



GIG CITIES

Research report



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The University of Melbourne and
the Australian Research Council

Report author

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Research support



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Report design

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Project overview and background

Gig Cities is a project supported by the Australian Research Council and the University of Melbourne that is investigating how the rapid rise of the 'gig' economy for moving people, goods and services is transforming Australian cities. Using Melbourne as a case study, using in-depth qualitative interviews, the project explores and seeks to understand how the positive and negative dimensions and geographically uneven impacts of gig work platforms are affecting workers, customers and industries.

Recent quantitative research indicates that 13.8% of working-age people living in Victoria have undertaken gig work using digital platforms, and 7.4% are currently doing so, most of whom live in Melbourne.¹ The uptake of platform work can be attributed to growing underemployment, the precarity of work and the increasing availability of temporary migrant workers, which characterises Australia's labour market.

Although some quantitative aspects of gig work in Australia are known, much less is known about the experience of gig work from the perspective of both workers and customers. This project provides new knowledge about the multiple dimensions of gig work, to broaden understanding of the lives of workers and customers and the wide-ranging transformations that are happening in cities.



1. McDonald, P., Williams, P., Stewart, A., Oliver, D., & Mayes, R. (2019). *Digital Platform Work in Australia*. Melbourne: Victorian Department of Premier and Cabinet.

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Methods

In-depth qualitative interviews were undertaken with a sample of 30 workers, 30 customers and 20 industry stakeholders in Melbourne during 2018 and 2019. The workers and customers were sampled from two online surveys. The 30 workers were involved in the movement of people (e.g. through rideshare platforms such as Uber and Didi: 10 workers), delivery of goods (e.g. through food delivery platforms such as Uber Eats and Deliveroo: 10 workers) and provision of services (e.g. through task-based platforms such as Airtasker: 10 workers) and were quota sampled according to city location; length of time doing this work; household composition; and demographic, socio-economic and socio-cultural identifiers. A further 10 interviews with workers recruited through a third survey were undertaken in early 2021 to ascertain experiences of gig work during the COVID-19 pandemic. The 30 customers were chosen based on the range of on-demand services accessed, frequency of access and geographical location as well as a range of demographic indicators. Industry stakeholders were recruited directly. Our qualitative approach supplements the dominant quantitative approach by allowing exploration of the broader impacts of gig work on people's lives.

Terminology

Gig economy

The gig economy is part of the labour market where gig workers provide services to customers – often one-off or project-based – facilitated through a digital platform (mobile app or website) hosted by a platform company. It is also known as the sharing economy, platform or app economy, or on-demand workforce. Services include rideshare (e.g. providing lifts in private cars), delivery services (e.g. food order and delivery) and personal services (e.g. graphic design; odd jobs).

Gig workers

Gig workers are the individuals who provide services to customers, through gig work platforms. Gig workers are usually classified as self-employed – as independent contractors or freelance workers – not employees of platform companies, and so do not receive employee benefits such as superannuation or paid leave. The legal status of gig workers is currently being debated in parliament in several jurisdictions in Australia.

Gig work platforms

Gig work platforms are the mobile apps or websites that connect workers with customers. They are owned and operated by the platform company. They are also known as on-demand platforms.

Platform companies

Platform companies develop and provide gig work platforms that connect workers with customers. These companies generate income by charging fees for the use of their platforms.

Key findings

- The rise of the gig economy in some parts of Australia is influencing the way customers travel, eat and engage personal services.
- Gig work platforms are changing how people undertake paid work.
- Gig work platforms are changing expectations in the city around ease and convenience. Ease and convenience for some, especially customers, is creating hardship for others, especially workers.
- The gig economy is impacting established infrastructures such as public transport.
- The entrenchment of gig work platforms prompts consideration about the kinds of cities we want in terms of equity of access to services, workers' rights, urban planning and infrastructure supporting this emerging economy.



