



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

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Park Sinchaisri (Wharton)  
Gad Allon (Wharton), Maxime Cohen (McGill)

# 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?

# Who are Gig Workers?

**70%** by choice

**44%** primary income

**~50%** millennials/gen z

# Who are Gig Workers?

**70%** by choice



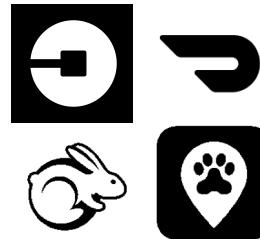
when to work?

**44%** primary income



how long?

**~50%** millennials/gen z



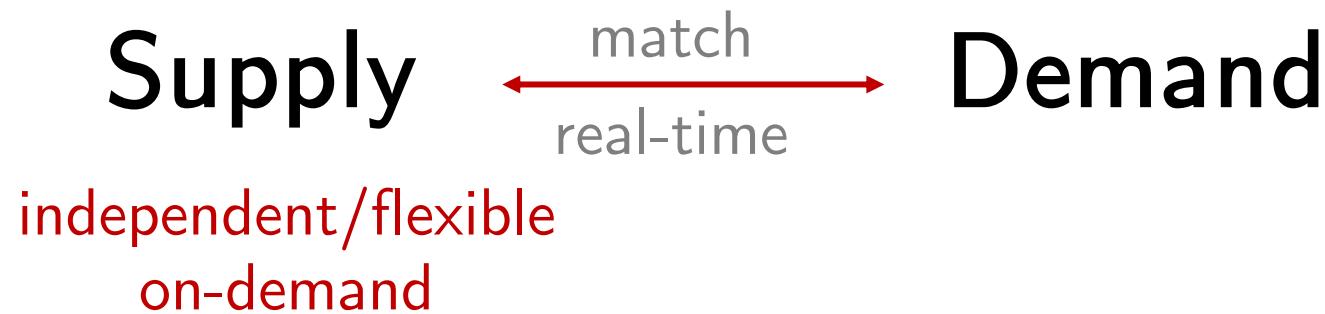
which platforms?

## Workers decide work schedules

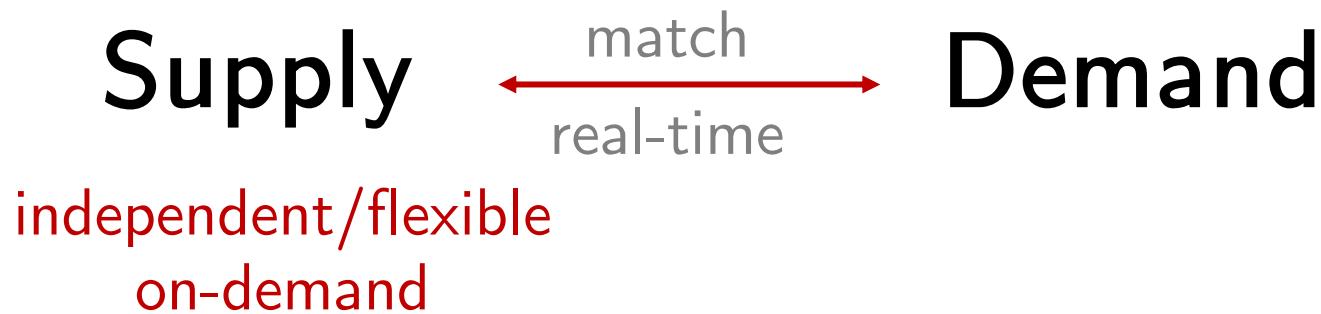
# Gig Company



# Gig Company



# Gig Company



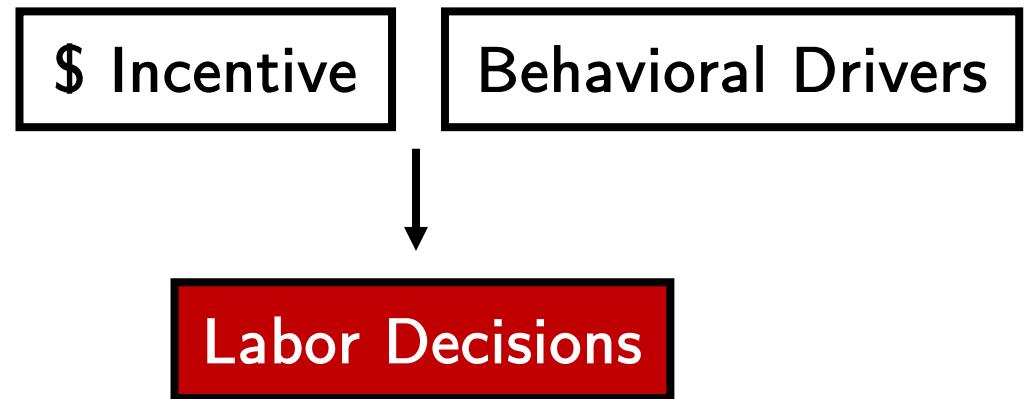
**Workforce planning is challenging**

# Our Paper

How do gig  
economy workers  
make labor  
decisions?

# Our Paper

How do gig economy workers make labor decisions?



Work or not / How long to work

# Our Paper

How do gig economy workers make labor decisions?

*Observed for all registered drivers*

\$ Incentive

Behavioral Drivers



Labor Decisions

Work or not / How long to work

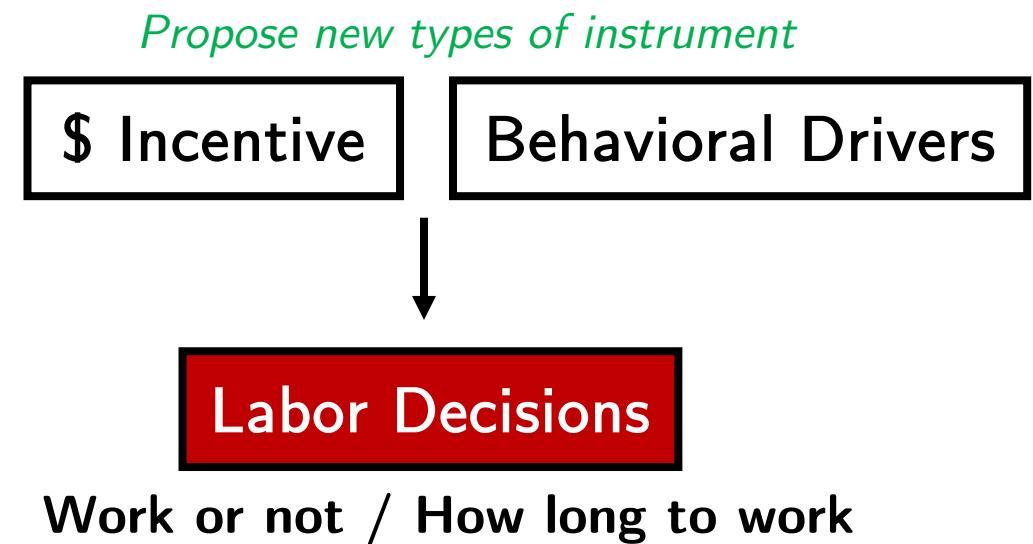
*Ride-hailing*

Today:

Data

# Our Paper

How do gig economy workers make labor decisions?



Today:

Ride-hailing Endogeneity/Selection

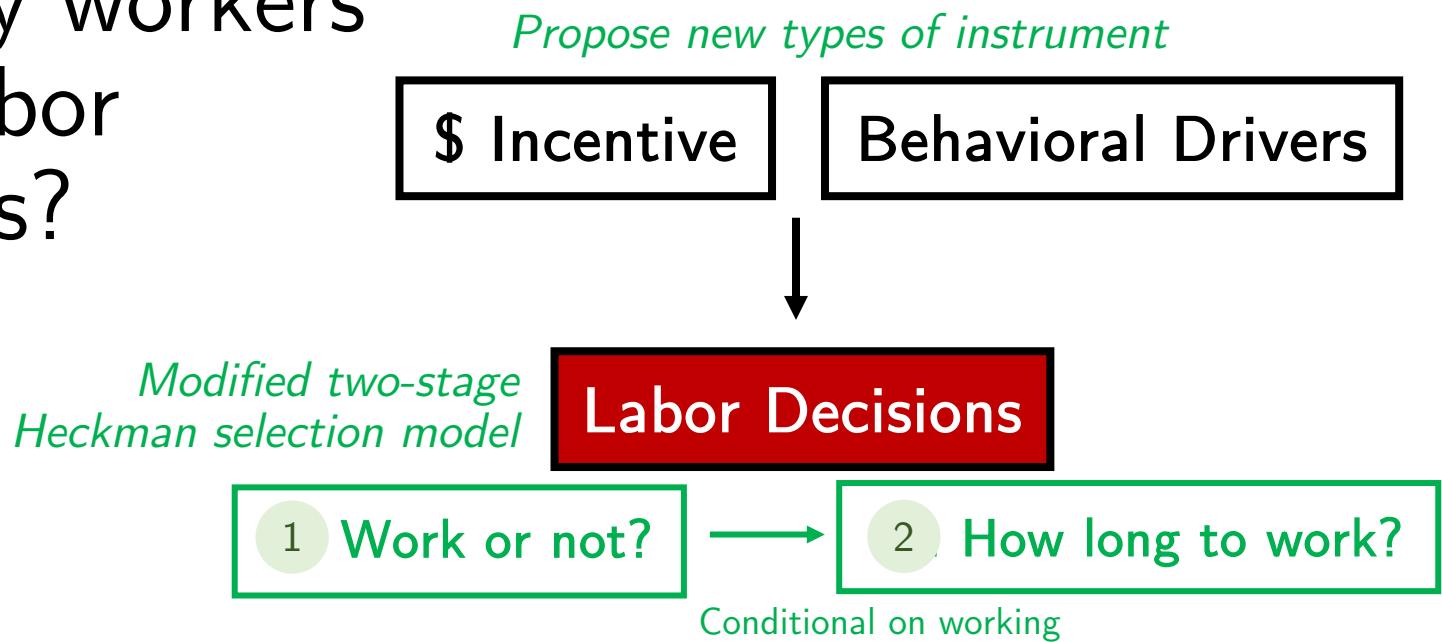
Data

Empirical Strategy

# Our Paper

1

How do gig economy workers make labor decisions?



Today:

Ride-hailing Endogeneity/Selection

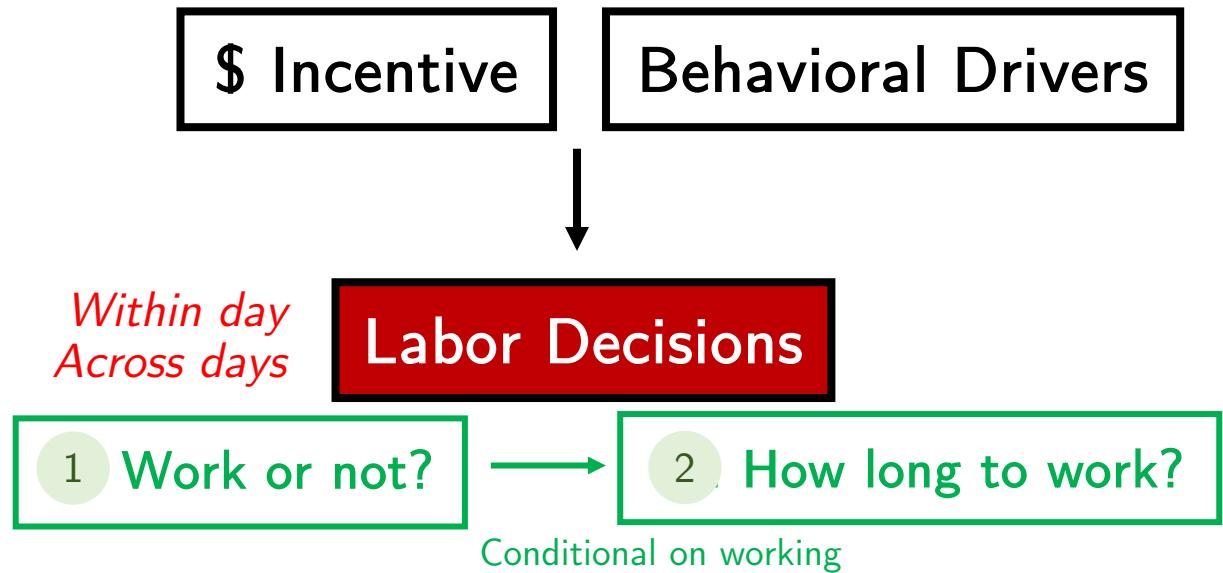
Data

Empirical Strategy

# Our Paper

1

How do gig economy workers make labor decisions?



