



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

BDRM 2018



Park Sinchaisri  
Gad Allon, Maxime Cohen





HopSkipDrive



# Gig Economy



## Gig Economy

- + Labor flexibility/reduced costs
- Challenging capacity planning



# Who Will Show Up To Work?

Gig Economy

- + Labor flexibility/reduced costs
- Challenging capacity planning

# Challenging

# Capacity Planning

## Peak

Need enough workers  
when demand is high

*Game nights*



**POSTMATES**

**caviar**

*New school year*

 **TaskRabbit**



## Slow

Don't want too many workers

*"Guaranteed pay"*

 **VIA**

 **DOORDASH**

Real-time  
“surge pricing”

Mission Chinese Food  
\$22.78 subtotal (2 items)

BUSY PAY: +\$1.50

4.1 miles total

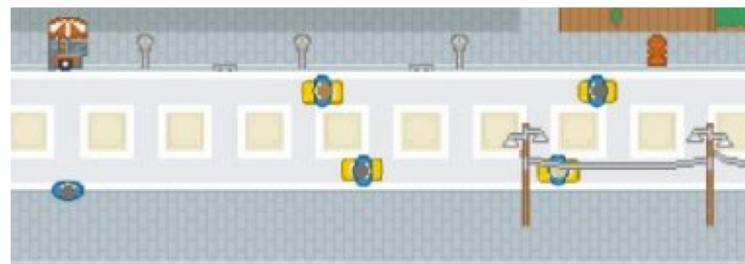
Accept Order

“You’re so close to  
your target”

Scheduled 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)



How Uber Uses  
Psychological Tricks to  
Push Its Drivers’ Buttons

# Research Question

How do gig economy workers  
make labor decisions?

= *How many would show up? How long would they stay working?*

## Outline

Theories of  
Labor Supply

Our data  
Endogeneity  
Selection

Approaches  
Heckman + IV

Results  
 $P(\text{work})/\text{Hours}$   
Behavioral

# Theories of Labor Supply

## Neoclassical

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

# Theories of Labor Supply

## Neoclassical

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

## Behavioral

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

Camerer et al.  
(1997)



*Income  
targeting*

Farber  
(2005)



*Income targeting  
but not strong*

Farber  
(2008)



Crawford/Meng  
(2011)



*Income/Hours  
2<sup>nd</sup> target reached*

Farber  
(2015)



*Hours  
targeting*

# Theories of Labor Supply

## Neoclassical

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

## Behavioral

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

Camerer et al.  
(1997)



*Income  
targeting*

Farber  
(2005)



*Income targeting  
but not strong*

Farber  
(2008)



Crawford/Meng  
(2011)



*Income/Hours  
2<sup>nd</sup> target reached*

Farber  
(2015)



*Hours  
targeting*

Chen/Sheldon  
(2016)  
Sheldon  
(2016)

*No targeting!*

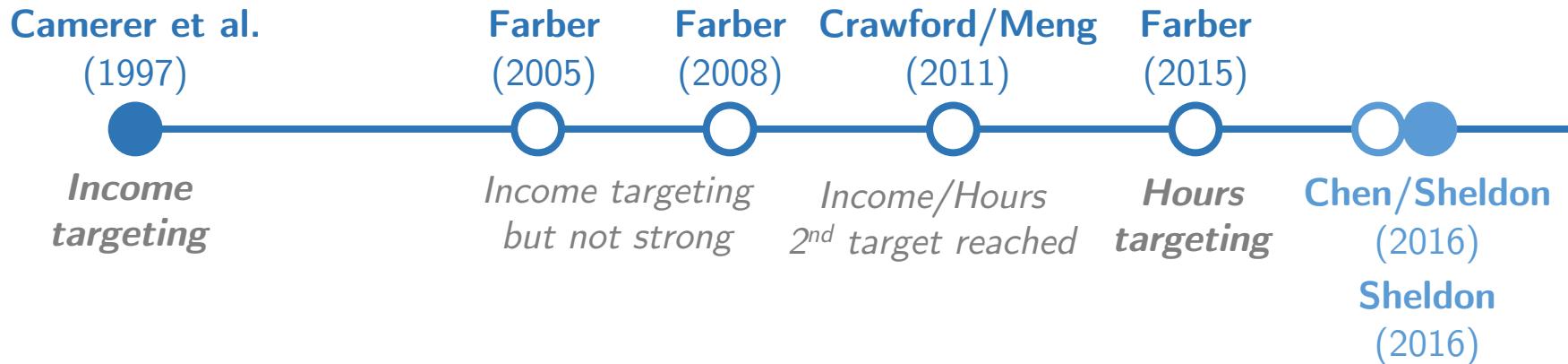
# Theories of Labor Supply

## Neoclassical

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

## Behavioral

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



**Our goal is to reconcile  
these two theories**

*No targeting!*

# Our Dataset

A ride-hailing company based in New York City

- Drivers **decide their schedules**, compensated by **hourly rate**

Shift-level financial incentives and driving activity



**5.5M**

Observations

**358**

Days

*Oct 2016 – Sep 2017*

**7,826**

Unique drivers

- SUV (64.54%)
- Sedan (21.77%)
- Van (13.69%)