Recommendations

Policymakers

- Enhance adequate oversight and regulation of platform companies by ensuring platform workers are recognised as employees.
- Make new investments that help those working in industries being displaced by platform-based gig work to transition to new training and employment opportunities.
- Continue to invest in public transport, a vital public good for the future of cities; rideshare is not a sustainable or socially just replacement for public transport.
- Provide adequate facilities in urban centres for food delivery riders and rideshare drivers to wait between gigs.
- Increase oversight of building design to ensure home kitchens are sufficient for food preparation and households are able to make healthy food choices and not overly rely on takeaway food delivery.
- Develop campaigns to raise public awareness of the hardships faced by many gig workers.
- Apply tougher penalties for abusive behaviour towards gig workers.
- Stimulate public discussion about the risks and benefits of automated vehicles and drone delivery.

Platform companies

- Take greater responsibility for workers by offering fairer and more consistent rates of pay.
- Provide paid training for workers on how to better deal with challenging interpersonal situations.
- Offer greater assistance to workers who have been subjected to abusive behaviour from customers or who have been involved in accidents.
- Organise social events that connect workers to each other and the organisation and make them feel part of a valued community.

Customers

- Always treat gig workers with courtesy and respect – even small kind gestures can significantly improve their wellbeing.
- Consider how the use of gig work platforms might reduce the viability of similar services already established in the community.
- Tip gig workers, until such time as regulation improves their pay.
- Choose more socially progressive options, such as platform cooperatives, where they exist.

Gig workers

- Recognise the transferable ‘soft skills’ that have been developed doing gig work.
- Connect with other workers to foster a sense of collective endeavour and belonging.
- Work together to bring about positive change in the regulation of gig work.

01

Inducing



Customers hear about gig work platforms through different avenues

- ▶ Some gig work platforms run high-visibility advertising campaigns on TV and social media to induce people to use their services. These are designed to work at the emotional level, promising customers a range of positive feelings, such as fun, ease, convenience and fun.
- ▶ A prevalent low-tech, low-cost strategy is handing out fliers and discount vouchers to passers-by in city centres or at public events.

Changes in the built environment are boosting the uptake of gig work platforms

- ▶ An emerging trend in inner city apartment design is having smaller kitchens. The idea behind, and a selling point of, such designs is promoting a lifestyle where on-demand food ordering is desirable and food preparation is a chore that can be avoided. This is an example of 'nudging' a change in practices through infrastructure.

App and website interfaces of on-demand platforms facilitate engagement

- ▶ Gig work platform apps are designed to create an easy and intuitive experience, for both workers and customers, and many customers said using such apps created feelings of pleasure.
- ▶ Gig workers also said that signing up with a gig work platform was easy compared with searching for and onboarding in more conventional jobs.

Using gig work platforms is changing people's experiences and expectations of time

- ▶ The convenience of rideshare platforms contrasts with other modes of transport, especially timetabled public transport, which can feel less convenient and potential heighten negative emotions connected with experiences of public transport, such as waiting or being in a crowded space.
- ▶ Accessing a service on demand potentially reduces time, and changes how time is experienced, especially given that it can reduce the need for advance planning.

The extent to which new habits are formed can be influenced by other factors

- ▶ For many people, choosing whether to use on-demand rideshare depended on the purpose of the journey and other factors. For instance, given that rideshare is more expensive than public transport, some commuters used rideshare as an occasional treat or during wet weather.
- ▶ Some people said they used on-demand food delivery to alleviate the hardship of preparing food at home, especially when they felt exhausted. However, some people also recognised that relying on food delivery intensified their experience of social isolation or depression.
- ▶ Platform companies use nudges, such as mobile phone notifications and emails, to encourage ongoing use of the platform.

Customers change the way that they perceive older services

- ▶ Some customers expressed nostalgia for previous ways of accessing services that can now be delivered through gig work platforms. This was especially the case for food delivery and takeaway.
- ▶ Other customers perceived the old ways of accessing services as outdated and inconvenient.

Customers are concerned about quality of service

- ▶ Some customers voiced concern about the variable and sometimes poor quality of products and services procured through gig work platforms such as Airtasker.

