



# The Impact of Behavioral and Economic Drivers on Gig Economy Workers

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# Gig Economy



# Gig Economy



freelancing

Upwork



# Gig Economy



freelancing **Upwork**



local tasks **TaskRabbit** **handy**



# Gig Economy

freelancing



local tasks



ride-hailing



delivery



# Gig Economy



freelancing **Upwork**



local tasks **TaskRabbit** **handy**

retail **(allwork)** **snag.work**  
on demand

ride-hailing **lyft** **Uber** **Grab**

delivery **instacart** **DOORDASH**



# Gig Economy

2017

**57.3 Million**  
= 36% of US workforce



# Gig Economy

2017

**57.3 Million**  
= 36% of US workforce

2027

**60%** of work  
+ \$2.7 trillion global GDP

# Who are Gig Workers?

**70%** by choice

**44%** primary income

**~50%** millennials/gen z

# Who are Gig Workers?

**70%** by choice



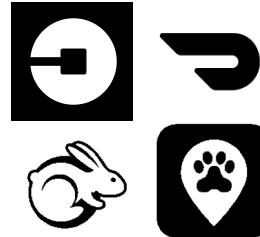
when to work?

**44%** primary income



how long?

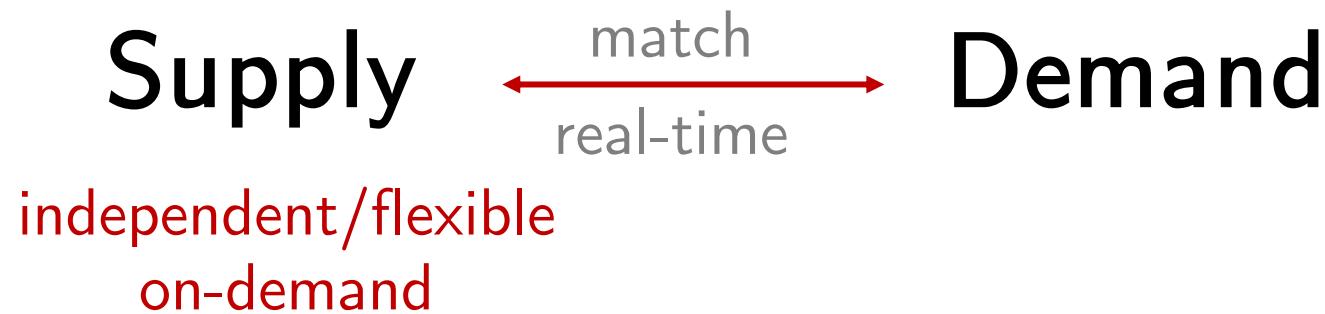
**~50%** millennials/gen z



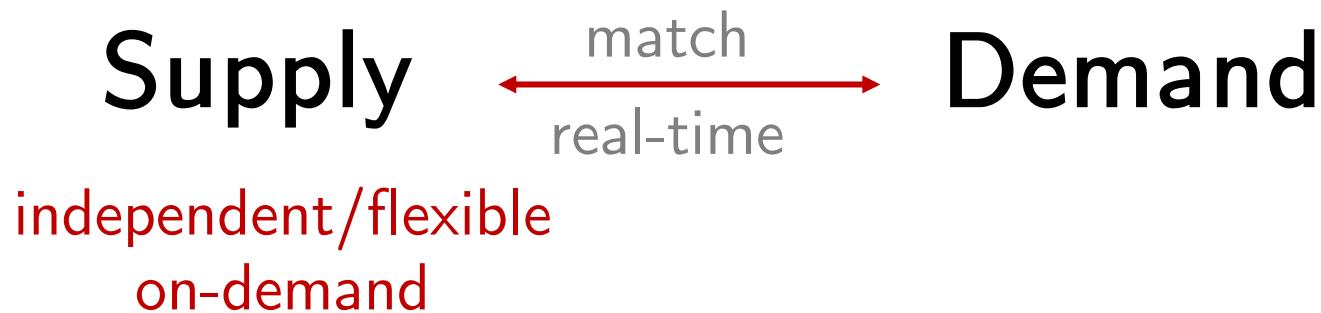
which platforms?

## Workers decide work schedules

# Gig Company



# Gig Company



**Workforce planning is challenging**

# Research Questions

How do gig economy workers  
make labor decisions?

How can the platform influence  
their decisions?

# Research Questions

Econometrics

How do gig economy workers  
make labor decisions?

How can the platform influence  
their decisions?

Simulation

Structural

# Outline

- **What has been done**

- Practice / labor economics / OM / hypotheses

- **Data and empirical strategy**

- Dealing with endogeneity and selection bias

- **Results**

- Impact of incentive and behavioral elements on labor decisions

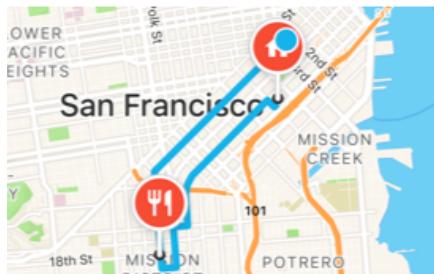
- **Implications**

- Simulation of optimal incentive re-allocation

# In Practice

## Real-time “surge pricing”

Deliver by 6:15pm      Decline



Mission Chinese Food  
\$22.78 subtotal (2 items)

BUSY PAY: +\$1.50

4.1 miles total

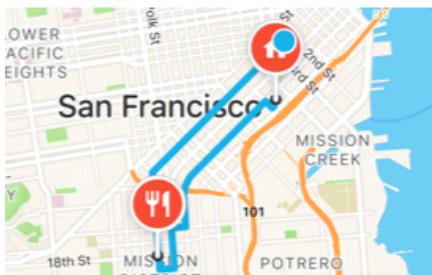
Accept Order



# In Practice

## Real-time “surge pricing”

Deliver by 6:15pm      Decline



4.1 miles total

Accept Order

 DOORDASH

## Pre-announced bonus

5:00 PM–6:00 PM

 +10% (5:00pm - 5:30pm)  
+30% (5:30pm - 6:00pm)

6:00 PM–7:00 PM

 +30% (6:00pm - 6:30pm)  
+40% (6:30pm - 7:00pm)

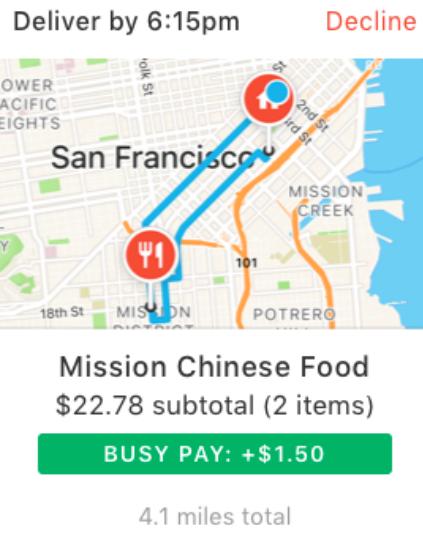
caviar

<https://dasherhelp.doordash.com/busy-pay>

[https://courierhelp.trycaviar.com/customer/en/portal/articles/2821000-peak-hour-pay?b\\_id=9619/](https://courierhelp.trycaviar.com/customer/en/portal/articles/2821000-peak-hour-pay?b_id=9619/)

# In Practice

## Real-time “surge pricing”



DOORDASH

## Pre-announced bonus



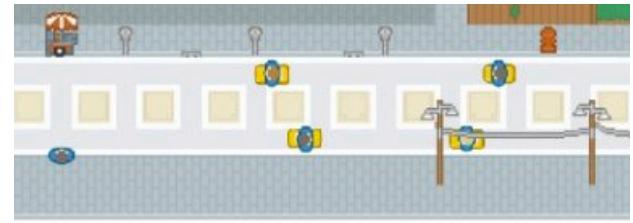
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+30% (6:00pm - 6:30pm)  
+40% (6:30pm - 7:00pm)

caviar

## “You’re so close to your precious target”



How Uber Uses  
Psychological Tricks to  
Push Its Drivers’ Buttons

# Theories of Labor Supply



# Theories of Labor Supply

## Neoclassical

- Maximize lifetime utility
- **Positive** income elasticities

Wage ↑  
Work more

# Theories of Labor Supply

## Neoclassical

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- **Positive** income elasticities

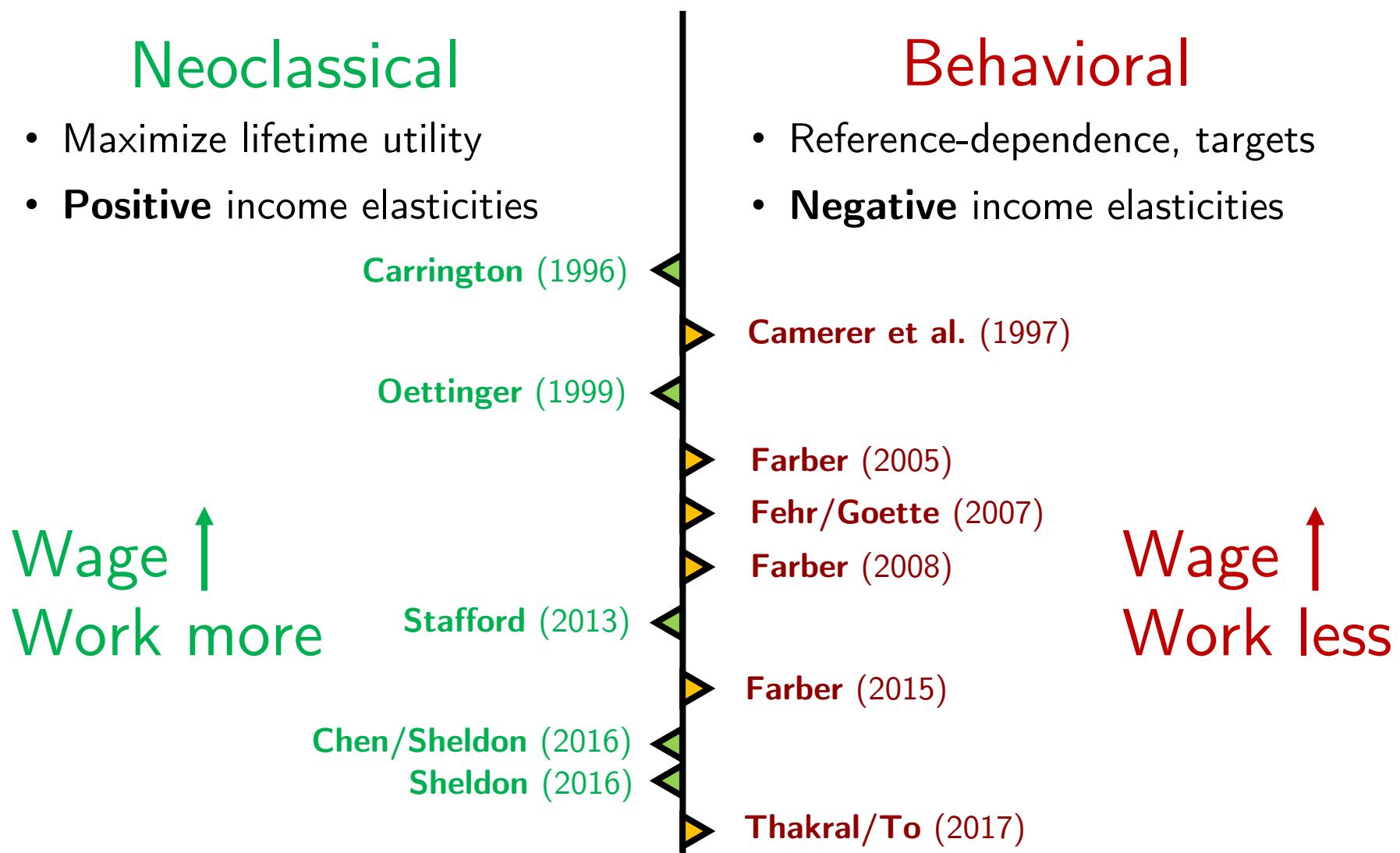
Wage ↑  
Work more

## Behavioral

- Reference-dependence, targets
- **Negative** income elasticities

Wage ↑  
Work less

# Theories of Labor Supply



# Recent Work in OM

## Theoretical

Dong & Ibrahim (2018)  
Taylor (2018)  
Cachon, Daniels & Lobel (2017)  
Hu & Zhou (2017)  
Ibrahim (2017)  
Bimpikis, Candogan & Saban (2017)  
Gurvich, Lariviere & Moreno (2016)  
Tang et al. (2016)  
Banerjee, Riquelme & Johari (2016)  
Benjaafar et al. (2015)  
...

## Empirical

Sun, Wang & Wan (2019)  
Kabra, Belavina & Girotra (2018)  
Karacaoglu, Moreno & Ozkan (2018)  
Chen, Chevalier, Rossi & Oehlsen (2017)  
Cui, Li & Zhang (2017)  
Li, Moreno & Zhang (2016)  
...

## Our Paper

- Behavioral drivers of decisions
- Rich data with complete description of the supply side

# Drivers of Work Decisions

We are interested in three effects

Hourly Wage

Income Target

Time Target

on two work decisions:

Work or not?

If so, how long?

