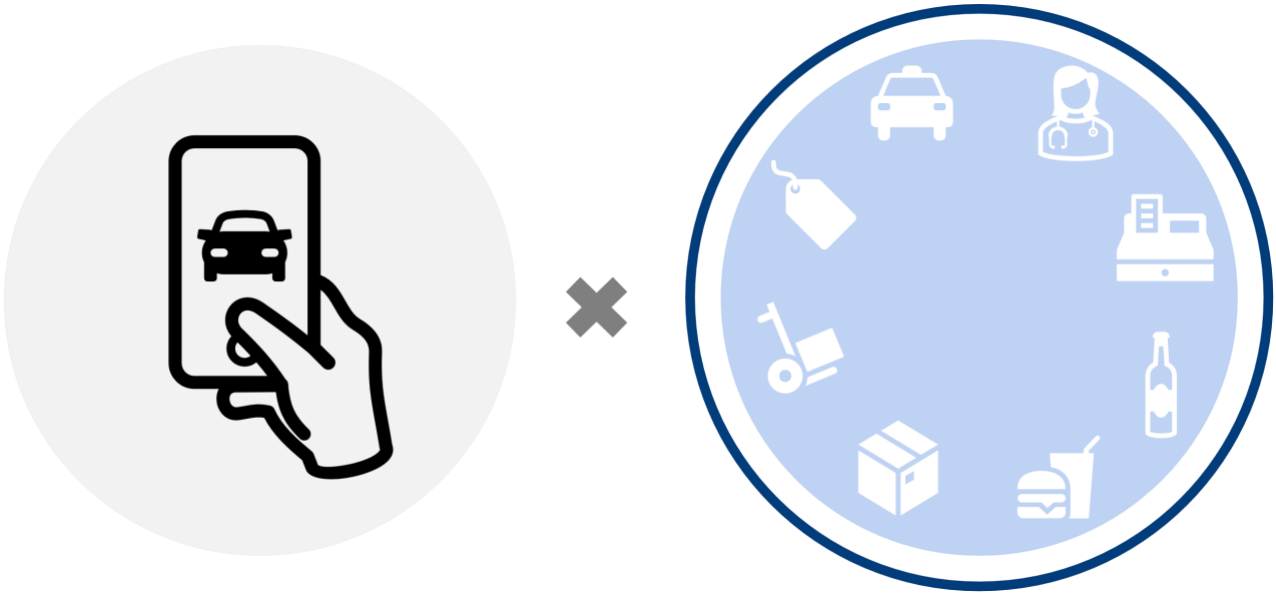
Uber Rideshare Driver Earnings and Benchmarking Study

Uber Technologies, Inc.

Final Report | November 2025



HR&A

Table of Contents

Introduction

Purpose of the Report

Uber Technologies, Inc. (Uber) engaged HR&A Advisors, Inc. (HR&A) to conduct an independent study on net earnings of rideshare drivers in Chicago, Philadelphia, and Portland in 2024 and benchmark those earnings estimates with comparable occupations within each market. The three cities were chosen to contribute to ongoing regulatory debates in each geography, as well as to ensure the study captures a range of markets with different local conditions, minimum wage levels, and transportation-sector contexts. To conduct the analysis, HR&A relied on publicly available data, third party data sources, and proprietary data provided by Uber to calculate a weighted average of earnings per hour and costs per mile of an average Uber operation in the three cities. This report presents HR&A's findings and methodologies for the Uber Rideshare Driver Earnings and Benchmarking Study.

About HR&A

HR&A Advisors, Inc. (HR&A) is an employee-owned company advising public, private, non-profit, and philanthropic clients on how to increase opportunity and advance quality of life in cities. We believe in creating vital places, building more equitable and resilient communities, and improving people's lives. HR&A's Urban Tech Innovation Practice works with governments, technology companies, institutions, advocates, and developers to leverage the technology and innovation economy to increase economic competitiveness, improve quality of life, and broaden economic opportunity in cities.

Executive Summary

Uber Driver Net Earnings Comparisons

Since launching in Chicago, Philadelphia, and Portland in the mid-2010s, rideshare services have grown rapidly in each city. Rideshare as an occupation has risen to meet consumer demand across all three cities, with Uber drivers today representing important shares of the local labor force.

Uber drivers have the unique distinction of both an extremely low barrier to entry to work – requiring little more than a vehicle, limited background check, and a driver's license in most geographies – and operating as independent contractors, a distinct workplace configuration that allows them to work with complete scheduling autonomy. Compared to similar jobs in traditional employment, Uber drivers enjoy **competitive earnings advantages that are well above local minimum wage and increased scheduling flexibility**. While rideshare has its drawbacks, including unpredictable income, lack of employer-funded benefits, and more complex tax filings,[1] Uber driver **earnings net of costs are on average either slightly higher than or comparable to wages in similar occupations**. Comparable occupations for our benchmarking analysis are defined as roles that are fairly common in each city and have similar educational, work experience, and training requirements as Uber drivers.[2]

The greatest draw of rideshare driving is the **increased control over schedules and flexibility to earn**, allowing drivers to adapt their work hours as needed. This flexibility stands in contrast to many jobs with on-demand or rigid scheduling, which often limit workers' ability to plan for work around their lives. Uber drivers also experience a **smaller earnings gap between full-time and part-time work than is evidenced in traditional wages**. As a result, the gap between earnings between part-time Uber drivers and other part time work is also more significant, underscoring Uber rideshare work as a more adaptable income opportunity with minimal penalties for part time or flexible work arrangements.

The large number of mostly part-time drivers using the Uber platform in these markets shows that rideshare has become a major part of the transportation sector. Global demand in the rideshare sector continues to expand rapidly, with Uber reporting an 18% year-over-year increase in total trips in the first quarter of 2025.[3] This growth, combined with flexible scheduling and competitive pay, positions Uber as a critical source of accessible work in urban labor markets.

[1] Rockland Trust, Advantages and Disadvantages of Self-Employment.
[2] Uber driver totals refer to average monthly driver counts provided by Uber. Totals do not reflect full-time equivalent (FTE) job totals.
[3] Uber Technologies. May 2025. Uber Announces Results for First Quarter 2025. Accessed July 30, 2025.

Table 1 - Summary of Uber Driver Size, Net Earnings, and Comparison Wages

City	Chicago	Philadelphia	Portland
Average Monthly Unique Uber Drivers in City in 2024[4]	55,248	28,842	4,325
2024 Uber Driver Gross Hourly Earnings	$29.35	$27.83	$29.08
2024 Uber Driver Costs per Mile	$0.330	$0.349	$0.337
2024 Uber Driver Costs per Hour	($6.34)	($6.54)	($7.26)
2024 Uber Driver Net Hourly Earnings[5]	**$23.01**	**$21.29**	**$21.82**
2024 Local Minimum Wage	$16.20[6]	$7.25[7]	$15.95[8]

Methodology

The study calculates an estimate of Uber driver net earnings in 2024 for Chicago, Philadelphia, and Portland. HR&A calculated net earnings by subtracting estimated driver expenses (covering incremental costs related to rideshare driving) from the gross earnings reported by Uber. These expenses were weighted based on the distribution of driver and vehicle types to create more representative, blended per-mile cost figures for each city. The per-mile expenses were then converted into hourly expenses by factoring in average weekly mileage and hours worked. Net hourly earnings were calculated by offsetting gross hourly earnings with these estimated expenses.

For each of the three cities, HR&A compared our estimates of net hourly driver earnings to benchmarks drawn from similar occupations. We selected occupations that are **prevalent in the local labor market, have minimal educational requirements, and have low barriers to entry**. Our goal was to understand the rideshare industry's role in providing accessible work opportunities that offer earnings comparable to wages of similar traditional jobs. Our analysis includes detailed case studies that compare and contrast the qualities of important jobs in each geography, ranging from home health aides to stock and order fillers. Earnings data and job counts were drawn from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the American Community Survey, the Census Population Survey, and Uber's internal data. Both Uber driver and comparison occupation job counts represent point-in-time estimates, with the former coming directly from Uber's internal data on monthly unique drivers while the latter represents a monthly average for both employed and self-employed persons harmonized by Lightcast EMSI.[9] Findings from these granular comparisons ultimately demonstrate Uber's important role in the urban labor market as a central option for flexible, accessible work for thousands in each city studied.

[4] The average number of monthly drivers was provided by Uber separate from the driver-week observation sample data used for the net earnings study.
[5] The calculations for gross hourly earnings, costs per mile, and net hourly earnings are described in detail in Appendix A of this report.
[6] Chicago Office of Labor Statistics. 2024. Chicago Minimum Wage FAQs.
[7] Philadelphia minimum wage is the same as the minimum wage for the State of Pennsylvania. There is a bill currently under review by the State Legislature to establish a statewide minimum wage of $15 per hour effective January 1, 2026.
[8] State of Oregon Bureau of Labor and Industries. Minimum Wage Increase Schedule.
[9] Lightcast EMSI, Job Counts.

Approach

Net Earnings

For the purposes of this study, HR&A calculated hourly expenses and earnings using time where drivers are engaged with the app in ways that could generate income. This time includes both active and inactive time:

- **P1** covers the inactive time spent with the app open while waiting for a trip. For this study, P1 time considers periods immediately preceding an accepted ride as these times are directly attributable to rideshare. Other time spent online that is followed by a trip rejection or going offline are not conclusively attributable to rideshare work and were excluded from the study.[10]
- **P2** represents the active time spent enroute to pick up a passenger.
- **P3** represents the active time spent actively completing a trip with a passenger on board.

Using this definition, HR&A categorized driver-week observations into full-time and part-time groups, using 30 hours of driving per week as the threshold. We also categorized the data further by ownership to accurately estimate associated costs and arrive at a more nuanced analysis of earnings that can demonstrate the flexible nature of rideshare work. The analysis is based on random samples of driver-week observation data provided by Uber, representing between 10-50% of all rideshare data from January to December 2024. Driver earnings represent all take-home earnings, including tips.

The methodology to calculate net earnings for rideshare drivers begins with a detailed assessment of expenses. HR&A distinguishes between variable costs — those that scale directly with mileage, such as fuel and maintenance — and fixed costs, which do not vary with vehicle usage. In general, fixed costs are not considered attributable to rideshare activity, since they are often incurred for broader personal or non-Uber use. However, this analysis includes limited portions of certain fixed costs that can be reasonably linked to rideshare driving. The approach to including or excluding specific cost components varies between vehicle owners and renters, as described below.

Owners

This study only considers incremental costs related to rideshare driving. For the vast majority of drivers who own their vehicles, this includes variable costs considered to be **fuel or battery charging**, **distance-based depreciation**, and **maintenance**. To arrive at representative values for fuel or battery charging, HR&A used weighted figures that differentiate between gasoline vehicles and battery-electric vehicles (BEVs), reflecting their different operational expenses. Shares of BEV usage across the three cities were applied to compute blended averages per mile that accurately represent the broader driver pool. In addition to these variable costs, specific fixed costs that were only incurred because of rideshare driving were included, namely the incremental cost of **rideshare insurance** on top of a standard auto policy, and the incremental cost of **unlimited mobile data** on top of standard plans.

Renters

For the minority of drivers who are renters, several costs incurred by owners do not need to be considered. The variable costs of distance-based depreciation and maintenance are included in the rental fee, as well as the cost of rideshare insurance.

Renters only incur the variable cost of **fuel or battery charging**. As with owners, HR&A used weighted figures that differentiate between gasoline and battery-electric vehicles (BEVs) to compute blended averages of fueling costs. Beyond this variable cost, we apportion the fixed cost of **vehicle rental fees** based on the estimated share of miles driven for Uber compared to personal use, derived from analysis that compares total mileage to on-Uber mileage. This analysis was performed to isolate the share of rental costs that can be reasonably linked to

[10]Using P1 preceding a ride is industry standard practice. See Cornell ILR School Seattle Uber Lyft Project Report (2020) and Minnesota Department of Labor and Industry Driver Earnings Analysis and Pay Standard Options (2024).

rideshare activity rather than personal use. Similar to owners, renters are also assumed to incur the incremental cost of unlimited mobile data. Ultimately, fixed costs for both owners and renters were combined using weighted averages to reflect total average driver costs. For more discussion on variables analysis and weights used, refer to Appendix A.

All Drivers

With per-mile costs established, HR&A then translated those expenses into hourly figures to align them directly with earnings. Using Uber-provided data on driver activity, the analysis translated costs per mile into estimated weekly expenses by multiplying by average weekly mileage, which was then divided by weekly hours worked to calculate hourly expenses. Hourly expenses were then subtracted from gross hourly earnings to arrive at net earnings.[11]

Benchmarking

For our benchmarking analysis, HR&A compared net hourly earnings in each city to benchmarks from similar occupations to understand Uber's role in local labor markets. We focused on common occupations and used these to perform comparisons across three distinct categories of occupations.

The criteria for selecting benchmark occupations included:

- **Prevalence**: Occupations ranked among the top in employment within each geography.
- **Educational requirements**: Jobs selected had minimal educational barriers and did not require a specific degree or other advanced credentials, reflecting the typical qualifications of rideshare drivers.
- **Work Experience/Training Requirements**: Selected occupations required little or no prior work experience and had a short ramp-up or training period.

To facilitate more meaningful comparisons, we grouped occupations with characteristics similar to rideshare driving into three categories:

- **Transportation-sector occupations**: Jobs within this sector involved responsibilities closely aligned with those of rideshare drivers and typically had low barriers to entry.
- **Flexible occupations**: These included commonly held jobs that offered flexible or predictable work schedules and required low entry barriers.
- **Low-barrier occupations**: Common jobs that also had low barriers to entry but featured inflexible or unpredictable work schedules.

To estimate wage differences between full- and part-time earners in comparison occupations, HR&A combined Lightcast EMSI earnings data with US Census Current Population Survey (CPS) Microdata. Lightcast EMSI data combines data on employed and self-employed workers to provide a highly robust dataset available at different geographic levels. Data is synthesized from the US Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages (QCEW) and Occupational Employment and Wages Statistics (OEWS), and the American Community Survey (ACS) to provide detailed, comprehensive occupational earnings data. However, Lightcast data does not distinguish wages by hours worked, so it does not identify full-time versus part-time earnings.

On the other hand, CPS Microdata includes information on full- and part-time wage differentials but is based on household survey responses and is less comprehensive, especially for smaller geographies or detailed occupations. HR&A used five years of CPS Microdata to isolate hourly earnings by work status and determine average pay differentials. HR&A then applied national CPS pay differentials by occupation and work status (part-time and full-time) to Lightcast data on wage levels in each city to generate more accurate localized estimates. HR&A stress tested this approach by conducting statistical significance on selected occupations.[12]

[11] Refer to Appendix A for more details on the net earnings analysis, assumptions, and variables used.
[12] For more detail on the approach to separating full-time wage premiums from part-time wage penalties using CPS microdata, including statistical significance testing, see Appendix B.

This blended approach allowed HR&A to provide a fair comparison between Uber driver cohorts and traditional occupational benchmarks, accounting for pay premiums and penalties associated with work hours. Nationally, part-time workers earn less than full-time workers for a variety of factors including lack of work experience, limited accumulated skills, and lack of employed-funded benefits.[13, 14, 15]

In each city, HR&A gathered net hourly earnings for Uber's city geographies, which closely resemble but do not exactly match metropolitan statistical areas. In the cities of Chicago and Portland, there were higher minimum wages in 2024 than in the surrounding counties, while Philadelphia had no unique minimum wage than the statewide minimum wage in Pennsylvania. As a result, some calculated part-time wages for occupations in Chicago and Portland are lower than the city minimum wage given some workers analyzed earned outside of the municipal jurisdictions where those higher minimum wages apply. For more detail on the approach to separating full-time wage premiums from part-time wage penalties using CPS microdata, see Appendix B.

[13] Barry T. Hirsch, Why Do Part-Time Workers Earn Less? The Role of Worker and Job Skills. Accessed September 2, 2025.
[14] Economic Policy Institute, Part-time workers pay a big penalty.
[15] Bureau of Labor Statistics Monthly Labor Review, The relationship between access to benefits and weekly work hours. Accessed September 3, 2025.

Chicago Findings

Key Takeaways

In 2024, 55,248 Uber drivers were active in a typical month in the Chicago region, and 120,950 people drove on the app at some point during the year.[16] 70% of drivers drove part-time or less than 30 hours a week, taking advantage of the highly flexible configuration that rideshare offers to earn when convenient.

- **Uber driver net earnings ($23.01) are competitive compared to wages in similar occupations**. The average Uber driver in Chicago earns, after expenses, slightly more than most similar occupations, defined as fairly common roles that have similar educational, work experience, and training requirements as Uber drivers.
- **Part-time Uber drivers earn considerably more than part-time workers in similar occupations**, with part-time Uber drivers only earning 5% less than their full-time peers compared to an 11% part-time wage penalty for Home Health and Personal Care Aides. This suggests Uber provides more competitive income opportunities, especially benefiting part-time drivers who value flexibility.
- **The large number of Chicagoans working as Uber drivers is likely propelled by a combination of flexibility, low barriers to entry, and operational control**. Flexibility comes with tradeoffs like income predictability and access to benefits, but the quick, easy access to competitive earnings continues to drive Uber's large and growing presence in Chicago. An alternative option in our benchmarking such as taxi driving may also offer flexibility, but requires higher start-up costs and stricter licensing requirements, helping explain why rideshare has become the more popular option.

Chicago Uber Driver Net Earnings

HR&A found that **Uber drivers in Chicago earn an average net hourly income of $23.01**, with hourly expenses averaging $6.34. Full-time drivers earn slightly more than this average, at $23.54 per hour, benefiting from higher gross earnings and lower costs per mile due to economies of scale. In contrast, part-time drivers earn slightly less than the average, at $22.29 per hour, representing a difference of about $1.25 (approximately 5%) compared to full-time drivers.

[16] 2024 driver counts for each geography was provided by Uber. As rideshare work varies greatly in form and frequency, both unique annual drivers and average active monthly driver counts are used to better understand rideshare work participation. See Garin, A. Jul 2024, Is gig work transforming the labor market? for more details.

Table 2 - Net Earnings for Drivers in Chicago[17]

Category	All Drivers	Full-Time Drivers	Part-Time Drivers
Average Weekly Earnings	$659.09	$1,284.45	$395.82
Average Weekly Hours	22.5 hours	43.5 hours	13.6 hours
Gross Hourly Earnings	**$29.35**	**$29.50**	**$29.13**
Average Weekly Miles	430.8 miles	805.3 miles	273.1 miles
Costs per Mile	**$0.330**	**$0.322**	**$0.341**
Average Weekly Expenses	$142.34	$259.54	$93.00
Average Hourly Expenses	**$6.34**	**$5.96**	**$6.85**
Estimate of Hourly Net Earnings	**$23.01**	**$23.54**	**$22.29**

For a detailed breakdown of the cost estimates for all, full-time, and part-time drivers in Chicago, please refer to **Appendix A – Net Earnings Analysis**.

Benchmarking Analysis

In Chicago, the following occupations were selected for comparison with Uber drivers:

Table 3 - Similar Occupations Selected for Comparison with Uber Drivers in Chicago[18]

Categories	Transportation Occupations	Flexible Occupations	Low-Barrier Occupations
Description	*Transportation-sector occupations that have low barriers to entry.*	*Common occupations that have low barriers to entry and relatively flexible and/or predictable work schedules.*	*Common occupations that have low barriers to entry but inflexible and/or unpredictable work schedules.*
Occupations	• Driver/Sales Workers *SOC Code 53-3031* • Taxi Drivers *SOC Code 53-3054* • Shuttle Drivers and Chauffeurs *SOC Code 53-3053* • Automotive and Watercraft Service Attendants *SOC Code 53-6031*	• Laborers and Freight, Stock, and Material Movers, Hand *SOC Code 53-7062* • Home Health and Personal Care Aides *SOC Code 31-1128* • Waiters and Waitresses *SOC Code 35-3031* • Security Guards *SOC Code 33-9032*	• Retail Salespersons *SOC Code 41-2031* • Fast Food and Counter Workers *SOC Code 35-3023* • Stockers and Order Fillers *SOC Code 53-7065* • Customer Service Representatives *SOC Code 43-4051*

[17] Note that all figures in all tables are rounded.
[18] Chicago is defined per Uber's internal definition as Cook County, DeKalb County, DuPage County, Grundy County, Kane County, Kankakee County, Kendall County, Lake County, LaSalle County, McHenry County, Will County.