Customers are grappling with ethical and practical dilemmas

- ▶ Many customers were aware of ethical concerns about the gig economy, such as exploitation of workers and displacement of traditional service providers. For some, this manifested in guilt and shame.
- ▶ Some people expressed concern that using on-demand services would effectively result in their deskilling, since this outsources tasks that might otherwise have to be undertaken personally.
- ▶ Some people were particularly concerned that they relied heavily on these services despite the financial and emotional costs involved.
- ▶ Customers described various tactics they used to reduce or stop their use of these platforms, such as deleting apps or setting budgets.



02

Summoning

Workers experience work differently, depending on their circumstances

- ▶ The experience of undertaking gig work and the impact it has on workers' lives depends on their circumstances. For instance, a retiree undertaking rideshare driving to stave off boredom is in a far less precarious economic situation than an international student who is undertaking gig work because they cannot gain other work. Those who undertake gig work as their sole source of income are in a much more precarious position than those who do it to supplement another source of income.
- ▶ Many gig workers were frustrated with the poor rates of pay from gig work, which make medium- and long-term financial planning harder.

Workers acknowledge that they develop skills

- ▶ People who undertook gig work recognised that they developed soft skills, such as communication, problem-solving and time management skills.
- ▶ Technical skills learned included understanding and anticipating how the app algorithm works, with some explaining how they had found ways of 'gaming the system'.
- ▶ Many rideshare and delivery workers described honing their geographical knowledge of the city and making new discoveries about places.
- ▶ As well as acquiring skills, workers recognised they needed to hold particular dispositions towards their work, such as having faith, maintaining belief or having confidence.

Many workers are unsatisfied

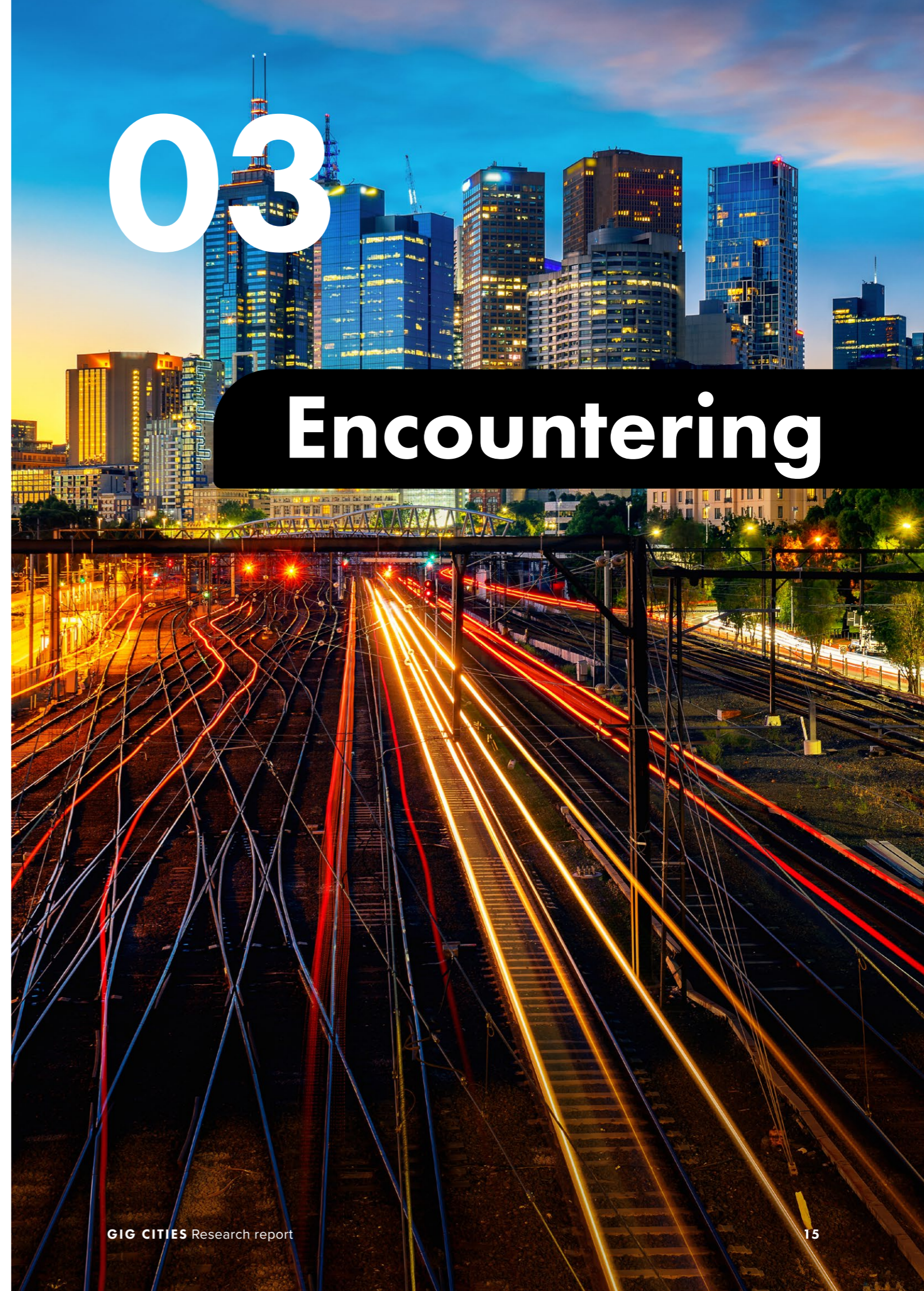
- ▶ Many task-based workers bemoaned the unfulfilling nature of menial jobs, and food delivery workers lamented the boredom from repetitious work, encountering the same restaurants on the same roads. Both sets of workers voiced frustration that their work was not challenging; they longed for variety, and ultimately felt that gig work does not allow them to achieve their potential.
- ▶ Some workers described the pleasure that these jobs brought, such as decompression time, the pleasures of driving, the ability to keep fit while cycling, or the flexibility to regain their social life. However, these were often framed as consolations, perhaps even self-care activities, to make the job feel less burdensome.
- ▶ The majority of gig workers perceived their jobs as unskilled and not helping their prospects for future employment. Most said they would not include gig work on their curriculum vitae and thought that to find other work they would be required to study or upskill.

