

Precarious Work & The Digital Economy: Next Phase of a New Work Paradigm

PARLIAMENTARY BRIEF



Precarious Work & The Digital Economy: Next Phase of a New Work Paradigm is a Parliamentary Brief based upon the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Artificial Intelligence (APPG AI) Evidence Meeting held in House of Lords: Committee Room 1 on the 17th of October 2022.

This APPG AI is co-Chaired by **Stephen Metcalfe MP** and **Lord Clement-Jones CBE**.

We would like to express our appreciation to the following people for their oral evidence:

- **Prof. Ashley Braganza**, Professor of Business Transformation, **Brunel University London**
- **Anna Thomas**, co-Founder & Director, **Institute for the Future of Work**
- **James Muldoon**, Head of Digital Research, **Autonomy**
- **Cori Crider**, co-Founder, **Foxglove**
- **Neil Ross**, Associate Director - Policy, **TechUK**

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**All Party Parliamentary Group on
Artificial Intelligence**

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1. Introduction

In this meeting, the APPG AI discussed issues surrounding precarious work and the digital economy, and how Artificial Intelligence (AI) is impacting the world of work now, and how what effect it may have in the future. The potential risks of the digitisation of the workplace were discussed and had been amplified as a result of the COVID pandemic. Critical questions such as what governments can do in times like these and what education is required emerged at this evidence session

Precarious working and the impact of AI on the workplace has been a key issue in recent times, following news reports of staff walkouts because of algorithmic assessment systems being used in the workplace. Therefore, the APPG AI considered what needs to be done now, and what needs to happen in the future to make the workplace better for every stakeholder, with leading academics and industry experts in this field.

Main questions:

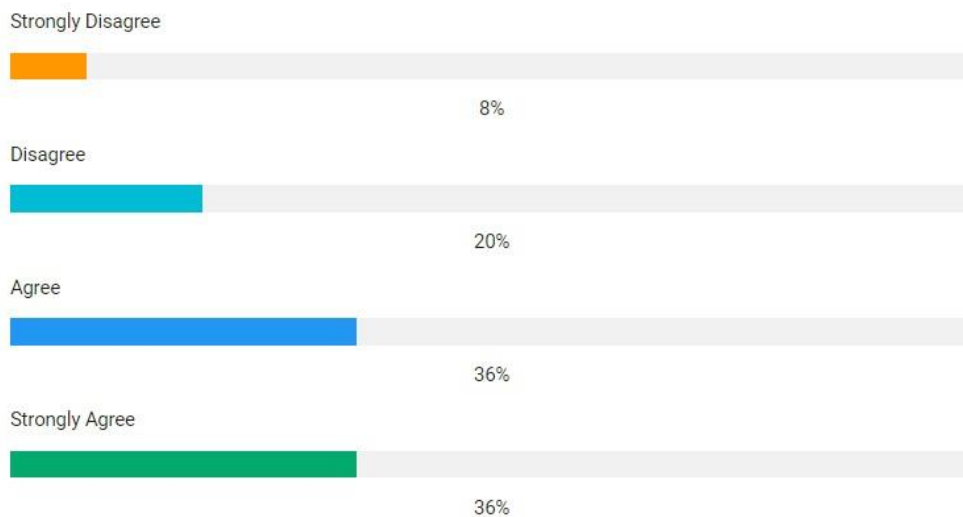
- *Self-employment, the gig economy, and workers' rights: Where are we now and where are we heading?*
- *What can Governments do to intervene in times of precarious work?*
- *How is Artificial Intelligence impacting the digital economy, and what does the future hold for both workers, and the technology?*

List of panellists:

- **Prof. Ashley Braganza**, Professor of Business Transformation, **Brunel University London**
- **Anna Thomas**, co-Founder & Director, **Institute for the Future of Work**
- **Dr. James Muldoon**, Head of Digital Research, **Autonomy**
- **Cori Crider**, co-Founder, **Foxglove**
- **Neil Ross**, Associate Director - Policy, **TechUK**

2. APPG AI Pavilion Survey

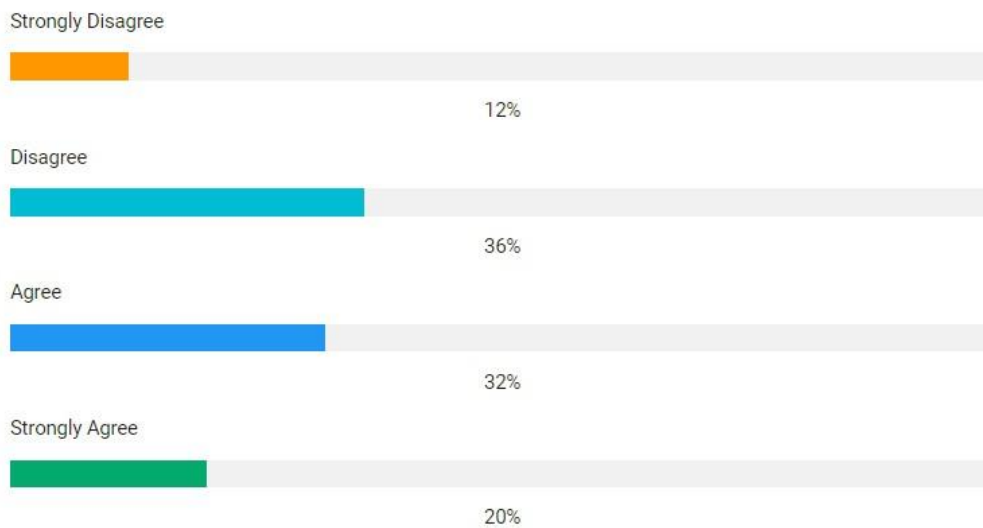
Q1. The use of Artificial Intelligence in the workplace requires very strong regulation and standards around workers rights before it becomes more universal.



Prior to the APPG AI meeting, a survey was issued on the **APPG AI's Pavilion Platform**. Question 1 asked APPG members whether they thought that *'the use of AI in the workplace requires very strong regulation and standards around workers rights before it becomes more universal'*.

The results are fairly clear here, with 72% either **'agreeing'** or **'strongly agreeing'** with the statement, that very strongly regulation is required. 20% **'disagreed'**, whilst 8% **'strongly disagreed'**, perhaps these respondents recognise the need for regulation, but don't agree that **"very strong"** regulation is required, as the question suggests. Therefore, the APPG Community does overall acknowledge the requirement for strong regulation to ensure workers' rights before the technology becomes universal in the workplace.

Q2. Artificial Intelligence is benefitting workers within the gig economy, allowing them greater flexibility and improved feedback.



Question 2 proposed the statement that '*AI is benefitting workers within the gig economy, allowing them greater flexibility and improved feedback*'. The results here are more mixed.

