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Article — Published Version
Pressure and praise as an action research methodology:
The case of Fairwork

Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space

Provided in Cooperation with:

WZB Berlin Social Science Center

Suggested Citation: Graham, Mark et al. (2025): Pressure and praise as an action research methodology: The case of Fairwork, Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, ISSN 1472-3409, SAGE Publications, London, Iss. OnlineFirst, pp. 1-15, https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X251336893

This Version is available at: https://hdl.handle.net/10419/325856

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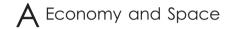
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Exchanges



Pressure and praise as an action research methodology: The case of Fairwork

EPA: Economy and Space I-15 © The Author(s) 2025

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Abstract

In platform-mediated sectors such as ride-hailing, delivery, care work and cloudwork, gig workers often lack essential employment protections such as minimum wage and social security. Misclassification of workers, opaque algorithms, exploitation of legal loopholes and lobbying by platforms against protective legislation further exacerbates inequalities and discrimination. The Fairwork project at the University of Oxford and WZB Berlin, in collaboration with a global network of partners, aims to improve conditions in the platform economy through action research. Using a principles-based framework, the project evaluates and scores platforms against universal standards of fairness – fair pay, fair conditions, fair contracts, fair management and fair representation. The action-

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research methodology combines data triangulation and stakeholder engagement to ensure platform evaluations are objective and impartial, while seeking to hold platforms accountable and advocating for better labour standards in the gig economy. This article explores Fairwork as an action research methodology that has established positive feedback loops, driving platforms towards pro-worker policy changes. We hope this discussion encourages other politically engaged social scientists to adopt action research approaches in their own work.

Keywords

Platform work, platform economy, digital labour, gig economy, action research, digital capitalism, research methods

What is at stake for workers in the gig economy?

There are millions of workers in the 'gig economy', who undertake short-term platform-mediated jobs like food delivery, driving, cleaning and care work. Proponents of the gig economy foreground the flexibility and autonomy that can be enjoyed by its workers; however, in many ways, platform work presents characteristics of traditional temporary and casualised work, such as low pay, instability and limited employment protection (Woodcock and Graham, 2020). As most platform workers are classified as self-employed, they tend to fall outside the scope of most employment rights and protections, including minimum wage legislation, working time regulation and health and safety protection (Fredman et al., 2021). The opaque algorithmic management of platform workers, with algorithms generally operating as a 'blackbox', with no transparency or accountability (Aneesh, 2009; Muldoon and Raekstad, 2023), leaves workers in a subordinate position when trying to make claims against platforms or the State (Kuttler, 2023). The use of opaque algorithms can also drive gender, racial and class discrimination based on customer ratings (Teng et al., 2023) and can compel low-income and minoritised workers to accept low wages (Dubal, 2023). Variable and changing bonus systems and gamification tools further increase the risks of overwork and excessive risk-taking on the job (Vasudevan and Chan, 2022). Platforms also harvest vast amounts of data from workers, often for commercial purposes, with limited external scrutiny or accountability (van Doorn and Badger, 2020).

Finally, because of the atomised and isolated nature of platform work, workers often find it difficult to build collective power and to find a collective voice (Alyanak et al., 2023; Bertolini and Dukes, 2021). The establishment of formal and structured collective bargaining initiatives has been slow, and while worker organising has taken place, precious few victories have been won (Alyanak and Karlıdağ, 2022; Bonhomme et al., 2024; Howson et al., 2020) and the significant power imbalance between platforms and workers has hampered concerted interventions directed at these companies, aiming for better working conditions and payments (Lopez et al., 2024).

Although there are established frameworks for decent work, most notably the ILO's Decent Work Agenda, they do not address the specificities of platform work, especially in the absence of established legal frameworks. Many scholars have highlighted that, in most jurisdictions, platform regulation has been inadequate or ineffective (Bertolini, 2024; Collier et al., 2017; Makó et al., 2022; Stewart and Stanford, 2017), with a broad coalition of economic, political and academic stakeholders, as well as civil society organisations, noting the power imbalances in the relationship between platform firms and workers.