Today:

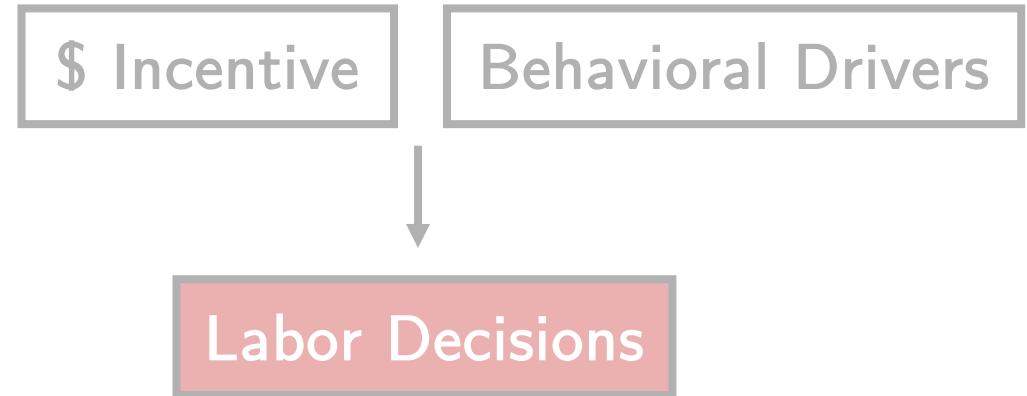
Ride-hailing Endogeneity/Selection +/-b

Data

Empirical Strategy

Results

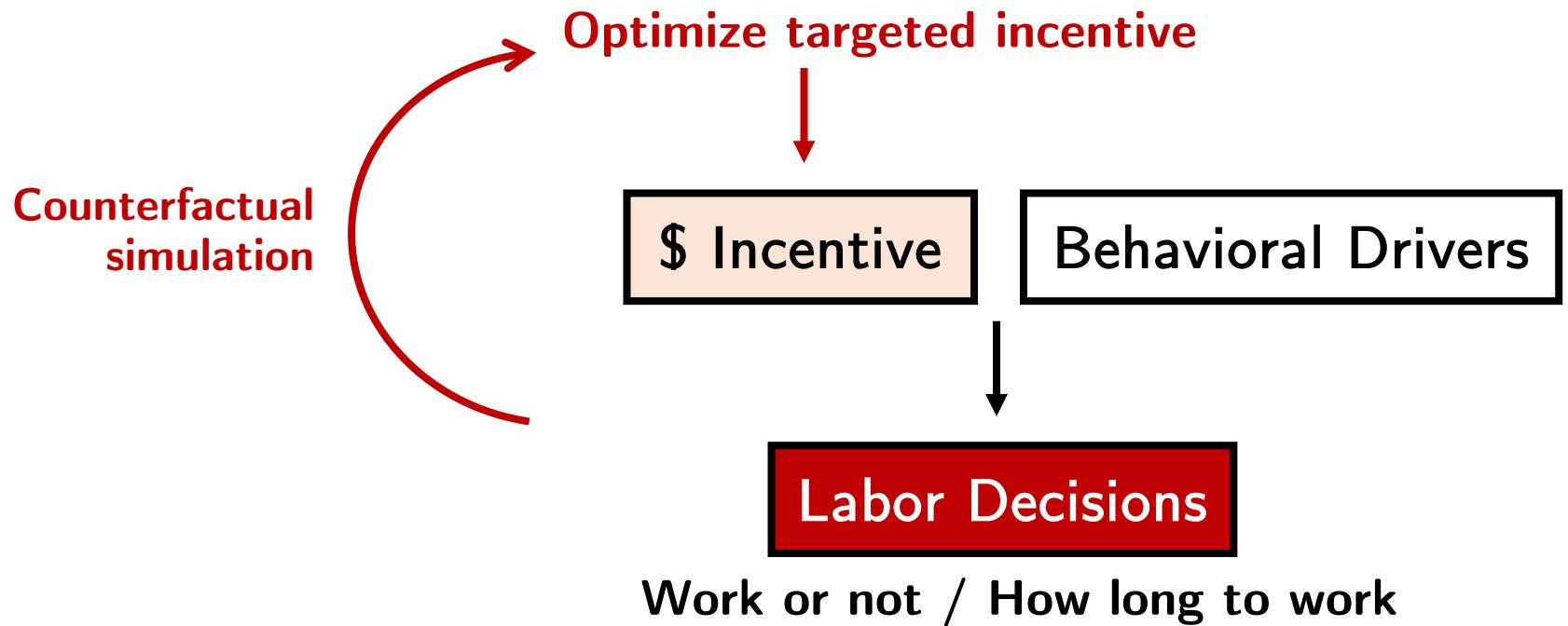
# Our Paper



2

How can the platform influence workers' decisions?

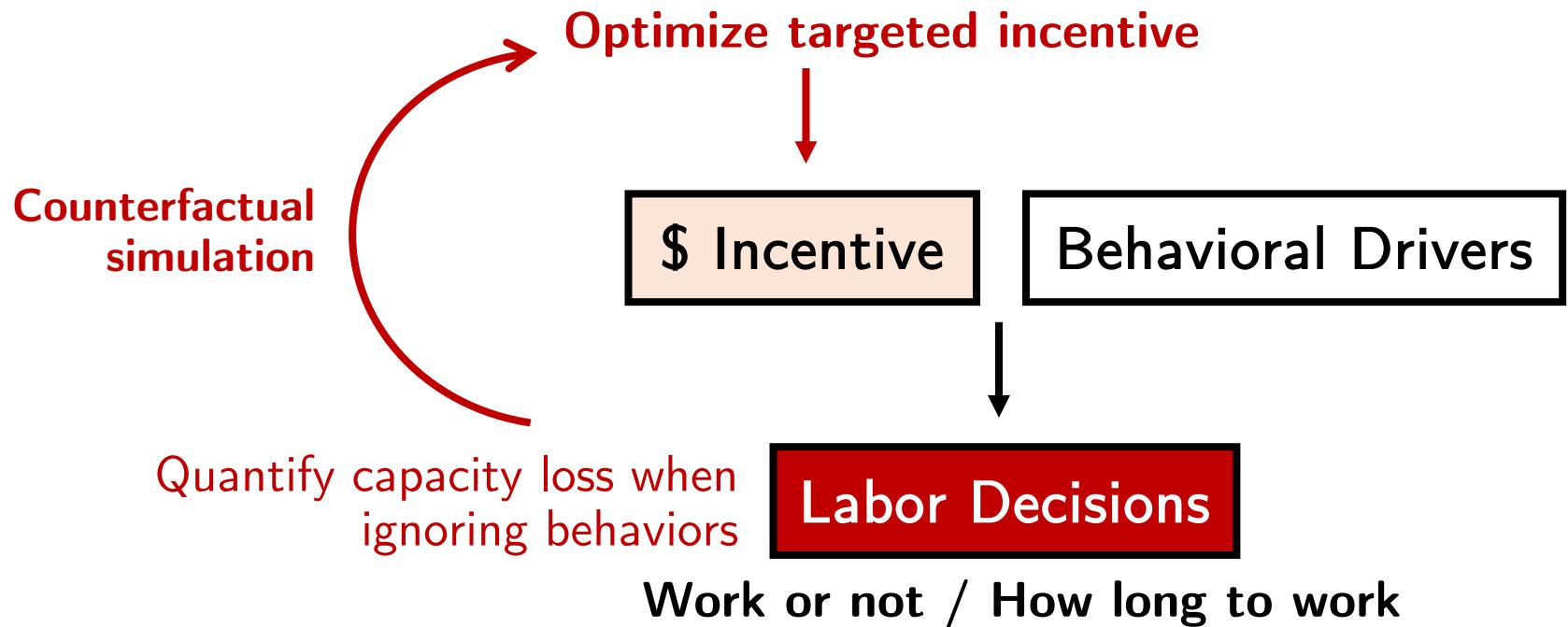
# Our Paper



## Today:

*Ride-hailing*   *Endogeneity/Selection*    $+/-b$   
Data      Empirical Strategy      Results      Implications

# Our Paper



**Today:**

*Ride-hailing Endogeneity/Selection +/-b*

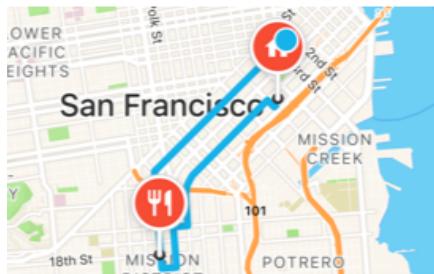
Data      Empirical Strategy      Results      Implications

# What Has Been Done?

# 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

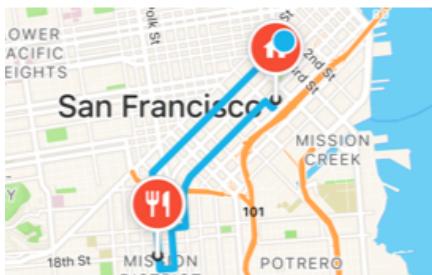
Accept Order



# 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)

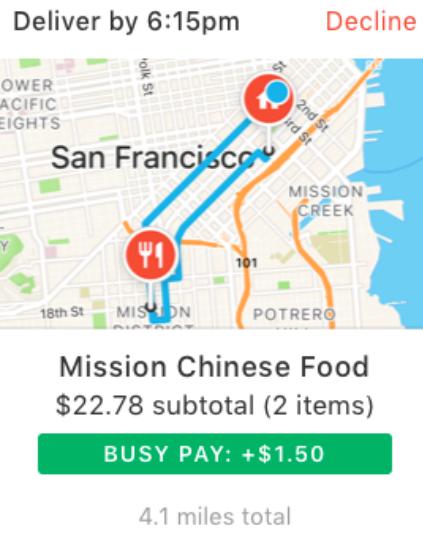
caviar

<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



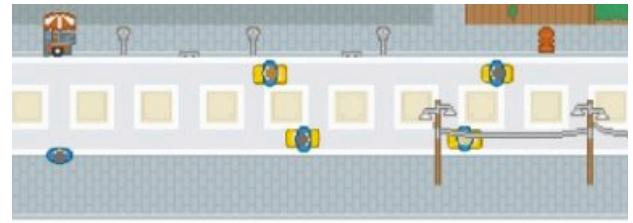
5:00 PM–6:00 PM  
+10% (5:00pm - 5:30pm)  
+30% (5:30pm - 6:00pm)



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

caviar

## “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

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## Neoclassical

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

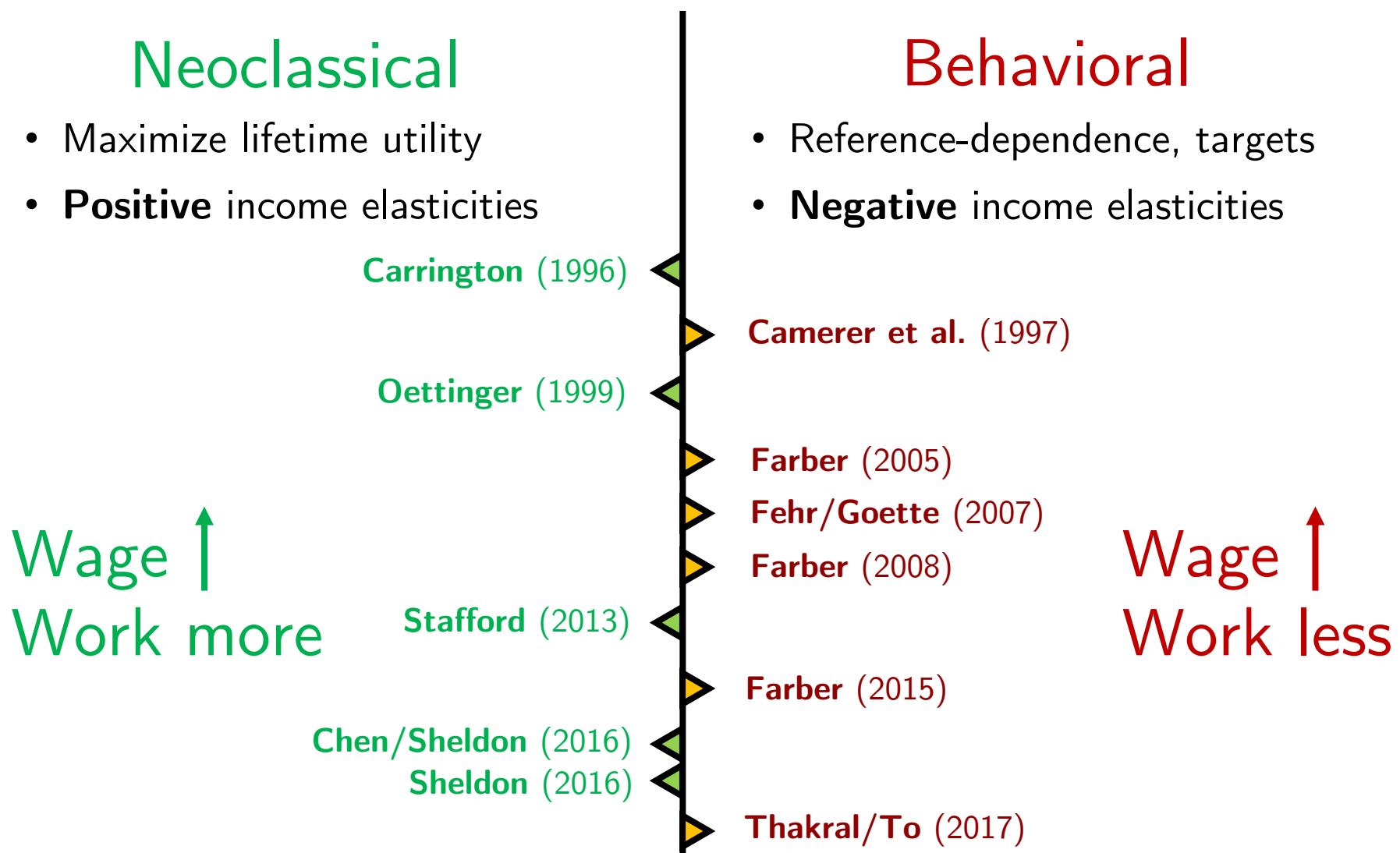
Wage ↑  
Work more

## 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

**\$ Incentive**

**Behavioral Drivers**

Hourly Wage

Income Target

Time Target

# Drivers of Work Decisions

We are interested in three effects

Hourly Wage

Income Target

Time Target

on two work decisions:

Work on not?