Transportation Occupations include **Driver/Sales Workers, Taxi Drivers, Shuttle Drivers and Chauffeurs**, and **Automotive and Watercraft Service Attendants**. Together, these occupations account for approximately 30,950 jobs in Chicago. This is significantly smaller than both the average 55,250 monthly Uber drivers and the estimated 120,950 annual Uber drivers in Chicago in 2024, highlighting how rideshare work has become more prevalent than traditional transportation roles. This collection of occupations has generally grown with taxi drivers experiencing the fastest growth with an increase in total jobs of 242% since 2010. However, the growth in taxi driver jobs peaked in 2019, and has since shrunk by 9%, possibly as a result of the growth of Uber drivers in Chicago.

Flexible Occupations include **Laborers and Freight Movers, Home Health Aides, Waiters and Waitresses**, and **Security Guards**. These occupations account for more than 353,530 jobs in Chicago. Laborers and Freight Movers, as well as Home Health Aides, each have workforces of approximately 100,000, comparable in size to the region's Uber drivers, with Home Health Aides recording the fastest growth over the past two decades at 88% since 2010. All four occupations have grown by at least 10% over the past fifteen years, suggesting a sustained and possibly increasing local preference for flexible work.

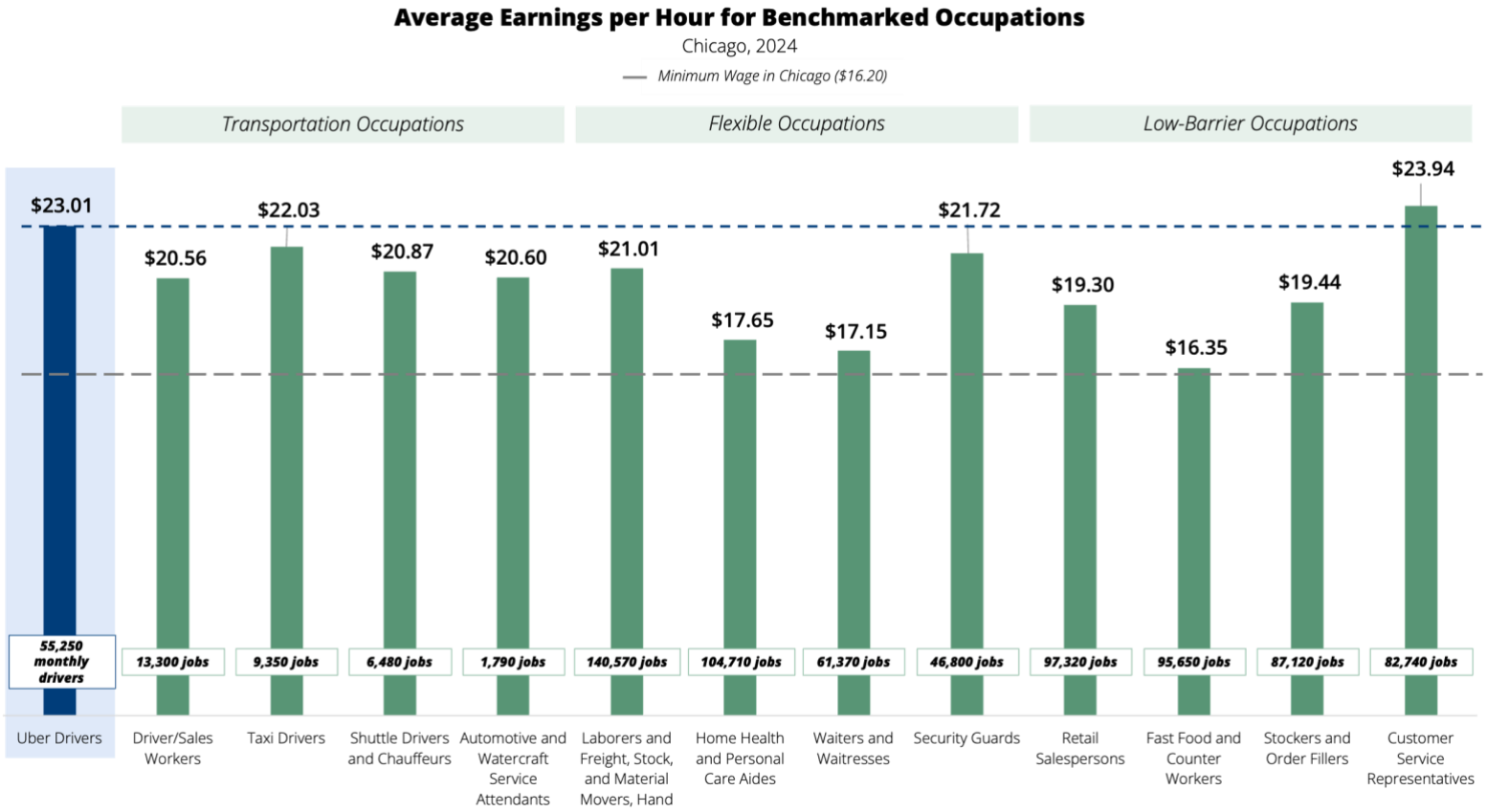
Low-Barrier Occupations include **Retail Salespersons, Fast Food and Counter Workers, Stockers and Order Fillers**, and **Customer Service Representatives** as our benchmarks. This group is the largest of the three benchmark categories, employing more than 362,830 workers. Retail Salespersons make up the largest share, with over 97,300 workers, though their share is still smaller than that of Uber rideshare drivers. Notably, Retail Salespersons is the only occupation in this group experiencing decline, with employment falling by 24% over the past fifteen years. This trend suggests that the role may be losing its appeal as a low-barrier entry job, potentially due to technological advances that reduce the need for retail staff and the growth of e-commerce.[19]

[19] McKinsey & Company. Jan 2025. What is e-commerce? Accessed August 11, 2025.

Earnings Comparison

Across the benchmarked occupations, **Uber drivers in Chicago earn, on average after expenses, between $0.98 and $6.66 more per hour than workers in comparable occupations** before expenses (See Figure 1). The only benchmarked occupation with higher average hourly pay is Customer Service Representatives, who earn $0.93 more than Uber drivers per hour. All analyzed jobs pay above Chicago's minimum wage of $16.20 per hour.

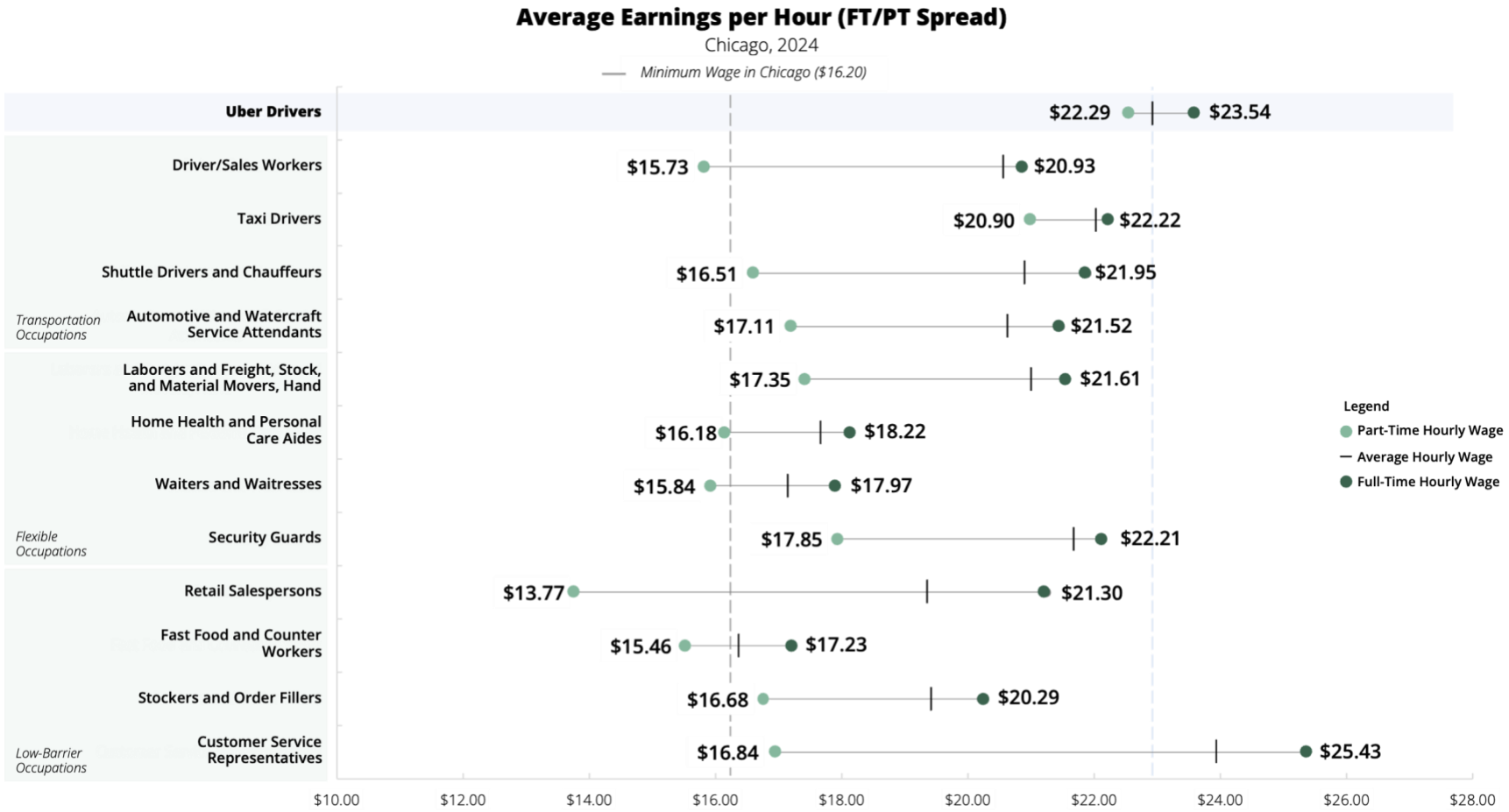
Figure 1 - Average Hourly Earnings of Uber Drivers (Net) Vs. Select Occupations (Gross), Chicago 2024[20]



[20] Chart compares monthly Uber driver counts instead of annual unique driver counts to ensure more consistent comparison to Bureau of Labor Statistics job count surveys.

Uber offers not only higher average earnings than other benchmarked occupations but also demonstrates a smaller disparity between full-time and part-time earnings. The earnings differential for Uber drivers in Chicago is approximately 5% or $1.25 per hour, while most other benchmarked occupations experience a larger wage differential of at least 15%. In particular, Retail Salespersons face the highest disparity at 35% or $7.54 less per hour for part-time employees. These findings highlight **Uber's distinct position in providing flexible earning opportunities that maintain competitive hourly compensation regardless of work hours** in the Chicago labor market.

Figure 2 - Average Hourly Earnings of Full- Vs. Part-Time Uber Drivers (Net) and Select Occupations (Gross), Chicago 2024



Within each comparative category, HR&A conducted a more detailed review of characteristics of select occupations to better understand the nuanced similarities and differences with Uber drivers. The structural differences between these occupations and Uber drivers help illustrate why a substantially greater number of workers choose rideshare over other roles, as many people are drawn to the often-higher earnings and greater control over scheduling that rideshare provides. One occupation was selected from each of the benchmark categories for a closer case study based on their relevance and comparability:

- **Taxi Drivers** were chosen as the most similar to Uber drivers in terms of the service provided and the skills required.
- **Home Health and Personal Care Aides** were included as a fast-growing occupation with highly flexible shift structures, offering an instructive comparison to rideshare work's flexibility.
- **Retail Salespersons** were selected as the most prevalent occupation within the low-barrier category, sharing similar entry-level requirements with Uber driving and also undergoing significant transformation due to technological change.

Case Study – Taxi Drivers

Taxi Drivers in Chicago have a **lower gross earnings compared to Uber drivers' net earnings, have a higher barrier to entry**, and have a much **smaller workforce**. Although most taxi drivers in Chicago are also independent contractors, they have **less scheduling flexibility and control** over their operational costs. The advantages of working as a rideshare driver contribute to Uber being a more popular, part-time occupation in Chicago.

Table 4 - Comparison of Taxi Drivers to Uber Drivers, Chicago

Occupation Characteristics	Taxi Drivers *Transportation Occupations*	
Earnings	^	Wages for all, full-time and part-time taxi drivers are lower than the comparable Uber cohort earnings. Taxi drivers also have a slightly larger part-time penalty for hourly wages.
Barriers to Entry	^	Taxi drivers face higher fixed costs to operate, including licensing costs as compared to no licensing costs for Uber drivers. Taxi drivers must complete training courses to operate, while Uber drivers only need to complete an in-app education.
Flexibility	^	Although most taxi drivers are also independent contractors, they face higher operational costs such as leasing or purchasing medallion licenses and are more likely to work full-time to cover these costs.
Size and Popularity	^	9,350 taxi drivers compared to 55,248 monthly Uber drivers and 120,950 yearly Uber drivers, with a much lower growth rate over the past two decades and projected national trends.

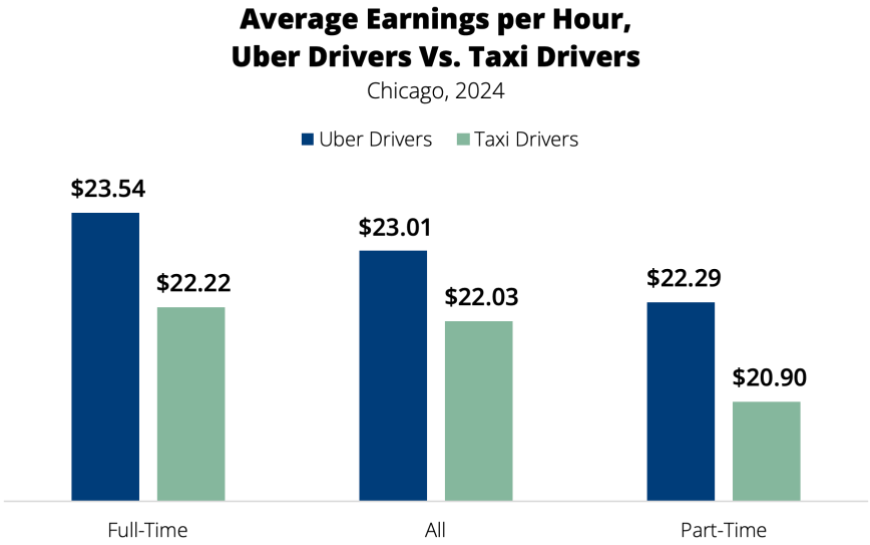
v Uber driving is less favorable = Similar to Uber ^ Uber driving is more favorable

In 2024, over 9,350 taxi drivers worked in the Chicago region, having grown at a remarkable rate of more than 242% over the past fifteen years.[21] However, this increase was mostly concentrated prior to 2019, when the number of taxi drivers in Chicago hit a peak at 10,310 workers. Since then, the number of taxi drivers in Chicago has shrunk by 9%, likely as a result of the rapid rise of ride-hailing platforms. Taxi driving remains a vital part of the city's transportation ecosystem, though it accounts for a much smaller workforce compared to the 55,248 monthly Uber drivers and 120,954 yearly drivers in 2024. The regulatory requirements for taxi drivers contribute to this significant difference in scale and popularity as explained below.

When it comes to earnings and employment dynamics, the average taxi driver earns less than the average Uber driver. The gross earnings for full-time taxi drivers are $1.32 less per hour than the net earnings of their Uber counterparts. For the purposes of this study, it was not possible to calculate taxi driver expenses and subtract them from earnings based on available data. Taking a conservative assumption that taxi drivers have similar variable costs as Uber drivers, taxi drivers may earn significantly less than the estimates here.

Both occupations experience earnings penalties for part-time work. The part-time penalty for taxi drivers is slightly steeper at about $1.32 less per hour (6% less) than full-time taxi drivers, which could discourage some taxi drivers from working fewer hours.[22] As with many other occupations nationally, part-time taxi drivers likely suffer from less accumulated work experience that can minimize earnings, for example driving less efficient routes or seeking to pick up passengers at odd hours or locations.[23] This wage discrepancy highlights the economic challenges faced by part-time taxi drivers compared to rideshare drivers.

Figure 3 - Earnings Comparison between Uber Drivers (Net) and Taxi Drivers (Gross)



Accessibility remains a key differentiator between taxi and Uber driving. Taxi driver roles come with higher entry barriers, largely due to stricter regulations. In the Chicago region, taxi drivers must possess a medallion license, which can either be purchased or leased and have high associated fixed costs - the average purchase price in June 2024 was $10,500, while the maximum lease price is $275 per week.[24] On top of that, these medallions require renewal every two years at a cost of $500,[25] along with meeting other regulatory requirements including vehicle

[21] Lightcast EMSI, 2024 data on the Chicago region as defined by Uber.
[22] Lightcast EMSI, 2024 data on the Chicago region as defined by Uber, and CPS Microdata 2020-2024. For more information on the CPS microdata methodology, see Appendix B. Note that unlike all other profiled occupations, taxi driver full- vs. part-time pay differentials are estimates, as they were not found to be statistically significant.
[23] Barry T. Hirsch, Why Do Part-Time Workers Earn Less? The Role of Worker and Job Skills. Accessed September 2, 2025.
[24] Chicago Data Portal. Taxi Medallion Transfers - Average Price by Month.
[25] City of Chicago. Chicago Taxicab Medallion License Information. Accessed August 7, 2025.

licensing and insurance. By contrast, Chicago only requires rideshare companies to pay for a Transportation Network Provider license to cover all drivers in Chicago, lowering entry costs significantly for individual rideshare drivers. Furthermore, whilst taxi drivers must complete the Business Affairs and Consumer Protection public chauffeur training course to operate legally,[26] Uber drivers only need to undergo in-app education before starting their rideshare work.

Higher operational costs for taxi drivers, like time-based medallion leases, increase pressure to work longer hours with less flexibility over working times to offset these costs. Survey results show that taxi drivers are more likely to work full-time in Chicago, and less likely to cite flexibility and scheduling control as a reason for doing this work compared to rideshare drivers.[27] In addition to greater fixed costs, the greater financial penalty for part-time work may limit taxi drivers' willingness to reduce their hours.

Looking ahead, the for-hire vehicle sector is projected to see about an 11% growth nationally according to the BLS, though this figure includes rideshare drivers and likely masks the smaller scale and limited appeal of traditional taxi driving in Chicago's competitive market.[28]

Case Study – Home Health and Personal Care Aides

Home health and personal care aides in Chicago generally **earn less than Uber drivers, have a higher barrier to entry**, and **experience less scheduling flexibility**. While some home health and personal care aides can earn promotions, the competitive advantages of working in rideshare likely contributed to Uber being a competitive, popular occupation in 2024.

Table 5 - Comparison of Home Health and Personal Care Aides to Uber Drivers, Chicago

Occupation Characteristics	Home Health and Personal Care Aides *Flexible Occupations*	
Earnings	^	Wages for full-time, part-time, and all home health aides are less than comparable Uber driver cohort earnings.
Barriers to Entry	^	Home health aides are required to be licensed and registered, a process that requires 160 hours of coursework and training. Uber drivers are required to complete an in-app education.
Flexibility	^	Home health aides have less scheduling flexibility than Uber drivers, with most home health aides working full-time with fixed hours.
Size and Popularity	v	104,710 home health aides, compared to 55,248 monthly Uber drivers and 120,950 yearly Uber drivers. Both occupations will continue to grow rapidly.

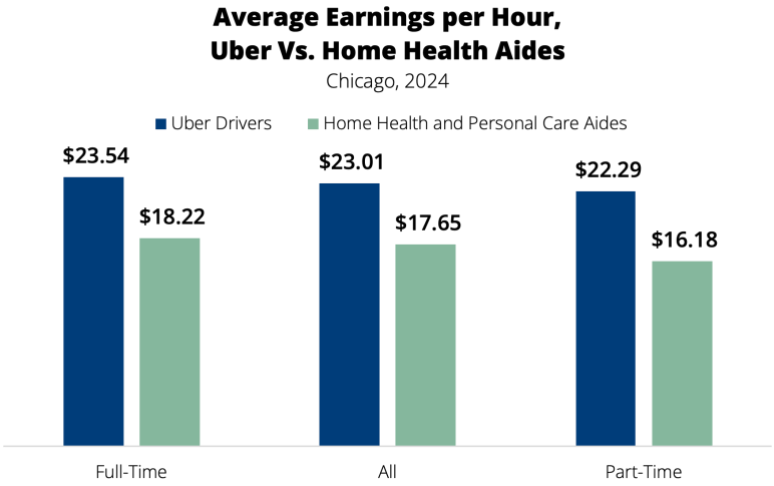
v Uber driving is less favorable = Similar to Uber ^ Uber driving is more favorable

[26] City of Chicago. Chicago Public Chauffeur Licenses. Accessed August 7, 2025.
[27] City of Chicago Business Affairs and Consumer Protections (BACP), Public Passenger Vehicle (PPV) Study Reports April 26, 2023. Accessed October 21, 2025.
[28] US Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Handbook, Taxi Drivers, Shuttle Drivers, and Chauffeurs.