# Drivers of Work Decisions

We are interested in three effects

“ISF”

Hourly Wage

“HSF”

Hours So Far  
/Time Target

Income So Far  
/Income Target

on two work decisions:

Work or not?

If so, how long?

# Drivers of Work Decisions

We are interested in three effects

“ISF”

Hourly Wage

“HSF”

Hours So Far  
/Time Target

**H1:** Positive

Carrington (1996),  
Oettinger (1999), Stafford (2015)

**H2:** Negative

Farber (2008),  
Thakral & To (2017)

**H3:** Negative

Crawford & Meng (2011), Farber (2015),  
Agarwal et al (2015), Brachet et al (2012),  
Collewet & Sauermann (2017)

on two work decisions:

Work or not?

If so, how long?

# Data

## US ride-hailing firm

Drivers are guaranteed an hourly

Base Rate

Promotions

“Offer”

# Data

## US ride-hailing firm

Drivers are guaranteed an hourly Base Rate + Promotions



Shift-level financial incentives and driving activity *for all*

# Data

## US ride-hailing firm

Drivers are guaranteed an hourly Base Rate + Promotions



Shift-level financial incentives and driving activity *for all*

**5.5M**

Observations

**358**

Days

*Oct 2016 – Sep 2017*

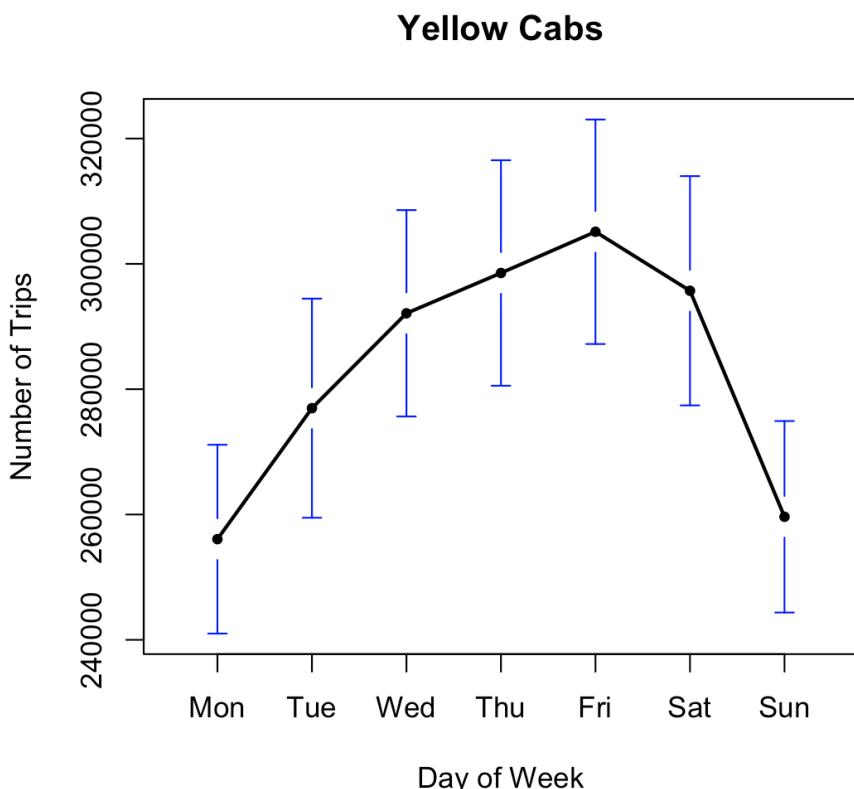
**7,826**

Unique drivers

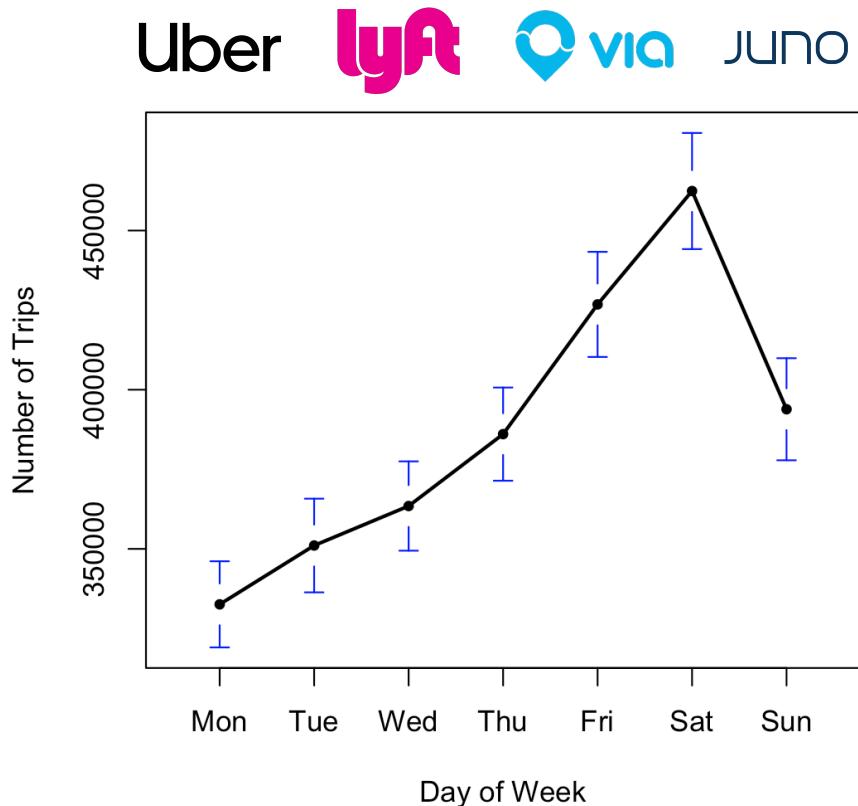
*SUV/Sedan/Van*

# + TLC Data

Trip records collected by Taxi & Limousine Commission



101M yellow cab trips

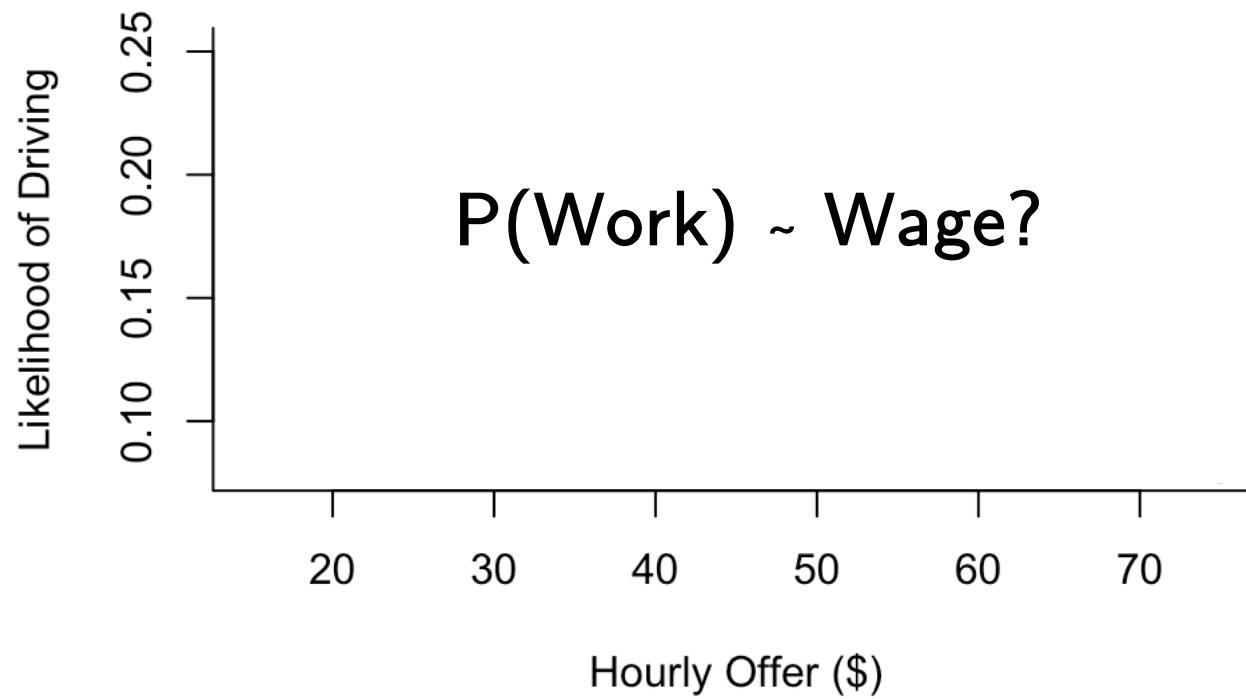


139M ride-hailing trips

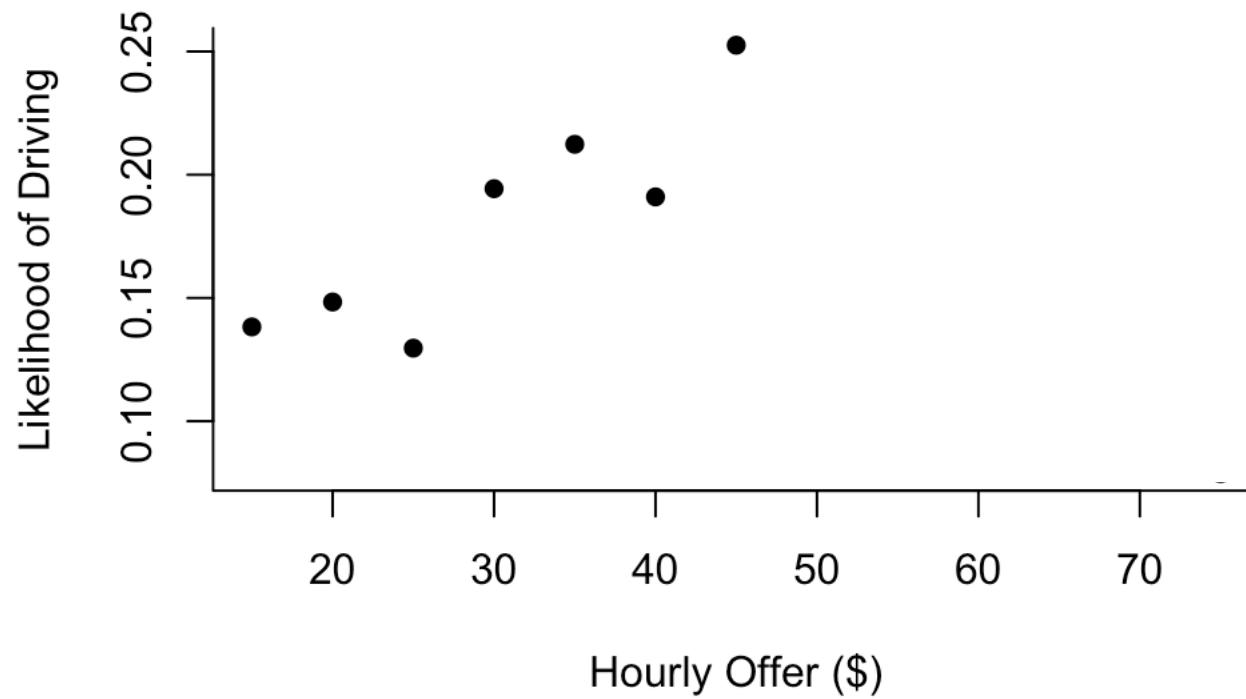


# Empirical Strategy Challenges

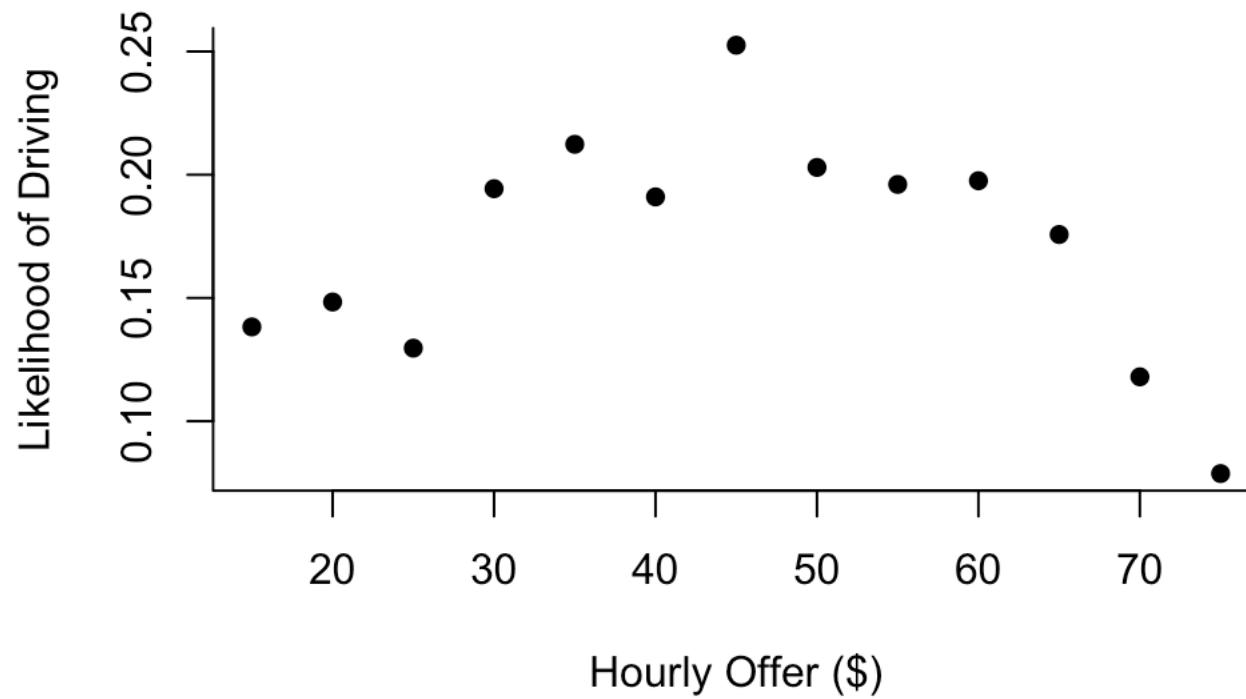
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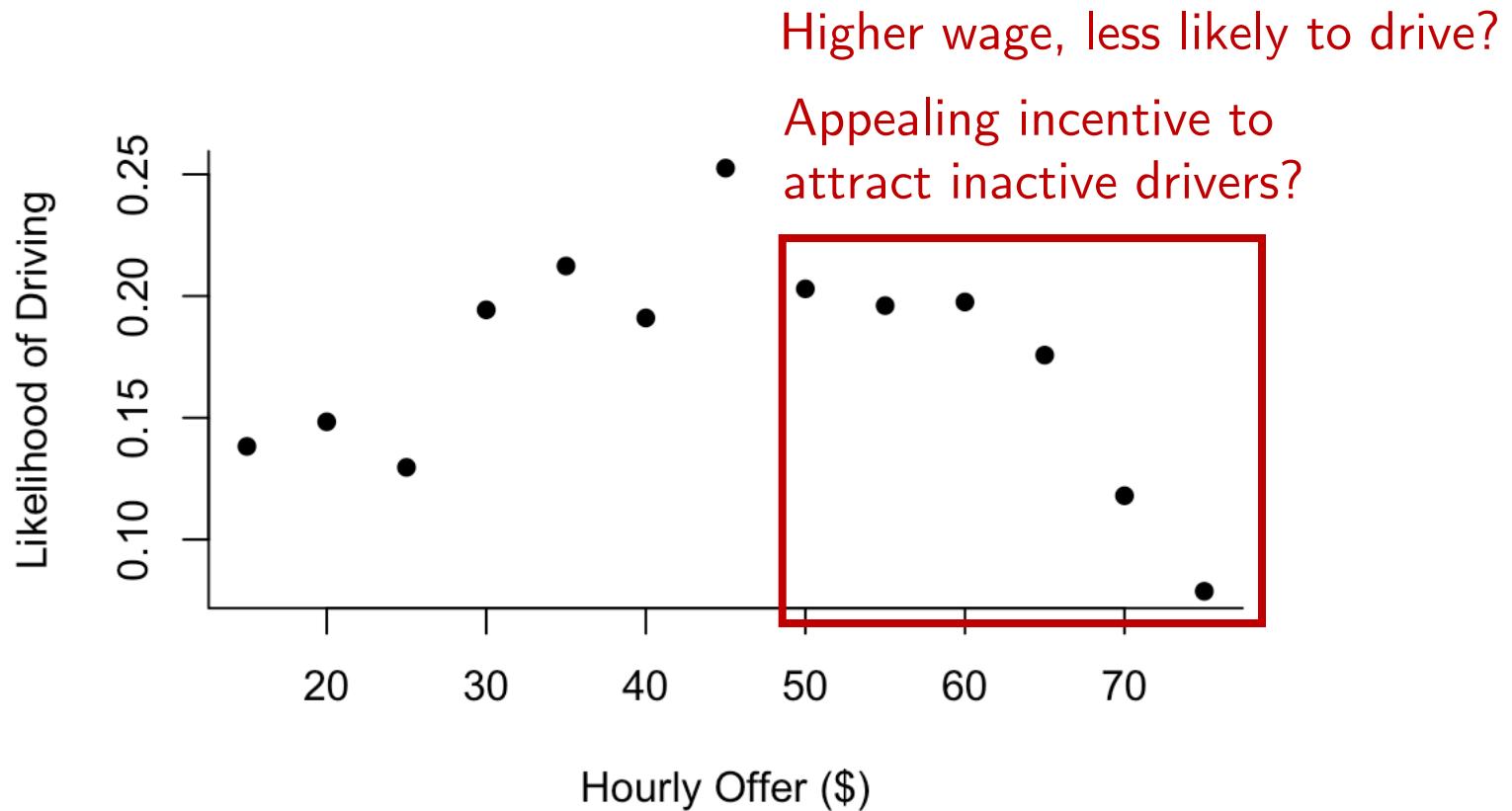