Platforms have also invested staggering sums in lobbying for deregulation or regulatory change in their favour (Gromis, 2021; MOVE EU, 2021, also Naumov and Keith, 2023). The 'Uber Files' investigation conducted by a consortium of media outlets revealed the strategies employed by Uber to co-opt authorities and lobby to ensure the passing of platform-friendly regulations around the world (Corporate Europe Observatory, 2022). In the US, platforms spent over \$200 million in their fight against the bill in California that aimed to reclassify platform workers as employees, undertaking what Shapiro (2023) referred to as 'platform sabotage'. Similarly, in 2023, the Estonian-based ride-hailing platform Bolt lobbied the Estonian

government to reject the legal presumption of employment in the EU Directive on Improving Working Conditions in Platform Work (Bourgery-Gonse, 2024; EUObserver, 2024). Although a compromise version of the Directive was passed eventually in March 2024, it is thought that lobbying activity undertaken by platforms significantly weakened its content (Corporate Europe Observatory, 2024).

The rise of action research methods in social sciences and economic geography

Action researchers position themselves as instigators of change – within the academy, but also in their relations with research participants. They seek a new relationship between knowledge production and practice and are often very vocal about their aim of strengthening communities and collective action. Since action research builds on a range of liberal, emancipatory and critical traditions in the North and South, for action researchers to care for research participants and their communities is not in contradiction to good research practice and rigorous methodology, rather the opposite (Bradbury, 2015; Cornish et al., 2023; McNiff and Whitehead, 2013; Rowell et al., 2017).

Action research is the result of disenchantment with the claims of positivist research to be objective and rational. The efforts of social scientists to stay neutral have resulted in the research being passive to questions of profound social change, and also in detachment from research participants and communities, leading to questioning of the relevance of social sciences to human concerns (Greenwood, 2002; Somekh, 2003). Despite these shortcomings of conventional social sciences, approaches such as action research that seek to be reflexive and socially accountable are seen as 'risky' or denounced as 'activism'. This is not surprising, since positivist worldviews continue to dominate most social science research. Greenwood (2017: 181) notes that 'Academic social scientists are trained in, and mainly obey, the hegemonic disciplinary structures in their universities. Many of those employed by or in the private and public sector generally view their work as fee-for-service analysis and 'decision support'. In both cases, rocking the boat with democratically-inspired social critiques or actively promoting social reforms [. . .] is rare and is often punished'.

While action research has tended to sit outside of the mainstream of objectivist, positivistic Western-centric research, in recent decades it has made inroads into many disciplines, including development, geography, management, social work, sociology, anthropology, architecture, planning, healthcare and education. In the face of climate change and the destruction of ecosystems, but also the uncertainties that are associated with digitation and AI, it is becoming increasingly evident that current means of knowledge production and dissemination are insufficient and that translation of knowledge into practice is failing. Hence, action researchers have been constantly pushing the academic community to turn towards more action-oriented research based on experimental and collaborative learning, potentially opening up pathways for more desirable futures (Bradbury et al., 2019; Rowell and Call-Cummings, 2020).

Economic geography has also experienced a shift of attention to the local scale and local actors. As Bjørnar Sæther noted in 2006, it has long been 'hard to find researchers within economic geography who acknowledge that participants co-generate knowledge'. However, increased interest in understanding innovation and regional development has shifted the research focus to the local level (Dicken, 2003), and the study of networks and knowledge transfer in regional development has put a spotlight on the logics and perspectives of embedded actors (Grabher, 2004; Wittel, 2001).

Based on such a broadening of scope, action research approaches have been particularly salient in geographic development research and adjacent disciplines that study rapid change in global value chains and the effects on local labour markets. Through action research, scholars have worked with local communities and grassroots organisations to expose worker exploitation and poor labour conditions (Benstead et al., 2018), while also illuminating worker resistance, organisation and empowerment (Fuentes, 2023). Action research methodologies make accessible the knowledge and perspectives of the involved or affected actors who would otherwise be overlooked in conventional research. Such

knowledge was proven valuable in informing strategies to hold corporations accountable, foster ethical economic practices in supply chains, and advocate for stronger international labour protections (Hale and Wills, 2007). Dickson (2013: 134) aptly summarises the benefits of action research, while pointing to the dilemma of conventional approaches: '[A]cademic research is slow. [. . .] Undoubtedly, the traditional academic research is important [. . .] but we need quicker action. As the years have passed while studies carried out, workers have continued to be exploited and denied their rights.'