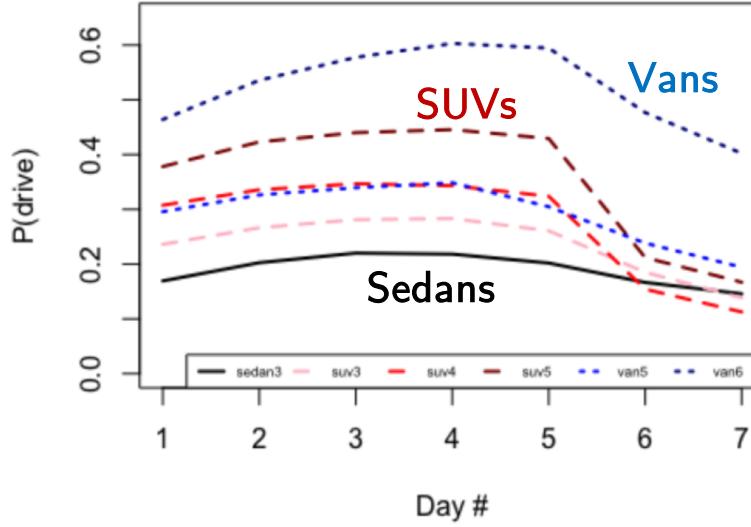
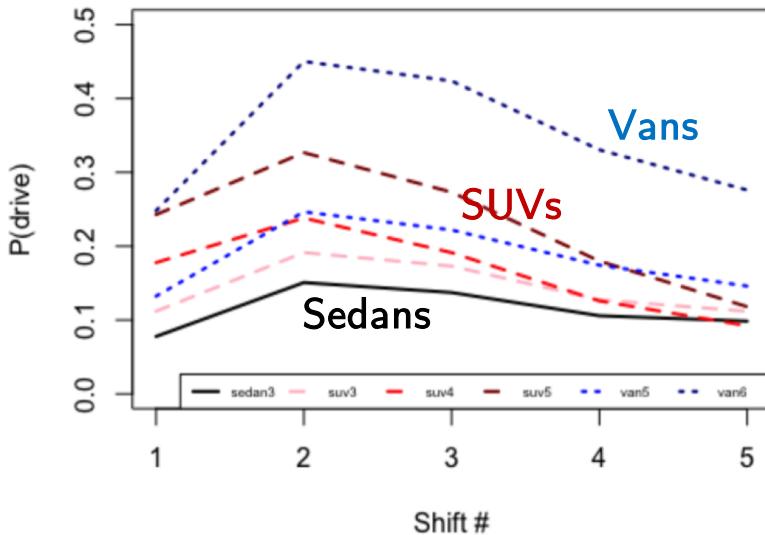