Approximately 104,710 individuals work as Home Health and Personal Care Aides in the Chicago region. The occupation has experienced significant growth in the past fifteen years, with over 48,000 new jobs added since 2010.[29] In line with national trends, the occupation has grown dramatically as Illinois allows family members to provide care for each other.[30] The popularity of the occupation may be driven in part by the relatively low barriers to entry and often flexible scheduling. Home health care aides must be detail-oriented, have good interpersonal skills, strong physical stamina, and personal integrity for long hours of unsupervised work.

In comparison to Uber drivers, full-time, part-time, and all home health aides earn less per hour in the Chicago region.[31] The spread from full-time to part-time earnings for home health aides is larger (-11% or $2.04 per hour less) than Uber drivers (-5% or $1.25 per hour less), suggesting a steeper earnings penalty for home health aides who may choose to work less or more flexible hours. As with many other occupations nationally, part-time home health aides may earn lower wages due to limited skills acquisition over time due to lighter workloads than their full-time counterparts.[32] Unlike Uber drivers, however, home health aides are typically not required to bring any equipment to work, demonstrating a lower level of investment required by workers before partaking in the work.

Figure 4 - Earnings Comparison between Uber Drivers (Net) and Home Health Aides (Gross)



Despite there being no formal educational requirements, home health aides in the state of Illinois are required to be certified and registered with the state's Health Care Registry. The certification process entails 40 hours of clinical training, 120 hours of educational courses, and a competency test administered by a certification agency. The process typically requires at least four to five weeks to complete. Additionally, aspiring home health aides must pass a background check in order to be listed on the state's Health Care Registry and be hired through a home health aide agency.[33] While Uber drivers are also required to pass a background check and complete limited training, the much shorter runway to certification for rideshare drivers makes the home health aide occupation more difficult to enter. In addition to higher barriers to entry, home health aides experience less scheduling flexibility than Uber drivers, with most home health aides working full-time with fixed hours.

As a more traditional employment opportunity, home health aides may enjoy additional benefits like job security, income predictability, and small opportunities for career growth unlike Uber drivers. Some exceptional home

[29] Lightcast EMSI, 2024 data on the Chicago region as defined by Uber.
[30] City of Chicago. Family & Support Services. Support for Family Caregivers and Care Partners. Accessed August 7, 2025.
[31] Lightcast EMSI, 2024 data on the Chicago region as defined by Uber, and CPS Microdata 2020-2024. For more information on the CPS microdata methodology, see Appendix B.
[32] Barry T. Hirsch, Why Do Part-Time Workers Earn Less? The Role of Worker and Job Skills. Accessed September 2, 2025.
[33] PHI, Home Health Aide Training Requirements By State and MedAssisting, Explore Top Home Health Aide Programs in Illinois.

health aides can get promoted to managerial roles in home care agencies, particularly those who work in clinical or institutional settings. Even for those who are not in the pipeline for promotion, the local and national outlook for home health aides is very strong. Home health care and personal care services are expected to grow significantly as the American population ages over the coming decades, with considerable growth expected not only in traditional long-term care facilities such as nursing homes but also in home- and community-based settings. With over 19,000 local openings in the Chicago region and a projected 21% growth over the next decade according to the BLS, the home health aides occupation competes with Uber as a key regional occupation for individuals with limited formal education.[34]

Case Study – Retail Salespersons

Retail salespersons in Chicago generally **earn less than Uber drivers, have a lower barrier to entry**, and **experience significantly less scheduling flexibility**. While some retail salespersons can earn promotions, the competitive advantages of working in rideshare and the burden of extremely unpredictable scheduling likely contributed to Uber being a competitive, popular occupation in 2024.

Table 6 - Comparison of Retail Salespersons to Uber Drivers, Chicago

Occupation Characteristics	Retail Salespersons *Low-Barrier Occupations*	
Earnings	^	Wages for all, full-time, and part-time retail salespersons are less than comparable Uber driver cohort earnings.
Barriers to Entry	v	Retail salespersons do not require any formal education, certification, or license for employment. Uber drivers must have a driver's license and take in-app education before working.
Flexibility	^	Retail scheduling is frequently inflexible, unpredictable, and highly variable, with managers often determining shifts only a few days in advance.
Size and Popularity	v	97,320 retail salespersons, compared to 55,250 Uber drivers and 120,950 yearly Uber drivers. Shrinking retail workforce in Chicago compared to rapidly growing Uber driver workforce.

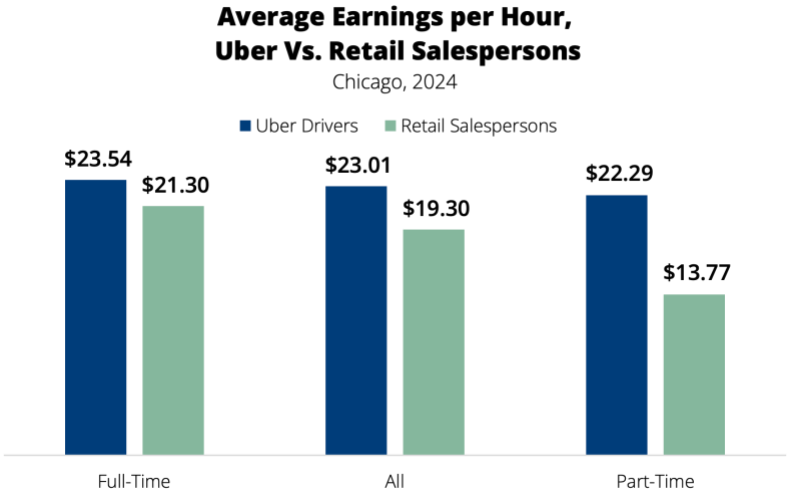
v Uber driving is less favorable = Similar to Uber ^ Uber driving is more favorable

Approximately 97,320 individuals in the Chicago region are employed as retail salespersons, making it one of the region's largest occupations. However, the sector has experienced notable contraction by approximately 24% over the past fifteen years, largely due to the rise in e-commerce replacing the need for traditional retail stores,[35] as well as more efficient staffing needs in physical stores. Despite this decline, it remains a popular entry-level job; in 2024 alone, the occupation saw around 14,000 job openings.[36] Nationally, retail salesperson employment is expected to remain flat over the next decade, reflecting both structural changes in shopping habits and the high

[34] US Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Handbook, Home Health and Personal Care Aides.
[35] McKinsey & Company. Jan 2025. What is e-commerce? Accessed August 11, 2025.
[36] Lightcast EMSI, 2024 data on the Chicago region as defined by Uber.

turnover rates that are characteristic of the role. Compared to rideshare driving, the prospects of the retail sales occupation are relatively stagnant.

Figure 5 - Earnings Comparison between Uber Drivers (Net) and Retail Salespersons (Gross)



Retail salespersons in Chicago typically earn an average hourly wage of $19.30, about $3.71 less per hour than the average Uber driver in the city, whose net hourly income is approximately $23.01. Part-time retail workers experience a distinct earnings penalty – average hourly pay for part-time retail workers can be as much as 35% lower, or $7.54 per hour, than that of their full-time counterparts.[37] Pay penalties for part-time retail workers may be even more severe after factoring in the lack of benefits despite working in traditional employment settings for part-time workers nationally.[38] This sharp disparity underscores how rideshare work may represent a more attractive opportunity for those seeking flexible, part-time work, with higher average earnings and greater week-to-week income stability for part-time participants.

Retail sales jobs in Chicago offer low barriers to entry, with no licensing requirements and only minimal formal education as most employers do not require more than a high school diploma. On-the-job training for new employees is standard and often sufficient for the demands of the job. However, the flexibility of retail work is notoriously limited. Schedules are usually set by management in response to store demand, resulting in variable and sometimes unpredictable shifts, often communicated only a few days in advance.[39] Consequently, retail workers have less control over their schedules than Uber drivers, who can choose when and how long to work. Despite these limitations, retail sales can offer career mobility opportunities, as experienced workers may move into supervisory or managerial roles, advantages less accessible in gig work like rideshare driving.

[37] Lightcast EMSI, 2024 data on the Chicago region as defined by Uber, and CPS Microdata 2020-2024. For more information on the CPS microdata methodology, see Appendix B.
[38] Bureau of Labor Statistics Monthly Labor Review, The relationship between access to benefits and weekly work hours. Accessed September 3, 2025.
[39] Scholars Strategy Network. Jan 2018. *How unpredictable work scheduling hurts retail workers – and what might change*. Accessed August 16, 2025.

Philadelphia Findings

Key Takeaways

In 2024, over 28,840 Uber drivers were active in a typical month in the Philadelphia region, and 62,170 drivers worked on the app at some point during the year.[40] 74% of drivers drove part-time, underscoring the role of rideshare as a flexible source of income.

- **Uber drivers' net earnings ($21.29 per hour) are competitive with wages in similar traditional occupations**. The average Uber driver in Philadelphia earns slightly more than most similar occupations, defined as common roles in the local labor market with similar educational, work experience, and training requirements.
- **Part-time drivers earn considerably more than part-time workers in similar occupations**, with part-time Uber drivers only earning 5% less than their full-time peers compared to an 18% part-time wage penalty for Security Guards. This suggests Uber provides more competitive income opportunities, especially benefiting part-time drivers who value flexibility.
- **The large number of part-time Uber drivers in Philadelphia reflects the increasing appeal of flexible, low-barrier work that offers competitive earnings.** While flexibility is balanced with tradeoffs in areas such as job security, income predictability, and access to benefits, the low entry barriers of rideshare and competitive earnings drives Uber's large and growing workforce in Philadelphia. Compared to other major occupations in the city with similarly low entry requirements such as fast food and counter workers, Uber drivers enjoy greater control over their schedules and earn 44% more per hour on average.

Philadelphia Uber Driver Net Earnings

Drivers in Philadelphia earn an average net hourly income of $21.29, with hourly expenses averaging $6.33. Full-time drivers earn slightly more than this average, at $21.74 per hour despite lower gross hourly pay. This is driven by a lower average hourly expense due to longer hours worked and greater economies of scale. In contrast, part-time drivers earn slightly less than the average, at $20.73 per hour, representing a difference of about $1.01 (approximately 5%) compared to full-time drivers.

[40] 2024 driver counts for each geography was provided by Uber. As rideshare work varies greatly in form and frequency, both unique annual drivers and average active monthly driver counts are used to better understand rideshare work participation. See Garin, A. Jul 2024. Is gig work transforming the labor market? for more details.

Table 7 - Net Earnings for Drivers in Philadelphia

Category	All Drivers	Full-Time Drivers	Part-Time Drivers
Average Weekly Earnings	$580.18	$1,203.29	$355.38
Average Weekly Hours	20.9 hours	43.4 hours	12.7 hours
Gross Hourly Earnings	**$27.83**	**$27.75**	**$27.92**
Average Weekly Miles	390.5 miles	799.8 miles	242.9 miles
Costs per Mile	**$0.349**	**$0.326**	**$0.377**
Average Weekly Expenses	$136.31	$260.58	$91.47
Average Hourly Expenses	**$6.54**	**$6.01**	**$7.19**
Estimate of Hourly Net Earnings	**$21.29**	**$21.74**	**$20.73**

For a detailed breakdown of the cost estimates for all, full-time, and part-time drivers in Philadelphia, please refer to **Appendix A – Net Earnings Analysis**.

Benchmarking Analysis

In the Philadelphia region,[41] the following occupations were selected according to the similar occupations criteria detailed above:

Table 11 - Similar Occupations Selected for Comparison with Uber Drivers in Philadelphia

	Transportation Occupations	Flexible Occupations	Low-Barrier Occupations
Description	*Transportation-sector occupations that have low barriers to entry.*	*Common occupations that have low barriers to entry and relatively flexible and/or predictable work schedules.*	*Common occupations that have low barriers to entry but inflexible and/or unpredictable work schedules.*
Occupations	• Driver/Sales Workers *SOC Code 53-3031* • Taxi Drivers *SOC Code 53-3054* • Shuttle Drivers and Chauffeurs *SOC Code 53-3053* • Automotive and Watercraft Service Attendants *SOC Code 53-6031*	• Home Health and Personal Care Aides *SOC Code 31-1128* • Waiters and Waitresses *SOC Code 35-3031* • Security Guards *SOC Code 33-9032* • Bartenders *SOC Code 35-3011*	• Retail Salespersons *SOC Code 41-2031* • Fast Food and Counter Workers *SOC Code 35-3023* • Cashiers *SOC Code 41-2011* • Janitors and Cleaners, Except Maids and Housekeeping Cleaners *SOC Code 37-2011*

[41] Philadelphia is defined per Uber's internal definition as Bucks County, Chester County, Delaware County, Montgomery County, New Castle County, and Philadelphia County.

Transportation Occupations include **Driver/Sales Workers, Taxi Drivers, Shuttle Drivers and Chauffeurs**, and **Automotive and Watercraft Service Attendants**. Together, these occupations account for approximately 15,690 jobs in Philadelphia. This is significantly smaller than the estimated number of Uber rideshare drivers active in Philadelphia in 2024, highlighting how rideshare work has become more prevalent than traditional transportation roles. This collection of occupations has generally grown with taxi drivers experiencing the fastest growth with total jobs increasing by 211% since 2010. However, most of this growth occurred before 2019. Over the past five years, the rate of increase has slowed to 19%, likely due to the rising popularity of rideshare services in Philadelphia.

Flexible Occupations include **Home Health Aides, Waiters and Waitresses**, **Security Guards,** and **Bartenders**. These occupations account for more than 204,350 jobs in Philadelphia. Home Health Aides are the largest occupation in Philadelphia by a wide margin, with over 136,070 persons employed in 2024, representing over 5.4% of the region's employment. Growth in the home health aide occupation has been extraordinarily high in recent years, with total growth at 260% since 2010 largely driven by the popularity of getting paid to take care of a loved one.[42] All four occupations have grown over the past fifteen years, suggesting a sustained and possibly increasing local preference for flexible work.

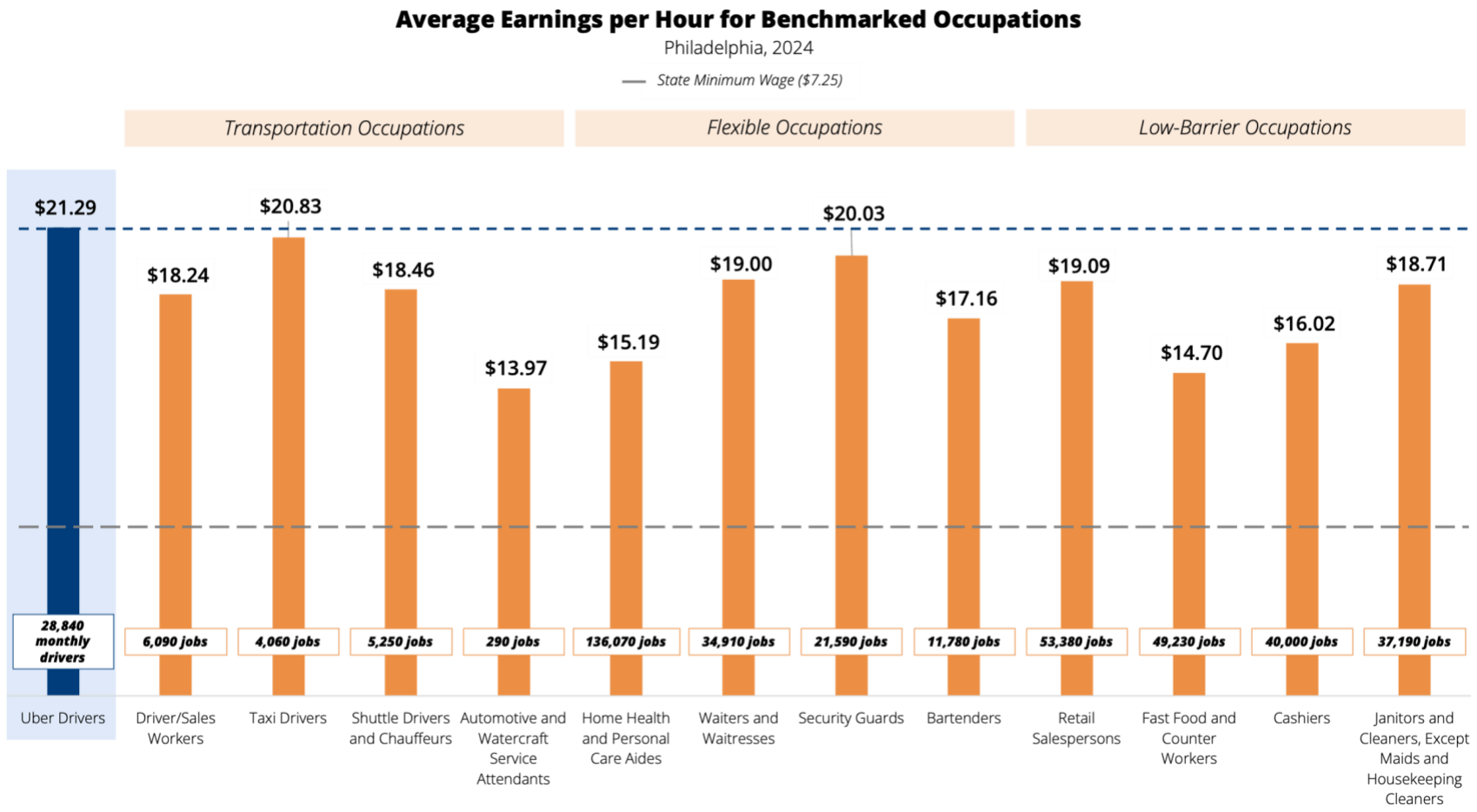
Low-Barrier Occupations include **Retail Salespersons, Fast Food and Counter Workers, Cashiers**, and **Janitors and Cleaners, Except Maids and Housekeeping Cleaners** as our benchmarks. This group employs nearly 179,800 workers. Retail Salespersons make up the largest share, with nearly 53,380 workers. Notably, employment in this category has declined since 2010, with both retail salespersons and cashiers declining by 20% and 23% respectively. This trend suggests that these roles may be losing their appeal as entry-level roles with low barriers, potentially due to technological advancements that reduce the need for retail staff, shifting consumer preferences that are weakening the retail sector, and the growth of e-commerce.[43]

[42] City and State Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania caregivers sound the alarm on a worsening workforce crisis. Accessed August 13, 2025.
[43] McKinsey & Company. Jan 2025. What is e-commerce? Accessed August 11, 2025.

Earnings Comparison

Across the benchmarked occupations, **Uber drivers in Philadelphia earn, on average after expenses, between $0.46 and $7.32 more per hour than workers in comparable occupations.** All analyzed jobs earned well above Pennsylvania's minimum wage of $7.25 per hour.