Action research in the gig economy: The Fairwork project

The Fairwork project at the University of Oxford and WZB Berlin, in collaboration with a global network of partners, aims to improve conditions in the platform economy through action research. Since 2018, it has built a principles-based framework to describe and help address the risks and harms workers experience in the fast-growing platform economy, and the mechanisms that platforms should put in place to guarantee workers a minimum standard of fair work. The core idea of the Fairwork project is that companies can be encouraged to improve working conditions when they are scored against universal standards of fairness and ranked against each other. Because few platforms actually employ their workers or own much in the way of fixed capital, the idea is that they are especially vulnerable to public pressure (Graham, 2020). Consumers can relatively easily switch from one company to another. To deploy this sort of ranking and scoring strategy, however, requires definition of universal labour standards, that is, a set of thresholds which can be used to evaluate working conditions irrespective of the sector within which a company operates.

The project methodology was designed in three stages: (1) develop a framework to evaluate platforms against principles of fairness; (2) evaluate platform companies against those principles and provide them with an easy to understand score; (3) use the resulting score of fair working conditions to compare companies against one another, and – in doing so – encourage companies to improve their scores, and thus the earnings and working conditions of workers.

To achieve the first objective, in 2018 the project organised a workshop at the International Labour Organisation and United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Geneva, which brought together key stakeholders from worker groups, unions, academia and platforms (Graham et al., 2020). In this workshop, five core principles of fair work were developed: fair pay, fair conditions, fair contracts, fair management, and fair representation. The principles were first refined through multistakeholder workshops in South Africa, India and Germany, and later in sessions held globally. These workshops prioritised input from unorganised workers, who represent the vast majority of platform labour forces.

Five universal principles of Fair Work

Two key considerations were foregrounded in the development of the five principles. First, they needed to be operationalised in evidence-based ways. Each of the five principles entails two thresholds of criteria that platforms can be evaluated against, with platforms being awarded an overall score out of 10 (see Figures 1–3).

Second, the principles needed to be universal. One common argument from platforms in response to complaints about the quality of the jobs they offer is that they provide better work alternatives than exist in much of the Global South. It is also argued that platform work provides a pathway out of poverty – a claim that is hard to substantiate by empirical evidence (Anwar and Graham, 2021; Cook and Rani, 2023; Soriano and Cabañes, 2019). Although the authors agree that the conditions in the informal sector of, for instance, cleaners in South Africa and delivery workers in India are generally poor, we maintain that large corporations can, and should, do much more to protect the welfare and wellbeing of their workers.



Figure 1. Fairwork principles. *Source.* Fairwork (2025a).

The Fairwork project team has therefore operationalised the five principles in such a way that they apply to all platform workers, in all sectors and all places, under all types of contracts. This was no easy task.² Following the stakeholder workshop at the ILO, the principles were taken to in-country workshops in India, South Africa and Germany in 2018 and 2019. Workers, unions, and platform managers were asked to discuss their priorities for the principles and rate their importance. The research team then synthesised the findings into robust minimum labour standards. As the project expanded in subsequent years to working in 39 countries by 2024, that task of listening to diverse stakeholders worldwide – including unions, worker groups, regulators, platform managers and consumer groups – has grown ever more challenging. Regular and extensive engagement with these stakeholders led to subsequent rounds of systematic refinement of the principles. The final set of principles that is applied in Fairwork research (Fairwork, 2025a) reflects these efforts to set universal standards, grounded in very specific cultural-, classed-, gendered-, place- and economic sector-specific concerns about job quality and decent work³ (see Figures 1–3).

