

Learning on the Go:

Understanding How Gig Economy Workers Learn with Recommendation Algorithms

Park Sinchaisri
UC Berkeley

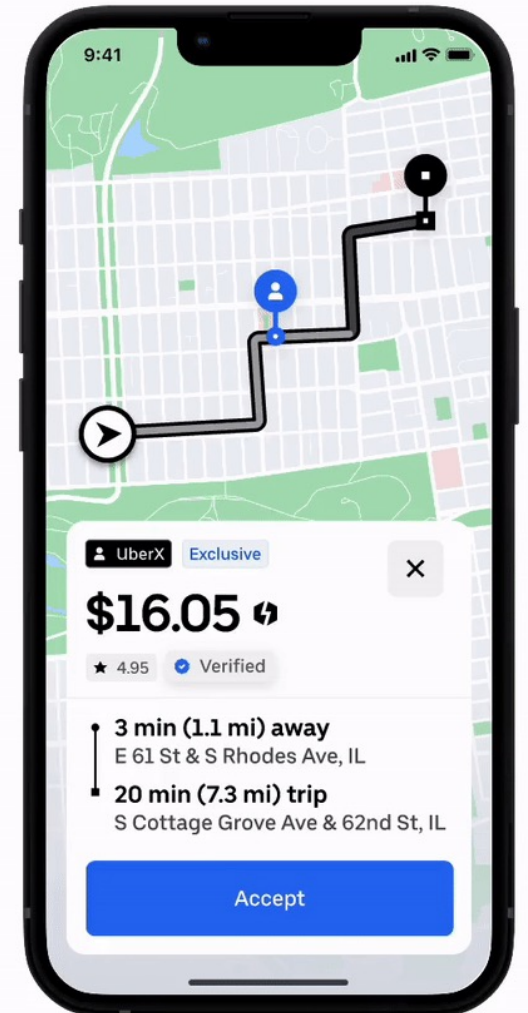


Joint work with Shunan Jiang (UC Berkeley/Google)



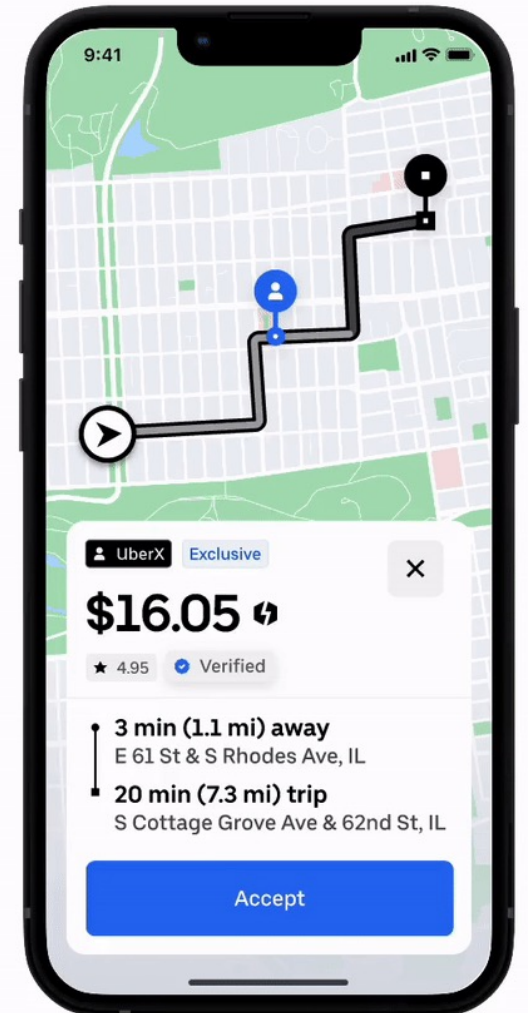
The Rise of the Gig Economy

- Platforms now power everyday delivery and services; 16% in US adults, 12% of global labor force
- Customers are attracted by convenience, affordable options
- Workers are attracted by flexibility and autonomy to turn work on/off, choose where/job to work

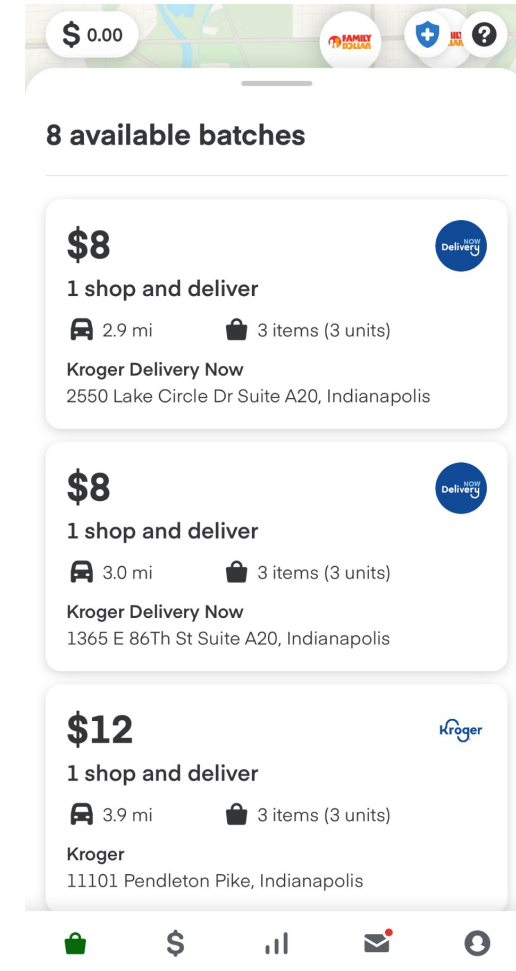
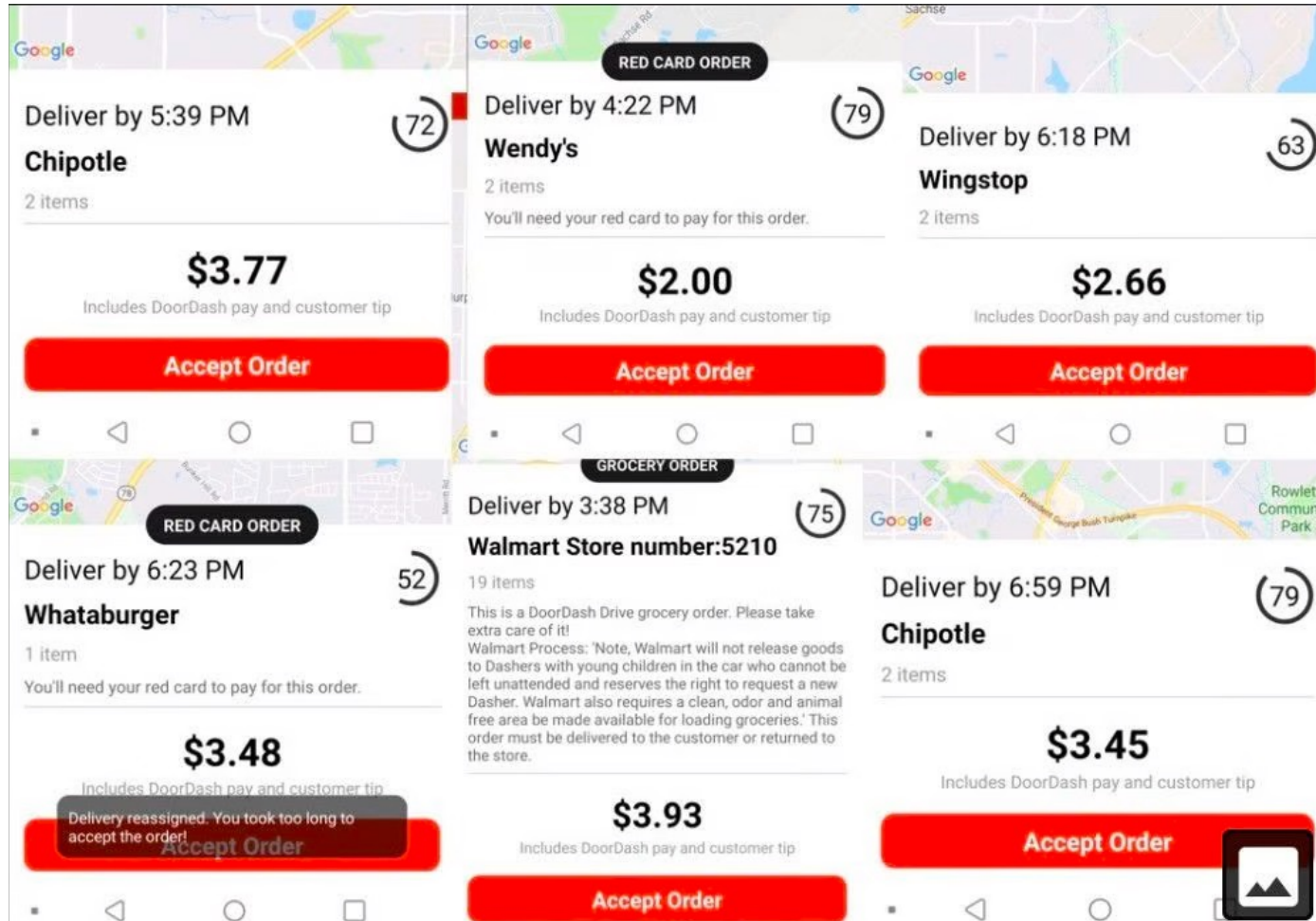


The Rise of the Gig Economy

- Platforms now power everyday delivery and services; 16% in US adults, 12% of global labor force
- Customers are attracted by convenience, affordable options
- Workers are attracted by flexibility and autonomy to turn work on/off, choose where/job to work
- These choices affect service reliability + their own earnings



Focus: When Workers Choose Tasks



New Workers Struggle...



New Workers Struggle...

 **r/uberdrivers** · Posted by u/kanyda 8 years ago

First day report

First night: 5 hours, no riders. I think I need to change my strategy.



Sometimes the store has long lines of people or the shopper has problems finding items.



New Workers Struggle...

 **r/uberdrivers** · Posted by u/kanyda 8 years ago

First day report

First night: 5 hours, no riders. I think I need to change my strategy.

How to find/choose jobs?



Sometimes the store has long lines of people or the shopper has problems finding items.



New Workers Struggle...

 **r/uberdrivers** · Posted by u/kanyda 8 years ago

First day report

First night: 5 hours, no riders. I think I need to change my strategy.

How to find/choose jobs?



Sometimes the store has long lines of people or the shopper has problems finding items.

How to perform better on jobs?



New Workers Struggle...

 **r/uberdrivers** · Posted by u/kanyda 8 years ago

First day report

First night: 5 hours, no riders. I think I need to change my strategy.

How to find/choose jobs?



Sometimes the store has long lines of people or the shopper has problems finding items.

How to perform better on jobs?

In general, humans struggle to make optimal decisions.

(Amar et al 2011, Ibanez et al 2017, KC et al., 2020)



New Workers Struggle, But Get Better

r/uberdrivers · Posted by u/kanyda 8 years ago

Tuesdays are the least profitable day of the week.

The early morning (7-10) is pretty good money.



at a different speed. An order that might take 3 hours for an inexperienced shopper might take me 1 hour.

If your shopper is slow, your order is late or might be



New Workers Struggle, But Get Better

r/uberdrivers · Posted by u/kanyda 8 years ago

Tuesdays are the least profitable day of the week.

The early morning (7-10) is pretty good money.



at a different speed. An order that might take 3 hours for an inexperienced shopper might take me 1 hour.

If your shopper is slow, your order is late or might be

Humans learn from experience

(Shafer et al 2001, Boh et al 2007, Argote 2012, Bavafa & Jónasson 2021)



New Workers Struggle, But Get Better

 **r/uberdrivers** · Posted by u/kanyda 8 years ago

Tuesdays are the least profitable day of the week.

The early morning (7-10) is pretty good money.



at a different speed. An order that might take 3 hours for an inexperienced shopper might take me 1 hour.

