

The Impact of Gig Economy on the Product Quality through the Labor Market: Evidence from Ride-sharing and Restaurant Quality

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Abstract

This paper seeks to demonstrate the impact of the gig economy on product quality in seemingly unrelated local industries through the labor market. Our empirical context is the quality of service for restaurants in the city of Austin and we examine how they were impacted by the *exogenous* exit and re-entry of rideshare platforms Uber and Lyft into the city due to regulatory changes. We leverage these exogenous shocks, and combine them with sentiment-analyzed data from Yelp reviews that capture how customers assess the quality of service at each restaurant. We show that, compared to control cities, customers in Austin become more negative about service quality when Uber and Lyft are present in the city. Additionally, we use rich data on employee turnover and wages to demonstrate that, compared to the control cities, service staff turnover indeed increases in Austin when Uber and Lyft are present. We also conduct several additional studies and robustness checks that are all congruent with our hypothesis that Uber and Lyft lower the quality of service in Austin restaurants by raising the turnover of their staff. Together, these results suggest significant ramifications of the gig economy on the broader industries through the labor market.

Keywords: Gig economy, labor market, Uber/Lyft, restaurant quality, Yelp review, Diff-in-Diff, text analysis, employee turnover rate

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1 Introduction

How does restaurant quality change when Uber and Lyft, new rideshare companies, enter the market? The gig economy has significantly transformed the landscape of several industries. For instance, rideshares like Uber and Lyft have altered the way people use public transportation and taxis. Airbnb has challenged existing hotel chains and revolutionized the lodging market. What may not be so obvious, though, are the less direct impacts of the gig economy in local economic markets. Take, for example, the restaurant industry.

Although one would naturally expect the main channel for the impact of rideshares like Uber and Lyft on the local restaurant to be through the mobilization of demand, we point to a different channel in this paper: labor quality. Uber and Lyft’s presence in a city may take away labor from people who would have otherwise chosen to work in a restaurant.¹ Despite the large number of people currently employed in restaurants, the industry is facing a shortage of workers.² This concern is unlikely to go away: as it becomes easier to arrange short-term labor contracts, rideshare services will continue to grow, providing alternative work arrangements for low-wage, low-skilled workers. Katz and Krueger (2019) find that these types of work arrangements rose from 10.1 percent in February 2005 to 15.8 percent in late 2015.³ And while the restaurant industry may not be unique in its struggle to hire enough workers, its position as the second-largest job provider in the U.S.⁴ speaks to its significance.

While independent or contract work is hardly a new phenomenon, the advance of digital technologies has spurred tremendous growth of the gig economy in the current labor market. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported in 2017 that 55 million people in the U.S., accounting for approximately 34 percent of the workforce, are “gig workers.” This figure is projected to increase to 43 percent in 2020.⁵ This opens a significant new opportunity for low-skilled laborers. The labor economics literature has studied this phenomenon that workers with low pay and/or inflex-

¹“Uber Competing with Restaurants for Workers,” (Apr 29, 2018): <https://ride.guru/content/newsroom/uber-competing-with-restaurants-for-workers>.

²*The Nation’s Restaurant News*, for example, reported that two-thirds of restaurant owners cite the difficulty of hiring workers as their top concern (*Nation’s Restaurant News*, August 30, 2018): <https://www.nrn.com/workforce/operators-grapple-tight-labor-market>

³Katz and Krueger (2019) define such alternative work arrangements as “temporary help agency workers, on-call workers, contract workers, and independent contractors or freelancers” (on page 2).

⁴The Bureau of Labor Statistics 2019 projects a 14% growth in job opportunities for “food and beverage serving and related workers” during the next 10 years. (<https://www.bls.gov/ooh/food-preparation-and-serving/food-and-beverage-serving-and-related-workers.htm>)

⁵<https://www.bls.gov/careeroutlook/2016/article/what-is-the-gig-economy.htm>

ible schedules are “poached” by Uber and Lyft (Chen et al., 2019; Hall and Krueger, 2018; Katz and Krueger, 2017; Huang et al., 2020); and industry reports confirm this trend for restaurant employees,⁶ with the exception of management-level workers.⁷

This paper seeks to demonstrate the impact of the gig economy on the local economy beyond directly related incumbent industries through the labor market. We look at the restaurant industry as a case study. We design our analysis around a natural experiment where, due to regulatory shifts, Uber and Lyft exited the market in Austin, Texas, in May 2016 and returned in May 2017. Leveraging this *exogenous* exit and reentry, we conduct a series of analyses to study the relationship between rideshare and restaurant quality. More specifically, we are interested in examining the following hypothesis: The presence of Uber and Lyft in a city provides individuals with gig-work opportunities. Such opportunities regularly “poach” individuals working in the service industry, thereby increasing the turnover rate at these businesses—restaurants, in our case. This increase in turnover adversely impacts the quality of service they can offer.

We first establish the relationship between the presence of ride-sharing companies and restaurant quality by analyzing how the quality of restaurant service in Austin responds to the presence of Uber and Lyft. We compare Austin’s response to the control group of San Antonio. We use every Yelp review of restaurants in Austin and San Antonio from 2014 to 2019 to measure quality. This entails text analysis of each review to capture restaurant quality along two dimensions: service and food. Leveraging a difference-in-difference setting (DiD henceforth), we show that the quality of service decreases in Austin relative to San Antonio with the presence of Uber and Lyft.

Moreover, we expect Uber and Lyft’s impact to be more pronounced for restaurants whose service workers are more likely to be lured by gig-work opportunities. To test this, we divide restaurants into two tiers based on pricing labels provided by Yelp. Workers in low-tier restaurants would be paid less, either because their base hourly wage is lower or their tipped income is lower. In our design, one group consists of restaurants that are assigned a single dollar sign in Yelp, meaning they are cheaper. The rest of the restaurants, those with two or three dollar signs, comprise the second group. We show that the effect of Uber and Lyft in Austin on service quality is larger for single-dollar sign restaurants than for the other group. In contrast, we do not find this differential

⁶“One reason for the shortage of restaurant workers? Driving for Uber comes with better perks,” ML.com (May 10, 2018): <https://www.mic.com/articles/189312/one-reason-for-the-shortage-of-restaurant-workers-driving-for-uber-comes-with-better-perks>.

⁷In People Report(2017) by Blackbox Intelligence (formerly, TDn2K), a consulting company specialized in restaurant industry shows that service staffs of front-of-house workers have a turnover of 154 percent while management turnover ranges between 40 and 50 percent: <https://www.nrn.com/operations/4-big-challenges-restaurants-right-now>.

effect between low-tier and high-tier restaurants in San Antonio.

Also, we carry out our main analysis a second time looking at customer satisfaction with food quality, rather than service quality, as our dependent variable. We hypothesize that customer experience with the food quality would be less influenced by the presence of Uber and Lyft than is the service quality. Employees in charge of the food quality such as chefs working in the kitchen are not much attracted by the opportunity to drive for Uber and Lyft, relative to workers such as wait-staff mostly dealing with the service for customers. We demonstrate that the customer evaluation of food quality does not change before and after Uber and Lyft’s re-entry to Austin.

Finally, we directly test our mechanism by examining turnover rates of staff in restaurants by leveraging a unique worker-level dataset of restaurants in Austin and San Antonio from 2014-2019. We start by examining how the turnover rate of staff in Austin’s restaurants changes with the local activity of Uber and Lyft. We conduct this analysis in a DiD manner, using San Antonio as the control group. We show that the turnover rate of staff increases in Austin relative to San Antonio after Uber and Lyft return. Additionally, in the same spirit as the dollar-sign analysis in Yelp Data, we use the restaurant category information in the dataset to examine whether we see a similar pattern in the turnover rates for different restaurant categories. If our hypothesis is correct, we would expect the effect of Uber and Lyft on turnover rates to be stronger for low-end restaurant categories than relatively high-end restaurants. We conduct separate DiD analyses for each category and indeed find an increase in turnover only for low-end restaurants whereas we do not see such pattern for middle-end or high-end restaurants.

We then delve deeper into the analysis by decomposing the turnover rates into turnover rates for “back-of-house” staff and “front-of-house” staff. The latter group represents those who directly deal with customers and consists mainly of service staff, whereas the former includes higher-paid positions such as managers and chefs. The results are consistent with the Yelp review data analysis: the increase in turnover is observed only for front-of-house workers, while there is no effect for back-of-house staff.

We close our analysis by conducting several robustness checks and discuss other alternative explanations based on demand-side channels. One would expect some other channels through which the rideshare companies could have impacted the local economy, such as the demand changes due to the easier mobilization. While we cannot completely rule out all possible explanations, we show that these alternative accounts cannot fully explain the patterns observed in our data. Also, we

present other evidence suggesting that our findings are more likely to arise from the supply-side channel through the labor market rather than the demand-side channels.

While this work focuses exclusively on the restaurant industry, we consider it to be a useful case study for a wider set of industries and believe that our findings can provide important insights for the economy as a whole. Faced with the entry of Uber and Lyft, policy discussions typically focus on effects on incumbent industries in clear competition—taxis and other forms of public transportation. This work, however, shows that the expansion of the gig economy, by providing new work opportunities for low-wage, low-skilled workers, has far-reaching and significant ramifications of the gig economy on broader industries through the labor market.

The paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, we discuss the related literature. Section 3 explains our basic hypothesis based on labor market mechanisms and describes the data. In Section 4, we analyze the effects of the rideshare economy on the restaurant industry using Yelp review data and we present the basic results from DiD analysis. Section 5 presents the direct evidence utilizing the restaurant employee turnover data. In Section 6, we provide additional robustness checks of our main analysis along with discussions about alternative explanations and limitations of the current research. Section 7 concludes.

2 Related Literature

This paper contributes to several related areas on the effects of the gig economy, the impact of employee turnover, and the sentiment analysis of customer review data. First, our paper is closely related to a growing literature on the gig-economy. There are several papers which have documented the impacts of the gig economy on the directly related industries. Cramer and Krueger (2016) show that Uber drivers serve more passengers than traditional taxi drivers due to efficient matching technology and flexibility benefit. Berger et al. (2018) document that traditional taxi drivers experience about a 10% decline of their earnings after the entry of Uber.

