On-demand and On-the-edge: Ride-hailing and delivery workers in San Francisco

Chris Benner, UC Santa Cruz

with
Erin Johansson, Jobs with Justice Education Fund
Kung Feng, Jobs with Justice San Francisco
Hays Witt, Drivers Seat Cooperative

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- Our team of 18 surveyors led by Jobs with Justice San Francisco Field Manager Andrea Prebys-Williams
- Our team of 10 pilot phase surveyors and 2 focus group co-facilitators, led by Jobs with Justice San Francisco survey manager Peter Estes
BACKGROUND

- Study was commissioned in 2019 by San Francisco Local Agency Formation Commission

- Request was for a representative labor survey of on-demand workers in the emerging mobility services sector (e.g. ride-hailing, delivery), to help the City better understand this workforce and determine whether the labor policies of emerging mobility companies align with the City’s labor principle, namely that they “ensure fairness in pay and labor policies and practices”

- Funding for the full study was provided by a range of additional partners, including the San Francisco Foundation, ReWork the Bay (formerly the Bay Area Workforce Collaborative), the Ford Foundation, the Annie E. Casey Foundation, and the Chavez Family Foundation

- Team selected for the study is a unique partnership between academic researchers, community organizers, and an innovative platform cooperative:
  - Chris Benner, Professor of Environmental Studies and Sociology, and Director of the Institute for Social Transformation, at UC Santa Cruz
  - Jobs with Justice San Francisco, a diverse coalition of over 30 community, faith-based, student and labor organizations
  - Jobs with Justice Education Fund, who’s research department produces original research alone and in partnership with academic partners across the country
  - Driver’s Seat Cooperative, an innovative start-up designed to help on-demand workers take ownership of the full spectrum of information they generate while they work.
METHODOLOGY

- Key goal: Representative sample of on-demand work being done in the city, not of all on-demand workers.

- This is important, as representative samples of all people who do some work for on-demand app companies show many people working for short periods of time, or earning only a small portion of their earnings from this type of work.

- But we wanted to develop a representative sample based on the actual work being done in the city, which we believe is a better basis for understanding labor practices and developing labor market policy.
Survey respondents were recruited through 6 different apps, with recruitment structured to get a representative sample.

- For ride-hailing, survey recruitment varied by time of day, day of the week, and location to match known pick-up location patterns from SF County Transportation Authority data.

- For delivery, survey recruitment was conducted during peak lunch and dinner meal times, spread across 11 different SF neighborhoods:
  - Downtown
  - Marina
  - Richmond
  - Sunset
  - Mission Terrace/Excelsior
  - North Beach/
  - Chinatown/Financial district
  - Glen Park/ Bernal Heights
  - Parkside
  - Noe Valley
  - Mission
  - Castro
METHODOLOGY

- We also pilot tested Driver’s Seat Cooperative technology for collection and analysis of driver generated geo-located trip and earnings data.
- Shelter-in-place order required halting data gathering about 60% through original plan.
- 643 completed surveys from six apps:
  - Uber (189), Lyft (218), DoorDash (85), GrubHub (110), Instacart (24), Shipt (17).
- Supplemental online COVID-Impact survey conducted 4/6/2020-4/21/2020, with recruitment through organized networks and closed Facebook groups.
  - 219 completed surveys, from total of 11 different apps (Amazon Flex, Caviar, DoorDash, Grubhub, Instacart, Lyft, Postmates, Saucey, Shipt, Uber & UberEats).
SURVEY FINDINGS
Diverse Workforce

- Predominantly male (86%)

- Diverse race/ethnicities:
  - 29% Asian, 23% Hispanic, 22% White, 12% Black, 13% multi-racial or other

- Majority (56%) foreign-born

- Median age is 40 in ride-hailing and 31 in delivery work

- 28% of ride-hailing and 62% of delivery workers in survey live in SF
What is your gender?
What is your highest level of education attainment:

