

# MURDERED BEHIND THE WHEEL: An Escalating Crisis for App Drivers

GIG  
WORKERS  
RISING

  
**POWERSWITCH**  
ACTION

**ACRE**  
ACTION CENTER  
ON RACE & THE ECONOMY

**Content warning:**

*This report contains discussions of physical violence, assault, and death.*



**GIG WORKERS  
ARE ESSENTIAL**

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# IN MEMORIAM

We honor and are in solidarity with all app-based workers who work tirelessly with few protections or benefits to transport and feed us. We pay tribute to all workers murdered while working for an app corporation<sup>1</sup> and those not listed here who have died on the job. We offer our condolences to their families and loved ones.

Each person listed below and on the following page is an app worker that has been murdered in the United States since February 2022 or whose stories came to us after the release of Gig Workers Rising's report in April 2022.<sup>2</sup> In memoriam:

Aaron Orozco	Uber	Lynwood, California
Abdul Rauf Khan	Lyft	Hillcrest Heights, Maryland
Ainzargul Totakhil	Uber	Durham, North Carolina
Althia Smith Jenkins-Perry	Uber	Bryan, Texas
Andrew Satavu	DoorDash	Modesto, California
Andrew Stiller	Uber	New Orleans, Louisiana
Anthony Garland	Lyft	Indianapolis, Indiana
Caron Arterberry	Uber	Chicago, Illinois
Christina Spicuzza	Uber	Penn Hill, Pennsylvania

Corey Price	DoorDash	Jackson, Mississippi
Crayton Saffolds	Uber	Chicago, Illinois
Dajour Russ	DoorDash	Detroit, Michigan
DaJuan Jenkins	Uber	Detroit, Michigan
Dina May Terrell	Lyft	Pontiac, Michigan
Dushaundra Lee Ward	Lyft	Memphis, Tennessee
Enrique Bardales Valle	Lyft	New Orleans, Louisiana
Harriet Childers	Uber	East St Louis, Illinois
Humberto Manuel Francis Hernandez	Uber	Long Beach, New York
James Barron	DoorDash	Jacksonville, Florida
Justin Krumbah	Instacart	Richland, Washington
Kon "Patrick" Fung	Uber	Oakland, California
Lauren Allen	Lyft	DeKalb County, Georgia
Michael Wallace	Uber	Louisville, Kentucky
Milton Pillacela Ayora	Uber <sup>3</sup>	Chicago, Illinois
Mohamed Kediye	Lyft	Seattle, Washington
Nesredin Esleiman	Uber	Temple Hills, Maryland
Pamela Rae Martinez	UberEats	Glendale, Arizona
Paris-James Smith	GoPuff	Dekalb County, Georgia
Raymond Hill III	DoorDash	New Orleans, Louisiana
Richard Skelskey	Lyft	Memphis, Tennessee
Roberto Peigne	DoorDash	Port St. Lucie, Florida
Shaani Mohamed	Uber	Portland, Oregon
Yolanda Dillion	Uber	New Orleans, Louisiana



# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

**At least 31 app-based workers, primarily people of color, were murdered while working.**

Despite their self-proclaimed role as “disrupters” of modern industries, app corporations like Uber, Lyft, and DoorDash merely perpetuate an age-old, shameful American business tradition: chasing profit by paying dangerously low wages, denying people meaningful voice in their working conditions, and shirking their responsibility for the safety of the working people they depend upon—drivers who are primarily people of color and immigrants.<sup>4</sup> Last year, Gig Workers Rising (GWR) released our [first report](#) on app workers killed at work, documenting more than 50 workers killed between 2017 and January 2022.<sup>5</sup>

New research shows that the safety crisis app workers face may be escalating. A review of press reports, police reports, and court records reveals that in 2022 alone, **at least 31 app-based workers, primarily people of color, were murdered while working.**<sup>6</sup> This is the highest annual figure of app workers identified by GWR as having been murdered on the job to date.<sup>7</sup>

Our research found a noticeably racialized dimension to extreme violence workers face. In 2022, **77 percent of murdered app workers identified by the report authors were people of color**, and 26 percent were immigrants. While most workers murdered were not murdered by a passenger, those who were are mostly—78 percent—people of color.<sup>8</sup>

