where policymakers and researchers can hear directly from those who will be affected by future developments in the Platform Economy.



Recommendation #3

Develop a Platform Economy Code of Conduct and Bill of Rights

At present, the Platform Economy in Philadelphia is a regulatory wild-west. In some cases, high profile firms have flouted local laws and regulations with little or no consequence, placing the public and workers at risk and law-abiding competitors at a severe disadvantage, and disrupting the livelihoods of thousands of workers. The City needs to ensure there is a level playing field for businesses and that consumers and workers are afforded at least the basic protections they have in traditional sectors of the economy. Informed by the research and engagement built by Recommendations 1-2, the City should develop an enforceable Code of Conduct for Platform Economy firms and a Bill of Rights for Platform Economy workers and consumers.



Recommendation #4

Develop a Platform Economy Consumer Education Campaign

Consumers are demonstrating a near-insatiable appetite for ever-faster, more convenient and cheaper services. These services can come at significant cost to workers, the public and City infrastructure and services. While effective public policy is needed to provide basic protections and rules, consumers have a role to play in ensuring that the Platform Economy's costs are borne equitably. Informed by the research and engagement in Recommendations 1-2, the City should engage City agencies, non-profits and businesses to educate the public about unseen costs of the Platform Economy to ensure they can thoughtfully participate in policy debates and contribute as responsible consumers to a more efficient and just Philadelphia.



Recommendation #5

Establish a Regional Platform Worker Center

The Platform Economy represents tremendous opportunities for workers, but understanding how best to navigate these opportunities requires that workers have access to knowledge and resources. At the same time, effective policy and community engagement will require ongoing conversations among stakeholders as the Platform Economy continues to evolve. A worker center should be established to foster engagement between researchers, workers, policymakers and communities to achieve these goals and to provide assistance to workers to help them enter and successfully navigate the Platform Economy. This worker center could play two central roles: 1. Support organizing (both online and offline) for workers organizing within the Platform Economy. This support can range from best practices to research, legal support and fundraising 2. Help to play a convening role for platform worker organizing across the US and beyond.



Recommendation #6

Establish a U.S Data Protection Regulation

The United States is woefully behind in the area of data protection law. Models such as Europe's, General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), and California's pending Consumer Privacy Act, exist. Taking advantage of a national election debate and high-profile public debate of the risks of data collected by platforms and apps, now is the time push for a US Data Protection Regulation. A national working group made up of lawyers, workers, policymakers, academics and technologists should be formed to begin a discussion about U.S. Data Protection Regulation. A national convening should be held to begin this process.



Recommendation #7

Develop a Rating System for Work on Digital Platforms

Workers need the opportunity to rate working for on-demand platforms and they need information on Platform Employers. A number of existing models should be evaluated and a US based worker-centered platform developed. Following the work of IG Metall in Germany, and the development of Fair Crowd Work, it is critical that there is a space where workers have the opportunity to rate working for on-demand platforms. Employing the Fair Crowd Work model, the goal would be to establish a worker-driven ratings system that analyzes and rates different on-demand platforms in the gig economy. Work with other models of rating systems (Fair Crowd Work, Turkopticon and Ranking Digital Rights) to develop a model for an on-demand rating system. Establish a series of matrices on which to create a ranking system of on-demand platforms.



Recommendation #8

Extend Worker Info Exchange to the US and Beyond

During the two-day conference, many organizers discussed the need to organize and collectively bargain around data in the Platform Economy. James Farrar of IWGB launched Worker Info Exchange in the U.K. which aims to use GDPR law to both collect and share data for organizing and bargaining purposes. This strategy should be extended to the US and beyond worker with Worker Info Exchange.

Introduction

Digital technologies are transforming our cities—changing the way that passengers and goods move and services are provided. They hold out the hope of numerous benefits for consumers by making transactions more efficient while increasing accessibility, variety, and convenience. However, these positive outcomes are unlikely to be realized without the right policies in place to guide their development and adoption. Numerous debates have arisen over how to ensure that the costs and benefits of new technologies are distributed equitably. Many of these debates, like the most obvious immediate impacts, are happening at the local level, particularly in larger cities. By learning from other cities' strategies and policies, Philadelphia is in a unique position to become proactive on issues surrounding the Platform Economy.

The Platform Economy and the Future of the City was a convening to explore ways to engage “platform

companies” and balance the demands of consumers, workers, and tech innovators. The convening was organized by the Media, Inequality & Change (MIC) Center, a collaboration between the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School and Rutgers University's School of Communication and Information. It took place on March 25th at the Mayor's Reception Room at Philadelphia City Hall and on March 26th at the Kleinman Center for Energy Policy at the University of Pennsylvania. The convening brought together workers, city officials, researchers, legal experts, and union representatives to exchange ideas and develop strategies to improve working conditions in the Platform Economy, including issues related to *worker organizing, technology development, labor standards and policy, and enforcement*. This report summarizes key themes that emerged from the numerous panels, discussions, and break-out sessions that took place over both days of the convening.

1. Where we are and how we got here.

According to several conference participants, in order for platform workers to organize effectively, it is first necessary to understand the broader social, political, and economic contexts within which technologically mediated work emerged. After some four decades of wage suppression, economic globalization, anti-labor policies, and automation, platforms appear as a logical extension of the long-standing issues and problems with which workers have been struggling. From this perspective, practices that undermine workers' rights—such as nonstandard work arrangements, temporary employment, on-call scheduling, zero-hour contracts, worker misclassification, piece-rate wages, and outsourcing—are understood as common struggles, not just in platform work but in the general economy. Underscoring this point is crucial if workers are to build strategic alliances, both within and across sectors—from domestic work and ride-hailing to retail and logistics.

The Platform Economy did not emerge out of the blue. New York Taxi Workers Alliance's Biju Mathew located the rise of transportation and delivery platforms such as

Uber and Deliveroo at a critical juncture of crises. The first crisis stems from an over-supply of capital. Following the 2008 global economic crisis, banks and investors were generally “bailed out,” while the risk fell to taxpayers and workers. In the years since, with low interest rates, investors sought out high-return prospects, turning to venture capital and financing in the tech sector. This led to investment in platform companies like Uber and AirBnB. These companies were particularly attractive as they do not employ many people (or so they claim) and dramatic growth was possible in sectors such as housing and transportation as these businesses were harnessing already existing infrastructure (personal homes and automobiles). This story underscores investors' power in shaping labor policy, both for specific platforms and legislatively. When venture capitalists work with emerging platform companies to classify workers as independent contractors rather than employees, they are leveraging their economic power to shift risk from investors onto workers. In the process, workers lose long-held rights in the workplace as well as security.

The second crisis reflects the longer-term decline in worker power and standard employment since the 1970s. It is within this longer history that flexibility emerges as a key ideological touchstone to mask increased control and deteriorating conditions. The third crisis is urban in nature, generated by a tension between cities as sites for the accumulation of corporate profits and as concentrations of poverty. Platforms seem to offer solutions to decades-old urban problems wrought by disinvestment, economic exclusion, and structural racism. But these solutions address only the “low-hanging fruit,” treating the symptoms rather than the root causes and thereby exacerbating inequitable distributions of risk onto workers.