Workers are frustrated about being on standby

- ▶ Workers using transport and delivery platforms referred to the recurrent anxiety of waiting for the next gig. For task-based gigs, workers described the frustration with waiting for a response to whether their bid for work had been accepted. Many task-based gig workers said that much of their time is spent trying to source work, rather than actually doing it. Some have become addicted to checking for work on their mobile phone. The increasing rate of new entrants into gig work has intensified competition and exacerbated workers' sense of insecurity.



- ▶ Transport and delivery workers described waiting as a significant negative part of the job, such as being stuck in traffic, or waiting around to pick up orders from restaurants.
- ▶ Although waiting is to be expected in such work, the ability to wait comfortably and legally is often impeded by current infrastructures, such as kerbside restrictions, which are of particular concern for delivery riders in central business district (CBD) locations, and restaurants that do not have waiting areas for delivery riders.
- ▶ For some workers, effectively always being 'on call' means that they cannot enjoy proper downtime, and leisure activities are impeded where there is no distinct separation between free time and work time.
- ▶ Although waiting time is not necessarily dead time – many workers described various activities they do in that time – it only permits a limited range of activities.
- ▶ The prevalence of waiting has changed how home spaces are experienced. For some gig workers, home has become a place to wait for jobs, rather than a place of respite and family activities, and this has changed the meaning of home in the process.



03

Encountering

On-demand platforms are shaping interactions between workers and customers

- ▶ Many customers described how their interactions with workers – whether involved in the provision of transport, goods or services – were largely transactional. Although more in-depth communication often occurred through apps for services such as Airtasker, this was still largely transactional in nature, to establish and clarify expectations associated with the task.
- ▶ For many customers, the transactional dynamic – reducing the need for social interaction – was a positive element and contributed to the pleasure of using gig work platforms.
- ▶ Interactions between workers and customers are influenced when platforms have a rating system, especially where both parties understand they will be ranked by each other, such as for rideshare. Although some workers and customers thought that rating systems foster respectful interactions, others felt these caused undue pressure and surveillance.