If so, how long?

# Drivers of Work Decisions

We are interested in three effects

Hourly Wage

Income Target

Time Target

H1: Positive

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

on two work decisions:

Work on not?

If so, how long?

# Drivers of Work Decisions

We are interested in three effects

“ISF”

Hourly Wage

Income So Far  
/Income Target

Time Target

H1: Positive

H2: Negative

Farber (2008), Thakral & To (2017)

on two work decisions:

Work on not?

If so, how long?

# Drivers of Work Decisions

We are interested in three effects

Hourly Wage

“ISF”

Income So Far  
/Income Target

“HSF”

Hours So Far  
/Time Target

H1: Positive

H2: Negative

H3: Negative

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

on two work decisions:

Work on not?

If so, how long?

# **Industry Partner**

US Ride-Hailing Company

# Industry Partner

US Ride-Hailing Company

Service

Pool passengers headed  
in similar direction

Corner to corner basis  
“Dynamic bus”

# Industry Partner

US Ride-Hailing Company

## Service

Pool passengers headed  
in similar direction  
Corner to corner basis  
“Dynamic bus”

## Passengers

Regular commuters  
Flat rate (no surge)

# Industry Partner

## US Ride-Hailing Company

### Service

Pool passengers headed  
in similar direction  
Corner to corner basis  
“Dynamic bus”

### Passengers

Regular commuters  
Flat rate (no surge)

### Pay

Drivers earn at a  
guaranteed hourly rate  
regardless of # pax

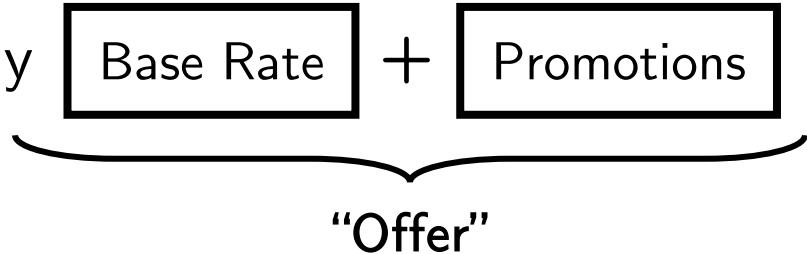
# Data

## Ride-hailing drivers in NYC

Drivers earn at a guaranteed hourly

Base Rate

+ Promotions



"Offer"

