Ricardo Festi
(Coordinator)

The uncomfortable class

**Who they are, what they think, and what they want
delivery workers and drivers for digital platforms**

Research Report

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SOCIOLOGIA
Universidade de Brasília

UnB

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Presentation

This document aims to disseminate the results of the research project entitled *Where is human labor headed in the digital age?*, developed between 2023 and 2025 by the Labor and Social Theory Research Group (GPTTS), linked to the Department of Sociology at the University of Brasília (UnB).

Initially, the main objective of the research was to analyze the processes of transformation in the world of work caused by a combination of changes in labor legislation, the implementation of new technologies — such as automation, digitization, and platformization — and the structural transformation of the Brazilian economy. For this reason, the project was divided into the following thematic areas: (I) digital platform delivery workers; (II) individual transport drivers using digital platforms; (III) individual microentrepreneurs; and (IV) civil servants working through digital platforms, also known as remote work or telework.

For various reasons, the research ended up focusing mainly on themes I and II, digital platform delivery workers and drivers. The national and international political and academic landscape favored public debate on the working conditions and forms of regulation of these workers. In addition, as we progressed in our investigations — especially in the analysis of empirical data, interviews, and fieldwork — new research questions arose.

In the end, as will be evident in this report, the main concern and focus of the research was to understand the way of *being* and *acting* of the new proletariat of the digital age, in particular delivery workers and drivers for digital platforms. We sought to investigate the reasons and means by which these workers act and formulate their demands in the Brazilian political arena. Above all, we sought to analyze the apparent contradictions and

ambiguities present in their discourses and actions in relation to the rights demanded and their working and living conditions.

We therefore chose to shift the initial focus, centered on working conditions, to question who these workers are, how they live, how they think, and what they want. Thus, their life and professional trajectories, explored through in-depth interviews, were decisive for this objective. The cross-referencing of various data obtained in our investigations with other sources has allowed us to present an explanation of this new fraction of the world of work.

However, axis III was not neglected, although it was investigated to a lesser extent than the others. The research on Individual Microentrepreneurs (MEI) was conducted by Cícero Muniz Brito and resulted in his doctoral thesis entitled "Precarious worker or entrepreneur?: a case study of Individual Microentrepreneurs (MEI)". It included the collaboration of Raphael Lapa, who also incorporated this reflection into his doctoral thesis, and undergraduate students Brenna Vilanova and Letícia Fragoso Pereira da Silva.

On the other hand, empirical research on civil servants and digital platforms was not continued, as our field of investigation ceased to exist after the Federal District government revoked teleworking in 2023.[1] The focus of our empirical research was the Federal District and Surrounding Area, the metropolitan region of Brazil's capital. We also sought to conduct a comparative analysis with Lisbon (Portugal) and Paris (France). These cities were chosen because they are in three different countries, allowing us to assess different labor markets with very unique realities and histories.

In the case of Brazil, it is a peripheral and dependent country with a slave-owning past, which has bequeathed precariousness and markers of ethnic/racial and income discrimination to the workforce. In France, an advanced economy, we find a world of work marked by strong traditions of social protection and union representation. Portugal, despite being a European country, has structural weaknesses that allow it to be placed as an

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[1] See Federal District Government. Decree No. 44,265, dated February 23, 2023.

intermediate case between Brazil and France in the scope of our analytical and comparative model.

However, despite the differences, the three cities chosen are similar in several characteristics: they are capitals of their countries and, therefore, cities marked by the presence of the bureaucratic-state apparatus; they are metropolitan regions aligned with the smart city agenda; and they concentrate most of their jobs in the service sector (commerce, public administration, hospitality, and tourism, etc.).

In this report, we present only the results of the research conducted in the Federal District and Surrounding Areas. The investigations carried out in Portugal counted on the collaboration of researcher Isabel Roque and academic partnerships with research groups from various institutions, which resulted in lectures, technical visits, doctoral student exchanges, and publications (Festi; Roque, 2025) . In the case of France, the research is ongoing through a postdoctoral fellowship at the *Institut de Recherche Interdisciplinaire en Sciences Sociales* (IRISSO) at *Université Paris Dauphine*. Although reflections on these countries could not be incorporated into this report, they were fundamental in providing an internationalist and comparative perspective.

The participation and collaboration of the GPTTS in other research projects over the last few years has also been fundamental. In 2020 and 2021, we coordinated the research that resulted in one of the first publications on the working conditions of digital platform delivery workers in Brazil. It received financial support from the Central Única dos Trabalhadores (CUT) and the International Labor Organization (ILO) (Central Única dos Trabalhadores; Instituto Observatório Social, 2021) . In 2024 and 2025, we coordinated the *Fairwork* Project, linked to *the University of Oxford* (Fairwork, 2025). In both projects, we conducted more than 100 interviews with delivery workers and drivers from digital platforms in various regions of the country. Although these interviews were not used in the production of this report, they were fundamental in broadening and deepening our understanding of the subject.

Work and Social Theory Research Group (GPTTS)

The main objective of GPTTS is to develop research and reflections on the contemporary world of work and critical social theories. Its studies are divided into two fundamental thematic areas: 1) empirical and theoretical studies on new forms of organization and being in contemporary work; and 2) research and reflections on the sociology of work itself and its contributions to the formulation of critical theories. It also aims to train new researchers through scientific initiation, course completion monographs, master's dissertations, doctoral theses, and postdoctoral studies.

The GPTTS comprises networks of national and international researchers, seeking to consolidate an exchange of people and ideas with different institutions. In addition, its research has a social commitment through interventions in the public space, participation in debates on public policies, and outreach activities. The results of its investigations and reflections are published in the form of scientific reports, articles in academic journals, opinion pieces in various media outlets, interviews, and books.

Among the international partnerships, in addition to those already mentioned, it is worth highlighting the ongoing dialogue with researchers from the Observatory on Working and Living Conditions (OCTV), in particular Roberto Della Santa and João Areosa, with professor of sociology Ana Paula Marques from the University of Minho and Professor Paulo Alves from ISCTE, all from Portugal.

This research had several sources of funding: in addition to UnB, it received financial assistance from the Federal District Research Support Foundation (FAP-DF), funds from three Parliamentary Amendments from the Federal Chamber of Deputies, Scientific Initiation scholarships from National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq), and a postdoctoral scholarship abroad from CNPq (in progress).

During the research project, several works were published, notably two collections: *The Tragedy of Sisyphus: Work, Capital, and Their Crises in the 21st Century* (Paco, 2023) and *The New Productive Infrastructures: Digitization of Work, E-logistics, and Industry 4.0* (Boitempo, 2024). In these works, we published texts by researchers such as Ana Paula Marques, Roberto Della Santa, Antonio A. Casilli, António Brandão Moni, Jamie Woodcock, Paola Tubaro, Sophie Bernard, Sarah Abdelnour, and Isabel Roque.

The report

This report is divided into eight chapters, all written by researchers involved in the research process. Aware that this document could not cover all the data and information collected in *the surveys*, interviews, and field observations, we decided to present what most motivated our debates in the GPTTS. Thus, the political and subjective dimension is present in the analysis of all texts, aiming to explain the ambiguities and contradictions that mark the struggles and demands of the subjects of the work investigated here. We also chose to preserve the different perspectives of analysis of the team members. That is why this report is not a simple presentation of data and results, but, above all, a collection of reflections, hypotheses, and theses that motivated the lively debates in our research project.

1. An uncomfortable class and parallax consciousness

Ricardo Festi

The new proletariat of the digital age, represented by platform workers, is an uncomfortable class. It is uncomfortable because its definition and classification in the social class models of past centuries are no longer accurate for the new reality of the world of work. It is uncomfortable because its contradictions, ambiguities, hesitations, desires, and perspectives clash with class consciousness schemes and the expectations of progressive researchers. But above all, it is uncomfortable because, by mobilizing and fighting for its demands, it shows that it is neither passive nor automatically adept at the ideologies propagated by capital. Thus, it is up to us researchers to face the theoretical and political challenges of investigating, analyzing, and explaining this new fraction of the working class.

While we were writing this report, our research generated significant controversy in the plenary session of the Brazilian Supreme Court in early October 2025, during the trial of two cases that were being heard in parallel in the Court: Complaint 64.018 (Rappi) and Ordinary Appeal 1.446.336 (Uber). Both cases debated the recognition of the employment relationship between workers and digital platforms for individual passenger transportation and goods delivery.

The controversy began during the oral arguments presented by Rappi's defense attorney, a former minister of the Superior Labor Court, when he cited a chapter from our research published in the book edited by Jörg Nowak and myself, entitled " " (*et al*.., 2024) . The study continued to be mentioned in the statements made by ministers and attorneys representing the workers.

Given the importance of the decision, which will apply to all similar cases in the country, the trial was widely followed by the interested public,

especially workers, academics, and jurists. As a result, our research began to be debated on social media and *internet* discussion groups (Festi, 2025b) .

The data cited by Rappi's defense attorney are reproduced in more detail in Chapter 4 of this report. The attorney mentioned only those points that supported his argument against establishing an employment relationship between workers and digital platforms. Both in our research and in others, it has been observed that most platform workers are opposed to the establishment of an employment contract (CLT)[2] between them and the platform companies. This political position is not unique to this segment of workers but is common among younger and more precarious workers.

However — and this was not mentioned by the lawyer in his speech — these same workers want the labor rights guaranteed to CLT workers, such as social security, vacations, and paid weekly rest, among others.

This debate is not simple and has been permeated by passions and ideological positions. Contrary to the lawyers' discourse, also in academic and legal circles — especially among those who are in favor of workers' rights — there is a constant denial that the most precarious workers in Brazil (and the same is true in other countries) reject the labor model that was consolidated in the last century in Western countries as a fundamental right, that is, salaried work with limited working hours, vacations and paid weekly rest, leave and social security, etc.

Surprisingly, these strata of workers consider the historical banners of the trade union movement of the last three centuries to be less important in their daily struggles. They consider it a priority to ensure flexibility, higher income, and issues specific to their categories (such as support points, fuel subsidies, access to credit for the purchase of motorcycles or cars), etc.

There is no categorical rejection of labor rights, as our research shows. What exists is a prioritization of demands that seem more concrete for improving their daily lives (especially increasing their income). The

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[2] CLT is the acronym for Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho (Consolidation of Labor Laws), the Brazilian labor code, created in 1943 but modified over the decades. It establishes the rules for different types of employment contracts, recognition of legal subordination, and other workers' rights.

relationship mediated by a classic employment contract (CLT) is seen as a reduction in income — since there would be limitations and rigidity in working hours — and as direct submission to a human "boss." However, at the same time, most of the category understand that their work is overexploited and that they must fight for improvements and rights.

Although we, academics and researchers critical of capitalist work, understand that these workers are deluding themselves with the false autonomy promised by digital platforms, this does not alter the most important evidence: these individuals' perception of work. And such perceptions generate actions. Thus, the greatest challenge for scholars of the contemporary world of work is to understand how these supposed contradictions and ambiguities between working conditions, individuals' perceptions, and their actions operate and interact.

The application of a *survey* can help us understand shifts in the perceptions and political attitudes of social groups in a given context and era. However, it does not allow us to capture broader and deeper subjective and political processes, interconnected with historicity, political traditions, and influences that go beyond the strict context of work. That is why empirical photographic research, such as a *survey,* must be complemented by more in-depth qualitative investigations. For this reason, after administering these questionnaires, our research group conducted in-depth interviews with delivery workers and drivers for digital platforms in the Federal District and surrounding areas. This report presents some of the reflections provided by these interviews.

One cannot understand the view of work held by this segment of the working class without considering the historical structural precariousness of our labor market. This is reproduced, above all, by informality, but also for various jobs with very poorly paid employment contracts and few guaranteed rights. This is not just a matter of maintaining a reserve army — fundamental to the cycles of capitalism — but of a totally marginalized contingent deprived of any possibility of access to better-paid, stable jobs with social protection. Here, too, structural racism is reaffirmed, keeping black people in informal

work, unemployment, or jobs with precarious contracts. It is no coincidence that many interviewees, when justifying their support for the current platform-based model, refer to their traumatic experiences as formal employees, marked by racism, moral harassment, sexual harassment, low wages, and long working hours.

However, even though reality points to a brutal and accelerated process of precariousness with intensified working hours and rhythms, concomitant with a relative drop in remuneration values, we have observed among delivery workers and drivers on digital platforms what I have called *parallax consciousness*. In other words, reality appears from another perspective, since the observation point of these workers has also changed. I do not intend here to reinforce the idea of a false consciousness or a false reality. What *parallax consciousness* indicates is that the observer finds themselves in a position of not recognizing their working-class status, which results in an apparently ambiguous perception of reality, permeated with tensions, and therefore of their own political demands.

Although we can theoretically demonstrate that digital platform workers are salaried employees, this is not their perception — and this ultimately drives their actions, including their political struggles. Thus, this ultimately reflects a deeper crisis of subjectivity, which leads to the loss of the subject's identity as an agent of labor, that is, as a producer of wealth and transformer of society. The most obvious consequence is a disconnect between leaders and their bases.

The fact that the perception of a large number of workers places them in opposition to the historical causes of the working class (such as rights, unions, wages, vacations, etc.) does not erase the reality of their subordination, exploitation, and precariousness. The opinions and perceptions of its agents are data from surveys taken at a given moment, but they can change quickly through public debate. However, regardless of opinions and perceptions, the reality of platform work is an undeniable fact that can only be transformed through concrete measures, such as the creation of a regulatory framework.

But who these individuals are, what they think, and what they want are questions we intend to address in this report, aware that the debate is not over and that broader and more in-depth research is needed.

In the third quarter of 2024, according to a survey released by the IBGE, there were approximately 1.7 million people working on digital platforms in Brazil (878,000 in private passenger transport and 485,000 on delivery platforms). Among those working on platforms, 86.1% were self-employed — compared to only 28.1% of the country's overall working population (excluding civil servants and military personnel). The sociodemographic profile of these categories is mainly composed of black men, with a high school diploma or incomplete higher education, and an average income of R$ 2,996.00 (IBGE, 2025) . Platform work in Brazil, particularly that of delivery workers and drivers, follows the same trends as in other countries. However, while in several countries there are regulatory processes that expand rights — as is the case in much of Europe — in our country there is a regressive trend, marked by the consolidation of the digital platforms' thesis on the supposed autonomy of workers. Thus, in recent years, our research has found a worsening of working conditions, loss of income, and an increase in illness, accidents, and indebtedness in these sectors (Carelli, 2025; Central Única dos Trabalhadores; Instituto Observatório Social, 2021; Fairwork, 2025; Festi, 2025a; Oliveira; Festi, 2023) .The platformization of work accelerates the trend toward *outsourcing* and *flexibilization* of activities. In addition, the standardization of self-employment modalities and the discourse of entrepreneurship have intensified the individualization of work. Tasks are atomized, and each worker is considered a "productive unit." At the beginning of this century, the idea spread that everyone could be an entrepreneur, encouraging the population to "start their own business, to create their own job, but also to modestly make their hobby profitable or even generate their retirement income" (Abdelnour, 2017, p. 11–12) .

The emblematic aspect of this is that, because they represent a new technology and a new branch of the economy, digital platforms act consciously, exploiting loopholes and margins in current legislation, in some

cases entering into illegality. Therefore, the growth of this sector has been accompanied by an increase in job insecurity, countless new cases of litigation, and pressure to change commercial and social rules. Thus, we are witnessing the emergence of forms of economic and labor management that indicate a deepening of the techniques already developed in the flexible production model.

The rejection of an employment contract and the search for autonomy or self-employment by the proletarian sectors are neither new nor a recent phenomenon in Brazil. In the 1950s, studies by Juarez Brandão Lopes (1964, 1966) already recorded the desire of the young factory proletariat — migrants from rural areas to São Paulo — to escape the working-class condition. In his texts, a term that is widely used today appears: *viração*. The word aptly characterizes the situation of large sectors of the Brazilian population, especially the poorest and blackest, surviving on the margins of the labor market. This condition has its origins in the transition from slavery to wage labor at the end of the 19th century, when the absolute majority of Black people and former slaves were excluded from the stable and formal factory labor market (Kowarick, 2019; Moura, 2020) .

However, in addition to this objective observation of the marginalization process, it is essential to highlight the experiences and their subjective implications for the individuals involved. Unlike the Weberian model of capitalism — driven by an entrepreneurial/Protestant ethic — in a country marked by slavery, there is no hegemony of a positive work ethic. Working for others, in this society, is one of the most degrading conditions that can exist. This view has remained among the most marginalized sectors of the Brazilian labor market, being reinforced by the fact that their access to any type of regulated and stable work is through the most precarious and lowest-paid jobs.