The app work sector has some of the highest instances of murder compared to other sectors. When we compare the number of murdered app workers, we identified to the number of homicides reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), it appears that **the app-based work sector would be among the top five sectors where workers are murdered on the job** if the BLS were to track homicides in this sector.<sup>9</sup>

Of the workers we identified as murdered on the job, Uber had more workers killed on the job than any other app corporation last year. **In 2022, 39 percent of workers murdered at work that we identified were driving or delivering for Uber.**

BIPOC

**77%**

of murdered app workers identified by the report authors were people of color

UBER

**39%**

workers murdered at work that we identified were driving or delivering for Uber



**26%**

of murdered app workers identified by the report authors were immigrants

Moreover, app-based workers, particularly those of color, are exposed to a wide range of harm while on the job, including verbal abuse, harassment, physical assault, carjackings, and other violent acts.<sup>10</sup> A recent Strategic Organizing Center (SOC) report revealed that 67 percent of rideshare drivers have experienced workplace violence ranging from verbal abuse to assault to being shot or stabbed.<sup>11</sup> The figure was higher for drivers of color, with 72 percent reporting having experienced violence.<sup>12</sup> According to data from The Markup, 431 instances of carjacking occurred between 2019 and 2022, and at least 171 of those carjacked were Uber drivers.<sup>13</sup> The Illinois Economic Policy Institute (IPEI) also found that almost 40 percent of app workers in the Chicagoland area experienced physical violence at the hands of a passenger.<sup>14</sup>

The dominant app-based work model puts workers in a double bind that contributes to the risks workers face, and ensures drivers and delivery workers bear the consequences of workplace violence without adequate support.

App corporations persist in classifying workers as independent contractors. In doing so, Uber, Lyft, and others continue a racist legacy of carving occupations dominated by workers of color out of basic legal protections enjoyed by other workers.<sup>15</sup> These corporations deny the Black and Brown drivers and delivery workers, who generate their income, vital health and safety protections like workplace safety law enforcement and workers' compensation. The absence of such basic workplace legal protections makes workers vulnerable.

Meanwhile, Uber and Lyft retain control over the terms and conditions of workers' jobs,<sup>16</sup> including deactivation and pay practices that make it more difficult for workers to protect themselves. App corporations' pay schemes, ratings, and deactivation policies can deter drivers from canceling rides or orders when they feel unsafe. Workers need access to the platform to work and depend on company-controlled randomized pay incentives to supplement low wages.<sup>17</sup> This collective exploitation contributes to a harrowing health and safety crisis for app workers.

App corporations like Uber, Lyft, and DoorDash have responded to critiques<sup>18</sup> about safety on their platforms by rolling out safety features that do not meaningfully prevent harm or mitigate risk. Instead, these safety features largely put the onus on workers to engage on the platform amid safety incidents or after they have already happened (as discussed later in this report).<sup>19</sup> If app corporations want to take safety seriously, they must confront how their business model and practices are foundational to this crisis.

App workers worldwide are grappling with a business model and workplace practices that leave them facing an unparalleled and racialized health and safety crisis. Globally, they are responding powerfully by organizing and taking collective action to demand safety protections, including deactivation protection, fair pay, transparency, and accountability.

# Key Term Definitions

*How we are using these terms in this report*

**App corporation.** Corporations that provide rideshare or delivery services through a device-based application.

**App worker.** Someone who works for an app corporation to provide rides or deliveries on its platform.

**Deactivation.** When an app company blocks a worker's access to using the app either temporarily or permanently, too often without warning or just cause. In such cases, deactivation denies workers their livelihood without due process.<sup>20</sup> Essentially, deactivations are terminations or unpaid suspensions.