Another story emerges from the perspective of domestic work. If platform workers are the “canary in the coalmine” for the future of all work, then domestic workers, such as house cleaners and childcare workers, have long been that first canary. Representatives from the National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWA) and the Pennsylvania Domestic Workers Alliance (PDWA) argued at the conference that “where domestic workers have been is where everyone else is going” and that “the challenges to the gig economy are not new.” This history, however, has a longer tail than the more recent crises in capitalism, labor, and cities. Representatives from the NDWA and PDWA connected contemporary domestic work policies, regulations, and laws to the legacy of slavery in the United States, pointing to the exclusion or exemption of domestic workers from the majority of legal protections that workers now enjoy. This legacy is evident, for example, in the demographics of domestic workers, the majority of whom are women of color and many undocumented. This work is done behind closed doors, leading to risks of wage theft, abuse, or sexual assault. Moreover, because of domestic workers’ exclusion from broader worker protections, they work without benefits, structured break times for meals or rest, and with no paid leave, for illness or otherwise.

The parallels between platform work and domestic work (which is becoming increasingly platform-ized) are particularly striking when one considers the exemptions and exclusions that stem from independent contractor classification. As many conference participants and attendees pointed out, misclassification is an old problem. But even appropriately classified independent contractors face obstacles that employees don’t. Legally, independent contractors are self-employed. Consequently, when contractors organize to engage in collective bargaining, employers invoke anti-trust law to mount a legal challenge—despite the fact that anti-trust law was initially designed to ensure competition and curb monopolistic practices, such as price-setting, exclusive dealing, price discrimination, etc., among corporations. This legal argument dates at least to William Randolph Hearst’s 1899 fight against his papers’ newsboys, who had organized a strike as a union of independent contractors. But platforms continue to invoke anti-trust law today to counter workers’ organizing. The independent contractor classification still prohibits workers from collective bargaining and may even undermine a worker’s access to social benefits. For example, Julia Simon-Mishel, an Attorney with Philadelphia Legal Assistance, discussed a case heading to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court over a worker having been denied access to unemployment benefits after temporarily working for Uber after being laid off.

These histories not only help us understand the rise of the Platform Economy in much finer detail. They also inform the strategies and policy changes that we can implement today to ensure that we are not doomed to replicate these troubling conditions.

2. The economic realities of gig work.

Workers in the Platform Economy are not alone in their struggles with exploitation, discrimination, and misclassification. To provide some perspective, economist Larry Mishel underscored the economic realities of the gig work. Although platform workers may be the “canary in the coalmine” for the future of all work, at present, it must be recognized that 85-90% of the US workforce is comprised of W-2 employees, who are therefore subject to various forms of control by their employer but who, barring special circumstances such as non-compete and arbitration clauses, enjoy far more protections than independent contractors. The majority of non-standard or contingent work, Mishel pointed out, is done by independent contractors (about 7% of the full labor force) and this rate has remained consistent over the past 20 years. This suggests that fears of an explosion in independent contracting work may be inflated, at least as far as primary employment goes. Within those ranks are platform workers, the majority of whom hold primary jobs as employees, reflecting that platform work is predominantly supplementary income. Uber might have over a million drivers working for the company, but, on average, a driver works for only three months before leaving the platform and for only 17 hours per week. Platform work accounts for about 1% of the total employment, and the vast majority of platform work is for transportation networks, such as Uber and Lyft. The work is almost universally low-paying, almost universally supplemental and short-term, and almost universally misclassified. In fact, Mishel refers to platforms as “misclassification machines.”

Misclassification has several implications. As independent contractors, workers must provide and maintain their own equipment and materials, from cars and insurance to smartphone data plans and cleaning supplies. But just as importantly, they also shoulder the bulk capital, operational, personal, and regulatory risk. For example, in London, Uber drivers face criminal charges and other sanctions if the licensing isn’t done properly. This is a risk typically borne by firms but avoided when workers are classified as contractors. Domestic workers also deal with risk. Beyond the threat of violence or wage theft, they face the far more mundane risk of cancellation:

every trip to a client’s home is a gamble, since the client can cancel at any moment without consequence. This means that even after travelling sometimes long distances, the worker makes nothing. Similarly, the history of the taxi industry in New York City and elsewhere maps onto a history of risk-outsourcing. In its earliest days, taxi companies took a commission from drivers’ fares (about 51%) but still covered vehicle costs and fuel. However, as competition mounted between the taxi companies, they shifted to a leasing model to hedge their bets. Under this model, drivers lease the cab from the company on a daily basis. Consequently, before ever earning money for themselves, drivers must catch a sufficient number of fares to cover the lease. The workers thus shoulder all of the risk; companies receive a guaranteed profit regardless of whether the driver made any money. While transportation platforms like Uber seemed to signal a return to the commission-based model, it seems instead to be a hybrid: it takes a commission but provides no assistance with equipment maintenance or risk.

The independent contractor classification leads to other issues as well. Like Uber, most platforms operate according to a commission model, in which workers are paid a piece-rate, typically set by the platform and from which the platform takes a cut. But the piece rate only reflects what the platform designates to be time spent working. James Farrar, the General Secretary of United Private Hire Drivers and a member of the International Workers’ Union of Great Britain, described how Uber and Lyft break down the work into three distinct periods, only one of which is deemed “work.” In the first period, the driver is logged in but has not yet received a request for pick-up. He or she may spend time and resources strategically relocating to an area known to be busy or simply sitting and waiting for a fare to come through. In the second period, the worker has received a request and travels to pick up the customer. In the third period, the passenger is in the car and being transported to his or her destination. This is the only period that the platform recognizes as “work.” To highlight the absurdity of this breakdown, consider a cashier who only gets paid for ringing up customers and not the time spent waiting, ready-at-hand to ring up the next person at check-out.

3. Platforms and their data.

Data and information asymmetries came up repeatedly throughout the conference discussions. With a few exceptions (e.g., when transportation network companies like Uber and Lyft enter data-sharing agreements with municipal governments), platforms hoard data. This hoarding gives operators a significant advantage, on both regulatory and personal levels. James Farrar gave an example from his own life. After being assaulted by a passenger, Farrar fought with Uber to get information in order to press assault charges. Uber never gave Farrar that information. Farrar explained how he was struck by his lack of access to even the most basic data, leading him, and Yaseen Aslam, to develop United Private Hire Drivers, which has been organizing Uber drivers across the United Kingdom and is on the brink of winning a landmark case, which will reclassify Uber drivers as workers throughout the UK. Building on this organizing, and in order to deal with the extreme informational asymmetries between platform companies and their workers, Farrar recently launched Worker Data Exchange, which aims to use the EU's data protection regulations to organize workers and to fight over data rights.

Farrar's example points to both the promise and threat of platforms' datafication of work. Datafication, surveillance, and algorithmic management accelerate and epitomize firms' "race to the bottom" in terms of the quality of work, pay rates, and risk outsourcing. But accessing the data and utilizing platforms as networks for connection among workers also holds significant promise for improving worker protections.

