

ORIGINAL ARTICLE OPEN ACCESS

Migrant Workers and the Ambiguities of Digitally Mediated Work in Canada

María Cervantes-Macías¹  | Suzanne Huot² 

¹Geography Department, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada | ²Department of Occupational Science and Occupational Therapy, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada

Correspondence: María Cervantes-Macías (maria.cervantes@ubc.ca)

Received: 1 April 2026 | **Revised:** 25 July 2026 | **Accepted:** 29 July 2026

Keywords: Canada | digitally mediated work | gig work | liminality | migrant workers | remote work

ABSTRACT

Digitally mediated work is often framed as an opportunity for migrants to have greater flexibility, mobility and transnational connectivity. However, less attention has been paid to how digitally mediated work intersects with immigration systems that regulate settlement, labour market incorporation and belonging. Drawing on qualitative interviews with 50 migrant workers engaged in gig and remote work in Canada, this article examines how digitally mediated labour complicates migrants' experiences of integration within Canada's multi-step immigration regime. Engaging literature on digital work, migrant incorporation and liminality, the article conceptualizes ambiguity as a condition emerging at the intersection of digitally mediated employment and temporally conditional migration pathways. Although digitally mediated work does facilitate transnational connections and flexible forms of employment, it also weakens access to workplace sociality, professional networks, and forms of 'Canadian experience' often associated with long-term integration and permanent residence pathways. The findings show how migrants experience overlapping spatial, affective and temporal ambiguities as they navigate remote and gig work alongside uncertain immigration trajectories. By examining how digitally mediated work reshapes processes of settlement and belonging, this article contributes to debates on migration, digital economy and the changing relationship between work, mobility and incorporation in contemporary immigration regimes.

1 | Introduction

This article examines how digitally mediated employment creates ambiguity for immigrants navigating Canada's multi-step immigration regime. Digital technologies are often framed as infrastructures of connection, facilitating access to employment, mobility, and participation in social and economic life. Digitally mediated work increasingly blurs the boundaries between work and leisure, collapsing home and work, fragmenting schedules across time zones, and reorganizing everyday rhythms (Brown et al. 2011; Sintas et al. 2015; Colbert et al. 2016; De Loryn 2022; Rainoldi et al. 2024). For migrant workers, these transformations intersect with immigration regimes that anchor legal status to

place while simultaneously requiring flexibility, productivity and self-management. Given that their legal status, labour market access and social integration in Canada are already conditional, digitally mediated work contributes to exacerbating the challenges that stem from the uncertainty of their migratory status while allowing them to navigate their transnational lives.

This article focuses on Canada, whose immigration system is increasingly organized around pathways that link temporary and permanent status through multi-step migration programs (Schinnerl and Ellermann 2023; Banerjee and Lam 2024). Migrants commonly enter through study permits or temporary work permits and later transition to permanent residence via routes

This is an open access article under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/) License, which permits use, distribution and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited and is not used for commercial purposes.

© 2026 The Author(s). *German Life and Letters* published by German Life and Letters Ltd and John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

such as the Canadian Experience Class or Provincial Nominee Programs (Schmidt et al. 2023). Canada's expansion of multi-step immigration pathways has increased the number of individuals experiencing extended periods of legal and social liminality (Dreher and Triandafyllidou 2025) as they navigate multiple statuses. Yet these transitions are contingent on changing program requirements, labour market conditions and flexible points-based selection criteria. These changes can delay or disrupt progression to permanent residence, positioning migrants in prolonged states of conditional belonging. Canada provides a particularly salient context for examining these dynamics because its migration regime increasingly integrates educational mobility, temporary labour migration and permanent residence in a stratified system.

Although recent policy changes have begun to reduce the number of temporary migrants (Government of Canada, 2024),¹ a multi-step pathway (e.g., study permit to post graduation work permit to permanent residence) continues to structure labour and migration opportunities, and was the pathway followed by most participants in our study. Although migrants are physically present within national territory, their inclusion in Canada remains politically and economically conditional, partial and revocable, shifting in response to changes in immigration policy. Building on participants' experiences, we argue that this condition of liminality is not simply an individualized lived experience but is instead institutionally produced through immigration governance.

Liminality describes a condition of being 'betwixt and between', a suspended or transitional position between established social roles (Vesala and Tuomivaara 2019; Weidenstedt et al. 2024). Migration scholarship has extended this concept to analyse prolonged legal temporariness, highlighting how states actively produce 'legal liminality' through stratified rights and tiered statuses. Rather than representing a brief transitional phase, liminality under multi-step immigration regimes can become a durable condition, a 'lack of place-belongingness to the host society' (Huot et al. 2014, 336), structured by temporary permits, shifting eligibility criteria, and delayed pathways to permanence. Although digitally mediated work offers some flexibility and transnational mobility, rights and protections remain territorially bounded and conditional on immigration status. More so, migrants' labour may circulate digitally across borders, yet their legal personhood remains fixed within national jurisdictions. This article pays attention to variations across gender, employment, age and work types, highlighting how migration and digitally mediated work trajectories are unevenly shaped by socio-technical infrastructures, immigration regimes and labour arrangements.

Foregrounding ambiguity as both lived experience and governing condition, this article asks: How does digitally mediated labour complicate migrants' experiences of integration within Canada's multi-step immigration regime? Drawing on qualitative interviews with 50 migrant workers in Canada, we examine how digitally mediated work intersects with immigration status to structure conditions of precarity and opportunity. We find that digitally mediated work generates overlapping forms of inclusion and exclusion that are lived as spatial, affective and temporal in-betweenness, as policy frameworks governing migration and labour increasingly operate through

digitally mediated and conditional forms of access to work and residency.

2 | Literature Review

2.1 | Migrants, Legal Liminality and Multi-Step Immigration Pathways

Research on migration and multi-step immigration pathways emphasizes how legal temporariness produces enduring states of uncertainty and conditional belonging. Legal liminality is not merely transitional but can become a durable structural condition, shaped by temporary permits, tiered eligibility criteria and prolonged pathways to permanent residency (Anderson 2010; Könönen 2019; Scott et al. 2022). Migrants navigate 'staggered migration processes', encountering extended insecurity as immigration policies and labour market demand shift (Robertson and Runganaikaloo 2014; Maury 2022; Sun et al. 2025), highlighting multi-level spatial patterns of belonging (Pries 2013). Daskalaki et al. (2016) notion of boundary-dwellers highlights how migrants operate in productive yet precarious in-between spaces. Liminality thus emerges not only as lived experience but also as an outcome of governance: inclusion remains partial, revocable and hierarchically structured. In Canada, multi-step immigration pathways increasingly require migrants to move through temporary statuses such as international study or employer-specific work permits before obtaining permanent residence (Schmidt et al. 2023). These pathways place significant emphasis on labour market incorporation, including the accumulation of 'Canadian work experience', local professional networks and stable employment histories as markers of long-term settlement potential (Ku et al. 2019; Lam and Triandafyllidou 2024). As a result, migrants' experiences of work are closely tied to processes of legal, social and economic incorporation.