**Take rate.** The proportion of fares that app corporations keep from rides and deliveries.<sup>21</sup>

**“The rules that underpin app work encourage workers to continue to work even when they feel unsafe.”**

## **THE TERMS OF WORK**

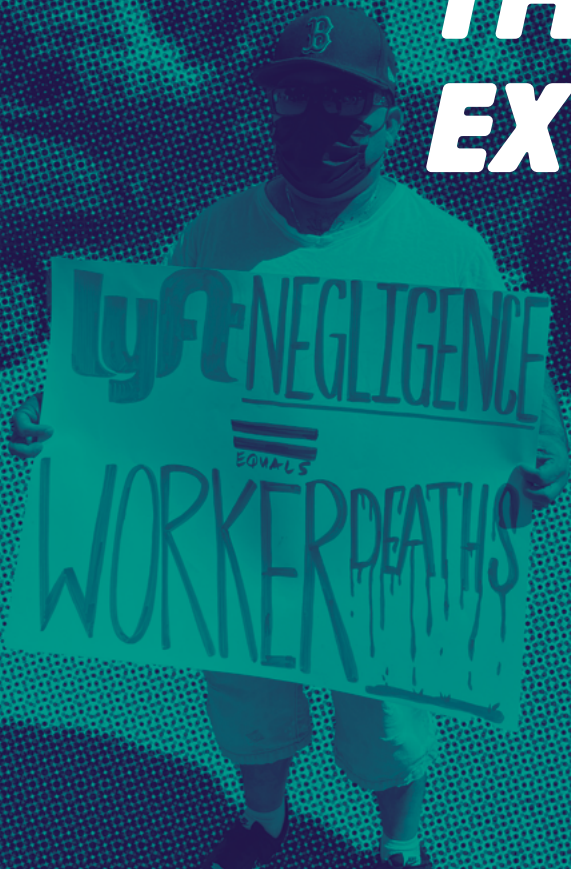
Too many app corporations put workers in a double bind by shifting risks and costs onto workers by classifying them as independent contractors while still controlling the terms of work. For instance, Uber and Lyft determine the trips presented to workers, set take rates, control platform access, and limit workers’ ability to challenge such terms.<sup>22</sup> The rules that underpin app work encourage workers to continue to work even when they feel unsafe.

App worker pay is often low and unpredictable. In a 2022 national survey, 64 percent of respondents reported earning less than \$15 per hour.<sup>23</sup> According to recent studies, some drivers earn much less, such as \$5.49 after expenses for Denver rideshare drivers and \$6.20 for California drivers.<sup>24</sup> To make ends meet, many workers rely on incentives, such as bonuses and surge pay, which require completing a specific number of rides or orders within a set timeframe,<sup>25</sup> putting pressure on them to work at any cost. The SOC report found that **57 percent of all drivers and 62 percent of drivers of color did not cancel a ride, despite feeling unsafe, because they feared losing income.**<sup>26</sup>

Deactivation—essentially termination or unpaid suspension—leaves workers without access to the platform, suddenly unemployed and without income, often without meaningful recourse. This model fuels the pressure on workers to keep working even when they feel unsafe. As one federal judge wrote in 2022, “[d]rivers are theoretically free to reject any ride they would like, but those attempting to make a living understand the precarious nature of that freedom in the face of a power imbalance and information asymmetry favoring Uber.”<sup>27</sup>

This pressure to keep working, even when feeling unsafe, disproportionately affects drivers of color. In a recent national survey, **56 percent of drivers of color reported continuing a ride that made them feel unsafe because they were concerned about deactivation.**<sup>28</sup> The sense of apprehension is justified, as 69 percent of drivers of color in a recent California survey reported experiencing some form of deactivation,<sup>29</sup> and workers can be deactivated for low acceptance or high cancellation rates.<sup>30</sup>

