

Governing Spaces of Their Own: Platform Drivers in Bogotá, Colombia

by Luis Hernando Lozano Paredes

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) Thesis: Built Environment

under the supervision of
Professor Alan Morris; Dr Gabriela Quintana Vigiola

University of Technology Sydney
Institute for Public Policy and
Governance
School of Built Environment
Faculty of Design, Architecture and Building

January 2023

| CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

I, Luis Hernando Lozano Paredes, declare that this thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in the Institute for Public Policy and Governance, the School of Built Environment and the Faculty of Design, Architecture and Building at the University of Technology Sydney.

This thesis is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

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| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to give many thanks and *muchas gracias* to my supervisor panel, Professor Alan Morris and Dr Gabriela Quintana Vigiola. Their support, trying to understand my thinking and helping me with the art of how to express those ideas in writing, has been unwavering. Alan, thank you for your support and help even during the hard days of COVID lockdowns in Sydney, particularly for your constant interest in my work and academic writing recommendations and suggestions. Gaby, thank you for your efforts in translating the PhD journey in Australia for my Latin American eyes; your professional, personal and academic support has been incredible. ¡*Mil y mil gracias!*

To my assessment panel members and outstanding academics who gave up their time to read, hear and interpret my thoughts—including Sarah Barns and John Wright in Australia, Stefanie Haeffele and Nathan Schneider in the USA and María Beatriz Rodulfo in Argentina—your feedback and suggestions have been incredibly helpful. You have all contributed to this journey and to developing my skills as a researcher.

I also want to thank the Institute for Public Policy and Governance, the School of Built Environment, and the Faculty of Design, Architecture and Building of the University of Technology Sydney for providing financial support, a space to work and primarily for trusting my research proposal. Your continued help, even during COVID times for the last few years, is highly appreciated. Similarly, I would like to thank the Mercatus Center and the Institute for Humane Studies at George Mason University for their constant scholarly and financial support, but primarily for its openness and acceptance of independent ideas applied to real-world scenarios without ideological impositions. I also want to give thanks to professional editor, Hazel Baker, who provided copyediting services according to the IPEd standards and guidelines for editing doctoral level theses. Any remaining errors are my own.

Very importantly, I wish to dedicate this thesis to all the platform drivers I interviewed in Bogotá and extend this to all the Colombian people, who, despite adversity, always find a way to look with hope into the future. As Jorge Luis Borges said: *Being Colombian is an act of faith.*

Finally, I want to thank my father for his enduring love, support and understanding of all my dreams, even after losing his wife, my mother. I also want to thank my friends Cliff, Damián, Alex, Nicolás, Robert, Sergio, Virginia, Ariadna, Michelle and Hila, who were always interested, curious and supportive of my work and myself, even in the toughest of times. I also want to thank my partner Ryan Patrick, who I love very much and perhaps most felt the rollercoaster of emotions and personal challenges during my PhD. His loving nature, smile, hugs and understanding were crucial for these last years of “PhD life”. His support and even willingness to hear, talk (and debate!) my ideas have helped me clarify my arguments for this thesis.

To my mom, *que me enseñó el valor de la libertad y como la libertad, ya es una con el mar.*

Con amor. Siempre nos tendremos en el corazón.

| PREFACE

En aquel Imperio, el Arte de la Cartografía logró tal Perfección que el mapa de una sola Provincia ocupaba toda una Ciudad, y el mapa del Imperio, toda una Provincia. Con el tiempo, estos Mapas Desmesurados no satisficieron y los Colegios de Cartógrafos levantaron un Mapa del Imperio, que tenía el tamaño del Imperio y coincidía puntualmente con él.

Menos Adictas al Estudio de la Cartografía, las Generaciones Siguiendo entendieron que ese dilatado Mapa era Inútil y no sin Impiedad lo entregaron a las Inclemencias del Sol y los Inviernos. En los desiertos del Oeste perduran despedazadas Ruinas del Mapa, habitadas por Animales y por Mendigos; en todo el País no hay otra reliquia de las Disciplinas Geográficas.

Suárez Miranda, Viajes de Varones Prudentes, Libro Cuarto, Cap. XLV, Lérida, 1658.

FIN.

In that Empire, the Art of Cartography achieved such Perfection that the map of a single Province occupied an entire City, and the map of the Empire, an entire Province. Over time, these Exaggerated Maps did not satisfy, and the Colleges of Cartographers raised a Map of the Empire, which was the size of the Empire and coincided punctually with it.

Less Addicted to the Study of Cartography, the Following Generations understood that this extensive Map was Useless and not without Impiety handed it over to the Inclement Weather of the Sun and the Winters. In the deserts of the West remain shattered Ruins of the Map, inhabited by Animals and Beggars; in the whole Country, there is no other relic of the Geographical Disciplines.

Suárez Miranda, Travels of Prudent Men, Book Four, Ch. XLV, Lerida, 1658.

END.

Jorge Luis Borges (1946) ***On Exactitude in Science***

I started my thinking around this thesis by reflecting on a short piece of fiction by my favourite author, the Argentinean Jorge Luis Borges. I always loved *On exactitude in Science* as it inserts an element of absurdity and humility into the capacities of technology and hard science, particularly on the limitations around “representing” and “understanding” everything that happens around us. As a Latin American, particularly a Colombian, I am passionate about studying how technologies generate affordances for people and how platform technologies create social change and innovation in the city where I grew up, Bogotá. However, I am also interested in the limitations of those technologies and how, when glitches and cracks emerge, people can “hack” them for

their own benefit. Moreover, I am interested in dealing with the idea of “science” and showing through my research process that rigour can also come from engagement with technology in a fluid (human) way.

Uruguayan writer Eduardo Galeano once wrote: *“la diosa tecnología no habla español”* (“The Goddess Technology does not speak Spanish”). Galeano denounced how theorists and historians of technology across the Global South are excluded from the narratives and the development of technology of the Global North. Consequently, people in the Global South end up “importing” these narratives around technology use and development. In this thesis, however, I refuse to abide by the view that non-English, non-Western peoples should import theories and apparatuses from a technologically fluent “North” to the realities of their everyday lives. Instead, I want to show how technology is not just “speaking Spanish” but that urban denizens in Bogotá have reinterpreted that language of technology and, moreover, how that reinterpretation of technology has allowed the elaboration of new vernacular “creole” creations.

I am especially interested in Colombians’ capacity for reinterpreting and repurposing foreign ideas and models in the form of technology and contextualising them into new local creations that challenge preconceptions. Maybe at this stage, what is happening in Bogotá can highlight more ways to understand the exactitude of science and the nature of technology. Moreover, following Borges, we may discover that are still valid relics of the “Geographical Disciplines”.

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| ABSTRACT

In Latin America, platform technology is a new way in which individuals and communities form practice patterns. In this thesis, I focus on platform-based drivers in Bogotá, Colombia, who have contested traditional ride-hailing platform companies and burdensome government regulations by developing and using platform technologies in a way they can control more fully. This qualitative study applied a digital ethnography approach focused on a community of drivers called *Drivers Club Bogotá*. It drew on online semi-structured (synchronous and asynchronous) interviews with the city's drivers, experts and government and corporate representatives. It also developed an analysis of online graphic and written data concerning the public discussions and regulatory evolution around ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá to uncover the structures in which drivers are embedded.

I employed the following analytical framework to examine the platform-based practices of drivers and their contestation of both corporation and governmental systems. I used Barns' (2019b) approach of platform urbanism, which views cities as spaces of dense platform intermediation, to explore platform development in urban settings such as Bogotá. I also drew from Davis' (2020) affordances approach to agency and social capital around technological artefacts and the people using them and extracted from Edgerton's (2007) idea of "creole technologies", which proposes an alternative way to understand technology use in the Global South. Furthermore, I engaged with the concept of "Evasive Entrepreneurship" (Thierer (2020) to address the main idea of this thesis, namely, that in Bogotá, platform drivers are agents of evasive entrepreneurship, circumventing and exploiting institutional contradictions to achieve autonomy – thus governing spaces of their own. Finally, I applied Watson's (2004) framework of conflicting rationalities to understand institutional contradictions from a southern perspective.

My findings indicate that platform-based drivers in Bogotá have developed hybrid guild-like communities that I term "creole platforms", by mixing and matching

platform technologies. My findings also show that despite external and internal institutional contradictions, these communities emerge as spaces that afford innovation, thriving and autonomy for the drivers. I conclude by considering the policy implications of the design process arising from this community of drivers, in particular, how the empirical findings of this thesis and the evidence of other platform-afforded communities can help articulate a new configuration of urban governance open to the co-design of solutions taking into consideration bottom-up processes, where the state is a partner, not a hinderer.

CHAPTER 1 | INTRODUCTION

1.1. Rationale for the study

On January 10, 2020, the ride-hailing platform company Uber announced it was leaving Colombia permanently (Uber, 2020). In the announcement, Uber argued that the decision was made in response to the Colombian government's inability to produce what Uber considered adequate regulations for ride-hailing platforms, that is, a regulation that recognised them as a "technological company" providing peer-to-peer mediation¹ rather than a transportation service. The news caused outrage in the Colombian population, visible on social media through the hashtag "*#UnaSoluciónParaUberYa*" (a "solution for Uber now"), promoted by Uber's farewell post on Twitter, that became a trending topic (Twitter, 2020). In the following days, one taxi union leader filmed himself responding to the outrage of platform drivers regarding Uber's decision and the government's incapacity to come up with a solution to the issue of transportation platforms. In the video, among other things, the taxi union leader tells female Uber drivers: "*vuelvan a ser amas de casa*" ("go back to being housewives"). This union leader said this based on his entitlement as part of a heavily male industry such as taxi driving in Bogotá and as a

¹ Peer-to peer mediation is a process where two individuals interact directly with the technological intermediation of a third party. In this case the producer and the consumer (the buyer and the seller) of the good or service directly transact with each other using the technological tool. In this case, peer-to-peer mediation is deemed to leverage technology to overcome transaction costs of information asymmetries and quality assurance. See: Wirtz, J., So, K. K. F., Mody, M. A., Liu, S. Q., & Chun, H. H. (2019). Platforms in the peer-to-peer sharing economy. *Journal of Service Management*. And, Möhlmann, M. (2016). Digital trust and peer-to-peer collaborative consumption platforms: A mediation analysis. *Available at SSRN 2813367*.

The argument that Uber is a peer-to-peer mediation rather than a transportation service company is central for the lobbying argument of this company and similar ones across Latin America.

Also see: Bravo Alliende, F. (2018). Reclamaciones de Consumidores Contra Empresas Transnacionales Peer-to-peer: El Caso de los Términos y Condiciones de Uber en América Latina (Complaints of Consumers Against Transnational Peer-to-Peer Companies: The Case of Uber's Terms and Conditions in Latin America). *Temas de Protección y Defensa del Consumidor*, 1-15.

, Romero, Y. H., & Sosa, R. V. G. (2022). Modelo de gestión del servicio de transporte UBER. ¿Quién pierde y quién gana? *Espacios Públicos*, 19(47), 157-175.

response to the economic challenges to his daily activity represented by the platforms, something that is documented in the experience of taxi union drivers and their interaction with platforms in Colombian cities (Quinayas et al., 2021). The outburst by this union leader generated further outrage, including a response on international and national television from a female member of a community of platform drivers called *Drivers Club Bogotá*, which organises itself via Facebook, WhatsApp and other digital platforms (D. C. Bogotá, 2022). In this response, the female driver said that despite the sexist declarations of the male-dominated taxi union leader, what was important about this controversy was that the debate was finally open after years without finding a solution to the platforms in Bogotá. Moreover, she said that her plight and that of thousands of her colleagues who wanted to be left alone to “work in peace” was starting to be heard.



Fig. 1. Screenshot – YouTube video from news media NTN24, published by the YouTube channel of Drivers Club Bogotá telling the story of the female driver member of Drivers Club Bogotá responding to the taxi union leader (Bogotá, 2020).

The emergence of *Drivers Club Bogotá* and the powerful and defiant words of the female driver disrupting a discourse that is all too present in Colombian society caught my attention. Therefore, through this study, I aimed to understand how this community of drivers evolved, how it could be conceptualised and the implications of drivers’ activities embedded in the framework of a city impacted by platform technology.

Since the emergence of the so-called “sharing economy”, “platform economy” or “gig economy” in the Spanish-speaking world, there has been increased interest in understanding its local implications (Buenadicha Sánchez et al., 2017; Cañigüeral, 2016;

de Inversiones & de Desarrollo, 2016). Different studies highlight that there are many indicators of new dynamics and hybrid technological configurations unique to the Latin American context (CIPPEC, 2017; Granero-Realini, 2018; Lozano-Paredes & Reilly, 2018; Reilly & Lozano-Paredes, 2019). Much of the discussion around platforms and research revolved around policies to tackle the disruption of platforms (Meliti, 2019), labour precarity processes (Bensusán & Santos, 2021), or how platforms could be harnessed for development (Reilly, 2020). I also found that research focused on the characterisation of the people working with platforms, the production and consumption of digital products or the platforms' impact on political polarisation (Azuara et al., 2019; Bensusán & Santos, 2021; Daza, 2021; González, 2022; Kalil et al., 2021; Pinheiro-Machado & Scalco, 2022; Ramírez, 2021; Waisbord, 2020). However, to the best of my knowledge, no studies had focused specifically on the affordances platforms generate for people to bring about forms of social change and innovation in Latin American cities.

This thesis addresses this gap. It studies platform drivers in Bogotá, Colombia, who have contested corporate ride-hailing platforms and government regulatory contradictions by using technologies that they control more fully themselves. In this case, drivers had built guild-like communities of practice in the form of "creole platforms", mixing and matching platform technologies with rules of conduct, membership and, most of all, with local customs. My research also shows that whether governments or corporations in the context of Bogotá and Colombia recognise this emerging form of evasive entrepreneurship as legitimate or not, drivers thrive by creating and governing spaces of their own thanks to the affordances of platform technologies. Despite the contradictory nature of government regulations dealing with platforms in Bogotá, the corporate policies of platform companies, and internal contradictions within the community, drivers were creating pockets of self-governance that allowed for autonomy and a thriving business in an urban context.

Digital platforms have become central in everyday life in cities such as Bogotá. There is therefore a need to address the social and human impacts of these platforms on urban denizens beyond the technological characteristics of smartphone applications. For this purpose, I engage with a transdisciplinary analytical framework building from

business research, digital geographies, emergent order and organisation studies, economic geography, platform studies, technology studies and urban governance, all within the context of Global South and periphery theories. This context was crucial for my analysis.

I draw from the framework of “platform urbanism”, the different relational, affective and disruptive processes that are now mediated by platforms in cities (Barns, 2019b; Fields et al., 2020). I also draw from the “affordances” analytical framework proposed by Davis (2020) to address how technological artefacts, such as platforms, afford agency and power to the people using them. At the same time, I extract here from Edgerton’s (2007) concept of “creole technologies” to coin the idea of a “creole platform”, that is, the hybridisation of technologies that emerge in Global South contexts such as Bogotá. Additionally, I engage with the analytical framework around alternative forms of entrepreneurship, in particular with evasive entrepreneurship, as addressed in its technological focus by Thierer (2020). Evasive entrepreneurship highlights the processes and activities of platform drivers pushing for autonomy and also addresses and analyses the internal and external conflicting rationalities around these activities (Watson, 2004).

In this thesis I acknowledge the contextual differences of the many locations within the broad Global South category and the criticisms that this category entails. Nor am I stating no defending at this stage that the “Global South” is a helpful category for all types of analysis within developing countries. Rather, I maintain that heavily local research beyond categorisations of the “other” or “us and them” is necessary to engage with the diversity of meanings and phenomena emerging in developing nations. However, I do acknowledge that the category of “Southern”, as opposed to “Northern” or “Western”, is very useful for reinterpreting theories and their implications particularly in different institutional settings (Parnell & Oldfield, 2014; Parnell & Robinson, 2012; Watson, 2009). Studying technologies and their development, adaptation, and usage by people in cities like Bogotá requires an approach that unlinks the research process from western-centric deterministic perspectives.

To summarise, in this thesis, I use the conceptualisation around the social and material dynamics linked to platforms in urban settings to engage with three core themes:

1. The differences in uses and practices around ride-hailing platform technology and how they afford, when mixed with local customs, the creation of creolised technologies.
2. Platform drivers forming communities in Bogotá as a case study of evasive entrepreneurial activities, using technologies to circumvent internal and external institutional contradictions.
3. Emerging communities of evasive enterprise becoming platform-based spaces of self-governance that afford autonomy in contestation with institutions perceived as stagnant and oppressive.

Specifically, this thesis studies the engagement of Colombians and, more precisely, *Bogotanos* (people from Bogotá and all those who come to live in the city from Colombia and the world) with ride-hailing platform technologies. Moreover, it analyses how Bogotanos are transforming these technologies and mixing them with their local values and customs. Drivers from Bogotá transform platforms into tools to free themselves from the constraints and contradictions of some failed institutions that characterise Colombia and Latin America (Mazzuca, 2021). In Bogotá, people are using platforms to achieve something that apparently can no longer be done with traditional political demands or representation. Protests, violent as they may get, no longer succeed in achieving tangible political goals, and democratic representation does not necessarily represent the needs of citizens. Therefore, I argue that tired of *demanding* and not receiving a response, people are starting to use platform technologies to achieve power by just *doing*. Or, in this context, *evading*. That is, using technologies to evade and exit the realities and failures of the context, to build and govern their own spaces, where their voice, interests, community welfare and desire for autonomy are the priority.

1.2 Study context: Dissident communities of ride-hailing drivers

This thesis focuses on a complex setting in Latin America and the Global South, Bogotá, a city with a long history of alternative forms of informal governance, informal labour and informal transportation (Andes, 2015; Pava Gómez & Escallón Gartner, 2020; Prieto Páez, 2005). I selected Bogotá as a case study for analysing platform uses for its scale of more than 10 million inhabitants in its metropolitan area, the density of platform use, and the variety of digital platforms linked to services (Fernández & Benavides, 2020). I focused my attention on ride-hailing platforms because these are the most widely used and self-evident platform technologies in the Latin American and Global South contexts (Granero-Realini, 2018; Ilavarasan et al., 2018; Rizk et al., 2018).

A recent phenomenon of drivers, platforms and online communities is emerging in this city. One of the first cases of this type of community was Fory, a ride-hailing platform built between 2017 and 2018 by drivers who had left multinational platforms (Bejarano, 2019; Llinás, 2019). The creators of this system were former Uber drivers with an entrepreneurial spirit who argued for creating a fairer driver-controlled system for drivers with lower commissions, no price surge, and clear and stable rules (Bejarano, 2019). Beyond the case of Fory, gig-economy drivers in Colombia had also started to come together using other platforms and creating communities of mutual aid to work during off-peak times in the cities of Cali and Bogotá, although with varying levels of success (Lozano-Paredes & Reilly, 2018; Reilly & Lozano-Paredes, 2019).

Drivers Club Bogotá, my case study, emerged as the most prominent and, to date, most successful of this type of community. Drivers Club Bogotá started to be built as a community in October 2017, when drivers working with Uber met in one of that platform's "activation offices". These are branded offices where drivers interested in working with the platform do their security background checks. This first meeting of drivers led to the creation of a WhatsApp group by two entrepreneurial individuals who wanted to start building a community to counter the control of the multinational platforms and to increase mutual support among the drivers. As those two and other

drivers began to use freely available software such as WhatsApp as a communication tool to build their networks, they started to copy the structures and peer-to-peer service of a ride-hailing platform. The process of copying the structures and peer-to-peer processes also emerged by using different software to calculate fares and to connect with security personnel at buildings from which rides departed, for example, apartment complexes, shopping centres and bars.

The context in Bogotá and the evolution of this community of drivers was a perfect setting for discussion about how people use platforms differently to reach their life goals. Even though the 2020 COVID-19 lockdowns stopped some of Colombia's formal institutions and the accumulated discontent generated extraordinarily violent protests in Bogotá (Turkewitz, 2021), this community of drivers never stopped. It is important therefore to start a critical debate about the role people using platforms to build these online communities can play in contesting failing institutions in cities like Bogotá.

1.3 Platforms, Affordances and Contestation

Digital platforms have traditionally been related to hardware and software linkage and intermediation capacity by determining protocols and standards (De Reuver et al., 2018). However, from a social science perspective, platforms must be understood as infrastructures for action and architectures for affordances that enable or constrain social, political and economic possibilities (Davis, 2020). Moreover, platforms must be studied by examining how they condition, afford, and manage people's experiences and representations of the world around them. Platforms as digital tools shape how actors and institutions relate to each other in the urban space, thus creating new conditions and settings for cities, as studied in the burgeoning new discipline of platform urbanism (Avermaete, 2021; Barns, 2019b; Leszczynski, 2020b; Mörttenböck & Mooshammer, 2021).

1.3.1 Platform urbanism

Platform urbanism is the discipline that studies the different relational and disruptive processes now mediated by platforms, focusing on the 'co-constitutive natures of urban institutions, governing tactics, modes of expertise, training data and ways of knowing and designing cities' (Barns, 2019b, p. 21). Platform urbanism is a new focus in urban studies and urban planning research that has evolved from platform capitalism, a concept that refers to the activities of capitalist companies using both hardware and software as platforms for other actors and stakeholders to conduct their profitable activities. The latter includes the extraction of data capital, the information generated by the actors using platforms, and the profit from that extraction (Srnicsek, 2017a, 2017b). Platform urbanism recognises that platform capitalism has significant expressions in the urban space. Platforms circulate, develop, and depend on cities; therefore, the social lens that platform urbanism contributes to is essential.

Studies of the social, institutional, affective and relational impacts of platforms and their users are emerging globally as a line of analysis (Bissell, 2022; Jack, 2020; Koczetkow & Klimczuk, 2022; Pelzer et al., 2019; Rekhviashvili & Sgibnev, 2018; Sgibnev & Rekhviashvili, 2020; Straughan & Bissell, 2021; van den Hurk et al., 2021). These studies observe platforms and their relationships with more human-centred, analogic, affective, and local articulations. In other words, scholars are dealing with platforms beyond their technological and even economic effects, focusing on sociological, anthropological, and even psychological approaches. A more socio-technical urbanism approach is emerging in the academe to inform how platforms develop in their interface with urban residents. Moreover, there are also studies on how Global South cities are affected by these platforms (Koskinen et al., 2019; Odendaal, 2021a, 2021b) and, conversely, how "southern" contexts hack into the development of these platforms to reveal a new understanding of how people from the Global South are engaging with them. Odendaal (2021b), for example, studied platform-based social innovation in Ugandan and Kenyan cities, where people have created spaces and relations hacking platforms with their endogenous innovation. The emerging literature on platform urbanism highlights paths to how cities in the South, particularly Latin America, can engage with the institutional

implications and design improved urban policies by observing and harnessing social innovations (Manzini, 2015; Mulgan, 2019; Zurbruggen & Lago, 2015). The latter focuses on what these platforms afford.

1.3.2 How platforms afford

Discussion on platforms has shifted towards a broader analysis within technology and communications scholarship that builds on the extensive literature on technology studies and philosophy. In this line, Langdon Winner's (2017) influential article on the politics around artefacts, initially published in 1980, has established the notion that any technology, both material and immaterial, is embedded in values and political agency. Similarly, observations on technology as "materialised action" have highlighted that beyond the embeddedness of technological artefacts within values and politics, there is an element of the tight interrelationship between technological artefacts and their users (Ihde, 1990; Schraube, 2009). The materialisation of action, agency and interrelationship with technology is what authors such as Jenny L. Davis (2020) have elaborated under the concept of "affordances", itself defined as "how objects shape action for socially situated subjects" (Davis, 2020, p. 6).

The analytical framework of affordance focuses on the circumstances in which technology can afford action to anyone. The evolution of a drivers' community like Drivers Club Bogotá and the articulation of community-building activities around the use of platforms as technological artefacts refers to the question of what platforms are affording to people in Bogotá. Moreover, the "affordance" framework relates to how people, in their interrelation with platforms, create vernacular and hybrid forms that depart from the original use for which these platforms were initially designed.

1.3.3 Creole Technologies

It could be argued that technology and its use are agnostic to the geographical context of its development. However, if apparatuses are embedded in politics and values, they are certainly also affected by contextual considerations (Winner, 1978, 2010, 2017). The

conceptualisation around creole technologies addresses how technologies, like creolised languages, go through transformations that make their form and function applicable to local conditions and needs (Edgerton, 2007). Edgerton (2007) framework shows that the hybrid technologies that emerge with technology use can create new meanings for people using platforms in Bogotá. Additionally, in this creolisation process, and understanding that “creole” also means “local, genuine, vulgar, popular” (Edgerton, 2007, p. 102), there is a mixing between what platform technology affords and the local customs and societal constructions characteristic of Latin America and Colombia (Kliksberg, 2000). In this case, language, spiritual affiliations, ideologies, or ideas are technologies that can be creolised in the same way as platform technologies.

1.3.4 Contestation

In Bogotá, the creolisation of a foreign platform technology has created the online community of drivers on which this thesis focuses. Drivers Club Bogotá is a community in contestation with its context due to its legally informal status: ride-hailing platforms of all types are still unregulated in Colombia. Moreover, this community also confronts the dynamics of multinational platforms because the creolisation process does not align with the traditional capitalist approach of companies like Uber. Therefore, Drivers Club Bogotá is examined in this thesis from the perspective of driver contestation pushing for autonomy from both the government and private forms of corporate governance, such as ride-hailing platform companies. In this case, the contestation manifests in the processes and activities that can be framed within an “evasive entrepreneurialism”. Contestation equally addresses internal and external conflicting rationalities emerging from these platform-afforded processes (Thierer, 2020; Watson, 2004).

The traditional philosophies of entrepreneurship proposed by the Kirznerian and Schumpeterian approaches (Buchanan & Di Pierro, 1980; Kirzner, 2015; Schumpeter, 2000) are not appropriate to recognise the behavioural heterogeneity of individual or collective agents when in contestation. The heterogeneity of entrepreneurship shows that “entrepreneurship” should be understood beyond merely identifying an opportunity or developing “creative destruction” mechanisms. Rather, “entrepreneurship” should also be used to explain the emergence processes of any

activity that leads to change in the marketplace, institutions and society that are not undertaken solely for profit maximisation or commercialisation (Davidsson, 2015, 2016; Gupta et al., 2020; Pereyra, 2019; Shockley et al., 2008). Recognition of heterogeneity is essential because the concept of “entrepreneurship” is frequently used to justify the depoliticisation of individuals and, in particular, as a masculinist framework to support populist authoritarian politicians or parties (Bennett et al., 2021; Bernasconi & Espinosa-Cristia, 2020; Sauer et al., 2020).

Especially in Latin America, the discourse on “entrepreneurship” has unfortunately helped mask social exclusion. Many governments have used this discourse to promote policies focused exclusively on the promotion of “unicorns” or narratives of the “self-made man”, as well as the self-excluded from politics and society (Kalil et al., 2021; Pinheiro-Machado & Scalco, 2022; Vidal et al., 2022). I argue that the narrative in Latin America lacks critical vision of collective action and collective, social, or cooperative forms of entrepreneurship. In this thesis, therefore, I propose an alternative approach that considers evasive entrepreneurship as a form of institutional and non-market entrepreneurship, reclaiming this term for a more horizontal democratic direction.

1.4 Research aims and questions

This thesis has three primary aims. First, it conducts a detailed analysis of the distinct ways platform drivers in Bogotá, Colombia utilise and interact with the digital platforms, highlighting unique local practices and usage differences. Second, it examines how platform drivers form their own community and how this process enters into contestation with formal institutions. Third, it explores how platform-based communities afford autonomy to the people within them. The following research questions shaped my analysis of platform drivers and their affordances in Bogotá:

1. What led to the development of a drivers’ “creole platform” in Bogotá?

2. How do drivers perceive, relate to and act with platforms?

3. What are the evasive strategies in a “creole platform” of Bogotá?

4. How are the Colombian state and platform corporations responding to emergent creole platforms?

Collecting substantial data on drivers' creation of the creole platforms allowed me to analyse how platforms afford new forms of civil disobedience and institutional challenges framed by evasive entrepreneurship. Equally, it enabled me to criticise how the urban policies challenged by evasive entrepreneurship are being problematised by the disruption inspired by these platforms. Thus, this research made visible the platform drivers' strategies in Bogotá, which, when embedded in a system that was not favourable to them, enabled them to find different ways to achieve autonomy.

This research also aims to be relevant to all Colombian and Latin American city residents, not just those involved with platforms. The findings of this thesis are targeted at policymakers and private companies to inform them of the different ways emergent and alternative forms of governance and coordination can be beneficial for the democratic administration of cities (Russell, 2019; Russell et al., 2022; Thompson, 2021). Analysing alternative forms of governance and coordination is vital in a context like Bogotá, where I argue the traditional articulations of markets and states are failing. Rather, the idea of new platform municipalism could inform the potential democratising values of the use of technology for social change—highlighting the articulation of new forms of democratic decision-making and co-designing policies for technology-impacted settings (Thompson, 2020, 2021). In other words, this could be a new way of engaging with urban planning, policy and governance that goes beyond the idea of the “Smart City” by proposing the alternative of a bottom-up engagement with the triad of government-people-platform technologies. Finally, this thesis also shows the interfaces (conflicting rationalities between northern and southern models in cities) now mediated by platforms, which powerfully restructure work, delivery of city services and urban decision-making.

1.5 Thesis outline

The thesis is organised into 10 chapters. In **Chapter 2**, I discuss Bogotá as a context by introducing its weak institutions and showing the evolution of transportation and ride-hailing platform regulations and sanctions. This chapter is essential due to the particularities of Bogotá and the difficulties that a foreign reader might encounter in understanding the city's context and conflicts. In **Chapter 3**, I review digital platforms and their impact on the urban space developed by the "platform urbanism" discipline and focus on how platform urbanism can be understood in the Global South. In **Chapter 4**, I develop the theoretical framework further by focusing on ride-hailing platforms, the affordances approach, creole technologies and contestation. **Chapter 5** details the methodological approach. It discusses the framework of qualitative digital research, particularly digital ethnographic methods and subjective approaches to study the interviewees' actions. It also reviews the ethical implications of digital methods in a context such as Bogotá and the value of local knowledge and language as critical research tools.

In **Chapter 6**, I analyse the research data on ride-hailing to build a typology for ride-hailing platforms to classify and order the complex scenario of these platforms in Bogotá. This typology building was essential to differentiate the conditions in which platforms evolved in the city and to address the issue that not all ride-hailing platforms are the same. Chapter 6 also addresses the gap around alternative "creole" forms that are currently neither studied nor even identified. In **Chapter 7**, I analyse the origins of Drivers Club Bogotá, focusing on its inception, the motivations of drivers and what platforms afford them to build community, certainty and risk management in a complex context. In **Chapter 8**, I focus on how the evasive strategies and contestation of Drivers Club Bogotá are emerging from alternative forms of self-governance and coordination, and specifically on how the platform has become a tool of technological empowerment to enhance autonomy. **Chapter 9** addresses the process of contestation from within Drivers Club Bogotá. This is the case of PROTOURS, a proposal for formalisation and hierarchisation from within the drivers' community that ended up being rejected by those drivers. Finally, **Chapter 10** provides the conclusion in which I discuss the findings of this

thesis and elaborate on what can be harnessed on a normative side from the studied creole platform strategies. I also propose some future avenues of research that this thesis can inform.

CHAPTER 2 | BOGOTÁ AS CONTEXT

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the setting for this research, the city of Bogotá. Profiling the setting is essential for understanding the development of Drivers Club Bogotá. Moreover, it addresses how people in Colombia engage with governmental and corporate governance structures. I start this chapter by giving a general introduction to the characteristics of the city of Bogotá. I address what I argue are issues around institutions in this city and explain why state capacity in Colombia and many other Latin American countries is captured and diminished by “patrimonialism”, or predatory coalitions. Defining the “patrimonial” characteristics of governments in Colombia allows for a better understanding of the evolution of transportation in Bogotá. It also frames the subsequent section of the chapter, which addresses the history of transportation in the city, particularly of informal forms of mobility, which are the basis of ride-hailing platform development in Bogotá. I conclude the chapter with a review of the regulations around the disruption of ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá.

2.2 Bogotá, D.C.

Bogotá *Distrito Capital* (D.C.) is the capital city of Colombia, located on a high plateau in the Andes. It has a population in its metropolitan area of more than 10 million, 22 % of Colombians live there and is Colombia's cultural, economic and political heart (DANE, 2019). Colombia is organised as a unitarian republic, meaning that laws enacted at a national level affect Bogotá and every other city in the country. However, certain levels of autonomy, including some levels of transportation policy management, are granted to special districts like Bogotá (Cabeza Castellon & Perez Vizcaino, 2019).



Fig. 2 Map of Bogotá D.C. and its location on the South American continent. Source: Elaborated by the author using Open Source Platform OpenStreetMap (Map, 2022)

Unlike other special districts of Colombia, however, Bogotá is a territorial entity with the administrative powers that the Colombian constitution confers on the departments or territorial divisions of the country.

The Spanish founded Bogotá as the capital of the New Kingdom of Granada, built on the *Bacatá* territory of the Indigenous “Muisca” confederation on 6 August 1538. The city extends approximately 33km from south to north and 16km from east to west. Being the capital of Colombia, Bogotá houses the highest-ranking bodies of the executive, legislative and judicial powers. It is the leading market in Colombia and the Andean Region and the first destination for direct foreign investment. It has the country's largest nominal and per capita GDP, contributing most of the national total and the highest human development index scores (de Bogotá, 2022; Lab, 2022). Similar to other cities in

Colombia, Bogotá has heavily stratified socio-spatial divisions, with the wealthiest portion of the population living in the northeastern and sections of the northwestern neighbourhoods and the lower-income population living mainly in the southern and peripheral neighbourhoods (Guevara S & Shields, 2019). Those southern and peripheral neighbourhoods are where the drivers of Drivers Club Bogotá mostly live and do their work.

The Colombian state has a policy of dividing the cities into six “social strata”, classifying households according to the dwelling conditions and the environment in which each dwelling is located, rather than according to the income of a person or family. These social strata divisions determine the charges and taxes on residential public services and the delivery of economic subsidies. Strata 1, 2 and 3 correspond to households with fewer resources and which are beneficiaries of public service subsidies. Strata 5 and 6 correspond to the higher income areas, where residents must pay extra contributions to domestic public services and to subsidise the poorer strata. Strata 4 receives no subsidies but does not have to pay cost overruns. This policy is aimed to focus investment in the poor strata of cities and for higher income strata to subsidise public services for lower-income areas (de Planeación & Macro, 2016; Piedrahita Bocanegra, 2018). However, this policy has also generated sociological and psychosocial divisions and segregation within cities like Bogotá, where urban denizens assign value and status to their belongings and housing according to their strata. Moreover, it has generated perverse incentives manifesting in the skewed distribution of private investment according to social stratification and the densification of and heavy investment in some areas of Bogotá to the detriment of others (Uribe-Mallarino, 2008; Yunda, 2019).

The heavy investment in housing and infrastructure and the densification of the city's middle- to upper-class areas have caused a profound imbalance in mobility and accessibility. People living in the poorer strata 1, 2 and 3 need more time to travel for work and education into the more developed areas of the city. These people generally use buses or an alternative called “*colectivos*”, a small van or car that works as public transport, often informally (without registration) (Andes, 2015; Cantillo-Garcia et al., 2019;

Vecchio, 2018). While people living in strata 6 mostly use private cars, strata 4 and 5 have the most prominent use of the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) “transmilenio” system, which I will discuss later in the chapter (Andes, 2015). Historically, Bogotá has had low investment in mass transportation systems compared with other Latin American cities. Beyond the Transmilenio BRT, the city has no mass transportation system (Montezuma, 2009). This mean that, in relation to its size and population, together with the lack of a comprehensive mass transit system, Bogotá has one of the worst traffic indices in the world, being ranked in the “TomTom” traffic index just behind Istanbul, Moscow and Kyiv as the city with the worst traffic globally (TomTom, 2021).

In this thesis, the reader will find that the activities of platform drivers are very connected and responsive to the existing structures and context of Bogotá. Thanks to their everyday experience, many drivers are knowledgeable about the different issues regarding their work, as well as their position in the strata classification. First, most drivers belong to the poorer strata 1, 2 and 3, with some belonging to strata 4. Second, as platform drivers, they experience first-hand the persecution from the city’s traffic police, the appalling working conditions in the multinational platform corporations, personal insecurity and violence, such as robbery and kidnapping.

2.2.1 Captured institutions and violence in Bogotá

Colombians have spent decades wondering about the decline of their country, and they share this with many of their Latin American counterparts. (Álvarez, 2021; Asensio, 2022; Mendoza, 1990; Silveira, 2021). A prevalent colloquial phrase is, “¿En qué momento se jodió Colombia?” (“At what point did Colombia got f*cked?”) (Mendoza, 1990). This phrase is common in all Latin American countries and needs only the country name to be replaced. Here, I argue that the main reason Latin American countries are “f*cked” is the primary failing of their institutions, that is, the formation of “patrimonial states”. This term describes states and institutions that are incapable of governing, having been captured as patrimony by rent-seeking groups, (Mazzuca, 2021).

Institutional incapacity, in this case, is a lack of fiscal and human resources to offer

public goods, such as security, money, justice, education or transportation (Mazzuca, 2021; Mercado, 2021). Corruption, on the other hand, is a reflection of the vulnerability of the state and its institutions, and it is easily commandeered by rent-seeking interest groups, that is, groups deploying economic or violent power to manipulate government and institutions and obtain group or individual advantage (Khandan, 2022; Mazzuca, 2021; Mercado, 2021; Wiesner, 2017). Historically, these rent-seeking groups in Colombia have included the military, party machines and criminal organisations, defined for the broader Latin American context as “predatory coalitions” (Mazzuca, 2021). Even workers’ unions, institutions deemed to be representatives of the working class and frameworks for achieving rights and better labour conditions, have also historically engaged in predatory practices (Bensusán-Areous, 2019). Currently, they too are classifiable as predatory coalitions that no longer represent workers and have instead transformed themselves into politically-connected clientelist structures (Bensusán-Areous, 2019; Mazzuca, 2021; Wiesner, 2017).

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a comprehensive historical and institutional analysis of the conditions of captured and weak institutions in Bogotá. However, when observing the current institutional defects in Colombia, the ineffective bureaucracies and predatory coalitions, it becomes evident that neither the country nor the city have ever had effective institutions. State capacity in Colombia was never fully achieved because Colombia (and Bogotá) never had state institutions fully free of social, criminal, clientelist or political corporations or factions. Colombia, in this sense, is very similar to other countries in Latin America, except for the particularity of macroeconomic stability (which is uncommon in the region) and a long history of political and drug traffic-related violence (Mejía Cubillos, 2016; Mejía & Parra-Montoya, 2022).

Addressing the Colombian and Bogotá cases cannot be done without mentioning the 60-year internal war that has affected the country. There is extensive literature regarding this conflict, and it is not pertinent in this thesis to address the details and struggle behind this armed confrontation between the Colombian armed forces and leftist guerrillas, paramilitary groups and drug cartels (Rosero, 2013). However, two dynamics of the internal conflict affect urban settings such as those in Bogotá and reflect

the experiences and agency of platform drivers in the city. The first is the process of internal displacement, which resulted in substantial migration of the rural population, expelled by violence, to Bogotá (Egea Jiménez & Soledad Suescún, 2008). Some platform drivers building online communities are either direct victims of internal displacement or related to it at some level. The second process is urban violence and lack of security, linked not only to internal conflict (Rincón, 2018) but also to a general characteristic of Colombian cities, namely, threats to personal safety from theft and kidnapping, together with episodes of extreme violence, including armed vandalism and terrorism. These characteristics are widespread and traverse all community relations and social structures. It is safe to say that every urban inhabitant in Colombia has suffered from some of this violence (Chinchilla & Vorndran, 2018; Costa, 2012; Flórez, 2007). The issue of civic security and urban violence is crucial to understanding the processes behind the creation of creole platforms in Bogotá, as the stakeholders involved address these realities of living in the city by creating collectives to mitigate the likelihood of being a victim of violence.

Within the urban setting of Bogotá and the previously mentioned patrimonial capture of the state, it is relevant to note the situation of different actors related to platform drivers, such as the taxi unions and the local traffic police. In relation to the governance framework of Bogotá described at the beginning of this chapter, significant decisions on policies that affect platform drivers' daily activities are taken at national level. This is because Colombia is organised as a unitary republic. However, the levels of autonomy that districts such as Bogotá enjoy allows the local government to manage its own traffic police. These traffic police are independent of the national police and focus exclusively on issues of transportation infractions and management within the city. Since the national regulations around platforms do not apply in Bogotá, hence the local police have the authority to penalise platform drivers, who are deemed by the traffic police and the government of Bogotá to be carrying out an "illegal activity". However, there is evidence that these traffic police are themselves corrupt (Caicedo, 2022) and that wealthy, politically connected and corrupt leaders in the taxi unions who are opposed to the activity of ride-hailing platforms are bribing the traffic police to target platform drivers (Cortés, 2015; González, 2020).

Institutional fragility and clientelist relationships have always impacted the legal situation of ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá, where they remain completely unregulated. The legal grey space in which they operate has characterised their activity since their inception in 2013 and in the national government, there is a good deal of confusion about them. The Colombian Ministry of Transportation has deemed that ride-hailing platforms provide an illegal transportation service (Trujillo Vergara, 2020). However, the Ministry of Information and Communications Technology has officially declared that ride-hailing platforms are providing a legal online intermediation service protected by Colombia's commitments to net neutrality (Narváez Mercado et al., 2018; Trujillo Vergara, 2020). Transportation in Bogotá historically has been characterised by corruption, patrimonial capture and exclusion. Understanding the institutional development of transportation in the city is therefore particularly crucial to understanding the evolution of platform mobilities and drivers' processes and engagement with these platforms. Thus, in the following section, I address the history of transportation institutions in the city and how the processes of predatory rent-seeking groups and institutional incapacity have informed this evolution that have led to the current realities for platform drivers in everyday Bogotá.

2.3 History of Transportation in Bogotá

The history of transportation in Bogotá is framed by tensions between the formal structures of transport governance and informal agreements, together with the capture by rent-seeking groups that monopolise transportation provision. By the second half of the 20th century, most of the urban transportation in Bogotá had shifted to the individual car or politically-connected private bus operators (Prieto Páez, 2005). In Bogotá, this shift was triggered by the "*Bogotazo*" on 9 April 1948, a massive protest inspired by the assassination of populist leftist leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán. In this revolt, an already diminishing public transportation system based on streetcars was destroyed.

Following this destruction, the policy decision was not to repair the streetcars but to replace them with buses administered by the municipal government (Baquero & Cetina, 2003; Prieto Páez, 2005). The administration of these buses was allocated to a

newly-created public bus enterprise that lasted until 1959 and was replaced by the city's Company of Urban Transportation, which lasted from 1959 to 1991. During this period, bus services were gradually privatised, and transportation provision was monopolised by registered private cooperatives of bus drivers (Baquero & Cetina, 2003).



Fig. 3. "El día en que Bogotá ardió en llamas" ("The day Bogotá burned in flames"). Source: Semana Historia (Historia, 2018)

This historical shift created the space for additional transportation actors in the city to emerge (Andes, 2015). Most of these actors were first "*empresas afiliadoras*", private companies owned by politically-connected individuals. Generally, as members of either the Conservative or the Liberal party, owners of large fleets of vehicles were given the right to manage and assign quotas for public transportation routes (Andes, 2015).

Regarding mass transit, the city has a long history of failed trials in implementing a large-capacity metro system (Acevedo, 1979; de Bogotá, 1989; Montezuma, 2009; Sarmiento Gómez, 2015). At present, the only mass transportation available in Bogotá is the BRT system implemented in December 2000 (Gilbert, 2008). The BRT was replicated in many Latin American cities and aimed to organise the whole public transportation system of Bogotá (Cervero, 2013). First, it prohibited cash payment for a digitised access service inside the vehicle. Second, the system's operation was given through a concession to a company with shared stocks in the government and to the owners of the bus companies that existed before the system's creation.

Pre-BRT, the Bogotá transportation system was a monopoly that bus companies

gained through massive strikes and bribes, along with state control of tariffs and the absence of other mass transit systems (Andes, 2015). Constant price increases eventually meant that low-income users had to use a substantial proportion of their income for public transport (Andes, 2015). This situation created a large market for informality in which independent drivers started to use their cars or motorcycles to transport people, charging different rates according to distance. These informal modes were also far more flexible with respect to routes. BRT sustainability was being questioned amidst emerging problems such as accessibility (Jaramillo et al., 2012), and the effectiveness of state investment (Bocarejo et al., 2016; Bocarejo S & Oviedo H, 2012).

There is evidence that beyond technical and managerial issues, Bogotá's denizens never fully accepted the BRT system (Rodríguez et al., 2017). This was mainly due to the dismantling of previously more accessible routes, that is, the possibility of going from "A to B" without transferring, and the collapse of smaller transportation providers (González, 2021; Leal Castro, 2012; Mendivelso, 2022; Rodríguez et al., 2017). This dissatisfaction peaked in the extraordinarily violent social outburst that Bogotá experienced from April to July of 2021 (Turkewitz, 2021), during which the BRT systems citywide were destroyed.



Fig. 4. Burnt BRT system bus. Source: Image from article - ¿Cuántos buses de Transmilenio han sido quemados y vandalizados en protestas? - How many Transmilenio buses have been burned and vandalised in protests? (González, 2021)

The historical evolution of transportation also needs to take account of individual taxis. Taxis in Bogotá require a "quota" certificate which signifies the right of a vehicle to provide a taxi service. Each of these quotas cost (in 2023 values) around 80 million

Colombian pesos, approximately AUD 29,000. Before the introduction of Uber and other platforms from 2013, there quotas had reached a value of 150 million Colombian pesos, or 54,000 Australian dollars per quota (Semana, 2020b). This type of investment was impossible for many taxi drivers in a context where vehicle ownership by taxi drivers was only 10% of the whole taxi fleet in the city, and most drivers worked for wealthy taxi fleet owners (Valencia & Bohórquez, 2012). These fleet owners were generally also the owners of the quota certificates (mostly politically-connected and local union leaders). They had the means to own large fleets of vehicles and could make drivers work for them in exploitative conditions (Valencia & Bohórquez, 2012). Linked to the taxi service, the city had another actor, defined as “special transport”. This model was provided by white vehicles with a unique government-approved licence plate code and could be hired only by a specific group of people, be they students, employees, tourists or individuals who required an express service.

At the same time, the motorcycle was a growing private transport mode in the city, mainly due to its low costs, the importance of the motorcycle (mototaxi) as an income source, as a way to achieve social status and the culture around motorcycle use as an alternative to the car and other transportation systems (Pérez Vega & Caicedo Alcantara, 2010; Rodríguez et al., 2015).

From data collected in the latest mobility survey of the city (Demoraes et al., 2020), people in Bogotá make more than 13 million trips a day with a modal distribution of 18.4% on the BRT system, 17.8% on the “Integrated Public Transportation System” (a complementary service to the BRT), 23.9% by walking, 14.9% by private car, 4.9% by taxi, 5.5% by carpooling and around 13% of “informal, special and other modes” (including the ride-hailing platforms), with the rest divided into inter-municipal buses, mototaxis and bicycles. It is worth mentioning that the abovementioned figures would likely have changed dramatically due to the violent protests of 2021 and the attack on the BRT system as the only mass transit system in the city.

As of 2021, in terms of public policies and transportation planning, the national government of Colombia and the City Government of Bogotá had presented an

integrated mobility plan for the city. The plan included an investment of Col\$39 billion from the national government and Col\$12 billion from the city of Bogotá, approximately AUD 15 million in total (as at October 2022), focused exclusively on the construction of the Metro system and the expansion of highways. This complex panorama of the transportation ecosystem in Bogotá helps us understand the further disruption caused by the arrival of ride-hailing platforms in the city in 2013.

2.4 Ride-hailing platforms and Urban Mobility in Bogotá

In September 2013, Uber (Uber, 2022c) started operating in Colombian cities using the model of “special transport” mentioned in the previous section. This service was limited to higher-income sections of the population hiring high-standard vehicles and using the app as a transaction mechanism with credit cards, similar to Uber’s operation in other cities worldwide. However, this model was not alone for long; in November 2014, a variant, called UberX and which allowed cash payments, started its service in the city. This innovation promoted by Uber in many Latin American cities was a response to the challenges confronted by the company regarding payment collection, mainly linked to its regulatory conflicts. In many countries, credit card transactions were blocked due to the “illegality” of the service, as banks in Latin America generally do not allow such transactions with unlisted companies, which was the case of Uber in the region (Alvarez Durango, 2021; Batalla Coeto, 2020; Cala Ortiz, 2019; Chavero, 2018; Eglez et al., 2016; Gómez-Lobo, 2019).

The arrival of UberX was a colossal game shift as the cost of using credit cards and banking is very high in Colombia, users were unlikely to use credit cards for small transactions. Uber extended cash payment to all its services beyond UberX, including the more premium services and its ridership exploded in numbers and currently, most Uber transactions in Colombia are paid for in cash. In terms of Uber as an institutional challenge, it is safe to say that the introduction of UberX and the possibility of cash payment was a pivotal moment in the transportation ecosystem of Bogotá. The main conflicts with the government were generated when the opening of the cash-payment

market made Uber more widely used, and traffic police started to impose high fines on Uber drivers and remove their licences and vehicles.

As of 2020, the last time Uber released some of its data, there were 88,000 Uber platform drivers in Colombia, with 26 million trips delivered annually (Movement, 2020). While no estimates of driver earnings are available, as the Uber does not release this data, from its numbers alone in Bogotá, it can be argued that it became a growing alternative for employment in the city.

Another ride-hailing platform in Bogotá is the Spanish company "Cabify" which has functioned in the city since October 2015 (Cabify, 2022). The model of this company is very similar to Uber, offering first the affiliation of drivers of "special transport". However, Cabify has also expanded its models to include the modality "Lite" focused on the same market as "UberX". Cabify and Uber have tried to engage regular taxi drivers, including in their development framework the possibility of ordering a taxi using ride-hailing platforms. However, this is not permitted under current Colombian transport regulation, so the response by taxi drivers has been varied (Escobar, 2022). Some have joined the platform while others have rejected it.

A third ride-hailing platform is the Greek "Beat" which started operating in Bogotá in June 2018 (Beat, 2022). Its business model is similar to UberX, accepting cash payments and working with smaller vehicles and independent drivers. More recently, in June 2019, the Chinese competitor to Uber, DiDi (DiDi, 2022), arrived in the city, offering a similar service to UberX, Cabify and Beat, further expanding the market of ride-hailing platforms. Then a fifth ride-hailing platform, called "InDriver", now InDrive (InDrive, 2022), entered the Bogotá market in 2019; however, its model and disruption type were different. This platform allows users and drivers to negotiate the cost of the ride before it happens, using the platform as a communication and transaction mechanism. The novelty of the instrument in this platform makes it difficult to classify it as a typical ride-hailing platform.