Therefore, the position we find among delivery workers and drivers for digital platforms in Brazil reflects this long historical experience of the most precarious and marginalized sectors of Brazilian society. It is a product of both collective memory and personal experiences. It is no coincidence that, in

several interviews conducted for this research, there were reports of negative experiences in previous formal jobs, marked by low pay, harassment, discrimination, and long working hours. Thus, many see platform work — supposedly without a boss — or informal activities as an opportunity to earn income without direct subordination.[3]

Thus, we also disagree that this rejection of employment contracts by delivery workers and drivers for digital platforms can be explained by the concept of *neoliberal subjectivity* expressed in the work of Dardot and Laval(2016) . It is clear that those affected by the platformization of work are influenced by neoliberal ideology — after all, their very objective condition expresses what is most advanced today in the neoliberal project for society. However, what we want to draw attention to is the fact that, when we understand that this rejection is linked to a historical perspective anchored in the experience of structural and lasting precariousness, we realize that this supposedly "individualized" position also contains a dialectic of resistance and struggle. For this reason, these same individuals who today reject the employment contract were also protagonists of some of the most interesting and innovative workers' struggles and strikes in Brazil, such as the Breques dos APPs (Dutra; Festi, 2020) .

This research report, published in book form, thus seeks to contribute to the understanding of this class, which is uncomfortable for politics and critical social theory. The new proletariat of the digital age is subjectively constituted in a much more contradictory and ambiguous way than previous generations, posing enormous challenges to those who take the perspective of social emancipation. Rejecting or denying this new situation will not facilitate understanding of the new world that has consolidated, much less its transformation. On the part of the academic world, it is imperative that we advance our empirical research and, above all, listen carefully and attentively to these new subjects of labor.

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[3] The refusal to submit to an employer has been highlighted by our research in several of our publications (Central Única dos Trabalhadores; Instituto Observatório Social, 2021; Festi, 2025a; Festi et al., 2024) . Other authors have also noted the same issue (Pinheiro-Machado; Neves, 2025) .

Water cooler and portable toilets "curralzinho ," a resting place for digital platform drivers at Brasília Airport. Our photos, 2024.

2. Field report and methodology adopted

Nicolle Gonçalvez, Kethury Magalhães dos Santos, Laura Valle Gontijo, Suzi de Moura, and Amanda Lopes da Silva

The research involved multiple qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Among them, the application of a *survey* and in-depth interviews stand out. The first, combining *online* and face-to-face approaches, sought to establish attentive and qualified listening with workers from digital food *delivery* and individual passenger transport platforms in the Federal District in order to capture what these workers thought about the debate on regulation promoted in the country, especially after the creation of a Full Working Group by the federal government in 2023 (Brazil, 2024). The second, in-depth interviews, aimed mainly to highlight their professional and life trajectories as a way of understanding the reasons why they acquired their worldviews.

Recognizing the diversity of these categories and the complexity of the work they do, we sought to structure a careful approach, guided by respect for the autonomy of the participants and the creation of a welcoming environment so that they could share their experiences. This process involved the development of an objective questionnaire, with accessible language, as well as planning meetings focused on exploring the urban space and approach strategies. We also held preparatory meetings to align the application of this research method and, subsequently, meetings to analyze and exchange impressions on the data collected in the field.

The first step was to develop a questionnaire with up to twelve questions, with multiple-choice and single-choice answers, that could be easily accessed and answered by workers, and that also aimed to capture information about their places of residence and work. The next step was to organize the team responsible for contacting delivery workers and drivers, in order to present the research and schedule interviews with those interested.

To do this, we searched for groups on *Facebook*, followed profiles on *Instagram*, and identified communities on *WhatsApp* based on leaders and previous contacts of workers who had already given interviews to GPTTS researchers. The contacts found were distributed among the group members, who were responsible for approaching them.

Our main strategy was to contact the administrators of the *WhatsApp* groups individually, present the research, and request their participation as researchers in order to disseminate the questionnaire. Once participation was approved, after introducing themselves to the group, the researchers sent private messages to the members of each group, inviting them to participate.

We opted for this approach after unsuccessful attempts to post in the groups, which were poorly received by members due to ideological mistrust or the belief that we were infiltrators from the companies themselves. In the case of *Instagram* and *Facebook*, we followed the pages of workers' associations and organizations in the Federal District and sent messages to the page administrators requesting the dissemination of the questionnaire *link*, as well as sending individual messages to the followers of each identified page.

In parallel with the search for contacts in the *online* environment, we also made exploratory visits to locations in the Federal District with a concentration of delivery personnel and drivers, such as parking lots, "support points" used while waiting for deliveries or ride requests, and order collection points. At the time, we were administering the questionnaires in person. Thus, in addition to administering the *surveys*, our goal was also to establish contact with potential participants to schedule future in-depth interviews.

In this context, we visited: *Park Shopping* parking lot (Guará); *CasaPark Shopping* parking lot (Guará); Sria II, QI 27 and QI 29 Cl, Guará II (Guará); *Ricco Burger*, SMDB (Lago Sul); *Boulevard Shopping* (Asa Norte); *Shopping* Iguatemi (Lago Norte); *Shopping* Conjunto Nacional (Asa Norte); *Shopping Pier* 21 (Asa Sul); Pátio Brasil *Shopping* (Asa Sul); Taguatinga *Shopping* (Taguatinga); and *iFood* Pedal Brasília (Águas Claras), in addition to the *iFood* support point in Parque da Cidade.

At these locations, we found workers — mostly men — waiting for new delivery or ride requests, taking the opportunity to eat, rest, play cards, or chat with each other. They often remained in makeshift spaces and, in the case of *shopping malls*, in marginalized areas without adequate infrastructure provided by commercial establishments, aspects that will be further analyzed throughout this report.

In the case of drivers, we made several visits to the Uber support point, located near the Brasília International Airport — Presidente Juscelino Kubitschek. The location is widely used by drivers who wait for calls or take breaks during the day. Although it is a large space, the infrastructure is poor: the only bathroom available is a portable toilet, the seating areas are improvised, and there are a few street vendors in the surrounding area offering food.

At this specific location, in addition to collecting contacts for future in-depth interviews, we were able to conduct the *survey* on site. The visits were important because they allowed us to observe the need to adapt the questionnaire to identify and address the specific demands of the drivers.

In the case of the *iFood* support point, located in a parking lot behind two large *shopping malls* — Pátio Brasil and Venâncio *Shopping* — the precariousness of the infrastructure was even more evident. The available indoor space was very limited and consisted of only a long wooden bench, without any comfort, which meant that many workers remained outside, sitting on concrete benches while waiting for calls.

During the visits, it was observed that, on several occasions, delivery personnel interrupted meals or even the completion of questionnaires to make deliveries, highlighting the fragmentation of their rest periods. A similar situation was identified in the Mansões Dom Bosco sector, in Lago Norte, where delivery workers remained in equally precarious conditions. In this location, the groups were fragmented: some gathered under a makeshift tarp, playing dominoes; others remained seated or lying on the grass; and behind McDonald's, young people, including minors, rested on pieces of cardboard.

It should be noted that, when approached in this sector, some of the delivery workers refused to answer the questionnaires because they did not

have a National Driver's License (CNH) and worked irregularly, using *iFood* accounts registered in other people's names. In the case of *Shopping* Pátio Brasil, the situation was also marked by a lack of minimum support conditions. There was no designated area for delivery workers inside the establishment, forcing them to remain in the outdoor parking lot, waiting for orders to be ready. During this period, they were directly exposed to the sun and cold, without access to adequate seating, shade, or protection from the elements.

In general, it was observed that most locations did not have appropriate spaces for delivery workers to wait for orders, which led them to seek improvised alternatives with the minimum possible structure. In these contexts, collective organization became a fundamental element for the coexistence and permanence of workers at waiting points. Often, these locations were situated in areas with low visibility, such as near trash cans or in peripheral spaces, in order to keep delivery workers away from the main flow of customers and passersby. Even at points officially linked to delivery companies, such as *iFood*, it was possible to observe the absence of the infrastructure necessary to fulfill the function of a support point.

During our visits to the collection and gathering points for workers, we generally introduced ourselves as members of a research group linked to the University of Brasília (UnB), explained the objectives of the study, and invited them to participate in *the survey*. At the end of the questionnaire, we asked if the person would like to participate in an in-depth interview at a later date. When there was interest, we collected their contact information and, at a later time, scheduled the interview.

As mentioned earlier, we only conducted one interview *on site*, as this took some time and many workers were in the middle of their workday, ready to receive the next demand. It is worth noting that, at this point, we had already prepared the in-depth interview script.

While searching for contacts for the interviews, we identified significantly lower participation among drivers compared to delivery workers. This difficulty seems to be strongly related to political and ideological factors, which were often used as justification for refusing to participate in the

research. In several situations, we also observed hostility on the part of drivers, something much less common among delivery workers.

This scenario was particularly aggravated when we introduced ourselves as students from the University of Brasília (UnB), as many expressed a very negative perception of public universities, highlighting the influence of the current context of political polarization. Faced with these obstacles, the virtual approach proved ineffective in establishing links with the category. Therefore, it was necessary to invest primarily in face-to-face approaches, which proved more promising for advancing research in this field.

The *online survey* with delivery personnel was conducted between March 27 and June 21, 2023, resulting in 170 responses. Subsequently, we conducted the survey in person at major order collection points in the Federal District between May 9 and June 21, 2023, obtaining 77 responses. Thus, we totaled 247 responses from delivery drivers and 433 accesses to the *online* form (Festi et al., 2024) .

In the case of drivers, the *online* application was carried out between October 6 and 31, 2023, followed by an in-person application, completed on February 29, 2024. In the end, we obtained 109 *online* responses and 106 in-person responses, totaling 215 responses from drivers and 809 visits to the form (Festi et al., 2025) .

The results obtained in the online and in-person applications were compared to identify possible biases arising from collection via social media. In general, it was possible to observe homogeneity between the data, indicating consistency in the information collected in the two stages of the research.

After the *survey* was conducted, we began in-depth interviews with the various contacts obtained during the survey who were willing to report their experiences. Each interview was scheduled in advance, according to the availability of the delivery person or driver, so as not to interfere with their work routine. The interviews lasted an average of 60 minutes and took place at locations chosen by the participants themselves, prioritizing comfort and feasibility.

Thus, we conducted interviews at the workers' homes, in public spaces, cafes, and other locations, according to the interviewee's preference. Some interviews were also conducted in the Graduate Program in Sociology at the University of Brasília.

The objective was to observe how the personal and occupational trajectories of these individuals and their families impacted their perspectives on life and work, as well as how they perceived their past, their family's past, and their own future. For this reason, the script was divided into blocks comprising: individual and family life trajectories; activities outside of work (family, leisure, and free time); work experiences; political perceptions and organization; future and expectations (Appendix I).

Finally, we completed 14 interviews with delivery workers and 11 with drivers, totaling 25 in-depth interviews (three of them with women) on April 20, 2024. The interviews were transcribed in May 2024 and then analyzed. Based on this analysis, interpretive possibilities were raised. Subsequently, the interviews were coded using NVivo *software*, and the researchers produced texts that supported the preparation of this report. The names of all subjects mentioned in this report have been changed to ensure the anonymity of the interviewees.

It is important to note that this research was action research. As the research progressed, we actively participated in activities organized by the two categories and assisted in organizing activities involving worker representatives. We participated in meetings of the Moto Brabas DF women's group, which consist of breakfasts in one of the city's public parks, the Motociata Braba, organized by women delivery workers on October 26, 2023, training courses promoted by delivery associations, as well as the national app strike demonstrations on March 31 and April 1, 2025.

We organized a debate at the Academic Center for Sociology (CASO) with representatives of delivery workers and drivers, and a public hearing at the City Council of Valparaíso de Goiás on November 23, 2023, with the theme: "Listening to the demands of workers and motorcyclists," which was attended by researchers and workers from the region. We also held a public hearing at the Chamber of Deputies, shortly after the national app strike, on May 22,

2025, with the theme: "The consequences of working on food delivery platforms for the health of app workers," bringing together researchers and worker leaders.[4]

In addition, we assisted in the drafting of a bill aimed at meeting the demands of digital platform workers in the Federal District with regard to access to bathrooms and drinking water.[5]

In general, our efforts focused on conducting research focused on labor dynamics but also considering other aspects of the lives of these workers. Without attempting to exhaust the various possible analyses based on the data collected, the following chapters present some of the reflections developed collectively before, during, and after the interviews.

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[4] See https://www.camara.leg.br/evento-legislativo/75970
[5] See https://www.camara.leg.br/proposicoesWeb/fichadetramitacao?idProposicao=2459087

Improvised space for delivery workers to rest and eat. Asa Norte, Brasília. Our photo

3. Daily attitudes and perceptions of platform workers: a proposal for analyzing interviews on life trajectories

João Pedro Inácio Peleja

This chapter aims to investigate the daily attitudes and perceptions of platform workers, based on content analysis of in-depth interviews. Methodologically, we seek to propose the use of this technique of textual data analysis to understand, in the nuances of these workers' discourse about their life trajectories, the heterogeneous and hierarchical meanings of everyday work (Heller, 2016). After all, this is a very specific issue, but one that recurs in studies on the subject: values and attitudes towards autonomy and subordination in platform work.

Methodology and data

Interpreting the data produced in this qualitative sample is a difficult and meticulous task, given its broad and multidimensional nature. The study of the "raw" empirical material requires observing the information that is "hidden" on the surface of the interview transcripts (values, attitudes, symbols, and worldviews) in order to organize and systematize the previously constructed textual *corpus*. Following this research design, content analysis (CA) is used to identify discursive patterns regarding the attitudes and everyday perceptions of platform workers in their life trajectories. From the "classical" to the "contemporary" perspective, CA encompasses the ability to reduce the complexity of the empirical material investigated, both in terms of quantity and quality. In short, this research technique allows for the

cataloging and classification of interviews into smaller analytical units in order to create valid inferences based on the *corpus* (Bauer, 2011; Bardin, 2016; Sampaio; Lycarião, 2021).

In this sense, 39 files of transcribed interviews conducted with delivery workers and drivers of digital platforms in the Federal District and surrounding areas were coded. In order to understand the processes of attitude formation among spatially restricted platform workers, content analysis of these interviews was performed using NVivo *software*, version 14.

In total, 3,054 excerpts were classified in the content analysis using NVivo. In the process of inspecting the interview material, we sought to code as many details as possible from the statements, fragmenting the excerpts into different codes when necessary, in order to preserve the biographical narratives and free associations of the interviewees. In the same excerpt, it was possible to assign two or more codes and/or subcodes. Only the interviewees' statements were coded.

Of the thousands of classified excerpts, we chose to analyze only those designated for the code "autonomy *versus* subordination." Thus, 46 excerpts referring to this attitudinal variable were selected. After a "floating reading" of the interview excerpts, an "analytical reading" was performed, seeking to understand the "native" logics and rationalities expressed by the workers in their statements. The proposal was that these marks on the surface of the text be reinterpreted more formally throughout this circular and hermeneutic process. Next, each coded excerpt was assigned a valence of meaning regarding the perception of autonomy and subordination at work for digital platforms. The classification of valences can be described in the following terms:

i) Positive valence: refers to the perception of effective decision-making autonomy at work for platforms. In this dimension, the interviewee decides how to organize their schedules, choose the locations to perform their activities, and define how to perform their tasks;

ii) Negative valence: expresses the perception of absence, limitation, or deterioration of this decision-making autonomy. The worker feels subordinate to the control of the platforms and their rules, highlighting the arbitrariness of blocks and disconnections, as well as daily risks;

iii) Ambivalent valence: covers statements that simultaneously articulate the affirmation and denial of decision-making autonomy at work. The interviewee recognizes the autonomy and possibility of managing their own schedule, pace, and work movements, but at the same time perceives the control and exploitation exercised by the platform. These are, after all, contradictory and paradoxical perceptions, in which satisfaction with flexible hours often coexists with dissatisfaction with the erosion of rights, insecurity, and low pay.

Results and discussion

Next, Figure 1, *Word cloud on perceptions of autonomy and subordination*, illustrates, based on the recurrence of terms, how delivery workers and drivers understand working more for digital platforms (which they see as companies) than for themselves. At this early stage of the qualitative material selection, it is already possible to identify key elements in these social subjects' interpretation of their daily work lives.

For example, terms such as "schedule" and "comply" stand out, referring directly to the organization of work in specific times and temporalities, to the idea of flexible hours, and to the demands imposed by the platform companies that organize their routines. Categories such as "autonomy" and "freedom" emerge in contrast to the strong presence of words such as "bond," "company," "boss," and "score," suggesting perceptions of control over rhythms, times, and movements that contrast with the notion of a "boss-less" job, often evoked in the discourse of these platform workers.

Finally, the recurring mentions of "remuneration," "money," "pay," "bill," "gasoline," and "earn" indicate the centrality of economic and working conditions: variable remuneration, unstable earnings, and the burden of paying for the equipment needed to perform the work.

Figure 1 – Word cloud on perceptions of autonomy and subordination[6]

In the interviewees' assessment, the relationship between autonomy and subordination at work for digital platforms manifests itself in different ways among the groups analyzed. Examination of the excerpts reveals the predominance of negative valences (N), especially among delivery workers, indicating disappointment with the promise of decision-making autonomy at work. Ambivalent (A) and positive (P) valences, although present, appear in a more localized manner and are sometimes marked by contradictions in the statements. The following graph (Graph 1) shows the distribution of statements according to the valences attributed to each excerpt.

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[6] The words that appear most frequently in the word cloud are company, schedule, paid, comply, employment relationship, autonomy, remuneration, self-employed, score, boss, worker.

