WORKERS FIRST | AI

How Government Can Ensure Automation Benefits Working People

Rideshare Drivers and Robotaxi Services

SHORT EDITION

PROJECT LED BY

Andy Stern
President Emeritus, SEIU

Rayan Semery-Palumbo
PhD in Public Policy; Fellow at the Economic Security Project

Tash Diallo
Rideshare driver; former National Organizing Director, Independent Drivers Guild

2026

WF AI

Acknowledgments

Drivers helped us build Workers First AI. Their words appear throughout this report so readers can hear directly from people whose work robotaxi service may change. Participating drivers described how driving supports their lives and disagreed about whether robotaxi service should operate. In later group discussions, drivers evaluated policy ideas against their experience. Their testimony and judgment shaped the questions we asked and the two requirements we developed for protecting drivers.



New York drivers who participated in the project: Liakat Ali, Shaun Beckles, Jose Gomez, Asad Iqbal, Dachuan Nie, and Muneeb Rehman. Photographs by Coral Ortiz.

ADVISORY PANEL

Twelve people served on the advisory panel. Members participated at different stages and in different ways. Participating members reviewed different subsets and versions of work still in development; the panel did not review the final report as a panel. Eleven advisory-panel members are named below; one member chose not to be named publicly. Advisors are listed alphabetically by surname.

Jillian Arnold
Labor & Technology Intelligence Officer, IATSE

Roy Bahat
Head of Bloomberg Beta

Juliana Bidadanure
Associate Professor of Philosophy, NYU Arts & Science; Affiliate Faculty of Law, NYU School of Law

Ron Bloom
Co-Chair, Center for State Labor Innovation (CSLI)

Adrian Brown
Founder and CEO, Windfall Trust

Laphonza Butler
Partner, Actum; former U.S. Senator for California

Eric Gertler
Executive Chairman and CEO, U.S. News & World Report

Pamela Mishkin
Former Head of Economic Research Team, OpenAI

Andrew Salkin
Founding Principal, Resilient Cities Catalyst

Brendan Sexton
President, Independent Drivers Guild

April Verrett
International President, Service Employees International Union (SEIU)

INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT

Omidyar Network provided funding for the project. Economic Security Project collaborated on the work, hosted Andy Stern and Rayan Semery-Palumbo as fellows, and contributed funding that supported Rayan Semery-Palumbo's fellowship. Assets Under Movement (formerly Amalgamated Foundation) provided fiscal sponsorship.

Participation, acknowledgment, proposal selection, panel service, institutional support, or credit for an idea does not imply endorsement of the report's analysis, conclusions, or recommendations. The project team is responsible for the report's analysis, conclusions, and recommendations.

Detailed recognition of participating drivers, advisors, proposal contributors, organizers, researchers, production contributors, and supporting institutions appears in the Full Report.

Who Benefits from Robotaxi Service?

Technology does not decide who benefits from progress. Public rules and company decisions shape who gains and who bears the costs. Working people should have a say.

Workers First AI is a project to help working people shape decisions about whether and how AI is used, protect their livelihoods, and share in any gains. We do not advocate for AI expansion.

Rideshare driver Tash Diallo co-led the project with Andy Stern and Rayan Semery-Palumbo. Around 100 participating drivers in New York City, San Francisco, and Atlanta described how driving supports their lives. Later, drivers discussed policy ideas in groups and gave feedback based on their experiences, hopes, and fears. Their testimony and judgment helped shape the project team's questions and recommendations.

Drivers described this as a question of who benefits. Muneeb, a New York driver, said, "Apart from the driver, everybody else makes money — from a trillion-dollar city to billion-dollar companies."[1]

Robotaxis offer an unusually concrete place to begin. Robotaxi driving systems use AI to interpret their surroundings, predict how other road users may move, and help make driving decisions.[2] Rideshare drivers helped build—and still sustain—the app-based passenger market robotaxi companies seek to serve. Taxi and black-car drivers work in the broader paid-passenger market and may also be affected by robotaxi service.[3, 4, 5] Robotaxis operate on public streets and, where the law provides authority, under rules government can set. Their trips can be counted, their expansion can be measured, and conditions can be imposed before—not merely after—working people lose their livelihoods.

Robotaxis could make travel safer and give people who cannot drive greater independence and more transportation options.[6, 7] People should be able to welcome useful technology with confidence that working people will be protected. Protecting people's lives and livelihoods is a basic responsibility of government. Alphabet, Google's parent company, owns Waymo; Amazon owns Zoox; and Tesla reported operating its own robotaxi service.[8] If robotaxis take trips human drivers otherwise would have made,

those companies gain revenue while drivers lose work and income. If those losses make driving less viable, drivers and their families also lose the flexibility they rely on for caregiving, health, school, and other responsibilities.[9] Potential benefits for riders do not justify leaving drivers and their families to bear those losses.

PEOPLE AND SERVICES COVERED BY THIS REPORT

Here, robotaxi service means paid passenger service in which an automated system does all the driving within defined conditions. Our research focused on people who earned income through Uber, Lyft, or both; some also had experience in taxi, black-car, or local car-service work.[10, 11] This report neither assumes robotaxi service is inevitable nor recommends stopping it everywhere. Depending on local law, officials may authorize service, authorize it with limits, keep existing restrictions, or refuse authorization.

Retraining and new jobs may help some drivers, but neither by itself ensures work with comparable income and scheduling flexibility.[12, 13] Drivers should have enforceable, company-funded protections in place before harm occurs.

Where law permits, we recommend that public officials adopt enforceable rules requiring robotaxi companies to secure funding for both worker requirements before officials authorize service, renew an authorization, or permit expansion.

The first is protection against total net robotaxi-related losses across all drivers covered by local rules. Local rules would decide how that funding is divided among individual drivers.

The second is a separate, meaningful additional benefit for drivers who qualify through verified past work, such as cash, ownership or revenue sharing, a voluntary retirement benefit, health coverage, or an enforceable, voluntary opportunity to obtain suitable work. The additional benefit should improve eligible drivers' security, opportunity, or freedom over their time.

Loss protection responds to harm; the additional benefit recognizes the value drivers helped create.

The evidence reviewed for this report does not establish how much harm robotaxi service will cause, what any company can afford, or what a workable policy will cost. A complete local proposal sets out the worker protections, service rules, and public requirements for

a particular city, state, or other jurisdiction. Drivers whose work may change should help shape the complete proposal and decide whether to support it. Public officials separately decide whether service is lawful and whether it may begin or expand.