The lockdown measures decreed by the national and city governments in Bogotá in response to the COVID-19 pandemic included flexibility for essential workers and other

professions. At the same time, during the COVID-19-related lockdowns in 2020 and 2021, the different ride-hailing platforms modified their policies and adapted to the circulation restrictions imposed. In the case of Uber, the company created a new service specialising in city zones without quarantine and catering exclusively for people covered by lockdown exemptions (essential workers) (Semana, 2020a) . DiDi and Cabify generated a specific service for quarantine areas, including driver isolation cabins and increased biosecurity protocols. Finally, Beat launched delivery services and a “mission” service focused on the mobility of medical personnel (República, 2021). Furthermore, during the COVID-19 lockdowns of 2020 and their growing flexibility during 2021, Uber and DiDi accumulated 350,000 platform drivers, while Cabify and Beat closed 2020 with more than 200 million kilometres of rides in the city (Lorduy, 2021).

As presented in this section, platform mobility development is complex and has different actors with differentiated disruption processes and relations with other stakeholders. However, since the arrival of ride-hailing platforms, the Colombian National Congress has not produced sensible legislation, and discussions around the legalisation of these platforms have gone nowhere.

2.4.1 Evolution of platform regulations and sanctions in Bogotá

On its commencement in Bogotá in 2013, Uber formed a group of secret drivers based on the previously discussed “special transport” service provided by white vehicles with a unique government-approved licence plate code. In that context, a senator from the centrist National Unity Party proposed a law in 2014 that described Uber and other similar platforms as “luxury transportation”. This proposed legislation was withdrawn from debate in Congress as the government of Juan Manuel Santos Calderón (President of Colombia 2010-2018), represented by the then vice-president in charge of infrastructure, issued a decree regulating “luxury taxis” which specifically targeted ride-hailing platforms (Colombia, 2015). However, this regulation by presidential decree did not affect the platforms in Bogotá, as the market and characteristics of ride-hailing platforms at that stage were no longer those of luxury service.

In 2015, senators and representatives from the Liberal (centre-left), National Unity (centrist), Radical Change and Conservative (centre-right) parties presented an initiative to create regulation for “private transportation service” through technological platforms. With this initiative, a senator from the Radical Change (centre-right) party also presented a project to regulate the operational status of drivers and any other individual that would generate an income from platforms (whether they were transportation-oriented or not), including a requirement for unionisation and other worker protections. This project was very similar to a law passed in Mexico that regulated platforms in Mexico City and authorised the Mexico City Ministry of Transportation to collect a fee from platform transactions and create an “infrastructure and mobility fund”. However, these projects and initiatives in Colombia were confronted with opposition from parties at both ends of the political spectrum and by interests linked to the taxi unions and other rent-seeking coalitions, could not muster the necessary support, and were shelved.

In 2017, Uber and other multinational platform companies such as Cabify led a process of “signature collection”, a standard occurrence in the Colombian political system (Gómez Campos, 2010; Hurtado Mosquera & Hinestroza Cuesta, 2016), to promote regulation under rules that were beneficial for the platform companies. Uber and Cabify tried to show public support for their formalisation (under their definitions) through this signature collection, because, if it was successful, could have qualified for a referendum. Although more than three million signatures were collected and accepted by the Superintendency of Industry and Commerce, once the proposal reached Congress, it was archived due to lobbying from the taxi union leaders. In 2021, five projects about ride-hailing regulation were discussed simultaneously in Congress, all presented by representatives of different political parties from all political ideologies. These initiatives and projects were combined into one bill, 003/2020 (Congreso de Colombia, 2020; Representantes, 2020). They included requirements for platform companies to pay tax, mandatory insurance similar to that of taxi companies and forced unionisation. This bill had an update on taxi regulations, which included eliminating the quota system in cities nationwide and creating a compensation fund for taxi drivers, paid for by taxing 1% of every platform transaction. It proposed creating a surge pricing system for taxi companies comparable to that implemented by ride-hailing platforms. It also included

rules on how platform drivers, like taxi drivers, should receive a special licence for providing public transport and renew it (with associated costs) every three years. This bill also stipulated that multinational platform companies should have legal residence in Colombia and pay income tax (Congreso de Colombia, 2020; Representantes, 2020).

However, the discussion of this project took place days before the national strike and protests that affected Colombian cities, including Bogotá, in April-July of 2021 (Turkewitz, 2021). While these protests did not involve taxi companies in the beginning, taxi companies threatened to join the protests if discussions on the regulatory aspects around labour rights for platform drivers versus taxi drivers (included in the combined bill) were to continue. This threat led to representatives from the then government party withdrawing their support and the discussion was archived. No other initiatives had been presented at the time of writing this thesis and, despite support from all sides of the political spectrum for appropriate legislation, ride-hailing platforms in Colombia are still in a legal grey space.

The Superintendency of Transportation of Colombia punished platform companies working in all cities of the country, including Bogotá, for the first time in 2021. According to this controlling entity, the charges and sanctions responded to the country's transportation and user protection regulations. These sanctions included fines of Col\$8 billion, equivalent to AUD 2 million nine hundred thousand. They targeted all ride-hailing platform companies in Colombia, including Uber, DiDi, Cabify and Beat. They were accused of providing transportation in vehicles that did not have the required technical-mechanical conditions, of facilitating transport with cars that were not approved or registered for public service and the provision of transportation with drivers who did not have a driver's licence for public transportation. Other charges included facilitating transport provision without having a strategic road safety plan and without insurance to cover the risks according to legal requirements.

2.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to map the peculiarities and complexities of the context of platform mobilities in Bogotá and in general the evolution of the institutional ecosystem in this country and its relationship with transportation. In this chapter, I have outlined the setting of Bogotá and the evolution of institutions, and their shortcomings embedded in Colombia and Bogotá. I have also presented the development of public transport and the growth of ride-hailing platforms' disruptions, regulations and sanctions to better understand the context of platform mobilities in the city. As will be illustrated when exploring the specific activities and experiences of platform drivers in the following chapters, the reader will find out that drivers were very connected and well aware of the regulations presented in this chapter (or better, lack thereof). The reader will also find out how drivers are also mindful of the positioning of law enforcement authorities such as the traffic police and the constant contradictions they had to work with.

It's crucial to mention here that my personal history is intertwined with Bogotá's transportation narrative. Born and raised in this city, I was a firsthand witness to the congestion and the chronic inefficiencies of the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system. Bogotá's unfulfilled promises of efficient public transportation were a recurring theme during my formative years. These experiences cemented a keen interest and perspective on the city's mobility issues, which further informed this research. Even after relocating to Buenos Aires, Argentina for my studies, every return trip to Bogotá revealed the city's transportation scene evolving, most notably with the emergence of ride-sharing platforms. In the next chapter, I address the analytical framework of this thesis by developing a review of platforms and their impact on the urban space.

CHAPTER 3 | PLATFORMS AND PLATFORM URBANISM

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine the concept of “platform urbanism” that has recently become a term to analyse how digital platform technologies develop in cities (Barns, 2019b; Fields et al., 2020; Leszczynski, 2020b; Sadowski, 2020). This chapter reviews the debates around platforms and their affordances or the openings (and closures) for human action afforded by technology. I first draw critically on Guyer’s (2016) work on platforms as technical instruments before reviewing how platforms are infrastructures that “... pull things together into temporary higher-order aggregations [that] in principle add value to both what is brought into the platform and to the platform itself.” (Bratton, 2016, p. 41). I also draw on a view of platforms as political and discursive constructs (Gillespie, 2010). The chapter continues by identifying four themes of platforms and their relationship with the urban space, drawing from Barns (2019b) and particularly Stehlin et al. (2020) and their typology on platform mobilities and platform trajectories.

This chapter also discusses the emerging literature on platform urbanism and platform mobilities and highlights an existing gap, namely, the lack of a platform discourse for the Global South. Although there is an emerging literature dealing with platform issues in “southern” contexts (Bonina et al., 2021; Caprotti et al., 2022; Odendaal, 2021b; Qadri, 2021), the burgeoning literature on platform urbanism has failed to sufficiently address issues specific to the development of platforms in contexts within the Global South. In this chapter there is a discussion around the need to recognise that the development and design of platforms in the Global South differs from that of the Global North. I review the absence of southern discourse using Bonina et al. (2021)) and the work of Qadri (2021) and Odendaal (2021a, 2021b) to demonstrate the need to engage with a theoretical framework specific to the Global South and Latin America. I conclude the chapter by establishing the research agenda of my thesis using platforms in the

Global South and the identified themes of platform urbanism, technology affordances and contestation.

3.2. Platforms: A discussion

Platforms prompt to ask many questions about how they differ from the social architectures of the past and how they frame new forms of power and social construction. Platforms, which operate across technologies, apparatuses and experience, are architectures that afford actions and enable (or constrain) economic, social, affective and political agency and possibilities. The idea of platforms refers to any configuration used as a base upon which other processes or technologies can develop (Brett, 2020). Platforms have been defined in many ways, but traditionally around hardware and software linkage and intermediation control by pre-determined protocols and standards (De Reuver et al., 2018). More recently, and linked to the emergence of social media, there is increasing recognition of users' digital participation and the political implications of platforms (Srnicek, 2017a, 2017b).

Platforms can take a range of forms. For example, platforms can be the structure of principles of a political party or organisation, computing platforms that can be understood as complex operating systems, or communication platforms whose primary purpose is people's connection. Higher education institutions can also be platforms in that the growing role of the university is to match and mediate between different stakeholders, students with researchers and academics, graduates, employers, donors, social ventures and government (Allen, 2022). Additionally, authors define platforms as the infrastructure supporting a specific use and purpose within a technological system or as tools to help any given intention (Brett, 2020; Guyer, 2016). From this perspective, platforms are agnostic to moral concerns as they are tools within several different systems. Platforms are ubiquitous; media use platforms, as do private corporations, governments, the military, communal groups and art project collectives. In the debates around the term "platform", the idea of agnostic development is sustained by authors such as Guyer (2016), who directly defines platforms purely within their technological constructions, specifically as tools with a "highly technical framework that can support

many specific applications" (Guyer, 2016, p. 4). Equally, authors hold that platforms are "what platforms do" (Guyer, 2016). In other words, the technical capacities of platforms define their character that "pull things together into temporary higher-order aggregations" (Bratton, 2016, p. 41). Authors like Plantin et al. (2018) are primarily interested in platforms and infrastructures, considering that platforms are eventually becoming indispensable to all systems and practices and transforming pre-existing ones.

The notion that platforms are purely technical and agnostic to their contexts has nonetheless been heavily critiqued by scholars who focus on platforms' social and political impacts. Considering that platforms have very tangible impacts on social structures, they are to be understood as building a "platform society ... affecting institutions, economic transactions, and social and cultural practices ... forcing governments and states to adjust their legal and democratic structures" (Van Dijck et al., 2018, p. 2). This thesis adopts the term "platform" as a designator for digitally-mediated political and social processes rather than purely technical features and discuss how these platforms manifest in a spatial element in developing in urban spaces as socio-political constructs and disruptors of institutions.

3.2.1 Platforms as political economy constructs

Unfolding the creative development of IT students and entrepreneurs with algorithms for classifying peoples' profiles (Facebook), creating a microblogging space (Twitter) or a fast image and video sharing system (Instagram) is today one of the main catalysts of financial, cultural, social and political processes. Since the creation of Facebook in 2004-2005, Twitter in 2006 and Instagram in 2010, platforms have transformed into a complex fabric and global network of political and discursive interactions, and scholars have taken note of this transformation. Gillespie (2010), for example, defines platforms as the discursive enabler for companies to position themselves as "neutral" facilitators of e-commerce, social interaction, political debate and scientific innovation. He concludes that this position hides the complex socio-political consequences of their activity, such as breeding populism and increasing societal polarisation.

D'Andréa (2017), on the other hand, defines the political dialectics of platforms as a "platformisation of the social", and deems it necessary to discuss what "public values" platforms should embody. He also argues that we need to negotiate how issues of common interest between local community initiatives and national policies should be respected and incorporated into the platforms. de Almeida and de Souza Santos (2020) complement this view. They draw attention to the crucial role of platforms as technopolitical tools for people's activism. They state that platforms should be understood as "one of the sociospatial representations to a context in which communication, interaction, collaboration and participation have become fundamental processes for political and social relations, of economic and cultural production" (de Almeida & de Souza Santos, 2020, p. 2). These authors view platforms as powerful instruments to manage decentralised activities and the production and circulation of information, which potentially create a breeding ground for political activism. As Andersson Schwarz (2017) notes, platforms function as tools that simultaneously fulfil societal functions and create opportunities for economic exchange, social development and political agency.

Platform scholars have also focused on the economic effects of platforms, reflected in the coinage of "platform capitalism" (Srnicek, 2017a, 2017b) or the activities of platform companies in which hardware and software are used as the foundation to conduct business. "Platform capitalism" (Srnicek, 2017b) helps frame platforms in the current political economy debate, considering the central role of data as capital in the new forms of capitalism, instead of traditional commodities (Langley & Leyshon, 2017; Srnicek, 2017a, 2017b). The main argument of platform capitalism is that a platform's business is characterised by speculative capitalisation, monopolistic or oligopolistic behaviour and the commodification of personal data. Digital technology is today the largest sector in international capital, surpassing the extraction of natural resources, financial services, healthcare and industrials. Companies like Amazon, Apple, Alphabet (Google) and Meta (Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp) are constantly in the top rankings of global companies by market capitalisation (Coopers, 2020). Uber and Airbnb, the poster children of platform capitalism, have grown into companies of global reach and have rebounded from the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic crisis. The current (2022)

market cap of Airbnb is estimated at AUD 170 billion and Uber's market cap is AUD 83 billion, which shows the capital and growth of these companies (Coopers, 2020)

We live in a world where platform capitalism is the rule, and framing it as such is crucial for the debate on political economy and the future of capitalism. Especially now, after the COVID-19 crisis, when most of humanity had a crash course in the platformisation of everyday life. However, as argued by Gillespie (2010), D'Andréa (2017) and (Van Dijck et al., 2018) among others defending the idea of platforms as socio-political constructs, the impacts of platform technology need to be explored in their dialectical characteristics as a tool for political and social transformation. Platforms must be understood as social and political instruments of interdependence rather than merely actors of capital capture or financial dominance (Barns, 2019b). Therefore, my thesis considers platforms as ecosystems of socio-political agency and advocacy that afford collective action.

The study of platforms (and the people behind them) in a city like Bogotá is, in the end, a story of collective political action. Thus, the framework of platforms must be addressed according to this premise. Enter "platform urbanism", a term used in Barns (2019b) work, which I argue is the most useful concept for analysing the dynamics of platforms in cities, and crucial for constructing the analytical framework of my thesis. Platform urbanism provides a basis for understanding the development of platforms as political and institutional disruption agents in cities.

3.3 Platform urbanism

Platform urbanism has become a key focus of urban studies, and many authors, including (Avermaete, 2021; Barns, 2019a, 2019b, 2020; Barns et al., 2017; Fields et al., 2020; Graham, 2020a; Lee et al., 2020; Leszczynski, 2020b; Moertenboeck & Mooshammer, 2021; Odendaal, 2021b; Sadowski, 2020; van der Graaf & Ballon, 2019; Van Doorn, 2020), have explored it in different contexts. Platform urbanism provides a solid framework for studying and researching the scope, control and agency of platform actors in urban spaces, particularly their potential for facilitating political and institutional challenge

within cities. In this sense, platform urbanism can be understood as a new mode for producing urban space, and its inherent mechanisms highlight the shifting dynamics between digital technology, markets and people. Critical urban scholars have started to use the concept to examine the importance of platform influence on everyday practices in cities and the power shifts generated by the expansion of platforms into the urban space (Avermaete, 2021; Lee et al., 2020; Mörténböck & Mooshammer, 2021; Sadowski, 2020).

However, similar to the discourse on platform capitalism, some scholars in the emerging platform urbanism literature still focus solely on the aspect of data capital extraction. This emphasises the economic and technological aspects of studying platforms in the urban space. For example, Krivý (2018) sustains the notion that platforms in cities are linked primarily to the accumulation of centralised corporate power and data accumulation. The author maintains that global platforms with great corporate power enter urban spaces worldwide. The results are not scenarios of democratisation but rather a concentration of capital and the data these platforms manage. Platform urbanism under this vision is heavily related to data capture, the "currency" and commodity of platforms within the urban space. Also particularly concerning in regard to this perspective is the massive generation of data related to everyday practices and the algorithms behind platform-mediated interactions.

A contrasting emphasis is that, if they are detached from corporate structures, platforms in cities could also be artefacts that facilitate ecosystems of interaction, collective action and social interdependence (Avermaete, 2021; Barns, 2019b; Graham, 2020b; Leszczynski, 2020b; Van Doorn, 2020). For example, platforms are challenging regulatory frameworks and, at the same time, shaping new ways to experience the urban space and plan possible urban futures (Graham, 2020b). Beyond a technological stance, the abovementioned authors on platform urbanism understand platforms more than anything as contested spaces of social creativity, everyday life and communal and individual appropriation. This, together with the influence of platforms in political participation with a specific impact in the city space, is explored by D'Andréa (2017) and Van Dijck et al. (2018).

Platforms can create new and unique social spaces that exponentially expand people's interaction, building a relational nature and creating new ways of living in the city. Barns (2019b) work is very illustrative of how platform urbanism can be defined and studied as an ecosystem of interactions and mediations territorialised in the urban space. She argues that platform urbanism, more than anything, is an urban ecosystem of new relational processes that builds on the "co-constitutive natures of urban institutions, actors, governing tactics, modes of expertise, training data and ways of knowing and designing cities" (Barns, 2019b, p. 21). This expanded control of platforms to facilitate the interactions between their users and, most importantly, lower the entry barriers for these expanded interactions, is at the core, argues Barns (2019b), of their nature and power. She also contends that platforms trigger new forms of interactions, organisations and affordances of individual agency and collective action:

... as the communications landscape gets denser, more complex and more participatory, the networked population would gain more access to information, and with it, more opportunities to engage in public speech and an enhanced ability to engage in collective action. (Barns, 2019b, p. 38)

Unfortunately, platforms do have a darker side when developing from the top down, beyond their usage from the bottom up to create alternative forms of interactions, organisation, community building and individual autonomy. Platforms can increase a state's capacity for surveillance and dramatically curtail political activity when utilised by authoritarian regimes (Lamensch, 2021). The case of Hong Kong is a prime example of the latter. Moreover, platforms can be used by corporations who own the data produced by users and transform practices that can lead to unsustainable social outcomes, decreasing welfare and increasing conflict. The pernicious use of platforms by corporations has manifested, for example, in the creation of ideological echo chambers that radicalise public discourse and in algorithmic governance that influences human attitudes towards isolationism, violence or self-damage, among others (Diamond, 2019; Harris, 2016, 2019; Kugler, 2020).

3.3.1 Platforms and urban governance

The abovementioned views of platform urbanism frame the unavoidable impact of platforms in cities. The extractive effects of platforms' data capital are not going away but neither are the larger platform ecosystem of social interactions that can be harnessed towards achieving more democratic outcomes. In recognising these interaction conditions and the spatialised social affordances of platforms, recent research on platform urbanism has focused on platform effects in urban governance (Barns, 2020; Van Doorn, 2020; Yates, 2020). Platforms frame their narratives as brokers of state-society connection and position themselves as relevant actors within urban institutions. For instance, Van Doorn (2020) takes the "Airbnb Citizen advocacy initiative" (in which Airbnb actively mobilises its user base, framing it as an entrepreneurial community) to show that platforms are starting a process of institutional activism, actively focused, for instance, in challenging the status quo of urban housing governance.

Other examples are the strategies and tactics of urban legitimization by platforms, such as their self-declaration as agents or "vectors" of progress or the manufacture and lobbying of grassroots support (Yates, 2020). In this case, Yates (2020) shows how platforms such as Airbnb and Uber appeal to the future and present themselves in their media, social media and public discourse with a performative vision of the urban space in which they accumulate public support for their activities. Yates further shows that the platform companies argue that the legal, political, economic and even social impediments to their growth are an example of backwardness.

These political and institutional processes of platforms in cities are also observed by Barns (2020), in which multinational data-driven platforms such as Uber establish new forms of urban governance. In this case, Uber sets itself beyond its characteristics as a ride-hailing platform and transforms itself into an "integrated global data ecosystem whose diverse application aims to intermediate more and more diverse forms of human mobility in contemporary cities" (Barns, 2020, p. 97). This reframing from a singular platform into an ecosystem of urban governance competing with the structures of the state and using the power of data and network building is what Barns describe as

“recombinatory governance”. It reflects the future of the discussion on platform effects in the urban space. Some authors (Pelzer et al., 2019) also show how platforms actively engage in institutional entrepreneurship strategies. Particularly analysing ride-hailing platforms such as Uber, these authors show how platforms are interested in leveraging resources to create new institutions or change existing ones according to the context in which they develop. In the case of Uber, Pelzer et al. (2019) show how Uber tried (and failed) through to change the regulatory framework in The Netherlands in their favour by implementing strategies of institutional entrepreneurship.

3.3.2 Platform Urbanism and emergent platform institutionalisation

Alongside this focus on platforms in urban governance and institutions, there is literature on the new forms of bottom-up institutionalisation and organisation afforded by platforms in cities. In this case, platforms give rise to new ways of understanding organisations and institutional evolution and the multiple ways people construct governance alternatives. Martin et al. (2017) offer a framework that differentiates forms of platform governance between organisation and ownership. The framework involves examining how the platform is organised internally, who owns the platform and the decision-making process within it. They use the example of *Freegle* to analyse both “membership” and “leadership” as the two models of governance (organisation and decision-making), *Freegle* being a democratically-governed platform focused on reducing landfills, to accommodate the environmental awareness of both platform users (members) and owners (leaders) in British cities.

Recent literature on platforms and bottom-up processes also analyses the development of new urban citizen activism powered by platforms in Brazilian cities (Luque-Ayala et al., 2020). Luque-Ayala et al. (2020) show how platforms are helping the engagement with pre-existing communities of practice to resolve urban issues and encourage political participation within city governments. Or, in the words of the authors, “the coming together of digital tools, digital/data activism and political asymmetries in both re-imagining and re-making the city’s environment” (Luque-Ayala et al., 2020, p. 248). Additionally, Leszczynski (2020b) shows different examples in Canada and the

United States of how platforms can interact with institutions in a “glitchy” way, showing spaces and features in which platforms do not have a seamless development. However, she also shows that the “glitchiness” and the failures of platforms can also breed spaces for organisation, strategy and activism in cities:

Organized resistance however signals a strategic version of platform urban politics, one that implies and necessitates forms of social, economic, and political capital which may be leveraged to affect institutional and infrastructural processes so as to define the parameters of regulation, operation, and the possible array of responses to changes in platform urban environments. A glitchy theory of platform urbanism ultimately underwrites a more hopeful platform urban politics by extending and recognizing ordinary urban denizens’ abilities to express political capacity through everyday digital interactions and practices outside the bounds of acts of collective resistance which presuppose and necessitate forms of social, political, and often economic capital to which many do not have access. (Leszczynski, 2020b, p. 201)

Among the studies of how platforms can breed new organisational and institutionalisation processes, one of the most radical in discussing platform development in urban settings is the discourse on “platform cooperativism” (Scholz, 2016). Platform cooperativism refers to radical structures of platform governance and decision-making. It advocates that a democratically-managed platform can produce better social outcomes and counter the narratives and proceedings of multinational data-empowered platforms. Tonkinwise in Scholz (2016) stated that platform cooperatives are a real opportunity for designing and establishing a genuine sense of community-based interaction and recovering the promise of the early sharing economy.

Solel (2019) differentiates between platforms embedded in platform capitalism, sharing economy platforms and cooperative platforms. For “platform capitalism”, Solel (2019) also discusses how platform ownership and decision-making belong to private individuals or companies and how there is no relationship between ownership, control of the platform and its use. On the other hand, the “sharing economy” platforms are those in which decision-making is shared and determined among the owners, users and providers, emerging in fluid combinations and forms. In the case of “platform

cooperatives”, Solel argues that ownership lies with the platform's users and providers (workers), that the organisational structure is horizontal and that decision-making is democratic, essentially a platformisation of the cooperative form of association. Solel's classification is helpful to differentiate between platform capitalism, the sharing economy and platform cooperativism, and her classification provides a clear structure for the elements of platform governance, including ownership of the platforms and decision-making within them. This is crucial to start classifying and understanding the nature of platform development and governance in a city like Bogotá, together with the emergence of processes like Drivers Club Bogotá.

3.3.3 Platform urbanism trajectories

On the evolution of specific “trajectories” of platforms in the urban space and how they challenge institutions, Stehlin et al. (2020) give a helpful typology of platform mobilities which frames the discussion of what I will argue are four themes of platform urbanism. The authors describe different ways to form a framework to study mobility platforms and their urban development. Their analysis is very relevant to understanding the evolution of ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá and the affordances they give to platform-based drivers. This typology sees platform trajectories first as networked accumulation, which relates to the previously mentioned theme of data capture issues and the disruptive characteristic of platforms. As the authors say:

The most well-known platformization path is the “move fast and break things” or “disruption” approach, characterized by fast-moving firms, supported with large infusions of venture capital, exploiting gaps in the interstices of existing transportation infrastructures and attacking incumbent firms and business models—the archetype of which is Uber ... Their accumulation strategies involve broad investment across a range of digital services and startups, of which mobility is a small part, and their assets are substantially digital, and particularly concentrated in data and intellectual property. (Stehlin et al. (2020, p. 1256)

The second trajectory is “infrastructural thickening” or “life extension”, referring to how governments and institutions in the city can harness the structure and capabilities of mobility platforms to strengthen public procurement of urban services:

A less widespread but no less important pattern is one of infrastructural “thickening” led by incumbent transport corporations, which we call infrastructural capital. These firms have tended to pursue platformization as a means of reacting to the disruption caused by data capital by extending their existing strengths in fixed-route transport. (Stehlin et al., 2020, p. 1256)

The authors also refer to platforms as a “governmental fix” tool, where governments embrace platforms to develop tasks that private capital is unwilling or unable to provide, such as infrastructure procurement or public services accessibility (Stehlin et al., 2020, p. 1256).

“Commoning”, the final trajectory, focuses on how new organisational democratic forms can emerge from the affordances of platforms:

The final trajectory is cooperative formation, practised by what we call communities of consciousness. Cooperative platforms would appear to fulfil the hopes many scholars and practitioners initially had for the sharing economy before it was taken over by monopolistic firms (Stehlin et al., 2020, p. 1256).

The trajectories of these platform mobilities and the literature review of this chapter inform what I consider four main identifiable themes in the research into platform urbanism. These trajectories also reflect how the interaction between the state and other pre-existing institutions in cities is crucial to understanding, first, the different ways platforms can develop, and second, how better social outcomes can be achieved when creating policies in response to platforms. Moreover, they are beneficial for understanding how platform urbanism develops and how it can be studied, both in this thesis and in future research.

In sum, I identify four key themes of platform urbanism:

1. Platform urbanism is the study of infrastructural/architectural elements of digital platforms and their algorithms in the city, together with the emerging issues of data capital capture.
2. Platform urbanism is the study of an ecosystem of mediation (peer-to-peer) arbitrage of everyday activities in cities, examining the effects of platforms in pre-existing material infrastructures, cultural practices and organisational forms in the urban space.
3. Platform urbanism is the emergence of different forms articulating cooperative or democratic engagements responding to the conditions in which platform capitalism develops in cities.
4. Platform urbanism is the impact of platforms on urban institutions and the changes and trajectories in which its challenges manifest.

A primary goal of my study is to understand how platforms, and platform-afforded drivers, challenge institutions in Bogotá and create spaces of autonomy. However, as a new discipline, the nuances of how platforms operate and impact cities in the Global South has received little attention. In the next section, I address this lacuna.

3.4 “Southern” platform urbanism

As mentioned, scholars of platform urbanism have focused their efforts on dealing with platforms and the nature of their development. However, the “Urbanism” side of platform urbanism has been neglected. I argue that “Urbanism” is necessary to understand the effect of platforms in the Global South generally and Latin American cities in particular. “Urbanism” generally refers to the study of how urban denizens interact with the built environment and describes related aspects of the culture, society and economy that constitute everyday life in southern cities (Bonina et al., 2021). In cities of the Global South and Latin America, platforms are benefiting from exploiting increasing urban inequality,

as in many ways they contribute to labour insecurity (Daza, 2021; Howson et al., 2020). This is in contrast, however, with the affordances and capacity that platforms bring to people, lowering barriers to accessing work and creating spaces for alternative forms of organisation and non-market entrepreneurship.

Qadri (2021), for example, discusses in her work on the role platform workers perform in navigating Jakarta every day, how platforms certainly have impact in southern cities, which equally impact and change the platforms. Similarly, Odendaal (2021b) observes that platforms in cities in Uganda and Kenya help empower bottom-up placemaking initiatives and transform their original articulation into particularly “southern” forms of sociotechnical agency interacting with hybrid places and emergences. (Odendaal, 2021a); Odendaal (2021b) also shows that the societal “southern” characteristics of these cities end up hacking into the platforms' structures in a feedback loop whereby not only are the people afforded new empowering systems, but the platforms are transformed by their development and produce new configurations. The latter is particularly relevant, considering that most platforms were designed for institutions and markets in advanced economies in the Global North rather than in southern cities.

3.4.1 Platforms and their Southern development

Platforms and platform urbanism in the Global South are challenging to study due to the lack of conceptual definitions, their spread, and their intertwined nature with pre-existing institutions (Bonina et al., 2021). Shared space between platform technology and societal structures such as informal community links, black markets and shadow economies complicates the analysis. However, there are recent case study approaches to platforms in southern cities, and all of them examine the problem of platform mediation, the impacts it has on the institutional ecosystem and their potential as tools for economic development (Caprotti et al., 2022; Luque-Ayala et al., 2020; Odendaal, 2021b; Pollio, 2019; Prananda et al., 2020; Qadri, 2021).

Bonina et al. (2021) identify three platform technology practices, namely, "transaction", "innovation", and "techno-social". Transaction platforms are presented as the best known of the three, interacting between individuals and organisations to exchange goods and services. The prime examples of these platforms would be Uber, Airbnb, DiDi and similar forms of platform capitalist organisation (Solel, 2019) that are ubiquitous in cities of the Global South and Global North. Innovation platforms have emerged from the build-up of different software capacities and decentralised third-party development, such as Android or iOS, but also platforms like InDrive (InDrive, 2022), very common in the Global South, which, as addressed in Chapter 2, uses a combination of its software to create a space where drivers and users arbitrage the ride transaction price and their origin-destination. Techno-social platforms are defined by recognising that the technical effects of platforms are not isolated and that platform practices develop in close relation with economic, organisational, institutional and spatial forces. Concerning this third practice, Bonina et al. (2021) pose some central questions to frame and define the effects of an ecosystem of platforms in the Global South.

The first question is how to release the developmental potential of platforms, for instance, in open government applications and digital social innovation ventures:

An example of how to study the developmental potential of innovation platforms is presented in the realm of open government data – as we suggested earlier in the typology. New digital social innovation ventures based on open data promise to contribute to global development goals, such as economic growth, job creation, social and economic inclusion and access to public services such as healthcare. Open government data implementations can be understood as an innovation platform as governments depend on an ecosystem of third-party innovators who can build meaningful services to citizens or the government to generate value. (Bonina et al., 2021, p. 22)

These authors ask whether digital platforms help create or destroy new institutions in southern contexts. They recognise that digital platforms significantly impact social structures and that a lack of state involvement and inadequate digital infrastructure is a common feature of southern settings. They acknowledge that platforms rely on previous

design and institutionalisation and then conclude that platform development in the Global South also depends on the interaction of platforms with local customs and culture. However, this institutionalisation and design are heavily impacted by the places in which they develop. Here I again bring in the work of Qadri (2021), who has observed how platform workers in Jakarta are helping multinational platforms with valuable "on-the-ground" information and, more interestingly, how platforms have transformed their organisational structures and their development policies to accommodate bottom-up informal practices, typical of southern settings:

Eventually, in Jakarta, after five years of disrupting the offline bike taxi market, Grab and Gojek began embracing the "traditional" practice of offline queuing, mimicking the systems they had purported to replace. As it happened, the existing informal relationships were the ones to reach out through the moments of technological chaos and conflict brought on by the platforms to shape Jakarta's form of digital mobility work.

Contrary to expectations, instead of drivers cruising looking for rides, spontaneous stations started erupting across the city with dozens of motorbike taxi drivers congregating on the sides of roads in groups, waiting for the platform to match them to an order. This practice was a direct continuation of the spatial modes of organizing present in the city's pre-digitization motorbike taxi market. Eventually, drivers started building their own base camps, due to which drivers then developed sticky spatial preferences, preferring to hang out in shelters and groups rather than to cruise around looking for orders. The existence of these groups forced the mobility platforms to change their business model into a uniquely Jakartan model: spatially anchored shelters with offline matching. This has been, in some ways, a tacit acknowledgement by the platforms of the relationships drivers formed throughout the city. (Qadri, 2021, p. 35)

Like the observations of Qadri (2021), Bonina et al. (2021) recognise that when platforms enter southern contexts, the fragility of southern governance means that there are "institutional voids" that platforms can exploit. At the same time, digital platforms can aim to change the current institutional settings and replace rules and norms with new ones by harnessing pre-existent informal processes and tacit practices. In other words, platforms can challenge and replace the prevailing institutional logic and harness

informal institutions for that purpose. The authors conclude by showing how alternative platforms (such as platform cooperatives, for example) can emerge in the Global South, focusing on how platforms are tools for institutions and cooperatives with specific socially sustainable objectives. The authors also point to possible new forms of organisation that may emerge:

An important area for future research has to do with identifying which key alternative stakeholders emerge, as well as what constellations of alternative values they may bring for development. This does not mean the exclusion of private companies either as the governance models of these platforms can be mixtures of several ownership types, be those public, private or community-owned. (Bonina et al., 2021, p. 24)

Maurer et al. (2020) discuss the tensions between platforms and the established institutional ecosystem of incumbent firms, regulators and labour unions. These authors show how the evolution of platform-afforded grassroots activities are mechanisms for market self-regulation that challenges the traditional role of state and labour institutions. In this case, platform-afforded grassroots communities are deemed the original basis of the "sharing economy" and highlight how people associate and work within these structures to the detriment of political or union participation. The authors then argue the need for macro institutional reform that re-institutionalises platforms into established institutional logics beyond any informal grassroots organisation. Faraj and Pachidi (2021) also suggest that institutional and organisational theorists have been reluctant to recognise the intrinsic relationship between technology and organisation. Focusing then on the concept of co-constitution to argue against separating platform technology from organisational actions and structures (which they regard as endogenous and constitutively entwined) they say:

By emphasizing co-constitution, we argue against viewing technology as an entity that is separate, exogenous, or causal. Instead, we offer that technology needs to be viewed as endogenous to and constitutively entwined with organizational actions and structures. (Faraj & Pachidi, 2021, p. 2)

As I have addressed in this chapter and this section in particular, platforms must be studied with a focus on their institutional effects. Drawing on this literature review, I therefore propose “southern platform urbanism” as a form to explore an ecosystem in which platforms both affect fragile urban settings and are influenced by them. In the next section, I conclude by outlining how I view affordances and the contestation processes with institutions, specifically in this case, southern platform urbanism.

3.5 Conclusion: Platforms’ evasive action and local evolution

A study of institutionalisation strategies within a southern platform urbanism perspective is central for building the research plan of this thesis and addressing my research questions. This chapter has provided an overview of platforms, their impact and how “platform urbanism” helps study platforms and their spatial particularities. In analysing platform urbanism, I have identified four major themes that will guide my analysis of platform effects and drivers’ practices in Bogotá. To recap, these four themes and forms of platform urbanism are, first, the infrastructural/architectural elements of platforms and their algorithms and the issues of data capital extraction. Second, how platform urbanism develops as an ecosystem of mediation and intermediation for everyday life and practices in urban spaces. Third, how different cooperative, democratic or hybrid organisations can emerge as a response to extractive platform capitalism. Fourth, the impact of platforms on urban institutions and the changes and trajectories in which these challenges manifest. Finally, in this chapter, I also focused on institutionalisation when platforms develop in a southern context and frame southern platform urbanism.

The impact of platforms and their role in city institutions is an issue we would not fully understand without a new framing (Bonina et al., 2021). Through their own evolution and nature in southern contexts, platforms afford the strengthening of processes of informality and challenge formal institutions that cannot cope with fast change (Allenby, 2011; Bonina et al., 2021). Additionally, even if a platform may be considered a global technological artefact, its inception and development are very local. Alternative models emerging from the feedback loops between platforms and southern institutions represent a departure from the typical relationships between platform and user that we

can observe in settings like the United States and Europe. As Qadri shows, these emerging alternative models are examples of how “technologies are domesticated to produce forms of work, relationships, and resistances that are intimately contextual” (Qadri, 2021, p. 35). Therefore, the call to built-environment researchers and those interested in the impact of platform technologies in southern cities is to investigate “commonalities across and incommensurability within cultures without taking the power of platforms for granted” (Qadri, 2021, p. 35). In showcasing the different forms in which platform-institution interactions manifest in the Global South, “we can destabilize the neat boundaries of social/technological, south/north, and disruption/continuity within the platform literature” (Qadri, 2021, p. 35).

As I argued in this chapter it is crucial to recognise that platforms shape urban life both in the North and the South. In Chapter 4, I examine the affordance of agency by platforms and how to frame it in an analytical framework of contestation emerging as evasive entrepreneurial agency. I then highlight the transformation and reinterpretation of technologies which inform a different way of understanding how platforms shape urban life and denizens in a city like Bogotá. The analysis of platform-mediated challenging of institutions requires the understanding that platforms are affording structures of evasive entrepreneurship (Elert & Henrekson, 2016; Thierer, 2020) to the people using them. This conceptual framework is a nuanced way to study how platforms, and the people behind them, operate as actors with institutional agency, and I will address this in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4 | PLATFORMS, AFFORDANCES AND CONTESTATION

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I continue discussing the analytical framework of the thesis to understand the idea of technology affordances and structure a robust theoretical base to explain the actions of platform drivers in Bogotá. The chapter starts by analysing the affordances approach within the theories of technology as materialised action (Ihde, 1990; Schraube, 2009) and follow the definitions of Davis (2020), which explain how artefacts (such as platforms) afford agency and power and frame politics and institutions of everyday life. In this chapter I also expand on the idea of “creole technologies” (Edgerton, 2007), which informs the study of technologies in the contexts of the Global South, such as Bogotá, focusing here on the uniquely “southern” characteristics of technology that develops in hybrid and new forms.

The second part of the chapter discusses how the processes of institutional agency and contestation afforded by platforms can be analysed within the framework of non-market forms of entrepreneurship, particularly a technology-focused “evasive entrepreneurship” (Thierer, 2020). I continue the analysis on contestation by examining the work on conflicting rationalities (Watson, 2004), which highlights not just the interfaces between platform drivers and the contradictions of government and corporations but also their internal conflicts. Within this analysis of conflicting rationalities, I discuss applicable theories of hierarchisation and horizontality in organisations (Diefenbach, 2019; Michels, 2019) that help illuminate the nature and evolution of internal contradictions.

4.2 Platform affordances

In Chapter 3, I discussed the dialectical nature of platforms, their meanings and their effect on urban spaces such as Bogotá. The reader of this thesis is now familiar with how

a platform can operate across different experiences, architectures and social devices (proactive mobile devices that aim to facilitate and increase social interactions). Moreover, the reader is also familiar with how a platform can, at the same time, be a foundation for political ideology, a digital product or a space for relationality and action. A platform can afford an infrastructure of social, political, economic and relational possibilities and there are many questions about the organisation of platforms, the reimagining of the public and private and how platforms differ from previous social architectures. The reader is also familiar with how discourse on platforms has already shifted towards an analysis that has moved beyond the technical characteristics of digital technologies and is now characterised by a more robust analytical framework informed by a social science perspective.

A broader analysis within technology and communications scholarship has harnessed the literature of technology studies and technology philosophy of the past decades. Without a theoretical base that understands technology according to its effects on and interfaces with people, it would be impossible to understand the social and relational processes emerging from platforms. The relational thoughts on technology from Jaques Ellul (Ellul, 1990, 2021), the critical perspectives on technology from Feenberg (2002) and the philosophical quest for the limits of technology and its effects on society of Langdon Winner (Winner, 1978, 2010) are the conceptual base for the discourse of technology “affordances” that I use in this thesis. The discourse, theories and development of platforms and platform urbanism that I addressed in the previous chapter could not have come to fruition without making this conceptual jump. It is precisely on the theory and philosophy dealing with the limitations of technology that I argue that artefacts (platforms) can affect people and society beyond the technical characteristics of their design and manufacturing.

The idea that apparatuses and artefacts (or platforms) can have any societal articulation and portray values and philosophies emerges from Langdon Winner’s influential essay on how artefacts have politics (Winner, 2017). In his research, Winner claims that beyond their original conceptualisation and design, technological artefacts have political properties and can portray, represent and impose diverse forms of power

but also subordination and oppression. Different examples of technologies that might not immediately portray any form of political intent or value added to them are presented by Winner as really conceived, designed and materialised to generate social consequences. This idea, in the end, suggests that society must be aware of and pay close attention to the political and value-charged properties of all technologies, a fundamental part of the Frankfurt School analysis on advanced industrial society and contemporary processes (Horkheimer et al., 2002; Marcuse, 2013).

Among the most classic examples of technical systems having values and politics are the overpasses designed by architect Robert Moses in New York and highlighted by Winner (2017, pp. 123-124). In this example, it is argued that Moses deliberately designed and built the structures too low to prevent buses from going under them. Since buses were more likely to carry low-income people, particularly African Americans, the inadequately low design of the overpasses meant that these urban residents could not access the places in the city that white Anglo-Saxon upper and middle-class residents wanted to keep segregated (Winner, 2017). Although there is controversy about the historical accuracy of this example (Joerges, 1999), Winner's articulation does provide the germ of an idea, namely, that technologies can and mainly have been used to assert power, discriminate and, most of all, sustain a system of expertise framed in modernity and mechanisation of violence where skilled "experts" are those designing and making life and space for people (Bauman, 2000).

In the previous chapter, I showed that platform technologies can open or close possibilities and provide frameworks for human action beyond who controls them, an argument also made by philosopher Don Ihde (1990). Assuming that the example presented by Winner is accurate, the case of the overpasses in New York shows how technology helps shape society according to the designer's values. It also shows that technology affords a framework for different subjects, entities and institutions (good and bad) to exist, grow and be changed by that same technology.

4.2.1 *The affordances approach*

Jenny L. Davis's work, *How Artifacts Afford: The Power and Politics of Everyday Things* (Davis, 2020), acknowledges how technologies provide frameworks of action (Ihde, 1990) or 'materialised action' (Schraube, 2009), but recognises that artefacts, such as platforms, have an extra element of tight relationality with the people who use them. As Schraube (2009) notes, technologies are ambivalent in their relationship with the people who use them and that, beyond any values or subjectivity, the framework of action also depends on a scenario in which the material artefact brings about change in the person using it. In other words, as the user or the designer frames technology to effect change in society, that technology, in its interaction with the user, also changes itself, society and the user. Just as the mindset and actions of a person can change by sporting a uniform, or a driver extends him or herself into the vehicle and states, "he (or she) can feel the road", technology exerts an influence on our actions and capabilities and transforms into an extension of our bodies and hence our agency within society. In the words of Bradata (2014, p. 1), "Just as you grow into the world, the world grows into you. Not only do you occupy a certain place, but that place, in turn, occupies you."

This is what generates the concept of "affordances" defined in this ambivalence and relationality of user and artefact and deeply embedded in the philosophical stream of phenomenology and theories of ontological design (Fry, 2013; Heidegger, 1988, 2010; Ramaprasad & Papagari, 2009). Affordance or affordances in this theoretical framework are the mediators between the characteristics of technologies, their relationality with their users and, finally, the social outcomes of technologies. In Davis' words, "Affordances mediate between a technology's features and its outcomes. Technologies don't *make* people do things, but instead, push, pull, enable and constrain. Affordances are *how* objects shape action for socially situated subjects" (Davis, 2020, p. 6), (emphasis in the original text). In my analysis of Drivers Club Bogotá, I show that what platforms are doing is precisely affording action for socially situated subjects such as platform drivers.

Affordance, under the analytical framework I chose for this thesis, is a model that

Davis (2020, p. 11) operationalises as a “mechanisms and conditions framework”, shifting the questioning from what technologies afford to how and whom technologies afford. In this case, technologies, such as platforms, are not embedded in a binary where they can afford some action or not; instead, they afford defined mechanisms in which technologies can request, demand, encourage, refuse and, finally, allow. The mechanisms described and used by Davis operate on many levels, including the individual and the relational (person-to-person) and up to the societal, cultural and structural levels. As I have discussed in the analytical framework of platforms and platform urbanism, technologies shape relationships between people and can transform and co-create new cultural practices, norms and, most importantly, institutions. In these terms, Davis's framework states that when a user, let's say a platform driver, takes action with the technology, this technology interacts and responds by encouraging, discouraging, refusing or allowing that action. The conditions of affordance, the other part of the operationalisation model by Davis, deals specifically with the technology user and particularly his or her social and cultural context. At this stage, Davis groups conditions of affordance in the following dimensions: perception, dexterity and cultural and institutional legitimacy (Davis, 2020, pp. 87-100). Here, the central argument is that what determines how users perceive and interact with technology is their skills and level of technological literacy. In other words, the user's ability to understand, manipulate and articulate functionality from the technologies is central to determining how that technology is affording that user.

This leads us to the conditions of cultural and institutional legitimacy, which relate to how the person using the technology fits in to the various societal institutions of power surrounding that technology. In this sense, Davis argues that a person's technology usage varies according to the cultural, institutional and even geographical context in which that person or group uses the technology. This context also impacts how the interaction between technology and a person develops. Davis's account and model of the mechanisms and conditions show a complex yet simple-to-operationalise matrix to understand how humans and artefacts (platforms) relate. The focus of the matrix on social and structural contexts helps shift the discussion to what happens when technology is recontextualised, and people in southern contexts interact with these

technologies?

4.2.2 Creole Technologies

Understanding the conditions of affordance from a cultural and institutional legitimacy perspective frames the contextual analysis of ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá and how contextual conditions can hack the relationship between platforms and humans. However, the interaction between technology artefacts and platform drivers can be further complemented by explaining technology uses in the Global South. A conceptualisation in this regard was elaborated by the historian of science and technology, David Edgerton (2007), in his essay *Creole Technologies and Global Histories: Rethinking how Things Travel in Space and Time*. In this seminal work, Edgerton argues that technology, in general, is understood uniquely around the ideas of novelty, innovation or creativity and that this limited perspective cannot contribute to a comprehensive account of technology and society. Instead, he argues that the focus on innovation needs to be complemented by studies of technology use and, more importantly, how technologies are used in a specific context.

Promoting a view of technology's effects on societies from these two perspectives, that is, innovation and use, Edgerton pays particular attention to the development of technologies in the Global South, or what he defines as the "poor" parts of the world. Edgerton denounces, rightly, I argue, that the Global South is invisible concerning technology. Furthermore, he says that an innovation-centred perspective on technology has excluded the ways southern contexts generate and appropriate technologies. According to Edgerton, the story of the Global South, its peoples and their relationship with technology is told from the view of "transfer, resistance, incompetence, lack of maintenance, and enforced dependence on rich-world technology", where "imperialism, colonialism, and dependence were the key concepts, and the transfer of technology from rich to poor, the main process" (Edgerton, 2007, p. 92). He says, "Whatever the view taken of what technology has done in the poor world, what "technology" is has not been seriously debated" (Edgerton, 2007, p. 94).

It seems that technology studies and theories still do not clearly conceptualise the characteristics of technology in the Global South. Instead of being uniquely transferred from the North, Edgerton argues, "southern" technology grows from hybrid processes, from the interaction of the "rich" and "poor" worlds, and the interactions of "Northern" technologies with human beings of the "South". Therefore, a Global South's particular engagement with technologies would depend on a "complex, original, and changing technological landscape which included, importantly, mass technologies first developed elsewhere but used in distinctive ways" (Edgerton, 2007, pp. 94-95). Here, Edgerton introduces the idea of "creole technologies" to define technology from a purely southern perspective:

Corrugated iron, asbestos-cement, and cement were not invented in the poor world, they were first exported to it, and then locally produced. The growth of the poor world went along with a massive increase in use of these "old" technologies from the rich world, and yet also, importantly, it was a story of the spread of distinctive uses of these technologies. One can usefully describe them as creole technologies, not least as a way of pointing to the fact that most technologies in use are to varying extents creole (Edgerton, 2007, pp. 100-101).

Edgerton states that technologies, like creolised languages, go through transformations that make their form and function applicable to local conditions and needs in a hybridisation process. Moreover, these hybrid technologies can create new uses for people:

By a creole technology I mean one which finds a distinctive set of uses outside the time and place where it was first used on a significant scale. Thus it is to be distinguished from transferred technologies ... Often, but not necessarily, these technologies originating elsewhere combine in original ways with local technologies, forming hybrids, which not only combine creole technologies with local technologies, but also themselves become new creole technologies.

... Creole means derived from, but different to, the originating case. Thus the creole horse of the Americas, originating from beasts brought by the Spanish and Portuguese

conquistadores, entered a horseless world, yet became different from the horses of the Old World. The term creole also carries the sense of earthy, local, genuine, vulgar, popular, in contrast to the sophistication of the metropolitan. These are the senses in which I use the term here. Yet I also allow into it elements of another sense from which it generally needs to be radically distinguished. In the United States in particular the term has come to be associated with hybridity, that is the mixing of traditions, races, cultures, and this is the sense in which it has found limited use in the history of science (Edgerton, 2007, pp. 101-102)

Using the “creole technologies” framework, I can study the hybrid configurations that emerged with ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá, notably, how social and organisational technologies affordance created a new space for platform drivers. Equally, understanding that “creole” beyond hybrid is also “local, genuine, vulgar, popular” (Edgerton, 2007, p. 102), this creolisation process will help me analyse how government institutions in Bogotá confront a scenario in which discourses and rationalities are in conflict, where what is “popular”, “local” or “genuine” is not what governs and is not what the expert elite articulate or desire.

In Bogotá, the creolisation of foreign platform technology translated into the creation of Drivers Club Bogotá, whose development, as will be illustrated in the following chapters, would have been impossible without this creolisation of platform technologies. Drivers Club Bogotá is in contestation in its context due to its uncertain legal status. Therefore, the emergence and affordances that created the community of platform drivers must also be examined from the perspective of contestation with the government, from within themselves and the other forms of ride-hailing platforms. I argue that these contestation processes can be framed and studied within the theories of entrepreneurship, particularly evasive entrepreneurship, focusing on technology disruption.

4.3 Evasive Entrepreneurship: Contestation and Empowerment

Entrepreneurship can be understood as any action that considers a given context and

discovers a failure or an opportunity in this context to promote different levels of positive or negative change. In this case, the idea of “entrepreneurship” as a driver of social change includes the different views of entrepreneurship, including the Schumpeterian (Schumpeter, 2000) [1934] behavioralist view and the Kirznerian (Kirzner, 2015) cognitive approach, while also considering non-market forms (Storr et al., 2016) that affect institutions.