Graph 1 – Excerpts referring to perceptions of autonomy and subordination
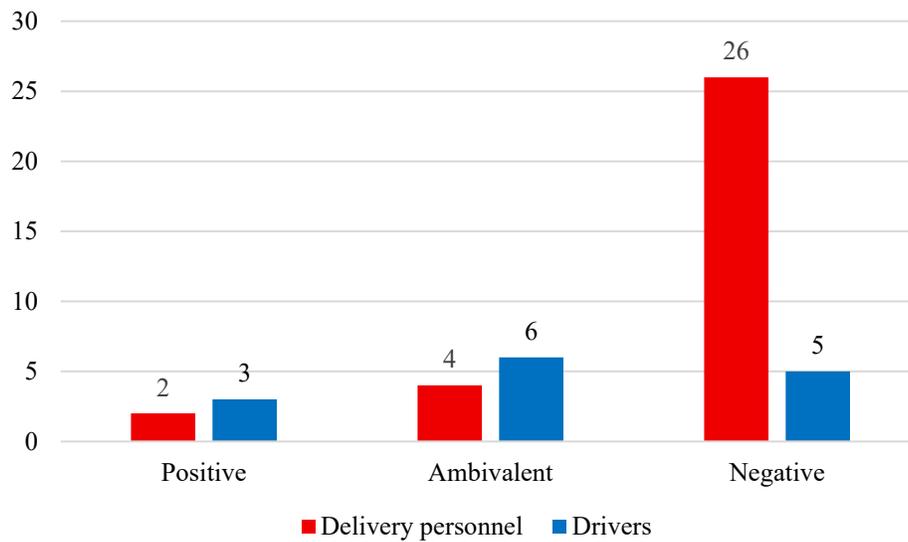
Source: Prepared by the author based on transcripts of interviews from the research study *"Where is human work headed in the digital* age" (2023 and 2024).

The following table, Table 1, systematizes the subcategorization of statements related to autonomy and subordination, highlighting how interviewees perceive and narrate their experiences, perceptions, and expectations of autonomy in digital platform work.

Table 1 – Subcategorization of statements on autonomy and subordination

Categories	Illustrative excerpts
Reality and illusion	N/ *"And companies are capitalist, they like to suck people dry. As long as they're doing well and lining their pockets, that's fine.*" (Delivery driver) N/ *"It's an illusion that some motorcycle couriers talk about. But sometimes motorcycle couriers say that so they don't come across as inferior to some employees. They say, 'I work for myself.' We don't work for ourselves, we are subordinate to iFood. Man, we... we are humiliated there. We have to smile at the customer while being humiliated because of the rating. If we get a negative rating, the platform penalizes us. If we're a second late, just one second late with a delivery, it counts against our score and it's right there in the app, very clear, it shows our punctuality, if we're a second late, it counts against us, so how can we say we work for ourselves?*" (Delivery driver) N/ *"We delude ourselves into thinking that we are our own bosses, but we are not. It's like I'm telling you, if you log in for few hours, if you make few deliveries during the week, you are penalized. So there is no way we can say that we are our own*

bosses, there is no way we can say that we set our own hours. We created this idea in our heads." (Delivery driver)

N/ "*You have your illusions, right? Being our boss, like, if you had somewhere to get your income from, right? If you had come. One thing is leaving, another thing is coming, right? So, I prefer to be an employee and earn money than be a boss, nowadays, the way I am, and not getting paid. That's what I think.*" (Delivery driver)

N/ "*Your boss is responsible for you, right? He's not a machine like iFood. He's physical, he's human, so you're going to deal with him, you're going to work things out with him, there's no after, it's going to be there, so we're on the books, you're more supported.*" (Delivery driver)

N/ "*For the platforms, there is no such thing as autonomy within the app. It's a lie, pure illusion. The problem, and I'll explain the real story. As long as you don't educate yourself mentally, people will educate you. Literally. And the platform and all the people who have the financial means to set up a business, I think it's admirable, because if you start from scratch and become rich, it's your effort. But they implement in the minds of those who don't have, excuse me, my opinion, personality, what they want. This business of autonomy doesn't exist. It doesn't exist. No way.*" (Delivery driver)

A/ "*In my mind, I was so set on it that I had guidance from a colleague when I told him I was going to quit my day job to dedicate myself to the platforms. That was my intention. In my mind, I was going to work for myself. That I was going to set my own hours, because in the advertising for both 99 and Uber and inDrive, they have this... come work for yourself, set your own hours, be your own boss and so on. So that was my thinking. And since I wasn't working full-time on the platforms and only doing the jobs I was getting, it was profitable, I saw that if I worked on them full-time, it would be much more profitable. So my intention was to work only on that, to make more profit than I currently do at two companies and make my own schedule. Work for myself.*" (Driver)

A/ "*Man, it's a myth to say you work for yourself. If someone gives you the coordinates for you to work, then who are you working for? For the platform. You know what I mean? The platform gives you the destination of what you have to do, and that's it. But then there's the second detail: I choose the day I work. And the time I work. So, it's not really like that. Does the app force you to stay online for so many hours? No. I stay there as long as I need to. And I stay.*" (Delivery driver)

A/ "*Yeah, I consider myself a self-employed worker, but at the same time, if the platform didn't exist, I wouldn't be working for myself. So, in a way, I am working for the platform, yes.*" (Driver)

	A/ *"I believe I work for myself, I just use the platform as a bridge, you know? Because, 'Oh no, you work for them.' No, I work for myself. If I don't want to, I don't go, if I want to, I go. Is there a score? Yes. But the guy who works right will always keep his score good. Are there bugs in the platform? Are there fluctuations? Yes, any system will have them. But you have to be aware that this can happen and that it can also improve. I use it as a bridge, right? I think I work for myself."* (Delivery driver)
Economic and working conditions	N/ *"If my score drops, whether I like it or not, it will affect my finances, it will hurt me. I have bills to pay, I depend on the platform."* (Delivery driver) N/ *"Sometimes, the guy will drive for four or five years to pick up a passenger, to drive three to pay seven, and then they pay less than R$ 1 per kilometer. So the guy chooses, he thinks, 'I'm not going to take it.' And it wasn't like that before."* (Driver) N/ *"I depend on it [the iFood app] to make deliveries. If I spend the day with it on and it doesn't ring, I don't work. So, in any case, it controls me, yes."* (Delivery driver) N/ *"We work hard and get paid little, in my opinion. I think we should be better compensated."* (Driver) N/ *"We don't set prices, we don't* set..." (Driver) A/ *"I work for myself, but I earn according to what the platform pays. So, you don't have a balance. You know what I mean? Like I told you before, years ago, you worked little and earned a lot."* (Driver)
Organization of schedules	P/ *"We don't have a boss, you can set your own schedule to work."* (Driver) Q/ "*I work when I want to, as I told you, at 5 p.m. I go out on the road and drive until midnight. What I did is fine, what I didn't do I'll do tomorrow. So I have this freedom to choose my working hours.*" (Driver) N/ *"OL is the one that sticks to the schedule. OL, if you don't show up, they punish you the next day, you don't get to ride. It starts hailing, you have to be on your bike making deliveries. 'It's pouring rain here, a pole fell in the middle of the street,' 'Deal with it, go deliver the order.' There, it's even more cowardly. I can turn on the app whenever I want, whenever I feel like it, knowing that if I don't turn it on, I'll be punished. But not OL, OL has someone who tells them to turn it on.*" (Delivery driver) N/ "*You have a certain amount of time to make that delivery. If you don't, your score will drop. They deduct every second. Every second. I don't know if anyone has shown you this, but here it is, punctuality. Zero minutes and zero seconds late.*" (Delivery driver) N/ *"There are days when we can earn more, but they hold us back. Like, we'll be out in the morning, I'm on call from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. But in the afternoon, he stops from 2 p.m. to around 5 p.m., no more deliveries for me. And I'm on call."* (Delivery driver)

	N/ "*I was an OL and had to work until 3 p.m. because I'm very strict about schedules. My boss wanted me to turn off my location and leave. Since my husband had already left and I had asked my oldest son to run home and check on the situation there, it was already around 12:30 p.m. when this happened. And then I said, look, I'll stick to the schedule until the end of the shift, but take me off the other shifts because I'm leaving. Because professionals do their job... my boss was very upset with me, he said I shouldn't act that way, I said, no, this is how I am and you're not going to change me.*" (Delivery driver) N/ "*Yeah, for duties, it's the same as someone who's registered. You have specific days to come in and a schedule. You have to stick to that schedule. Otherwise, you're banned from the platform. They just block you and that's it.*" (Delivery driver) N/ "*If it were up to me, it would be great. It's freelance work, but whether you like it or not, there's a connection. Because we have to have a schedule, if we don't stick to a certain schedule consistently, we get cut off, our demand decreases. So they say we don't have a connection, but we definitely do.*" (Delivery driver) A/ "*I work for myself, but I have to work hard to do my job and pay my bills. I work for myself, I set my own hours, but if I don't work at least 14 hours a day, I'm not working.*" (Driver) A/ "*I consider that I work... I know that the platforms earn a lot off us, but in my experience, as I used to have a formal employment contract, I consider that it is more advantageous for me. I make my own schedule, I come in on the days I want, when I want, I have the autonomy to choose when I come to work. I consider that I work more for myself.*" (Delivery driver) A/ "*I'm not a slave to the platform, I work the way I want to, you know? And then, for example, Tuesday was the day I worked the most, it was a day when... there were a lot of people arriving here in Brasilia and also leaving, via the airport, because Wednesday, the 15th, was a holiday, right? So the flow was really high, and I made a lot of money that day, you know? And it's more or less like that, sometimes I work during the day, from five in the morning until about four in the afternoon, you know? I don't do much during peak hours. So it varies.*" (Driver)
Protection and insecurity	Q/ "*When you work under a formal contract, the company decides when you take your vacation. They give you 30 days' notice and say, 'Look, your vacation will be on such-and-such a date.' And the pay is much lower. With what I earn, I can plan ahead and take vacation whenever I want.*" (Delivery driver) P/ "*Man, the coolest thing I think is working at my own pace. I work in the clothes I want. I work cool. I don't have anyone telling me to go here, go there, go over there. If it's not cool for me, if a certain area isn't busy, I go to another one that's busier. If you call me in the middle of my shift and I need to leave, I leave. I think it's cool. My*"

	freedom, like that, I think it's cool. Because otherwise I'd already be on record, right?" (Delivery driver)
	N/ "*You work for the company, you get there, you get fired and stuff, but you'll get paid, you'll have a guarantee, you'll have this and that. Not on the platform. If you made plans and those plans depended on it and it did that, it's over*." (Driver)
	N/ *"When you have a relationship with the company, the company will fire you when it is sure of what you did. If you didn't work according to the contract you signed, you get fired, you have a... depending on how you are paid with your labor rights and such. And then I made the comparison when the platform did that, it's like I've heard many, many people say that it doesn't care about the driver, that's the truth. They fired you, it doesn't matter, just like I heard yesterday, I heard reports from some colleagues that other colleagues of theirs, whom I don't know, bought a new car, were paying installments, and had to cancel, because let's suppose, what happened to me, if I wasn't working at my job and I was paying my car installments. But if I dedicate myself to it and that happens, man, it would be difficult. How would I pay my car installments*?" (Driver)

Source: Author's own elaboration based on transcripts from interviews in the research study *"Where is human labor headed in the digital* age" (2023 and 2024).

The category "Reality and illusion" most clearly exposes the heterogeneity among the statements. Most interviewees, particularly among delivery workers, describe autonomy as a "*pure* illusion" and a "myth" propagated by the platforms. They report that subordination manifests itself through algorithmic control, which penalizes delays, defines remuneration, and subjects workers to constant surveillance. Expressions such as *"we are* humiliated" and *"the platform penalizes* us" highlight this perception of heteronomy and subordination at work. The free association made by one of the interviewees, comparing the *"physical, human-"* boss and the *iFood "machine,"* reinforces the feeling of external control perceived in platform work.

Among drivers, however, there is greater ambiguity. Although some recognize their dependence on the platform, they still claim a certain degree of control over their working hours, a perception that is not as evident among delivery workers.

In the "Economic and working conditions" category, the emphasis is on economic dependence. Delivery workers and drivers share the perception

that their pay is insufficient for the workload they perform. The statements "*I depend on the platform*" and *"we work hard and get paid* little" are representative of this perception. However, while delivery workers emphasize their dependence on the moment when "*the app* rings," drivers highlight the devaluation of work per kilometer and the inability to determine the value of the ride.

Under the category "Organization of schedules," the excerpts classified in the qualitative material indicate that, while some drivers express a perception of decision-making autonomy over their workday, this same autonomy is contested by others, who emphasize the long hours worked to ensure their livelihood. Delivery workers, on the other hand, are the ones who most explicitly express a lack of control over their time. The perception that the platforms "*hold us back*" and that "*there are no more deliveries [for the interviewee]*" at certain times of the routine expose this.

The last category, "Protection and insecurity," highlights the main advantage perceived in the CLT model compared to platform work: guarantees and predictability for the future. Negative aspects predominate in this category, with drivers and delivery workers emphasizing the absence of labor rights and the uncertainties arising from the possibility of being "disconnected" from the platform at any time, without justification or guarantees. One driver's comment about a colleague who had to get rid of his car after being disconnected exemplifies this vulnerability conditioned by digital platforms. The positive aspects, in turn, appear associated with the appreciation of the freedom to "*take vacations whenever I want*" or to "*work in the clothes I want.*" However, this perception coexists with the experience of economic insecurity. The statement by a driver who says, "*I am not a slave to the platform, I work the way I want,*" expresses an attempt to affirm this ideal of autonomy promoted by the platforms, but contrasts with most of the statements, which are marked by subordination and exploitation.

Final considerations

Delivery workers are the ones who most express the feeling of having been deceived by the idea of "*being their own boss*." For them, autonomy is understood as a complete illusion. There is a perception of a certain degree of control exercised by digital platforms, which punish them unfairly for delays of a few seconds. The feeling is that they are being subordinated to a digital "machine" that dictates rhythms and times, differing from the hierarchy of authority present in "traditional" work. In addition, there is an understanding that their material subsistence depends almost entirely on the apps. The autonomy to organize their own schedule also proves illusory, since digital platforms can simply stop directing new deliveries to the worker. Insecurity is a constant feeling, as there is always the possibility of termination without justification or prior notice.

Drivers have a slightly more ambiguous overall perception compared to delivery workers. Some consider that the idea of decision-making autonomy on individual transportation platforms is, in practice, misleading advertising, stating objectively that they work for the platforms and not for themselves. Even so, they tend to perceive that they have greater autonomy in managing their work routine, even if this implies long and exhausting hours to achieve their income goals. Although they share the same feeling of insecurity regarding blockages or dismissals without prior notice, it is more common for them to report working for platforms only as a "bridge" to working on their own. Their perceptions and demands reflect the economic precariousness they experience, with emphasis on the low pay per kilometer traveled on a daily basis.

Iguatemi Shopping Mall, Brasília. Pickup location for goods. Our photos

Park Shopping, Brasília. Our photo.

4. What did delivery workers and drivers for digital platforms think about regulation in 2023?

João Peleja and Ricardo Festi

In this chapter, we will present part of the results of the survey conducted with delivery workers and drivers of digital platforms in the Federal District and surrounding areas, focusing on the issue of regulating their activities. The complete results of these surveys have already been published in the form of articles (Festi, 2025; Festi *et al.*, 2025) . Here, we will seek to highlight the data that we consider most relevant to the reflection in this report.

Table 2 summarizes the general characteristics of digital platform workers in the Federal District and surrounding region, according to the data obtained in the surveys. The first column presents the personal variables of these categories. The subsequent columns show the percentages corresponding to each personal attribute for delivery workers and drivers, comparing the results of the surveys with the official data from the Continuous National Household Sample Survey (PNAD) Continuous: Telework and Work through Digital Platforms 2022 (IBGE, 2023), regarding the sociodemographic profile of the groups analyzed. It is observed that the profile identified by the two surveys is consistent with the results of the Continuous PNAD for the Federal District.

The data indicate a high degree of similarity, as both reveal very similar relative frequencies, especially with regard to the fact that most digital platform workers are black men (black and brown), with a notable concentration in the 18-30 age group in the case of delivery workers and the 31-45 age group in the case of drivers. This shows that it was possible to achieve adequate representativeness and homogeneity in the construction of

the data. Thus, the database created is statistically representative, considering the satisfactory number of responses obtained. These empirical findings are also similar to the results of other quantitative studies on the profile of digital platform workers in Brazil at the national level (Lapa, 2021; Góes, Firmino, Martins, 2022; Manzano, Krein, 2020).

Table 2 – Descriptive statistics

Personal attributes	Our Surveys conducted in 2023-2024		Continuous PNAD: Telework and work through digital platforms 2022	
	Delivery workers (n = 247)	Drivers (n = 215)	Delivery workers (N = 9,645)	Drivers (N = 13,712)
Gender				
Male	88.3	92.1	85.3	92
Female	11.7	7.4	14.7	8
Non-binary	-	0.5	-	-
Color or race				
White	24.7	26.7	23	25.6
Black	75.2	73.3	77	74.4
Age group				
18 to 30	52.2	21.9	52.2	28.4
31 to 45 years old	42.9	57.2	38.8	41.2
46 years or older	4.9	20.9	9	30.4

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from *the* 2023 and 2024 surveys.