If your shopper is slow, your order is late or might be

Humans learn from experience

(Shafer et al 2001, Boh et al 2007, Argote 2012, Bavafa & Jónasson 2021)

Gig workers learn differently

(Allon et al 2023, Guha & Corsten 2023, Dai et al 2024, Hernandez et al 2024)

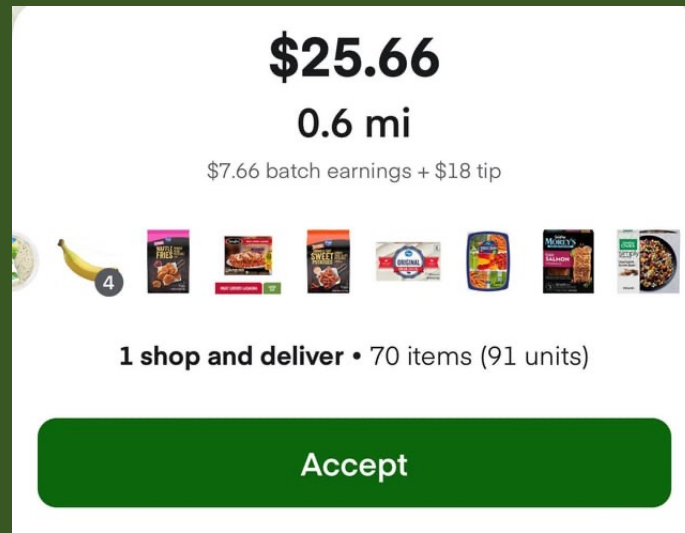


Research Questions:

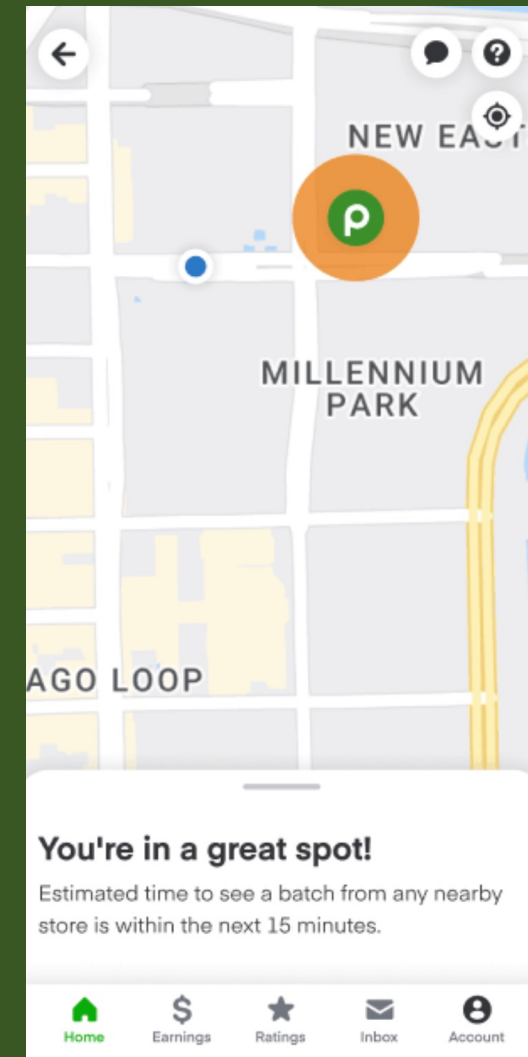
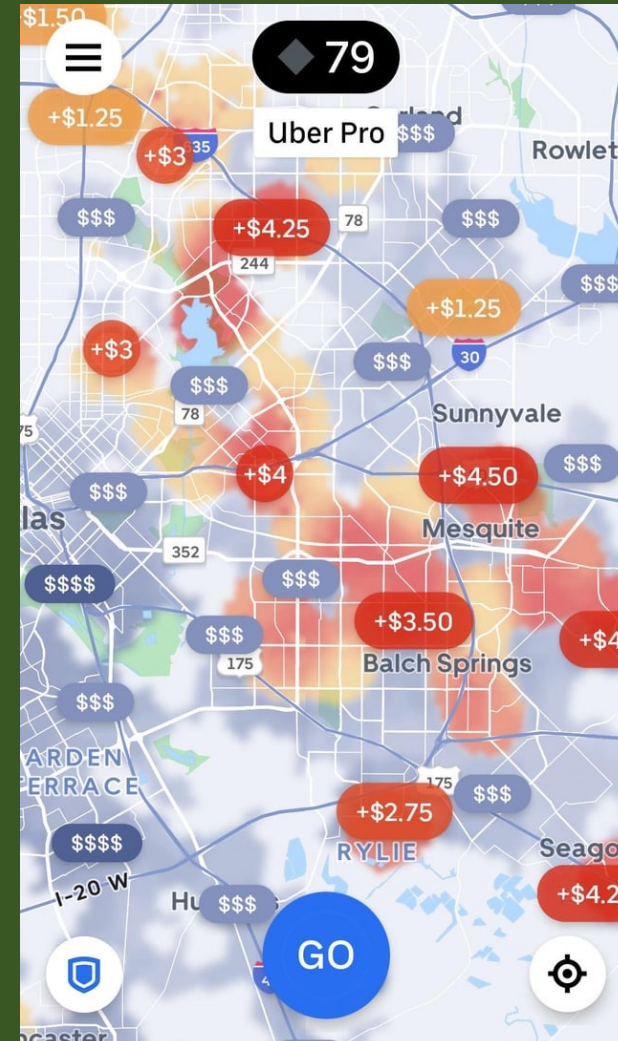
- How do workers improve performance over time?
- How does task selection change with experience?

Research Questions:

- How do workers improve performance over time?
- How does task selection change with experience?



platform's
recommendation
system:



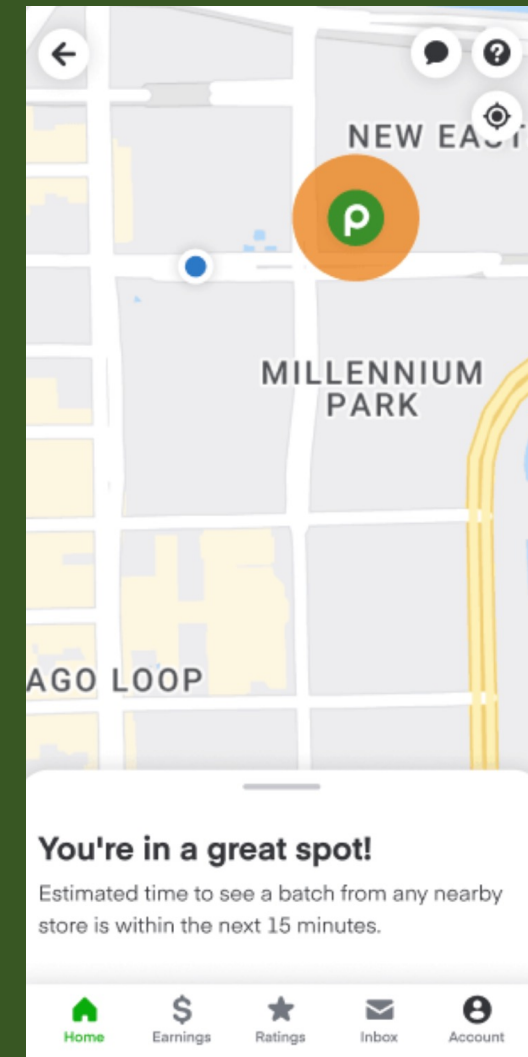
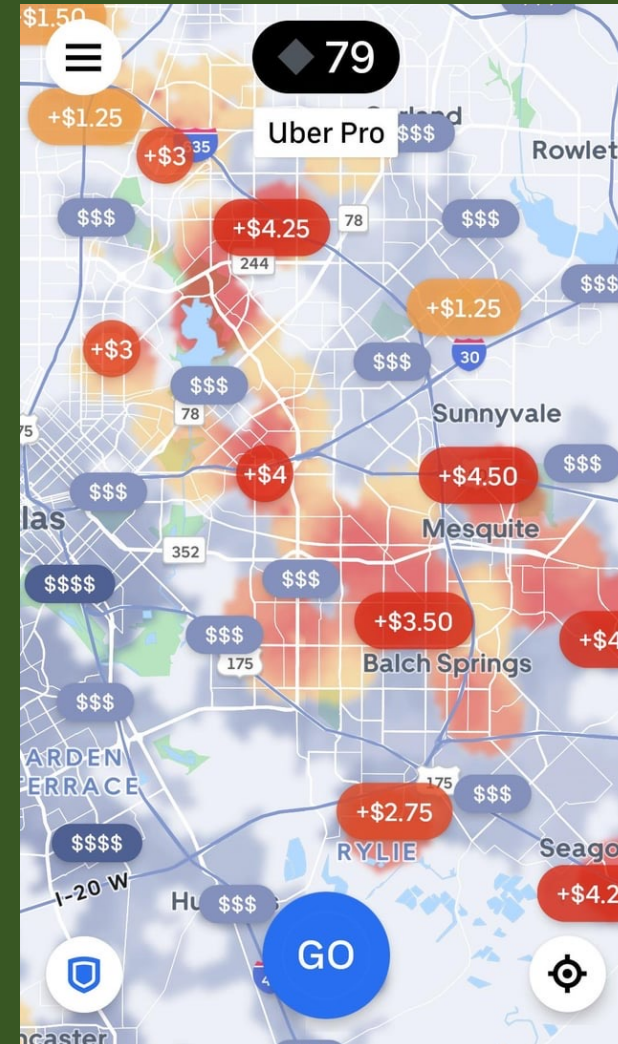
Research Questions:

- How do workers improve performance over time?
- How does task selection change with experience?

Some benefit from them...

(Knight et al 2022, Zhang et al 2022, Do et al 2024)

platform's
recommendation
system:



Research Questions:

- How do workers improve performance over time?
- How does task selection change with experience?

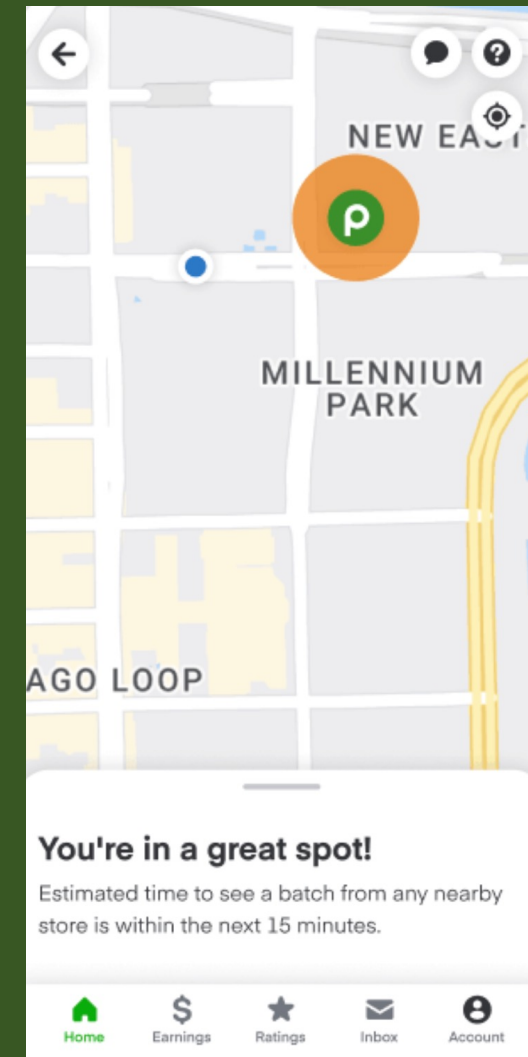
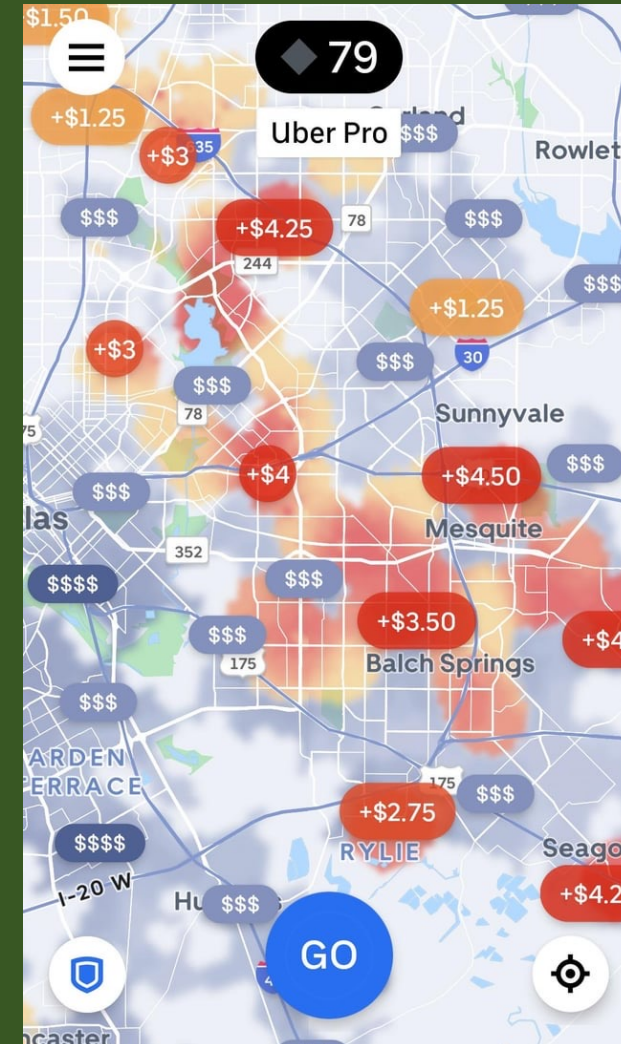
Some benefit from them...