- Less than high school
- High school or GED
- Some college
- Bachelor's degree or higher
Which of the following best describes your race/ethnicity?
County of Residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County of Residence</th>
<th>Ride-Hailing</th>
<th>Delivery</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>San Mateo</td>
<td>Alameda</td>
<td>Contra Costa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:
- San Francisco
- San Mateo
- Alameda
- Contra Costa
- Marin
- Santa Clara
- Other
Where you born in the U.S. or another country?
What is your country of origin (for foreign-born)?
Difficult Economic Circumstances

- 46% support others with their earnings, including 33% supporting children
- 21% have no health insurance, and another 30% use public or public-access health insurance (e.g. Medi-cal, Covered CA)
- 45% couldn’t handle a $400 emergency payment without borrowing
- 15% receive some form of public support (e.g. food stamps, housing assistance)
How many other people do you help support with your earnings?
How do you access health insurance?

- I purchase it
- Through my partner's employer
- Through a retiree plan
- Through another job or school
- Covered California/Medi Cal or another state/federal insurance program
- I do not have health insurance
Suppose that you have an emergency expense that cost $400. Based on your current financial situation, how would you pay for this expense?
Percentage of survey respondents who receive different types of public assistance

- Food Stamps (Cal Fresh/EBT)
- Housing Assistance (i.e. Section 8)
- Social Security Income (SSI)
- Women Infants and Children (WIC)
- TANF (Cal Works)
- Any form of public assistance

Ride-Hailing

Delivery

Total
Not a gig for most

- The majority of survey respondents work full-time for platform companies
  - 71% work more than 30 hours a week, including 50% who work more than 40 hours, and 30% who work more than 50 hours

- The majority of survey respondents depend on platform work as their primary source of income
  - 53% said it was their entire income last month, another 10% said it was 75% or more of their income

- People value the flexible schedule, but also rate fair pay and predictable pay high as important job qualities they want
How many hours per week do you work on average for all of these apps?
What percentage of last month’s total income was from platform work?
How would you rate the following job qualities in terms of their importance to you?

- Flexible Schedule
- Fair Pay
- Predictable pay
- Access to health insurance and paid time off
- Access to legal protections and benefits such as workers comp, UI, health & safety protections

Legend:
- Not at all important
- Slightly important
- Moderately important
- Very important
- Extremely important
Ride-hailing drivers more established than delivery

- Of the survey respondents, ride-hailing drivers work more hours a week (38 hours) than delivery workers (32 hours).

- Ride-hailing drivers have been working for their primary app for longer than delivery drivers:
  - 52% of ride-hailing drivers have been more than 2 years for their primary app, compared to 15% of delivery workers.
How many hours per week do you work on average for your current app?
How long have you worked for your current app?
Low Earnings

- Before expenses, median earnings is $900/week for ride-hailing workers and $500 for delivery workers who responded to the survey.
- Depending on how expenses are calculated, this can drop to as low as $360/week for ride-hailing workers and $224/week for delivery workers.
- We estimate as much as 20% might be earning nothing when all expenses are accounted for.
- Delivery workers are particularly dependent on tips, which account for 30% of their estimated earnings.
- Workers also have significant amount of unpaid time, waiting for orders or driving to a pick-up location.
- Workers also experience unpredictable earnings, often for reasons beyond their control, in part because some portion of their pay is due to incentives or bonuses.
How much do you earn per week in your work for your current app, on average, including base pay, tips, bonuses, etc.? (before expenses)
Median weekly earnings, before/after expenses (using two different methods for calculating expenses)
What percent of your earnings working for your current app are tips?
What percent of your time working is unpaid time (e.g. waiting for orders, driving to pick-up location)?
Please describe your weekly income for the platform work:

- It varies a lot due to forces beyond my control (number of jobs offered, how much earned per job, bonuses, etc.)
- It varies a lot due to my own decisions (how many hours to work, which platforms to work for, etc.)
- It stays about the same
Bonuses offered by the app you primarily work for

- Bonus of incentive pay in some form?
- Bonus or incentive when you signed up?
- Bonus or incentive for working asocial hours (late nights/weekends)?
- Bonus of incentive pay for meeting or exceeding a certain number of hours?
- Bonus or incentive pay for meeting or exceeding a certain number of rides in a certain period of time?
Other work challenges