# THE MOST EXTREME COST

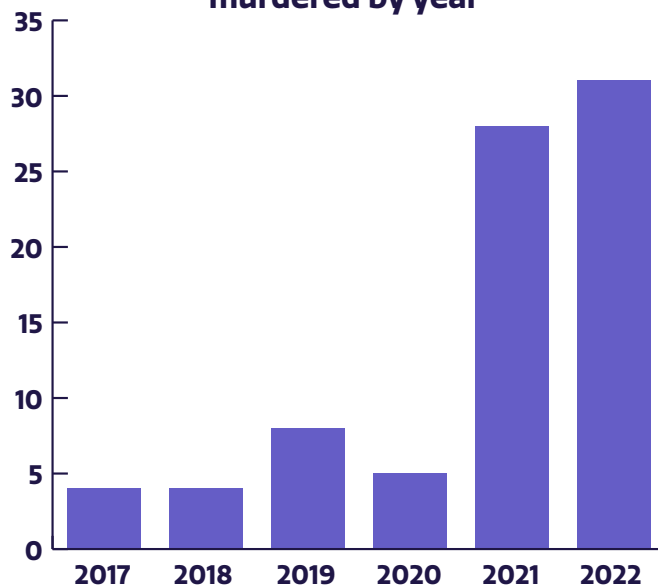


In 2022 alone, at least 31 app workers were murdered on the job. Shockingly, our updated analysis found that between 2017 to 2022, at least 80 app workers were murdered on the job (see Table 1).<sup>31</sup> This data indicates that the murder rates remain high, and app workers face extreme risks.

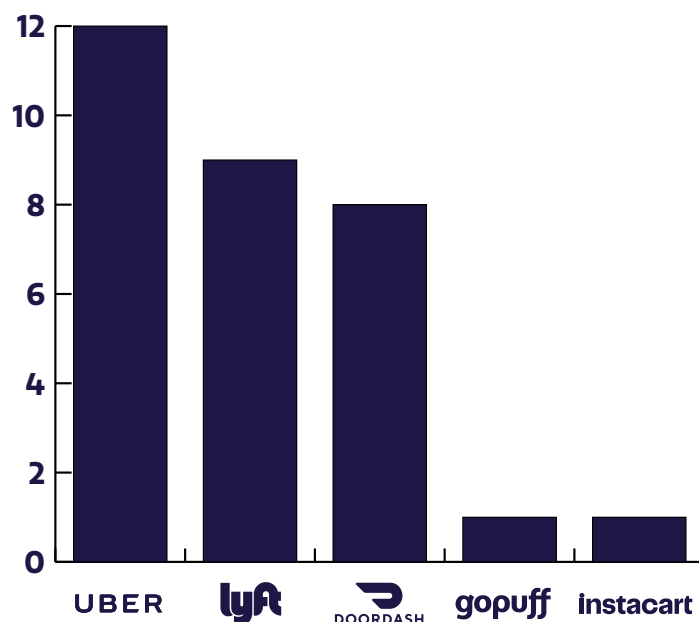
Workers of color bear the brunt of the murder crisis. Of the app workers identified by GWR as having been murdered in 2022, 77 percent were people of color, 26 percent were immigrants, and 78 percent of app workers killed by passengers were people of color.<sup>32</sup> Unsurprisingly, a recent survey of 502 Chicagoland-area app workers found that 86 percent of drivers of color report feeling unsafe at least once a month while driving.<sup>33</sup>

Thirty-nine percent of app workers identified by GWR as having been murdered during this period worked for Uber (see Table 2).

**Table 1: Number of app workers murdered by year**



**Table 2: App workers murdered, listed by company, 2022**





# AN INDUSTRY COMPARISON

This report likely undercounts the actual number of app workers murdered in 2022. In nearly every state, app corporations are not required to report instances of violence, assault, workplace injury, or homicides to government agencies. This report relies entirely on the public account, documented through press accounts, court records, and police reports—and not all app worker murders receive press coverage, or coverage may not indicate they were working when killed.

Even so, it appears app workers may be murdered more often than workers in nearly any other sector of work. Based on a comparison of the number of app workers murdered to the number of homicides by sector reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), **if the BLS treated app work as a sector, it would likely be among the top five sectors where workers are killed on the job.** While BLS’s “transportation and materials” category might include some app workers’ murders, it is impossible to know how many app worker murders are captured in the BLS data, as the Bureau relies significantly on government agencies as data sources.<sup>34</sup> App-based corporations are not required to report app worker deaths to certain agencies on which BLS relies, like the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.<sup>35</sup>

Regardless, BLS reporting for the most recent year for which data is available (2020) reveals that if app work were treated as its own sector, our 2022 data would likely have placed it as the third among sectors with the most instances of workplace homicide in the U.S. (see Table 3).<sup>36</sup>