(Knight et al 2022, Zhang et al 2022, Do et al 2024)

...but others resist

(Dietvorst et al 2015, Dietvorst et al 2018, Castelo et al 2019, Sun et al 2022, Das Swain et al 2024, Balakrishnan et al 2025, Bastani et al 2025)

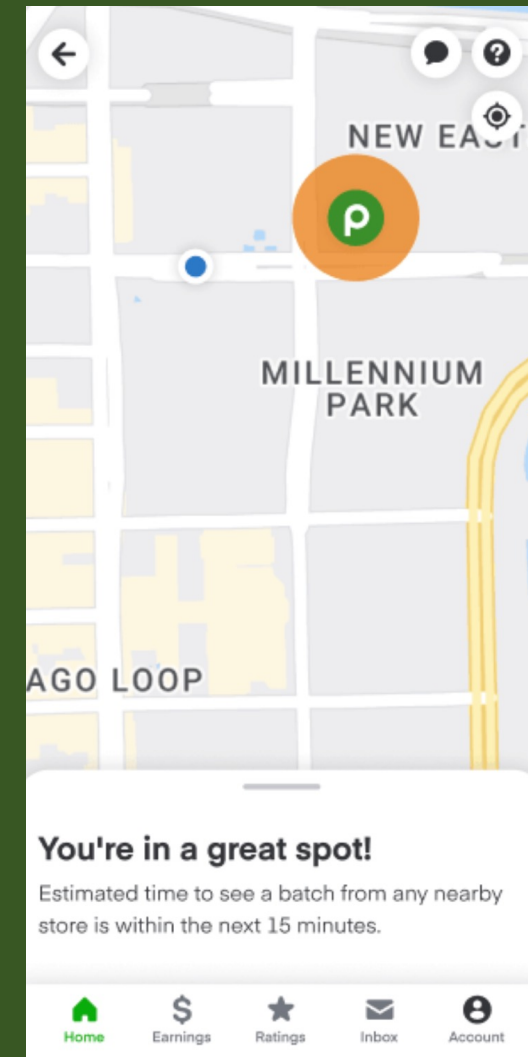
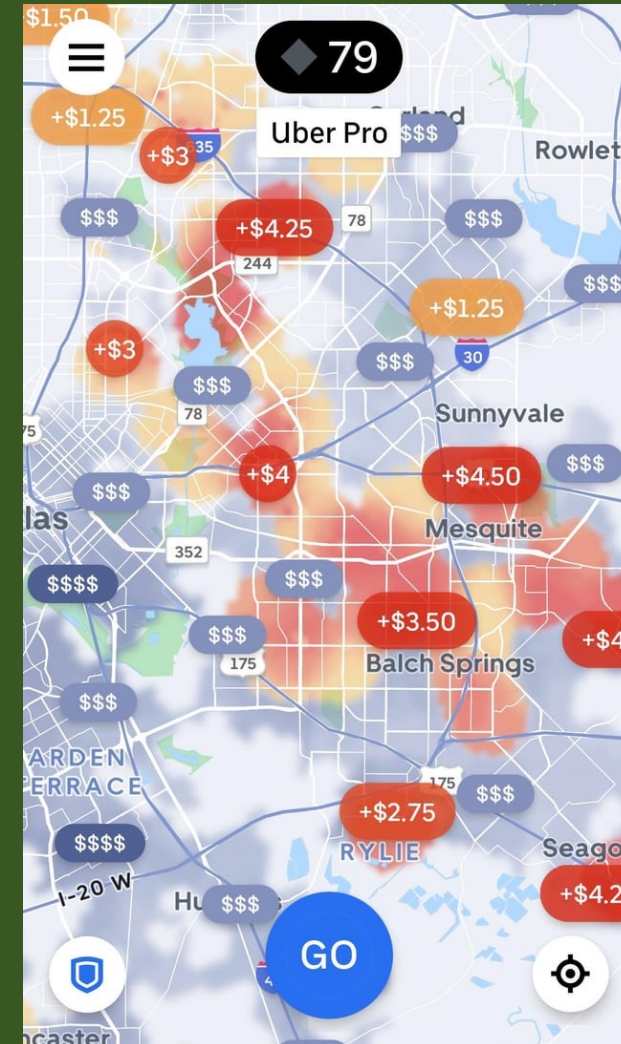
platform's
recommendation
system:



Research Questions:

- How do workers improve performance over time?
- How does task selection change with experience?
- How do workers respond to the platform's recommendations?

platform's
recommendation
system:



Data: US Grocery Delivery Platform

- NYC orders from November 2022 to October 2023
- 1,269,815 orders across 788 stores + 5,292 shoppers (1,131 “new”)

- Orders: Store ID, # items, most common categories, distance to customers
- Workers: Signup hours, orders suggested to them daily, tenure with platform
- Performance: On-time delivery, customer ratings, amount of tips



Data: US Grocery Delivery Platform

- NYC orders from November 2022 to October 2023
- 1,269,815 orders across 788 stores + 5,292 shoppers (1,131 “new”)

How shoppers choose tasks?

After shoppers signed up for preferred regions, platform recommends some orders. **(Rec1)**



Data: US Grocery Delivery Platform

- NYC orders from November 2022 to October 2023
- 1,269,815 orders across 788 stores + 5,292 shoppers (1,131 “new”)

How shoppers choose tasks?

After shoppers signed up for preferred regions, platform recommends some orders. **(Rec1)**



Shoppers can choose to browse a list of all available orders

Prepaid Promo Drop-off Early OK ...

**Today, 4pm–5pm**
24 total items • 1 hr 18 min. est.

Pay **\$22–\$28** est.

Zone Puyallup South

Store Target - Puyallup South



Claim order

Promo Drop-off ...

**Today, 4pm–5pm**
36 total items • 58 min. est.

Pay **\$18–\$22** est.

Zone Renton

Store Fred Meyer - Renton



Claim order

Data: US Grocery Delivery Platform

- NYC orders from November 2022 to October 2023
- 1,269,815 orders across 788 stores + 5,292 shoppers (1,131 “new”)

How shoppers choose tasks?

After shoppers signed up for preferred regions, platform recommends some orders. **(Rec1)**



Shoppers can choose to browse a list of all available orders

Sometimes, platform bundled orders from the same store with delivery windows within 1 hour difference **(Rec2)**

2 Orders

Prepaid

Drop-off

...



Today, 1pm–2pm
16 + 10 total items • 1 hr 10 min est

Pay

\$15–\$21 est

Zone

Center City East / Southeast
Philadelphia

Store

Target - Philadelphia SE



[Claim orders \(2\)](#)

2 Orders

Delivery Only

Drop-off

Early OK



Today, deliver by 9pm
Ready for pickup: Now

Pay

\$6–\$8 est.

Drive

17 min. est.

Zone

Denton

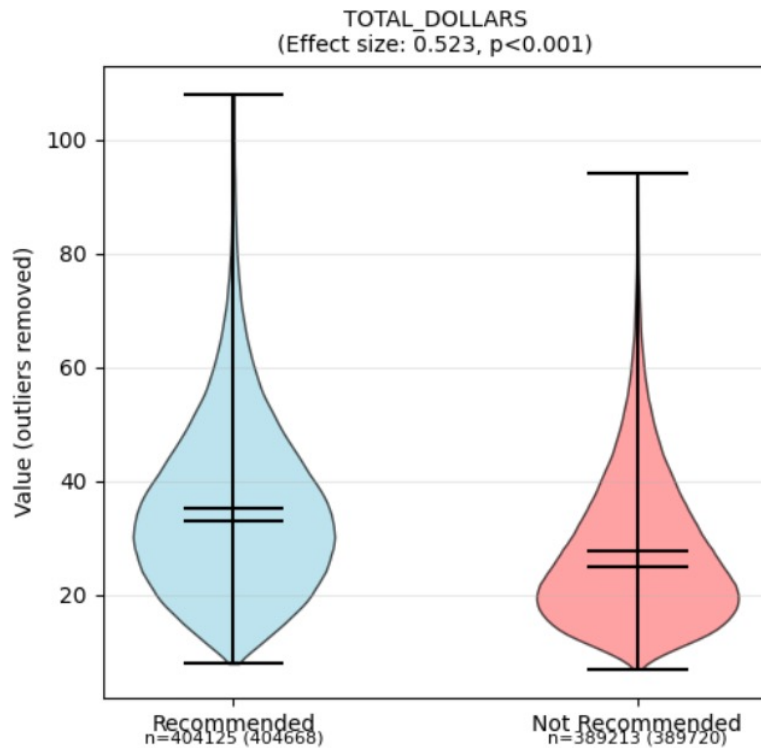
Store

Best Buy - Denton

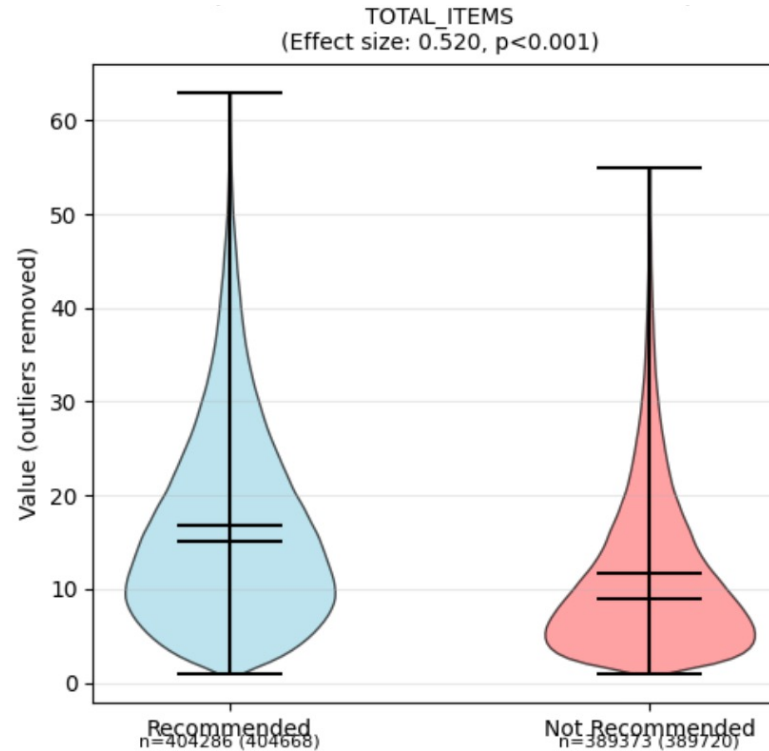


[Claim orders \(2\)](#)

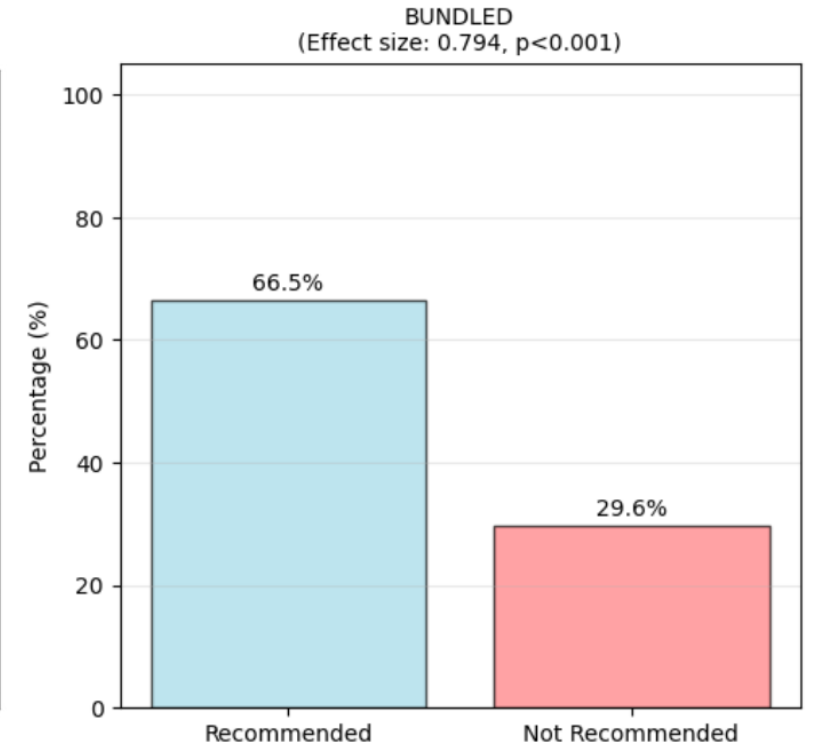
Nature of Recommended Orders



Higher pay / order



More items (+ unique)