36% of respondents '**disagree**' with the statement, whereas 32% '**agree**' that AI is having a positive effect. As the expert speakers at this evidence session discussed, algorithms and AI-related feedback are problematic for workers within the gig economy, with no human-contact in relation to feedback. However, 20% '**strongly agree**' with the statement, suggesting that AI is benefitting gig workers. As acknowledged at the evidence session this could be in terms of working remotely and having the chance to select where and when they work. However, the benefits of AI within the gig economy are certainly yet to be fully recognised or established within the AI community, as the results of this question suggest.

Q3. It is completely unethical that workers are being judged through an algorithm with limited human input to their objectives and targets.

Strongly Disagree



8%

Disagree



24%

Agree



48%

Strongly Agree

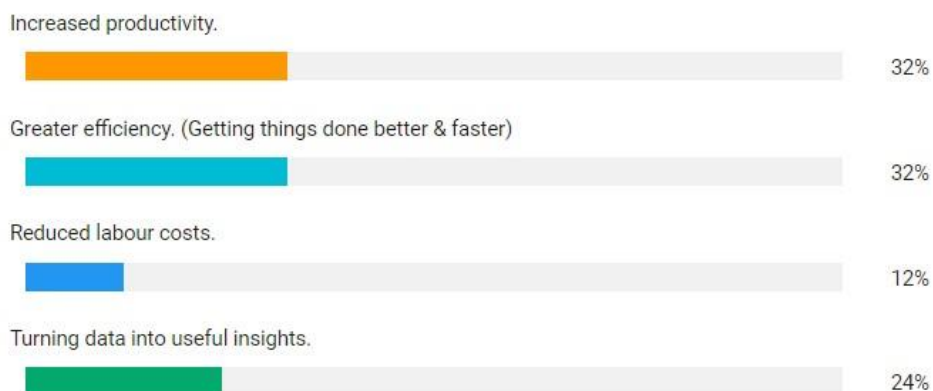


20%

Question 3 again proposed a statement: *'it is completely unethical that workers are being judged through an algorithm with limited human input to their objectives and targets'*.

Most respondents (48%) **'agreed'** that this is the case, and 20% of those completing the survey went further, **'strongly agreeing'** that workers being judged through an algorithm is completely unethical. This concurs with the evidence given by the expert panel at this meeting, that these forms of worker assessment are not beneficial for workers and can fundamentally damage their mental health. 24% **'disagreed'** with the statement, and a further 8% **'strongly disagreeing'**.

Q4. What do you believe to be the biggest benefit of using AI in the workplace?



Question 4 asked members of the APPG AI community what they '*believed the greatest benefit of AI in the workplace to be*'.

The top two benefits, as argued by 32% of respondents, were '**increased productivity**', and '**greater efficiency**'. Therefore, increasing workplace metrics such as productivity and efficiency are of key importance when implementing AI in the workplace. '**Turning data into useful insights**' was proposed the greatest benefit by almost a quarter (24%) of respondents, yet only 12% believed that '**reducing labour costs**' is the biggest benefit of AI in the workplace.

With no overall clear frontrunner in this question, it seems like the APPG AI community consider there to be many benefits of AI in the workplace.

Q5. What do you believe the biggest negatives are of being a gig worker?



Question 5 challenged the APPG Community on what they considered to be the '*biggest negative of being a gig worker*' is. The results here were evenly split.

32% of respondents believe that '**no sick pay**' and '**working conditions**' are the greatest negatives of being a gig worker. Whilst a further 20% consider the '**lack of a pension contribution**' to be the biggest downside. Finally, 16% would argue that the '**difficulty in getting a mortgage**' (i.e., the opportunity of becoming a property owner) is the largest problem with this form of work. Evidently, there are many downsides to being a gig worker, along with the perceived advantages such as flexibility and improved feedback, that need to be considered and counter balanced through governance or policy by key stakeholders and policymakers.

3. Recommendations for policymakers

1. Policymakers must recognise that the **gig economy is expanding**, and this is causing more workers to be put in positions of precarious work. This is mostly affecting 16–24-year-old workers, women, and migrants, who make up the majority of gig workers with zero-hours contracts. Gig work increased dramatically during the pandemic, and it is spreading across traditional sectors with impacts on access and quality of work. Remote work also increased during the pandemic, with 1/8 UK workers performing a remote task. However, **working hours are not guaranteed and many have insecure contracts**.
2. Definitions of the gig economy, and other terms such as microwork and platforms, are required for policymakers to understand more about the issues at stake. Microwork is the process of splitting a large job into small tasks that can be distributed, over the Internet, to many people. **Policymakers are in the dark as there is no meaningful evidence base with a standard set of definitions or evidence**. This is becoming ever more important as many permanent jobs are being turned into precarious jobs, as activities that were done by people are now being done by machines, with the workforce being 'liquidized' to match supplier demand – disrupting traditional employment practices.
3. Many use microwork, a form of gig work, as their primary source of income in the UK, and this sort of work is subject to consistently **low pay and unpaid tasks**. 95% of these workers earn below the minimum wage, therefore this is something that must be sorted, and any pre-task obligatory tests must also be paid – currently they are not. The lack of consistent work and pay means that **many struggle with mortgages and paying bills**. Credit agreements with banks become challenging when workers do not have a fixed income. Workers feel set up to fail with their precarious contracts meaning they often can't keep up with monthly payments. Fixed contracts and at least minimum wage pay are essential requirements for gig workers.
4. There must be a **balance between firm regulation and flexibility for workers**. Stakeholders will have to deal with this trade-off. Workers will want flexibility in terms of where and when they work, but also will desire strong terms and conditions to protect them. As decisions in terms of regulation will span multiple organisations and stakeholders, decision-makers must be careful when **responding to this unique challenge** with a global marketplace of workers.
5. The increased use of algorithms in the workplace, whether this is training the algorithms or being subject to the result of such algorithms, demonstrates the increased reach, speed, and power of AI systems. However, combining AI data from CCTV, headsets and wearables means that sometimes **every click and decision workers make are surveilled**. This form of automated surveillance

is becoming much more common, moving across the contemporary economy, yet many workers do not know how their data is being used. Therefore, **problematic worker surveillance hurts individual workers** and there are calls for it to not be used in the workplace.

There was consensus among the expert speakers at this meeting that **workers in the gig economy are being hurt by the precarious work conditions** that they find themselves in. Many examples were offered about gig workers being paid less than minimum wage, especially in forms of microwork, as Dr. James Muldoon explains. Additionally, the speakers concurred that **insecure and precarious contracts were making it hard** in terms of paying credit agreements (including mortgages) which rely on fixed incomes. The precarious work environment which many find themselves in makes this extremely difficult, and the expert speakers believe that organisations should change the basis on which they operate to reflect this. Additionally, it is not just the monetary impacts that gig workers struggle with. Many workers are under forms of **algorithmic control and surveillance**, which have vast psychological impacts. In some workplaces, workers are being constantly monitored and having other works data used to assess them. In most instances they do not know what their data is being used for, and this contributes to increased stress and anxiety at work.