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# Empirical Strategy Challenges

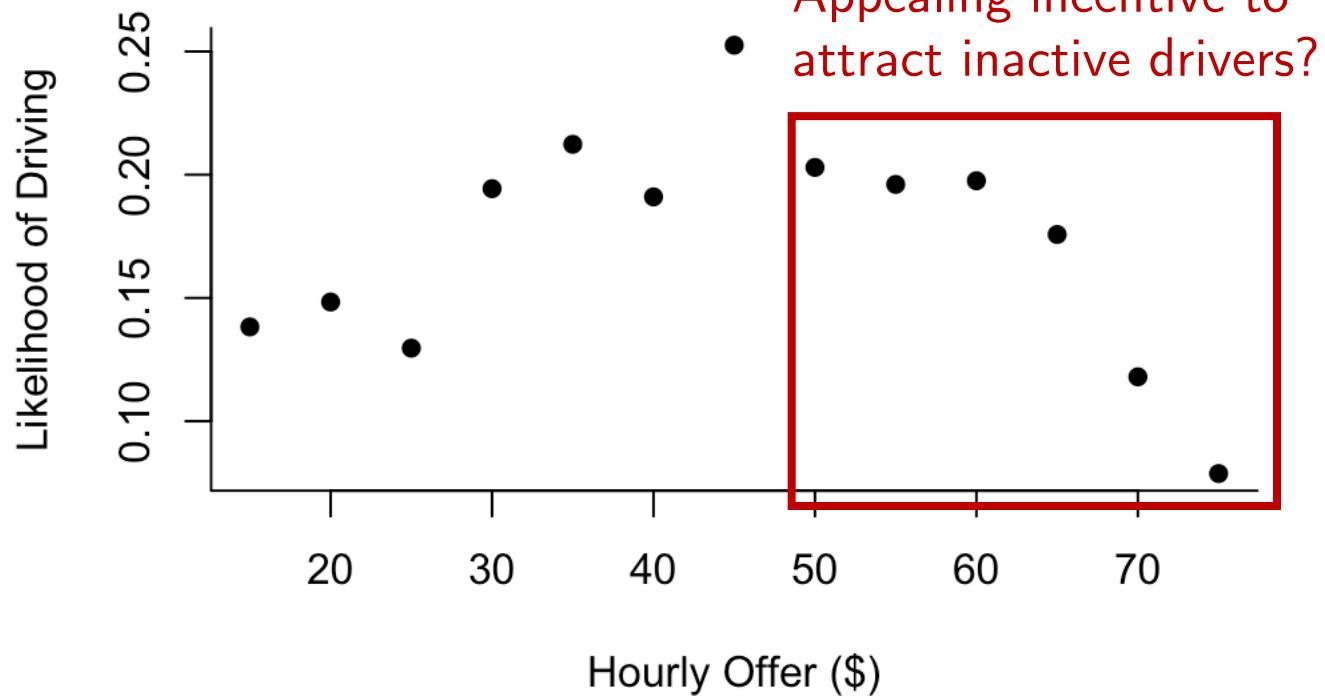


# Empirical Strategy Challenges



# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity



Higher wage, less likely to drive?

Appealing incentive to attract inactive drivers?

# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

Endogenous Variable

Hourly offer

# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

Endogenous Variable

Instrument

Hourly offer

Average offers of “co-workers”

# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

Endogenous Variable

Instrument

Hourly offer

Average offers of “co-workers”

= currently available  
+ made similar decisions  
+ different vehicle type

# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

Endogenous Variable

Instrument

Hourly offer

Average offers of “co-workers”



sedan



# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

Endogenous Variable

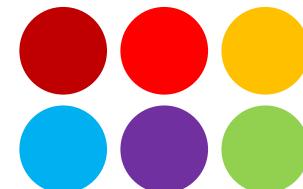
Instrument

Hourly offer

Average offers of “co-workers”



sedan



non-sedan

# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

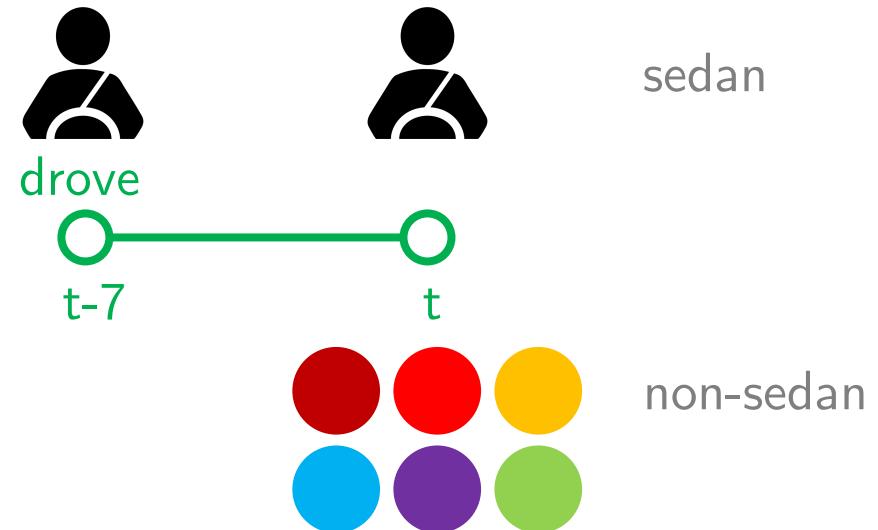
**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

Endogenous Variable

Hourly offer

Instrument

Average offers of “co-workers”



# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

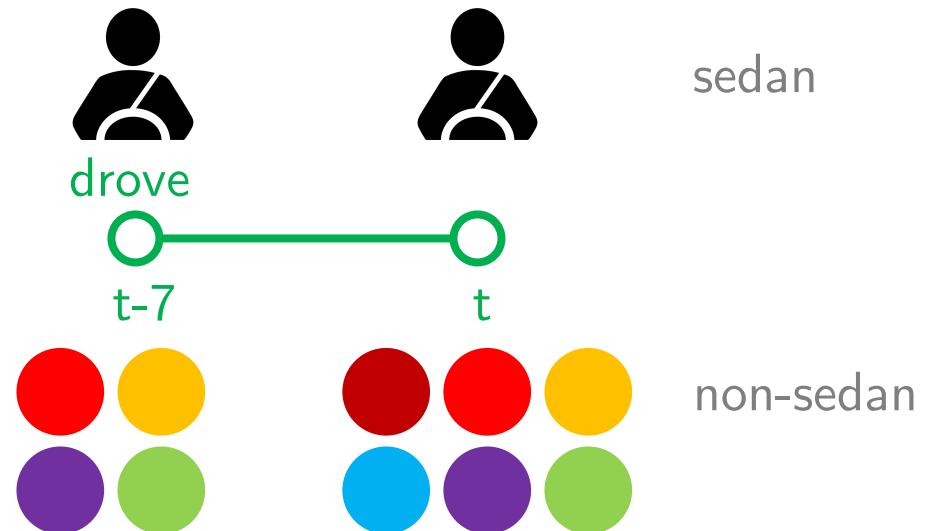
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Instrument

Hourly offer

Average offers of “co-workers”



# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

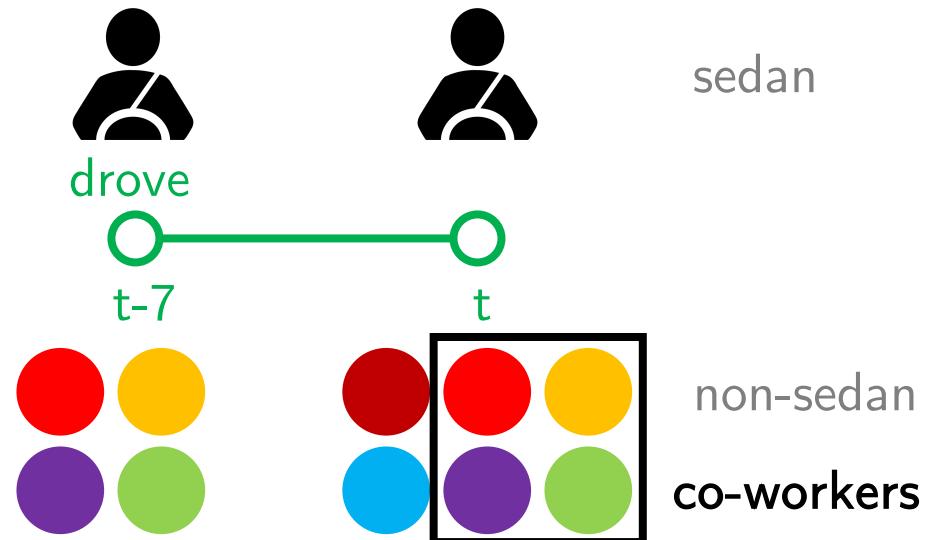
**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