This is even more shocking when you consider that rideshare and delivery app-based work is a considerably narrower set of work than the other sectors accounted for in the BLS data. The occupational group ‘transportation and material moving’ includes at least ten different occupations.<sup>37</sup>

**Table 3: Workplace homicides by selected occupational group, 2020, BLS**

Occupational group	No. of homicides
Sales & related	92
Transportation & material moving	51
Management	29
Construction & extraction	20
Production	18

**...if the BLS treated app work as a sector, it would likely be among the top five sectors where workers are killed on the job.**

# Industry Leader Uber Provides Insufficient “Safety” Features & Rewards Executives Despite Ongoing Crisis

As the largest app corporation in the world,<sup>38</sup> Uber has both a responsibility and an opportunity to make meaningful changes to address the safety crisis drivers face. However, Uber’s approach to worker safety is inadequate.

Rather than address the core aspects of its model that create unsafe conditions in the first place, Uber has instituted safety features that primarily provide support during and after safety incidents.<sup>39</sup> Nearly all of the safety features listed on Uber’s website follow this pattern. For example, in-app emergency buttons, location tracking, and reporting functions<sup>40</sup> can only be used to report or document an incident in progress; they do not prevent harm. **Of the eight features listed on Uber’s driver safety page, only one serves a clear preventative purpose: phone anonymization, which prevents contact information from being shared with passengers.**

In addition, former employees have blown the whistle on Uber’s disregard for driver safety. In 2022, the infamous Uber Files, leaked by former Uber executive Mark MacGann, included texts and meeting notes that showed Uber considering how violence against drivers could benefit the company’s public and political position.<sup>41</sup> In 2019, former investigators at Uber alleged that the corporation’s practices prioritize protecting Uber from liability rather than worker safety, including that they were instructed not to encourage victims to seek legal counsel or report incidents to the authorities.<sup>42</sup>

Further, the many indicators of an ongoing driver safety crisis have not stopped Uber from financially rewarding its executives for supposedly making Uber safer. In its most recent proxy statement, Uber reports executives are being provided performance-based stock compensation awards (“performance shares”)

based on “safety improvements.”<sup>43</sup> However, Uber has not met its own metrics for these compensation awards for the years 2020 to 2022. These unmet metrics were narrow, focusing on “critical sexual assault” and “motor vehicle crash fatalities,” which do not encompass the broad range of safety concerns drivers face.<sup>44</sup>

Nevertheless, five Uber executives were compensated over \$2.3 million cumulatively for “safety improvements” in 2022.<sup>45</sup> **CEO Dara Khosrowshahi was awarded over \$1 million on this basis in 2022,<sup>46</sup> despite the fact that 28 Uber workers were murdered on the job between 2020-2022, according to our research.** This is 35 percent of all workers we identified as having been murdered in that period.

Providing after-the-fact reporting mechanisms and celebrating inadequate safety improvements through executive pay are not enough to protect workers from harm. To address the safety crisis, Uber and other corporations must listen to workers and address the risks created by low pay, unfair deactivation, and other elements of their models. In the SOC’s national survey, 76 percent of drivers said that the ability to deny/cancel rides without consequence would make the job safer or help them deal with the hazards of the job.<sup>47</sup>



## Workers Demand

# CORPORATE ACCOUNTABILITY



Workers worldwide are taking collective action to demand accountability and push app corporations to adopt measures to prevent dangerous conditions, including fair pay and deactivation protections.

Throughout California, workers in the gig economy have been mobilizing to demand better working conditions and protections. In the Bay Area last year, app workers organized with GWR and held a demonstration in front of Uber headquarters. The protest was especially poignant, with the names of app workers who had been murdered on the job displayed on steering wheels.<sup>48</sup> The workers called for an end to the safety crisis and launched a petition under the hashtag #GigSafetyNow, which garnered thousands of signatures from app workers and supportive passengers.<sup>49</sup> Meanwhile, in Los Angeles, members of Rideshare Drivers United took action by staging a “silent strike” at LAX in 2021. Drivers demanded better pay and legal protections.<sup>50</sup>