In the foundational work of Israel Kirzner (Kirzner, 2015), entrepreneurship is understood as the discovery of opportunities emerging from market inefficiencies (failures). In this paradigm, entrepreneurship is the correction of market errors constantly arising as market structures evolve in time. These errors are only “corrected” by the innovation of entrepreneurs who are always “coming up” with new ideas, markets and possibilities of expansion. Other views on entrepreneurship theories and philosophies conceive the entrepreneurial “opportunity” not only as the recognition of market inefficiencies but also as a path-dependent social behaviour. This behaviourist perspective (Schumpeter, 2000) embeds the concept of innovation and “creative destruction” and requires the processes of disruption to be accepted by society at large; thus the institutional framework needs to be friendly to these processes of disruption. As Packard argued:

The social acceptance of an opportunity emerges over time through market-testing ideas, modifying those ideas, developing, marketing and so on until the market accepts the idea as meaningful and valuable. If a society is to accept these disruptive processes, institutions generally should follow through. (Packard, 2017, p. 539)

However, these philosophies of entrepreneurship as exposed by the Kirznerian and Schumpeterian approaches cannot fully explain the behavioural heterogeneity of individual or collective agents. Heterogeneity of entrepreneurship shows that entrepreneurship should be understood beyond the mere recognition of an opportunity or the development of a behaviour and viewed as a process larger than a market transaction (Davidsson, 2015, 2016). This is crucial when the concept of “entrepreneurship” is sometimes used as a justification for individuals' de-politicisation or as a masculinist framework to support populist authoritarian politicians or parties

(Bennett et al., 2021; Bernasconi & Espinosa-Cristia, 2020; Sauer et al., 2020). Along the same line, a discourse of “entrepreneurship” in Latin America has helped mask social exclusion (Kalil et al., 2021; Pinheiro-Machado & Scalco, 2022; Vidal et al., 2022). However, visions of collective action and collective or cooperative forms of entrepreneurship are not included in the narrative of what entrepreneurship means and does in contexts like Colombia.

Considering the above, theorising about non-market forms of entrepreneurship is useful (Storr et al., 2016). Non-market approaches to entrepreneurship are an ongoing debate in management and in political and organisational theory on the subtle differences between policy, ideological, institutional, evasive and social entrepreneurs. Boettke and Coyne (2009), for example, discuss non-market entrepreneurship and its relation to institutions. Non-market forms of entrepreneurship are a combination of abiding by, altering and evading activity towards institutions, which is the basis for the notion of institutional, policy or political entrepreneurship and contestation. In other words, non-market forms of entrepreneurship are an alternative way of exerting political agency. Here, I argue that the concept of evasive entrepreneurship, as developed by Elert and Henrekson (2016) and articulated within technological implications by Thierer (2020), can explain platform drivers challenging the status quo and creating their own spaces in Bogotá.

Evasive entrepreneurship is any entrepreneurial activity seeking to circumvent or contest a pre-existing institutional framework. In this regard, evasive entrepreneurship can be characterised by its interaction with regulations and institutions (private and public), but also by how people interact with those institutions, including the creation of new organisational forms within the larger institutional context that act as the spaces for evasion and contestation (Elert & Henrekson, 2016). Literature on evasive entrepreneurship has recently focused on technologies, such as platforms, as the best tools to explicitly evade and contest institutions (Elert & Henrekson, 2021; Laffey, 2021; Petrova, 2021; Ufere & Gaskin, 2021).

Thierer (2020) shows how individuals and communities are afforded by technologies to exit coercive, inefficient and unfair forms of governance, both public

and private. Individuals respond to the perceived bad performance of government, corporations or any organisation or institution by “exiting” it, not necessarily exerting a process of de-politicisation but rather adopting an alternative form of political agency. Evasive entrepreneurship is therefore a process that can constrain and limit unaccountable governmental activities that do not reflect the consent of the people being governed and are considered unjust by them. In this case, evasive entrepreneurship is portrayed as a process of “checks and balances” that can increase governmental transparency and accountability (Thierer, 2020). I would add to Thierer’s account that evasive entrepreneurship needs to be theorised as a process of contestation that can also limit the activities of unaccountable private corporations, for more efficient control of their abuses.

4.3.1 Technological Empowerment

Evasive entrepreneurs use technologies to enact their processes of contestation and circumvent institutional private and public systems, processes that could be framed by a theory of “permissionless innovation” (Broughel & Thierer, 2019; Hemphill, 2020), in which technological devices transform into what Thierer (2020) calls technologies of freedom or resistance. Technologies such as platforms according to this analytical framework afford people the capacity to circumvent, ignore or contest government activities that constrain their liberty. Moreover, technologies are increasingly becoming the voice for the emergence of new forms of social movements and collective action in contestation with stagnant or corrupt institutions (Novak, 2021). I would argue again that these technologies can also afford contestation against private corporate structures as the institutional systems of big and out-of-touch organisations. All in all, when people start to use technologies and are allowed to evade public regulations and corporate contradictions, we have a process of technological empowerment, technological civil disobedience and liberation (Diamond, 2015; Thierer, 2020)

Platform drivers and their community of Drivers Club Bogotá are evasive entrepreneurs and innovators who do not conform to social or legal norms (Thierer, 2020). In a context of institutional fragility and patrimonial capture by rent-seeking groups, forms of technologically-afforded civil disobedience are critical elements of a

new form of political agency. This form of evasive entrepreneurialism plays an essential role in constraining government policy in Bogotá that is affected by the “pacing problem” or an inability of legal and regulatory frameworks to keep up with technological and societal change. Furthermore, platform drivers engaging with technologically-afforded disobedience are also contesting corporate forms that either abuse them or do not provide enough tools for welfare and personal and communal growth. Complementing the previously discussed “affordances” approach, this perspective of evasive entrepreneurialism and technologically-afforded empowerment and disobedience is my key analytical framework for understanding the processes and activities of platform drivers in Bogotá. In this case, exiting institutions (both public and private) is the way in which individual and/or communities express their voice, regardless of the acceptance or recognition of the institutions being contested. The power behind the exiting is a power related to “doing”. In contexts where institutions fail or are captured as patrimony by different interest rent-seeking groups, demanding change by means of protest is not always fruitful. In this context, often the only action possible, the only thing to “do”, is to exit the system, thereby evading it.

It could be debated that within the philosophies of non-market entrepreneurship, contestation can also be defined within the field of social or policy entrepreneurship, thus leaving the evasive entrepreneurship approach as one of many analytical options. For instance, policy entrepreneurs could find an alternative in the “advocacy coalition framework” proposed in some mid-1990s public policy literature (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2018; Mintrom & Vergari, 1996). However, the difference in the field, willingness and positioning of the entrepreneurial actor (in this case, platform drivers), I argue, pulls the debate into the evasive entrepreneurship side: policy entrepreneurs are defined in the literature as “actors who engage in collaborative efforts in and around government to promote policy innovations” (Mintrom, 2019; Mintrom & Vergari, 1996). As (Mintrom, 2019) said, “Policy entrepreneurs reveal themselves through their attempts to transform policy ideas into policy innovations and hence, disrupt status quo policy arrangements.” On the other hand, processes of technologically-afforded disobedience go beyond policy constraints and, as mentioned before, can also act as a challenger to private corporations. Hence, I argue that evasive entrepreneurship involves actors concerned directly ignoring

policies rather than attempting to change them and creating organisational structures and forms of resistance that did not exist before.

Again, platforms provide affordances and open new possibilities to challenge institutions and the existing status quo. With respect to the Global South, this is particularly well expressed by Mazumdar (2020) in an analysis of the everyday politics of ride-hailing platforms in India:

Examining the practices, strategies and policies of those involved in ride-hailing platforms as imagined affordances is how India's platform urbanism co-constituted. For example, the negotiations of ride-hailing drivers with multiple techno-social actors and arrangements are engendered by both enabling and disabling neoliberalism ... Ride-hailing platforms are contributing to the disintegration of older motoring communities but are also creating newer forms of motoring communities by giving space to hitherto marginalised groups. In this way, corporate ride-hailing platforms are going beyond their intended role into an imagined affordance of social organising. (Mazumdar, 2020, p. 236)

I argue in this case that platform drivers as evasive entrepreneurs in the South are contesting and might even be changing their institutional environment.

4.3.2 Conflicting Rationalities

Supporting the analysis of contestation emerging from technologically-afforded entrepreneurship and empowerment, it is crucial to incorporate and re-interpret the concept of "conflicting rationalities" (Watson, 2004). This approach is the last in my analytical framework and closes the circle of theories and concepts I am using to support my arguments. In its original conceptualisation, conflicting rationalities addresses the clash between policymakers' intentions behind their policies and responses, particularly urban planners, and the will, demands and meaning-creating processes of southern urban denizens. The term is used in the search for a southern perspective on urban theories, still primarily emerging from contexts in the "North" or the "West".

(Watson, 2004) coined the term “conflicting rationalities” after observing the case of a South African local government and its declared policy to replace an informal settlement with “formal” houses. The case study demonstrates how government institutions often ignore and misunderstand the rationalities emerging from the bottom-up and shows that decision-making processes are based on a desire to formalise any irregular or informal processes happening in cities, following the discourse of the “rational design” of social order:

The desire on the part of governments almost everywhere to formalize informal, irregular or illegal settlement has a long history ... lying in the early emergence of modern statecraft and its subsequent development into “high-modernist ideology” aimed at “the rational design of social order commensurate with the scientific understanding of natural laws”.

These imperatives, in the first instance, shaped government action in Westernised societies but were applied as well, often with missionary zeal, in colonial and postcolonial territories where development and modernization came to mean the same thing. Ideals underlying this ideology have always been partly utopian (the creation of a better society and healthy, contented communities) but also partly bound up with the desire to administer, to control and to incorporate populations into municipal finance systems. (Watson, 2004, p. 396)

In this case, Watson denounces the assumption implicit in the imposition of this “modernism” and “rational design” discourse that the participants of informal city structures and activities will accept the legal and financial obligations that go hand-in-hand with formalisation. The concept of conflicting rationalities was inspired by an analysis of an informal settlement's struggle against formalisation; however, it is certainly applicable to the case of platform drivers in Bogotá and, more specifically, the case of Drivers Club Bogotá. Here, I reinterpret the term “conflicting rationalities” by observing platform drivers and their interface with the institutional context surrounding them, which, as explained in chapter 2, deems platforms and their activities as illegal or at least in regulatory limbo.

These contested interfaces are what ride-hailing platforms experience in the context of Bogotá. First, there is a contestation with a government unable to recognise platforms' capacity to afford new organisational models and new forms of employment, thus insisting on a futile exercise of formalisation. Second, there is the government's inability to recognise platform drivers' power to challenge pre-existing institutions. Third, there is the contestation with corporate structures (ride-hailing platforms) that cannot recognise and articulate the different hybrid forms and organisational models emerging from the use of the platform itself.

4.3.2.1 New forms of organisation

In this thesis, the "conflict of rationalities" frames what I argue is a unique characteristic of the platform affordance of drivers' agency in Bogotá, namely, their ability to mix platform technology with informal and "street" economies and culture (Edgerton, 2007; Grima et al., 2020; Grima et al., 2021) and generate and govern new "creole" forms of organisation that challenge existing institutions. In other words, platform technologies give platform drivers the affordances to create and govern spaces of their own and in the process challenge the pre-existing status quo. Conflicting rationalities also emerge within these new forms of creole organisation, as drivers challenge the original founders around their (the founders') endeavours to formalise the organisation.

Michel's iron law of oligarchy thesis argues that all organisations, even those embedded and committed politically to democratic or cooperative ideals and practices, have the potential to be captured and ruled by an elite few, that is, an oligarchy (Michel, 2019). In this scenario, and building from further research into organisations, the iron law of oligarchy is a seminal concept to understanding the internal politics of very different structures in contestation (or conflicting rationalities), including those afforded by platforms. In the framework of conflicting rationalities and overall contestation, Michels (2019) "iron law of oligarchy" is a useful analytical tool for understanding the internal contradictions emerging with platform-based and afforded organisational models. However, in this thesis, I complement Michel's framework by using the view of Diefenbach (2019) and showing how platforms afford different, dynamic and multiple power structures that construct an alternative form of governance in their contestation.

Moreover, I show that democratic and horizontal systems within organisations are more resilient than they appear, as they are built by human action:

Hierarchy, whether it arises by conscious design or unintended consequence, is always the result of human action and interaction – and never the logical or automatic result of abstract and anonymous forces. Michel's functionalistic argument, that hierarchy is a necessary consequence of specialisation, simply reiterates (false) ideological beliefs and does not represent a scientifically valid proposition (Diefenbach, 2019, p. 552)

...

Social reality does not happen according to natural laws but is a result of, and open to, human design and human action; it can be shaped and changed in various ways. And there are always measures and counter-measures at hand with which we can design, initiate, maintain, improve, repair or change institutions to serve better those purposes they are meant to serve. Institutions can be designed and maintained in ways that help democratic organisations to avoid becoming oligarchies. (Diefenbach, 2019, p. 559)

The resilience of horizontality and the recognition that social reality is open and emerges from human action is crucial to complement the idea of platform affordance and drivers' agency. Platforms, as much as they can afford the oligarchisation of social organisations, can also afford processes in which these platforms are used as technologies of freedom, generating a technologically-based empowerment the rationalities of which are in contestation with stagnant governmental, corporate and internal structures. These are the analytical tools of contestation that I adhere to in this thesis.

The emergence of alternative organisational forms in contestation requires an engagement with a policy change that considers both technologically-based empowerment and the conflicting rationalities of governmental action versus new forms of creole organisation. In this case, the "partner state" concept and the elaboration of design coalitions could be a way to reimagine the state and government at the city level through a lens of cooperation, democracy and co-designing (Bauwens & Kostakis, 2015; Manzini, 2015, 2017; Pazaitis & Drechsler, 2020; Restakis, 2021). The idea of the "partner state" should not be understood as a form of government but rather as a governance system resting in an infrastructure of cooperation. The partner state enables and

empowers social innovation and value creation by allowing citizens to be involved in the process, abandoning the idea of the state as sovereign but instead becoming embedded in multiple relationships of co-designing solutions—a state that frames itself in a framework of multi-stakeholdership (Bandini et al., 2014; Gijssels & Develtere, 2008; Travaglini, 2010).

The idea of design coalitions also emerges from the work of Ezio Manzini (2015); (Manzini, 2017) based on the recognition of design as a tool for understanding and framing social innovation and as an attribute that is not exclusive to “expert” designers, but rather belongs to everyone involved in a given issue. Going beyond the attributions of expert and centralised knowledge for solving problems in society, Manzini recognises that knowledge is distributed and that every actor has a say in its development and in the “expertise” around decision and sense-making of social development. Therefore, the role of expert designers, including city policymakers, is to form design coalitions for those “experts” on the ground, designing their everyday life activities and innovation from the bottom up. The idea of design coalitions is already being implemented as an alternative policy configuration in Latin America, exemplified by the emergence of collaborative services in Brazilian slums (Cipolla et al., 2015) and by the different stages of the “social urbanism” process in Medellín, Colombia (Restrepo-Medina et al., 2021).

Together with the concept of the “partner state” and “design coalitions” in relationship with platform effects, it is crucial to consider the framework of new platform municipalism. This framework informs the democratising values of using technology for social change and the articulation of new forms of democratic decision-making in a technology-impacted setting (Thompson, 2020, 2021). In other words, platform municipalism is a new way of engaging with planning and urban governance that goes beyond the idea of the smart city and a technological-dystopian articulation of urban futures by proposing the alternative of a bottom-up engagement with the government-people-platforms technologies triad. In this case, the evolution of Drivers Club Bogotá argues for the recognition of this emerging bottom-up phenomenon of technology use for social betterment, that is, the provision of urban social services even in dire circumstances. The role of policymakers is to find an alternative to fill the gap in their

capacity, the development of platform companies' power and the everyday life practices of the users and workers linked to the platform technologies.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I finalised the discussion around the analytical framework of the thesis. Building from platform urbanism and the spatial particularities of platform technologies, I first engaged with the technology affordances approach. Within this approach, platforms, like other artefacts, were considered to push, enable and constrain human action in socially situated subjects. I also explained how the mechanisms and conditions framework (Davis, 2020) operationalises the affordances approach and, in particular, how the cultural and societal context, mixed with human action, is crucial to understanding technology affordances.

From the vital need for social and cultural contextualisation, I also discussed the concept of creole technologies (Edgerton, 2007) and how this analytical tool resonates with platform drivers in Bogotá, particularly considering the vernacular technological uses that emerge in Global South contexts and the interaction and appropriation of technological forms coming from the "North" or the "West". From the discussion of "creole technologies", I will be able to explain and articulate the hybrid configurations emerging from ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá, in particular the affordances of social and organisational technologies that create a thriving new space for platform drivers. From the study of creole technologies, I also addressed how the hybrid nature of technology use in contexts like Bogotá is embedded in a contestation scenario. This led me to understand contestation through the analytical framework of non-market forms of entrepreneurship.

Following the idea of contestation, I observed the characteristics of non-market forms of entrepreneurship and discussed the concept of evasive entrepreneurship (Thierer, 2020), as a technologically-focused analytical tool to understand contestation in the framework of the thesis. I also addressed the concept of conflicting rationalities. Watson (2004) focused on the clash between the will of planners and policymakers and those of regular urban denizens. I argue that the concept can be usefully applied to the

clash between platform drivers, government and mainstream platforms. Within the discussion of conflicting rationalities, I also discussed the issues around the affordance of new organisational forms. This included, how processes of hierarchisation that seem unavoidable are contested by human action, which can help us to understand the external and internal contradictions emerging from the study of Drivers Club Bogotá. Finally, I discussed the implications of these new forms of organisation at the urban governance level, mainly how the literature on design for social innovation and the need to create governance built on partnership and coalition can be useful for developing policies that better accommodate the emergent processes pushed by people like the drivers of Drivers Club Bogotá. At this stage, I have the analytical framework and tools necessary for understanding how ride-hailing platforms are allowing drivers in Bogotá to create and govern spaces of their own. Having developed my analytical framework, the next chapter maps the methodology used in the study.

CHAPTER 5 | METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

For this thesis, I undertook a qualitative methods approach with a substantial component of digital ethnography (Pink, 2016; Pink et al., 2015) and critical digital methods (Leszczynski, 2018, 2019, 2020a). In this chapter, I explain this approach, which involved conducting and analysing 42 semi-structured online synchronous (video) and asynchronous (email) interviews with platform-related actors in Bogotá. I then analysed the images emerging from those interactions, such as platform screenshots and other graphic or video media provided by the informants. My methodology also included an analysis of field notes generated from those interviews, a process of coding in English verbatim transcription in Spanish (the mother tongue of myself and the interviewees) and an analysis of internet-open (publicly available) data. This internet data included platform regulation projects in Colombia, website communications by ride-hailing platform corporations, online media articles, videos and graphics emerging from these online media and platform corporations' websites.

I start this chapter by discussing the methodological paradigms influencing my research, in particular, how digital ethnography was the most appropriate way to study Drivers Club Bogotá. To do this, I drew from the work of critical internet and media research scholars focused on digital ethnographic methods (Leszczynski, 2018, 2019, 2020a; Pertierra, 2018; Pink, 2016; Pink et al., 2015) and, in particular, the study of "mundane" practices, such as the everyday platform affordances of drivers in Bogotá (Leszczynski, 2020a, 2020b; Pink et al., 2017). In the first half of this chapter, I discuss digital ethnography as a way to make sense of cultural formations emerging through the adoption of new technologies and their affordances of everyday activities, as in the case of Bogotá. In the second half, I explain in more depth the practicalities of my research and describe how I analysed the data collected from the interviews, fieldnotes, images and other documentation (Saldaña, 2021; Salmons, 2021). This included a description of

the different cohorts of interviewees and some demographic and positioning characteristics specific to the platform drivers. I also discuss the language and culture of interviews and how Spanish and local knowledge affects the analysis of meanings and interpretations. Here I also reflect on my role as a researcher and my positioning (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009), and I argue for the use of Spanish alongside the English translation of the research data to give an authentic voice to the interviewees' experience, particularly of platform drivers in Bogotá. Finally, I conclude with the ethical considerations surrounding the research.

This chapter describes the theories, characteristics and practicalities of my methodology. It also highlights my research progress, from the impossibility of travelling due to COVID-19 border closures to using digital methods, which transformed my perceptions of time, space and relationship with my research subjects. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the bulk of humanity, at least those privileged enough to “work from home”, had to go through a crash course in digital literacy and relationality. This contextual change certainly influenced the methodology and the development of my research.

5.2 Digital Ethnography

The digital world is networked and constantly refers to multiple connections; therefore, when referring to digital ethnography, it is crucial to understand that this always implies networked connections that are neither static nor fixed (Pink, 2016; Pink et al., 2015). In software operation, there is always a process of mechanical interpretation in which any type of data is communicated and interpreted to produce different representations. Moreover, when people interact with technology, there is also a process of interpreting data and generating meanings that transform these connections to create an online persona (Moore, 2017). In other words, whenever we are dealing with the digital world, we transform ourselves into an online entity, and this online being must interact and interpret meanings in an online-mediated way.

Digital ethnography researches and describes the cultures and affordances that are made possible, created or altered by the presence of digital technologies (Hjorth et al., 2017; Pink et al., 2015). To the critics of digital ethnography who argue that anthropological work cannot be done without active and long-time participation in and observation of a community, I respond with the argument by Perterra (2018, p. 61) that "media ethnography makes use of ethnographic methods to study media without claiming to be doing anthropological work." I do not argue in this thesis that I am developing an ethnography of a drivers' community in Bogotá in the traditional sense. Instead, I recognise that the digital (platform-based) characteristics of their everyday work inform the need for developing digital ethnography and applying innovative and critical digital methods.

The literature on digital ethnography, particularly the work of Pink et al. (2015), proposes that, unlike traditional ethnography, digital methods are embedded in principle by multiplicity, by the "de-centring" of technology, their openness and their reflexivity. In this case, "multiplicity" is based on the contextuality of whatever is being researched and has the result that there is no set (or static), fixed methodology for digital ethnography and that approaches must be multiple. In other words, the multiplicity of research questions and contexts being researched defines the numerous and diverse structures of how to engage with digital methods. The second principle is "de-centring" technology, which highlights that the focus of digital ethnography is not the digital artefact, text or media being analysed but rather the experience of the uses around this data or artefact and the critical observations that can be built around it. Openness is another principle proposed by Pink et al. (2015), recognising that the digital is non-static and always in the process of change and updating. This recognition emphasises that investigating and understanding the digital any methodology is a process and cannot have a fixed method. The next principle, reflexivity, is essential to understanding digital ethnography and the work of the digital ethnographer. In this case, the key element that Pink et al. (2015) recognise is that, just like traditional ethnography, attention must be centred on understanding the researcher's personal experience, history, relationships and culture. In digital ethnography, as in other qualitative methods,

research must be framed by the interpretation of the researcher's experience, which is always subjective, formed through encounters and reflexive about its cultural framework.

5.2.1 Categories and themes of digital ethnography

Pink et al. (2015) categorise seven key themes of how digital ethnography can be used and instrumentalised. These categories are research experiences, practices, things, relationships, social worlds, localities and events. The research of experiences conveys the relationship of mind, body and technology, a cybernetic hybrid relationship of the digital and the physical world (Mitra & Schwartz, 2001). In this case, researching "experience" asks how the digital is embedded through sensory modes of being and how researching the experiences of quotidian "mundane" artefacts can help us frame and understand the relationship between mind, body and technology. Here, the research of experience calls for the researcher's immersion into the insights of other people's experience with technologies, including the experience of mundane artefacts, such as platforms.

Research practices, on the other hand, are framed as being attentive to how actions and habits are created, shaped and maintained over time due to the affordances of technology. Pink et al. (2015) highlight the need to focus on the technology users and, by doing so, on their habits and actions afforded by technology to discover and capture the complex intersection between material technology and human beings. This built on the early work of sociology of practice coming from (de Certeau, 1988); de Certeau and Rendall (2011) and their explorations of the individualisation of mass-produced objects and popular culture. This can also apply to the examination of everyday objects and rituals (Bourdieu, 1990, 2020) and the new analytical frameworks that I use in this thesis, such as the affordances approach (Davis, 2020). An analysis of digital and material locality can be applied to a community of drivers coming together and creating new organisations and modes of being (social worlds) at the other end of the earth, which became the key process of my methodology.

5.3 Digital methods

The articulation and application of digital ethnography to any research requires being open to engaging with critical and unorthodox perspectives. To address the latter, I expand from the theory of digital ethnography into the literature on critical methods of digital geographies, which discusses and operationalises the approaches I used in my study (Leszczynski, 2018, 2019, 2020a). By articulating digital methods as “methodologies or approaches to knowing and making sense of the world”, Leszczynski (2018) addresses the tensions and questions around the rigour that digital ethnographies can create. The first approach is solving the epistemological limitations of digital methodologies and the criticisms that can emerge from these limitations. Leszczynski (2018) articulates that triangulation and representativeness capture the challenges of digital research. Leszczynski (2018) also argues in this case for ways to maximise meaning in qualitative digital research by triangulating the obtained data and using data-analytic approaches to manage big data, which can solve the tensions of quantitative methods in the study of socio-spatial relationships.

Triangulation analysis of technological artefacts beyond the artefacts themselves also includes an engagement of the “human” side of that artefact utilisation and relationality with space and practice. Therefore, I built from the idea of a “walking ethnography” addressed by Leszczynski (2018) and applied it to the digital by developing screen-mediated online interviews. These online interviews evolved, in many cases, into online conversations while Drivers Club Bogotá drivers were actually working and allowed me to grasp how they perceived and related to the platforms. Moreover, it allowed me to observe how the drivers placed themselves with that use and the affordances that it created for them. This helped me obtain answers to my research questions, including how the drivers perceived, related to and used ride-hailing platforms, what led to the development of the “creole platform” variant and the strategies drivers developed around platforms. This process also showed me the internal dynamics and culture of their organisation, as they invited me to one of their internal group meetings.

The second digital methods approach I undertook for this thesis was the idea of digital-visual artefacts as objects of study (Leszczynski, 2019). Here, I hold that digital methods surrounding digital-visual artefacts interrogate politics, contestation and hidden meanings that sometimes cannot be said in an interview can be presented more effectively by an image or video. I also hold that images and videos themselves can be a direct object of research as they reproduce the internal struggles and mechanisms of people's relationship with platforms, which cannot always be expressed with words. The fact that after online interviews and continued conversations, some informants provided me with images that either solidified their narrative or introduced something that I had not encountered before is testimony of this.

Overall, my digital methods approach and the way I developed a comprehensive digital ethnography highlighted the "mundane" engagements with the technology of everyday life, particularly in cities like Bogotá (Leszczynski, 2020a). Ride-hailing, social media and chat platforms such as Facebook or WhatsApp are as mundane as a digital artefact can be, embedded as they are in contemporary societal evolution to the point that it is impossible to separate them from the mundane activities of everyday life. The same is true of the smartphones used for these platforms and that cars drivers use for work.

As I discuss in the next section, not all the people I interviewed were platform drivers. Some were in high places of government or even platform corporations, and were not involved directly with the mundane practices of everyday driving using platforms. However, all of them were asked about common characteristics of platform evolution and to describe their day-to-day engagement with these platforms. The purpose here was to find out how Colombian state agencies and platform corporations were responding to emergent creole platforms. The perspective on the mundane was not always achieved, particularly by some government representatives who could not separate themselves from their official position. Nevertheless, a critical interrogation into the ordinary and taken-for-granted digital artefacts and the related practices and relationalities was carried out and resulted in the findings that I present in the analysis chapters of this thesis.

5.4 Methods in practice

While doing a thesis during COVID-19 tested my capacities and competence, it also opened up opportunities for research that, I argue, could better unveil the conditions around platforms in Bogotá. My research process involved flexibility, creativity, adaptability and resilience to an ever-changing context, and this was affected not only by the nuances of online research. Initially, I intended to travel to Colombia and do participatory observation and "ride-interviews" in which I would board ride-hailing vehicles in Bogotá and investigate users' and drivers' characteristics, concerns and development. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the Australian Government closed its international borders and stopped individual international travel unless granted an exemption. The fact that I could not do the research in person helped me to articulate and apply the opportunities around online research, which manifested in the development of the digital ethnography that now informs the findings of this thesis.

Besides being unable to travel to Bogotá, violent protests in Colombian cities (Turkewitz, 2021) further hindered my ability to recruit the people I wanted to study. However, I developed the digital ethnography that informs this thesis, despite these challenges, as follows:

1. Online interviews (asynchronous or synchronous), depending on the subject and availability. The discussions focusing on the drivers, my target group for research, were developed synchronously and evolved in a dynamic I describe below.
2. Analysis of online data from online media outlets, government online data, websites of government representatives, platform corporations' websites. This online data included publicly available documents, website publications, images, infographics and videos.

5.4.1 Online interviews

From May to December 2021, and some late interviews and conversations from January to August 2022, I conducted 42 semi-structured interviews. Interviews and discussions with drivers included questions on their context and characteristics, how they used platforms and the coordination processes that emerged from platform use. The interviews had questions on the specific strategies of drivers in Drivers Club Bogotá and their relationship with the context of the city. For the cohorts beyond Drivers Club Bogotá, the interview themes included questions on how corporations (both state and private) responded to ride-hailing and creole platforms in Bogotá². The interviewees were recruited with purposive sampling via email, WhatsApp or Facebook messages and divided into six cohorts. Among the interviewees were 29 men and 13 women (a still heavily male market), with an average age between 30 and 50 years old and primarily long-standing residents of Bogotá. The cohorts were divided as follows: Representatives from platform corporations, generally their public relations or public policy leaders; 2. Leaders of an identified “union” (informal, that is, not officially registered) of drivers; 3. Representatives from the local and the national government; 4. Experts in academia and legal practice focused on ride-hailing platforms in Colombia and Bogotá; 5. The founders of Drivers Club Bogotá; 6. Driver members of Drivers Club Bogotá.

Interviewees were recruited via email for cohorts 1, 3, and 4, using publicly available addresses. For others, including Drivers Club Bogotá, recruitment was through Facebook messages to group administrators. Following initial contact, drivers voluntarily provided WhatsApp numbers. Selection of these groups was based on their affiliation with specific organisations. In this process, I identified myself as a Colombian doctoral researcher based in Australia. From the original sampling and, due to the different interactions and limitations with the interviewees, the final number of interviewees for the cohorts was as follows: Two representatives of platform companies, six leaders of the informal platform drivers’

² See details on interviews and covered themes and questions in Appendixes ‘A-F’.

union, three representatives from the government, including the legislature (member of congress) and executive, three experts, two founders of Drivers Club Bogotá and a total 26 driver members of the creole platform. While I wanted to pay particular attention to this last group, the response was beyond my initial planning, and I was able to build conversations additional to the planned semi-structured interviews. These conversations extended from June to December 2021. I was usually called back after one interview or I received a WhatsApp message with an image or a video that some drivers wanted to bring to my attention, right up to the time that I was writing this thesis.

Table 1 – Interview Cohorts

Interview Cohorts	Type of Online Interview	Number of Interviewees
Cohort 1 – Platform companies	Asynchronous	2
Cohort 2 – Platform Drivers “Union”	Synchronous	6
Cohort 3 -Government	Asynchronous/Synchronous	2/1
Cohort 4 – Experts	Asynchronous/Synchronous	2/1
Cohort 5 – Founders	Synchronous	2
Cohort 6 – Drivers (Drivers Club Bogotá)	Synchronous	26
TOTAL		42

I argue that the good relationship between myself and the drivers was not hindered by the online characteristics of my investigation but was rather augmented by it. Some drivers felt compelled to continue conversations via WhatsApp and they referred to events or situations in which they were involved beyond the original formal structure of the interview. This was a clear advantage of online engagement, as it shows that after the formalities of an interview, online contacts can afford a more fluid casual interaction (Leszczynski, 2018, 2020a; Salmons, 2021). It is crucial to recognise here that procedures using online qualitative research must take into account the different technical needs of

the subjects, including accessing a computer or a portable device for interviews. In the case of interviewees in a more formal setting, for example, government or platform company representatives, a computer-based communication via Zoom or similar desktop-based platforms may be sufficient. This also applied in the case of asynchronous email interviewing, which can leave a space for reflection, discussion and distance that helps the quality of the obtained information (Morris, 2015).

Nevertheless, in the case of platform drivers or similar types of individuals in relation to platforms, a more decentralised approach is preferable and sometimes the only option. As I learned from the interviews with drivers, interactions using smartphones, which they also use for their everyday activities, was crucial to engage with them in a more direct and flexible way. That was the reason behind choosing both WhatsApp and Google Meet platforms, open services that are more ubiquitous in a context dominated by Android, such as Colombia. I also chose them due to their zero cost but excellent availability through a smartphone with internet access and an email account linked to Google.

Another element of the smartphone interaction was the opportunity to interview and talk to the drivers in Bogotá while they were working, which opened a space for reflexivity and unexpected outcomes. On more than one occasion, I found myself late at night, or even before dawn, talking to drivers with my smartphone while it was the middle of the day in Colombia. I found myself interviewing them while they were driving, taking a break or just listening to music in their vehicle. In all these cases, I was able to talk to them with the background of their car and the city of Bogotá, which had an impact on my perception and interpretation of their daily activities, and certainly their perspectives and impressions of their community. In my interview process, I was also able to attend one of their online-based community meetings (at the invitation of the drivers and founders of Drivers Club Bogotá), even though this was not one of my initial intentions. This enabled me to expand my interview questions to the collective organisation, which me a clearer picture of its internal dynamics and some emerging tensions that I discuss in the analysis chapters.

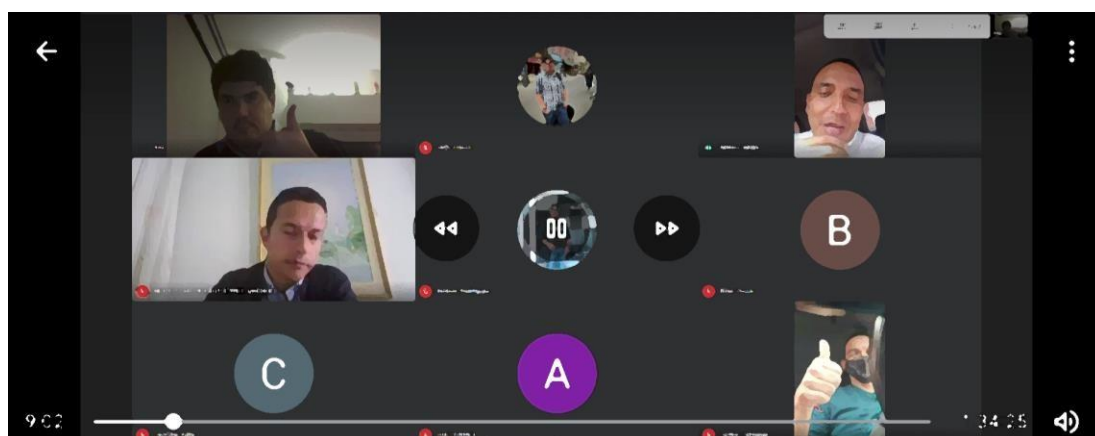


Fig. 5. Smartphone screenshot of my attendance at the online internal meeting of Drivers Club Bogotá.
August 2021 – Image digitally modified to protect the identity of the interviewees.

Table 2 – Profile of interviewees from cohorts 1-4

Interviewees	Role	Sex
Representative of Platform Company	Public Policy Manager	Male
Representative of Platform Company	Social Relations Manager	Male
Informal Union member 1	Driver/2 years/Union coordinator	Male
Informal Union member 2	Driver/3 years/ Union coordinator	Male
Informal Union member 3	Driver/1 year	Male
Informal Union member 4	Driver/2 years	Male
Informal Union member 5	Driver/10 months	Male
Informal Union member 6	Driver/2 years	Male
Representative of Government (Ministry of Transportation of Colombia)	Superintendent of Transportation	Male
Representative of Government (Secretariat of Mobility – City Government of Bogotá)	Sub-secretary	Male
Representative of Government (Member of Congress)	House of Representatives Member	Male

Representative of “AlianzaIn”	President of the legal branch of platform companies	Male
Tech expert (Lawyer)	Lawyer – Tech regulation specialised firm	Female
Academia expert	Professor – Universidad Sergio Arboleda	Male

All the interviews were useful for creating meanings and triangulating my experience, my various digital engagements and the literature. However, I must clarify that most of my research findings and the structuring of my analysis chapters are based on the interactions with the drivers and founders of Drivers Club Bogotá. This is the reason why I relate their individual experiences and convey their relationships with the platforms. I wanted to understand their collective action in developing the creole platform and, most critically, the everyday strategies that I frame within evasive entrepreneurship. Additional to the interview questions to each of these drivers, I asked about their position within Drivers Club Bogotá and how long they had been group members. To each of these drivers, I assigned a pseudonym, to refer to each of their voices and experiences individually.

Table 3 – Profile of interviewed drivers, using pseudonyms (Drivers Club Bogotá)

Interviewees* (Pseudonyms)	Role/Time of Membership	Sex
David	Founder and Driver/ 5 years	Male
Mauricio	Founder and Driver/ 5 years	Male
Catalina	Driver/1 year	Female
Jhonatan	Driver/3 years	Male
Nelson	Driver/4 years	Male
María	Driver/5 years	Female

Marcela	Driver/2 months	Female
Juan Pablo	Driver/3 years	Male
Lina	Driver/1 year	Female
Angelin	Driver/Coordinator of group/2 years	Female
Juan Manuel	Driver/2 years	Male
Federico	Driver/1 year	Male
Manuela	Driver/4 years	Female
Juan Carlos	Driver/1 year	Male
Jhon Jairo	Driver/Coordinator of group/3 years	Male
Adelaida	Driver/2 years	Female
Felipe	Driver/3 months	Male
Patricia	Driver/1 year	Female
Hugo	Driver/3 Years	Male
Susana	Driver/2 years	Female
Ramiro	Driver/Coordinator of group/4 years	Male
Mariana	Driver/Coordinator of group/2 years	Female
Andrés Felipe	Driver/5 years	Male
Marialejandra	Driver/1 year	Female
Mateo	Driver/2 years	Male
Alejandro	Driver/3 years	Male
Rocío	Driver/1 year	Female
Gabriel	Driver/6 months	Male

* all names used are pseudonyms

5.4.2 Using Spanish and colloquial language

To give a voice to all of the interviewees, particularly the platform drivers of Drivers Club Bogotá, it was crucial to address the language used in the interviews, the platform-mediated interactions and the products that this research investigated. In this case, the

use of Spanish did have an impact on the analysis of meanings and interpretations (Briz, 2000; García Negroni, 2008; Gómez, 1998; Valls, 2002), especially when engaging with the colloquial language used in these interviews. In elaborating meanings and interpretations, Spanish has metaphoric and poetical characteristics that are not common in English and could be lost in translation when analysing the data. This is because Spanish, and its Colombian and *Bogotano* variant, is a language full of subjectivity that assigns the responsibility of metalinguistic interpretation to the listener or the reader, generally based on contextual and cultural knowledge. The special characteristics of Spanish are also present in the everyday application of metaphoric references and abstractions to concepts that are deemed as “already understood” due to culture and context but are not explicitly said (García Negroni, 2008). Moreover, the use of the subjunctive, vowel alternations in verb tenses, changes in prepositions, omission of personal pronouns, direct complements of the person (in Spanish, the direct object does not have a preposition except if it is a complete direct person) and the double negative which does not exist in English make this panorama more complex (Bejarano et al., 2018; Osorio Salgado, 2021).

Additionally, it is necessary to state that because I was conducting research in my own country and city, even online, relating to the cultural context of the research was quick and easy for me. Even if I was interviewing participants from the other side of the world, my condition as a local made it possible to understand and interpret their “cultural nuances and conceptions” (Karra & Phillips, 2008, p. 553), in particular of the drivers. It is argued in the methods literature that it is difficult for a researcher to be successful, particularly in qualitative and ethnographic processes, without local and cultural knowledge. In the words of Karra and Phillips (2008), without “the necessary linguistic and cultural competence, an interviewer is likely to either abandon a line of questioning too early or to carry on and offend the interviewee” (Karra & Phillips, 2008, p. 553). The data discussed in the analysis chapter of this thesis deliberately includes quotes in the original Spanish and their English translation, to give a voice to the people I was researching, to address the nuances of interpretation and explain the conclusions that I elaborate to the best of my ability from the original translation.

5.4.3 Online Data

The second part of my digital ethnography involved analysing online data, which I define as publicly available documents, website publications, images, infographics and videos. I analysed this data to triangulate the interview findings, complement the information and create meanings from digital-visual artefacts (Leszczynski, 2019). This data was collected as follows:

1. By web-surfing and observation of articles of interest in the following Colombian online publications SEMANA, EL TIEMPO, EL ESPECTADOR, DINERO, LA REPÚBLICA, PULZO and Latin American and international publications like CONXTTO, VICE and REST OF WORLD. They were purposively selected due to their focus on daily issues in Bogotá and economic analysis.
2. By accessing the websites and corporate social media of the different ride-hailing platforms working in Bogotá.
3. By accessing the websites of the National Congress of Colombia which by law is forced to digitise any document and debate.
4. By accessing the YouTube channel of the National Congress of Colombia and the commission discussing the regulations around platforms in the country which broadcasts the debates.
5. By receiving images and recordings from the interviewees, particularly drivers via WhatsApp during and after the interviews.



Fig. 6. Collage of the type of images and screenshots used as online data. Source: elaborated by the author.

Through the evolution of my online interviewing and the analysis of online media outlets and government or corporate-related online documents, I obtained images and videos that helped my interpretation of the emerging relationships of platforms among Drivers Club Bogotá and their context. This online data helped me understand the socio-spatial and political discussions around the evolution of the creole platforms in Bogotá and the responses to them from the Colombian government and platform corporations. These images and video references can be seen in chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 of this thesis.

5.4.4 Thematic and content analysis

The research data obtained through the digital methods outlined above was analysed thematically using coding on both text and digital-visual artefacts and building a systematic register using a codebook in NVivo software. I developed this coding process to manage and analyse the texts emerging from the verbatim transcription of the interviews and the different visual media (Chapman et al., 2017; Reader, 2012). I then organised these codes into themes, compared and contrasted them, and triangulated them according to the theory to develop the findings and discussion I detail in the following chapters. Codes, in this case, represent identified themes constructed from raw data as the verbatim transcriptions of the interviews and digital-visual artefacts. The coding was done in English, even though all the original raw data was in Spanish, involving a process of translation in which I, as a researcher, had significant involvement, particularly with interpretation.

By following the work of Saldaña (2021), in the coding process, I included:

1. a review of the interviews and the creation of additional notes of recorded details surrounding the interviews;
2. a determination of the unit of coding in the text, in this case, a sentence or paragraph, or minute/second of video/audio;
3. a review of the digital artefacts and the creation of additional notes based on graphic codification (Chapman et al., 2017);

4. elaboration of a codebook using NVivo, including a clear labelling of codes, the creation of short and full definitions for each code and a purpose for each code, for the thematic analysis of the research data;
5. first-cycle coding (Saldaña, 2021) determined by segmentation, a first, emergent set of categories and their properties, and naming and categorising of phenomena through close examination of the data and, finally;
6. second-cycle coding by revising the codes and developing the categories. This entailed explanations and inferences that recurred in the data and from which other themes or theoretical constructs could be constructed.

I used this approach to study the affordances and narratives built around ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá, particularly Drivers Club Bogotá. This approach was the methodological framework on which the discussion in chapters 6 to 9 of this thesis are grounded. The methodological pathway helped me answer how drivers perceived, related to and used ride-hailing platforms; how, why and what led to the development of the “creole platform” Drivers Club Bogotá and the drivers' strategies while working within the platform. The conversations, interviews and digital data also allowed me to answer the crucial question of how corporations (both state and private) in Colombia responded to emergent creole platforms. I conclude this chapter with a short discussion on the ethical nuances of online qualitative research to inform the development of the ethics requirements linked to this thesis.

5.5 Ethical considerations³

Considering the ethical nuances pertinent to the chosen methodology and the thesis, I developed a process that designed the online interviews within an institutionally regulated ethical framework. This ethical framework included considering issues of informed consent, subject data protection and observation of the public-private internet continuum (Salmons, 2021). In the design of the digital ethnography, I always aimed not

³ This research project received authorisation by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of Technology Sydney with the code: **UTS HREC ETH21-5915**. Refer to Appendix 'N' of this thesis for evidence of ethics approval.

to harm the subjects and was aware of the particularities of the development of internet research, which relate to privacy, consent, data and identity protection. Therefore, the interviews, in particular, were developed according to informed consent as per the policies of the University of Technology Sydney.

For the online interviews, clear information was provided to participants, including a clear objective of the study, the nature of the research and a description of other interviewees. All interviews had a recorded statement of the voluntary nature of participation and that participants could withdrawal from the study at any time. Included in all these considerations was the issue of anonymity. Because of the undefined legal situation of ride-hailing in Bogotá, it was crucial to clarify that the topic was not highly sensitive in terms of political violence. However, considering the legal status of platforms, the online interviews for this thesis were specifically stringent in terms of their confidentiality and how the data was collected and presented, albeit in an academic context and for an institution geographically distant from Bogotá. I was explicit in my preparation of consent forms and information sheets (see Appendices G to M) regarding where the data or information would be stored and the purposes for which the data and leads would be used.

The procedures for online qualitative research had to reflect the technical needs of the subjects, including the need to access a computer or smartphone for interviews. I chose WhatsApp and Google Meet for my contacts and interviews because they offered more ubiquitous services in a context dominated by Android. In addition, their costs were zero and they were available through any smartphone with internet access, an Android operating system and an email account linked to Google. Finally, regarding the collection and use of visual artefacts and other types of online data, and considering the impracticality of asking for consent from data that is available to the general public, I asked for a waiver of consent and the ethics committee of the University authorised this.

5.5.1 Reflections on horizontality

Having fulfilled the formalities of human research ethics as required by institutions in Australia, I want to reflect on this process and articulate a problem that emerges whenever the formalities of research structures of the “North” or the “West” are applied to contexts such as Bogotá. As is recognised by Wong-Villacres et al. (2021) in their observations of human-computer interaction in Latin America, the bridge between “Northern” ethical frameworks and actual fieldwork application can generate the imposition of practices on people who are not receptive to those practices:

For example, in most areas in LATAM, formality can hinder trust-building processes. The region’s historical struggles to ensure economic growth, equal distribution of wealth and political stability have produced a generalized lack of trust toward large institutions—especially the government—and a strong tendency to instead rely on informality as a norm. Because of this, participants do not necessarily perceive formal research practices as ethical or inclusive.

...

A widely recognized and encouraged formal practice to conduct research is the process of informed consent, which is deeply rooted in principles and guidelines of Western ethics ... While it helps to ensure an ethical approach that protects participants, researchers and institutions and assesses risks and benefits, its strict formality has been shown to cause disadvantages when implemented across different contexts. Furthermore, the inclusion of informed consent as a precondition to establish a relationship between researchers and participants might be perceived as a transactional act rather than reflecting a genuine interest in understanding participants’ lived experiences. Thus, by accepting written informed consent as the status quo, we may discard approaches that could better align with other ways of doing and knowing. (Wong-Villacres et al., 2021, pp. 58-59)

My experience with platform drivers in particular showed that even if informed consent is obtained according to the policies of Australian institutions, future research building bridges between the North and the South should try more flexible alternatives. These alternatives would recognise that the main purpose of informed consent should not be to address regulations and requirements of signing a form but rather inform people

about the research's nature in a flexible way, adapting to idiosyncrasies. I am not stating here that research involving people in the Global South should not follow rigorous ethical procedures. Instead, I want to convey that there need to be mechanisms for making informed consent sufficiently flexible to address issues of trust building, local culture and idiosyncrasy which might not be included in the policies and requirements of institutions in the Global North. In other words, it is necessary to make research horizontal enough to build on the relationship between the researcher and subjects, mainly when such research is done in the home country and culture of the researcher (Karra & Phillips, 2008).

5.6 Conclusion

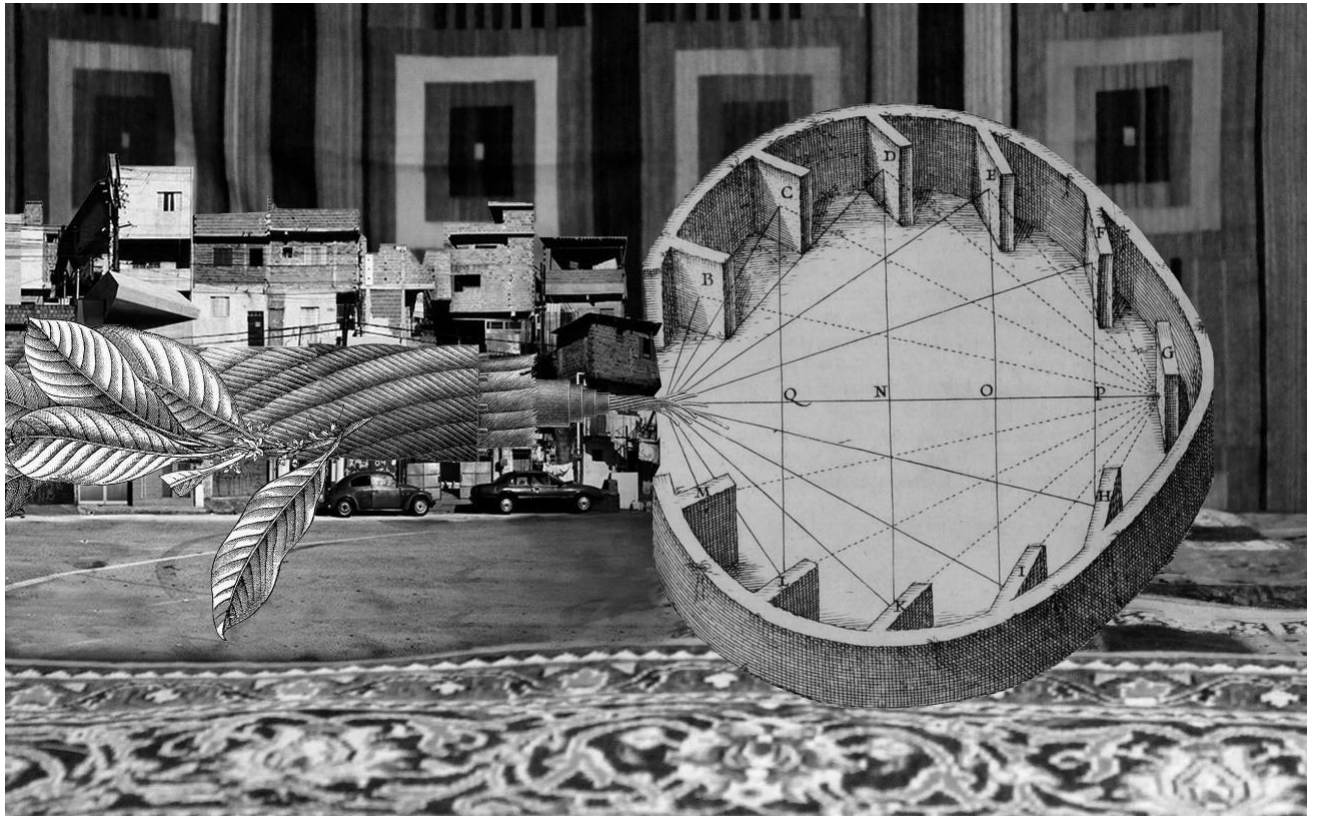
In this chapter I have provided an overview of the methodology used to examine the relationalities and affordances between platforms and drivers and how this structures their path to create new social worlds (Pink et al., 2015). As discussed, I chose to draw on a digital ethnography incorporating an alternative approach to digital methods, building from the relationships emerging from the online interviews and the subsequent conversations it generated. I also focused on what digital-visual artefacts and online data, including publicly available documents, website publications, images, infographics and videos, can illuminate. Throughout this chapter, I have indicated my position as a researcher in the different stages of relationality built with the subjects and my considerations on being a local and researching "at home", especially with the Spanish language. I also explained the more technical details of my methodology and data analysis and reviewed the ethical considerations surrounding this methodology, concluding with a contribution on how ethical bureaucratic procedures could be simplified to achieve a more horizontal relationship between researcher and subjects.