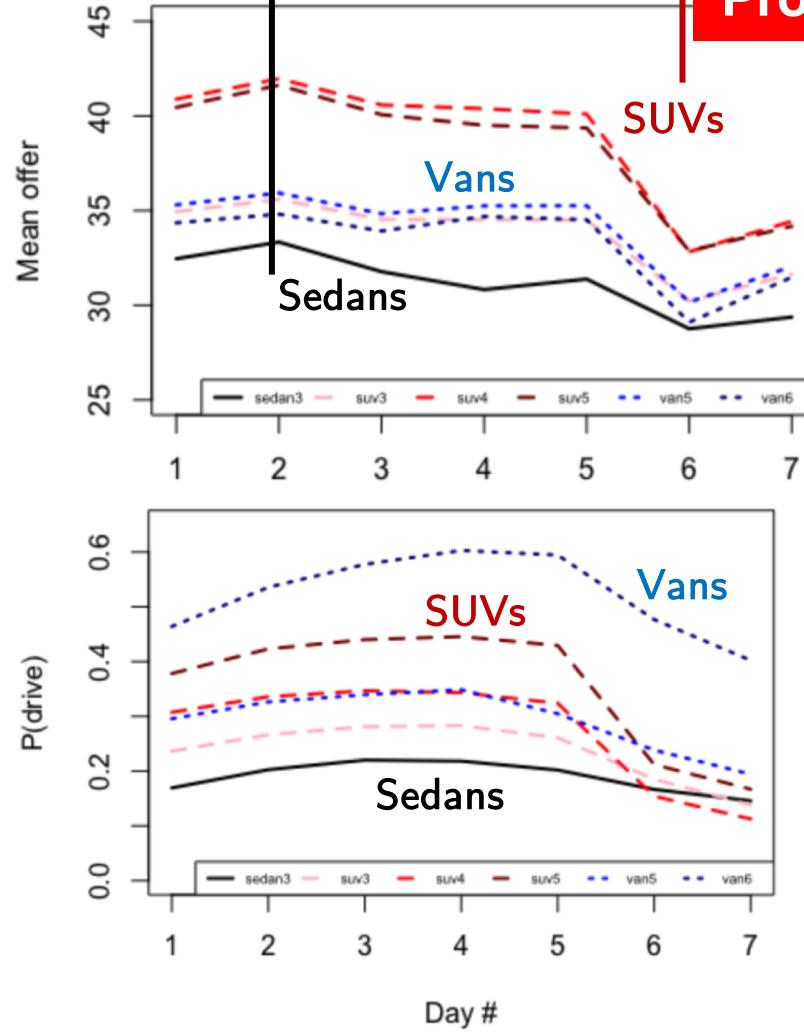
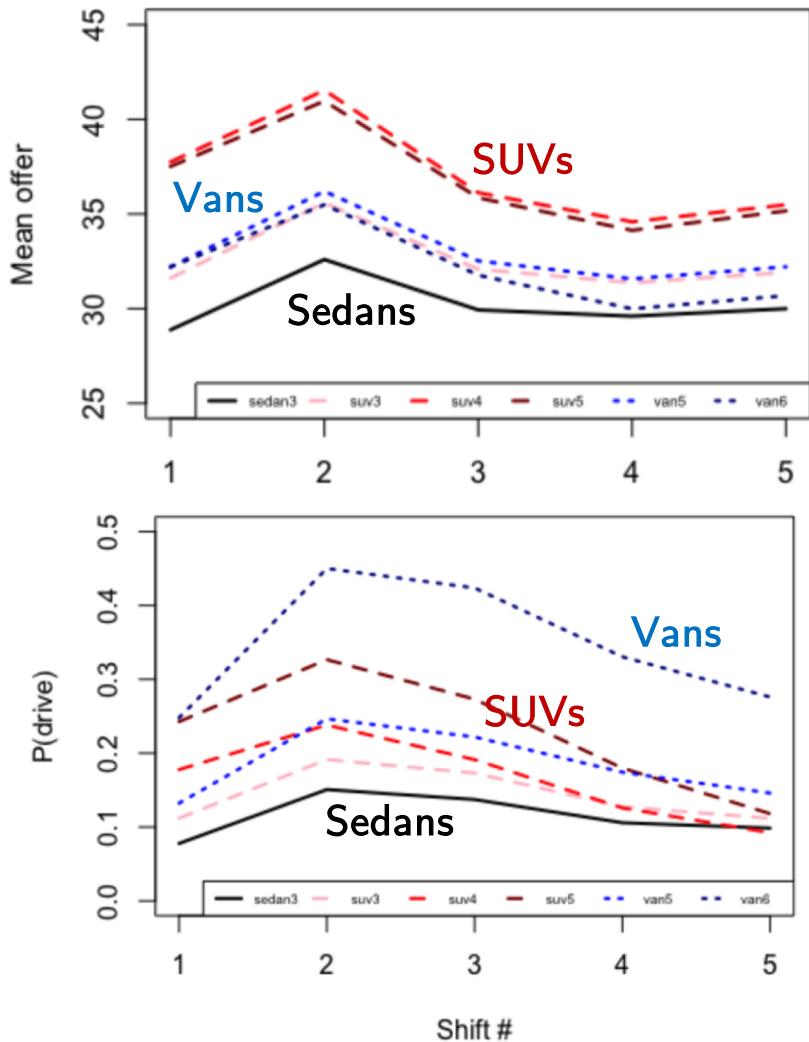
# Drivers

