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Grabbing the Paycheck:

A Glimpse into the Modern Economic Livelihoods of Xe Máy Grab Drivers in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam

Maddie Davis

School for International Training (SIT)

Vietnam: Culture, Social Change, and Development
Independent Study Project
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Abstract

Woven into the very fabric of urban life in Ho Chi Minh City Vietnam is commuting via motorcycle (Vietnamese: xe máy). The versatility of xe máy can be witnessed in the surge of rush hour traffic, the shipment of a great variety and quantity of goods, and the crunch of people in order to get the whole family atop a single bike. Due to xe máy as the primary way much of the population gets around, Ho Chi Minh City's transportation infrastructure and traffic patterns are highly conducive to this method of transit. Resulting from these favorable conditions, a multitude of ride-hailing digital applications have emerged, the most dominant of Ho Chi Minh City's market being Grab Holdings Inc. This study aims to reveal the inner workings of Grab's labor force through a qualitative and quantitative investigation of the factors which influence individuals to drive a motorcycle for the company, the economic sustainability of the profession, and the overall wellbeing of Grab drivers across the city. Using a multimethod approach of survey research, interviews, participant observation, and photography, the daily lives of Grab's operators were able to be recognized and cataloged. This glimpse into driver livelihoods reveals the demanding and sometimes dangerous nature of their work, yet also brings to light a compelling degree of autonomy afforded by their designation as independent contractors.

Keywords: gig economy, labor, transportation, Vietnam, motorcycle

Table of Contents

1	ntroduction
1.	nuoducuon

2. Literature Review				
	2.1.	The Gig Economy		
	2.2.	Xe Máy Culture in Vietnam		
3.	Metho	odology	4	
	3.1.	Surveys		
	3.2.	Interviews		
	3.3.	Participant Observation		
	3.4.	Photography		
4.	Findin	gs	8	
	4.1.	Statistical Trends		
	4.2.	Ethnographic Evidence		
	4.3.	Photo Gallery		
5.	Analys	sis and Discussion	3	
	5.1.	Autonomy		
	5.2.	Challenges		
6.	Limita	tions and Positionality	38	
7.	Conclusion			
8.	Bibliography			
9.	Apper	ndix	5	
List	of F	igures and Tables		
3.1.0	District	s Surveyed	5	
4.1.0	Age Di	stribution of Survey Respondents	8	
4.1.1	Length	of Employment with Grab	9	
			\sim	

4.1.2 VND earned per Week (average)	20
4.1.3 Reasons to Drive for Grab	21
4.1.4 Financial Obstacles for Grab Drivers	.21
4.1.5 Physical Challenges for Grab Drivers	22
4.1.6 Enjoyment Likert Scale Results	23
4.1.7 Cost (d) vs. Distance (km) of Grab Rides	24
4.3.0 - 4.3.5 <i>Photographs</i> 1	31
4.3.6 - 4.3.11 <i>Photographs</i> 2	32

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1. Introduction

Over the course of my four months in Vietnam, I have taken a special interest in the individuals wearing green jackets weaving in and out of traffic on the bustling streets of Ho Chi Minh City. While these colorful motorcyclists may seem to be an inconspicuous aspect of transportation, driving for them is far more imperative than that of the average commuter: their economic livelihoods depend on it. These drivers are employed at the rideshare company Grab, and rely on the earnings from transporting passengers to support themselves and their families. Grab is a Singoporean multinational technology company, and offers services such as

transportation, food delivery, parcel delivery, and various other e-commerce functions. It operates across most of Southeast Asia, and the Grabbike rideshare service was rolled out in Vietnam beginning 2014. At this moment in time, it seems impossible to traverse Ho Chi Minh City without seeing numerous Grab bikes. I began to wonder about the wellbeing of these drivers; did the corporation prioritize their wellbeing in any capacity? What were the challenges of working for the company? Did the drivers enjoy their jobs?

As I used Grab's service twice a day (at a minimum), I grew more interested in the motivations which inspired individuals to drive for Grab, the profitability and economic sustainability of driving for Grab, and the degree of satisfaction drivers experienced with their choice of work. I recognized that Grab drivers had highly nuanced reasons for their preference, and wished to uncover the stories behind the green helmet. The rich personal backgrounds of drivers from all walks of life inspired an ethnographic investigation into the humans of Grab, while the variation in driver's identities encouraged the use of statistical analysis to delineate trends. Furthermore, I noticed Grab drivers tended to congregate in groups of 3-10 people, often with drivers at other rideshare companies, and almost always seeking relief in the shade from the burning South Vietnamese sun. This observation generated an interest in the urban spatiality of Ho Chi Minh City and the evolution of the twenty-first century metropole. This feature encouraged the use of photography to capture the downtime of drivers, and how people relaxed within the confines of the busy profession. At this point, I was determined to simultaneously engage in an inquest of the structure of labor relations of the Grab rideshare app, while also exploring the constellation of stories that bring drivers together.

The nature of the contract transportation industry seems to prioritize economic gain for the corporate entrepreneurs while leaving employees with limited opportunities for recourse. If a rideshare company does not wish to share gains with employees in the form of benefits, increased pay, or other forms of remuneration, they won't. The fundamental construction of the firms appears to be detrimental to labor rights. This project was designed with the intent to yield crucial insight into the rights and wellbeing of drivers while also providing a platform for drivers to share

their own invaluable experiences. Consulting their personal stories would add a much-needed human perspective to the anonymous character of the rideshare economy. Through the administration of a refined interdisciplinary study on the realities of driving for Grab, I hoped to reveal drivers' experiences and further educate others; potentially leading to improved work circumstances and better compensation.

Ultimately, I determined that a multi-method approach utilizing open-ended surveys to circumvent the language barrier, a combination of short-form and expert interviews, gathering observation data through participation, and creating photographic content would be the ideal way to achieve my goal of genuinely representing the livelihoods of Grab drivers. In the following three-week research period, I spoke with over 50 individuals about their connections to Grab. The results showcase the arduous (and sometimes brutal) demands of the job, yet also unveiled the scope of career independence contract employment offered. Overwhelmingly, Grab drivers reported that the ability to determine their own schedules and set their own hours of availability was a powerful motivator. Furthermore, aspects such as community building, urban exploration, and driving for fun were mentioned by several participants. While a corporate firm may have commodified a quintessential facet of Vietnamese daily life, the drivers have accomplished a beneficial relationship with Grab. I hope that through my exploration of the lives of Grab drivers, more people will come to recognize the intricate balance of employee and employer in the modern rideshare economy of Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

2. Literature Review

2.1 The Gig Economy

The gig economy is a labor market characterized by the presence of short-term contracts, irregular and unstable work, and often implies the use of technology to connect contractors to clients (Wu, 2019). Examples of gig economy professions include delivery drivers, freelance workers, babysitters, temporary assistants, and consultants. The specific gig economy focused on for the duration of this paper is the ride-hailing and ridesharing transportation industry, applying a case study of the largest rideshare firm in Ho Chi Minh City, Grab. Grab was selected as the focus of this project due to its dominance in the rideshare economy, with 82% of Ho Chi Minh City's market captured (Deshmukh, 2021).