# Data

## Ride-hailing drivers in NYC

Drivers earn at a guaranteed hourly Base Rate + Promotions



Shift-level offer and driving activity *for all*

# Data

## Ride-hailing drivers in NYC

Drivers earn at a guaranteed hourly Base Rate + Promotions



Shift-level offer and driving activity *for all*

**5.5M**

Observations

**358**

Days

*Oct 2016 – Sep 2017*

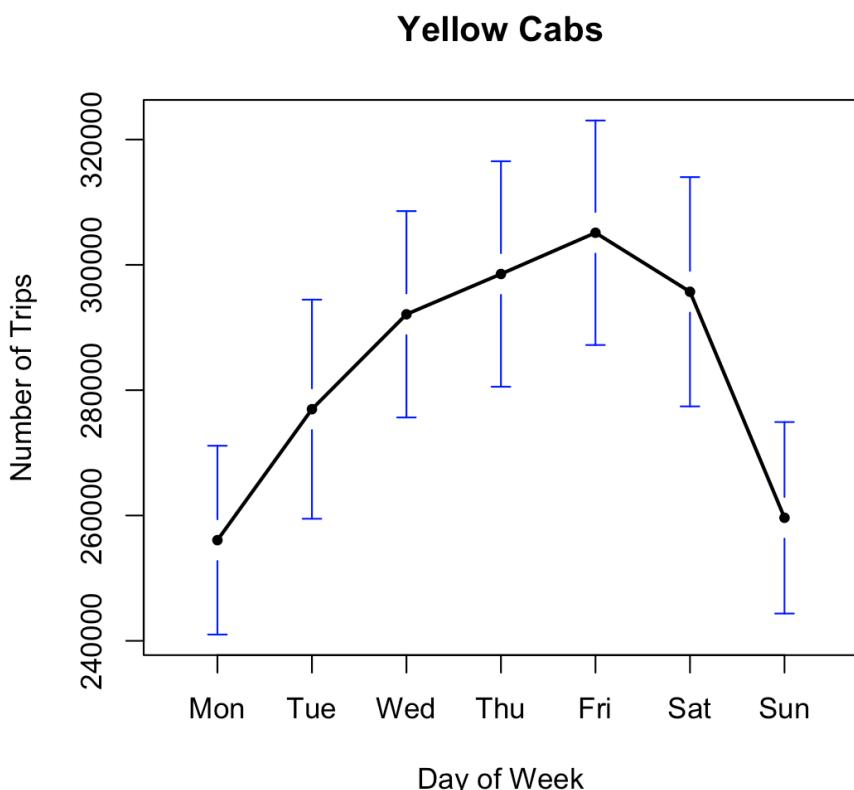
**7,826**

Unique drivers

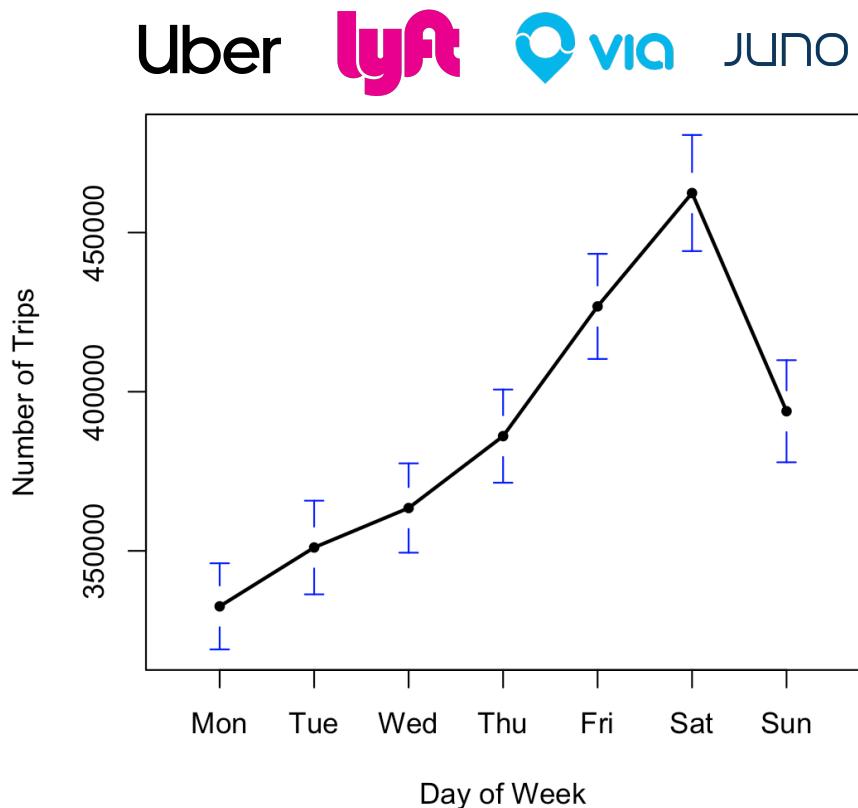
*SUV/Sedan/Van*

# + TLC Data

Trip records collected by Taxi & Limousine Commission



101M yellow cab trips



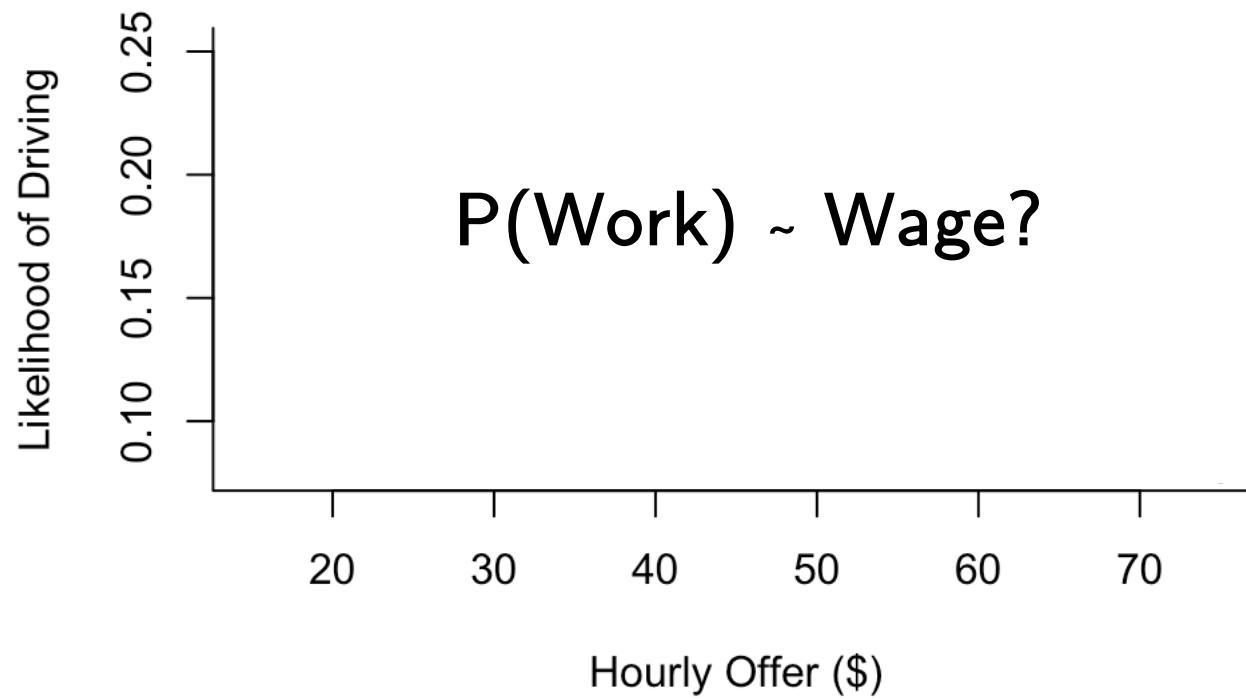
139M ride-hailing trips



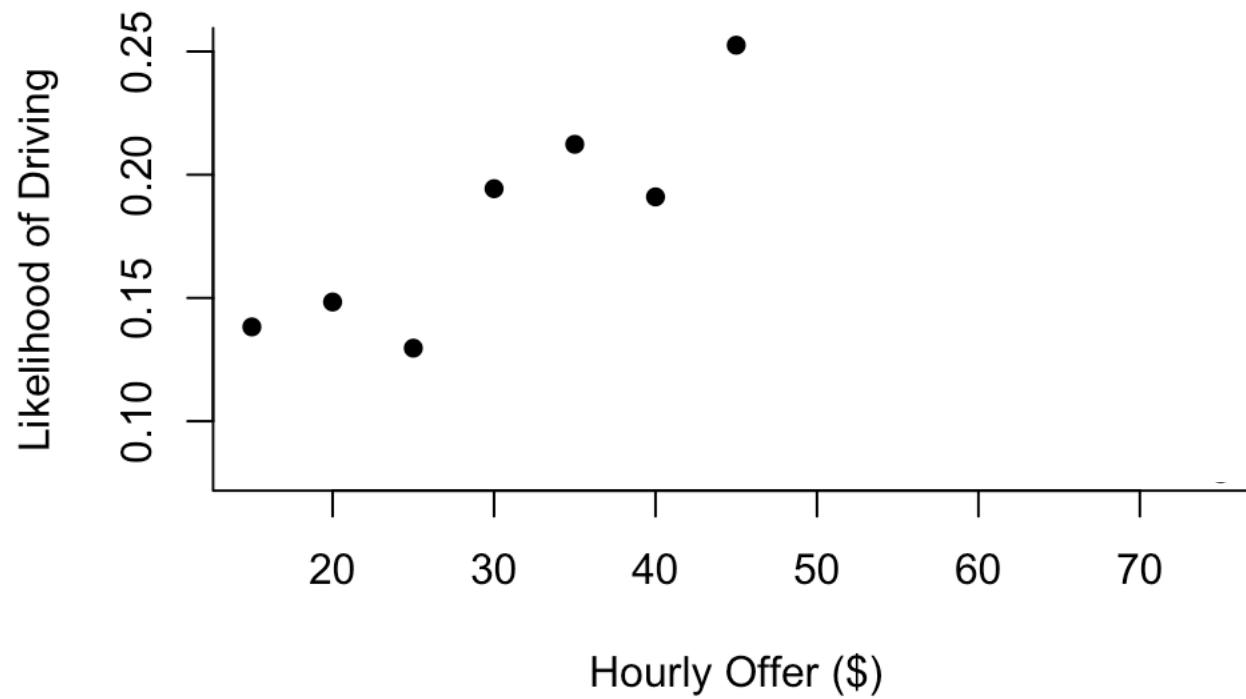
# **Empirical Strategy**

Instrumental Variables + Selection Model

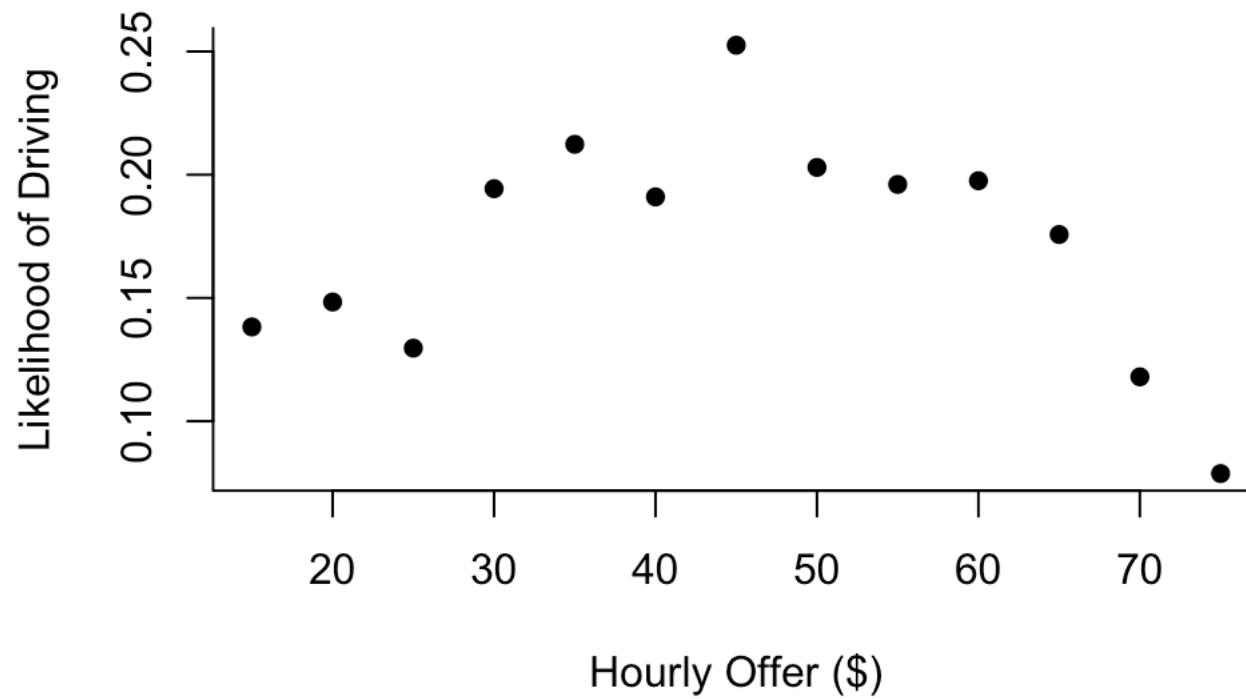
# Empirical Strategy Challenges



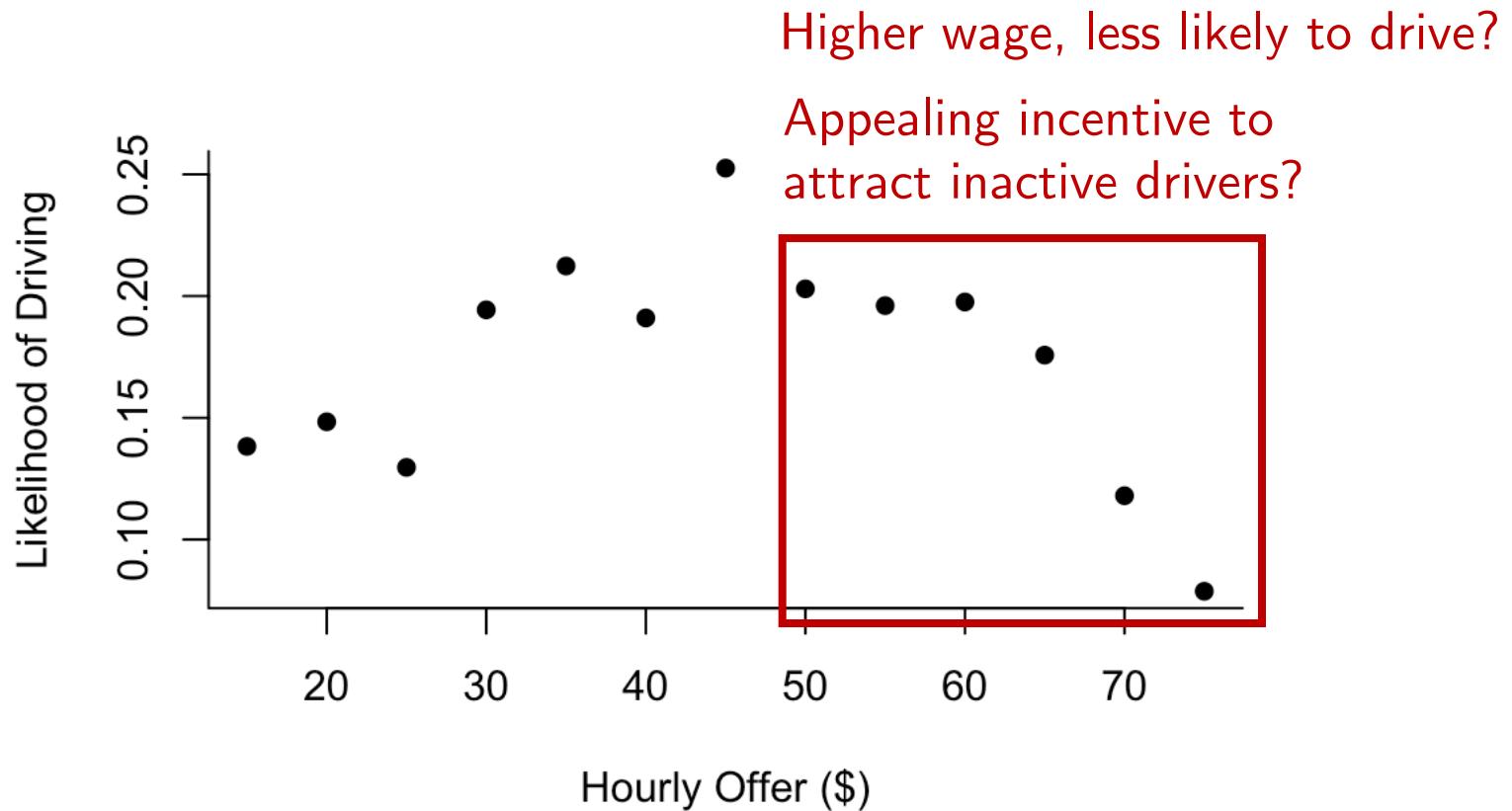
# Empirical Strategy Challenges



# Empirical Strategy Challenges

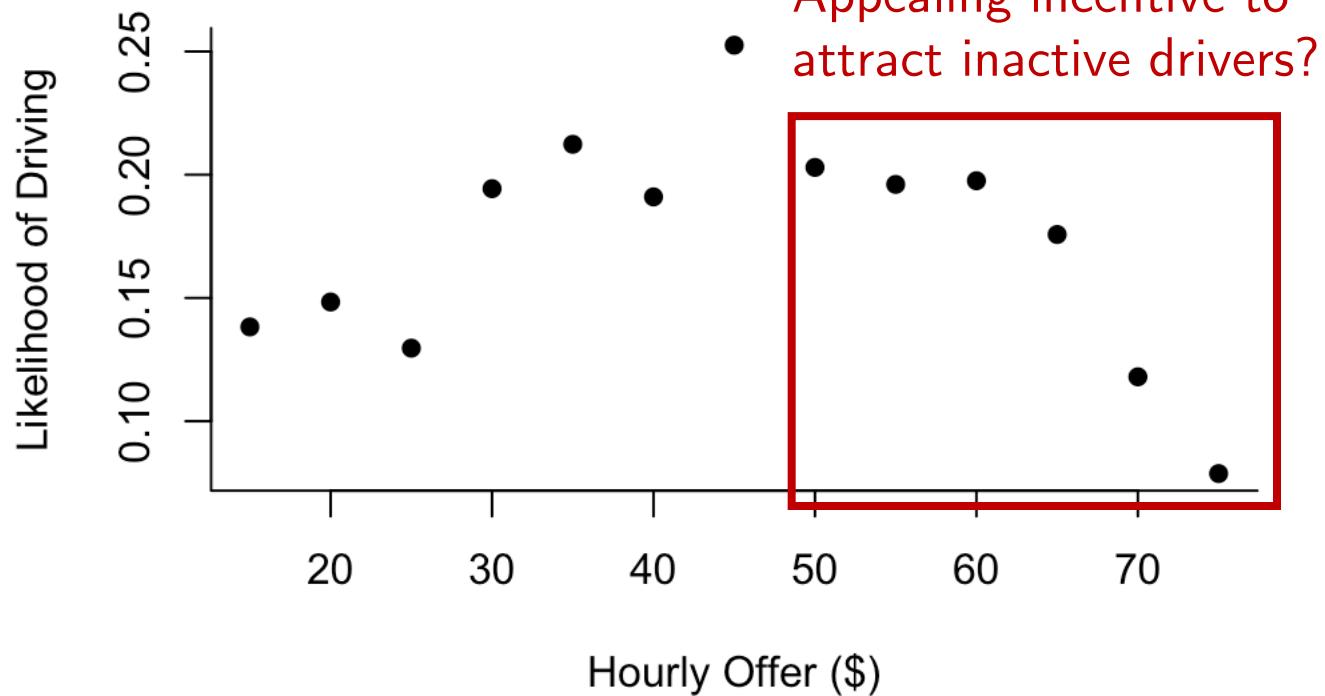


# Empirical Strategy Challenges



# 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

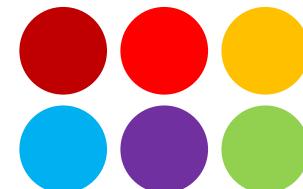
Instrument

Hourly offer

Average offers of “co-workers”



sedan



non-sedan

# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

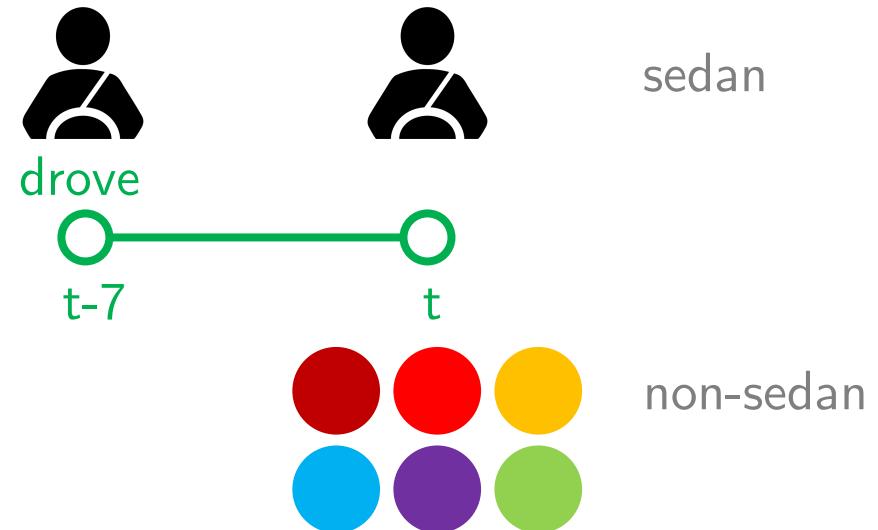
**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

Endogenous Variable

Hourly offer

Instrument

Average offers of “co-workers”



# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

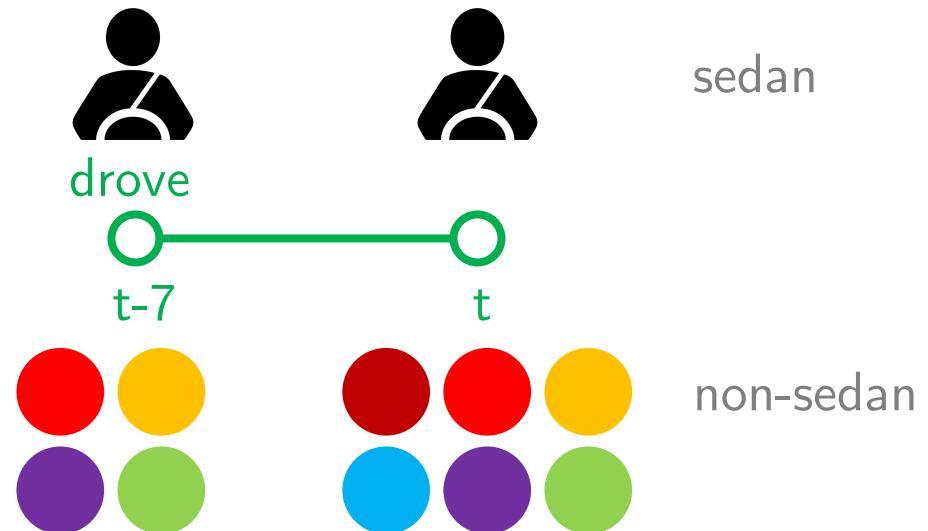
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Instrument

Hourly offer

Average offers of “co-workers”



# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

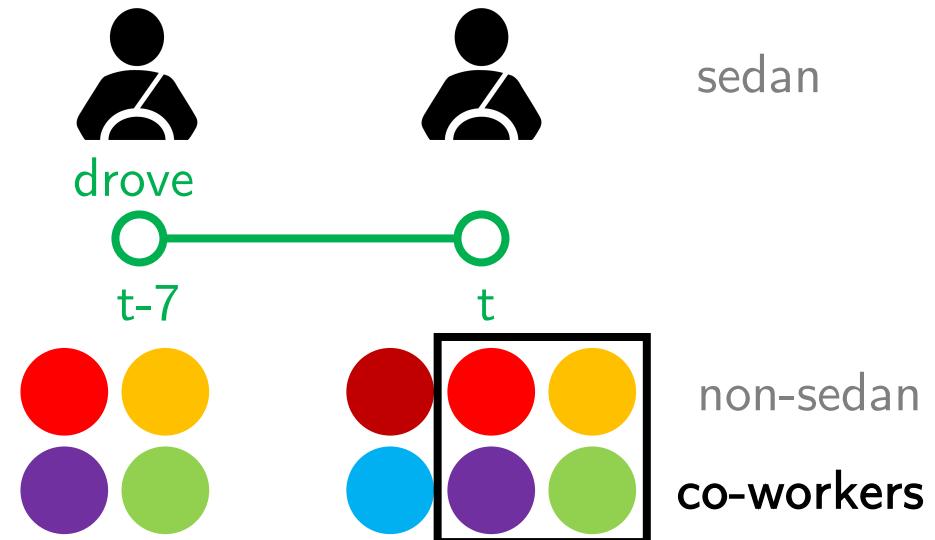
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Endogenous Variable