Platform surveillance comes in multiple stripes, such as ratings systems that function as a disciplinary mechanism to police workers' behavior and demeanor. When workers' ratings-average drops below a

designated threshold (the threshold itself is sometimes unclear), the worker can be "deactivated"—fired. But the platforms offer no accountability. A passenger with discriminatory attitudes about race, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality, or religion can give a poor rating to a driver based on those prejudicial views, but the driver is given no recourse to challenge it. In another iteration of platform surveillance, platform operators use information on workers' activity—collected and aggregated through platform interactions—as training data for developing artificially intelligent systems. Automated vehicles, flying cars, drone deliveries—the stuff of science fiction has become the fantasy of platform operators, who are not so shy about their desire to eliminate workers from the picture altogether. In these various forms of platform surveillance, "the fact of control has not changed; technology has just made it look different."

Farrar argued that the "data battleground"—the struggle over workers' rights to data access—must take place on three levels. The first level is a fight for the data that gets collected by the machine. This reflects workers' conscious decisions, such as when to log on and which orders to accept or reject, but it also captures non-optional interactions, such as when food couriers are required to check into a restaurant and scroll through an order to make sure it was prepared correctly. The second level is data that the machine observes about workers without their knowing, such as GPS data on drivers' or domestic workers' movements. The third level is inferential data—what the machine "thinks" it knows about us and how it uses that information to decide who gets to earn and who doesn't. Each of these levels is a potential battleground—sites where workers' data is used against them and where access would be incredibly valuable to organizing and policy efforts.

4. Tech that works for workers.

If technology can be used against workers, it can also be “weaponized” in struggles for better working conditions and better jobs. Over the course of the conference, participants provided several examples of technologies that assist workers in organizing, gaining access to crucial information, and tracking benefits.

There are several forums for drivers with Uber and Lyft. In most cases, these forums are used by more experienced drivers to convey lessons learned on the job, such as how to maximize earnings and deal with obnoxious customers. However, these forums are not necessarily used for organizing purposes. Brian Dolber, Assistant Professor of Communication at California State University, San Marcos and an organizer with Rideshare Drivers United, discussed the use of ad targeting on Facebook to organize Uber drivers in Los Angeles. Taking advantage of the social network’s penetrative demographic profiling capabilities, Dolber, along with his fellow organizers, were able to direct gig workers to a website where they were presented with information about Uber’s exploitative practices. Workers could submit their contact information through the website and receive a follow-up phone call with information about organizing and future actions, such as the Los Angeles Uber drivers’ strike. This strike, where thousands of drivers with Uber and Lyft protested the platforms’ recent per-mile pay rate cut, [coincided with the MIC Center’s conference](#) and laid the groundwork for a global day of action on May 8th, when [Lyft and Uber drivers went on strike in multiple cities around the world](#).

Kendra Cornejo of United for Respect, described a similar effort with a free app called WorkIt which is designed to help people working hourly jobs (such as at Walmart) access information on workplace policies and their rights and to connect with coworkers to provide support and care. This kind of platform is extremely useful in situations where companies are wholly opaque about workplace policies. She gave the example of Walmart’s rules delineating workers’ access to company policies, which were limited to in-store computers only available when the worker was on-the-clock. But, as Cornejo pointed out, this same platform could be incredibly useful in future efforts to organize workers.

Six Silberman, a researcher and Secretary at IG Metall, the largest labor union in Germany, discussed his experiences developing Turkopticon and FairCrowd.Work. Both platforms are designed for crowd- or micro-task workers to rate and review various crowd-working platforms as well as individual clients. This allows workers to track and therefore avoid abusive and exploitative practices. In this sense, the platforms flip the rating mechanism on its head. Rather than policing workers, ratings can help workers navigate a complex and murky ecosystem. In addition to the rating function, FairCrowd.Work, a collaboration between IG Metall, the Austrian Chamber of Labor, the Austrian Trade Union Confederation, and the Swedish white collar union Unionen, also offers an advice hotline for workers, material tailored to researchers, journalists, and policymakers interested in crowd-working conditions, and legal information on crowd-workers’ rights.

Tina Vu Pham, a gig economy organizer with the NDWA, also discussed an alternative platform, called Alia. Domestic workers, such as house cleaners and caregivers, register an account on Alia, to which clients make contributions, usually at around \$5 per service. Workers then use the contributions from all of their clients to purchase benefits, such as paid time off, disability insurance, unemployment insurance, accident insurance, critical illness insurance, and life insurance. In this sense, Alia operationalizes discussions over portable benefits—systems for balancing work flexibility with stability and security, but one downside of this platform is that it relies on the voluntary contributions of clients using the app.

Alexis Rodich, a researcher and policy analyst with SEIU 775 in Seattle, discussed CarinaCare, a collaboration between Carina, a Seattle-based healthcare nonprofit, and Washington state. Like Alia, CarinaCare is an alternative, worker-centered platform. But unlike Alia, CarinaCare is a non-profit healthcare market-place matching platform designed to connect domestic care-workers with potential Medicaid clients. According to Rodich, the platform was created with fairness in mind. It is agnostic to worker classification—it proceeds from

the assumption that independent contractors and W-2 employees should be treated equally and according to the same set of protections and standards. And, unlike profit-driven platforms, CarinaCare, which is managed

by a nonprofit, emphasizes worker and client privacy and outlines clear steps for reporting inappropriate or exploitative behavior. Government collaboration to build innovative tech that works for workers should be a priority.

5. Organizing, policy and enforcement priorities.

Several conference participants noted that city governments have long avoided regulating platform operators. This hesitancy results from a fear of being perceived as hampering economic progress or preventing job growth. However, it has also become increasingly clear that cities have more leverage over platforms than politicians previously imagined. New York City and Seattle are cases in point. In New York, the city recently passed two landmark regulations, one capping the number of Uber drivers that can be on the road at any given time and the other guaranteeing a minimum wage for for-hire drivers. In 2015, the Seattle City Council unanimously passed an ordinance permitting for-hire drivers (including both taxi drivers and platform drivers) to organize and collectively bargain with their employers. Both of these examples illustrate the potency of local regulations and policy in combatting worker exploitation.

However, there are also limits to regulations and policymaking. The most important outcome, participants stressed, was ensuring that platform workers have the opportunity to engage in collective bargaining—the only form of problem-solving that involves all interested parties. While tensions between workers' rights and employers' profitability will always be an issue, collective bargaining remains the only mechanism for ensuring that the right balance can be struck. The priority of all platform-worker organizing needs to be enforceable gains at the bargaining table. By the same token, there's also no reason to continue thinking about collective bargaining in decades-old terms. Participants stressed that we need to be thinking about innovations in this space.

Christopher Land-Kazlauskas of the International Labor Organization offered several examples from Scandinavia to serve as models for collective bargaining in the Platform Economy. Drivers on Bzzt, a Swedish

ride-hailing platform, are employees, covered under a collective bargaining agreement. Domestic workers on Hilfr, a Danish platform, also enjoy collective bargaining rights. Hilfr also uses a contractor-to-employee model wherein after 100 hours of work on the platform, the worker can opt in as an employee or choose to remain a contractor depending on his or her needs. Such models are important for a couple reasons. For one, they illustrate that platform operators do not need to engage in a “race to the bottom” to remain profitable; workers' quality of life need not suffer for platforms to be lucrative. At the same time, these examples also highlight that worker-centered policies can be developed to replicate these arrangements—to ensure that workers are able to assert their collective bargaining rights.