A large body of recent papers has begun to investigate the consequences of the gig economy focusing on the “demand-side” impacts for various sectors. For instance, they study how the rise of rideshare companies has changed demand for public transportation (Di et al., 2017; Hampshire et al., 2018), demand for lodging (Zhang et al., 2018) and housing properties (Gorback, 2020), or alcohol consumption and driving behavior (Burgdorf et al., 2019; Greenwood and Wattal, 2017). In addition to rideshare companies, researchers have investigated the impacts of other forms of the

gig economy, such as examining how Airbnb affected demand for an apartment rental (Barrios et al. 2012), hotels (Zervas et al. 2017), and home values (Jefferson-Jones 2015).

Another stream of research in the gig-economy literature has studied the indirect impact of the gig economy, focusing on the “supply-side” effects. The main focus of these papers has been the labor supply. Chen et al. (2019) analyze the value of flexibility that the gig economy provides to its workers. Hall and Krueger (2018) show that only 8% of Uber drivers are unemployed before they start driving with Uber, suggesting that many workers indeed switch their job to rideshare companies. These results are consistent with other research that finds a positive relationship between local unemployment level and the labor supply in the gig economy (Katz and Krueger, 2017; Huang et al., 2020). Burtch et al. (2018) and Barrios et al. (2020) examine the impact of the gig economy on the launch of new businesses and startups. The results are mixed and depend on the types of entrepreneurs. Burtch et al. (2018) show that the entry of Uber decreases the number of crowdfunding campaigns launched at Kickstarter and the number of self-employed workers, suggesting that the gig economy serves as a stable employment option for the unemployed. In contrast, Barrios et al. (2020) find that the entry of rideshare companies increases the number of new business formation in a local economy. Thus, the gig economy plays an important role in spurring entrepreneurial activity by serving as insurance in the form of an income fallback in the event of failure. Overall, these papers suggest that the gig economy may positively affect the launch of new business activities by encouraging entrepreneurs to take more risks. Still, it also offers a steady employment opportunity for the unemployed, who otherwise would have opted into new businesses.

Our paper is in line with these studies in that we also investigate the supply-side effects of the gig economy. However, these studies have not examined how the labor-market consequences of the gig economy in turn shape the performance of the impacted firms. In particular, an important but overlooked question is how the presence of gig economy in a city can impact the quality of the products/services offered by local firms. This is the gap we aim to bridge in this paper.⁸

Also, our work builds on previous literature that has focused on the consequences of employee turnover. Several studies show a strong relationship between employee turnover and firm perfor-

⁸Another important point of difference is the natural experiment we leverage. Compared to other approaches using *endogenous* entry (e.g. Gorback (2020), Burtch et al. (2018), Barrios et al. (2020)), such as examining cities that rideshare entered earlier, our approach utilizes exogenous shocks for our identification strategy. A notable exception is Zhang et al. (2018) that also leverage an exogenous shock in the same natural experimental setting as ours, and provides a clean identification.

mance metrics such as sales, profits (Hancock et al., 2013; Call et al., 2015; Holtom and Burch, 2016), and demonstrate how employee turnover can lead to lower customer satisfaction (Hurley and Estelami, 2007; Koys, 2001). Our analysis confirms these theoretical and empirical results, making a connection between employee turnover and customer satisfaction about a restaurant’s service quality.

Finally, regarding data and methodology, this paper belongs to the growing literature that draws managerial and policy insights by text-analyzing customer reviews data (Chen et al., 2014; Kuang, 2017; Glaeser et al., 2018; Humphreys and Matti, 2018; Lee et al., 2018). Some recent papers in business strategy and marketing such as Taddy (2015); Chakraborty et al. (2019); Farronato and Zervas (2019) have examined more accurate attribute-level sentiments of customer reviews using a machine learning approach. In a similar vein, we use review texts to extract customers’ sentiment information about separate aspects of restaurant quality such as service and food. We show that, in line with our hypotheses, it is indeed crucial to separately capture the evolution of the customer sentiment for each of these attributes.

3 Empirical Setting, Main Hypotheses, and Data

3.1 Empirical Setting: Natural Experiment in Austin 2016-2017

We design our analysis around a natural experiment where Uber and Lyft exited the local market in May 2016 and returned in May 2017 in Austin, Texas due to the regulatory policy changes. The fact that both the entry and the exit happened due purely to legal reasons rather than economic ones⁹ allows us to interpret them as *exogenous* shocks to the economic environment that we will be studying. This is in contrast to most of previous studies which examine the economic effect of rideshare by relying on an analysis of *endogenous* entry (e.g. Gorback 2020, Barrios et al. 2020).

Figure 1 describes the timeline of Uber and Lyft’s presence and absence in Austin. It can be seen from this figure that there are two possible natural experiments: May 2016 when the two rideshare companies exit the city, and then May 2017 when they return. Both of these events

⁹Uber and Lyft arrived in Austin, Texas, in the spring of 2014. In December of the following year, the city council passed an ordinance requiring fingerprint background checks for all rideshare drivers. Uber and Lyft refused to take fingerprint background checks, and fought back. Austin ultimately prevailed, and, unwilling to concede the demand, Uber and Lyft cancelled service in May of 2016. Both companies went up to the state level, where they lobbied aggressively for House Bill 100, “relating to the regulation of transportation network companies.” The bill passed and, among other things, scuttled requirements statewide for fingerprint background checks of rideshare employees. In May of 2017, Uber and Lyft were back in Austin.

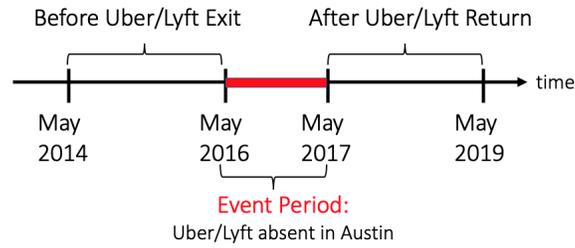


Figure 1: Timeline of a Natural Experiment in Austin

could, in principle, be leveraged as the shock for studying the impact of rideshare on the rest of the economy. As we show later in our analysis, however, all of our analyses find no significant effect of the first event whereas we find a significant effect of the second event. Therefore, we believe, it is likely that the effect of the first event was mitigated due to some factors. Though we do not take a firm stance on what those mitigating factors may have been, we point out the following two possibilities.

First, it could be that the size of the second shock to the market might have been substantially larger than the first one. Hall and Krueger (2018) documented the exponential growth pattern in the number of Uber drivers in the United States from mid-2012. These patterns were consistently observed in most U.S. cities in their studies (e.g., Fig. 3 on page 15 in Hall and Krueger 2018). Thus, we conjecture that Uber and Lyft were substantially larger (in terms of the number of rides they gave) in May 2017 compared to May 2016, which might have caused the asymmetric impacts of these two shocks. Another possibility is the potential asymmetry in labor mobility. Jackson (2020) shows that individuals who worked for the gig economy are less likely to return to the traditional jobs. Flexible gig work experience such as driving Uber or Lyft might have changed workers' job preference. Thus, those workers may not necessarily go back to traditional workplace such as restaurants even after Uber and Lyft left the city. They might search for other jobs that are more flexible.

Based on the above, our discussions focus, for the most part, on the second event (i.e., the return of the rideshare platforms to the city).

3.2 Main Hypotheses

The primary focus of our research is to empirically test whether Uber and Lyft's presence in Austin reduced the service quality of restaurants through an impact on the employee turnover in those

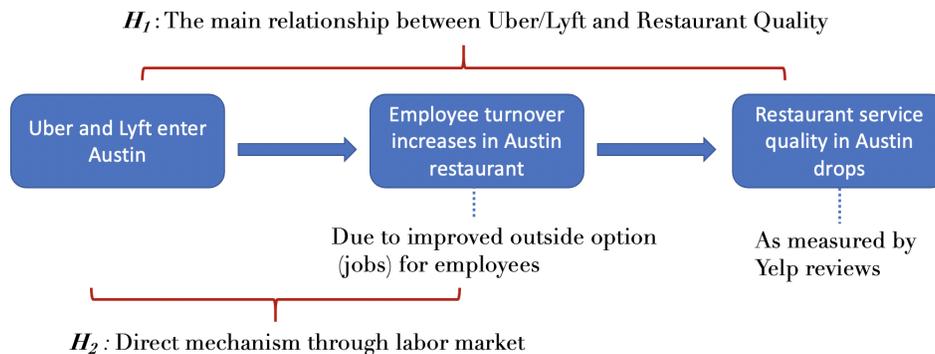


Figure 2: Two main hypotheses to test. H_1 : Uber and Lyft’s return to Austin led to a drop in the service quality as measured by Yelp reviews. H_2 : Uber and Lyft’s return to Austin increased employee turnover at restaurants.

restaurants. This translates to two main hypotheses to test.

Hypothesis 1 (H_1) *Uber and Lyft’s presence in Austin led to a decrease in the service quality provided by those restaurants.*

Hypothesis 2 (H_2) *Uber and Lyft’s presence in Austin led to an increase in the employee turnover for the city’s restaurants.*

Figure 2 schematically illustrates the relationship between H_1 and H_2 . After empirically establishing the relationship between Uber and Lyft’s presence and the restaurant’s service quality utilizing the natural experiments in Austin areas (H_1), we further explore the mechanism underlying this relationship through formally investigating H_2 . Our mechanism is based on employee turnover. If H_2 is correct, one would expect that an increase in the employee turnover for the Austin’s restaurants must have led to a decrease in the service quality provided by those restaurants (Hurley and Estelami 2007; Hancock et al. 2013; Call et al. 2015).

The combination of H_1 and H_2 lends itself to a clear conceptualization of the analysis done in this paper. However, in principle, it is possible that the presence of Uber and Lyft in the city can bring about other economic changes which, then, lead to a drop in restaurant service quality. In Section 6.2, we discuss some of those possible alternative channels through which Uber and Lyft can influence restaurant service quality; and we argue that there is evidence they do not have a major impact.

