

# Uber's adverse impact on the civil rights of corporate stakeholders

Since its founding, Uber's ethos of "asking for forgiveness not permission" has shown the company time and again as a bully and a lawbreaker and an irresponsible corporate actor globally. In late 2021, Uber was assessed to be "the most hated brand in the U.S."<sup>1</sup> Much of the company's recklessness is already well-known to the public, from its toxic "bro" culture to its unprecedented and nakedly self-interested and anti-worker political spending.<sup>2</sup> Details have emerged over the years of the company's improper use of technology to evade regulators, harm competitors, and silence critics.<sup>3</sup> Most recently, "The Uber Files" pulled back the curtain on the company's tolerance of violence to foster its business model.<sup>4</sup>

Even so, the full breadth and depth of Uber's legal and reputational risk is not wholly understood. Uber policies and practices raise specific civil rights concerns requiring closer scrutiny, as the evidence thus far demonstrates both *disparate treatment of* and *disparate impact on* a range of protected groups. Moreover, the business model of the gig economy is built on and thrives from exploitation of low-wage, overwhelmingly Black, brown, and immigrant workers. Indeed, when the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) set its five-year strategic plan in 2016, it prioritized the "on-demand economy" as an "emerging and developing issue" for strategic civil rights enforcement.<sup>5</sup>

With roughly three-quarters of all U.S. rideshare business (plus additional delivery operations), Uber is the dominant player in the gig economy, setting the industry standard.<sup>6</sup> Uber's choices affect many, and have in turn spurred significant pushback— from consumers #DeletingUber; from drivers engaging in escalating protests and strikes; from a steady stream of government lawsuits; from ongoing journalistic investigations. Recently, in the wake of increased federal attention to driver misclassification, one analyst firm noted it expects "continued headline risk" for app corporations.<sup>7</sup> Another expects "*greater* headline risk and *more* legal filings" (emphasis added).<sup>8</sup>

What follows is a partial list of Uber's negative impact on civil rights.

## Uber's business model is predicated on — and further entrenches — the economic exploitation of immigrants and workers of color.

- Academic and nonprofit studies find the Uber driver population to be disproportionately composed of immigrants and people of color. According to Pew Research, nearly one in three Hispanic Americans has done platform work; for Black or Asian Americans the figure is one in five, for white Americans, only one in nine.<sup>9</sup> While L.A.'s overall workforce is 8 percent Black, a UCLA study found L.A.'s rideshare drivers are 23 percent Black.<sup>10</sup> A UC Santa Cruz study found 78 percent of Bay Area drivers are people of color, and 56 percent are immigrants.<sup>11</sup> (On the other hand, people of color are underrepresented among Uber's leadership, which, in 2022, is three percent Black and five percent Latino.<sup>12</sup>)
- Economic precarity has long yielded racialized work in the U.S. — to the benefit of key industries and employers. In "The New Racial Wage Code," scholar Veena Dubal describes the "racial politics of this tiered system of worker protection" over the past century, dating at least to the

---

\* Where possible we use company-specific data; when company-specific data are not available we may sometimes rely on broader industry data.

New Deal's exclusion of domestic and agricultural workers.<sup>13</sup> As Dubal also writes, it is notable that Uber was founded "under the shadow of the Great Recession, in a period of high unemployment and slow job growth."<sup>14</sup> Uber reportedly recruits "low-income, often immigrant drivers with false promises of the American dream."<sup>15</sup>