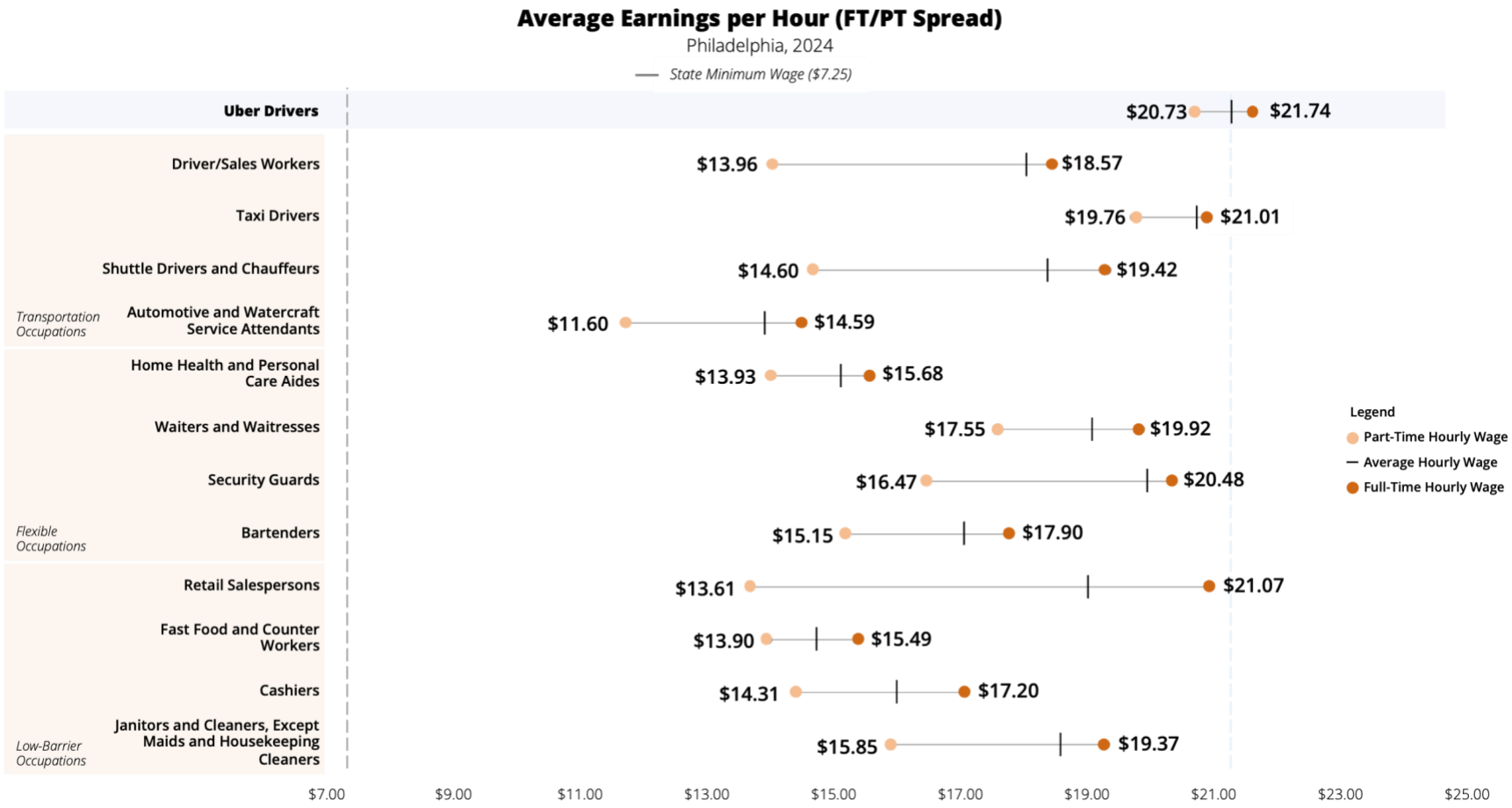
Figure 6 - Average Hourly Earnings of Uber Drivers (Net) Vs. Select Occupations (Gross), Philadelphia 2024[44]



[44] Chart compares monthly Uber driver counts instead of annual unique driver counts to ensure more consistent comparison to Bureau of Labor Statistics job count surveys.

Uber offers not only higher average earnings than the benchmarked occupations but also demonstrates a **smaller disparity between full-time and part-time earnings**. The earnings differential for Uber drivers in Philadelphia is approximately 5% or $1.01 per hour, a gap observed at a comparable scale only among Taxi Drivers (6% or $1.25 less per hour for part-time workers). By contrast, most other benchmarked occupations experience a larger differential of at least 10%, with Retail Salespersons facing the highest disparity at 35% or $7.45 less per hour for part-time employees. These findings highlight **Uber's distinctive position in providing flexible earning opportunities that maintain highly competitive hourly compensation regardless of work hours** in the Philadelphia labor market.

Figure 7 - Average Hourly Earnings of Full- Vs. Part-Time Uber Drivers (Net) and Select Occupations (Gross), Philadelphia 2024



Within each comparative category, HR&A conducted a more detailed review of characteristics of select occupations to better understand the nuanced similarities and differences with Uber drivers. The structural differences between these occupations and Uber drivers help illustrate why a substantially greater number of workers choose rideshare over other roles, as many people are drawn to the often higher earnings and greater control over scheduling that rideshare provides. One occupation was selected from each of the benchmark categories for a closer case study based on their relevance and comparability:

- **Shuttle Drivers and Chauffeurs** were chosen as a very similar role to Uber drivers in terms of the service provided and the skills required.
- **Bartenders** were included as a popular occupation with highly flexible shift structures, offering an instructive comparison to rideshare work's flexibility.
- **Fast Food and Counter Workers** were selected as a prevalent occupation within the low-barrier category, sharing similar entry-level requirements with Uber driving.

Case Study – Shuttle Drivers and Chauffeurs

Shuttle Drivers and Chauffeurs are drivers who transport passengers on a planned or scheduled basis other than public transit drivers, such as limousine drivers and airport shuttle drivers. In Philadelphia, shuttle drivers and chauffeurs **earn less than Uber drivers, have a higher barrier to entry**, and have a much **smaller workforce**. While shuttle drivers and chauffeurs are typically not required to provide their own vehicles, they have **significantly less scheduling flexibility and control** over their operations as a result and are often required to hold commercial driver's licenses to operate the larger vehicles chosen by employers or clients. The advantages of working as a rideshare driver contribute to Uber being a more popular part-time occupation in Philadelphia.

Table 8 - Comparison of Shuttle Drivers and Chauffeurs to Uber Drivers, Philadelphia

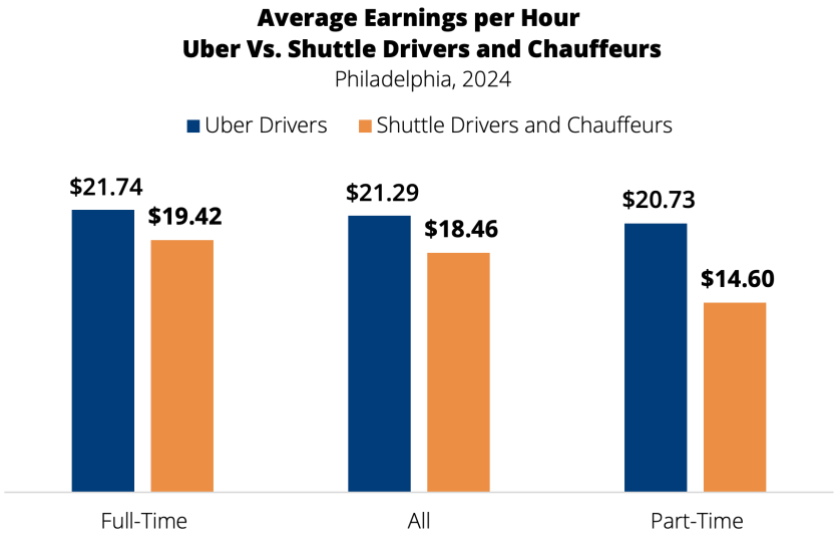
Occupation Characteristics	Shuttle Drivers and Chauffeurs *Transportation Occupations*	
Earnings	^	Wages for all shuttle driver and chauffeur cohorts are lower than the comparable Uber cohort earnings. Shuttle drivers and chauffeurs also have a larger part-time penalty for hourly wages.
Barriers to Entry	^	While some shuttle drivers and chauffeurs do not require certification, those driving limousines do require certification, and those driving vehicles with greater than 16 passengers are required to hold a valid commercial driver's license with passenger endorsement.
Flexibility	^	Shuttle drivers and chauffeurs typically work according to fixed schedules, with their hours determined by employers or clients.
Size and Popularity	^	5,250 shuttle drivers and chauffeurs compared to 28,840 monthly Uber drivers and 62,170 annual Uber drivers, with a much lower growth rate over the past two decades and projected national trends.

v Uber driving is less favorable = Similar to Uber ^ Uber driving is more favorable

In 2024, the Philadelphia region employed 5,250 shuttle drivers and chauffeurs, with the job count remaining unchanged over the past fifteen years.[45] This lack of growth reflects the relatively stagnant demand for traditional shuttle and chauffeur services in comparison to the rapid rise of ride-hailing platforms. Shuttle drivers and chauffeurs remain an important part of the city's transportation ecosystem, particularly around institutions like universities and hospitals and in connection to transportation hubs like the Philadelphia International Airport.[46]

The average shuttle driver and chauffeur earns considerably less than the average Uber driver, around $2.83 less per hour. This pay disparity between shuttle drivers and chauffeurs to Uber drivers holds true for both full-time ($2.32 less per hour) and part-time ($6.13 less per hour) cohorts. The part-time penalty for shuttle drivers and chauffeurs is much steeper at about $4.81 less per hour (25% less) than full-time shuttle drivers and chauffeurs, which could discourage some shuttle drivers and chauffeurs from working fewer hours.[47] As with other occupations nationally, part-time shuttle drivers and chauffeurs likely earn less due to less work experience and fewer accumulated skills, such as the ability to drive larger vehicles that are more difficult to maneuver.[48] This wage discrepancy highlights the economic challenges faced by part-time shuttle drivers and chauffeurs compared to rideshare drivers.

Figure 8 - Earnings Comparison between Uber Drivers (Net) and Shuttle Drivers and Chauffeurs (Gross)



In terms of schedule flexibility, shuttle drivers and chauffeurs have considerable control over their schedules compared to Uber drivers, as they rarely own their vehicles outright and have their hours, routes, and operations managed by an employer or client. Unlike Uber drivers who ride continuously different routes, shuttle drivers and chauffeurs often ride fixed routes, particularly when affiliated with institutions like universities or when destined for transportation hubs like the airport. As such, the nature of shuttle drivers and chauffeurs' work may appeal more to workers who prefer consistency and predictability in their job and incomes.

Accessibility remains a key differentiator between shuttle drivers and chauffeurs and Uber driving. For shuttle drivers and chauffeurs driving smaller vehicles, roles come with similarly low entry barriers, as most companies simply require a driver to hold a driver's license, be communicative in English, and meet other basic standards of

[45] Lightcast EMSI, 2024 data on the Philadelphia region as defined by Uber.
[46] HR&A's review of shuttle driver and chauffeur openings demonstrated concentrations of employers from hospitals, universities, and airports. As an example, Enterprise Mobility was hiring for a shuttle driver to service the Philadelphia International Airport.
[47] Lightcast EMSI, 2024 data on the Philadelphia region as defined by Uber, and CPS Microdata 2020-2024. For more information on the CPS microdata methodology, see Appendix B.
[48] Barry T. Hirsch, Why Do Part-Time Workers Earn Less? The Role of Worker and Job Skills. Accessed September 2, 2025.

professionalism.[49] Drivers operating a limousine are additionally required to pass an English proficiency exam and a taxi driver certification exam, both administered by the Philadelphia Parking Authority.[50] For shuttle drivers operating a vehicle that carries more than 16 people, a commercial driver's license (CDL) with passenger (P) endorsement is required. The process of securing a CDL includes passing two written exams, completing driver training courses, and passing a skills test.[51] By contrast, Uber drivers are not subject to either the licensing or training requirements, significantly reducing the barrier to entry and providing an incentive for drivers to join the growing rideshare field.

Compared to Uber drivers, shuttle drivers and chauffeurs also have additional access to benefits such as healthcare and retirement plans, and career advancement options beyond driving, such as becoming supervisors or dispatchers within shuttle companies. However, it is unclear how often shuttle drivers and chauffeurs leave their roles to become managers, despite it being possible. Looking ahead, the for-hire vehicle sector is projected to see about an 11% growth nationally according to the BLS, though this figure includes rideshare drivers and likely masks the smaller scale and limited appeal of shuttle driving and chauffeur services in Philadelphia's competitive market.[52]

Case Study – Bartenders

Bartenders in Philadelphia **earn less than Uber drivers, have a similar barrier to entry**, and have a much **smaller workforce**. Bartenders have **less scheduling flexibility,** with many bartenders working part-time. While bartenders may have greater career mobility, the advantages of working as a rideshare driver contribute to Uber being a more popular, part-time occupation in Philadelphia.

Table 9 - Comparison of Bartenders to Uber Drivers, Philadelphia

Occupation Characteristics	Bartenders *Flexible Occupations*	
Earnings	^	Wages including tips are considerably lower for full-time, part-time, and all bartenders than comparable Uber driver cohort earnings.
Barriers to Entry	=	Bartenders must complete a short training program focused on responsibly serving liquor within six months of hiring.
Flexibility	^	While bartenders typically work part-time and can hold considerable control over their schedules, they do not have quite the same level of real time flexibility as Uber drivers do.
Size and Popularity	^	11,780 bartenders compared to 28,840 monthly Uber drivers and 62,170 annual Uber drivers, with a much lower growth rate over the past two decades and projected national trends.

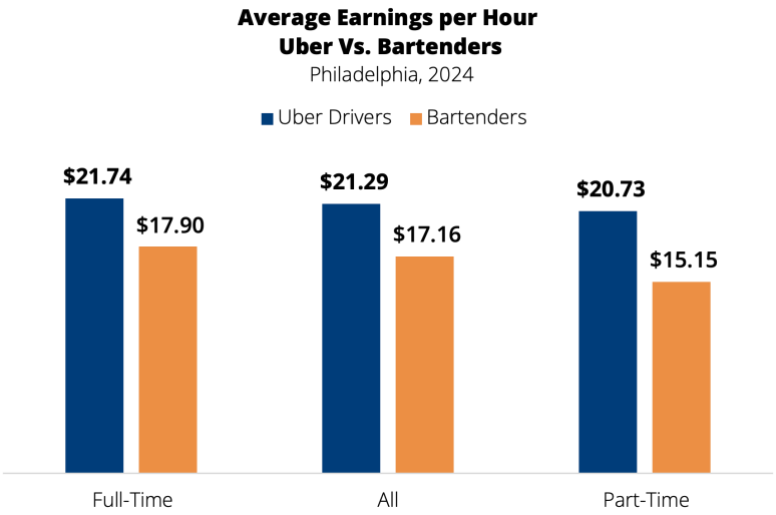
v Uber driving is less favorable = Similar to Uber ^ Uber driving is more favorable

[49] US Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Outlook Handbook, Taxi Drivers, Shuttle Drivers, and Chauffeurs. Accessed August 12, 2025.
[50] Philadelphia Parking Authority. https://philapark.org/drivers/. Accessed August 11, 2025.
[51] Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. https://www.pa.gov/agencies/dmv/driver-services/proof-of-identity-and-residency/documentation-for-cdl-drivers. Accessed August 19, 2025.
[52] US Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Handbook, Taxi Drivers, Shuttle Drivers, and Chauffeurs.

Over 11,780 individuals work as Bartenders in the Philadelphia region. The occupation has experienced sustained growth in the past fifteen years, with 3,870 new jobs being added since 2010.[53] There is considerable turnover within the industry, with some bartenders moving on to other occupations within the food and beverage sectors and a notable share simply retiring.[54] The popularity of the occupation may be driven in part by the relatively low barriers to entry and often flexible scheduling. Bartenders must have strong communication and customer-service skills, be good decision-makers capable of multi-tasking, and have meaningful physical stamina and strength.

In comparison to Uber drivers, the average bartender, including full-time and part-time workers, earns less per hour in the Philadelphia region.[55] The spread from full-time to part-time earnings for bartenders is steeper ($2.75 less per hour, or 15%) than Uber drivers ($1.01 less per hour, or 5%), suggesting a more severe penalty to working part-time. The part-time wage penalty may be due to less work experience and fewer accumulated skills, resulting in bartenders who are less familiar with mixology or other aspects of providing quality service and therefore paid less in line with national trends for part-time workers.[56] Unlike Uber drivers, however, bartenders are typically not required to bring any equipment to work, demonstrating a lower level of investment required for employment that reflects the lower overall wages.

Figure 9 - Earnings Comparison Between Uber Drivers (Net) and Bartenders (Gross)



Despite there being no formal educational requirements, bartenders in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania are required to be certified through the Responsible Alcohol Management Program (RAMP).[57] The certification process entails three hours of training in responsible liquor service and must be completed within six months of hiring. Managers and business owners often encourage new bartenders to complete RAMP certification sooner, as maintaining an elevated share of certified bartenders can result in liquor liability insurance discounts and reduction of other potential fines.[58] Beyond similarly low barriers to entry, bartenders experience slightly less

[53] Lightcast EMSI, 2024 data on the Philadelphia region as defined by Uber.
[54] US Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Outlook Handbook, Bartenders. Accessed August 12, 2025.
[55] Lightcast EMSI, 2024 data on the Philadelphia region as defined by Uber, and CPS Microdata 2020-2024. For more information on the CPS microdata methodology, see Appendix B.
[56] Barry T. Hirsch, Why Do Part-Time Workers Earn Less? The Role of Worker and Job Skills. Accessed September 2, 2025.
[57] RAMP Certification. Is RAMP Server/Seller Training Required – and Who Is It For?. Accessed August 12, 2025.
[58] Pennsylvania Liquor Control Board. Apply for RAMP Certification. Accessed August 12, 2025.

scheduling flexibility as Uber drivers, with most bartenders working part-time with flexible hours but unable to determine their schedules in real time like rideshare drivers.

Unlike Uber drivers, who typically do not have any opportunities for promotion within the field of rideshare, bartenders have opportunities for career growth. Organized, high performing bartenders can be promoted to managerial roles in food and beverage establishments, catering companies, or other businesses serving liquor. Even for those who are not in the pipeline for promotion, the local and national outlook for bartenders is very strong. Demand for bartenders is expected to grow steadily, despite some headwinds in the liquor industry as American adults drink less than previous generations.[59] With over 2,100 local openings in the Philadelphia region and a projected 9% growth over the next decade according to the BLS, the bartender occupation competes with Uber as a key regional occupation for individuals with limited formal education.[60]

Case Study – Fast Food and Counter Workers

Fast Food and Counter Workers in Philadelphia generally **earn less than Uber drivers, have a lower barrier to entry**, and have a much **smaller workforce**. Fast food and counter workers have considerably worse **scheduling flexibility and control** over their time. While fast food and counter workers may have greater career mobility, the advantages of working as a rideshare driver contribute to Uber being a more popular, part-time occupation in Philadelphia.

Table 10 - Comparison of Fast Food and Counter Workers to Uber Drivers, Philadelphia

Occupation Characteristics	Fast Food and Counter Workers *Flexible Occupations*	
Earnings	^	Wages are considerably lower for full-time, part-time, and all fast food and counter workers than comparable Uber driver cohort earnings.
Barriers to Entry	v	There are no formal educational or hiring requirements for fast food and counter workers.
Flexibility	^	Scheduling is frequently inflexible, unpredictable, and highly variable, with managers often determining shifts only a few days in advance.
Size and Popularity	v	49,230 fast food and counter workers compared to 28,842 monthly Uber drivers and 62,170 annual Uber drivers, albeit with a much lower growth rate over the past two decades and projected national trends.

v Uber driving is less favorable = Similar to Uber ^ Uber driving is more favorable

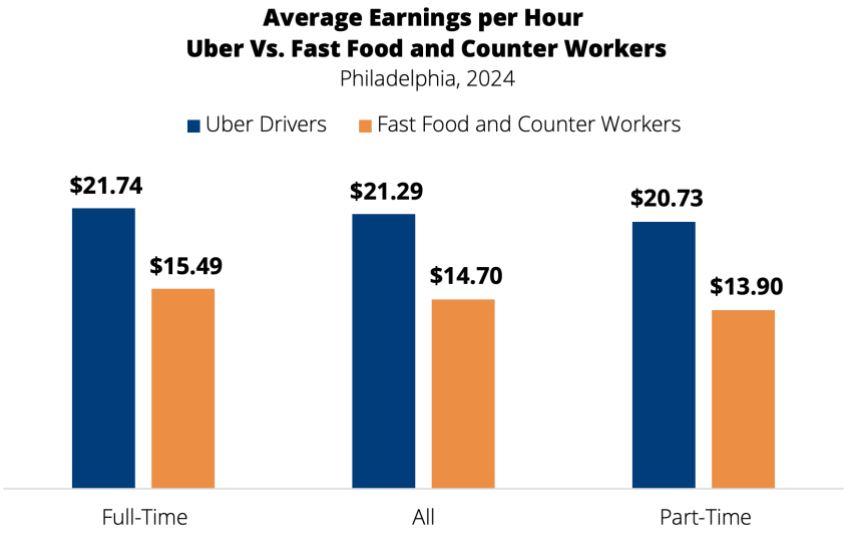
About 49,230 individuals work as Fast Food and Counter Workers in the Philadelphia region. The occupation has experienced sustained growth in the past fifteen, with 3,730 new jobs being added since 2010.[61] There is

[59] Gallup. Alcohol Consumption Increasingly Viewed as Unhealthy in US. Accessed August 12, 2025.
[60] US Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Outlook Handbook, Bartenders. Accessed August 12, 2025.
[61] Lightcast EMSI, 2024 data on the Philadelphia region as defined by Uber.

considerable turnover within the industry, with an unusually high share of the occupation's workforce under 20 years old and working primarily seasonally or on the weekends around summer breaks from school.[62] The popularity of the occupation may be driven in part by the extremely low barriers to entry. Fast food and counter workers must have decent communication and customer-service skills and have meaningful physical stamina and strength.

In comparison to Uber drivers, the average fast food and counter workers, including full-time and part-time workers, earn meaningfully less per hour in the Philadelphia region.[63] The spread from full-time to part-time earnings for fast food and counter workers is larger ($1.59 less per hour or -10%) than Uber drivers ($1.01 less per hour or -5%), representing a higher part-time penalty for workers. Like other occupations nationally, it is possible that compensation for part-time fast food and counter workers is even less competitive due to a lack of employer-funded benefits compared to their full-time counterparts.[64] Unlike Uber drivers, however, fast food and counter workers are not required to bring any equipment to work, demonstrating a lower level of responsibility for workers that reflects the lower hourly wages.