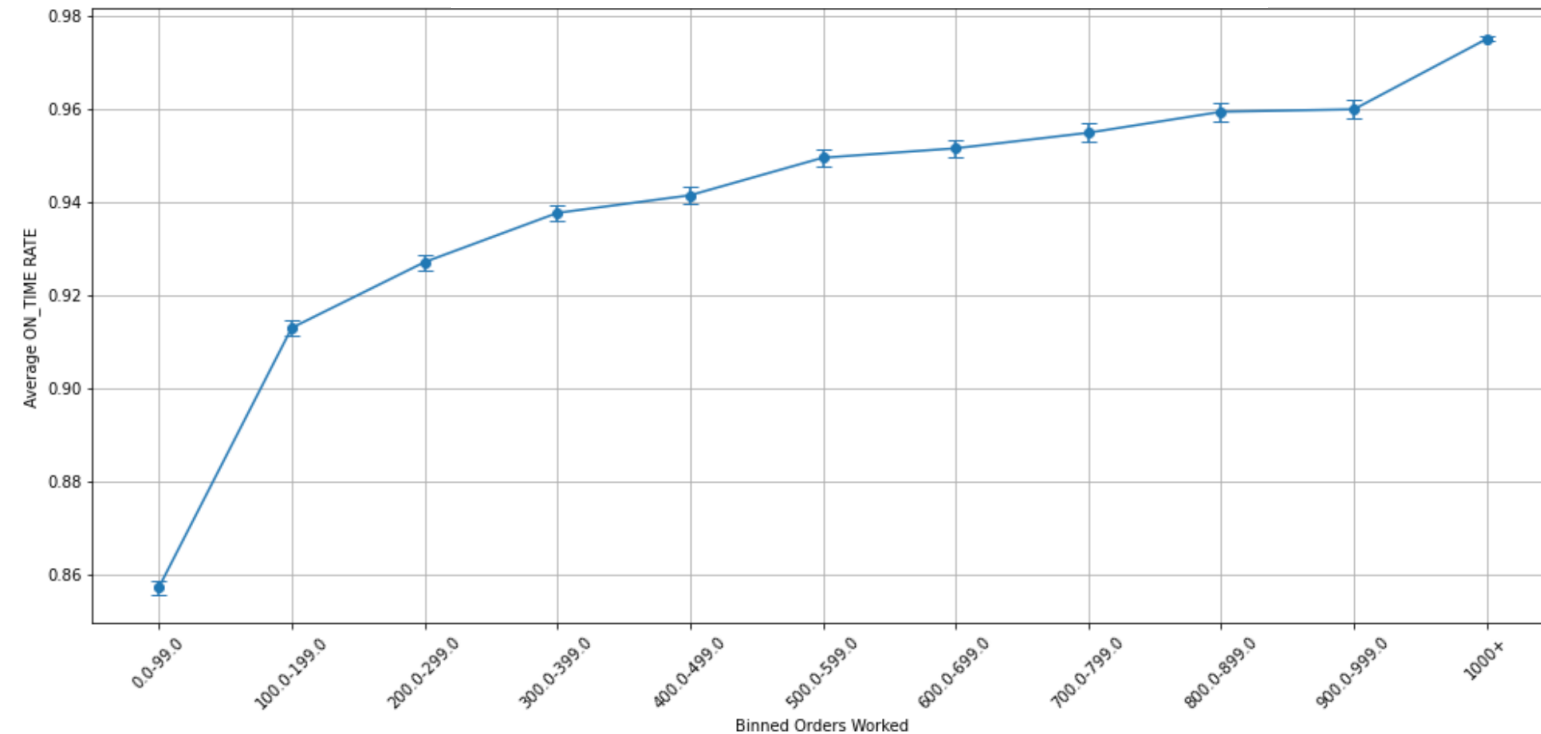


More bundled

They're quite static over time!

Gig Workers Learn To Do Better

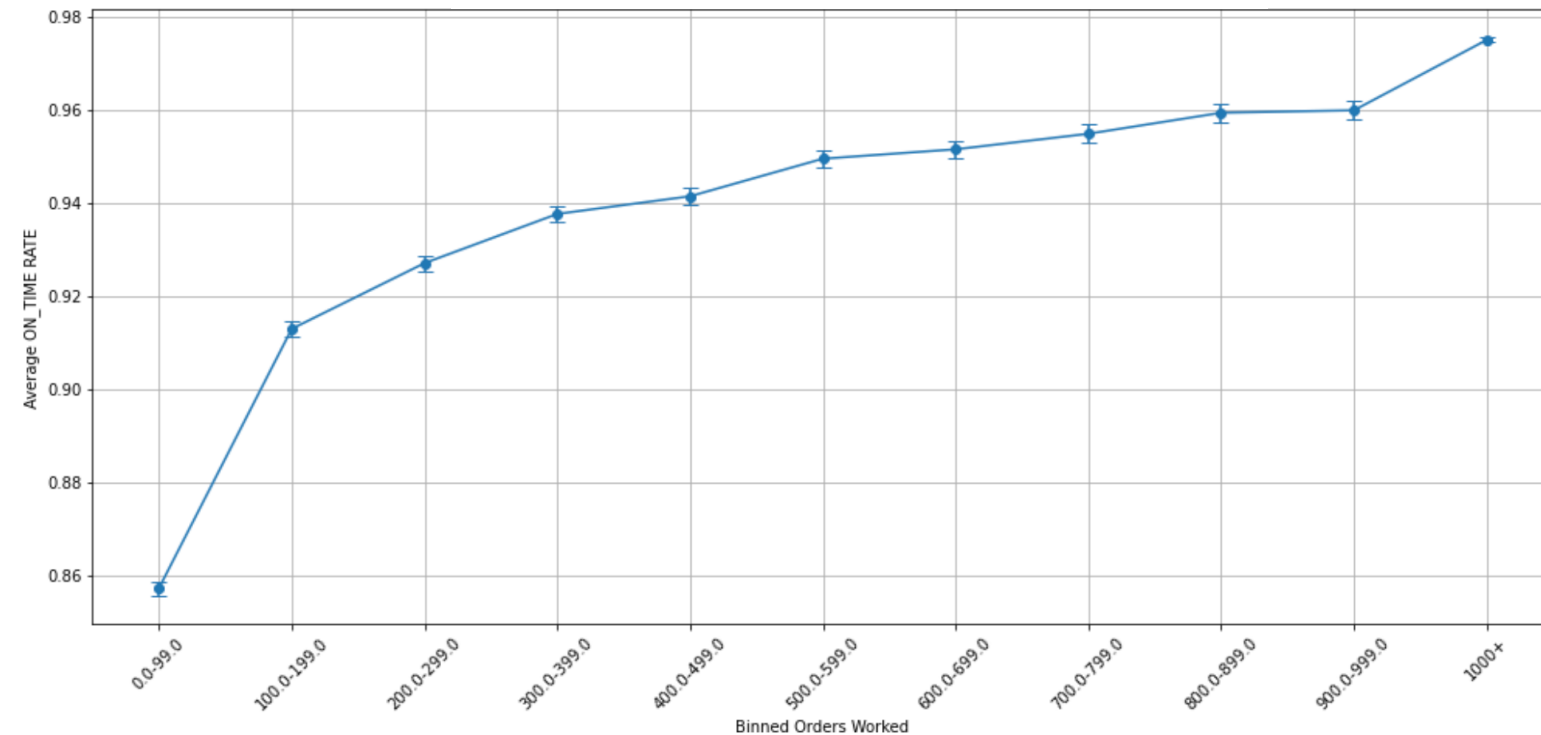
Average on-time delivery rate



Only new shoppers who started working during the time of the data
N = 1,131 shoppers

Gig Workers Learn To Do Better

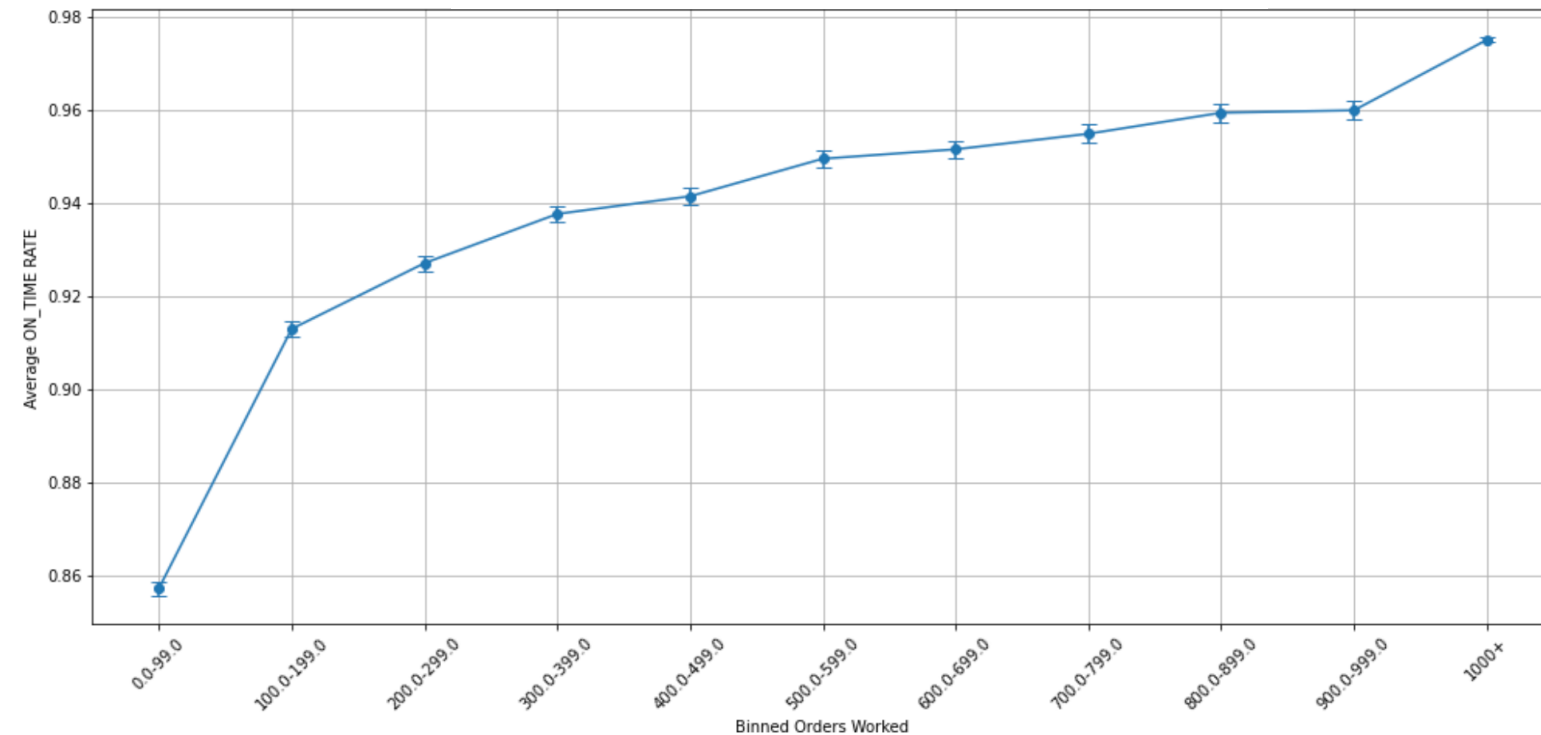
Average on-time delivery rate



Impact on on-time	Coefficient
# Orders done from the same store	6.0552e-05*** (0.0025236)
# Orders done from the same store ^2	-8.9995e-09*** (1.6775e-09)
# Orders done from other stores	5.9109e-05*** (0.0001787)
# Orders done from other stores ^2	-8.8744e-09*** (0.0149002)
Control Variables	Yes
Individual FE	Yes
Time FE	Yes