From an axiological perspective, values play a substantial role in describing social situations, such as the issues studied in this thesis. In my case, I acknowledge that these values and social perspectives are difficult to separate. I confirm that my choice of subject for analysis, especially from a perspective of strategy and agency on the part of ride-hailing platform agents, is informed by my views on the values that technology as a tool

for social change can bring to a society. Moreover, analysing Bogotá, where I was born and lived in my childhood, should be done in a way that respects the idiosyncrasy and culture of the place and is open to learning from it. My positionality significantly facilitated the research process. As someone who has personally experienced the chronic issues of Bogotá, I brought a level of understanding and empathy that an external researcher may have lacked. However, it's also crucial to recognise how this positionality might have conditioned certain observations and presumptions underpinning the research. My lived experiences could have potentially biased me towards certain viewpoints or expectations.

In this study, my focus on digital ethnography allowed me to examine experiences and practices of the participants as they moved between the increasingly fuzzy lines between the digital and the analogue. It also allowed me to analyse the context and different articulations that ride-hailing platforms have developed in Bogotá and from which drivers build their everyday activities. In chapters 6 to 9, I discuss the findings of my research.

"Creole Technologies" - Nina Jäger 2017



CHAPTER 6 | A TYPOLOGY OF PLATFORM RIDE-HAILING IN BOGOTÁ

6.1 Introduction

Before discussing the origins of Drivers Club Bogotá, its operation and the affordances of platforms to drivers, it is necessary to differentiate the technological tools and organisational structures behind these processes. In this chapter, I discuss the various types of ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá to clarify the differences between them and highlight the emergence of the creolisation of technology in Drivers Club Bogotá. One of the common denominators in the responses of the specialist informants (academic and other experts) whom I interviewed was the need for a precise classification of the different platforms according to their characteristics and use. As one of the specialist informants told me:

En primera instancia, lo que observo es que no se tiene una clara clasificación de las plataformas según su uso ... Es amplia la discusión y dentro de los temas de discusión que puntualizan el modelo Uber, cuando hay otros modelos a los que pueden migrar las plataformas cuando uno no funciona o se regula excesivamente.

In the first instance, I observe that there is no precise classification of the platforms according to their use ... The discussion is extensive and within the topics of discussion, there is a focus on the Uber model, when there are other models to which the platforms can migrate when one does not function or is excessively regulated (Academia Expert, Sergio Arboleda University 2021).

During my research, I noted that not all ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá generated profit. Some of these platforms were organisation tools whereby transportation costs are shared between peers and some were entirely “free”, although monetised by advertising. In contrast, other ride-hailing platforms offered “intermediation”, or ride price arbitrage, while more conventional forms, like Uber, aimed for profits. Community-based platforms also jumped across the characteristics I mentioned above while using their transactional

mechanisms to improve working conditions, security and profits. Another issue informed by my interviews and confirmed by an analysis of related policy and online media debate was that governmental discussions on regulation focused exclusively on the Uber model. The current debate in Bogotá and Colombia did not recognise other models to which people on platforms could migrate, nor did it engage with emerging models, including like creole platforms such as the Drivers Club Bogotá.

In this chapter, I build a typology of platform ride-hailing to help identify the nuanced differences between ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá. The classification and differences are determined according to platform intermediation characteristics, including the transaction and institutional elements. The chapter is divided into three sections; the first one engages with the different parameters according to which the platforms are classified, explaining the theory behind these standards with the relevant literature. In the second section I discuss and classify the platforms in three types, “*Multinational*”, “*Alternative*” and “*Creole*”, and I analyse in more detail the evolution of ride-hailing platforms since their arrival in Bogotá, elaborating a timeline and describing their differences and implementation processes. In the third section, I present the typology according to the different conceptual features of each classification.

6.2 Parameters for classifying ride-hailing platforms

Bonina et al. (2021) produced the first platform development classification in southern cities such as Bogotá. This classification refers to *transaction*, *innovation* and *intersection* platforms and I used this classification as a conceptual tool to build my proposal of a typology of ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá. For Bonina et al. (2021), transaction platforms are the primary and best known of the three. They move in the interaction between individuals and organisations to exchange goods and services and are mostly related to the so-called “gig economy”. Innovation platforms are those emerging from decentralised third-party development, such as many operating systems in the last decade, like iOS and Android. Finally, intersection platforms combine elements of the previous two, thus being the primary characteristic of ride-hailing platforms, which build on both transaction and IT innovation.

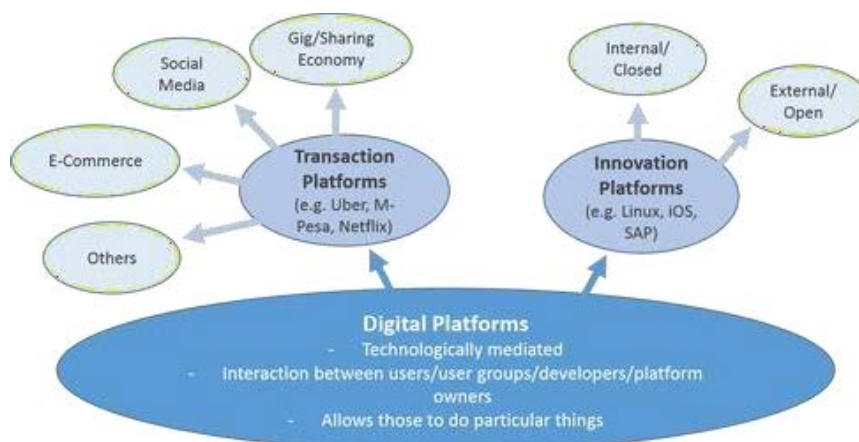


Fig. 7. "Typology of Digital Platforms". (Bonina et al., 2021)

The developmental value of digital platforms in the Global South.

Bonina et al. (2021) conclude that platforms in the South share three characteristics. The first is technological mediation, that is, the nature of peer-to-peer transactions. For the ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá, there are two forms of transaction between users, namely, digital payments and the possibility of cash payments, which are not charged with any commission but are registered in the platform software. The case of Uber here is a good example. The UberX service allows for cash payments without charging a commission. However, the transaction is registered in the platform even if done with cash. Second, focusing on institutional involvement, ride-hailing platforms move equally in one of two scenarios. They function either with some institutional recognition, contract enforcement, visibility and paying taxes such as VAT through digital transactions or are wholly disengaged from the institutional framework and develop informally. Worldwide, and particularly in the Global South, there is an enormous variety of regulatory and legal articulations of ride-hailing platforms (Marin et al., 2019). In any case, the answer is dual: ride-hailing platforms are either somewhat or fully engaged with institutions or operate outside of them in informal structures.

Finally, in terms of data intermediation, that is, how the different platforms manage the data they create from their users, the scenario is also dual. A key differentiation is whether a platform is centralised or decentralised. As observed in their practices and evolution in Bogotá, ride-hailing platforms can have an ecosystem of data

intermediation and extraction/collection where everything is centralised in one software structure. On the other hand, they can build an ecosystem in which user and producer data exchange is mediated by social ties and person-to-person interaction, particularly by social media or chat applications like WhatsApp. The latter, I argue, is a particular characteristic of ride-hailing platforms in southern cities and a crucial differentiation for classifying platform ride-hailing according to the unique development of practices in this context. Barns (2019b; 2020) refers to the issues of platform intermediation and value exchange, observing platforms transforming into data-driven platform ecosystems (Barns 2020). Here the collection and management of data also help to understand nature of the data-driven platform ecosystems.

The classification of data intermediation by modes leads to analysis of software usage, which is also a parameter of differentiation between platforms. In the case of Bogotá, I observed that there were platforms in which the software used for housing the intermediation processes was proprietary software centralised mainly by multinational platform companies. However, I also observed that creole technologies (Edgerton, 2007) emerged from a mix of unrelated software technology and their interrelation with social non-technology dynamics, such as personal connections and trust. This was the case of creole platforms such as Drivers Club Bogotá, as the people in them developed new platforms from the software of other platforms but divided and separated from the source; in other words, they used external social technologies to build their structure. The different characteristics of platforms and their practices, as observed in Bogotá, prompted me to establish a classification that differentiated the traditional ride-hailing platforms from the platforms that were evolving with unique structures of intermediation and transaction. This classification should be addressed, considering the different types of transactions, institutional engagement, intermediation, internal organisation and software characteristics. In the next section, I present a timeline of the different ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá and how their characteristics informed their classification in the typology presented at the end of this chapter.

6.3 Multinational, Alternative and Creole

6.3.1 Multinational platforms

The first step for building a typology of ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá was to develop a timeline of their arrival or emergence. I started by differentiating the platforms linked to multinational companies. This timeline was helpful to show the analysis timeframe, establishing the moment when platforms started in the city, especially as these multinational platforms were the breeding ground for the emergence of differentiated and local “creole” platforms.

Table 4 – Timeline of ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá

Platform/Origin	Timeline
Uber/ USA - Netherlands	October 2013
Cabify / Spain	October 2015
Beat / Greece	June 2018
DiDi / China	June 2019

Source: Elaborated by the author

Table 4 shows how different platforms linked to multinational companies started to operate in the city of Bogotá. It was essential to consider the national origin of these platforms as they involve institutional issues, engagement and legal claims in the Bogotá and Colombian contexts. For example, Colombia has negotiated free trade agreements with the United States and the European Union, giving commercial legal protections to platforms based in those countries, even if these platforms are not legally recognised in Colombia. At the same time, multinational platforms originating from countries outside of free trade or commercial cooperation agreements do not have the same protections and provisos. These considerations are relevant if this typology is to become a transferable conceptual tool for other Global South contexts. In all cases, the commercial frameworks of these global platforms were de-territorialised from the Colombian context, a common situation for platforms operating in cities of the Global

South (Marin et al., 2019). The de-territorialised nature of these platforms means that applying the rule of law in different contexts with lower institutional engagement is often not enforced. In other words, under their multinational characteristics and the international digital environment in which such platforms are embedded, local regulations exert no power (Marin et al., 2019). In the context of the Global South and Bogotá in particular, it is necessary to observe their modes of practice to study the characteristics of these multinational platforms.

The practices of Uber and Beat in Bogotá resonate with the traditional definition of a “ride-hailing” or “transportation networking company”. A key characteristic is the provision of intermediation between users and private drivers owning their vehicles with mechanisms of surge pricing (Feng et al., 2021). Although Uber and Beat prefer credit card payments, in Bogotá, the platforms allow for cash payment in all its modalities and the business and transactional models of Cabify and DiDi are similar. Like Uber and Beat, these platforms also pay taxes through VAT charges on credit cards. While credit card transactions are encouraged, cash payments are also allowed. All these platforms have also been open to incorporating taxicabs into their operations (Escobar, 2022; Tirachini, 2020).



Fig. 8. Current Uber interface

Source: Elaborated by the author by a screenshot of his mobile phone platform interface.

6.3.2 Alternative platforms

Following the engagement with the more typical mobility platforms like Uber, Beat, Cabify or DiDi, other observable practices in the urban space inform what I define as “alternative” platforms. For example, in the case of the Russian (but US-based) platform, InDrive, the characteristics of development and socio-technological engagement on platform ride-hailing are pretty different. InDrive frames itself as a service operating on a real-time offer model (InDrive, 2022). All travel conditions, including rates, are determined during platform-mediated instant negotiations between drivers and passengers without surge pricing algorithms. Users (drivers and passengers) can “auction” or “arbitrage” their ride conditions and fares to the highest bidders, which is how the platform framework develops to obtain a critical mass and all transactions are paid for in cash. To request a ride, the user fills out an online form with points of origin and destination, the price it is willing to pay and any comments for the driver. The drivers are at the same time able to accept or counteroffer the price offered by the passenger. There is also the possibility of adding extra destinations, services, driver and vehicle data, approximate wait times and geo-localisation.

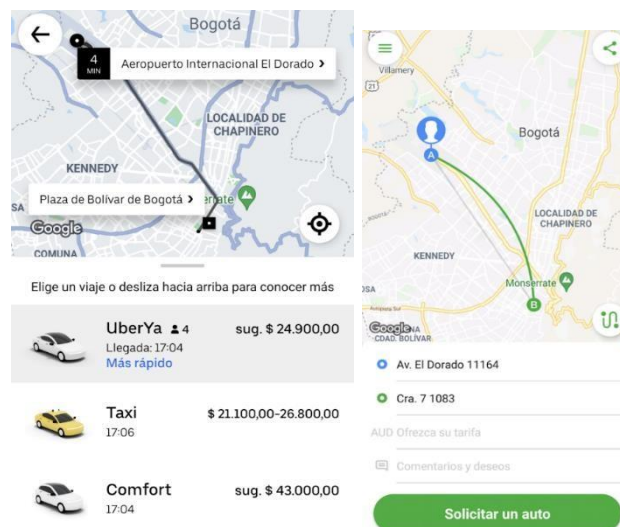


Fig. 9. Comparison between Uber and InDrive user interfaces

Source: Elaborated by the author by a screenshot of his mobile phone platform interface in Bogotá.

In the figure above, the left image has Uber's prefixed prices and options, typical of this

platform's interface worldwide. However, the right image has the InDrive interface, which has a space in which to offer a price for arbitrage/bargaining the ride, together with another space for comments, wishes and an open chat with the potential drivers. As can be seen from the particularities of its interface, InDrive is a very different actor of platform ride-hailing in Bogotá, which already highlights the diversity of platforms that cannot be classified within the parameters of multinational platforms such as Uber. As I show in the final typology, these differences illustrate how the different platforms converge in one urban space and provide a base for creating a range of ride-hailing platforms.

Parallel with the arrival and evolution of multinational ride-hailing platforms (and, I argue, *because* of the affordances of these platforms), many locally-created *alternative* ride-hailing platforms have emerged in Bogotá and it is essential to analyse and categorise them. Two examples of these local platforms are *Try My Ride* and *Voy con Cupo*, which focus on carpooling with cash payments for urban and interurban rides. They have established themselves with websites and platforms, not relying on social media like Facebook.



Fig. 10. Motorcycle based platform Picap. (Cortés, 2019)

The platform *Picap*, created in November 2017, has a different structure and organisation. It is similar to Uber or Beat because it provides intermediation between users and private drivers. The big difference is that the vehicles used are motorcycles,

thus adding to the diversity of the ride-hailing platform ecosystem, as seen in other places of the Global South (Prananda et al., 2020; Qadri, 2021). Moreover, Picap transactions are in cash, even though the platform created a system of credits for payment, including a debit system named “Picash”, which allows for electronical payment and serves as an internal currency of the platform that can also be used to pay for public services and make purchases with allied businesses.

Then there is an emerging local platform called *CosmicGo*, which frames itself as a multimodal transportation platform that allows the user to rent a bicycle, motorcycle or car for a couple of hours to up to six months. This platform also allows users or partners to buy bikes and scooters or rent their vehicles on the network to generate an additional income. Another platform is *Fory*, which in other cities of Colombia is called “*Klip*”. The characteristics of this platform are peculiar, as it emerged from former drivers in global platforms such as Uber, who organised themselves by social media outlets (Facebook groups) and started providing rides using WhatsApp as its communication device (Llinás, 2019).

The most recent alternative platform that emerged in Bogotá is *MAT (Medios Alternativos de Transporte)* (Alternative Transport Modes in English) (MAT, 2022). While MAT could be framed as any other platform, such as Uber or DiDi, it has a unique feature that is a first for the Colombian context. Drivers can become shareholders in the company whenever it is released to the stock market in Colombia and, in this case, benefit from equity participation in the company. This platform frames itself as:

... an alternative model that offers mobility with a social commitment, innovative and secure, in which all ambassadors (drivers) can become shareholders of the company and help them to create a life project that will benefit us all. All this to provide a unique service experience in an industry where the user and the ambassador can win. (MAT, 2022)

MAT's alternative and innovative organisation also includes a diverse structure that combines the features of other platforms I discussed before, including the possibility of

paying a ride with a fixed rate, offering and arbitraging rates and incorporating traditional taxis into the system.

6.3.3 Creole platforms

To finalise the analysis of the different platform types in Bogotá, I focus on “creole platforms”. The concept of “creolised” or “creole” technologies (Edgerton, 2007) which I discussed in the analytical framework, refers to technologies that, like creolised languages, go through transformations that make their form and function applicable to local conditions and needs. In the case of Bogotá, the creolisation of foreign platform technology has translated into at least three platforms that respond to characteristics of creolisation with sufficient critical mass to be relevant. The emergence of these locally-created platforms came progressively after the arrival of Uber in October 2013.

The platform *Rollin*, for example, started as a Facebook page and group in which users shared their intended destinations or offered spaces in their vehicles for trips within Bogotá and to other cities, sharing the trip costs (gasoline, tolls, etc.). Within the Facebook group, the managers of the group and creators of the page would receive and organise the requests to ensure the rides. When the group achieved a critical mass, the need for better organisation prompted the creators to develop a platform for Android and iOS operative systems. The escalation towards a specific platform did not mean the Facebook group stopped working as the base for user interaction and a hybrid operation model is still the platform's go-to governance process.

Similar to *Rollin*, *Wheels* is also a carpooling platform. It was created organically by university students in Bogotá (and supported by university institutions) and is intended for students to share rides to and from the universities in the centre of Bogotá. *Wheels* evolved from emergent interactions and transactions in student Facebook groups related to diverse issues and then transformed into a system in which students could offer and request university rides; it then evolved to more locations, not including the origin-destination of the universities.

What I define here as “creole platforms” also applies to the main process on which my thesis focuses on, that is, how drivers of multinational or alternative platforms who became exasperated by the unclear price algorithms, self-organised to provide ride services and establish a space of autonomy. However, in this study, these specific driver groups did not develop a new platform in the traditional sense. Instead, they engaged with a form of institutional innovation, a process of software bricolage to create new conditions for the service and a setting for further organisational innovation and evasive entrepreneurial disruption (Edgerton, 2007; Thierer, 2020), a specific example of this being Drivers Club Bogotá. This group of drivers, which started as a loosely tied community of drivers from multinational platforms in October 2017, directed by two entrepreneurial leaders, has evolved into a fully-fledged community of 6000 drivers, which I discuss in the following chapters.

6.3.4 Timeline of ride-hailing platforms

The abovementioned examples of platforms complete the panorama of platform ride-hailing forms in Bogotá and their timeframe and differences, which I argue are transferable to other contexts in the Global South and beyond.) In the table below, I summarise the timeline of all types of platforms in Bogotá and their evolution.

Table 5 – Timeline of all ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá with relevant critical mass

Platform	Timeline
<i>Uber</i>	October 2013
<i>Rollin (Colombia)</i>	September 2014
<i>Wheels – Universities (Colombia)</i>	April 2015
<i>Try My Ride (Colombia)</i>	June 2015
<i>Voy con Cupo (Colombia)*</i>	July 2015
<i>Cabify</i>	October 2015
<i>Picap (Colombia)</i>	November 2017
<i>Drivers Club Bogotá</i>	October 2017

(Colombia)	
Beat	June 2018
InDrive	November 2018
Fory/Kliip (Colombia)*	December 2018
DiDi	June 2019
CosmicGo (Colombia)	March 2020
MAT (Colombia)	November 2020

Source: Elaborated by the author with information from *El Espectador*, *El Tiempo*, *La República*, *Portafolio* and semi-structured interviews with platform drivers.

*Due to the COVID-19 crisis and the restrictions and lockdowns imposed in Colombian cities, these platforms stopped operating.

6.4 A typology of platform ride-hailing in Bogotá

After analysing the research data on ride-hailing platforms provided both by my informants and by my document and policy research, and considering the discussion developed previously in this chapter, I developed the following typology to classify the different forms of ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá. This typology classifies the complex scenario of ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá according to five features: transactions, institutional engagement, intermediation, internal organisation and software characteristics, in three types of platforms, *multinational*, *alternative* and *creole*.

6.4.1 The multinational ride-hailing platform

Different characteristics of the transaction, institutional, intermediation and software processes show the first classification of *multinational* ride-hailing platforms, which are platforms of international companies working with proprietary software and with some institutional and regulatory engagement. Engagement includes either full regulation, some contract enforcement and tax payments through digital transactions or other means, including the establishment of physical offices, employing specialists and generating corporate visibility of their presence. Due to the corporate characteristics of

these platforms, their internal organisation is purely vertical and drivers and users have no participation in decision-making processes or the future of the company, which is based outside Colombia.

6.4.2 Alternative ride-hailing platforms

The same characteristics are useful in identifying another category, which I call *alternative* ride-hailing platforms. These platforms develop different business models but are still based on proprietary software. This means that their internal organisation is also vertical and centralised by the company owning the platform and software. In these platforms, however, transactions are made in cash, which removes some control from the main platform and allows the possibility of avoiding commission costs. This is also common in some forms of multinational platform practices, which may blur the lines between these two classifications; however, the two types are differentiated for this typology exercise. A significant difference between multinational and alternative platforms is that the latter have no interaction whatsoever with governmental institutions regarding tax payments or some other engagement. They are entirely disengaged from the institutional system and operate in an informal setting.

6.4.3 Creole platforms

Observing different platform practices that inform the classification, I arrive at the creole platform ride-hailing category. Creole platforms are unique according to the parameters in which platform ride-hailing is classified. They emerge from groups built up on social media sites such as Facebook; their transaction processes are in cash, they are not linked to any centralised control and their institutional engagement is non-existent. However, they are creating new organisations in their practice of software bricolage and using mixed modes of intermediation, including analogue processes and social technologies. In the case of Bogotá and ride-hailing platforms, the creolisation of foreign platform technology has translated into the creation of at least three platforms that respond to characteristics of creolisation and have sufficient critical mass to be relevant in the city's

urban context. These locally-created platforms emerged progressively after the arrival of Uber in October 2013.

Table 6 – Typology of ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá

Type	Transaction	Institutional engagement	Intermediation	Software process	Organisation
Multinational <i>Uber</i> <i>Cabify</i> <i>Beat</i> <i>DiDi</i>	Digital Payments (cash transaction possible) Peer-to-Peer connection	VAT Payment	Electronic by centralised platform	Proprietary software Data capital extraction centralised	Centralised (outside of the country)
Alternative <i>InDrive</i> <i>CosmicGo</i> <i>Voy con Cupo</i> <i>Fory/Kliip</i> <i>Try My Ride</i> <i>Picap</i> <i>MAT</i>	Digital payments (cash transaction possible) Peer-to-Peer arbitrage	VAT Payment	Electronic by centralised platform	Proprietary software Data capital extraction Centralised	Centralised (Inside or outside the country)
Creole <i>Rollin</i> <i>Wheels</i> <u>Drivers Club Bogotá</u>	Exclusively cash payments. No arbitrage of prices – defined rates	Non-existent	Mixed – electronic and peer-to-peer (voice, trust, tacit mechanisms)	Mixed – Bricolage of software	Local and distributed

Source: Elaborated by the author.

The main idea behind creating this typology is to provide a classification tool for analysing the impact of platforms in cities of the Global South like Bogotá. Ride-hailing platforms are continuously affecting an ecosystem that has grown parallel to the formal modes of transportation and generating tensions in how cities in the South respond to platform technology and how individual agency is expanded for their users. This typology, therefore, serves as one of the main systematisations for understanding the different and understudied actors of platform ride-hailing in the Global South. The nature of informal transactions and the transgression of regulatory frameworks are common to cities of the Global South where ride-hailing platforms operate. I argue that this typology

is transferable to other situations in southern contexts where questions of institutional impacts of platforms are studied.

6.5 Conclusion

The analytical framework of this thesis has revealed the specific characteristics of southern platform urbanism as a new way of observing and representing effects and affordances in Global South cities impacted by platform technology. Furthermore, it described it as an ecosystem in which platforms enable user agency by technological intermediation, creating some institutions and de-institutionalising others. This determination would not have been possible without identifying gaps in the literature and the representation of practices emerging in the Global South, framing an ecosystem where platform technology allows the creation and disruption of institutions. Here, the platform ride-hailing typology is proposed as a conceptual tool for research into platform effects, particularly the ubiquitous mobility platforms in all settings of the Global South. In the next chapter, I analyse the origins of Drivers Club Bogotá as a creole platform, according to the characteristics I described in this chapter. I will focus on its creation, the motivations of its drivers and what platforms afford them to achieve autonomy, community, certainty and risk management in Bogotá.

CHAPTER 7 | WHAT DRIVERS CLUB BOGOTÁ AFFORDS

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the origin, evolution and operation of Drivers Club Bogotá as a creole platform, including an analysis of driver practices and their motivation for constructing (and maintaining) this space. Drawing on the interviews, I show that drivers express two main motivations for joining and preferring an organisation such as Drivers Club Bogotá in contrast to working only with multinational or alternative platforms. These are the confidence they have in their peers and the use of the creole platform as a risk-management system in a setting that is complex and, in terms of security, unpredictable.

The first section of this chapter analyses the evolution of Drivers Club Bogotá, describing how the creole platform operates, particularly how Drivers Club Bogotá was created and how it became part of drivers' everyday activities. The second section of this chapter discusses the process of multi-homing as an essential platform-afforded practice framing the drivers' desire for autonomy. How platforms afford social capital is premised in the third section of this chapter. Drivers argue that their connection with the creole platform and trust in their organisation compared to distrust of traditional ride-hailing platforms is based on the strength of their relationships, which are afforded and extended by digital platforms and analogue processes. They also argue that the platform-based relationships that also manifest in the physical world create a safer and more collegial working environment and one which the drivers prefer over multinational or alternative ride-hailing platforms. The third section, therefore, discusses the process of trust and certainty, showing how the drivers' distrust of multinational and alternative platform structures prompted them to support their own creation, manifested in the creole platform. The fourth and concluding section engages with the issue of security and how the creole platform affords drivers the ability to evade what they feel is unjust and unsafe in the context of Bogotá. Their biggest fear is the traffic police but they also

expressed concern about delinquency common in the Latin American context generally and the Colombian context specifically.

7.2. Drivers Club Bogotá

The Drivers Club Bogotá is an excellent example of all the key characteristics that define what creole technologies are and how the hybridisation and mixing of technologies allow new technologies and social worlds to emerge (Edgerton, 2007). This creole platform started to be built as a community in October 2017, when two drivers working through multinational platforms met in one of the platform's' "activation offices". These are physical offices where drivers interested in driving with the platforms must attend to obtain background security checks or have a problem that cannot be resolved through the platform interface. This first meeting of the two drivers precipitated the creation of a WhatsApp group to build a community and counter the control of the multinational platforms while increasing mutual support among the drivers. David, one of the two drivers who founded Drivers Club Bogotá, explained the fundamental reason for establishing their organisation:

Queríamos crear una comunidad de ayuda mutua y por seguridad porque manejar en las plataformas tiene sus complicaciones ... muchas veces se hace difícil, las condiciones de las plataformas a veces no son las mejores entonces se nos ocurrió que podíamos hacer algo diferente y pues ayudarnos entre todos.

We wanted to create a community of mutual help and security because driving on the platforms has its complications ... many times it becomes difficult. The conditions of the platforms are sometimes not the best, so it occurred to us that we could do something different and, well, help each other. (David, founder of Drivers Club Bogotá)

The two entrepreneurs started promoting the new WhatsApp group among their colleagues and acquaintances until it reached 70 drivers. The only rule for joining was to send a screenshot of their mobile phones to prove they were working on one of the

multinational or alternative platforms in Bogotá. The growth of this first WhatsApp group led to the creation of supplementary groups. This led in turn to the creation of a Facebook group (D. C. Bogotá, 2022) which was first used to share information on accidents and traffic and protect members from traffic police checkpoints in the city. In this way, Drivers Club Bogotá started to function as an information resource in which drivers cooperated and informed each other about issues related to their daily activity, as the example below illustrates:

Éramos de a 70 personas rodando por la ciudad y teníamos información para todos, la compartíamos. Somos un grupo de apoyo social, nos tenemos a nosotros, entonces vamos, hacemos el mapa mental de donde están los retenes y vamos a procurar no pasar por ahí.

We were 70 people going around the city, and we had information for everyone; we shared it. We are a social support group; we have ourselves, so we go, we make a mental map of where the checkpoints are, and we are going to try not to go through there. (David, founder of Drivers Club Bogotá)

The creation of Drivers Club Bogotá was built around social networks, harnessing social capital for subjective wellbeing and support among drivers within a Colombian cultural context (Wills-Herrera et al., 2011). This is a phenomenon that has been documented among platform workers worldwide (Qadri, 2021), whereby social cohesion, networking and cooperation act to counter poor working conditions and create the social infrastructure necessary for platforms to work, as described below:

La idea era ayudarnos en los turnos nocturnos, ya que algunos compañeros prefieren manejar de noche ya que el tráfico es menor y hay mejores viajes ... También era como una forma de mantener una conversación con alguien para ir a tomarse un café y también para dar alerta si algún compañero ve algo o necesita algo.

The idea was to help us on night shifts because some colleagues prefer to drive at night since there is less traffic and there are better trips ... It was also a way to have a conversation with someone to go have a coffee and to say if a colleague sees something or needs something. (Mauricio, second founder of Drivers Club Bogotá)

The Facebook group of Drivers Club Bogotá also framed its branding, audiovisual production and engagement with its community and the external users as an organisation, if not a “traditional” platform, that wanted to provide mobility services to the city. That Facebook group, with the creation of more WhatsApp groups when the original group reached its member capacity (limited to 256 members by the app developers (WhatsApp, 2022)), became the creole platform’s backbone.

Hemos crecido de manera exponencial, en este momento somos 24 grupos de WhatsApp y ahora tenemos 4 mil personas suscritas. En nuestra página de Facebook tenemos 2.200 personas que nos siguen y en el grupo de Facebook privado tenemos 7 mil personas que participan.

We have grown exponentially; right now, we are 24 WhatsApp groups, and now we have 4,000 people subscribed. On our Facebook page, we have 2,200 people who follow us, and in the private Facebook group, we have 7,000 people who participate. (David, founder of Drivers Club Bogotá)



Fig. 11. Brand of Drivers Club Bogotá – Logo provided to the author by “Mauricio” via WhatsApp message

However, coordinating rides and contacts within the WhatsApp groups grew in complexity due to the growing number of drivers affiliated while decentralising the work and appointing drivers as administrators of the different WhatsApp groups did not help. These difficulties prompted the platform's founders, “David” and “Mauricio”, to start

promoting the use of a platform called Zello⁴, a “walkie-talkie” app through which they could communicate and manage ride dispatches. This smartphone push-to-talk application replaced a radio transmitter and used exclusive communication channels, thus allowing Drivers Club Bogotá to become a more structured community.

The Drivers Club Bogotá system evolved as follows: most first responses to a potential passenger originated from that passenger ordering a ride through a multinational and alternative platform and then having that driver (who was also a member of Drivers Club Bogotá) suggest they join a “riders” WhatsApp group or to contact one of the members directly. This recruitment also worked with person-to-person referrals and the intermediation of building guards and bouncers at bars, who get paid a commission to refer the drivers’ group to potential users instead of calling a taxicab or ordering an Uber, for example. Passengers could post their ride requests through WhatsApp messages with a driver or as a member of a “riders” group. The administrator of the WhatsApp group (who could be a selected driver) coordinated the ride and, according to distance, would contact a driver directly through Zello and a car would be sent to the passenger’s location. The drivers would pay a fee to be part of these WhatsApp groups and used a mobile application called Blumeter, a fare meter for private drivers that can be modified according to the fare policy of the group. In other words, they would decide the minimum price per kilometre and any change (such as surge pricing) at different times of the day or during weekends. All of this was and continues to be coordinated through their WhatsApp groups or communicated through Zello.

By using various platforms that were not explicitly intended as ride-hailing platforms, Drivers Club Bogotá effectively hacked the methods of platforms like Uber and created a new space with vernacular characteristics (Edgerton, 2007). This step of creolising and hacking the traditional ride-hailing model was a game-changer for Drivers Club Bogotá. It merged the informal ties between drivers and users with peer-platform-

⁴ Zello is a mobile application that transforms any smartphone or tablet into a walkie-talkie, a free PTT (Push-to-Talk) radio app. Amongst its features, this application includes availability of contacts, the creation of public and private channels, real-time transmission, high-quality voice and audio, image transmission, push notifications and the flexibility to work with WiFi, 2G, 3G, 4G or 5G mobile data. This application also has a proprietary low latency protocol and is not interoperable with regular mobile companies, which allows for privacy and some level of encryption.

peer interaction and information centralisation model of multinational platforms, a novel management structure that transformed Drivers Club Bogotá into a decentralised transportation platform self-governed by its members. It also created the opportunity for the organisation to expand the number of rides it could offer as the direct contacts of drivers were harnessed into a unified database⁵ using Excel spreadsheets controlled by Drivers Club Bogotá administrators.

Beyond the agglomerations in social groups for a specific goal, there is something different in the structuring of Drivers Club Bogotá that takes it away from the idea of a club or even a guild-like association. In this case, I argue that the creole platform is generating new modes of association afforded by platforms. "Creole platform", as I coined in the typology of platform ride-hailing, is not a platform in the "traditional" sense but a hybrid mixture of different platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook and, in this case, the ride-hailing platforms to form a new creation. Similar to how creole languages emerged, the evolution of Drivers Club Bogotá is a clear example of something more than the articulation of technologies for a certain practice. It shows the emergence of something new and analysable under the theory of creole technologies (Edgerton, 2007).

The creation and growth of this creole platform gave space to the evolution of drivers' practices and the formation of organisation structures that, I argue, go beyond their initial idea of cooperation or mutual aid. Beyond being a "help and support forum", the new creole platform is used in drivers' everyday practices to create new private meanings (de Certeau, 1988; de Certeau & Rendall, 2011). Observing the nature and evolution of Drivers Club Bogotá, I noted that drivers try to preserve a balance between their individual autonomy and collective action. The first characteristic of platform affordances (Davis, 2020) is how the creole configuration of Drivers Club Bogotá allows

⁵ The existence of this database prompts questions about the management of personal information and contact information and, most importantly, raises issues about the privacy of the users and drivers and who can access this information. To the best of my knowledge, people (mainly clients) do not know that their information is centralised in this database, which is kept as a tool by the Drivers Club administrators. This certainly raises issues about ethics in data management that, even if it exceeds this thesis's scope, must be addressed in future research dealing with creole forms of technology, data usage, and informal or evasive entrepreneurship.

these drivers the flexibility of “opting in and out” of their created space by developing a multi-homing process.

7.3 Multi-homing

Multi-homing is a descriptor that has been recently adapted by platform economy scholars, particularly for the study of competition between platforms (Belleflamme & Peitz, 2017), oligopoly trends (Liu et al., 2019) and clashes between different platforms (Bryan & Gans, 2019). Multi-homing is explained as the process whereby users join two or more platforms (whatever their usage) simultaneously. According to Belleflamme and Peitz (2017), and in the case of a competitive environment, users and providers are better off in a context where every side is allowed to multi-home, that is, there is no exclusivity around using one or other platform as the technologies employed are open enough to enable and even encourage the possibility of multi-homing (Davis, 2020). Catalina, one of the platform drivers, explained her personal experience in depth. By describing how she accessed the creole platform and her daily routine, she showed how drivers worked with the dynamics of in-and-out that characterise the multi-homing processes in the creole platform:

Yo estaba manejando hasta hace 1 año con Uber y DiDi al tiempo ... Mi rutina diaria es más o menos así: Por la mañana como a las 5:30 salgo de la casa para aprovechar la hora pico de los días de semana. A esas horas casi nunca activo mi perfil en el canal de Zello y lo que hago es coger el carro y tener las dos plataformas abiertas al tiempo ... Después como a las 9 ya me salgo y me meto al canal de Zello de Drivers y veo si hay algún pedido directo también por el grupo de conductores o el de administradores.

... La estrategia es que usamos Blumeter que es como un taxímetro y lo que generalmente hacemos, o al menos yo hago cuando hay mucho tráfico y sé que va a haber mucha demanda, es que me fijo en Uber a cuanto está la dinámica y le aplico eso a Blumeter ... claro que a veces no le pongo la dinámica como para nivelar un poco el precio porque si uno sale más caro que Uber pues no lo llaman. Pero es que si no se pone dinámica no rinde la ecuación de uno ... de todas formas si pongo la dinámica o no cuando estoy con el grupo de Drivers es decisión mía no es que nunca los muchachos nos dijeron cuando poner la

dinámica o no.

I was driving until one year ago with Uber and DiDi at the time ... My daily routine is more or less like this: In the morning, around 5:30, I leave the house to take advantage of weekday rush hour. At that time, I hardly ever activate my profile on the Zello channel and what I do is take the car and have both platforms open at the same time ... Then around 9 I leave and go to the Zello Drivers channel and see if there is some direct request also by the group of drivers or administrators.

... The strategy is that we use Blumeter, which is like a Taximeter, and what we generally do, or at least I do when there is a lot of traffic, and I know there is going to be a lot of demand, is that I look at how surge pricing is at Uber and I apply that to Blumeter ... of course sometimes I don't add surge pricing to level the price a bit because if one is more expensive than Uber then they don't call you at all. But the thing is if you don't add surge pricing, the equation doesn't work. ... Anyway, if I add surge pricing or not when I'm with the Drivers group, it's my decision. It's not that the boys never told us when to add surge pricing or not. (Catalina, driver)

Catalina's narrative clearly communicates the processes behind the everyday use of platforms in Drivers Club Bogotá. Her experience shows a seamless process where she "jumps" in and out and in between the platform interfaces according to her daily use and needs. Drivers like Catalina describe how their work in the creole platform compensates for the possible cost of low activity: the times during the day when multinational or alternative platforms are not very active. All the drivers interviewed commented that the flexible development of the creole platform and its technology allowed them to do this "jumping" around, that it was greatly appreciated, was the basis for how their emerging creation worked and was a success. Jhonatan described the prized affordance of opting in and out of the platform:

Se lo explico: Resulta que un pasajero necesita un viaje. Entonces el pasajero se comunica con el grupo de WhatsApp de pasajeros y administradores y ellos después le avisan a nuestro grupo de conductores, dan datos del viaje, destino y eso y la dirección de recogida. El que esté más cerca de esa dirección responde por el canal de Zello y le dá al administrador del canal en ese momento el tiempo estimado de llegada y ya. ... Nuestra diferencia es que

cobramos un poco menos de lo que estén cobrando las aplicaciones en ese momento. Por ejemplo, yo estoy manejando y hay solicitud del viaje y yo estoy cerca. Así que aviso por Zello que yo brindo el servicio ... cuando llego a buscar al pasajero mientras espero o eso me fijo en Uber a cuanto está la tarifa y si hay dinámica. ... El día a día es así y yo generalmente lo que hago es que tengo todas las aplicaciones al tiempo, Uber, DiDi y pues estoy pendiente al canal de Zello de Drivers. Y lo que sale eso lo tomo.

I explain: It turns out that a passenger needs a ride. Then the passenger communicates with the WhatsApp group of passengers and administrators, and they then notify our group of drivers to give details of the trip, destination and the pick-up address. Whoever is closest to that address answers for the Zello channel and gives the channel administrator the estimated arrival time and that's it. ... Our difference is that we charge a little less than what the applications are charging at the time. For example, I am driving, and there is a trip request, and I am close, so I let Zello know that I [can] provide the service ... when I get to look for the passenger while I wait or that's what I look at Uber at how much the rate is and if there is surge pricing ... Every day is like this and I generally do that. I have all the applications at the same time, Uber, DiDi and I'm keeping an eye on the Zello de Drivers channel. And what comes out, I take. (Jhonatan, driver)

The process described by this driver explains how Drivers Club Bogotá's internal structure works in practice. More importantly, it shows the nature of the drivers' association and belonging to the creole platform, based on its flexibility and the way they coordinate their work. Beyond the systems and different mechanisms that Drivers Club Bogotá uses to be efficient and competitive in its mobility, drivers switch among the various alternatives and manage platforms and interfaces as they wish. Drivers also show that multi-homing is a coordination strategy to survive in a more competitive market.

Uno anteriormente cuando existía solo una plataforma divinamente se podía sacar un millón de pesos en una semana. Ahoritica con tanta competencia ya ni siquiera hay tarifa dinámica en las aplicaciones ... Los usuarios se dieron cuenta como es el cuento, si hay dinámica en una u otra plataforma en las otras generalmente no, entonces obviamente van a inclinarse por el precio más barato y para movilizarse ellos escogen la economía. Con tanta competencia hay que estar migrando entre los tipos de trabajo.

Before, when there was only one platform, divinely, you could get a million pesos (about AUD 362) in a week. Right now, with so much competition, there is no longer even surge pricing in the applications ... Users realised how the story goes. If there is surge pricing in one or another platform, in the others, generally, there is not, then obviously they are going to lean towards the lowest price and ... they choose the economical option. With so much competition one must be migrating between types of work. (Nelson, driver)

In this case, the capacity to jump in and out of platforms and work on all of them simultaneously is not only a preference of the drivers, but a necessity linked to the characteristics of their everyday work and their ability to make an adequate living. Moreover, it is one of the main reasons they rely on a coordination structure like Drivers Club Bogotá that affords them the flexibility and opportunity to compete in a market such as ride-hailing in Bogotá. A creolisation of platform technologies, that is, the mixing and matching behind the abovementioned management of different platforms, is not just a process of multi-homing; it is also what Drivers Club Bogotá affords to its members. It is a flexible system that allows drivers to opt in and out and work within the structure while simultaneously keeping engaged with the multinational or alternative platforms. What is behind the flexible design that emerges within Drivers Club Bogotá is the nature of the internal coordination systems of the community and, more importantly, the ties between drivers building those structures. The tactics of drivers responding to their context and market show how cooperation and informal links or, in other words, the construction of social capital (Ostrom, 1995; Ostrom & Ahn, 2007; Wall, 2017), are crucial for understanding the creole platform organisation technologies and what they afford to drivers.



Fig. 12. Multi-homing or “jumping around platforms”. Image provided to the author by a driver via WhatsApp message.

7.4 Trust, certainty and personal relationships

The drivers’ preference for the flexibility of multi-homing was also based on the general distrust they felt towards multinational and alternative platforms on one side and the trust they had with their peers in Drivers Club Bogotá. The interviews with drivers revealed that they thought the structures of Drivers Club Bogotá reflected their situation and that their peers empathised with their situation and did their best to help, unlike the faceless multinational or alternative platforms. The drivers wanted certainty and Drivers Club Bogotá provided it. When drivers were asked about their perception of platforms, particularly their strengths and weaknesses, the concept of certainty was mentioned repeatedly.

Confianza, or “trust” is a concept which, in its etymology and meaning in the original Spanish language, means two things. The first meaning is the hopes a person has that something will happen or work in a certain way, or that another person will act as expected. The second meaning connotes a sense of security, especially when undertaking a problematic action⁶. As understood from its Spanish etymology, “trust”

⁶ English translation of '*confianza*'. (2022). Collins Dictionary. Retrieved 18/05/2022 from

highlights the relationship drivers have with the organisations behind the technologies they use and not necessarily the technologies themselves. This is because they are not versed in the issues behind platform technology centralisation and algorithm management issues, nor do they seem to assign importance to it. However, drivers do know (or have an idea of) how organisations like Uber, DiDi (multinational platforms) and InDrive (alternative platform) operate and they distrust these organisations and their structures. As Jhon Jairo, one of the drivers, argued:

Yo directamente no confío en cómo se manejan las cosas plataformas como DiDi o Uber. El celular y el servicio funcionan bien, pero cuando uno tiene problemas le toca a uno hablar con un chat que uno no sabe dónde le contestan.

I directly do not trust how platforms like DiDi or Uber handle things. The cell phone and the service work well, but when you have problems, you must talk to a chat that you don't know where they answer. (Jhon Jairo, driver)

In this example, drivers such as Jhon Jairo are calling out the management practices of multinational platforms such as Uber, DiDi or Beat, which, despite building an algorithm-based digital ecosystem, are still perceived as “faceless” by the people interacting with them (Möhlmann & Henfridsson, 2019). The lack of trust in platform management practices and the absence of more personal communication, which is replaced by processes of algocracy (or governance by algorithms) (Danaher, 2016, 2020), was and is a central reason for drivers preferring to work through the Drivers Club Bogotá. Drivers also mentioned that they could not trust multinational platforms to respond adequately if they had problems, particularly with what they perceived were two sources of harm, namely, the authorities (transit police) and the people using platforms to commit. Mauricio noted:

No hay forma de confiar en las plataformas si las respuestas son vagas o si nadie se hace responsable por si uno le pasa algo. Esa es la razón por la cual yo creo que todos estamos en Drivers Club, porque uno sí confía en el grupo y que entre todos nos hacemos

responsables por todos. ... pero de todas formas esto no quiere decir que uno deje de trabajar con las plataformas (...) las plataformas al final de cuentas son el sistema, que son algo muy bueno. El problema es la gente que está detrás.

There is no way to trust the platforms if the answers are vague or if no one is responsible if something happens to you. That is why I believe that we are all in Drivers Club, because one trusts the group and that among all of us, we take responsibility for everyone but in any case, this does not mean that one stops working with the platforms. The platforms, at the end of the day are a very good system. The problem is the people behind them.
(Mauricio, driver)

Mauricio's comment again sheds light on trust related to the construction of personal relationships versus the faceless character of platforms, and the accountability behind those platforms. Data from 20 years of opinion polls in Latin America show that people in this region do not trust their public institutions and express high levels of distrust against each other (Jamison, 2011). However, small communities of practice, such as Drivers Club Bogotá and similar localised examples of collective action in Colombia, show that there is a yearning for trust in community interrelationships (Lobo et al., 2016; Molina-Ochoa et al., 2019). Moreover, this longing for a coordinating structure in which people can trust one another is the key to the success of these instances of bottom-up collective action and community organisation at a more local level. In other words, people in Latin America and Colombia, in this case, may not trust big institutions such as the government, police and media. However, they yearn for smaller, localised institutions that foster higher trust. Drivers Club Bogotá at this stage was sufficiently small and localised for drivers to prefer and trust its association compared to the facelessness of the multinational or alternative platforms. Patricia made the following observation:

La plataforma en sí funciona bien y tiene todas las formas para reportar ... cuando uno se registra la plataforma le piden pasado judicial, datos, está como todo estructurado. Pero cuando a uno le pasa algo inesperado la respuesta es como muy alejada, uno siente que la plataforma no está cerca de uno ...

A mí una persona, un pasajero de Beat me quiso atracar y robarme la plata y los celulares que uso para trabajar ... el sistema en Beat está en la plataforma y le toman a uno foto y todo. ¿Cómo permiten entonces que un malandro se registre normal y empiece a dañar a los conductores? ... usted sabe que uno acá en Bogotá lo pueden matar por un celular. Uno no confía así por eso estamos con Drivers Club.

The platform (Uber, Beat or DiDi) itself works well and has all the ways to report ... When you register to the platform, they ask for a judicial past (background information provided by the national police) data. It is like everything is structured. But when something unexpected happens to one, the response is like very far away. One feels that the platform is not close to one ...

A person, a Beat (another multinational platform) passenger, wanted to rob me and steal the money and the cell phones that I use to work. Thank God he couldn't, but this is very difficult ... The system in Beat is on the platform; they take a picture of you and everything. How do they then allow a criminal to register as normal and start damaging drivers? ... You know that someone here in Bogotá can be killed for a cell phone. You don't trust like that, that's why we're with the Drivers' Club. (Patricia, driver)

In Patricia's case, what Drivers Club afforded her as a creole platform that alternative and multinational platforms could not was a sense of local knowledge, support and immediacy, which worked better in the group's small communication and coordination structures. She repeatedly stated the big difference from previous experiences as follows:

Yo siento que con el apoyo del grupo estoy muy bien, como casi te diría que nos conocemos todos y pues hemos tenido eventos en los que uno se conoce o si no por las redes o por Zello, tenemos la cara de todos. Yo cuando tengo dudas o algún problema el apoyo es bastante fuerte y eso nunca lo tuve con Uber o InDriver por ejemplo.

I feel that with the support of the group I am very well, as I would almost say that we all know each other and well, we have had events in which one knows each other or if not through the networks or through Zello we can see everyone's face. When I have doubts or a problem, the support is quite strong and I never had that with Uber or InDriver, for example. (Patricia, driver)

This motivation and preference for the localised and small structures of the creole platform was seconded by Hugo, who spoke not only about his preference for the

organisation and community behind Drivers Club Bogotá but what it meant for his everyday activity:

antes de Drivers Club yo tenía como 20 grupos de WhatsApp de conductores pero como no era tan organizado uno no se conocía y al final me quedé realmente con Drivers ... Yo siento que con el apoyo del grupo estoy bien. Cuando tengo dudas o algún problema es super fuerte el apoyo de todos, entonces para mí se volvió prioridad el grupo y me salí de los otros. Uno obvio sigue trabajando con todas las plataformas porque toca sacar la platica (risas) pero al final de cuentas el apoyo con el que uno cuenta, uno sabe que es el de Drivers.

Before Drivers Club I had about 20 WhatsApp groups of drivers, but since it wasn't that organised, one didn't know each other, and in the end, I really stayed with Drivers ... I feel that with the support of the group I'm fine. When I have doubts or a problem, everyone's support is super strong, so the group became a priority for me, and I left the others. One obviously continues to work with all platforms because you must get the money (laughs) but at the end of the day, the support that one has, one knows that it is from Drivers.
(Hugo, driver)

7.4.1 Strong and close ties

Another element that my research revealed is that drivers developed direct relationships with the users (riders) of the multinational platforms they were working with and thus structure the operations of Drivers Club Bogotá, as described earlier in this chapter. This is a clear example of a bridging capital process (Claridge, 2018). When a potential passenger ordered a ride through one of the multinational or alternative platforms, the driver from Drivers Club would talk to them about the group and ask the passenger to bypass the use of the multinational platform and order the ride directly with them using WhatsApp. This helped the drivers avoid high commission payments to the multinational platforms. Having a direct relationship and a direct payment system with users prompted many drivers to abandon multinational (and in some cases even alternative) platforms altogether and they started to work exclusively with the WhatsApp groups and their immediate contacts. For drivers, it provided a better relationship with the passengers, as it created trust in the organisation, such that strong ties and coordination processes were

built due to their constant interaction with passengers. Flexible technologies such as WhatsApp chats facilitated this (Davis, 2020). Marcela described how she connected with her passengers:

Lo que yo hacía es que me armé unas tarjetas personales con mi contacto y se las daba a los que me pedían por Uber o Beat, ya que yo trabajaba en ambas ... Al principio no tenía muchos contactos, después unos conocidos corrieron la voz y mucha gente con viajes rutinarios me empezó a pedir todos los días. Fue tanto que ya no necesitaba a la plataforma, a veces sólo durante las horas muertas del mediodía.