- Worker misclassification is particularly racialized in the U.S. economy. A 2017 study in the Minnesota Law Review found that "women and/or people of color are overrepresented in seven of the eight occupations at highest risk for misclassification, suggesting that misclassification may be removing Title VII protection from workers who most need antidiscrimination rights."<sup>16</sup>
- The willful misclassification of drivers as independent contractors is at the heart of Uber's business model. While the practice invariably hurts any worker by removing key rights and protections, drivers of color are particularly harmed. According to an amicus brief filed with a California court by the National Employment Law Project and other nonprofits, race "underwrite[s] the practice of misclassification" by allowing "the whole unseemly business [to] be more easily ignored."<sup>17</sup>
- Many start driving for Uber in the absence of better (higher paying, more flexible) work — but worker misclassification then serves to keep Uber drivers trapped in substandard conditions. Without employee protections, drivers lack minimum wage and workplace safety laws, unemployment and workers compensation insurance, and the rights to be free from discrimination and to engage in concerted activity.<sup>18</sup> Drivers are forced to waive their rights to sue and to form unions.
- Gathering data and establishing basic facts about the civil rights impacts on Uber's workforce is complicated by the company's misclassification of drivers. By calling drivers independent contractors, the company exempts itself from standard recordkeeping and reporting practices. (Uber's diversity report covers only employees.) Uber thus not only evades the responsibility of collecting basic demographic data on drivers, but it fails to track or report injury data on drivers, it fails to report driver pay data to the California Civil Rights Department, and its reporting practices around sexual assault continue to draw criticism.<sup>19</sup>
- Uber has relied, controversially, on forced arbitration provisions in its agreements, requiring drivers to waive their access to the courts. And although the company has ended the practice with regard to sexual misconduct, forced arbitration is still the norm otherwise. In a 2021 report, the American Association for Justice demonstrated that women and people of color are particularly harmed by the practice of forced arbitration.<sup>20</sup>

### Uber has been repeatedly shown to discriminate against protected groups of riders.

- In late 2021, the U.S. Department of Justice sued Uber for discriminating against disabled passengers, under the Americans with Disabilities Act.<sup>21</sup> (The case concerns Uber's "wait time fee," which falls on those requiring extra time to get seated— including those with wheelchairs.) In July 2022, Uber agreed to implement a wait time fee waiver program and pay over \$2.2 million in refunds to passengers with disabilities who were charged wait time fees.<sup>22</sup>
- In many markets, Uber provides no wheelchair accessible vehicles at all, and riders have filed suit against the company, alleging violations of the ADA.<sup>23</sup> A 2019 complaint out of Pittsburgh — currently pending in federal court, despite Uber's unsuccessful effort to compel arbitration —

argues that “as Uber attempts to take market-share away from public transportation options, people with mobility who rely on public transportation and paratransit will suffer the most.”<sup>24</sup>

- A 2016 study published in the National Bureau of Economic Research found evidence of racial and gender discrimination in Seattle and Boston rideshare drivers.<sup>25</sup> In Boston, drivers took female riders on “longer, more expensive, rides.” In Seattle, wait times were significantly longer for African American riders. In both cities, drivers were more likely to cancel the trips of passengers who “used African American-sounding names.”
- A different 2016 analysis from academics at the University of Maryland focused on Uber data from Washington, DC, and sought to answer the question of which neighborhoods benefit from the company’s surge pricing. The authors found that “the neighborhoods with better service — defined as those places with consistently lower wait times, the pickup ETA as projected by Uber — are more white.”<sup>26</sup>
- A 2021 paper out of George Washington University takes advantage of the data made available by a regulatory change in Chicago requiring greater transparency. Based on an analysis of “100 million ride hailing samples” in the city, where Uber has about a 72% market share, the authors found “a significant disparate impact in fare pricing” based on the demographic profiles of the neighborhoods” and that fares tended to be high for drop-offs in neighborhoods with high concentrations of people of color.<sup>27</sup>

Uber’s rating system has been repeatedly shown to discriminate against drivers of color.

- A 2016 report from researchers at Data & Society looks at “Uber as a case study” for how rating systems transform the customer into a supervisor, and how the rating system “redesigns the distribution of potential liability for prospective workplace discrimination.”<sup>28</sup> In other words, Uber’s rating system, while facially neutral, results in a disparate impact, and redounds to the detriment of drivers of color. (This accords with findings elsewhere that “Black, brown and immigrant taxi drivers get lower tips.”<sup>29</sup>)
- A 2022 survey of 20,000 Uber drivers found drivers of color were deactivated (read: fired) at higher rates than white drivers: “17.4% of White respondents indicated they had been deactivated by Uber, compared with 24.6% of Asian workers, 24.1% of Black, 24.9% who identified as other, and 16% who responded as Latinx.”<sup>30</sup>
- In response to a proposed class action lawsuit filed against Uber in 2000, a federal judge concluded “the inference that Uber’s practice is racially discriminatory is... strong.”<sup>31</sup> The suit is currently pending at the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.<sup>32</sup>

Uber’s systems of identification have been repeatedly shown to discriminate against drivers of color and transgender drivers.