In the remainder of the paper, both when describing our data and when conducting the empirical analysis, we start examining by H_1 which pertains to the *overall impact* of rideshare on service

quality. We then turn to H_2 which pertains to the study of our proposed *mechanism* through which the impact happens. We now turn to the construction of our data for this analysis.

3.3 Two Datasets: Yelp Reviews and Employee Turnover

In order to test H_1 , we need a measure of service quality for restaurants in Austin and possible control cities. We obtain this measure by text analysis of Yelp reviews written for restaurants in Austin and other cities during the time span of our empirical analysis.¹⁰ As we will describe later, we also use similar methods to obtain quality measures for attributes other than service (e.g., food). In order to study H_2 , we leverage detailed data on employee turnover at restaurants in Austin and our control city. We use San Antonio as our main control city based on similarities in macroeconomic conditions.¹¹ In Section 6.2, we conduct a series of robustness checks by, among others, (1) conducting a parallel trend analysis between Austin and San Antonio, and (2) using another city in Texas, Dallas, as a new control city instead of San Antonio. All of these checks show the robustness of our results. Below, we describe these two data sets in further detail.

Yelp Review Data

Overview. The unit of observation in our Yelp reviews data is restaurant-month. For each restaurant i in Austin (and our control city, San Antonio) during each month t between May 2014 and May 2019, we construct multiple measures, including: how many Yelp reviews were written for i during t , how many of them were overall “negative” (or positive) about service, and how many of them were “negative” (or positive) about food. We also have information on the overall “price tier” of each restaurant provided by Yelp using a single dollar sign \$ for cheap restaurants, two dollar signs \$\$ for mid-tier ones, and three dollar signs \$\$\$ for expensive restaurants. In addition, we have information on the type of food/service each restaurant offers provided by Yelp such as “bar,” “sushi,” “breakfast,” and so on.

We apply some filters to construct our final dataset. First, we choose reviews written between May 2014 and May 2019, covering a window from two years before Uber and Lyft’s exit from Austin to two years after their return. Second, to minimize potential confounding effects from the entry or

¹⁰Review texts are the best available source for eliciting attribute level performance proxies for restaurants and attribute-level sentiments in reviews have shown to be of significant economic value to businesses (Wu et al., 2015).

¹¹Jed Kolko, a chief Economist at Indeed.com, analyzed job postings and socioeconomic factors across different cities and selected San Antonio as the most similar city to Austin (<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/04/03/upshot/what-is-your-citys-twin.html>)

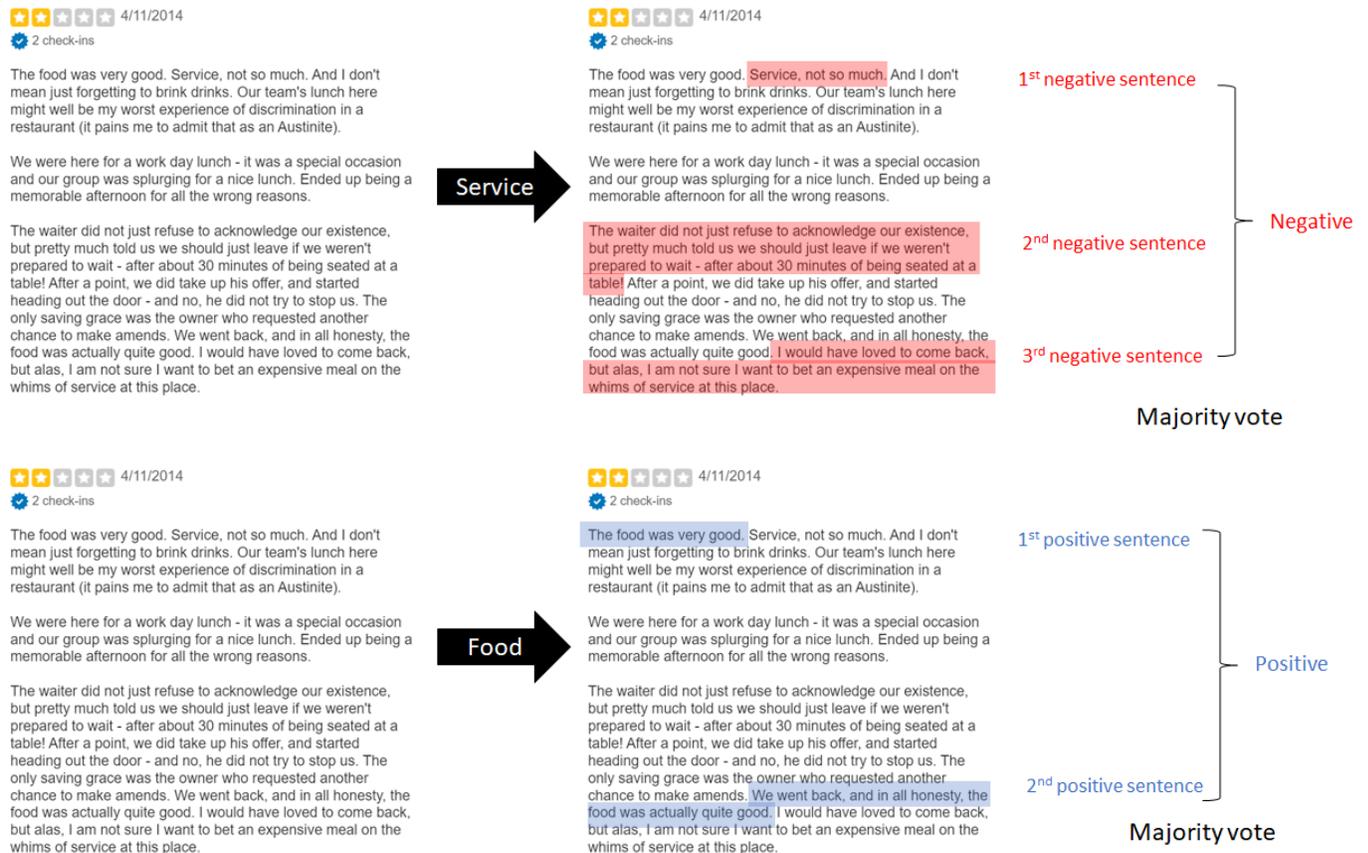


Figure 3: Illustration of Review-level Classification by Attribute

exit of restaurants, we discard data from restaurants whose first review date is after May 2016, and drop restaurants whose last review date is before May 2017. We also find that a few restaurants in our original sample do not get even one review per month. So we add the last rule to select restaurants whose total number of reviews in our sample period is bigger than 200.¹²

Construction. Part of our data comes in a format that cannot be directly used for our analysis: Each review is a short or long text describing a customer's experience at a restaurant. What we need, however, is an indicator specifying whether the review is referring to a specific attribute of the restaurant (such as service and food), and whether that review is positive, negative, or neutral toward that attribute of the restaurant. As a result, we carry out some processing on the data.

To be precise, our processing of the text data has three main steps. We explain the procedure for service. It is similar for other attributes such as food. The first step is to take each sentence

¹²We chose this number so that restaurants have at least three reviews per month on average. Our main results are robust to other thresholds such as 50 (average one review per month) or 300 (average five reviews per month).

and then decide whether that sentence is related to attributes such as service or food. We arrive at this decision for each sentence by checking whether that sentence contains any of the words in our pre-defined “dictionary” of words that have to do with service or food (Taddy 2013).

The second step takes each sentence and then specifies whether the sentiment of that sentence is positive, negative, or neutral. For this task, which is the building block of our algorithm, we use a lexicon-based method (Taboada et al. 2011) to assign sentiment scores to sentences. On a high level, this approach looks at the sentence word by word and assigns a positive or negative sentiment score to each relevant word. The score for each word is determined by (i) reading the score for that word off of a pre-defined dictionary and (ii) applying multipliers in order to correct for “valence shifters” such as negations, intensifications, and downtoners. Ultimately, a sentiment score is assigned to each sentence.

Finally, equipped with a method to score sentiments of individual sentences, we arrive at an overall sentiment score for the entire review. Similar to the literature (e.g., Berger et al. 2010), we decide this using a majority vote rule where the overall sentiment will be the same as the score with more occurrences. The overall score can take three possible values: “negative,” “positive,” or “neutral”, if the sum of the scores for the components of the sentence is, respectively, strictly negative, strictly positive, or equal to zero.¹³ Figure 3 shows an illustration of how our algorithm assigns a service- or food-specific sentiment score to a review. As can be seen from this figure, the same review is positive regarding food but negative regarding service.

Summary Statistics. Table 1 shows some descriptive statistics for Yelp reviews data. It provides summaries at the review level and the restaurant level for cities of Austin and San Antonio, and for three periods: before Uber and Lyft Left the city (i.e., May 2014 - May 2016), during the time that Uber and Lyft were gone (i.e., May 2016 - May 2017), and after the two rideshare platforms returned to the city (i.e., May 2017 - May 2019).

Employee Turnover Data

Overview. Our second dataset contains detailed information on employees of different restaurants in Austin and San Antonio. The unit of observation is employee-month. For each employee i during month t , we observe, among other things, an ID for the restaurant at which the employee worked

¹³For more details on lexicon-based methods for sentiment analysis, see Taboada et al. (2011).