Public rules should require robotaxi service to benefit the public. Officials should evaluate how robotaxi service, including commercial pilots, affects drivers' earnings from driving and the amount of paid driving work available. Those effects should be core measures of success alongside safety, accessibility, and transportation outcomes. Once service operates, officials should also check whether the required loss protection and separate additional benefit are delivered. Public officials remain responsible for setting and enforcing the rules and using independent evidence to decide whether service may begin, continue, or expand.

In 2024, the U.S. Census Bureau recorded about 1.6 million sole-proprietor businesses with no paid employees in taxi, limousine, and ride-hailing services.[14] This figure counts businesses, not unique drivers, and is not a complete workforce count.

DRIVER WORKFORCE: A NEW YORK EXAMPLE

New York City's Taxi and Limousine Commission (TLC) reported 179,670 active taxi and for-hire vehicle driver licenses as of December 31, 2025. A current license does not show whether its holder was working.[15]

In a 2024 survey commissioned by the TLC, among Uber and Lyft drivers who answered each relevant question, 95% identified as male, 91% were born outside the United States, and 86% were non-white. These are New York survey results, not national estimates or this project's participant demographics.[15]

The rules governing robotaxis are still being written. So, in a much larger sense, are the rules governing artificial intelligence and work.

> Working people should not be an afterthought of innovation. They should have a stake in its success.

What Participating Drivers Told Us

Most structured interviews began with drivers' current work, earnings, schedules, and responsibilities. Robotaxis and policy choices came later. We conducted 26 recorded one-on-one interviews—fifteen in New York City, ten in San Francisco, and one in Atlanta—held a recorded group discussion in each city, received 36 confidential survey responses, and drew on additional unrecorded conversations. Some people participated in more than one format, so these counts cannot be added into a total number of individual participants. The interviews, discussions, and survey responses describe the drivers who took part. They are not representative estimates for any city or for the wider passenger-driving workforce.[11]

The stakes were immediate for many participants. Thirty-three of 36 survey respondents said driving was their only or main income. Twenty-three did not think they could find similar income if they stopped driving, and ten more expected that it would take over six months.[16] Interviews and discussions also described vehicle expenses, unpaid waiting, care responsibilities, health needs, school, other jobs, and long hours of availability before drivers earned enough to end the workday.

Jose, a New York driver, described how hard it had already become to make driving pay: "They are taking advantage of people like me. We need these jobs. Because the economic situation we are facing right now is killing us."[1]



Jose Gomez, a New York driver, in his van. Photograph by Coral Ortiz.

Among the 36 survey respondents, 31 reported more than five years of rideshare driving, 26 reported driving more than 40 hours a week, and 27 reported driving for more than one app.[17]



New York drivers and project collaborators at the May 13, 2026, gathering. Photograph by Coral Ortiz.

The three cities gave drivers different vantage points. New York had supervised testing but no adopted commercial pilot. In Atlanta, public Waymo rides through Uber had begun under state law that limits local regulation. San Francisco drivers had lived with years of fare-charging driverless service and efforts to restrain its expansion. Together, these settings let us hear from drivers before commercial service, near its beginning, and after years of operation.[18]

Drivers did not agree about whether robotaxi service should operate. Some opposed it or supported existing restrictions. Some expected human-driven and autonomous service to coexist under limits. Others expected robotaxi service to expand and wanted to use the influence drivers still had to secure protection and a share of the gains. Expecting expansion did not mean supporting it.



Alejandra A. Rosa.
Photograph by Tash Diallo.

Alejandra A. Rosa, a San Francisco driver who also organizes with fellow drivers, was asked what she would tell drivers in a city where robotaxi service had not yet arrived. She urged them to resist its arrival and speak publicly: “Be in the news. Speak with the communities.”[1]

A part-time San Francisco driver said the technology itself was not the problem: “The enemy is not the technology. I got an Apple Watch and I got an iPhone. Right now I have an electric car. It's not my enemy.”[1]

An Atlanta participant conveyed a more urgent warning: “Fight like it's your last day. Fight for your kids, fight for your neighbors, fight for yourself, fight for your job. Because you're not gonna get it back.”[1]

Four priorities recurred across what participating drivers told us:

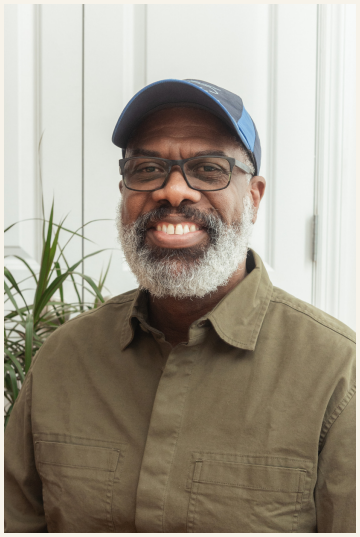
- preserving the ability to earn through driving;
- protection against lower pay and less paid work;
- a benefit recognizing drivers’ past work and the value they helped create; and
- a say in the protection and benefits intended for drivers.[3]

Participating drivers introduced some policy ideas and evaluated others that the project presented, including ways to preserve paid work, limit robotaxi service, and share in possible gains.[19] Their four recurring priorities informed the report’s options for preserving adequately paid human-driven work, its two proposed worker requirements, and its proposed roles for drivers. Participating drivers did not collectively endorse robotaxi service or the report’s recommendations.

The project team is responsible for the synthesis and recommendations.



Liakat Ali
New York driver



Shaun Beckles
New York driver



Jose Gomez
New York driver



Asad Iqbal
New York driver



Dachuan Nie
New York driver



Muneeb Rehman
New York driver

New York drivers who participated in the project, listed alphabetically by surname. Photographs by Coral Ortiz.

One New York City driver connected the question of participation to work drivers had already contributed: “But we've put a lot of time and effort into this industry. We have stake in this. Are we going to have the option to be a part of this change and help innovate the industry as it changes towards self-driving if and when that does occur?”[1]

Drivers helped build and continue to sustain the app-based passenger market that robotaxi companies now seek to serve. Uber described how a larger driver network made more rides available and shortened passengers' waits.[4] Drivers' contribution is one reason the report recommends a separate additional benefit for drivers who qualify through verified past work. It is also why drivers should have a real role in deciding what that benefit provides and how it is shared.[4, 5, 20]

What Drivers Said About Cash

Cash mattered in these conversations, but it did not emerge as the single answer. Survey respondents could select up to two forms of support. Of 36 respondents, 20 selected driver ownership or a share of autonomous-service revenue, 14 selected a one-time payment, eight selected temporary monthly payments, and four selected training and help finding new work.[21] Asked separately what a proposed temporary monthly payment felt like, nine selected charity, nine severance, six transition support, five recognition of something earned, and seven were unsure.[22]

The Atlanta discussion captured the distinction. One participant said, "Some of us don't want free money. We just want to know that we're valued." The discussion also included the view that a basic income could help but would not be enough: "Some of us might be happy to … get the basic income … but we want more. We want to be known that we're valued."[1]

Cash can serve two different purposes in the report's recommendations. A cash payment may protect a driver against lost work or income. Cash may also be one option for the separate additional benefit. The two uses should remain separate in funding and accounting. The evidence does not establish cash—or any other single form—as drivers' collective preference. Drivers also spoke about continued work, ownership or revenue sharing, retirement, security, recognition, dignity, and voice. Drivers eligible for the additional benefit should choose or approve what it provides and how it is shared.