Additionally, there was widespread agreement that protection for workers is required in the form of **careful regulation**. Workers need protection from the issues detailed above (low pay and insecure contracts), but they also value the flexibility that comes with many forms of gig work: being able to choose when they work, for example. Therefore, there is an extremely thin trade-off for policymakers and stakeholders that needs to be balanced, with workers wanting flexibility but also protections. Furthermore, there needs to be **protection and support for workers**, especially in some forms of precarious work such as content moderation. Cori Crider details how social media content moderation is a major employer of gig workers today, and the exposure of vast amounts of toxic content everyday (e.g., graphic violence) can give workers PTSD and other mental health problems. Likewise, Crider details that the algorithmic surveillance workers face in the content moderation workplaces was just as bad as the content they were looking at.

Prof. Ashley Braganza, Professor of Business Transformation at Brunel University London, starts the evidence giving by detailing what stage we are at now in terms of workforce statistics in the UK. Prof. Braganza states that despite the record high of 29.7 million people in work, and unemployment being at a record low, the labour data paints a different picture, with **regular weekly pay falling and young people (16-24) being the major players in the zero-hour contracts category**. Additionally, that **the number of people working in the gig economy** is increasing, with 4.4 million working on gig economy platforms, which is a concern in such a precious work environment.

Furthermore, Prof. Braganza details how Artificial Intelligence (AI) is impacting the digital economy, with the fact that the amount of work that'll happen on digital platforms will inevitably increase. **Platform businesses can take jobs and decompose them into small details, with controls being built in at a very minute level, and such micro-decisions can be programmed into algorithms.** Prof. Braganza issues that jobs that were once done by people are now being done by machines, and that permanent jobs are being turned into precarious jobs because of this – he calls this the 'gigification of work'. Therefore, workers are no longer in control of the hours they work, which increases income volatility – the balance of power is tilted away from workers and to the platforms they work for.

Prof. Braganza closes by saying that policymakers are going to have difficult decisions when deciding what to do in this space, as there is a lack of a clear evidence base and differences when it comes to separate gig workers motivations. **Whilst some will want tighter regulations and protection, others will want greater flexibility.** Prof. Braganza wishes for a standard set of definitions of term such as 'gig work', 'platforms' and 'gig workers', to allow policymakers the chance to understand these areas fully. Additionally, for financial service organisations in particular to change the way that they operate, in terms of lending decisions and mortgage payments being dependent on having a regular income over time – gig work destroys this premise.

Anna Thomas, co-Founder and Director at the Institute for the Future of Work (IFOW), details the work that IFOW is doing at the moment. Thomas describes the '**Amazonian Era**'¹ which looks at how the business models of the gig economy are spreading across traditional sectors. Additionally the '**Pissarides Review**'², which examines the impact of automation, such as AI, on work and how this is distributed across the UK. Furthermore, Thomas explains the **IFOW's suggested Accountability for Algorithms Act which would introduce a framework for "pre-emptive accountability and action" in terms of the anticipated impacts of AI in the workplace.** This would include individual and collective rights to access information, purpose, or remit of the algorithms.

Thomas states some themes that have emerged from **IFOW's**³ research. She displays that platform business models – which tend to employ mostly gig workers – have a winner takes all dynamic in the marketplace, with usually the top 1% of firms "crushing" others. Additionally, Thomas puts forward the statistic that **1 in 9 people in the UK are in insecure work** and continues by saying that forms of insecure work such as using labour market intermediaries and outsourcing are on the rise.

Thomas also details the problem of accountability, where decisions about people span multiple

¹ Institute for the Future of Work – '**The Amazonian Era: The Gigification of Work**' (2021). <https://www.ifow.org/publications/the-amazonian-era-the-gigification-of-work>

² Institute for the Future of Work – '**Pissarides Review into the Future of Work and Wellbeing**' (2021). <https://www.ifow.org/news-articles/ifow-announce-the-future-of-work-and-wellbeing-the-pissarides-review>

³ **Institute for the Future of Work.** <https://www.ifow.org/>

organisations thus obscuring human roles and accountability itself. **Choices which shape the effects of AI are distributed across a wide range of organisations, therefore the impact systematic changes can't be taken on by a single body.** This creates enforcement issues, for individuals, organisations, unions, and regulators. There is also a business case for higher levels of accountability, as businesses should be giving more information and being more transparent with workers, in terms of what's happening and why.

Dr. James Muldoon, Head of Digital Research at Autonomy, focuses his evidence on a form of gig work called 'microwork' – also known as click or crowd work. Dr. Muldoon details that **micro workers select tasks from digital platforms and are then paid piece wages per task that they complete.** These sorts of tasks include coding data to train algorithms, completing surveys or identifying images. Dr. Muldoon details that micro workers are those that make AI function – they are effectively the human in the loop. Almost 1 in 8 UK workers perform digital tasks remotely, Dr. Muldoon also states that in one of his studies, **36% said they had begun microwork during the pandemic** – this shows that it is a very crucial issue which must be addressed.

However, Dr. Muldoon explains that there are plenty of problems with microwork, and how it functions today. According to Dr. Muldoon's research **13% of micro workers use it as their primary source of income, and there are few worker protections in this industry.** Workers have stated that they are subject to low pay, boring tasks, too much time searching for jobs, and even doing tasks which then go unpaid. 30% of tasks completed will go unpaid and **95% of UK-based micro workers will earn below minimum wage.** Additionally, workers will spend time looking for tasks on the platforms, time which is also unpaid.

Furthermore, Dr. Muldoon closes with some important recommendations for policymakers. The first three of these relate to pay. First, that micro workers should be paid the local minimum wage, second, that workers should be paid a finder's fee for time that they are working, but not being paid. Third, obligatory pre-task tests, such as competency tests, should receive some sort of payment. **Dr. Muldoon's final recommendation is that workers should have the right to organise collectively,** and he suggests that worker messaging services should be built into platforms. This would give the workers some power against what Dr. Muldoon describes as "unscrupulous requesters", who may not pay workers who they can't chase it up.

Cori Crider, co-Founder at Foxglove, details that she will give evidence regarding precarious tech workers who are managed by algorithmic systems, and about how **algorithmic control in workplaces can hurt individual workers** and have contributed to the rise of algorithmic squeeze on workers and problematic worker surveillance.

Crider explains the sad story of **Molly Russell**⁴, who died as a result of harmful content on social media. Content moderation is a form of precarious work, where workers feel set up to fail because of algorithmic management. Content moderators struggle to keep up with the

⁴ **'Molly Russell: Coroner's report urges social media changes'**. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-63254635>

volume of work or difficult to view posts that come up in their work – exposure of this content can give workers PTSD. Crider states that **workers are working in a “goldfish bowl”**, and this is what is causing them anxiety in the workplace, more than the harmful content they are viewing every day. It is claimed that AI can takeover in the content moderation space, however Crider describes that this is an age away. During the pandemic, content moderation workers were sent home and AI left in charge; this resulted in safe, valuable speech being taken down. Crider states that **to better protect our children online, fixing the labour conditions of content moderators is fundamentally important.**

Moreover, Crider details how within Amazon warehouses, ‘time off task’, is being used as a productivity metric, instead of a safety mechanism. Additionally, she explains how workers can be algorithmically assessed and graded, in terms of how much work they get through on a particular shift. Crider describes how it is not just big companies, such as Amazon, where productivity metrics, and automated worker surveillance are being used, instead this is something which is **spreading across the contemporary economy**. Crider desires for regulators to take hold of this issues, as it will eventually impact everyone.