Some platforms provide a space to facilitate social interactions

- ▶ Rideshare was the service where the most immersive social encounters occurred, in large part owing to the intimate social space of inside a vehicle. These were mainly interactions between passengers and drivers.
- ▶ With the expansion of pooled rideshare services, sharing a ride with strangers creates a novel social setting, but for some passengers the intensified bodily proximity in a confined, non-public space increased feelings of anxiety.

Some on-demand platforms create spaces to share stories

- ▶ Some gig work services provide a space for the sharing of stories. Especially in rideshare, both drivers and passengers described social situations where storytelling was commonplace, though not always welcomed.
- ▶ Some task-based gig workers said that strange and unexpected encounters gave them amusing stories to share with others.
- ▶ Through storytelling, on-demand work can be a site where people are exposed to and learn about the experiences of others. This can cause confusion and incomprehension about the lives of others, as much as it can bring understanding and empathy.

Workers develop a range of social and personal skills

- ▶ Gig workers – especially passenger transport workers – said that they had become better listeners and better able to understand social cues. Some even felt they had a counselling role through listening to and consoling passengers. For some, these skills helped their own interpersonal relationships.
- ▶ Some workers recognised the emotional and unpaid labour involved in the management of their gigs, such as scheduling, sourcing work and chasing up payments. Strategies learned from managing emotional exhaustion include distancing and blocking out.
- ▶ For some workers and customers, after their business relationship was established through the platform, they continued the relationship offline to avoid platform fees.

Workers and customers are concerned about their personal safety

- ▶ For gig workers undertaking work involving interpersonal interaction, many described being subjected to abusive behaviour from customers and restaurant staff. Gig workers involved in transporting people experienced this the most.
- ▶ Incidents of abusive behaviour were especially prevalent towards recent migrants, who frequently experienced racial abuse – verbal and sometimes physical – often fuelled by alcohol.
- ▶ Workers described how the unequal power dynamics between worker and customer inherent in some platforms prevented workers from defending or asserting themselves to resolve problems, for fear of being suspended by the platform or receiving negative feedback.
- ▶ Food delivery riders described being bullied by customers who felt entitled to demand that their order be brought to the front door of their apartment, often in high-rise buildings requiring lengthy unpaid transit times. Some commented that there was no training, provided by the platform company, on how to respond to such challenging interpersonal situations.
- ▶ For delivery riders during the COVID-19 pandemic, the heightened risk of exposure to the virus intensified feelings of anxiety.
- ▶ Some female customers described how fears for their personal safety meant they restricted their use of rideshare, used female-only rideshare, or only used rideshare when they had a travel partner.



Many on-demand workers feel disconnected and isolated

- ▶ Some workers described how their jobs, which they often undertake alone, ultimately made them feel isolated. This was particularly the case with delivery riders and task-based workers, and to a lesser extent rideshare drivers.
- ▶ Although online communities exist where gig workers can seek support and share stories, much of this tends to be practical information sharing.
- ▶ Feelings of shame and stigma associated with gig work also led to feelings of isolation. Shame and stigma were a result of expectations to have secure work, to earn a decent income, and to be in more highly skilled employment.
- ▶ Many gig workers said they did not disclose their gig work to others; some preferred to say they were unemployed.
- ▶ Feelings of isolation were also reported from task-based workers who felt guilty when their customers were disappointed. This indicates how the burden of responsibility for customer satisfaction lies with the workers rather than the platform companies.
- ▶ Even for workers working in teams with others, isolation was a prevalent experience for task-based gig workers. Since each gig (especially in hospitality) can involve working with new groups of people, there are few opportunities to develop lasting and satisfying collegial relationships. Such isolation can make workers feel awkward.
- ▶ During the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions, many workers involved in food delivery explained how contactless delivery reduced opportunities for social interaction with customers, and led to increased feelings of boredom and dissatisfaction with the job.

Some workers are disdainful of other workers

- ▶ Some gig workers were critical of the actions or behaviours of fellow gig workers. Some were even resentful of other workers, especially owing to the tough competition for gigs during quiet times and when there is an oversupply of workers. This 'negative solidarity' is a barrier to collective action.