Instrument

Hourly offer

Average offers of “co-workers”



# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

Endogenous Variable

Instrument

Hourly offer

Average offers of “co-skippers”

# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

Endogenous Variable

Instrument

Hourly offer

Average offers of “co-skippers”

= currently available  
+ been similarly inactive  
+ different vehicle type

# 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

Endogenous Variable

Instrument

Hourly offer

Average offers of “co-skippers”

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yesterday

# 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



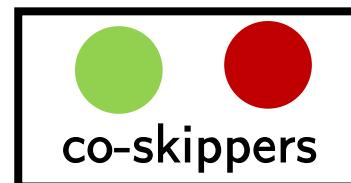
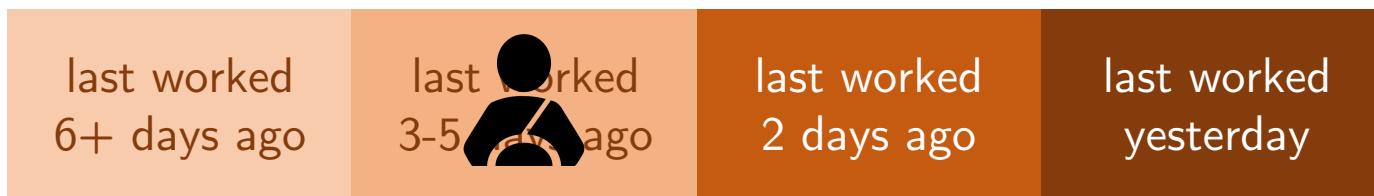
# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

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

Level of inactivity for drivers eligible to work today



non-sedan

# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

Solution: Instrumental Variables

Hours ~ Wage?

Driver A	2 hours	\$15	}	Drivers Who Drove
Driver B	6 hours	\$30		
Driver C	3 hours	\$25		

# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

Solution: Instrumental Variables

Hours ~ Wage?

Driver A	2 hours	\$15	}	Drivers Who Drove
Driver B	6 hours	\$30		
Driver C	3 hours	\$25		
Driver D	0 hour	\$30	}	Did Not Drive
Driver E	0 hour	\$35		
Driver F	0 hour	\$15		

# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

Solution: Instrumental Variables

Hours ~ Wage?

Driver A	2 hours	\$15	}	Drivers Who Drove
Driver B	6 hours	\$30		
Driver C	3 hours	\$25		
Driver D	0 hour	\$30	}	Did Not Drive
Driver E	0 hour	\$35		
Driver F	0 hour	\$15		

Decision to work is **not random**

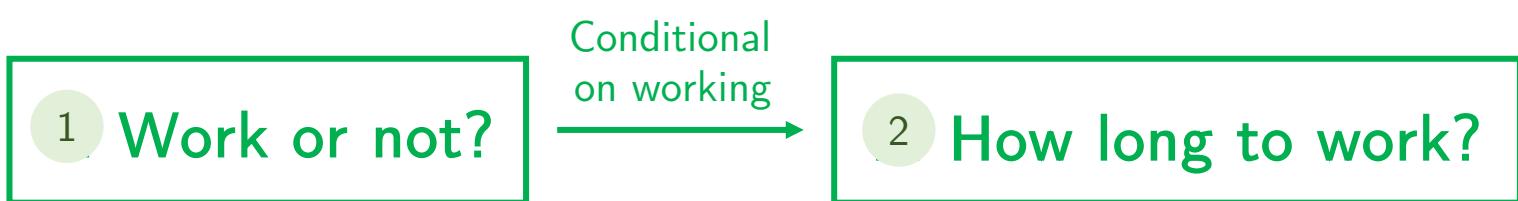
# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

**Solution:** Instrumental Variables

## Selection Bias

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



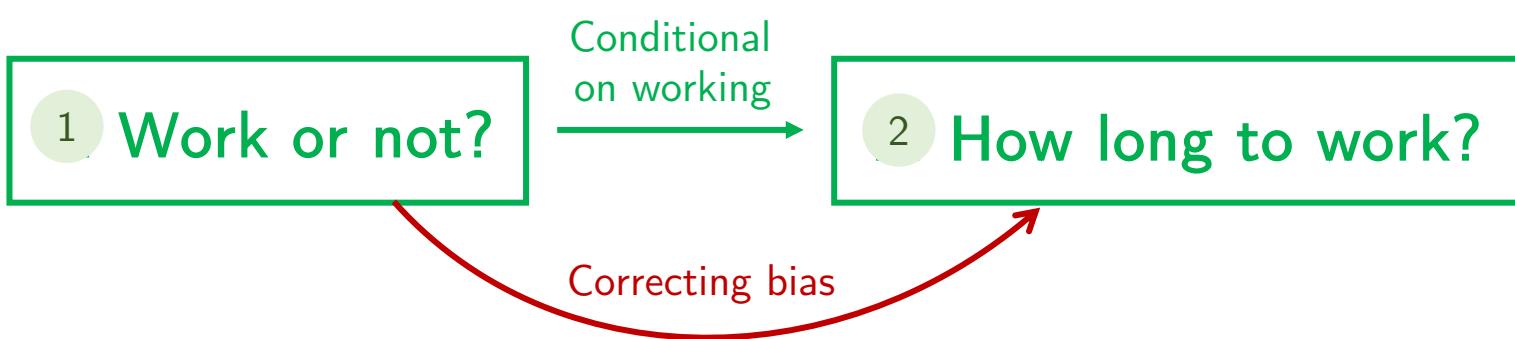
# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## 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:

$P(\text{drive})$  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:

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



\*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/week

# Empirical Strategy

Heckman + IV

## 1) Work or not?

Control Function Probit:

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

Income So Far

Hours So Far

= cumulative active hours  
since beginning of day/week

# 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:

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

Income So Far      Hours So Far

Conditional  
on working

## 2 How long to work?

2SLS with Fixed Effects

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

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

# Results



“Offer”

\$ Incentive

“ISF”

Income So Far

“HSF”

Hours So Far



Labor Decisions

1

Work or not /

2

How long to work

# Results



“Offer”

\$ Incentive

“ISF”

Income So Far

“HSF”

Hours So Far



Labor Decisions

1 Work or not / 2 How long to work

Within-Day      Midday —————> Late Night      (daily targets)

Across-Days      Tuesday —————> Sunday      (weekly targets)

# Results



“Offer”

“ISF”

“HSF”

\$ Incentive

Income So Far

Hours So Far



Labor Decisions

1 Work or not / 2 How long to work

Within-Day      Midday → Late Night      (daily targets)

Across-Days      Tuesday → Sunday      (weekly targets)

+

-

Positive

Negative

# Results

# Within Day

(Daily targets reset at midnight)

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 Within Day/Effect Size

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

# Results Within Day/Effect Size

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
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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

+\$10



+0.5%

+\$10



+10m

# Results Within Day/Effect Size

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
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Late Night	0.117	379.0	+	-	+	125,382	1.996	39.91	+	-	+	0.296	17,137

+\$10  
↓  
+\$10  
↓  
+0.5%  
↓  
-2%

+\$10  
↓  
+\$10  
↓  
+10m  
↓  
-1.3m

# Results Within Day/Effect Size

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
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Late Night	0.117	379.0	+	-	+	125,382	1.996	39.91	+	-	+	0.296	17,137

+\$10                    +1h  
 ↓                        ↓  
 +0.5%                +21%  
 ↓                        ↓  
 -2%

+\$10                    +1h  
 ↓                        ↓  
 +10m                  +33m  
 ↓                        ↓  
 -1.3m

# Results

# Across Days

(Weekly targets reset when Monday starts)

# 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
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

Inertia has consistent positive effects.

Financial incentive and cumulative income switch  
from positive to negative later on.  
--> Positive outlook early on in the week

# 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 proceeds...



encourages working

# Results Summary

*Neoclassical*  
**Financial Incentive**

As day proceeds...

encourages working

*Behavioral*  
**Income Target**

discourages working

# Results Summary



# Results Summary

	As day proceeds...	As week proceeds...
<i>Neoclassical</i> <b>Financial Incentive</b>	encourages working	discourages later on
<i>Behavioral</i> <b>Income Target</b>	discourages working	discourages later on
<i>New</i> <b>Inertia</b>	encourages working	encourages working

# Results Summary

	As day proceeds...	As week proceeds...
<i>Neoclassical</i> <b>Financial Incentive</b>	encourages working	discourages later on
<i>Behavioral</i> <b>Income Target</b>	discourages working	discourages later on
<i>New</i> <b>Inertia</b>	encourages working	encourages working
Platform Loyalty		

# 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

✓ Insights remain qualitatively consistent.

**\$ Incentive**

+

**Income So Far**



**Hours So Far**

+

**Labor Decisions**

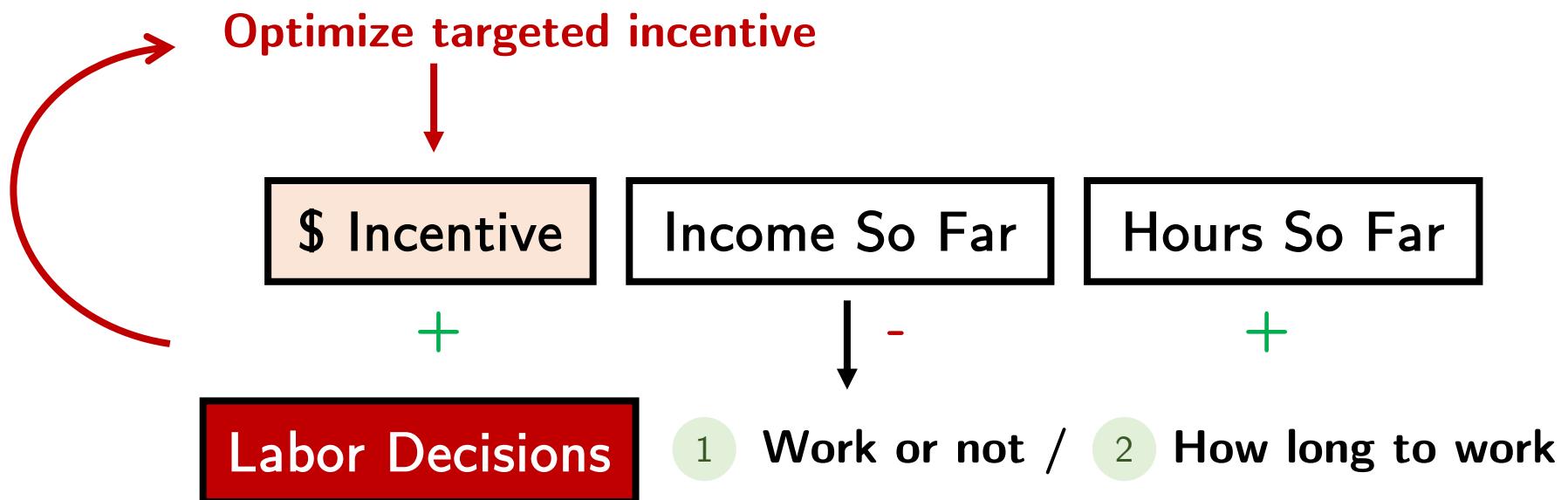
1

**Work or not /**

2

**How long to work**

# Implications



# Optimal Targeted Incentive



# Optimal Targeted Incentive



# Optimal Targeted Incentive

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

*= how much to trigger working decision*



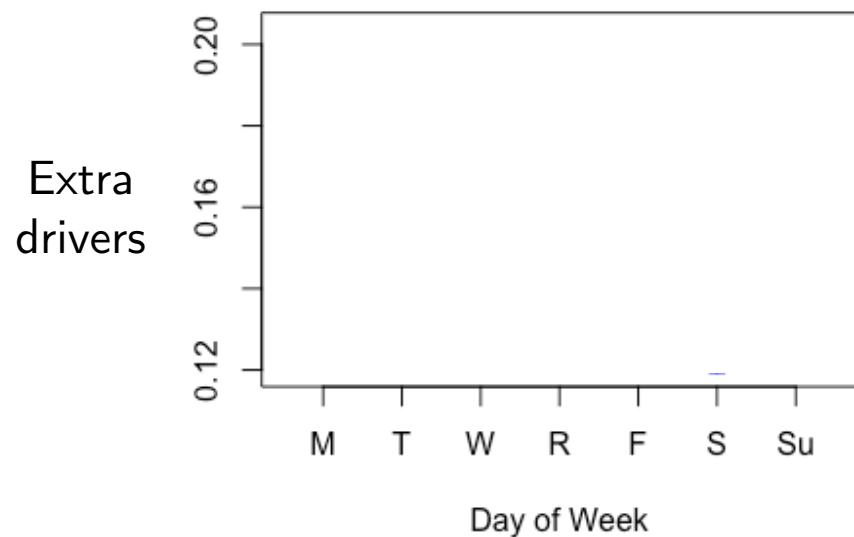
# Reallocating Incentives

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)