Asked what they would tell company leaders, an Atlanta participant said, "Just give us empathy, give us a voice, give us dignity."[1]

Atlanta participants discussed contacting elected officials, circulating petitions, learning from New York driver protests, and finding ways to reach and organize other drivers. Those accounts informed the report's recommendation that participation be paid, accessible, multilingual, and free from company control. They also show why drivers' role should extend to shaping and evaluating the complete proposal, rather than begin only after the rules are set.[23]

What the Evidence Can and Cannot Show

Through September 23, 2026, we identified no rigorous published U.S. study isolating robotaxi service's effects on drivers' earnings, trips, or hours.[24] Gridwise found mixed trends from Q4 2024 to Q4 2025: trips per hour fell in all five markets with robotaxi activity and nationwide, while hourly gross pay excluding tips rose in two of the five markets and fell in three. The comparisons do not show whether robotaxis caused those changes.[25] The evidence reviewed for this report does not establish whether or how much robotaxis have changed drivers' work and income. The testimony in this report describes participating drivers' work and concerns; it does not measure effects across the workforce.

Waiting for measured robotaxi-related losses could leave drivers unprotected while they lose work or income. Public officials should therefore adopt enforceable rules before authorizing service, renewing an authorization, or permitting expansion. The rules should explain how officials will use independent findings to decide whether to change company obligations, the payments and benefits available to drivers, the amount of robotaxi service allowed, or the conditions under which it may operate.

What Public Rules Should Require

Two Requirements for Protecting Drivers

For loss protection, independent analysts should estimate total net robotaxi-related loss across all covered drivers. The estimate should include lost paid work and income, plus any other losses the local proposal expressly covers, after accounting for changes that would have happened anyway. When estimating lost earnings, analysts should use driver pay after work expenses. Individual drivers should not have to trace each lost trip or dollar to robotaxis. Protection across the covered workforce does not guarantee that every driver will keep the same hours or income. Local rules decide who receives payments and how they are divided.

The additional benefit is separate from loss protection and cannot substitute for it. Working fewer hours because paid work disappeared differs from gaining the security to choose less work. A local proposal should explain the benefit's expected value or practical use, how many eligible drivers are likely to receive or use it, when it begins and ends, and important conditions or risks. It should distinguish enforceable rights from potential future gains. Drivers eligible for the benefit should choose or approve what it provides and how it is shared.

> In a later follow-up, Dachuan, a New York driver who took part in the discussion, said, “Technology is meant to serve humans, not replace humans.”[1]

Training or robotaxi-related jobs may help drivers who obtain suitable work, but the evidence reviewed for this report does not establish that these options will restore drivers’ income and flexibility.[13, 12] Hector Castellanos, a San Francisco driver and organizer, said, “We’re asking for jobs, right? … We don’t want to be sitting on the chair and, you know, getting money. We want to keep working.”[1]

An unguaranteed job or training offer cannot replace either requirement. A suitable-work option may count toward the additional benefit only if each driver may choose it freely. An enforceable agreement must guarantee a fair opportunity to obtain the job and specify its pay, benefits, schedule, location, training, retention protections, and remedies.

Pay earned by doing the job is not itself the additional benefit. Only an enforceable opportunity to obtain the job, or a benefit beyond the job's normal pay and benefits, may count. Training, job offers, and projected earnings from other work should not reduce company funding or a driver's loss-protection payment.
No driver should have to leave driving, retire, retrain, or accept another job to receive loss protection. Displaced workers can face lasting earnings losses.[26]

These recommendations do not resolve claims about worker classification, bargaining, pay, benefits, or other employment rights. Fair pay and enforceable rights in human-driven work remain necessary whether or not robotaxis operate.[27] Public officials should not judge a robotaxi policy successful merely because it preserves today's poor pay and long waits.

Before public officials authorize service, renew an authorization, or permit expansion, they should require robotaxi companies to meet two enforceable funding requirements: one sufficient to cover the best-supported estimate of driver losses, and a separate requirement for the additional benefit. Local rules should state how long companies must fund loss protection across the workforce, how long each driver may receive payments, and how long the additional benefit lasts.

If workforce-wide robotaxi-related loss continues after an individual driver's payments end, companies must keep covering the remaining loss. The loss-protection obligation may fall only to the extent independent analysis finds that the loss has fallen. If secured money runs short, loss protection is paid first and the additional benefit remains required.

Who Is Covered and Who Decides

A complete local proposal should define four groups that may overlap:

- **Covered driver workforce:** the drivers included in the estimate of total robotaxi-related losses and the corresponding company-funding requirement.
- **Drivers eligible for loss protection:** covered drivers who receive payments under a published formula.

- **Drivers eligible for the additional benefit:** drivers who qualify through verified work completed before a published cutoff.
- **Affected drivers:** the locally defined drivers whose work or livelihood the proposal may change.

A current driver may belong to all four groups. A person who begins driving later may be affected without qualifying for the additional benefit.

The proposal should also keep two driver decisions separate. Affected drivers shape the loss-protection rules, help develop and evaluate the complete proposal, and decide whether to support it through an independent process using rules published in advance. Drivers eligible for the additional benefit select or approve the benefit and how it is divided. Public officials make a different decision: whether service is lawful and should be authorized.