In some cases, however, it is not policy interventions that are needed but rather *regulatory* interventions. In many cities, the problem is that existing regulations simply aren't being enforced. Toward this end, participants argued that access to platform data was key to enforcing and advancing regulations to protect workers. Data-protection and privacy legislation, like the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) in Europe, help get data into the public domain. This data can then be used to highlight company violations.

Other issues involve licensing and contracts. In Philadelphia, taxis are regulated by the Philadelphia Parking Authority (PPA), the body that issues licenses to drivers. However, because Uber and other platform companies have been so successful at espousing the myth that they don't offer transportation services (and instead simply operate and maintain the platform), they seem to have slipped through the regulatory cracks entirely. Licensing on-demand ride-hailing platforms would therefore be a key regulatory intervention—a first step towards city governments gaining access to platform data and ensuring worker protections are enforced.

On the domestic worker front, Philadelphia has taken major steps toward passing a domestic worker bill of rights—an outcome, in large part, of efforts made by the PDWA. If passed, however, the question of enforcement remains. Representatives of the PDWA who were at the conference insisted that the bill of rights would need to be accompanied by a standards enforcement board, otherwise those rights would have little effect. For example, how would contracts be enforced? When are workers paid and how? What can be done to ensure that workers are paid for unexpected cancellations? How can fair notice of termination be regulated? Given domestic work's ties to the legacy of slavery, they were excluded from 1930s labor law which gave them protections from hiring and firing discrimination, minimum wage and the right to bargain collectively. Eliminating this exclusion and any other barriers to domestic workers' union organizing is paramount.

City governments have the tools necessary to advance regulations and enforcement. It is crucial that city officials are aware of companies' bullying tactics and that they do not fear coming off as Luddites. It is incumbent upon government and regulatory bodies to protect people and facilitate change, especially in the face of massive market and regulatory failures, as is the case with the Platform Economy. Local governments can take measures to ensure that all workers receive a living wage and that they have a clear and certain process for reporting grievances. With companies like Uber, whose goal is to over-supply the market with drivers to achieve a "zero-response" time, city agencies need to step in and license drivers, placing limits on the number of workers in the market. It is in companies' interests for workers to compete with one another and the result is what James Farrar called "antisocial outcomes"—the inability of workers to see themselves in solidarity because they are being exploited in "sweatshop-like conditions."

6. Conclusion

The City of Philadelphia has an incredible opportunity. Powerful new digital technologies are remaking our economy and could help the City and its residents improve the quality of life, effectiveness of services and address critical problems of inequality. None of this will happen, however, without concerted action and thoughtful policy.

The *Platform Economy and the Future of City* Convening brought together innovative thinkers from around the US and Europe and local organizers, academics and policymakers to discuss innovative approaches to maximizing the benefits of the Platform Economy for Philadelphia and highlighted Philadelphia's unique position to model how cities can ensure that the costs and benefits are equitably shared. *Action is necessary.*

Appendix



New digital technologies are remaking the way we live, changing the way passengers and goods move, and services are provided. They hold out the hope of numerous benefits for consumers and cities by making transactions more efficient while increasing accessibility, variety, and convenience for consumers. At the same time, it is clear these outcomes won't automatically come about without the right policies in place to guide their development and adoption. As a result, numerous debates have arisen around how to ensure that the costs and benefits of these new technologies are equitably shared. Many of these debates, like the most obvious immediate impacts, are happening at the local level, particularly in larger cities.

Today, Philadelphia has begun to proactively convene and learn about how issues surrounding the Platform Economy are being addressed in other cities. We are united in our concerns about healthcare, social stability, human dignity, and quality of life issues for workers and consumers in this new economy. This convening will explore ways to engage "platform companies" and balance the demands of consumers, workers, and tech innovators.

March 25, 2019
Mayor's Reception Room at City Hall

9-9:15 Welcome

Mayor Jim Kenney introduced by John L. Jackson Jr., Dean of the Annenberg School for Communication

9:15-10:30 What is the platform economy and what does it mean?

Moderator: Julia Ticona, Assistant Professor, Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania

- Biju Mathew, Organizing Committee, New York Taxi Workers Alliance
- Lawrence Mishel, Distinguished Fellow, Economic Policy Institute
- Christopher Land-Kazlauskas, International Labour Organization

10:30-12:00 Drawbacks and Possibilities of Technology in the Gig Economy

Moderator: Aiha Nguyen, Labor Engagement Lead, Data and Society

- Tina Vu Pham, Gig Economy Organizer, National Domestic Workers Alliance
- Kendra Cornejo, Northeast Coordinator for United for Respect (OUR)
- Brian Dolber, Ride Share Drivers United & Assistant Professor, CSU San Marcos
- Alexis Rodich, Research and Policy, SEIU 775
- Six Silberman, Project Secretary, IG Metall

12:00-12:30 Lunch in Conversation Hall

12:30-1:30 International Labour Organization: How do Labor, Business, and Government collaborate to deal with the platform economy?

- Kevin Cassidy, Director and representative to Bretton Woods and Multilateral organizations, ILO Office for the United States
- Gabriella Rigg Herzog, Vice President for Corporate Responsibility and Labor Affairs, U.S. Council for International Business (USCIB)
- Chris Land-Kazlauskas, Technical Specialist, Freedom of Association and Collective Bargaining, ILO

1:30-3:00 Policy Interventions that Work for Workers

Moderator: Sheila Ireland, Director of Workforce Development, City of Philadelphia

- Laura Padin, Senior Staff Attorney, National Employment Law Project
- Leonard Smith, Co-Director of Organizing, Teamsters Local 117
- Autumn Weintraub, Campaign Director, SEIU 32BJ
- James Farrar, General Secretary, United Private Hire Drivers/IWGB
- Nicole Kligerman, Director, Pennsylvania Domestic Workers Alliance

3:00-3:15 Coffee Break

3:15-4:30 Is the Law on Our Side?