Gig Workers Learn To Do Better

Average on-time delivery rate

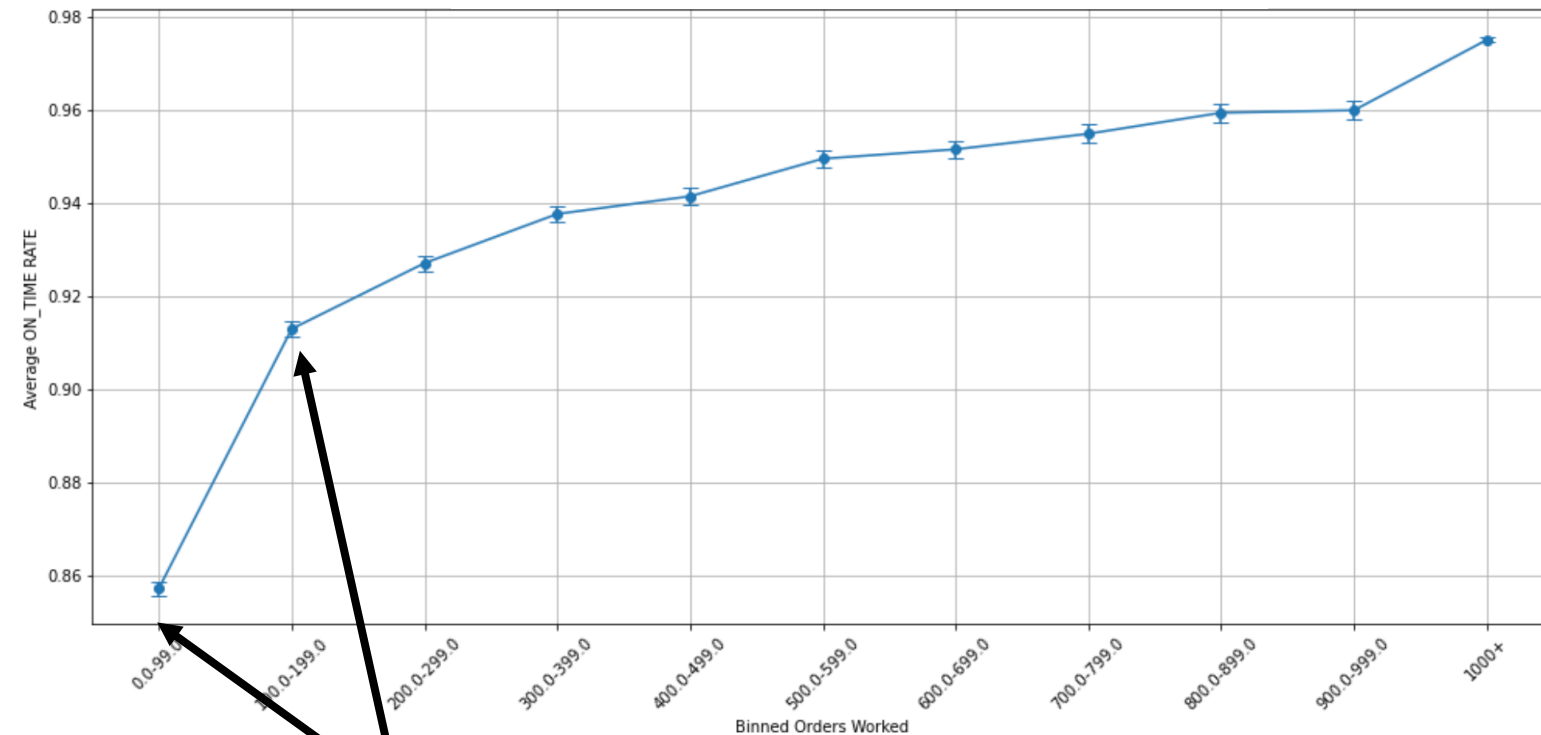


Impact on on-time	Coefficient
# Orders done from the same store	6.0552e-05*** (0.0025236)
# Orders done from the same store ^2	-8.9995e-09*** (1.6775e-09)
# Orders done from other stores	5.9109e-05*** (0.0001787)
# Orders done from other stores ^2	-8.8744e-09*** (0.0149002)
Control Variables	Yes
Individual FE	Yes
Time FE	Yes

= 1,000 orders, 6.0% ↑

Gig Workers Learn To Do Better

Average on-time delivery rate



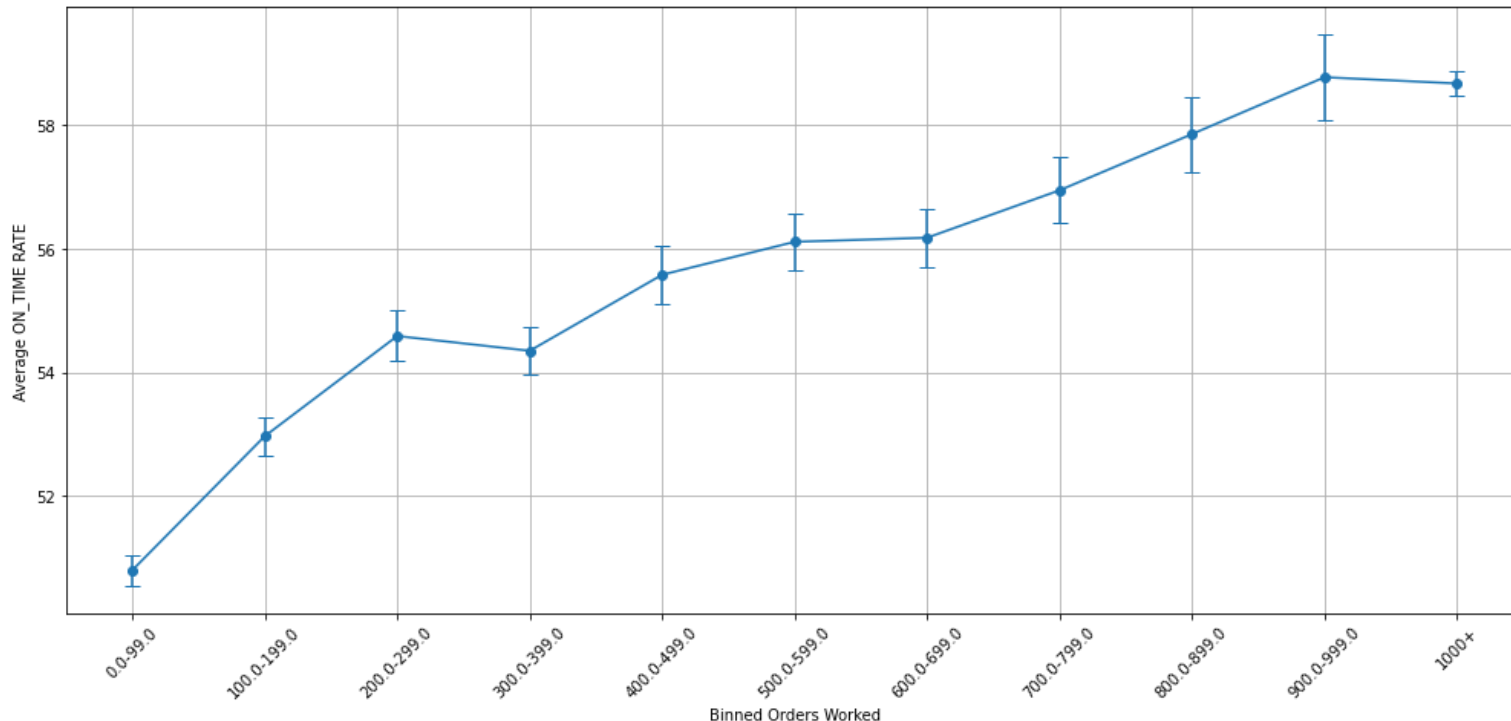
We'll use the first 100 and 200 orders as workers' key milestones of learning

Impact on on-time	Coefficient
# Orders done from the same store	6.0552e-05*** (0.0025236)
# Orders done from the same store ^2	-8.9995e-09*** (1.6775e-09)
# Orders done from other stores	5.9109e-05*** (0.0001787)
# Orders done from other stores ^2	-8.8744e-09*** (0.0149002)
Control Variables	Yes
Individual FE	Yes
Time FE	Yes

= 1,000 orders, 6.0% ↑

Gig Workers Learn To Do Better

Average # items picked per hour



Impact on on-time	Coefficient
# Orders done from the same store	9.4281e-03** (0.007595)
# Orders done from the same store ^2	-5.4681e-06** (0.003098)
# Orders done from other stores	6.3414e-03* (0.022478)
# Orders done from other stores ^2	-7.6253e-07 (0.235005)
Control Variables	Yes
Individual FE	Yes
Time FE	Yes

= 1,000 orders, 9.4% ↑

Evolution of Performance

- Productivity metric: # items per hour, within the first 100-100 orders

First/Second	Low	Medium	High
Low	74.07%	22.22%	3.70%
Medium	22.22%	51.85%	25.93%
High	3.70%	25.93%	70.37%