Both driver decisions require paid, accessible, multilingual participation free from company control. Rules must explain how representatives are chosen and held accountable. Nonparticipation is not support. If a proposal changes after drivers evaluate it and the change could affect their support, its proponents should return the revised proposal to affected drivers. If a change affects the additional benefit or how it is divided, proponents should also return the revised proposal to drivers eligible for that benefit. Driver support does not authorize service or waive existing rights, company duties, or public responsibilities.[28]

A local proposal should identify a budget and funding source for paid driver time, language and access support, and independent advice. It should distinguish the costs of developing the proposal from participation costs after adoption. Providing funding should not give a company or other funder control over driver participation or decisions. These costs should not reduce funding counted toward loss protection or the additional benefit.[28]

Businesses subject to the proposal should not retaliate against drivers for participating in driver decisions, supporting or opposing the proposal, organizing around those decisions, seeking loss protection or the additional benefit, correcting records, or using the appeals process. Protection should cover loss of access to driving work as well as exclusion from participation or benefits. Local legal review should identify enforceable

protections and remedies, with an independent process to distinguish retaliation from justified action on unrelated conduct or safety grounds.[28]

What Every Local Proposal Must Address

The five policy areas below describe what a complete local proposal must contain:

1. **Evidence about drivers' work and income:** Companies provide records for independent analysis using published methods and privacy protections. The rules state how officials will use new findings to determine whether required company funding, the support available to drivers, or the amount or conditions of robotaxi service permitted should change. Officials should not treat missing, withheld, or inadequate company data as evidence of no harm or as permission to expand service.

2. **Funding:** Companies secure funding for both worker requirements before public officials authorize service, renew an authorization, or permit expansion. The proposal identifies which businesses must provide records, make payments, and guarantee protections, including trip platforms that control relevant trips, revenue, or records. Corporate structure should not let a business avoid its assigned duties. If Uber, Lyft, or another platform participates in robotaxi service, it should meet the duties assigned to it even when another company owns the vehicles. Public officials should publish the required funding amounts, payment methods, correction deadlines, and the rules that apply if funding falls short.

3. **Service rules:** Depending on local law, officials may preserve restrictions, decline authorization, require a defined share of passenger service to remain human-driven, or limit vehicles, trips, hours, service areas, or expansion. Renewal and expansion are not automatic.

4. **Loss protection and the additional benefit:** Required company funding for loss protection is based on losses across all covered drivers. If evidence shows serious losses concentrated in a particular group, type of driving work, or location, independent analysts should examine them and officials should decide what protection is needed before further expansion.[29]

5. **Coverage, driver decisions, and administration:** The proposal defines who qualifies, how payments and benefits are divided, how drivers make decisions, how

records and personal information are protected, how company control is prevented, and what must be reported to the public. Public officials or qualified administrators independent of the companies should administer records and payments. Drivers should receive notice and be able to inspect and correct records used for eligibility or payments. An appeals body independent of the companies and the initial decision-maker should decide appeals of denied corrections and eligibility or payment decisions under published rules.

Four Questions Before Authorization, Renewal, or Expansion

Before authorizing service, renewing an authorization, or permitting expansion, public officials should answer four questions:

1. **Legal authority:** Do the relevant public bodies have the legal power and practical ability to enact, administer, and enforce the proposal, including its company-funding requirements? If state law prevents a city from adopting the worker requirements, state lawmakers may need to establish those requirements statewide or give local governments authority to adopt them.

2. **Financial feasibility:** Does independent review find that, at the proposed fare, amount of service, and service design, the companies responsible for robotaxi service can finance both worker requirements and every other requirement the proposal places on them? The review should examine whether companies would pass costs to riders and how that could affect fares, demand, and drivers' work. Separately, does every other public requirement that requires funding have an adequate funding source?

   Independent analysts should estimate total net robotaxi-related losses across covered drivers and the cost of the proposed additional benefit for eligible drivers. They should also estimate the costs of administration, independent analysis, and enforcement needed to deliver these worker requirements. Companies seeking robotaxi revenue should provide the records independent analysts need to estimate drivers' losses. Public officials should use those estimates to set and enforce the companies' loss-protection funding requirement.

The project's illustrative model estimates what selected charges on robotaxi fares could raise before costs. It does not establish driver losses, total program costs, company profitability, or local feasibility.[30]

3 **Driver decisions:** Through paid, accessible, multilingual participation free from company control and under rules published in advance, did affected drivers support the complete proposal, and did drivers eligible for the additional benefit select or approve the benefit and how it is divided?

4 **Other public requirements:** Does the proposal meet applicable safety, accessibility, transportation, privacy, consumer-protection, civil-rights, environmental, and other public requirements?

Other public requirements should account for the assistance some passengers receive from human drivers. Joseph Augusto, a San Francisco driver and organizer, described helping a frail passenger with a cane into his car: "You can't completely replace what I do."[1]

Where law permits, public officials should not authorize service, renew an authorization, or permit expansion unless they can answer yes to all four questions; they may still decline authorization. Possible responses include more company funding, less service, continued restrictions, or a revised proposal. Public money may add support or pay for a separate public purpose, but it should not reduce required company funding.

Other Approaches and What Comes Next

The Full Report also examines other ways to respond. Public officials may preserve existing restrictions or decline to authorize service. A local proposal may preserve part of the human-driven market or link robotaxi growth to verified reductions in human driving. Other options include license-and-royalty arrangements, converting existing vehicle licenses into continuing income, debt relief, a fund that invests transition revenue before making payments, pooled driver ownership, trusts that hold company shares for workers, collective bargaining, and cooperatives.[31] The project did not adopt any submitted proposal in full. Inclusion does not imply endorsement. Affected drivers should help decide which approaches a local process develops.

When app-based rideshare transformed New York's passenger market, it did not include a fair transition plan for many taxi drivers and owner-drivers whose livelihoods and savings were tied to the system being disrupted. Rideshare contributed to falling taxi revenue and medallion values; risky lending and weak oversight left many owners with unsustainable debt; and the city later created debt-relief programs.[32]

There is precedent for a different kind of transition. When mechanization and containerization transformed the docks, longshore workers did not simply receive retraining after their jobs disappeared. They bargained over the terms of technological change itself, securing arrangements that supported wages, retirement, health coverage, and economic security. They did not prevent innovation. They insisted that progress include them.[33]

A Process New York City Could Use

New York City's September 15, 2026, *Vision Zero Reimagined* plan calls for state and federal legislation enabling local oversight of autonomous vehicles and says the City will support strong worker protections. It assigns the legislative effort to the Vision Zero Task Force, including the Department of Transportation and the Taxi and Limousine Commission, but does not say which workers would be covered or what the protections would require.[34]

> A New York driver with fourteen years of experience said, "They're here already, but if they let them loose on New York City, that's the nail in the coffin for the drivers, you know."[1]

If affected drivers and their organizations want to participate, a New York effort could use those unresolved questions to evaluate possible approaches, including opposition to service, preservation of existing restrictions, negotiated conditions, or development of one complete local proposal for public officials to consider. Any complete proposal would have to identify what authority city and state officials already have and what legislative, regulatory, or other official action would be needed to adopt and enforce its requirements. It would require robotaxi companies to fund both worker requirements and every other requirement assigned to them. It would also identify adequate funding sources for any remaining public requirements that require funding.