In a comparative analysis between the two *surveys*, the results obtained through statistical processing reveal a higher proportion of males among drivers (92.1%) compared to delivery workers (88.3%). Logically, the presence of women in these types of jobs on digital platforms is negligible, and even lower in the case of individual transportation services. The racial distribution is quite similar, with a slightly higher proportion of black people among delivery workers (75.2%) than among drivers (73.3%). In the Brazilian work context, black people face strong barriers to accessing skilled and legally protected jobs throughout their lives, imposed by racial discrimination. This phenomenon mainly affects young people ( ), who end up working on digital platforms due to the scarcity of opportunities in more structured economic sectors.

As shown in Graph 2 below, during the application of questionnaires to delivery workers and drivers of digital platforms between 2023 and 2024 in the Federal District and surrounding areas, we observed that the majority of these workers actively follow discussions on the topic (52.4%). Engagement is more pronounced among drivers (55.4%) than among delivery workers (49.8%).

On the other hand, 30% of workers say they are aware of the discussions but do not actively follow them, with 28.3% among delivery workers and 31.9% among drivers. This difference suggests that, although aware, the lack of follow-up may indicate a perception of lesser relevance or information saturation.

A smaller portion, 12.6%, is unaware of the discussions, with a higher incidence among delivery workers (14.6%) and a lower incidence among drivers (10.3%), possibly reflecting differences in exposure to information or in the importance attributed to the topic.

Finally, 5% of workers indicate that they are not interested in the topic, with a higher incidence among delivery workers (7.3%) than among drivers (2.4%). This low level of interest may be associated with a lack of perception of the direct impact or relevance of the discussions to their working conditions.

These data reveal varying levels of involvement among digital platform workers in discussions about regulation and working conditions, with notable differences between delivery workers and drivers. Most workers actively follow or have some knowledge of the topic, while a smaller portion is uninterested or uninformed.

In addition, the dates of the *surveys* seem to have influenced the workers' level of knowledge. The debate on regulation aroused greater interest among drivers, possibly because delivery workers were interviewed in 2023, before the launch of the Full Work y Group (GT), which discussed the regulation of work on digital platforms between August and October 2023. This context may have increased drivers' engagement in the discussions that took place between late 2023 and early 2024.

Graph 2 – Percentage of workers who have followed government discussions on proposals to regulate work on digital platforms by category studied, in the Federal District and surrounding areas (2023 and 2024)
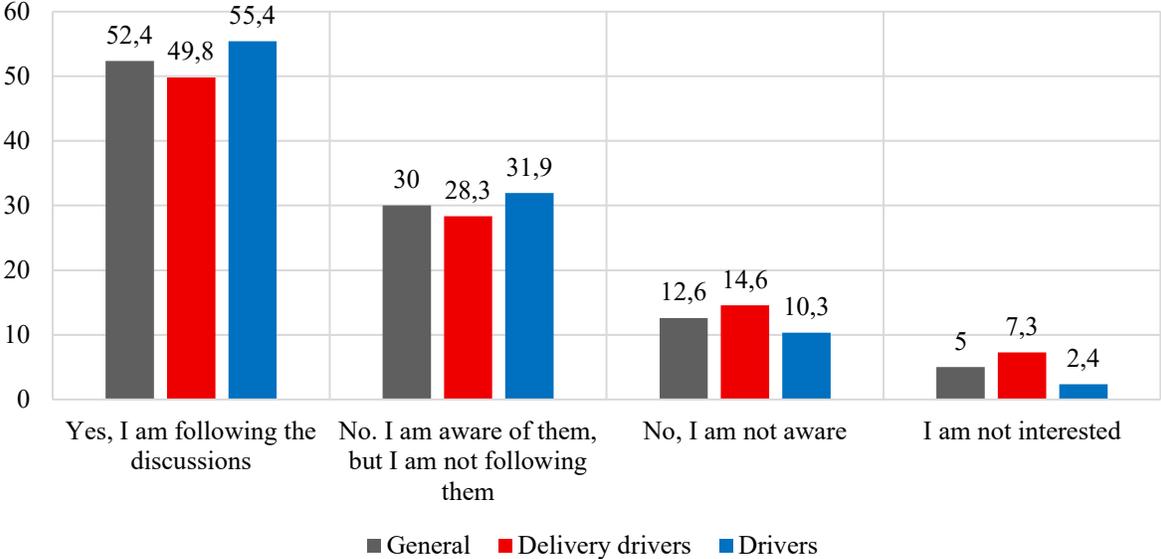
Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from *the* 2023 and 2024 *surveys*.

Regarding the topics considered most important for debate by the government, from the perspective of digital platform workers (Graph 3), we observe some distinct priorities. Flexible working hours are moderately valued, being identified as a priority by 23.8% of workers in general. Among delivery workers, this concern is slightly higher, reaching 24.3%, while among drivers it is 23.3%. Although relevant, flexibility does not stand out as much as other demands.

Remuneration, on the other hand, emerges as the main concern, indicated by 46.5% of workers in general. In this case, there is a significant difference between the categories: 37.3% of delivery workers and 57.2% of drivers prioritize the issue of wages. The greater importance attributed by driver- y reflect the need for higher compensation, considering their working conditions and the operational costs involved.

Working conditions appear to be the main priority for 66.2% of workers, with a slight variation between delivery workers (65.6%) and drivers (67%). This indicates that, despite differences in other priorities, the quality of the

working environment and conditions is a predominant concern for both groups.

Graph 3 – Percentage of choices on what is most important to be debated in the regulation of work on digital platforms by the government by category studied, in the Federal District and Surrounding Areas (2023 and 2024)

Source: Prepared by the authors based on *survey* data.

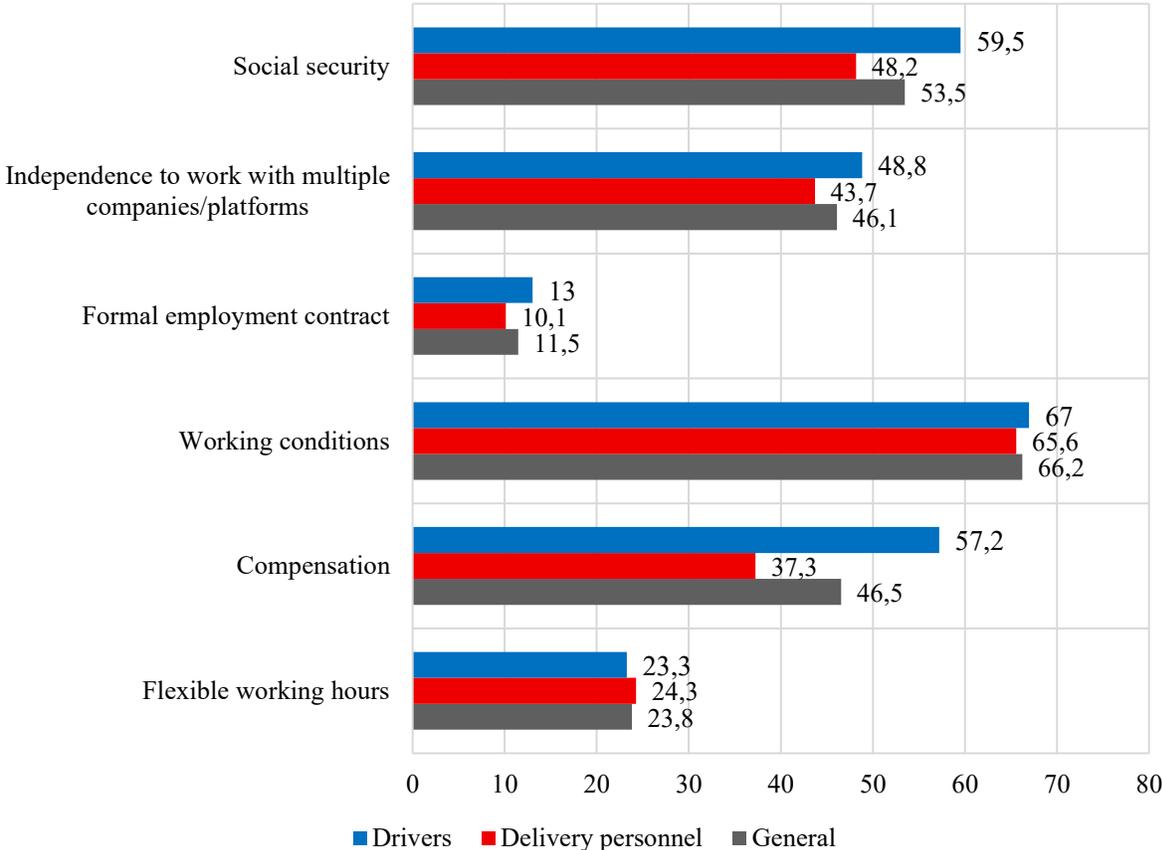A formal employment contract is the least valued item, mentioned by only 11.5% of workers in general, 10.1% among delivery workers, and 13% among drivers. This data suggests that traditional formalization of

employment is not a central priority, possibly due to the flexible and "autonomous" nature of work on digital platforms.

The independence to work for multiple platform companies is considered relevant by 46.1% of workers, with 43.7% of delivery workers and 48.8% of drivers highlighting this supposed decision-making autonomy.

Social security, in turn, is considered important by 53.5% of workers, being mentioned by 48.2% of delivery workers and 59.5% of drivers. The centrality of this aspect among drivers may reflect the need for more consistent protection and social benefits for them, given the more demanding nature of their working conditions. These data show that, although flexibility and autonomy are valued, aspects such as remuneration, working conditions, and social security stand out as more significant priorities, reflecting the specific needs and concerns of delivery workers and drivers in their respective roles.

The issue of regulating employment relationships is one of the main points of dispute and conflict in the debate on the activities of delivery workers and drivers, both in Brazil and in other parts of the world, involving workers, companies, and the government. This scenario has been influenced by misinformation and *fake news*, propagated and amplified by politicians and digital influencers who position themselves on the right-wing, conservative, and liberal ideological-political spectrum. These discourses often claim that regulation could make work on digital platforms unviable, alleging, for example, that large platform companies such as Uber would leave the country or that *iFood*, Brazil's main goods delivery platform, would cease to operate. During our ethnographic fieldwork, when we administered questionnaires to delivery workers and drivers in various areas of Brasília, we observed a recurring rejection of contracted and regulated work, evidenced by expressions such as "*No CLT, no CLT...*" Many workers express dissatisfaction with this type of employment relationship based on previous experiences, before joining the platforms.

Graph 4 – Percentage of choices of demands by category studied, Federal District and Surrounding Areas (2023 and 2024)

Demand	Drivers	Delivery workers	General
Right to strike and collective bargaining	34,9	35,6	35,3
Right to algorithmic transparency	58,6	44,9	51,3
End of indefensible blocks	69,3	71,3	70,4
Right to disconnect, without penalty	45,6	38,1	41,6
Paid weekly rest	30,7	24,7	27,5
Payment of 13th month salary	36,3	27,1	31,4
Minimum monthly wage or minimum wage for the category	33,5	26,7	29,9
Flexibility in the composition of working hours	34,9	27,9	31,2
Daily and weekly working hour limits	15,8	12,6	14,1
Paid annual leave	31,2	25,9	28,4
Employment contract	18,1	16,2	17,1
Sickness and accident allowance paid by platform companies	58,6	55,1	56,7
Commuting allowance	51,2	47,8	49,4
Meal allowance	35,4	45,8	40,9
Discount policy for purchasing a work vehicle	78,6	53,9	65,4
Point of support	65,1	60,3	62,6

Source: Prepared by the authors based on *survey* data.

The CLT regime represents traditional work, characterized by repetitive tasks, fixed hours, and the possibility of overtime, paid or unpaid, in addition to the presence of a boss who monitors and controls the work process. Although its protective potential has been weakened by recent legislative changes, the CLT has never represented a reality for most Brazilian workers, especially those who make up the "marginal fringe" of the labor market, such as black people with low qualifications (Moura, 1983).

Although they reject the CLT model, workers aspire to rights that provide better working and living conditions, seeking compensation for the uncertainties they face in platform companies. Among these variables are changes in payment bonuses, centralization of customer power in evaluations, scores, and blocks considered unfair, as well as a lack of humanized service and adequate support points (Graph 4).

Statistical analysis of empirical data indicates that most digital platform workers opt for self-employment or freelance status, with 59.9% of delivery workers and 47.4% of drivers choosing this form of employment, although there are variations between categories. Notably, drivers tend to perceive the Individual Microentrepreneur (MEI) as a more suitable alternative for regulating the profession, with 28.2% expressing this preference, in contrast to 23.1% of delivery workers (Graph 5). One hypothesis for this difference is that drivers, who are generally older, are more attentive to social security issues, while delivery workers, who are mostly younger, show less concern in this regard. In the ethnographic observations, many workers mentioned their intention to contribute to social security by registering as MEIs, although it is not possible to accurately quantify the proportion of digital platform workers who adopt this modality in the data collected.

The CLT, in its different contract modalities – permanent and intermittent (close to a zero-hour contract) – is rarely demanded by digital platform workers, who face precarious and unsafe working conditions in everyday urban life. We observed that only 10.5% of delivery workers and 9.9% of drivers prefer the CLT. In contrast, the option for specific regulations is supported by only 3.2% of delivery workers and 9.4% of drivers. It is worth

noting that the questionnaire for drivers was administered during the widespread dissemination of Complementary Bill No. 12/24, which dealt with the regulation of the work of drivers for digital platforms, which may have influenced the decision of some workers to consider an alternative to the federal government's proposals. The option for other types of employment relationships was the least considered, with 3.2% of delivery workers and 5.2% of drivers choosing this alternative.

Graph 5 – Percentage of choices of types of regulation by category studied, Federal District and Surrounding Area (2023 and 2024)
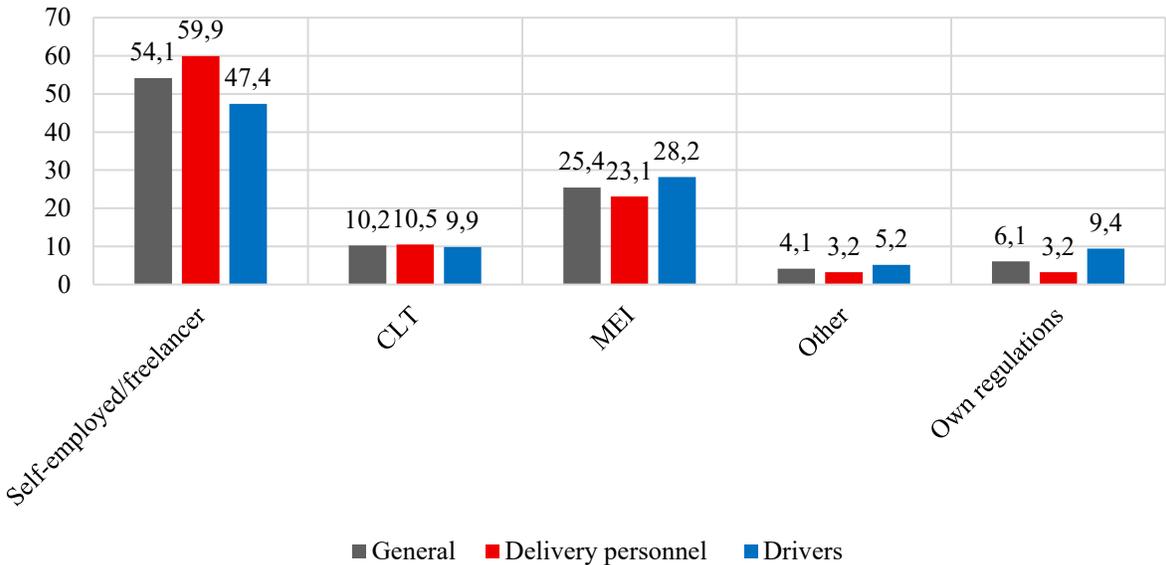
Source: Prepared by the authors based on *survey* data.

The opinions and interests of digital platform workers in the Federal District and Surrounding Areas regarding the ideal form of remuneration are heterogeneous, with two main trends, as shown in Graph 6. The most common preference is for a model that combines payment per hour logged on the platform with fees per trip or per kilometer traveled. This format is especially valued by delivery workers (38.1%) compared to drivers (31.2%).

Another well-regarded arrangement is fixed remuneration plus fees per trip or mileage, a preference reported by 23.3% of drivers and 21.5% of

delivery drivers. The choice of this model indicates a search for a balance between some predictability of income and the maintenance of performance-related incentives, providing more stable remuneration without losing the dynamics associated with individual productivity.