Putting the Fairwork principles into practice

The Fairwork method evaluates and publicly ranks platform companies, and as such, it must be objective and impartial. Points are only awarded to platforms when the research team finds reliable evidence that the threshold has been met. That means that a point not awarded to a platform does not necessarily mean that the threshold is not met, but rather that we could not find sufficient evidence that it was (Graham and Anwar, 2018).

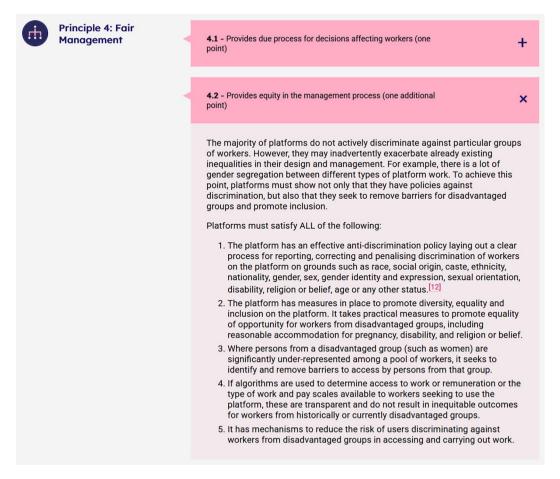


Figure 2. The two principle thresholds for Principle 4 on Fair Management (for Location-based platform work).

Source, Fairwork (2025b).

To assess whether a threshold is met, the team triangulates data from multiple sources (Fairwork, 2025c). The research data is collected through desk research (reviewing all information publicly available on the platform, including contracts and terms and conditions, insurance policies if they exist, public statements, etc.), interviews or online surveys with platform workers, and interviews with platform managers. This approach allows us to integrate different perspectives and crosscheck the information received from each source to develop a thorough assessment of the working conditions on that platform. As such, rather than a simple audit to verify elements of company practice and compliance, Fairwork creates a large repository of rigorous academic research on the platform economy. Needless to say, academic rigour is indispensable in triangulating the evidence and ensuring that all elements of research follow the strictest academic ethics guidance and rules. Fairwork research has received ethical clearance from the University of Oxford's Departmental Research Ethics Committee (DREC) and seeks ethical clearance in all the locations where it operates.

A series of mandatory processes and checks has been built into the methodology to validate the results and prevent subjective bias. Within the research team, 'country liaisons' are responsible for consistency of the operationalisation process within a country, and 'platform liaisons' are responsible for the operationalisation process for platforms that operate across multiple countries. These roles were not envisioned in the early stages of the project, but as the project expanded to 41 countries (with

Scoring System	First point		Second point		Sum
Principle 1. Fair Pay	•	+	•	=	2
Principle 2. Fair conditions	✓	+	•	=	2
Principle 3. Fair contracts	✓	+	•	=	2
Principle 4. Fair Management	✓	+	•	=	2
Principle 5. Fair Representation	•	+	•	=	2
				Maximum tota	10/10

Figure 3. Fairwork scoring system. *Source.* Fairwork (2025a).

over 710 company scorings conducted at the time of writing), attention to consistency of scoring became increasingly essential in view of the tremendous variety of business models and contexts in which platforms operate. Internal peer review by members of the Fairwork network further maximises consistency of platform scorings and the yearly country reports. As part of the peer-review process, learnings are recorded in an 'operationalisation' document that highlights cases in the scoring process that do not neatly fulfil the principle thresholds – for example, due to unexpected clauses in policies or ways of practicing them. This ensures that precedents can be followed in future scoring rounds. Given the wide variety of platform models, practices and policies and their different application in different jurisdictions, the operationalisation documentation guides the team in ensuring validity and reliability across scoring decisions.

Turning research into action

How, then, can those scores be leveraged to improve pay and conditions for workers in the platform economy? At the onset of each annual scoring cycle, the Fairwork country teams host workshops with stakeholders, including platform managers, unions and worker organisations, to present the previous platform scorings, the Fairwork methodology and the research timeframe and steps (Alyanak et al., in press). These events are not just about information sharing but also about gathering valuable feedback from platforms, unions and other relevant stakeholders. During the research process, platforms are repeatedly consulted and encouraged to make pro-worker changes to their processes and policies. Before publishing the final scorecards, the provisional scores are shared with the platform management, with detailed explanations about how the policies and practices can be improved to meet the minimum standards of decent work as described in the Fairwork principles. They are given 6–8 weeks to make additional changes to their policies before the final platform ratings are published.