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Instrument

Hourly offer

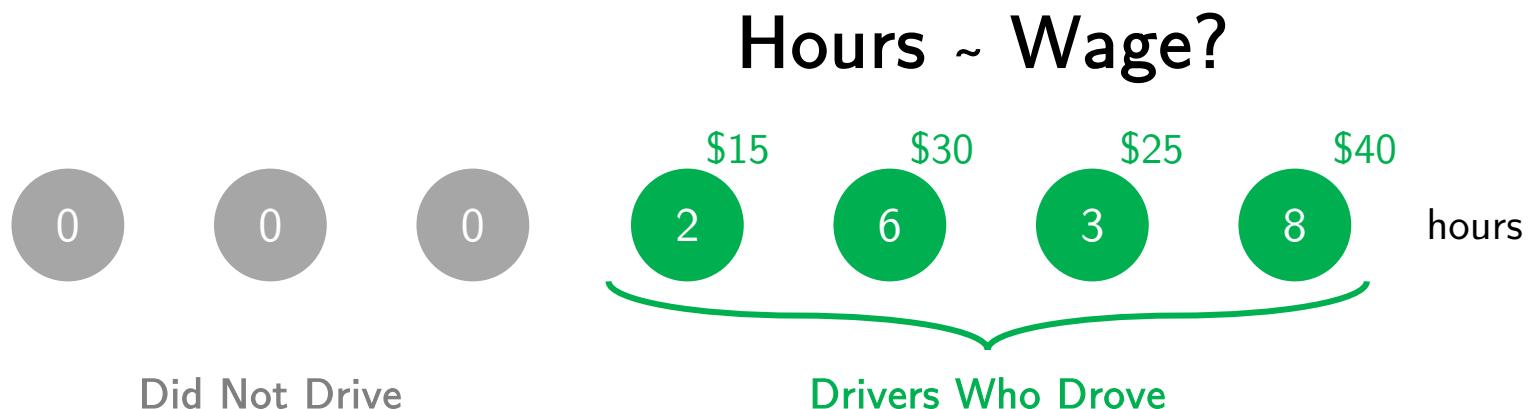
Average offers of “co-workers”



# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

Solution: Instrumental Variables



# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

Solution: Instrumental Variables

Decision to work is **not random**

Hours ~ Wage?



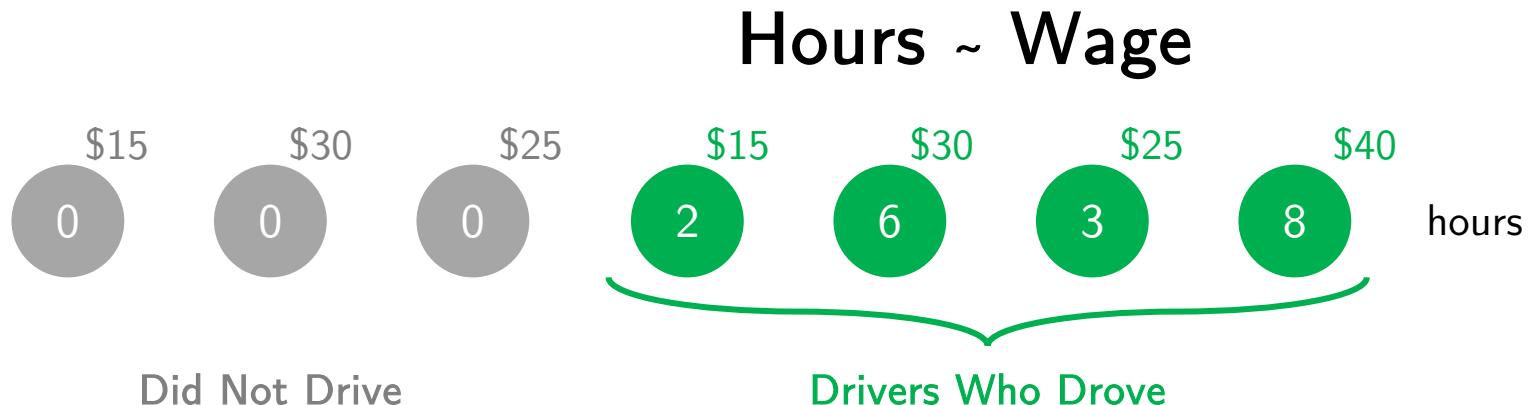
# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

## Selection Bias

**Solution:** Modified Heckman Two-Stage Method  
("Heckit" - Heckman 1979)



# Empirical Strategy

Heckman + IV

1

Work or not?

Control Function Probit:

P(drive) on *Offer*

# Empirical Strategy

Heckman + IV

## 1 Work or not?

Control Function Probit:

$P(\text{drive}) \text{ on } \textit{Offer}$       +  $\text{Controls}_1$

Demand {  
Short-term Habits {  
Long-term Habits {

# Empirical Strategy

Heckman + IV

## 1) Work or not?

Control Function Probit:

$P(\text{drive}) \text{ on } \textit{Offer}$

+  $\text{Controls}_1$



\*Bias corrected with panel jackknife (Hahn & Newey 2004)

# Empirical Strategy

Heckman + IV

## 1 Work or not?

Control Function Probit:

$P(\text{drive}) \text{ on } \textit{Offer} + \text{ISF}$       +  $\text{Controls}_1$

Income So Far

= cumulative income since beginning of day

# Empirical Strategy

Heckman + IV

## 1) Work or not?

Control Function Probit:

$P(\text{drive}) \text{ on } \textit{Offer} + \text{ISF} + \text{HSF} + \text{Controls}_1$

Income So Far

Hours So Far

= cumulative active hours  
since beginning of day

# Empirical Strategy

Heckman + IV

## 1 Work or not?

Control Function Probit:

$P(\text{drive}) \text{ on } \textit{Offer} + \text{ISF} + \text{HSF} + \text{Controls}_1$

Income So Far      Hours So Far

Conditional  
on working

## 2 How long to work?

2SLS with Fixed Effects

# Hours on  $\textit{Earning}$  + ISF + HSF +      + Controls<sub>2</sub>

# Empirical Strategy

Heckman + IV

## 1 Work or not?

Control Function Probit:

$P(\text{drive}) \text{ on } \textit{Offer} + \text{ISF} + \text{HSF} + \text{Controls}_1$

Income So Far      Hours So Far

Conditional  
on working

## 2 How long to work?

2SLS with Fixed Effects

# Hours on  $\textit{Earning} + \text{ISF} + \text{HSF} + \text{IMR} + \text{Controls}_2$

Inverse Mills Ratio  
= correct for selection bias

# Empirical Strategy

Heckman + IV

## 1 Work or not?

CF: Regress hourly offer on IVs. Keep residuals

Probit: Estimate  $P(\text{drive})$

$$P(\text{Drive}_{i,t} = 1 | \mathbf{X}_{i,t}) = \Phi(\alpha_{0,t} + \alpha_w w_{i,t} + \boldsymbol{\alpha} \mathbf{X}_{i,t} + \alpha_e \hat{e}_{i,t})$$

Bias corrected with  
panel jackknife  
(Hahn & Newey 2004)

Inverse Mills Ratio (IMR)

$$\lambda(c_z) = \frac{\phi(c_z)}{1 - \Phi(c_z)}$$

Conditional on  
working

## 2 How long to work?

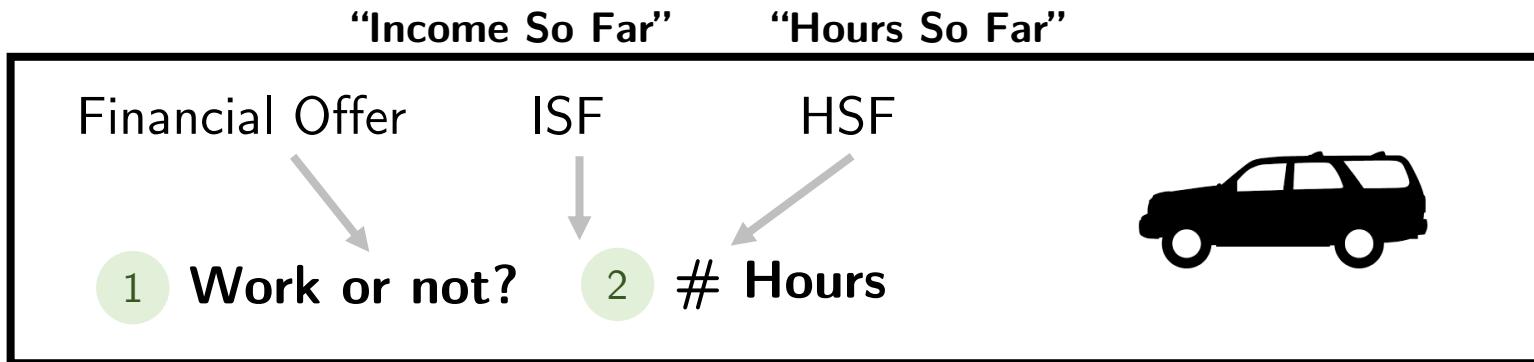
IV: Estimate hourly earning from IVs

OLS: Estimate hours

$$f(\text{Hour}_{i,t}) = \beta_{0,i} + \beta_w w_{i,t} + \boldsymbol{\beta} \mathbf{Z}_{i,t} + \theta \lambda_{i,t} + u_{i,t}$$

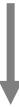
Adjust standard errors to account for the fact that IMR is an estimate  
(and hence random) covariate in the above model.

# Results



**Within-Day**

Midday



Late Night

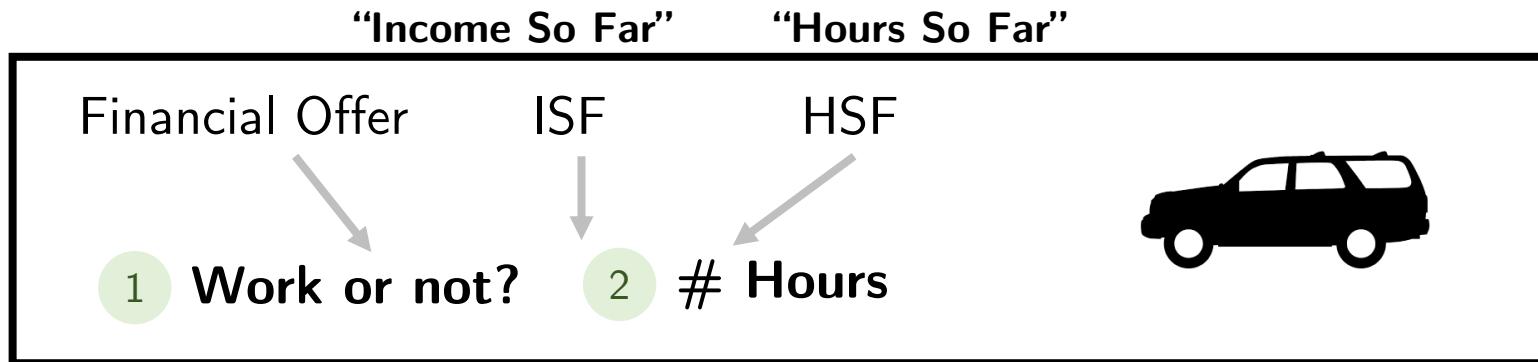
**Across-Days**

Tuesday



Sunday

# Results



Within-Day

Midday

Late Night

Across-Days

Tuesday

Sunday



# Results Within Day

1

Work or not?

SUV	Mean	IV-F	N
Midday	0.343	372.9	124,769
PM-Peak	0.277	345.1	131,910
PM-OPeak	0.182	320.6	130,651
Late Night	0.117	379.0	125,382

# Results Within Day

1

Work or not?

SUV	Mean	IV-F	Offer	N
Midday	0.343	372.9	+	124,769
PM-Peak	0.277	345.1	-	131,910
PM-OPeak	0.182	320.6	+	130,651
Late Night	0.117	379.0	+	125,382

Financial incentives have a generally positive impact.

# Results Within Day

1

## Work or not?

SUV	Mean	IV-F	Offer	ISF	N
Midday	0.343	372.9	+	-	124,769
PM-Peak	0.277	345.1	-	-	131,910
PM-OPeak	0.182	320.6	+	-	130,651
Late Night	0.117	379.0	+	-	125,382

### Income Targeting:

The more you earned,  
the less likely you'll work  
a new shift.

Income targeting has a  
consistently negative  
impact.

# Results Within Day

1

## Work or not?

SUV	Mean	IV-F	Offer	ISF	HSF	N
Midday	0.343	372.9	+	-	+	124,769
PM-Peak	0.277	345.1	-	-	+	131,910
PM-OPeak	0.182	320.6	+	-	+	130,651
Late Night	0.117	379.0	+	-	+	125,382

### Inertia:

The longer you've been active, the more likely you'll work another shift.

Inertia has a **consistently positive impact**.

# Results Within Day

1

2

Work or not?