Neil Ross, Associate Director – Policy at TechUK, starts by asserting that **the United Kingdom has missed opportunities when it comes to regulation of precarious work employment**. He states that the Government have not heard **TechUK’s**⁵ calls for the **Taylor Review**⁶ to be implemented. The Taylor Review seeks to improve modern workplace practices for workers in the UK, however this has not happened through an Employment Bill yet. Therefore, Ross states that there is not currently a level playing field in terms of gig platforms and gig work. Ross calls for a **working system of flexibility for workers, but also guaranteeing them strong terms and conditions**.

Furthermore, Ross states that **when developing a regulatory system for AI, trust must be embedded underneath**. Ross explains that TechUK is in favour of the **UK Government’s AI White Paper**⁷, and subsequently seeing many of the principles in there following over to the **AI Bill of Rights in the United States**⁸. For a regulatory system of AI in the workplace, coordination between the regulators is certainly important, as well as a **clear definition of what is an automated system and what is an AI system**.

Finally, Ross details TechUK’s principles that they believe are necessary to support the future of work. The principle Ross states in his evidence is that there is a real shortage of digital skills in the UK, and that many companies, big and small, are concerned about access to talent. **Improving digital skills is so important for the technology sector, as well as increasing the understanding the use of technologies**. Further, Ross desires a review to the

⁵ TechUK. <https://www.techuk.org/>

⁶ Matthew Taylor – ‘**Good work: the Taylor review of modern working practices**’ (2017). <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/good-work-the-taylor-review-of-modern-working-practices>

⁷ UK Government – ‘**Establishing a pro-innovation approach to regulating AI**’ (2022).

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/establishing-a-pro-innovation-approach-to-regulating-ai>

⁸ White House – ‘**Blueprint for an AI Bill of Rights**’ (2022). <https://www.whitehouse.gov/ostp/ai-bill-of-rights/>

apprenticeship levy, and making it easier to access the best talent worldwide and bring it to the UK. Closing, Ross **requests a single enforcement body for working rights**, as well as the right to flexible work, allowing workers more control about how they operate.

4. Evidence statements

Prof. Ashley Braganza, Professor of Business Transformation, Brunel University London



Where are we now?

I will start by addressing where we are now. According to the **Office for National Statistics (ONS)**⁹, the number of pay-rolled employees in August 2022 in the UK was at a record high of 29.7 million people, and unemployment was at a record low. However, these statistics tell us very little about the quality of the jobs. It tells us very little about the precarious work environment that people find themselves in. If you dig deeper into the labour data, what it also shows is that the number of people in second jobs is increasing. Equally, regular real weekly pay has been falling and continues to fall. When looking at different demographics, particularly looking at young people (between the ages of 16 and 24), what you begin to see is they form the largest proportion of workers in the zero-hour contracts category. This seems to be saying that the number of people working in the gig economy is increasing. A study by the **Trades**

⁹ Office for National Statistics – ‘**Earnings and employment from Pay as You Earn Real Time Information, UK: September 2022**’ (2022).

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/earningsandworkinghours/bulletins/earningsandemploymentfrompayasyouearnrealtimeinformationuk/september2022#:~:text=2.-,Payrolled%20employees,over%20the%2012%2Dmonth%20period.>

Union Congress (TUC)¹⁰ suggests that there are up to 4.4 million people working on gig economy platforms. It's not just jobs such as delivery and food delivery platforms. People working on the gig economy are working on platforms, in white collar work, freelancers, office workers, self-employed, it's not just junior roles, it's quite senior roles in organizations as well. That's the state of play at the moment.

How is AI Impacting the Digital Economy?

If you look at the majority of the studies that are out there on digital platforms and the digital economy, they suggest that the amount of work that's going to happen using digital platforms will increase. The rate of growth varies, depending on the assumptions being made by the researchers, but the trajectory is very clear: the numbers are going to go up.

Platform businesses enable organizations, in my view, to take a very Taylorist¹¹ or Fordist¹² approach. In other words, you can take jobs, you can decompose them into very minute amounts of detail, and you can start to build in controls at a very minute level – micro-decisions can be programmed into algorithms. Activities, tasks, jobs, and roles that were done by people can now be allocated to machines. What you begin to see is that permanent jobs are being turned into precarious jobs. In a paper that we published recently we refer to this trend as the '**gigification**'¹³ of work, where full-time jobs are being salami-sliced by technology, so that increasing amounts of jobs and work can be done by algorithms.

What this trend means for workers is that very often they're no longer in control of the hours they work, which then means the level of income volatility that they face increases. Paying regular bills becomes challenging, sources of inequality are exacerbated. Certain groups, such as women who make up the majority of low paid workers, and other groups such as migrants can may very often be disproportionately affected. Algorithm management tilts the balance of power away from workers and to the platforms. Each platform has its own rules, its own operating procedures, its own service levels, which are very often opaque.

What can Policymakers do?

In some ways this isn't an easy question to answer, because there are multiple stakeholders and each of those stakeholders have their own set of expectations, their own interests, and those interests are sometimes conflicting, sometimes competing or sometimes cooperating.

¹⁰ Trade Unions Congress – '**Gig economy workforce in England and Wales has almost tripled in last five years – new TUC research**' (2021). <https://www.tuc.org.uk/news/gig-economy-workforce-england-and-wales-has-almost-tripled-last-five-years-new-tuc-research>

¹¹ **Taylorism** is a factory management system developed in the late 19th century to increase efficiency by evaluating every step in a manufacturing process and breaking down production into specialized repetitive tasks.

¹² **Fordism** is a technological system that seeks to increase production efficiency primarily through carefully engineered breakdown and interlocking of production operations and that depends for its success on mass production by assembly-line methods

¹³ Braganza, A – '**Gigification, job engagement and satisfaction: the moderating role of AI enabled system automation in operations management**' (2020).

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09537287.2021.1882692>

Therefore, it's a challenge; in fact, it's highly unlikely that all those stakeholders are going to get what they want. There are going to have to be trade-offs. Gig workers themselves are not homogenous. At the very least their motivations are very different. A student doing a gig job to supplement their income while they're at university is very different to someone who's doing a gig job where they're having to support their family and it is their main source of income.

Equally, some want tighter regulations but really if you are a migrant, what you really want is flexibility, you want low barriers to entry in terms of the platform, and you don't want a huge amount of bureaucracy. There are huge conflicts in terms of the interest and just the whole area of gig workers.