- Survey respondents faced a number of other work-related challenges:
  - 40% of ride-hailing drivers and 52% of delivery workers said they work 12 or more straight hours in app-based work at least several times a month.
  - 31% of ride-hailing drivers and 38% of delivery workers say they often or sometimes sleep in their car, before, during or after doing app-based work.
  - 77% of ride-hailing drivers and 86% of delivery workers say they have often or sometimes had to use the bathroom but had no nearby access to a facility.
  - 43% of ride-hailing drivers and 24% of delivery workers say they have felt harassed or made to feel unsafe by a customer.
How often do you work 12 or more straight hours for one or more apps?

- **Ride-Hailing**
  - Three or more days per week: 40%
  - One to two days per week: 20%
  - Several times per month: 10%
  - Rarely or never: 30%

- **Delivery**
  - Three or more days per week: 50%
  - One to two days per week: 30%
  - Several times per month: 10%
  - Rarely or never: 20%

- **Total**
  - Three or more days per week: 47%
  - One to two days per week: 23%
  - Several times per month: 13%
  - Rarely or never: 17%
How often do you sleep in your car before, during or after you do this app-based work?
How often have you had to use the bathroom while working in San Francisco but had no nearby access to a facility?
Experience with customer harassment

- Have you been in a situation where a customer harassed you or otherwise made you feel unsafe?
- If yes, the app was helpful in addressing the situation
- If yes, the app was not helpful in addressing the situation

Graph showing the percentage of experience with customer harassment across different employment types (Ride-Hailing, Delivery, Total). The graph indicates the proportion of experiences where the app was helpful or not helpful in addressing such situations.
Apps manage job opportunities

- Many, though not all, respondents felt penalized for declining certain job offers:
  - 49% of delivery workers and 36% of ride-hailing drivers said they were not offered work for a period of time
  - 29% of all survey respondents though they were offered fewer bonuses or incentives
  - 27% of survey respondents said they were deactivated or threatened with deactivation. Of those actually deactivated, less than half thought the app handled it fairly
- 51% of delivery workers and 36% of ride-hailing drivers thought the amount or types of jobs they were offered was affected by their worker rating
On a scale of 1-5, to what extent do you feel the app you primarily work for is fair to you?
Questions related to apps job practices

- Does your current app offer enough information about a specific ride to determine whether or not it’s worth accepting?
- When you decline offers while working for your current app, does the app deactivate you or threaten you with deactivation?
- When you decline offers while working for your current app, does the app offer fewer bonuses/incentives?
- When you decline offers while working for your current app, does the app not offer work for a period of time?

% answering yes

- Total
- Delivery
- Ride-Hailing
Questions related to deactivation

- Have you ever been deactivated by the app you primarily work for?
- If yes, was the process handled fairly by the app?
- If deactivated, did you lose a significant amount of income during deactivation?
- Have you ever been threatened with deactivation?
Does your worker rating have an impact on the amount or types of jobs you receive?
Parking is a challenge

- 38% of ride-hailing drivers and 52% of delivery workers completely the survey said they had received a ticket for parking in red zones in San Francisco.
- 45% of ride-hailing drivers and 62% of delivery workers said they had received other parking violations in San Francisco.
While driving for the apps, have you received a ticket for …

- …speeding or other driving violation
- …parking in red zones in San Francisco
- …other parking violations in San Francisco
- …using a cell phone while driving
Bicyclists have challenges too

- 18% of all delivery workers said that a bicycle was their primary mode of delivery—half of those using an electric bike

- People using bikes have expenses that are rarely reimbursed by their app
  - Only 33% said they had no purchases
  - 33% said they had to purchase protective gear
  - 25% said they had to purchase a rack for carrying larger orders
  - 13% said they had to purchase an insulated box
  - 8% purchased an electric bike for work
What is your primary mode of transportation for your app-based delivery work?
What did you need to purchase to get your bike ready for app-based work that was not offered or reimbursed by the app?
Bike safety is a concern

- 70% of people delivering by bicycle said they had felt unsafe

- Of those who felt unsafe
  - 89% said cars parked in bike lanes are a safety hazard
  - 89% said the poor quality of roads (potholes) are a hazard
  - 57% said they were delivering on roads not meant for bikes in order to deliver more quickly

- 32% said they have felt physically threatened on a bike while delivering
Have you ever felt unsafe delivering food by bike in San Francisco?