# Hours

SUV	Mean	IV-F	Offer	ISF	HSF	N	Mean	IV-F	N
Midday	0.343	372.9	+	-	+	124,769	4.987	180.2	45,329
PM-Peak	0.277	345.1	-	-	+	131,910	2.421	58.5	39,592
PM-OPeak	0.182	320.6	+	-	+	130,651	0.731	50.5	26,699
Late Night	0.117	379.0	+	-	+	125,382	1.996	39.91	17,137

# Results Within Day

1

2

Work or not?

# Hours

SUV	Mean	IV-F	Offer	ISF	HSF	N	Mean	IV-F	Earn	ISF	HSF	R <sup>2</sup>	N
Midday	0.343	372.9	+	-	+	124,769	4.987	180.2	+	-	+	0.552	45,329
PM-Peak	0.277	345.1	-	-	+	131,910	2.421	58.5	+	-	+	0.244	39,592
PM-OPeak	0.182	320.6	+	-	+	130,651	0.731	50.5	+	-	+	0.281	26,699
Late Night	0.117	379.0	+	-	+	125,382	1.996	39.91	+	-	+	0.296	17,137

The three effects are consistent in both stages

# **Results Across Days**

# Results Across Days

1 Work or not?	SUV	Mean	IV-F	N
Tuesday	0.409	43.6		28,883
Wednesday	0.418	55.9		21,965
Thursday	0.426	73.4		29,233
Friday	0.412	74.0		20,294
Saturday	0.203	98.1		15,788
Sunday	0.162	82.2		13,025

# Results Across Days

1 Work or not?

	SUV	Mean	IV-F	Offer	ISF	HSF	N
Tuesday	0.409	43.6		+	+	+	28,883
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Friday	0.412	74.0		+	+	+	20,294
Saturday	0.203	98.1		-	-	+	15,788
Sunday	0.162	82.2		-	-	+	13,025

Inertia has consistent positive effect.

Financial incentive and cumulative income switch from positive to negative later on.

# Results Across Days

1 Work or not?

	SUV	Mean	IV-F	Offer	ISF	HSF	N
Tuesday	0.409	43.6	+	+	+	+	28,883
Wednesday	0.418	55.9	+	+	+	+	21,965
Thursday	0.426	73.4	+	+	+	+	29,233
Friday	0.412	74.0	+	+	+	+	20,294
Saturday	0.203	98.1	-	-	-	+	15,788
Sunday	0.162	82.2	-	-	-	+	13,025

2 # Hours

	IV-F	Earn	ISF	HSF	R <sup>2</sup>	N
Tuesday	18.3	-	-	+	0.422	9,482
Wednesday	26.2	-	-	+	0.422	10,120
Thursday	34.6	-	-	+	0.412	9,894
Friday	33.7	+	-	+	0.436	9,283
Saturday	19.1	-	+	-	0.398	4,372
Sunday	15.1	+	+	-	0.390	3,240

# Hours not decided  
at the day level

# Results Summary

*Neoclassical*  
**Financial Incentive**

As day/week proceeds...



encourages working

# Results Summary

As day/week proceeds...

*Neoclassical*  
**Financial Incentive**

encourages working

*Behavioral*  
**Income Target**

discourages working later on

# Results Summary

As day/week proceeds...

*Neoclassical*  
**Financial Incentive**

encourages working

*Behavioral*  
**Income Target**

discourages working later on

*New*  
**Inertia**

encourages working

# Robustness Tests

- Isolating ISF and HSF effect
  - Positive HSF (inertia) effect dominates ISF (targeting) effect.
- Nonlinearity in ISF and HSF
- Instrumenting for ISF and HSF
- Controlling on types of promotions
- Other approaches to sample selection
  - Two-part models: insights stay the same in both parts
  - Dahl's correction: using B-splines instead of IMR
- Looking at granular log-on/log-off/break data
  - Smaller sample of sedan and SUV drivers
  - The longer the previous active session is,  
the longer the current active session is.

# Outline

- What has been done
  - Practice / labor economics / OM / hypotheses
- Data and empirical strategy
  - Dealing with endogeneity and selection bias
- Results
  - Impact of incentive and behavioral elements on labor decisions
- Implications
  - Simulation of optimal incentive re-allocation

# Optimal Targeted Incentive



# Optimal Targeted Incentive



# Optimal Targeted Incentive

Ranking each driver by her  
**minimum work-inducing incentive**

*= how much to trigger working decision*



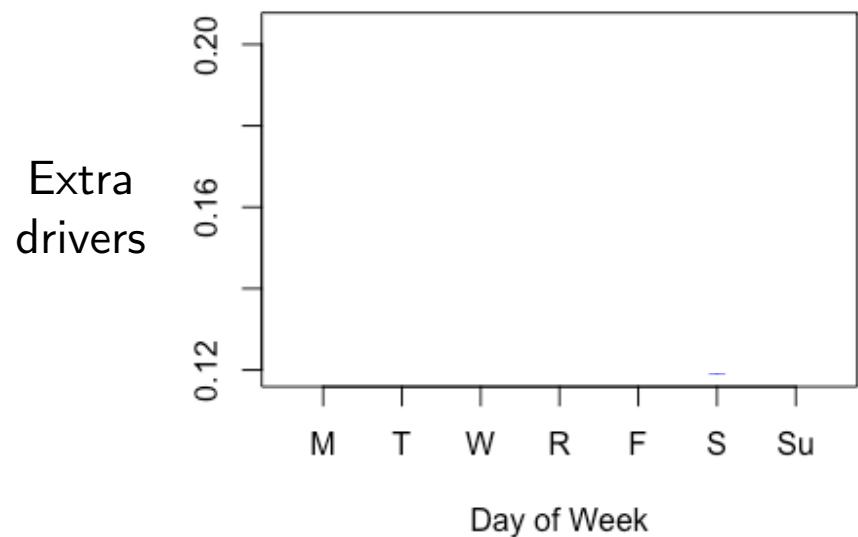
# Reallocating Incentives

Compared to current practice from Jan to Sep 2017 out-of-sample  
(Using data from Oct 2016 to right before the focal date as training)

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Compared to current practice from Jan to Sep 2017 out-of-sample

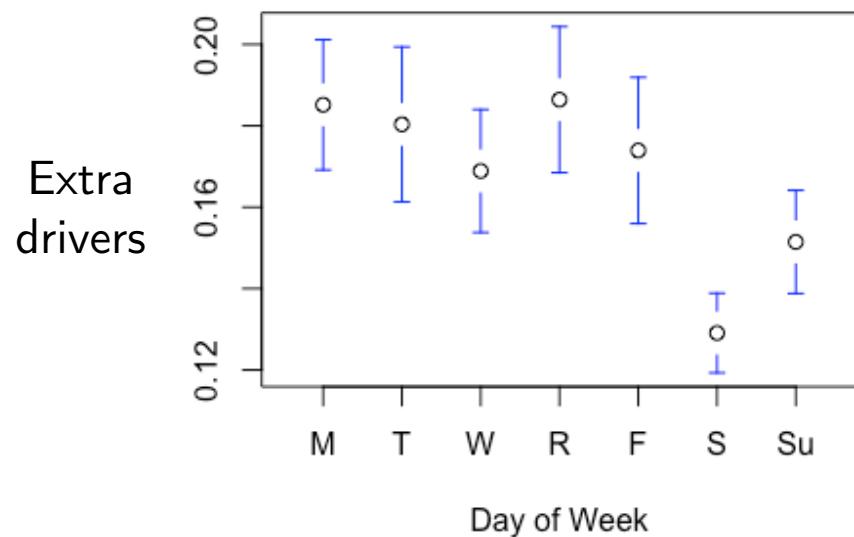
Given the same budget



# Reallocating Incentives

Compared to current practice from Jan to Sep 2017 out-of-sample

Given the same budget



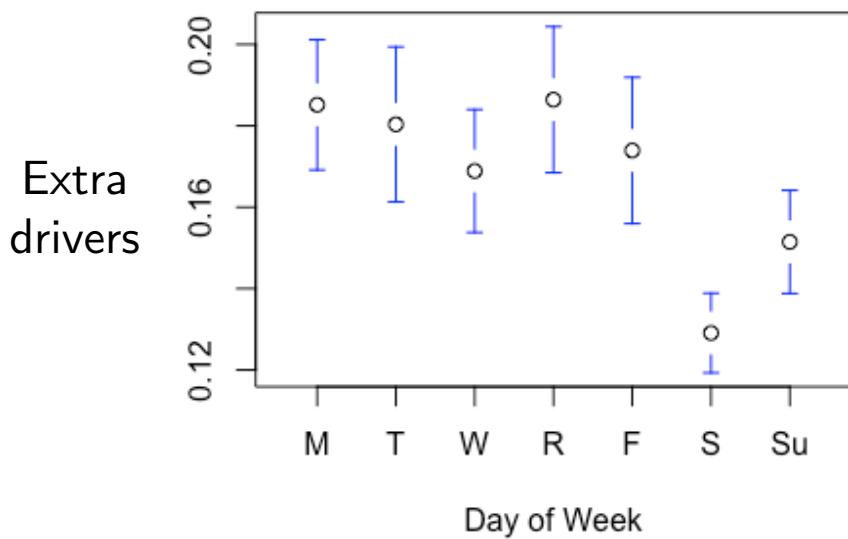
Can recruit **17% more drivers**

Average promo: 1.61x

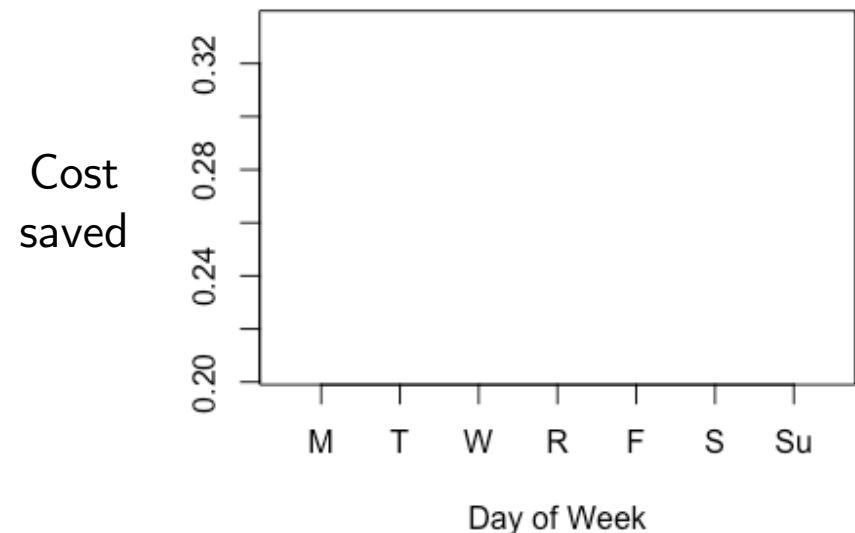
# Reallocating Incentives

Compared to current practice from Jan to Sep 2017 out-of-sample

Given the same budget



Given the same capacity



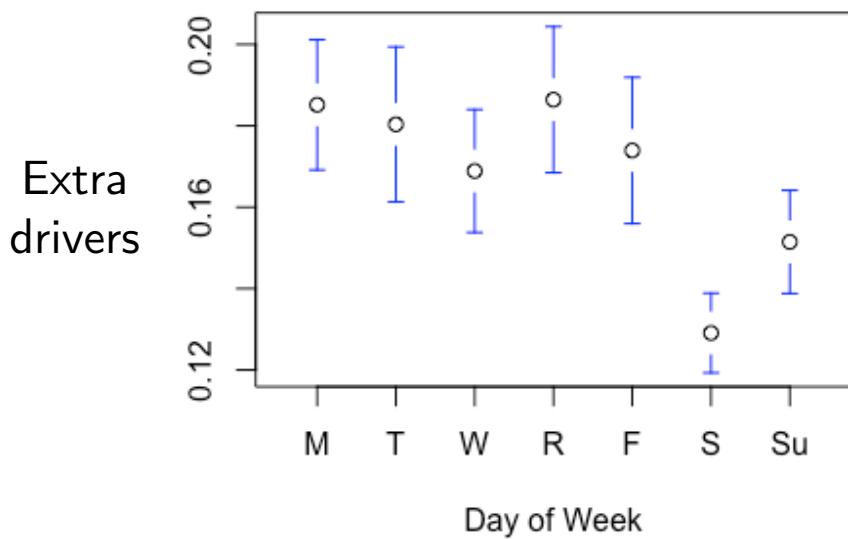
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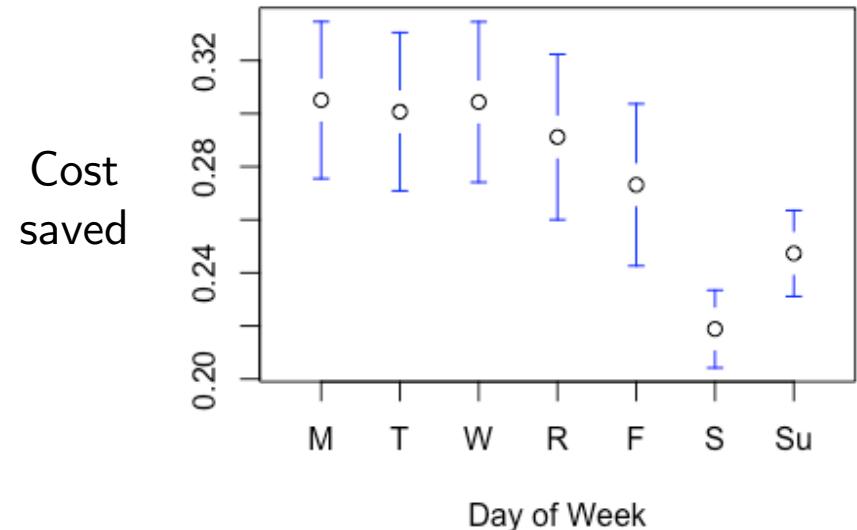
# Reallocating Incentives

Compared to current practice from Jan to Sep 2017 out-of-sample

Given the same budget



Given the same capacity



Can recruit **17% more drivers**  
Average promo: 1.61x

**Costs 28% less** to maintain capacity

# Summary

How do gig economy workers make labor decisions?