# Reallocating Incentives

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

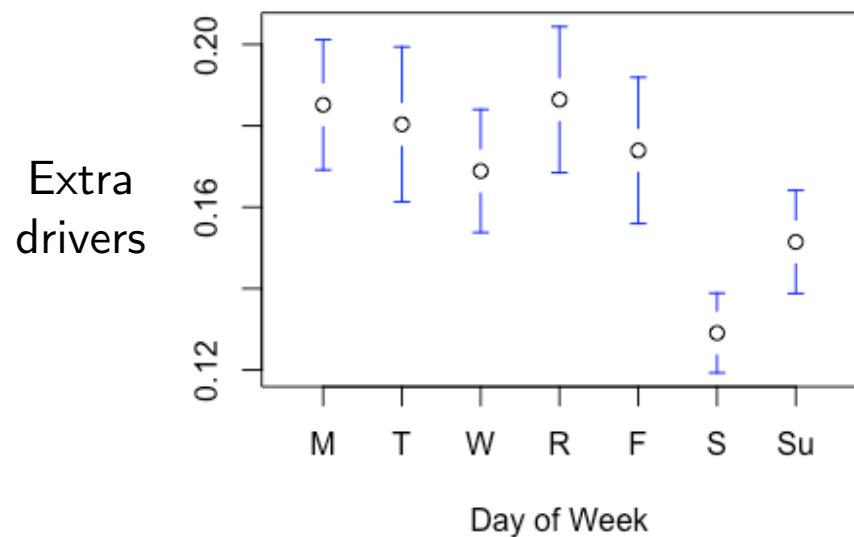
Given the same budget



# Reallocating Incentives

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

Given the same budget



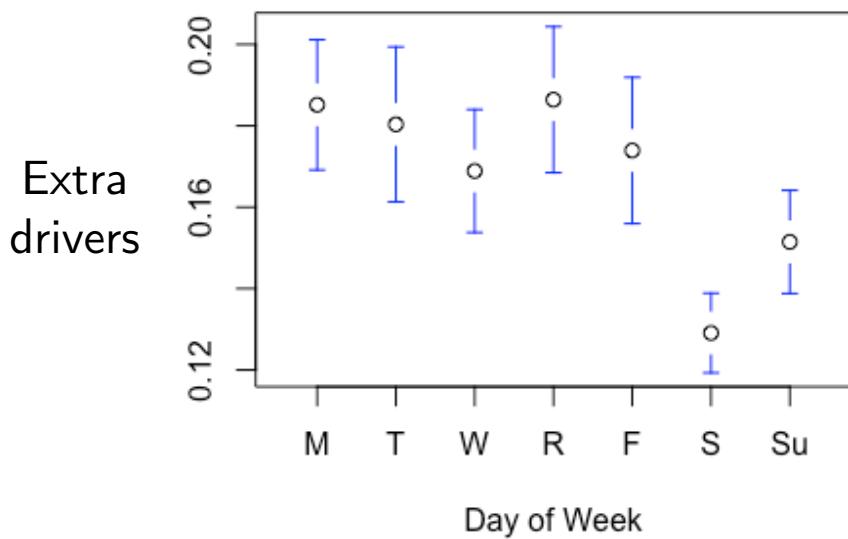
Can recruit **17% more drivers**

Average promo: 1.61x

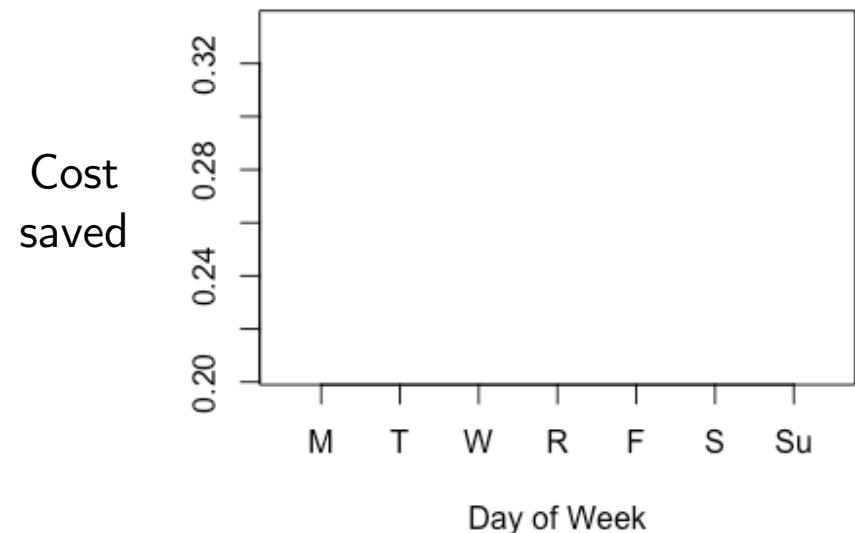
# Reallocating Incentives

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

Given the same budget



Given the same capacity



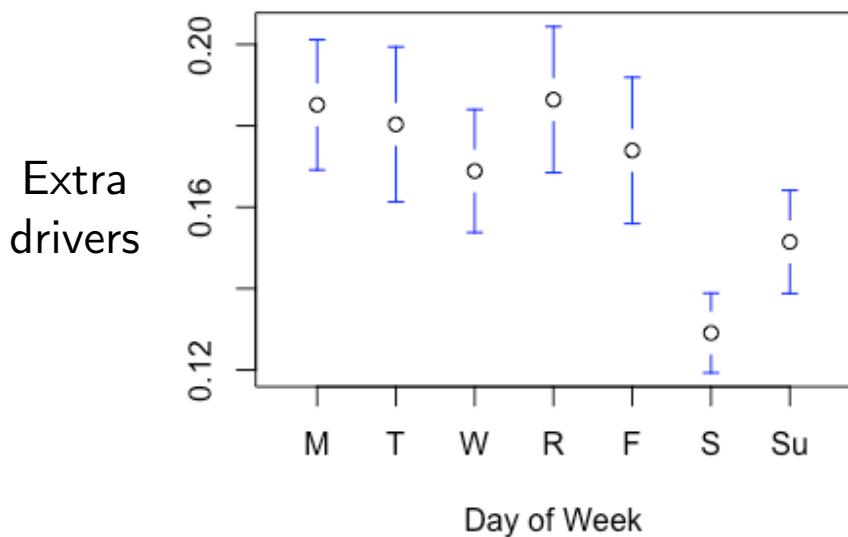
Can recruit **17% more drivers**

Average promo: 1.61x

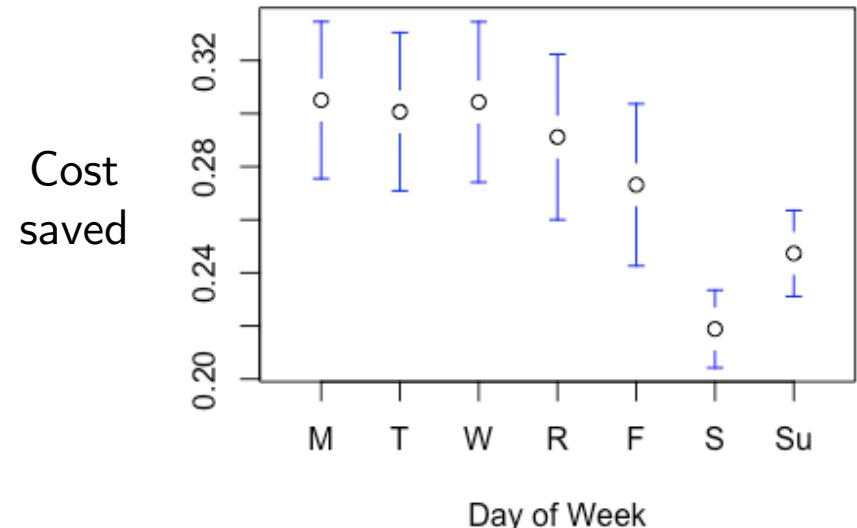
# Reallocating Incentives

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

Given the same budget



Given the same capacity

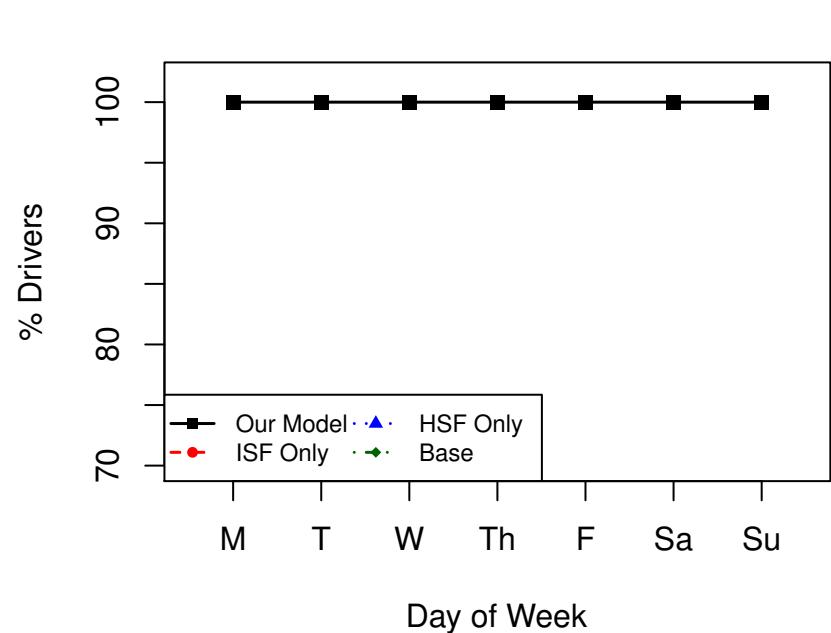
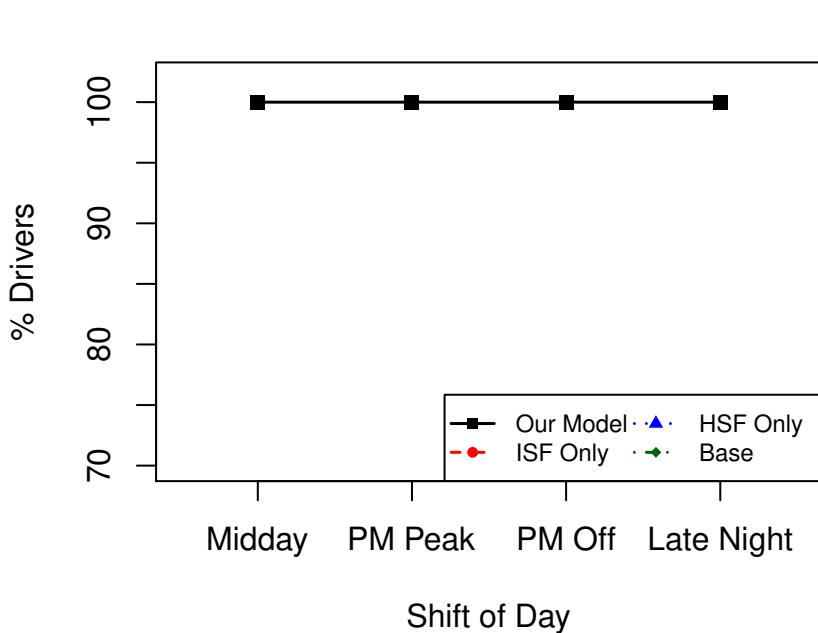


Can recruit **17% more drivers**  
Average promo: 1.61x

**Costs 28% less** to maintain capacity

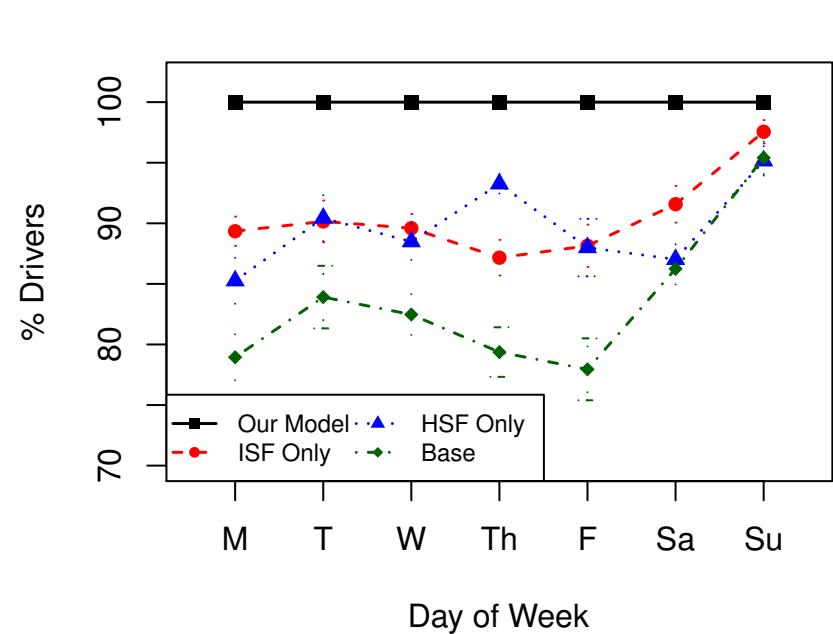
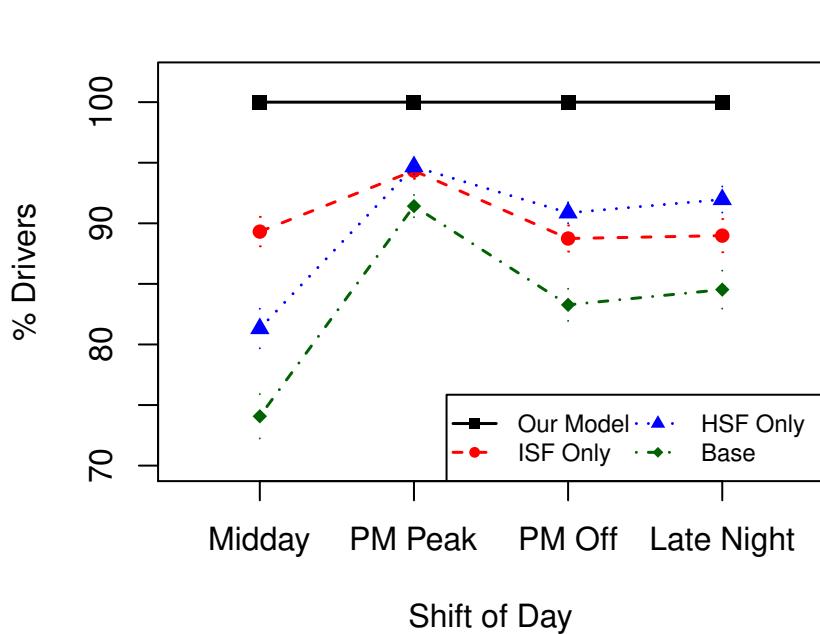
# Ignoring Behavioral Factors

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% / Both 16.70%

# Summary

How do gig economy workers make labor decisions?