Rideshare corporations rely on their online mobile application platforms to connect drivers (independently contracted and affiliated with the company) with clients (app users). Using only a smartphone, an individual can arrange a motorcycle

ride from Point A to Point B in a matter of minutes. In return for facilitating this connection, the rideshare firm will take a certain cut from the ride payment as compensation. It is important to note that drivers own the depreciating asset (the motorcycle) in this business relationship. For Grab, the fee extracted is 27% of the total ride value (Duy, 2020).

In Vietnam, the ride-hailing industry is expected to have a compound annual growth rate of 16% by 2025 (Deshmukh, 2021). The increase in value of the industry is generated by "product quality, ease of use, and innovation in digital banking" (*ibid*). Currently, the Grab corporation reports that 1 in 4 Vietnamese use their product daily (Nguyen, 2022). Furthermore, the widespread use of smartphone and internet accessibility in Vietnam- cited as 73.5% owning smartphones in 2022- has contributed to the industry's sway (Nguyen, 2021). As of 2019, it has been reported that over 70 million people drive for rideshare apps as employees, and 46,000,000 daily rides are given globally with an average of 7 bookings per second (Dan Minh, 2019).

The rideshare gig economy has both advantages and disadvantages for the individuals who choose to work within them. For example, "on one hand, [rideshare companies] extend the opportunity to become a micro-entrepreneur to groups often marginalized in the traditional labor market [...] achieving work-life balance, and provides opportunities to earn additional income when needed" (Berger, 2019). The aspect of worker autonomy and flexibility is the most commonly stated benefit of gig economy employment. However, in opposition; "drudgery, long hours, and low wages" are frequently found within the working conditions of gig employees (*ibid*). Among other factors unique to the case of rideshare drivers in Ho Chi Minh Citysuch as traffic patterns and weather- the gig economy has a complex set of benefits and drawbacks to those employed in the industry.

Key negative factors of driving for rideshare apps in Vietnam include "rising consumer fares, gas prices, company commission, the monsoon, and traffic" (Nguyen, 2022). Other independently identified factors include safety hazards, tolls and fees, government regulations, bike maintenance, health effects, and poor

customer behavior. Grab defines its employees as "partners" (đối tác in Vietnamese), and thus does not provide certain rights or protections to their workers (Buckley, 2022). This includes benefits such as sick pay, minimum wage and safety standards, and protection against dismissal and other disciplinary actions (*ibid*). From an outside standpoint, it appears that working for Grab has all the trappings of regular employment, just with a flexible schedule and without the same buffers and assurance.

However, both drivers and the public have begun to put pressure on rideshare apps in the realm of corporate social responsibility and worker's rights (Hải Hà, 2022). This tension between customers and rideshare firms could become bolder as riders form organizations that "truly know how to negotiate with giants" and "take advantage of international requirements for obligations that comply with international standards on labor rights of Vietnam when joining the recent major trade agreements" (*ibid*). This ongoing phenomena is evidenced in the numerous drivers' strikes and protests, spurred by unfair business practices and price hikes by Grab (Nguyen, 2022) (Buckley, 2022).

More research must be done in the realm of government regulatory legislature, as well as contemporary trends in rideshare company profit distribution. This project will contribute to the body of knowledge surrounding the wellbeing and economic power of rideshare drivers, but as of now, there is still much room for additional research on modern gig economies.

2.2 Xe Máy Culture in Vietnam

The xe máy (Vietnamese for any sort of motorcycle, scooter, moped, etc.) is an integral part of urban life in Vietnam. In Ho Chi Minh City alone, there are 7.6 million xe máy officially registered, and it is estimated that the average resident takes 3 motorbike trips per day (Ho Chi Minh City Dept. of Transport) (Dormier Freire, 2009). City infrastructure is geared toward supporting this method of travel; from motorcycle-specific traffic lights to innumerous options for parking— one can even purchase groceries without ever leaving the back of the bike. The ease of use,

degree of flexibility, access to independence, and relatively low cost of operation have fully absorbed xe máy into the everyday transportation culture of Vietnam.

Economically, xe máy is emblematic of a variety of monetary features differing across class divisions; "in low-income or rural households, people generally describe their two wheels as an 'investment'. [...] The wealthier social classes depict their motorbikes as a usual or sometimes even as a 'fashionable' device" (Dormier Freire, 2009). Evidence of the former can be witnessed through the use of the motorbike as a business tool (such as parcel delivery service), whereas the latter can be seen in the vast customization market popular in urban areas across Vietnam. Furthermore, xe máy are "socially classified by their model and price tag", conveying a subliminal message of social status or prestige according to the make and date (Truitt, 2008). The value of the motorbike can also be considered in contrast to the other transportation options such as the enduring bicycle, or the luxury of a private and air conditioned car, firmly placing the motorbike as the vehicle of masses in Vietnam.

Xe máy use has skyrocketed since the Đổi Mới reforms of 1986: "motorbikes served as the central component of a material and pleasure-seeking culture that emerged with the implementation of renovation policies and served the stability of the social order" (Dormier Freire, 2009). As motorbikes were previously unavailable to much of the populace, their renewed presence coincided with the social and economic changes of liberalization through policy reform. "Motorbikes have been instrumental in HCMC as symbols of purchasing power, embodiments of individual freedom, and flexible forms of mobility" (Truitt, 2008). In this context, xe máy offered a brand new outlet into consumer culture, as well as a level of independence previously unattainable to many citizens.

The social impact of the rapid integration of xe máy into city life is manifold. The very essence of commuting by motorcycle is unfiltered exposure to the happenings surrounding the driver. An outcome of this highly visible mode of travel is the precise (mostly nonverbal) communications between motorists on the road. In Ho Chi Minh City, traffic is "not a zone governed by impersonal signs, but one of face-to-face contact" (Truitt, 2008). Turns are announced through hand signals, eye contact

is made to ensure clear passage, and vital trust is placed in all other drivers when one is entering or exiting a busy intersection. Resultant of this style of rapid communication is a departure from the ordinary traffic laws which govern the larger and less maneuverable vehicles, and effectively produces highly aware and quickly adaptable drivers.