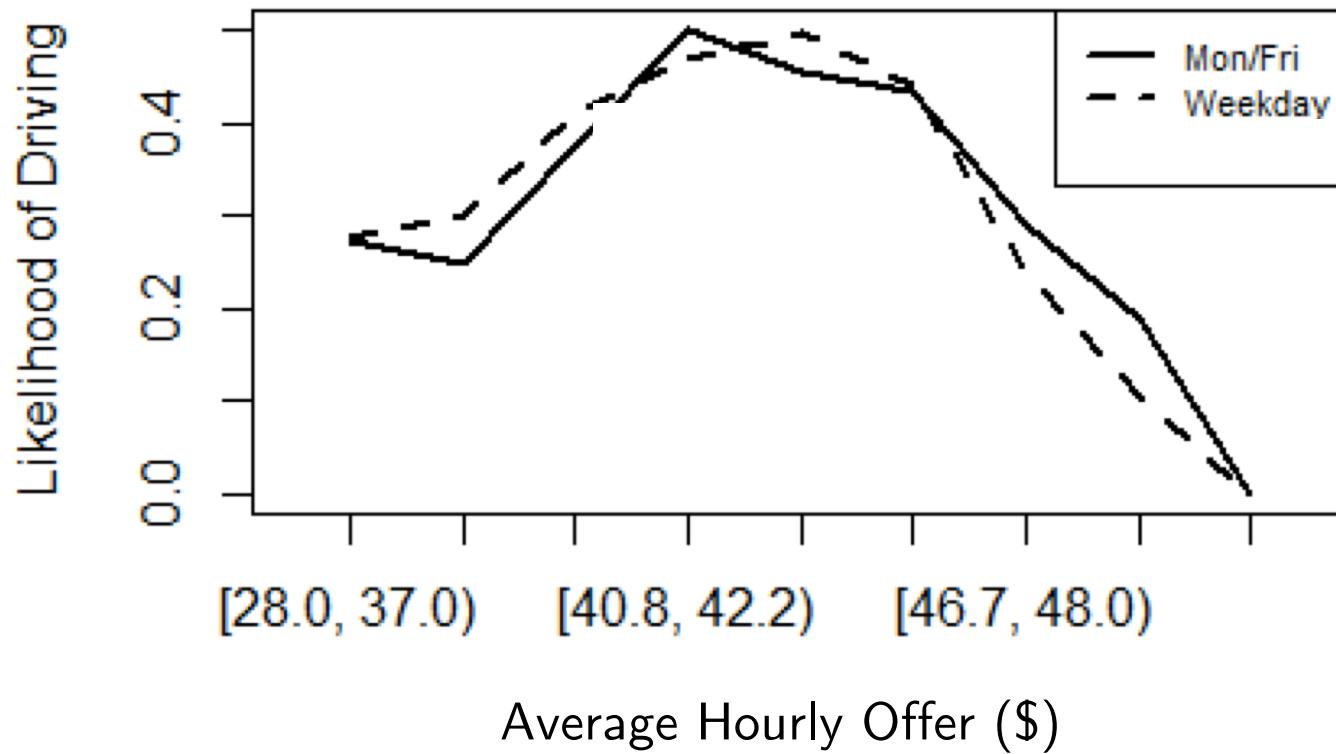
Casual

5.33 hrs/day, 12.65 hrs/wk

4.86 hrs/day, 5.86 hrs/wk

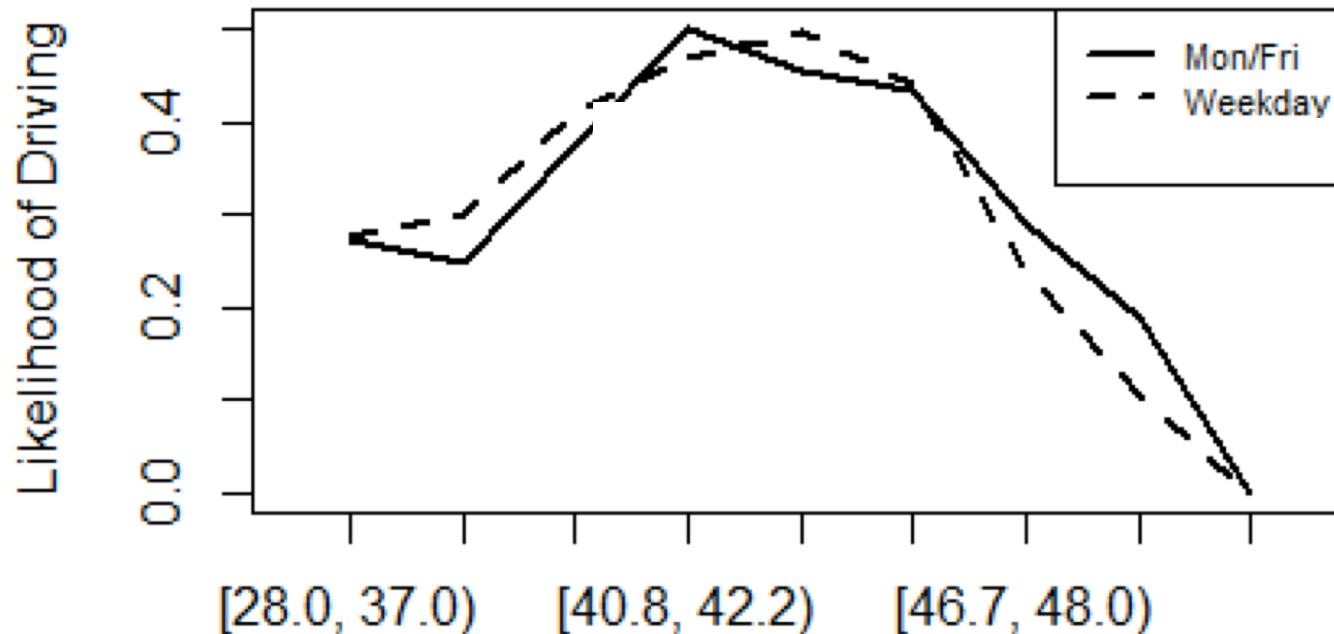
Professional





# “Simultaneity”

Supply  $\longleftrightarrow$  Offer



## Approach

# Instrumental Variables

Average Hourly Offer (\$)