04

Spacing



Overseas experiences of using on-demand services can shape experiences in Australia

- ▶ Some customers of on-demand services described how their experience of using such services overseas shaped their expectations and practices in Australia.
- ▶ Some people started using rideshare after short trips overseas to locations where on-demand services are more widespread. For others who spent a significant time overseas in places where using public transport was not possible or convenient or where rideshare was cheap, this habit continued when they returned home to Australia.
- ▶ Of those who began using on-demand services overseas, some described how the experience of using these services differs in Australia; for instance, the norms and expectations of interaction with drivers and delivery riders was significantly different, and this took some time to get used to. Some users reported that it takes longer in Australia to have a service delivered, compared with experiences overseas; others said there were different social expectations relating to social interaction.

Experiences of on-demand services across the city are diverse

- ▶ Some customers were aware of the different availability of on-demand delivery in different places and parts of the city. Sometimes this difference could be seen on a street-by-street basis in a particular suburb, owing to the delivery radius of some services.
- ▶ Some task-based workers whose jobs take them between different suburbs to enter different homes and retail establishments expressed intrigue and surprise at the differences that

they discovered. For some, this was a pleasurable dimension of the work.

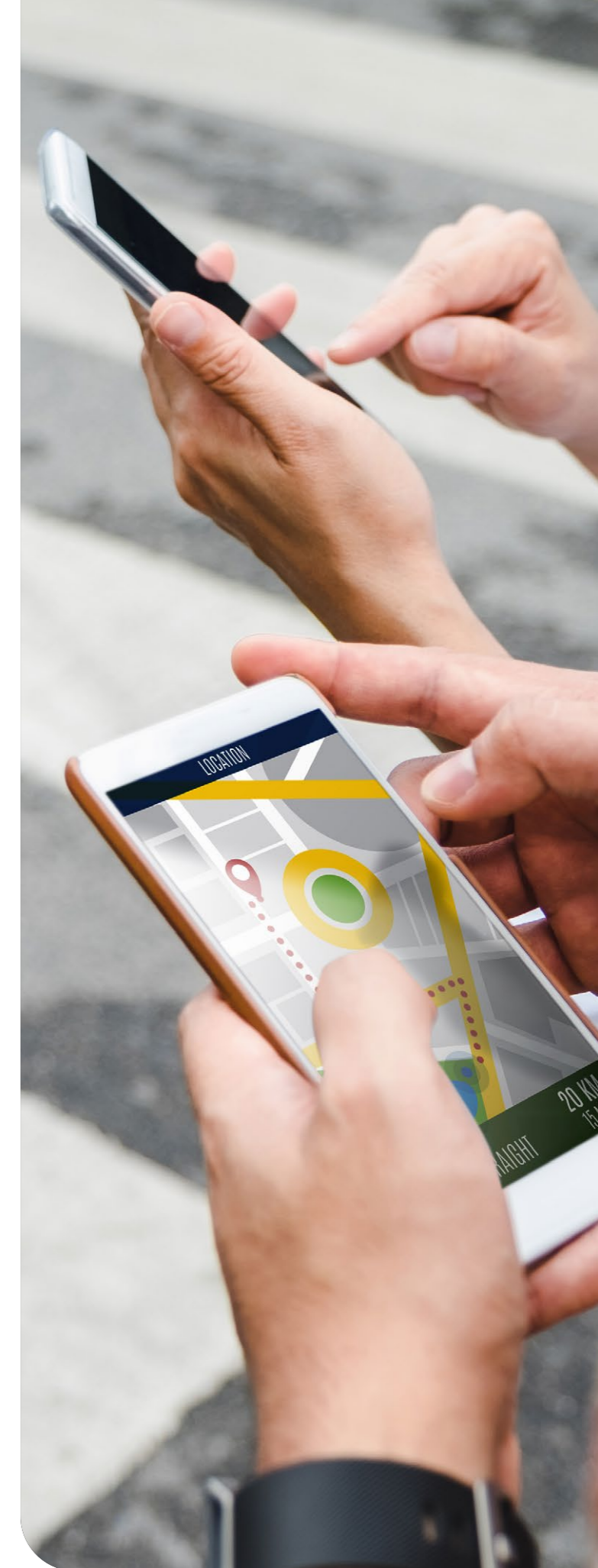
- ▶ The different availability of public transport in different parts of the city affected some workers' ability to work; in particular, those without access to a car and who relied on public transport to travel to undertake in-situ on-demand tasks were constrained by the lack of public transport in certain parts of the city.
- ▶ Some workers for specialist rideshare services (e.g. female-only services) said they were partly motivated to undertake this work to contribute to their local community. Some believed recruiting other drivers in their area was also part of their community responsibility.