## Approach

- Shift-level data from ride-hailing company
- Modified Heckman estimation w/ IVs and fixed effects

## Findings

As day/week proceeds...

*Neoclassical*

Financial Incentive

encourages working

*Behavioral*

Income Target

discourages working later on

*New phenomenon*

Inertia

encourages working

## Implications

- Compared to current practice, our approach can improve service capacity without incurring extra cost or maintain the same capacity at a lower cost

# Appendix

# Results Within Day/Effect Size

1			2		
% Change in P(Work)			Change in Minutes Worked		
+\$10 Offer	+\$10 ISF	+1h HSF			
			+\$10 Earn	+\$10 ISF	+1h HSF

# Results Within Day/Effect Size

1

SUV	+\$10 Offer	+\$10 ISF	+1h HSF
Midday	0.82	-5.73	57.21
PM-Peak	-4.39	-0.57	15.27
PM-OPeak	0.27	-0.36	6.43
Late Night	0.34	-0.22	3.32

2

Change in Minutes Worked	+\$10 Earn	+\$10 ISF	+1h HSF
0.51	-4.87	109.53	
13.64	-0.24	18.96	
1.72	-0.08	1.18	
14.87	-0.11	1.35	

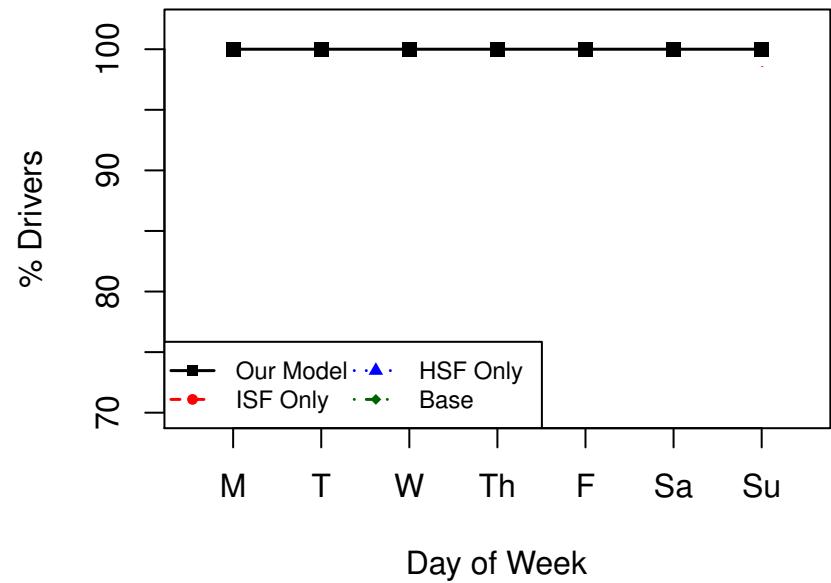
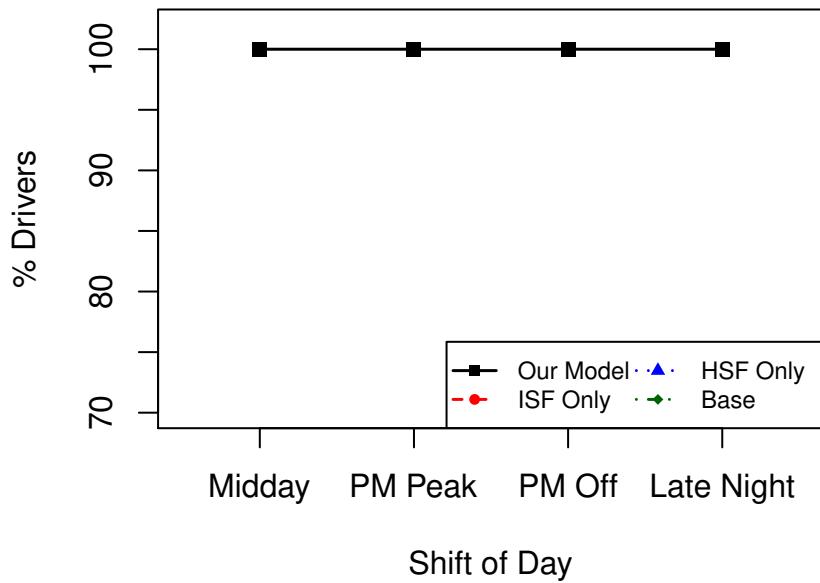
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Late Night	0.34	-0.22	3.32		14.87	-0.11
						109.53
						18.96
						1.18
						1.35

For an average SUV driver during Midday,  
 +\$10 hourly wage → P(work) increases by 1% / extends duration by 30s  
 +\$10 cumulative income → P(work) drops 6% / shortens duration by 5m  
 +1 cumulative hours → P(work) increases by 57% / extends duration by 2h

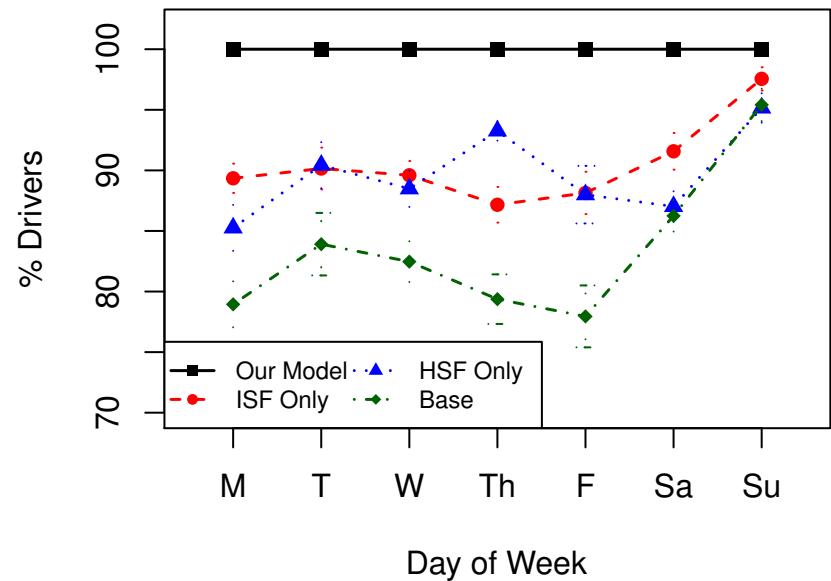
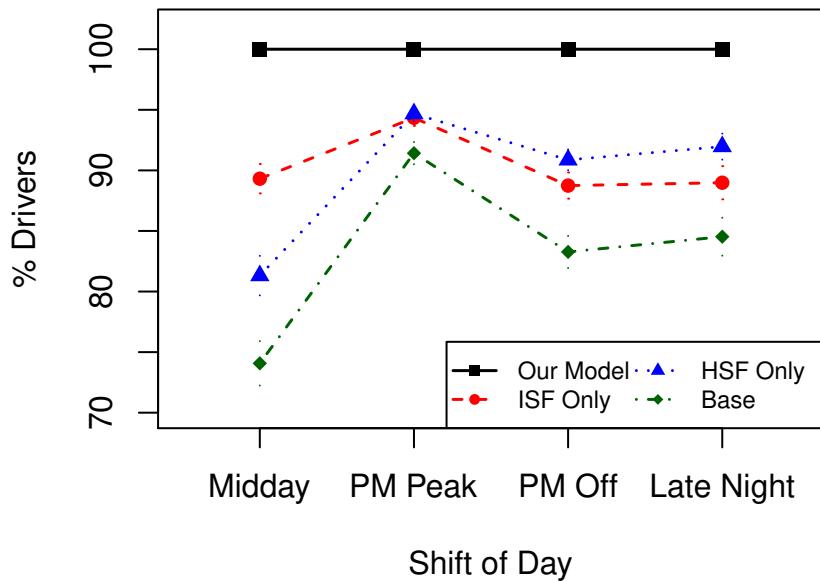
# Ignoring Behavioral Factors

Assuming our model is correct, how many workers the firm would fail to attract if it did not incorporate income targeting and inertia?



# Ignoring Behavioral Factors

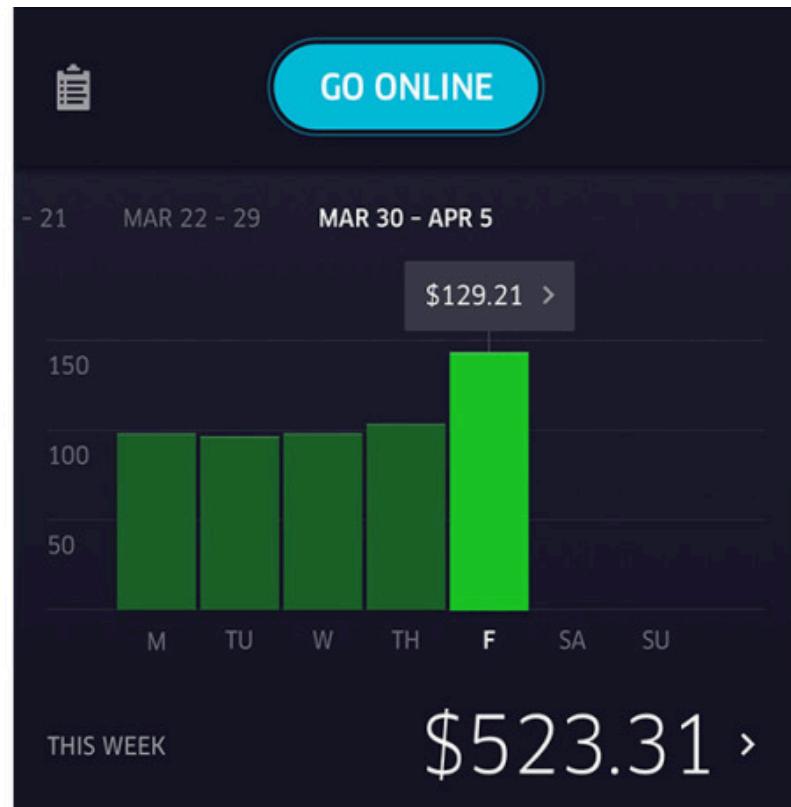
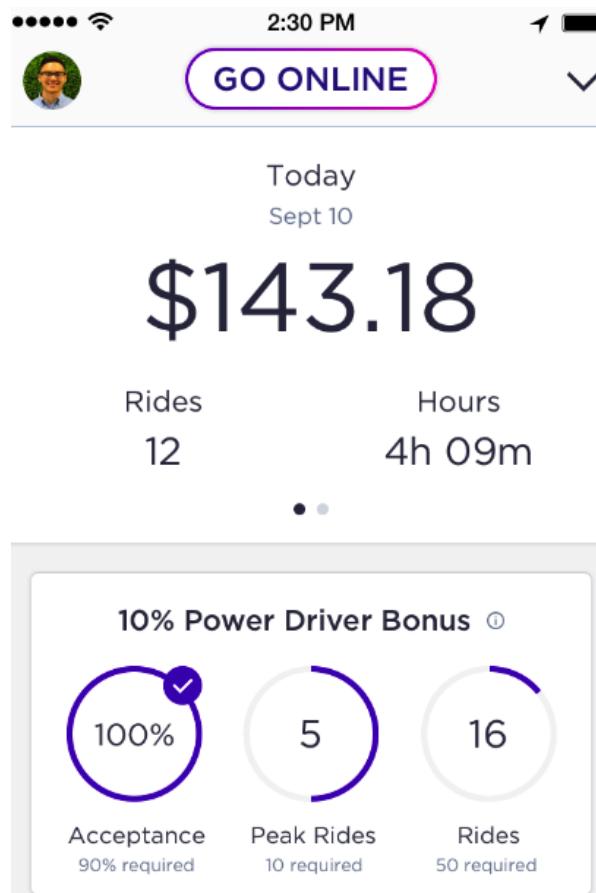
Assuming our model is correct, how many workers the firm would fail to attract if it did not incorporate income targeting and inertia?