Figure 10 - Earnings Comparison Between Uber Drivers (Net) and Fast Food and Counter Workers (Gross)



Fast food and counter worker jobs in Philadelphia do not require any licensing and rarely require any formal education. On-the-job training for new employees is standard and sufficient for the demands of the job. However, the flexibility of fast food and counter work is limited: schedules are usually set by management in response to restaurant demand, resulting in variable and sometimes unpredictable shifts, often communicated only a few days in advance. Consequently, fast food and counter workers have less control over their schedules than Uber drivers, who can choose when and how long to work. Despite these limitations, fast food and counter worker jobs can offer career mobility opportunities, as experienced workers may move into supervisory or managerial roles. The integrated, hierarchical organization structure of fast-food businesses has even resulted in many decades of growth, with some extraordinary workers rising to own restaurant franchises.[65] This potential to grow within fast food establishments is an advantage not available for gig workers like rideshare drivers.

[62] US Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Outlook Handbook, Food and Beverage Serving Workers. Accessed August 12, 2025.
[63] Lightcast EMSI, 2024 data on the Philadelphia region as defined by Uber, and CPS Microdata 2020-2024. For more information on the CPS microdata methodology, see Appendix B.
[64] Bureau of Labor Statistics Monthly Labor Review, The relationship between access to benefits and weekly work hours. Accessed September 3, 2025.
[65] The US Sun. Mar 2024. *Started as Crew*. Accessed August 12, 2025.

Portland Findings

Key Takeaways

In 2024, nearly 4,330 Uber drivers were active in a typical month in the Portland region, with 8,350 drivers active at some point during the year.[66] These figures indicate that many drivers engage with the platform intermittently over the course of the year rather than treating it as a continuous or primary job. 76% of drivers were part-time, suggesting that most use the platform as a supplemental rather than full-time source of income.

- **Uber drivers' take-home net earnings ($21.82) are similar to or higher than gross wages in most comparable jobs in the local labor market**. Compared to fast food workers—the largest group in our benchmarking—Uber drivers take home nearly 25% more per hour after costs.
- **Among part-time workers, Uber drivers in Portland have more competitive earnings than nearly all comparable occupations.** While part-time work in other sectors often comes with steep penalties—such as stockers and order fillers earning 18% less—part-time Uber drivers earn slightly more relative to full-time drivers. This makes rideshare an especially attractive option for workers seeking part-time income with greater schedule flexibility.
- **Across the benchmarked occupations, Uber is the largest transportation sector occupation in Portland, driven by a combination of flexibility and low barriers to entry**. Workers weigh the value of flexibility against tradeoffs like income predictability and access to benefits, but rideshare's earnings potential and low entry barriers continue to support Portland's large and growing driver base. Although some occupations such as laborers and freight movers offer slightly higher earnings with similarly low entry barriers, these jobs require fixed shifts with no flexibility, demand significant physical labor, and pay much less for part-time work.

Portland Uber Driver Net Earnings

Drivers in Portland earn an average net hourly income of $21.82, with hourly expenses averaging $7.26. Despite having lower hourly expenses, full-time drivers earn slightly less than the average driver at $21.54 per hour since the difference in gross hourly pay is more significant. In contrast, part-time drivers earn higher than the average, at $22.13 per hour, representing a difference of about $0.59 more per hour (approximately 3%) compared to full-time drivers.

[66] 2024 driver counts for each geography was provided by Uber. As rideshare work varies greatly in form and frequency, both unique annual drivers and average active monthly driver counts are used to better understand rideshare work participation. See Garin, A. Jul 2024. Is gig work transforming the labor market? for more details..

Table 11 - Net Earnings for Drivers in Portland

Category	All Drivers	Full-Time Drivers	Part-Time Drivers
Average Weekly Earnings	$592.53	$1,237.83	$383.26
Average Weekly Hours	20.4 hours	43.7 hours	12.8 hours
Gross Hourly Earnings	**$29.08**	**$28.35**	**$29.89**
Average Weekly Miles	439.7 miles	914.9 miles	285.5 miles
Costs per Mile	**$0.337**	**$0.325**	**$0.349**
Average Weekly Expenses	$147.96	$297.32	$99.53
Average Hourly Expenses	**$7.26**	**$6.81**	**$7.76**
Estimate of Hourly Net Earnings	**$21.82**	**$21.54**	**$22.13**

For a detailed breakdown of the cost estimates for all, full-time, and part-time drivers in Portland, please refer to **Appendix A – Net Earnings Analysis**.

Benchmarking Analysis

In the Portland region,[67] the following occupations were selected according to the similar occupations criteria detailed above:

Table 12 - Similar Occupations Selected for Comparison with Uber Drivers in Portland

	Transportation Occupations	Flexible Occupations	Low-Barrier Occupations
Description	*Transportation-sector occupations that have low barriers to entry.*	*Common occupations that have low barriers to entry and relatively flexible and/or predictable work schedules.*	*Common occupations that have low barriers to entry but inflexible and/or unpredictable work schedules.*
Occupations	• Taxi Drivers *SOC Code 53-3054* • Driver/Sales Workers *SOC Code 53-3031* • Shuttle Drivers and Chauffeurs *SOC Code 53-3053* • Automotive and Watercraft Service Attendants *SOC Code 53-6031*	• Home Health and Personal Care Aides *SOC Code 31-1128* • Laborers and Freight, Stock, and Material Movers, Hand *SOC Code 53-7062* • Waiters and Waitresses *SOC Code 35-3031* • Personal Care and Service Workers, All	• Fast Food and Counter Workers *SOC Code 35-3023* • Retail Salespersons *SOC Code 41-2031* • Stockers and Order Fillers *SOC Code 53-7065* • Cashiers *SOC Code 41-2011*

[67] Portland is defined per Uber's internal definition as Clackamas County, Clark County, Columbia County, Multnomah County, Washington County.

	Transportation Occupations	Flexible Occupations	Low-Barrier Occupations
		Other *SOC Code 39-9099*	

Transportation Occupations include **Driver/Sales Workers, Taxi Drivers, Shuttle Drivers and Chauffeurs**, and **Automotive and Watercraft Service Attendants**. Together, these occupations account for approximately 8,660 jobs in Portland. This is comparable to the estimated number of Uber rideshare drivers active in Portland in 2024, highlighting how rideshare work has become as popular as the sum of multiple traditional transportation roles. This collection of occupations has generally grown with taxi drivers experiencing the fastest growth with job counts increasing by 205% since 2010. However, this growth in taxi drivers only held steady up till 2019 when it hit its peak employment at 2,070 workers, and then shrunk by 16% between 2019 and 2024, largely as a result of the pandemic and increased competition from rideshare in Portland.[68]

Flexible Occupations include **Home Health Aides, Laborers and Freight, Stock, and Material Movers, Hand, Waiters and Waitresses,** and **Personal Care and Service Workers, All Other**. These occupations account for more than 69,140 jobs in Portland. As in other geographies nationally, Home Health Aides are a top five occupation in Portland, with over 26,330 employed persons in 2024 representing 2.0% of the region's employment. While three of the occupations have grown considerably over the past fifteen years, the number of Waiters and Waitresses has shrunk by 19% in Portland, suggesting a contraction of food and beverage opportunities for those pursuing flexible work.

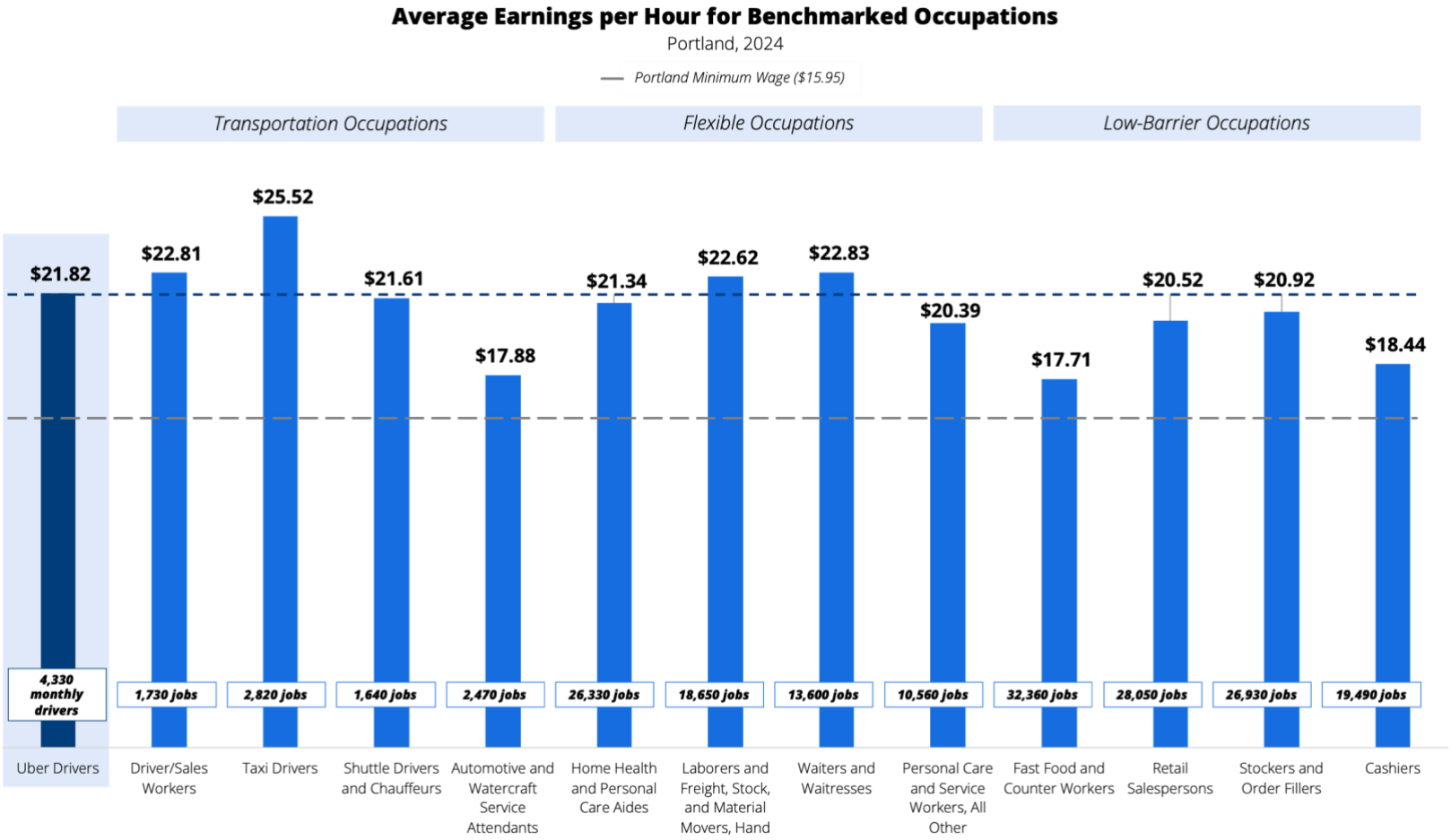
Low-Barrier Occupations include **Fast Food and Counter Workers, Retail Salespersons, Stockers and Order Fillers,** and **Cashiers**. This group employs nearly 106,730 workers in Portland. Fast Food and Counter Workers are the region's largest occupation, with around 32,260 workers, nearly four times as large as the number of Uber drivers. Notably, while the retail related employment in this category have shrunk by 15% for Retail Salespersons and 7% for Cashiers, the other two occupations have grown by 46% for Fast Food and Counter Workers and 156% for Stockers and Order Fillers since 2010. This indicates that while retail employment is adversely affected by technological advancements that have improved staffing efficiency, [69] low-barrier occupations still retain their appeal as entry-level jobs.

[68] KGW8. Feb 2022. Where have Portland's Uber and Lyft drivers gone?
[69] McKinsey & Company, What is e-commerce? Accessed August 11, 2025.

Earnings Comparison

Across the benchmarked occupations, **Uber drivers' earnings on average after expenses sit between other benchmarked occupations in Portland**. Compared to better paying benchmarked occupations, Uber drivers earn up to $3.70 less per hour. By contrast, when compared to worse paying benchmarked occupations, Uber drivers can earn up to $4.11 more per hour. All analyzed jobs pay well above Portland's minimum wage of $15.95 per hour.

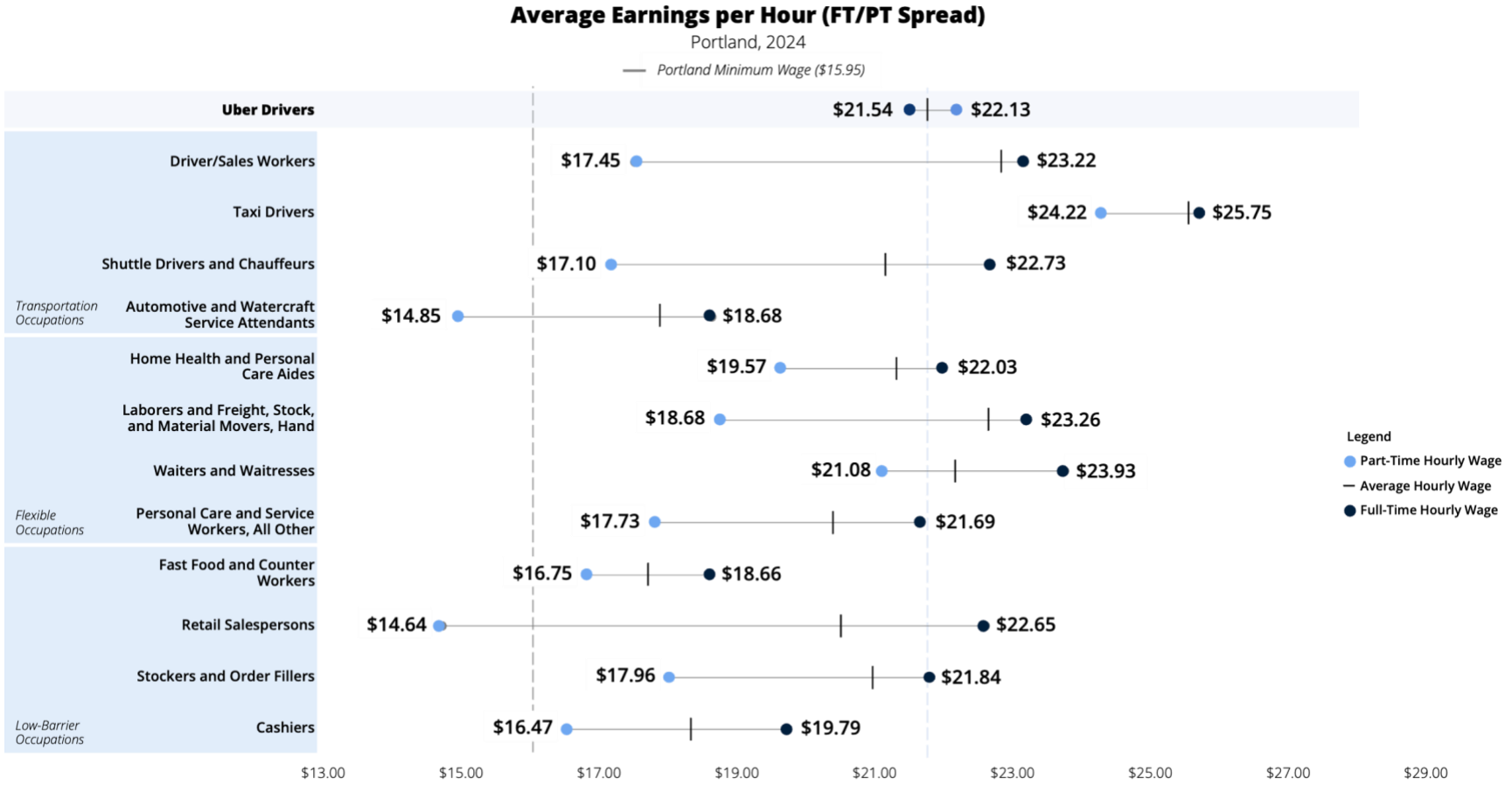
Figure 11 - Average Hourly Earnings of Uber Drivers (Net) Vs. Select Occupations (Gross), Portland 2024[70]



[70] Chart compares monthly Uber driver counts instead of annual unique driver counts to ensure more consistent comparison to Bureau of Labor Statistics job count surveys.

While Uber average earnings fall between the other benchmarked occupations, **part-time Uber drivers in Portland earn more than their full-time counterparts, with a markedly smaller disparity between full-time and part-time earnings**. The earnings differential for Uber drivers in Portland is approximately 3% or $0.59 per hour, a gap observed at a comparable scale only among Taxi Drivers (6% or $1.53 less per hour for part-time workers). All other benchmarked occupations experience a larger differential of at least 10%, with Retail Salespersons face the highest disparity at 35% or $8.01 less per hour for part-time employees, therefore demonstrating a competitive advantage for Uber drivers on top of flexible employment opportunities.

Figure 12 - Average Hourly Earnings of Full- Vs. Part-Time Uber Drivers (Net) and Select Occupations (Gross), Portland 2024



Within each comparative category, HR&A conducted a more detailed review of characteristics of select occupations to better understand the nuanced similarities and differences with Uber drivers. The structural differences between these occupations and Uber drivers help illustrate Uber's role in the local labor market. One occupation was selected from each of the benchmark categories for a closer case study based on their relevance and comparability:

- **Driver/Sales Workers** were chosen as a similar role in terms of the skills required and day-to-day experience.
- **Laborers and Freight, Stock, and Material Movers, Hand** were included as a popular occupation with flexible shift structures, offering an instructive comparison to rideshare work's flexibility.
- **Stockers and Order Fillers** were selected as a prevalent occupation within the low-barrier category, sharing similar entry-level requirements with Uber driving.

Case Study – Driver/Sales Worker

Driver/sales workers are workers who drive along established routes to sell or deliver goods, such as restaurant take-out delivery drivers or commercial laundry delivery persons. In Portland, driver/sales workers' gross earnings are generally **similar to Uber drivers' net earnings, have a slightly lower barrier to entry**, and have a much **smaller workforce**. With highly varied equipment requirements and leasing structures, driver/sales workers often have **similar scheduling flexibility** if limited control over their operational costs. As with Uber driving, driver/sales workers have limited career mobility and compete with Uber as a flexible, part-time occupation in Portland.

Table 13 - Comparison of Driver/Sales Workers to Uber Drivers, Portland

Occupation Characteristics	Driver/Sales Workers *Flexible Occupations*	
Earnings	=	Wages are slightly higher for full-time and all driver/sales workers, although part-time driver/sales workers earn lower than comparable Uber driver cohort earnings.
Barriers to Entry	=	Driver/sales workers typically do not require any training or certification, with the only requirement being access to a vehicle, similar to Uber drivers.
Flexibility	=	Driver/sales workers typically work part-time and can hold considerable control over their schedules, similar to Uber drivers.
Size and Popularity	^	2,820 driver/sales workers compared to 4,330 monthly Uber drivers and 8,350 yearly Uber drivers, with a much lower growth rate over the past two decades and projected national trends.

v Uber rideshare is less favorable = Similar to Uber ^ Uber rideshare is more favorable

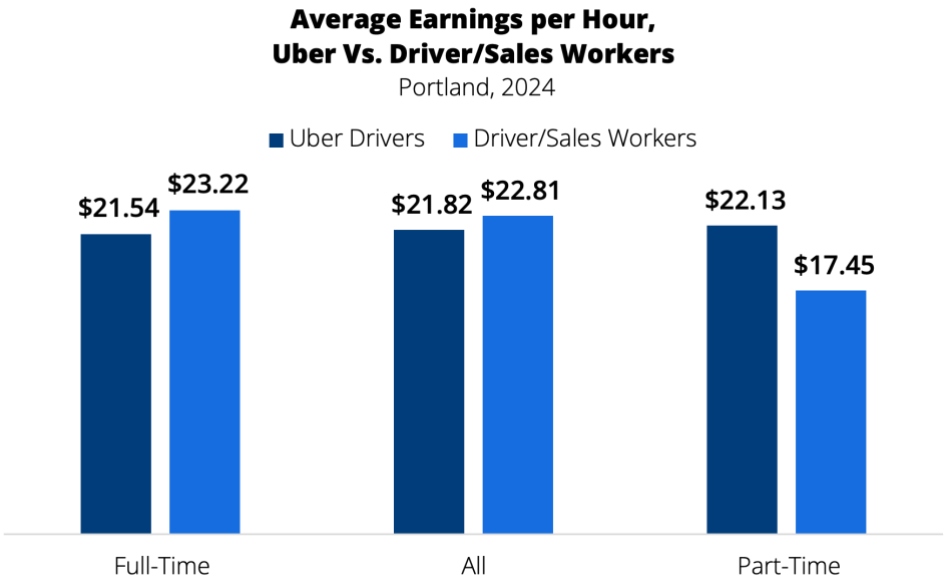
Over 2,820 individuals work as Driver/Sales Workers in the Portland region. The occupation has shrunk in the past fifteen years, with over 550 jobs lost since 2010.[71] There have been periods of boom and bust, with significant

[71] Lightcast EMSI, 2024 data on the Portland region as defined by Uber.

growth occurring nationally during the pandemic and declining following greater regulation by municipalities.[72] The popularity of the occupation may be driven in part by the relatively low barriers to entry and often flexible scheduling. Driver/sales workers must have strong customer service skills, be patient and good at math for deliveries that require payment calculations and have quality vision for maneuvering a vehicle.