What I did is that I put together some personal cards with my contact and I gave them to those who asked me for Uber or Beat since I worked in both ... At first, I did not have many contacts, then some acquaintances spread the word, and many people with routine trips started asking me every day. It was so much that I ... [hardly] longer needed the [multinational] platform, sometimes only during the dead hours of midday. (Marcela, driver)

Similarly, Juan Pablo commented that his contacts and constant interactions with loyal users had increased his income:

Cuando las plataformas empezaron a subir la comisión ya no me alcanzaba la ganancia diaria para mantener el carro ... yo tengo un primo en Cali que empezó a hacer lo de las tarjetas personales y le copié la idea. Al final me va mejor con los viajes programados diarios que esperar que la plataforma te dé un viaje.

When the platforms began to raise the commission, my daily profit was no longer enough to maintain the car ... I have a cousin in Cali [another city in Colombia] who started doing the personal cards, and I copied his idea. In the end, I do better with daily scheduled trips than waiting for the [multinational] platform to give you a trip. (Juan Pablo, driver)

Marcela and Juan Pablo illustrate how they built strong ties, constant relationships with regular passengers and a push to preserve individuality and autonomy within the structure of the creole platform. Juan Pablo copied the idea from a cousin in another city and started to give out personal cards but still worked within the groups and structure

of Drivers Club Bogotá. The two “systems” belonging to Drivers Club Bogotá and still organising rides and contacts on their own afforded drivers to work in parallel organisational and coordination technologies that functioned seamlessly due to their loose and free bonding and structure characteristics (Davis, 2020). In organisations, formal and informal trust are essential for management and informal peer coordination (Zanini & Migueles, 2013). Here, the construction of trust is transversal to strong informal ties and the building of organisational innovation (Chen & Chen, 2020). This refers to the basic fabric among drivers, managers and users, which strengthens their group formation. Trust emerges from the loose and free characteristics of the drivers’ organisation, the autonomy and independence of working in parallel systems and the absence of coercion to work in just one structure. The building of strong links is further enabled by the decentralised characteristics of the artefacts they use (Davis, 2020).

Lina, for example, commented that her tactic was not just to make the personal cards but rather to create a loyal following of passengers by providing extra attractions that her passengers appreciated:

La idea que tuve es tal vez tener menos pedidos pero que les gustara volver a pedirme el viaje ... Gracias a Dios tengo una camioneta bonita, entonces les brindaba agua, chicles, calefacción cuando hace frío o aire cuando hace calor y así me construí a clientes de todos los días, muchos empresarios que vienen del norte al centro o jóvenes de las Universidades privadas.

The idea I had is maybe to have fewer requests but that they would like to ask me for the trip again ... Thank God I have a nice SUV, so I give them water, chewing gum, heating when it’s cold or air when it’s hot, and that’s how I build clients every day. [I have] many business people who come from the north to the centre [of Bogotá] or young people from private universities. (Marcela, driver)

The structures of platform mediation are intrinsic to the informal ties and the nature of social bonding and bridging capital present in Drivers Club Bogotá. Platform technology can be a tool that facilitates interaction, cooperation, social interdependence and, even more importantly, individual and collective action (Barns, 2019a, 2019b; Graham, 2020a;

Leszczynski, 2020b; van der Graaf & Ballon, 2019; Van Doorn, 2020). As I discussed in chapter three, platforms can afford or facilitate the creation of social spaces that expand interaction exponentially among individuals and build strong ties thanks to the creation of new forms of personal agency. Moreover, platform technology is a unique structure to exponentially push and encourage people's ability to arbitrage daily activities, creating a space for the emergence of new markets, new forms of coordination and new organisations manifesting in the places and agency of people using platforms in cities (Avermaete, 2021; Davis, 2020; de Almeida & de Souza Santos, 2020). Beyond their mistrust of traditional ride-hailing platforms (multinational and alternative) and their construction of strong informal ties, the interviews also showed that drivers were wary of the complications of their activity in Bogotá (Insecurity, persecution from the traffic police, job uncertainty, unhelpful multinational corporations, etc.). Notably, they noted how they put effort into using the available tools to contest those complications linked to their security and safety and described the options they had at hand to manage the risks of being a platform driver in Bogotá.

7.5 Security and Risk Management

As highlighted in the previous section, safety, especially physical safety, was a central issue for Drivers Club Bogotá. Not surprisingly, drivers were concerned about common occurrences such as armed robbery and extortion. There was consensus that multinational and alternative platforms failed and sometimes even refused to provide effective security checks. One of the main selling points of companies like Uber in Latin America is that security for drivers is granted by a well-structured system of safety checks (Uber, 2015). These checks include personal identity identification, documentation and status of the vehicle, a comprehensive background check in criminal proceedings and traffic law, a review of drivers' credit history, and job references.

Conversely, there were (and are) no checks of passengers other than the rating system and the creation of a personal profile. Recently drivers have been offered an assistance button incorporated into the platform interface, 24 hours support in case of incidents, GPS follow-up, machine learning embedded in the platform and user

verification through a Facebook account (Uber, 2022a). All multinational platforms follow these types of security policies in Bogotá. However, drivers decried the failure of these security measures and the platforms' refusal to improve them "on the ground" was one of their main motivations for working with Drivers Club Bogotá. Susana described her experience with a failed passenger security check and how that event prompted her to join Drivers Club Bogotá and remain in the group:

Un pasajero me pidió viaje y a mitad de camino me empieza a cambiar la ruta con la aplicación y luego me encañona y me pide que le dé la plata del día y pues ese día gracias a dios yo apenas empezaba y no se me robó el celular. Cuando le pedí ayuda a Beat, no me resolvieron nada y era un pasajero con foto y red social y todo ... Ya eso fue la definitiva y me metí a los grupos de apoyo. Al menos uno ahí puede avisar que hay una zona peligrosa o describir esa persona que le hizo a uno el daño para proteger a los demás.

A passenger asked me for a ride, and halfway through it started to change my route with the app, and then he pointed a gun at me and asked me to give him the money of the day and well, that day, thank God, I was starting out, and my cell phone was not stolen. When I asked Beat for help, they didn't solve anything for me, and he was a passenger with a photo and social network and everything ... That was the final [straw], and I joined the support groups [of Drivers Club Bogotá]. At least one can warn that there is a dangerous area or describe that person who harmed one to protect others. (Susana, driver)

The structures of the multinational and alternative platforms regarding security checks were criticised and scrutinised in detail by some drivers who were more aware of what platforms can afford. Ramiro, for example, was highly critical of the procedures in apps like Uber, DiDi or Beat, saying:

Lo que pasa es que al principio las plataformas tenían el sistema más cerrado con los conductores y los pasajeros registrados con la cuenta de banco y la tarjeta de crédito. Cuando pusieron el efectivo que obvio nos mejoró la vida a todos, dejaron de tener tantos filtros y ahora cualquiera con una cuenta de Facebook o maneja o es pasajero. Y usted sabe lo fácil que es falsificar una cuenta de Facebook.

What happens is that at the beginning, the platforms had a more closed system with the drivers and passengers registered with the bank account and the credit card. When they put the cash (option of paying with cash), that obviously improved life for all of us. They stopped having so many filters and now anyone with a Facebook account either drives or is a passenger. And you know how easy it is to create a fake Facebook account. (Ramiro, driver)

Drawing on his knowledge and personal experience, Ramiro argued that the intense focus of the multinational and alternative platforms on expanding their customer base diminished the effectiveness of their security checks:

Es que al final es un tema de crecimiento. Cuando Uber se expandió a mi me parece que o les quedó muy difícil hacer los chequeos, o no querían hacerlo porque eso significaba más conductores, más usuarios y más dinero para ellos al final de cuentas por las comisiones. Y entonces las plataformas se llenaron de malos conductores y pasajeros.

It is that, in the end, it is a matter of growth. When Uber expanded, it seems to me that either it was very difficult for them to do the checks or they didn't want to do it because that meant more drivers, more users, and more money for them in the end because of the commissions. And then the platforms were filled with rogue drivers and passengers.

Ramiro also provided an insight into the discourse and contestation emerging around the issue of the platforms in Bogotá. He acknowledged that the issue of security (that is, failure of the alleged security checks) was a consequence of the institutional strategies of companies like Uber:

Acuérdese que en el gobierno han venido discutiendo las leyes de las plataformas y los Taxistas tienen sus paros y ponen a los amarillos a bloquear las ciudades. Bueno, cuando Uber se expandió eso hizo que más gente estuviese relacionada a ellos y los salga a defender y pues al expandirse para mi suavizó los requisitos de seguridad. Mucha gente entró que es legítima ... pero de tanta gente seguro que se

iba a meter más de un malandro a perjudicar a todos.

Remember that the government has been discussing the laws of the platforms, and the taxi drivers have their strikes and put the yellows [the Taxicab unions] to block the cities. Well, when Uber expanded, it made more people to be associated with them that come out to defend them, and when it expanded, it softened the security requirements. Many people entered [the platforms] that are legitimate ... but of so many people, surely more than one thug would get involved to harm everyone. (Ramiro, driver)

Uber, among other companies, created protocols to ensure follow-up via GPS systems of every vehicle and ensure an immediate response towards any claim or harm by drivers in 24/7 channels. However, the drivers interviewed claimed that the accessibility of these services was unpredictable and that they had suffered security problems as a result.

Mariana told of two security incidents and while the response from the platforms was prompt in giving back the value of the stolen objects and money, she argued that there was a problem at the core:

Cómo puede ser que en una plataforma que es seria me pase lo mismo dos veces y siempre con la misma situación. Me pide el viaje un pasajero que está registrado y que paga con tarjeta. Pero después me atraca y me quita el celular y la plata. La última vez se me llevaron como un millón de pesos. Desde la plataforma se portaron bien y me devolvieron la plata y el valor del celular, pero eso no debería pasar en primer lugar.

How can it be that on a serious platform the same thing happens to me twice and always with the same situation. I am asked for the trip by a registered passenger who pays by card, but then he robs me and takes my cell phone and money. The last time they took about a million pesos from me. From the platform they behaved well and returned the money and the value of the cell phone but that should not happen in the first place. (Mariana, driver)

7.5.1 Protection from corrupt traffic police

Besides the dangers posed by passengers, another major issue emerging from the interviews was harassment by the traffic police. Avoiding traffic police checkpoints as a safety mechanism for drivers was relevant due to the grey status of ride-hailing, (including multinational and alternative) platforms regulation in Bogotá and Colombia. The amorphous state where ride-hailing platforms are not illegal per se but are also neither regulated nor permitted gives the traffic police the power to restrict their circulation and confiscate the driver's licence or vehicle if caught. Jhon Jairo recounted an experience of extortion by one of these traffic police officers:

Es que a uno le puede pasar de todo (risas). A mí sumercé lo que me pasó fue que se me subió un tombo que yo pensé que era pasajero y ¡resultó oficial de tránsito sumercé! Y a 5 minutos del viaje pedido por Uber me mostró los documentos y me iba a hacer una multa por estar manejando con Uber. Después cuando terminamos el viaje y me había dado la multa, me pide plata, que el rompía el comparendo y que no pasaba nada porque llegó donde quería ir (risas).

It's that anything can happen to one (laughs). What happened to me was that a *tombo* (colloquial form of policeman in many countries of Latin America) got on [my car] ... I thought [he] was a passenger and turned out to be a traffic officer! And 5 minutes after the trip was requested through Uber, he showed me the documents and was going to give me a ticket for driving with Uber. Later, when we finished the trip and he had given me the fine, he asked me for money, then he tore down the fine document and told me that there was nothing wrong because he got to where he wanted to go [laughs]. (Jhon Jairo, driver)

This was not an isolated case among the platform drivers interviewed. Of the 27 drivers interviewed, 18 reported that they had had encounters with undercover traffic police officers. Some drivers speculated that the constant recurrence of these events suggested that the multinational platform companies were somehow involved:

A mí me pasó que se me subieron dos policías de tránsito a la vez y empezaron

mientras estaba en proceso el viaje a hablar duro entre ellos sobre las plataformas y cuando llegamos a destino me mostraron los documentos de la policía y me dijeron que estaban procesando la inmovilización del carro ... pues por estar manejando con plataforma que a uno le quitan todo si lo cojen ... Pero luego les llego una llamada por el radio que ellos tienen y me dejaron tranquilo. Eso es muy raro, para mí es que las plataformas están cooperando con la policía... buscando algunos conductores, yo creo que para mostrarles que están cooperando o que están cumpliendo la ley ... para que cuando las regulen los policías y el gobierno se acuerden que ayudaron, ¿No cree?

It happened to me that two undercover traffic policemen got in my car at the same time. They began to talk harshly with each other about the platforms while the trip was in process. When we arrived at the destination, they showed me the police documents and told me that they were processing the immobilisation of the car ... Because you were driving with a platform ... they [can] take everything from you if they catch you ... But then a call came through the radio they had and they left me alone. That is very strange. For me it is that the platforms are cooperating with the police ... looking for some drivers, I think to show them that they are cooperating or that they are complying with the law... so that when the police and the government regulate them, they remember that they helped. Don't you think so? (Andrés Felipe, driver)

Beyond these speculations, the drivers' narratives showed a profound distrust of the structures of platforms and of the authorities (represented by the traffic police). Such distrust is not unjustified, considering the history of police corruption and institutional capture in the city and country (Caicedo, 2022; Mazzuca, 2021; Mercado, 2021). Drivers repeatedly mentioned that the repeated security failures of the platforms was one of the main reasons for them joining the creole platform. Drivers Club Bogotá afforded them the service and opportunity to have a more secure environment built around the ties within the community and the strength of a more localised administration structure. At the same time, Drivers Club Bogotá also afforded drivers the efficiency and opportunity of an alternative created by and for them, thus challenging or at least resisting the dire circumstances surrounding them. In this context, according to the founders of Driver Club

Bogotá, reporting traffic police checkpoints was a crucial issue for members of Drivers Club Bogotá and was an asset for the organisation of the group:

... fue la forma en la que los compañeros empezaron a ver el valor del grupo... porque el miedo más grande para muchos de los compañeros es que tránsito venga y les suspenda el pase, o peor, que se lleve el carro a patios.

It was how the colleagues began to see the value of the group ... because the greatest fear for many of the colleagues is that traffic [police] would come and suspend their licence, or even worse, that their car would be taken to the car towing depot. (Mauricio, driver)

The reaction towards the traffic police and the mutual help provided through the communication platforms to avoid checkpoints became one of the drivers' main tactics to address the difficulties of their work. In addition, when drivers could not avoid one of their cars being taken to the car towing depot, the platform members endeavoured to source the funds to help the driver recover their vehicle. This need for funds resulted in the development of a new organisational technology in the form of mutual aid payments. Drivers would organise a voluntary collective fund in their Facebook group (using the Facebook marketplace, which allows this type of crowdfunding (Davis, 2020; Hekman & Brussee, 2013)) to help recover any members' cars confiscated by the traffic police. In general, if a car was confiscated and taken to the towing depot, the owner had to pay a recovery fee within 24 hours, another fee in the first 48 hours and then a daily fee until the car was reclaimed ("Conozca las tarifas de los patios y grúas para 2022 en Bogotá," 2022). The recovery of a car generally also involved legal costs for an "illegal activity" (driving using a platform) and the towing costs. These legal costs, particularly if the driver did not know a lawyer and could not move quickly to recover the car, could be prohibitive relative to their average income, and all lawyers charge at least the minimum weekly wage equivalent for their work. However, as mentioned above, this situation prompted the creation of the emergency fund based on the donations of the drivers to the community, which became very important in forming a close-knit structure. As expressed by María:

Antes que empezara la vaca de apoyo a inmovilizados, el grupo muchas veces era sólo para hablar y enviar bobadas ... cuando los compañeros empezaron a organizar los rescates de patio y hacer el trámite dentro de las 24 horas se empezó a tener una estructura como más profesional.

Before the money pitch (collaborative fund to raise money for recovering the car – “Cow” in Spanish colloquial) to support the “immobilised” (cars that were confiscated) began, the group was sometimes just talking and sending nonsense. ... When the colleagues began to organise the car towing deposit rescues and carry out the process within 24 hours, we began to have a more professional structure. (María, driver)

The “professional structure” mentioned by María was one of the critical assets of the Drivers Club Bogotá organisational model, connected as it was to the creation of strong informal ties, the articulation of a common support fund, the administration of monetary resources and the “formalisation” of a more structured internal organisation, with members’ responsibilities and administrative processes emerging from these strong informal ties. The efficiency of this internal organisation was highlighted by Juan Pablo, who argued that there were things that the multinational and alternative platforms should learn from the Drivers Club Bogotá process:

O sea, uno lo piensa y en drivers club no es tan fácil como descargar la aplicación y pedir un servicio. De alguna forma, pues por los procesos que tenemos de entrar a los grupos, la activación de Zello y como se coordinan las carreras con los pasajeros y que todo el mundo conoce a alguien, uno tiene más certeza de los compañeros e incluso de que la persona que va a recoger es esa persona. ... En las plataformas ahora todo se hace con redes sociales, y sabemos que en redes es muy fácil cambiar la identidad.

In other words, one thinks about it, and in the Drivers Club, it is not as easy as downloading the platform and asking for a service. In some way, because of the processes that we have to join the groups, activation of Zello and how rides are coordinated with the passengers, and that everyone knows someone, one is more confident of the colleagues (who the colleagues are) and even that the person to pick up is that person. ... On platforms now, everything is done with social networks, and we know that on social networks, it is very easy to change identity (Juan Pablo, Driver).

The articulation of the WhatsApp groups in Drivers Club Bogotá allowed drivers to create a network of security (Davis, 2020), using the same platform structures discussed in Chapter 6, the WhatsApp and Zello groups, which were the communication backbone of the creole platform. Through their WhatsApp groups and Zello channels, drivers can exchange information about the safety status of some areas over others and report the characteristics of their passengers (mainly who recommended the passenger). If a security incident occurs, they have a system that works best for their requirements. This system was described by Mauricio, founder of Drivers Club Bogotá. He gave the example of a driver's car being stolen and how the Club responded:

Colegas, acordémonos del caso de éxito de Rocío en Marzo y acuérdense de cómo funciona el protocolo. En el momento del incidente se reportan las placas de la víctima y si se pudo placas de la moto o del carro del agresor. Se reportan en todos los grupos fidelizados y el grupo general y en el Zello. Y ahí todos los compañeros se ponen en alerta para verificar en toda la ciudad. Si se encuentra el carro o la moto se alerta a Policía Nacional.

Colleagues, let's remember Rocío's success story in March and remember how the protocol works. At the time of the incident, the licence plates of the victim are reported and, if possible, the plates of the aggressor's motorcycle or car. They are reported in all the loyalty groups and the general group and in Zello. And there all the companions are put on alert to verify throughout the city. If the car or motorcycle is found, the National Police is alerted. (Mauricio, founder of Drivers Club Bogotá)



Fig. 13. Captured car thieves in an operation facilitated by Drivers Club Bogotá drivers in collaboration with the National Police in Bogotá.

Source: Picture provided by the founders, digitally modified by the author to protect the identities and information of the participants.

Mauricio was describing the case of a car that was recovered through the joint efforts of the whole Drivers Club Bogotá community, including the capture of the perpetrators by the National Police⁷. The structures of cooperation (Forsberg, 2018; Ostrom, 2010c) were the same as the original purpose of Drivers Club Bogotá, but the evolving consequences refer to a system that was more efficient than that operating in the multinational and alternative platforms. It also illustrates how localised systems such as the creole platform were preferred and perceived by the drivers themselves as more efficient and why they grasped them as their tool for evading what was felt to be unjust and unsafe (Thierer, 2020). That is what creole platforms afford to the drivers in Bogotá (Davis, 2020; Edgerton, 2007).

⁷ The traffic police in Bogotá operates in a different administrative jurisdiction to that of the National Police. Traffic police, in this case, work under the umbrella of the municipal government of Bogotá, D.C. and are de facto in charge of persecuting the activity of driving using a platform. However, the national police are, as their title asserts, a national authority. In this case, they were agnostic to the situation of the platform drivers, and were just responding to calls from a citizen reporting a crime.

7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the nature and operation of Drivers Club Bogotá and analysed the two main motivations—trust and security—drivers expressed for building and preferring a creole platform. The findings discussed in this chapter also indicated how drivers creolised technology, that is, used a technology generated elsewhere, such as ride-hailing, social media and chat platforms, and combined them with vernacular social technologies of cooperation, trust and close community ties. This chapter has also showed how the various platform technologies used by drivers in hybrid ways afforded them the creation of a community that hacked the traditional ride-hailing platform model in Bogotá.

When arguing for the conceptualisation of creole technologies, Edgerton (2007) demonstrates the need to differentiate technologies between ideas of innovation and use, postulating that a focus on uses and practices is crucial for addressing the “stories” of technology coming from the Global South. This is not to discard innovation as one of the primary motivators of technological advance but to complement it with a narrative of the practical use of those technologies to understand the world and the spatial implications of technologies. Edgerton, building on the perspectives of Winner (1993), also criticises the conflation of “innovation” and “use” and the deterministic narratives this conflation creates. Therefore, Edgerton calls for a perspective that complements ideas of “innovation” and grounds technologies in their vernacular, domestic, low-tech, social and even feminine configurations (Cowan, 1985; Edgerton, 2007). In the case of Drivers Club Bogotá, what they did is proof of how a vernacular “creole” use of platform technology afforded the creation of a space in which drivers feel more in control of their immediate everyday life by contesting the problematic context in which they have to work. This is because what they were doing was effectively copying the centralised coordination systems of Uber and similar platforms and producing a system closer to their domestic, immediate and communal needs. By mixing and hybridising informal ties between users, cooperation and community construction with the ride-hailing platform’s peer-platform-peer interaction and coordination model, they achieved a space of resistance and “true” innovation.

This chapter also observed how the use of technologies by drivers was afforded by the characteristics of the ride-hailing, social or communication platforms themselves. Even if not actively encouraging a process of multi-homing and “jumping around platforms”, as drivers do in their everyday activities, these interfaces certainly did not constrain it. The affordances approach to technology (Davis, 2020) stresses that technologies not only allow people to do things but specifically, they can request, demand, encourage, refuse and then allow things to happen. Davis's framework helps us understand that when a platform driver takes action with the technology, this technology interacts and responds by allowing that action. The mechanisms of affordances of the platforms used in Bogotá allow multi-homing processes to emerge, and this was not discouraged, at least, not visibly, by the platforms' technology. In other words, the platforms' systems afforded their creolisation and the build-up of the processes in Drivers Club Bogotá.

However, in this chapter, I also showed the driver's scepticism toward conventional ride-hailing platform governance mechanisms. This is in a context where platform technology affords drivers' practices and welfare, but the governance of those platforms, at least from the drivers' perspective, blocks them. Quoting from Manuela:

las plataformas al final de cuentas son el sistema que son algo muy bueno. El problema es la gente que está detrás.

The platforms, at the end of the day, are a very good system. The problem is the people behind them (Manuela, Driver).

The scepticism towards conventional platforms and “the people behind them” is premised on the limitations of their governance mechanisms. Moreover, the preference for more “close” and trusted constructions shows us what motivates drivers to be associated with the creole form of technology. Avoiding the traditional platform structures, as the drivers were doing, was a form of technological civil disobedience (Thierer, 2020) in that ride-hailing platforms were either being used differently than

initially intended or outright replaced. As Barns (2020) highlights, the recombinatory governance of platforms is the form in which traditional platforms simultaneously engage with novel forms of sharing and participation while centralising data and algorithms. This the model of multinational platforms such as Uber. However, Drivers Club Bogotá drivers mistrust those mechanisms of recombinatory governance, particularly the de-personalisation of their work, which is manifested in their lack of trust and the lack of protection for them against risks. Hence, starting a process of exiting those platforms, which even if not complete, is the core of their actions.

Enquiring about the nature, evolution and operations of Drivers Club Bogotá and the nature of platform affordances within this community helps to understand how platforms shape relationships between people and place and are active participants in creating new practices in Bogotá. However, the motivations of the drivers and the first formation and evolution of Drivers Club Bogotá are just one side of the coin. In chapters 8 and 9, I examine drivers' and Drivers Club Bogotá's responses to the institutional context in which they are immersed, particularly when they start contesting and exiting it. In Chapter 8, I analyse how the unique heterarchical governance of Drivers Club Bogotá informs this contestation, particularly how evading unjust settings generates innovative organisational practices (Elert & Henrekson, 2016, 2021; Thierer, 2020).

CHAPTER 8 | AIMING FOR AUTONOMY

8.1 Introduction

How do platforms afford contestation for their creators? In this chapter, I argue that the activities of drivers as evasive entrepreneurs manifest through the emergence of alternative forms of governance and coordination. For this analysis, I draw on the data collected from platform drivers and the community organisers of Drivers Club Bogotá. One of the common themes that emerged from the interviews was that the drivers had created an organisation that was not easily classifiable and represented a form of resistance and reaction to the contextual complications of being a platform driver in Bogotá. In other words, I examine how the creole platform affords drivers a process of evasive entrepreneurship to create new organisational and coordination practices. I also show how these emergent governance forms are not recognised by either government or private (corporate) institutions and that, regardless of that situation, drivers are determined to be left alone with their creation and to be autonomous.

In the first section I address the details of Drivers Club Bogotá's platform-based governance mechanisms, which articulate their unique hybrid organisational structure. In the second section, I analyse how drivers' hybrid governance forms, their own creation, clash with the national discussion on how platforms should be regulated and how ride-hailing platforms develop in the context of Bogotá, showing that for drivers, evasiveness and exit are the only alternatives they are left with. This leads to the third section of this chapter, which shows how drivers' desire for autonomy, particularly from government regulations but also from the structures of ride-hailing platforms, informs how drivers' contestation manifests in creating a "third way". In other words, drivers do not want to be constrained by government and are also resisting the power exercised by private companies. In short, this chapter shows how the drivers framed autonomy as a response to the possibility of being regulated and granted similar rights as formal workers, in order to enter a potential ride-hailing market. They are opposed to the possibility of being

formalised due to the restrictions and costs that such rights would involve, which confirms that in this scenario, drivers are motivated by the characteristics of their localised and bottom-up collective action rather than imposed structures, market or political forces. In the last section of this chapter, I discuss how the governance mechanisms afforded by platforms and built by the drivers themselves are the defining tools for the technological empowerment that enables them to operate in their everyday lives and activities.

8.2 Alternative governance and coordination

Articulation of Drivers Club Bogotá around the Zello platform allowed them, as discussed in the previous chapter, to coordinate the different WhatsApp groups and manage the provision of transportation. However, the Zello platform was also useful for the organisation to establish and design governance rules. The rules associated with belonging to the Zello channel (a written normative) thus became the de facto rules of membership to the larger community of Drivers Club Bogotá. Prior to using the Zello app, members had no specific rules to adhere to beyond sending screenshots proving they worked with a platform and behaved without using foul language. The introduction of the Zello governance rules for the support and coordination system shifted the original organisation of Drivers Club Bogotá and monetary incentives were announced in the Facebook and WhatsApp groups to encourage drivers to join Zello system. While belonging to the Zello group was not mandatory to remain in the Drivers Club, non-membership meant a driver would not have access to all its support and coordination system communications.

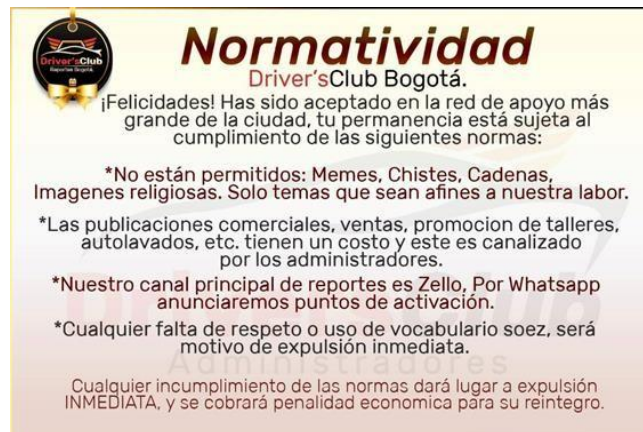


Fig. 14. Sample of governance rules practised in the Zello channels. Source: Provided by the interviewees during contact and online interviews in Bogotá, 2021

The image above outlines the binding governance rules for the Zello channel, which had approximately 6,000 driver members at the time of the interviews. Its contents translate to:

Congratulations! You have been accepted into the largest support network in the city; your permanence in the group is subject to compliance with the following rules:

- Memes, jokes, forwarded messages and religious posts are not allowed. Only themes that are related to our work are allowed.
- Commercial publications on sales, workshops, carwash, etc. have a cost, which is channelled by the administrators.
- Our main report channel is Zello. Through WhatsApp we will announce activation points.
- Any lack of respect or the use of foul language will be the cause of immediate expulsion.

Any non-compliance of the norms will cause IMMEDIATE expulsion, and an economic penalty will be charged for being allowed back.

Zello became a management tool that gave further structure to the group, articulating the organisational forms of decision-making in a way perceived among the

drivers as “fair”. Further, the founders framed the new platform’s management concept as a form of pedagogy to drivers and to build the group’s success by being a more structured organisation—a “real platform” in the words of “David”, one of the founders. Susana, also one of the drivers, traced the impact of Zello as follows:

El Zello fue un cambio porque lo que nos deja ver es a todos los compañeros en actividad y uno sabe cuáles son las reglas y qué pasa si uno tiene un problema o uno se equivoca ... Fuera de eso permite escuchar lo que los administradores están haciendo, los convenios con las empresas y eso ... El que estemos todos y veamos lo que todos hacen volvió al sistema como más estructurado y es más justo porque uno sabe que si pasa algo o si hay algún problema con algún compañero, los oídos de todo el mundo están ahí.

Zello was a change because what it allows us to see is all the colleagues in activity and one knows what the rules are and what happens if one has a problem or one makes a mistake ... Other than that, it allows us to hear what the administrators are doing, the agreements with the companies and that. ... The fact that we are all there and see what everyone does turned the system into something more structured and fairer because one knows that if something happens or if there is a problem with a colleague, the ears of the whole world (of every member of the group) are there. (Susana, driver)

The fluid character of Drivers Club Bogotá raises questions on how to define their processes. Drawing on the description provided by the drivers and group managers interviewed, Drivers Club Bogotá could be classified as a heterarchy of strategies (Chakravarthy & Henderson, 2007; Stephenson, 2016), a framework in which organisational practices generally switch between horizontal (democratic) and hierarchical models of decision and action. In this case, heterarchy should be understood as a form of management in which any of the units can govern or be governed according to the situation, sometimes horizontally, sometimes with hierarchies. In other words, it is a horizontal structure characterised by flexible and hybrid change and adaptability among interdependent units tied by strong forms of cooperation and relationships.

The initial structures of Drivers Club Bogotá were built on informal connections and the free association of members, which created a horizontal organisation based on

members' cooperation and individual interest. This evolution was one of spontaneous order, with no centralised planning, interventionism or benevolent dictator (Hayek, 2021; Horwitz, 2001; Ikeda, 2004; Jacobs, 2000). As argued by Vallas and Schor (2020), platforms can create new forms of governance mechanisms that differ from regular connotations in economic structures: "In contrast to hierarchies (which centralise power), markets (which disperse it), or networks (which parcel it out to trusted collaborators), platforms exercise power over economic transactions by delegating control among the participants" (Vallas & Schor, 2020, p. 282). Similarly, Mosmann and Klutt (2020) argue that the emergence of platformed economies creates a variety of new organisational forms different from traditional structures, in systems that can go from pure market systems to more hybrid clan-based organisations and hierarchies.

The first organisational technologies developed by Drivers Club Bogotá also involved an incremental and emergent process in which decision-making depended on members' input. The drivers themselves were the first to establish the model of connecting and building up loyalty with users, even if the platform's structure had no clear authority. However, Drivers Club Bogotá evolved beyond the social and community ties that built the first heterarchical structures and slowly transformed it into a hierarchical organisation, a structure model that incorporates modes of evolution that have characterised platform urbanism trajectories (Leszczynski, 2020b; Mörténböck & Mooshammer, 2021). It could be argued here that the hierarchisation of Drivers Club Bogotá was unavoidable and even desirable, considering the evolution of similar collective action processes in contexts like Colombia.

Moreover, taking into account analytical frameworks like the "iron law of oligarchy" where eventual hierarchisation of any organisation, even the most democratic ones, is unavoidable and almost a natural rule of society, it would appear that any process of horizontalisation appears destined to fail (Michels, 2019). There is an excellent case study about the collective action of local communities of practice on the Colombian Pacific coast (Lobo et al., 2016). This work shows that in many cases, the view that collective action in communities as an exclusively emergent decentralised group-oriented outcome must be challenged, as there is a crucial role for entrepreneurial

leaders to command these actions. This is very similar to the discussions on leadership and benevolent dictators present in the literature for many decades (Bianco & Bates, 1990) and crucial to understanding the links between leadership and collective action and coordination in the Global South (Basu, 2012).

The enforcement of the Zello-based rules created by the founders of Drivers Club Bogotá transformed the original heterarchical organisation into a different model in which the structures of democratic decision-making were not always present, and previously diffuse decision-making became more centralised. Initially, the drivers accepted the new hierarchy as it maintained the autonomy of each driver. However, over time, this acceptance started to crumble. When the drivers' autonomy was at risk and drivers perceived clear efforts to break the creole platform's informal links and spontaneous orders, resistance and contestation to the new organisational structure emerged. The tension and contestation in the platform structures are analysed in more detail in Chapter 9, where I discuss the conflicting rationalities (de Satgé & Watson, 2018a; Watson, 2004) and the contestation *within* the creole platform. At this stage, however, I discuss in the next section of this chapter how the governance model and characteristics of Drivers Club Bogotá were ignored in the national discussion of regulations around ride-hailing platforms, that is, how drivers' voices were excluded from the conversation, in particular when the drivers were organised through alternative forms of governance like Drivers Club Bogotá.

8.2.1 Exclusion from the national debate

The discussion around ride-hailing platform regulations in Bogotá and Colombia has been ongoing for almost a decade. As I described in the context of Bogotá's and Colombia's regulation discussions (see Chapter 2), there has been much debate around the transportation service provided by ride-hailing platforms, drivers' contractual relations with platforms and even more ideological discussion around technology and innovation. However, when prompted specifically on the activities developed by groups such as Drivers Club Bogotá, corporate (platforms), the position of government representatives was far from positive. On the one hand, representatives from the major

platform companies did not acknowledge the validity or value of creole processes such as Drivers Club Bogotá and rejected them as anecdotal. On the other hand, government representatives, particularly those involved in regulation debates and proposals, either ignored them or considered them an isolated phenomenon that would be “solved” when platforms were regulated. The rationalities of government and platform corporations were clearly far removed from the processes and activities developed by the drivers, who were (and are) the crucial actors in the development and success of platform mobilities and yet were (and are) very affected by these exclusions (Quiroga, 2022; Sanchez Vargas et al., 2022).

In many interviews, drivers articulated that they were not interested in following up with the national debate around platforms as they did not realise any benefit from the proposed regulation. Moreover, they considered that after a decade of discussions, nothing would be achieved and that against a “ruling class” of corrupt politicians and corporations, they could rely only on each other and on Drivers Club Bogotá. As expressed by Andrés Felipe:

*Mire, yo le voy a ser lo más honesto posible y pues no me gusta usar este lenguaje y no crea que yo pienso que todos los políticos y empresas son así. Pero la verdad es que son unos hijuep*tas ... Llevan tratando de regular esta vaina desde que llegó y como cosa rara no pasa nada, porqué? Porque toda esa casta de políticos está comprada y a Uber y DiDi y esos les conviene quedarse sin regular, si total ya están trabajando y ganando plata a costa de uno y fuera de eso se llevan la plata de Colombia ... Yo llevo manejando con Uber cinco años ya y voy a estar otros cinco y va a seguir igual, así que la verdad uno pa' que se preocupa. ... Lo que hay que hacer es seguir con lo nuestro porque al final de cuentas sólo nos tenemos a nosotros mismos.*

Look, I'm going to be as honest as possible and I don't like to use this language and don't think that I think that all politicians and companies are like that. But the truth is that they such sons of b*tches ... They have been trying to regulate this thing since it arrived and of course nothing happens, why? Because all that caste of politicians has been bought and for Uber and DiDi and the others, it suits them to stay unregulated, if they are already working and earning money at one's expense and apart from that they take the money

away from Colombia ... I have been driving with Uber for five years now and I'm going to stay for another five and it's going to stay the same, so the truth is, there's no reason to keep interested (in the debate) ... What we have to do is continue with what we have because at the end of the day we only have ourselves. (Andrés Felipe, driver)

In some congress commissions, citizens were invited to attend virtually, joining some Zoom sessions during the pandemic. However, this did not come to fruition. There is evidence that the founders of Drivers Club Bogotá tried to contact representatives from the Greens Party (Centre-Left), promoters of one of the regulation projects, and asked to be invited to the discussions in Parliament. As explained by David:

Nosotros como Drivers nos contactamos con los representantes de los Verdes, y nos dijeron que estaban muy interesados en nuestro grupo y que nos iban a invitar ... cuando llegó el momento, los compañeros de drivers no quisieron ir y tampoco estaba muy claro si podíamos ir nosotros.

We as Drivers, contacted the representatives of the Greens, and they told us that they were very interested in our group and that they were going to invite us ... when the time came [to attend the congress sessions debating the regulation], the teammates at Drivers did not want to go. It was not very clear if we were invited or not. (David, Founder of Drivers Club Bogotá and driver)

When prompted about this participation, all the interviewees said they did not want to attend because they did not trust the political system and thought it was a “waste of time”. More specifically, they knew that the regulation proposals wanted to “level the field” according to the taxi drivers' rules (regarding insurance and licences, and mandatory union affiliation, for example), and they also opposed this. Hugo, who had been a member of the Drivers Club for three years, was extremely sceptical:

Es que eso es una perdedera de tiempo. Nosotros hemos leído lo que propone Mauricio Toro y lo que salió de los Uribistas y de Robledo y el problema es ese. ¿Cómo así que nos va a tocar sacar otra licencia y renovar a cada rato si con la licencia actual trabajamos bien? ...

*¿Cómo así que pagar más seguros si ya con el seguro obligatorio se cubren muchas cosas?
... No es justo, a uno siempre le están sacando todo.*

That [going to Parliament] is a waste of time. We have read what Mauricio Toro (Greens) proposes and what came out of the *Uribistas* (Right Wing) and Robledo (Left Wing) and that is the problem. How is it that we are going to have to get another licence and renew every so often if we work well with the current licence? ... How can I pay for more insurance if many things are already covered with compulsory insurance?... It's not fair, they always take everything away from you. (Hugo, driver)

This leads to the core of the discussion on the different rationalities between government actors and even the founders of Drivers Club Bogotá. It is evident that the drivers' rejection of regulatory proposals centred around their desire for autonomy and deep suspicion of the government's motives. Considering their motivation for certainty and security that I discussed in Chapter 7, the principle of autonomy was critical; drivers of the creole platform did not want their structures of everyday activities to be bound by rules they considered unfair and unnecessary (Thierer, 2020). The regulation projects being discussed in Colombia so far, even if they deal with broader issues related to the gig economy, end up raising entry barriers and limiting the way drivers work, at least from the drivers' perspective. The proposals to regulate, formalise or structure the way platform drivers work differently from what they had developed organically were met with rejection and tension, especially when the government failed to recognise the emergent nature of the creole-hybrid model created organically by drivers in organisations such as Drivers Club Bogotá. This then leads to the question at this stage of whether the national public debate is even listening to and acknowledging drivers' preferences, which is not the case.

Discussion on regulating the broader "gig economy" and adapting to new economic opportunities and challenges is undoubtedly very relevant. However, the exclusive focus on the opportunities and risks of this economic model currently ignores a discussion what do people, the humans involved in the phenomenon of platformisation actually do, and what are their preferences. Similarly, the platform corporations, including multinational and alternative, fail to recognise the practices and actions of drivers and

instead focus on the more structural discussions dealing with the gig economy. For example, the representative for the platform *Beat* argued that platforms in Bogotá and Colombia were part of an ecosystem of the “sharing economy” with a “responsibility for the economic reactivation of the country”. However, when prompted about drivers, the response was that they were considered “parts of a whole” or as the “gears” of the larger machine, rather than central for development. In the same representative for *Beat* commented:

Respecto a los conductores, las ganancias en la aplicación que recibe cada uno están relacionadas con el número de viajes, la cantidad de incentivos que logre realizar durante su tiempo de trabajo, así como el tiempo que tenga disponible para manejar. No tenemos una relación más allá que la anterior porque son trabajadores independientes. Somos una solución tecnológica, no un medio de transporte.

Regarding the drivers, the earnings in the application that each one receives are related to the number of trips, the number of incentives they achieve during their working time, and the time they have available to drive. We do not have a relationship beyond the previous one because they are independent workers. We are a technological solution, not a means of transportation.

This confirmed the perception many of the drivers I interviewed expressed about the platforms, including a view that platform companies did not care about their work beyond their immediate participation in the system. Beyond platform algorithms and their performance within the system, drivers know there was no human contact, a “face” they could relate to:

Es que es muy difícil trabajar así cuando uno no sabe ni quien le está contestando del otro lado ... las aplicaciones no se interesan en el bienestar de los conductores y uno es como parte de una cosa que no tiene cara y en lo que uno no puede contar.

It is very difficult to work like this when you don't even know who is answering you on the other side ... the applications are not interested in the wellbeing of drivers, and you are part of something that has no face and which you cannot count on. (Rocío, driver)

When dealing with humans as part of a service or as parts of a bigger and more complex model, both platform companies and government bureaucracies lost sight of how these processes work in reality, focusing exclusively on regulation (Prassl, 2018; Thierer, 2020, pp. 129-142). In this case, platform companies embedded in the “facelessness” identified by drivers made the same mistake as governmental structures when dealing with the issue of ride-hailing platforms and the people behind them.

8.3 Aiming for autonomy

In this section I argue that the drivers' goal was to create an alternative to government regulations and corporate structures, thereby configuring a new autonomous space afforded by platform technology. In the case of Drivers Club Bogotá, the possibility of regulation or even their inclusion in formal labour structures was not something that any of the drivers interviewed desired. There was a strong conviction that regulation would undermine their own creole use of platforms which was a way to gain broader control of their livelihoods and everyday practices. This was reflected very well by Angelin, who argued:

No nos gustaría que se legalicen las plataformas y nos regulen el trabajo si le soy sincera y sé que hablo por mis compañeros. ¿Por qué? Porque esto pondría un costo que tendríamos que pagarle al gobierno, si me entiende y no estoy de acuerdo con eso ... yo sé que en el momento que las vuelvan legales y nos den beneficios laborales eso va a agregar muchas cosas y va a haber mucha gente que se va a quedar sin trabajo otra vez. ¿Por qué? Porque yo sé que van a querer unos carros más nuevos, nos van a sacar ingresos para seguridad social ya no van a recibir carros más antiguos. Lo peor, van a forzar que nos sindicalicemos y esas cosas. Igualito a los Taxistas y eso no es nuestra forma de trabajar. Imagínese estar pagándole el sueldo y los clubes y los viajes a Miami a un sindicalista de esos gordos [risas].

If I am honest, we would not like the platforms to be legalised and our work regulated,

and I know that I am speaking for my colleagues. Why? Because this would add a cost that we would have to pay to the government, if you understand me, and I disagree with that. ... I know that the moment they [the platforms] become legal and give us employment benefits, that will add many things, and many people will lose their jobs again. Why? Because I know that they (the government and platforms) will want some newer cars, they will take our income for social security, and they will not accept older cars. The worst [scenario], they are going to force us to unionise and stuff. Just like taxi drivers, and that is not our way of working. Imagine paying the salary, clubs, and trips to Miami to one of those fat unionists [laughs]. (Angelin, driver)

Angelin's perspective helps illustrate the fear of potential platform regulations and the fierce desire for autonomy embedded in that fear. She argued that extra costs would be added if the platforms, including creole forms, were legalised in Bogotá, making it more difficult for many people to afford to be platform drivers. Among those costs were the payment of social security fees and taxes like a taxi driver, regulations to "level the field", that is, impose the same conditions as for taxi companies. There was also the requirement for newer vehicles, as Uber demanded (Uber, 2022a, 2022b), and being forced to unionise, even if in Colombia, as in other Latin American countries, unions were not mandatory (Bensusán-Areous, 2019; Bensusán & Santos, 2021). Angelin's views show how afraid drivers were of losing the autonomy afforded by their own (creole) use of platforms if labour regulations were imposed. They were particularly unwilling to lose their autonomy to the unions, which have been shown in Latin America to no longer represent workers' interests. In many cases, union leadership has transformed into clientelist structures, usually linked to the government (Bensusán-Areous, 2019; Mazzuca, 2021). While in many locations in the Global North platform drivers are fighting for their right to be unionised (Heater, 2021; Hogan, 2022) and were recently successful in the United Kingdom (Ziady, 2021), this is not necessarily a priority for drivers in the Global South. In Colombia (similar to the rest of Latin America), unions are perceived as corrupt and have not fulfilled their role in terms of worker protection. Rather, there have been cases where, added to the corruption in the administration of workers' union contributions, they have failed to affiliate workers to the general social security system, (Bello Montoya, 2021; Bensusán-Areous, 2019; Escobar Serna, 2020; Peña Rodríguez, 2021).

Angelin asserted that the drivers' desire for independence from government regulations and multinational and alternative platforms was also related to the issue of vehicle age. In Colombia, all multinational and some alternative platforms require a maximum vehicle age, that is, no more than five years, to be registered on the platform⁸. Moreover, most drivers came from low-middle to lower-class backgrounds and could not afford new car models to comply with such requirements.

Building on Angelin's story, Juan Manuel was more explicit in his desire for autonomy. He proposed an alternative that could emerge from within Drivers Club Bogotá to solve specific issues around social security and other costs and risks related to their work:

Lo que pasa es que, si necesitamos la seguridad social, alguien que vele por nosotros pero eso no puede ser el gobierno o el gremio de los amarillos si es que nos vuelven Taxis ... Necesitamos alguien como plataforma no que nos diga, oiga, le vamos a pagar el 100 por ciento de su seguridad social. Pero si alguien que tome un aporte y nosotros ponemos el restante pero que no sean las aseguradoras de pensiones y mucho menos Colpensiones porque no nos jubilamos nunca.

... Hay que encontrar servicios de salud asequible y asociarnos a ellos como drivers. Yo les propongo por ejemplo porque no hacer una vaca de seguridad social como la que tenemos para rescates Uno siempre está en riesgo de accidentes con este trabajo y las plataformas no responden, no tenemos seguridad social y uno piensa, nosotros les ponemos el combustible, nosotros ponemos el mantenimiento preventivo y las aplicaciones que están poniendo, nada ... Pero también si nos quedamos esperando que el gobierno regule y nos ponga seguro social o seguro mínimo médico nos quedamos todos de SISBEN. Hay que tomar el toro por los cuernos y buscar como sacamos un seguro privado o algo que compense al SOAT que ya de por sí toca pagarlo.

What happens is that we need social security, someone to watch over us, but that cannot

Even if companies such as Uber have recently modified their technical requirements and drivers can now register car models down to 2001 (Uber, 2022b), this escapes the perception of drivers and is informed by the discussions in the public debate.

be the government or the “yellows” union [the taxi union] if they turn us into taxis. ... We need someone as a platform not to tell us, listen, we are going to pay 100 per cent of your social security. But yes, to someone that makes a contribution and we add the rest, but that is not the pension insurers and much less Colpensiones [the public pension fund] because we will never retire.

We must find affordable health services and associate ourselves with them as drivers. I propose, for example, why not make a social security “cow”, like the one we have for rescues ... One is always at risk of accidents with this work, and the platforms do not respond. We do not have social security, and one thinks, we have to pay for the fuel, for the preventive maintenance and the apps don’t support us, we don’t have social security, and it makes you think: we contribute with petrol, with the preventive maintenance, and what are the apps giving? Nothing ... But also, if we wait for the government to regulate and give us social security or minimum medical insurance, we will all stay as SISBEN⁹. We must take the bull by the horns and find a way to get private insurance or something that compensates the SOAT¹⁰, which we already must pay (Juan Manuel, driver).

Juan Manuel's proposal showed a lack of trust in institutions and the willingness of drivers to create an alternative that looked after their health and even their retirement. The extension of Drivers Club Bogotá's into providing health costs and pensions from a communal fund shows drivers saw their creole platform as a potential safety net, a space they could count on for the future instead of on government entities or platform companies that did not respond to their needs. As expressed by Thierer (2020, p. 159), “Citizens are increasingly using innovations and new technological capabilities to push back against authorities who have lost touch with common sense or failed to adapt public policies to the will of the people.” Similarly, Federico was very blunt in defending his work mode when asked about the platform's strengths and the possibility of it being regulated. He was fervent in telling how platforms and the construction of the creole platform as an

⁹ The ‘SISBEN’ is an entity of the National Planning Department of Colombia that enables poverty-stricken people to access social and economic benefits from the state. In this case, the reference from the driver to ‘stay all as SISBEN’ is a way of saying to become or remain poor.

¹⁰ The SOAT is mandatory insurance established by law in Colombia. Its objective is to ensure immediate and unconditional care for victims of traffic accidents who suffer bodily injury and death. Insurance in the strictest sense repairs the damage caused to the insured, but in the case of SOAT, it applies not only to the insured and the occupants of a vehicle, but also to any pedestrians affected by a traffic accident. It is a requirement to have a SOAT in order to have a driver's license of any type.

autonomous structure gave drivers freedom:

*Es que sería un desastre que empiecen a hacer reglas laborales y empezar a pagar tasas e impuestos esos del trabajo y el ingreso ... y para colmo tener que aguantarse a los malparid*s gordos de los Taxistas y de los gremialistas porque si sale una regulación nos van a volver eso ... si uno ya tiene la estructura de la plataforma y aquí en Drivers tenemos nuestro espacio para manejarnos como, discúlpeme el lenguaje, se nos dé la p*ta gana. Para que se van a meter a cambiarlo.*

... Yo creo que el punto de las plataformas como funcionan ahora es que nos permiten escaparnos de la realidad que no hay empleo y que el empleo que hay te sacan la mitad en impuestos. Las plataformas para mí lo que me dieron fue libertad y si las regulan se nos acaba la libertad. ... ¡que nos dejen trabajar en paz!

It would be a disaster if they start making labour rules. We start to have to pay fees and taxes for work and income ... and to top it all off, having to put up with the fat bastards of taxi drivers and union members because if a regulation comes out they are going to turn us into that ... If one already has the structure of the platform and here in Drivers [Club Bogotá] we have our space to manage ourselves as, excuse me for the language, we f***en like it. Why are they going to change it?