Most shoppers stay within the same performance tiers

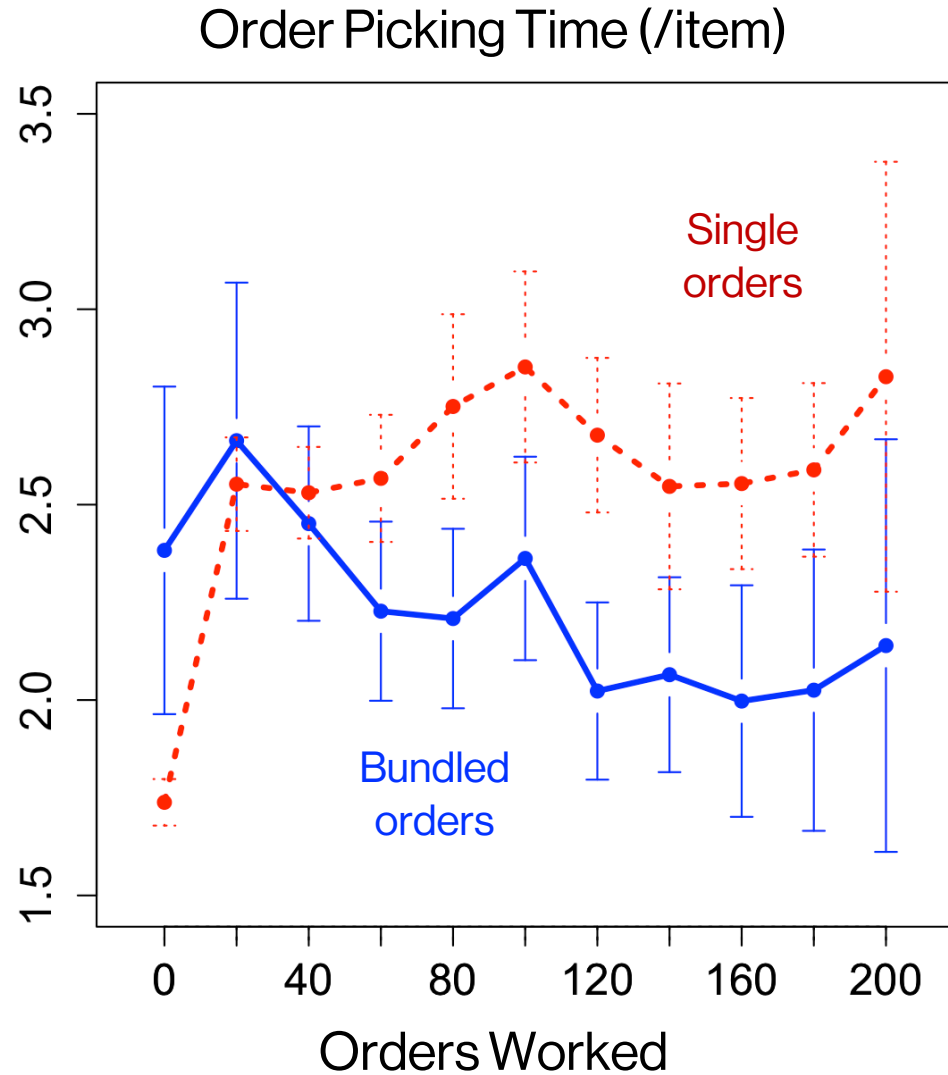
Evolution of Performance

- Productivity metric: # items per hour, within the first 100-100 orders

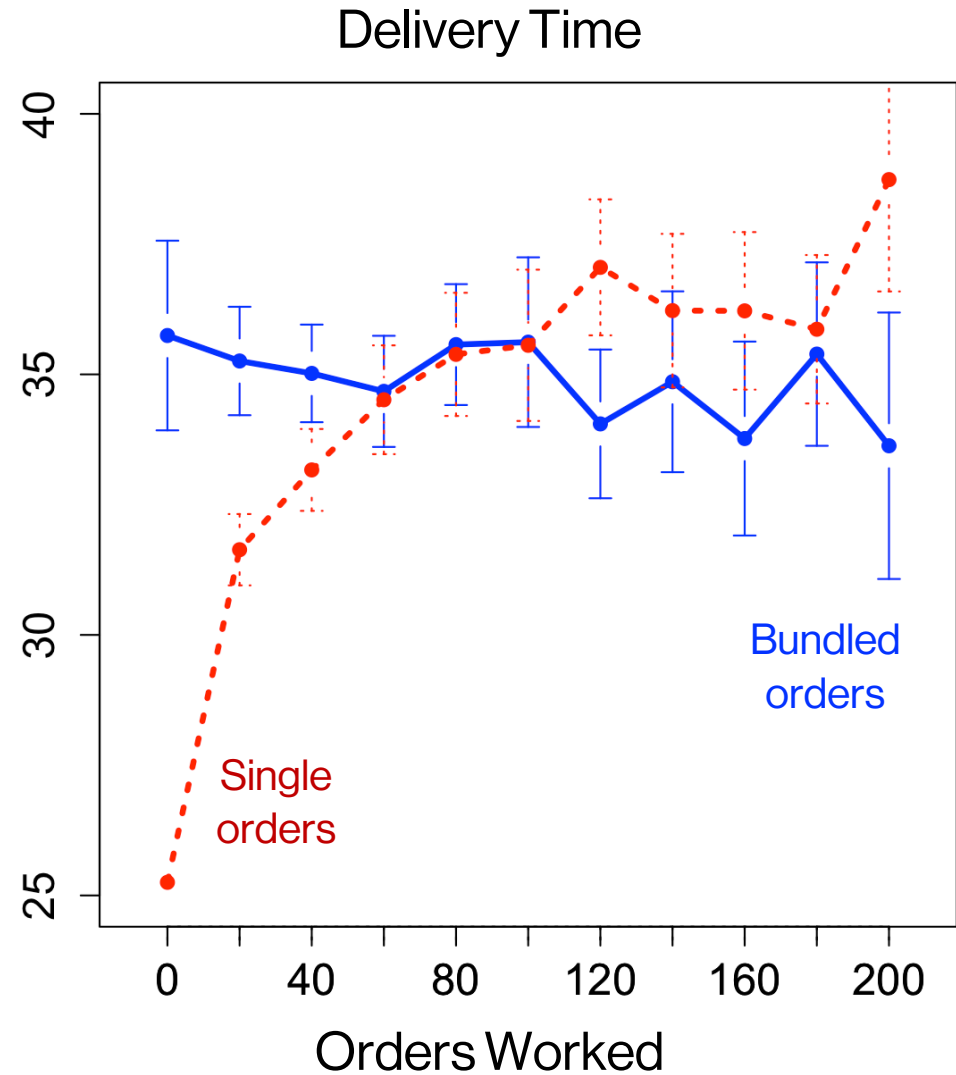
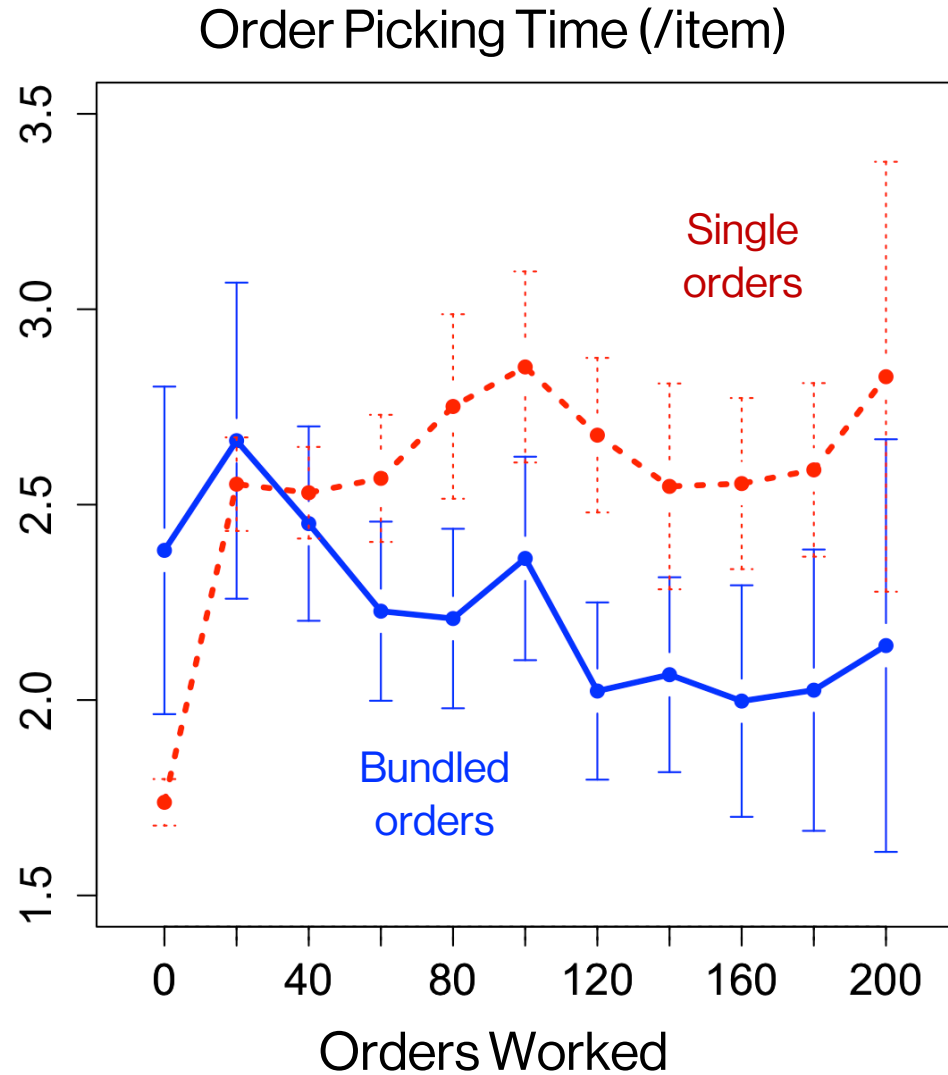
First/Second	Low	Medium	High
Low	74.07%	22.22%	3.70%
Medium	22.22%	51.85%	25.93%
High	3.70%	25.93%	70.37%

What helped low performances to get better?

How Did They Improve?



How Did They Improve?



How Did They Improve?

Start\End	Low	Medium	High	# average concurrent orders
Low-First 100	2.223500	1.925000	2.240000	
Low-Second 100	2.632000	2.333333	2.190000	

Bundling Early On Helps

Start\End	Low	Medium	High	# average concurrent orders
Low-First 100	2.223500	1.925000	2.240000	Initial low performers, who tried more bundling early on and adjusted down later, ended up improving performance
Low-Second 100	2.632000	2.333333	2.190000	

Bundling Moderately Early On Helps

Start\End	Low	Medium	High	# average concurrent orders
Low-First 100	2.223500	1.925000	2.240000	Initial low performers, who tried more bundling early on and adjusted down later, ended up improving performance
Low-Second 100	2.632000	2.333333	2.190000	
High-First 100	2.450000	2.745714	2.435263	Those performing poorly later on tend to be those who over-bundled .
High-Second 100	3.500000	3.315714	2.725789	

What Type of Bundling?

Start\End	Low	Medium	High	P(bundling without recommendation)
Low-First 100	0.171333	0.174615	0.105000	P(bundling without recommendation)
Low-Second 100	0.228667	0.226923	0.135000	

What Type of Bundling?

Start\End	Low	Medium	High	P(bundling without recommendation)
Low-First 100	0.171333	0.174615	0.105000	Those doing well did less self-bundling / more platform recs.
Low-Second 100	0.228667	0.226923	0.135000	

What Type of Bundling?

Start\End	Low	Medium	High	P(bundling without recommendation)
Low-First 100	0.171333	0.174615	0.105000	Those doing well did less self-bundling / more platform recs.
Low-Second 100	0.228667	0.226923	0.135000	
Low-First 100	1.141000	1.120769	1.105000	Bundles with different stores
Low-Second 100	1.166000	1.093846	1.090000	

What Type of Bundling?

Start\End	Low	Medium	High	P(bundling without recommendation)
Low-First 100	0.171333	0.174615	0.105000	Those doing well did less self-bundling / more platform recs.
Low-Second 100	0.228667	0.226923	0.135000	
Low-First 100	1.141000	1.120769	1.105000	Bundles with different stores ...did less across-store bundling
Low-Second 100	1.166000	1.093846	1.090000	

What Type of Bundling?

Start\End	Low	Medium	High	P(bundling without recommendation)
Low-First 100	0.171333	0.174615	0.105000	Those doing well did less self-bundling / more platform recs.
Low-Second 100	0.228667	0.226923	0.135000	
Low-First 100	1.141000	1.120769	1.105000	Bundles with different stores ...did less across-store bundling
Low-Second 100	1.166000	1.093846	1.090000	
Low-First 100	1.729000	1.819231	1.745000	Bundles with different top categories ...and did bundling moderately across different categories
Low-Second 100	1.852333	2.022308	1.950000	

How shoppers choose tasks?

After shoppers signed up for preferred regions, platform recommends some orders. **(Rec1)**



How shoppers choose tasks?

After shoppers signed up for preferred regions, platform recommends some orders. **(Rec1)**



The utility U_{nj} for alternative j for individual n is defined as:

$$U_{nj} = \beta_1 X_{1nj} + \beta_2 X_{2nj} + \cdots + \beta_k X_{knj} + \epsilon_{nj}$$

How shoppers choose tasks?

After shoppers signed up for preferred regions, platform recommends some orders. **(Rec1)**



The utility U_{nj} for alternative j for individual n is defined as:

$$U_{nj} = \beta_1 X_{1nj} + \beta_2 X_{2nj} + \cdots + \beta_k X_{knj} + \epsilon_{nj}$$

Recommended: 1 = recommended by platform; 0 = else

Past Frequency: proportion of all previous orders completed by the worker that were fulfilled at the same store → Higher = more exploitation of familiar stores

Dummy group indicators: most productive (129+ orders) as reference group

All the other order information workers can see while browsing

How shoppers choose tasks?

After shoppers signed up for preferred regions, platform recommends some orders. **(Rec1)**



The utility U_{nj} for alternative j for individual n is defined as:

$$U_{nj} = \beta_1 X_{1nj} + \beta_2 X_{2nj} + \cdots + \beta_k X_{knj} + \epsilon_{nj}$$

Recommended: 1 = recommended by platform; 0 = else

Past Frequency: proportion of all previous orders completed by the worker that were fulfilled at the same store → Higher = more exploitation of familiar stores