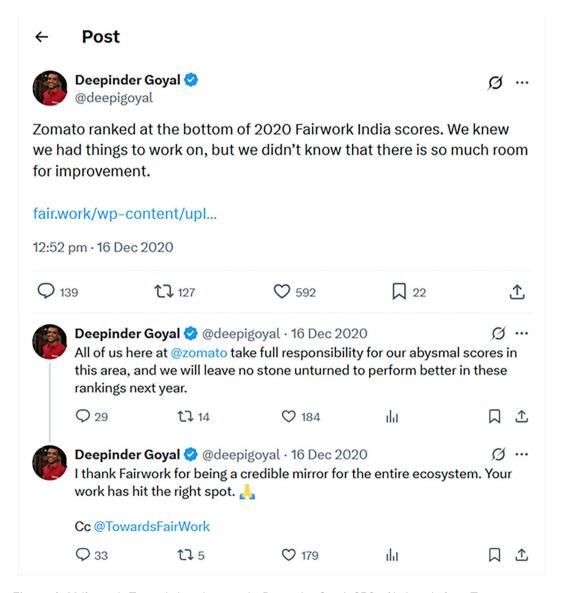


Figure 4. X (formerly Twitter) thread written by Deepinder Goyal, CEO of Indian platform Zomato. *Source.* Goyal (2020).

The final ratings make the companies at the top and the bottom of each country's score table easily identifiable. The Fairwork team publishes press releases and contacts media representatives and policy makers in order to ensure maximum dissemination. As a result, platforms with low scores are encouraged to positively engage with the research team in future scoring rounds. To give one example of this, in India in the first year of research in 2019 only 2 out of 12 companies engaged with the research team. By the second year, this had risen to 4 out of 11. In the most recent year, 2024, 7 out of 11 companies engaged with us (Figure 4).

This positive feedback loop centred around platforms' reputation has led to significant improvements in platforms' policies and practices, reflected in their improved ratings. At the time of writing in early 2025, over 320 pro-worker policy changes have been made by the platforms as a result of their engagement with the Fairwork team. Given that some platforms host hundreds of thousands of

active workers, these changes have affected millions of workers globally. Most of these changes have been made to improve worker contracts (e.g. translating contracts or terms and conditions to local languages, and changing contracts to be subject to local legislation) and management procedures (e.g. improving appeal processes or implementing anti-discrimination policies). A substantial number of platforms have increased worker payments by introducing minimum or living wage policies. Improvements have also been made to platforms' health and safety measures and social safety net provisions, as well as in the acknowledgement of freedom of association of platform workers.⁵

Publicly naming and shaming companies is not for the faint-hearted. As researchers, we are aware that Fairwork research reveals industry practices that many companies would prefer not to be uncovered. We are also aware that a publicly funded project like Fairwork does not have access to the same legal support resources that companies with deep pockets and expensive lawyers can access. Furthermore, since Fairwork consists of an international network of researchers, we are aware that the laws regarding sharing information about private companies are not the same everywhere. In some places, publishing research about companies is protected by freedom of speech legislation. In others, there are strict laws about libel and defamation. As outlined above, these risks are partially mitigated by ensuring that all research reports limit themselves to explaining why platforms have been awarded certain points in the scoring, rather than explaining why they have not.

The long road ahead for decent work in the platform economy

Research has shown that different types of business models are possible and that these have a potential to meet many of the minimum standards of fair platform work. Platform cooperatives, for example, typically offer higher wages, better working conditions and higher economy security than conventional platform firms, and they also promote transparency and worker self-government (Cañada et al., 2023; Christiaens, 2024; Ghirlanda and Kirov, 2024; Salvagni et al., 2022; Scholz, 2016). Some of these alternative platform models also experiment with worker-owned technologies for increased autonomy (Grohmann, 2023). Where Fairwork has scored platform cooperatives, hybrid models and other socially oriented labour platforms, they tend to receive higher Fairwork scores (Fairwork, 2023, 2024b).