2.2 | Digitally Mediated Work and Migrant Labour Market Incorporation

Digitally mediated labour intersects with this legal liminality by reorganizing the spatial, affective and temporal dimensions of migrants' everyday lives, as technology increasingly plays a direct role in producing, shaping and governing transnational economic networks (Howson et al. 2022). Remote and gig work partially detach labour from fixed workplaces, dispersing it across homes, platforms and markets at varying spatial scales (Wang et al. 2021; Duggan et al. 2022; Newlands 2024). Some forms of digitally mediated work, such as ride-hailing or food delivery, is tethered to a single city but requires mobility within and across urban areas, whereas other forms of remote work allow broader, even transnational flexibility (Vallas and Schor 2020). Digitally mediated work also intensifies precarity through algorithmic management, income instability and weakened long-term social integration (Pulignano et al. 2024; Weidenstedt et al. 2024; Cervantes-Macias 2026). For migrant workers, this precarity is layered: Immigration status compounds economic vulnerability and temporal fragmentation (Trimikliniotis et al. 2016; Yekta et al. 2025). Existing Canadian studies (Gray 2022; Lee 2023; Jackson and Huot 2025; Kaarki 2026; Park et al. 2026) demonstrate that digitally mediated work has become an increasingly important

pathway into Canadian labour markets for migrants, particularly where conventional employment opportunities are constrained. However, this literature has primarily focused on employment precarity, platform governance and labour market outcomes, leaving less explored how remote and platform-based work shapes migrants' longer-term experiences of settlement, belonging and incorporation within multi-step immigration pathways.

2.3 | Work, Social Reproduction and Migrant Everyday Life

In addition to the labour market integration implications of digitally mediated work, the relationship between paid work and everyday life, essential for immigrants' sense of belonging (Ramos and Gonçalves 2026), is also transformed by extending employment into domestic and urban spaces. Remote work collapses boundaries between home and workplace, whereas platform labour disperses work across cities through algorithmically coordinated mobility. These transformations intensify overlaps between paid labour, domestic responsibilities and everyday forms of social reproduction. In the Canadian context, these dynamics remain unevenly structured across migrant labour markets, including the continued concentration of racialized migrant women in care and reproductive labour (Pratt 2012; Kim et al. 2025) alongside the growing participation of migrant men in precarious platform work. Platform labour extends these dynamics by offering flexibility with limited protections (Dubal 2019), and it generates substantial unpaid labour—waiting for orders, searching for hotspots, engaging in dispute resolution with platforms—that remains obscured within platform metrics (Berg et al. 2018; Rani and Furrer 2021). If remote professional work renders the overlap of production and social reproduction more visible within the home, platform labour disperses this overlap across urban space while externalizing risk onto workers. In both cases, digitally mediated work arrangements rely upon precarious, racialized migrant labour (Stevano et al. 2021; Cockayne 2021) while obscuring the social and economic costs externalized onto workers.

2.4 | Ambiguity at the Intersection of Migration and Digital Labour

Taken together, these literatures demonstrate that migrant incorporation and digitally mediated labour are deeply intertwined processes shaped by changing forms of governance, employment and everyday life. Existing scholarship has shown how legal liminality produces uncertainty through conditional immigration pathways, whereas research on digitally mediated work has highlighted new forms of labour market precarity, algorithmic control and weakened workplace integration. However, less attention has been paid to how these processes intersect: specifically, how remote and platform-based work reshape migrants' experiences of time, space and belonging while navigating multi-step immigration systems. This article addresses these gaps by conceptualizing these intersecting uncertainties as forms of spatial, affective and temporal ambiguity. Rather than understanding ambiguity solely as a consequence of precarious employment or temporary legal status, we show how digitally mediated labour and conditional migration pathways jointly produce ambiguous

experiences of settlement, where migrants simultaneously experience new forms of flexibility and connection alongside insecurity, isolation and delayed belonging.

3 | Methodology

This article uses qualitative data from a project in the Migrant Integration in the Mid-21st Century: Bridging Divides research program, with research ethics approval from the University of British Columbia (H2304007). The analysis focuses specifically on how migrant workers engaged in remote and gig work navigate digitally mediated labour within Canada's immigration regime. The analysis draws on 50 semi-structured interviews conducted between 2024 and 2026 with migrant workers in remote ($n = 30$) and gig work ($n = 20$) concentrated mainly in the Greater Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal areas. Most participants in this study arrived in Canada following the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, during a period of intensified immigrant admissions.

Participants were recruited through a combination of online advertisements on social media and snowball sampling. Thirty interviews were conducted with remote workers via Zoom with an average duration of 45 min. Twenty in-person interviews were conducted with gig workers, with an average duration of approximately 20 min. Recruitment of gig workers required an adapted 'on-the-spot' approach due to access constraints. Participants were approached in public urban spaces in downtown areas and invited to participate during periods of downtime (e.g., while waiting for orders), as well as through direct consent-based engagement with rideshare drivers during trips (Jamil and Noiseux 2018). These methods consider the centrality of flexibility in the lives of workers and the importance of building connections with different groups. All participants were assigned pseudonyms during transcription, with names selected to preserve cultural specificity while protecting anonymity. Prior to the interview, participants were provided with an informed consent form link, which was reviewed at the start of the interview to ensure understanding and voluntary participation. Upon completion of the interview, participants received a gift card as compensation for their time.

Participants arrived from 20 different countries, with the largest groups from India ($n = 17$) and the United States ($n = 5$). In terms of migration status, most participants held permanent residence ($n = 15$), followed by study permit holders ($n = 12$). A smaller subset ($n = 8$) obtained permanent residence through Express Entry, whereas the majority initially entered Canada through temporary study permits.

The sample included variation in age, gender and employment type. Overall, 26 participants identified as female and 24 as male. Participants were distributed across a range of employment types and were required to engage in either remote or platform work (see Table 1).