Graph 6 – Percentage of choices of remuneration types by category studied, Federal District and Surrounding Area (2023 and 2024)

Remuneration type	Drivers	Delivery drivers	General
None of the above	5,6	1,6	3,5
As it is currently done	16,3	21,1	18,8
Remuneration per hour logged in the app + travel expenses or mileage	31,2	38,1	34,9
Remuneration per hour logged in the app	4,2	2	3
Travel expenses or mileage allowance	19,5	15,4	17,3
Fixed remuneration + travel expenses or mileage allowance	23,3	21,5	22,3
Fixed remuneration	0	0,4	0,2

■ Drivers   ■ Delivery drivers   ■ General
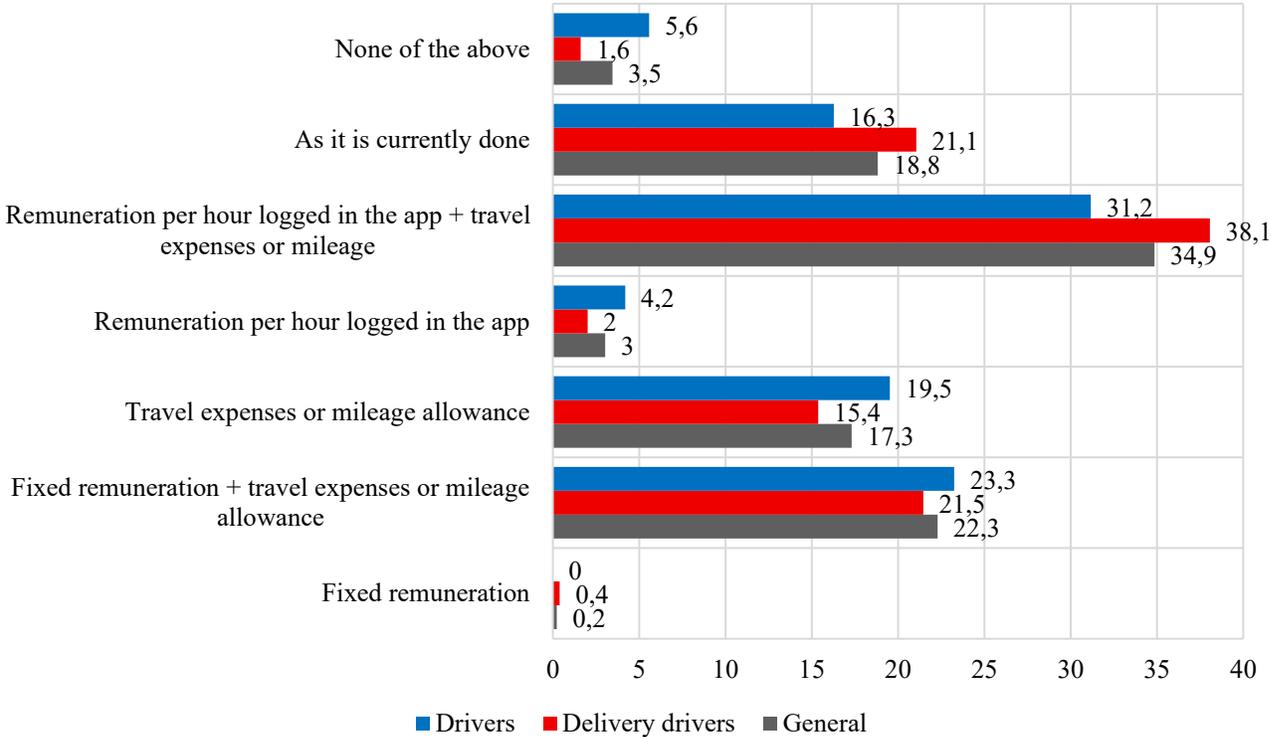
Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from *the* 2023 and 2024 *surveys*.

On the other hand, 19.5% of drivers and 15.4% of delivery personnel prefer payment exclusively per trip or mileage. A considerable portion, however, say they prefer remuneration as it is currently carried out, that is, based on prices per trip: 21.1% of delivery personnel and 16.3% of drivers.

Remuneration based solely on hours logged, without additional payments related to workload, is rarely accepted among workers, being mentioned by only 4.2% of drivers and 2% of delivery workers. Fixed remuneration is practically rejected, chosen by only 0.4% of delivery workers and no drivers. Finally, 1.6% of delivery workers and 5.6% of drivers stated that they did not prefer any of the modalities presented.

The above results record a specific moment in the perception of platform workers in Brasília and its surroundings in the context of the debate on the regulation of their work. Our *survey* alone cannot support a generalization. However, other studies in geographical regions different from ours have also reached similar results, which allows us to assume that this position is common among delivery workers and drivers on digital platforms in Brazil. Even so, any opinion poll is a snapshot of the moment it was collected. Only through more in-depth and qualitative research can we advance a theory about the perceptions and political positions of these workers.

5. Conflicts and contradictions in the perceptions of delivery workers and drivers for digital platforms regarding professional regulation

Raphael Lapa and Laura Valle Gontijo

Proposals for regulating work on digital platforms are perceived, whether by delivery workers or drivers, based on a very diverse set of factors that, at first glance, may seem conflicting. Their perceptions are usually anchored in both their own previous experiences and those of acquaintances and family members. These prior foundations are relevant to mention, insofar as the set of arguments on the topic of regulation always seems to be intertwined with some real example that is not limited to the worker themselves, but also involves an acquaintance, colleague, or relative. It is based on this real-life experience that the various meanings attributed to self-employment and formal employment are constructed. Added to this is the unavoidable high cost of living in the city, the lack of specific infrastructure for working, and, last but not least, an extreme distrust of the government and trade unions.

The most apparent and recurring dimension is the dichotomy between having access to certain labor rights and not being subject to the fixed hours and explicit subordination that characterize formal employment. In other words, while the majority desire access to the labor rights provided for in the CLT regime — especially social security rights, such as retirement and accident benefits, as well as paid vacations, FGTS[7], and a 13th month salary –

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[7] The Fundo de Garantia do Tempo de Serviço (FGTS), Severance Indemnity Fund, was created in 1966 with the aim of compensating workers who were dismissed without just cause. Only workers with a formal employment contract have access to it.

there is also, in many testimonials, the interpretation that any effort to regulate certain work or activities will have negative results for workers.

This understanding can be classified in two ways. The first consists of a lack of trust in the government and unions as instruments for defending workers' interests. The second expresses the reinforcement of individualism, that is, the understanding that each individual's situation is the result of an untransferable responsibility, in which only their own actions can define their condition.

Many point out that the government wants to increase tax collection and that unions want to gain more members and, consequently, receive membership fees. For these workers, these costs would be paid by them. If it is to be regulated, they say, there must be a decent minimum wage or rates that are consistent with working hours. What they observe is that regulation will mean that *motorcycle couriers* will pay more taxes to the government, resulting in increased tax collection and an inevitable decrease in their remuneration. If, however, it results in an increase in wages — which they are skeptical about — there is agreement.

This distrust of the government can be summed up in the words of driver Mario (44), who says: "*Regulation will not improve anything for the driver, it will improve for Uber and it will improve for the government, it will worsen for the driver and it will worsen for the passenger. Passengers will pay more, drivers will pay more tax, Uber will do well, and the government will collect more, that's all.*"

The unions, in turn, suffer from the same predicament. There is constant suspicion about the intentions of union leaders, who potentially act in their own interests, leaving collective interests aside. As delivery driver João (29) tells us: "*This union business, association... but what happens? I see a lot of particular political interest. It's not something they want to help the category (...).*"

This feeling of mistrust can be linked to recent history, in which the influence of unions and the left in public debate has declined, while far-right discourse has gained greater relevance.

This aspect is linked to another salient point: the perception that the minimum wage has been devalued in recent decades. Workers correctly observe that the high cost of living in a city like Brasília makes it impossible to stay in a job that pays only the minimum wage — to which the CLT contract is associated. This is linked to the association of work through digital platforms with "self-employment" and, in turn, with "piecework." Freedom is associated not only with flexible hours, but also with the possibility of "earning your own salary" and extending your working hours as much as possible, as long as this means higher pay.

In this regard, we quote an excerpt from an interview with delivery driver Felipe (46): *"In the beginning, it's addictive for everyone. Because money, man, is the root of all evil, right? So money, the guy wants it because he wants it. If it's by production, you want to do more. If you work for a company where you think about a fixed salary, it doesn't matter to you whether you make the delivery or not. You're guaranteed. In our case, no: you do it and you get it. So, the more you do, the more you get. So, there are guys who don't know how to pace themselves."*

Alexandre, another interviewee, states: "*The difference is that registered workers are supported. Your boss is responsible for you, right? He's not a machine like iFood. He's physical, he's human, so you're going to deal with him, you're going to work things out with him, there's no after, it's going to be right there, so we registered workers are more supported. The thing is, you don't have the production, which is why most people prefer apps over production. You produce more, you can earn more money.*"

Another delivery driver, Marcos (40), who lost his job as a truck driver because the company went bankrupt during the pandemic and migrated to the digital platform, adds: "*In fact, you earn what you produce, right? So, if you have debt, you're already in trouble. 'Man, I'm off today, you could be out there earning money to pay off that debt and stuff. You can't disconnect your brain from work, right?*"

Many note that this freedom also carries risks, such as very uncertain pay, the dangers of the activity itself, and damage to their physical and mental health.

Assistance in the event of accidents is the right most often cited by them as necessary, reflecting a persistent reality. Vacation, a 13th month salary, and FGTS are also seen as positive by some of the workers; however, for them, a work permit is related to receiving a minimum wage, which is not enough for their survival, especially given the risks associated with the profession. They say that if they worked in a less stressful profession, they would consider receiving a minimum wage and being covered by the CLT regime.

Flexibility and autonomy are closely linked to the possibility of earning by production, that is, the flexibility of remuneration and self-employment are emphasized as a possibility for increasing income. One of the workers mentions the need to limit working hours, due to the exhausting hours that digital platforms force them to work. Others report that having a fixed monthly remuneration would be positive in reducing income uncertainty. At the same time, they emphasize that autonomy is related to the possibility of managing their working hours and not limiting them, but rather extending them when, for example, it is necessary to pay debts.

Added to this picture is the dismantling of social protection over the last few decades. In this regard, the possibility of registering as an Individual Microentrepreneur (MEI) is on the horizon, given the self-determined association with self-employment. "*I, for example, pay my MEI, I have car insurance, you know? I don't want more rights, I want the minimum that really allows me to support myself and survive*," says driver Manoel, 29.

These possibilities arise especially when discussing the problems of helplessness in the event of an accident. Since the neoliberal state itself created the conditions for these workers to become increasingly less protected, they opt for working conditions that allow them t te or promise higher pay. Some workers reported that there was family pressure for them to find a job with a formal contract, but over time, this idea faded due to the possibility of weekly financial gains on the digital platform.

The idea of "being your own boss" was questioned by many of them, mainly with the argument that *the score* is a way for the platform to control their work. They note that there is no freedom if they depend on the platform

to send deliveries, if it even limits the time for delivery of each order, and if their demands are cut if certain platform rules are not followed. They therefore feel controlled by the demands. However, at the same time, they realize that they have a certain freedom in setting their working hours on the digital platform, which they would not have in a "regular" job. This feeling was expressed by Marcos, 40: "*The only positive thing is that I... it's kind of... the freedom, in quotes, that you don't have [in a formal job], right? You turn on the app, you, like... have the freedom to turn it on when you want, you know?*"

There is also a sense of disappointment with the change from formal employment to delivery work on a digital platform. There are reports that, in the beginning, platform companies paid better and that, over time, rates became very low, there were no adjustments, and double and triple deliveries were introduced, which lowered the rate. In other words, they used to earn more, but today they have to activate "slave mode" to earn the equivalent of what they used to make. "*Either you are a slave to the app and are well paid, or you don't work because it doesn't send you* routes," says João, a 29-year-old delivery driver.

Some say that if you "work hard," you can earn good money. Others are looking to move to another job, and there are those who describe their dream of returning to formal employment. There is also the idea that the platform should be seen as a second source of income. It is common to find drivers on digital platforms who also work as security guards, since this category works on a 12 x 36 schedule — that is, 12 hours of work and 36 hours of rest. It is during these hours of rest that they usually work on the platform, as is the case with Wellington, a 31-year-old driver: "*I usually tell my friends that this has to be a side job. It can never be your main job. Because with a main job, you get your money every five days. With the app, you don't. With the app, you have to earn that money. If you get sick or have an accident, who will support you?*" Counting both jobs, Jonathan says he works 66 hours a week.

There are frequent reports that the digital platform should provide minimum working conditions, such as access to bathrooms, microwaves to heat up lunch boxes, among others. In this sense, there is a general

understanding that it is the workers themselves who bear all the costs of their work and who already go out on the streets owing or paying for access to certain goods or resources, such as an *internet* plan, which enables them to perform their activities under minimum conditions. However, this may be a distinction — between drivers and delivery workers — that deserves to be highlighted and that stems from the professional activity itself. Delivery workers have a prominent external mark — through the use of *bags* and helmets, for example — which makes their bodies visible in public spaces with access to restrooms or rest areas.

In addition, the fact that they ride a motorcycle and not a car, due to the lower value of the vehicle, already places them in a position of inferiority, in terms of the society in which we live. As Wellington, 31, who is now a digital platform driver but has worked as a delivery person, says: "*You take more risks than you get in return. In Santa Maria alone, three people died in motorcycle accidents in one week. So, it's not worth it. You get sunburned, you get rained on, you are very undervalued*." This leads to a greater distinction in the emphasis given to the pursuit of rights, such as rest and social spaces.

Drivers, on the other hand, feel these difficulties less. But that does not mean that they do not experience them too, particularly those with black skin, for whom racism is associated with class prejudice. During a visit to a certain gathering point for drivers, workers reported that the portable toilets were very dirty. It is important to note that the difficulty of accessing bathrooms, due to the pace imposed by the work itself or the barriers faced on a daily basis, has serious consequences for the health of workers in both categories.

The differentiation between the categories, with regard to rights and regulations, occurs especially in the importance given to each potential right to be achieved. Delivery workers highlight the impossibility of working due to accidents, which in this category are associated with collisions, often as a result of their rush to deliver orders, since their remuneration is conditional on the number of deliveries made, and the fact that the vehicle itself leaves their bodies more exposed and therefore vulnerable. Certainly, accident insurance adds a very immediate layer of protection for delivery workers,

given the high level of risk to which they are exposed. "*I've buried nine friends who died in motorcycle accidents*," laments delivery worker Roberta, 31, concluding: "*So we leave home, often not even knowing if we'll come back, man*."

In the case of drivers, accidents are associated with traffic collisions, but also with long working hours and lack of time for rest, as can be seen in the statement by Ricardo, a 35-year-old driver, when asked if he was dozing when he had one of his accidents: "*Yes, I dozed off. One of those times. It was the worst, so to speak, right? The other times I bumped into the curb, bumped into a cone there and woke up. That was the only serious one that actually burst the tire, right?*"

Uber, as Ricardo also states, limits the workday to 12 hours; however, it only counts the time spent traveling to the passenger or the actual ride, that is, it does not count the time the driver spends waiting for a ride, which means that this worker can easily exceed 12 hours of work per day.

The discussion on the regulation of work on digital platforms is generally marked by a dichotomy between opposites, that is, on the one hand, formal, salaried work, and on the other, informal, self-employed work. However, it appears that workers who reject formal work in favor of the possibility of employment via digital platforms make this choice under duress, weighing the benefits of one situation or the other. It is in this sense that workers who oppose regulation condition their position. Between work directly controlled by a boss with a minimum wage and very strict working hours, and the possibility of apparent freedom of schedule, with remuneration based on production, the choice falls on the latter possibility. This choice is justified by the various impossibilities of entering the market, previous unpleasant experiences, low wages, or even obstacles to workers caring for their families, given the many restrictions on working hours in formal employment.

However, it should not be assumed that workers in this category do not wish to achieve the labor rights contained in formal relationships. It is in this direction that the debate on regulation also reveals the extent of mistrust among the actors involved, whether government, unions, or associations. The assumption that all actors are looking out only for themselves, with a view to

serving some particular interest, is a source of constant suspicion and an element that is habitually brought up in the discussion. It is known that workers under the CLT regime are guaranteed the right to accompany family members to medical appointments, etc.; however, the decline of union power and the deepening of neoliberalism in recent years have resulted in a loss of bargaining power for workers. As a result, disputes over issues such as working hours have become increasingly heated within companies. In addition, moral harassment has become a constant.

In short, the public discussion on regulation, as reported, is marked by a sense of distancing or exclusion of workers from this debate, which justifies the repeated suspicions of both the government and the unions . Despite this, it is clear that the materiality of conditions is very present in the discourse and demands of workers; that is, dignified conditions for the exercise of their profession are elements of primary importance in their claims. In addition, the issue of wages is frequently raised, along with the inclusion in a social security system capable of covering, for example, temporary inability to practice the profession, as in the case of an accident. It is through the discourse of these workers, full of important reflections and reports, that perceptions about regulation were constructed.

Conjunto Nacional, Brasília. Waiting area and goods collection point. Our photos.

Shopping Boulevard, Brasília. Waiting area and goods collection point. Our photos.