Besides these positive examples, and despite the many pro-worker changes that Fairwork has been able to instigate, there is still a long road ahead for decent work in the platform economy. Without intensive and sustained pressure from all sides, large global firms will not radically change their corporate policies towards greater fairness for workers. Despite recent advances such as the Riders' Law in Spain and the EU Platform Work Directive, significant gaps in these legal frameworks remain (Martin-Caballero, 2024; Rainone and Aloisi, 2024), and the enforcement of existing legal standards is incomplete (Hatayama and Maj-Swistak, 2024). This is especially relevant since intermediaries and subcontracting firms increasingly govern the relationship between workers and platforms (Gallegos et al., 2025), which reinforces the risks for platform workers when subcontractors do not enforce legal obligations (Niebler et al., 2023). It is also clear that positive changes to platform policies aren't necessarily permanent; we have encountered cases where platforms awarded a point for fair payments and fair conditions in 1 year, have lost it in a subsequent scoring round (Fairwork, 2024a, 2025d). Raising awareness of the conditions of platform workers is clearly a long-term endeavour, creating additional motivation to sustain the Fairwork project. At the same time, the volatility of the platform landscape requires continuous review of the Fairwork methodology and its application. With the Fairwork network still growing, and platform models and policies further evolving, maintaining overall methodological consistency and universal applicability is a constant challenge.

A recent tendency that has made inroads into debates about the development benefits of platformisation is the claims by large corporations that they are creating positive social impact beyond their pursuit of profits, thereby attempting to make hegemonic a corporate framing of philanthropy and social accountability (Henriksen and Richey, 2022; Iazzolino and Stremlau, 2024). With increasing attention

on the environmental and social harm of neoliberal capitalism, large corporates first attempted to improve their images by setting up 'corporate social responsibility' measures and piggybacking on 'ethical consumption' claims, which have become heavily commercialised and are being reiterated in mainstream consumer culture (Carrington et al., 2016; Humphery, 2017). In recent years tech companies have intensified promotion of their data-driven approaches to global development issues (Capasso and Umbrello, 2023; Holzmeyer, 2021), thereby trying to position their technological tools as integral to addressing social problems (Harmon et al., 2017; Reiser, 2008). With digital platforms and AI penetrating all aspects of human life, big tech's vision of philanthropy is gaining ever more traction, with the effect that large corporations are now defining how globally pressing social and developmental issues should be resolved (Henriksen and Richey, 2022; Iazzolino and Stremlau, 2024).

Critics argue that such practices are increasing the power and control of corporations over social issues (Littler, 2013). Due to their failure to assume responsibility for their workers, it is surely contradictory for large corporations to define the moral compass, as well as universal social and developmental criteria. To prevent global technology and platform companies from defining political agendas for social interventions, a concerted effort is needed to impose standards of social accountability on corporations that are defined instead by society. The Fairwork project is part of this movement that calls for a wider application of action research tools, recognising the urgent need for intervention to address the unfair working conditions suffered by millions of platform workers. The project builds on the foundation of high-quality empirical research and a rigorous methodology, while prioritising a strong positive impact on platform workers over theory building and academic output. It is a project that uses transparent, replicable, methods to produce social scientific research, all whilst being explicit about its politics and objectives. As such, it does not fit easily into a university structure that is not accustomed to social scientists directly confronting the subjects of their study with uncomfortable truths. And, yet, the project, and the action research methodology that it has developed, has nonetheless been able to carve out a space within the academy. Fairwork research holds up a mirror; and that mirror shows a world that many do not wish to see. Our hope in sharing the Fairwork method is to inspire more social science research that is both unashamed to take sides, and which is academically rigorous in the work that it produces.

Acknowledgements

Fairwork is a collaborative project with teams in 41 countries. The authors would like to thank all the members in the network for their contributions to Fairwork. The authors also acknowledge the contribution of a large number of workers and platform managers around the world for taking the time to support Fairwork research and help us build Fairwork ratings. A special thanks goes to David Sutcliffe for his valuable comments on several draft versions of this paper.