- **Offer:** Average of other drivers' offers  
(Camerer et al. 1997, Sheldon 2016)
- **Promo:** Lagged value of *promo* from the same shift in the previous week  
(Villas-Boas & Winer 2001, Yang et al 2003)

Log(hours)	Camerer et al.'97	Sheldon'16			
	<i>TRIP</i>	<i>TLC1</i>	<i>TLC2</i>	<i>OLS</i>	<i>2SLS</i>
Log(wage)	-.319	-1.313	-.975	.14	.22

# “Selection Bias”

Decision to drive or not is not random

Log(hours)	Camerer et al.'97		Sheldon'16	
	<i>TRIP</i>	<i>TLC1</i>	<i>TLC2</i>	<i>OLS</i>
Log(wage)	-.319	-1.313	-.975	.14 .22

## Approach

## Heckman Two-Stage Estimation

- 1) Predict choice (drive or not?) using Probit
- 2) Predict level (how long?) using OLS

Both levels account for endogeneity  
using IVs discussed previously

+ Fixed effects in "Level"

# Dealing with Selection

## 1. Choice Equation “Drive or not?”

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

Inverse Mills Ratio (IMR)

Conditional on  
driving

## 2. Level Equation “How long?”

OLS: Estimate hours

# Dealing with Selection

## 1. Choice Equation “Drive or not?”

IV: Estimate **hourly offer** and **promo** from IVs

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

$$\mathbb{P}(Drive_{it} = 1 | \mathbf{X}) = \Phi(\alpha_0 + \alpha_w \hat{w}_{it} + \alpha_\psi \hat{\psi}_{it} + \alpha \mathbf{Z})$$

1

Inverse Mills Ratio (IMR)

Conditional on driving

## 2. Level Equation “How long?”

OLS: Estimate **hours**

# Dealing with Selection

## 1. Choice Equation “Drive or not?”

IV: Estimate **hourly offer** and **promo** from IVs

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

$$\mathbb{P}(Drive_{it} = 1 | \mathbf{X}) = \Phi(\alpha_0 + \alpha_w \hat{w}_{it} + \alpha_\psi \hat{\psi}_{it} + \alpha \mathbf{Z})$$

1

Inverse Mills Ratio (IMR)

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

Conditional on driving

## 2. Level Equation “How long?”

OLS: Estimate **hours**

# Dealing with Selection

## 1. Choice Equation “Drive or not?”

IV: Estimate **hourly offer** and **promo** from IVs

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

$$\mathbb{P}(Drive_{it} = 1 | \mathbf{X}) = \Phi(\alpha_0 + \alpha_w \hat{w}_{it} + \alpha_\psi \hat{\psi}_{it} + \alpha \mathbf{Z})$$

1

Inverse Mills Ratio (IMR)

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

Conditional on driving

## 2. Level Equation “How long?”

IV: Estimate **hourly earning** from IVs

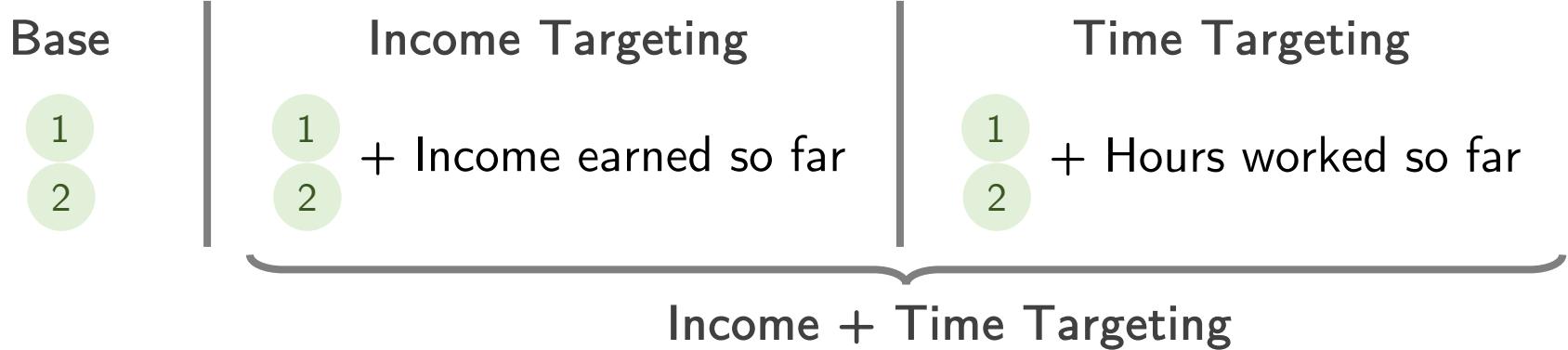
OLS: Estimate **hours**

$$f(Hour_{it}) = \beta_0 + \beta_w \hat{w}_{it} + \beta \mathbf{Z} + \beta_\lambda \lambda_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$$