Another facet of the social use of xe máy is the gendered usage of motorbikes. Women are frequently seen covered head to toe, choosing to wear jackets, hoods, and special motorbike skirts to protect their skin from the sun. In opposition, men wear practically anything they desire, including sometimes opting to ride shirtless. One report suggests that women prefer to drive automatic, scootertype bikes while men prefer manual gear shifts and traditional motorcycles (Dormier Freire, 2009). A curious subset of the male driving population—typically younger men in their teens and early to mid-twenties—have been known to excessively speed, take significant driving risks, and rev their engines loudly (*ibid*). These young men are known as trẻ trâu; Vietnamese for "young buffalo". The same report suggests these young men, who also frequently engage in racing motorbikes, are performing their masculinities in a socially constructed and peer-accepted way (*ibid*). Comprehensively, it appears that xe máy are used differently by each gender, with women taking a more conservative and functional use while men embrace the full power of a four-stroke engine.

Despite the freedoms and benefits offered by xe máy, disadvantages of a city fueled by motorbike are incontestable. First, collisions on the road are quite common and very dangerous. In Vietnam, 29,000 people die annually from injuries caused by traffic accidents, with 31 accidents occurring daily (World Health Organization, 2020). The tragedy of a road accident is felt most severely by those injured or killed, as well as their families, but accidents also cause strain on the healthcare system, local authorities, and lost economic potential. A second adverse impact of motorbike use is the rampant air pollution present in urban centers of Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh City suffers from poor air quality, and motorbikes are responsible for 90% of the carbon emissions— gasses highly harmful to human health— produced by local vehicles (Ho Chi Minh City Department of Transportation, 2021). Traffic is

responsible for 60-70% of air pollution in the major cities of Vietnam, and across the world the health effects of poor air quality are just beginning to be realized (*ibid*). Both the threat of grievous injury and acute air pollution (among other untold drawbacks) highlight the negative aspects of xe máy as the primary mode of transportation.

Ultimately xe máy is an inextricable and crucial expression of daily life in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. The relatively recent accessibility of the motorbike market has led to a transformation in how people move, communicate, and appear in public spaces. Detrimental impacts are still felt by residents, yet the benefits of mobility, flexibility, and personal freedom seem to have triumphed, making xe máy the supreme form of urban transit.

3. Methodology

3.1 Surveys

Due to the extensive language barrier, surveys were determined to be the most effective method to reach participants (see Appendix for the original Vietnamese version and an English translation). Paper surveys with both open and closed-ended questions were ultimately selected as the mode of survey distribution, as human interaction was maximized and there was no barrier to participation through the use of technology. A total sample size of 50 respondents was collected, mainly through solicitation on the streets while drivers were working, but not actively engaged in a ride. These drivers were identified by their iconic green jackets and helmets, and were asked (in extremely amateaur Vietnamese) if they were interested in contributing to a student survey about driving for Grab. Eight respondents accepted to participate at the conclusion of a ride booked through the app after being asked in a similar manner. The method used to select participants was opportunity sampling, with four instances of snowball sampling following introduction of the researcher to friends of participants who also drove for Grab. Four participants agreed to take the survey, but with that caveat that the researcher would complete

the written information for them. Surveys were collected every day of the week (Monday-Sunday) over a period of two weeks. The time of day surveys were taken varied from as early as 7:00am to 9:00pm at night. All of the survey respondents were males, as not a single female Grab rideshare driver was encountered throughout the research period. Figure 3.1.0 depicts the districts of Ho Chi Minh City (outlined in red) where surveys were administered (c. Hoang, 2021).

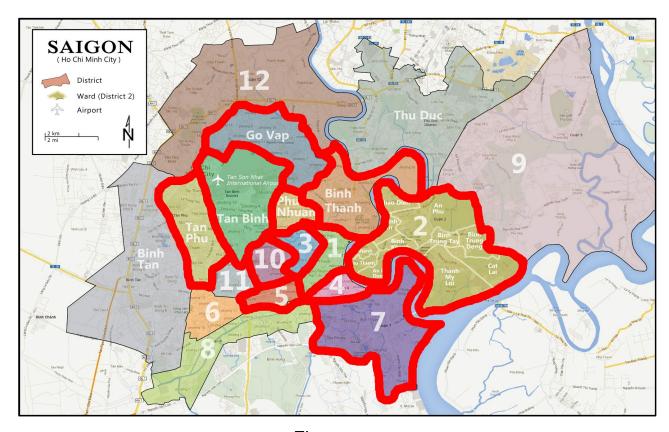


Figure 3.1.0

The survey results were collected in a data table, then converted into statistics and graphs using basic univariate statistical analysis. (see Findings). On average, the survey took 3-5 minutes to complete, and many respondents declined to write

additional information. Furthermore, while a 10,000^d incentive was introduced to participants, only 20% of respondents opted to accept this incentive. Finally, around 60% of all Grab drivers approached during the research period politely refused to participate in the study.

3.2 Interviews

The secondary method of data collection was the application of semi-structured interviews, of which two modes were employed. A semi-structured interview is a format in which the interviewer predetermines a short list of questions related to the topic, then asks further probing questions as the interviewee answers. The first mode of interviews are referred to as "expert interviews" and were conducted with professionals from relevant fields of transportation education, logistics management, and business administration. Three expert interviews were conducted in total. The second mode of interviews are referred to as "short-form interviews", and consisted of further discussion with survey respondents who seemed interested in the project and were able to converse with the researcher despite language difficulties. These interviews expanded on the content recorded on the survey and provided elaboration on responses, which would not have been received otherwise. Five short-form interviews were conducted in total. The semi-structured interview guide was as follows, with the bracketed terms referring to the changes required for each interview mode:

- 1. What are some of the characteristics of Grab [company/drivers]?
- 2. How does Grab impact the lives of the customers who use it?
- 3. What are some of the Challenges facing Grab [company/drivers]?
- 4. What is the future of Grab in Vietnam?

3.3 Participant Observation

Participant observation is an anthropological technique in which the researcher is immersed in the daily activities of the cultural group of interest. The researcher objectively examines, then records and analyzes, the activities going on around them. In this study, participant observation occurred organically during Grab rides, as well as during walks around Ho Chi Minh City. Grab and other rideshare companies are inseparable from urban life, and can be spotted practically anywhere on the road. Information collected through participant observation includes the working environment of drivers, quantity of active users, customer interface with the involved technology, interactions with drivers, and the variety of locations where drivers choose to coalesce and recreate. Through participating in the rideshare economy with an eye for the minutiae of the labor involved, participant observation was an invaluable tool in identifying patterns in the driving experience. Details from participant observation provided crucial insights toward formulating theories and explanations surrounding the lives of Grab drivers.