6. Materializations of class in the use of urban space and th s of Brasília

Kethury Magalhães dos Santos, Nicolle Wagner da Silva Gonçalves, Bruno Sprovieri Togni, Fernanda Santos Lima, and Letícia Fragoso Pereira da Silva

Visiting the family origins of workers in the food and goods delivery and individual passenger transport sectors is a task that becomes impossible if we disregard its intertwining with the very history of the formation of the Federal District and its surroundings. The narratives of our research interlocutors go back to the recent and emblematic past of the construction of Brasília. According to popular imagination, this was first conceived in *the manifest* and prophetic *dream* of Dom Bosco, patron saint of the capital, who guaranteed that a "promised land" of "inconceivable wealth" would emerge between the 15th and 20th parallels of the Southern Hemisphere. Later, it materialized through the utopian dream of Juscelino Kubitschek, the president responsible for the construction of the capital.

The construction of Brasília in the 1960s was the result of a particular historical moment, whose reference point was the modern developmentalist project that prevailed throughout most of the 20th century. Those who idealized the city believed that its construction would be a way to abandon the place of "backwardness" and an attempt to break the colonial ties of a society characterized by archaic traditions, which no longer matched the aspirations for modernization that were to come.

The trajectories of the families of the research participants reveal the hidden stories of the formation of the Federal District and its surroundings (Figure 2), obscured by the dominant narratives that emphasize and glorify the "pioneers" (from privileged social positions) and, at the same time, conceal the large mass of workers, the "candangos," who built the capital. Most

of these families came from the Northeast and Southeast (Minas Gerais) regions of Brazil and arrived in the capital between the 1960s and 1990s, in a diasporic movement with similar goals: to escape scarcity and seek better living conditions, work, and education. Brasília therefore represented a new beginning for these populations of peasant origin.

Although one of the goals of the modern developmentalist ideal was to overcome the country's backward characteristics, the very labor dynamics adopted during construction, as well as the way in which the working class came to occupy the urban space that was being built, showed that the contradictions that shape the structures of Brazilian society are an obstacle to achieving real social transformation and, consequently, an obstacle to the very ideal that founded it. The working class that settled here and built the heart of the country through hard work (often in conditions analogous to slavery) encountered obstacles from early on — whether due to very precarious working conditions, the lack of permanent housing, living in temporary camps, or insecurity.

Thus, it can be said that in 1960, along with the planned city, the "promised land," or the "open-air modernist museum," peculiar forms of social, racial, and gender inequality were also born, as well as those that gave rise to so many other Brazilian cities. The inauguration of the phenomenon of gentrification in the Federal District and surrounding areas highlights the continuity of a historical process that determines the housing conditions and access to the city for the dispossessed population. At the end of the 20th century, this mass of workers did not have the resources to settle in Brasília due to the high cost of living, and thus had to resort to occupying regions further away from the capital that lacked infrastructure, such as paved roads, security, schools, jobs, etc. In addition, they entered into occupations that required only manual skills — inherited from the colonial slave period — and that brought a negligible financial return, thus establishing a relationship of dependence on the Brasilia elite.

Figure 2 - Map of the metropolitan area of Brasília.

Source: Prepared by Agência Senado, 2020.

As Cássio, a self-declared *pardo* (brown-skinned) delivery man who lives in Sobradinho, told us, his mother came from Maranhão (MA) in the 1990s and soon set up a snack stand on Via W3, a place of enormous historical and cultural importance in Brasília. He arrived here at the age of three, with no d memories of his homeland, but closely followed his mother's efforts to commute to the city every day. A student at a public school in Asa Norte, he

balanced his studies with helping her, who "*taught* him *to work from an early age.*"

Cássio also told us that, even after more than 30 years living in the city, he does not have regular housing and runs the risk of being evicted at any moment: "*we run the risk of leaving there and we don't know where we're going.*" Sônia, another self-declared *pardo* interviewee and also a delivery person, referred to her home as "*a little shack*" due to its precarious structure. A resident of Ceilândia, one of the first improvised slums in the Federal District, established in the 1970s, she recounted that her father and mother came from Paraíba (PB) and Piauí (PI), respectively, to work as cleaning staff in the buildings of Brasília. However, they could only afford to live in Planaltina, located 43 km away from the city. From the above, it is clear that, like her ancestors — grandparents, parents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives who came from the Northeast — this generation of workers continues to face the worsening housing problem imposed by real estate speculation, which results in the exacerbated growth of housing clusters in the Administrative Regions (RA's) of the Federal District.

In addition, the current social segregation adds to the issue of precarious access to the city, given that public transportation, both in the Federal District and in the surrounding area, has long been a topic of discussion due to its dilapidated state and high fares for the population. In general, workers who live here have always been forced to seek individual solutions, such as resorting to their own or more economical means of transportation (motorcycles), often irregular, to circumvent structural problems. This, for example, is not an element that goes unnoticed by our interlocutors. Augusto, a self-declared brown man and Uber driver, not only noticed that the platformization of work has negative impacts on urban mobility (traffic jams, traffic accidents, etc.), but also believes that the solution to this problem lies in the creation of public policies to improve traffic and in investment and incentives for the use of public transportation.

Like their ancestors, this generation of workers who labor through digital platforms does not have full access to the city. Historically, the groups of

workers most affected by the intrinsic hostility to the constitution of this public space were street cleaners, waste pickers, street vendors, etc., who often faced a lack of public toilets, drinking water, and adequate rest and leisure spaces.

When we look at the present, through observations made during field trips and interviews, we realize that these asymmetries are becoming increasingly widespread and complex, especially when our interlocutors focus on the lack of infrastructure and hospitality in the city as obstacles to the exercise of citizenship while they work. Class segregation in the use and appropriation of urban space is both material and immaterial.

In the immaterial realm, there is a social behavior that signals the non-belonging of these workers. This is evident, for example, in Marcus's account of how security guards at *shopping malls* in upscale areas of Brasília watch him closely while he picks up orders. "*It's embarrassing*," he says. The clothing worn while performing his job — such as a vest and helmet — act as visual markers that attract the attention of security guards. Although they do not approach him directly, he is aware of their surveillance.

The reports point to unease about the way merchants treat workers. When he identifies himself as a delivery person, Marcus often notices a change in the attitude of store clerks, who begin to treat him with disregard. According to him, he often hears phrases such as "*wait a minute, I need to serve them first*" – even though he is there representing a customer: "*I think I should b ly treated as a customer. And they kind of want to leave us... for last, you know?*"

Júnior reveals how these workers are often treated with indifference and placed in a subordinate position: "*But I believe I have been discriminated against, you know? Because, during the pandemic, I was a hero, I was the super delivery guy, where those who couldn't go out on the street to get medicine, water, food, I was there. When I arrived at the establishment, if it was a pizzeria, there was a pizza there for me to eat, a cup of coffee, some water, because the guy needed me. I needed myself more than he did, but in order for him to run his business, he needed me to deliver, the customer needed me to bring it to him, so I was the hero. And, thank God, the pandemic is over, the suffering is over, today*"

you are not treated the same way, today you are viewed with indifference. In the past, I would arrive at the store, and there would be a chair there for me to sit close to the store. Today they ask me to wait, 'Wait over there,' they take me away as if I were getting in the way, and that made me feel like I was being discriminated against."

The inclusion of these workers in the central area of Brasília occurs under conditions of subservience and non-belonging, as they do not have adequate spaces for rest or support during the workday (as will be seen later), and also because the relational ties with merchants and customers are established in an unequal and distant manner. Rubens, a driver, reports that "*you go to a restaurant and observe how some people treat waiters, as if they were completely invisible until the moment they need something. So, this happens in the car too. The person only becomes real when they want to complain about something. The window is too open. Something like that. Then you become real. If not... they talk nonsense in the back of the car, about their life stories, and we're there listening.*"

In material terms, the challenges of using urban space begin as soon as people leave their homes. Workers who live in satellite cities and the surrounding areas of the Federal District travel long distances to work in Plano Piloto, Lago Sul, Lago Norte, Noroeste, and Sudoeste, enduring heavy traffic, traffic jams, negligent drivers, and inattentive pedestrians throughout their long workday: "*You just have to pray to God and get on with your work, right? Don't be reckless, right?*" (Agnaldo).

One aspect highlighted by the interviewees is the difficulty many have in getting around areas they are not familiar with: they get lost in the blocks of the Plano Piloto and cannot find their way out of the tesourinhas (small streets) and[8] (small alleys). In this sense, there seems to be an initial effort to

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[8] Located in the central region of Brasília, the Pilot Plan, the *tesourinhas* are overpasses that connect the city's blocks, providing access to the highways that run through all the blocks, both in the North Wing and the South Wing. The *tesourinhas*, in addition to being overpasses, are hallmarks of the city's identity. However, by concentrating only on the Pilot Plan, both the identity of Brasília and the functionality and traffic of these overpasses end up being restricted to the central area. Thus, residents of the Administrative Regions who are not familiar with these structures find it difficult to navigate them, as do people from other states, causing delays in deliveries and problems at and with work.

recognize the space and learn how to move around it to save time and fuel. The daily commute to unfamiliar places, combined with long working hours, forces workers to develop daily survival strategies to remain and optimize their presence in the central areas of the Federal District.

In everyday life, survival strategies take different forms — they can be expressed in the work routine, in the choice of places to rest, in the places where they eat (considering price, proximity, among other factors), or even in the places where they use the bathroom. When organizing their routine, individually or collectively, workers take into account practical aspects such as costs (food, fuel, and others), distance from home, frequency of trips, safety, and familiarity with the location. In addition, many of them have families and only one vehicle, which means that their daily commutes are also planned according to the needs and schedules of their family members.

In this context, the lack of support points in the urban space of Brasília is a recurring complaint among the interviewees. Faced with this shortcoming, workers end up rethinking the use of the city, attributing new meanings and functions to the available spaces — often through collective actions, such as the occupation and improvement of old abandoned taxi stands.

According to Junior, a delivery driver for digital platforms who was interviewed, he and his colleagues took over an abandoned taxi stand to use as a place to rest and even bought chairs and hammocks. In addition to the taxi stand, Junior commented that he and his colleagues choose their rest areas on a daily basis, nicknaming these locations "bases," whose locations vary according to agreements made between them. Even though they do not have a fixed base, each of these is adorned with the chairs and hammocks mentioned above, making the chosen spaces more pleasant and conducive to rest.

Based on Júnior's reports, it is clear that urban spaces (some previously abandoned) are being used and transformed to meet the need for greater comfort during breaks between rides for the apps. Even though they are not structures with bathrooms, drinking fountains, or other amenities, they still constitute spaces for rest and social interaction among workers. This

exemplifies a type of survival strategy in the daily life of this category, since it requires planning, choice, and improvement of the space, as well as joint action to care for the occupied location.

Without appropriate spaces for rest in the city, drivers resort to their own vehicles, transforming them into "mobile rooms." In this dynamic, despite the lack of comfort, workers use car seats as beds, even on the street — where they are susceptible to assaults and other dangers. As with the dynamics of choosing rest areas by delivery workers, drivers seek out familiar or minimally familiar places to rest, use bathrooms, drink water, and eat.

Many of the interviewees reported experiencing prejudice in the center of the capital, where they are prejudged and unable to access certain spaces and establishments, even to relieve basic needs, revealing the precariousness and insufficiency of support points. However, most reveal that, despite these conditions, they still prefer to migrate to the center of the capital to make trips, as the region offers better opportunities for rides and a lower degree of risk in terms of safety.

All these aspects are part of a work routine organized to maximize the number of rides, reduce costs, avoid excessive risks, and, in some cases, reconcile schedules with those of other family members. Thus, daily planning takes into account a logic of costs and benefits that is linked to space — understood as the locations where rides arise — and time, understood as the working hours that need to be maximized with the highest possible number of deliveries.

To illustrate this dynamic, Miguel, a digital platform driver (formerly a delivery person) who lives in Santa Maria (DF), says that his routine is linked to the work schedule of his wife and son. Although he formally works as a security guard in Guará (DF), he prefers to stay in Santa Maria to make his deliveries, close to his wife's work, his son's school, and his home. Miguel's routine begins at 6:20 a.m., when he takes his wife to work and then his son to daycare, located near his wife's workplace. After that, he returns home around 7:20 a.m. to have breakfast and meet with his mother or just take some time for himself before work. With everything ready to start driving, Miguel

begins his work around 9:00 a.m. and finishes around 6:00 p.m., when his wife's workday ends.

This routine illustrates the relationship that drivers have with space and time. In this case, space is often restricted to the vicinity of the family home, and time is measured according to his wife's work schedule. Despite holding a formal job at night, Miguel organizes his rides flexibly during the day, balancing the time he devotes to work with family demands, so that his routine is structured not only around work but also around the needs of his family. Therefore, this dynamic involves both his survival and that of his peers, as well as caring for family members — whether visiting his mother or taking his wife and son to and from activities.

In the example cited, the logic of traveling to the central areas of Brasília does not apply. However, when the work routine involves traveling to the center, the appropriation and reinterpretation of urban space become fundamental tools for survival, transforming the way the city is used and giving new utility to empty or abandoned areas.

During the field observations for this research, support points located in areas close to *shopping malls* in the Federal District were visited. In these locations, workers remain in hidden areas, usually in loading and unloading docks, without free access to the interior of the establishments, sometimes depending on an employee's authorization to use the bathroom. In these cases, breaks, meals, and waiting times occur next to trash cans, in places marked by bad odors and isolation. This separation between customers, employees, and delivery workers highlights a form of localized spatial segregation that, although visible on a micro scale, reflects the structural inequality and exclusionary spatial organization of cities on a larger scale.

Even with the existence of District Law No. 6,677/2020, which provides for the creation of support points with bathrooms, showers, changing rooms, and space for rest and meals, the rules are not being respected by the platforms. As a result, female workers, who face greater difficulties and specificities in using bathrooms during their menstrual cycle, are the most affected by the absence of these structures. Some have reported recurrent

cystitis and infections that have developed into more serious conditions simply because there is no adequate place for their physiological needs. The creative appropriation of urban space thus emerges as a response to the absence of these facilities. Otherwise, workers would remain exposed to the risks and discomforts of the streets, improvising places to meet their most basic needs.

The narratives reveal that support points are central to the demands of this category of workers. They are what give them dignity and guarantee humane access to the city, allowing workers to abandon the prescribed place of degradation and dehumanization imposed by the platforms. During the research, we found that there are only two support points for delivery workers in the Federal District — one in the central region and another in Águas Claras. For individual transport drivers, only one point was identified, near the Brasília airport, maintained by the workers themselves, through a fee deducted from rides in the region. This point functions as a waiting and support location, with a digital queue organized by the app, but due to high demand, the parking lot is often full. The space is unsanitary: it is large, with few trees, chemical toilets and drinking fountains exposed to the sun, a strong smell of urine, and poor maintenance — which is why it has been nicknamed "curralzinho" (little corral) by the workers.

Reports from Gustavo and Erick, drivers interviewed, confirm that they do not drink water at the site because the drinking fountain provides muddy and cloudy water, unfit for consumption. Many prefer to bring water from home and do not use the portable toilets – "*filthy bathrooms*." Excerpts from their statements illustrate very well how most people feel about the situation at the site: *"We're like dogs. They throw us anywhere. The bathroom and water are a disgrace*" and "*The support point is crap, it's a disgrace for a guy to subject himself to that portable toilet, portable toilets are for parties, which last three days, not to be left there as if it were a bathroom*." It is worth noting that workers said they sleep in their vehicles, especially on weekends, turning their cars into a kind of "mobile home" to make ends meet at the end of the month.

Considering the reports of workers who use both urban spaces and support points, it is clear that survival strategies — such as improvisation and appropriation of urban space — are constantly present. Whether on the streets or at support points, they balance the use of spaces, resources, and routes in relation to working time. Everyday decisions include bringing water from home or choosing to remain on the streets in search of more rides, rather than staying in places with precarious infrastructure. Such choices reflect a logic of optimizing time and maximizing earnings, which are fundamental to ensuring survival and continuity of work.

Therefore, the survival strategies of these workers involve concrete, daily choices before, during, and after their workday, revealing the immateriality of class manifestations in urban space. They circulate through upscale areas of the city while they work, even though they need to develop strategies to remain in these locations without enjoying the same comforts available to residents. During the workday, decisions based on weighing earnings, time, and survival often result in imbalances, precisely because they do not have the basic conditions present in the areas where they work. Even in regions that appear to offer quality of life, they use the space only as a workplace, resorting to their own or precarious resources. The reality of these individuals is marked by a constant contradiction: they are present in certain spaces of the city, but they do not belong there.

Breakfast of the Moto Brabas
Collective, 2024. Our photo.

1st Moto Brabas Collective Motorcycle Ride (10/26/2023) . Photo by us.

7. A color defect: approximations and distancing from "the platform is slavery"

Brenna de Araújo Vilanova

The expression *"a defect of color,"* the title of Ana Maria Gonçalves' novel, refers to a slave-owning past whose legacy remains operative in the present, reproducing itself in contemporary devices of exploitation. The racialization of labor, once regulated under the logic of the trunk, manifests itself today through algorithms, which continue to structurally delimit which bodies are directed to positions of overload, vulnerability, and invisibility in cities. In the context of work mediated by digital platforms, this logic is (re)actualized and re-signified: the bodies that circulate through the streets as delivery workers and drivers carry within themselves the traces of this historical continuity of racialized precariousness.