2

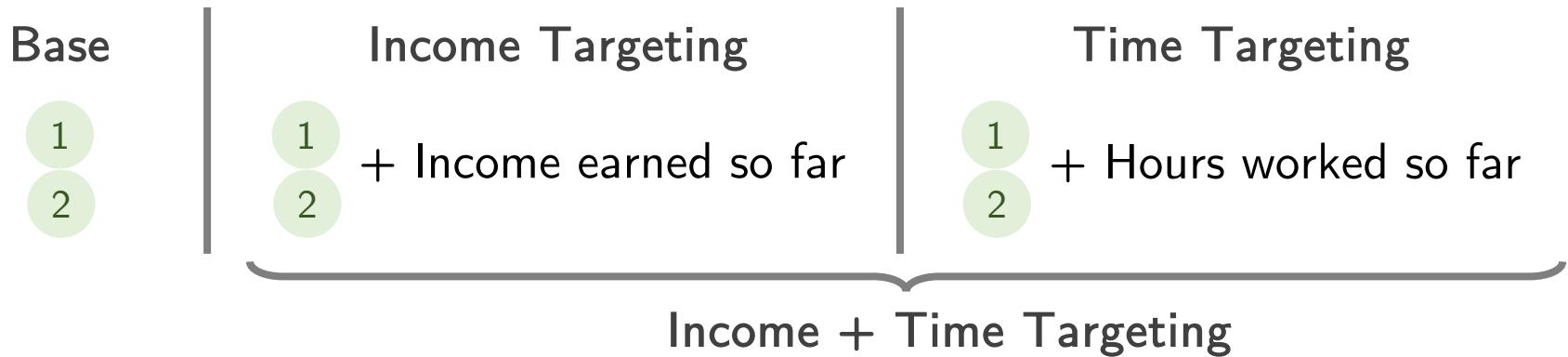
# Daily/Weekly Targets

Monday is the first day of the week. Assume no drivers work overnight.



# Daily/Weekly Targets

Monday is the first day of the week. Assume no drivers work overnight.



1

CHOICE

$$\mathbb{P}(Drive_{it} = 1 | \mathbf{X}) = \Phi(\alpha_0 + \alpha_w \hat{w}_{it} + \alpha_\psi \hat{\psi}_{it} + \alpha \mathbf{Z} + \alpha_\tau \begin{cases} - \\ \text{IncomeSoFar} \\ \text{HoursSoFar} \\ \text{ISF + HSF} \end{cases})$$

2

LEVEL

$$f(Hour_{it}) = \beta_0 + \beta_\omega \hat{\omega}_{it} + \beta \mathbf{Z} + \beta_\lambda \lambda_{it} + \alpha_\tau \begin{cases} - \\ \text{IncomeSoFar} \\ \text{HoursSoFar} \\ \text{ISF + HSF} \end{cases} + \epsilon_{it}$$

# Results Choice

$$\mathbb{P}(Drive_{it} = 1 | \mathbf{X}) = \Phi(\alpha_0 + \alpha_w \hat{w}_{it} + \alpha_\psi \hat{\psi}_{it} + \alpha \mathbf{Z} + \alpha_\tau \left\{ \begin{array}{l} - \\ \text{ISF} + \text{HSF} \end{array} \right\})$$

Late Night	Sedan		SUV	
	Base	+ Targets	Base	+ Targets
Hourly offer	0.008*** (0.001)	0.011*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)	0.012*** (0.001)
Promo	0.421*** (0.040)	0.407*** (0.049)	0.229*** (0.038)	0.285*** (0.046)

# Results Choice

$$\mathbb{P}(Drive_{it} = 1 | \mathbf{X}) = \Phi(\alpha_0 + \alpha_w \hat{w}_{it} + \alpha_\psi \hat{\psi}_{it} + \alpha \mathbf{Z} + \alpha_\tau \left\{ \begin{array}{l} - \\ \text{ISF} + \text{HSF} \end{array} \right\})$$

	Late Night		Sedan		SUV	
	Base	+ Targets	Base	+ Targets		
Hourly offer	0.008*** (0.001)	0.011*** (0.001)	0.008*** (0.001)	0.012*** (0.001)		
Promo	0.421*** (0.040)	0.407*** (0.049)	0.229*** (0.038)	0.285*** (0.046)		
Income so far	-	-0.0005 (0.0003)	"Fatigue"		-0.002*** (0.0002)	
Hours so far	-	0.414*** (0.011)	"Inertia" -		0.361*** (0.007)	
AIC	92,276.680	63,823.450	95,856.010	72,887.620		