... I think that the point of the platforms as they work now is that they allow us to escape from the reality that there are no jobs and that salaries get taxed to half in the jobs that do exist. Platforms gave me freedom, and if they regulate them, well, we'll stop having the freedom ... Let us work in peace! (Federico, driver)

The bluntness of the language used by some drivers reflects the notion that Drivers Club Bogotá gives drivers the ability to avoid being entangled in organisations that are perceived as corrupt and that will treat the drivers poorly. Colombian institutions have historically excluded people from economic growth and welfare benefits, generating informality and precarity (Mazzuca, 2021; Mercado, 2021). Colombia and Bogotá have historically had chronic unemployment rates that worsened with the 2020 and 2021 pandemic-related lockdowns. In 2022, Colombia had the third-highest unemployment rate in the OECD countries (República, 2022), and as a result, it has a massive informal

economy accounting for almost half (46-48%) of all economic activity, particularly in urban areas (DANE, 2022). In the case of Bogotá, it was estimated that the informal economy accounted for 41% of economic activity (C. d. C. d. Bogotá, 2022). Referring back to the perspectives of the Drivers Club Bogotá creators, their idea of platforms manifests as tools for “winning” against a system that has excluded them. In other words, in a context where institutions both public and private do not respond to the needs and welfare of drivers and informality is rampant, they have decided to “exit”.

That platforms have disrupted the system is at the core of many drivers' perceptions. They view these platforms as a way to “rebel” or “take revenge” against an exclusionary structure. As explained by Mauricio (one of the founders):

las plataformas son una forma de libertad ... Uno con las plataformas, puede trabajar cuando no hay empleo y puede salir adelante si es que no se tienen otros recursos o no se pudo ir a la universidad ...

Platforms are a form of freedom. With the platforms, you can work when there is no job, and you can get ahead if you don't have other resources or cannot go to school or university. (Mauricio, founder)

In the same way, drivers viewed platforms, particularly their alternative coordination and organisational strategies, as a way to claim dignity in a context where other alternatives for income and wellbeing were not easily available. As expressed by Manuela:

Las plataformas y especialmente cuando empecé con drivers a hacer todas las estrategias de pasajeros, a mi me permitieron volver a mi casa a ver a mi hija al almuerzo y ya poder pagar y mandarla al kínder privado. ... yo antes trabajaba de secretaria en una empresa y me echaron y yo no había terminado la carrera de administración. (...) a mi lo que la plataforma me dio fue dignidad.

The platforms and, especially when I started with Drivers [Club Bogotá] to do all the passenger strategies (their work strategies with Zello, WhatsApp, Blumeter), allowed me to go back home to see my daughter for lunch and to be able to pay and send her to

private kindergarten.I used to work as a secretary in a company and they fired me, and I hadn't finished my administration degree.....what the platform gave me was dignity.
(Manuela, driver)

Ride-hailing platforms and what they afford must be understood as embedded in their contexts, particularly their institutional contexts. As argued by Vallas and Schor (2020) in their discussion of platforms as institutional chameleons,

Viewing platforms as largely shaped by their institutional contexts guards against the essentializing of digital technologies, highlighting that technical designs acquire distinct meanings and effects across varied social and political conditions (Vallas & Schor, 2020, p. 281).

What drivers in Drivers Club Bogotá were doing was a process of collective action to achieve autonomy and create welfare alternatives not provided by the state or the private sector. These platform drivers were (and are) excluded from other formal or regulated markets simply because the regulations were too costly to access and for people to hire them. Hence, developing a niche around these platforms transformed them into tools the drivers could use to navigate around the restrictive legislation and corporations that were blind to their needs. Viewed from a perspective that goes beyond the constraints of both markets and states (Ostrom, 2010c; Ostrom, 2014; Wall, 2017), the motivation for consolidation of the creole platform in this case was autonomy. This motivated drivers to "exit" (Hirschman, 1970; Thierer, 2020) from the structures of both platform companies and governments that they felt had failed them. The development of Drivers Club Bogotá transformed it into a platform where drivers, with their flexible arrangements and fierce independence, could create a space of autonomy and self-reliance. Using technological tools to develop alternatives for their own life afforded them "governing spaces of their own"

8.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I first discussed the alternative (heterarchical) form of organisation that the drivers have adopted to manage Drivers Club Bogotá. Second, I discussed the national debate around ride-hailing platform regulation and how it excluded drivers' considerations and focused on issues that were not only perceived as not crucial to the drivers but were viewed as a threat to their livelihoods. Finally, I showed how drivers' desire for autonomy was at the core of the empowerment that organisational and material technologies afforded and that drivers used organisational technologies to achieve that autonomy. The platforms' affordances allowed drivers to resist any "formalising" of the organisational model created by the creole platform.

The creolisation of technologies that the Bogotá Drivers Club developed are tools for an emancipatory mode of working and living, in contrast to the oppressive structures of Colombian institutions. In this case, the governance and coordination processes that drivers appreciate make Drivers Club Bogotá what Ostrom defined as a self-organised and self-governed institution (Ostrom, 1990, 2010b). The drivers in Driver's Club Bogotá engaged in collective action and self-managed their own creation by structuring community-based, informal (yet strong) links. In this case, the self-management and self-governance of the creole platform is the best portrayal of the convergence between collective action and the hybridisation of different organisational forms, in other words, evasive entrepreneurship (Elert & Henrekson, 2016; Thierer, 2020).

Beyond the strong desire for autonomy and independence, interviewed drivers also referred to how the platforms created conditions for them to feel valued. Resorting to evasive strategies using platforms was viewed as just and fair as that was how they could work and make a reasonable living. Most drivers mentioned how the platform had given them the capacity to work and provide for themselves and their families.

This is the critical goal of autonomy as afforded by platforms, a very intimate and primal consideration and entitlement to the rights as a citizen, including the right to work in a way that the person seems fit, obviously without damaging others, just the ability to

survive. In the next chapter, I address a process of conflicting rationalities from within that affirms, even more, the driver's autonomy and preservation of their self-governed space.

CHAPTER 9 | THE FORMATION OF PROTOURS

9.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses a process of contestation that emerged between members of Drivers Club Bogotá and the club's leadership, whose rationalities and interests started to conflict with the drivers. This resulted from PROTOURS, a proposal from the founders of Drivers Club Bogotá to institutionalise, formalise and introduce a hierarchy that ultimately was rejected by drivers. The first section of this chapter discusses this alternative form of governance emerging within Drivers Club Bogotá and how it confronted the formation of PROTOURS. In this section, I discuss the rationale of the Drivers Club Bogotá leaders behind this new development.

In the second section I address the resistance by those drivers who were unwilling to abandon their organisation's original form. This section focuses on the conflict created by the intention to raise entry barriers and limit the structures of how drivers work on the one hand against the centralisation of authority within the organisation, which most of the interviewed drivers vehemently opposed, on the other hand. This leads to the third section and conclusion, where I discuss heterarchy versus hierarchy and how, even if oligarchisation might be a natural evolution of an organisation (Michels, 2019), democratic structures might be more resilient than anticipated.

9.2 The formation of PROTOURS – a push for formalisation

In the evolution of the creole platforms, the founders of Drivers Club Bogotá, David and Mauricio, were proactive in framing a brand linked explicitly to the identity of the group as a new entity that was quite separate from any multinational or alternative platforms. This framing by the platform founders included promoting social events, parties, football matches and even trips to nearby tourist destinations exclusively for drivers, very similar to the development of corporate identification as described by Hogg & Hains (1996)

and more recently applied to solidarity among platform workers in the “gig” economy (Tassinari & Maccarrone, 2020).



Fig. 15– Sample of branding by Drivers Club Bogotá - Source: Provided by the interviewees during contact and online interviews in Bogotá, 2021

At the same time, in this branding process, the platform founders looked to build relationships with companies, notwithstanding that the creole platform activity was unregulated and informal. Considering this context, the founders aimed to create a new entity covered by current Colombian regulation legislation, not as a ride-hailing platform but as a tourism transportation company offering services through platforms, bearing in mind that there was (and still is) a legal vacuum regarding the provision of tourist mobility services in urban areas of Colombia. On paper, this legal vacuum allows a registered tourism transport service to be agnostic regarding the technology behind its organisation (Ministry of Commerce, 2020). In other words, this legal vacuum allows the potential registered company to provide the same services of urban transportation that Drivers Club Bogotá was engaged with, bypassing the legal limbo of ride-hailing platforms.

Drivers Club Bogotá's founders planned to incorporate PROTOURS (the name they assigned to the idea) into a simplified stock company (*Sociedad por Acciones Simplificadas*), copying the model of a company located in Medellín, another city of Colombia (Protours, 2022). The founders argued that, as a potentially registered specialist tourism transport company, PROTOURS, according to the Ministry of Commerce,

Industry and Tourism regulation, would be “legal”. Thus, drivers would be doing a “legal activity”, even if they would be replicating the operations they had in Drivers Club Bogotá (coordination through Zello, WhatsApp and Facebook). As mentioned by one of the founders:

Está dándose como esa credibilidad ... nos ha generado una confianza por parte de sectores del comercio, cosas que ni siquiera tienen que ver con los carros, pero nos han contactado y han visto en esta forma ese respaldo. Hemos tratado de abrir diferentes frentes en vista de poder apoyar, motivar, incentivar y consolidar esta empresa para que nos salgamos definitivamente de las plataformas. ... en ese sentido la alternativa de registrar la compañía en la Cámara de Comercio de Bogotá es la forma de estructurarnos como algo más normal y dejar de depender de estar pensando en que nos coja la policía. Si nos piden papeles, estamos prestando un servicio de turismo.

That credibility is being given ... it has generated confidence in us from sectors of commerce, [businesses] that do not even have to do with cars, but they have contacted us and have seen that [PROTOURS] can be a good bet. We have tried to open different fronts to support, motivate, encourage and consolidate this company so that we definitely leave the platforms. ... In that sense, the alternative of registering the company [PROTOURS] in the Bogotá Chamber of Commerce is the way to structure ourselves as something more normal and stop depending on thinking about being caught by the police. If they ask us for papers, we are providing a tourism service. (David, founder)

The intended growth of the planned organisation can be more easily understood by observing its internal recruitment techniques directed at drivers within the creole platform:



Fig. 16. Sample of recruitment technique for drivers to join PROTOURS - Source: Provided by the interviewees during contact and online interviews in Bogotá, 2021

Language in the recruitment graphic above explains the structures of the intended organisational goal. It was intended to attract drivers working in Drivers Club Bogotá to dedicate their vehicles exclusively to the planned company. The above graphic translates into “TO WORK LEGALLY WITH YOUR OWN VEHICLE. WE ARE NOT AN APP!” (as in, they were not like the other unregulated and “illegal” ride-hailing platforms, but rather a transportation service within the rules of tourism provision). The advertisement claimed that the business model of PROTOURS would promote independence and improve drivers' dignity at work through training and better opportunities. Also, all the vehicles would be able to work legally and have a contract and non-contractual insurance; moreover, they would have a portable digital payment port for better options. The implications of this message were very relevant for the Drivers Club Bogotá. It offered the same or “best” opportunities, provided insurance formally through the registered tourism company and, most importantly, offered the possibility of abandoning exclusively cash payments and to digitise transactions.

Together with the creation of PROTOURS, the founders of the creole platform were involved in other initiatives. The key initiatives were creating a security company linked to Drivers Club Bogotá and structuring an alliance with MAT, an alternative platform in Bogotá. As addressed in Chapter 6, MAT (*Medios Alternativos de Transporte*, – Alternative Transport Modes in English) was a platform that offered drivers the opportunity to become shareholders in the company when it was launched on the

Colombian stock market. Drivers would benefit from equity participation in the company, even though to date, the stock market launch has not occurred. The desire by the founders to “legalise” or somehow “formalise” the Drivers Club was, according to them, an endeavour to legitimise informal practices (view examples in (Jovanović, 2019; Kornberg, 2020) and a way to improve the working conditions of the drivers. While it was premised on the notion that the informal structure of an organisation equates to insecurity, the primary motivation of the founders could, of course, have been an attempt to increase their own income.

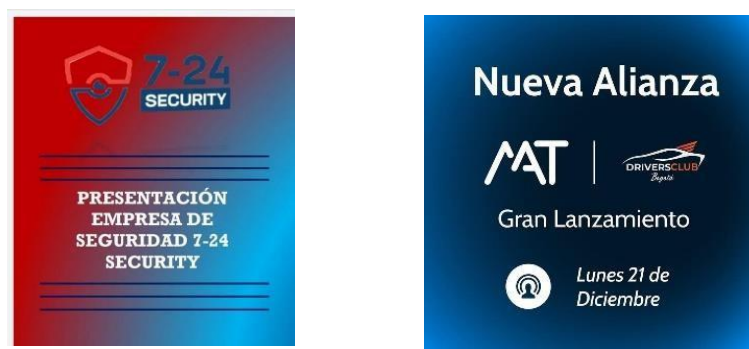


Fig. 17 – Image announcements on the Facebook group for promoting the creation of and alliances with different companies. Source: Provided by the interviewees during contact and online interviews in Bogotá, 2021

In this case, the formalisation of the processes dramatically changed the nature of the original organisation that the drivers appreciated. The founders had not considered other alternatives, such as the incorporation of Drivers Club Bogotá into a cooperative (democratic) enterprise or alternative forms of business structure. In any case, it would be expected that these alternatives would also have been rejected by the drivers wanting to keep their current status, as I discuss below.

9.3 Resistance to the formation of PROTOURS

9.3.1 The views of the founders

The efforts and intentions of Drivers Club Bogotá's founders met increasing resistance from the drivers whose rationalities conflicted with the founders' intentions. A range of reasons were expressed by drivers for rejecting PROTOURS. They wanted to preserve the original group's autonomous and creolised characteristics of their creation. They were resistant to the formalisation of their group. While not all drivers in the creolised platform were opposed to the centralisation and growth efforts of the founders, there was a range of opinions, as was to be expected. However, during my interviews with the founders of Drivers Club Bogotá, specific attention was paid to the drivers' resistance:

Ha sido un despliegue muy, muy complicado por la cultura del facilismo. Muchos tienen la idea de que todo me llega a la mano, nadie quiere hacer el proceso, hay un trabajo detrás. Nosotros empezamos a crear el proceso a llegar con la idea (de PROTOURS), buscar reuniones con futuros clientes y hace tres años ya que estamos con esto de crear un servicio más premium ... La gente está intermitente. De hecho, en un 100 por ciento se podría decir que un 70 y 75 por ciento la gente sigue con plataformas ... y con los grupos ... y apenas un 5 por ciento pues quiere participar en la iniciativa... en crecer el grupo.

It has been a very, very complicated deployment due to the culture of "easyism"¹¹. Many have the idea that everything comes to hand. Nobody wants to do the heavy lifting. There is work behind it. We began to develop the idea [PROTOURS], look for meetings with future clients and for three years now, we have been making a more premium service ... People are intermittent. In fact, from 100 per cent, it could be said that 70 and 75 per cent of people continue with platforms ... and with groups [WhatsApp, Facebook, Zello] ... and only 5 per cent want to participate in the initiative ... in growing the group [that is, grow into the formalisation that was being offered by the PROTOURS option]. (David, founder)

¹¹ 'Easyism' from the Spanish 'facilismo', a term in Latin American Spanish (not present in Spain) describing a tendency to do or try to achieve something easily, without much effort or sacrifice. Española, A. d. A. d. I. L. (2022). *Diccionario de Americanismos - Facilismo*. Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española Retrieved 27/09/2022 from <https://www.asale.org/damer/facilismo>

However, when I interviewed the drivers, their responses did not represent a culture of “making things easy”. Instead, there was genuine interest in the founders' work, but most drivers have a conflict with the idea of constructing the platform beyond the existing structures within Drivers Club Bogotá. There were doubts about the functioning of the proposed platform and PROTOURS company. They were also determined not to lose the autonomous nature of their individual work and the structures of help via WhatsApp, Facebook, and Zello:

Es que a mí me preocupa lo de PROTOURS y más lo de MAT, entre nos ¿sabe por qué? Porque si nos volvemos una plataforma, ya sea que nos sumemos a MAT y trabajamos con ellos o si PROTOURS se vuelve una aplicación entonces perdemos esa libertad de los grupos y de cómo funcionamos ahora ... No sé, a mí me preocupa que como esa libertad y esa flexibilidad que somos autónomos y que trabajamos en conjunto y cada uno en la suya se pierda si nos volvemos una empresa normal.

Between us, I'm worried about PROTOURS and more about MAT. Do you know why? Because if we become a platform, either we join MAT and work with them or if PROTOURS becomes an app, then we lose that freedom of groups and how we work now. ... I'm worried that the freedom and the flexibility, and that we are autonomous, and that we work together and each one on his own will be lost if we become a normal company. (Mateo)

Drivers did not want to lose the informal structures behind the group's initial success, nor the spontaneous and loose characteristics of their work. This confirmed the argument of Gerber (2021), who, in an analysis of platform-based crowd work, concluded that in the debate between control from centralised structures versus decentralised self-organisation, platform workers retain the goals of self-help and self-regulation that prevail as forms of autonomy and resistance. There is also evidence that drivers show no interest in or are not bothered by the characteristics of decision-making or their centralisation and created hierarchies. However, they are extremely concerned about losing their individual agency and the benefits the heterarchical structures afford. An analysis of anarchical and spontaneous or heterarchical structures shows that from the everyday creativity of people, and most importantly, from the practices of their daily life,

many possibilities of democratic self-management and organisation emerge (Chakravarthy & Henderson, 2007; Stark, 2021; Stephenson, 2016; Wilbert & White, 2011). Moreover, these possibilities can form efficient and wealth-maximising structures (Leeson, 2007).

9.3.2 Limited support from drivers for PROTOURS

Only two of the drivers interviewed expressed support for PROTOURS, their main reason being to strengthen and formalise Drivers Club Bogotá in its contestation with the government and other ride-hailing platforms. Among the views that were more amenable to the proposals by the founders of Drivers Club Bogotá was that held by Alejandro. He argued that its formation into something more structured would “free” him from the multinational or alternative platforms, through which he was still multi-homing:

Hay que ver la manera de no depender de las aplicaciones. Obviamente es el ingreso más inmediato que tengo, pero a futuro hay que estudiar cómo genero ese ingreso autónomo ... las plataformas son muy explotadoras y por ejemplo por el tema del pago en efectivo llega un momento que bloquean la cédula y el celular. Yo he tenido que sacar cuentas a nombre de mis papás, mis tíos y otros familiares para poder seguir trabajando entonces si en Drivers arman esa opción yo la apoyo.

We must look for a way to not depend on applications. Obviously, it is my most immediate income, but in the future, I must study how I generate that autonomous income ... The platforms are very exploitative, and for example, due to the issue of paying in cash [cash payment on multinational platforms] there comes a time when they block my ID and the cell phone¹². I have had to take accounts in the name of my parents, uncles, and other relatives to continue working, so if Drivers put together that option, I support it. (Alejandro)

¹² In Bogotá, as discussed in Chapter 2, multinational ride-hailing platforms allow cash payments in lieu of credit card use. This affords the companies an expansion of user critical mass, but it also allows drivers to avoid commission charges as the platform cannot charge commission from a credit card transaction. Over time, drivers accumulate debt with the platform companies for all the commissions uncollected due to cash-based trips. Responding to this, multinational platforms such as Uber, Cabify, DiDi and Beat have a mechanism to disincentivise excessive use of cash payments and debt accumulation by drivers. The companies block drivers' accounts which are linked to their ID and mobile phone number until they pay their debt. Drivers respond to this by opening new accounts with the ID and phone number of a relative or friend.

Rocío had a similar view. She explained that at the beginning of her involvement in Drivers Club Bogotá, she had doubts about the alternative forms and the structure of Facebook, WhatsApp and Zello, but in the end, she became a supporter of the idea, and was on board with framing the creole platform as a new company:

Yo llevo dos años y medio, pero a mí no me gustaba dar mi número o contacto por aquello de que los usuarios me llamaran directamente a pedir el servicio ... Diga que lo llaman a uno y uno estaba en un viaje o en Cedritos cuando me pedían un servicio en Engativá y yo no podía llegar, eso me causaba estrés ... Aprendí con Drivers que, si no estoy yo, hay compañeros que me apoyan y siento que el señor hace un muy buen trabajo con esto. Siempre están pensando en cómo salirse del molde y colaborar para que tengamos nuestro propio medio de vida libre. A mí me encanta la idea, sería un proyecto buenísimo

I've been here (with Drivers Club Bogotá) for two and a half years. Still, I didn't like giving out my number or contact because users would call me directly to ask for the service ... Say they call you. You were on a trip or in Cedritos when they asked me for a service in Engativá [neighbourhoods in Bogotá that are very far from each other]. I couldn't get there, which caused me stress ... I learned with Drivers that if I'm not there, there are colleagues who support me and I feel that the man [founder of the platform] does a very good job with this. He is always thinking about getting out of the mould and collaborating so that we have our own free livelihood. I love the idea [PROTOURS as a company-; it would be a great project. (Rocío, driver)

9.3.3 Unease about externals joining

Besides these two interviewees, there was minimal support for PROTOURS among the drivers interviewed. This is not to say that there was a complete rejection of any change within the original coordination structure, but there was hesitancy and the perspective that the proposed changes were unnecessary.

Mi miedo personal es que como a las plataformas nuevas podría ingresar cualquier persona, puede ingresar el señor Taxista, puede ingresar un policía o el familiar de policía y lo entregan a uno ... entonces no es lo mismo que la familia de Drivers. Digamos que yo trabajo

con las plataformas y de drivers quiero es esa cosa familiar. Obviamente si MAT me manda servicios pues lo hago, pero no me gusta que todo Drivers se vuelva MAT o una cosa de turismo. Ya los usuarios de Drivers son antiguos y nos conocemos o alguien lo conocer y no hay tanta exposición, de que alguien se lo lleve al retén y se lo entregue a la policía.

My personal fear is that since any person could enter the new platforms [MAT and PROTOURS, etc.]. Mr Taxi driver can be admitted, an undercover police officer or a relative of a police officer can also be admitted [to the new PROTOURS or MAT] and they can hand you over [to the authorities] ... so it is not the same as the Drivers family [As it is not the same trust and social bond when they expand to include a more structured organisation]. Let's say I work with the platforms and from drivers I want is that familiar thing. Obviously if MAT sends me services, then I do it, but I don't like all drivers to become MAT or a tourism thing. Drivers' users are already old [as they have been in the creole platform for a long time], and we know each other, or someone knows them, and there is not so much exposure that someone takes it to the checkpoint and turns it over to the police. (Mateo, driver)

Here, it is crucial to note that the structure of fear of traffic police and the consequences of any contact with them was common to all the drivers interviewed. However, this specific example tells us that the driver equated structuring a more formal platform that left their work model behind, and the greater possibility of being harassed by the police [by undercover policemen or their families entering the community].

9.3.4 Fear of losing characteristics of the Creole platform

Some drivers were extremely concerned about the possibility of losing the characteristics of the creole platform. As Julian David explained:

Desde hace ya rato que esto se volvió tan competitivo que no sé. Antes cuando eran dos plataformas uno fácilmente podía sacar un millón de pesos en una semana ... ahora hay tanta competencia que ya ni siquiera hay dinámica en las aplicaciones y hay muy poca demanda ... Los usuarios se dieron cuenta de que si hay tarifa dinámica en una de las plataformas en la otra no hay entonces van a inclinarse por el precio más barato. Entonces con tanta competencia yo creo que nuestro modelo es mejor ya que funcionamos fuera de

todo ese sistema, no tenemos dinámica los que no siempre usamos plataformas y la conexión con los clientes para hacer transporte fijo y las recomendaciones de contactos al menos a mí me ha servido mucho ... no veo como Drivers va a construir las nuevas plataformas o hablar con MAT si al final no va a poder competir tampoco. Somos más competitivos con nuestra alternativa.

For a while now, this [the market of ride-hailing platforms in Bogotá] has become so competitive that I don't know. Before, when there were two platforms, one could easily get a million pesos in a week ... Now there is so much competition that there is no longer even a surge pricing in the apps and there is very little demand ... Users realised that if there is a surge pricing on one of the platforms, there is not one in the other, so they are going to lean towards the cheapest price. So, with so much competition, I think our model is better since we work outside of that entire system. Those of us who don't always use platforms, don't have surge pricing and the connection with customers to make fixed transportation and the recommendations of contacts, at least for me, has been very helpful. I don't see how Drivers is going to build the new platforms or talking to MAT if in the end it won't be able to compete either. We are more competitive with our alternative. (Julian David, driver)

These comments are crucial here, particularly Julian David's argument that the model of Drivers Club Bogotá "is better since we work outside that entire system". That element is key to understanding the unwillingness of many drivers to create or join new, more 'formal' entities. The power assigned to the informal characteristics of the Drivers Club Bogotá community and the benefits associated with the emergent and spontaneous growth of the organisation conflicted with the plan presented by the founders. Aiming for centralisation and creation of structured hierarchies, challenged the heterarchical or spontaneous ordering of the original organisation, as previously mentioned. The power structures which define the debates between centralisation and spontaneous emergence (Gordon, 2012), interventionism versus local knowledge (Ikeda, 2004) and voluntarism versus imposition (Foldvary, 2011) were present in this struggle. Even in a scenario where eventually all platforms would be allowed to function legally, drivers were still ambivalent. Top-down interventions were far from being universally accepted. Moreover, drivers' evasive entrepreneurial challenge was based precisely on their association's spontaneous

and heterarchical characteristics in response to the imposition of external agendas. In this case, even the agendas coming from the group managers unified them in the first place. Marialejandra described the struggle very eloquently:

A mi Drivers como está me parece una muy buena opción. ¿Por qué? Porque es un proceso de fidelizar a los clientes con los que uno en algún momento trabajó por medio de la plataforma. Es una oportunidad de despegarse un poquito de las aplicaciones por temas de tarifas, por temas de comisiones, por temas de seguridad.

... Ahora, si la plataforma se vuelve una empresa de turismo o sólo hacemos convenios con MAT o la que sea, se nos pierde esa libertad de trabajar ...El problema es que, si nos legalizamos o nos volvemos PROTOURS, e igual si legalizan las plataformas como están ahora lo que van a hacer es que nos van a empezar a cobrar los impuestos y si hacemos sólo turismo o sólo efectivos o sólo las personas que nos conocen y no hacemos todo y más que es lo que estamos haciendo ahora se va a perder mucho.

For me, Drivers [Club] as it is ... [is] like a very good option. Why? Because it is a process of retaining customers with whom one has worked at some point through the platforms. It is an opportunity to detach a little from the apps due to fee issues, commission issues, security issues.

... Now, if the platform becomes a tourism company or we only make agreements with MAT or whatever, we lose that freedom to work ... The problem is that, if we legalise ourselves or become PROTOURS, and even if they legalise the platforms as they are now, what they are going to do is that they are going to start charging us taxes. And if we only do tourism or only cash or only the people who they know us and we don't do everything and more than what we are doing now, a lot is going to be lost. (Marialejandra, driver)

What would be lost in this case was the autonomy and self-reliance that a great majority of drivers felt the creole platform afforded them. They had lost trust in the multinational and alternative platforms due to their policies, but they relied on the emergent construction of Drivers Club Bogotá as it allowed them an opt-out alternative, such as the creation of sub-groups for specific goals, the opportunity to do everything and more than what they were doing then, and the liberty to work with multinational, alternative or no formal platforms at all. Although drivers recognised that being regulated and

forming a more structured organisation would be "good", particularly in the development of everyday work in the city, this consideration did not outweigh their preference for the more hybrid and heterarchical model of the Drivers Club. As argued by Gabriel, the formalisation to a certain level would be good because:

no dejaría de trabajar tan estresado, porque uno muchas veces, hasta lo hemos hablado con pasajeros, sale a trabajar y parece que estuviera robando. Tiene que estar escondiéndose de los policías, tener las ventanas arriba, cuidarse de los Taxistas. Sería bueno por eso ... Pero, que sería malo, que nos cambien las estrategias para esto y que nos cambien el modelo ... nos van a cambiar muchas cosas y eso va a limitar a muchísimas personas. Por ejemplo, yo no tengo camioneta o carro para brindar viajes premium de turismo. Mi modelo de trabajo es con el carro todos los días y con la gente que yo conozco, pero como mi carro no es tan elegante en los hoteles no funcionaría y para entrar a MAT tampoco porque piden carro con antigüedad 2016 ... si nos regulan o nos volvemos empresa yo quedaría excluido.

One would stop working so stressed, because many times, we have even talked about it with passengers; one goes to work, and it seems that one is stealing. One must be hiding from the cops, keep the windows up, and watch out for taxi drivers. It [formalisation] would be good for that ... But, it would be bad if they changed our strategies for this and changed our model ... They are going to change many things, which will limit many people. For example, I do not have an SUV or car to offer premium tourism trips. My work model is with the car every day, and with the people, I know, but since my car is not as elegant in the hotels, it would not work, and to enter MAT, it would not work either because they ask for a car with an age of 2016 ... If they regulate us or we become a company I would be excluded. (Gabriel, driver)

Raising entry barriers, limiting the structures of how some drivers worked and related costs to formalise or structure were at the core of drivers' hesitancy around the formation of PROTOURS. Evident tensions and conflicting rationalities emerged in this situation when the founders of Drivers Club Bogotá were trying to move from a creole-hybrid model into a platform like many others in the context of Bogotá. The opposition to the hierarchical organisation of Drivers Club Bogotá through the formation of PROTOURS was understandable; as much as the founders did not want to address it, the autonomy

and horizontality that the drivers appreciated would be lost. By formalising Drivers Club Bogotá into a tourist company, albeit still interpreting loopholes in the regulations to their advantage, the founders would have to restructure it as a regular company, with a management structure and legal representatives. As stated by Marialejandra about the future of Drivers Club Bogotá and its possible formalisation:

Mire, lo que pasa es que el ideal sería que uno como persona individual tuviera el derecho no solo de trabajar sino de trabajar en prestar el servicio de movilidad sin necesidad de tener que constituir una empresa ... es que es ridículo, si yo tengo herramientas como las plataformas y tenemos nuestra organización en drivers para qué nos tenemos que volver una empresa y pagar todas esas estructuras si ya cada uno está brindando el servicio ... Yo creo que el ideal sería que en el gobierno armaran todo para hacer cumplir la constitución y el derecho al trabajo que está consagrado ahí y dejarlo trabajar a uno y asociarse como uno quiera. Yo sé que 'David' y 'Mauricio' están proponiendo esto de PROTOURS para que nos quitemos ese yugo de encima de la ilegalidad y que no nos persigan más, pero al final nos van a seguir persiguiendo ... pues porque no somos de verdad empresa de turismo... Entonces lo que tiene que pasar es que cambien las leyes.

Look, what happens is that the ideal would be for one as an individual to have the right not only to work but to work in providing the mobility service without having to set up a company ... It's just that it's ridiculous. If I have tools like the platforms and we have our organisation in drivers, why do we have to become a company and pay for all these structures if each one is already providing the service ... I think the ideal would be for the government to put everything together to enforce the constitution and the right to work that is enshrined there and let you work and associate as you want. I know that 'David' and 'Mauricio' are proposing this PROTOURS thing so that we get rid of that yoke of illegality and that they don't persecute us anymore, but in the end, they [the police] are going to continue persecuting us ... well, because we are not really a tourism company. (Marialejandra, driver)

This point was crucial as it addressed and summarised what I argue was the main position of drivers who constituted Drivers Club Bogotá, namely, that they were already free to do their work and that their common organisation afforded and facilitated that work. This common informal organisation and the organically built nature of its rules and

structures confirm the literature on enforcement and voluntary cooperation (Ostrom et al., 1992), particularly the argument that heterogeneity and emergent social norms produce higher levels of cooperation in contrast with external enforcement or imposition (Aligica, 2008, 2013; Aligica & Tarko, 2014; Haeffele & Yatsyshina, 2021).

The founders of the platform faced a conundrum because even though they expected some opposition from the drivers, they did not expect that opposition would be so widespread:

Es bien difícil de explicar, porque sumercé sabe que yo empecé esto y después sumé a 'David' por el apoyo que el me daba con su organización como DJ y todo el respaldo de la comunidad que el armó, pero la idea siempre fue es que esto es algo que construimos entre todos ... entonces uno se sorprende cuando trae la idea para mejorar las condiciones y los compañeros no quieren ... Yo creo que al final es algo más que el facilismo, porque yo creo que lo que pasa es que los compañeros no quieren cambiar el statu quo que logramos hasta ahora es como que no piensan más allá ... incluso es como que prefirieran seguir en la ilegalidad pero no se quieren organizar más allá de cada beneficio individual ... Es como que falta también esa cultura de cooperación.

It's very difficult to explain, because you know that I started this and then I added 'David' for the support he gave me with his organisation as a DJ and all the support of the community that he put together, but the idea was always that this is something that we all build together ... so one is surprised when one brings up the idea to improve conditions and the teammates don't want to ... I think that in the end it is something more than easyism, because I think what happens is that the teammates don't want to change the status quo that we have achieved up to now. It is as if they do not think further ... It is even as if they prefer to remain illegal but they do not want to organise beyond each individual benefit ... It is as if that culture of cooperation is also lacking. (Mauricio, founder)

The founders of Drivers Club Bogotá wanted to impose the rationality of formalisation but erroneously assumed acceptance from drivers who, from their position, saw the creole characteristics of their creation in danger. This was a case of conflicting rationalities as, I argue, the founders were importing ideas and desire for formalisation

from contexts that are were to both the drivers' development and the nature of platform creolisation. Watson (2004) and de Satgé and Watson (2018b) show that governments, policymakers and other actors in decision-making in southern cities, influenced by imported categories, usually assume a state of how things should work "properly". This, I argue, was the crucial mistake of the Drivers Club Bogotá founders, as they failed to recognise that the very nature of the creole platform was what made Drivers Club Bogotá successful, what kept it together and the reason drivers wanted to be a part of it.

9.4 Conclusion: Heterarchy vs Hierarchy

In this chapter, I engaged with PROTOURS as the intention of the founders of Drivers Club Bogotá to formalise their platform. I also discussed how drivers responded to this plan. As illustrated, the majority rejected it for fear of losing the hybrid and open characteristics of their own creation. The contestation between drivers and the intentions of the founders of Drivers Club Bogotá showed a conflict of rationalities, which affected the nature of the creole platform and the activities of the drivers behind it (de Satgé & Watson, 2018a; Watson, 2004, 2013). As I mentioned before, the hybrid and sui-generis characteristics of the internal organisation of Drivers Club Bogotá show a heterarchical (and, I might add, southern) nature that the drivers appreciated and were fearful of losing.

Drivers Club Bogotá allowed members, both founders and drivers, to have a large amount of autonomy and distribute the roles and positioning of the different actors. Drivers had high levels of autonomy, opting in and out of the organisation to the other platforms (multinational and alternative) were is freely available. What the drivers were demanding from their own organisation was to let them "do their work in peace", to let their emergent structures of cooperation keep working without external intervention. By the time I interviewed the drivers, it was clear that, despite their opposition, decisions were starting to be centralised by the founders through Zello and participation of the drivers in the decision-making process was becoming limited, particularly the steps that the founders took to frame the creation of PROTOURS. This was perhaps inevitable as the evolution of any organisation tends to become hierarchical, as per Michel's "iron law

of oligarchy", which argues that rule by elite or oligarchy is an inevitable almost natural iron law (Michels, 2019).

However, the big jump toward institutionalising a formal company, that is, PROTOURS, was a line that members of the group were evidently unwilling to cross, thereby confirming what Diefenbach (2019) argued in his refutation of the "iron law of oligarchy", namely, that alternative or democratic organisations would not always degenerate into oligarchies. This applies particularly when an organisation's members have high levels of voluntary cooperation based on informal ties which can make organisations very resilient to the push towards oligarchy. Diefenbach (2019) states correctly that the evolution of social reality or organisations does not depend on immutable or structural characteristics, but rather are a "a result of, and open to, human design and human action; it can be shaped and changed in various ways" (Diefenbach, 2019, p. 559). In this sense, by their actions and by what the platforms afforded them, the drivers were designing and maintaining an organisation that in its hybrid heterarchical characteristics was also democratic. The agency of drivers speaks about resilience of informal bottom-up process in conflict with intentions and wills to modify those processes. This agency also highlights the will of drivers to preserve the structure of their work, to preserve their creation or, in other words, to be autonomous in a space of their own.

CHAPTER 10 | PLATFORMS AND CONTESTATION:

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

On December 25th, 1993, Colombian film director Sergio Cabrera Cárdenas showed his movie *La Estrategia del Caracol* (*The snail's strategy*) for the first time (Cabrera, 1993). The plot of this film tells the story of a group of tenants who live in an old colonial house and are faced with an eviction authorised by law as a result of the urban renewal of the city centre of Bogotá. Led by Romero, an eternal law student, they avoid expulsion through all kinds of legal and evasive tricks until the judge notifies them that they have 10 days to vacate the house under penalty of forced eviction by the police. Faced with the impossibility of avoiding eviction by force, Jacinto Ibarbuen, an exile from the Spanish Civil War, devises an original alternative, the snail's strategy. Doctor Holguín, the lawful owner of the house, and his lawyer, Víctor Honorio Mosquera, resort to all kinds of tricks such as blackmail, bribery of the judiciary and government officials and threats and violence to achieve their goal. However, the tenants, in their eagerness to keep their dignity and autonomy alive, unite to use a system of classic European theatre cranes and other rudimentary technological artefacts to move and evacuate each part of the house, along with its tenants, leaving an empty shell of a house with just a façade.

In one of the essential lines of this movie's script, the main narrating character, a *culebrero*¹³, called "El Paisa" (a person from Medellín) who lives in the house, explains that the reason why the inhabitants of the house suffer is due to "the injustice of justice". In this way, the *culebrero* summarises the core issue: the defence of the tenants threatened by the channels of the justice system and the administrative bureaucracy of the state and the moral right they have to evade it. In other words, this shows how the law and governance in Colombia, that is, the formal institutions, do not serve social justice but rather are bought and altered based on the interests of the elite, either state or private.

¹³ A term in colloquial Spanish to define a man, generally from the 'Paisa' region of Colombia, who is a travelling salesman who also tells stories. The term is also used to refer to an astute and clever person who avoids committing himself or defining himself in a situation or conversation.

The plot of *Estrategia del Caracol*, even if dealing with a different urban issue than the one discussed in this thesis, shows commonality with the narratives of people's experiences in Colombia: a situation where people creolise technologies that were intended for other uses and direct them towards their empowerment and liberation (Diamond, 2015). As I have addressed in this thesis, platforms are technological configurations used as a base upon which other processes or technologies can develop. Moreover, platforms are becoming increasingly accessible to the world's inhabitants and their shifting socio-political, economic and cultural needs. Platforms source their power by working across devices, apparatuses and human experiences. Platforms can be foundations for political ideologies, an advanced communication system and social connection across borders, a web-based application for the popularisation of discourse or a cultural zeitgeist (Brett, 2020; Gillespie, 2010; Van Dijck et al., 2018). I have also discussed how platforms are social architectures that manifest as an infrastructure for action, an affordance that enables or constrains economic, social, affective and even political agency (Davis, 2020). Most of all, platforms are the essential tools behind the conditions in which humans currently experience, represent and act on reality. The impact that platforms have on people in their daily lives and activities has led to the creative and transgressive emergence of alternative forms of governance and coordination to achieve different goals of community building, certainty and risk management, but most of all, autonomy and self-governance.

This thesis has discussed the literature focusing on differences in the use and practice of platform technologies worldwide. One of the many questions that platforms prompt us to ask includes how they frame new forms of power and societal construction and how they differ from the social and institutional architectures preceding the emergence of digital technologies. Being aware of the criticisms of the Global South to define very different contexts, I recognised that "southern" analysis of social phenomena has value for highlighting issues important to those outside the Global North. Developing a "southern" perspective of analysis is critical to understanding the creole platform's mix of vernacular social customs to create a new form of engaging with platforms and what this means for ride-hailing drivers. Moreover, a "southern" perspective is necessary to address how the development of this creole platform responds to appalling working

conditions in the multinational or alternative ride-hailing platforms. In this thesis, I have also shown how the specific actors of interest, the drivers creating the creole platform, built a solid community that uses platform technology to circumvent internal and external institutional contradictions.

10.1 Evasive Entrepreneurship

The actions of the Drivers Club Bogotá drivers described in this thesis reflect a process of evasive entrepreneurship that affords autonomy and contests institutions perceived as annoying, stagnant, outdated, oppressive and not in touch with everyday people's needs, interest and desires. These actions also address the issue of horizontality. One of the most relevant findings of this thesis is that the Drivers Club Bogotá members preferred the internal coordination and governance structures that they created to depending on the state or on private corporations. Moreover, even within their community, the drivers repelled any efforts of hierarchisation and somewhat formalisation that could change the hybrid and horizontal nature of their creation, such as PROTOURS.

It could be argued that the agency and autonomy afforded by technology and embedded in the drivers' narratives are but the normalisation of the self-made man in the neoliberal discourse. It is problematic that regarding their everyday work as platform drivers, rejection of state authority also meant explicit renunciation of their work rights and protections as may be awarded by the state and by labour law. However, at this stage, I argue that the drivers' actions align with extensive empirical research in diverse settings around the world, which shows that communities solve problems on their own, without the help of either the state or the private sector (Ostrom, 2010c). Elinor Ostrom's Nobel-prize-winning research showed that solutions of collective action that are sustainable in time go beyond the constraints of states and markets. Furthermore, Ostrom highlighted that institutional arrangements can either enhance or promote the capabilities of individuals and communities at a smaller scale to rule themselves (Ostrom, 2010a, 2010c). In the case of this research, the affordances brought by technology and the capacity and desire of platform drivers to rule themselves manifested as the

process that strives for collective autonomy, a radical argument for developing new forms of political agency and sustainable collective action (Wall, 2017).

The actions of Driver Club Bogotá members reflect three main elements that reflect processes of evasive entrepreneurship and the articulation of instances of collective action:

1. Use of social ties to articulate a community that supports its members and finds growth and mutual development by trusting each other. The strong trust and social relationships drivers built with each other were and are the backbones of the creole platform.
2. Use of platforms and community building to ensure security and navigate the risks of being a platform driver in Bogotá, highlighting that drivers control their security by constructing a system of self-protection and risk management against the issues that affect them, particularly the relationship with traffic police.
3. Drivers' desire to build an autonomous space that they govern on their own. A space in which they choose informality, contesting institutions that they feel are unjust and resisting changes within their informal practices that want to modify or disturb the system they have created.

Creole technology and creole platforms are happening in many other ways via WhatsApp in Latin America, such as informal education processes, social housing groups, social economy associations, consumption of cultural products and informal grocery markets (Arzadun et al., 2021; Gutiérrez, 2022; Lemus Pool & López González, 2021; Marasciulo, 2022; Molina, 2023). There are also empirical examples of creole platforms emerging in South Africa as mechanisms of risk management and community self-defence (Mutandiro, 2022), replicating Drivers Club Bogotá. This leads us to question the normative implications of platform use in Bogotá.

Drivers of Drivers Club Bogotá are using platforms to realise the possibility of a decent livelihood and, most of all, to fulfil their goal of being left alone in that process. These drivers' goals are achieved in a form that seems to exceed traditional political participation or the demand for rights through social protests. Changes in how people engage with society and look for ways of evading and exiting both state regulations and corporate structures have enormous implications for Colombia, where institutions, as discussed before, are captured by rent-seeking groups using them as private patrimony (Mazzuca, 2021; Mercado, 2021). Traditional forms of political demand or representation and participation, including social protests and the demand for rights, seem no longer helpful for platform-based individuals in cities like Bogotá. In the case of platform-based drivers building their own spaces, there is no longer an interest in using the political system to demand change. Instead, there is a process in which people gain affordance from platforms and use platforms to achieve power and outcomes aligned with their interests, just by doing and looking for ways to evade the system of the state and corporate structures. In other words, they are just looking at ways to exit from those systems (Hirschman, 1970; Thierer, 2020).

In summary, platform drivers in Bogotá are creating and governing spaces of their own, looking for autonomy because they are tired of demanding answers from the government and corporations and not receiving a response. Therefore, they use platforms and are afforded those technologies to achieve power by evading and exiting the system in which they are embedded, that is, using platform technologies to evade and exit from the realities and failures of their context and build and govern their own spaces of action, where their voice, community welfare and interests are the priority goals.

10.2 Harnessing creole platform innovation for urban governance

As I have argued in this thesis, the phenomenon of creole platforms is a very “southern” development that responds to the logic and context of its actors (Edgerton, 2007). There is no possible way that good public and urban policies will emerge unless there is a recognition of what people are doing on the ground, in this case, the practices and

actions of the people who built Drivers Club Bogotá. There is still a mistaken assumption within urban governance and public administration theory in general that “the nature of cities and their societies, economies, culture and governance is so similar from place to place that the need to specify the relevance of ideas geographically is not necessary” (de Satgé & Watson, 2018a, p. 11). However, in practice, this assumption has shown that the universalisation of ideas and the transfer of these ideas into formulating policies across different societies and contexts have failed (de Satgé & Watson, 2018a, 2018b; Watson, 2004). Moreover, implementing these ideas fails because they are generally forced upon the urban actors who contest and resist their application. Here, conflicting rationalities is crucial as it explains that imported ideas and policies from different contexts have permeated the governance and decision-making of actors in southern cities.

The regulation and governance initiatives about ride-hailing debated in Colombia include requirements to pay tax and mandatory insurance, creating a tax-based compensation system for taxi drivers affected by platform competition and special licensing, among others. However, no regulation draft has considered the drivers' autonomy and determination of how to provide these services outside private corporate structures. Conflicting rationalities are also apparent in the case of platform corporations, which consider drivers as just one element of the larger machine of platform mobilities, not as crucial for their development. There is some acknowledgement from the platform companies that incentives are required for drivers not to compromise their profits and autonomy. Nonetheless, this discussion does not include drivers and they are not consulted about their desires, requirements and platform uses.

In general, the views presented by the so-called “experts” and everyone involved with decision-making around the platforms in Bogotá are contested by drivers through a bottom-up process that shows how people self-organise to create their own solutions. Drivers Club Bogotá’s emergent strategies highlight the importance of spontaneous and flexible processes and the crucial role of flexible and diverse administration constitutions in responding to those emergent strategies (Cuzzolino, 2018; Moroni, 2016; Perrone, 2019; Rowe, 2016). In other words, as discussed by Torres-Fleming (2010) analysing the top-down imposition by “experts” on a Puerto Rican urban community in the United

States, people living and engaging with the urban activity are the ones that should be listened to: "WE LIVE HERE, WE'RE EXPERTS TOO" (Torres-Fleming, 2010, p. 85). In the case of this study, drivers were the experts in their activity. Their dispersed and decentralised knowledge informs their way forward, particularly in the space of self-governance and autonomy they have created.

A reformed urban governance approach is required to address the realities of platform-based drivers in Bogotá and any community starting to use platforms for different activities and practices. In the Drivers Club Bogotá community-building process and the creolisation of technologies, drivers and their organisation embarked on a process of design from the bottom-up that bred social innovation and power. The design process recognised in the collaborative organisation of people is highlighted by Manzini (2015), who recognises that we live in a world where every individual and community must constantly design and redesign its realities. Furthermore, this is a world where different design processes converge and breed social change. For Manzini, the "experts" role was to "feed and support these individual and collective projects -- - and thus to the changes they may give rise to" (Manzini, 2015, p. 1). Design, in this literature, is the process of initial mental configuration looking for solutions in any field, and it is not limited to the elaboration of physical objects or creations in the built environment. Design can also include the design of policies and non-material social processes.

For Manzini, the view on design for social innovation calls for the immediate recognition of bottom-up collaborative organisations and how these organisations design new social forms. Manzini focuses on the need to construct "design coalitions" between the expert "designers" and cooperative organisations to harness the social innovation processes generated by these grassroots emergences. The proposition is to combine expert design and what he terms "diffuse" design, that is, the design processes emerging from the collaborative organisations, to generate "sense-making", and, more importantly, problem-solving. In this sense, design can bridge technology and social change with policymaking and public administration, focusing on a design-based perspective of mainline political economy issues (Choi et al., 2021; Koppl et al., 2015; Podemska-Mikluch, 2020).

At this stage, it is crucial to clarify that the perspective on design coalitions is far removed from the framework of “design thinking” heavily criticised due to its resemblance to earlier and traditional top-down decision-making models from a “rational experimental” extraction of the 1970s and 1980s (Buchanan, 2015; Iskander, 2018). Instead, design for social innovation takes the specific problems as a base-start and includes them as part of the solution. Design initiatives for social innovation are born spontaneously and are carried out by different organisations without waiting for answers from governments or the private corporate sector. In this sense, co-design that forms design coalitions is a process that recognises emergence and, instead of imposing solutions from the top down, inspires a new form of horizontal and more democratic sense-making (Manzini, 2015; Offenhenden et al., 2017). Considering the case of Drivers Club Bogotá, their coordination and governance process is also one of “diffuse design”; therefore, policy reform in the case of Drivers Club Bogotá and the conflicting rationalities from “expert” design needs to articulate the idea of conforming a design coalition with the bottom-up diffuse design of the drivers. This also opens the doors for the concept application of a “partner state”, as previously discussed in the theoretical framework of this thesis (Bauwens & Kostakis, 2015; Pazaitis & Drechsler, 2020; Restakis, 2021).

Considering the findings of this thesis in Bogotá, corporations such as Uber could also embrace the concept of co-designing for a more democratic organisation to work in the development of the platform economy in Bogotá. Co-designing and multi-stakeholdership could also be adopted by multinational or alternative platform companies if there is an interest in correcting mistakes of the past, such as those that became evident in the infamous “Uber Files” ¹⁴ (Analytica, 2022). If disruptive forms of platform capitalism intend to cooperate with city governments in the Global South and demonstrate social responsibility or “conscious capitalism”, an idea of a partnership or a “design coalition” approach would be beneficial (Shahrokhi et al., 2022; Sisodia et al., 2014). Expecting a co-designing multi-stakeholder approach from multinational

¹⁴ Uber Files was a journalistic investigation that analysed more than 124,000 internal Uber files and revealed the strategies that the company followed to establish itself in dozens of countries and to put pressure on top-level politicians.

platforms could be naïve, but perhaps it is the only way to achieve true social sustainability of the platform economy.

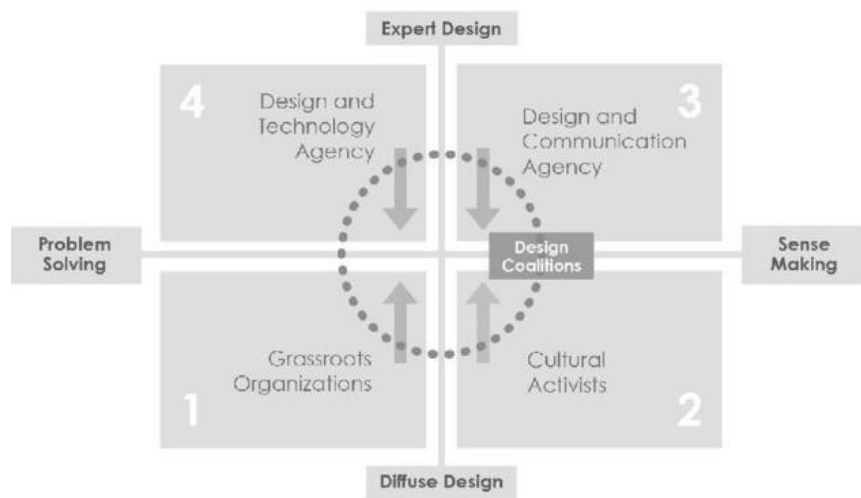


Fig. 18. Design for Social Innovation. Extracted from (Cortés & Cruz, 2018) working on (Manzini, 2015) - Design, When Everybody Designs. An Introduction to Design for Social Innovation.