Interview data were analysed using a thematically informed approach combining deductive and inductive coding. Deductively, we drew on sensitizing concepts from scholarship on digitally mediated work, migration regimes and mobility studies. Inductively, we developed additional codes capturing recurring patterns in participants' accounts of work, migration trajectories

TABLE 1 | Employment clusters and employment roles.

Employment typology	Work setting	Participant roles
High-credential technical roles	Remote	Software engineer, data scientist, cybersecurity, software tester, sales engineer
Tech-adjacent professional and managerial roles	Remote	Tech consultant, project/program management, account management (SaaS), EdTech professional
Public, non-profit, and institutional work	Remote	Government, non-profit, research, communications
Digital marketing and platform-mediated commercial work	Remote and gig	Digital marketing, digital advertising, digital fundraising, content creation, sales
Platform-based gig and on-demand labour	Gig	Food delivery, rideshare driving, data annotation, house sitting

and everyday experiences. Coding was conducted iteratively in NVivo, with codes refined and reorganized through repeated engagement with the data. The Supporting Information can be accessed in an Open Science Framework repository: <https://osf.io/efpcj>. The broader interview dataset has informed multiple outputs from this research project, each addressing a distinct research question. This manuscript draws on the full interview dataset to present an original analysis of ambiguities in immigrant labour market integration and does not reuse previously published interview quotations or duplicate prior analyses.

Codes captured participants' experiences of remote and gig work, migration pathways and legal status, labour market incorporation, social stratification, mobility and belonging, and future-oriented aspirations. Codes were then synthesized into the spatial, temporal and social ambiguities that structure the findings. The analysis was guided by attention to interactions between digital platforms, immigration systems and labour market institutions, which shaped how patterns of precarity, belonging and constraint were interpreted in the findings.

4 | Findings and Discussion

Participants' accounts of their everyday lives reveal the ambiguous nature of digitally mediated work. Although remote and gig work offer some temporal and spatial autonomy, they also generate uncertainty and blur boundaries between work and everyday life. For migrant workers, these tensions are intensified as experiences of work flexibility intersect with immigration regimes that produce legal temporariness and conditional inclusion in Canada. Digitally mediated work interrupts important mechanisms of social and professional integration that have an outsized impact on immigrants' ability to integrate into local Canadian labour markets. The rapid normalization of remote work following the height of the COVID-19 pandemic transformed migrants' everyday experiences of place and belonging (Ding and Williams 2022). Where earlier arrivals may have experienced settlement through physical workplaces and in-person professional networks, participants who arrived past the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic increasingly entered Canada through digitally mediated labour environments. As a result, forms of

migrant integration traditionally associated with workplace participation, including social connection, professional mentorship and access to 'Canadian experience' become more fragmented and difficult to access.

The growth of Canada's digital economy has reinforced this shift, expanding remote and platform-based employment while reconfiguring how migrants experience work, settlement and belonging. These shifts complicate immigrant settlement trajectories within an immigration system that continues to reward forms of local labour market incorporation and social embeddedness traditionally associated with in-person work.

Immigrant service organizations in Canada are not prepared to provide job-seeking guidance for immigrants in the platform economy, although increasingly more migrants are doing gig work (Clark et al. 2024; Yekta and Huot 2026). The accelerated growth of remote and gig work for migrants in Canada reorganizes labour markets, reshaping everyday spatial practices and altering the affective experience of settlement. For migrants navigating conditional belonging, these shifts intensify spatial, affective and temporal ambiguity. In this article, ambiguity refers to the forms of uncertainty and instability that emerge across migrants' work and settlement experiences under conditions of digitally mediated labour and multi-step migration pathways. In the following section, we distinguish between spatial (place and mobility), affective (emotional and relational) and temporal (future-oriented trajectory) dimensions of this ambiguity.

4.1 | Spatial Ambiguity

Digitally mediated work reshapes the spaces in which participants live and work, producing spatial ambiguity in everyday routines and uses of domestic space, as digital infrastructures extend the presence of work into domestic environments. This blurring of spatial boundaries complicated migrants' sense of belonging in Canada. For remote workers in particular, the collapse of spatial boundaries between home and work altered the role of domestic space in everyday life. Luke, a sales tech engineer who works from home pinpoints the tensions that

come out of these spatial arrangements, particularly as it makes integrating into a new country more complicated with limited social exposure:

Moving here can be difficult to make friends and definitely going to the office is helpful for that. Right now it's kind of the blend of the two, we are technically always in our office because we're always at home. So even after you unplug at the end of the day like you don't come home, you just close the laptop and you're home.

Although Luke experiences some frictions from the blending of work and home, for female participants doing remote work, the home becomes a site of overlapping professional and personal demands, blurring the boundaries between domestic and work spaces. The lack of formal boundaries between work and home shifts disciplinary powers to workers. Moving to Canada and unable to find a Canadian job, Carmen kept her Colombian job that has different rules and schedules, and she feels a pressure to balance a 47-h work week with her domestic needs:

Normally I wake up, try to go to the gym, prepare my breakfast, take a shower and start to work. So I know that in Colombia we work until 6 pm, but here it can be 7 pm. I think this is the weakness of the remote job. You don't have contact with the outside. Sometimes I feel like I suffocate because all my space is my desk, the kitchen, my room. (There's no) limits between your home and your office.

Carmen showcases the blurring of the domestic, recreational and professional spaces, all condensed into a single apartment, an experience shared among participants. She has an open work permit through her partner's study permit, which has limited her ability to obtain a job in Canada, deciding to do her Colombian work remotely to make ends meet. The merging of professional and domestic activities increases workers' awareness of their daily spatial arrangements precisely because the reorganization of everyday life has been so profound. In Carmen's case, her inability to obtain a Canadian job requires her to manage competing expectations, including a longer work week, within collapsed work and domestic environments. Sophia, a project manager, stressed that not going to the office complicates her social integration because it limits her social interactions:

I came here alone and I don't think it's easy to make new friends here in Vancouver. So I have my Brazilian friends now, but I miss this contact with people and shared experiences. I think when you work in person, you look at the eyes of someone... sometimes I spend whole days where I don't talk with anyone.