Claims of public benefit require evidence. Whether robotaxi service begins or expands is not the measure of success.

This report and its research method provide a starting point, not local legal advice or proof that a local proposal is financially feasible. Serious local work requires willing partners, paid and accessible driver participation, local legal and financial analysis, drafting and review, and dedicated resources. Technologies, laws, workforces, and remedies differ across sectors. Working people in each sector should help decide what would protect or improve their lives and how they should share in automation's gains.

Conclusion

Where applicable law gives public officials authority, whether commercial robotaxi service may operate—and under what conditions—is a public decision, not a force of nature. Passenger-driving jobs still exist, and there is still time to put protections in place before harm becomes harder to prevent.

Rideshare drivers helped build and still sustain the app-based passenger market robotaxi companies seek to serve.[3, 4, 5] Thirty-three of the 36 drivers we surveyed said driving was their only or main income. Asked how quickly they could find similar income, 23 did not think they could and 10 more expected it would take more than six months.[16] The evidence cannot yet say how much robotaxis have changed drivers' work, and it may not be able to say so until harm has already occurred. That uncertainty is a reason to put protections in place first.

> A driver in New York City said, "But what I want to highlight is that before taking someone's livelihood, give them something."[1]

We recommend that public officials adopt enforceable rules requiring robotaxi companies to fund protection against total net robotaxi-related losses across covered drivers and a separate, meaningful additional benefit for drivers who qualify through verified past work. Loss protection responds to harm; the additional benefit recognizes the value drivers helped create. Where law permits, public officials should not authorize service, renew an authorization, or permit expansion unless they can answer yes to the questions above about legal authority, financial feasibility, both driver decisions, and other public requirements. Even then, officials may decline authorization.

Evidence alone does not secure the funding needed to protect drivers against losses. Funding without service limits may let expansion outpace the evidence needed to show whether the funding remains sufficient. Limits without loss protection leave losses already incurred uncompensated.
Public rules should state how officials will use new evidence to decide whether required funding or the amount or conditions of permitted service should change.

Participating drivers did not speak with one voice. Some asked that robotaxi service not come at all; others asked for limits, study before expansion, or a share of the gains. Across those differences, recurring priorities were to keep earning, protect pay and work, be recognized for what drivers helped build, and help decide what comes next.[3]

> Success is not measured by whether robotaxis arrive. It is measured by whether the people who helped build this market are protected and share in what comes next.

> In the Atlanta discussion, one participant told the project, “Just do not give up on us.”[1]



Drivers and project collaborators at the May 13, 2026, New York gathering. Photograph by Coral Ortiz.

About the Reports

Get in Touch

We welcome feedback on this report and conversations about using it in your community, contributing expertise, or funding further work with drivers. Email us at hello@workersfirst.ai.

How We Developed the Policy Recommendations

The Full Report combines driver testimony, surveys, drivers' later evaluation of policy ideas, published research, an illustrative model, submitted proposals, advisory review, and outside consultation. The project team developed the report's structure and policy recommendations and remains responsible for them.

We selected twelve submitted proposals for further development; selection did not mean adoption. Participating advisory-panel members reviewed different subsets and versions of unfinished proposals and other policy ideas at different stages; they were not required to review every item. Drivers later evaluated policy ideas, not every submitted proposal. The panel did not review the final report as a panel. Neither panel service nor outside consultation implied endorsement. The Full Report credits ideas, explains material changes, compares alternatives, and provides the complete methods and source record.

Leadership, Support, and Production Credits

Workers First AI was led by Andy Stern, Rayan Semery-Palumbo, and Tash Diallo. Rayan Semery-Palumbo is the Full Report's primary author; Tash Diallo led driver engagement.

Omidyar Network provided funding for the project. Economic Security Project collaborated on the work, hosted Andy Stern and Rayan Semery-Palumbo as fellows, and contributed funding that supported Rayan Semery-Palumbo's fellowship. Assets Under Movement (formerly Amalgamated Foundation) provided fiscal sponsorship. These institutional roles do not imply endorsement of the report's findings or recommendations.

Coral Ortiz photographed the May 13 New York driver gathering.

Tash Diallo photographed Alejandra A. Rosa in San Francisco.

Dakarai Kongela filmed the New York driver gathering.

Paul Ferguson and Susan Robinson filmed the Atlanta driver gathering.

The Full Report contains fuller advisor profiles and complete participant, proposal-contributor, and production credits.

All three project leaders used Claude and Codex during the project. Project leaders reviewed and revised the report and are responsible for its final substantive judgments and recommendations.

Selected Notes

1. Workers First AI Project, New York City recorded group discussion, May 12, 2026, at 57:31–58:33, 63:36–63:50, 89:19–89:36, 97:14–99:26, and 108:48–109:21; seven New York City driver interviews, at 4:25–4:50, 6:41–6:59, 10:57–11:12, 13:43–14:36, 14:09–14:28, 15:31–16:19, and 25:14–25:26; six San Francisco driver interviews, at 4:45–4:55, 8:34–8:54, 10:40–11:03, 16:26–16:52, 18:27–18:45, and 29:38–29:45; Atlanta recorded group discussion, May 29, 2026, at 36:42–37:36, 50:05–50:15, 51:21–51:35, 61:27–61:31, and 72:45–74:09; unpublished project archive. Jose's hardship passage uses the public rendering Rayan Semery-Palumbo expressly settled; the continuous transcript at 58:00–58:12 contains oral connective and intensifier words omitted from that rendering. Ellipses in the Atlanta basic-income passage omit transcript disfluency and repetition without substituting words. Asad Iqbal's established public rendering removes one repeated oral phrase as a confirmed stutter trim. Dachuan Nie's quotation comes from a September 16, 2026, follow-up; the exact words were reported by project co-lead Rayan Semery-Palumbo, not transcribed from the May 12 recording. Some New York and San Francisco participants are identified by name in the text; other drivers remain unnamed. The quotations illustrate individual views; they are not representative estimates or endorsements of the report.

2. Waymo, “Cities, freeways, airports: How we've built a scalable autonomous driver,” May 18, 2022, https://waymo.com/blog/2022/05/howwevebuiltascalableautonomousdriver/, section “Using Machine Learning to Build a Generalizable System”; National Institute of Standards and Technology, “Artificial Intelligence,” CSRC Glossary, https://csrc.nist.gov/glossary/term/artificial_intelligence (accessed October 10, 2026). Waymo describes machine-learning models used in perception, behavior prediction, and motion planning and explains that trained models form part of a larger system. NIST's definitions include machine learning, perception, planning, predictions and decisions. The report does not claim identical company architectures or that every component of an automated driving system is AI.