Moderator: Stephen Herzenberg, Keystone Research Center

- Brishen Rogers, Professor of Law, Temple University
- Sarah Shalman-Bergen, Shareholder, Berger Montague
- Julia Simon-Mishel, Attorney, Philadelphia Legal Assistance

4:30-5:00 Close

Bryan Mercer, Executive Director, Media Mobilizing Project

Todd Wolfson, Co-Director, MIC Center

March 26, 2019

Kleinman Center for Energy Policy, University of Pennsylvania

9:00-9:15 Welcoming from Mark Aakhus, Associate Dean, Rutgers SCI

Steve Viscelli, Senior Fellow, Kleinman Center for Energy Policy, University of Pennsylvania
Rich Lazer, Deputy Mayor of Labor, City of Philadelphia

9:15-11:00 Organizing platform workers: cross-sector lessons and practical challenges

Moderator: Kati Sipp, Principal, New Working Majority

- Chuck Stiles, Vice President, Teamsters Local 728
- Yaseen Aslam & James Farrar, United Private Hire Drivers/IWGB
- Tim Newman, Campaigns Director, Co-Worker
- Callum Cant, Deliveroo Courier, International Workers Union Great Britain (IWGB)
- Biju Mathew, Organizing Committee, New York Taxi Workers Alliance

11:00-12 Case Studies-What are the lessons we can learn from successful strategies

- The London Story
- Tech that Works for Workers
- Worker Policy and Organizing in New York and Seattle
- When the Law is on Our Side

12:00-12:30 Final Group Discussion: Common Threads, Priorities, and Next Steps

Moderators: Todd Wolfson, Co-Director, MIC Center

- Kati Sipp, Principal, New Working Majority
- Ryan Hancock, Lawyer, Willig, Williams & Davidson

This convening has received input and collaboration from The Media, Inequality & Change (MIC) Center, the Kleinman Center for Energy Policy, the International Labour Organization, the Keystone Research Center, Philadelphia's Deputy Mayor of Labor, City of Philadelphia's Office of Workforce Development, United Nations Association of Greater Philadelphia, Councilwoman Helen Gym's Office, Representative Chris Rabb's Office, the Taxi Workers Alliance of PA, The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, The Pennsylvania Domestic Workers Alliance, Philly Jobs with Justice, SEIU HCPA, Sparrow Cycling Couriers, Philadelphia Limousine Association, Economy League of Great Philadelphia, Media Mobilizing Project and several concerned individuals.

Partial funding was received from the Ford Foundation (special thanks to Anna Wadia), the Center for Global Work and Employment at Rutgers University, Drexel University's Urban Strategy Program, the International Labour Organization, United Nations Association of Greater Philadelphia, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the Law Offices of Willig, Williams & Davidson, and the Law Offices of Berger Montague.

Wifi is available at City Hall and at Kleinman Center for Energy Policy (AirPennNet-Guest, and you should be able to connect automatically).

Twitter: #platformecon

Speaker Bios

Mark Aakhus is Associate Dean for Research and Professor of Communication at Rutgers School of Communication and Information. He investigates the relationship between communication and design, especially the uses of technological and organizational design, to augment human interaction and reasoning for decision-making and conflict-management. He uses multiple methods from discourse analysis and computational social science to examine language, argumentation, and social interaction in professional practice, organizational processes, and information infrastructures.

Yaseen Aslam is the General Secretary of the Union for Private Hire Drivers (UPHD). He was made redundant from his IT job in 2006 and turned to the mini-cab industry for work while looking for a new job, Yaseen found the flexibility and earning potential very satisfactory. Eventually, he bought his own vehicle and became a full time private hire driver, working for many different operators ranging from small operations to Executive/Chauffeur, and as a driver for a company-owned vehicle. While working for Uber, he became concerned about the safety and treatment of Uber drivers particularly the lack of protection for drivers who were assaulted by passengers while driving, the frequent and unfair deactivation of drivers, and the failure to adequately protect driver privacy. The main focus at the time was respect for drivers, he began organizing through social media and the group formed its first association in 2014. In 2015, he and James Farrar were the lead claimants in the landmark case against Uber for workers' rights, and they formed UPHD, now the largest trade union for Private Hire Drivers with members all over UK, and organized the first massive UK wide strike (#UStrike) against Uber last year. He is further disappointed that drivers are treated unjustly by the licensing councils when drivers in other forms of public and private transport are better protected by unions and organizations safeguarding their rights.

Callum Cant is a PhD student at the University of West London, where his project examines worker self-organization in UK pubs, call centers and platforms. He is currently writing *Riding for Deliveroo*, out in October 2019 with Polity Press. He is an editor of the workers' inquiry journal *Notes from Below*. He has a monthly column at *Vice* on the class war and does occasional video with *Novara Media*.

Kevin Cassidy, with over 33 years of international development experience, is currently the Director and Representative to the Bretton Woods and Multilateral Organizations for the International Labor Organization (ILO) Office for the United States. Prior to this appointment, Mr. Cassidy served as the Senior Communications and Economic and Social Affairs Officer for 11 years in the ILO Office for the United Nations with additional responsible for partnerships in North America. During this time, Mr. Cassidy worked with member States to organize Heads of State/Government and Ministerial level events highlighting decent work as well as introducing policy language on key development issues into the resolutions and outcomes

documents of the UN General Assembly's Third Committee and the Commissions of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Before his assignment to New York, Mr. Cassidy was the Chief Technical Adviser for the ILO's Global Campaign on Promoting Fundamental Rights at Work. During that time he developed numerous communication initiatives in over 40 countries such as interactive radio and television programs as well as training journalists on communicating locally on decent work, child labor, forced labor, discrimination and the freedom of association. Mr. Cassidy holds a Masters' of Economic and Political Development from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs.

Mike Clark is the Teamsters International representative and has been a Teamster for 54 years. From 1998-2000, he was I.B.T. Project organizer, and from 2000-2004, he was I.B.T. Eastern Region Organizing Co-coordinator. Since 2004 he has served as I.B.T. International Representative and since 2006 he has been the I.B.T. Eastern Region D.R.I.V.E. Coordinator, which is a Teamster P.A.C. fund.

Kendra Cornejo is the northeast organizer for United for Respect, focusing on the OUR Walmart campaign in the region and coordinating the national Latinx program. Kendra began on the OUR Walmart campaign as an intern in 2014. Following the Summer for Respect internship she worked as an organizer for two years with the national AFL-CIO. In collaboration with several unions Kendra worked on organizing drives with several industry groups including rail car manufacturers, bus manufacturers, bakery workers and Harvard grad students. During that time she also had the opportunity to facilitate trainings with the AFL-CIO Organizing Institute across the country. Returning to her organizing home with United for Respect, Kendra combines her traditional organizing training with United for Respect's innovative online to offline organizing model to build power with Walmart associates. In addition to her organizing work, Kendra leads a working group charged with focusing on organizational sustainability and power.

Brian Dolber is Assistant Professor of Communication at California State University, San Marcos, where he teaches courses on the history and political economy of media, media policy, and media technology. A scholar-activist, his ongoing participant action research with Rideshare Drivers United-Los Angeles has been funded by the Media, Inequality & Change Center. He began his research on the gig economy while teaching as adjunct faculty at several different universities in the Los Angeles area, and driving for Uber and Lyft in order to supplement his income. Dr. Dolber's scholarship examines the relationships media, labor, technology, and the policymaking process in historical and contemporary contexts. He is the author of *Media and Culture in the U.S. Jewish Labor Movement: Sweating for Democracy in the Interwar Era* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), and his essays have appeared in numerous journals including: *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism and Critique*; *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies*; and *Communication, Culture & Critique*. Dr. Dolber earned his Ph.D. in Communication at the University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign, and he has been Assistant Professor of Mass Communication at SUNY College at Oneonta. A long-time labor organizer, Dr. Dolber served as co-president of the Graduate Employees' Organization, at the University of Illinois, and was a member of the union's strike committee in 2009. He has also been staff at Unite Here Local 11, the Service Employees' International Union, and the American Federation of Teachers. He is co-chair of Union for Democratic Communications, and a member of Democratic Socialists of America-Los Angeles.