Last year, 150 Colorado Independent Drivers United members turned off their rideshare apps for four hours at Denver International Airport,<sup>51</sup> the third-busiest airport in the world.<sup>52</sup> App workers demanded transparency, fair wages, and deactivation protections and urged regulators to

hold corporations accountable and pass the Gig Work Transparency Bill.<sup>53</sup>

Over the last year in Chicago, rideshare drivers affiliated with the Chicago Gig Alliance (CGA) protested outside the Uber Hub several times, rallied outside of City Hall, and engaged in civil disobedience to demand driver safety, a fair deactivation process, and a cap on the company take rates.<sup>54</sup> CGA is pushing local legislation, the Rideshare Living Wage and Safety Ordinance, to legislate corporate accountability and ensure driver protection.<sup>55</sup>

Drivers with the New York Taxi Workers Alliance in New York have gone on strike at least three times, demanding fair pay and deactivation protection. The most recent strike in February was at LaGuardia Airport and demanded just cause deactivations and was a means to push back against a lawsuit filed by Uber to block raises for NYC rideshare workers.<sup>56</sup>

App workers outside the United States are also taking action. Last year in Bengaluru, India, 3,000 delivery workers went on strike to protest poor pay and safety concerns.<sup>57</sup> Across eight countries—Czech Republic, Greece, Denmark, Finland, Georgia, Croatia, Germany, and Serbia—delivery workers at Wolt, which DoorDash owns, have gone on strike to demand fair pay and compliance with health and safety requirements.<sup>58</sup>

This list is not exhaustive and certainly does not capture the breadth of action each group listed has taken. The persistence and strength of app workers in the face of exploitative conditions highlight what’s at stake for them and how critical it is to address this ongoing health and safety crisis.

**#GigSafetyNow garnered thousands of signatures from app workers and supportive passengers.**



# CONCLUSION

Uber and Lyft state that even one safety incident on their platforms is unacceptable.<sup>59</sup> In 2022, thirty-one drivers were murdered on the job, and many more were injured, assaulted, and harassed.<sup>60</sup> The apparently rising murder rate of app workers only adds to the indicators of the need for systemic solutions that prevent, interrupt, and help workers heal from harm. Workers need safety protections via authentic accountability mechanisms, transparency, fair wages, and deactivation protection.

App corporations have built their platforms on the backs of overwhelmingly Black, Brown, and immigrant workers and could not function without them. It is time for app corporations to take systemic action and ensure the safety of workers on their platforms.