3. Workers First AI Project, driver interview, survey, and group-discussion records, 2026. The synthesis describes recurring priorities among participating drivers; it is not a representative estimate or an endorsement of robotaxi service or every recommendation.

4. Uber Technologies, Inc., *Registration Statement (Form S-1)*, April 11, 2019, https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/1543151/000119312519103850/d647752ds1.htm; Lyft, Inc., *2024 Form 10-K*, February 14, 2025, https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/1759509/000175950925000025/lyft-20241231.htm. Uber described drivers as part of the network that produced more rides and shorter waits as it grew. Lyft stated that its marketplace connects drivers and riders, that substantially all its revenue came from that marketplace, and that more accepted rider leads increased rides and revenue. The filings support the factual point that drivers' participation helped build and sustain the app-based passenger market. The conclusion that past contribution supports an additional benefit is the project team's policy judgment.

5. James A. Parrott, *Rideshare AVs: A Model for Sharing the Fruits of New Technology with Workers*, March 2026 submission, and *License Royalty and Minimum Compensation*, April 2026 advisor-packet version, unpublished project archive. The proposal argues that drivers helped build the market and should share in the gains while

minimum compensation continues. The report's final rationale is a project synthesis.

6. National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, "Automated Vehicle Safety," https://www.nhtsa.gov/vehicle-safety/automated-vehicle-safety (accessed October 10, 2026), sections "Safety" and "Mobility." NHTSA describes potential safety and mobility benefits as automated driving systems mature. This supports a statement of possible benefits, not a claim that every current robotaxi service is safer than human-driven service or accessible to every rider.

7. American Council of the Blind, "Accessing Autonomous Vehicles," June 2, 2025, updated March 23, 2026; Consortium for Constituents with Disabilities Transportation Task Force, comments to the U.S. Department of Transportation, DOT-OST-2024-0049, August 1, 2024; U.S. Department of Transportation, "Inclusive Design Challenge," accessed August 3, 2026, https://www.transportation.gov/accessibility/inclusivedesign.

8. Alphabet Inc., *2025 Form 10-K*, February 5, 2026, https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/1652044/000165204426000018/goog-20251231.htm; Amazon, "Amazon Subsidiary Zoox Reveals First Look at Autonomous Robotaxi," accessed August 26, 2026, https://www.aboutamazon.com/news/innovation-at-amazon/amazon-subsidiary-zoox-reveals-first-look-at-autonomous-robotaxi; Tesla, *Q4 and FY 2025 Update*, January 28, 2026, 11–12, https://ir.tesla.com/_flysystem/s3/sec/000162828026003837/tsla-20260128-gen.pdf.

9. Workers First AI Project, driver interview and group-discussion records concerning scheduling, caregiving, health, school, and other work, 2026, unpublished project archive; Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, *Report on the Economic Well-Being of U.S. Households in 2024*, "Employment and Gig Work," table 6 (May 2025), https://www.federalreserve.gov/publications/2025-economic-well-being-of-us-households-in-2024-employment-and-gig-work.htm. The project records support the driver-specific examples.

10. Black-car service is a legally defined category of prearranged for-hire service; the exact definition varies by jurisdiction. Each local proposal should state which services it includes.

11. The Workers First AI Project's 2026 recruitment, intake, interview, survey, group-discussion, and project-lead records support this description of the participants and methods. The project's work with drivers focused on people who earned income through Uber, Lyft, or both; participant records also document taxi, black-car, and local car-service experience. The project conducted 26 recorded one-on-one interviews: fifteen in New York City, ten in San Francisco, and one in Atlanta. The project also held recorded group discussions in each city, received 36 unique survey response IDs, and documented additional unrecorded conversations. The recorded San Francisco group discussion is supported by Rayan Semery-Palumbo's dated project-lead identification and confirmation. Individual drivers appear in more than one set of records. Adding the figures together would count those drivers more than once.

12. U.S. Department of Labor, Chief Evaluation Office, *Providing Public Workforce Services to Job Seekers: 30-Month Impact Findings on the WIA Adult and Dislocated Worker Programs* (2017), https://www.dol.gov/agencies/eta/research/publications/providing-public-workforce-services-job-seekers-30-month-impact. A Department of Labor randomized evaluation found WIA-funded intensive services effective. Because the study groups differed only modestly in their use of training, its estimate of training's effect was inconclusive, and the study did not show positive earnings or employment

impacts from WIA-funded training within 30 months. The study evaluated particular WIA programs, not drivers, the report's worker requirements, or whether participants obtained work comparable in income, hours, benefits, schedule, location, or stability.

13. Waymo, "Partnering with TechForce to Support the Workforce behind Fully Autonomous Ride-Hailing," February 19, 2026, https://waymo.com/blog/2026/02/partnering-with-techforce/; Ryan McNamara, Waymo, "Advice, Not Control: The Role of Remote Assistance in Waymo's Operations," February 17, 2026, https://waymo.com/blog/shorts/advice-not-control-the-role-of-remote-assistance/; Leah Kaplan, Lola Nurullaeva, and John Paul Helveston, "Modeling the Operational and Labor Costs of Autonomous Robotaxi Services," *Transport Policy* 159 (2024): 108–19, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tranpol.2024.10.010. These sources identify remaining operational roles and costs; they do not establish how many jobs robotaxi service will create or whether those jobs will replace drivers' income, schedules, locations, or job security.

14. U.S. Census Bureau, 2024 Nonemployer Statistics, "The Gig Picture," released September 29, 2026, https://cdn.www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/visualizations/2026/econ/2024-nes-gig-picture.pdf; "About This Program," https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/nonemployer-statistics/about.html; and "Frequently Asked Questions," questions 1–3, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/nonemployer-statistics/about/faq.html (accessed October 10, 2026). The publication records 1,578,508 individual proprietorships in Taxi and Limousine Service, NAICS 4853, including ride-hailing/ridesharing. Nonemployer businesses have no paid employees, are subject to federal income tax, and generally have annual receipts of at least $1,000. Their work can provide a principal or secondary source of income. Each distinct business income-tax return is counted as a business; these records are not a de-duplicated count of people and do not encompass all passenger-service employment. Couriers and messengers are reported separately and are not included in this figure.