3.4 Photography

The final method employed throughout the duration of the project was photography. Photography is the single best way to communicate the realities of the physical word, as well as accurately depicting the subject matter at hand. Photography also helps the reader identify with the group of interest, building a compassionate connection and deepening the impression of the research. For this topic, photos were taken during key moments on rides to attempt to capture the atmosphere of Ho Chi Minh City from atop a motorcycle in an effort to depict the view of a rideshare experience(see Findings).

A second series of photos were taken as a twist on traditional portraiture to display the personality of a driver during their break time. A familiar sight along sidewalks, doorways, park benches, plazas, and building stoops is the form of a rideshare driver draped over their bike in an effort to catch a moment's rest.

Practically anywhere shade can be found, a driver may use the space to check their phone, catch up with fellow drivers, or even catch a few minutes' snooze. Drivers use their motorcycles to relax in a multitude of creative ways; photography was utilized to showcase this break from the tiresome work in a collection of pictures designed to contrast the difficult structure of the job with an occasion of respite. Each subject was asked for their consent before they were photographed.

4. Findings

4.1 Statistical Trends

The survey distributed for the purpose of this study had 25 measurable variables (See Appendix) and was successfully completed by 50 respondents. Given that the total number of Grab drivers in Vietnam numbers over 190,000, this sample size is approximately equal to 0.00026% of the population (Grab, 2023). Nonetheless, 50 respondents is statistically significant for the purposes of this study, and the results are as follows.

The age distribution of the surveyed Grab drivers is displayed in Figure 4.1.0. The minimum value in this data set is 18, the median 37, and the maximum 65 (despite the Vietnamese male retirement age and Grab eligibility age of 60). The mean is calculated to be 37.7, while the mode was 34.

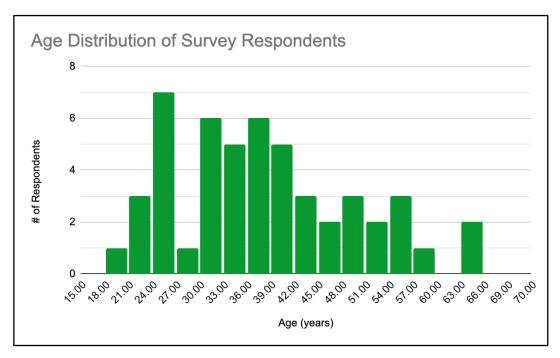
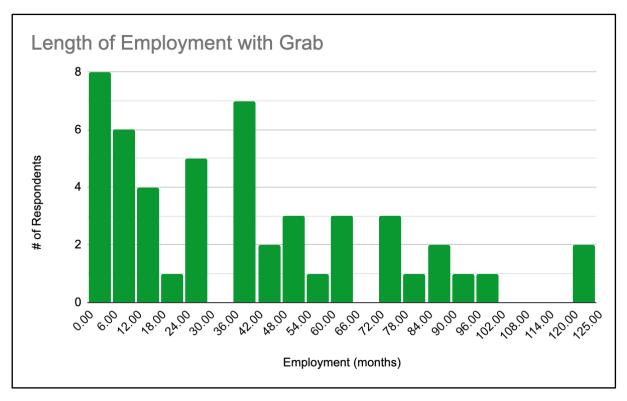


Figure 4.1.0

Further chronological analysis of the length of time participants have spent living in Ho Chi Minh City reveals a range of 3 months to 63 years. The median time spent living in Ho Chi Minh City is 20 years, while the mode is 5 years. Comparative analysis of years spent living in Ho Chi Minh City taking into account the age of participants shows that a majority of participants surveyed are not originally from the area (64%). Further analysis displays that many of these men migrated to the area between the ages of 18 and 24 (66%), with the median migration age of 20.

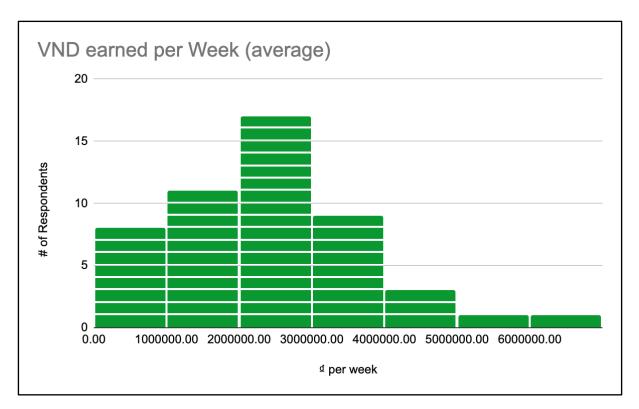
Figure 4.1.1 is a histogram of the duration of time each respondent has driven for Grab. The minimum value in the data set is 1 month, the median is 36 months,

and the maximum is 120 months or 10 years. The mean of this data set is 38 months, and the mode is 36 months.



When asked about how long participants wished to remain working as Grab drivers, 38% reported that they wanted to work for Grab for 1-3 more years, 24% claimed to want to work more than 3 years but less than 10, 10% wanted to work 10 or more years, and 26% were unsure. Only 1 participant reported that he wanted to work for Grab for less than 1 year.

Figure 4.1.2 graphs the average weekly profit taken home by Grab drivers, represented in Vietnamese Dong (VND). This is the amount of money they keep for themselves after Grab's fees and in addition to tips. It is important to note that some of the lower values are due to primary employment in a different career. The minimum of this data set is 200,000^d, the median 2,000,000^d, and the maximum 6,500,000^d. The mean is calculated as 2,174,202^d, while the mode is 2,000,000^d. For reference, the average weekly take-home pay of a Vietnamese man is 1,625,000^d per week as of 2021 (Nguyen, 2021).



Figure

Participants were then asked to select factors from a multiple choice survey question about their motivations to drive for Grab. More than one factor was encouraged to be marked if applicable. The 50 respondents selected 103 variables total; the results are shown below in Figure 4.1.3. In the order written on the survey, the options were *Financial Opportunity*, *Career Advancement*, *Independence*, *Contribute to and/or join a Community*, *Fun*, and *Other*.