Table 1: Summary statistics in Yelp data

Restaurant-level				
	Total	Before (2014/May-2016/Apr)	Event (2016/May-2017/May)	After (2017/Jun-2019/May)
Austin, TX				
# of restaurants	632	632	632	632
One-Dollar restaurants	328	328	328	328
Two-Dollar restaurants	278	278	278	278
Three-Dollar restaurants	26	26	26	26
Monthly # of reviews per restaurant				
Average (<i>SD</i>)	5.5 (6.8)	6.1 (7.0)	5.4 (6.1)	5.3 (6.9)
Minimum	1	1	1	1
Maximum	112	85	71	112
San Antonio, TX				
# of restaurants	309	309	309	309
One-Dollar restaurants	74	74	74	74
Two-Dollar restaurants	214	214	214	214
Three-Dollar restaurants	21	21	21	21
Monthly # of reviews per restaurant				
Average (<i>SD</i>)	4.4 (3.5)	3.8 (2.9)	4.1 (3.3)	5.1 (4.0)
Minimum	1	1	1	1
Maximum	51	34	45	51
Review-level				
	Total	Before (2014/May-2016/Apr)	Event (2016/May-2017/May)	After (2017/Jun-2019/May)
Austin, TX				
# of reviewers	72,331	30,828	19,746	36,372
# of reviews	168,086	68,484	34,544	65,058
% reviews related service	0.560	0.561	0.559	0.561
% reviews related food	0.714	0.721	0.710	0.709
Review rating				
Average (<i>SD</i>)	3.86 (1.36)	3.87 (1.29)	3.85 (1.37)	3.85 (1.42)
Sentence Length of each review				
Average (<i>SD</i>)	7.6 (6.1)	8.1 (6.6)	7.4 (5.9)	7.2 (5.6)
San Antonio, TX				
# of reviewers	35,707	13,278	9,756	18,798
# of reviews	71,414	23,157	14,640	33,617
% reviews related service	0.54	0.53	0.55	0.55
% reviews related food	0.71	0.72	0.71	0.71
Review rating				
Average (<i>SD</i>)	3.80 (1.40)	3.78 (1.36)	3.80 (1.42)	3.82 (1.43)
Sentence Length of each review				
Average (<i>SD</i>)	7.3 (5.7)	7.5 (5.9)	7.2 (5.6)	7.3 (5.6)

during that specific month, job title (e.g. sous chef), and average hourly wage.¹⁴ This information

¹⁴It does not include tipped income of workers. So, we cannot back up our analysis using dollar-sign of restaurants directly. Also, we do not know work hours or work shift. The wage is coded as average hourly wage in their work shift.

allows us to calculate how long exactly each worker stayed with a given restaurant.

Table 2: Summary statistics in Turnover data

Restaurant-level				
	Total	Before (2014/May-2016/Apr)	Event (2016/May-2017/May)	After (2017/Jun-2019/May)
Austin, TX				
# of restaurants	349	349	349	349
Size of workforce				
Average (<i>SD</i>)	16.23 (17.36)	12.01 (14.51)	18.58 (19.57)	18.12 (17.68)
Minimum	1	1	1	1
Maximum	199	182	199	124
San Antonio, TX				
# of restaurants	272	272	272	272
Size of workforce				
Average (<i>SD</i>)	20.21 (20.96)	13.35 (15.44)	23.41 (23.68)	24.6 (22.17)
Minimum	1	1	1	1
Maximum	190	112	190	177
Worker-level				
	Total	Before (2014/May-2016/Apr)	Event (2016/May-2017/May)	After (2017/Jun-2019/May)
Austin, TX				
Hourly wage (\$)				
Average (<i>SD</i>)	11.8 (3.2)	10.8 (3.2)	11.7 (3.4)	12.2 (2.9)
Minimum	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.0
Maximum	28.8	28.4	28.8	28.2
Tenure (month)				
Average (<i>SD</i>)	5.1 (5.6)	4.8 (5.7)	5.3 (5.8)	5.1 (5.8)
Minimum	1	1	1	1
Maximum	60	60	36	24
San Antonio, TX				
Hourly wage (\$)				
Average (<i>SD</i>)	11.3 (3.0)	10.6 (3.4)	11.3 (3.3)	11.7 (2.8)
Minimum	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.0
Maximum	29.3	29.3	29.3	29.3
Tenure (month)				
Average (<i>SD</i>)	5.1 (5.5)	4.8 (5.9)	5.3 (5.7)	5.1 (5.6)
Minimum	1	1	1	1
Maximum	60	60	36	24

Note: Sample consists of worker/restaurant/month observations of 382,364 and the number of workers who work at least one month is 57,986. Size of workforce refers to the number of workers in each restaurants at each month. The change in the size of workforce can result from either more employment or higher turnover. Many workers are coded as being paid less than the minimum wage in Texas because they are tipped employees. Tenure is calculated based on the start time of employment and the maximum value of tenure is right-censored. In addition, to make the average and standard deviation of tenure more meaningful, those are calculated based on workers who quit within 2 years since the start time of employment.

We do not observe restaurant names in this dataset, which prevents us from being able to merge this dataset with our Yelp Reviews dataset. However, we do observe a restaurant category variable

based on partitioning restaurants into quick service, fast casual, casual dining, upscale dining, and fine dining. Observing these categories will allow us to draw parallels to the categorization on Yelp based on the number of dollar signs.¹⁵ This, in turn, allows for analyses that parallel some of Yelp data regressions.

Summary Statistics. Table 2 summarizes the turnover data. The format in which the table summarizes the data follows how we summarized the Yelp Reviews data.

3.4 Descriptive Data Patterns

Before turning to the empirical analysis, we show some informative data patterns motivating our study. The left panel of figure 2 shows the percentage of reviews that are negative toward service for Austin and San Antonio over time. Each dot represents a monthly average for all the restaurants in each city. As the figure suggests, average sentiments in the two cities move roughly in parallel to each other until Uber and Lyft return to the city of Austin. After that point, the average sentiments begin to diverge. This is suggestive that Uber and Lyft’s return to Austin negatively impacts the quality of service in the city’s restaurants.

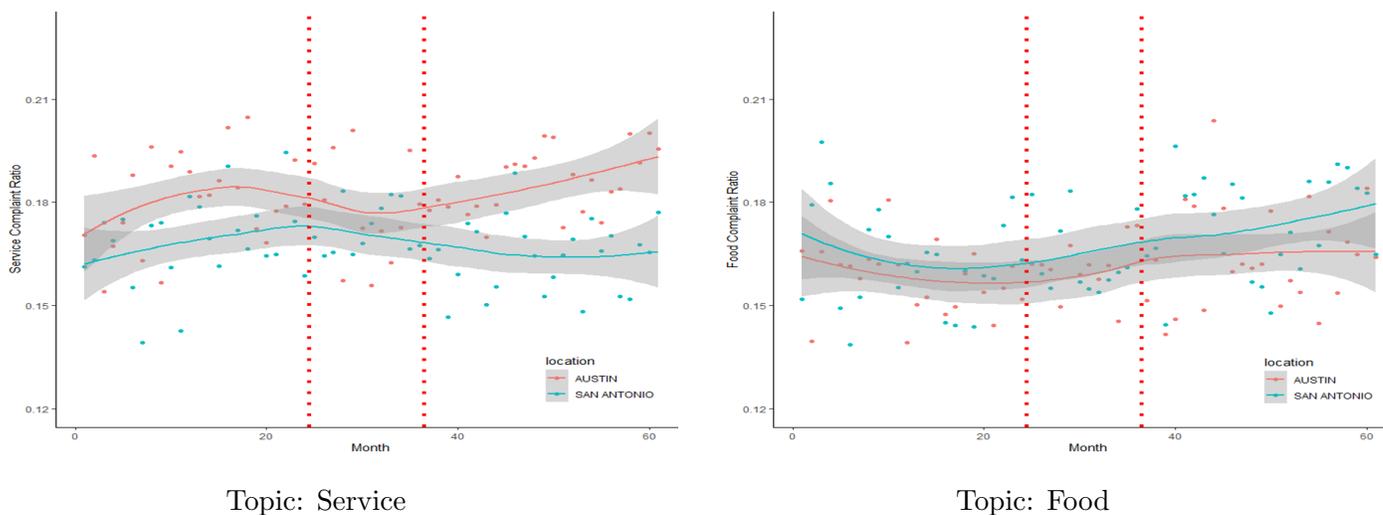


Figure 2: Time Trend of Negative Sentiment for each topic

The divergent patterns observed for service quality are not observed for food quality. As the right panel of figure 2 shows, the average sentiments towards food quality move in parallel to each

¹⁵The categorization in this dataset is performed by the data collection company, which does not necessarily coincide with Yelp’s three-tier categorization of \$, \$\$, and \$\$\$.

other for the duration of our analysis. This suggests that the impact of Uber and Lyft on product quality must have happened through a channel that has to do more with service than with food.

In our analysis in subsequent sections, we will argue that this channel is employee turnover, and that the turnover of waitstaff is more likely to be influenced by gig work opportunities compared to turnover of chefs. We formalize the informal arguments Figure 2 helps put forth by first studying our hypothesis H_1 using Yelp reviews data. We then move to examining H_2 using our employee turnover data, and provide several robustness checks.

4 Analysis of Yelp Review Data

In this section, we conduct a series of analyses to study how the gig economy impacts the service quality of restaurants (H_1), taking advantage of the exogenous exit and re-entry of rideshare companies (Uber and Lyft) from and to the transportation market of the city of Austin. We examine different parts of this hypothesis by carrying out three analyses.

4.1 Quality of Service: Main Analysis

Our first analysis studies how the quality of service provided by restaurants in Austin responds to the presence of Uber and Lyft. We compare Austin’s response to that of our control city, San Antonio. Leveraging a DiD setting, we show that the quality of service – measured by Yelp Review sentiments– decreases in Austin relative to San Antonio with presence of Uber and Lyft in the city.

We consider the following DiD regression equation using the Yelp reviews data in both Austin and San Antonio between May 2014 and May 2019.

$$Y_{it} = \alpha_i + \tau_t + \beta_1 \cdot I(t \in \text{Before}) \cdot I(i \in \text{Austin}) + \beta_2 \cdot I(t \in \text{After}) \cdot I(i \in \text{Austin}) + \epsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

In this equation, index i represents a restaurant and t indexes a month. α_i and τ_t represent restaurant and month fixed effects, respectively. Indicator $I(t \in \text{Before})$ is a binary variable which assumes the value of 1 only if t happens before May 2016 which was when Uber and Lyft left the city of Austin. Similarly, indicator $I(t \in \text{After})$ is a binary variable which assumes the value of 1 only if t happens after May 2017 which was when Uber and Lyft re-entered Austin. Note that these two indicators are not collectively exhaustive. During all months t before May 2017 but after May 2016, the two rideshare companies were absent from the city’s transportation system. Also, ϵ_{it} is the error term. Finally, our dependent variable, Y_{it} represents the customers’ perception of

restaurant i 's service quality during month t . The measurement is carried out as described in detail in section 3.3. It records the percentage of Yelp reviews written about restaurant i in month t that were negative about the service quality. Formally,

$$Y_{it} = \frac{\# \text{ of negative reviews about service in month } t}{\text{total } \# \text{ of reviews about service in month } t}. \quad (2)$$

As we discussed earlier in Section 3.1, there are two potential natural experiments: the moment when the two rideshare companies exit the market and when they return. So, we are interested in coefficients β_1 and β_2 which show how Uber and Lyft's presence in Austin affects the quality of service in Austin restaurants relative to San Antonio restaurants, before Uber and Lyft exit the market (β_1) and after they return to the market (β_2), respectively. Table 3 reports the regression results. Each of the four columns in Table 3 from (1) to (4) represents different specifications regarding the fixed effects. The first regression includes dummy variables for city (Austin) and the two periods (before the exit and after the return) along with two interaction terms with Austin Dummy. Given that the data are in panel form, we allow for fixed effect for time (2), for restaurant (3), and for both (4). In all specifications with restaurant fixed effects, we cluster standard errors at the restaurant level following the discussion by Bertrand et al. (2004). The same robustness check with regard to fixed effects is carried out in all of our analyses in the paper (both for Yelp reviews and employee turnover).