If yes, are you delivering on roads that are not meant for bikes in order to deliver more quickly?

If yes, are cars parked in bike lanes a safety hazard?

If yes, are the poor quality of roads (potholes) as hazard?

Have you ever felt physically threatened on bike while delivering?
Potential to expand bike delivery?

- There are some economic reasons why people choose to deliver by bike: 52% said they couldn’t afford a vehicle, and 77% cited too high vehicle expenses.

- Yet 77% also said they preferred delivering by bike or walking (exercise, less stressful).

- 83% also said it was quicker to deliver using a bike in San Francisco.

- If provided with a financial incentive to purchase an ebike:
  - 39% percent of delivery workers said they would switch from driving, and 31% said they might.
  - 25% of ride-hailing drivers said they would consider or definitely switch to ebike delivery.
Reason for not driving for app-based delivery work

Because you cannot afford a vehicle?

Because vehicle expenses for delivering are too high?

Because it's quicker in San Francisco?

Because you prefer biking or walking (exercise, less stressful)?
If you were provided with a financial incentive to purchase an ebike, would you prefer:

- …this mode of travel instead of driving for delivery work?
- …doing delivery rather than driving for a ride-hailing service?
Driver-collected trip data important for policy development, implementation, enforcement.

The Driver’s Seat Cooperative technology pilot validated that work hours and earnings data collected directly from drivers via mobile app yields unique and relevant information for policymaking. Pilot data was collected on the following information points.

1) Ratio of paid to unpaid work time
2) Driver total and average number of hours worked
3) Driver gross earnings
4) Driver mileage-based expenses
5) Geographic and temporal distribution of where the work happens, including how much work is performed with in SF City/County limits

This data can be segmented by time of day, day of week, or geography at any level, and analyzed by distance as well as time. The data can also be segmented by P3 (paid) and combined P1/P2 (unpaid) time. Effective hourly wage estimates can be calculated from earnings, expenses, and hours worked.
Driver collected data shows ratio and distribution of paid and unpaid work*.

*Demonstration data collected during study pilot phase.
Impact of COVID-19 On App-Based Delivery & Ride-hailing Workers

Survey Results, April 2020
Impact of COVID-19

- 41% of those surveyed working on delivery, with nearly half making switch from ridehailing apps due to coronavirus

- 24% stopped working on the apps when the virus hit

- Workers struggling financially
  - 54% had lost more than $500/week in earnings
  - 37% had lost 100% of their income
  - Another 19% had lost more than 75% of their income

- Though 15% had seen an increase in jobs being offered, 76% had seen a significant reduction in jobs being offered

- 28% said they were still accepting jobs despite fears of the virus because they needed the income
Please choose the option that best describes your work on ridehailing and/or food delivery apps since the coronavirus outbreak hit the Bay Area.

- I continue to work primarily on food and/or grocery delivery apps (32%)
- I shifted from primarily ridehailing to mostly food and/or grocery delivery apps (23%)
- I shifted from food and/or grocery delivery to mostly ridehailing apps (18%)
- Other (manually respond) (3%)
- I continue to work primarily on ridehailing apps (24%)
Percent Change in Weekly Earnings Since February

- Earning loss of more than $1,500 a week: 14%
- Earning loss of $1,001 to $1,500 a week: 15%
- Earning loss of $501 to $1,000 a week: 13%
- Earning loss of $1 to $500 a week: 9%
- Earning the same: 32%
- Earning gain of $1 to $500 a week: 17%
Weekly Earn Change Percentage by Category

- Lost 100% of income: 37%
- Losing 75-99% of income: 19%
- Losing 50-74% of income: 23%
- Losing 25-49% of income: 9%
- Losing up to 25% of income: 9%
- Earning the same: 3%
How has COVID-19 (coronavirus) impacted how many jobs you are offered?