The platforms, as I've indicated, are themselves very different. Each has their own design principles, their own rules, their own markets that they serve, and the business models that they operate. While household names such as Uber and Amazon, are global companies and we're very familiar with them, what you're also beginning to see is that there are a number of local and regional platforms that are starting to take shape.

Actions to Take

With all that said, I would like to propose some actions that I think need to be taken immediately and then reflect on some medium-longer term actions.

The first thing I'd suggest is that what we need is a set of standard definitions of platforms, gig workers, and gig work. At the moment, there are no meaningful statistics or evidence being collected about this category in the economy. For me without this, policy makers are really batting in the dark because there is very little evidence, there are lots of reports being produced, but it's very unclear and each report has its own set of assumptions, so there's no real clear evidence base.

The second area that work needs to be done is around organizations, particularly financial services organizations, having to change the basis on which they operate. If you look at credit ratings, lending decisions, mortgages, payments, they're all premised on people making regular monthly payments because the assumption is that you get a regular income over time from an employer. Gig work absolutely destroys that underpinning premise. Therefore, what we need are organizations to either find some ways of smoothing income and guaranteeing working hours.

In the long term, I think there is a need to disentangle some of these stakeholders and platforms in order to derive some clear regulations going forward.

Anna Thomas, co-Founder & Director, Institute for the Future of Work



Institute for the Future of Work

I'm Co-Founder and Director of the **Institute for the Future of Work (IFOW)**, a research and development institute examining the impacts of new technologies on work and working lives. Our mission is to shape a fairer future through better work. A few of the programs that we are working on at the moment that are relevant to this session include new models for work. We're doing a program called the **Amazonian era** which has found how the ethos, practices, tools and business models of the gig economy are spreading right across traditional sectors with very profound impacts for access, nature, quality of work, as well as business models and for society more widely.

We are running the **Pissarides Review**, which is a multidisciplinary project examining the impacts of automation, including AI on work and their distribution across the country, because that's very uneven. There are lots of sort of very approximate estimates so far, however often based on old models, and the results of that are expected very soon. We've also got a program on responsible AI. How AI can or should be used to create new and better work, but this isn't happening automatically. Additionally, how we can govern AI and related technologies and use of data at work to maximize and spread positive outcomes and minimize risks.

Accountability for Algorithms Act

There's a program to our proposal for an **accountability for algorithms act**¹⁴, which would introduce a framework for pre-emptive accountability and action, including new corporate

¹⁴ Institute for the Future of Work – 'Is it time for a UK Accountability for Algorithms Act?' (2022)
<https://www.ifow.org/news-articles/time-uk-algorithmic-accountability-act>

responsibilities and digital rights related to the anticipated impacts on AI at work. Our work on digital rights is really the other side of the coin of this. The accountability act, for example, would include individual and collective rights to access information about the fact, purpose, remit, and anticipated impacts. It would also require pre-deployment evaluation or impact assessment, including a quality impact assessment combined with mitigation. I'm talking about this because we're very keen to situate this debate about digital rights and workers' rights in the wider debate about AI accountability, and to see it systematically as part of that picture. When we come to new rights to think about them not only as filling gaps, but as forming a wider system of governance and accountability.

Policy Landscape

Looking at the big picture and policy landscape, there's increasing interest in AI impacts and regulation at work, which is an everyday human interface for increasing numbers of people with very big economic, social, legal, and ethical impacts. Our understanding of these is that they are at relatively early stages.

Our work, for example, looks at the impacts which span all dimensions of our **good work charter**¹⁵, which we use and suggest, can be a framework for thinking about and looking at impacts and be a starting point for rights too. For example, in the last week or so, we've had the **US Bill of Rights** in the White House, which expressively flags the importance of those rights to improve work conditions and certain additional requirements as well. For example, continuous monitoring or surveillance shouldn't be used in physical or digital workspaces. Or like our model that requests reporting that involves and incorporates assessment of impact on rights opportunities or access. We've had also in the last week, the **Information Commissioner's Office (ICO) guidance**¹⁶ on monitoring work, which again, highlights the need for legal basis for processing information and consultation about that monitoring and recommends a voluntary impact assessment, the data protection impact assessment, even where it's not required. We've also had the launch of the **AI Standards Hub**¹⁷ in the last week. They're doing their level best to seek the engagement of civil society and trade unions, notwithstanding the limitations of a standards only approach. We think that they're interested in a work pillar.

The themes emerging from our own research and others, along with policy tracking relevant to what sort of the first perhaps new digital right should be these: Platform business models are, expanding with mobile technology and market design algorithms, and they tend to have a winner takes all dynamic with the top 1% of firms crushing others. Insecure contracts are increasing very fast with around one in nine people in insecure work. Other forms of insecure work such as outsourcing and using labour market intermediaries are on the increase. The

¹⁵ Institute for the Future of Work – ‘**The Good Work Charter**’ (2018).

<https://www.ifow.org/publications/the-ifow-good-work-charter>

¹⁶ Information Commissioner's Office – ‘**Employment practices: monitoring at work draft guidance**’ (2022). <https://ico.org.uk/media/about-the-ico/consultations/4021868/draft-monitoring-at-work-20221011.pdf>

¹⁷ **AI Standards Hub**. <https://aistandardshub.org/>

workforce is in a sense being liquidized as businesses aim to match demand with suppliers as closely as they possibly can, and that tends to disrupt traditional employment practices and relationships, as well as the enforcement of law.

Artificial Intelligence

Although humans and data and simple algorithms have been used forever, the speed, power and reach of the AI systems and data sets that feed them is new. The dimensions of this data and the way they're combined are increasing, allowing for multi-variable correlations, which means a big increase in information asymmetry and power. In the workplace for example, you could have someone monitoring eyeballs in a warehouse, your headsets combined with heat sensors or wearables looking at how you work and where you are going or what muscles you are using. You could have that combined with CCTV cameras from different points and have it all put together to create predictions and estimates, not just about how you are working, but who you are and how you are likely to work in the future.

Increasingly, we're moving towards decisions about groups of workers and future workers. You have to look further than individual claims and individual people or seeing people as data subjects, quite apart from the ethics of it. We are looking at new group and relational harms. A lot of high levels of workers in our surveys and the surveys of others are reporting that they don't know how their data is used or how the systems are used at work. Notwithstanding the **ICO guidance**, which says that it ought to be part of responsible practice and law to highlight when and how that's used.

The other problem in terms of accountability, which takes us to rights, is that decisions about people are diffuse and span multiple organizations, so the choices which shape the effects of AI are distributed across a very wide range of organizations, which obscures often human roles and accountability. These are systematic, incremental, invisible changes that one single person can't take on after it's gone wrong. That doesn't mean it's not important to have it, but it's important I think to see the rights in that context. This causes huge enforcement issues, not just for individuals, but their representative organizations, their unions and for their regulators.