15. New York City Taxi and Limousine Commission, *2025 Annual Report*, January 2026, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/tlc/downloads/pdf/annual_report_2025.pdf, PDF page 7, "By the Numbers: Calendar Year 2025"; James A. Parrott, *Revised Expense Model for the NYC Taxi and Limousine Commission's High-Volume For-Hire Vehicle Minimum Pay Standard*, December 2024, https://home4.nyc.gov/assets/tlc/downloads/pdf/driver_expense_report.pdf, section 3 and Exhibit 5, PDF pages 12–13. The 179,670 figure covers active taxi/FHV driver licenses as of December 31, 2025, not confirmed working drivers, Uber/Lyft-only drivers, or licenses for vehicles, paratransit or commuter vans. The voluntary survey was emailed to 89,000 drivers with at least 100 trips between November 2023 and May 2024 and received 6,757 responses. Demographic-item totals differ: 3,357 gender responses, 3,337 country-of-birth responses and 3,305 race/ethnicity responses. The report discusses higher-hour drivers' overrepresentation. These local survey findings are not a national profile or this project's participant demographics.

16. Workers First AI Project, Driver Survey, 36 responses, 2026, unpublished project archive. Twenty-eight respondents selected "It is my only income" and five selected "It is my main income." In response to a question about how quickly they could find similar income if they had to stop driving, 23 chose "I do not think I could" and ten chose "More than 6 months." Responses were selections from listed choices and describe participants only.

17. Workers First AI Project, Driver Survey, 36 responses (2026), unpublished project

archive. Thirty-one selected “More than 5 years” for rideshare-app driving tenure; 26 selected “More than 40 hours” for approximate weekly driving hours; and 27 answered yes to driving for more than one app. All three questions have 36 nonblank responses. Hours and experience are self-reported; the results do not measure paid or engaged hours, simultaneous app use or national prevalence.

18. Workers First AI Project, recruitment, interview, survey, and recorded group-discussion records, 2026; California Department of Motor Vehicles, “Autonomous Vehicle Testing Permit Holders,” accessed September 15, 2026, https://www.dmv.ca.gov/portal/vehicle-industry-services/autonomous-vehicles/autonomous-vehicle-testing-permit-holders/; California Public Utilities Commission, “Autonomous Vehicle Program Permits Issued,” accessed September 15, 2026, https://www.cpuc.ca.gov/regulatory-services/licensing/transportation-licensing-and-analysis-branch/autonomous-vehicle-programs/autonomous-vehicle-program-permits-issued; California Public Utilities Commission, “CPUC Approves Permits for Cruise and Waymo to Charge Fares for Passenger Service in San Francisco,” August 10, 2023; San Francisco City Attorney, “San Francisco Seeks Reprieve from CPUC Decision Allowing Unfettered Autonomous Vehicle Expansion,” August 11, 2023; Uber, “Atlanta: The Future Is Here with Waymo and Uber,” June 24, 2025; Georgia Senate Bill 219, enacted 2017, O.C.G.A. § 40-8-11; New York City Department of Transportation, “Autonomous Vehicles in New York City,” accessed September 23, 2026; New York State Senate, FY 2027 enacted transportation-budget summary, May 28, 2026. The fieldwork was not representative.

19. Workers First AI Project, driver interview, survey, and group-discussion records concerning service limits, continued work, payments, ownership, and revenue sharing, 2026, unpublished project archive. Participating drivers proposed or evaluated different options; this note does not imply consensus or endorsement of robotaxi service or the report's recommendations.

20. Workers First AI Project, August 13, 2026, co-lead discussion and decision record, unpublished project archive; Tash Diallo, *Mobility Transition & Resilience Fund*; Laura Beltrán Figueroa, *Autonomous Vehicle Workforce Transition Assessment Act*; Predistribution Initiative (PDI), *Driver Equity Transition Stakes (DETS): Turning Autonomous Vehicle Deployment Permits into Worker Ownership* and advisory supplement; and Oyindamola Ijewere, *Retraining and an Employee Ownership Trust*, proposals submitted to the Workers First AI Project, 2026, unpublished project archive; Rayan Semery-Palumbo, *Recovering Wages and Wealth: What We Deserve in the Age of AI* (Economic Security Project, May 5, 2026), https://economicsecurityproject.org/resource/recovering-wages-and-wealth/; and *Approaching Structural Equality: Reshaping American Meritocracy towards Greater Fairness for Essential Workers* (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2025), https://doi.org/10.5287/ora-vmn0dongp. Diallo and Beltrán Figueroa developed distinct elements for stabilizing income and supporting workers. PDI, Ijewere, and Semery-Palumbo's prior work separately contribute to the rationale for recognizing drivers' past contribution. The project team developed the two worker requirements, the funding timing and priority, and the test that the benefit should improve drivers' security, opportunity, or freedom over their time. Citing a source does not imply endorsement.

21. Workers First AI Project, Driver Survey, 36 responses (2026), unpublished project archive. Respondents could select up to two answers; 20 selected driver ownership or a share of autonomous-service revenue, 14 selected a one-time payment, eight selected temporary monthly payments, and four selected training and help finding new work.

22. Workers First AI Project, Driver Survey, 36 responses (2026), unpublished project archive. The survey included two descriptions of a proposed temporary monthly payment and instructed that each driver see one before answering what "this idea" felt like. The exported survey data do not identify which description each respondent saw, so these responses do not show whether the wording changed respondents' answers. Nine respondents selected charity, nine selected severance, six selected transition support, five selected recognition of something earned, and seven were unsure.

23. Workers First AI Project, Atlanta recorded group discussion, May 29, 2026, 24:07–25:00, 39:58–41:18, 57:51–58:03, and 60:13–61:01, unpublished project archive. The passages support the participants' discussion of finding others, contacting officials, petitions, New York driver protests, and unequal platform reach. The recommendations for paid, accessible participation and organizing free from company control are the project team's synthesis, not a claim that participants endorsed the final design.

24. Workers First AI Project, literature and public-record review updated through September 23, 2026, documented in the project source archive. The earlier foundation for the review appears in *Research Foundation: The Status and Future of Autonomous Vehicles and Rideshare Driving* (January 2026).

25. Gridwise Analytics, *Autonomous Vehicles Impact Report 2026: How Rideshare Activity and Earnings Are Shifting in AV-Active Markets* (2026), 13, 17, https://7021468.fs1.hubspotusercontent-na1.net/hubfs/7021468/2026%20AV%20Impact%20Report.pdf. Source update: Gridwise Analytics, *Q2 2026 AV Impact Report*, online summary, https://gridwise.io/analytics/2026-av-impact-report, reviewed October 23, 2026. The later summary covers Q2 2024–Q2 2026 and also reports gains, including higher quarterly pay in San Francisco. Both analyses compare market trends without isolating robotaxis' effects. The later full PDF was not reviewed; the broader literature-review cutoff remains September 23, 2026.