**Average loss in capacity:**

*Ignoring:* Income targeting 10.32%, inertia 9.63%, or both 16.70%

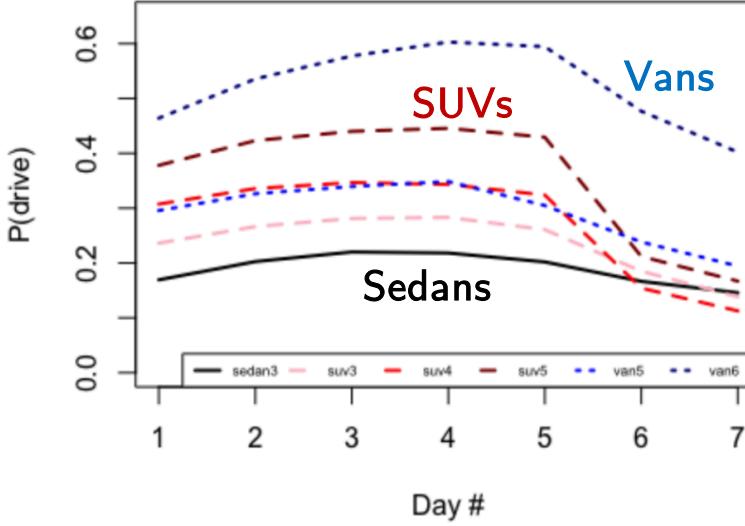
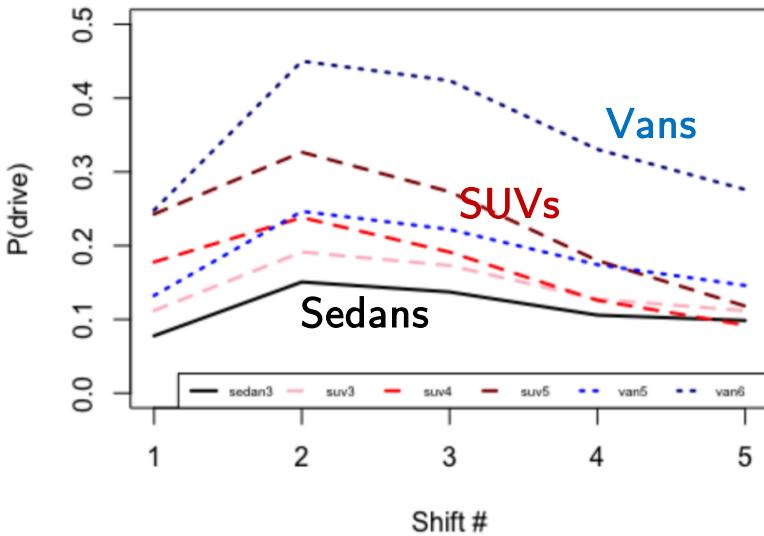
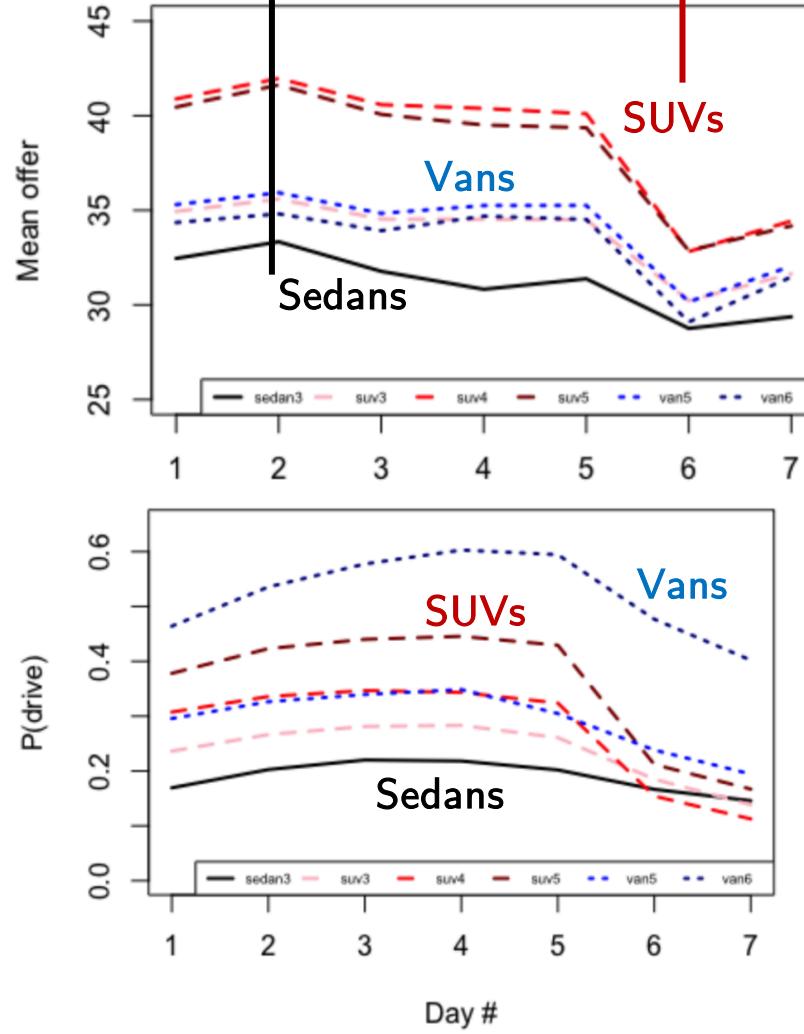
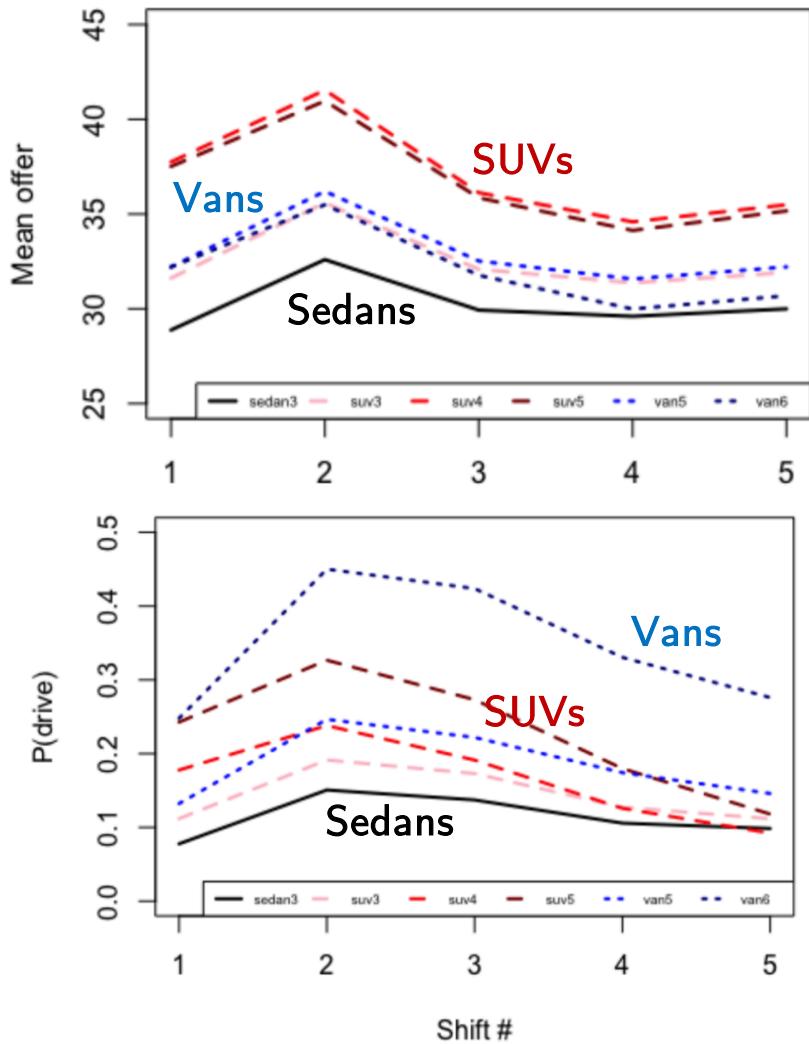
# Driver's View



# Drivers

5.33 hrs/day, 12.65 hrs/wk

4.86 hrs/day, 5.86 hrs/wk



# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

Endogenous Variable

Instrument

Hourly offer

Average offers of “co-skippers”

# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

Endogenous Variable

Instrument

Hourly offer

Average offers of “co-skippers”

Level of inactivity for drivers eligible to work today

last worked  
6+ days ago

last worked  
3-5 days ago

last worked  
2 days ago

last worked  
yesterday

# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

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## Simultaneity

**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

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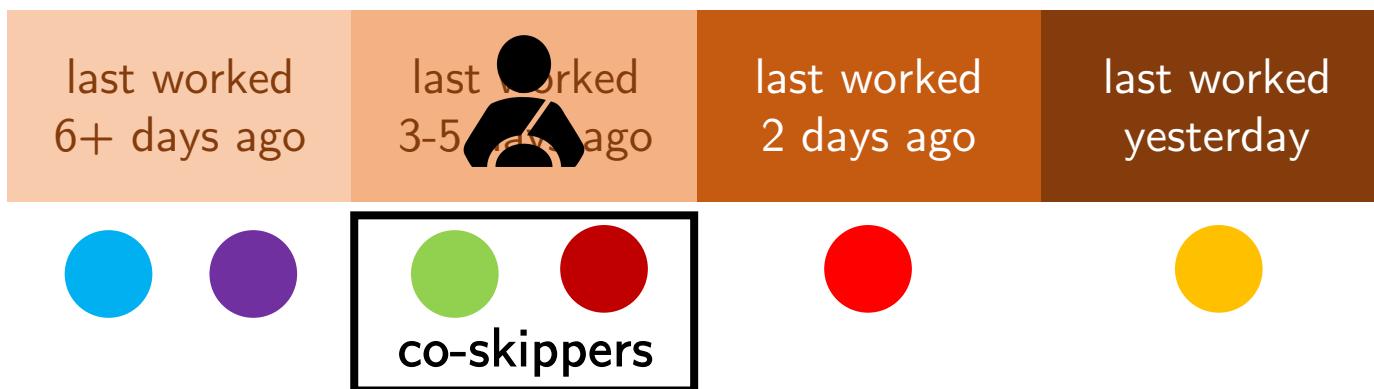
# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

Endogenous Variable	Instrument
Hourly offer	Average offers of “co-skippers”

Level of inactivity for drivers eligible to work today



# Gig Economy x Retail



- **Retail candidates value flexible shift patterns** and shorter work weeks over compensation and benefits.
- Benefits of adopting flexible workforce: **Seasonality, resolving high turnover, matching consumer trend, high quality/fresh perspective**
- Many have already adopted/worked closely with gig companies
  - Delivery business: Walmart x Uber/Lyft, GM x Lyft, Apple x Didi
  - Flexible staffing: IKEA x TaskRabbit, Samsung x Upwork



# Heckman Sample Selection

Suppose that the pattern of missingness (I'll refer to this as censored hereafter) is related to the latent (unobserved) process

$$\mathbf{z}^* = \mathbf{w}\gamma + \mathbf{u}$$

From this process, the researcher can observe

$$\begin{aligned} z_i &= 1 \text{ if } z_i^* > 0 \\ &= 0 \text{ if } z_i^* \leq 0 \end{aligned}$$

or  $z_i = 1$  ( $y_i$  not censored) when

$$u_i \geq -\mathbf{w}_i\gamma$$

The probability of  $y_i$  not censored is

$$\begin{aligned} Pr(u_i \geq -\mathbf{w}_i\gamma) &= 1 - \Phi(-\mathbf{w}_i\gamma) \\ &= \Phi(\mathbf{w}_i\gamma) \end{aligned}$$

if we are willing to assume that  $\mathbf{u} \sim N(\mathbf{0}, \mathbf{I})$ . Note for identification purposes in the Heckman Model we restrict  $Var(u_i) = 1$ . Also note that  $1 - \Phi(-\mathbf{w}_i\gamma) = \Phi(\mathbf{w}_i\gamma)$  by symmetry of the standard normal distribution.