Dummy group indicators: most productive (129+ orders) as reference group

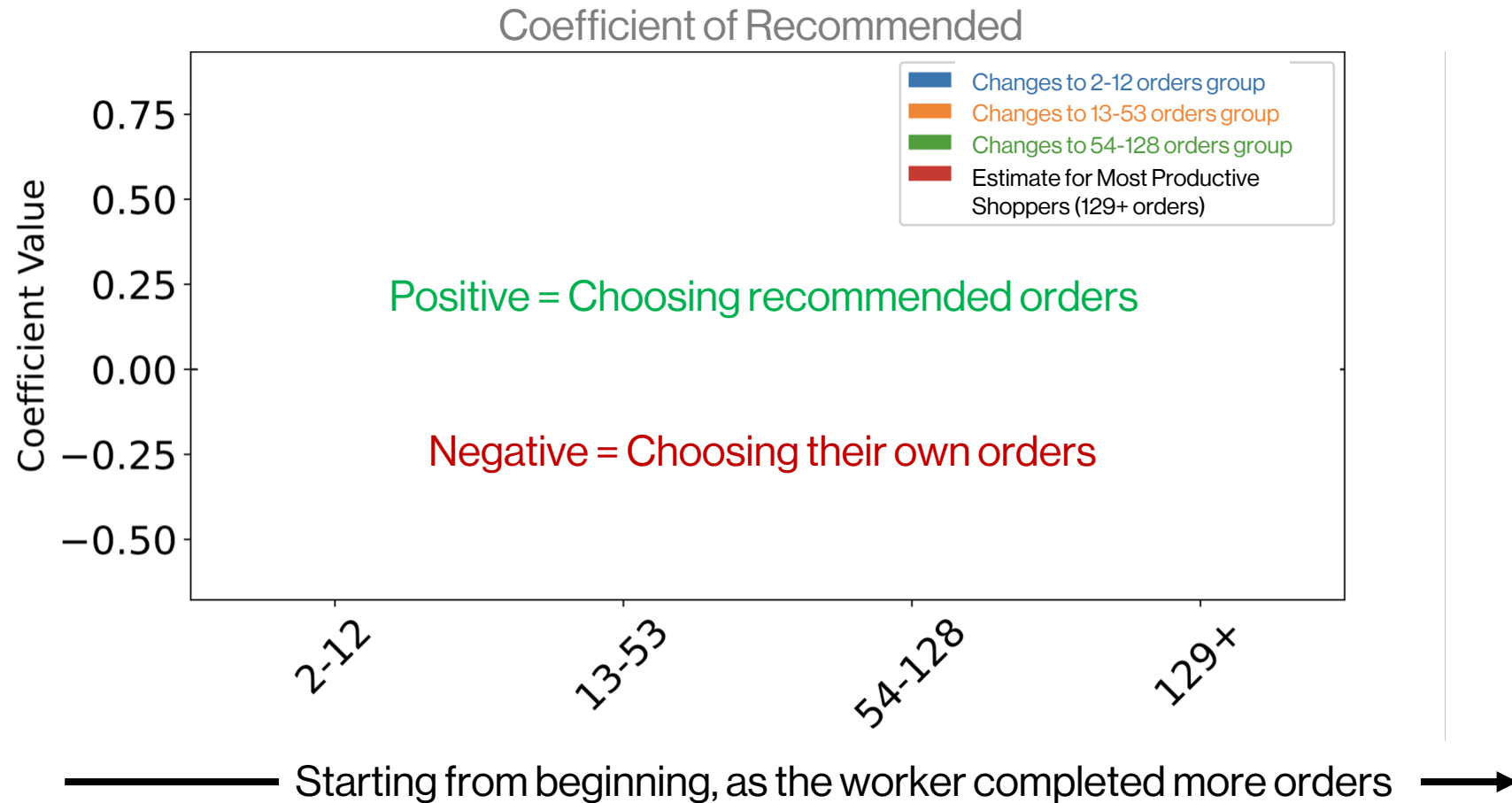
All the other order information workers can see while browsing

The probability that individual n chooses alternative j is given by the softmax function:

$$P(y_n = j) = \frac{e^{U_{nj}}}{\sum_{j' \in J} e^{U_{nj'}}}$$

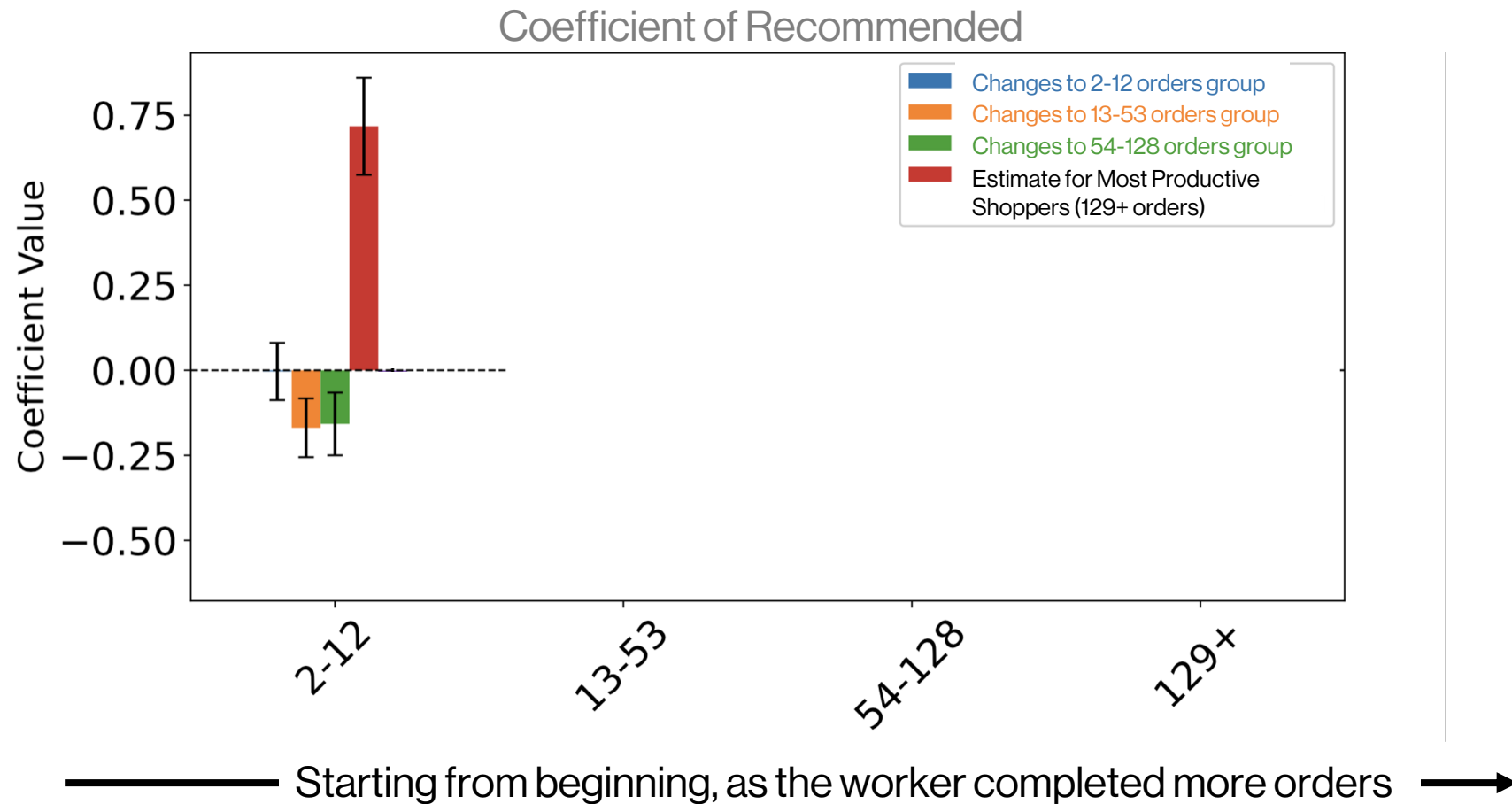
Multinomial Logit

Given Recommendations...



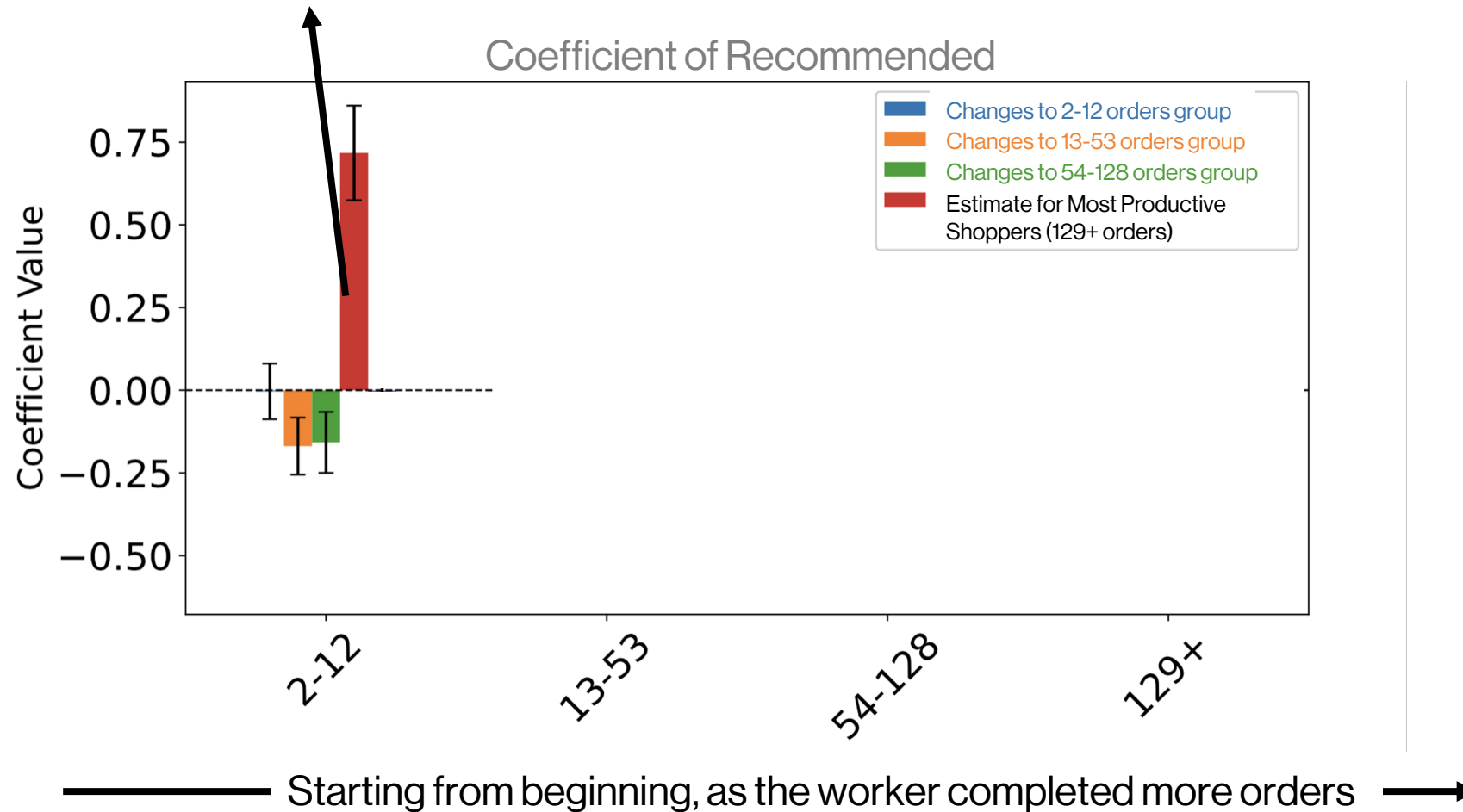
Given Recommendations...

Those doing well and staying for long **follow platform recommendations more** in the beginning



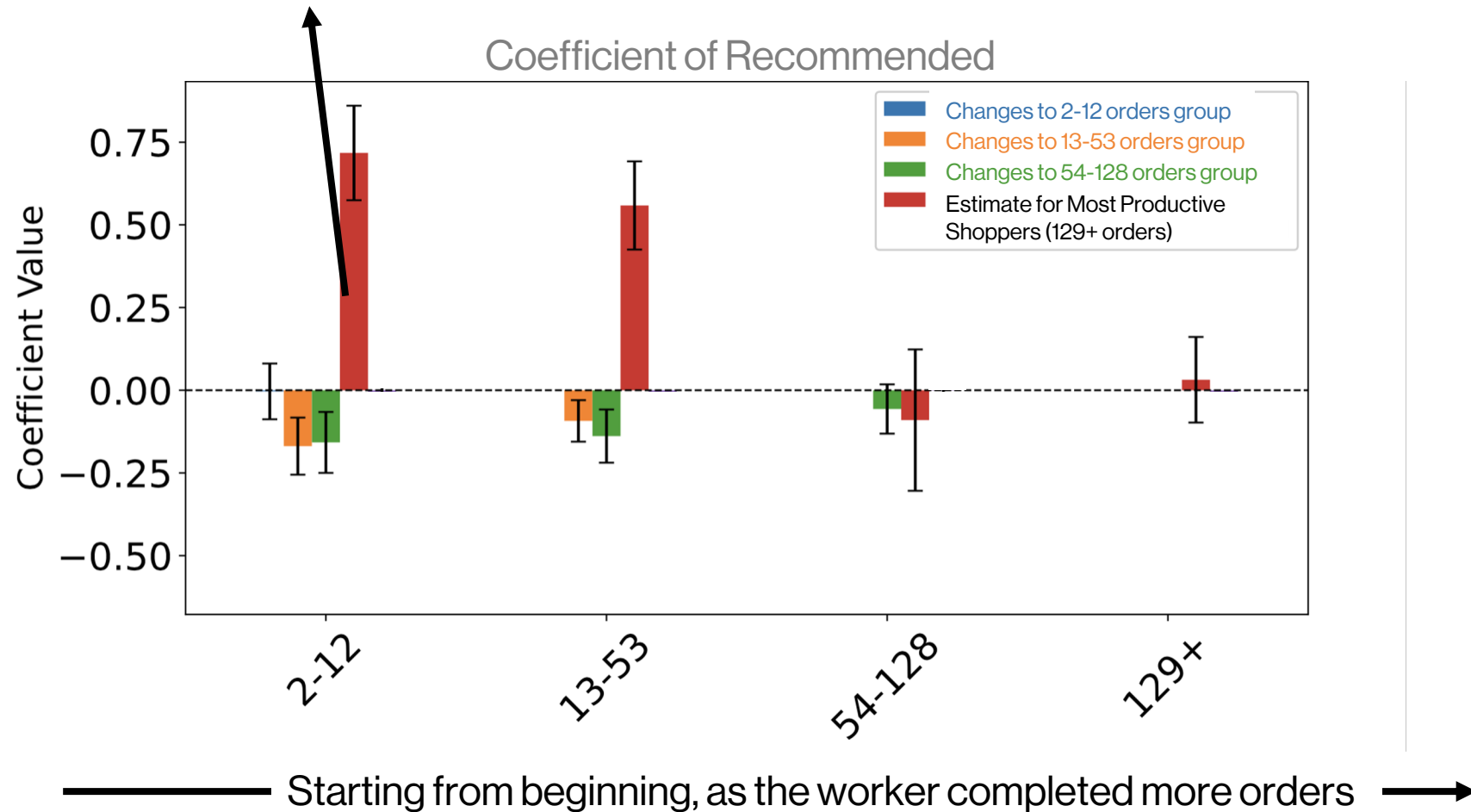
Given Recommendations...