As this table shows, β_1 is not significant under specifications in columns (1)-(4). We do not find any effect of Uber and Lyft's exiting the city, suggesting that the size of the second shock to the market was substantially larger than the first one. On the other hand, we found a consistently significant effect of β_2 . Uber and Lyft's return to Austin increases the likelihood of a negative review on service quality by about 1.4 percentage points, which is close to 10 percent, given the base value of 17 percentage points (column (1)). This is in line with our hypothesis. Note that the result is robust to including restaurant and/or monthly fixed effects (columns (2)-(4)). These columns show that our positive estimate for β_2 *does not* arise from the possibility that restaurants with worsening service in Austin got more reviews (and hence a higher weight) after re-entry of Uber and Lyft. Rather, robustness to fixed effects shows that restaurants in Austin were more likely to receive reviews complaining about service after Uber and Lyft returned to the city. From now on, we will focus on the regression with both fixed effects specification (in the last column (4)) for our discussion on the estimation results.

Table 3: Regional Difference-in-Difference (Austin and San Antonio)

	<i>Dependent variable: Ratio of Complaints on Service</i>			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Constant	0.170*** (0.003)	0.159*** (0.010)		
Austin Dummy	0.008 (0.005)	0.006 (0.005)		
Before Uber/Lyft exit	-0.002 (0.004)		-0.002 (0.004)	
After Uber/Lyft return	-0.006 (0.004)		-0.005 (0.004)	
Austin Dummy × Before Uber/Lyft exit	0.005 (0.006)	0.007 (0.007)	0.005 (0.006)	0.007 (0.006)
Austin Dummy × After Uber/Lyft return	0.014** (0.006)	0.016** (0.006)	0.012** (0.006)	0.014** (0.006)
Monthly Fixed Effect	N	Y	N	Y
Restaurant Fixed Effect	N	N	Y	Y
Observations	48,821	48,821	48,821	48,821
R ²	0.001	0.002	0.123	0.124
Adjusted R ²	0.001	0.001	0.106	0.106

Standard errors are clustered at restaurant level.

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note:

With this analysis in hand, we next delve deeper into the mechanism by which the gig economy impacts local economies.

4.2 Quality of Service by Restaurant Tier

Next, we examine how the effect of Uber and Lyft on service quality of a restaurant depends on the “tier” of the restaurant. If our hypothesis is correct, then one would expect the impact of Uber and Lyft’s presence on service quality to be more pronounced for restaurants whose service workers are more likely to be lured by gig-work opportunities. To formalize this idea, we divide restaurants into two tiers based on labels given by the Yelp app describing their price ranges. Our first tier consists of those restaurants that are assigned only one dollar sign \$ in the app, meaning they are cheaper. The rest of the restaurants, which can have two to three dollar signs, comprise our second tier.

We consider the following regression using Austin data from the Yelp reviews between May 2014 and May 2019.

$$Y_{it} = \alpha_i + \tau_t + \beta_1 \cdot I(t \in \text{Before}) \cdot I(i \in \$) + \beta_2(t \in \text{After}) \cdot I(i \in \$) + \epsilon_{it} \quad (3)$$

Table 4: Dollar-sign Difference-in-Difference (Austin)

	<i>Dependent variable: Ratio of Complaints on Service</i>			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Constant	0.187*** (0.005)	0.188*** (0.015)		
One-Dollar-sign Dummy	-0.022*** (0.007)	-0.023*** (0.008)		
Before Uber/Lyft exit	0.007 (0.006)		0.007 (0.005)	
After Uber/Lyft return	0.002 (0.006)		0.001 (0.004)	
One-Dollar-sign Dummy \times Before Uber/Lyft exit	-0.005 (0.009)	-0.004 (0.009)	-0.004 (0.009)	-0.003 (0.009)
One-Dollar-sign Dummy \times After Uber/Lyft return	0.017** (0.009)	0.018** (0.009)	0.016* (0.008)	0.018** (0.008)
Monthly Fixed Effect	N	Y	N	Y
Restaurant Fixed Effect	N	N	Y	Y
Observations	26,146	26,146	26,146	26,146
R ²	0.002	0.004	0.140	0.142
Adjusted R ²	0.001	0.001	0.123	0.123

Standard errors are clustered at restaurant level.

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note:

The notation is similar to regression in (1). The new indicator $I(i \in \$)$ depicts whether restaurant i is designated by Yelp as a one-\$ restaurant, representing cheaper restaurants.¹⁶ Similar to the previous section, our coefficients of interest are β_1 and β_2 , which capture the effect of Uber and Lyft's exit from and return to Austin on the service quality for low-tier (cheaper) restaurants relative to high-tier restaurants in Austin. Here, the sample consists of restaurants only in Austin. Table 4 shows the results.

Similar to the previous study, β_1 is non-significant in all of the estimated models. More interestingly, β_2 is positive and significant. As this table shows, the return of Uber and Lyft to the city is associated with about a 1.8 percentage points increase in the difference between likelihood that review written for a one-\$ restaurant in Austin contains a complaint about service and the likelihood that the same happens with a more expensive restaurant (in column (4) with both fixed effects). This is the first piece of evidence for our hypothesis regarding the *mechanism* through which the presence of rideshare companies in Austin affects the quality of the service in its restaurants. Our hypothesis was that service quality drops because retaining service employees would be harder when employees have gig-work opportunities as attractive outside options. As such, it

¹⁶Observe that, although we have interaction terms such as $I(t \in \text{Before}) \cdot I(i \in \$)$, we do not include their building blocks $I(t \in \text{Before})$ or $I(i \in \$)$. This is because these terms are absorbed in the fixed effects.

Table 5: Dollar-sign Difference-in-Difference (San Antonio)

	<i>Dependent variable: Ratio of Complaints on Service</i>			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Constant	0.191*** (0.004)	0.176*** (0.014)		
One-Dollar-sign Dummy	-0.065*** (0.008)	-0.066*** (0.008)		
Before Uber/Lyft exit	-0.008 (0.005)		-0.007 (0.005)	
After Uber/Lyft return	-0.009* (0.005)		-0.009* (0.005)	
One-Dollar-sign Dummy \times Before Uber/Lyft exit	0.016 (0.010)	0.017 (0.010)	0.014 (0.010)	0.016 (0.010)
One-Dollar-sign Dummy \times After Uber/Lyft return	0.008 (0.010)	0.010 (0.010)	0.008 (0.009)	0.010 (0.009)
Monthly Fixed Effect	N	Y	N	Y
Restaurant Fixed Effect	N	N	Y	Y
Observations	23,959	23,959	23,959	23,959
R ²	0.010	0.011	0.103	0.105
Adjusted R ²	0.010	0.009	0.087	0.086

Standard errors are clustered at restaurant level.

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note:

would be reasonable to expect the effect to be stronger for one-\$ restaurants whose staff are more likely to consider driving for Uber or Lyft a viable alternative to their current jobs. This is in line with the observation from table 4 that the effect is stronger for one-\$ restaurants.

As a robustness check, we next run the same regression in equation (3) for restaurants in San Antonio. Results are shown in Table 5. As can be seen from this table, we show that the qualities of services for lower and higher tier restaurants in San Antonio do not drift apart once Uber and Lyft enter Austin. β_2 is not significant anymore, which is expected given our hypothesis.

4.3 Service vs. Food

The third analysis we carry out is the same as our main analysis. Instead of service quality, however, we look at customer satisfaction with food quality as our dependent variable. If our hypothesis is correct, the presence of Uber and Lyft would influence customer experience with the food quality less than with the service quality. We expect that employees in charge of the food quality such as chefs are not much affected by the opportunity to drive for Uber and Lyft, relative to workers such as wait-staff mostly dealing with the service for customers.

We conduct the same DiD analysis in equation (1) but with a different dependent variable, a

Table 6: Regional Difference-in-Difference in Food (Austin and San Antonio)

	<i>Dependent variable: Ratio of Complaints on Food</i>			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Constant	0.164*** (0.003)	0.161*** (0.010)		
Austin Dummy	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.005)		
Before Uber/Lyft exit	-0.001 (0.004)		-0.001 (0.004)	
After Uber/Lyft return	0.010** (0.004)		0.010** (0.004)	
Austin Dummy × Before Uber/Lyft exit	-0.002 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.006)	-0.0003 (0.006)	0.0002 (0.006)
Austin Dummy × After Uber/Lyft return	-0.006 (0.006)	-0.006 (0.006)	-0.006 (0.006)	-0.005 (0.006)
Monthly Fixed Effect	N	Y	N	Y
Restaurant Fixed Effect	N	N	Y	Y
Observations	48,821	48,821	48,821	48,821
R ²	0.0004	0.002	0.059	0.061
Adjusted R ²	0.0003	0.001	0.040	0.041

Standard errors are clustered at restaurant level.

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note:

measure of food quality. The results are reported in Table 6 below. It shows that β_2 (which captures the effect of Uber and Lyft’s return to the city on the food quality) become non-significant as a result of our change in the dependent variable in all of the estimated models. Thus, it confirms our hypothesis and demonstrates that indeed Uber and Lyft’s return to Austin does not lead to a change in customer satisfaction with food quality.