By working from home Sophia is limited to her co-ethnic networks, rather than having the office as a space of social integration. Spatial ambiguity also appeared in participants'

experiences of platform and cloud work. Cloud workers such as Aditi, who offers human resources services on Upwork, described taking advantage of the flexibility of digital platforms to work from multiple locations while maintaining transnational connections:

My sole purpose of working on Upwork was to manage my work life in a manner that I can take care of my house, my kid, as well as my professional life as well. For me my priority is to balance things. With Upwork, the best part is that the job will never be in the office. It is always going to be remote. And I can work from anywhere in the world. Like right now, I'm going to India for two months.

Aditi has managed to make Upwork work for her and her family, but as she says, it may not work for somebody else. The flexibility that cloud work gives her also means an increased reliance on her clients, who might not need her services after the project ends. This creates more pressure for gig workers to build a client base, while also aiming to obtain an income that allows them to sustain their cost of living. It also complicates cloud workers' integration into Canada, given that their client base is global and not localized in the country, and her self-employment limits their access to Canadian social protections associated with employment such as extended health insurance.

Platform workers experience a distinct kind of spatial ambiguity as they must create profit-maximizing strategies beyond the logics dictated by the apps. Rideshare drivers are particularly affected by spatial ambiguity, because the app offers trips that do not take into account the physical realities of the city and the associated costs that drivers must calculate before accepting a ride. Rajan, a rideshare driver in Vancouver, highlights that despite the mismatch between the real and the digitally calculated distance, it can be risky to not accept the rides offered by the app, even if it sends him to the suburbs with little possibilities of a paid return trip:

I have wasted time, you know, going to Abbotsford and I don't get any work if I go there. It's not worth the payment for the long ride because you spend more time and money coming back. If you don't accept the rides they give you, they stop giving you rides. It's like if your boss calls you like hey, you want to work, you say no. (After a few times) He won't call you, he will say this guy is not serious about working. Like even if you have an app, it's like the app is the boss.

Spatial ambiguity therefore reflects the uneven spatial incorporation of migrants into Canada's labour and integration landscapes, as digitally mediated work enables economic participation while weakening everyday forms of local embeddedness. Local embeddedness is a key factor in migrants' ability to socially integrate into the receiving community. Participants' experiences show that the collapsed boundaries between home and work limit their ability to expand their social networks, creating cascading effects that increase their social and economic precarity.

4.2 | Affective Ambiguity

As spatial boundaries between home and work collapse, participants also experience heightened affective ambiguity in their relationships to work, family and place. For migrants, this reconfiguration extends beyond the home, reshaping expectations of availability and emotional responsiveness across both local and transnational relationships. For example, Vani, an immigrant from India working on digital skills training, shares that her family abroad has heightened expectations of her availability:

My parents will call all the time expecting me to pick up because they think, “You’re home, you can take a call. You are not working all the time.” It’s hard to maintain the boundaries around yourself when you’re working at home.

In this case, the spatial convergence of work and home reshapes transnational family dynamics across space, making it more difficult for migrants to maintain boundaries between professional obligations in Canada and expectations of availability from relatives abroad, particularly for women. Digitally mediated work environments intensify this tension by rendering migrants simultaneously present in multiple social spaces, complicating efforts to establish boundaries and routines associated with settlement in Canada. However, participants also described moments where the flexibility of remote work enabled new forms of transnational connection with family abroad. Becca shared that being able to call her family in the United Kingdom during work hours was one of the main benefits of working remotely, as it reduced the difficulties of coordinating communication across time zones while still being able to fulfil her work duties:

Today for example, I was able to call my mum at 10:00 in the morning my time, 6:00 PM her time, because she’d been out. It’s nice to be able to fit that into my work and work an extra hour in the evening, because of the time difference like I can’t call my mum after work and I do really miss that.

Remote work enables participants to remain embedded within everyday family relations across borders, complicating assumptions that migration produces clear spatial separations between ‘home’ in the country of origin and a new ‘home’ in the host country. These contrasting experiences illustrate how remote work produces affective ambiguity by simultaneously expanding opportunities for transnational connection while complicating the boundaries that structure everyday social life. Affective ambiguity also emerged in participants’ relationships with colleagues and employers. Remote workers were cognizant of the challenges that remote work had for their career advancement, which relies on social interaction and mentorship. Those with positive experiences identified that their feelings of belonging to their work teams were directly related to both individual managerial efforts and company cultures, especially when working remotely.

Rakesh, a software engineer in Vancouver, shares that his manager initiated social Friday hours over Zoom, making him feel more connected to the small Canadian company he worked for.

When the company was sold to a private equity firm, the change in culture made him look for another job in the industry:

You would kind of get inculcated into that idea (taking care of our people) and everybody just kind of expected that that’s how that would go. With the big cultural shift that came with the private equity firm, a lot of people left even though they weren’t laid off, they were like, it’s not fun anymore. We don’t enjoy it anymore. We’re just going to go.

Gig workers, by contrast, did not describe a sense of belonging to any of the companies they conduct deliveries for. Although their work often brought them into contact with customers or passengers, these interactions were fleeting and mediated by platforms. Some participants described feeling increasingly dehumanized as platforms introduced new practices such as no-contact deliveries. Ron, a refugee from Morocco, shared this feeling after a year of doing food delivery in Montreal:

If I’m just putting (the order) down and you’re just not looking at me, then I don’t look you in the eye. I’m not really showing you, okay, this is what I did for you. It might as well be a robot showing up, putting your food in there. There’s a difference between having that conversation, looking at a person in the eye.

Although these experiences can be shared challenges with Canadian-born remote and gig workers, participants emphasized that the social consequences of digitally mediated work were particularly significant for migrants who are simultaneously attempting to build social networks and integrate into Canadian society. Roscoe, a Vietnamese government worker, shared that he struggles to feel a sense of belonging to Canada:

It’s really hard for me to kind of blend in or at least to feel that I belong here, because many of the times and maybe most of the time when I hang out with my friends, Canadians or not, it’s just ... like I don’t feel like I am part of the conversation, you know? Like there’re a lot of jokes, there’re a lot of references in Canadian culture and I can only get like maybe 10% of it. (...) But in the office sometimes, if I just saw like a cute thing on their desk for example. It’s just those moments ... whereas here (remote work) it’s just like you’re talking to a screen.