- Systems of facial recognition do not perform as well on non-white faces, and they perform particularly badly on people with darker skin tones, resulting in Uber drivers being locked out of their accounts and even terminated.<sup>33</sup> In 2021, Uber drivers and supporters rallied in London demanding the company “Scrap the racist algorithm.”<sup>34</sup>
- In the UK, the App Drivers and Couriers Union brought a legal administrative action in late 2021 against Uber over this discriminatory technology, on behalf of a terminated driver. The claim is proceeding, despite Uber’s (unsuccessful) effort to have it dismissed.<sup>35</sup>

- In the U.S., a deactivated driver filed suit against Uber in 2019, blaming racially discriminatory facial recognition software and seeking reinstatement.<sup>36</sup> The driver was forced into arbitration — which he lost.<sup>37</sup> The case is currently pending before the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals.<sup>38</sup>
- California city attorneys are investigating Uber discrimination against transgender drivers after the company’s systems labeled driver photos and documents as fraudulent, either deactivating drivers or preventing them from signing up. Officials from L.A., San Francisco, and San Diego allege “Uber’s conduct may violate several anti-discrimination and workplace safety laws.”<sup>39</sup>

### Uber’s policies and practices have deleterious effects on driver health and safety, disproportionately affecting drivers of color.

- A 2022 report by Gig Workers Rising called *Death and Corporate Irresponsibility in the Gig Economy* concluded that “fatal assaults on drivers persist *despite evidence of gig corporation awareness of the safety crisis.*”<sup>40</sup> Of the 50 gig workers killed since 2017, 63 percent were drivers of color.
- In a 2021 report, Pew Research found drivers of color are much more likely to report feeling unsafe on the job. While only 28 percent of white drivers report feeling sometimes or often unsafe, 41 percent of Black, Asian, Hispanic and other drivers of color report feeling unsafe.<sup>41</sup>
- A 2022 analysis from *The Markup* identified 361 gig drivers who were “victims of carjackings or attempted carjackings since 2017,” and finding that “many of the drivers were immigrants, women, or elderly.”<sup>42</sup> Uber drivers were more likely to have been victimized than drivers for any other platform.
- An analysis by University of Texas public health experts was recently published in *Social Science & Medicine* and linked gig work to poor health outcomes.<sup>43</sup> Among the study findings was that “Black and Hispanic workers earning insecure income were more likely to report poor health than their white counterparts.”<sup>44</sup>

### Uber harms poor communities of color by hastening urban gentrification.

- Concerns about how “apps like Uber... help spur gentrification” date back years.<sup>45</sup> More recently, data have become available and support the claim. A 2020 paper out of The Wharton School of Business examines “how local economic activity responds to” the entry of rideshare into a market, and finds significant effects in home values, rents, and new restaurant openings.<sup>46</sup>
- Although neighborhood gentrification is commonly understood to harm low-income residents, recent academic research demonstrates particular harm to communities of color. The author of a 2020 Stanford study noted that displaced Black residents experienced “additional constraints” over and above their white counterparts.<sup>47</sup> At the same time, residents of color who remain through a neighborhood’s gentrification express concerns about the increased presence of law enforcement.<sup>48</sup>

## Uber's collaborations with law enforcement and the military disproportionately harm communities of color.

- Though academics and activists have long addressed the role of discrimination in law enforcement — in both the goals and methods of policing — the police murder of George Floyd yielded an inflection point in a broader national discussion.<sup>49</sup>
- Uber releases annual data regarding its cooperation with law enforcement in a “transparency report.” The company claims that “Uber is different from other tech companies,” and thus “we are committed to working with law enforcement officials.”<sup>50</sup> In 2021, Uber provided data to law enforcement 2,979 times, filling the majority of law enforcement requests, and disclosing information on 7,686 users.
- In 2020, Cnet reported that Uber had received not just the typical law enforcement requests, but broader, dragnet-like “geofence warrants” (sometimes called “reverse location searches”).<sup>51</sup> These are especially concerning to advocates, with one declaiming “Imagine the scenario where you can use a single geofence warrant to identify every single person going to a mosque or reproductive health site or political rally.”<sup>52</sup>
- A 2021 report from leading racial justice organization Color of Change examined police foundations — unaccountable private organizations that funnel money into policing and influence public policy — and their ties to corporate America.<sup>53</sup> The report found connections between Uber and the police foundations in Atlanta and Los Angeles and called on Uber (and other companies) to sever ties.
- In 2018, the U.S. Army Research Laboratory announced a partnership with Uber to further advance drone technology.<sup>54</sup> Civil libertarians and other advocates have bemoaned the government’s use of drone technology against both U.S. civilians and non-Americans.<sup>55</sup>