## Endnotes

- 1 This report includes workers who were murdered while “on the job,” which we define as: they were on their way to pick up a passenger or a delivery; at any point in the duration of a ride or delivery; or immediately after a ride or delivery, including on their way home. This definition includes when police reports and/or news reporting indicate that the driver was allegedly murdered by their passenger, as well as other individuals.
- 2 News sources, police records, and/or legal filings have reported a connection between the worker who was murdered and the listed app corporation. The list includes individuals murdered from 2017 to April 15, 2023. Specific sources for each person available in a public database, available at <http://bit.ly/GigSafetyNowDataBase2023>.
- 3 News reports conflict about whether Ayora was driving for Uber or Lyft at the time. We listed Ayora as driving for Uber because the police report we obtained and multiple news stories indicated he was driving for Uber.
- 4 Anderson et al., *The State of Gig Work*, Pew Research Center (Dec. 2021): 4, [https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/wp-content/uploads/sites/9/2021/12/PI\\_2021.12.08\\_Gig-Work\\_FINAL.pdf](https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/wp-content/uploads/sites/9/2021/12/PI_2021.12.08_Gig-Work_FINAL.pdf); Eric Leverage & Samantha Dalal, *The Gig Gap: The Reality of Denver Gig Workers 2022 Report*, Colorado Jobs With Justice (Oct. 2022): 5, [http://www.cojwj.org/uploads/2/4/6/1/24613827/cjwj\\_white\\_paper\\_rd4.pdf](http://www.cojwj.org/uploads/2/4/6/1/24613827/cjwj_white_paper_rd4.pdf).
- 5 Gig Workers Rising, *Death & Corporate Irresponsibility in the Gig Economy: An Urgent Safety Crisis* (Apr. 2022): 5, [https://www.gigsafetynow.com/files/ugd/af5398\\_74d1c1fd564b42d58e95dd8a2d99ee03.pdf](https://www.gigsafetynow.com/files/ugd/af5398_74d1c1fd564b42d58e95dd8a2d99ee03.pdf).
- 6 Our database solely accounts for murders. It does not include fatal traffic accidents or other causes of death.
- 7 To date indicates the time period during which Gig Workers Rising has tracked app worker murders, 2017 to April 2023.
- 8 Our analysis found that at least 9 drivers were murdered by their passengers in 2022. Seven of those drivers were drivers of color, 78%, while 2 were not, 22%.
- 9 Comparing the app worker murder number for 2022, 31 workers, to the most recently available number of homicides in the occupational groups with the highest homicide rates. Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Workplace violence: homicides and nonfatal intentional injuries by another person in 2020* (Nov. 2022), <https://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2022/workplace-violence-homicides-and-nonfatal-intentional-injuries-by-another-person-in-2020.htm>.
- 10 *Driving Danger: How Uber and Lyft Create a Safety Crisis for their Drivers*, The Strategic Organizing Center (Apr. 2023): 7-9, [https://thesoc.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/SOC\\_RideshareDrivers\\_rpt-042023.pdf](https://thesoc.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/SOC_RideshareDrivers_rpt-042023.pdf).
- 11 Ibid, p. 7.
- 12 Ibid, p. 3.
- 13 The Markup, *Investigation Gig Carjacking* (April 7, 2022), available on GitHub, [github.com/the-markup/investigation-gig-carjacking/blob/main/data/carjackings.csv](https://github.com/the-markup/investigation-gig-carjacking/blob/main/data/carjackings.csv).
- 14 Petrucci et al., *Quality of the Gig: An Analysis of App-Based Platform Drivers' Working Conditions in the Greater Chicago Area* (Jan. 2023): 21, <https://illinoiseipi.files.wordpress.com/2023/01/pmcr-ilepi-quality-of-the-gig-final.pdf>.
- 15 Veena Dubal, “The New Racial Wage Code,” *Harvard Law Review*, Vol.15 (2022): 519–20, <https://harvardlpr.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/20/2022/05/3-Dubal.pdf>.
- 16 Christopher L. Peterson & Marshall Steinbaum, “Coercive Rideshare Practices: At the Intersection of Antitrust and Consumer Protection Law in the Gig Economy,” *Chicago Law Review*, Vol.90 (2023): <https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cqj/viewcontent.cqj?article=6335&context=uchrev>. Brian Calacci & Sandeep Vaheesan, “Uber Drivers & McDonalds Franchise Owners Have a Common Enemy,” *Slate*, Sept. 13, 2022, <https://slate.com/business/2022/09/uber-mcdonalds-contracts-antitrust-ftc-nlrh.html>.
- 17 Jackie Davalos & Drake Bennett, “Gamification Took Over the Gig Economy, Who’s Really Winning?” *Bloomberg*, May 27, 2022, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2022-05-27/how-uber-and-lyft-gamify-the-gig-economy?sref=CZcaXeEr>.
- 18 Responses from App-Based Companies to Congressional Letter of Inquiry, June 22, 2022, [https://www.markey.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/app-based\\_delivery\\_companies\\_responses\\_to\\_senator\\_markey.pdf](https://www.markey.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/app-based_delivery_companies_responses_to_senator_markey.pdf).
- 19 Uber Technologies, Inc., *Drive With Confidence*, last accessed Apr. 13, 2023, <https://www.uber.com/us/en/drive/safety>; Lyft, Inc., *Safety For All Means Looking Out for Our Drivers*, last accessed Apr. 18, 2023, <https://www.lyft.com/safety/driver>; DoorDash, Inc., *More Peace of Mind With Every Dash*, last accessed Apr. 18, 2023, [https://dasher.doordash.com/en-us/safety?\\_ga=2.250238214.1079377000.1681839803-979302115.1681839803](https://dasher.doordash.com/en-us/safety?_ga=2.250238214.1079377000.1681839803-979302115.1681839803).
- 20 Asian Americans Advancing Justice: Asian Law Caucus & Rideshare Drivers United, *Fired By An App: The Toll of Secret Algorithms and Unchecked Discrimination on California Rideshare Drivers* (Feb. 2023): 2, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/14IGxN3YUJuMSf50tm1t9J5So28aEYw9i/view>.
- 21 Graham Rapier, “Uber and Lyft Drivers Are Planning to Strike this Week, and it Highlights the Challenge the 2 Ride-hailing Giants Face As Public Companies,” *Business Insider*, May 6, 2019, <https://www.businessinsider.com/uber-lyft-strike-why-take-rate-is-so>