Reasons to Drive for Grab

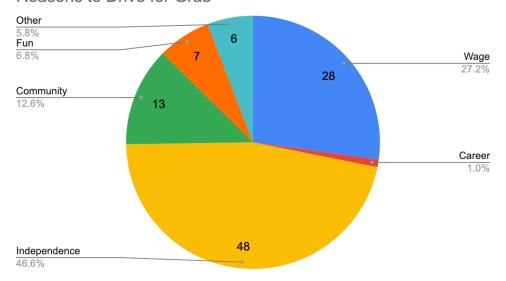
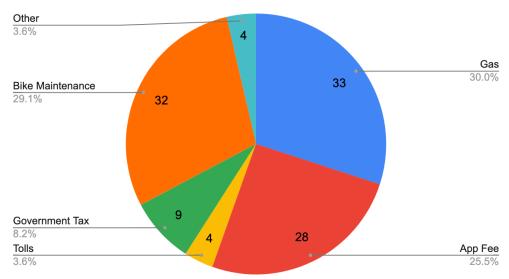


Figure 4.1.3

Figure

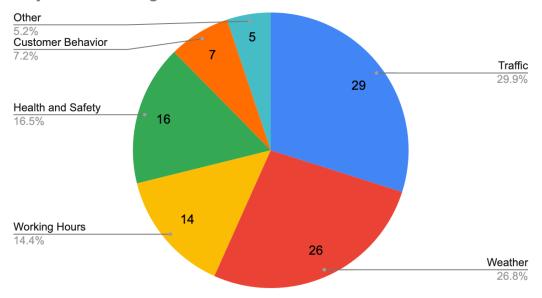
The second multiple choice question attempted to address the economic factors Grab drivers struggle with. More than one factor was encouraged to be marked if applicable. The 50 respondents selected 110 variables total; the results are shown below in Figure 4.1.4. In the order written on the survey, the options were *Gas Price*, *App Commission*, *Tolls/Fees, Government Tax, Bike Maintenance*, and *Other*.

Financial Obstacles for Grab Drivers



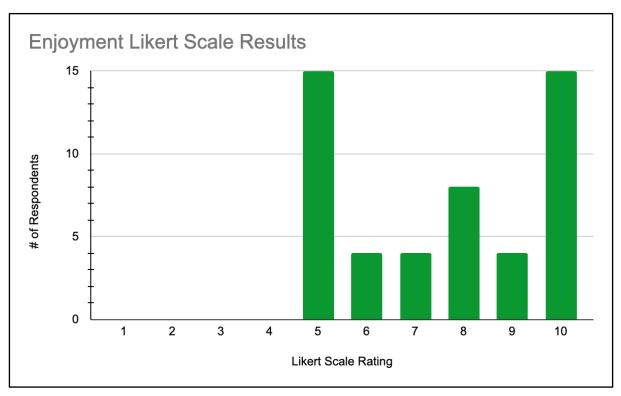
The final multiple choice question was designed to identify the physical challenges of driving motorcycles for a profession. More than one factor was encouraged to be marked if applicable. The 50 respondents selected 97 variables total; the results are shown below in Figure 4.1.5. In the order written on the survey, the options were *Traffic, Weather, Hours Worked, Health and Safety Concerns, Customer Behavior*, and *Other*.

Physical Challenges for Grab Drivers



Figure

The final question on the survey was a likert scale, with options numbering from 1 to 10. 1 was labeled with the Eighton strongly dislike, 5 was labeled neutral, 4.1.5 and 10 was labeled strongly enjoy. The significantly positively-skewed data is displayed below in figure 4.1.6. The mean of this data set was 7.5, the median 8, and the mode 10. It is highly important to remark that not a single respondent gave a rating lower than 5 (neutral), raising questions of survey validity and potential anxieties of drivers surveyed.



Figure

Though not a survey response, the following data set was collected from 105 of the researcher's personal trip bookings through the Grab app. Figure 4.1.7 shows the correlation of cost per ride as compared to kilometers traveled. The scatter plot gives some indication of the pricing scheme of Grab, showing a steady linear progression of cost as compared to kilometer until the 10 km marker. The variation in the cluster of points at the 10 km mark demonstrates the fluctuations that occur due to customer demand, weather, business hours, promotions, and other various factors that upset the base price per kilometer. 49% of the total rides taken fell between the 9.5 - 11.5 km mark, meaning that inconsistencies in price are due to external factors. The base price determined by this model is approximately 17,000 per kilometer, not accounting for the beginning kilometer rate. Based on these calculations, and given that Grab takes 27% of the price of a single ride, Grab drivers get to keep roughly 12,410 per kilometer.



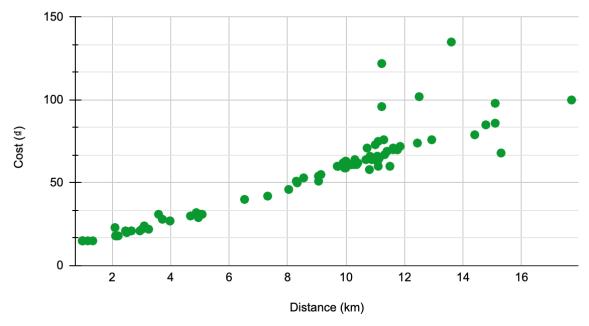


Figure 4.1.7

4.2 Ethnographic Evidence

The second portion of data collection involved conducting interviews with both Grab drivers and professionals in tangential industries to Grab, as well as short answer responses from the survey. All interviewees will remain anonymous for their protection and privacy. The following quotes are grouped by themes, and assist in elaborating on survey results in a qualitative way. These excerpts provide personal context, and help to tell the stories of participants' lifestyles.

Financial Gain

<u>Participant 3:</u> "Thank you Grab!" (This sentiment was expressed by four different participants)

Participant 13: "I love this job! I earn so much extra monthly income, thank you very much Grab!"

<u>Participant 32:</u> "I like it because I earn more personal capital through self employment."

Participant 33: "I drive in addition to my other job so I can have a little extra."

Participant 45: "I wish I could get even more customer ride requests from the app."

Life Circumstances

<u>Participant 1:</u> "This is my fate." (This sentiment was expressed by three participants)

<u>Participant 6:</u> "Driving for Grab is ok when I am unemployed, but not for ordinary work."

<u>Participant 19:</u> "I am only [driving for Grab] temporarily; I am looking for a permanent job right away."

Participant 25: "I am doing this job because I have fallen into a very depressed time."

<u>Participant 34:</u> "Currently, this is my main job, as I am facing many other difficulties in my life. Hopefully there will be some positive changes in my future, so that I don't have to keep driving..."

Job Essence

<u>Participant 2:</u> "Continuous work operations without the proper care for my health and other benefits [...] many people do not like the job very much really."

<u>Participant 6:</u> "Customers don't care about my time; I waste a lot of time waiting around for them to arrive for pickup."

<u>Participant 20:</u> "Customers are often very upset, and unruly, which can be very humiliating."

<u>Participant 30:</u> "Running Grab for a living [hm...] the job doesn't take much effort, but the income is not worth it..."

Participant 34: "The weather is quite hot these days, causing me to not enjoy driving so much."

Danger

Participant 15: "there are many dangerous customers out there...nonetheless I am satisfied."

Participant 17: "My health is degrading quickly with this job."

Participant 33: "I very much fear accidents, as well as being robbed, especially at night."