James Farrar is co-founder and Chair of the United Private Hire Drivers branch of the IWGB union. He has had a long career variously in technology and advocacy working previously for software giant SAP and pioneering transparency NGO Global Witness. In 2015, James was assaulted as an Uber driver and after the company delayed and obstructed cooperation with the police for 10 weeks he initiated legal action to assert his worker rights. James immediately began collaborating with Yaseen Aslam to pursue the case jointly and to begin the long journey towards organizing drivers for collective action culminating in the nationwide #Ustrike in 2018. This year the worker rights case will be heard at the UK Supreme Court with James Farrar and Yaseen Aslam as co-lead claimants. The union has recently initiated a discrimination case against the Mayor of London for unfair treatment of private hire drivers 94% of whom are from minority groups according to the regulator. James has now founded a new organization to help gig workers secure their data rights under the EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and has begun legal action against Uber for their failure to comply.

Ryan Hancock is Of Counsel and chair of Willig, Williams & Davidson's Employment Group where he counsels and represents clients in all matters related to their employment. Prior to joining Willig, Williams & Davidson, he served as Assistant Chief Counsel with the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission (PHRC), the Commonwealth's civil rights enforcement agency. While there, he successfully litigated a wide range of discrimination matters including but not limited to claims of: sexual orientation, religious accommodation, disability, race, sex and denial of employment based on a criminal record. Mr. Hancock is the author of *The Double Bind: Obstacles to Employment and Resources for Survivors of the Criminal Justice System*, 15 U. Pa. J.L. & Soc. Change 515 2011-2012 and the principal author of the PHRC policy entitled *Disparate Impact Discrimination Implications Related to a Denial of Employment Based on a Criminal*

Record. Ryan received his law degree from Rutgers School of Law and clerked in Camden County Superior Court, Criminal Division, for the Honorable David G. Eynon. He was one of PLSE's co-founders and has served on the Board ever since.

Stephen Herzenberg holds a Ph.D. in economics from MIT and has been Executive Director since December 1995 of the Keystone Research Center (KRC), an economic research and policy think tank. Before KRC, Steve worked at the US Congressional Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) and the US Department of Labor (USDOL). Steve has written extensively on the challenges associated with economic restructuring, including the transition from a manufacturing-dominated U.S. economy to a global, postindustrial, service-dominated economy; and, more recently, on the potential impact of robots and artificial intelligence. Steve's KRC writings are on line at www.keystoneresearch.org. His writings for national audiences include *Towards an AI Economy That Works for All*, Keystone Research Center 2019; *Beyond Anti-Social Engineering: The Future of Work in the States: Policy and Institutional Choices Toward an Economy that Works for All*, Economic Analysis Research Network, 2014; *New Rules for a New Economy: Employment and Opportunity in Postindustrial America*, Cornell/ILR Press, 1998; and *U.S.-Mexico Trade: Pulling Together or Pulling Apart?* U.S. Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, September 1992.

Sheila Ireland is the Executive Director of the City of Philadelphia's Office of Workforce Development. Her charge is to implement the City of Philadelphia's citywide workforce development strategies. With more than 25 years of management experience, Sheila has been responsible for the successful leadership of the human resources and workforce development functions in the non-profit, healthcare, consulting, government and manufacturing fields. Most recently, she served as Deputy Director of Workforce Development and Inclusion for Rebuild, the City of Philadelphia's \$500M investment in infrastructure improvements to Philadelphia's park, libraries and recreation centers. was realized. Previously Sheila has served as the Vice President of Workforce Solutions at University City District (UCD). Sheila was the founding Director of West Philadelphia Skills Initiative (WPSI) and lead its growth to prominence as a national model. She also launched Green City Works, UCD's first social venture.

Carol Jenkins, MPA, PhD is the Vice-President of UNA-GP. Democratic Ward Leader. Active in progressive politics in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania as well as community groups in west Philly, Ms. Jenkins retired after teaching political science at Temple University where she helped to successfully unionize adjunct faculty.

Nicole Kligerman is PA Domestic Workers Alliance's Director and a fourth generation Philadelphian who brings a decade of union and community organizing experience in Southeastern Pennsylvania working alongside low wage immigrants and workers to win improvements in their lives and build long-term social movements. At the Pennsylvania Association of Staff Nurses and Allied Professionals (PASNAP), she organized nurses and healthcare workers across the state to form unions, build power, and win contracts that set state-wide standards for working conditions and patient care. At the undocumented-led New Sanctuary Movement of Philadelphia, Nicole was a lead organizer on the Philadelphia "Sanctuary City" campaign that ended Philadelphia Police Department collaboration with ICE. She also led a successful "Sanctuary" campaign through which a member with a final deportation order (who was also a domestic worker) lived in a church for months and refused to leave until she successfully won an end to her deportation. Previously, Nicole worked as the Housing Coordinator for the refugee resettlement program at HIAS Pennsylvania.

Christopher Land-Kazlauskas is a freedom of association and collective bargaining specialist based in the headquarters of the International Labour Office in Geneva, Switzerland. Over 18 years in the ILO, he has served in headquarters, in the ILO Subregional Office for the Caribbean in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, and in the ILO Liaison Office in Yangon, Myanmar. He has recently co-authored a working paper entitled '*Organizing on-demand: Representation, voice, and collective bargaining in the gig economy*' and was a contributor to The Global Deal for Decent Work and Inclusive Growth Flagship Report 2018, *Building Trust in a Changing World of Work*. Prior to joining the ILO, he worked briefly for the New England Regional Council of Carpenters as a research specialist. He holds a Master of Science in Labor Relations and Research from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

Biju Mathew is an American Marxist activist and a professor of the Business Administration department at Rider University (New Jersey). He is also the co-founder of the Forum of Indian Leftists and a member of the collective of Youth Solidarity Summer (YSS). Mathew is also an organizer of New York Taxi Workers Alliance. He has published a book titled *Taxi!: Cabs and Capitalism in New York City* (The New Press). It details the taxi workers' struggles in New York City from the 1920s to the present as well as discussing New York politics and policies and their effects on the taxi industry. He is also a contributor to *Rethinking Marxism*.

Bryan Mercer has served as the Executive Director of the Media Mobilizing Project since 2013. He has led a number of major programs areas, including a collaboration with nearly two-dozen partner organizations to create Keypots, a city-wide digital literacy program to broaden internet access. Bryan is committed to using strategic media and communications to strengthen and connect communities organizing for their human rights, and he frequently leads trainings and workshops to share practices for media in organizing. Bryan also works on state and national media policy advocacy and serves as a board member of the Center for Media Justice, which is committed to a ground-up approach to securing media rights and access. Bryan received his bachelor's degree from Columbia University in Anthropology and Comparative Ethnic Studies.