# Heckman Sample Selection

Having constructed a model for censoring, we can construct "amounts" equation as follows. Denoting  $\mathbf{y}$  as the not censored (observed) dependent variable, the censoring model defines what is in the estimation sample as

$$y_i = y_i^* = \mathbf{x}_i\beta + \epsilon_i \text{ observed, if } z_i = 1$$

Finally, the joint distribution of the errors in the selection ( $u_i$ ) and amounts equation ( $\epsilon$ ) is distributed iid as

$$\begin{bmatrix} u_i \\ \epsilon_i \end{bmatrix} \sim Normal \left( \begin{bmatrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} 1 & \rho \\ \rho & \sigma_\epsilon^2 \end{bmatrix} \right)$$

To see how the selection and amounts model are related, consider

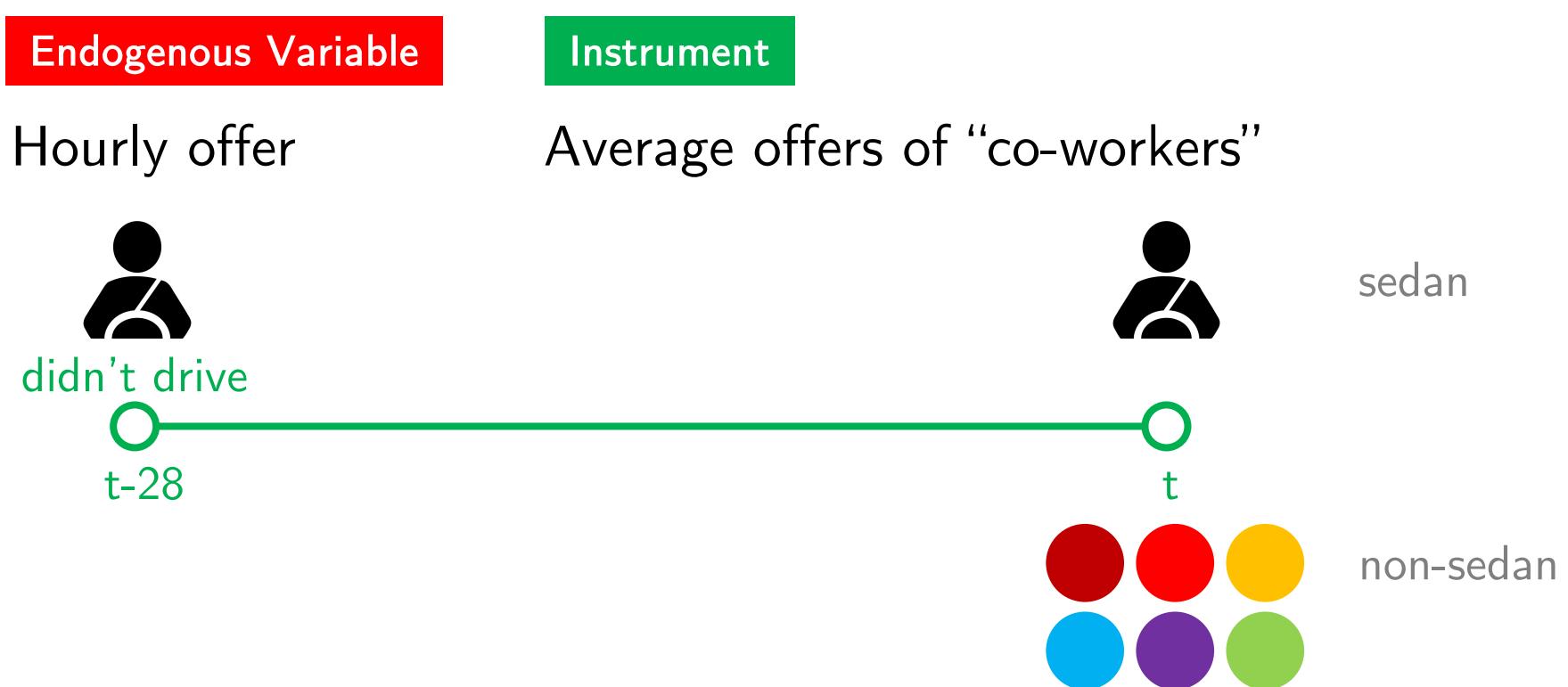
$$\begin{aligned} E(y_i | y_i \text{ observed}) &= E(y_i | z^* > 0) \\ &= E(y_i | u_i > -\mathbf{w}_i\gamma) \\ &= \mathbf{x}_i\beta + E(\epsilon_i | u_i > -\mathbf{w}_i\gamma) \\ &= \mathbf{x}_i\beta + \rho\sigma_\epsilon \frac{\phi(\mathbf{w}_i\gamma)}{\Phi(\mathbf{w}_i\gamma)} \end{aligned}$$

What is immediately apparent is that the conditional mean ( $E(y_i | y_i \text{ observed})$ ) differs from the unconditional mean ( $\mathbf{x}_i\beta$ ) only if  $\rho \neq 0$  since all the other elements in the far right hand term (i.e., the variance of the error in the amounts equation,  $\sigma_\epsilon$ , and the Inverse Mills Ratio,  $\frac{\phi(\mathbf{w}_i\gamma)}{\Phi(\mathbf{w}_i\gamma)}$ ) in the preceding equation are strictly positive. So if the errors in the amounts and selection equations are uncorrelated ( $\rho = 0$ ) we can safely apply ordinary least squares to uncover unbiased estimates for  $\beta$  and can ignore endogenous selection effects and the selection equation portion of the model.

# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

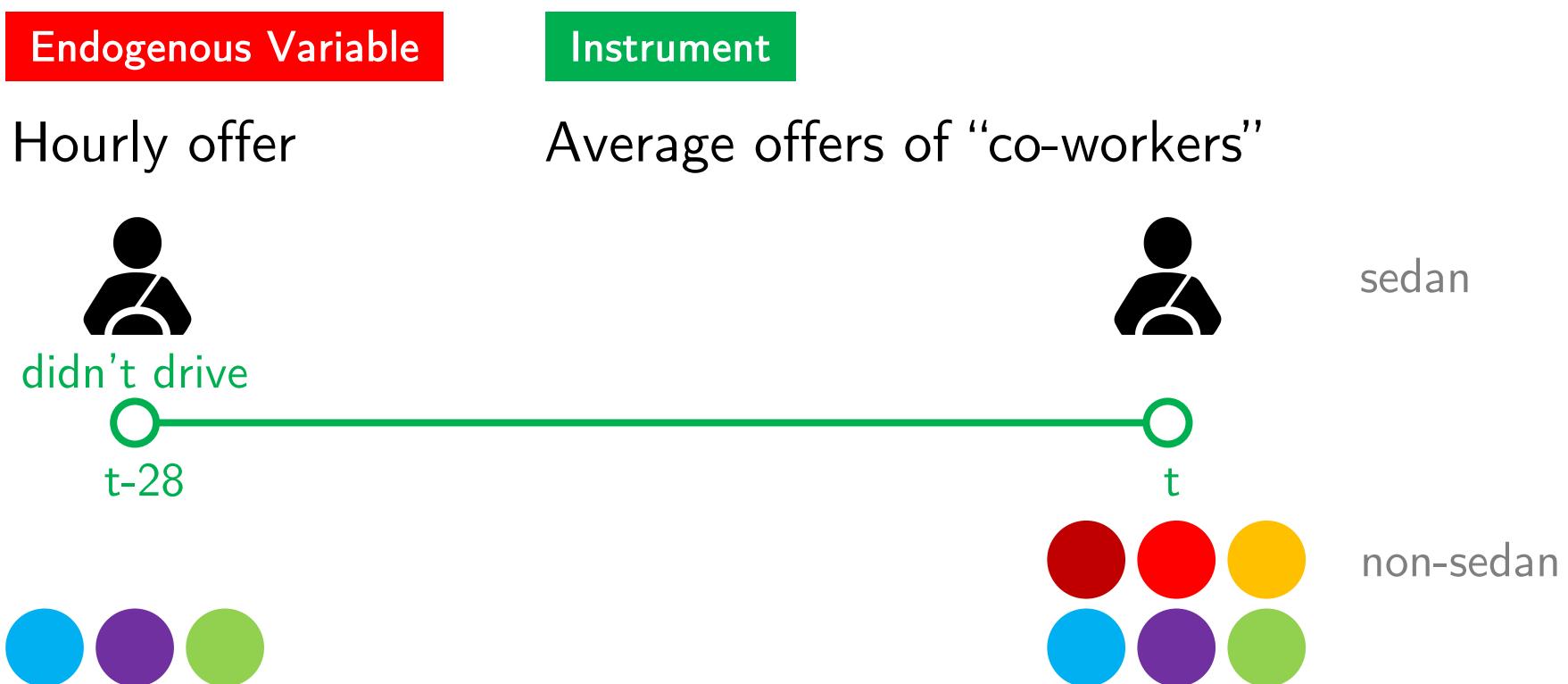
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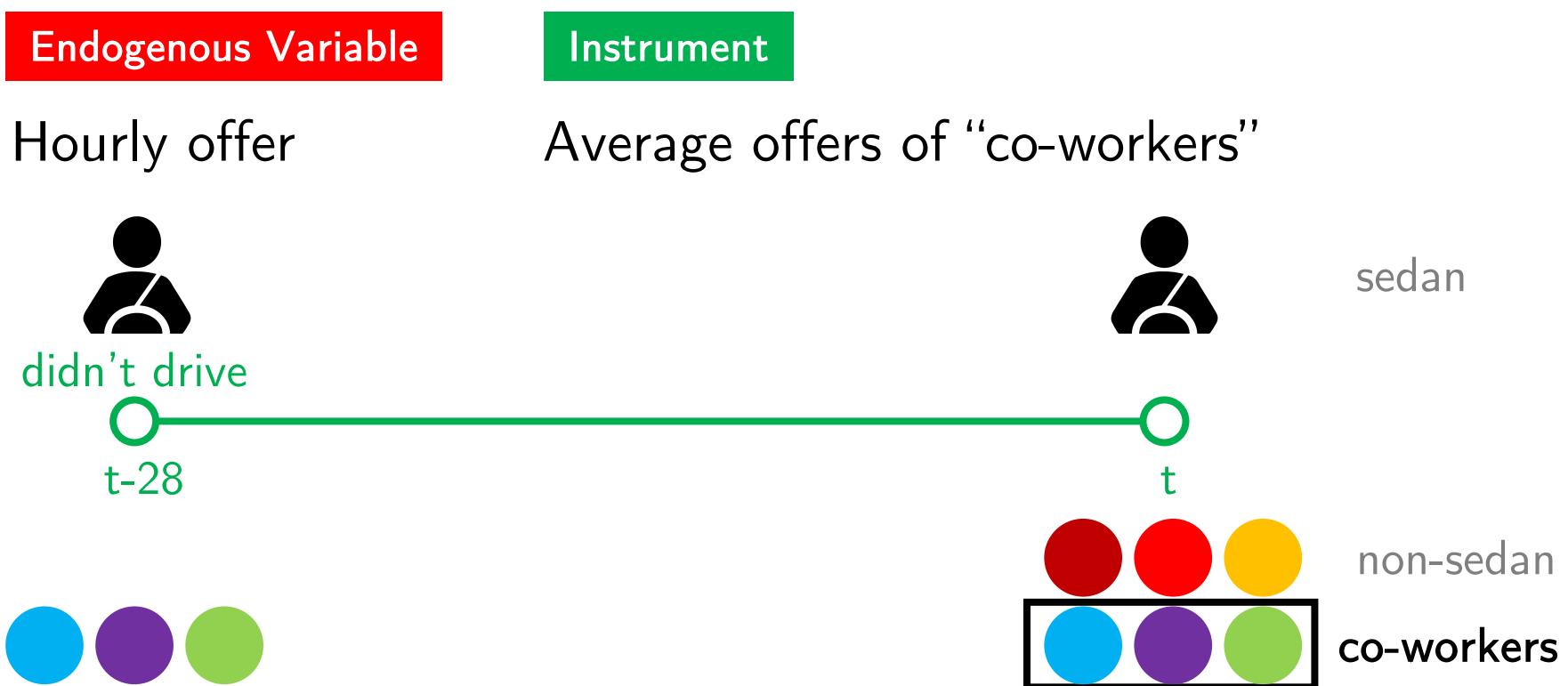
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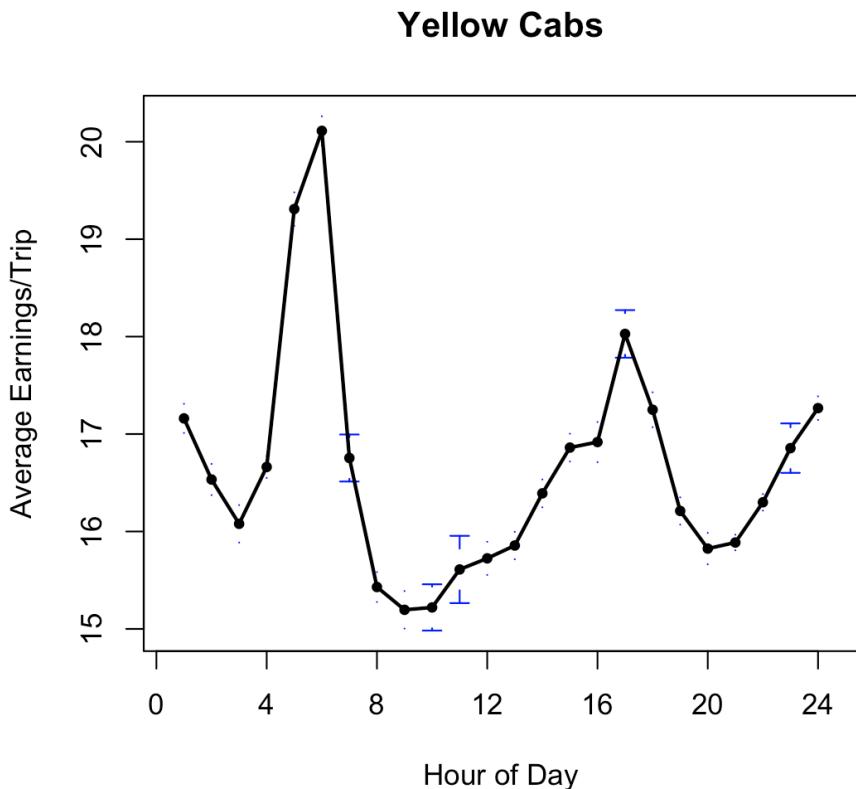
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# TLC Data

Fares/earnings for all yellow cab trips



101M yellow cab trips