## Approach

- Shift-level incentive and work data in ride-hailing
- Modified Heckman estimation w/ IVs and fixed effects

## Findings

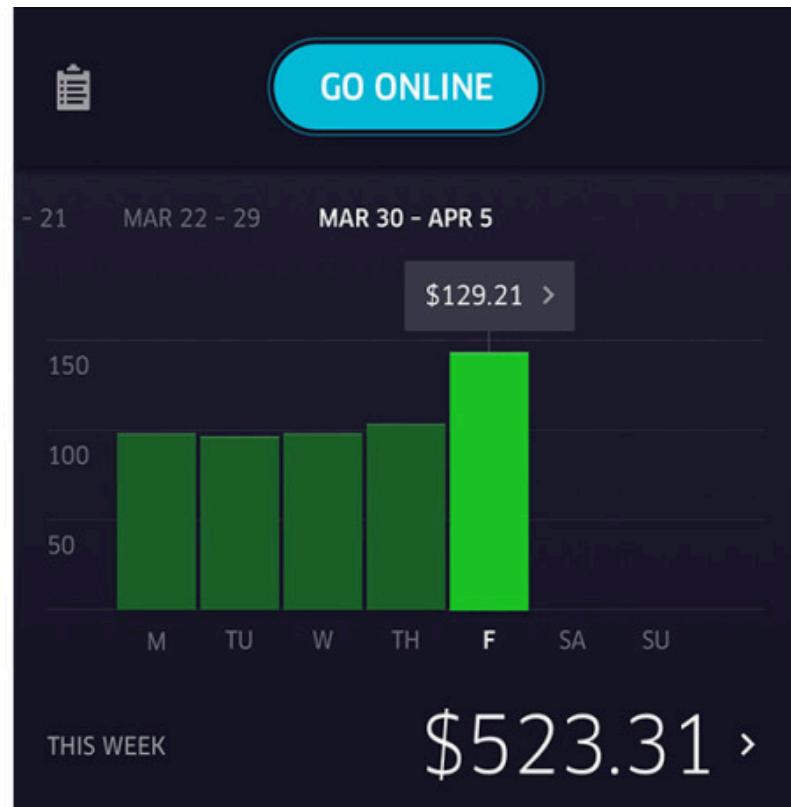
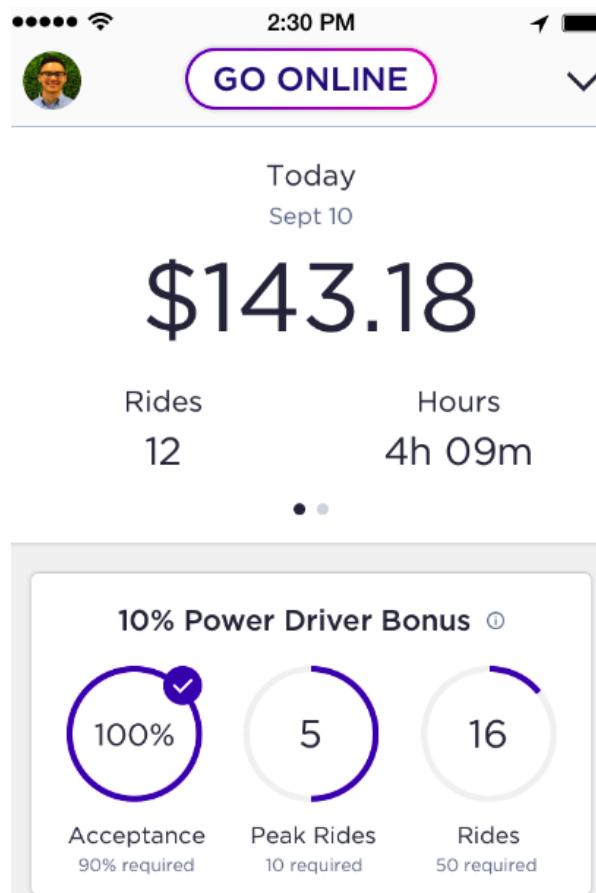
		As day proceeds...	As week proceeds...
Neoclassical	Financial Incentive	encourages working	discourages later on
Behavioral	Income Target	discourages working	discourages later on
New phenomenon	Inertia	encourages working	encourages working

## 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

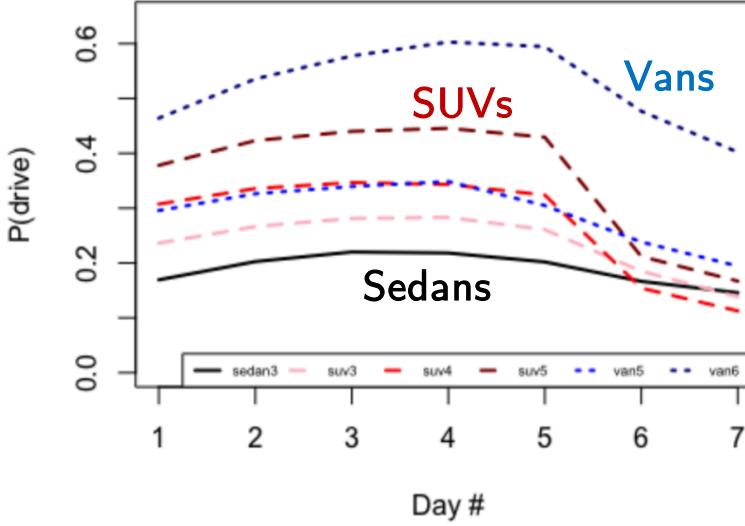
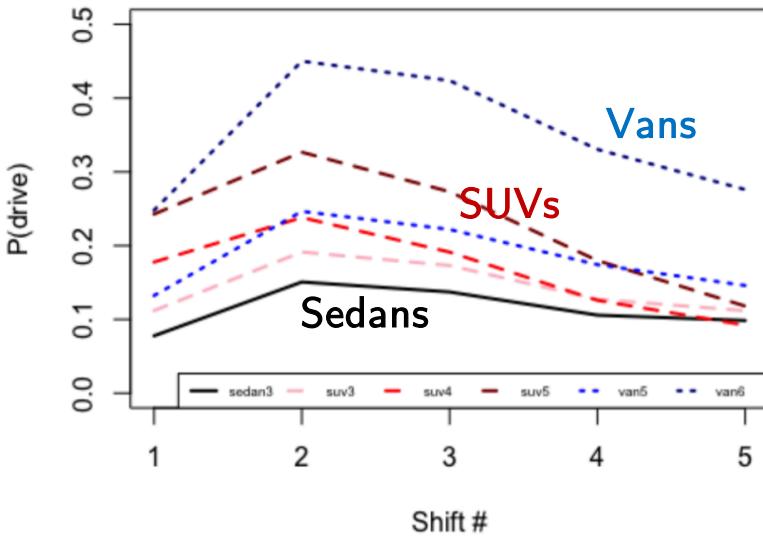
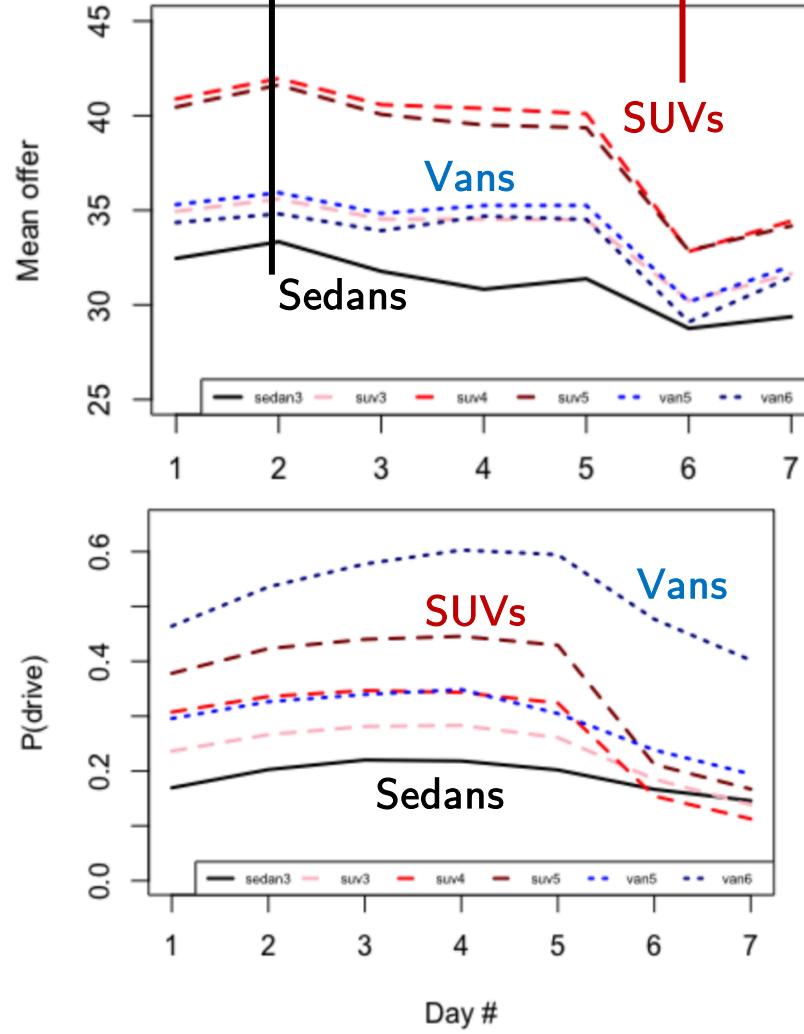
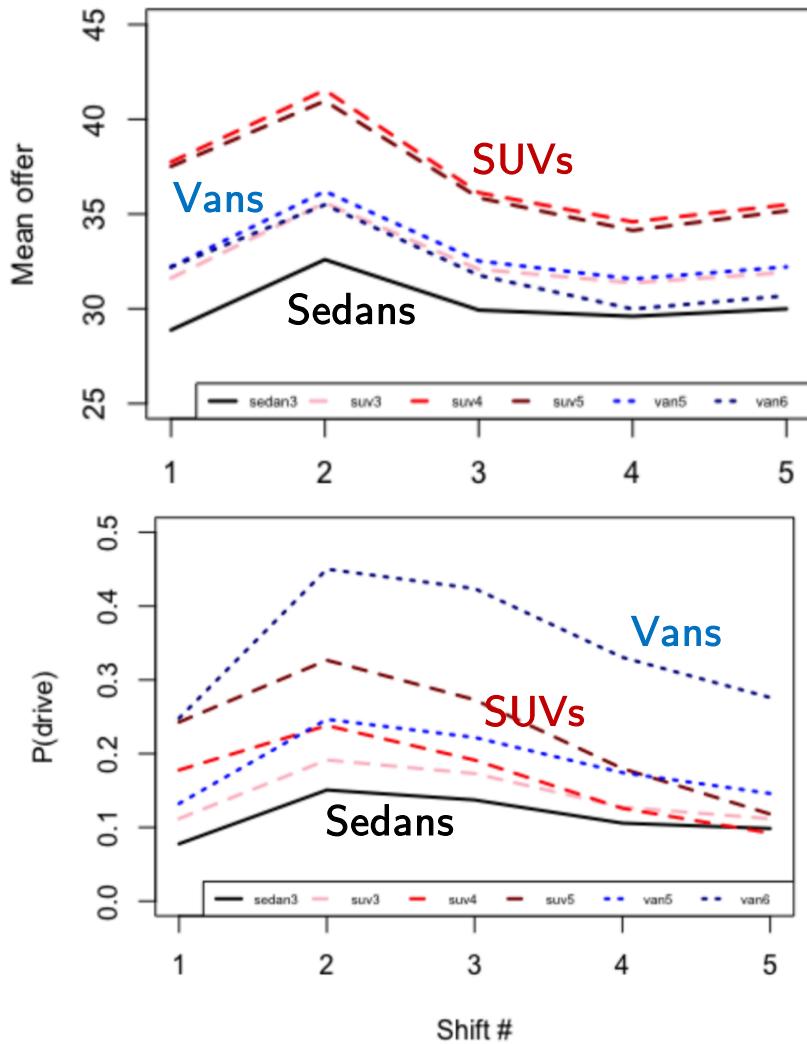
# Driver's View