Our analysis so far presents multiple pieces of evidence that are consistent with our hypotheses. We first show the relationship between Uber and Lyft’s return to the city and the restaurant’s service quality. Also, Uber and Lyft’s impact was more pronounced for cheaper restaurants whose service workers are more likely to be lured by gig-work opportunities. Our finding that Uber and Lyft’s return to the city affects the restaurant’s service quality, but not the food quality, gives support for our second hypothesis that the gig economy impacts the quality of service through the labor market. Nevertheless, it is indirect evidence of such a mechanism. Next, we investigate our second hypothesis (H_2) more formally – whether employee turnover in the restaurant industry has been affected in Austin by the presence of rideshare companies to provide such direct evidence using a different dataset.

5 Analysis of Staff Turnover in Restaurants

We conduct a series of analyses to provide evidence for the direct impact on staff turnover in local restaurants due to the return of rideshare companies. We build parallels to those conducted using Yelp reviews data in Section 4.

5.1 Main Analysis

We start by examining how the turnover rate of staff in Austin’s restaurants changes with the presence of rideshare companies in the city. We conduct this analysis in a DiD manner, using San Antonio as the control group.

We estimate a Cox proportional hazard model for employee turnover rates, in a similar manner to Clotfelter et al. (2008). Our dependent variable is hazard rate λ_{itn} , the probability that employee n quits restaurant i during calendar month t conditional on n having been working for i for $\tau - 1$ months. The Cox proportional hazard function applied to our setting can be represented as follows:

$$\lambda_{itn} = h(\tau_{itn}) \times e^{X_{itn}\beta} \tag{4}$$

In this formulation, $h(\tau_{itn})$ is the baseline hazard rate which depends only on τ_{itn} , how long employee n has been working at restaurant i when s/he is observed in period t . The second term, $e^{X_{itn}\beta}$, is parameterically estimated and it captures how the hazard rate is affected by the covariates X for each observation itn . In our model, $X_{itn}\beta$ is assumed to be:

$$X_{itn}\beta \equiv \beta_0 X_{itn}^0 + \beta_1 \cdot I(i \in \text{Austin}) \cdot I(t \in \text{Before}) + \beta_2 \cdot I(i \in \text{Austin}) \cdot I(t \in \text{After}), \tag{5}$$

where X_{itn}^0 includes other observable variables such as average hourly wage, position at the restaurant, and monthly and restaurant fixed effect. Our coefficient of interest is β_2 , which captures the effect of Uber and Lyft’s return to Austin on the employee turnover hazard rate relative to that in San Antonio. Table 7 presents the results.

In line with our hypothesis (H_2), the estimated β_2 is positive and significant. This roughly means that the presence of Uber and Lyft in Austin increases the probability that a given restaurant worker quits in a given month by about 10.3% (note that this is percent, and not percentage point). To get a sense of the magnitude of this effect in dollar terms, one can compare the estimated $\beta_2 = 0.103$ to the estimated effect of hourly wage on hazard rate ($\beta_0 = -0.065$). From table 7, one can calculate that the effect of Uber and Lyft’s return to Austin was equivalent to that of a uniform

Table 7: Turnover Rate Analysis (Austin and San Antonio)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Turnover hazard probability
AvgHourlyWage	-0.065*** (0.002)
Austin Dummy × Before Uber/Lyft exit	0.051 (0.061)
Austin Dummy × After Uber/Lyft return	0.103** (0.051)
Restaurant Fixed Effect	Y
Monthly Fixed Effect	Y
Observations	382,364

Standard errors are clustered at restaurant level.

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

\$1.58 decrease in hourly wages (i.e., $\beta_2/\beta_0 = -1.58$). This amounts to about 13% of the average hourly wage paid to the employees in our Austin data (average hourly wage = \$11.8 from Table 2).

To sum up, we show that the turnover rate of staff increases in Austin relative to San Antonio once Uber and Lyft return to the city. This is consistent with the main finding in Section 4 that the service quality deteriorates after the comeback of Uber and Lyft.

5.2 Employee Turnover by Restaurant Category

Next, we conduct an analysis parallel to our tier-based analysis of Yelp reviews in section 4.2. In employee turnover data, we do not observe the price tier of the restaurants, such as the dollar sign in Yelp data. Instead, we can observe which of the following categories each restaurant belongs to – “Quick Service,” “Fast Casual,” “Casual Dining,” “Upscale Casual,” and “Fine Dining.” This categorization of the restaurants approximately resembles the price-tier of the restaurants. Similar to the analysis using a dollar sign in Yelp, we split the sample by the restaurant category and investigate which restaurant group is more affected. We repeat our main analysis of the employee turnover data for each category. Table 8 presents the results.

The results from table 8 are broadly consistent with findings from our Yelp reviews analysis. As can be seen from this table, the coefficient “Austin Dummy × After Uber/Lyft return” is positive and significant for Quick Service and Fast Casual restaurant, but not for others. We interpret this in a similar way to how we interpreted the results from a tier-based analysis of reviews demonstrated in Table 5. It shows a consistent pattern that the turnover rate in low-tier restaurants (Quick Service and Fast Casual) gets higher than relatively high-end restaurants (Casual Dining, Upscale

Table 8: Turnover Rate by Restaurant Category (Austin and San Antonio)

	<i>Dependent variable: Turnover hazard probability</i>				
	Quick Service	Fast Casual	Casual Dining	Upscale Casual	Fine Dining
AvgHourlyWage	0.035 (0.051)	-0.071*** (0.012)	-0.065*** (0.004)	-0.071*** (0.007)	-0.084*** (0.022)
AustinDummy × BeforeUber/Lyft exit	0.606 (0.442)	0.042 (0.105)	-0.012 (0.071)	-0.080 (0.066)	0.158 (0.101)
AustinDummy × AfterUber/Lyft return	3.043*** (0.694)	0.290** (0.128)	0.023 (0.060)	0.035 (0.129)	-0.045 (0.225)
Restaurant Fixed Effect	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Monthly Fixed Effect	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	9,961	74,971	227,917	62,910	4,471
R ²	0.223	0.084	0.066	0.072	0.075

Standard errors are clustered at restaurant level.

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note:

Casual and Fine Dining) after Uber and Lyft return to the city.

5.3 Employee Turnover Moderated by Job Position and Wage

In this section, we perform an analysis in a parallel manner to our analysis of food- and service-related reviews in Section 4.3. We show the impact of the presence of Uber and Lyft is mainly on service quality rather than food quality, due likely to the fact that service workers are paid lower wages than chefs and are, hence, more likely to switch to gig work. Here, we conduct two corresponding analyses.

First, we formally compare the pattern of turnover between two different positions in restaurants. We would expect the effect of Uber and Lyft’s return to the Austin market to be larger for those workers who tend to provide the service (“front of house” employees) compared to those workers who are involved in preparing the food such as chefs (“back of house” employees).¹⁷ We conduct two separate DiD analyses for these two groups and demonstrate that the results from the turnover data are consistent with the results from the Yelp data. Table 9 presents the results.

As can be seen from Table 9, the coefficient of interest “Austin Dummy × After Uber/Lyft return” is positive and significant for front of house workers ($\beta_2 = 0.184$) but insignificant for back of house workers. This is similar to the results from Yelp data showing that the effect of Uber and Lyft’s presence is significant on service quality only, not food quality.

Our reasoning for hypothesizing a larger effect of Uber and Lyft on service compared to food and

¹⁷Front of House (FOH) and Back of House (BOH) are widely used industry terms in restaurant and beverage industries (<https://www.restaurantinformer.com/2012/07/foh-boh-what-to-know/>).

Table 9: Turnover Rate by Worker Job Position without controlling wage

	<i>Dependent variable: Turnover hazard probability</i>	
	Front-of-House workers	Back-of-House workers
Austin Dummy \times Before Uber/Lyft exit	0.073 (0.070)	0.038 (0.074)
Austin Dummy \times After Uber/Lyft return	0.184*** (0.068)	0.030 (0.054)
Restaurant Fixed Effect	Y	Y
Monthly Fixed Effect	Y	Y
Observations	187,322	195,042
R ²	0.058	0.071

Note: Standard errors are clustered at restaurant level.
*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

on front-of-house compared to back-of-house workers was wages. We expect the presence of such gig work opportunities to impact lower-paid workers and, hence, the quality of their products/services more substantially. We were not able to directly test this in our analysis of Yelp reviews but are indeed able to do so in our analysis of the employee turnover data. To this end, we formulate a similar Cox proportional hazard model to equation 4 but modify the covariates as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
 X_{itn}\beta &\equiv \beta_0 \cdot w_{itn} + \beta_1 \cdot w_{itn} \cdot I(i \in \text{Austin}) + \beta_2 \cdot w_{itn} \cdot I(t \in \text{Before}) + \beta_3 \cdot w_{itn} \cdot I(t \in \text{After}) \\
 &+ \beta_4 \cdot I(i \in \text{Austin}) \cdot I(t \in \text{Before}) + \beta_5 \cdot I(i \in \text{Austin}) \cdot I(t \in \text{After}) \\
 &+ \beta_6 \cdot w_{itn} \cdot I(i \in \text{Austin}) \cdot I(t \in \text{Before}) + \beta_7 \cdot w_{itn} \cdot I(i \in \text{Austin}) \cdot I(t \in \text{After})
 \end{aligned} \tag{6}$$

In words, equation (6) helps formulate a Diff-in-Diff-in-Diff analysis in which the parameter of interest is β_7 , which captures the three-way interaction effect of $w_{itn} \cdot I(i \in \text{Austin}) \cdot I(t \in \text{After Uber/Lyft return})$, representing how the effect of Uber and Lyft on turnover in Austin is moderated by wage. We hypothesize that this effect is negative, meaning the turnover rate of higher wage workers is less likely to see a hike due to the return of Uber and Lyft to the city in Austin. Table 10 presents the results of this analysis, which are as expected ($\beta_7 = -0.035$).