In comparison to Uber drivers' net earnings, full-time and all driver/sales workers' gross earnings are higher per hour in the Portland region.[73] However, part-time Uber drivers in Portland have the unique distinction of earning more than full-time or all Uber drivers, and the earnings of part-time Uber drivers also far exceed the wages for part-time driver/sales workers. The spread from full-time to part-time earnings for driver/sales workers is also significantly larger ($5.77 less per hour or 25%) than Uber drivers ($0.59 per hour or 3%), representing a large disincentive for driver sales/workers to work part-time. In line with national trends, part-time driver sales/workers likely earn less due to less work experience and fewer accumulated skills resulting in inefficient routes, missed pickups, or other productivity and efficiency losses.[74]

Figure 13 - Earnings Comparison Between Uber Drivers (Net) and Driver/Sales Workers (Gross)



However, driver/sales workers, much like Uber drivers, typically must secure access to a vehicle in order to work. This cost is not reflected in their gross earnings, meaning these comparisons underrepresent the earnings advantage of Uber driving. The type of vehicle required spans a broader range for driver/sales workers, from bicycles and scooters to motorcycles and automobiles. While some employers such as pharmacies, restaurants, or retail outlets that distribute marketing materials may provide a vehicle, many driver/sales workers are responsible for either leasing, owning, or using a personal vehicle for the job.[75] This requirement closely mirrors the expectations for Uber drivers, who must also procure and maintain a vehicle to perform their work. Despite having considerable bike infrastructure, overall bicycling trips have declined in Portland since before the

[72] Quartz, After being hired in huge numbers, US delivery workers are losing their jobs. Accessed August 13, 2025.
[73] Lightcast EMSI, 2024 data on the Portland region as defined by Uber, and CPS Microdata 2020-2024. For more information on the CPS microdata methodology, see Appendix B.
[74] Barry T. Hirsch, Why Do Part-Time Workers Earn Less? The Role of Worker and Job Skills. Accessed September 2, 2025.
[75] US Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Outlook Handbook, Delivery Truck Drivers and Driver/Sales Workers. Accessed August 12, 2025.

pandemic, and it is likely that the share of driver/sales workers who utilize bicycles to deliver goods has declined as well.[76]

Driver/sales workers have no formal certification process or additional barriers to entry. For those who choose to deliver using motorcycles or automobiles, the only requirement is to hold a valid motorcycle endorsement or driver's license. Beyond slightly lower barriers to entry, driver/sales workers experience similar scheduling flexibility as Uber drivers, with most working part-time with flexible hours. Similar to Uber drivers, the occupation is projected to grow by 9% over the next decade according to the BLS.[77] The relative similarity of the driver/sales workers role to rideshare drivers suggests that many people in Portland will either choose between the occupations or potentially work part-time in both.

Case Study – Laborers and Freight Movers

Laborers and Freight Movers are workers who perform manual labor, including shipping handlers and warehouse workers. In Portland, laborers and freight movers represent a **larger workforce** that provides **similar earnings for the average and full-time workers** compared to Uber drivers due to tougher work conditions. Laborers and Freight movers also have **a lower barrier to entry**, but worse **scheduling flexibility and control** over their time.

Table 14 - Comparison of Laborers and Freight Movers to Uber Drivers, Philadelphia

Occupation Characteristics	Laborers and Freight Movers *Flexible Occupations*	
Earnings	=	Laborers and freight movers earn slightly more than Uber drivers overall and full-time, but face a steep pay drop when part-time, contrary to the part-time premium seen by Uber drivers.
Barriers to Entry	=	Both roles have low entry barriers. Freight moving requires more physical strength and endurance, while Uber driving requires access to a vehicle.
Flexibility	^	Uber offers far greater schedule flexibility, while freight movers work fixed shifts, including overnight rotations.
Size and Popularity	v	Laborers and freight movers employ 18,650 workers, over four times as many monthly Uber drivers and twice as many yearly Uber drivers in Portland.

v Uber rideshare is less favorable = Similar to Uber ^ Uber rideshare is more favorable

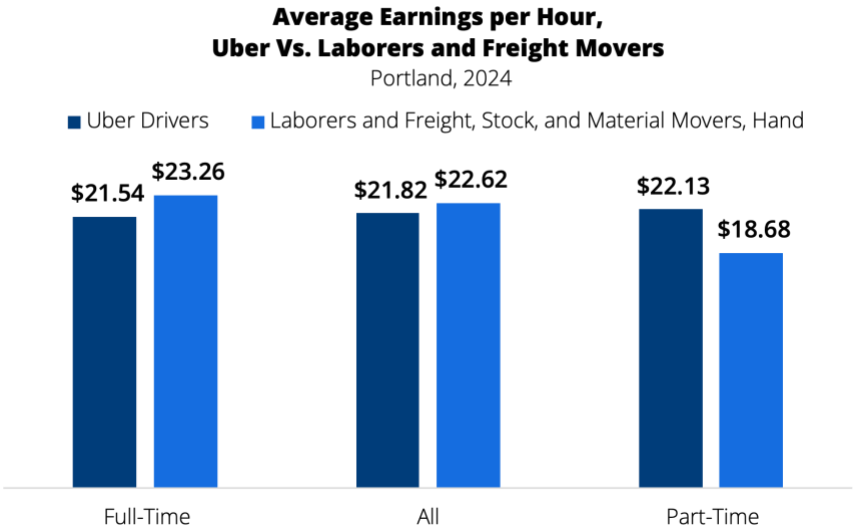
Laborers and freight movers form a significant part of Portland's workforce, employing about 18,650 workers, considerably more than the 4,330 Uber drivers in Portland, demonstrating the essential and stable nature of this sector, which has grown by 19% over the last fifteen years.[78] With robust demand for logistics and shipping, these roles are expected to remain vital as industry needs continue.

[76] Portland Mercury, At Long Last, Portland's Bike Ridership Is on The Mend. What Now? Accessed August 13, 2025.
[77] US Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Outlook Handbook, Delivery Truck Drivers and Driver/Sales Workers. Accessed August 12, 2025.
[78] Lightcast EMSI, 2024 data on the Portland region as defined by Uber.

Laborers and freight movers typically perform hands-on physical work: manually loading and unloading freight, installing safety devices for cargo transport, and sorting materials. The job often entails exposure to harsh conditions and requires strength, coordination, and endurance. Entry requirements are minimal with no formal education or licensing is needed, and new hires generally receive only short-term on-the-job training.[79] While Uber driving also has low entry barriers, it does require a vehicle, driving license, and some initial investment and ongoing responsibility for car maintenance, but is far less physically demanding compared to freight moving.

Laborers and freight movers in Portland are generally paid more than Uber drivers, earning an average of $0.80 more per hour overall and $1.72 more per hour for full-time work that reflects the job's tougher working conditions and higher risks. However, part-time laborers and freight movers face a steep penalty, making 20% (or $4.58 per hour) less than their full-time counterparts, representing a stark contrast to the pay premium that part-time Uber drivers see compared to their full-time counterparts. Part-time laborers and freight movers likely experience similar challenges with lower work experience and fewer accumulated skills as part-time workers nationally, contributing to ability to complete fewer valuable tasks and consequently lower wages.[80]

Figure 14 - Earnings Comparison Between Uber Drivers (Net) and Laborers and Freight Movers (Gross)



Laborer and freight mover jobs generally require full-time and fixed schedules, including overnight and rotating shifts to accommodate 24/7 shipping demands. As a result, laborers and freight mover jobs provide greater job security, income predictability, and access to robust benefits such as healthcare and retirement plans to compensate workers for the high demands of the job. Given the structured, labor-intensive nature of laborer and freight mover roles versus the flexible, independent nature of Uber driving, these two jobs are very different and unlikely to be a source of competition for workers.

Case Study – Stockers and Order Fillers

Stockers and Order Fillers are responsible for receiving, storing, and issuing items to fill shop inventory or customers' orders, including inventory specialists or warehouse technicians. In Portland, stockers and order fillers

[79] ONET Online. *Laborers and Freight, Stock, and Material Movers, Hand*. Accessed August 13, 2025.

[80] Barry T. Hirsch, Why Do Part-Time Workers Earn Less? The Role of Worker and Job Skills. Accessed September 2, 2025

earn less than Uber drivers on average, have a lower barrier to entry, but have a much **larger workforce**. Stockers and Order Fillers have considerably worse **scheduling flexibility and control** over their time.

Table 15 - Comparison of Stockers and Order Fillers to Uber Drivers, Philadelphia

Occupation Characteristics	Stockers and Order Fillers *Low-Barrier Occupations*	
Earnings	^	Although full-time stockers and order fillers earn more than full-time Uber drivers, the average wage for stockers and order fillers is slightly lower as Uber offers higher and more consistent hourly pay for part-timers.
Barriers to Entry	v	Both jobs have low barriers to entry, but Uber drivers require access to a vehicle for rideshare use.
Flexibility	^	Uber offers far greater schedule flexibility, while stockers/order fillers work fixed shifts set by management with less personal scheduling control.
Size and Popularity	v	Stockers and order fillers employ significantly more workers in Portland than drive for Uber, reflecting strong and growing demand for package delivery.

v Uber rideshare is less favorable = Similar to Uber ^ Uber rideshare is more favorable

Stockers and order fillers represent a large occupational base in Portland, with 26,930 individuals employed in this role. Over the past two decades, the sector's footprint has expanded rapidly with a 156% increase through the addition of 18,170 new jobs since 2010,[81] reflecting ongoing demand fueled by the rise of e-commerce and a growing need for order fulfillment.[82] In contrast, Uber has about 8,350 drivers in the Portland region in 2024, which represents a much smaller share of the local workforce. This highlights that stockers and order fillers are a much more prevalent and popular job choice, likely due to the consistent demand for labor in warehouses, retail, and storage facilities.

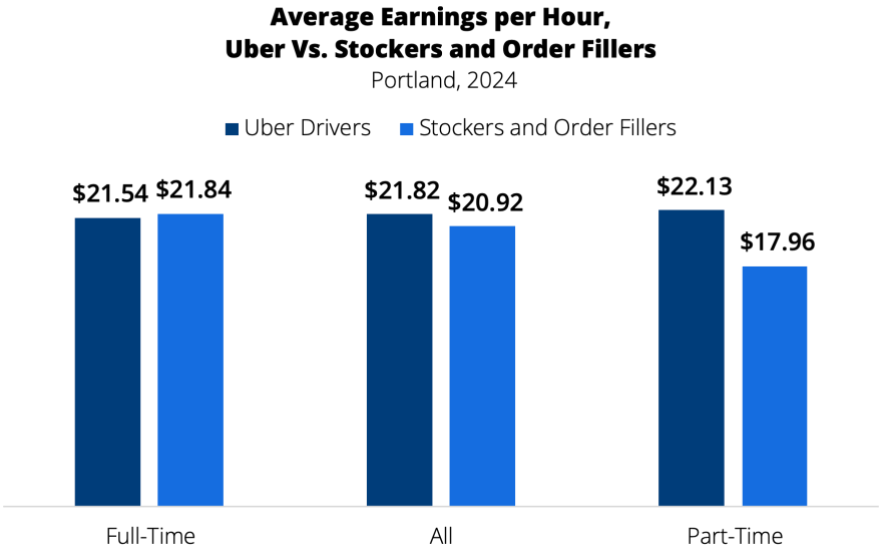
The primary tasks for stockers and order fillers involve receiving, storing, and issuing merchandise, as well as replenishing shelves and fulfilling customer or store orders, sometimes requiring the use of powered equipment. The occupation is attractive partly due to its low barriers to entry: no licensing is required, educational prerequisites are minimal, and on-the-job training is common practice.[83] Similarly, Uber drivers face low entry hurdles, with requirements centering mainly on vehicle ownership, a valid license, and regulatory background checks. However, while Uber drivers must supply and maintain their own vehicles that incur additional responsibility and cost, stockers and order fillers are not required to provide or maintain any work-related equipment.

When comparing earnings, there are nuanced differences. The average hourly wage for stockers and order fillers is lower overall than for Uber drivers in Portland. However, for those working full-time, stockers and order fillers earn similarly to full-time Uber drivers at $0.30 more per hour. On the other hand, while part-time stockers and order fillers experience a penalty in their hourly earnings compared to full-time counterparts, part-time Uber drivers actually experience a premium in their hourly earnings. This results in a difference between the two part-

[81] Lightcast EMSI, 2024 data on the Portland region as defined by Uber.
[82] Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/ECOMPCTSA. Accessed August 13, 2025.
[83] US Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Outlook Handbook, Hand Laborers and Material Movers. Accessed August 12, 2025.

time roles of $4.17 per hour. The gap between full-time and part-time pay is also more pronounced for stockers and order fillers, with an 18% drop (-$3.89 less per hour) for part-timers, compared to Uber drivers, who see only a 3% difference. Part-time stockers and order fillers likely suffer from less work experience and fewer accumulated skills, in line with trends nationally, that result in less ability to complete complicated, well-compensated tasks than their full-time counterparts.[84] This indicates that Uber offers more competitive and attractive pay per hour regardless of hours worked, whereas stockers and order fillers benefit most from consistent, full-time schedules.

Figure 15 - Earnings Comparison Between Uber Drivers (Net) and Stockers and Order Fillers (Gross)



Uber offers substantially more flexibility than stockers and order filler jobs. Drivers choose their own hours, can work as much or as little as they like, and are not bound by set shifts. In contrast, stockers and order fillers typically have schedules determined by management, with set shifts often communicated only a few days in advance to meet the logistical needs of distribution. This relative rigidity means less personal control and more unpredictability for workers wanting to balance other obligations.

Career advancement opportunities also differ. Stockers and order fillers may leverage experience into higher positions such as supervisory or purchasing roles within warehouse operations, providing a pathway to career growth within the industry. Uber drivers, being gig workers, rarely have prospects for upward mobility; their experience as drivers is not typically transferrable to higher roles within the platform or to other industries. Stockers and order fillers will likely continue to compete with Uber as a low barrier to entry option, especially as the e-commerce sector is expected to remain strong in the near-term.[85]

[84] Barry T. Hirsch, Why Do Part-Time Workers Earn Less? The Role of Worker and Job Skills. Accessed September 2, 2025
[85] Prologis, https://www.prologis.com/insights-news/research/e-commerce-boom-isnt-over-implications-logistics-real-estate. Accessed August 13, 2025.

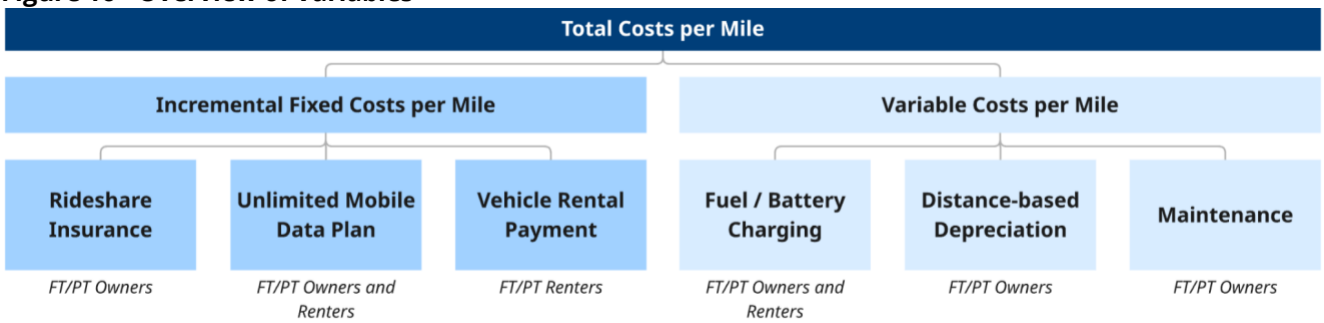
Appendix A – Net Earnings Analysis

Methodology

Expenses

HR&A quantified the costs incurred by rideshare drivers in operating their businesses. Our analysis considered per-mile costs in two categories: variable costs and platform-attributable fixed costs. Variable costs are costs directly connected to vehicle mileage, while fixed costs are costs that do not change based on vehicle usage.

Figure 16 - Overview of Variables



Owners

This study only considers incremental costs related to rideshare driving. For the vast majority of drivers who own their vehicles, this includes variable costs considered to be **fuel or battery charging**, **distance-based depreciation** related specifically to the additional miles driven for rideshare activities, and **vehicle maintenance.** Importantly, depreciation due to vehicle age is excluded, based on the assumption that most drivers already owned their vehicles for non-rideshare purposes and that vehicle age represents a fixed, rather than a variable, cost. To arrive at representative values for fuel or battery charging, HR&A used weighted figures that differentiate between gasoline vehicles and battery-electric vehicles (BEVs), reflecting their different operational expenses. Shares of BEV usage across the three cities were applied to compute blended averages per mile that accurately represent the broader driver pool.

In addition to these variable costs, specific fixed costs that were only incurred because of rideshare driving were included, namely the incremental cost of **rideshare insurance** on top of a standard auto policy, and the incremental cost of **unlimited mobile data** on top of standard plans. For drivers who own their vehicles, we assume that most do not purchase a car solely for the purpose of driving on an app-based rideshare platform. This assumption is supported by our data showing that most drivers operate part-time, as well as ACS vehicle ownership data indicating that more than two thirds of households in the three cities already own at least one vehicle.[86] Consequently, we exclude typical fixed costs associated with car ownership, such as auto financing, but include portions of some fixed costs directly related to rideshare driving.

Renters

In the dataset provided by Uber, only drivers who rent their vehicles through the Uber Marketplace are classified as "renters" and form the minority of the drivers. For these drivers, several costs incurred by owners do not need to be considered, as depreciation, maintenance, and rideshare insurance costs are included in the rental fee.

For drivers who rent their vehicles through the Uber Marketplace, the only variable cost considered is fuel or battery charging, since depreciation and maintenance expenses are covered by the rental company. Renters only

[86] US Census Bureau. 2023 ACS 5-Year Estimates Data Profiles/Housing Characteristics. Accessed August 6, 2025.

incur the variable cost of **fuel or battery charging**. As with owners, HR&A used weighted figures that differentiate between gasoline and battery-electric vehicles (BEVs) to compute blended averages of fueling costs.

For fixed costs, we considered car rental fees and the incremental cost associated with an **unlimited mobile data plan**. Across all three cities, there are no costs related to rideshare licensing that are applicable or borne by individual rideshare drivers. For renters, **vehicle rental payments** (including the rental price along with any applicable taxes and fees) are discounted to ensure that only costs directly attributable to rideshare were considered. This discount is based on the approximate share of on-platform miles driven out of total odometer data from vehicle inspections in four comparable cities nationally. This approach isolated the share of rental costs that can be reasonably linked to rideshare activity rather than personal use, allowing a more accurate estimate of the portion of this fixed cost attributable to Uber driving.

All Drivers

For each variable, HR&A amortized fixed costs on a weekly basis where applicable to account for costs applicable only for weeks where Uber drivers worked. We then divided these costs by the average weekly miles traveled for both owner and renter drivers. This approach yielded cost-per-mile estimates separately for full-time and part-time drivers. For both full-time and part-time driver estimates, the costs per mile for renters are slightly higher than owners, largely driven by the discounted rental costs as described above.

To derive an overall cost-per-mile figure for all drivers, we used a blended average weighted by the total miles driven across both **vehicle ownership** and **vehicle type**, reflecting each group's share of total driver mileage. For costs associated with renters, HR&A used the share of total miles driven by renters across the overall sample size, as well as estimated share of on-Uber mileage using odometer data. HR&A analyzed expenses associated with driving battery electric vehicles and gasoline vehicles separately for variable costs, given the difference in pricing across the vehicle types for fuel/battery charging, depreciation, and maintenance. Weighted averages were calculated based on the relative shares of drivers using a BEV within each city, based on Uber's shared data.