On-demand services differ significantly between inner city, outer metropolitan and regional areas

- ▶ Customers experience on-demand services differently, depending on where they live. People living on the periphery of metropolitan areas described how the availability of on-demand services was severely restricted in these locations, especially for on-demand food delivery. Also, ordering a rideshare from these locations generally involves much longer waiting times.
- ▶ For some, the experience of using on-demand services in outer metropolitan areas was less anonymous, since having fewer rideshare or delivery riders in these locations often led to repeat gigs with the same person. Some customers welcomed making a deeper acquaintanceship with their driver or rider; workers said they enjoyed developing a personal relationship with restaurant staff, which often led to receiving free food.
- ▶ People who had moved from inner city areas to the more affordable city fringes

reported that they were shocked to discover rideshare and food delivery services were much less available than in the inner city where services were plentiful. Many who had relied on such services before said their habits were prompted to change – for instance, they were now eating out in local restaurants more often.

- ▶ People who regularly visited friends and family in regional areas described how the absence of on-demand services in these areas created a very different experience of place. For some, despite having previously spent significant amounts of time in regional areas, being used to on-demand services in cities made the contrast feel more marked.



05

Abandoning

Many gig workers see no future in gig work

- ▶ Some gig workers described their fundamental sense of safety and belonging in the world – or ‘ontological security’ – being threatened. For some, this was exacerbated in the short term by changes in the way apps work, over which they have no control.
- ▶ Workers felt financially insecure, given that gig work does not guarantee minimum working hours or offer fixed pay. Also, in part owing to variable income, some workers had to juggle multiple forms of work on different platforms.
- ▶ Some platforms have changed their pay and conditions over time, resulting in different workers receiving different rates of payment; this exacerbates perceptions of inequitable treatment between workers.
- ▶ Some gig workers said that an oversupply of delivery riders had increased waiting times between gigs and reduced their workload leading to a drop in income. This has been particularly marked during the COVID-19 pandemic. Also, during the pandemic lockdowns, some delivery platforms stopped taking on new drivers in some parts of the city, putting people on ‘waiting lists’ for work, adding to a sense of insecurity for those people.
- ▶ Some workers thought longer-term technological change posed a threat to their ontological security, describing how on-demand rideshare and delivery work will potentially be compromised by increased automation, such as through autonomous vehicles and delivery drones.
- ▶ Drone delivery companies are undertaking trials in parts of Australia, promising fast delivery on demand. These trials have received much media attention, potentially creating a sense of imminent threat to workers.

- ▶ For some on-demand workers, the perceived lack of a future in gig work and threat to their ontological security resulted in feelings of futility and resignation.

Other industries have been significantly disrupted by gig work platforms

- ▶ The taxi industry has been significantly affected by the introduction of on-demand rideshare platforms, and many in the taxi industry are experiencing high levels of financial hardship and emotional distress.
- ▶ Participants who drove taxis described how they must now work longer hours to make a living, with some resorting to tactics such as incentivising riders with free food and soft drink.
- ▶ People who invested in taxi licences have lost the significant passive income that these licences generated. Taxi licence owners who had their licences cancelled and were paid a small gratuity to compensate for this loss were frustrated that the government had not done enough to support them. They described a sense of abandonment in the wake of rideshare.
- ▶ The rise of on-demand food delivery has compromised the financial viability of some restaurants, owing to high platform fees. Also, some customers said they now eat out in restaurants much less than before owing to the ease and convenience of on-demand ordering, affecting those restaurants that do not offer on-demand services. The growth of ‘dark kitchens’ – run solely for on-demand platform delivery – constitutes a further threat to restaurants.