Participant 40: "There is so much danger on the road, I fear getting into a traffic accident!"

<u>Participant 42:</u> "I fear robbery, harassment, drunken drivers, and assault daily."

Participant 43: "Customers are happy to steal and attack me."

Expert Interview #1: Professor at Ho Chi Minh City University of Transport

The first interview completed was with a professor at the Ho Chi Minh City University of Transport, who divulged some of the ways Grab drivers operate in the city. She begins with a historical overview:

"Since Grab has come, there's been quite a bit of change to our transportation. We used to use traditional xe ôm motorbike taxis who were independent motorcycle drivers, but now we just use Grab. [...] Grab set a precedent with their price rate and professionalism. It also has created more jobs"

This statement highlights the shift in the motorcycle transportation industry from selfemployed drivers to Grab as an umbrella service provider. She follows up with her own thoughts on this transition:

"I prefer Grab when I'm going to a new place, as I don't know the area very well. Also, I just love Grab! I am so loyal to the service. The only reason I am

trying a new rideshare service [Vinfast] is because it is from Vietnam.

Companies from Vietnam really touch the hearts of Vietnamese people."

She began with a justification for why she used Grab, then displayed a strong degree of customer loyalty to the app. Furthermore, she outlines a patriotic tendency of Vietnamese people in regards to local business as opposed to foreign. When asked about government regulation, she pointed out:

"Grab has to adhere to the laws, pay taxes, and most importantly adhere to the regulations and health qualifications set by the authorities. All drivers and their bikes must be registered and documented, as when you are carrying people it is important to keep them safe."

This insight emphasizes the role of the state in Grab's operations, and mostly circles back to customer safety. Grab is expected to comply with the labor codes and decrees outlining worker's rights. However, these regulations are somewhat subjective, as Grab's workers are classified as contractors, rather than employees, and therefore may not be afforded the same protections. The interviewee spoke a bit to the character of Grab drivers:

"Grab is mostly boys and men— it's their nature to love the bike and travel from place to place. They don't typically assume it is hard work."

She elaborates, saying many drivers are students (~30%) or are driving as a second job. Additionally, she claims the work is well paid, and many drivers enjoy doing it to some extent (as evidenced by the above statement). Finally, she brings a long-term mindset to the future of the industry, wondering:

"What will happen to a new generation who grows up using Grab? I think they may become lazy, they don't like to discover new things and explore new places. I think that the people who drove for Grab are adventurous; they have an adventurous spirit and like to enjoy life at the same time as working."

These comments highlight the uncertainty and unknown transformations occurring due to Grab's prominence, while also speaking more to the character of Grab drivers. This interviewee has a very positive and laudatory view of Grab's impact in Ho Chi Minh City.

Expert Interview #2: Logistics Analyst who completed Business Canvas Model

The second interview was with a logistics analyst who completed a business canvas model of Grab Holdings Inc. three months ago. Essentially, he documented the firm's value proposition, financial portrait, customer assistance mechanism, and company infrastructure. The interviewee focused especially on last-mile logistics (the delivery of service) and digital payment technologies.

"People are more technically advanced now, and want the products they consume to reflect that. Vietnam's technology industry closely resembles that of China— we have much to learn from China, with some tweaks of course."

The interviewee elaborated further on the business logistics of Grab's operation.

"Grab is a last-mile company, meaning that they are the step that links the company to customers directly. It also belongs to the e-commerce market, because it is a digital platform providing a service. Vietnam is unique as it allows cash-on-delivery payment for services, which Grab uses as well. [...] The linkages of various mobile programs (such as vendors and digital wallets) integrated into the app have led to its success."

After outlining the features of Grab's business model, it is possible to trace the story of Grab's success. Grab is Southeast Asia's first unicorn company: a startup valued at more than 1 Billion USD. When asked about Grab's role in the national economy, the interviewee stated:

"Grab boosts the economy of Vietnam, and helps us to develop more quickly. It is one of the leading digital platforms in Vietnam, and is revolutionary for the market."

However, when considering the challenges to the company, the interviewee emphatically shared that Grab no longer "exists in a vacuum", and that they were no longer the only rideshare option on the market. In market economies, firms compete for customer business. Grab may have been first, but now faces potential disruption:

"The greatest challenge facing Grab is its competitors, specifically Gojek and Be. Be especially as it is a Vietnamese company, and Vietnamese people like Vietnamese products. Grab is being usurped by the technology shift."

It is interesting to notice the second interviewee also brought up the sense of nationalism Vietnamese people feel when choosing products, further undermining Singaporean Grab's hold. Finally, after learning the interviewee was a user of Grab, he was asked what in particular he liked or disliked about the app.

"I like that Grab is so common, the drivers are very friendly, and there are good discounts. Their maps are also very good. I don't like the way Grab will charge higher fees during rush hour, bad weather and times of high demand".

This interviewee endorsed several features of Grab's service, yet also recognized and decried the shifting price schema based on profit incentives. Customer opinions are valuable inputs when considering the importance of Grab in Vietnamese culture.

Expert Interview #3: Grab Public Representative

This interview was extremely brief, as the representatives were very busy at the time of research. Additionally, the interviewee gave information that was published in its entirety on the Grab webpage, and suggested the interview data be enhanced with findings from the site. The following is a combination of interviewee statements and positions published online.

"In 2022, Driver-partners collaboratively earned 10.6 billion on the Grab platform. [...] 80% of Driver-partners cite flexibility as the top reason for working on digital platforms like Grab."

This statement illustrates the full economic power of the labor relations between company and contractor. Additionally, it touches on aspects of the gig economy favorable to workers' preferences. To address issues of worker protections, the availability of Grab's insurance program was mentioned:

"100% of Driver-partners are covered by work-related accident insurance at no costs, with options to top-up coverage."

When prompted about the volatile pricing system of ride fares, Grab cited reasons of market economics, describing the mechanism through which equilibrium is maintained:

'When demand outpaces supply, the higher fares help to signal for more driver-partners to turn on their apps and join the flow. Since our driver-partners choose what time they prefer working, this helps to get more cars on the roads when demand is high."

This information provides a valuable insight into the incentive structure of Grab for its drivers, and implies that although drivers choose when and where to work, the Grab app is subtly influencing labor behavior through its highly developed algorithm. The notification entices drivers to work based on financial motivation, determined by higher fares during peak activity. The technological innovation of Grab's driver interface does not stop at software design, performing so much more analysis than previously anticipated:

"During a drive, the Grab app collects mobile sensor data, such as accelerator, gyroscope, and GPS data from mobile devices. This information lets vehicle telematics detect driving habits such as harsh braking, acceleration, cornering, and unsafe lane changes."