## Uber policies fail to protect female riders, passengers, or executives.

- In 2019, Uber paid \$4.4 million (and agreed to outside monitoring) to settle an EEOC investigation which “found reasonable cause to believe that Uber permitted a culture of sexual harassment and retaliation.”<sup>56</sup>
- Uber has come under repeated criticism for its handling of sexual assaults. In 2020, the California Public Utilities Commission (CPUC) fined Uber \$59 million for its failure to properly report sexual assaults.<sup>57</sup> (Uber paid the fine after it was reduced to \$9 million on appeal.)
- Some local officials remain dissatisfied with Uber’s ongoing failure to report sexual assault. The *New York Times* recently reported that Santa Clara County and the city of San Jose are exploring policy options to force Uber into greater disclosure.<sup>58</sup> A 2022 lawsuit claims that Uber fired a contractor who had raised concerns about the company’s practices related to investigating sexual assault.<sup>59</sup>
- A 2021 report from Pew Research found that female rideshare drivers are more likely than male drivers to have felt unsafe on the job, and significantly more likely to have “experienced an unwanted sexual advance” on the job.<sup>60</sup> A 2022 report in *The Verge* concluded that Uber does not do enough to prevent sexual assault: “Passengers are not currently required to complete background checks or sexual misconduct training before making an account. Despite making it

safer for drivers, enforcing these additional measures could slow down the sign-up process, which rideshare companies tout as a central, seamless feature of their service.”<sup>61</sup>

- Bloomberg Law recently reported that Uber has engaged in federal lobbying to protect aspects of the controversial use of nondisclosure agreements in the context of settlements of sexual misconduct. Uber opposed the SPEAK Out Act (S. 4524) “that would nullify some nondisclosure agreements for workers alleging sexual harassment and assault.”<sup>62</sup>
- The Project On Government Oversight recently noted that “laws criminalizing abortion access will permit police and prosecutors to dramatically expand their reach and to target those seeking a variety of reproductive health care, including but not limited to abortion.”<sup>63</sup> Uber collects the location data of riders, including for travel to health care facilities; U.S. Senators noted that data brokers “are already selling, licensing and sharing” this sort of data.<sup>64</sup> While the company claims it does not sell rider data (Uber does monetize rider data through ad sales), a geofence warrant could result in the prosecution (and/or persecution) of women seeking health care.<sup>65</sup>

###

**Action Center for Race and the Economy** The Action Center on Race and the Economy (ACRE) is a campaign hub for organizations working at the intersection of racial justice and corporate accountability.

**Gig Workers Rising** Gig Workers Rising is a campaign of Working Partnerships USA that supports and educates app-based workers who are organizing to win better wages, working conditions, and respect on the job.

## Endnotes

---

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Segran, “These are the most hated brands in America,” *Fast Company*, October 5, 2021.

<sup>2</sup> Mike Isaac, “Inside Uber’s Aggressive, Unrestrained Workplace Culture,” *New York Times*, February 22, 2017; Sam Harnett, “Prop. 22 Explained: Why Gig Companies Are Spending Huge Money on an Unprecedented Measure,” *KQED*, October 26, 2020.

<sup>3</sup> Mike Isaac, “How Uber Deceives the Authorities Worldwide,” *New York Times*, March 3, 2017; Alex Hern, “Uber allegedly used secret program to undermine rival Lyft,” *The Guardian*, April 13, 2017; Ben Smith, “Uber Executive Suggests Digging Up Dirt On Journalists,” *BuzzFeed*, November 17, 2014.