6 Robustness Checks and Alternative Explanations

6.1 Overview of Robustness Checks

We conduct a series of robustness checks for our analysis of Yelp reviews data and employee turnover data. In this section, we overview a series of those robustness checks, the details of which are

Table 10: Effect of Uber/Lyft on Turnover Rate moderated by Wage

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Turnover hazard probability	
AvgHourlyWage	-0.094***	(0.009)
AvgHourlyWage × Austin Dummy	0.028*	(0.014)
AvgHourlyWage × Before Uber/Lyft exit	0.005	(0.012)
AvgHourlyWage × After Uber/Lyft return	0.042***	(0.009)
Austin Dummy × Before Uber/Lyft exit	0.069	(0.189)
Austin Dummy × After Uber/Lyft return	0.482***	(0.181)
AvgHourlyWage × Austin Dummy × Before Uber/Lyft exit	-0.001	(0.019)
AvgHourlyWage × Austin Dummy × After Uber/Lyft return	-0.035**	(0.015)
Sample Region	Austin & San Antonio	
Restaurant Fixed Effect	Y	
Monthly Fixed Effect	Y	
Observations	382,364	
R ²	0.064	

Standard errors are clustered at restaurant level.

Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

relegated to Appendix A. We carry out the following robustness analyses:

1. **“Placebo” treatment timing:** We run our main DiD regression specification with a small twist. We replace the entry time of Uber and Lyft (which was May 2017) with May 2018. We expect the effect of this “placebo” treatment to be statistically insignificant. The regression results (presented in detail in the appendix) confirm this expectation for both the reviews data and the employee turnover data. This validates that the observed change in service quality during the time period marked by the return of Uber and Lyft (i.e., May 2017 - May 2019 in our data) is not from other forces during the same period.
2. **Changing the control city:** Some of our regressions use San Antonio restaurants as a control group (recall that Austin was the treatment group). We check whether our results are robust to that choice by replacing it with Dallas. We perform two analyses. First, we change the control city from San Antonio to Dallas. The DiD results are still significant. Second, we change the treatment city from Austin to Dallas (holding San Antonio as a control city). The DiD coefficient becomes insignificant. We do this both for the reviews data and for the employee turnover data. The results remain robust.
3. **Changing the control topic:** In our analysis of Yelp reviews, some of our regressions use the sentiments of reviews on food quality as another dependent variable (recall that service

quality was the target dependent variable). Our main channel for the effect of the gig economy on the restaurant is through the labor market. If our hypotheses are correct, we expect no impact of Uber and Lyft’s presence on the restaurant’s ambiance. We check whether our results are robust to that choice by replacing it with other topics (such as ambiance). The results remain robust.

4. **Keyword selection for each topic:** In this robustness analysis, we change the dictionaries and try a broader set of keywords to decide whether a sentence in a review is related to food or service. We rerun the analysis in order to see if the estimation results are sensitive to this change. The results remain robust.
5. **Aggregation level:** We aggregate review sentiments up to the restaurant-year level instead of the restaurant-month level. We re-run the analysis and show that the results are robust to this change.
6. **Parallel trends analysis:** We analyze the review data at the yearly level and confirm that indeed prior to the return of Uber and Lyft to Austin, the trends of review sentiments about service are parallel between Austin (treatment city) and San Antonio (control city).

6.2 Alternative demand-side explanations

Our analyses so far present evidence for the impact of Uber and Lyft on restaurants’ service quality through the labor market (employee turnover). However, in principle, it would be conceivable that the return of these two rideshare companies to Austin led to changes in the reviews through channels other than employee turnover. In particular, the presence of Uber and Lyft may have consequences for demand for restaurants, which can in turn impact service quality. Potential impact of the gig economy on other parts of the economy through demand-side channels has been documented before (e.g Burgdorf et al. 2019, Zhang et al. 2018, Hampshire et al. 2018). As such, in this section, we perform some analyses to study whether Uber and Lyft’s return to Austin may have impacted reviews through a demand-side channel. In particular, we focus on two possible demand-side hypotheses.

First, Uber and Lyft make transportation easier, thereby allowing customers to experience more restaurants, which may, in turn, raise their standards and lead to harsher reviews. We can first easily check whether the number of reviews changes after Uber and Lyft returned to Austin,

contributing to the observed pattern. The average monthly number of reviews per restaurant was 5.85 when they were absent and 5.68 when they returned ($p = 0.143$). Also, the percentage of reviews on Service were 54.6% and 54.5%, respectively ($p = 0.839$) and the percentage of reviews on Food were 67.3% and 67.9%, respectively ($p = 0.281$). Thus, we do not find evidence that those companies' returns might have increased the number of restaurant visits and reviews over time.

More importantly, we believe the above hypothesis does not explain some of the evidence we have already presented in the paper. First, table 4 shows that the impact of Uber and Lyft's presence on perceived service qualities of restaurants is larger for one-dollar-sign restaurants than for others. Second, a comparison between tables 3 and 6 suggests the impact of Uber and Lyft on negative reviews about food quality is, unlike service quality, insignificant. As we discussed before, both of these heterogeneity patterns are quite in line with our supply-side hypothesis. But in order for the aforementioned demand-side explanation to be congruent with these patterns, it would have to be that the presence of Uber and Lyft raised customer expectations only for one-dollar-sign restaurants and only for service rather than for food or ambiance. Though in principle feasible, this scenario is substantially more convoluted than our supply-side theory supported by our analysis of the employee turnover data.

A second possible demand-side explanation for the impact of Uber and Lyft on restaurants' service quality is one based on selection: Uber and Lyft make transportation easier, potentially enabling harsher reviewers to visit more restaurants and leave more reviews. There are two types of evidence against the above hypothesis. The first type is similar to what we mentioned above: it is not clear why the presence of Uber and Lyft in the city of Austin should lead to more restaurant visits by customers who are more negative about service but not food. Similarly, it is not clear why the presence of these rideshare companies would lead to more restaurant visits by negative customers who eat at one-dollar-sign restaurants but not other restaurants. In sum, although selection could, in principle, be an important issue, it does not fully explain the observed heterogeneity patterns of the effect of rideshare companies on reviews observed in our data.

There is also a second type of evidence against the aforementioned selection-based demand-side mechanism. We provide a simple analysis that shows the effect of these ridesharing platforms on the reach of travel has been neither substantial nor statistically significant. To this end, we use data from SafeGraph, a firm collecting and providing retail traffic data. SafeGraph data provides the median traveling distance of customers between their home and each restaurant. It is a one-

Table 11: Median Distance between home and restaurants (Austin and San Antonio)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	log(distance from home)
Austin Dummy \times After Uber/Lyft return	0.006 (0.008)
Restaurant Fixed Effect	Y
Monthly Fixed Effect	Y
Observations	35,323
R ²	0.673
Adjusted R ²	0.628
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

year-period of panel data at the restaurant/month level starting from Jan/2017.

Using data from SafeGraph, we run a regression similar to our main DiD analysis in equation (1) but with a different dependent variable. Instead of our measure of service quality, we use the logarithm of the median distance traveled by customers to restaurants in Austin and San Antonio for 12 months between January 2017 and January 2018.¹⁸ As table 11 below shows, the effect is small in magnitude and statistically insignificant. It suggests that there is little evidence that rideshare companies significantly change the travel distance of restaurant guests, which mitigates the selection concerns because customers do not seem to change their travel pattern after Uber and Lyft returned.

To sum up, although we cannot completely rule out all of these alternative accounts, they cannot fully explain the patterns observed in our data. The evidence we present in our analysis suggests the negative effect of Uber and Lyft’s presence on the service quality of some restaurant types arises mainly from supply-side forces rather than demand-side ones.

7 Conclusion

The rapid growth of the gig economy in recent years has transformed many sectors of the economy. Airbnb has challenged the hotel industry; Uber and Lyft have challenged traditional taxi companies and curtailed ridership on public transportation. And while these effects of gig work on direct competitors is very important, more indirect effects also merit attention.

In this paper, we examine the impacts of the gig economy on product quality in the seem-

¹⁸In addition to the change in dependent variable, there is another, small, difference. We exclude the interaction term between *Austin Dummy* and *Before Uber/Lyft exit Dummy* because the time span of the SafeGraph data starts after Uber and Lyft’s exit in 2016.

ingly unrelated local industries through the labor market – specifically the relationship between Uber/Lyft and restaurant quality. We hypothesize that Uber and Lyft’s presence in a city lowers the quality of the local restaurants’ waitstaff by increasing turnover, thereby adversely impacting the quality of service they can offer. We exploit a natural experiment in which, due to regulatory changes, Uber and Lyft exited the market in Austin, TX, in May 2016 and returned in May 2017. We apply text analysis to Yelp reviews from 2014 to 2019 and use a “difference-in-difference” approach to determine whether the entry and exit of Uber and Lyft influenced customer satisfaction with local restaurants. San Antonio serves as a control group.

We find that the entry of rideshare companies corresponds to a reduction in customer satisfaction with service quality at local restaurants. We explain this effect through the labor force: the presence of gig economy provides an attractive employment option that draws people away from low-wage, low-skill work in restaurants. This reduced labor pool for restaurants, in turn, affects service quality. We reinforce this interpretation with several other analyses. First, we find that the effect is especially pronounced at less-expensive restaurants, signified by a single dollar sign in Yelp, compared to restaurants with a label of two or three dollar signs; we assume that service workers at less-expensive restaurants are more likely to be lured away by gig-work opportunities. Second, we demonstrate that customer satisfaction with food quality, as opposed to service quality, remains unaffected by the entrance and exit of Uber and Lyft. This falls in line with our hypothesis given that back-of-house positions (e.g. chef, manager) are desirable enough that driving for Uber and Lyft is not an attractive alternative. Finally, we examine turnover rates of staff in restaurants by leveraging a unique worker-level dataset of restaurants in Austin and San Antonio from 2014-2019. Turnover rates increase in Austin relative to San Antonio once Uber and Lyft return. Importantly, this increase is confined to low-end restaurants (quick service and fast casual) and unobserved in middle-end or high-end restaurants; likewise, it is observed only for front-of-house workers, while there is no effect on back-of-house staff.

These results present compelling evidence that gig work, in this case employment with Uber and Lyft, have ramifications that extend far beyond industries in direct competition with rideshare companies. As the gig economy expands, as it is predicted to do, understanding these second-order effects will be critical for the development of effective regulatory policy. Our work focuses on the hospitality sector, but we consider it a telling case study for the economy as a whole and hope it serves as a starting point for deeper study of how the gig work may shape the future economy.