That's the legal, research case for it, but it's also right that there's increasingly a business case for it. Recent surveys show that businesses also recognize the importance of giving higher levels of information and transparency about what's happening and why and involving workers in that decision making process. Organizational management pointing to the benefits for business in higher levels of data sharing and collaboration.

We've got a long list of asks, but they span from enforcement across the regulators, and starting new rights and starting from a position of the principle of what we need to achieve rather than perhaps starting with a discussion about status.

Dr. James Muldoon, Head of Digital Research, Autonomy & Senior Lecturer in Political Science, University of Exeter



My current research concerns how digital technology can be regulated to create a more fair and inclusive society. I've conducted empirical research with workers in a variety of fields: in the gig economy, including domestic and care workers, food delivery riders, online freelancers, and digital cooperative business owners.

Microwork

I'd like to narrow in on a particular field. I'll present evidence on a sector of the gig economy that's less well known than some of the other more public-facing jobs. This is called micro work, otherwise known as click, click work or crowd work. It's a form of work in which workers select tasks from digital platforms and are then paid piece wages per task completed. The task can consist of coding data to train algorithms, completing surveys, tagging content, identifying images.

It's highly relevant to the question of AI, because many companies that deploy AI use these micro work platforms to source the human labour that is necessary to run their products. These are the people who make AI function. They clean and prepare the data, they can train the algorithms, they're the humans in the loop that are often obscured in dominant AI hype narratives.

Microwork poses some unique challenges for regulators because it's essentially a global marketplace of workers. There are workers in almost every country across the globe, and most micro work platforms are headquartered, as you might imagine, in the US. Something like

Amazon Mechanical Turk¹⁸ a spinoff of Amazon, is perhaps the most well-known micro work company, but others are located in the UK such as **Prolific**¹⁹, a UK based platform which specialize in survey data.

Almost one in eight UK workers perform some type of digital tasks remotely. Admittedly, not all of them microwork, but microwork has increased dramatically during the pandemic. In one of our studies 36% of research participants said that they had begun microwork during the pandemic because of some of the added pressures. The easy access to digital tools enables workers to transform time outside of their traditional work into economically productive activity working on these digital platforms. Some workers appreciate the autonomy, the flexibility of micro work, they see it as positively contributing to their ability to earn an income and get by.

Problems with Microwork

This situation of UK based micro workers, which is what we are focusing on today, according to some of our research is that 13% actually use it as their primary source of income. These are people who are supplementing their income alongside other full-time and part-time jobs. While this work can be of great benefit to workers, the industry itself is a bit of a wild west in terms of workers' access to basic protections, and things like fair pay. The main concerns of workers that we spoke to were:

- Low pay
- Repetitive and boring tasks
- Too much time spent searching for jobs on the platform
- Poor communication from requesters - the companies that are paying the platforms to host their tasks
- Unpaid tasks.

Up to 30% of tasks go completely unpaid just because the requester will deny that the work was done to their satisfaction. For those workers who do rely on micro work, the money they receive from micro work is precariously low. 95% of UK based micro workers earn below minimum wage. Two in three earn the equivalent of less than £4/hour for doing this type of work. Another key issue for workers was time spent on the platform looking for work, trying to find well-paid or good tasks. Almost 30% of micro workers we spoke to spent at least 30 minutes of unpaid activities for every hour of paid work that they received on the platform.

Problems with Communication

Communication is quite minimal and hard for workers to achieve on the platforms.

1. Workers can't communicate effectively with requesters who offer them jobs. Therefore, work often goes unpaid because it's very hard for them to chase anything

¹⁸ **Amazon Mechanical Turk.** <https://www.mturk.com/>

¹⁹ **Prolific.** <https://www.prolific.co/>

up. If you are chasing up a task that is only going to give you 10p or 50p, it's not worth your time trying to do it anyway. Thus, there's little accountability mechanisms.

2. Workers can't communicate with each other. They can't share information about requesters to avoid, they can't organize collectively in any way about their working conditions.

Recommendations for Policymakers

Therefore, I have some quite specific recommendations.

1. Micro work platforms who offer tasks to UK workers should pay workers the local minimum wage.
2. Requesters should have to pay micro workers a small finder's fee for a task completed to account for the amount of time that they're on the job but are not being financially remunerated for that work. It's a simple addition to any jobs that are offered.
3. Any kind of pre-task tests that are often made obligatory should receive some degree of payment. For some task workers can't actually do the task without first completing some kind of competency test or some kind of other abilities. These are usually unpaid.
4. Micro workers should have the right to organize collectively, and I think one of the means for securing this is to have worker messaging services built into the platforms. If you are on one of these platforms as a worker, you should have the capacity to discuss issues with workers, which as a minimum might give you the opportunity to have some kind of collective power against unscrupulous requesters who might be routinely not paying workers and they might not be able to chase that up. I don't think people should have to go to Reddit forums or separate social media groups to engage in that kind of communication.

If you have other issues or questions, there's a really interesting **Guardian**²⁰ editorial on micro work and you can read our report, **Rise and Grind, Micro Work and Hustle Culture in the UK**²¹.

²⁰ The Guardian – '**The Guardian view on microworking: younger, educated workers left powerless**' (2022). <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/aug/21/the-guardian-view-on-microworking-younger-educated-workers-left-powerless>

²¹ J Muldoon & P Jones – '**Rise and Grind: microwork and hustle culture in the UK**' (2022). <https://autonomy.work/portfolio/riseandgrind/>

Cori Crider, co-Founder, Foxglove



Foxglove

Foxglove²² is a relatively new non-profit in this space, and we exist to make the use of technology fairer and to take legal action when it isn't. You may have heard of us in connection with a lawsuit that we brought against **Ofqual**²³ in the education department a couple of years ago when they assigned all A-Level students grades with an algorithm and quite a lot of kids lost out on their university places - However I'm not here to talk about that.

I'm here to talk to you because we do a lot of work individually with precarious tech workers who are managed by this kind of algorithmic system. I'm going to talk about the effects of AI in the workplace at a couple of places. I'm going to talk about Facebook and I'm going to talk about Amazon. I'm going to talk about how the use of algorithmic control in these workplaces have hurt individual workers, they have contributed to the rise and spread of a harmful form of algorithmic squeeze on workers and problematic worker surveillance, and that that in turn has had some problematic downstream effects on our economy in our public square.

Content Moderation

All of you I hope, know about the tragedy of this teen girl who died, Molly Russell. I'm just going to read a sentence, if I may, from the official verdict of the Molly Russell inquest, which says that "*Molly Russell died from an act of self-harm while suffering from depression and the negative effects of online content*". If you follow social media now, you may already know that this story includes AI at the front end. You may know how Facebook's algorithms served Molly,

²² **Foxglove**. <https://www.foxglove.org.uk/>

²³ **Ofqual**. <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/ofqual>

as indeed they serve us all, with a toxic mix of engaging content, and in her case the glorification of self-harm until Molly sadly lost her life.