Lawrence Mishel came to the Economic Policy Institute in 1987 as EPI's first research director and later became vice president and then president (from 2002 to 2017). He stepped down from his leadership position and is now a distinguished Fellow at EPI doing research. Mishel played a significant role in building EPI's research capabilities and reputation. He has written and spoken widely on the economy and economic policy as it affects middle- and low-income families. He is principal author of *The State of Working America* (published even-numbered years from 1988 to 2012), which provided a comprehensive overview of the U.S. labor market and living standards. He also lead EPI's education research program. Mishel works on issues of automation, gig work, collective bargaining, executive pay, wage suppression, inequality and labor market policy. Prior to joining EPI, Mishel worked as an economist for various unions (United Auto Workers, Steelworkers,, AFSCME, AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO George Meany Center) and taught at Cornell's Industrial and Labor Relations School. Mishel has a PhD in economics from the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Christiaan Morssink is the executive director of the United Nations Association-GP, after having been its president from 2008-2012. Dr. Morssink's professional background is public health policy, specifically around professionalization. Christiaan has developed a network of collaborative relations in the city and has become active with several organizations. He is founding member and current president of the Philadelphia Global Water Initiative, re-branded the Global Water Alliance; a network of professionals and volunteers joined to make progress on the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, focusing mostly on water availability and sanitation. In 2010 Dr. Morssink became one of the founding board members of the networking initiative, the Global Philadelphia Association, where he now serves as the secretary of the board. Recently he became the treasurer of the Rotary Club Madrugadores of North Philadelphia and he has joined the board of the Harmony for Peace Foundation. Dr. Morssink holds Candidandus and Doctorandus degrees in cultural anthropology and non-Western sociology, respectively, from the University of Amsterdam in the Netherlands, an MPH from Johns Hopkins, and a Ph.D. in Public Health Policy and Administration from the University of Illinois at Chicago School of Public Health.

Tim Newman is the Campaigns Director at Coworker.org where he helps people leverage Coworker.org's tools and peer networks to influence employers and win change in the workplace. Before joining Coworker.org, Tim served as a Deputy Campaign Director at Change.org where he supported site users to run and win campaigns on the platform. He also worked as a Campaigns Director at the International Labor Rights Forum.

Aiha Nguyen is Data & Society's Labor Engagement Lead for the research initiative Social Instabilities in Labor Futures. She bridges research and practice to expand our understanding of technological systems' impact on work; builds the field of actors engaging on this issue; and informs policy on future of work. Aiha has over a decade of experience in advocacy, research, policy and organizing. Prior to joining Data & Society, she worked to raise standards for retail workers and addressed issues of food access at the Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE). Aiha received her masters in Urban Planning from UCLA and has authored several reports, including an analysis of outsourced passenger service work at Los Angeles International airport; impact of automated self-checkout systems on public safety and jobs; and a baselines study of Orange County's philanthropic community.

John L. Jackson, Jr. is the Walter H. Annenberg Dean of the Annenberg School for Communication. His research examines ethnographic methods in media analysis, the impact of mass media on urban life, media-making as a form of community-building and knowledge production, globalization and the remaking of ethnic/racial diasporas, visual studies, urban anthropology, critical race theory, and ethnographic film.

Laura Padin is a senior staff attorney at the National Employment Law Project. Her work focuses on policies that improve workplace standards and economic security for the contingent workforce, including temporary workers and workers in the "gig" economy. Prior to joining NELP, Laura was an attorney at the labor union coalition Change to Win, where she provided legal support to organizing and corporate accountability campaigns in many industries, including retail, telecommunications, fast food, and logistics. She graduated from NYU Law School and Cornell University's School of Industrial and Labor Relations.

Alexis Rodich leads the research and policy team at SEIU 775. SEIU 775 represents more than 45,000 long term care workers in Washington State and Montana and was a driving force behind the first \$15 minimum-wage fight in the country. With nearly a decade of research, political, and organizing work at SEIU, the AFL-CIO, and in the private-sector, Alexis brings a unique blend of labor and early-stage startup experience to her current role. Prior to joining the local in 2017, Alexis launched the tour marketing department at Paradigm Talent Agency (formerly AM Only) and was on the founding team of Bandsintown, the top live music app. She also served as a server at an associate for Launch Box Digital, a Washington, D.C. based technology incubator founded by Obama Administration FCC chairman Julius Genachowski. Alexis proudly continues SEIU 775's long tradition of building power for caregivers and other low-wage workers through bold policy and innovative models of worker organizing. She has an MBA in finance from the Kogod School of Business at American University, and currently lives in Seattle, WA.

Brishen Rogers is an Associate Professor of Law at Temple University Beasley School of Law. He teaches torts, employment law, employment discrimination, and various labor law courses. Professor Rogers' current research explores the relationship among labor and employment law, technological development, and economic and social equality. He is writing a book on those questions, entitled *Rethinking the Future of Work: Law, Technology, and Economic Citizenship* (under contract with MIT University Press). In addition

to his law review publications, he has recently written for the *Boston Review*, the *Washington Post Outlook*, *Onlabor.org*, and *ACSblog*, the blog of the American Constitution Society. Professor Rogers' scholarship has been cited in landmark decisions by the California Supreme Court and the European Court of Justice. Professor Rogers received his J.D., *cum laude*, from Harvard Law School and his B.A., with high distinction from the University of Virginia. Prior to law school, he worked as a community organizer promoting living wage policies and affordable housing, and spent several years organizing workers as part of SEIU's "Justice for Janitors" campaign.

Sarah R. Schalman-Bergen is a Shareholder at Berger Montague. She Co-Chairs the Firm's Employment Law Department and is a member of the Firm's Antitrust, Insurance Products & Financial Services, and Lending Practices & Borrowers' Rights Departments. She is also a member of the Firm's Hiring Committee, Associate Development Committee and Pro Bono Committee. Ms. Schalman-Bergen represents employees who are not being paid properly in class and collective action wage and hour employment cases as well as in class action discrimination cases across the country. Specifically, Ms. Schalman-Bergen has served as lead counsel in dozens of wage theft lawsuits, representing employees in a variety of industries, including at meat and poultry plants, at fast food restaurants, in the oil and gas industry, in white collar jobs and in the government. Ms. Schalman-Bergen also serves as counsel to employees, consumers and businesses in antitrust cases, including representing the employees of several high-tech companies who alleged that the companies entered into "do not poach" agreements that illegally suppressed employees' wages.

Aaron Shapiro holds an M.A. in Anthropology and received his Ph.D. from the Annenberg School for Communication. His research focuses on the relationship between media technologies, culture, and social inequalities, with a particular emphasis on the politics of urban development, labor, and policing and surveillance. His work has been published in *Nature*, *New Media & Society*, *Media, Culture & Society*, and *Surveillance & Society*, and he is currently preparing a book manuscript based on his dissertation research on the "smart city."

Michael "Six" Silberman is Project Secretary and works in the Crowdsourcing Project at IG Metall, the trade union representing workers in the German manufacturing sector. Silberman, with colleagues Vanessa Barth, Robert Fuss, and Ane Mojica, is responsible for the union's activities around online platform work, including working with stakeholders to develop criteria for socially responsible platform work; supporting individual platform workers; conducting research; developing policy proposals and legal strategies; communicating with journalists, policymakers, platform clients and operators, and other trade unions; and operating the Ombuds Office of the Crowdsourcing Code of Conduct. With Lilly Irani, Silberman is co-maintainer of Turkopticon, the independent client reputation system for workers on Amazon's Mechanical Turk platform, founded in 2009.