N = 195,274

N = 166,766

# Results Level

$$f(Hour_{it}) = \beta_0 + \beta_\omega \hat{\omega}_{it} + \beta \mathbf{Z} + \beta_\lambda \lambda_{it} + \alpha_\tau \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} - \\ \text{ISF + HSF} \end{array} \right. + \epsilon_{it}$$

Late Night		Sedan			SUV		
		Naive	Base	+ Targets	Naive	Base	+ Targets
Hourly earnings		-0.008*** (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)	0.003*** (0.0003)	-0.010*** (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.001*** (0.0002)

# Results Level

$$f(Hour_{it}) = \beta_0 + \beta_\omega \hat{\omega}_{it} + \beta \mathbf{Z} + \beta_\lambda \lambda_{it} + \alpha_\tau \left\{ \begin{array}{l} - \\ \text{ISF} + \text{HSF} \end{array} \right. + \epsilon_{it}$$

Late Night		Sedan			SUV		
		Naive	Base	+ Targets	Naive	Base	+ Targets
Hourly earnings	-0.008*** (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)	0.003*** (0.0003)	-0.010*** (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.001*** (0.0002)	
ISF	-	-	-0.0003*** (0.00003)	"Income Target"	-	-0.0002*** (0.00002)	
HSF	-	-	0.197*** (0.001)	"Inertia"	-	0.187*** (0.001)	
IMR	-	***	***	-	***	***	***
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.617	0.617	0.976	0.313	0.324	0.957	

N = 17,515

N = 18,941

# Results Across Shifts

No significant difference among driver types

SUV	Offer	Choice			Level	
		ISF	HSF	Earning	ISF	HSF
Midday	+	+	+	-	+	+
PM peak	+	-	+	+	-	+
PM off-peak	+	-	+	+	-	+
Late night	+	-	+	+	-	+

Fatigue      Inertia      Income Target      Inertia

Sedan	Offer	Choice			Level	
		ISF	HSF	Earning	ISF	HSF
Midday	+	+	+	+	+	+
+PM peak	+	-	+	+	-	+
PM off-peak	+	-	+	+	-	+
Late night	+	-	+	+	-	+

Fatigue      Inertia      Income Target      Inertia

# Results Across Days

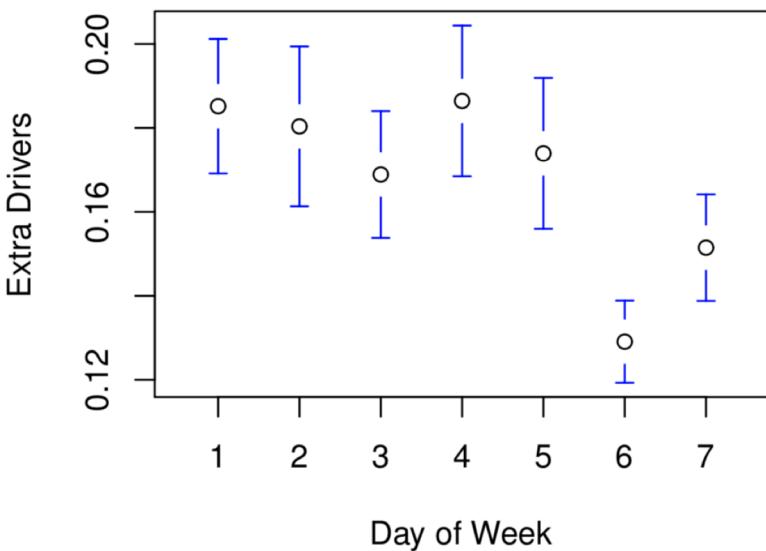
SUV	Offer	Choice			Earning	Level	
		ISF	HSF			ISF	HSF
Tuesday	+	+	+		+	+	+
Wednesday	+	+	+		+	-	+
Thursday	+	-	+		+	-	+
Friday	+	-	+		+	-	+
Saturday	+	-	+		+	-	+
Sunday	+	-	+		+	-	+

Sedan	Offer	ISF	HSF	Earning	ISF		HSF
Tuesday	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
Wednesday	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
Thursday	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
Friday	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
Saturday	+	-	+	+	-	-	+
Sunday	+	-	+	+	-	-	+

# Optimizing Incentives

Using the insights we obtain, we propose algorithm for optimal allocation of financial incentives