Governments have a role in shaping the future of on-demand services

- ▶ Many participants who worked in state and territory government agencies recognised that there is a significant public demand for on-demand platforms, and this influenced their policy strategies.
- ▶ Policymakers described the challenges of shaping the future of on-demand services through regulatory measures, particularly given the vested interests of powerful platform companies.
- ▶ Most participants agreed that it is very difficult to anticipate the future of the sector; this uncertainty has been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic.



06

Empowering

There are benefits to taking relationships offline for workers and customers

- ▶ In response to worker isolation felt in gig work, some gig workers have sought to build an offline worker community, with opportunities to socialise face to face. For instance, workers who use a female-only rideshare platform in Melbourne organise regular driver community meetups, creating a sense of community that has also resulted in a greater sense of allegiance to the platform. For some, this sense of allegiance leads them to downplay the negative dimensions of gig work.
- ▶ Some workers and customers described how after initially arranging work through a platform, subsequent jobs were taken offline, where the two parties liaised directly with each other. This was especially the case for on-demand task-based work. The benefits included avoiding paying platform fees, and enabling deeper connections and more productive relationships.

Some workers attend organised protests

- ▶ Some rideshare workers had participated in strike action to protest declining pay and conditions. The strikes in Australia mirror those happening overseas to advocate for workers to be reclassified from self-employed to employees. Others said they would have liked to have participated in strike action; however, they were fearful of retribution from platforms.
- ▶ Some taxi drivers and taxi licence investors had participated in a range of direct protest actions in response to what they perceived as unfair treatment by the government in the wake of rideshare. The actions, designed to draw public attention to their cause, included sit-ins in the state parliament building and drive-slows along key transport routes.

Most workers view on-demand work as transitional and this curtails collective action

- ▶ Most workers perceived gig work as transitional – a stopgap measure to support them through a particular time or while they apply for permanent work – which meant many were unwilling to invest energy in fighting for better rights.
- ▶ No workers considered on-demand work as a core part of their sense of self. Some said they concealed what they did from friends and family owing to shame, and some projected forward to a future without gig work.
- ▶ For some workers, gig work was a positive interim form of work and way of maintaining their life in a difficult situation; for instance, after redundancy, business collapse, burnout or trauma. Some workers reflected positively on the transformative effect that this work had for them.
- ▶ Some workers find a way out of gig work through further study, taking up internships or even moving overseas; others feel trapped in what they describe as a ‘zig zag’ or ‘circular’ life.
- ▶ There have been attempts to organise more socially progressive and fair platforms
- ▶ In response to rideshare platforms that make it difficult to earn a living wage, there are successful examples worldwide of cooperative platforms that are owned by drivers.
- ▶ Setting up a driver-run rideshare cooperative was recently attempted in Australia, but unfortunately it could not secure the necessary investment through crowdsourcing to develop and scale up the app.

Project outputs

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David is Associate Professor in the School of Geography, Earth and Atmospheric Sciences at the University of Melbourne. He is Director of Research Capability of the Melbourne Centre for Cities. He combines qualitative research on embodied practices with social theory to explore the social, political and ethical consequences of mobile lives. His research draws on theories of mobilities and cultural geography to investigate contemporary social problems involving mobility-labour relationships. He is co-editor of *Stillness in a Mobile World* (2011), *The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities* (2014), and *Negative Geographies: Exploring the Politics of Limits* (2021). His monograph *Transit Life: How Commuting is Transforming our Cities* was published by MIT Press in 2018.



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Elizabeth is a Research Assistant in the School of Geography, Earth and Atmospheric Sciences at the University of Melbourne. She is a cultural geographer interested in the sensory experiences and embodied practices through which humans engage with environments. Attentive to the social and ethical implications of these engagements, she is particularly interested in their emotional geographies. Elizabeth has published in international journals such as *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *Emotion, Space and Society* and *Cultural Geographies*, and is co-editor of *Geographical Aesthetics: Imagining Space, Staging Encounters* (2015).