Those doing well and staying for long **follow platform recommendations more** in the beginning



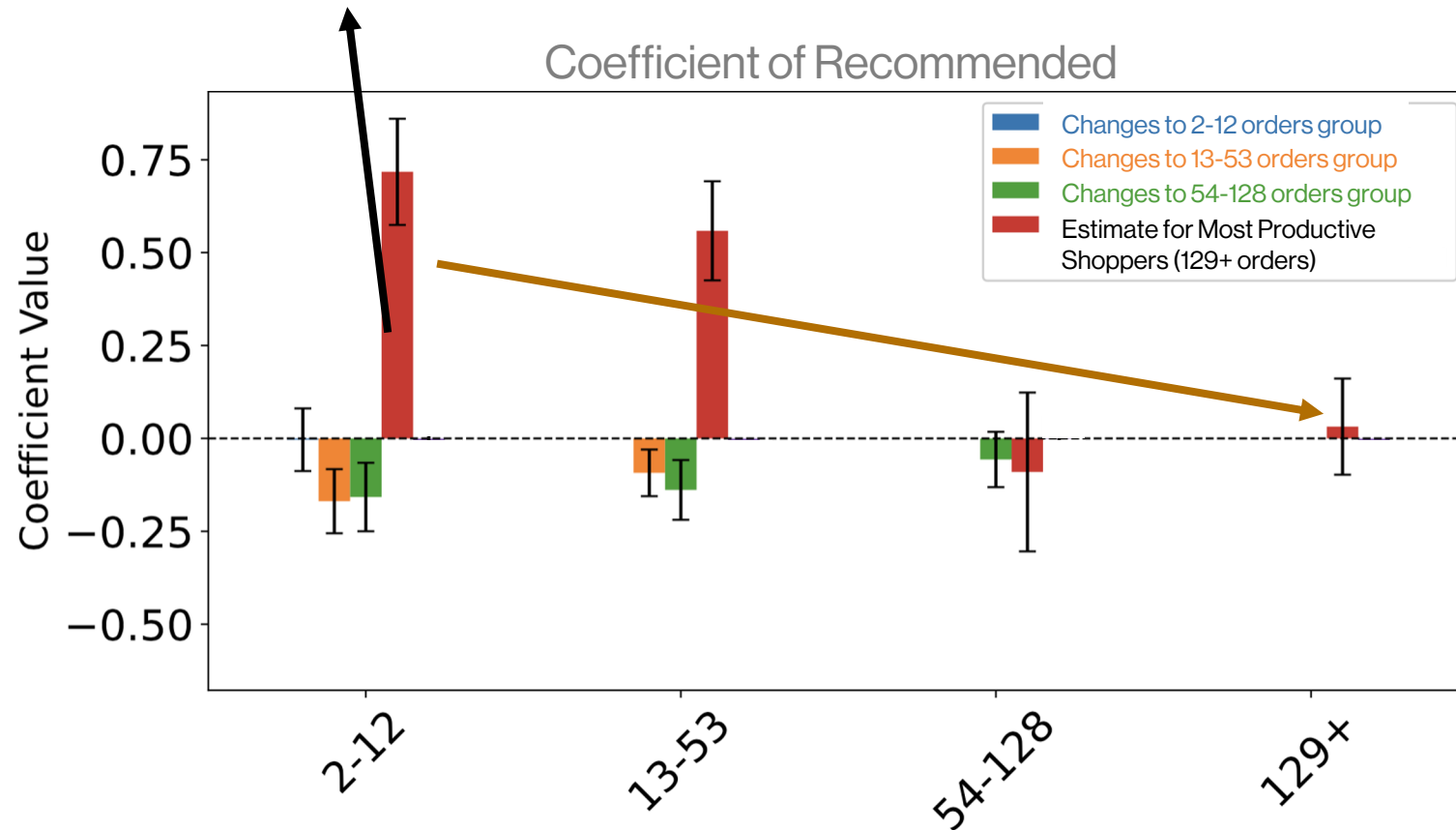
Given Recommendations...

Those doing well and staying for long **follow platform recommendations more** in the beginning



Given Recommendations...

Those doing well and staying for long **follow platform recommendations more** in the beginning

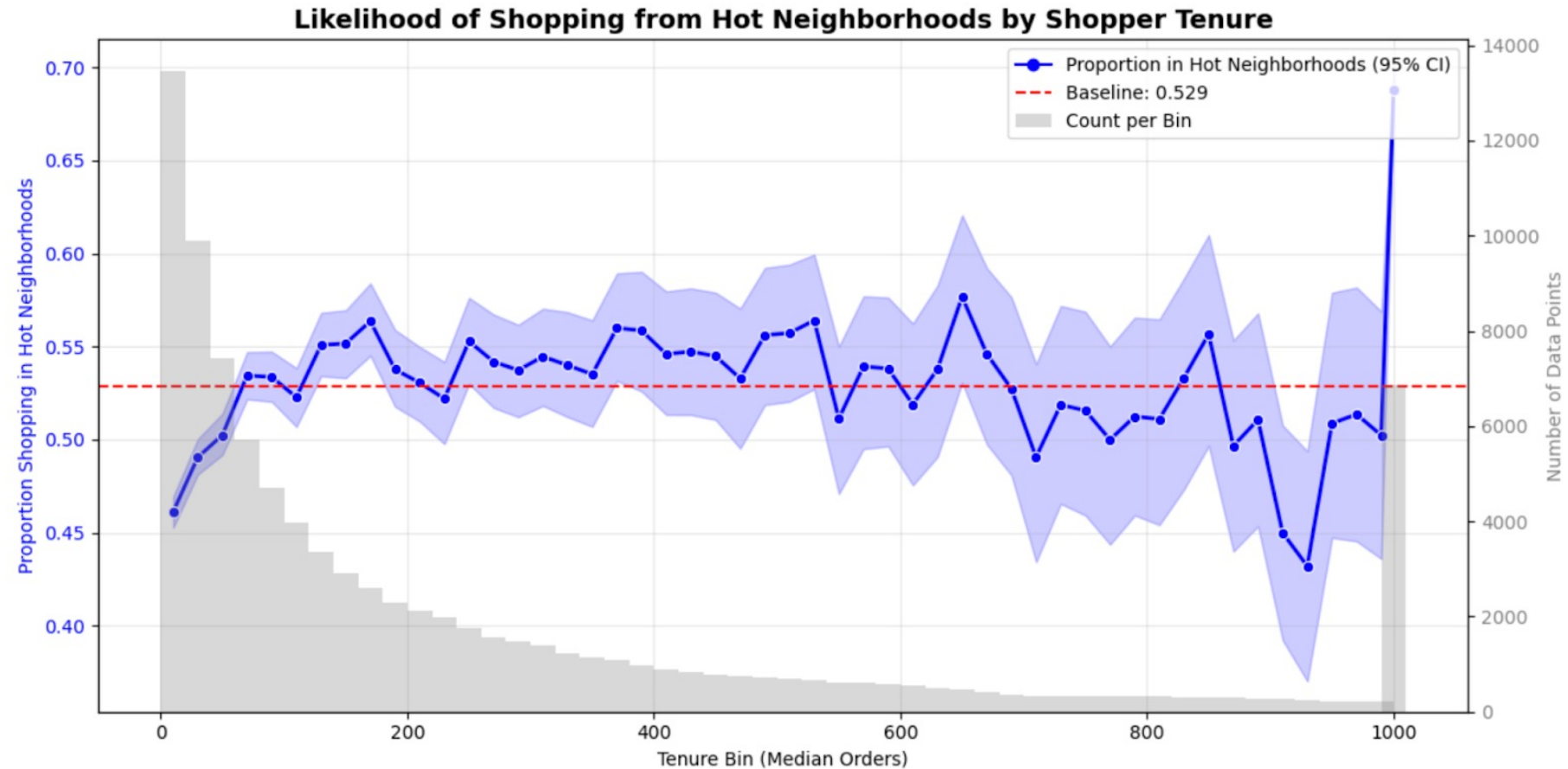


Over time workers become **more independent** of platform recommendations

Starting from beginning, as the worker completed more orders →

Explore Before Exploit?

We find that those doing well started off **more exploitative**, only exploring new stores or neighborhoods later on.



Preview: Experimental Design

Safeway for Charlotte

\$ 20

Piedmont

4 - apple

3 - watermelon

3 - orange

Safeway for James

\$ 20

Piedmont

4 - orange

3 - apple

4 - watermelon

Target for Jacob

\$ 20

Emeryville

2 - pineapple

9 - watermelon

2 - grape

1 - apple

3 - banana

Target for William

\$ 20

Emeryville

1 - banana

1 - apple

1 - pineapple

1 - grape

1 - watermelon

Safeway for Charlotte

\$ 20

Piedmont

4 - apple
3 - watermelon
3 - orange

Safeway for James

\$ 20

Piedmont

4 - orange
3 - apple
4 - watermelon

Safeway

Total Earnings: \$40

Order for Charlotte

Earnings: 20

4 - apple
3 - watermelon
3 - orange

Order for James

Earnings: 20

4 - orange
3 - apple
4 - watermelon

Time spent: 52

Current Location: Orange

Item:

Quantities:

[Add to bag](#)

Entrance

Watermelon



Apple



Orange



[Checkout and Exit](#)

Bag 1

- apple: 4

Bag2

- apple: 3

Safeway for Charlotte

\$ 20

Piedmont

4 - apple
3 - watermelon
3 - orange

Safeway for James

\$ 20

Piedmont

4 - orange
3 - apple
4 - watermelon

Safeway

Total Earnings: \$40

Order for Charlotte

Earnings: 20

4 - apple
3 - watermelon
3 - orange

Order for James

Earnings: 20

4 - orange
3 - apple
4 - watermelon

Time spent: 52

Current Location: Orange

Item: orange

Quantities:

3

4

Add to bag

Entrance

Watermelon



Apple



Orange



Checkout and Exit

Bag 1

• apple: 4

Bag2

• apple: 3

Pilot findings: Humans prioritize first available or seemingly-easier tasks, similar to Ibanez et al 2017's findings!

Takeaways **Learning on the Go**

How gig workers choose gig tasks and learn to improve performance over time?

- Context: On-demand delivery workers in NYC, choosing own tasks, given recommendations
- Workers learn to perform better and make better decisions; workers who exploit more / rely more on platform recommendations initially improve performance the most
- Overtime workers behaviors change a lot; and they become independent of the platform's recommendation

Next Steps:

- Online behavioral experiment
- Model human learning curve + incorporate into contextual bandits
- **Pilot Insights:** Humans prioritize first available or seemingly-easier tasks



Thank you!

Shunan Jiang (UC Berkeley + Google)
& Park Sinchaisri (UC Berkeley)
parksinchaisri@berkeley.edu / parksinchaisri.github.io