[important-2019-5](#).

- 22 Peterson & Steinbaum. See also Tim Mullaney, “Is the Uber, Lyft & Gig Economy Battle Over Workers Nearing its End Game?,” *CNBC.com*, Oct. 16, 2022, <https://www.cnbc.com/2022/10/16/how-the-uber-lyft-gig-economy-battle-over-drivers-ends.html>.
- 23 Zipperer et al., *National Survey of Gig Work Workers Paints A Picture of Poor Working Conditions, Low Pay*, Economic Policy Institute (June 2022): <https://www.epi.org/publication/gig-worker-survey>.
- 24 The Gig Gap, p. 5; McCullough et al., *Prop 22 Depresses Wages and Deepens Inequities for California Workers*, National Equity Atlas, (Sept. 2022): <https://nationalequityatlas.org/prop22-paystudy>.
- 25 Veena Dubal, *The House Always Wins: The Algorithmic Gambification of Work*, LPE Project, Jan. 23, 2023, <https://lpeproject.org/blog/the-house-always-wins-the-algorithmic-gambification-of-work>.
- 26 *Driving Danger*, p. 13.
- 27 Court’s Memorandum, *Tchakounte Petone et al v. Uber Technologies, Inc. et al.*, 1:20-cv-03028-CCB, U.S. District Court for the District of Maryland, filed February 3, 2022, p. 11.
- 28 *Driving Danger*, p. 13.
- 29 *Fired By An App*, 4.
- 30 Lyft, Inc., *Ratings And Cancellations*, The Driver Blog, June 19, 2019, last accessed April 21, 2023, <https://www.lyft.com/hub/posts/ratings-and-cancellations>. See also In Uber’s 2023 Proxy Statement, Uber shareholder Achmea Investment Management states in support of its stockholder proposal to create a third party audit on driver health and safety, “[i]f they cancel too many rides, drivers can be deactivated, limiting their capacity to end a trip if they feel unsafe.” In Uber’s response in the Proxy Statement the corporation says, “[t]he proponent inaccurately states that Drivers can be deactivated if they cancel too many rides, limiting their capacity to end a trip if they feel unsafe. However, canceling a trip at pickup for safety reasons does not count against a Driver’s cancellation rate.” Notably, the company does not claim cancellation rates, or even any safety-related cancellations – do not lead to deactivation, only that they do not in a very specific circumstance (when cancellation happens at pickup and the driver reports it is for safety reasons). Uber 2023 Proxy Statement, pp. 79-81. See also Uber, *U.S. Terms of Use*, Uber.com, last modified January 17, 2023 and last accessed April 20, 2023,, <https://www.uber.com/legal/en/document/?name=general-terms-of-use&country=united-states&lang=en> (accessed 4/20/23) (“Uber, in its sole discretion, may immediately terminate these Terms or any Services with respect to you, or generally cease offering or deny access to the Services or any portion thereof, at any time for any reason.”) See also Uber’s response to the City of Portland’s Ombuds request for its deactivation policy, January 2020, <https://www.portlandoregon.gov/transportation/article/753043>. (“Uber has the contractual right to deactivate the account of any Driver if Uber determines in its sole discretion that the Driver has violated Uber’s policies or has taken actions that are harmful to Uber’s business or reputation, as well as to deactivate any driver for any reason on seven days’ notice.”) Further, drivers report being deactivated by Uber and Lyft for low acceptance and high cancellations rates. *Fired by an App*, p. 20.
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