Appendix A: Robustness Checks

In this section, we provide details for the robustness checks outlined in Section 6 of the main text.

A.1 “Placebo” treatment timing

Robustness check for analysis of Yelp reviews. We run a DiD regression of our measure of service quality Y_{it} between Austin and San Antonio before and after a “placebo” shock with an ad-hoc time. We choose May 2018. The following regression captures the analysis:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha_i + \tau_t + \beta_1 \cdot I(t \in \text{After Ad-hoc Time}) \cdot I(i \in \text{Austin}) + \epsilon_{it} \quad (7)$$

The coefficient of interest here is β_1 . Table 12 shows the results. As can be seen from the table, β_1 is estimated to be less than 1% both for service and for food; and both estimates are statistically insignificant.

Table 12: Ad-hoc timing Regression of Yelp data (Austin and San Antonio)

	Service (negative ratio)	Food (negative ratio)
Austin Dummy \times Ad-hoc Timing Dummy	0.006 (0.008)	0.001 (0.007)
Restaurant Fixed Effect	Y	Y
Monthly Fixed Effect	Y	Y
Observations	20,531	20,531
R ²	0.162	0.088
Adjusted R ²	0.120	0.042

Standard errors are clustered at restaurant level: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Robustness check for the employee turnover analysis. Similarly, we repeat the analysis of employee turnover with a placebo shock time. Table 13 shows the results. Again, as expected, the coefficient on “Austin Dummy \times May/2018-May/2019” is small and statistically insignificant.

A.2 Changing the control city

Yelp reviews. Our DiD analysis of Yelp reviews was performed using Austin as the treatment city and San Antonio as the control city. Here, we perform two further analyses. First, we change the control city from San Antonio to Dallas. We expect the DiD results to be still significant. Second, we change the treatment city from Austin to Dallas. We expect the DiD coefficient to be insignificant. Table 14 reports the results and confirms both of our expectations.

Table 13: Ad-hoc timing Regression of Turnover data (Austin and San Antonio)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Turnover hazard probability
AvgHourlyWage	-0.048*** (0.003)
Austin Dummy \times May/2018-May/2019	-0.022 (0.059)
Restaurant Fixed Effect	Y
Monthly Fixed Effect	Y
Observations	123,011
R ²	0.112

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 14: Robustness check for Regional DiD (Other City)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Ratio of Complaints on Service	
Austin Dummy \times Before Uber/Lyft exit	0.009* (0.006)	
Austin Dummy \times After Uber/Lyft return	0.011** (0.005)	
San Antonio Dummy \times Before Uber/Lyft exit		0.002 (0.006)
San Antonio Dummy \times After Uber/Lyft return		-0.004 (0.005)
Sample Region	Austin&Dallas	SanAntonio&Dallas
Monthly fixed effect	Y	Y
Restaurant fixed effect	Y	Y
Observations	51,305	54,632
R ²	0.143	0.119
Adjusted R ²	0.126	0.101

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Employee Turnover. We conduct similar robustness tests with the employee turnover data. Again, as table 15 shows, the DiD coefficient when Austin and Dallas are compared is significant, while the same coefficient when Dallas and San Antonio are compared is insignificant.

A.3 Changing the control topic

In one of our analyses of Yelp reviews, we used food as the “control topic.” That is, we ran a DiD analysis of the city of Austin and showed that Uber and Lyft’s presence in the city leads to more negative reviews on service quality compared to food quality. In this robustness check, we study a different control topic: ambience. Table (16) shows the results. As can be seen there, our DiD coefficient is still statistically significant and has the same size and rough magnitude.

Table 15: Robustness check for Turnover DiD:

Left column uses Austin as the treatment group and Dallas as the control group. Right column uses San Antonio as the treatment group and Dallas as the control group.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Turnover hazard probability	
AvgHourlyWage	-0.050*** (0.002)	-0.049*** (0.002)
Austin Dummy \times Before Uber/Lyft exit	0.099* (0.055)	
Austin Dummy \times After Uber/Lyft return	0.102** (0.047)	
San Antonio Dummy \times Before Uber/Lyft exit		0.034 (0.048)
San Antonio Dummy \times After Uber/Lyft return		-0.050 (0.037)
Monthly Fixed Effect	Y	Y
Restaurant Fixed Effect	Y	Y
Observations	513,913	430,835

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 16: Difference-in-Difference in *Ambiance* (Austin and San Antonio)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Ratio of Complaints on Ambiance	
Austin Dummy \times Before Uber/Lyft exit	0.002 (0.003)	
Austin Dummy \times After Uber/Lyft return	0.004 (0.003)	
Restaurant Fixed Effect	Y	
Monthly Fixed Effect	Y	
Observations	48,821	
R ²	0.048	
Adjusted R ²	0.028	

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

A.4 Keyword selection for each Topic

In this robustness analysis, we change the dictionaries that we used to identify whether a sentence in a review is related to service or food. The dictionaries that we used for our analysis in the main text were as follows. (1) Service: staff, waiter, waitress, service, waiting, server, worker, stood, dirty, wait, counter, ignore, and (2) Food: food, mouth, melt, delicious, unpalatable, appeti, cooked, edible, taste, tasty, bread, meat, steak, dessert, vege, flour, corn, pizza, mexican, egg, sushi.

In this robustness check, we use a broader dictionary instead. The new dictionaries are as follows. (1) Service: staff, waiter, waitress, service, waiting, server, worker, stood, dirty, wait,

counter, ignore, minute, line, clean, and (2) Food: food, mouth, melt, delicious, unpalatable, appeti, cooked, edible, taste, tasty, tast, bread, meat, steak, dessert, vege, flour, corn, pizza, mexican, egg, sushi, flavor, sweet, yum, juicy, spicy, bland.

Table 17 shows the result from our main DiD analysis with the new dictionaries. As can be seen from this table, the DiD coefficient for service is statistically significant with a similar magnitude to what we obtained in our main analysis. Also, the DiD coefficient for food is insignificant, similar to the result we had in the main text of the paper.

Table 17: Robustness check for keyword selection (Austin and San Antonio)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Ratio of Complaints on Service	Ratio of Complaints on Food
Austin Dummy \times Before Uber/Lyft exit	-0.006 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.006)
Austin Dummy \times After Uber/Lyft return	0.013** (0.006)	-0.004 (0.006)
Restaurant Fixed Effect	Y	Y
Monthly Fixed Effect	Y	Y
Observations	48,821	48,821
R ²	0.153	0.060
Adjusted R ²	0.136	0.041

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

A.5 Aggregation Level

In our main analysis of Yelp reviews, we aggregated the reviews up to the restaurant-month level. In this robustness check, we aggregate reviews up to the restaurant-year level instead, and we run similar DiD regressions for service and food quality. Table 18 presents the results and shows that they are robust to this change in the aggregation level.

A.6 Parallel Trends Analysis

Figure 7 plots the DiD coefficient in our analysis of service quality (comparing Austin and San Antonio) at a yearly level. As can be seen from this figure, the coefficient is insignificant in each year prior to re-entry of Uber and Lyft to Austin, showing no evidence of pre-trends and it remains significant afterwards.

Table 18: Robustness check for the yearly level aggregation (Austin and San Antonio)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Ratio of Complaints on Service	Ratio of Complaints on Food
Austin Dummy \times Before Uber/Lyft exit	0.005 (0.007)	-0.007 (0.007)
Austin Dummy \times After Uber/Lyft return	0.015** (0.007)	0.003 (0.007)
Restaurant fixed effect	Y	Y
Yearly Fixed effect	Y	Y
Observations	4,634	4,634
R ²	0.573	0.393
Adjusted R ²	0.462	0.237

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

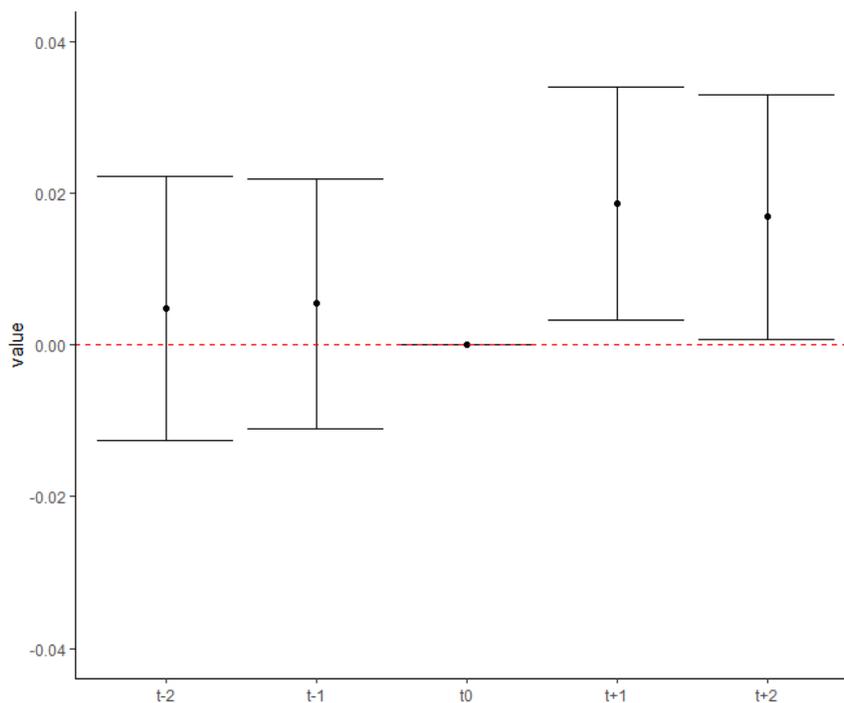


Figure 7: Testing Parallel Trend

Notes: The figure plots the estimated β_k from $Y_{it} = \alpha_i + \tau_t + \sum_{k=-2}^2 \beta_k I(i \in \text{Austin}) \times \text{Year}_k + \epsilon_{it}$. Standard errors are clustered by restaurant-level and 95% confidence intervals are presented.

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