<sup>4</sup> Felicity Lawrence and Jon Henley, “‘Violence guarantees success’: how Uber exploited taxi protests,” *The Guardian*, July 10, 2022; Aaron C. Davis, Rick Noack and Douglas MacMillan, “Uber leveraged violent attacks against its drivers to pressure politicians,” *Washington Post*, July 10, 2022.

<sup>5</sup> Jon Weinberg, “EEOC Strategic Enforcement Plan Prioritizes Gig Economy,” *OnLabor*, November 30, 2016; <https://www.eeoc.gov/us-equal-employment-opportunity-commission-strategic-enforcement-plan-fiscal-years-2017-2021>

<sup>6</sup> Benjamin Black, et al., “Rideshare Roundup,” *Deutsche Bank*, October 20, 2022 (cites 79%); Janine Perri, “Uber vs. Lyft: Who’s tops in the battle of U.S. rideshare companies,” *Bloomberg Second Measure*, June 15, 2022 (cites 72%).

<sup>7</sup> Chase White, “Biden DOL Rulemaking Unlikely to Force Gig Companies to Reclassify Workers,” *Compass Point Research*, October 12, 2022.

- 
- <sup>8</sup> Andrew Boone and Matthew Condon, “Department of Labor Seeks Comments On A New Employment Classification That Could Impact Gig Workers,” *JMP Securities*, October 11, 2022.
- <sup>9</sup> Risa Gelles-Watnick and Monica Anderson, “Racial and ethnic differences stand out in the U.S. gig workforce,” *Pew Research Center*, December 15, 2021.
- <sup>10</sup> UCLA Institute for Research on Labor and Employment, *More than a Gig: A Survey of Ride-hailing Drivers in Los Angeles*, May 2018.
- <sup>11</sup> Chris Benner, Erin Johansson, Kung Feng, and Hays Witt, “On-Demand and on-the-edge: Ride-hailing and Delivery Workers in San Francisco,” *UC Santa Cruz Institute for Social Transformation*, May 5, 2020.
- <sup>12</sup> “People and Culture Report,” Uber, 2022, at <https://uber.app.box.com/s/97uk6h0jhuwrrwq4n0mldpaqd51ttbyh>.
- <sup>13</sup> Veena Dubal, “[The New Racial Wage Code](#),” *Harvard Law and Policy Review*, 2021.
- <sup>14</sup> Veena Dubal, “A Brief History of the Gig,” *Logic*, May 4, 2020.
- <sup>15</sup> Erica Smiley, “[The racist business model behind Uber and Lyft](#),” *The Guardian*, October 29, 2020.
- <sup>16</sup> Charlotte S. Alexander, “[Misclassification and Antidiscrimination: An Empirical Analysis](#),” *Minnesota Law Review*, 2017.
- <sup>17</sup> [Brief of Amici Curiae National Employment Law Project, et al.](#), California v. Uber and Lyft, case A160701 and A160706, September 22, 2020.
- <sup>18</sup> See, e.g., Lynn Rhinehart, Celine McNicholas, Margaret Poydock, and Ihna Mangundayao, “Misclassification, the ABC test, and employee status,” *Economic Policy Institute*, June 16, 2021; Catherine Ruckelshaus, “Independent Contractor Vs. Employee: Why Misclassification Matters and What We Can Do To Stop It,” *National Employment Law Project*, May 9, 2016.