This level of surveillance makes logical sense in the context of driver and passenger safety, yet is still a fairly large reach into the private life of drivers in terms of available information on drivers, while using their personal phones. This passage depicts the extent of integration Grab has within the lives of drivers.

4.3 Photo Gallery

This section displays the photographs taken over the course of the research period. Two thematic topics were captured; Ho Chi Minh City from the back of a motorbike and the moments in between rides in which drivers would take a moment to relax.







Figure 4.3.2



Figure 4.3.4



Figure 4.3.1





Figure 4.3.5











Figure 4.3.10

Figure 4.3.11

5. Analysis and Discussion

5.1 Autonomy

The first and most prominent finding identified by the study was the outstanding individual autonomy afforded by Grab's labor structure. The breakdown of results in Figure 4.1.3 (Reasons to Drive for Grab) staggeringly reveals that nearly every single driver in the sample cites "independence" as their motivation in driving for Grab. This independence variable refers to the ability of drivers to set their own

work hours, choose the duration of time worked per day, and opt out of working if they wish. Labor independence, or the state of being free from the control of a supervisor, is extended into a more broad sense of autonomy for workers.

In the context of Grab, autonomy in employment refers to the ability to self-dictate the conditions in which one decides to work. The structure of contract employment— and the gig economy as a whole— allows these personal decisions to be made. While incentives may be provided by Grab to stimulate the efficiency of their product (in the form of price hikes during peak usage), drivers ultimately have the capacity to refuse. Thus, Grab's contract-based arrangement is widely attractive to individuals with a desire to control many aspects of the job they engage in, that otherwise would not be offered by traditional employment.

The earning potential of drivers is also a facet of worker autonomy in these conditions. By way of choosing when, where, and for how long to work, drivers also govern the amount of take-home pay they receive weekly. This sentiment is expressed enthusiastically in the driver quotes, Section 4.2 (Financial Gain). Furthermore, working for Grab is appealing to people of all ages (see Figure 4.1.0). Figure 4.1.2 (VND earned per week (average)) illustrates the diversity in worker preferences. The varying distribution of earnings correlates to the number of hours worked by drivers, which is reflective of their personal selection of how often to work. Given that drivers seem to be well aware of Grab's app fee, drivers are able to make informed choices about the number of hours worked, and therefore the amount of pay received. It is significant to mention the right skew of the data in Figure 4.1.2 is most likely due to the common use of driving for Grab in order to supplement income in the form of a second job. Many drivers reported Grab as an additional form of labor performed in tandem with another job. These drivers earn less than those who solely drive for Grab as a living, because their availability is more limited and rigid than the latter. The impressive degree of earning potential is displayed as well, with an upwards potential of 6,500,000^d collected weekly.

The distribution of duration of employment with Grab (Figure 4.1.1) also indicates a feature of autonomy. The reasoning for the two peaks of the graph— >1

year of association and 2-3 years of association respectively— express two consonant motivations. The initial peak represents the stopgap many drivers mentioned; drivers who have temporarily fallen onto hard times or who are actively seeking alternative employment (see Section 4.2, Life Circumstances). In such cases, Grab is a contingency plan, available to provide drivers a safety net in the event regular work falls through. The second peak speaks to a routine many drivers have established, either using Grab to earn additional income or feeling comfortable in their current relationship with Grab. In some instances, driving for Grab for the first reason can lead to remaining with Grab for the second. Both criteria point to optional association with Grab, resulting in mutual benefit for both partners. Finally, those who continue to drive for Grab for longer than four years evidently experience a satisfactory magnitude of success, as they voluntarily opt to continue their labor for Grab for a significant period of time.

The photographs provided in Section 4.3 display not just the creative ways drivers relax, but also support a case for autonomy. Grab drivers are able to park their bikes wherever they desire to stop and take a break. They can rest for as long as they want, whenever they want; Grab is not instating mandatory orders on their schedules. Everytime they decide to take a break—cool off, check their phones, converse with their fellow drivers, take a nap—it is an act of choice. Pulling over and kicking their feet up on the handlebars is an unabashed (and greatly deserved) display of personal freedom by these drivers in the modern gig economy.

The contracting between Grab drivers and Grab Company is not always entirely beneficial to the drivers, visible through the multiple challenges discussed in the following section. Despite the widespread reports of difficulties in the work done for Grab, every single driver in the study reported that the tradeoff was worth it. This fact is best represented by the planned continuation of labor between drivers and Grab (Section 4.1), and the extremely compelling results reported in Figure 4.1.6. These findings (Figure 4.1.6) exhibit zero negative sentiment toward the work done for Grab among the entire sample population. The lowest ranking reported by respondents was a 5, or true neutral. This remarkably positive reflection on Grab, despite negative sentiments reported in verbal or written comments, offers insight

into the behavioral reasoning behind the continuation of driving for Grab.

Experiencing an enjoyable work environment speaks greatly to driver motivations, and brings to mind a question of the potential link between worker happiness and worker autonomy.

5.2 Challenges

The second major finding revealed by this project was a categorization of the types of challenges faced by drivers, subservient only to the great degree of autonomy expressed by many. The obstacles identified are divided into the two categories of 'financial' and 'physical' (Figures 4.1.4 and 4.1.5 respectively). The first figure displays a breakdown of financial challenges to Grab drivers, highly relevant to the study as determining the economic sustainability of the job was a key aim.

Gas and bike maintenance were determined to be the largest drains on profitability for drivers, with 33 and 32 responses marked for each, meaning more than 64% of the sample consider these aspects a detriment to their economic livelihoods. The third most widely reported financial obstacle to drivers was the proportion of a ride payment the app takes as revenue. Over half (56%) of respondents took issue with the amount withheld by Grab for their service. Tax by the Government of Vietnam was the last notable finding from this figure, with 18% of respondents mentioning that state activities cut into their economic prosperity. This statistic is especially noteworthy, as expressing any sort of grievance with political bodies in Vietnam is uncommon. This societal norm, which ordinarily prevents individuals from speaking out about these views, implies that specifying the tax taken by the government is important enough to override the fears of the dominant social ideology— is a fascinating finding.