Roscoe attributes his lack of integration to a lack of knowledge of Canadian culture, which limits his ability to participate in informal ‘watercooler’ conversation with his coworkers or neighbours because he works remotely and has limited interaction with his coworkers, limiting his ability to engage in small talk over online meetings as he did when he worked from an office setting. Vishal, who works in fundraising, similarly underscores how being a more recent migrant creates new integration challenges stemming from remote employment:

I've never been to an office environment in Canada and it's been almost 2 years that I've been here. And I don't know how much but it reduces some opportunities to socialize and to just get more familiar and comfortable with people around. Especially in winter where it's just very easy to not go out and then days pass by and you haven't stepped out (from your home) at all.

Participants' accounts therefore reveal that digitally mediated labour produces affective ambiguity characterized by both connection with their friends and family abroad and isolation from their new community. Remote work can sustain transnational relationships yet weaken local professional ties, whereas platform work concentrates gig workers in public spaces without creating any durable forms of organizational belonging. These emotional tensions are further intensified by Canada's multi-step migration system, as participants navigate changing immigration statuses and administrative delays that can prevent them from visiting family and friends in their home countries for extended periods. Together, these interlocked dynamics reshape the social infrastructures such as workplaces, colleagues and communities, that traditionally facilitate integration into the receiving country.

4.3 | Temporal Ambiguity

Digitally mediated work generates temporal ambiguity through the compression and dispersion of work across time zones, and personal schedules. Although existing literature emphasizes the 'always-on' nature of digitally mediated work (Dunn 2020; Risi and Pronzato 2021; Shevchuk et al. 2021), our findings show that temporal ambiguity is also structured by Canada's multi-step immigration system. For participants who arrived on temporary visas with hopes for permanent residence, uncertainty about work rhythms is closely tied to uncertainty about future legal status and settlement trajectories. Even among participants who had already obtained permanent residence through multi-step pathways, retrospective accounts reveal how their experiences of ambiguity worsened by being exposed to prolonged periods of conditional belonging. Experiences of temporal ambiguity are further differentiated by immigration status and employment type, producing uneven experiences of precarity across participants (Huot et al. 2022).

There is a clear stratification on the basis of individuals' permanent or temporary immigration status. But the experiences vary across all cases, particularly for those who entered Canada as international students. This was the case of Michelle, who was a lawyer in Colombia and came to Canada on a study permit. She reflected on how her status explicitly restricted access to skilled employment and disrupted professional continuity. This produced temporal uncertainty about how her current labour market positioning would shape her future settlement and mobility within Canada's multi-step immigration regime:

When you're an international student and you have to do full-time studies, you only can work part-time, so that really reduces the jobs you can get. Even if you are qualified, finding a part-time job that's like a skilled

job is impossible. I just became open to working in anything, even though back home I'm a lawyer with a postgraduate degree.

Gig work in particular does not help participants build the forms of professional experience and social networks often associated with long-term labour market integration in Canada, creating uncertainty about future mobility and settlement trajectories. Although pursuing a Master's degree in information sciences, Alexandra worked as an artificial intelligence data annotator to support herself financially during her studies. Her account illustrates how international students navigate trade-offs between immediate economic survival and employment that may contribute to longer-term career development and immigration prospects:

Well, the positions I was hoping to find, like a lot of my experience is digital with like metadata, so that's really what I kind of was comfortable with. When I was going to start the MA program, I knew it was unlikely to get a job in the first term with the school. And so I kind of was looking ahead and I was like, let me just find something that I can do as I'm settling in and I kept getting ads for data annotation. (...) (When you get the job) You have to like to track it by the minute, you have to be like constantly working or else like you're not going to get any money. I have had situations where like there's no projects available. So then it's like a little like inconsistent. Also like the AI thing, there's like a little bit of a moral like, is this okay? You know, but I also need to eat.

For Alexandra, digitally mediated work provided short-term financial stability but offered limited opportunities to build the required Canadian work experience in her intended field of work after finishing her program. This created a form of temporal ambiguity in which present labour decisions were closely tied to uncertain future outcomes, including career advancement, access to 'Canadian experience' and eligibility for permanent residence after graduation. Within Canada's multi-step immigration system, where education and employment are expected to facilitate progression towards permanent residence, participants often struggled between work that can contribute to their long-term immigration settlement projects and their immediate financial needs. Alexandra chose to continue in the data annotation job because her pay is considerably higher (starting at CAD\$40 an hour) than entry level positions in her field of study, particularly on-campus library jobs. Participants turn to gig work to navigate the temporal ambiguity created by immigration policies. However, this ambiguity is produced across intersecting institutional realms rather than within a single domain, with constraints in education and employment reinforcing one another. For instance, changes to international study permit regulations permitting up to 40 h of work per week encouraged many international students to rely on gig work, as employers tend to favour candidates with full-time availability. As a result, limited opportunities to gain relevant work experience during studies may delay participants' subsequent integration into the labour market.

Food delivery was the employment option with the lowest barriers to entry for participants with the most limited work permits, and it was framed by participants as a job to take on when all other options were exhausted. Armu, a government assisted refugee, characterized his employment search as yielding no results, which led him to food delivery:

I was looking for a job for a year. I visited job interviews, workshops, career fairs and in-person jobs. But at that time it's too difficult to find a job, even now. So that time I don't have any paths to make money and also help my family. That's when I decided to do food delivery at Uber and DoorDash.

None of the participants envisioned gig work as a long-term career path, as it does not provide any pathways towards career-building. Gig work is seen as a temporary fix to the ambiguities caused by unemployment, in many cases generated by gaps created through immigration policies. For example, Danielle's transition into housesitting after her post-graduation work permit lapsed and impeded her from continuing in her management role at a university in Vancouver, making it hard for her to keep renting her apartment. This example reveals how gig work presents a temporary solution to the temporal ambiguity created by migration policies:

Once it became clear that I was going to be forced to end my employment at the university because my immigration status would expire, I was pretty discouraged. So for example, it's March 2025: I have an open work permit for the next four months and if someone wants to hire me, then they would have to be willing to sponsor me for a work permit and go through that competitive LMIA [Labour Market Impact Assessment] process. Why would they hire me when they could hire someone who's got status?

The moment in which migrants are shifting from one immigration status to a second one or from one job to another job had a clear impact on the success of their careers, as immigration policies are constantly being updated. This can have a multiplicity of effects on the immigration pathways of participants doing multi-step migration. For example, Rakesh graduated from a program in computer science just before the provincial government of British Columbia ended the Technology pathway of the Provincial Nominee Program, delaying his ability to obtain permanent residence:

I got actually really unlucky because that tech stream lasted till October and my job at Amazon began in November. So had I got my job a month earlier, I would have made the cut in the last round. And now that program has been canceled and I haven't really seen anything from the government about that.