The partnership towards generating urban services should be the goal of future urban policies in Bogotá, Latin America and the Global South. Urban policies must engage with a new approach that recognises that even if hard law in the form of the traditional sovereign state will always be present, there are flexible and alternative forms of soft-law governance mechanisms that are useful for engaging with wicked problems (Manzini, 2015; Peters, 2011; Thierer, 2020). In other words, a recognition from the spheres of power of the “experts” in the government or the private sector that urban governance must be an incremental and co-designed approach to produce sound policies and good cities for people.

10.3 Future avenues of research

Discussions around new forms of governance and the “partner state” (Restakis, 2021) concerning the evolution of platform-afforded communities open questions about the reform needed in urban public administration systems in the Global South. Is there

something in the nature of creole platforms like Drivers Club Bogotá that can inform new perspectives on urban governance?

Platform-afforded emergent communities or platform cooperative alternatives can undoubtedly show an empirical case that informs policy towards a new platform-based municipalism and more direct forms of democracy (Scholz, 2016; Schor & Eddy, 2022; Solel, 2019; Thompson, 2020, 2021), just as is happening already in places like Barcelona (Smith & Martín, 2022). At this stage, people in Colombia and Latin America are already doing their self-governance in decentralised platform-afforded communities. It is time for public policies and policymakers to step up. There is something to learn about the emergence of creole platforms and how to co-design better outcomes in an open, collaborative partnership, in particular, how creole platforms can enhance urban life quality and what other applications within urban governance can use social articulation of platforms. This is my invitation to address many future avenues of research emerging from the case of the creolisation of technologies in Drivers Club Bogotá. In the Global South, there are state-led proposals aimed at co-designing alternatives to break down monopolies by platform corporations (Marasciulo & Froio, 2022) and show that there may be many empirical cases just waiting to be uncovered and harnessed to achieve more socially sustainable urban futures.

Applied to this thesis, I argue that the actions of Drivers Club Bogotá provide new ways of institutional coordination and contestation, both externally and internally. Through that process, Drivers Club Bogotá is designing and showing alternative options to how governance can develop in Bogotá, particularly concerning emergent micro-spheres of platform-afforded social action. Here, for the government and corporations, the choice lies in recognising the affordances of platforms, and whatever policies they produce should be co-designed in cooperation with these bottom-up social processes. In other words, an approach towards platforms that engages with the democratising values of technology for social change and articulates new forms of democratic decision-making in a technology-impacted setting, working to create a people's truly "smart city" of the Global South.

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| APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A | COHORT 1 INTERVIEW GUIDE (ENGLISH AND SPANISH)

1. Can you tell me a bit about the platform? How long it has been working in Colombia? Do you have any physical offices and people working? What makes this platform different from others in Bogotá?
2. How has been the development of the platform in Bogotá? Is there anything in particular about this process that you want to emphasise?
3. How was the process of introducing cash payments for everyday use?
 - a. How was that decision made? Could users always pay like this?
 - b. How did you introduced the figure of 'vehicle lease with driver'? How did drivers respond to this?
4. Tell me a more about the relationship with drivers, how are they recruited? How is the affiliation process, how do they start working in the platform?
 - a. What incentives are they given? Are they encouraged to collaborate with each other?
 - b. Do you have groups on social media? Or is everything more personalised from platform to driver? How is this relationship if its more personalised?
5. Have you been able to negotiate models such as the hourly vehicle lease with the regulators and / or authorities?
 - a. Have you proposed other hiring models?
 - b. Have you been able to meet with them?
 - c. Have you been able to meet with the taxi drivers' union?
 - d. Have you met with the union of users and drivers of digital applications, the national 'guild' of informal transporters or the national union of alternative transport?
6. Have you talked to the drivers about working conditions?
7. What impacts has the pandemic brought?
 - a. What have been the adaptation strategies to build trust from users and drivers?
 - b. Has travel been reduced or increased due to fear of public transport?
 - c. Has your platform collaborated with the authorities?
8. There are certain studies and reports regarding the formation of driver communities that use WhatsApp groups, Facebook and the "Zello" application to organize themselves on alternative platforms. Are you aware of these groups?
 - a. If so, have they contacted you?

b. How do you think these groups emerged?

Do you think there is something that we have not covered in this talk?

What do you think will be the future of platforms in the city and the country? Will they be regularised, or will the current status quo continue? How about the people and the drivers?

1. ¿Puede hablarme un poco sobre la plataforma? ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva trabajando en Colombia? ¿Tienen alguna oficina física y gente trabajando? ¿Qué diferencia a esta plataforma de otras en Bogotá?

2. ¿Cómo ha sido el desarrollo de la plataforma en Bogotá? ¿Hay algo en particular sobre este proceso que quiera enfatizar?

3. ¿Cómo fue el proceso de introducción de pagos en efectivo para el uso diario?

a.. ¿Cómo se tomó esa decisión? ¿Los usuarios siempre podrían pagar así?

b. ¿Cómo introdujo la figura del 'alquiler de vehículos con conductor'? ¿Cómo respondieron los conductores a esto?

4. Cuénteme más sobre la relación con los conductores, ¿cómo se reclutan? ¿Cómo es el proceso de afiliación, cómo empiezan a trabajar en la plataforma?

a. ¿Qué incentivos se dan? ¿Se animan a colaborar entre ellos?

b. ¿Tienes grupos en las redes sociales? ¿O es todo más personalizado desde la plataforma hasta el conductor? ¿Cómo es esta relación si es más personalizada?

5. ¿Ha podido negociar modelos como el arrendamiento de vehículos por horas con los reguladores y/o autoridades?

a. ¿Propusieron otros modelos de contratación?

b. ¿Ha podido reunirse con ellos?

c. ¿Ha podido reunirse con el sindicato de taxistas?

d. ¿Se ha reunido con el gremio de usuarios y conductores de aplicaciones digitales, el gremio nacional de transportistas informales o el gremio nacional de transporte alternativo?

6. ¿Ha hablado con los conductores sobre las condiciones de trabajo?

7. ¿Qué impactos ha traído la pandemia?

una. ¿Cuáles han sido las estrategias de adaptación para generar confianza entre usuarios y conductores?

b. ¿Se han reducido o aumentado los viajes por miedo al transporte público?

C. ¿Su plataforma ha colaborado con las autoridades?

8. Existen ciertos reportes sobre la formación de comunidades de conductores que utilizan los grupos de WhatsApp, Facebook y la aplicación "Zello" para organizarse en plataformas alternativas. ¿Conoces estos grupos?

a. Si es así, ¿se han puesto en contacto con usted?

b. ¿Cómo cree que surgieron estos grupos?

¿Cree que hay algo que no hemos tratado en esta charla?

¿Cuál cree que será el futuro de las plataformas en la ciudad y el país? ¿Se regularizarán o se mantendrá el statu quo actual? ¿Qué hay de la gente y los conductores?

APPENDIX B | COHORT 2 INTERVIEW GUIDE (ENGLISH AND SPANISH)

1. Could you tell me a little about the union? How long have you been operating? How are you organised?
2. How has your growth process been? Can you explain to me how the union operates?
 - a. How are members incorporated?
 - b. How are they called and recruited?
 - c. What are the requirements to enter the union?
3. Uber introduced in early 2020 the figure of a lease to 'legalize itself' and this impacted all platforms. How did that affect you?
4. How is the internal organisation of the union? Could you tell me a little about the structure? Who makes the decisions or how are they made?
 - a. How do you communicate with members?
 - b. How do you resolve conflicts between members or if something happens to one of the members?
 - c. Do you have some kind of common fund? Who manages it if you have it?
5. Do you have any relationship with traditional media or is it all through social networks?
6. How have you been with the pandemic? Have you done anything to increase the trust of users and members?
 - a. Any help to members?
7. Could you tell me about your relationship with the authorities? Have you contacted government officials or representatives?
8. We are currently in a negotiation in Colombia to regulate the platforms. How do you see the union with that process?
 - a. Have you talked to your members about working conditions?
 - b. Do you think that in the law to regulate the platforms they are going to consider groups like yours? Is it relevant to you at all?
 - c. If the platforms are regulated, do you think your business model is going to be affected?
 - d. Have you thought of alternatives?
8. There are certain studies and reports that show that there are groups similar to yours throughout the country that use WhatsApp and Facebook, have they contacted you to collaborate or cooperate in something? Or have you perhaps contacted them?

Do you think there is something that we have not covered in this interview?

What do you think will be the future of users and drivers?

1. ¿Podría hablarme un poco sobre el sindicato? ¿Cuánto tiempo ha estado operando? ¿Cómo está organizado?
2. ¿Cómo ha sido su proceso de crecimiento? ¿Me puede explicar cómo funciona el sindicato?
 - a. ¿Cómo se incorporan los miembros?
 - b. ¿Cómo son llamados y reclutados?
 - c. ¿Cuáles son los requisitos para ingresar al sindicato?
3. Uber introdujo a principios de 2020 la figura del arrendamiento para 'legalizarse' y esto impactó en todas las plataformas. ¿Cómo los afectó eso?
4. ¿Cómo es la organización interna del sindicato? ¿Podrías hablarme un poco de la estructura? ¿Quién toma las decisiones o cómo se toman?
 - a. ¿Cómo se comunican con los miembros?
 - b. ¿Cómo resuelven los conflictos entre los miembros o si algo le sucede a uno de los miembros?
 - c. ¿Tiene algún tipo de fondo común? ¿Quién lo gestiona si lo tienen?
5. ¿Tiene alguna relación con los medios tradicionales o es todo a través de las redes sociales?
6. ¿Cómo ha estado con la pandemia? ¿Ha hecho algo para aumentar la confianza de los usuarios y miembros?
 - a. ¿Alguna ayuda para los miembros?
7. ¿Podría hablarme de su relación con las autoridades? ¿Se ha puesto en contacto con funcionarios o representantes del gobierno?
8. Actualmente estamos en una negociación en Colombia para regular las plataformas. ¿Cómo ven el sindicato con ese proceso?
 - a. ¿Ha hablado con sus miembros sobre las condiciones de trabajo?
 - b. ¿Cree que en la ley para regular las plataformas se van a considerar grupos como el tuyo? ¿Es relevante para usted en absoluto?
 - C. Si se regulan las plataformas, ¿cree que su modelo de negocio se va a ver afectado?
 - d. ¿Has pensado en alternativas?
8. Hay ciertos estudios e informes que demuestran que existen grupos similares al tuyo en todo el país que usan WhatsApp y Facebook, ¿los han contactado para colaborar o cooperar en algo? ¿O tal vez usted se ha puesto en contacto con ellos?

¿Cree que hay algo que no hemos cubierto en esta entrevista?

¿Cuál cree que será el futuro de los conductores?

APPENDIX C | COHORT 3 INTERVIEW GUIDE (ENGLISH AND SPANISH)

1. Could you tell me a little about yourself, what has been your involvement with the regulation of platforms to date?
2. Could you tell me a bit about the position of the government regarding the platforms to date?
3. What is your perspective regarding the development of transport platforms in the country?
4. Do you consider that all platforms that operate in Colombia and Bogotá have the same characteristics?
5. There are certain studies and reports regarding the formation of driver communities that use WhatsApp groups, Facebook and the "Zello" application to organize themselves on alternative transport platforms. Are you aware of these groups?
 - a. If you do know them, do you think they have been sufficiently considered?
6. Have you spoken with any representative or representatives of the platforms regarding possible regulation?
 - a. Have you been contacted directly by any of the platforms or groups to assess their legal situation and the service they provide?
7. Have the platform drivers been invited to the conversation regarding the regulations? Have you ever spoken to drivers and considered their experiences with platforms?
8. What impacts do you think the pandemic has brought regarding the use of these platforms?

Closing questions

Do you think there is something about institutional issues that we have not covered in this talk? Do you recommend that I contact someone else who can provide me with relevant information?

1. ¿Podría contarme un poco sobre usted, cuál ha sido su participación en la regulación de plataformas hasta la fecha?
2. ¿Me podría comentar un poco la posición del gobierno respecto a las plataformas a la fecha?
3. ¿Cuál es su perspectiva respecto al desarrollo de las plataformas de transporte en el país?

4. ¿Considera que todas las plataformas que operan en Colombia y Bogotá tienen las mismas características?
5. Existen ciertos estudios e informes sobre la formación de comunidades de conductores que utilizan los grupos de Whatsapp, Facebook y la aplicación "Zello" para organizarse en plataformas de transporte alternativo. ¿Conoce estos grupos?
 - a. Si los conoce, ¿cree que han sido suficientemente considerados?
6. ¿Ha hablado con algún representante o representantes de las plataformas sobre una posible regulación?
 - a. ¿Ha sido contactado directamente por alguna de las plataformas o colectivos para valorar su situación legal y el servicio que prestan?
7. ¿Se ha invitado a los conductores de plataforma a la conversación sobre el reglamento? Ha alguna vez hablado con los conductores y discutido sus experiencias con las plataformas?
8. ¿Qué impactos cree que ha traído la pandemia en el uso de estas plataformas?

¿Cree que hay algo sobre temas institucionales que no hemos tratado en esta charla?
¿Me recomienda que me comunique con otra persona que me pueda brindar información relevante?

APPENDIX D | COHORT 4 INTERVIEW GUIDE (ENGLISH AND SPANISH)

1. Could you tell me a little about yourself? How long have you been involved in the issue of platforms and in the debates?
 2. What differences do you observe in the development of transport platforms from the place where they were designed to when they are applied in contexts such as Colombia?
 - a. The platforms and all their systems are made for digitisation, including payments. Do you think that the Colombian case tells us about other realities?
 - b. Could the platforms in Colombia and in developing countries have a new and different evolution to what the theory tells us?
 3. How do you evaluate the strategies of the platforms since their arrival to Colombia?
 - a. How you think they have worked?
 - b. What do you think they could have done differently?
 - c. What do you think of the relationship of transportation platforms and the drivers with the authorities in recent years?
 4. There are certain studies and reports that have revealed the existence of communities of drivers that use WhatsApp groups, Facebook and the "Zello" application to organize themselves on alternative platforms. Completely leaving the more "traditional" platforms. Are you aware of these groups?
 - a. What do you think of this particular development in the Colombian case?
 - b. What is the relevance that you give to social media relations regarding the evolution of transport platforms in Colombia, and specifically in Bogotá?
 5. Taking into account the bill and the accumulated bill that is currently being processed, I would like to know from your perspective: Do you think this project will achieve the regulation of transportation platforms in Colombia?
 6. How do you evaluate the response of Colombian municipal, national, and legislative authorities regarding transportation platforms in recent years?
 7. What could the Colombian authorities have done differently?
 8. If the transportation platforms are regulated in accordance with the bill in process, what do you think will happen to the platforms, each with its different characteristics? Will they accept the changes and new regulations?
 - a. What do you think will happen with this regulation regarding alternative platforms such as those generated in social networks and "Zello"?
-

1. ¿Podría contarme un poco sobre usted? ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva involucrado en el tema de las plataformas y en los debates?
2. ¿Qué diferencias observa en el desarrollo de plataformas de transporte desde el lugar donde fueron diseñadas cuando se aplican en contextos como Colombia?
 - a. Las plataformas y todos sus sistemas están hechos para la digitalización, incluidos los pagos. ¿Cree que el caso colombiano nos habla de otras realidades?
 - b. ¿Pueden las plataformas en Colombia y en países en vías de desarrollo tener una evolución nueva y diferente a lo que nos dice la teoría?
3. ¿Cómo evalúa las estrategias de las plataformas desde su llegada a Colombia?
 - a. ¿Cómo cree que han funcionado?
 - b. ¿Qué cree que podrían haber hecho diferente?
- C. ¿Qué opina de la relación de las plataformas de transporte y los conductores con las autoridades en los últimos años?
4. Hay ciertos estudios e informes que han revelado la existencia de comunidades de conductores que utilizan los grupos de WhatsApp, Facebook y la aplicación "Zello" para organizarse en plataformas alternativas. Saliendo por completo de las plataformas más "tradicionales". ¿Conoce estos grupos?
 - a. ¿Qué opina de este particular desarrollo en el caso colombiano?
 - b. ¿Cuál es la relevancia que le das a las relaciones en las redes sociales respecto a la evolución de las plataformas de transporte en Colombia, y específicamente en Bogotá?
5. Teniendo en cuenta la factura y la factura acumulada que se está tramitando actualmente, me gustaría saber desde su perspectiva: ¿Cree que con este proyecto se logrará la regulación de las plataformas de transporte en Colombia?
6. ¿Cómo evalúa la respuesta de las autoridades municipales, nacionales y legislativas de Colombia en relación con las plataformas de transporte en los últimos años?
7. ¿Qué podrían haber hecho las autoridades colombianas de manera diferente?
8. Si se regulan las plataformas de transporte de acuerdo con el proyecto de ley en trámite, ¿qué cree que pasará con las plataformas, cada una con sus características diferentes? ¿Aceptarán los cambios y las nuevas regulaciones?
 - a. ¿Qué cree que pasará con esta regulación respecto a plataformas alternativas como las generadas en redes sociales y "Zello"?

APPENDIX E | COHORT 5 INTERVIEW GUIDE (ENGLISH AND SPANISH)

1. Could you tell me a little about your group? How long have you been working? How did you organise? What do you think makes you different?

2. How has your growth process been? Can you explain to me how the group or platform works?

a. How are trips requested and how do drivers collect payments?

3. Tell me a little about the drivers, how are they called and recruited? What are the requirements to enter the group?

a. Do drivers continue to use the other apps while they are part of the group?

b. Or do you require them to stop working with the other platforms to start working with you?

c. Why do you think drivers are joining Drivers Club Bogotá?

4. How is the internal organization of the group? Could you tell me a little about the structure? Who makes the decisions or how are they made?

a. How do you communicate with members?

b. How do you resolve conflicts between members or if something happens to one of the members?

c. Do you have some kind of common fund? Who manages it if you have it?

d. I have seen on your website that you do quite a few social events, how have you formed an identity amongst the members?

5. Do they have any relationship with traditional media or is it all through social networks?

6. How have you been with the pandemic? Have you done anything to increase the trust of users and members?

a. Any help to members?

7. Could you tell me about your relationship with the authorities? Have you had complications with the traffic police?

8. There is currently a process in Colombia to regulate the platforms. How do you see yourselves with that process?

a. Have you talked to your members about working conditions?

b. Do you think that in the law to regulate the platforms they are going to consider groups like yours? Is it relevant to you at all?

c. If the platforms are regulated, are you not included, do you think your business model is going to be affected?

- d. Have you thought of alternatives?
- e. Have you contacted representatives of the government?

9 There are certain studies and reports that show that there are groups like yours throughout the country, have they contacted you to collaborate or cooperate in something? Or have you perhaps contacted them?

1. ¿Podría hablarme un poco sobre su grupo? ¿Cuánto tiempo has estado trabajando? ¿Cómo te organizaste? ¿Qué crees que te hace diferente?
2. ¿Cómo ha sido tu proceso de crecimiento? ¿Me pueden explicar cómo funciona el grupo o la plataforma?
 - a. ¿Cómo se solicitan los viajes y cómo cobran los conductores los pagos?
3. Háblame un poco de los choferes, ¿cómo se les llama y reclutan? ¿Cuáles son los requisitos para entrar en el grupo?
 - a. ¿Los conductores continúan usando las otras aplicaciones mientras forman parte del grupo?
 - b. ¿O les exigen que dejen de trabajar con las otras plataformas para empezar a trabajar contigo?
- C. ¿Por qué crees que los conductores se unen a Drivers Club Bogotá?
4. ¿Cómo es la organización interna del grupo? ¿Podrías hablarme un poco de la estructura? ¿Quién toma las decisiones o cómo se toman?
 - a. ¿Cómo te comunicas con los miembros?
 - b. ¿Cómo resuelven los conflictos entre los miembros o si algo le sucede a uno de los miembros?
 - c. ¿Tiene algún tipo de fondo común? ¿Quién lo gestiona si lo tienes?
 - d. He visto en tu sitio web que haces bastantes eventos sociales, ¿cómo has formado una identidad entre los miembros?
5. ¿Tienen alguna relación con los medios tradicionales o es todo a través de las redes sociales?
6. ¿Cómo has estado con la pandemia? ¿Ha hecho algo para aumentar la confianza de los usuarios y miembros?
 - a. ¿Alguna ayuda para los miembros?
7. ¿Podría hablarme de su relación con las autoridades? ¿Has tenido complicaciones con la policía de tránsito?
8. Actualmente hay un proceso en Colombia para regular las plataformas. ¿Cómo os veis con ese proceso?

- a. ¿Ha hablado con sus miembros sobre las condiciones de trabajo?
- b. ¿Crees que en la ley para regular las plataformas se van a considerar grupos como el tuyo? ¿Es relevante para ti en absoluto?
- c. Si las plataformas están reguladas, ¿usted no está incluido? ¿Cree que su modelo de negocio se va a ver afectado?
- d. ¿Has pensado en alternativas?
- e. . ¿Se ha puesto en contacto con representantes del gobierno?

9. Hay ciertos estudios e informes que demuestran que hay grupos como el de ustedes en todo el país, ¿te han contactado para colaborar o cooperar en algo? ¿O tal vez te has puesto en contacto con ellos?

APPENDIX F | COHORT 6 INTERVIEW GUIDE (ENGLISH AND SPANISH)

1. Could you tell me a little about your work?
2. How long have you been driving with the platforms?
3. What made you join any particular platform? Do you have a preference of platforms?
4. Regarding Drivers Club Bogotá, how did you find the group/how did you enter it?
5. Do you only drive with Drivers Club or also use other platforms like Uber or InDriver?
5. Can you explain to me how Drivers Club works?
6. How is the group organised? Could you tell me about the structure? Who makes the decisions or how are they made?
 - a. How do you get trips? How do you collect the payments for the trip?
 - b. What are your work hours?
 - c. Do you have to pay anybody a commission for your trips?
 - d. Do you have to pay for insurance, repairs?
 - e. Do you work with your own car?
7. How do you communicate with other drivers in the group or platforms?
 - a. How do you resolve conflicts, if they happen, with other drivers?
8. What has been the impact of the pandemic for your work?
9. What would you say are the main strengths of the platforms? How do you perceive them?
 - a. Are there any weaknesses?
 - b. How could it be improved?
 - c. Are you able to make a decent living from driving for the platform?
 - d. Does joining Drivers Club helps with your work with the platforms or through the Zello, Whatsapp channels?
10. There are currently negotiations in Colombia to regulate the platforms. Do you think that the government is going to consider groups like yours?
 - a. Is it relevant to you at all?
 - b. Do you think drivers are going to be considered?
 - c. If the platforms are regulated but your group is not included, do you think your business model is going to be affected?
 - d. Have you thought of alternatives?

11. There are certain studies and reports that show that there are groups like Drivers Club throughout the country, do you have any contact with them or with drivers in other parts of Colombia?

a. Do you cooperate between drivers of other cities or within Bogotá?

1. ¿Podrías contarme un poco sobre tu trabajo?
2. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva conduciendo con las plataformas?
3. ¿Qué te hizo unirse a alguna plataforma en particular? ¿Tiene preferencia de plataformas?
4. Con respecto a Drivers Club Bogotá, ¿cómo encontraste el grupo/cómo ingresaste?
5. ¿Solo manejas con Drivers Club o también usas otras plataformas como Uber o InDriver?
5. ¿Me puedes explicar cómo funciona Drivers Club?
6. ¿Cómo está organizado el grupo? ¿Podrías hablarme de la estructura? ¿Quién toma las decisiones o cómo se toman?
- una. ¿Cómo consigues los viajes? ¿Cómo se cobran los pagos del viaje?
- b. ¿Cuáles son tus horas de trabajo?
- c. ¿Tienes que pagarle a alguien una comisión por tus viajes?
- d. ¿Tiene que pagar seguro, reparaciones?
- e.. ¿Trabajas con tu propio coche?
7. ¿Cómo se comunica con otros conductores del grupo o plataformas?
- una. ¿Cómo resuelve los conflictos, si ocurren, con otros conductores?
8. ¿Cuál ha sido el impacto de la pandemia para su trabajo?
9. ¿Cuáles diría que son las principales fortalezas de las plataformas? ¿Cómo los percibes?
- una. ¿Hay alguna debilidad?
- b. ¿Cómo puede ser mejorado?
- c. ¿Eres capaz de ganarte la vida decentemente conduciendo para la plataforma?
- d. ¿Unirse a Drivers Club ayuda en su trabajo con las plataformas o a través de los canales de Zello, Whatsapp?

10. Actualmente hay negociaciones en Colombia para regular las plataformas. ¿Cree que el gobierno va a considerar grupos como el suyo?

a. ¿Es relevante para ti en absoluto?

b. ¿Crees que los conductores van a ser considerados?

c. Si las plataformas están reguladas pero tu grupo no está incluido, ¿crees que tu modelo de negocio se va a ver afectado?

d. ¿Has pensado en alternativas?

11. Hay ciertos estudios e informes que demuestran que existen grupos como Drivers Club en todo el país, ¿tiene algún contacto con ellos o con conductores en otras partes de Colombia?

a. ¿Cooperan entre choferes de otras ciudades o dentro de Bogotá?

APPENDIX G | CONSENT FORMS (ENGLISH AND

SPANISH)



CONSENT FORM

UTS HREC ETH21-5915- Challenging the established institutions? Paratransit Platforms in Bogotá

I _____ agree to participate in the research project being conducted by Luis Hernando Lozano-Paredes, doctoral candidate at University of Technology Sydney (Australia). Email: luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au or alternatively _____@gmail.com. Phone: +61 _____

I have read the Participant Information Sheet or someone has read it to me in a language that I understand.

I understand the purposes, procedures and risks of the research as described in the Participant Information Sheet.

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and I am satisfied with the answers I have received.

I freely agree to participate in this research project as described and understand that I am free to withdraw at any time without affecting my relationship with the researchers or the University of Technology Sydney-

I understand that I will be given a signed copy of this document to keep.

I am aware that I can contact Luis Hernando Lozano Paredes or alternatively Gabriela Quintana Vigiola gabrielamarian.quintanavigiola@uts.edu.au if I have any concerns about the research.

Name and Signature [participant]

____/____/____

Date

Name and Signature [researcher]

____/____/____

Date

FORMULARIO DE CONSENTIMIENTO



UTS HREC ETH21-5915- ¿Desafiando las instituciones establecidas? Plataformas de Paratránsito en Bogotá

Yo _____ acepto participar en el proyecto de investigación que está llevando a cabo Luis Hernando Lozano-Paredes, candidato a doctorado en la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney (Australia). Correo electrónico: luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au o _____@gmail.com. Teléfono: +61 _____

He leído la Hoja de información del participante o alguien me la ha leído en un idioma que entiendo.

Entiendo los propósitos, procedimientos y riesgos de la investigación como se describe en la Hoja de información del participante.

He tenido la oportunidad de hacer preguntas y estoy satisfecho con las respuestas que he recibido.

Acepto libremente participar en este proyecto de investigación tal como se describe y entiendo que soy libre de retirarme en cualquier momento sin afectar mi relación con los investigadores o la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney.

Entiendo que se me dará una copia firmada de este documento para que la conserve.

Soy consciente de que puedo comunicarme con Luis Hernando Lozano Paredes o alternativamente con Gabriela Quintana Vigiola - gabrielamarian.quintanavigiola@uts.edu.au si tengo alguna inquietud sobre la investigación.

_____	____/____/____
Nombre y Firma	Fecha

_____	____/____/____
Nombre y Firma Investigador	Fecha

APPENDIX H | PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET COHORT 1 (ENGLISH AND SPANISH)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Challenging the established institutions? Paratransit Platforms in Bogotá

UTS HREC ETH21-5915

WHO IS CONDUCTING THIS RESEARCH?

The researcher is Luis Hernando Lozano Paredes, Doctoral Candidate at University of Technology Sydney (Australia). Prof. Alan Morris from the University of Technology Sydney is the supervisor.

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?

The purpose of this research is related to the development of the researcher's doctoral thesis and focuses on the evolution of institutional strategies by the transport platforms in the city of Bogotá since their appearance in 2013, as well as the response of the authorities. The researcher is interested in knowing which are the specific procedures that according to the theory are defined as "institutional work" by the platforms in Bogotá.

WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED?

You are invited to participate in this study since you are considered an important stakeholder in the process of transport platforms in the city of Bogotá, as a legal and public representative of one of the platforms working in the city your inputs are deemed very relevant for the research. Your contact details were obtained online.

FUNDING

The researcher is funded by the International Research Scholarship and the President's Scholarship of the University of Technology Sydney (Australia).

WHAT DOES MY PARTICIPATION INVOLVE?

If you decide to participate, the researcher will invite you to a semi-structured online interview using audiovisual means (date and time to be defined with the researcher and according to the interviewee's preference). This interview will last approximately 45 minutes and can be carried out on GoogleMeet or Zoom platforms, as the interviewee prefers.

With the interviewee's consent, the researcher will record the interview. The researcher will ensure that this recording does not contain any personal details.

Equally, if its more convenient, the researcher can send you the interview questions and develop the process in an asynchronous way to the best convenience of the interviewee.

In both cases, written consent be asked.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCES?

Like all online activity, there may be risks or inconveniences linked to the use of the information by third parties or technical problems for accessing either messaging platforms, email, social media or GoogleMeet/Zoom. However, the researcher will take all the corresponding precautions required by the University of Technology Sydney, the Commonwealth of Australia and the Colombian Data Protection and Treatment Policy (STATUTORY LAW 1581 OF 2012 and REGULATORY DECREES) to ensure the privacy and management of personal data under the strictest security and anonymity. The latter particularly for the case of the information coming from the platform to which you are a representative. Equally, the researcher will ensure that if for some technical issues the interview cannot take place, to reschedule or accommodate to the needs of the interviewee.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

Participation in this study is voluntary. It is completely up to you whether or not you decide to take part. If you decide not to participate, or to withdraw from the study, it will not affect your relationship with the researchers or the University of Technology Sydney

WHAT IF I WITHDRAW FROM THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

If you wish to withdraw from the study once it has started, you can do so at any time without having to give a reason, by contacting Mr. Luis Hernando Lozano-Paredes to his email luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au or alternatively luishernando.lozanoparedes@gmail.com

If you decide to leave the research project, the researcher will not collect additional personal information from, although personal information already collected will be retained to ensure that the results of the research project can be measured properly and to comply with law. You should be aware that data collected up to the time you withdraw will form part of the research project results. If you do not want the researcher to do this, you must tell him before you join the research project. If you decide not to participate, this will not imply a detriment or prejudice to the researcher or the University of Technology Sydney.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN WITH INFORMATION ABOUT ME?

By signing the consent form you consent to the researcher collecting and using personal information about you for the development of the research project linked to his doctoral studies. All this information will be treated confidentially. Your information will be kept securely by the University of Technology Sydney in accordance with data protection

policies for a minimum retention period of 5 years (General Research). The data manager is Professor Alan Morris, supervisor of the researcher's doctoral thesis. The researcher plans to publish the results in his doctoral thesis and articles for academic journals. In any future publication, your information is provided in a way that you will not be identified.

The researcher would like to store your information for future use in research projects that are an extension of this research project. In all instances, your information will be treated as confidential and stored securely. It is anticipated that the results of this research project will be published and/or presented in a variety of forums. In any publication and/or presentation, information will be provided in such a way that you cannot be identified, except with your permission.

In accordance with relevant Australian Privacy, and Colombian Data Protection and Treatment Policy laws, you have the right to request access to the information about you that is collected and stored by the researcher. You also have the right to request that any information with which you disagree be corrected. Please inform the researcher named at the end of this document if you would like to access your information.

The results of this research may also be shared through open access (public) scientific databases, including internet databases. This will enable other researchers to use the data to investigate other important research questions. Results shared in this way will always be de-identified by removing all personal information (e.g. name, address, date of birth etc.).

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?

If you have any concerns about the research that you think the researcher can help you with, please feel free to contact him on the email: luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au or alternatively _____@gmail.com.

Additionally, you can contact his supervisor: Alan Morris- alan.morris@uts.edu.au or alternatively in Spanish, Gabriela Quintana – gabrielamarian.quintanavigiola@uts.edu.au

You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

NOTE:

This study has been approved in line with the University of Technology Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee [UTS HREC] guidelines. If you have any concerns or complaints about any aspect of the conduct of this research, please contact the Ethics Secretariat on ph.: +61 2 9514 2478 or email: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au, and quote the UTS HREC ETH21-5915 reference number. Any matter raised will be treated confidentially, investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

INFORMACIÓN PARA LOS PARTICIPANTES

¿Desafiando a las instituciones establecidas? Plataformas de paratransito en Bogotá

UTS HREC ETH21-5915

¿QUIÉN REALIZA ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

El investigador es Luis Hernando Lozano Paredes, Candidato a Doctorado en la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney (Australia). El profesor Alan Morris de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney es el supervisor.

¿DE QUÉ SE TRATA ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

El propósito de esta investigación está relacionado con el desarrollo de la tesis doctoral del investigador y se centra en la evolución de las estrategias institucionales por parte de las plataformas de transporte en la ciudad de Bogotá desde su aparición en 2013, así como la respuesta de las autoridades. El investigador está interesado en conocer cuáles son los procedimientos específicos que según la teoría son definidos como "trabajo institucional" por las plataformas en Bogotá.

¿POR QUÉ HE SIDO INVITADO/A?

Está invitado a participar de este estudio ya que es considerado un actor importante en el proceso de las plataformas de transporte en la ciudad de Bogotá, como representante legal y público de una de las plataformas que trabajan en la ciudad y sus aportes son considerados muy relevantes para investigar. Sus datos de contacto se obtuvieron en línea.

FINANCIAMIENTO

El investigador está financiado por la Beca de Investigación Internacional y la Beca del Presidente de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney (Australia).

¿QUÉ IMPLICA MI PARTICIPACIÓN?

Si decide participar, el investigador lo invitará a una entrevista online semiestructurada utilizando medios audiovisuales (fecha y hora a definir con el investigador y según preferencia del entrevistado). Esta entrevista tendrá una duración aproximada de 45 minutos y se puede realizar en las plataformas GoogleMeet o Zoom, según prefiera el entrevistado. Con el consentimiento del entrevistado, el investigador grabará la entrevista. El investigador se asegurará de que esta grabación no contenga ningún dato personal. Igualmente, si es más conveniente, el investigador puede enviarle las preguntas de la entrevista y desarrollar el proceso de forma asincrónica a la mejor conveniencia del entrevistado. En ambos casos se solicitará consentimiento por escrito.

¿EXISTE ALGÚN RIESGO O INCONVENIENTE?

Como toda actividad en línea, puede haber riesgos o inconvenientes relacionados con el uso de la información por parte de terceros o problemas técnicos para acceder a plataformas de mensajería, correo electrónico, redes sociales o GoogleMeet / Zoom. Sin embargo, el investigador tomará todas las precauciones correspondientes requeridas por la la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney, la Mancomunidad de Australia y la Política de Protección y Tratamiento de Datos de Colombia (LEY ESTATUTARIA 1581 DE 2012 y DECRETOS REGLAMENTARIOS) para garantizar la privacidad y el manejo de los datos personales bajo la más estricta seguridad y anonimato. Esto último particularmente para el caso de la información proveniente de la plataforma a la que usted es representante. Igualmente, el investigador se asegurará de que, si por alguna cuestión técnica no se puede realizar la entrevista, reprogramar o acomodar a las necesidades del entrevistado.

¿TENGO QUE HACER PARTE DE ESTE PROYECTO DE INVESTIGACIÓN?

la participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Depende completamente de usted si decide participar o no. Si decide no participar o retirarse del estudio, no afectará su relación con los investigadores o la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney.

¿QUÉ OCURRE SI ME RETIRO DE ESTE PROYECTO DE INVESTIGACIÓN?

Si desea darse de baja del estudio una vez iniciado, puede hacerlo en cualquier momento sin necesidad de dar un motivo, contactando con el Sr. Luis Hernando Lozano-Paredes a su correo electrónico

luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au o alternativamente
[redacted]@gmail.com.

Si decide abandonar el proyecto de investigación, el investigador no recopilará información personal adicional suya, aunque la información ya recopilada se conservará para garantizar que los resultados del proyecto de investigación se puedan medir correctamente y cumplir con la ley. Debe tener en cuenta que los datos recopilados hasta el momento en que se retire formarán parte de los resultados del proyecto de investigación. Si no desea que el investigador haga esto, debe decírselo antes de unirse al proyecto de investigación. Si decide no participar, esto no implicará un perjuicio o perjuicio para el investigador o la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney.

¿QUÉ VA A PASAR CON MI INFORMACIÓN?

Al firmar el formulario de consentimiento, usted da su consentimiento para que el investigador recopile y utilice información personal sobre usted para el desarrollo del proyecto de investigación vinculado a sus estudios de doctorado. Toda esta información será tratada de forma confidencial. La Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney mantendrá su información de forma segura de acuerdo con las políticas de protección de datos durante un período mínimo de retención de 5 años (Investigación general). El gestor de datos es el profesor Alan Morris, director de la tesis doctoral del investigador. El investigador tiene previsto publicar los resultados en su tesis doctoral y artículos para revistas académicas. En cualquier publicación futura, su información se proporciona de una manera que no será identificado.

Al investigador le gustaría almacenar su información para uso futuro en proyectos de investigación que son una extensión de este proyecto de investigación. En todos los

casos, su información se tratará como confidencial y se almacenará de forma segura. Se anticipa que los resultados de este proyecto de investigación serán publicados y / o presentados en una variedad de foros. En cualquier publicación y / o presentación, la información se proporcionará de tal manera que usted no pueda ser identificado, excepto con su permiso.

De acuerdo con las leyes de privacidad de Australia y la política de tratamiento y protección de datos de Colombia, usted tiene derecho a solicitar acceso a la información sobre usted que el investigador recopila y almacena. También tiene derecho a solicitar que se corrija cualquier información con la que no esté de acuerdo. Informe al investigador nombrado al final de este documento si desea acceder a su información.

Los resultados de esta investigación también se pueden compartir a través de bases de datos científicas de acceso abierto (públicas), incluidas las bases de datos de Internet. Esto permitirá que otros investigadores utilicen los datos para investigar otras cuestiones de investigación importantes. En los resultados compartidos de esta manera siempre se anularán la identificación al eliminar toda la información personal (por ejemplo, nombre, dirección, fecha de nacimiento, etc.)

¿QUÉ PASA SI TENGO ALGUNA INQUIETUD O QUEJA?

Si tiene alguna inquietud sobre la investigación con la que cree que el investigador puede ayudarlo, no dude en comunicarse con él en el correo electrónico:

luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au o alternativamente

_____@gmail.com.

Adicionalmente, puede contactar a su supervisor: Alan Morris - alan.morris@uts.edu.au o alternativamente en Español a Gabriela Quintana - gabrielamarian.quintanavigiola@uts.edu.au

Se le dará una copia de este formulario para que la guarde.

NOTA:

Este estudio ha sido aprobado de acuerdo con las directrices del Comité de Ética en Investigación Humana de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sídney [UTS HREC]. Si tiene alguna inquietud o queja sobre cualquier aspecto de la realización de esta investigación, comuníquese con la Secretaría de Ética al teléfono: +61 2 9514 2478 o envíe un correo electrónico a: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au, y cite la referencia UTS HREC ETH21-5915. Cualquier asunto planteado será tratado de forma confidencial, investigado y se le informará del resultado.

APPENDIX I | PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET COHORT 2 (ENGLISH AND SPANISH)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Challenging the established institutions? Paratransit Platforms in Bogotá

UTS HREC ETH21-5915

WHO IS CONDUCTING THIS RESEARCH?

The researcher is Luis Hernando Lozano Paredes, Doctoral Candidate at University of Technology Sydney (Australia). Prof. Alan Morris from the University of Technology Sydney is the supervisor.

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?

The purpose of this research is related to the development of the researcher's doctoral thesis and focuses on the evolution of institutional strategies by the transport platforms in the city of Bogotá since their appearance in 2013, as well as the response of the authorities. The researcher is interested in knowing which are the specific procedures that according to the theory are defined as "institutional work" by the platforms in Bogotá.

WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED?

You are invited to participate in this study since you are considered an important stakeholder in the process of transport platforms in the city of Bogotá, as a public representative of one of the guilds working in the city and dealing with the issue of platforms and drivers rights within them, your inputs are deemed very relevant for the research. Your contact details were obtained online.

FUNDING

The researcher is funded by the International Research Scholarship and the President's Scholarship of the University of Technology Sydney (Australia).

WHAT DOES MY PARTICIPATION INVOLVE?

If you decide to participate, the researcher will invite you to a semi-structured online interview using audiovisual means (date and time to be defined with the researcher and according to the interviewee's preference). This interview will last approximately 45 minutes and can be carried out on GoogleMeet or Zoom platforms, as the interviewee prefers.

With the interviewee's consent, the researcher will record the interview. The researcher will ensure that this recording does not contain any personal details.

Equally, if its more convenient, the researcher can send you the interview questions and develop the process in an asynchronous way to the best convenience of the interviewee.

In both cases, written consent be asked.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCES?

Like all online activity, there may be risks or inconveniences linked to the use of the information by third parties or technical problems for accessing either messaging platforms, email, social media or GoogleMeet/Zoom. However, the researcher will take all the corresponding precautions required by the University of Technology Sydney, the Commonwealth of Australia and the Colombian Data Protection and Treatment Policy (STATUTORY LAW 1581 OF 2012 and REGULATORY DECREES) to ensure the privacy and management of personal data under the strictest security and anonymity. The latter particularly for the case of the information coming from the guild or union to which you are a public and vocal representative. Equally, the researcher will ensure that if for some technical issues the interview cannot take place, to reschedule or accommodate to the needs of the interviewee.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

Participation in this study is voluntary. It is completely up to you whether or not you decide to take part. If you decide not to participate, or to withdraw from the study, it will not affect your relationship with the researchers or the University of Technology Sydney

WHAT IF I WITHDRAW FROM THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

If you wish to withdraw from the study once it has started, you can do so at any time without having to give a reason, by contacting Mr. Luis Hernando Lozano-Paredes to his email luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au or alternatively luishernando.lozanoparedes@gmail.com

If you decide to leave the research project, the researcher will not collect additional personal information from, although personal information already collected will be retained to ensure that the results of the research project can be measured properly and to comply with law. You should be aware that data collected up to the time you withdraw will form part of the research project results. If you do not want the researcher to do this, you must tell him before you join the research project. If you decide not to participate, this will not imply a detriment or prejudice to the researcher or the University of Technology Sydney.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN WITH INFORMATION ABOUT ME?

By signing the consent form you consent to the researcher collecting and using personal information about you for the development of the research project linked to his doctoral studies. All this information will be treated confidentially. Your information will be kept securely by the University of Technology Sydney in accordance with data protection

policies for a minimum retention period of 5 years (General Research). The data manager is Professor Alan Morris, supervisor of the researcher's doctoral thesis. The researcher plans to publish the results in his doctoral thesis and articles for academic journals. In any future publication, your information is provided in a way that you will not be identified.

The researcher would like to store your information for future use in research projects that are an extension of this research project. In all instances, your information will be treated as confidential and stored securely. It is anticipated that the results of this research project will be published and/or presented in a variety of forums. In any publication and/or presentation, information will be provided in such a way that you cannot be identified, except with your permission.

In accordance with relevant Australian Privacy, and Colombian Data Protection and Treatment Policy laws, you have the right to request access to the information about you that is collected and stored by the researcher. You also have the right to request that any information with which you disagree be corrected. Please inform the researcher named at the end of this document if you would like to access your information.

The results of this research may also be shared through open access (public) scientific databases, including internet databases. This will enable other researchers to use the data to investigate other important research questions. Results shared in this way will always be de-identified by removing all personal information (e.g. name, address, date of birth etc.).

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?

If you have any concerns about the research that you think the researcher can help you with, please feel free to contact him on the email: luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au or alternatively _____@gmail.com.

Additionally, you can contact his supervisor: Alan Morris- alan.morris@uts.edu.au or alternatively in Spanish, Gabriela Quintana – gabrielamarian.quintanavigiola@uts.edu.au

You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

NOTE:

This study has been approved in line with the University of Technology Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee [UTS HREC] guidelines. If you have any concerns or complaints about any aspect of the conduct of this research, please contact the Ethics Secretariat on ph.: +61 2 9514 2478 or email: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au, and quote the UTS HREC ETH21-5915 reference number. Any matter raised will be treated confidentially, investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

INFORMACIÓN PARA LOS PARTICIPANTES

¿Desafiando a las instituciones establecidas? Plataformas de paratransito en Bogotá

UTS HREC ETH21-5915

¿QUIÉN REALIZA ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

El investigador es Luis Hernando Lozano Paredes, Candidato a Doctorado en la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney (Australia). El profesor Alan Morris de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney es el supervisor.

¿DE QUÉ SE TRATA ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

El propósito de esta investigación está relacionado con el desarrollo de la tesis doctoral del investigador y se centra en la evolución de las estrategias institucionales por parte de las plataformas de transporte en la ciudad de Bogotá desde su aparición en 2013, así como la respuesta de las autoridades. El investigador está interesado en conocer cuáles son los procedimientos específicos que según la teoría son definidos como “trabajo institucional” por las plataformas en Bogotá.

¿POR QUÉ HE SIDO INVITADO/A?

Se le invita a participar de este estudio ya que se le considera un actor importante en el proceso de plataformas de transporte en la ciudad de Bogotá, como representante público de uno de los gremios que trabajan en la ciudad y que se ocupan del tema de plataformas y derechos de los conductores, sus aportes se consideran muy relevantes para la investigación. Sus datos de contacto se obtuvieron en línea.

FINANCIAMIENTO

El investigador está financiado por la Beca de Investigación Internacional y la Beca del Presidente de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney (Australia).

¿QUÉ IMPLICA MI PARTICIPACIÓN?

Si decide participar, el investigador lo invitará a una entrevista online semiestructurada utilizando medios audiovisuales (fecha y hora a definir con el investigador y según preferencia del entrevistado). Esta entrevista tendrá una duración aproximada de 45 minutos y se puede realizar en las plataformas GoogleMeet o Zoom, según prefiera el entrevistado. Con el consentimiento del entrevistado, el investigador grabará la entrevista. El investigador se asegurará de que esta grabación no contenga ningún dato personal. Igualmente, si es más conveniente, el investigador puede enviarle las preguntas de la entrevista y desarrollar el proceso de forma asincrónica a la mejor conveniencia del entrevistado. En ambos casos se solicitará consentimiento por escrito.

¿EXISTE ALGÚN RIESGO O INCONVENIENTE?

Como toda actividad en línea, puede haber riesgos o inconvenientes relacionados con el uso de la información por parte de terceros o problemas técnicos para acceder a plataformas de mensajería, correo electrónico, redes sociales o GoogleMeet / Zoom. Sin embargo, el investigador tomará todas las precauciones correspondientes requeridas por la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney, la Mancomunidad de Australia y la Política de Protección y Tratamiento de Datos de Colombia (LEY ESTATUTARIA 1581 DE 2012 y DECRETOS REGLAMENTARIOS) para garantizar la privacidad y el manejo de los datos personales bajo la más estricta seguridad y anonimato. Esto último particularmente para el caso de la información proveniente del gremio o sindicato del cual usted es un representante público y vocal. Igualmente, el investigador se asegurará de que, si por alguna cuestión técnica no se puede realizar la entrevista, reprogramar o acomodar a las necesidades del entrevistado.

¿TENGO QUE HACER PARTE DE ESTE PROYECTO DE INVESTIGACIÓN?

la participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Depende completamente de usted si decide participar o no. Si decide no participar o retirarse del estudio, no afectará su relación con los investigadores o la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney.

¿QUÉ OCURRE SI ME RETIRO DE ESTE PROYECTO DE INVESTIGACIÓN?

Si desea darse de baja del estudio una vez iniciado, puede hacerlo en cualquier momento sin necesidad de dar un motivo, contactando con el Sr. Luis Hernando Lozano-Paredes a su correo electrónico

luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au o alternativamente luishernando.lozanoparedes@gmail.com.

Si decide abandonar el proyecto de investigación, el investigador no recopilará información personal adicional suya, aunque la información ya recopilada se conservará para garantizar que los resultados del proyecto de investigación se puedan medir correctamente y cumplir con la ley. Debe tener en cuenta que los datos recopilados hasta el momento en que se retire formarán parte de los resultados del proyecto de investigación. Si no desea que el investigador haga esto, debe decírselo antes de unirse al proyecto de investigación. Si decide no participar, esto no implicará un perjuicio o perjuicio para el investigador o la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney.

¿QUÉ VA A PASAR CON MI INFORMACIÓN?

Al firmar el formulario de consentimiento, usted da su consentimiento para que el investigador recopile y utilice información personal sobre usted para el desarrollo del proyecto de investigación vinculado a sus estudios de doctorado. Toda esta información será tratada de forma confidencial. La Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney mantendrá su información de forma segura de acuerdo con las políticas de protección de datos durante un período mínimo de retención de 5 años (Investigación general). El gestor de datos es el profesor Alan Morris, director de la tesis doctoral del investigador. El investigador tiene previsto publicar los resultados en su tesis doctoral y artículos para revistas académicas. En cualquier publicación futura, su información se proporciona de una manera que no será identificado.

Al investigador le gustaría almacenar su información para uso futuro en proyectos de investigación que son una extensión de este proyecto de investigación. En todos los

casos, su información se tratará como confidencial y se almacenará de forma segura. Se anticipa que los resultados de este proyecto de investigación serán publicados y / o presentados en una variedad de foros. En cualquier publicación y / o presentación, la información se proporcionará de tal manera que usted no pueda ser identificado, excepto con su permiso.

De acuerdo con las leyes de privacidad de Australia y la política de tratamiento y protección de datos de Colombia, usted tiene derecho a solicitar acceso a la información sobre usted que el investigador recopila y almacena. También tiene derecho a solicitar que se corrija cualquier información con la que no esté de acuerdo. Informe al investigador nombrado al final de este documento si desea acceder a su información.

Los resultados de esta investigación también se pueden compartir a través de bases de datos científicas de acceso abierto (públicas), incluidas las bases de datos de Internet. Esto permitirá que otros investigadores utilicen los datos para investigar otras cuestiones de investigación importantes. En los resultados compartidos de esta manera siempre se anularán la identificación al eliminar toda la información personal (por ejemplo, nombre, dirección, fecha de nacimiento, etc.)

¿QUÉ PASA SI TENGO ALGUNA INQUIETUD O QUEJA?