26. Louis S. Jacobson, Robert J. LaLonde, and Daniel G. Sullivan, "Earnings Losses of Displaced Workers," *American Economic Review* 83, no. 4 (1993): 685–709; Juan Pablo Rud, Michael Simmons, Gerhard Toews, and Fernando Aragón, "Job Displacement Costs of Phasing Out Coal," *Journal of Public Economics* 236 (2024): 105167, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2024.105167; U.S. Department of Labor, Chief Evaluation Office, *Providing Public Workforce Services to Job Seekers: 30-Month Impact Findings on the WIA Adult and Dislocated Worker Programs* (2017), https://www.dol.gov/agencies/eta/research/publications/providing-public-workforce-services-job-seekers-30-month-impact. The Department of Labor's randomized evaluation found intensive services effective; its evidence on training was inconclusive and did not show positive impacts within 30 months. The evidence supports treating training as a possible option rather than a substitute for loss protection or a guaranteed suitable job.

27. James A. Parrott, *Rideshare AVs: A Model for Sharing the Fruits of New Technology with Workers*, proposal submitted to the Workers First AI Project, March 4, 2026, unpublished project archive. The proposal argues that minimum-compensation standards for human drivers should continue alongside phased robotaxi entry. The report's broader worker-protection approach is the project team's synthesis.

28. Workers First AI Project, August 13, 2026, co-lead discussion record, and September 7–14, 2026, internal-review and policy-decision records, unpublished project archive. The August 13 discussion supports separate affected-driver and

additional-benefit decisions, representative and multilingual participation, limits on which decisions drivers make, administration by qualified independent professionals, a rule that does not require unanimous support, and duties public officials must keep. The August 13 discussion did not settle one nationwide group of drivers whose support would be measured, a participation or support threshold, a representative body, the process when officials cannot adopt a benefit decision, or rules for conflicts, appeals, or reporting. The later requirements that both driver decisions succeed, eligible drivers select or approve the benefit in practice, affected drivers shape loss-protection rules, companies cannot manufacture or control driver support, proposals changed in an important way return to the relevant driver process, an independent body hears appeals, and public reporting is required are project policy judgments accepted by Rayan Semery-Palumbo after internal review. The explicit participation-budget requirement is a further project judgment accepted by Rayan Semery-Palumbo during the October 2026 finishing review. The express protection against retaliation is a further project judgment accepted by Rayan Semery-Palumbo during the October 2026 finishing review. The records do not establish that participating drivers, advisors, proposal contributors, or the co-leads collectively endorsed the complete combined rule.

29. Workers First AI Project, August 13, 2026, co-lead discussion record, and September 7–23, 2026, internal-review and policy-decision records, unpublished project archive. The August 13 discussion distinguished how much companies must fund for all drivers included in the proposal's loss estimate from how that money is divided among individual drivers but did not settle how to address serious losses concentrated in a particular group, type of driving work, or location. The present requirements for reviewing those concentrated losses and protecting company funding and individual payments against reductions based on job offers or projected earnings are later project judgments accepted by Rayan Semery-Palumbo. The rules limiting borrowing costs and vehicle or license losses to harms that robotaxi service caused or worsened, and preventing overlap among measures of earnings, available paid work, borrowing costs, and vehicle or license value, are also later project judgments accepted after a September 10 external review and a September 23 internal financial-logic review raised the issues. These records do not establish endorsement of the combined rule by participating drivers, advisors, proposal contributors, the co-leads collectively, or the reviewing institution.

30. Workers First AI Project, *Workers First AI—Driver Support Fund Model*, version 1.2 (2026), unpublished project workbook; Leah Kaplan, Lola Nurullaeva, and John Paul Helveston, "Modeling the Operational and Labor Costs of Autonomous Robotaxi Services," *Transport Policy* 159 (2024): 108–19, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tranpol.2024.10.010. The project workbook illustrates the total revenue a charge on robotaxi fares could raise before costs. The project workbook does not estimate complete program costs, the total benefits the program would owe, company costs or profit, or financial feasibility. Kaplan, Nurullaeva, and Helveston model day-to-day operating costs and upfront investments under stated assumptions; they do not report any company's current costs or include this report's complete worker and public requirements.

31. See the accompanying Full Report's "Other Approaches Worth Considering" section for named contributor credits, proposal-specific source notes, project-added protections, and tradeoffs.

32. New York City Council, *Report of the Taxicab Medallion Sale Prices Task Force*, January 31, 2020, https://council.nyc.gov/data/taxis/; New

York City Taxi and Limousine Commission, "Taxi Medallion Owner Relief Program," accessed August 26, 2026, https://www.nyc.gov/site/tlc/about/taxi-medallion-owner-relief-program.page; Black Car Fund, "History," accessed August 26, 2026, https://www.nybcf.org/history. The City Council reported that the growth of app-based rideshare contributed to falling taxi revenue and lower values for taxi medallions, the transferable city-issued rights attached to vehicles and required for New York City street-hail taxi service, while risky lending and weak oversight left many owners with unsustainable debt. The relief program documents the later public response; the Black Car Fund documents the distinct history and benefits structure of black-car service. The report's characterization of the earlier shift as a transition that failed to protect many taxi workers is the project team's judgment.

33. *Volkswagenwerk Aktiengesellschaft v. Federal Maritime Commission*, 390 U.S. 261, 303–05 (1968); U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Wage Chronology: Pacific Longshore Industry, 1934–70*, Bulletin no. 1568 (1968); United States Maritime Alliance and International Longshoremen's Association, 2024–2030 Master Contract, art. XII, §§ 1 and 3; Music Performance Trust Fund, "Our Story," https://musicpf.org/, and "75th Anniversary Supplement," https://musicpf.org/about/75th-anniversary-booklet/, accessed August 3, 2026; U.S. Copyright Office, *Performance Rights in Sound Recordings* (1978), https://www.copyright.gov/reports/performance-rights-sound-recordings.pdf; AFL-CIO, "John L. Lewis"; 26 U.S.C. §§ 4121 and 9501; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Impact of Automation: A Collection of 20 Articles About Technological Change*, Bulletin no. 1287 (1960), 62–64. These sources document distinct historical arrangements; they do not establish that one design fits rideshare drivers.

34. New York City, *Vision Zero Reimagined: A New Action Plan for Road Safety* (released September 15, 2026), 22, 69, 96, https://www.nyc.gov/assets/visionzero/downloads/pdf/Vision-Zero-Reimagined-2026.pdf.