Applying for permanent residence takes careful planning and doing it at the wrong time could create additional hurdles for participants to navigate. To try to facilitate the application to

permanent residence, participants such as Claudia attempted to extend their temporary status, by either delaying graduation or enrolling in additional education programs, to try to increase their chances of obtaining permanent residence without risk of rejection or denial:

I didn't apply for PR until last year, when I turned 5 years in Canada. I also wanted to wait because it's an expensive thing to do. I did the Canadian Experience Class and I wasn't sure how much money they were going to ask for, I wanted to make sure I had the funds before applying.

Participants aimed to navigate temporal ambiguity that stems from rapidly changing immigration policies. They turn to other migrants and social media to attempt to estimate how long it might take them to obtain permanent residence and Canadian citizenship. Diya, a health and safety professional from India, shares how understanding others' experiences with this temporal ambiguity is helpful for her to envision her own path:

Sometimes you feel a little calm when you see other people also in the same boat. It takes some of them 6 years, 4 years (to obtain permanent residence), then I'm like, okay, for me it took 2 years, so it's fine, you know? So you may not get it within 3 months, 6 months. It takes time.

Legal temporariness, conditional residence and shifting eligibility criteria shaped participants' opportunities in Canada. Rapidly changing immigration policies often determined whether individuals could access stable employment or remain in the country at all. For those entering Canada on temporary work permits, securing pathways to permanent residence became a central organizing principle of everyday life. Decisions about employment, spatial mobility and professional advancement were frequently made with immigration timelines in mind.

These dynamics produced not only legal uncertainty but also forms of temporal ambiguity that shaped how migrants navigated digitally mediated work. Although gig and remote work offered flexibility and immediate income, they often did little to advance migrants' long-term professional trajectories or immigration prospects, echoing Lam and Triandafyllidou (2021, 2024) findings that gig work frequently fails to function as a stepping stone for career or migration mobility. Participants described living within overlapping timeframes: the short-term rhythms of platform tasks and freelance contracts, the waiting periods embedded in immigration processes and the longer horizon of building a stable life in Canada. The temporality of digitally mediated work characterized by project-based contracts, algorithmically managed shifts and intermittent opportunities often clashed with the structured timelines of immigration pathways that required sustained employment histories, employer sponsorship or specific forms of credential recognition.

As a result, migrants frequently experienced a sense of being suspended between progress and delay. Digitally mediated work could provide the income necessary to remain in Canada in

the present while simultaneously deferring longer-term career mobility. Participants therefore navigate a temporal landscape in which flexibility and uncertainty were tightly intertwined. Digital platforms both connected migrants to income, clients and broader networks, and simultaneously constrained their professional and social integration. This temporal ambiguity is exacerbated by the rapidly changing immigration policies participants navigated as part of Canada's multi-step migration regimes.

5 | Conclusion

This article examines how digitally mediated labour produces spatial, affective and temporal ambiguities in migrants' everyday experiences of work and settlement within Canada's multi-step immigration system. Although gig and remote work may expand access to labour markets, they also complicate processes of incorporation by weakening workplace sociality, fragmenting routines of settlement and intensifying uncertainty around long-term belonging.

Across participants' experiences, ambiguity emerged along spatial, affective and temporal dimensions. Spatially, digitally mediated work allowed some labour to circulate transnationally even as migrants' rights and legal status remained tied to the Canadian nation-state. Affectively, participants described being digitally connected to employers, clients and their broader social networks while often experiencing isolation from local professional communities and limited opportunities for integration within the Canadian labour market. Temporally, the mismatch between immigration policies, education and the labour market timelines produced a sense of suspended progress.

These intersecting forms of ambiguity positioned migrant workers in structurally liminal positions within Canada's labour and immigration regimes. Digitally mediated work provides crucial economic flexibility and a means of sustaining livelihoods during periods of immigration transition. At the same time, it frequently reproduced forms of professional stagnation, delaying access to stable employment pathways that align with immigration requirements and long-term career aspirations. Rather than representing a straightforward pathway to mobility, digitally mediated work often functions as a short-term tool to navigate uncertainty.

Migrants were not passive within these conditions. They actively developed strategies to manage ambiguity, including carefully calibrating their employment choices in relation to immigration milestones. These practices reveal how migrants attempt to reconcile the flexibility enabled by a growing digital economy with the territorial constraints of immigration regimes.

By foregrounding ambiguity as both a lived experience and a structural condition, this article contributes to scholarship on digital labour and the changing geographies of migrant labour by examining how digitally mediated work intersects with conditional migration pathways to produce new forms of spatial, temporal and affective ambiguity. In the Canadian context, where immigration pathways often rely on stable employment histories and credential recognition, the growth of the digitally mediated work raises important questions about how migrants

build livelihoods and belonging while navigating uncertain legal and professional trajectories. Understanding these dynamics is essential for analysing how digital economies reshape not only work, but also the spatial, affective and temporal aspects of migrant integration and belonging.

The expansion of digitally mediated work is reshaping the conditions under which migrants build livelihoods and futures within territorially bounded immigration systems. Although digitally mediated work enables forms of mobility and income generation that transcend physical workplaces, migrants' rights, protections and pathways to permanence are still anchored to national regulatory frameworks. These overlapping conditions produce a persistent state of ambiguity, in which migrants are simultaneously connected to global labour markets, clients and networks, yet disconnected from local professional communities, long-term career pathways and secure legal status. The resulting ambiguities of spatial, affective and temporal in-betweenness illustrate how digitally mediated work functions not merely as technological mediation but as a structuring condition of liminality within Canada's labour and immigration regimes. Future research could therefore examine how digitally mediated work intersects with the social infrastructures through which migrants sustain themselves and their households transnationally and over time. Attending to these dynamics is particularly important as digitally mediated markets continue to expand alongside immigration systems that rely on conditional and temporary forms of residence. Understanding how migrants navigate these overlapping infrastructures of work, regulation and everyday life will be crucial for analysing the evolving geographies of labour, mobility, and belonging in Canada and beyond.

Acknowledgements

This work is funded by the Canada First Research Excellence Fund, Migrant Integration in the Mid-21st Century: Bridging Divides. This article was initially inspired by the call for papers for the 'Ambiguous Digital Dis/Connection' panel at the Royal Geographical Society's 2026 Annual Conference (London, UK).