Figure 17 - Weighting Categories Used for Each Variable

Table 16 - Weighting Categories Used Based on Share of Mileage

Weighting Category	Function	Chicago	Philadelphia	Portland
Share of All Owner Drivers Mileage	Used to calculate a weighted average of all incremental costs, based on costs for owners vs. renters	91.8%	87.3%	84.9%
Share of All Renter Drivers Mileage	Used to calculate a weighted average of all incremental costs, based on costs for owners vs. renters	8.2%	12.7%	15.1%
Share of Mileage Using a Gasoline Vehicle	Used to calculate a weighted average of variable costs, based on costs associated with BEVs vs. gasoline vehicles	92.9%	86.2%	72.6%
Share of Mileage Using a Battery Electric Vehicle (BEV)	Used to calculate a weighted average of variable costs, based on costs associated with BEVs vs. gasoline vehicles	7.1%	13.8%	27.4%
Estimated Mileage Share on Uber Platform based on Odometer Data for Full-Time Drivers	Used to discount full-time renter driver's rental vehicle costs	53.1%	51.8%	59.1%
Estimated Mileage Share on Uber Platform based on Odometer Data for Part-Time Drivers	Used to discount part-time renter driver's rental vehicle costs	20.3%	20.3%	25.7%

Using these definitions, we arrived at the estimated costs per mile as described in Table 23.

Table 17 - Summary of Expenses per Mile for All Drivers

City	Chicago	Philadelphia	Portland
Variable Costs per mile	$0.299	$0.285	$0.280
Partially Allocated Fixed Costs per mile	$0.031	$0.064	$0.056
Total Costs per mile	**$0.330**	**$0.349**	**$0.337**

We calculated hourly expenses and earnings using time where drivers are engaged with the app in ways that could generate income. This time includes both active and inactive times:

- **Trimmed P1** covers the inactive time spent with the app open while waiting for a trip. P1 time is trimmed to only consider periods immediately preceding an accepted ride as these times are directly attributable to rideshare. Other time spent online that is followed by a trip rejection or going offline are not conclusively attributable to rideshare work and were excluded from the study.[87]
- **P2** represents the active time spent enroute to pick up a passenger.
- **P3** represents the active time spent actively completing a trip with a passenger on board.

To obtain the average hourly expenses, we multiplied the costs per mile with the average weekly miles per hour to get the total hourly expenses incurred by rideshare drivers while on Uber, as shown in Table 24.

Table 18 - Summary of Hourly Expenses for All Drivers

City	Chicago	Philadelphia	Portland
Costs per Mile	$0.330	$0.349	$0.337
Average Weekly Miles per Hour	19.2	18.7	21.6
Average Hourly Expenses	**$6.34**	**$6.54**	**$7.26**

Earnings

HR&A summarized statistics on typical gross hourly earnings for Uber drivers using data provided by Uber which broke down driver earnings into two main components: trip earnings, and additional compensation, which includes bonuses and customer tips. Trip earnings consist of the amount drivers receive for completing rides, including any per-trip incentives, and are reported net of service fees and applicable taxes. Bonuses refer to optional promotional incentives offered for various platform engagement activities like driving in high demand areas at high demand times. Tips represent voluntary passenger gratuities.

To calculate gross hourly pay, HR&A aggregated these earnings for each driver-week observation and divided it by the total by the hours worked during that week

Using these definitions, we arrived at the estimated gross hourly earnings for each city. With the average hourly expenses calculated in Table 24, we estimated the net hourly earnings as summarized in Table 25.

Table 19 - Summary of Net Hourly Earnings for All Drivers

City	Chicago	Philadelphia	Portland
Gross Hourly Earnings	$29.35	$27.83	$29.08
Average Hourly Expenses	($6.34)	($6.54)	($7.26)
Net Hourly Earnings	**$23.01**	**$21.29**	**$21.82**

[87] Trimmed P1 time is industry standard practice. See Cornell ILR School Seattle Uber Lyft Project Report (2020) and Minnesota Department of Labor and Industry Driver Earnings Analysis and Pay Standard Options (2024).

Detailed Cost Tables Summary

Chicago

Table 20 - Summary of Chicago Driver-Week Data

Chicago	All Drivers	Full-Time Drivers	Part-Time Drivers
Number of Driver-Week Observations	183,293	54,303 *(29.6%)*	128,990 *(70.4%)*
Average Weekly Mileage	430.8 miles	805.3 miles	273.1 miles
Estimated Total Miles Driven in Data Sample	78,958,645 miles	43,730,007 miles *(55.4%)*	35,228,637 miles *(44.6%)*
Average Weekly Earnings	$659.09	$1,284.45	$395.82
Average Weekly Hours Driven	22.5 hours	43.5 hours	13.6 hours
Average Weekly Gross Earnings per Hour	**$29.35**	**$29.50**	**$29.13**

Table 21 - Detailed Cost Table for All Drivers in Chicago[88]

Cost Category – All Drivers	All	Owners	Renters
Variable Costs per Mile	**$0.299**	**$0.314**	**$0.131**
Fuel/Battery Charging	-	$0.131	$0.131
Distance-based Depreciation	-	$0.100	-
Maintenance	-	$0.083	-
Partially Allocated Fixed Costs per Mile	**$0.031**	**$0.016**	**$0.194**
Rideshare Insurance Premium	-	$0.014	-
Rental Cost	-	-	$0.192
Unlimited Data Plan	-	$0.003	$0.002
Total Costs per Mile	**$0.330**	**$0.331**	**$0.325**

[88] Note that all costs are rounded to the third decimal place and may not add up.

Table 22 - Detailed Cost Table for Full-Time Drivers in Chicago

Cost Category – Full-Time Drivers	All	Owners	Renters
Variable Costs per Mile	**$0.295**	**$0.313**	**$0.130**
Fuel/Battery Charging	-	$0.130	$0.130
Distance-based Depreciation	-	$0.100	-
Maintenance	-	$0.083	-
Partially Allocated Fixed Costs per Mile	**$0.027**	**$0.009**	**$0.194**
Rideshare Insurance Premium	-	$0.007	-
Rental Cost	-	-	$0.193
Unlimited Data Plan	-	$0.001	$0.001
Total Costs per Mile	**$0.322**	**$0.322**	**$0.324**

Table 23 - Detailed Cost Table for Part-Time Drivers in Chicago

Cost Category – Part-Time Drivers	All	Owners	Renters
Variable Costs per Mile	**$0.305**	**$0.316**	**$0.133**
Fuel/Battery Charging	-	$0.133	$0.133
Distance-based Depreciation	-	$0.100	-
Maintenance	-	$0.083	-
Partially Allocated Fixed Costs per Mile	**$0.036**	**$0.026**	**$0.194**
Rideshare Insurance Premium	-	$0.021	-
Rental Cost	-	-	$0.191
Unlimited Data Plan	-	$0.004	$0.003
Total Costs per Mile	**$0.341**	**$0.341**	**$0.327**

Philadelphia

Table 24 - Summary of Philadelphia Driver-Week Data

Philadelphia	All Drivers	Full-Time Drivers	Part-Time Drivers
Number of Driver-Week Observations	181,236	48,049 *(26.5%)*	133,187 *(73.5%)*
Average Weekly Mileage	390.5 miles	799.8 miles	242.9 miles
Estimated Total Miles Driven in Data Sample	70,775,562 miles	38,429,889 miles *(54.3%)*	32,345,663 miles *(45.7%)*
Average Weekly Earnings	$580.18	$1,203.29	$355.38
Average Weekly Hours Driven	20.9 hours	43.4 hours	12.7 hours
Average Weekly Gross Earnings per Hour	**$27.83**	**$27.75**	**$27.92**

Table 25 - Detailed Cost Table for All Drivers in Philadelphia[89]

Cost Category – All Drivers	All	Owners	Renters
Variable Costs per Mile	**$0.285**	**$0.309**	**$0.124**
Fuel/Battery Charging	-	$0.126	$0.124
Distance-based Depreciation	-	$0.099	-
Maintenance	-	$0.084	-
Partially Allocated Fixed Costs per Mile	**$0.064**	**$0.041**	**$0.219**
Rideshare Insurance Premium	-	$0.038	-
Rental Cost	-	-	$0.217
Unlimited Data Plan	-	$0.003	$0.002
Total Costs per Mile	**$0.349**	**$0.350**	**$0.344**

[89] Note that all costs are rounded to the third decimal place and may not add up.

Table 26 - Detailed Cost Table for Full-Time Drivers in Philadelphia

Cost Category – Full-time Drivers	All	Owners	Renters
Variable Costs per Mile	**$0.275**	**$0.304**	**$0.121**
Fuel/Battery Charging	-	$0.121	$0.121
Distance-based Depreciation	-	$0.098	-
Maintenance	-	$0.084	-
Partially Allocated Fixed Costs per Mile	**$0.051**	**$0.019**	**$0.219**
Rideshare Insurance Premium	-	$0.018	-
Rental Cost	-	-	$0.218
Unlimited Data Plan	-	$0.001	$0.001
Total Costs per Mile	**$0.326**	**$0.323**	**$0.340**

Table 27 - Detailed Cost Table for Part-Time Drivers in Philadelphia

Cost Category – Part-time Drivers	All	Owners	Renters
Variable Costs per Mile	**$0.298**	**$0.314**	**$0.131**
Fuel/Battery Charging	-	$0.131	$0.131
Distance-based Depreciation	-	$0.100	-
Maintenance	-	$0.083	-
Partially Allocated Fixed Costs per Mile	**$0.079**	**$0.065**	**$0.220**
Rideshare Insurance Premium	-	$0.060	-
Rental Cost	-	-	$0.216
Unlimited Data Plan	-	$0.005	$0.004
Total Costs per Mile	**$0.377**	**$0.379**	**$0.350**

Portland

Table 28 - Summary of Portland Driver-Week Data

Portland	All Drivers	Full-Time Drivers	Part-Time Drivers
Number of Driver-Week Observations	80,367	19,681 *(24.5%)*	60,686 *(75.5%)*
Average Weekly Mileage	439.7 miles	914.9 miles	285.5 miles
Estimated Total Miles Driven in Data Sample	35,333,685 miles	18,005,420 miles *(51.0%)*	17,328,264 miles *(49.0%)*
Average Weekly Earnings	$592.53	$1,237.83	$383.26
Average Weekly Hours Driven	20.4 hours	43.7 hours	12.8 hours
Average Weekly Gross Earnings per Hour	**$29.08**	**$28.35**	**$29.89**

Table 29 - Detailed Cost Table for All Drivers in Portland[90]

Cost Category – All Drivers	All	Owners	Renters
Variable Costs per Mile	**$0.280**	**$0.307**	**$0.128**
Fuel/Battery Charging	-	$0.127	$0.128
Distance-based Depreciation	-	$0.095	-
Maintenance	-	$0.085	-
Partially Allocated Fixed Costs per Mile	**$0.056**	**$0.027**	**$0.220**
Rideshare Insurance Premium	-	$0.024	-
Rental Cost	-	-	$0.219
Unlimited Data Plan	-	$0.003	$0.002
Total Costs per Mile	**$0.337**	**$0.334**	**$0.348**

[90] Note that all costs are rounded to the third decimal place and may not add up.

Table 30 - Detailed Cost Table for Full-Time Drivers in Portland

Cost Category – Full-time Drivers	All	Owners	Renters
Variable Costs per Mile	**$0.271**	**$0.307**	**$0.128**
Fuel/Battery Charging	-	$0.128	$0.128
Distance-based Depreciation	-	$0.093	-
Maintenance	-	$0.086	-
Partially Allocated Fixed Costs per Mile	**$0.054**	**$0.012**	**$0.217**
Rideshare Insurance Premium	-	$0.011	-
Rental Cost	-	-	$0.215
Unlimited Data Plan	-	$0.001	$0.001
Total Costs per Mile	**$0.325**	**$0.320**	**$0.345**

Table 31 - Detailed Cost Table for Part-Time Drivers in Portland

Cost Category – Part-time Drivers	All	Owners	Renters
Variable Costs per Mile	**$0.290**	**$0.307**	**$0.127**
Fuel/Battery Charging	-	$0.127	$0.127
Distance-based Depreciation	-	$0.096	-
Maintenance	-	$0.085	-
Partially Allocated Fixed Costs per Mile	**$0.059**	**$0.041**	**$0.229**
Rideshare Insurance Premium	-	$0.036	-
Rental Cost	-	-	$0.226
Unlimited Data Plan	-	$0.004	$0.003
Total Costs per Mile	**$0.349**	**$0.348**	**$0.356**

Detailed Methodology for Each Variable

Calculating Average Weekly Miles Traveled per Driver

To calculate fixed costs on a per mile basis, HR&A aggregated the average weekly miles traveled per driver by ownership and full-/part-time status. Uber provided a random sample of driver-week observations for each of the three cities for the study period between January to December 2024. Each observation has the mileage driven by a driver for that particular week broken down into:

- **Miles open** representing the distance driven with the app open while waiting for a trip, but only for distances that immediately preceded an accepted ride. Distance traveled followed by a trip rejection or with the driver going offline was excluded from the analysis. These miles directly correspond to P1 times.
- **Miles active** representing the distance traveled enroute to pick up a passenger and distance covered on a trip with a passenger on board. These miles directly correspond to the P2 and P3 times that were used to calculate hourly earnings.

For each driver-week observation, the two categories of mileage were added to get total weekly mileage. HR&A then determined the average weekly mileage for each cohort of full-/part-time[91] and owner/renter drivers by dividing by the total number of drivers within each cohort.

Figure 18 - Driver-week Cohort Categories

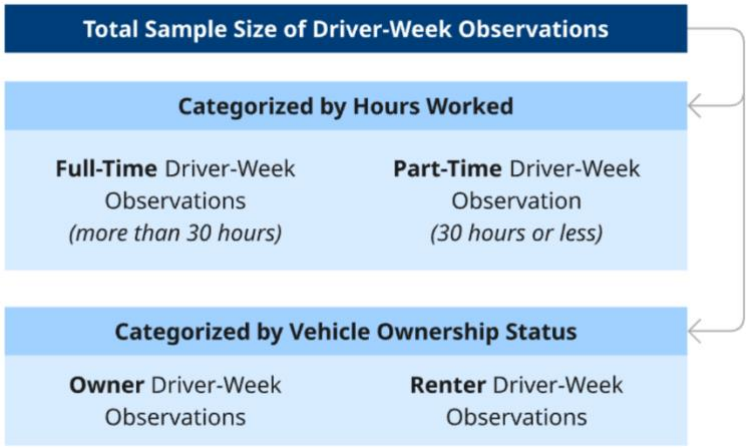


Table 32 – Number of Driver-Week Observations by Cohorts

City	Chicago	Philadelphia	Portland
Total Sample Size of Driver-Week Observations	183,293	181,236	80,367
Sample Share of Total Driver-Week Observations	10%	20%	50%
Full-/Part-Time Driver-Week Observations	**FT**: 54,303 *(29.6%)*	**FT**: 48,049 *(26.5%)*	**FT**: 19,681 *(24.5%)*

[91] In each city, our study categorizes driver-week observations into full-time and part-time groups, using 30 hours of active driving per week as the threshold.

City	Chicago	Philadelphia	Portland
	PT: 128,990 *(70.4%)*	**PT**: 133,187 *(73.5%)*	**PT**: 60,686 *(75.5%)*
Owner/Renter Driver-Week Observations	**Owner**: 172,797 *(94.3%)* **Renter**: 10,496 *(5.7%)*	**Owner**: 164,718 *(90.9%)* **Renter**: 16,518 *(9.1%)*	**Owner**: 72,299 *(90.0%)* **Renter**: 8,068 *(10.0%)*

Table 33 – Average Weekly Mileage by Cohorts

City	Chicago	Philadelphia	Portland
Total Average Weekly Mileage for All Driver-Week Observations	430.8 miles	390.5 miles	439.7 miles
Average Weekly Mileage by Full-/Part-Time Driver-Week Observations	**FT**: 805.3 miles **PT**: 273.1 miles	**FT**: 799.8 miles **PT**: 242.9 miles	**FT**: 914.9 miles **PT**: 285.5 miles

Calculating Estimated Total Miles Traveled per Cohort

To obtain the average cost estimates for each city, HR&A used the share of total miles traveled by each cohort based on full-/part-time status. This share is determined by multiplying the number of driver-week observations with the average weekly mileage.

Table 34 - Share of Total Mileage by Full-/Part-time Cohorts

City	Chicago	Philadelphia	Portland
Estimated Total Miles Driven in Sample Size	**FT**: 43,730,007 miles **PT**: 35,228,637 miles	**FT**: 38,429,899 miles **PT**: 32,345,663 miles	**FT**: 18,005,420 miles **PT**: 17,328,264 miles
Share of Estimated Total Miles Driven in Sample Size	**FT**: 55.4% **PT**: 44.6%	**FT**: 54.3% **PT**: 45.7%	**FT**: 51.0% **PT**: 49.0%

Analyzing the Most Common Vehicles

In the sample driver-week data that Uber provided, each driver-week observation showed the top three vehicles driven and their associated mileage share for that week. HR&A applied that mileage share to obtain the actual miles driven on each vehicle a driver used that week. The dataset was then aggregated based on the make, model, year, and engine type to identify the top 300 most common vehicles based on mileage. For each of the cohort of drivers analyzed, we generated a different list of top 300 vehicles for the analysis.

HR&A cross referenced the lists of vehicles to the U.S. Department of Energy's (DOE) vehicle database[92] to obtain data on fuel economy and vehicle class. Given the highly urbanized environment of the three cities in the analysis, the DOE's estimate for city fuel economy is used exclusively instead of estimates for highway and combined city-highway driving.

Since gasoline vehicles and BEVs rely on different forms of power, they are analyzed separately. For gasoline vehicles, HR&A calculated a weighted average fuel economy based on each vehicle's share of total mileage trip and the assigned fuel economy data from DOE estimates. For BEVs, HR&A compiled data on the DOE's and the manufacturers' estimates of power (kWh) required for a full charge as well as total range to calculate a weighted average using each vehicle's share of total trip mileage.

Table 35 - Share of Mileage by Gasoline Vs. Battery Electric Vehicles

Category	Chicago	Philadelphia	Portland
Share of Mileage by Gasoline Vehicles	92.9%	86.2%	72.6%
Share of Mileage by Battery Electric Vehicles (BEV)	7.1%	13.8%	27.4%

Table 36 - Weighted Average Fuel Economy, EV Battery Size and Range

City	Chicago	Philadelphia	Portland
Weighted Average Fuel Economy of Gasoline Vehicles for All Uber Drivers	27.9 mpg	26.5 mpg	30.9 mpg
Weighted Average Battery Size and Range of Electric Vehicles for All Uber Drivers	57.2 kWh 272.5 miles	59.3 kWh 266.6 miles	58.8 kWh 278.6 miles

Variable Costs – Fuel/Battery Charging

HR&A estimated fuel/battery charging costs based on a weighted average of gasoline and electricity costs from the 12 months of the study period (January to December 2024).

For gasoline vehicles, we divided the average MPG for the most commonly used vehicles by the average gas price per gallon for the Census-designated Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA for each of the three cities. According to the Federal Reserve Economic Data, the average gas price was $3.73 for the Chicago MSA and $3.44 for the Philadelphia MSA. Gasoline price for Portland MSA was $4.19 according to AAA's historical average motor gasoline prices for 2024.

For BEVs, HR&A calculated the electricity cost per full battery charge, based on the weighted average kWh needed for a full charge[93] and the electricity cost per kWh. HR&A reviewed the cost of electricity per kWh for residential

[92] US Department of Energy, Fuel Economy Information. Datasets for All Model Years (1984-2026). https://www.fueleconomy.gov/feg/download.shtml.
[93] Refer to "Analyzing the Most Common Vehicles" for more details.

use as well as different publicly accessible DCFC charging stations such as Electrify America, EVGO, Blink, and Tesla superchargers across the three cities to arrive at an estimated charging rate during the study period. The average EV charging costs are $0.43/kWh for Chicago, $0.42/kWh for Philadelphia, and $0.47/kWh for Portland. HR&A then divided the electricity cost per full charge by the weighted average miles per full charge (range) to calculate battery charging costs per mile.

HR&A calculated the share of Uber drivers using BEVs from Uber's dataset to generate a weighted average of fuel/battery charging costs per mile for all, full-time, and part-time driver cohorts. HR&A assumed the same distribution of vehicles for owners and renters.