The statement that "*the platform is slavery*," uttered by an interviewed worker, should not be understood as a mere metaphorical device, but as a denunciation anchored in the concrete experience of everyday work. It is an explicit recognition of the conditions of overload, exhausting workdays, economic instability, and forms of control that structure work on platforms. These elements resemble contemporary forms of slave labor.

Although the dominant discourse seeks to empty racial relations from this debate, it is evident that the racial profile of workers is not contingent, but rather traversed by a process of racialization that defines which bodies are destined for precariousness. The interviews analyzed highlight the multiple layers of a historical past of inaccessibility on the part of these working classes.

From the statements of workers in the sector, it can be observed how structural racism organizes, in a simultaneously subtle and violent way, the distribution of positions in the world of work, affecting especially those who sustain and move the city with their bodies.

To understand this more deeply, it is necessary to "travel" through the life trajectories of this working class, listening to their paths, experiences, and crossroads. Their stories reveal striking points: early entry into the world of work, contexts of poverty, school dropouts, child labor, and family responsibilities imposed even in childhood. It is clear, then, that the platforms are neither a starting point nor a destination, but a condition imposed by necessity, not choice. For many, being on them is temporary, unwanted, but inevitable in the absence of concrete alternatives for survival.

The trajectories of digital platform workers reveal the continuity of historical inequalities that shape the organization of work in Brazil. The account of Chico, a driver, a white man, son of a mother from the Northeast and a father from the South, illustrates how the early imposition of work took place through family violence: "I *learned to drive a car by getting beaten*." As a child, he was already working, and at 15 he had his first formal job. This normalization of early entry into the workforce, marked by hardship and obedience, also appears in other experiences, equally shaped by race, class, and territory — marks that recur in the trajectories of people rescued from conditions of labor analogous to slavery in the country. Domestic violence, economic needs, and child labor are thus structural elements of these trajectories.

The lack of choice is evident in the trajectory of Carolina, a self-declared yellow delivery worker and daughter of northeasterners, who expresses precariousness as a limit to her dreams: "*There are times when you have to choose between eating or dreaming*." In this scenario, education appears as an unattainable privilege for those who live on the margins, reinforcing that access t nd even the dream of upward mobility is blocked by the urgency of survival. Such accounts reveal a highly exclusionary social structure that delimits power and operates according to a logic of *necropolitics* (Mbembe,

2018b), in which it is decided who can plan for the future — live — and who is condemned to merely survive the present — left to die.

Survival strategies shape academic and professional choices, as in the case of Xica, a driver, non-binary and *pardo*, who abandoned the possibility of pursuing a career in International Relations and migrated to Business Administration in order to more easily earn an income and help her family: "*I needed to make money because my mother needed help at home.*" The journey of Antonieta, a delivery driver, black woman, daughter of parents from the Northeast, also illustrates how economic obstacles interrupt educational trajectories: *"I started studying Foreign Trade; when I was two subjects away from graduating, I dropped out for financial reasons."* Once again, violence persists, and the dream of a full education is postponed indefinitely by the urgency of making a living.

The reports show how race, class, and territory continue to structure a geography of exclusion in contemporary Brazil. Most of the people interviewed are the children of migrants from the Northeast, as Carolina points out: "*In my case, my mother and father are from Paraíba, right? They're from the Northeast. They came here to try to earn a living.*" Although this migration was motivated by the search for better living conditions, what we see is the persistence of precariousness across generations. This trait is confirmed in the current reality, in which people of northeastern origin continue to be the majority among those rescued from situations of labor analogous to slavery in the country.

This permanence of precariousness is not only material, but also subjective. As Antonieta's statement shows, there is an assimilation of meritocratic logic that ends up "defending" exploitation itself: *"Leave your story behind, even if everyone sees you as a slave, someone is watching you.*" The belief that extreme effort can be rewarded sustains routines of subordination, in which rest appears as an obstacle to productivity. The same worker reports giving up even her lunch break: *"My work is worth more than my rest.*" In this context, the body is converted into a machine, subjected to continuous and

exhausting work, in which self-improvement becomes a permanent requirement.

The platforms, therefore, do not usher in a new era of work, but rather update a historical logic of exclusion, aimed at vulnerable bodies. Although they do not act in an explicitly racialized manner, they operate through mechanisms that reproduce historical inequalities: once directly affecting black bodies, today they affect poor bodies, many of which are also black. This is a perverse continuity, in which contemporary social vulnerability updates and amplifies the mark of racial exclusion, without ever breaking it.

It is in this scenario that the analysis of interviews with digital platform workers proves revealing, highlighting the shackles of precariousness, situated between the illusion of autonomy and the reality of subservience. The reports denounce a system of work based on precariousness, control, and dehumanization. Far from the rhetoric of "opportunities" and "flexibility" sold by the platforms, daily life is revealed to be marked by exhausting workdays, lack of rights, permanent insecurity, and a structure that naturalizes the marginalization of workers — the same historically subordinated workers, now reconfigured through the lens of technology.

One of the most obvious common threads is the illusion of autonomy. Although the platforms insist on presenting workers as their "own bosses," the interviews show that this supposed freedom functions, in practice, as a mechanism of control, a false promise. The idea that "*you are the one who earns your salary*" legitimizes, in the view of the platforms, the complete absence of support, rights, or stability. As interviewee Carolina observes: *"In this case, the app deceives us, it gives us the illusion that you can earn so much, but at a certain point it starts to cut back on demand, they start to punish you for things you don't do (...) our score goes down, right? We... build ourselves up in the app through our score."*

This control is deeply mediated by algorithmic devices, which function as a mechanism of surveillance and punishment. The *score*, punctuality, customer reviews — often clouded by prejudice and racism — determine who gets more or less work. The evaluation becomes a whip, and the fear of being

blocked, punished, or made invisible forces the body to continue, even when exhausted or sick.

In this context, the working body is presented as disposable. The reports reveal how much these people are reduced to instruments of service, deprived of any right to dignity. The inability to use bathrooms, for example, symbolizes this dehumanization. The objectification of workers, considered inferior even to a pet dog, harks back to the historical logic of servitude: the modern "mistress" of the app acts with the same naturalness as that of the big house. *"Where I step has less value than the* dog" (Carolina).

Platform work also proves to be a lonely and unhealthy experience, isolating workers from emotional and social ties. Chico reports: "(...) *after I joined Uber, what happened? I started to neglect my family life, because we became trapped. Then we missed out on our child's growth, we lost our home life, or you just come home dead tired to sleep and that's it.*" There is no room for leisure, rest, or socializing, only the constant pressure to produce. Even when there are days off, they are spent on household chores or caring for the family, as Antonieta explains: "*It's just stuff around the house. Because if you weigh it up, your child needs you from the moment they wake up until the moment they go to sleep... But financially, I can't do that.*"

Debt is another issue that keeps workers tied to the platforms. Many invest in motorcycles, cars, equipment, and even their appearance, seduced by the promise of high earnings. However, they quickly find themselves caught in a cycle of exploitation. Carolina explains: "*I already leave home in debt to go to work. I leave to try to earn money, but I'm already in debt,*" referring to daily costs for fuel, food, and essential items. Workers are usually drawn to platforms such as by the lure of quick profits and professional freedom. What ensues, however, is a continuous dependency.

This cycle translates into long hours, lack of rest, and constant fear of stopping: "*So, if you stop driving, next month your salary won't be deposited into your account. So, there's nothing you can do, you have to keep driving,*" explains Xica. Even when they try to disconnect, workers face roadblocks, accidents, assaults, and a total lack of guarantees: *"I've tried to leave several times, but*

we're already trapped. Here, when we think about leaving, something happens. My account was blocked. So-and-so was raped. My car was hit...," says Xica.

The experience of drivers and delivery workers highlights a work model that, although disguised as "autonomy," is close to what Article 149 of the Brazilian Penal Code describes (Brazil, 2003). The deterioration of working conditions is repeated in the interviews: lack of bathrooms, adequate food, or minimally decent waiting areas. Carolina explains: "*I have to humiliate myself to use a bathroom in any restaurant. That is, if they let you use it.*" In some cases, they are explicitly prohibited from using the restrooms of the restaurants where they collect orders or from sitting in front of the stores: "*We are prohibited from using the bathroom, we cannot sit in front of the store, we often have to wait in the back of the store, without any benches, in the sun burning our skin, rain, getting wet,*" reports Carolina.

The feeling of servitude is exacerbated by algorithmic control: even though they are "self-employed," workers have routines, scores, and earnings that are strictly controlled by the apps. Carolina reports: "*If I spend the day with it* [the app] *on and it doesn't ring, I don't work. So, in any case, it does control me.*" In this scenario, even the discourse of "being your own boss" becomes meaningless: "*So, I'd rather be an employee and earn money than be my own boss, nowadays, the way I am, and not getting paid,*" continues Carolina. Workers enter through the dream, remain because of debt, and continue because of a lack of alternatives. The autonomy sold by the platforms, in practice, reveals itself to be an economic prison.

The lack of adequate support points reveals the platforms' negligence in terms of minimum dignity at work. Instead of rest areas, there are sidewalks and curbs: "*You stand in the middle of the corners, doing nothing. On the curb. Anywhere. Because there are no support points.*" Those that do exist are precarious: "*The support point they say they have doesn't have water to serve, it doesn't have a power outlet for you to charge your cell phone. It doesn't have a bathroom for you to use,*" reports Carolina. Antonieta adds: "*Now the other support points, they're all garbage. They* don't *even clean the bathroom.*" These spaces don't just exist physically, they also lack institutional and symbolic

recognition. Workers are treated like disposable cogs in a system that forces them to keep turning, even on the brink of collapse and amid chaos.

This material precariousness is intertwined with everyday objectification: workers are seen as an extension of the delivery or the race. Antonieta comments: "*The delivery person is not obligated, the customer doesn't care, he paid, he wants you to leave it at his door*." This logic of service, inherited from colonial structures, is updated in the idea that whoever pays has the right to everything, including the right to dehumanize. The driver is confused with the machine. Xica reiterates: "*So, either you are a wailing wall, you are someone who is there, forced to listen to whatever it is. When the person gets in the car, the car is moving on its own, there's no one there at the wheel*." Invisible and mistreated, these workers face double violence: physical exhaustion and symbolic erasure. Their bodies are present, but their humanity is denied. Precarization is not an accident of the system; it is the very engine that drives it.

In this scenario, the terms "slave" and "slavery" appear in the reports not by chance, but as a recognition that, although formally free, their days are structured as a regime of submission: continuous work, punishments, fear, surveillance, precariousness, and a total absence of rights. Carolina describes: "*I haven't had a day off in about four months (...) Four months ago. The slave*."

At the same time, a critical awareness pulsates: workers realize that they occupy the base of the digital pyramid. Chico explains: "*Everything is gamification*" — a race for unattainable goals in which those who lose are those who cannot keep up with the game — and he continues: "*It's like the little tiger: when you win, he takes everything away from you afterwards*."

These workers are on the front line, not only in the delivery of goods and services, but also in revealing the most brutal aspects of the new digital economy. They are, as Antonieta says, "*the scum of society*," not because they are less, but because the system treats them that way. They are the bodies that serve, that carry, that sustain, but that are not even entitled to a clean bathroom.

The logic of serving reveals itself as an obligation imposed under threat. Fear of retaliation, negative evaluations, or even false accusations condition the behavior of workers, who find themselves forced to act docilely in order to preserve their source of income. Xica reports: *"Because there are many times when passengers get into the car and think they own us. So we have to do whatever they want."* The relationship is marked by an imbalance of power, in which the customer can, with a single word, jeopardize the worker's livelihood. Xica adds: "*If the passenger wants to lie and say something else, until it is proven that the pig snout is not a plug, it's a whole complication.*"

The fear is not unfounded: reports of harassment, racism, and disrespect are recurrent, as Xica continues to point out: "*It's something that happens not only to me, but to most Ubers.*" In this scenario, workers need not only to deliver, drive, and perform kindness, but also to constantly protect themselves, dealing with the burden of being functional, invisible, and irreproachable at the same time. This requirement to "always be available" echoes the logic of servitude present in the history of slavery, where obedience was a condition for survival.

From an intersectional perspective, it is clear that historical inequalities that cut across race, class, gender, and territory reappear in contemporary subaltern contexts, in bodies that are objectified and subjected t d conditions similar to slavery. As *Um defeito de cor* (A Color Defect) shows, the slave-owning past is not just a memory, but a living social structure that persists and transforms over time. On digital platforms, this historical legacy persists in new forms of exploitation: the promise of autonomy hides control and servitude, and historically marginalized bodies continue to be instrumentalized, made invisible, and subjected to exhausting workdays.

This process of objectification reflects what Sueli Carneiro (2023) describes in *Dispositivos da racialidade* (Devices of Raciality), when she states that "the construction of the other as not being as the foundation of being" legitimizes the subordination of certain bodies. The elevator episode, in which the delivery woman is treated as inferior to a dog, exemplifies this logic: the denial of the other's humanity sustains practices of exploitation and exclusion,

reproducing historical patterns of discrimination and symbolic violence that structure contemporary social inequalities.

Platforms, therefore, not only reproduce old inequalities, but also update and reinforce structural precariousness, showing that the struggle for decent work remains deeply linked to the memory and marks of slavery. The categories of delivery workers and drivers remain shaped by the same historical forces that determined which bodies would be disposable and exploitable. The legacy of slavery has not disappeared; it is sustained and reinvented in the algorithmic mechanisms of digital work.

Public hearing at the City Council of Valparaíso de Goiás, with the theme: "Listening to the demands of workers and motorcyclists" (11/23/2023). Our photo.

8. Intersections between humans/humanes/non-humans: fluidity of markers of social differences, racialization, and resistance

Tabata Berg

The construction of the socio-professional categories of delivery workers and drivers on digital platforms is traversed by markers of social differences and their intersections. Otherness has been mobilized both by platforms as a way to increase control, enticement, and exploitation of labor, and by delivery workers and drivers in strategies of survival, negotiation, deception, and resistance.

In a context marked by algorithmic supremacy over the never-nonexistent autonomy of working individuals, as the research subjects constantly reinforce, "*It* (the app) *needs to send me deliveries for me to make deliveries, so when it doesn't send them... then it has total control over* us," othernesses are not fixed categories, but fluid ones. Markers such as gender, race, sexuality, and age have their meanings reconstructed, reinforced, and/or transformed with each interaction. Thus, even though quantitatively race, gender, and age are reproduced in the apparently atomized structure of work for platforms, as evidenced in the profile of workers that has been confirmed by research, including ours, as the majority — namely male, black, and young — taking statistical data as the final explanation for the relationship between exploitation and difference may limit interpretive possibilities. This is because it restricts the multiplicity of meanings that are in dispute in the interactions that guide the work for platforms carried out by delivery workers and drivers,

which we were able to grasp through in-depth interviews and participant observations. At the same time, it can eclipse the heterogeneity that borders this predominant profile and that is mobilized both by the platforms and by the subjects of the work, being a co-participant in the disputes of meaning. Thus, the lesbian, black delivery woman, married to a white woman, mother of three children, aged 45, does not immediately appear when we look exclusively at the hegemonic profile, but she is found in the disputes over meaning conferred, for example, on blackness, male virility, and youth.

Nevertheless, fluidity and heterogeneity, although they can be appropriated in a creative and resistant way by platform workers, have been an instrument for the precariousness of work and, even more so, for the construction of racialized socio-professional categories. In other words, delivery workers and drivers occupy degraded positions, both in terms of formal aspects of citizenship, such as labor regulations and the right to move around the city, being collectively constructed as sub-citizens, and in reference to a more holistic conception of humanity, being constantly degraded to the condition of subhumans.

When we look at the daily work of delivery workers and drivers for digital platforms, we can see the formation of a complex network of interactions between humans/non-humans[9], marked by the reinforcement, transformation, and invention of markers of social difference. In this process, we can see that the research subjects — delivery workers and drivers — are active participants, albeit subordinate ones.

Human/humane relationships are, in most cases, fleeting and fragmented in time and space, and even when they show some consistency, as in the case of relationships between delivery workers and owners and employees of establishments, they are subject to the control and ordering of the app. However, stubbornly, delivery workers and drivers build relationships with

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[9] We start from the broad debate present in contemporary social theory about the connections, differentiations, and even the erasure of boundaries between humans, conceived throughout Western modernity as subjects, and non-humans – "nature," machines, algorithms – allocated to the field of objects. See: Deleuze; Guattari, 1972; Haraway, 1985; 2022; Latour, 2020; Viveiros de Castro, 2009.

peers in the profession, with other workers, and with their family networks, circumventing the atomization that marks the platformization of work.

Spaces such as support points, even if marked by precariousness, and squares are collectively built by delivery workers and drivers as spaces for exchange, solidarity, and some encouragement in the face of the adversities and inclement weather that mark their work activities. In our research, we frequented the parking lot near Brasília International Airport, a collective space for digital platform drivers where we conducted interviews and administered questionnaires and where drivers gathered while waiting for rides, chatting with peers, playing cards, smoking cigarettes, and drinking coffee. Another example, in the case of delivery workers, are the support points and networks located in the wooded areas between the commercial and residential blocks of the Plano Piloto, or the mattresses placed outside restaurants after lunch, where they waited for the new peak of deliveries in the late afternoon and early evening. These are spaces where we find delivery workers, mostly men, chatting, smoking cigarettes or marijuana, sleeping, and drinking coffee. These spaces are both places of daily resistance for these groups and are targeted and constructed by the citizens of Brasília as dangerous places. Thus, it is important to emphasize that the mobilization of the senses of markers of difference is as impacted by the atomized and peremptory nature of human relations in platform-based work as it is by the daily construction of spaces and times of being together.