# Drivers

5.33 hrs/day, 12.65 hrs/wk

4.86 hrs/day, 5.86 hrs/wk



# 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

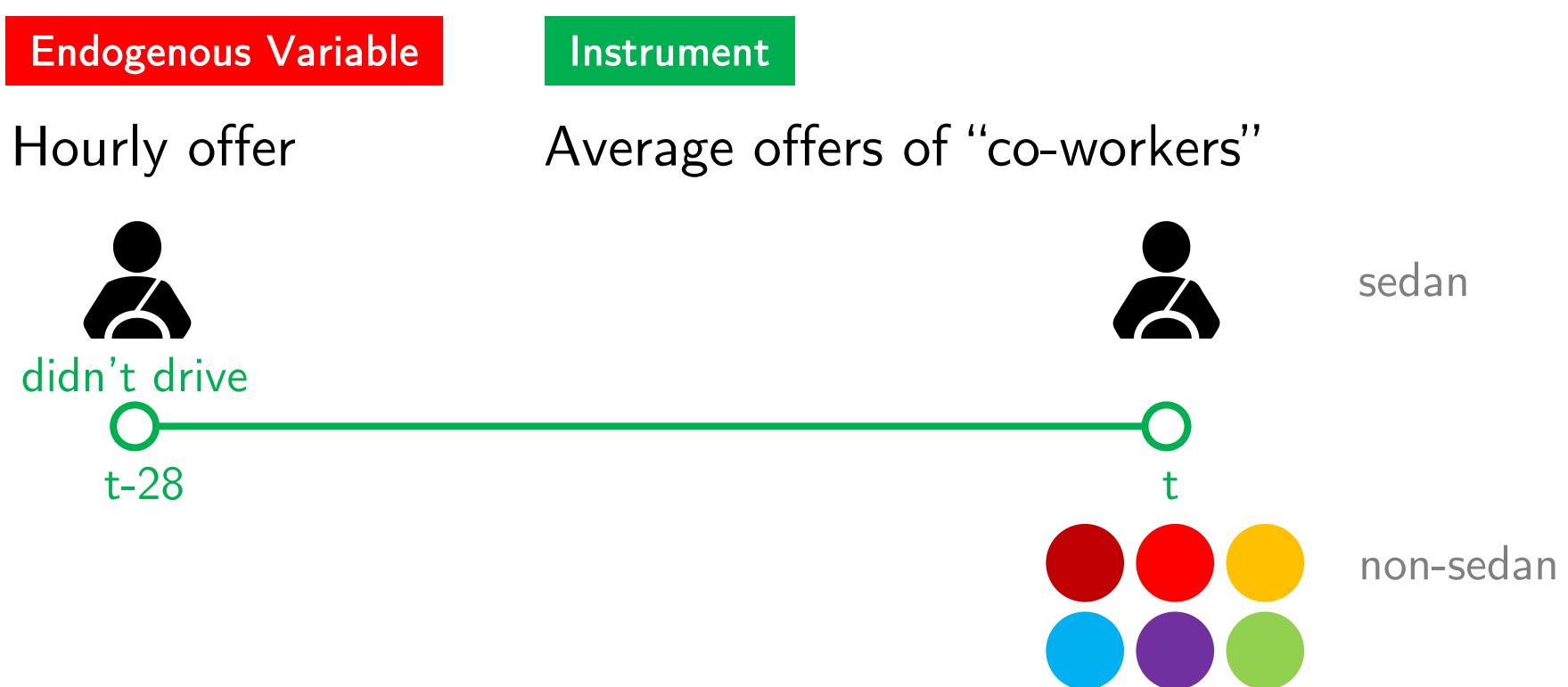
$$\begin{aligned} E(y_i | y_i \text{ observed}) &= E(y_i | z^* > 0) \\ &= E(y_i | u_i > -\mathbf{w}_i\gamma) \\ &= \mathbf{x}_i\beta + E(\epsilon_i | u_i > -\mathbf{w}_i\gamma) \\ &= \mathbf{x}_i\beta + \rho\sigma_\epsilon \frac{\phi(\mathbf{w}_i\gamma)}{\Phi(\mathbf{w}_i\gamma)} \end{aligned}$$

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

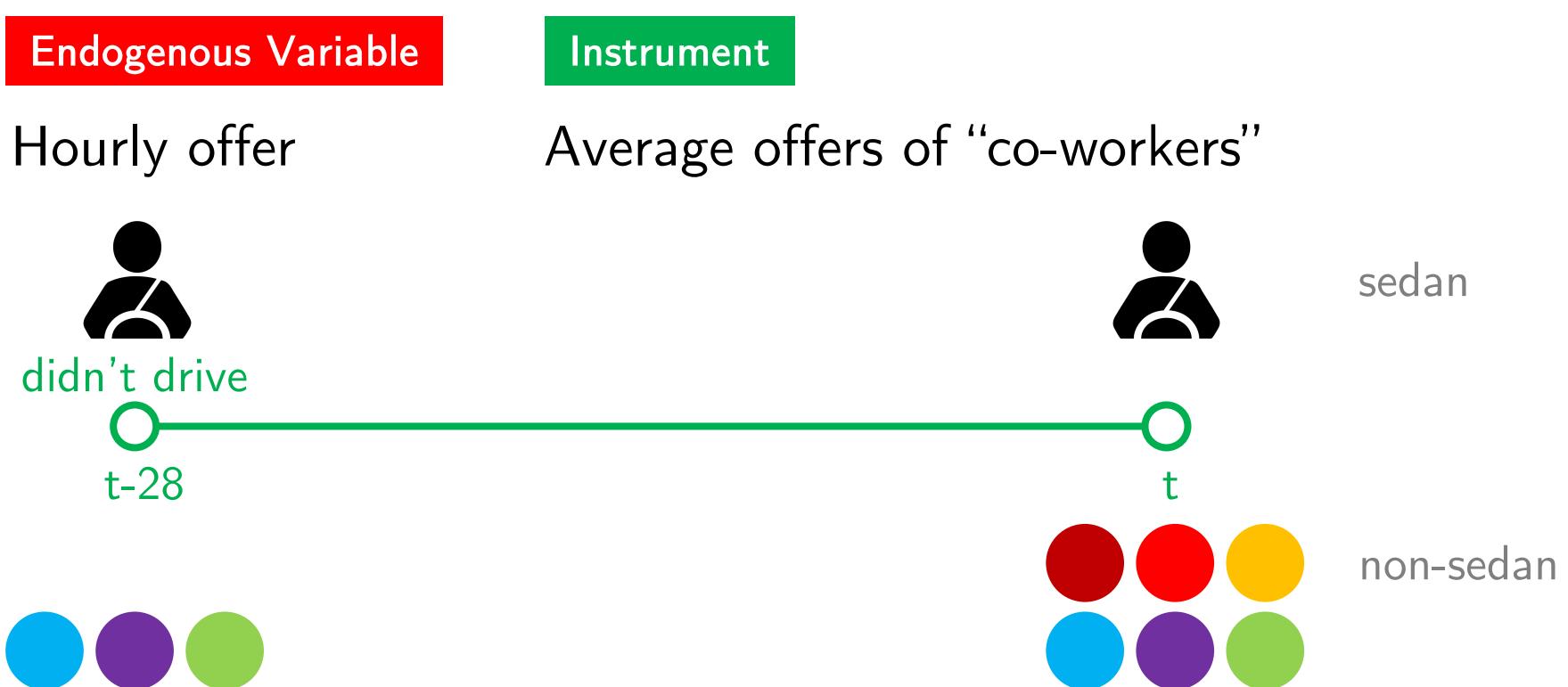
**Solution:** Instrumental Variables



# Empirical Strategy Challenges

## Simultaneity

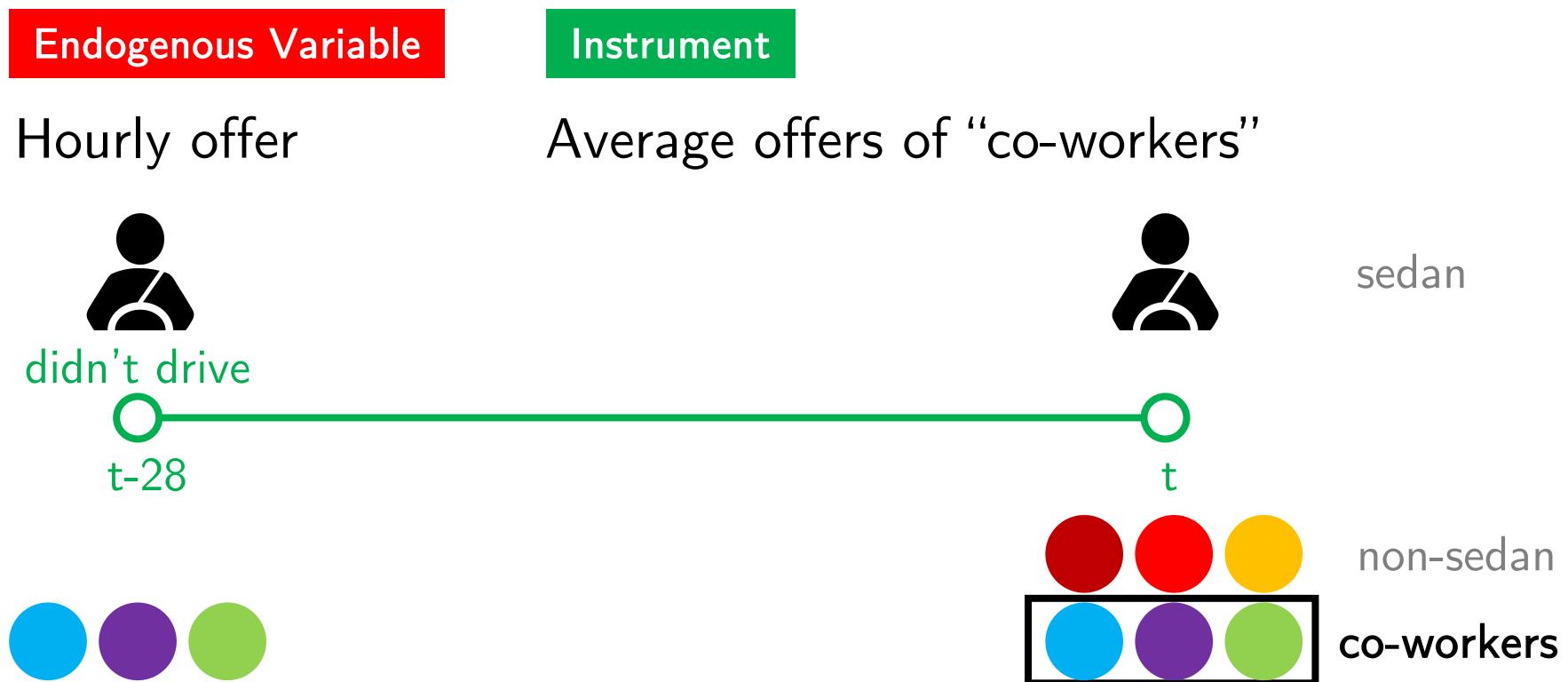
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# Empirical Strategy Challenges

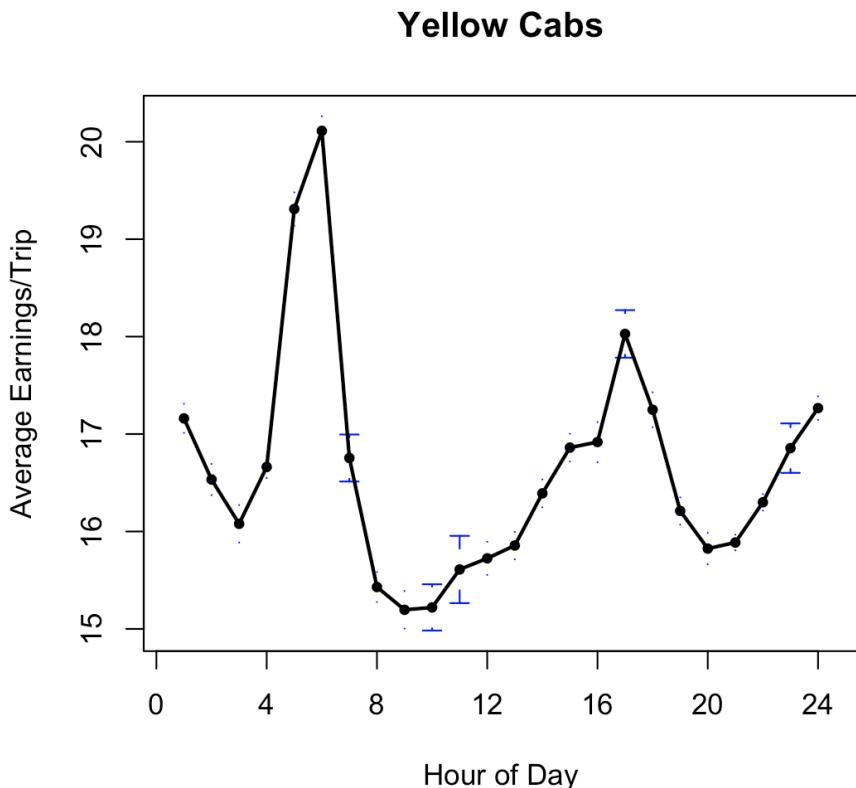
# Simultaneity

# Solution: Instrumental Variables



# TLC Data

Fares/earnings for all yellow cab trips



101M yellow cab trips