Table 37 - Cost of Fuel/Battery Charging per Mile

City	Chicago	Philadelphia	Portland
Fuel Costs per Mile for All Drivers	$0.134	$0.131	$0.137
Charging Costs per Mile for All Drivers	$0.090	$0.092	$0.100
Total Costs per Mile for All Drivers	**$0.131**	**$0.126**	**$0.128**

Variable Costs – Distance-based Depreciation

HR&A estimated depreciation costs based on data from AAA Your Driving Costs Report 2024.[94] We only considered depreciation related to incremental miles driven due to rideshare activities but not depreciation due to vehicle age, based on our assumption that the majority of drivers would have already owned a vehicle for non-rideshare related purposes and that vehicle age represents a fixed, rather than a variable, cost. Based on the categorization of the most commonly used cars in each geography by AAA-designated vehicle classes and associated depreciation rates at various mileage benchmarks, we calculated average incremental costs related to wear and tear. Depreciation costs are only applicable to owners.

Table 38 - Depreciation Costs per Mile for each Vehicle Class

Vehicle Class	Depreciation Cost per Mile
Small Sedan	$0.079
Medium Sedan	$0.081
Subcompact SUV	$0.080
Compact SUV	$0.084
Medium SUV	$0.089
1/2-Ton Pickup	$0.094
Hybrid Vehicle	$0.085
Electric Vehicle	$0.092

[94] AAA Your Driving Costs Report 2024. Sourced from https://newsroom.aaa.com.

Table 39 - Weighted Average Depreciation Costs per Mile

City	Chicago	Philadelphia	Portland
Weighted Average Depreciation Costs per Mile for All Uber Drivers	$0.083	$0.084	$0.085

Variable Costs – Maintenance

Based on a crosswalk of the most commonly used cars by AAA-designated vehicle classes,[95] HR&A calculated average costs related to upkeep based on the share of each vehicle class used by Uber drivers in the study period. Maintenance costs are only applicable to owners, since such costs are assumed in the rental price.

Table 40 - Maintenance Costs per Mile for each Vehicle Class

Vehicle Class	Cost per Mile
Small Sedan	$0.096
Medium Sedan	$0.109
Subcompact SUV	$0.101
Compact SUV	$0.109
Medium SUV	$0.111
½-Ton Pickup	$0.099
Hybrid Vehicle	$0.097
Electric Vehicle	$0.079

Table 41 - Weighted Average Maintenance Costs per Mile

City	Chicago	Philadelphia	Portland
Weighted Average Maintenance Costs	$0.100	$0.099	$0.095

[95] AAA Your Driving Costs Report 2024. Sourced from https://newsroom.aaa.com.

Partially Allocated Fixed Costs – Rideshare Insurance Premium

HR&A estimated incremental costs associated with upgrading auto insurance from a personal plan to one that is inclusive of rideshare insurance. Average rideshare insurance quotes were obtained through Insurify, which provides an average for each city by aggregating quotes from over 500 insurance providers. We increased the quoted cost by 10% to conservatively account for other potential charges due to age of driver, points on license, age of vehicle, and other factors that contribute to higher insurance costs for urban drivers.[96] HR&A then divided the incremental cost by the average weekly mileage for each cohort of drivers to yield the estimated cost per mile for the analysis. Rideshare insurance costs are only applied to owners, since the insurance would already be included in vehicle rental costs for renters.

Table 42 - Incremental Rideshare Insurance Cost per Mile

City	Chicago	Philadelphia	Portland
Average Monthly Rideshare Insurance Cost	$126.55	$232.25	$121.00
Average Monthly Automotive Insurance Cost	$104.00	$176.00	$81.00
Monthly Incremental Rideshare Insurance Cost + 10% Scaling Factor	$24.81	$61.87	$43.91
Incremental Rideshare Insurance Cost per Mile for All Uber Drivers	$0.014	$0.038	$0.024

Partially Allocated Fixed Costs – Rental Price

In the sample data set provided by Uber, only drivers who rented their vehicles through Uber Marketplace were identified as renters. All other drivers were assumed to own their vehicles used for ridesharing. These renters pay a weekly fixed price to rent a vehicle regardless of how many miles they drive.

HR&A collected weekly base prices offered to Uber drivers by Avis, Buggy, and Hertz via the Uber Vehicle Marketplace in June 2025. The range of base offers spanned from $243 to $375 per week depending on the vehicle description, with an average tax of $53 per week. HR&A cross walked the vehicle description from rental offers with the vehicle class from the top 300 most commonly used vehicles by full-time renters for each city to calculate a weighted average of the weekly rental offers.

To account for other uses of a rental vehicle for rideshare drivers, rental costs were only considered for the approximate share of on-platform miles driven compared to annual odometer data from vehicle inspections in four cities nationally. For this analysis, Uber provided a dataset with annual driver mileage for each unique driver for each city. We cross walked that dataset with our sample data to identify drivers who rented any vehicles across the year and estimated their average annualized Uber mileage. Uber also provided a dataset on odometer inspections that showed the distribution of the share of on- vs off- Uber mileage for drivers in Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Minneapolis as benchmarks for this estimation.

[96] Ai United Insurance, Auto Insurance Costs: The Surprising Role of Your Location, Accessed August 19, 2025.

Weekly rental costs for full- and part-time renters were thus apportioned based on the miles driven on a rental car attributable to rideshare work on Uber. For Portland, we compared the share of miles to odometer data collected from Portland Uber drivers. For Chicago and Philadelphia, we used the weighted average odometer data for Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Minneapolis based on the number of unique drivers to determine the share of on-Uber mileage. HR&A then used these estimated shares to discount the weekly rental costs for both full- and part-time drivers respectively for the analysis.

Table 43 - Weekly Average Rental Costs per Mile

City	Chicago	Philadelphia	Portland
Weighted Average Weekly Rental Costs	$339.64	$341.36	$346.96
Estimated Mileage Share on Uber Platform based on Odometer Data for Full-Time Drivers	53.1%	51.8%	59.1%
Estimated Mileage Share on Uber Platform based on Odometer Data for Part-Time Drivers	20.3%	20.3%	25.7%
Total Weekly Rental Costs per Mile (All Drivers)	$0.192	$0.217	$0.219

Partially Allocated Fixed Costs – Unlimited Data Plan

HR&A estimated incremental costs associated with upgrading to an unlimited data plan, discounted by the share of drivers that already have an unlimited data plan. We assumed that a basic plan includes 5 GB of data at a less prioritized and slower speed. We assume an upgraded plan, which is generally necessary for rideshare driving, includes unlimited data and faster download speeds. On average, a basic plan costs $30.00 per month in the three geographies, while an unlimited data plan costs $52.00 per month. The monthly increment in cost is calculated as an average of the difference between the basic and unlimited data plans for five national cellular data plan providers.

Based on data from mobile service providers and national surveys, between 69% and 76% of Americans already have an unlimited data plan.[97, 98] Since this study focuses on three major cities in the US, we assumed a higher unlimited data plan adoption rate in these cities and used the higher end of that range as the discount factor.

[97] Fierce Network. Aug 2021. *Verizon CFO: 60% of new accounts take pricier unlimited plans.* https://www.fierce-network.com/operators/verizon-cfo-60-new-accounts-take-pricier-unlimited-plans. Accessed August 13, 2025.
[98] WhistleOut. Dec 2024. *Americans waste $1,500/year on cell phones. How much are you overpaying?* https://www.whistleout.com/CellPhones/Guides/mobile-overspending-report. Accessed August 13, 2025.

Table 44 - Weekly Incremental Cost of Unlimited Data

Source	Price for 1-line, Limited Data	Price for 1-line, Unlimited Data	Price Difference
AT&T	$40.00	$51.00	$11.00
Verizon	$30.00	$55.00	$25.00
T-Mobile	$30.00	$57.00	$27.00
US Mobile	$25.00	$35.00	$10.00
Boost Mobile	$25.00	$60.00	$35.00
Average	$30.00	$52.00	**$22.00**
Discount Factor			**76%**
Average Weekly Cost			**$5.17**

Table 45 - Incremental Cost of Unlimited Data per Mile

City	Chicago	Philadelphia	Portland
Average Cost of Incremental Data Plan per Mile for All Uber Drivers	$0.003	$0.003	$0.003

Appendix B – Benchmarking Analysis

Criteria and Considerations

HR&A gathered occupational data from the geographies in our Uber Net Earnings Study and established criteria to benchmark Uber driver earnings against similar occupations.

While Uber drivers' daily work shares great similarities with other transportation occupations, the combination of highly flexible work schedules and low barriers to entry sets rideshare work apart. Therefore, HR&A compared Uber driver earnings to those of similar occupations by also considering the qualitative aspects of flexibility and accessibility offered by platform work.

To identify the most relevant benchmarks, HR&A developed three categories of similar occupations: Transportation Occupations, Flexible Occupations, and Low-Barrier Occupations. These categories guided the selection of occupations for comparison and ensured a comprehensive benchmarking analysis.

Table 46 - Description and Criteria of Benchmarked Occupations

	Transportation Occupations	Flexible Occupations	Low-Barrier Occupations
Description	Transportation-sector occupations that have low barriers to entry.	Common occupations that have low barriers to entry and relatively flexible and/or predictable work schedules. Some of these can be	Common occupations that have low barriers to entry and inflexible and/or unpredictable work schedules.

	Transportation Occupations	Flexible Occupations	Low-Barrier Occupations
		considered "gig economy" work.	
Criteria	• Common Occupation (Top 200 Occupation in Geography) • Does Not Require a 4-Year Degree • None or Limited Work Experience Required • Transportation Services Sector	• Common Occupation (Top 200 Occupation in Geography) • Does Not Require a 4-Year Degree • None or Limited Work Experience Required • Flexible Work Schedule	• Common Occupation (Top 200 Occupation in Geography) • Does Not Require a 4-Year Degree • None or Limited Work Experience Required

Full- vs. Part-Time Analysis Methodology

In order to estimate wage differentials for full- vs. part-time earners in similar occupations, HR&A developed a methodology that blends Lightcast EMSI data with US Census Current Population Survey (CPS) Microdata. Lightcast EMSI's data on earnings at the occupational level is a nationally comprehensive dataset primarily informed by state unemployment insurance records sourced from the US Bureau of Labor Statistics' Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages (QCEW) and the Occupational Employment and Wages Statistics (OEWS) dataset. [99] These records are filed by businesses that represent 95% of the employed workforce in the United States, providing a large sample size and considerable accuracy for the estimates published through the QCEW. For the remaining 5% of the workforce that is self-employed, Lightcast uses American Community Survey (ACS) data to provide job counts and earnings data for self-employed workers.[100] HR&A utilized Lightcast EMSI to gather occupational data and provide a comprehensive view of demographic, earnings, and other data at the national, state, metropolitan statistical area (MSA), county, and zip code level. While the BLS's data is arguably the national standard at the occupational level, earnings data is not available split between full- and part-time earners.

Full and part-time earnings are available, however, through the US Census's Current Population Survey (CPS) Microdata. The CPS Microdata is released monthly and available reliably at the national and state level, as well as for some of the largest MSAs. The survey reaches approximately 60,000 households monthly, or roughly 720,000 households annually.[101] HR&A processed five years of national CPS microdata sourced from IPUMS to isolate full-time and part-time hourly earnings for each occupation and estimate the relative pay differentials for earners working different hours in each occupation. As an example, full-time taxi drivers earn 1% more on average than the general taxi driver cohort, while part-time taxi drivers earn 5% less than the general taxi driver cohort. Using this methodology, HR&A estimated an average spread between full-time earners and part-time earners for all occupations nationally at 24%, a figure close to long-standing and well-documented part-wage penalties presented in third-party reports.[102, 103] HR&A conducted two-tailed t-test significance testing to test the hypothesis that full-time workers earn more than part-time workers, which returned p-values smaller than 0.1 for all comparison occupations except for taxi drivers.

Full-time pay premiums and part-time wage penalties were therefore estimated for each occupation in each geography by applying national CPS wage differentials to local Lightcast earnings. HR&A developed this approach to peg the less comprehensive CPS data to the robust Lightcast data, therefore estimating disaggregated wages for all occupations in order to provide a fair comparison with Uber driver cohorts. As noted above, in the cities of Chicago and Portland, there were higher minimum wages in 2024 than in the surrounding counties, while Philadelphia had no unique minimum wage than the statewide minimum wage in Pennsylvania. As a result, some calculated part-time wages for occupations in Chicago and Portland are lower than the city minimum wage given some workers analyzed earned outside of the municipal jurisdictions where those higher minimum wages apply.

[99] Lightcast EMSI, Occupation Employment Process.
[100] Lightcast EMSI, Lightcast Data: Basic Overview.
[101] US Census Bureau, Frequently Asked Questions (CPS Microdata)
[102] Economic Policy Institute, Part-time workers pay a big penalty.
[103] Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, Part-Time Work and Hourly Wages.

Table 47 - Detailed Approach to CPS-BLS Wages Estimates

Approach	Reasoning
Download five years of standardized CPS Basic Monthly data from IPUMS.	*Create a large sample size for analysis to identify wage trends.*
Weigh responses using Outgoing Rotation Weight (CPS variable PWORWGT, coded as EARNWT in IPUMS).	*Process CPS survey for representative earnings analysis.*
Categorize individuals as full-time (30+ hours per week) or part-time (<30 hours per week) according to their responses to hours worked question (CPS variable PEHRUSL1, coded as UHRSWORK1 in IPUMS).	*Classify earners with consistent logic as classified in net earnings analysis.*
Aggregate hourly earnings (CPS variable PTERNH2, coded as HOURWAGE2 in IPUMS) and inferred hourly earnings (CPS variable PTERNWA, coded as EARNWEEK2 in IPUMS divided by CPS variable PEHRUSL1, coded as UHRSWORK1 in IPUMS) by occupation (CPS variable PTIO1OCD, coded as OCC in IPUMS). Aggregate for full-time, part-time, and all workers.	*Isolate estimates by occupation and work frequency.*
Inflate earnings for 2020, 2021, 2022, and 2023 to 2024 dollars (using CPI-U annual averages).	*Inflate all wages for accurate comparisons.*
Remove extreme hourly earnings figures that are below $2 or above $150 per hour.	*Minimally clean earnings data for extremely unlikely values that are likely misreported.*
Calculate the estimated wage penalty as a percentage for part-time workers and, conversely, the wage premium for full-time workers in the CPS data relative to all earners for each occupation.	*Generate weights for estimating disaggregated wages in the BLS data.*

Table 48 – CPS National Earnings/Wage Analysis

	FT Premium	PT Penalty	Spread, %	P-Value[104]
Uber Drivers	-	-	-	-
Driver/Sales Workers	2%	-23%	-25%	0.00
Taxi Drivers	1%	-5%	-6%	0.27[105]
Shuttle Drivers and Chauffeurs	5%	-21%	-25%	0.00
Automotive and Watercraft Service Attendants	4%	-17%	-21%	0.00
Home Health and Personal Care Aides	3%	-8%	-11%	0.00
Personal Care and Service Workers, All Other	6%	-13%	-18%	0.00
Laborers and Freight, Stock, and Material Movers, Hand	3%	-17%	-20%	0.00
Waiters and Waitresses	5%	-8%	-12%	0.00
Bartenders	4%	-12%	-15%	0.00
Security Guards	2%	-18%	-20%	0.00
Retail Salespersons	10%	-29%	-35%	0.00
Fast Food and Counter Workers	5%	-5%	-10%	0.00
Stockers and Order Fillers	4%	-14%	-18%	0.00
Cashiers	7%	-11%	-17%	0.00
Customer Service Representatives	6%	-30%	-34%	0.00
Janitors and Cleaners, Except Maids and Housekeeping Cleaners	4%	-15%	-18%	0.00

[104] P-values are reported on the hypothesis that part-time wages are less than full-time wages.
[105] The two-tailed t-test comparing part-time and full-time earnings for taxi drivers did not exceed our threshold of a p-value of under 0.1. Results are therefore included as a speculative estimate.

Appendix C – Description of Occupations

Categories	SOC Codes	Name	Description
Transportation Occupations	53-6031	Automotive and Watercraft Service Attendants	Service automobiles, buses, trucks, boats, and other automotive or marine vehicles with fuel, lubricants, and accessories.
	53-3031	Driver/Sales Workers	Employees who sell or deliver goods, such as food products, restaurant take-out items, or commercial laundry.
	53-3053	Shuttle Drivers and Chauffeurs	Drive a motor vehicle to transport passengers on a planned or scheduled basis, includes nonemergency medical transporters and hearse drivers.
	53-3054	Taxi Drivers	Drive a motor vehicle to transport passengers on an unplanned basis and charge a fare, usually based on a meter.
Flexible Occupations	35-3011	Bartenders	Mix and serve drinks to patrons, directly or through waitstaff.
	31-1128	Home Health and Personal Care Aides	Employees who monitor the health status of an individual with disabilities or illnesses.
	53-7062	Laborers and Freight, Stock, and Material Movers, Hand	Manually move freight, stock, luggage, or other materials, or perform other general labor.
	39-9099	Personal Care and Service Workers, All Other	All personal care and service workers not listed separately.
	33-9032	Security Guards	Guard, patrol, or monitor premises to prevent theft, violence, or infractions of rules
	35-3031	Waiters and Waitresses	Take orders and serve food and beverages to patrons at tables in dining establishment.
Low-Barrier Occupations	41-2011	Cashiers	Receive and disburse money in establishments other than financial institutions.
	43-4051	Customer Service Representatives	Interact with customers to provide basic or scripted information in response to routine inquiries about products and services.
	35-3023	Fast Food and Counter Workers	Serve customers over counter, duties include taking orders and serving food and beverages.

Categories	SOC Codes	Name	Description
	37-2011	Janitors and Cleaners, Except Maids and Housekeeping Cleaners	Keep buildings clean and orderly. Perform heavy cleaning duties, such as cleaning floors, shampooing rugs, washing walls and glass, and removing rubbish.
	41-2031	Retail Salespersons	Sell merchandise, such as furniture, motor vehicles, appliances, or apparel to consumers.
	53-7065	Stockers and Order Fillers	Receive, store, and issue merchandise and other items from stockroom to fill shelves or orders. May operate power equipment to fill orders.

Appendix D – General and Limiting Conditions

Any person who relies on or otherwise uses this Economic and Fiscal Impact Study ("the Study") is required to have first read, understood and accepted the following disclosures, limitations and disclaimers, and will, by reason of such reliance or other use, be deemed to have read, understood and accepted the same.

1. HR&A Advisors, Inc. ("HR&A") has been engaged and compensated by Uber Technologies, Inc. to prepare this Study. In preparing this Study, HR&A has used its independent professional judgment and skills in good faith, subject to the limitations, disclosures and disclaimers herein.
2. This Study is based on estimates, assumptions and other information developed by HR&A and Uber Technologies. Every reasonable effort has been made to ensure that the data contained in this Study are accurate as of the date of this Study; however, factors exist that are outside the control of HR&A and that may affect the estimates and/or projections noted herein. HR&A neither guarantees any results nor takes responsibility for their actual achievement or continuing applicability, as actual outcomes will depend on future events and circumstances beyond HR&A's control.
3. HR&A relied on information, data, and forecasts provided by Uber Technologies, Inc., U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Lightcast, and the U.S. Census Bureau. HR&A reviewed the information and projections provided using its independent professional judgment and skills in good faith. HR&A assumes no liability resulting from errors, omissions or any other inaccuracies with respect to the information provided by Uber Technologies, Inc., referenced in this Study.
4. In addition to relying on data, information, projections and forecasts as referred to above, HR&A has included in this Study estimates and assumptions made by HR&A that HR&A believes are appropriate, but HR&A makes no representation that there will be no variances between actual outcomes and such estimates and assumptions.
5. No summary or abstract of this Study, and no excerpts from this Study, may be made for any purpose without HR&A's prior written consent.
6. No opinion is intended to be expressed and no responsibility is assumed for any matters that are legal in nature or require legal expertise or specialized knowledge beyond that of an economic and fiscal impact consultant.
7. HR&A is not acting as a Registered Investment Advisor or an advisor to potential investors in Uber Technologies, Inc. Prior to taking any action related to the information in this Study, any investor should consult with its own financial, legal, tax, accounting, and other advisors to the extent it deems appropriate.
8. Many of the figures presented in this Study have been rounded. HR&A disclaims any and all liability relating to rounding errors.
9. This Study may be relied on and otherwise used only by persons who receive this Study from HR&A or with HR&A's prior written consent and only for the purpose stated in writing in conjunction with such receipt or consent. No reliance on or other use of this Study by any person or for any purpose other than as stated in the previous sentence is permitted. HR&A disclaims all responsibility in the case of any reliance on or other use of this Study in conflict with the above portions of this paragraph.
10. If the Study is referred to or included in any offering material or prospectus, the Study shall be deemed to have been included for informational purposes only and its use shall be subject to these General and Limiting Conditions. HR&A, its directors, officers and employees have no liability to recipients of any such offering material or prospectus. HR&A disclaims any and all liability to any party.
11. This Study is qualified in its entirety by, and should be considered in light of these General and Limiting Conditions. By use of this Study each party that uses this Study agrees to be bound by all of the General and Limiting Conditions stated herein.