Human/non-human relations, on the other hand, are constant and encompass the entirety of working time and, most likely, non-working time. We can provoke the minds most accustomed to science fiction by questioning whether the breach of confidentiality and purchase of data produced during non-working hours fuels the use made by platforms of social difference markers and their intersections in interactions with workers during working hours.

In the case of delivery workers, the active part of their work, i.e., delivery, is configured by the platform on their cell phones and carried out on motorcycles or bicycles, where they mainly carry food in their *bags*,

connecting food producers and consumers. This relationship, which we are already very familiar with, to the point of reifying it when we travel through cities or need a delivery service, has unique characteristics when we reflect on human/human and human/non-human social relationships. It is marked by the primacy of the means of production over the labor force and work. Thus, as the research subjects tell us, a profound loneliness is experienced on a daily basis, marked by hours logged on the platform, waiting for reciprocity in this relationship that cannot be predicted and that affects men and women unequally, radically impacting those who also concentrate on care work. In the loneliness of waiting for delivery requests, slightly more attractive rates, and maintaining a high score, women who are responsible for both the care and economic maintenance of dependent family members, such as children, the elderly, the disabled, and people with addictions, are placed in subhuman conditions, seeking to balance the demands of care work and the hours logged, which most often do not correspond to the volume of deliveries sent by the platform. Joana, a young woman who identifies as yellow, born in Brasília, daughter of immigrants from the Northeast and breadwinner of her family, responsible for her sick mother and two nephews that her sister left in her care, says, "*It's like I told you, it's a lonely job. There are times when we even create expectations that the day will be good, that the day will be a failure, that we... it messes with our psychology*."

Thus, like Marias and Clarices, delivery workers see themselves and their loved ones on a "tightrope of umbrellas, and every step on that line can hurt." In their case, accidents, which are very common and stagnate or lower their scores, also put them in unsustainable positions, making it impossible for them to perform their caregiving work. In this sense, the loneliness experienced in the presentification of things — technology, cell phones, motorcycles, and bags — is distinctly experienced by delivery workers. In the case of women, the hours logged away from their loved ones are accompanied by the mental overload of a grueling contingent of work to be done to make their loved ones' existence viable. In our research, we noticed that the loneliness constantly reported by women is always accompanied by the

absent presence of their children, nephews, parents, grandparents, and siblings, whose care demands they are always fulfilling and neglecting in the face of the platform's imperatives. Isabel, a 39-year-old self-declared brown woman and single mother of two children and a young adult, recounts how she taught her 8- and 10-year-old children to travel from school to home by public bus, as the flexibility of the digital platform is not flexible enough to allow her to accompany them and her income is not sufficient to keep them in the school van. She emphasizes, "*We don't just have work, we have a private life. We are mothers, we are wives, we are housewives. There are many situations in which Ifood literally consumes your life, for real.*"

When accidents occur, women get together in their networks with other delivery workers to organize raffles and fundraisers to ensure that the injured worker's family has some income.

With regard to human relations in the context of delivery workers' jobs, we draw attention to the element of racialization[10] that impacts the professional category, constant scenes in city traffic, the bag acts as a distinctive element that demeans women, non-binary people, and male workers, who are invisible as social subjects and perceived and treated, as repeated in the reports, as subhuman. The reports we obtained tell how these people are prevented on a daily basis from moving with dignity through the stores to which they deliver, forced to wait outside the establishments for orders to be completed, even on rainy or very hot days, facing difficulties in accessing bathrooms, which in the case of people who menstruate creates a health risk due to the difficulty they encounter in changing sanitary pads, and due to a relationship with customers marked by subordination, with the constant presence of humiliation, moral and sexual harassment. As we can see

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[10] We are conceptualizing racialization as the process in which full humanity is taken away from a particular social group, affecting it in a formal dimension, with the exclusion of civil and political rights, for example, labor rights, rights of full defense, right to come and go, etc., in an economic dimension, in which a group is forced to live on incomes below those necessary for their reproduction and that of their families, and in the moral or symbolic sphere, where individuals belonging to a particular group suffer daily oppression, such as racist, misogynistic, and homophobic violence, with their humanity constantly questioned. The slave system consolidated the most distant, perverse, and structural experience of racialization processes in Western modernity, with profound impacts on the platformization of work. See: Berg, 2024; Morisson, 2017; Krenak, 2019; Mbembe, 2018.

in Joana's dramatic account of waiting for orders in restaurants "*No, we are taken away for many hours... I don't know, like an animal, I don't know. We are forbidden to use the bathroom, we can't sit in front of the store, we often have to wait at the back of the store, without any seats, in the sun burning our skin, in the rain, getting wet. That's often how it is.*"

Joana, a young non-Black woman, when she leaves with her motorcycle and her bag, experiences in a radical way the process of racialization that delivery workers suffer, demonstrating how race and processes of racialization are structural in contemporary societies, but are complex and changeable. This process that the young woman experiences in human relations is reinforced by the functioning of the algorithm. When she started working with delivery platforms, she, who is responsible for her family both in terms of care and economically, became entangled in the logic of how the digital platform works. She feels trapped, like other delivery workers, as she already goes to work with debts for gas and, often, for necessary repairs to her motorcycle. Joana reports her desire to be able to count on social security, however, the minimum wage, the average salary for formal jobs for her level of education, does not cover the cost of supporting herself and her family, preventing her from migrating to the CLT regime. Thus, in the long term, she envisions opening a food business, an activity that would allow her to combine caring for her mother and nephews with economic activity, which would keep her away from the risks of motorcycle accidents and with which she could contribute to social security and have some social security. But in her insight, the young woman realizes the seemingly random functioning of the platform: "*There are days when we can earn more, but they hold us back. Like, we'll be out in the morning, I'm on call from 8:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m. But in the afternoon, he stops from 2:00 p.m. to around 5:00 p.m., and I don't get any more deliveries. And I'm still on duty.*"

The platform works in such a way in Joana's life that it allows her to envision a gross income greater than that of a formal job. However, as she clearly expresses, "they hold us back," so even when she spends many hours logged into the platform, her income does not match her availability. As the

breadwinner of her family, who leaves home already in debt, the platform traps her in a logic in which her earnings are always at the level of subsistence for herself and her family, linked to indebtedness, which, in her specific case, increased after an accident that left her unable to work for months. This *modus operandi*, which at first glance seems irrational and random on the part of the platform, on the one hand reinforces the impossibility of formal work, and on the other hand prevents Joana from building up a minimum reserve that would enable her to invest in the food business. She is trapped on the platform! And the intersections of the differences that cross her path function in human/human and human/non-human relationships, reinforcing her imprisonment.

Digital platform drivers also experience the totalizing presentification of the human/non-human relationship, with the singularity that their work activity is carried out in a closed car, which protects them from the elements and is not accompanied by accessories that visually identify them, such as the bags and protective equipment of motorcyclists and cyclists in delivery services. However, cars encounter greater difficulties in traveling and parking around the city. In this case, women and people who menstruate encounter specific difficulties, but because they do not carry a mark of their work activity, they are able to develop survival strategies more easily. The active part of urban mobility work is carried out in human/human interaction. Thus, when they are making deliveries, drivers are always accompanied by other people.

To think about the complex interactions between drivers, the platforms present on their cell phones and cars, and passengers, we would like to use three research subjects as examples. Lucas, a self-declared 20-year-old brown man, grandson of immigrants from the Northeast, bisexual, student of a medical prep course; Joaquim, a leader among digital platform drivers, a 50-year-old man who identifies as white and heterosexual, married for the third time and father of two young children, son of immigrants, with a mother from the Northeast and a father from the South; and Luana, a 33-year-old non-binary person who identifies as brown, single, and now a successful Instagram influencer.

Urban mobility platforms are unique compared to delivery services, as they operate in a field marked by social heterogeneity, although the majority of workers are still young, black men. Thus, both the process of racialization of the category and the promise of flexibility and autonomy function in a unique way. Perceived as a kind of social plague, drivers find it difficult to access public parking lots and are expelled to the margins and unsanitary spaces of the city, such as the area we found near Brasília International Airport. are victims of physical and verbal violence from other categories of urban mobility workers and, above all, as constantly appeared in the interviews, are victims of harassment and moral, physical, and sexual violations by users of the platform. As Luana, a non-binary person, points out, spaces collectively frequented by the category are not attractive to women and non-binary people. This was quite evident in the low presence of these individuals in the parking lot near the airport. It is important to note, before we continue, that our interviews focused on drivers identified with the male gender/sex. With the exception of Luana's interview, all research subjects interviewed in depth were men. To this research data (the inaccessibility to female and non-binary drivers), we add the participant observation we carried out with female drivers using the mobility platform as customers.

When we began the interview with Joaquim, we commented on the difficulty of interviewing women, and he told us about a case of rape that had occurred that week involving a female driver of digital platforms, who was the victim of a customer, to whom Joaquim was providing assistance. In our participant observation, we also received constant reports of sexual violence. Some of the drivers used a platform filter that allows them to choose the gender of the customer for whom they will accept rides. They also reported that they often do not accept rides to more isolated places and that they cancel rides when the customer's profile makes them fear sexual violence, such as rides that serve more than one man as a passenger. Luana also states that she began to feel safer when her gender performance began to incorporate more masculine social elements, such as when she cut her hair. We therefore realize that sexual harassment poses more pernicious risks to women and non-binary

people, but it was also identified as a situation experienced daily by men. Joaquim and Lucas tell us, embarrassed, about the sexual harassment they have suffered. Both articulate the condition of drivers for digital platforms as a certain social position that places them as sexual objects, deprived of the autonomy in the face of desire that marks standard masculinity.

We realize that despite the heterogeneity of the research subjects, the mechanism of racialization that places them in a subordinate position, depriving them of humanity and full citizenship, casting them into the position of objects that can be manipulated and, in most cases, violated, cuts across this diversity. Thus, markers of otherness such as gender, age, sexuality, and race do not function as barriers to harassment and violations. However, according to the reports we have received, these markers can potentially increase harassment and violations. Thus, when we think about racialization, particularly that promoted in human/human relations, we understand that the platformization of work functions as a mechanism for the subordination of workers, but that in the case of delivery , this racialization is radical, because when they are exposed with their work accessories, this is an immediate process. In the case of drivers, they are in a position of subordination during their trips and in parking lots, but they can also shed these work markers when traveling through the city.

In the case of the platform's operation and the mobilization of markers of difference, we were able to see how this heterogeneity can be appropriate both for reinforcing the process of racialization of the category and for producing a feasible discourse of the platform as a mode of entrepreneurial and autonomous work. Joaquim tells us that, as a leader, he was following a case of harassment allegations made by a customer on the app: "*I once had a driver who attempted suicide when his evangelical father was reported for harassment,* even though *the guy hadn't done anything wrong*," he adds*, "but today, we drivers if we are reported by a passenger for harassment or homophobia or racism, our account is automatically blocked without the right to defense, which is already provided for in Article 5 of the Constitution, a broad right to contradictory defense. And for us, that doesn't exist*." We can see how

legitimate struggles against sexual harassment, sexism, racism, and homophobia are incorporated into the platform's policy as a form of demotion and control of work, where the functioning of the algorithm reproduces this condition of subordination, in which drivers do not have access to full social and constitutional rights. And when they are victims of harassment and violations, as we have seen occur frequently, which function as a mechanism of racialization of the category, the platform uses the complaints to block or downgrade the driver's rating. Joaquim tells us, "In *some cases of drivers, men and women who have made complaints, do you know what happened? Their accounts were blocked. They went to the police station to file a report, and that's what happened.*"

However, the platform's operation also, exceptionally, produces feasibility for the discourse it sells to workers. We see the case of Lucas, a promising young black man. Lucas worked in his spare time between studying on weekdays and

weekends. He tells us, "*At Uber, I can make around 6,000 to 7,000 reais per month, which, even taking into account car maintenance and things like that, is something that pays off.*" *He* emphasizes, "*One of the advantages is that Uber is not as tiring as other jobs, which is something I've noticed. Although driving is tiring, it's less tiring to sit there all day than in some other job, where you have to do something else, move around more, or use your brain more and things like that.*" When we analyze the time Joaquim, for example, has logged in and the time Lucas has logged in, we realize that Joaquim spends much more time on the platform. However, Lucas receives rides almost all the time he is logged in, while Joaquim suffers from long periods without demand for rides. Other drivers who have been registered on the platform for longer complain about the decrease in ride requests. Joaquim explains that it is a mechanism of the platform to request more rides from those who have just registered. However, we draw attention to Lucas' uniqueness. When we interviewed him, he was a promising young man, now studying medicine at a public university in southern Brazil. The platform's operation allowed Lucas to be the exception to the rule that feeds the myth of the autonomy and flexibility of platform companies. The markers of being black and young do not add to the process of algorithmic racialization, but rather to the production of possibilities for social advancement made possible by the flexible nature and certain autonomy offered by the platform.

We emphasize, however, that by reinforcing the fluid nature of markers of otherness, we are not denying that racism, sexism, ageism, and other forms of oppression are not structural to the processes of reification and subalternization of the categories of delivery workers and drivers. On the contrary, its logic seems to us to be linked to the functioning of patriarchal and racist capitalism, reproducing its fundamental forces of control and violence over these bodies. However, it is necessary to understand these processes in their complexity, which the current research has enabled us to do, deepening the meanings and modes of use of markers of difference by both platform companies and digital platform workers.

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Appendix : interview script

Below we reproduce the script of questions used with delivery personnel and drivers for in-depth interviews. Although these are distinct categories, with their own dynamics and particularities, we chose to develop broader and more open questions, capable of covering the experiences of both groups.

Interview script

Good morning. My name is... and I am a researcher for the research project "Where is human labor headed in the digital age?" at UNB, coordinated by Professor Ricardo Festi. The objective is to investigate and analyze the processes of transformation in the world of work caused by changes in labor legislation, the implementation of new technologies — such as automation, digitization, and platformization — and the acceleration of these processes during the Covid-19 pandemic. To this end, we will interview, above all, app delivery drivers and individual transport drivers. To facilitate the analysis of the data from this interview, I would like to request your permission to record it. Do you authorize this? Thank you very much. All information you provide will be anonymous and confidential and will not, under any circumstances, be disclosed to third parties.

Sociodemographic questions (to be noted on a separate form during the interview)
- How old are you?
- What gender do you identify with?
- What race do you identify with?
- What is your marital status? (Are you married? Single? In a relationship?)
- Where do you live?
- Where do you usually work?

Block – Individual and family life history
- Please tell us a little about your family background and your journey to becoming the person you are today (who are your parents, where did they come from, what are their professions, and your role in this story – your childhood, education, etc.).
- Where were you born? If you migrated, what was the reason?
- Do you live alone or with someone? Do you have children?

- Do you take care of anyone? (parents, children, grandparents, in-laws, siblings, etc.). Anyone with special needs? If so, do you share the task with someone else?
- What type of housing do you live in? (house, apartment, rented, financed, owned, with parents, borrowed, urban occupation, etc.)
- Educational background: school you attended (public or private), level of education; type of education (technical, classical, etc.); undergraduate, graduate.

Block – Activities outside of work (family, leisure, free time)
- When you are not working, what activities do you do in your free time?
- How do you have fun?
- Do you have time for yourself and your family?
- Do you attend any religious services? Which ones and how? (if this is important in your life, explore further)
- Do you take vacations? Weekly rest days?

Block – Work experience
- Can you tell us about your previous work experiences? (It is worth remembering that child labor is widespread in Brazil, so we are talking about the entire work history of the individual in question — formal and informal jobs, paid or underpaid).
- About working on digital platforms (here it is important to note that much of what will come up may have already been reported before)
- How did you start working on digital platforms? (Which ones? In what year? For what reasons?)
- Do you consider that you work for yourself or for the digital platforms?
- What is a typical day like in your current job?
- Positive aspects of the work.
- Negative aspects of the job.
- What could be improved at work?
- Tell us about your experience traveling around the city as an app worker, as a Black person (if you self-identify as such), as a woman (if applicable)... what difficulties you face and what makes it easier.
- Support points or collection points.
- Have you experienced any physical or mental illness since you started working with the platforms?
- Have you been a victim of any type of harassment or discrimination? Could you elaborate? How did you feel?

Block – Political perceptions and organization
- Do you participate in any collective organizations such as associations, collectives, cooperatives, or unions?
- If so, tell us about your experience and why you got involved.
- If not, tell us a little about your reasons and your impressions of collective organizations of workers in your category.
- Have you ever participated in or organized protests? How was it?
- Do you think you should have rights? Which ones?
- What could be done to improve the living conditions of your category?

Block – Future and expectations
- What are your future personal and professional plans/ambitions?
- Would you like to pursue another profession? Which one?
- Would you like to add anything that was not covered during our interview?