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

Data Availability Statement

The data that support the findings of this study are openly available in Ambiguities at <https://osf.io/efpcj>, reference number <https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/EFPCJ>

Endnotes

¹Government of Canada reduces immigration. <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/news/2024/10/government-of-canada-reduces-immigration.html>

References

- Anderson, B. 2010. "Migration, Immigration Controls and the Fashioning of Precarious Workers." *Work, Employment and Society* 24, no. 2: 300–317. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017010362141>.
- Banerjee, R., and L. Lam. 2024. "Paths to Permanence: Permit Categories and Earnings Trajectories of Workers in Canada's International Mobility

- Program.” *Canadian Public Policy* 50, no. S1: 143–160. <https://doi.org/10.3138/cpp.2023-062>.
- Berg, J. M. Furrer, E. Harmon, U. Rani, and M. S. Silberman. 2018. *Digital Labour Platforms and the Future of Work: Towards Decent Work in the Online World*. ILO.
- Brown, K., L. Bradley, H. Lingard K. Townsend, and S. Ling. 2011. “Labouring for Leisure? Achieving Work-Life Balance Through Compressed Working Weeks.” *Annals of Leisure Research* 14, no. 1: 43–59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/11745398.2011.575046>.
- Cervantes-Macias, M. E. 2026. “Uneven Development in the Platform Economy: Stratified Immigration Policies and Uneven Access to Transnational Social Protections in North America.” *Digital Geography and Society* 10: 100164. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.diggeo.2026.100164>.
- Clark, N., G. Yurdakul C. Hilario, et al. 2024. “Resettlement, Employment, and Mental Health Among Syrian Refugee Men in Canada: An Intersectional Study Using Photovoice.” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 21, no. 12: 1600. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph21121600>.
- Cockayne, D. 2021. “The Feminist Economic Geographies of Working From Home and “Digital by Default” in Canada Before, During, and After COVID-19.” *Canadian Geographies/Géographies Canadiennes* 65, no. 4: 499–511. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.12681>.
- Colbert, A. N. Yee, and G. George. 2016. “The Digital Workforce and the Workplace of the Future.” *Academy of Management Journal* 59, no. 3: 731–739. <https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2016.4003>.
- Daskalaki, M., C. L. Butler, and J. Petrovic. 2016. “Somewhere In-Between: Narratives of Place, Identity, and Translocal Work.” *Journal of Management Inquiry* 25, no. 2: 184–198. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1056492615592181>.
- De Loryn, B. 2022. “Not Necessarily a Place: How Mobile Transnational Online Workers (Digital Nomads) Construct and Experience ‘home’.” *Global Networks* 22, no. 1: 103–118. <https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12333>.
- Ding, R. Y., and A. M. Williams. 2022. “Places of Paid Work and Unpaid Work: Caregiving and Work-From-Home During COVID-19.” *Canadian Geographies/Géographies Canadiennes* 66, no. 1: 156–171. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.12740>.
- Dreher, N., and A. Triandafyllidou. 2025. “Understanding Digital Nomadism: A Three-Level Framework for Migration Studies.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 51, no. 19: 4801–4820. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2025.2517353>.
- Dubal, V. 2019. “An Uber Ambivalence: Employee Status, Worker Perspectives, & Regulation in the Gig Economy.” SSRN Scholarly Paper No. 3488009. Social Science Research Network. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3488009>.
- Duggan, J., U. Sherman R. Carbery, and A. McDonnell. 2022. “Boundaryless Careers and Algorithmic Constraints in the Gig Economy.” *International Journal of Human Resource Management* 33, no. 22: 4468–4498. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2021.1953565>.
- Dunn, M. 2020. “Making Gigs Work: Digital Platforms, Job Quality and Worker Motivations.” *New Technology, Work and Employment* 35, no. 2: 232–249. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ntwe.12167>.
- Gray, P. C. 2022. ““The Same Tools Work Everywhere” Organizing Gig Workers With Foodsters United.” *Labour* 90: 41–84. <https://doi.org/10.52975/lt.2022v90.003>.
- Howson, K., F. Ferrari F. Ustek-Spilda, et al. 2022. “Driving the Digital Value Network: Economic Geographies of Global Platform Capitalism.” *Global Networks* 22, no. 4: 631–648.
- Huot, S., R. M. Aldrich D. L. Rudman, and M. Stone. 2022. “Picturing Precarity Through Occupational Mapping: Making the (Im)mobilities of Long-Term Unemployment Visible.” *Journal of Occupational Science* 29, no. 4: 529–544. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14427591.2020.1821244>.
- Huot, S., B. Dodson, and D. L. Rudman. 2014. “Negotiating Belonging Following Migration: Exploring the Relationship Between Place and Identity in Francophone Minority Communities.” *Canadian Geographies/Géographies Canadiennes* 58: 329–340.
- Jackson, S., and S. Huot. 2025. “Working From (a New) Home: Tensions Faced by Remote Working Immigrants in Canada.” *Societies* 15, no. 10: 271. <https://doi.org/10.3390/soc15100271>.
- Jamil, R., and Y. Noiseux. 2018. “Shake that Moneymaker: Insights From Montreal’s Uber Drivers.” *Revue Interventions Économiques/Papers in Political Economy* 60. <https://doi.org/10.4000/interventionseconomiques.4139>.
- Karki, K. K. 2026. “Merit, Migration, and Marginalization: Exploring the Skilled Migration Paradox Through the Lived Experiences of Racialized Immigrants in Canada.” *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 1–29.
- Kim, P., S. Sawyer, and M. Dunn. 2025. “Gender and Careers in Platform-Mediated Work: A Longitudinal Study of Online Freelancers.” *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 9, no. 7: 1–31. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3757606>.
- Könönen, J. 2019. “Becoming a ‘Labour Migrant’: Immigration Regulations as a Frame of Reference for Migrant Employment.” *Work, Employment and Society* 33, no. 5: 777–793. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017019835>.
- Ku, J., R. Bhuyan I. Sakamoto D. Jeyapal, and L. Fang. 2019. ““Canadian Experience” Discourse and Anti-Racialism in a “Post-Racial” Society.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42, no. 2: 291–310. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2018.1432872>.
- Lam, L., and A. Triandafyllidou. 2021. “An Unlikely Stepping Stone? Exploring How Platform Work Shapes Newcomer Migrant Integration.” *Transitions: Journal of Transient Migration* 5, no. 1: 11–29. https://doi.org/10.1386/tjtm_00029_1.
- Lam, L., and A. Triandafyllidou. 2024. “Road to Nowhere or to Somewhere? Migrant Pathways in Platform Work in Canada.” *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 56, no. 4: 1150–1169. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X221090248>.
- Lee, Y. 2023. “After a Global Platform Leaves: Understanding the Heterogeneity of Gig Workers Through Capital Mobility.” *Critical Sociology* 49, no. 1: 23–37. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08969205211055912>.
- Maury, O. 2022. “Punctuated Temporalities: Temporal Borders in Student-Migrants’ Everyday Lives.” *Current Sociology* 70, no. 1: 100–117. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392120936315>.
- Newlands, G. 2024. ““This Isn’t Forever for Me’: Perceived Employability and Migrant Gig Work in Norway and Sweden.” *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 56, no. 4: 1262–1279. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X221083021>.
- Park, K., P. Hall N. Scott, and G. Kwan. 2026. “Food Warriors: App-Based Delivery on Electric Micromobilities.” *Mobilities* 21, no. 1: 171–197. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2025.2532399>.
- Pratt, G. 2012. *Families apart: Migrant Mothers and the Conflicts of Labor and Love*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Pries, L. 2013. “Ambiguities of Global and Transnational Collective Identities.” *Global Networks* 13, no. 1: 22–40. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2012.00368.x>.
- Pulignano, V., D. Grimshaw M. Domecka, and L. Vermeerbergen. 2024. “Why Does Unpaid Labour Vary Among Digital Labour Platforms? Exploring Socio-Technical Platform Regimes of Worker Autonomy.” *Human Relations* 77, no. 9: 1243–1271. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00187267231179901>.
- Rainoldi, M., A. Ladkin, and D. Buhalis. 2024. “Blending Work and Leisure: A Future Digital Worker Hybrid Lifestyle Perspective.” *Annals of Leisure Research* 27, no. 2: 215–235. <https://doi.org/10.1080/11745398.2022.2070513>.
- Ramos, R., and S. P. Gonçalves. 2026. “Digital Bridges and Social Ties: Middling Migrants’ Telework Experiences Across the Covid-19 Pandemic.” *Social Inclusion* 14: 12069. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.12069>.