Si tiene alguna inquietud sobre la investigación con la que cree que el investigador puede ayudarlo, no dude en comunicarse con él en el correo electrónico: luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au o alternativamente _____@gmail.com.

Adicionalmente, puede contactar a su supervisor: Alan Morris - alan.morris@uts.edu.au o alternativamente en Español a Gabriela Quintana - gabrielamarian.quintanavigiola@uts.edu.au

Se le dará una copia de este formulario para que la guarde.

NOTA:

Este estudio ha sido aprobado de acuerdo con las directrices del Comité de Ética en Investigación Humana de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sídney [UTS HREC]. Si tiene alguna inquietud o queja sobre cualquier aspecto de la realización de esta investigación, comuníquese con la Secretaría de Ética al teléfono: +61 2 9514 2478 o envíe un correo electrónico a: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au, y cite la referencia UTS HREC ETH21-5915. Cualquier asunto planteado será tratado de forma confidencial, investigado y se le informará del resultado.

APPENDIX J | PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET COHORT 3 (ENGLISH AND SPANISH)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Challenging the established institutions? Paratransit Platforms in Bogotá

UTS HREC ETH21-5915

WHO IS CONDUCTING THIS RESEARCH?

The researcher is Luis Hernando Lozano Paredes, Doctoral Candidate at University of Technology Sydney (Australia). Prof. Alan Morris from the University of Technology Sydney is the supervisor.

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?

The purpose of this research is related to the development of the researcher's doctoral thesis and focuses on the evolution of institutional strategies by the transport platforms in the city of Bogotá since their appearance in 2013, as well as the response of the authorities. The researcher is interested in knowing which are the specific procedures that according to the theory are defined as "institutional work" by the platforms in Bogotá.

WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED?

You are invited to participate in this study since you are a representative from the state, legislative power and/or the authorities dealing with the regulation of transport platforms in Colombia, and particularly for the city of Bogotá. Taking that into consideration, your inputs are deemed very relevant for the research. Your contact details were obtained online.

FUNDING

The researcher is funded by the International Research Scholarship and the President's Scholarship of the University of Technology Sydney (Australia).

WHAT DOES MY PARTICIPATION INVOLVE?

If you decide to participate, the researcher will invite you to a semi-structured online interview using audiovisual means (date and time to be defined with the researcher and according to the interviewee's preference). This interview will last approximately 45 minutes and can be carried out on GoogleMeet or Zoom platforms, as the interviewee prefers.

With the interviewee's consent, the researcher will record the interview. The researcher will ensure that this recording does not contain any personal details.

Equally, if its more convenient, the researcher can send you the interview questions and develop the process in an asynchronous way to the best convenience of the interviewee.

In both cases, written consent be asked.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCES?

Like all online activity, there may be risks or inconveniences linked to the use of the information by third parties or technical problems for accessing either messaging platforms, email, social media or GoogleMeet/Zoom. However, the researcher will take all the corresponding precautions required by the University of Technology Sydney, the Commonwealth of Australia and the Colombian Data Protection and Treatment Policy (STATUTORY LAW 1581 OF 2012 and REGULATORY DECREES) to ensure the privacy and management of personal data under the strictest security and anonymity. The latter is deemed particularly important by the researcher and the correspondent precaution will be taken, as you are a representative from the Colombian state and authorities. Equally, the researcher will ensure that if for some technical issues the interview cannot take place, to reschedule or accommodate to the needs of the interviewee.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

Participation in this study is voluntary. It is completely up to you whether or not you decide to take part. If you decide not to participate, or to withdraw from the study, it will not affect your relationship with the researchers or the University of Technology Sydney

WHAT IF I WITHDRAW FROM THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

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WHAT WILL HAPPEN WITH INFORMATION ABOUT ME?

By signing the consent form you consent to the researcher collecting and using personal information about you for the development of the research project linked to his doctoral studies. All this information will be treated confidentially. Your information will be kept securely by the University of Technology Sydney in accordance with data protection

policies for a minimum retention period of 5 years (General Research). The data manager is Professor Alan Morris, supervisor of the researcher's doctoral thesis. The researcher plans to publish the results in his doctoral thesis and articles for academic journals. In any future publication, your information is provided in a way that you will not be identified.

The researcher would like to store your information for future use in research projects that are an extension of this research project. In all instances, your information will be treated as confidential and stored securely. It is anticipated that the results of this research project will be published and/or presented in a variety of forums. In any publication and/or presentation, information will be provided in such a way that you cannot be identified, except with your permission.

In accordance with relevant Australian Privacy, and Colombian Data Protection and Treatment Policy laws, you have the right to request access to the information about you that is collected and stored by the researcher. You also have the right to request that any information with which you disagree be corrected. Please inform the researcher named at the end of this document if you would like to access your information.

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WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?

If you have any concerns about the research that you think the researcher can help you with, please feel free to contact him on the email: luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au or alternatively _____@gmail.com.

Additionally, you can contact his supervisor: Alan Morris- alan.morris@uts.edu.au or alternatively in Spanish, Gabriela Quintana – gabrielamarian.quintanavigiola@uts.edu.au

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NOTE:

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INFORMACIÓN PARA LOS PARTICIPANTES

¿Desafiando a las instituciones establecidas? Plataformas de paratransito en Bogotá

UTS HREC ETH21-5915

¿QUIÉN REALIZA ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

El investigador es Luis Hernando Lozano Paredes, Candidato a Doctorado en la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney (Australia). El profesor Alan Morris de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney es el supervisor.

¿DE QUÉ SE TRATA ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

El propósito de esta investigación está relacionado con el desarrollo de la tesis doctoral del investigador y se centra en la evolución de las estrategias institucionales por parte de las plataformas de transporte en la ciudad de Bogotá desde su aparición en 2013, así como la respuesta de las autoridades. El investigador está interesado en conocer cuáles son los procedimientos específicos que según la teoría son definidos como “trabajo institucional” por las plataformas en Bogotá.

¿POR QUÉ HE SIDO INVITADO/A?

Usted está invitado a participar en este estudio ya que es representante del Estado, del Poder Legislativo y / o de las autoridades que se ocupan de la regulación de las plataformas de transporte en Colombia y, en particular, de la ciudad de Bogotá. Teniendo eso en cuenta, sus aportes se consideran muy relevantes para la investigación. Sus datos de contacto se obtuvieron en línea.

FINANCIAMIENTO

El investigador está financiado por la Beca de Investigación Internacional y la Beca del Presidente de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney (Australia).

¿QUÉ IMPLICA MI PARTICIPACIÓN?

Si decide participar, el investigador lo invitará a una entrevista online semiestructurada utilizando medios audiovisuales (fecha y hora a definir con el investigador y según preferencia del entrevistado). Esta entrevista tendrá una duración aproximada de 45 minutos y se puede realizar en las plataformas GoogleMeet o Zoom, según prefiera el entrevistado. Con el consentimiento del entrevistado, el investigador grabará la entrevista. El investigador se asegurará de que esta grabación no contenga ningún dato personal. Igualmente, si es más conveniente, el investigador puede enviarle las preguntas de la entrevista y desarrollar el proceso de forma asincrónica a la mejor conveniencia del entrevistado. En ambos casos se solicitará consentimiento por escrito.

¿EXISTE ALGÚN RIESGO O INCONVENIENTE?

Como toda actividad en línea, puede haber riesgos o inconvenientes relacionados con el uso de la información por parte de terceros o problemas técnicos para acceder a plataformas de mensajería, correo electrónico, redes sociales o GoogleMeet / Zoom. Sin embargo, el investigador tomará todas las precauciones correspondientes requeridas por la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney, la Mancomunidad de Australia y la Política de Protección y Tratamiento de Datos de Colombia (LEY ESTATUTARIA 1581 DE 2012 y DECRETOS REGLAMENTARIOS) para garantizar la privacidad y el manejo de los datos personales bajo la más estricta seguridad y anonimato. Esto último es considerado de particular importancia por el investigador y se tomará la precaución correspondiente, ya que usted es un representante del Estado y las autoridades colombianas. Igualmente, el investigador se asegurará de que, si por alguna cuestión técnica no se puede realizar la entrevista, reprogramar o acomodar a las necesidades del entrevistado.

¿TENGO QUE HACER PARTE DE ESTE PROYECTO DE INVESTIGACIÓN?

la participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Depende completamente de usted si decide participar o no. Si decide no participar o retirarse del estudio, no afectará su relación con los investigadores o la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney.

¿QUÉ OCURRE SI ME RETIRO DE ESTE PROYECTO DE INVESTIGACIÓN?

Si desea darse de baja del estudio una vez iniciado, puede hacerlo en cualquier momento sin necesidad de dar un motivo, contactando con el Sr. Luis Hernando Lozano-Paredes a su correo electrónico

luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au o alternativamente _____@gmail.com.

Si decide abandonar el proyecto de investigación, el investigador no recopilará información personal adicional suya, aunque la información ya recopilada se conservará para garantizar que los resultados del proyecto de investigación se puedan medir correctamente y cumplir con la ley. Debe tener en cuenta que los datos recopilados hasta el momento en que se retire formarán parte de los resultados del proyecto de investigación. Si no desea que el investigador haga esto, debe decírselo antes de unirse al proyecto de investigación. Si decide no participar, esto no implicará un perjuicio o perjuicio para el investigador o la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney.

¿QUÉ VA A PASAR CON MI INFORMACIÓN?

Al firmar el formulario de consentimiento, usted da su consentimiento para que el investigador recopile y utilice información personal sobre usted para el desarrollo del proyecto de investigación vinculado a sus estudios de doctorado. Toda esta información será tratada de forma confidencial. La Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney mantendrá su información de forma segura de acuerdo con las políticas de protección de datos durante un período mínimo de retención de 5 años (Investigación general). El gestor de datos es el profesor Alan Morris, director de la tesis doctoral del investigador. El investigador tiene previsto publicar los resultados en su tesis doctoral y artículos para revistas académicas. En cualquier publicación futura, su información se proporciona de una manera que no será identificado.

Al investigador le gustaría almacenar su información para uso futuro en proyectos de investigación que son una extensión de este proyecto de investigación. En todos los

casos, su información se tratará como confidencial y se almacenará de forma segura. Se anticipa que los resultados de este proyecto de investigación serán publicados y / o presentados en una variedad de foros. En cualquier publicación y / o presentación, la información se proporcionará de tal manera que usted no pueda ser identificado, excepto con su permiso.

De acuerdo con las leyes de privacidad de Australia y la política de tratamiento y protección de datos de Colombia, usted tiene derecho a solicitar acceso a la información sobre usted que el investigador recopila y almacena. También tiene derecho a solicitar que se corrija cualquier información con la que no esté de acuerdo. Informe al investigador nombrado al final de este documento si desea acceder a su información.

Los resultados de esta investigación también se pueden compartir a través de bases de datos científicas de acceso abierto (públicas), incluidas las bases de datos de Internet. Esto permitirá que otros investigadores utilicen los datos para investigar otras cuestiones de investigación importantes. En los resultados compartidos de esta manera siempre se anularán la identificación al eliminar toda la información personal (por ejemplo, nombre, dirección, fecha de nacimiento, etc.)

¿QUÉ PASA SI TENGO ALGUNA INQUIETUD O QUEJA?

Si tiene alguna inquietud sobre la investigación con la que cree que el investigador puede ayudarlo, no dude en comunicarse con él en el correo electrónico: luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au o alternativamente _____@gmail.com.

Adicionalmente, puede contactar a su supervisor: Alan Morris - alan.morris@uts.edu.au o alternativamente en Español a Gabriela Quintana - gabrielamarian.quintanavigiola@uts.edu.au

Se le dará una copia de este formulario para que la guarde.

NOTA:

Este estudio ha sido aprobado de acuerdo con las directrices del Comité de Ética en Investigación Humana de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sídney [UTS HREC]. Si tiene alguna inquietud o queja sobre cualquier aspecto de la realización de esta investigación, comuníquese con la Secretaría de Ética al teléfono: +61 2 9514 2478 o envíe un correo electrónico a: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au, y cite la referencia UTS HREC ETH21-5915. Cualquier asunto planteado será tratado de forma confidencial, investigado y se le informará del resultado.

APPENDIX K | PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET COHORT 4 (ENGLISH AND SPANISH)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Challenging the established institutions? Paratransit Platforms in Bogotá

UTS HREC ETH21-5915

WHO IS CONDUCTING THIS RESEARCH?

The researcher is Luis Hernando Lozano Paredes, Doctoral Candidate at University of Technology Sydney (Australia). Prof. Alan Morris from the University of Technology Sydney is the supervisor.

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?

The purpose of this research is related to the development of the researcher's doctoral thesis and focuses on the evolution of institutional strategies by the transport platforms in the city of Bogotá since their appearance in 2013, as well as the response of the authorities. The researcher is interested in knowing which are the specific procedures that according to the theory are defined as "institutional work" by the platforms in Bogotá.

WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED?

You are invited to participate in this study since you are a person that is knowledgeable about the issue of platforms in Colombia and particularly for the city of Bogotá, and your organization views are relevant for the public debate and discussion on the issue of transportation platforms and their institutional effects. Considering the latter, your inputs are deemed very relevant for the research. Your contact details were obtained online.

FUNDING

The researcher is funded by the International Research Scholarship and the President's Scholarship of the University of Technology Sydney (Australia).

WHAT DOES MY PARTICIPATION INVOLVE?

If you decide to participate, the researcher will invite you to a semi-structured online interview using audiovisual means (date and time to be defined with the researcher and according to the interviewee's preference). This interview will last approximately 45 minutes and can be carried out on GoogleMeet or Zoom platforms, as the interviewee prefers.

With the interviewee's consent, the researcher will record the interview. The researcher will ensure that this recording does not contain any personal details.

Equally, if its more convenient, the researcher can send you the interview questions and develop the process in an asynchronous way to the best convenience of the interviewee.

In both cases, written consent be asked.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCES?

Like all online activity, there may be risks or inconveniences linked to the use of the information by third parties or technical problems for accessing either messaging platforms, email, social media or GoogleMeet/Zoom. However, the researcher will take all the corresponding precautions required by the University of Technology Sydney, the Commonwealth of Australia and the Colombian Data Protection and Treatment Policy (STATUTORY LAW 1581 OF 2012 and REGULATORY DECREES) to ensure the privacy and management of personal data under the strictest security and anonymity. The latter is deemed particularly important by the researcher and the correspondent precaution will be taken, as you are a representative from an organization which has a relevant voice in the public debate. Equally, the researcher will ensure that if for some technical issues the interview cannot take place, to reschedule or accommodate to the needs of the interviewee.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

Participation in this study is voluntary. It is completely up to you whether or not you decide to take part. If you decide not to participate, or to withdraw from the study, it will not affect your relationship with the researchers or the University of Technology Sydney

WHAT IF I WITHDRAW FROM THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

If you wish to withdraw from the study once it has started, you can do so at any time without having to give a reason, by contacting Mr. Luis Hernando Lozano-Paredes to his email luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au or alternatively luishernando.lozanoparedes@gmail.com

If you decide to leave the research project, the researcher will not collect additional personal information from, although personal information already collected will be retained to ensure that the results of the research project can be measured properly and to comply with law. You should be aware that data collected up to the time you withdraw will form part of the research project results. If you do not want the researcher to do this, you must tell him before you join the research project. If you decide not to participate, this will not imply a detriment or prejudice to the researcher or the University of Technology Sydney.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN WITH INFORMATION ABOUT ME?

By signing the consent form you consent to the researcher collecting and using personal information about you for the development of the research project linked to his doctoral studies. All this information will be treated confidentially. Your information will be kept

securely by the University of Technology Sydney in accordance with data protection policies for a minimum retention period of 5 years (General Research). The data manager is Professor Alan Morris, supervisor of the researcher's doctoral thesis. The researcher plans to publish the results in his doctoral thesis and articles for academic journals. In any future publication, your information is provided in a way that you will not be identified.

The researcher would like to store your information for future use in research projects that are an extension of this research project. In all instances, your information will be treated as confidential and stored securely. It is anticipated that the results of this research project will be published and/or presented in a variety of forums. In any publication and/or presentation, information will be provided in such a way that you cannot be identified, except with your permission.

In accordance with relevant Australian Privacy, and Colombian Data Protection and Treatment Policy laws, you have the right to request access to the information about you that is collected and stored by the researcher. You also have the right to request that any information with which you disagree be corrected. Please inform the researcher named at the end of this document if you would like to access your information.

The results of this research may also be shared through open access (public) scientific databases, including internet databases. This will enable other researchers to use the data to investigate other important research questions. Results shared in this way will always be de-identified by removing all personal information (e.g. name, address, date of birth etc.).

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?

If you have any concerns about the research that you think the researcher can help you with, please feel free to contact him on the email: luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au or alternatively _____@gmail.com.

Additionally, you can contact his supervisor: Alan Morris- alan.morris@uts.edu.au or alternatively in Spanish, Gabriela Quintana – gabrielamarian.quintanavigiola@uts.edu.au

You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

NOTE:

This study has been approved in line with the University of Technology Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee [UTS HREC] guidelines. If you have any concerns or complaints about any aspect of the conduct of this research, please contact the Ethics Secretariat on ph.: +61 2 9514 2478 or email: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au, and quote the UTS HREC ETH21-5915 reference number. Any matter raised will be treated confidentially, investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

INFORMACIÓN PARA LOS PARTICIPANTES

¿Desafiando a las instituciones establecidas? Plataformas de paratransito en Bogotá

UTS HREC ETH21-5915

¿QUIÉN REALIZA ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

El investigador es Luis Hernando Lozano Paredes, Candidato a Doctorado en la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney (Australia). El profesor Alan Morris de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney es el supervisor.

¿DE QUÉ SE TRATA ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

El propósito de esta investigación está relacionado con el desarrollo de la tesis doctoral del investigador y se centra en la evolución de las estrategias institucionales por parte de las plataformas de transporte en la ciudad de Bogotá desde su aparición en 2013, así como la respuesta de las autoridades. El investigador está interesado en conocer cuáles son los procedimientos específicos que según la teoría son definidos como “trabajo institucional” por las plataformas en Bogotá.

¿POR QUÉ HE SIDO INVITADO/A?

Se le invita a participar de este estudio ya que es una persona conocedora del tema de las plataformas en Colombia (particularmente para la ciudad de Bogotá), y las visiones de su organización son relevantes para el debate público y la discusión sobre el tema de las plataformas de transporte y sus efectos institucionales. Teniendo en cuenta lo último, sus aportes se consideran muy relevantes para la investigación. Sus datos de contacto se obtuvieron en línea.

FINANCIAMIENTO

El investigador está financiado por la Beca de Investigación Internacional y la Beca del Presidente de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney (Australia).

¿QUÉ IMPLICA MI PARTICIPACIÓN?

Si decide participar, el investigador lo invitará a una entrevista online semiestructurada utilizando medios audiovisuales (fecha y hora a definir con el investigador y según preferencia del entrevistado). Esta entrevista tendrá una duración aproximada de 45 minutos y se puede realizar en las plataformas GoogleMeet o Zoom, según prefiera el entrevistado. Con el consentimiento del entrevistado, el investigador grabará la entrevista. El investigador se asegurará de que esta grabación no contenga ningún dato personal. Igualmente, si es más conveniente, el investigador puede enviarle las preguntas de la entrevista y desarrollar el proceso de forma asincrónica a la mejor conveniencia del entrevistado. En ambos casos se solicitará consentimiento por escrito.

¿EXISTE ALGÚN RIESGO O INCONVENIENTE?

Como toda actividad en línea, puede haber riesgos o inconvenientes relacionados con el uso de la información por parte de terceros o problemas técnicos para acceder a plataformas de mensajería, correo electrónico, redes sociales o GoogleMeet / Zoom. Sin embargo, el investigador tomará todas las precauciones correspondientes requeridas por la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney, la Mancomunidad de Australia y la Política de Protección y Tratamiento de Datos de Colombia (LEY ESTATUTARIA 1581 DE 2012 y DECRETOS REGLAMENTARIOS) para garantizar la privacidad y el manejo de los datos personales bajo la más estricta seguridad y anonimato. Esto último es considerado de particular importancia por el investigador y se tomará la precaución correspondiente, ya que usted es un representante de una organización que tiene una voz relevante en el debate público. Igualmente, el investigador se asegurará de que, si por alguna cuestión técnica no se puede realizar la entrevista, reprogramar o acomodar a las necesidades del entrevistado.

¿TENGO QUE HACER PARTE DE ESTE PROYECTO DE INVESTIGACIÓN?

la participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Depende completamente de usted si decide participar o no. Si decide no participar o retirarse del estudio, no afectará su relación con los investigadores o la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney.

¿QUÉ OCURRE SI ME RETIRO DE ESTE PROYECTO DE INVESTIGACIÓN?

Si desea darse de baja del estudio una vez iniciado, puede hacerlo en cualquier momento sin necesidad de dar un motivo, contactando con el Sr. Luis Hernando Lozano-Paredes a su correo electrónico

luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au o alternativamente
[redacted]@gmail.com.

Si decide abandonar el proyecto de investigación, el investigador no recopilará información personal adicional suya, aunque la información ya recopilada se conservará para garantizar que los resultados del proyecto de investigación se puedan medir correctamente y cumplir con la ley. Debe tener en cuenta que los datos recopilados hasta el momento en que se retire formarán parte de los resultados del proyecto de investigación. Si no desea que el investigador haga esto, debe decírselo antes de unirse al proyecto de investigación. Si decide no participar, esto no implicará un perjuicio o perjuicio para el investigador o la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney.

¿QUÉ VA A PASAR CON MI INFORMACIÓN?

Al firmar el formulario de consentimiento, usted da su consentimiento para que el investigador recopile y utilice información personal sobre usted para el desarrollo del proyecto de investigación vinculado a sus estudios de doctorado. Toda esta información será tratada de forma confidencial. La Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney mantendrá su información de forma segura de acuerdo con las políticas de protección de datos durante un período mínimo de retención de 5 años (Investigación general). El gestor de datos es el profesor Alan Morris, director de la tesis doctoral del investigador. El investigador tiene previsto publicar los resultados en su tesis doctoral y artículos para revistas académicas. En cualquier publicación futura, su información se proporciona de una manera que no será identificado.

Al investigador le gustaría almacenar su información para uso futuro en proyectos de investigación que son una extensión de este proyecto de investigación. En todos los casos, su información se tratará como confidencial y se almacenará de forma segura. Se anticipa que los resultados de este proyecto de investigación serán publicados y / o presentados en una variedad de foros. En cualquier publicación y / o presentación, la información se proporcionará de tal manera que usted no pueda ser identificado, excepto con su permiso.

De acuerdo con las leyes de privacidad de Australia y la política de tratamiento y protección de datos de Colombia, usted tiene derecho a solicitar acceso a la información sobre usted que el investigador recopila y almacena. También tiene derecho a solicitar que se corrija cualquier información con la que no esté de acuerdo. Informe al investigador nombrado al final de este documento si desea acceder a su información.

Los resultados de esta investigación también se pueden compartir a través de bases de datos científicas de acceso abierto (públicas), incluidas las bases de datos de Internet. Esto permitirá que otros investigadores utilicen los datos para investigar otras cuestiones de investigación importantes. En los resultados compartidos de esta manera siempre se anularán la identificación al eliminar toda la información personal (por ejemplo, nombre, dirección, fecha de nacimiento, etc.)

¿QUÉ PASA SI TENGO ALGUNA INQUIETUD O QUEJA?

Si tiene alguna inquietud sobre la investigación con la que cree que el investigador puede ayudarlo, no dude en comunicarse con él en el correo electrónico: luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au o alternativamente _____@gmail.com.

Adicionalmente, puede contactar a su supervisor: Alan Morris - alan.morris@uts.edu.au o alternativamente en Español a Gabriela Quintana - gabrielamarian.quintanavigiola@uts.edu.au

Se le dará una copia de este formulario para que la guarde.

NOTA:

Este estudio ha sido aprobado de acuerdo con las directrices del Comité de Ética en Investigación Humana de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sídney [UTS HREC]. Si tiene alguna inquietud o queja sobre cualquier aspecto de la realización de esta investigación, comuníquese con la Secretaría de Ética al teléfono: +61 2 9514 2478 o envíe un correo electrónico a: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au, y cite la referencia UTS HREC ETH21-5915. Cualquier asunto planteado será tratado de forma confidencial, investigado y se le informará del resultado.

APPENDIX L | PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET COHORT 5 (ENGLISH AND SPANISH)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Challenging the established institutions? Paratransit Platforms in Bogotá

UTS HREC ETH21-5915

WHO IS CONDUCTING THIS RESEARCH?

The researcher is Luis Hernando Lozano Paredes, Doctoral Candidate at University of Technology Sydney (Australia). Prof. Alan Morris from the University of Technology Sydney is the supervisor.

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?

The purpose of this research is related to the development of the researcher's doctoral thesis and focuses on the evolution of institutional strategies by the transport platforms in the city of Bogotá since their appearance in 2013, as well as the response of the authorities. The researcher is interested in knowing which are the specific procedures that according to the theory are defined as "institutional work" by the platforms in Bogotá.

WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED?

You are invited to participate in this study since you are a person that is knowledgeable about the issue of platforms in Bogotá and you are a key stakeholder as you are a community manager of a group of drivers which is growing every day and it's very relevant for the discussion on the issue of transportation platforms. Considering the latter, your inputs are deemed very relevant for the research. Your contact details were obtained online.

FUNDING

The researcher is funded by the International Research Scholarship and the President's Scholarship of the University of Technology Sydney (Australia).

WHAT DOES MY PARTICIPATION INVOLVE?

If you decide to participate, the researcher will invite you to a semi-structured online interview using audiovisual means (date and time to be defined with the researcher and according to the interviewee's preference). This interview will last approximately 45 minutes and can be carried out on GoogleMeet or Zoom platforms, as the interviewee prefers.

With the interviewee's consent, the researcher will record the interview. The researcher will ensure that this recording does not contain any personal details.

Equally, if its more convenient, the researcher can send you the interview questions and develop the process in an asynchronous way to the best convenience of the interviewee.

In both cases, written consent be asked.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCES?

Like all online activity, there may be risks or inconveniences linked to the use of the information by third parties or technical problems for accessing either messaging platforms, email, social media or GoogleMeet/Zoom. However, the researcher will take all the corresponding precautions required by the University of Technology Sydney, the Commonwealth of Australia and the Colombian Data Protection and Treatment Policy (STATUTORY LAW 1581 OF 2012 and REGULATORY DECREES) to ensure the privacy and management of personal data under the strictest security and anonymity. The latter is deemed particularly important by the researcher and the correspondent precaution will be taken, as you are a representative from an organization which has a growing and relevant voice in the public debate on platforms in the city. Equally, the researcher will ensure that if for some technical issues the interview cannot take place, to reschedule or accommodate to the needs of the interviewee.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

Participation in this study is voluntary. It is completely up to you whether or not you decide to take part. If you decide not to participate, or to withdraw from the study, it will not affect your relationship with the researchers or the University of Technology Sydney

WHAT IF I WITHDRAW FROM THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

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WHAT WILL HAPPEN WITH INFORMATION ABOUT ME?

By signing the consent form you consent to the researcher collecting and using personal information about you for the development of the research project linked to his doctoral studies. All this information will be treated confidentially. Your information will be kept

securely by the University of Technology Sydney in accordance with data protection policies for a minimum retention period of 5 years (General Research). The data manager is Professor Alan Morris, supervisor of the researcher's doctoral thesis. The researcher plans to publish the results in his doctoral thesis and articles for academic journals. In any future publication, your information is provided in a way that you will not be identified.

The researcher would like to store your information for future use in research projects that are an extension of this research project. In all instances, your information will be treated as confidential and stored securely. It is anticipated that the results of this research project will be published and/or presented in a variety of forums. In any publication and/or presentation, information will be provided in such a way that you cannot be identified, except with your permission.

In accordance with relevant Australian Privacy, and Colombian Data Protection and Treatment Policy laws, you have the right to request access to the information about you that is collected and stored by the researcher. You also have the right to request that any information with which you disagree be corrected. Please inform the researcher named at the end of this document if you would like to access your information.

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WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?

If you have any concerns about the research that you think the researcher can help you with, please feel free to contact him on the email: luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au or alternatively _____@gmail.com.

Additionally, you can contact his supervisor: Alan Morris- alan.morris@uts.edu.au or alternatively in Spanish, Gabriela Quintana – gabrielamarian.quintanavigiola@uts.edu.au

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NOTE:

This study has been approved in line with the University of Technology Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee [UTS HREC] guidelines. If you have any concerns or complaints about any aspect of the conduct of this research, please contact the Ethics Secretariat on ph.: +61 2 9514 2478 or email: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au, and quote the UTS HREC ETH21-5915 reference number. Any matter raised will be treated confidentially, investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

INFORMACIÓN PARA LOS PARTICIPANTES

¿Desafiando a las instituciones establecidas? Plataformas de paratransito en Bogotá

UTS HREC ETH21-5915

¿QUIÉN REALIZA ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

El investigador es Luis Hernando Lozano Paredes, Candidato a Doctorado en la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney (Australia). El profesor Alan Morris de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney es el supervisor.

¿DE QUÉ SE TRATA ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

El propósito de esta investigación está relacionado con el desarrollo de la tesis doctoral del investigador y se centra en la evolución de las estrategias institucionales por parte de las plataformas de transporte en la ciudad de Bogotá desde su aparición en 2013, así como la respuesta de las autoridades. El investigador está interesado en conocer cuáles son los procedimientos específicos que según la teoría son definidos como “trabajo institucional” por las plataformas en Bogotá.

¿POR QUÉ HE SIDO INVITADO/A?

Usted está invitado a participar de este estudio ya que es una persona conocedora del tema de las plataformas en Bogotá y es un actor clave ya que es un community manager de un grupo de conductores que crece día a día y es muy relevante para la discusión sobre el tema de las plataformas de transporte. Teniendo en cuenta lo último, sus aportes se consideran muy relevantes para la investigación. Sus datos de contacto se obtuvieron en línea.

FINANCIAMIENTO

El investigador está financiado por la Beca de Investigación Internacional y la Beca del Presidente de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney (Australia).

¿QUÉ IMPLICA MI PARTICIPACIÓN?

Si decide participar, el investigador lo invitará a una entrevista online semiestructurada utilizando medios audiovisuales (fecha y hora a definir con el investigador y según preferencia del entrevistado). Esta entrevista tendrá una duración aproximada de 45 minutos y se puede realizar en las plataformas GoogleMeet o Zoom, según prefiera el entrevistado. Con el consentimiento del entrevistado, el investigador grabará la entrevista. El investigador se asegurará de que esta grabación no contenga ningún dato personal. Igualmente, si es más conveniente, el investigador puede enviarle las preguntas de la entrevista y desarrollar el proceso de forma asincrónica a la mejor conveniencia del entrevistado. En ambos casos se solicitará consentimiento por escrito.

¿EXISTE ALGÚN RIESGO O INCONVENIENTE?

Como toda actividad en línea, puede haber riesgos o inconvenientes relacionados con el uso de la información por parte de terceros o problemas técnicos para acceder a plataformas de mensajería, correo electrónico, redes sociales o GoogleMeet / Zoom. Sin embargo, el investigador tomará todas las precauciones correspondientes requeridas por la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney, la Mancomunidad de Australia y la Política de Protección y Tratamiento de Datos de Colombia (LEY ESTATUTARIA 1581 DE 2012 y DECRETOS REGLAMENTARIOS) para garantizar la privacidad y el manejo de los datos personales bajo la más estricta seguridad y anonimato. Esto último es considerado de especial importancia por el investigador y se tomará la precaución correspondiente, ya que usted es representante de una organización que tiene una voz creciente y relevante en el debate público sobre plataformas de la ciudad. Igualmente, el investigador se asegurará de que, si por alguna cuestión técnica no se puede realizar la entrevista, reprogramar o acomodar a las necesidades del entrevistado.

¿TENGO QUE HACER PARTE DE ESTE PROYECTO DE INVESTIGACIÓN?

la participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Depende completamente de usted si decide participar o no. Si decide no participar o retirarse del estudio, no afectará su relación con los investigadores o la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney.

¿QUÉ OCURRE SI ME RETIRO DE ESTE PROYECTO DE INVESTIGACIÓN?

Si desea darse de baja del estudio una vez iniciado, puede hacerlo en cualquier momento sin necesidad de dar un motivo, contactando con el Sr. Luis Hernando Lozano-Paredes a su correo electrónico

luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au o alternativamente
[redacted]@gmail.com.

Si decide abandonar el proyecto de investigación, el investigador no recopilará información personal adicional suya, aunque la información ya recopilada se conservará para garantizar que los resultados del proyecto de investigación se puedan medir correctamente y cumplir con la ley. Debe tener en cuenta que los datos recopilados hasta el momento en que se retire formarán parte de los resultados del proyecto de investigación. Si no desea que el investigador haga esto, debe decírselo antes de unirse al proyecto de investigación. Si decide no participar, esto no implicará un perjuicio o perjuicio para el investigador o la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney.

¿QUÉ VA A PASAR CON MI INFORMACIÓN?

Al firmar el formulario de consentimiento, usted da su consentimiento para que el investigador recopile y utilice información personal sobre usted para el desarrollo del proyecto de investigación vinculado a sus estudios de doctorado. Toda esta información será tratada de forma confidencial. La Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney mantendrá su información de forma segura de acuerdo con las políticas de protección de datos durante un período mínimo de retención de 5 años (Investigación general). El gestor de datos es el profesor Alan Morris, director de la tesis doctoral del investigador. El investigador tiene previsto publicar los resultados en su tesis doctoral y artículos para revistas académicas. En cualquier publicación futura, su información se proporciona de una manera que no será identificado.

Al investigador le gustaría almacenar su información para uso futuro en proyectos de investigación que son una extensión de este proyecto de investigación. En todos los casos, su información se tratará como confidencial y se almacenará de forma segura. Se anticipa que los resultados de este proyecto de investigación serán publicados y / o presentados en una variedad de foros. En cualquier publicación y / o presentación, la información se proporcionará de tal manera que usted no pueda ser identificado, excepto con su permiso.

De acuerdo con las leyes de privacidad de Australia y la política de tratamiento y protección de datos de Colombia, usted tiene derecho a solicitar acceso a la información sobre usted que el investigador recopila y almacena. También tiene derecho a solicitar que se corrija cualquier información con la que no esté de acuerdo. Informe al investigador nombrado al final de este documento si desea acceder a su información. Los resultados de esta investigación también se pueden compartir a través de bases de datos científicas de acceso abierto (públicas), incluidas las bases de datos de Internet. Esto permitirá que otros investigadores utilicen los datos para investigar otras cuestiones de investigación importantes. En los resultados compartidos de esta manera siempre se anularán la identificación al eliminar toda la información personal (por ejemplo, nombre, dirección, fecha de nacimiento, etc.)

¿QUÉ PASA SI TENGO ALGUNA INQUIETUD O QUEJA?

Si tiene alguna inquietud sobre la investigación con la que cree que el investigador puede ayudarlo, no dude en comunicarse con él en el correo electrónico: luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au o alternativamente luishernando.lozanoparedes@gmail.com.

Adicionalmente, puede contactar a su supervisor: Alan Morris - alan.morris@uts.edu.au o alternativamente en Español a Gabriela Quintana - gabrielamarian.quintanavigiola@uts.edu.au

Se le dará una copia de este formulario para que la guarde.

NOTA:

Este estudio ha sido aprobado de acuerdo con las directrices del Comité de Ética en Investigación Humana de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sídney [UTS HREC]. Si tiene alguna inquietud o queja sobre cualquier aspecto de la realización de esta investigación, comuníquese con la Secretaría de Ética al teléfono: +61 2 9514 2478 o envíe un correo electrónico a: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au, y cite la referencia UTS HREC ETH21-5915. Cualquier asunto planteado será tratado de forma confidencial, investigado y se le informará del resultado.

APPENDIX M | PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET COHORT 6 (ENGLISH AND SPANISH)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Challenging the established institutions? Paratransit Platforms in Bogotá

UTS HREC ETH21-5915

WHO IS CONDUCTING THIS RESEARCH?

The researcher is Luis Hernando Lozano Paredes, Doctoral Candidate at University of Technology Sydney (Australia). Prof. Alan Morris from the University of Technology Sydney is the supervisor.

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?

The purpose of this research is related to the development of the researcher's doctoral thesis and focuses on the evolution of institutional strategies by the transport platforms in the city of Bogotá since their appearance in 2013, as well as the response of the authorities. The researcher is interested in knowing which are the specific procedures that according to the theory are defined as "institutional work" by the platforms in Bogotá.

WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED?

You are invited to participate in this study since you are a person that is knowledgeable about the issue of platforms in Bogotá and you are a key stakeholder as you are a community manager of a group of drivers which is growing every day and it's very relevant for the discussion on the issue of transportation platforms. Considering the latter, your inputs are deemed very relevant for the research. Your contact details were obtained online.

FUNDING

The researcher is funded by the International Research Scholarship and the President's Scholarship of the University of Technology Sydney (Australia).

WHAT DOES MY PARTICIPATION INVOLVE?

If you decide to participate, the researcher will invite you to a semi-structured online interview using audiovisual means (date and time to be defined with the researcher and according to the interviewee's preference). This interview will last approximately 45 minutes and can be carried out on GoogleMeet or Zoom platforms, as the interviewee prefers.

With the interviewee's consent, the researcher will record the interview. The researcher will ensure that this recording does not contain any personal details.

Equally, if its more convenient, the researcher can send you the interview questions and develop the process in an asynchronous way to the best convenience of the interviewee.

In both cases, written consent be asked.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCES?

Like all online activity, there may be risks or inconveniences linked to the use of the information by third parties or technical problems for accessing either messaging platforms, email, social media or GoogleMeet/Zoom. However, the researcher will take all the corresponding precautions required by the University of Technology Sydney, the Commonwealth of Australia and the Colombian Data Protection and Treatment Policy (STATUTORY LAW 1581 OF 2012 and REGULATORY DECREES) to ensure the privacy and management of personal data under the strictest security and anonymity. The latter is deemed particularly important by the researcher and the correspondent precaution will be taken, as you are a representative from an organization which has a growing and relevant voice in the public debate on platforms in the city. Equally, the researcher will ensure that if for some technical issues the interview cannot take place, to reschedule or accommodate to the needs of the interviewee.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

Participation in this study is voluntary. It is completely up to you whether or not you decide to take part. If you decide not to participate, or to withdraw from the study, it will not affect your relationship with the researchers or the University of Technology Sydney

WHAT IF I WITHDRAW FROM THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

If you wish to withdraw from the study once it has started, you can do so at any time without having to give a reason, by contacting Mr. Luis Hernando Lozano-Paredes to his email luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au or alternatively luishernando.lozanoparedes@gmail.com

If you decide to leave the research project, the researcher will not collect additional personal information from, although personal information already collected will be retained to ensure that the results of the research project can be measured properly and to comply with law. You should be aware that data collected up to the time you withdraw will form part of the research project results. If you do not want the researcher to do this, you must tell him before you join the research project. If you decide not to participate, this will not imply a detriment or prejudice to the researcher or the University of Technology Sydney.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN WITH INFORMATION ABOUT ME?

By signing the consent form you consent to the researcher collecting and using personal information about you for the development of the research project linked to his doctoral studies. All this information will be treated confidentially. Your information will be kept

securely by the University of Technology Sydney in accordance with data protection policies for a minimum retention period of 5 years (General Research). The data manager is Professor Alan Morris, supervisor of the researcher's doctoral thesis. The researcher plans to publish the results in his doctoral thesis and articles for academic journals. In any future publication, your information is provided in a way that you will not be identified.

The researcher would like to store your information for future use in research projects that are an extension of this research project. In all instances, your information will be treated as confidential and stored securely. It is anticipated that the results of this research project will be published and/or presented in a variety of forums. In any publication and/or presentation, information will be provided in such a way that you cannot be identified, except with your permission.

In accordance with relevant Australian Privacy, and Colombian Data Protection and Treatment Policy laws, you have the right to request access to the information about you that is collected and stored by the researcher. You also have the right to request that any information with which you disagree be corrected. Please inform the researcher named at the end of this document if you would like to access your information.

The results of this research may also be shared through open access (public) scientific databases, including internet databases. This will enable other researchers to use the data to investigate other important research questions. Results shared in this way will always be de-identified by removing all personal information (e.g. name, address, date of birth etc.).

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?

If you have any concerns about the research that you think the researcher can help you with, please feel free to contact him on the email: luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au or alternatively _____@gmail.com.

Additionally, you can contact his supervisor: Alan Morris- alan.morris@uts.edu.au or alternatively in Spanish, Gabriela Quintana – gabrielamarian.quintanavigiola@uts.edu.au

You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

NOTE:

This study has been approved in line with the University of Technology Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee [UTS HREC] guidelines. If you have any concerns or complaints about any aspect of the conduct of this research, please contact the Ethics Secretariat on ph.: +61 2 9514 2478 or email: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au, and quote the UTS HREC ETH21-5915 reference number. Any matter raised will be treated confidentially, investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

INFORMACIÓN PARA LOS PARTICIPANTES

¿Desafiando a las instituciones establecidas? Plataformas de paratransito en Bogotá

UTS HREC ETH21-5915

¿QUIÉN REALIZA ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

El investigador es Luis Hernando Lozano Paredes, Candidato a Doctorado en la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney (Australia). El profesor Alan Morris de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney es el supervisor.

¿DE QUÉ SE TRATA ESTA INVESTIGACIÓN?

El propósito de esta investigación está relacionado con el desarrollo de la tesis doctoral del investigador y se centra en la evolución de las estrategias institucionales por parte de las plataformas de transporte en la ciudad de Bogotá desde su aparición en 2013, así como la respuesta de las autoridades. El investigador está interesado en conocer cuáles son los procedimientos específicos que según la teoría son definidos como “trabajo institucional” por las plataformas en Bogotá.

¿POR QUÉ HE SIDO INVITADO/A?

Está invitado a participar de este estudio ya que es una persona que es un actor clave como impulsor y actor principal del tema de las plataformas de transporte en Bogotá (conductor), sobre el cual se orientan todos los estudios académicos, particularmente relacionado a sus derechos, así como para la comprensión de su experiencia y percepción. Teniendo en cuenta lo último, sus aportes se consideran muy relevantes para la investigación. Sus datos de contacto se obtuvieron en línea y con la ayuda de los community managers de Drivers Club Bogotá.

FINANCIAMIENTO

El investigador está financiado por la Beca de Investigación Internacional y la Beca del Presidente de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney (Australia).

¿QUÉ IMPLICA MI PARTICIPACIÓN?

Si decide participar, el investigador lo invitará a una entrevista online semiestructurada utilizando medios audiovisuales (fecha y hora a definir con el investigador y según preferencia del entrevistado). Esta entrevista tendrá una duración aproximada de 45 minutos y se puede realizar en las plataformas GoogleMeet o Zoom, según prefiera el entrevistado. Con el consentimiento del entrevistado, el investigador grabará la entrevista. El investigador se asegurará de que esta grabación no contenga ningún dato personal. Igualmente, si es más conveniente, el investigador puede enviarle las preguntas de la entrevista y desarrollar el proceso de forma asincrónica a la mejor conveniencia del entrevistado. En ambos casos se solicitará consentimiento por escrito.

¿EXISTE ALGÚN RIESGO O INCONVENIENTE?

Como toda actividad en línea, puede haber riesgos o inconvenientes relacionados con el uso de la información por parte de terceros o problemas técnicos para acceder a plataformas de mensajería, correo electrónico, redes sociales o GoogleMeet / Zoom. Sin embargo, el investigador tomará todas las precauciones correspondientes requeridas por la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney, la Mancomunidad de Australia y la Política de Protección y Tratamiento de Datos de Colombia (LEY ESTATUTARIA 1581 DE 2012 y DECRETOS REGLAMENTARIOS) para garantizar la privacidad y el manejo de los datos personales bajo la más estricta seguridad y anonimato. Esto último es considerado especialmente importante por el investigador y se tomará la precaución correspondiente, ya que usted es un impulsor de las plataformas, y su voz debe tener un estado creciente y relevante en el debate público sobre plataformas de la ciudad. Igualmente, el investigador se asegurará de que, si por alguna cuestión técnica no se puede realizar la entrevista, reprogramar o acomodar a las necesidades del entrevistado.

¿TENGO QUE HACER PARTE DE ESTE PROYECTO DE INVESTIGACIÓN?

la participación en este estudio es voluntaria. Depende completamente de usted si decide participar o no. Si decide no participar o retirarse del estudio, no afectará su relación con los investigadores o la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney.

¿QUÉ OCURRE SI ME RETIRO DE ESTE PROYECTO DE INVESTIGACIÓN?

Si desea darse de baja del estudio una vez iniciado, puede hacerlo en cualquier momento sin necesidad de dar un motivo, contactando con el Sr. Luis Hernando Lozano-Paredes a su correo electrónico

luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au o alternativamente _____@gmail.com.

Si decide abandonar el proyecto de investigación, el investigador no recopilará información personal adicional suya, aunque la información ya recopilada se conservará para garantizar que los resultados del proyecto de investigación se puedan medir correctamente y cumplir con la ley. Debe tener en cuenta que los datos recopilados hasta el momento en que se retire formarán parte de los resultados del proyecto de investigación. Si no desea que el investigador haga esto, debe decírselo antes de unirse al proyecto de investigación. Si decide no participar, esto no implicará un perjuicio o perjuicio para el investigador o la Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney.

¿QUÉ VA A PASAR CON MI INFORMACIÓN?

Al firmar el formulario de consentimiento, usted da su consentimiento para que el investigador recopile y utilice información personal sobre usted para el desarrollo del proyecto de investigación vinculado a sus estudios de doctorado. Toda esta información será tratada de forma confidencial. La Universidad de Tecnología de Sydney mantendrá su información de forma segura de acuerdo con las políticas de protección de datos durante un período mínimo de retención de 5 años (Investigación general). El gestor de datos es el profesor Alan Morris, director de la tesis doctoral del investigador. El investigador tiene previsto publicar los resultados en su tesis doctoral y artículos para revistas académicas. En cualquier publicación futura, su información se proporciona de una manera que no será identificado.

Al investigador le gustaría almacenar su información para uso futuro en proyectos de investigación que son una extensión de este proyecto de investigación. En todos los casos, su información se tratará como confidencial y se almacenará de forma segura. Se anticipa que los resultados de este proyecto de investigación serán publicados y / o presentados en una variedad de foros. En cualquier publicación y / o presentación, la información se proporcionará de tal manera que usted no pueda ser identificado, excepto con su permiso.

De acuerdo con las leyes de privacidad de Australia y la política de tratamiento y protección de datos de Colombia, usted tiene derecho a solicitar acceso a la información sobre usted que el investigador recopila y almacena. También tiene derecho a solicitar que se corrija cualquier información con la que no esté de acuerdo. Informe al investigador nombrado al final de este documento si desea acceder a su información. Los resultados de esta investigación también se pueden compartir a través de bases de datos científicas de acceso abierto (públicas), incluidas las bases de datos de Internet. Esto permitirá que otros investigadores utilicen los datos para investigar otras cuestiones de investigación importantes. En los resultados compartidos de esta manera siempre se anularán la identificación al eliminar toda la información personal (por ejemplo, nombre, dirección, fecha de nacimiento, etc.)

¿QUÉ PASA SI TENGO ALGUNA INQUIETUD O QUEJA?

Si tiene alguna inquietud sobre la investigación con la que cree que el investigador puede ayudarlo, no dude en comunicarse con él en el correo electrónico: luishernando.lozanoparedes@student.uts.edu.au o alternativamente _____@gmail.com.

Adicionalmente, puede contactar a su supervisor: Alan Morris - alan.morris@uts.edu.au o alternativamente en Español a Gabriela Quintana - gabrielamarian.quintanavigiola@uts.edu.au

Se le dará una copia de este formulario para que la guarde.

NOTA:

Este estudio ha sido aprobado de acuerdo con las directrices del Comité de Ética en Investigación Humana de la Universidad de Tecnología de Sídney [UTS HREC]. Si tiene alguna inquietud o queja sobre cualquier aspecto de la realización de esta investigación, comuníquese con la Secretaría de Ética al teléfono: +61 2 9514 2478 o envíe un correo electrónico a: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au, y cite la referencia UTS HREC ETH21-5915. Cualquier asunto planteado será tratado de forma confidencial, investigado y se le informará del resulta

APPENDIX N | EVIDENCE OF ETHICS APPROVAL

HREC Approval Granted - ETH21-5915

Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au <Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au>

Mon 2021-04-26 10:54 AM

To: Research Ethics <research.ethics@uts.edu.au>; Alan Morris <Alan.Morris@uts.edu.au>; Luis Hernando Lozano Paredes <LuisHernando.LozanoParedes@student.uts.edu.au>

1 attachments (300 KB)

Ethics Application.pdf

Dear Applicant

Re: ETH21-5915 - "Challenging the established institutions? Paratransit platforms in Bogota, Colombia"

Thank you for your response to the Committee's comments for your project. The Committee agreed that this application now meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) and has been approved on that basis. You are therefore authorised to commence activities as outlined in your application.

You are reminded that this letter constitutes ethics approval only. This research project must also be undertaken in accordance with all [UTS policies and guidelines](#) including the Research Management Policy.

Your approval number is UTS HREC REF NO. ETH21-5915.

Approval will be for a period of five (5) years from the date of this correspondence subject to the submission of annual progress reports.

The following standard conditions apply to your approval:

- Your approval number must be included in all participant material and advertisements. Any advertisements on Staff Connect without an approval number will be removed.
- The Principal Investigator will immediately report anything that might warrant review of ethical approval of the project to the Ethics Secretariat (Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au).
- The Principal Investigator will notify the UTS HREC of any event that requires a modification to the protocol or other project documents, and submit any required amendments prior to implementation. Instructions on how to submit an amendment application can be found [here](#).
- The Principal Investigator will promptly report adverse events to the Ethics Secretariat. An adverse event is any event (anticipated or otherwise) that has a negative impact on participants, researchers or the reputation of the University. Adverse events can also include privacy breaches, loss of data and damage to property.
- The Principal Investigator will report to the UTS HREC annually and notify the HREC when the project is completed at all sites. The Principal Investigator will notify the UTS HREC of any plan to extend the duration of the project past the approval period listed above through the progress report.
- The Principal Investigator will obtain any additional approvals or authorisations as required (e.g. from other ethics committees, collaborating institutions, supporting organisations).
- The Principal Investigator will notify the UTS HREC of his or her inability to continue as

Principal Investigator including the name of and contact information for a replacement.
This research must be undertaken in compliance with the Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research and National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research.
You should consider this your official letter of approval. If you require a hardcopy please contact the Ethics Secretariat.

If you have any queries about your ethics approval, or require any amendments to your research in the future, please don't hesitate to contact the Ethics Secretariat and quote the ethics application number (e.g. ETH20-xxxx) in all correspondence.

Yours sincerely,
The Research Ethics Secretariat

On behalf of the UTS Human Research Ethics Committees
C/- Research Office
University of Technology Sydney
E: Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au

Ref: E38

END