- <sup>19</sup> Kevin Druley, “Worker Misclassification,” *Safety + Health*, October 23, 2016; California created an employer Pay Data Reporting Obligation in 2020; Cade Metz, “[Silicon Valley County Battles with Uber Over Reporting of Sexual Assault](#),” *New York Times*, October 3, 2022.
- <sup>20</sup> “Where White Men Rule: How the Secretive System of Forced Arbitration Hurts Women and Minorities,” American Association for Justice, June 2021.
- <sup>21</sup> Valeria Ricciulli, “Uber is yet again being sued for discriminating against disabled riders,” *Curbed*, November 11, 2021.
- <sup>22</sup> “[Uber Commits to Changes and Pays Millions to Resolve Justice Department Lawsuit for Overcharging People with Disabilities](#),” U.S. Department of Justice, July 18, 2022.
- <sup>23</sup> [Two 2017 lawsuits \(17-cv-02664-RS and 17-cv-06124-RS\) were consolidated in federal district court in California; a 2022 ruling found Uber had not violated the ADA in these two instances.](#)
- <sup>24</sup> [O’Hanlon v. Uber, 2:19-cv-00675.](#)
- <sup>25</sup> Yanbo Ge, Christopher R. Knittel, Don MacKenzie & Stephen Zoepf, “[Racial and Gender Discrimination in Transportation Network Companies](#),” *National Bureau of Economic Research*, October 2016.
- <sup>26</sup> Jennifer Stark and Nicholas Diakopoulos, “[Uber seems to offer better service in areas with more white people. That raises some tough questions.](#),” *Washington Post*, March 10, 2016.
- <sup>27</sup> Akshat Pandey and Aylin Caliskan, “[Disparate Impact of Artificial Intelligence Bias in Ridehailing Economy’s Price Discrimination Algorithms](#),” *AIES*, May 2021.
- <sup>28</sup> Alex Rosenblat, et al., “[Discriminating Tastes: Customer Ratings as Vehicles for Bias](#),” *Intelligence & Autonomy*, October 2016.
- <sup>29</sup> Sam Harnett, “[Black and Brown Gig Workers Report Lower Ratings — But Companies Make Bias Hard to Track](#),” *KQED*, July 22, 2021.
- <sup>30</sup> Erin Mulvaney, “Uber Again Wins Race Bias Class Action Dismissal in California,” *Bloomberg Law*, May 23, 2022.
- <sup>31</sup> Bobby Allyn, “Uber Fires Drivers Based On ‘Racially Biased’ Star Rating System, Lawsuit Claims,” *National Public Radio*, October 26, 2020; Ethan Baron, “Judge says Uber’s driver-rating system may be racist,” *Mercury News*, June 11, 2021.
- <sup>32</sup> Thomas Liu et al. v. Uber Technologies Inc., 3:20-cv-07499
- <sup>33</sup> Alex Najibi, “Racial Discrimination in Face Recognition Technology,” *Harvard University Science in the News*, October 24, 2020; Tom Simonite, “The Best Algorithms Struggle to Recognize Black Faces Equally,” *Wired*, July 22, 2019.