You could be forgiven for thinking that Molly's story and the ongoing risk to our kids has nothing to do with precarious work or AI in the workplace. However, that would be wrong because in fact it does. The problems with social media and AI content moderation are not just at the front-end where Meta, Facebook and Instagram spread harmful content because that content is engaging, and therefore it surfaces in everyone's feeds. It's also at the back end where the precarious content moderators work. We at Foxglove have worked with social media content moderators at Facebook and other platforms. I should add here it's not just Facebook, it's also TikTok, it's also YouTube, any mass-upload systems - so I'm not just picking on one company here.

The workers who do this work paint a picture of a dangerous workflow, where partly because of wrongheaded priorities in algorithmic management, they feel set up to fail. These people have precarious contracts. Generally speaking, content moderators, despite the fact that they are critical safety workers defending the public square, don't have direct contracts with Facebook, they'll work for an outsourcing firm such as Accenture. They're understaffed, they can't keep up with the volume of flow or difficult posts that come up. The volume that they try to keep up on a day is not there. That work presents a special sectoral risk because exposure to this level of toxic content day in and day out – it just turns out that doing this work and sitting in front of a lot of child abuse and a lot of graphic violence – gives workers posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

Here's where the AI comes in. I thought when we started looking at these moderator's workplaces that when they shared their problems, what they would say was difficult about the work was about the child abuse, was about the terrorist content. What they actually also said was that I'm working in this goldfish bowl and every click I make, every decision I make is optimized, surveilled by the company, and I have to meet these incredibly unrealistic and stressful algorithmically set targets. Things like average handling time, and I just can't keep up with it.

It may well be that some people here think, well, if that's true, if the work is so bad and it's so dangerous, can't we, can we just get rid of them? Can we just have AI do the work instead? I'm sad to say that's just not happening, it's not realistic. Humans are always going to have to do content moderation work. I think we are miles away from the AI being able to take it over.

If you want to know what that looks like, at the beginning of the pandemic, companies sent a lot of content moderators' home. As most of our workplaces closed, it also was true of these content moderation workplaces, and platforms like Facebook – there's a study about this in **Politico**²⁴ and indeed partly from Facebook's own transparency reports – sent everybody home and they tried turning the AI up to 11 and having the algorithm do all the content

²⁴ Politico – **'What happened when humans stopped managing social media content'** (2020)
<https://www.politico.eu/article/facebook-content-moderation-automation/>

moderation – the result was a mess. A lot of safe and protected and valuable speech got taken down, and a lot of content including self-harm and abuse content, for example the kind that targeted Molly Russell, fell by about 40% in the second quarter of 2020. As we all consider, after that tragic incident in the coroner's verdict, how better to protect our children in our online speech environment while protecting free expression, I think we cannot hope to fix those problems without attending to the labour condition of content moderators.

Amazon

I was honoured to go with the APPG AI on an Amazon warehouse visit to Tilbury, so I had a look at the warehouse and exactly what workers labouring under the algorithmic eye experience. Foxglove itself works with a lot of these workers.

I want to refer back to something that one of those managers said on that tour that day. One of the members, a question was asked about 'the extent to which an Amazon warehouse worker was surveilled? What kinds of tracking do Amazon have in place?' You heard the general manager say, 'they're not wearing anything, don't worry. We're not engaged in that kind of surveillance'. I asked them about one of the metrics that we know exist because of investigative reporting in the United States, which is called '*Time Off Task*'. If a worker in an Amazon warehouse goes off tasks for a certain amount of time, it's triggered in the system and too much '*time off task*' causes a penalty. The manager of that warehouse said that time off task was not a productivity metric, and that it was there only for worker safety. I am afraid, that that is belied by Amazon's own documents disclosed in National Labor Relations Board hearings in the United States, in which it was made clear that three 30-minute incidents of 'time off task' in a year are grounds for termination.

That's not the only way in which workers at Amazon are algorithmically assessed and graded. There are also rates that are set partly algorithmically that determine the piece rate, how many bits of stuff a picker or a packer have to get through in a given day. On that Tilbury tour we stood in front of a woman, working quite hard, and the same general manager also said, 'she has a certain number of targets to get through, but that's just what the customer wants. This is what same day delivery requires'.

I'll just close by remarking that at that warehouse we toured in Tilbury that August after Amazon made the first pay offer that people have had since the start of the pandemic, hundreds of workers walked out²⁵, because with inflation, everyone in this room knows people who live marginal existence are worried about how they're going to pay their bills and heat their homes. Amazon threatened to withhold pay if they continue to engage in their protest. People are saying that they can't meet make ends meet, and they're tired of working under what they say are extremely unsafe and stressful conditions for pay levels that they just can't hack.

²⁵ BBC News – '**Amazon warehouse staff in Tilbury walk out over 35p an hour pay rise**' (2022). <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-essex-62421758>

Closing Remarks

The last point I would close with is that it is not just these two big companies. Others have said that these metrics are moving across the entire contemporary economy. I will just give a statistic again, from the United States. There was an in-depth New York Times study²⁶ that showed that at the moment eight of the 10 largest employers in the United States use some form of automated worker surveillance, tracking, and assessment. That is for everybody from chaplains to some corporate executives. The idea that this is just going to be at the entry level of work and it's not coming for everyone is not true. Unless we get to grips with this from a regulatory standpoint, 'bossware' is coming for all of us.

²⁶ New York Times – **'The Rise of the Worker Productivity Score'** (2022).
<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2022/08/14/business/worker-productivity-tracking.html>

Neil Ross, Associate Director – Policy, TechUK



Tech UK

TechUK is the trade association for the technology sector. We represent 930 technology companies in the UK, ranging from some of our very smallest companies to some of the largest companies that operate in the UK. When you represent 930 tech companies and people ask you the questions of the gig economy and AI, there's quite a lot to cover.

However, the first thing I want to say is we start from a place of missed opportunities. We have repeatedly called for the government to implement the **Taylor Review** and to deliver an employment bill over the course of the last few years - those calls have not been heard. Consequently, we are in a situation where there is not a level playing field. Often the terms and conditions on which some gig platforms work is not just how their platform is set up, but whether they've been taken to court or not, which is not a sustainable situation. Ultimately when we think about the gig economy, what we want to see is a system that balances the flexibility that workers want and have always consistently asked for, but also with goods terms and conditions.

Unions & Gig Platforms

I really endorse the point about explainability, that's come up a lot in these discussions. To fill this in, let me tell you a story. I went to the Labour Party conference earlier this year. There was a discussion between a union who had recently partnered with one of the gig platforms. The union organizer said when they came to have a conversation with the gig platform, they brought in number of assumptions with them about what the employees wanted to see. Ultimately that was challenged directly by the employees themselves. As a consequence, they had to reformulate their approach to signing a deal with this platform, so the platform obviously

had to give and take as well. They came to an agreement on that basis to allow union representation and began to have a more productive discussion. Where these deals work for companies, we are very happy to endorse them and support them, and we saw this as good progress. Ultimately, until we have an employment bill and until we see the **Taylor Review** implemented, we will be working with a patchwork approach, which is unlikely to work in the longer term.