- Significantly increased: 15%
- Significantly reduced: 4%
- Depends on the app or other (please describe below): 5%
- Stayed about the same: 76%
Has the virus impacted your decision to accept jobs?

- I am accepting jobs normally and am not concerned about contracting or sharing the virus
- I am accepting jobs despite my fears of sharing and contracting the virus because I need the income
- I am working less, out of fear of contracting or sharing the virus with customers I'm in contact with
- I am working less, because I am sick or need to care for a sick person
Workers getting little help

- Survey respondents said the primary app they work for is doing little to help them
  - Only 19% were offered procedures or support for what to do if they exhibit symptoms of the virus
  - Only 27% said their app provides financial assistance if they have been exposed to COVID-19
  - Only 30% were offered training on how to protect themselves through contact with customers
  - Only 41% were being provided gloves, hand sanitizer, or other protective equipment
- 55% said their app was doing nothing or not enough to respond to the virus
### Which actions are the app you most work for taking related to COVID-19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Yes (%)</th>
<th>No (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Offers procedures and support for what to do if you exhibit symptoms of the virus</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provides financial assistance if you have been diagnosed with or exposed to COVID-19</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Requires customers to report when they are sick before the job begins</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offers training in 'contactless' deliveries</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provides gloves, sanitizing products for hands, vehicle or other protective equipment</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offers training to protect yourself through contact with customers.</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offers training to protect yourself while shopping or picking up food.</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On a scale of 1-5, what extent do you feel the platforms are doing enough to protect you from exposure to COVID-19?

1. Doing nothing to adequately protect me
2. Doing not enough to respond to the virus
3. Neutral
4. Offering reasonable protections from the virus
5. Very responsive to the virus and doing everything they can to protect me
Calls for Government Action

- A substantial number of survey respondents were looking for public officials to take more action
  - 65% though public officials should provide free sanitizer, gloves and other protective equipment
  - 65% thought public officials should provide emergency financial assistance
  - 63% thought public officials should enforce laws so app-based workers who are misclassified as contractors could have access to unemployment, paid leave and other benefits under city and state laws
- Substantial numbers said they were in urgent need of help in relation to health and economic security
Which actions should public officials take now in response to COVID-19?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>% Yes</th>
<th>% No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Offer priority access to COVID-19 testing</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide emergency healthcare</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide parking-accessible facilities with restrooms for access to hand washing</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enforce laws so app-based workers who are misclassified as contractors have access to unemployment, paid leave and other benefits under city and state laws</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide emergency financial assistance</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide free sanitizer, gloves and other protective equipment</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What do you most urgently need right now?

- Access to paid sick leave: 54% Yes, 46% No
- Emergency funds to cover bills, food, etc.: 27% Yes, 73% No
- Access to healthcare benefits: 61% Yes, 39% No
- Protections from exposure to people who are ill: 44% Yes, 56% No
- None of these things, I am coping well: 94% Yes, 6% No
On-demand ride-hailing and delivery work in San Francisco is performed predominantly by people for whom it is close to full-time work and their primary source of income.

This is an incredibly diverse workforce, including nearly 80% People of Color and 56% immigrants from dozens of different countries.

This workforce struggles to make ends meet, and their circumstances have been made significantly worse by the COVID-19 crisis.

When expenses and both unpaid and paid work time are fully accounted for, a substantial portion of this workforce are estimated to make less than the equivalent of San Francisco’s minimum wage (currently $15.59 hour).

Many also don’t receive other benefits they would be entitled to under San Francisco law if the companies were classifying them as employees.

Many are also not currently being adequately supported during the COVID-19 crisis, either by the app-based companies they work for, or by public policies.

These findings underscore the importance of policy makers ensuring that existing city and state employment laws are enforced for this workforce, and finding new ways to address the economic, safety and health, and public health concerns facing this critical workforce.
Thank you.

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https://transform.ucsc.edu/