- 
- <sup>34</sup> Eloise Barry, "Uber Drivers Say a 'Racist' Algorithm Is Putting Them Out of Work," *Time*, October 12, 2021.
- <sup>35</sup> Tobi Thomas, "Uber Eats treats drivers as 'numbers not humans', says dismissed UK courier," *Guardian*, July 28, 2022.
- <sup>36</sup> William Fambrough v. Uber Technologies, Inc., case no. 4:19-cv-0398.
- <sup>37</sup> "Order Denying Motion to Vacate Arbitration Award," April 21, 2022.
- <sup>38</sup> William Fambrough v. Uber Technologies, Inc., case no. 22-2109.
- <sup>39</sup> Suhauna Hussain, "California city attorneys press Uber on ID practices for transgender driver, citing Times report," *Los Angeles Times*, February 3, 2022.
- <sup>40</sup> Gig Workers Rising, [Death and Corporate Irresponsibility in the Gig Economy: An Urgent Safety Crisis](#), April 2022. (emphasis added)
- <sup>41</sup> Monica Anderson, Colleen McClain, Michelle Faverio and Risa Gelles-Watnick, "[The State of Gig Work in 2021](#)," *Pew Research Center*, December 8, 2021.
- <sup>42</sup> Dara Kerr, "More Than 350 Gig Workers Carjacked, 28 Killed, Over the Last Five Years," *The Markup*, July 28, 2022.
- <sup>43</sup> Robert Thomas, et al., "Assessing associations between insecure income and US workers' health: An IPUMS-MEPS analysis," *Social Science & Medicine*, September 2022.
- <sup>44</sup> Caitie Barkley, "Despite flexibility, gig work and insecure income prove harmful to U.S. workers, according to study," *Science Daily*, August 23, 2022.
- <sup>45</sup> Marta Bausells, "Streets without shops: how apps are transforming our local neighborhoods," *The Guardian*, October 7, 2016.
- <sup>46</sup> Caitlin Gorbach, "Your Uber has Arrived: Ridesharing and the Redistribution of Economic Activity," January 12, 2020, at [https://www.eri.org/research/files/2020\\_Gorbach\\_JMP.pdf](https://www.eri.org/research/files/2020_Gorbach_JMP.pdf).
- <sup>47</sup> Sandra Feder, "Gentrification Hits Minority Communities Hardest," *Futurity*, December 7, 2020; see Jackelyn Hwang and Lei Ding, "Unequal Displacement: Gentrification, Racial Stratification, and Residential Destinations in Philadelphia," *American Journal of Sociology*, 2020.
- <sup>48</sup> Adrianna Adame, "Students discuss how gentrification affects minorities," *Cougar Chronicle*, May 9, 2021.
- <sup>49</sup> See, e.g., Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow*, 2010; Fanna Gamal, "The Racial Politics of Protection: A Critical Race Examination of Police Militarization," *California Law Review*, August 2016; Michael German, "Hidden in Plain Sight: Racism, White Supremacy, and Far-Right Militancy in Law Enforcement," *Brennan Center for Justice*, August 27, 2020; Stephan A. Schwartz, "Police Brutality and Racism in America," *US National Library of Medicine*, July 2, 2020; Lynne Peeples, "What the data say about police brutality and racial bias — and which reforms might work," *Nature*, June 19, 2020.
- <sup>50</sup> <https://www.uber.com/us/en/about/reports/transparency/law-enforcement/>
- <sup>51</sup> Alfred Ng, "Geofence warrants: How police can use protesters' phones against them," *Cnet*, June 16, 2020.
- <sup>52</sup> Christopher Damien and Nick Penzenstadler, "Private data or police evidence?" *USA Today*, September 14, 2022.
- <sup>53</sup> Color of Change and LittleSis, *Police Foundations: A Corporate-Sponsored Threat to Democracy and Black Lives*, October 2021.
- <sup>54</sup> "U.S. Army, Uber sign research agreement," Army Research Labs Public Affairs, May 9, 2018.
- <sup>55</sup> Carrie Johnson, "Holder Spells Out Why Drones Target U.S. Citizens," *NPR Morning Edition*, March 6, 2012.
- <sup>56</sup> Faiz Siddiqui, "Uber to pay up to \$4.4 million to alleged gender discrimination victims after EEOC investigation," *Washington Post*, December 18, 2019; Allison Prang, "Uber Settles Sex-Discrimination Charge with EEOC," *Wall Street Journal*, December 18, 2019.
- <sup>57</sup> Suhauna Hussain, "Uber agrees to pay \$9 million California settlement on sexual assault reporting failure," *Los Angeles Times*, December 2, 2021.
- <sup>58</sup> Cade Metz, "[Silicon Valley County Battles with Uber Over Reporting of Sexual Assault](#)," *New York Times*, October 3, 2022.
- <sup>59</sup> Ethan Baron, "Lawsuit claims that Uber broke federal law," *San Jose Mercury News*, April 7, 2022.
- <sup>60</sup> Monica Anderson, Colleen McClain, Michelle Faverio and Risa Gelles-Watnick, "[The State of Gig Work in 2021](#)," *Pew Research Center*, December 8, 2021.



---

<sup>61</sup> Anna Betts, “Women who drive for Uber and Lyft are being left to fend for themselves,” *The Verge*, January 18, 2022.

<sup>62</sup> Paige Smith, “[Uber Fighting Bill That Would Nix #MeToo Nondisclosure Pacts](#),” *Bloomberg Law*, September 29, 2022.

<sup>63</sup> Press release, “Police Quietly Obtain Private Location Data with a Checkbook and not a Warrant,” Project On Government Oversight, October 12, 2022.

<sup>64</sup> Marcy Gordon, “After Roe, Dems seek probe of tech’s use of personal data,” *Associated Press*, June 24, 2022; Edward Helmore, “Tech companies in spotlight as US abortion ruling sparks privacy threat,” *The Guardian*, July 2, 2022; Ross Williams, “How might law enforcement use digital tracking to to enforce Georgia’s strict anti-abortion law?” *Georgia Recorder*, August 30, 2022.

<sup>65</sup> Patrick Coffee, “Uber to let marketers target riders by destination,” *Wall Street Journal*, October 19, 2022.