Declaration of conflicting interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: The open access publication was funded by the WZB Berlin Social Science Center via the Sage Journals Consortium coordinated by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB). Fairwork is financed by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), commissioned by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). Fairwork was formerly funded by ERC, ESRC and GCRF grants.

Other funding sources are: Fairwork Argentina: International Development Research Centre (IDRC) through the Future of Work in the Global South (FOWIGS);

Fairwork Belgium: European Research Council (ERC) to the ResPecTMe project (under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme Grant agreement n° 833577) and the Flemish Research Council (FWO – Grant agreement funders G073919N);

Fairwork Chile: ANID/Fondecyt regular 1210338 and the Millennium Nucleus on the Evolution of Work (M-NEW);

Fairwork Germany: Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (BMAS) and formerly Berlin University Alliance OX/BER Centre for Advanced Studies (CAS):

Fairwork Spain: Spanish trade union Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO)/ La Fundación 1º de Mayo.

Fairwork USA: Ford Foundation.

Ethical considerations

This research project this publication is based on has been reviewed and approved by Oxford University's Departmental Research Ethics Committee. Research ethics references: SSH OII C1A 19002 and R92070/RE001

Consent to participate

Research participants provided informed consent in written form, and where this was not possible (e.g. in online or telephone interviews), participants provided the consent in verbal form.

Consent for publication

Not applicable

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Notes

- 1. The number of estimated workers in the 'gig economy' varies in different studies. The most recent global estimations do not comprise location-based workers, only online gig workers: A World Bank study estimated 154 million unique registered online gig workers worldwide, of which 52 million are active workers (Datta and Chen, 2023). Kässi et al. (2021) estimated 163 million registered users, of which 14 million are active. As one of the few surveys that include both online remote and location-based platform workers, a survey in 2021 estimated a number of 28.3 million platform workers in the EU-27 who worked via platforms as their main, secondary or marginal job (European Commission: Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion, 2021).
- 2. The platforms covered by Fairwork's research have different business, revenue and governance models including employment-based, subcontractor, commission-based, franchise, piece-rate, shift-based and subscription models. Some of those models involve the platforms making direct payments to workers including through sub-contractors (for an evaluation of different labour platform typologies see Cherry and Aloisi, 2016; Drahokoupil, 2021; International Labour Organization (ILO), 2021; Kocher, 2023; Kruse et al., 2023; Scheele et al., 2023). Fairwork recognises that not all platforms use a business model that allows them to impose certain contractual terms on service users and/or workers in such a way that meets the thresholds of the Fairwork principles. However, the Fairwork project emphasises that platform workers regardless of their contractual classification or the regulatory framework are still workers entitled to key rights and protections. All platforms have the ability to influence the way in which users interact on the platform. Therefore, for platforms that do not set the terms on which workers are retained by service users, we look at a number of other factors including published policies and/or procedures, public statements, and website/app functionality to establish whether the platform has taken appropriate steps to ensure they meet the criteria for a point to be awarded against the relevant principle.
- 3. A common critique was that a universal set of decent work principles is unworkable, given the differing conditions between the Global North and South. Our response was that we reject the notion that any group

- of workers should be held to lower standards than others. The principles are therefore universal, applying equally across contexts. However, to account for geographic variation, they can be contextualised to reflect local conditions (as discussed further below).
- 4. Due to comply with the strictest anonymisation and data protection rules, the Fairwork dataset is not publicly available and information is not shared with third-parties, including for secondary research purposes.
- 5. For further information how Fairwork research improved the lives of millions of workers around the world, see the impact section of the Fairwork homepage: https://fair.work/en/fw/impact/
- 6. We are now pivoting to apply these same methods to the supply chains of AI, certifying lead firms and leveraging their influence to open up the chain and score their suppliers. This shift illustrates how the tried-and-tested Fairwork approach can be adapted to diverse contexts, driving fairer practices across a wider range of industries (Muldoon et al., 2024).

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