Given the same budget



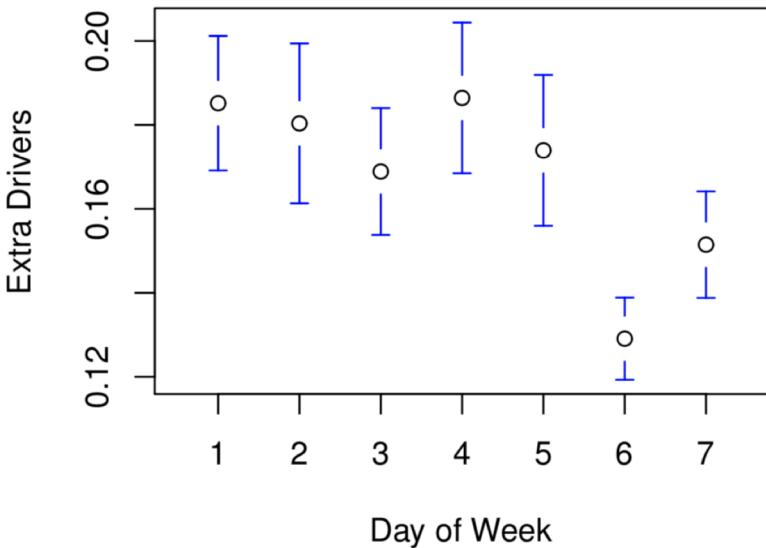
Can recruit **17% more drivers**

Average promo: 1.61x

# Optimizing Incentives

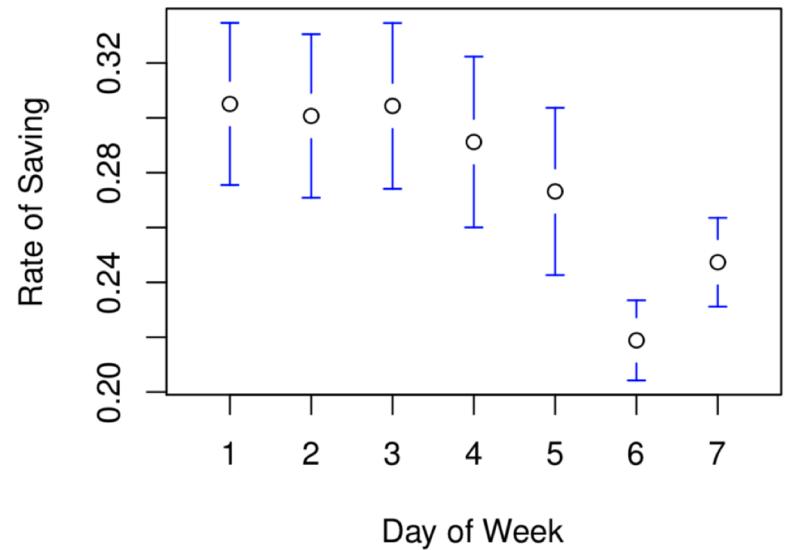
Using the insights we obtain, we propose algorithm for optimal allocation of financial incentives

Given the same budget



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

Given the same capacity



**Costs 28% less** to maintain capacity

# Summary

## Research question:

- How gig economy workers make labor decisions?  
How they are influenced by behavioral elements?

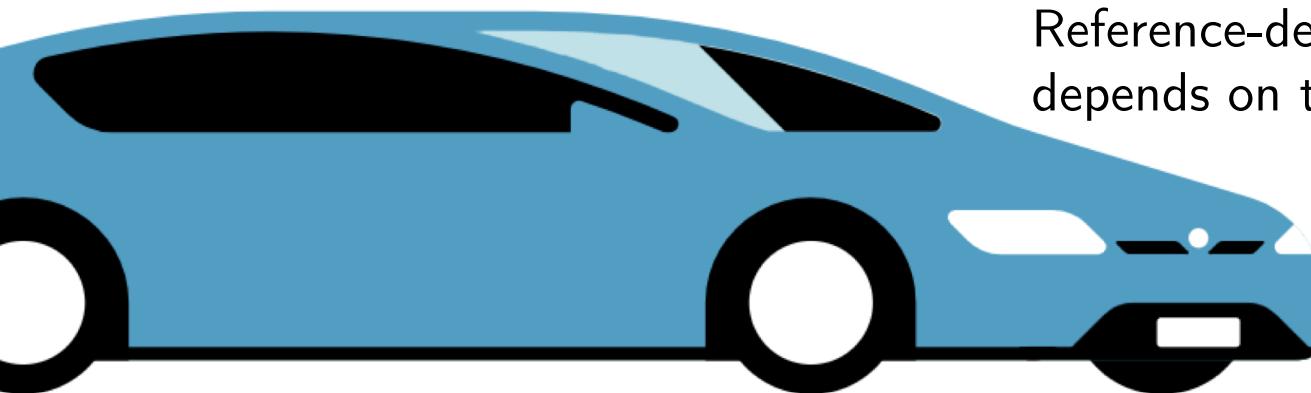
## Approach:

- Shift-level data from ride-hailing company
- Two-stage Heckman estimation with instrumental variables

## Findings:

- To bring workers to work, **offer** and **inertia** can increase the participation.  
**Fatigue/targeting** affect how long they will work.

Reference-dependence preference depends on time and vehicle type



# APPENDIX