- Rani, U., and M. Furrer. 2021. "Digital Labour Platforms and New Forms of Flexible Work in Developing Countries: Algorithmic Management of Work and Workers." *Competition & Change* 25, no. 2: 212–236. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1024529420905187>.
- Razavi Yekta, A., and S. Huot. 2026. "Outpaced by Platforms: How Employment Services for Immigrants Struggle to Keep Pace." *Public Management Review* 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14719037.2026.2675690>.
- Risi, E., and R. Pronzato. 2021. "Smart Working is Not So Smart: Always-On Lives and the Dark Side of Platformisation." *Work Organisation, Labour & Globalisation* 15, no. 1: 107–125. <https://doi.org/10.13169/workorglaboglob.15.1.0107>.
- Robertson, S., and A. Runganaikaloo. 2014. "Lives in Limbo: Migration Experiences in Australia's Education–Migration Nexus." *Ethnicities* 14, no. 2: 208–226. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796813504552>.
- Schinnerl, S., and A. Ellermann. 2023. "The Education-Immigration Nexus: Situating Canadian Higher Education as Institutions of Immigrant Recruitment." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 24, no. S3: 599–620. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-023-01043-7>.
- Schmidt, C., H. Bergen, O. Hajjar, et al. 2023. "Navigating Bureaucratic Violence in Canada's Two-Step Immigration System." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 49, no. 19: 4887–4906.
- Scott, S., T. S. Jakobsen J. F. Rye, and M. A. Visser. 2022. "Labour Migration, Precarious Work and Liminality." *Work in the Global Economy* 2, no. 1: 27–45. <https://doi.org/10.1332/273241721X16471891313746>.
- Shevchuk, A., D. Strebkov, and A. Tyulyupo. 2021. "Always on Across Time Zones: Invisible Schedules in the Online Gig Economy." *New Technology, Work and Employment* 36, no. 1: 94–113. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ntwe.12191>.
- Sintas, J. L., L. R. De Francisco, and E. G. Álvarez. 2015. "The Nature of Leisure Revisited." *Journal of Leisure Research* 47, no. 1: 79–101. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00222216.2015.11950352>.
- Stevano, S., A. Mezzadri L. Lombardozzi, and H. Bargawi. 2021. "Hidden Abodes in Plain Sight: The Social Reproduction of Households and Labor in the COVID-19 Pandemic." *Feminist Economics* 27, no. 1–2: 271–287. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2020.1854478>.
- Sun, J., A. Veen, and C. F. Wright. 2025. "'While Strictly Speaking It Is Illegal, You Can Work as Long as You Want': How Platform Facades Enable Gig Workers to Comply With, Bend and Break Migration Rules." *New Technology, Work and Employment* 40, no. 3: 552–563. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ntwe.12332>.
- Trimikliniotis, N., D. Parsanoglou, and V. S. Tsianos. 2016. "Mobile Commons and/in Precarious Spaces: Mapping Migrant Struggles and Social Resistance." *Critical Sociology* 42, no. 7–8: 1035–1049. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920515614983>.
- Vallas, S., and J. B. Schor. 2020. "What Do Platforms Do? Understanding the Gig Economy." *Annual Review of Sociology* 46, no. 1: 273–294. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-121919-054857>.
- Vesala, H., and S. Tuomivaara. 2019. "A Temporary Liminal Space Counteracting the Permanent 'in Between' in Working Life." *Nordic Journal of Working Life Studies* 9, no. 1: 19–38. <https://doi.org/10.18291/njwls.v9i1.113084>.
- Wang, B., Y. Liu J. Qian, and S. K. Parker. 2021. "Achieving Effective Remote Working During the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Work Design Perspective." *Applied Psychology* 70, no. 1: 16–59. <https://doi.org/10.1111/apps.12290>.
- Weidenstedt, L., A. Geissinger B. Leick, and N. Nazeer. 2024. "Betwixt and Between: Triple Liminality and Liminal Agency in the Swedish Gig Economy." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 56, no. 4: 1280–1297. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X231172984>.
- Yekta, A. R., A. McMahon A. Nicholson, and S. Huot. 2025. "Navigating Occupational Balance and Identity in the Platform Economy: Perspectives From Immigrant Workers." *Journal of Occupational Science* 32, no. 1: 84–96. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14427591.2024.2407841>.