Artificial Intelligence

Coming into the question of AI, it is obviously an enormous opportunity for the UK. This country is one of the best in the world in attracting investment with some of the fastest growing start-ups and scale ups in AI. Equally we have to understand that there are a huge number of concerns about what AI means, not just for individuals in the workplace, but also the wider economy. Therefore, when you think about how to regulate AI or to develop a regulatory system, it needs to have trust embedded underneath. Now generally, we are supportive of the government's **AI White Paper** and it was very interesting to see that many of those principles were replicated in the a **AI Bill of Rights** that was produced by the White House just earlier this week. I won't go through the six functions that they include in that, but ultimately it includes things like redress, safety and a clear definition of what is high risk. Developing that regulatory regime is going to be enormously important, but coordination between the regulators, resourcing of the regulators, and ensuring we have a clear definition between what is an automated system and what is an AI system will be vitally important to ensuring that enforcement applies where it is needed.

Concluding Remarks

I'll round things off by saying that **TechUK has recently published a paper**²⁷ calling for five principles to support the future of work, and I think this is the closest approximation to what we have in terms of addressing both the gig economy and the nature of AI. One is that we have a real shortage of digital skills in this country. We're releasing polling of our members recently asking them their business conditions concerns. The biggest concern that tech companies have across the UK, mostly small as well as large, is access to talent. How we improve those digital skills across the economy is not only vitally important for the sector but really important for the understanding and use of these technologies much more broadly.

We need to review things like the apprenticeship levy to ensure that people can use that money to spend on digitally upskilling people. We also need to try and encourage companies to spend money on skills and retraining – we know that has been a problem in the UK. The Prime Minister²⁸ has talked a lot about growth. The biggest issue we have had for a long time is a lack of free training - that's something we need to focus on. Other things we could focus on are trying to ensure that it's easy to access the best talent in the world and bring it to the

²⁷ TechUK – '**Preparing the UK for the future of work**' (2022).

<https://www.techuk.org/resource/preparing-the-uk-for-the-future-of-work.html>

²⁸ At the time of this meeting (17th October 2022) Liz Truss was Prime Minister of the UK.

UK. We also need to endorse a single enforcement body for our working rights as well as our rights to flexible work so people can have more control over how they operate.

5. Speaker Bios



EVIDENCE MEETING:

**PRECARIOUS WORK & THE DIGITAL ECONOMY:
NEXT PHASE OF A NEW WORK PARADIGM**

MONDAY 17 OCTOBER 2022 5:30 PM, UK PARLIAMENT - HOUSE OF LORDS



EVIDENCE GIVERS FROM LEFT TO RIGHT

- **Prof. Ashley Braganza**, Professor of Business Transformation, **Brunel University London**
- **James Muldoon**, Head of Digital Research, **Autonomy**
- **Anna Thomas**, co-Founder & Director, **Institute for the Future of Work**
- **Cori Crider**, co-Founder, **Foxglove**
- **Neil Ross**, Associate Director - Policy, **TechUK**

<https://bicpavilion.com/about/appg-artificial-intelligence>

Prof. Ashley Braganza, Professor of Business Transformation, Brunel University London

Professor Ashley Braganza is Professor of Organisational Transformation Change at Brunel Business School. His research interests encompass big data, change management, strategy implementation, process and knowledge management, and transformation enabled information systems. He completed a study of CEOs and CIOs to gain fresh insights into the role of CEOs in largescale transformation programmes. He has published three books and over a hundred research articles, conference papers and working papers covering a range of topics on big data, business processes, change management, process orientation, knowledge management, governance, and organisation structure.

Publications:

- Braganza, A – ‘Gigification, job engagement and satisfaction: the moderating role of AI enabled system automation in operations management’ (2020). <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09537287.2021.1882692>

Anna Thomas, co-Founder & Director, Institute for the Future of Work

Anna Thomas is the co-founder and Director of the Institute for the Future of Work, and formerly a barrister from Devereux Chambers, specialising in employment law and appointed as Counsel to the Equality and Human Rights Commission. Prior to setting up the Institute for the Future of Work, Anna was Head of Policy for the Future of Work Commission. Anna is also Fellow of the Institute for Policy Research, the RSA and IEO, and is a member of the Digital Futures at Work (Digit) Advisory Board.

Dr. James Muldoon, Head of Digital Research, Autonomy & Senior Lecturer in Political Science, University of Exeter

Dr James Muldoon is a Senior Lecturer in Political Science at the University of Exeter and Head of Digital Research at the Autonomy think tank. James' latest work is on the politics of digital technology and how we can recover forgotten ideas from the past to help us rethink our digital future. His book 'Platform Socialism: How to Reclaim our Digital Future from Big Tech' proposes a range of alternatives for how digital platforms could be organised. James' other research interests include labour movement history, socialism, republicanism, democratic theory, and 20th-century European philosophy.

Publications:

- J Muldoon & P Jones – 'Rise and Grind: microwork and hustle culture in the UK' (2022). <https://autonomy.work/portfolio/riseandgrind/>

Cori Crider, co-Founder, Foxglove

Cori is a US-qualified lawyer. She previously directed the national security team at Reprieve.

Cori has extensive experience in litigation, investigation, and public advocacy. Her cases have won an apology from Britain's Prime Minister for the kidnap and torture of a family, restrictions on the UK's mass spying practices and the release of dozens of prisoners from Guantánamo Bay.

In 2019 she presented a documentary about artificial intelligence for Al Jazeera English. She sits on the Scholars' Council of UCLA's Center for Critical Internet Inquiry (C2I2) and Advisory Councils of Data4Change and Clean Up the Internet. Cori co-directs Foxglove's casework. Foxglove is a non-profit that fights to make tech fair for everyone.

Neil Ross, Associate Director - Policy, TechUK

As Associate Director for Policy Neil leads techUK's domestic policy development in the UK. In this role he regularly engages with UK and Devolved Government Ministers, senior civil servants, and members of the UK's Parliaments with the aim of supporting government and industry to work together to make the UK the best place to start, scale and develop technology companies.

Neil acts as a spokesperson for techUK on UK policy and politics in the media and at Parliamentary Committees. He has been quoted in a wide range of publications representing techUK including the Financial Times, the Economist and Sky News.

Publications:

- 'Regulating the Digital Economy after Brexit, what is the UK's approach?' (2022).
<https://www.techuk.org/resource/regulating-the-digital-economy-after-brex-it-what-is-the-uk-government-s-approach.html>
- 'techUK position paper – Governance for an AI future' (2022).
<https://www.techuk.org/resource/techuk-position-paper-governance-for-an-ai-future.html>
- 'Preparing the UK for the Future of Work' (2022).
<https://www.techuk.org/resource/preparing-the-uk-for-the-future-of-work.html>

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