Julia Simon-Mishel is the Supervising Attorney of the Unemployment Compensation Unit at Philadelphia Legal Assistance (PLA), where she represents low-wage workers in unemployment compensation (UC) cases. Julia has represented over 400 clients and has an active appellate practice pursuing impact UC cases in Pennsylvania courts. She chairs the Pennsylvania State Working Group on Unemployment Compensation and has testified by invitation before the PA legislature on issues affecting her clients. She was recently appointed by the General Assembly to serve on Pennsylvania's UC Benefit Modernization Advisory Committee. Julia is also the Supervising Attorney for the Employment Advocacy Project, a pro bono project of 20 students from area law schools who represent clients in UC administrative hearings. Prior to joining PLA, she clerked for the Honorable Norma L. Shapiro of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. She began her career at PLA as a Skadden Fellow. Julia was recently named one of the American Bar Association's "One the Rise: Top 40 Young Lawyers" and one of BillyPenn's "Who's Next in Law: Philadelphia" award recipients. She graduated *magna cum laude* from the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

Kati Sipp is the Principal of New Working Majority, a consulting firm. She is also the editor of the blog *Hack the Union*, which focuses on the intersections of work, organizing and technology. Prior to her work with NWM, she served as the Managing Director for the National Guestworkers Alliance. She founded the Pennsylvania affiliate of the Working Families Party, and spent nine years working for SEIU Healthcare Pennsylvania, serving as the statewide Political Director and Executive Vice President of the local. Kati began working with SEIU in California in 1997, where she was an internal organizer, working with classified school employees. She left California in 1999 to move back to the East Coast, and worked for the Philadelphia Unemployment Project, where she organized mothers who were affected by changes in the state's welfare policy. After leaving PUP, she spent time as the director of the Jobs with Justice affiliate in Philadelphia, before going back to SEIU. Kati is the proud mother of Alina and Isaac. She holds a Bachelor of Fine Arts degree from Mason Gross School of the Arts, Rutgers University.

Leonard Smith is the Director of Organizing and Strategic Campaigns at Teamsters Local 117 in Seattle, Washington. He has held that position since 1994 where he leads staff in growth strategies overseeing the political team, the internal organizing team and the communications team. He has led work on campaigns for the \$15 minimum wage in Sea-Tac and Seattle. Prior to that he worked for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters as an organizer and served as the Western Regional Organizing Coordinator for the IBT. During the same period Leonard served as a teaching fellow at the George Meany Labor College in Maryland. He also helped run programs in Eastern Europe for the Free Trade Union Institute. Leonard has been organizing independent contractors in the Taxi and TNC industry for the past seven years using various strategies including passing the first in the nation collective bargaining law in the City of Seattle allowing taxi and TNC drivers the right to collective bargaining. Currently, he is engaged in finding new strategies to bring power to workers in the "gig" economy.

Devan Spear is Executive Director of Jobs with Justice. Devan grew up in Central Florida, where she first witnessed worker power in the face of deeply rooted systems of oppression through the work of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers. After moving to Philadelphia

for school, she joined the UPenn Student Labor Action Project, where she worked with dining hall workers on a successful union drive, and later fought for the administration to contribute Payments in Lieu of Taxes to the city of Philadelphia during the height of the school district's funding crisis. Since taking on the role of Executive Director in July 2017, Devan has been a key player in establishing the Pennsylvania Domestic Workers Alliance and worked to build a strong coalition of Philadelphians fighting for the rights of working people.

Chuck Stiles has been a Teamster for 34 years. Since 2006, he has served as the Assistant Director of the Teamsters Solid Waste Division and since 2008, he has been Vice President of the Teamsters Local 728 Atlanta, GA.

Julia Ticona is an assistant professor at the Annenberg School for Communication, where her research investigates the ways that digital communication technologies shape the meaning and dignity of precarious work. She uses qualitative methods to examine the role of mobile phones, algorithmic labor platforms, and data-intensive management systems in the construction of identity and inequality for low-wage workers. She also collaborated on an amicus brief on behalf of Data & Society for Carpenter vs. U.S. before the U.S. Supreme Court. Her book, about the "digital hustles" of high and low-status freelancers in the gig economy, is under contract with Oxford University Press. Previously, she was a postdoctoral scholar at the Data & Society Research Institute. She received her Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Virginia, and her B.A. from Wellesley College. You can find her work in *New Media & Society*, *Information, Communication, and Society*, as well as *Wired*, *Fast-Company*, and *Slate*.

Steve Viscelli is a Robert and Penny Fox Family Pavilion Scholar, Senior Fellow at the Kleinman Center for Energy Policy, and a lecturer in the Department of Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. He studies work, labor markets and public policy related to freight transportation, automation and energy. His first book, *The Big Rig: Trucking and the Decline of the American Dream* (UC Press, 2016), examines how long-haul trucking went from being one of the best to one of the toughest blue-collar jobs in the US after the industry was deregulated and new communications technology introduced. Steve is currently working on two interrelated research projects. The first is a book project that explores the policy and politics of self-driving trucks and their potential impacts on labor and the environment (first report available at: www.driverlessreport.org). The second looks at the impacts of ecommerce and technology on last-mile freight delivery and related policy to ensure job quality in goods movement. In addition to his academic research, Steve works with a wide variety of public and private stakeholders to solve real-world problems in freight transportation.

Tina Vu Pham is the gig economy organizer at the National Domestic Workers Alliance. She brought with her over ten years of organizing experience with immigrant communities and unions in Washington D.C. and New York before unions and immigrant communities before becoming NDWA's gig economy organizer. As the gig economy organizer, she is working to understand and improve the working conditions of care and cleaning workers in the gig economy through research, organizing, and advocacy. Her goal is to reach the many domestic workers that are moving to online platforms to find "gig" jobs and to build community and power. Tina enjoys New York City, film, and is passionate about Vietnamese food.

Autumn Weintraub is a Campaign Director for the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). She helps lead the SEIU Local 32BJ partnership with the New York Taxi Workers Alliance. She has been a labor organizer and strategist with SEIU for over 20 years, developing and implementing strategy for iconic low-wage worker organizing and contract campaigns. Autumn served on the Justice for Janitors campaign, a global campaign in support of workers at a major multi-service employer; national campaigns on behalf of low-wage airport workers; and the first-ever Fight for \$15 fast-food worker strike in New York City, which led to a global movement against poverty wages.

Todd Wolfson is Co-Director of the Media, Inequality & Change Center and Associate Professor of Journalism and Media Studies at Rutgers University, as well as the digital media coordinator for the Master of Communication and Media program. His research focuses on the intersection of new media and contemporary social movements and he is author of "Digital Rebellion: The Birth of the Cyber Left" and co-editor of the forthcoming volume, "Great Refusal: Herbert Marcuse and Contemporary Social Movements." Wolfson believes in the importance of engaged scholarship that leads to tangible action in the world, and to that end, he is a co-founder of the Media Mobilizing Project (MMP) based in Philadelphia, PA.