The two physical factors most widely mentioned by drivers as difficult aspects of the job were traffic and weather, while the secondary challenges identified were health and safety concerns, as well as the number of hours worked. Traffic was the most widely disclosed issue, and while many drivers noted the challenge, rarely any elaborated on the topic. From this lack of comment, it can be inferred that as traffic is

a static and unmanageable aspect of the job, it does not require further discussion. Nonetheless, traffic exhaustion due to the noise, fumes, and proximity of other motorbikes is a huge physical issue for drivers. The next challenge, weather, was reported by 52% of respondents. Ho Chi Minh City is known for its extreme environment; from burning heat in the warmer months to torrential downpour during the rainy season. When it is hot, drivers face sunburn, heat exhaustion, and engine overheating. In the event of rain, drivers must don ponchos, and drive much more slowly as motorcycle wheels have less traction, while some routes are inaccessible due to flooding. Health and safety concerns were the topics most spoken about by participants, although placing third in the surveyed results. Multiple drivers vehemently conveyed remarks about fear for their wellbeing, as evidenced previously in Section 4.2 (Danger). The most widely shared anxieties were of accidents, robbery, and physical assault by customers. Finally, the number of hours required to work in order to earn the desired wage was cited as a concern by 28% of respondents. This remark of drivers suggests that although they choose to work in this capacity of their own volition, it is not necessarily easy, and does take a toll on their physical wellbeing.

Despite the challenges identified by and expounded upon by participants, each driver considered the tradeoff worth it. The likert scale (Figure 4.1.6) exemplifies this trend most obviously, but participant remarks (Section 4.2) underscore this sentiment with personal anecdotes. While working for Grab can be tiresome, hot, dangerous, and long, drivers overwhelmingly indicate that they enjoy the work, greatly impacted by the degree of autonomy they experience in their role.

6. Limitations and Positionality

Throughout the duration of the research period, three primary methodological limitations were identified: the language barrier, time constriction, and an overall lack of rapport. Each of these limitations is a detriment to the validity of the project, and shall be addressed accordingly in the hopes that future research on the topic will avoid similar pitfalls.

The first and most strongly felt limitation was the language barrier due to the researchers inability to speak Vietnamese. Huge amounts of information were lost because of the researcher's inadequacy in the primary language; for instance, participants would very frequently wish to elaborate on their survey responses, and often did, yet the researcher was unable to understand beyond the most basic words, and was certainly not able to communicate effectively with most participants. It was crushing to hear personal accounts and experiences and know that all that

was said would be lost to the wind. Additionally, when participants had questions about the content of the survey, the researcher was unable to adequately respond, resulting in participants frequently rejecting the survey altogether. As verbatim quotes are essential to an ethnographic investigation, the project relied more heavily on survey data than previously intended. Furthermore, the ethnographic evidence that was obtained was skewed, as it was only English-speaking drivers who could share, and not in their native language. The extremely rudimentary Vietnamese possessed by the researcher did help to some degree in securing surveys, as participants appeared to be pleased that an attempt was made to communicate in Vietnamese, but the sample size was ultimately unsound as only the most patient and generous drivers engaged.

The second impediment to legitimacy was identified in the time constraint of the project. The research period was a mere three week long investigation, leaving no option for follow-up interviews or deeper exploration. The primary consequence of the short timeframe was reflected in the sample size; only 50 survey responses total were collected. A sample size of 50 is not projectable onto the entire population, especially when utilizing opportunity sampling. Moreover, various sources were unable to be accessed— such as government offices and company headquarters— due to the short period of availability. A longer inquiry would allow not only for more nuanced ethnographic data collection, but also a wider variety of sources. Finally, an intense focus on data collection made the process of analysis rush to be synthesized. At least a month should've been spent perfecting the written product to ensure the highest quality and most accurate representation of information. More time would've allowed for a greater and more representative sample size, better ethnographic evidence, and a more polished final project.

The last great limitation is recognized broadly as the lack of rapport, also known as a lack of trust between participants and the researcher. This phenomena is most obvious in the likert scale results of Figure 1.4.6, where no participants rated their enjoyment of driving for Grab as less than a 5. This avoidance of any negative sentiment toward the company spoke to a fear of potential retaliation, as well as a mistrust in the researcher's purpose. The stacking of many responses at the 5 rating

implied that many participants may have wished to mark lower, yet did not know if the data would somehow come back to hurt them. The survey was also of a somewhat intimate nature, asking questions about their personal lives and wellbeing. A complete stranger approaching someone on the street and asking prying questions is not exactly conducive to a totally honest and genuine response. If the researcher had been able to forge more authentic connections (through speaking Vietnamese), participants would've been able to better understand the nature and the goals of the project, and the collected data would've been more scientifically reliable and justifiable in addition to participants feeling more comfortable.

The last aspect of project validity that should be addressed is how the researcher's positionality affected the research. I, the researcher, am a white American female who has been privileged enough to travel to another country in order to study. I make in terms of U.S. dollars during a single shift at my job what Grab drivers make in a week. The disconnect resulting from this national and ethnic difference has surely impacted the management of this study in numerous subconscious ways. Of course, it is the duty of a researcher to remain objective in their work, and I tried my best to attain this, yet it is impossible to achieve because of who I am. For instance, the very premise of the project (and therefore the questions utilized in the survey) carry an undertone that drivers may not enjoy the work that they do. While my investigation unveiled the various challenges associated with driving for rideshare companies, the extent to which drivers enjoyed their work was obscured to me until the conclusion of research due to my positionality. Furthermore, foreigners are treated differently and are allowed to play by different rules in Vietnam: I get away with many behaviors that would be unacceptable for a local. My status absolutely impacted the way participants viewed and responded to me, and therefore influenced the results of the project in unforeseen ways. I truly hope that by genuinely treating participants with the respect and kindness they deserve I was able to overcome a few of the associations with my foreign status.

7. Conclusion

Ultimately, this study successfully addressed questions about the motivations of those who drive xe máy for Grab, whether the job is economically and physically sustainable, and to what extent drivers enjoy their work. Additionally, a few of the unique stories of drivers were told, offering a glimpse into the realities of what it's like to do this work for a living. Surveying, interviews, participant observation, and photography were utilized to capture these accounts, and culminated in a complex narrative exploring the livelihoods of the motorcycle drivers of Grab.

The first and most significant finding over the course of the study was the autonomy offered by the nature of Grab's labor structure. Grab is a rideshare firm, and adheres to the descriptors of a typical gig economy in which workers are contract based and temporary. The distinction of Grab's drivers as "partners", rather than employees is emblematic of this feature. Throughout the duration of this paper, the term "employee" was occasionally used interchangeably with other designations for drivers' work, because although Grab does not choose to refer to its workers with this term, the research has nonetheless demonstrated that these drivers are in an employment relationship with the company. Contract-based employment provides

drivers with the flexibility to create their own schedules that is not offered by traditional employment. Figure 4.1.3 especially illustrates this point, with nearly every single survey respondent claiming independence as the reason they chose to work for Grab. Additional comments supporting contract-based work are available in Section 4.2. Also relevant to include for consideration is the lack of managerial oversight on a daily basis, with a digital application as the communication interface and the complete delivery of service down to payment handled by the individual driver. Glimpses of driver autonomy can also be seen in the photo gallery (4.3) of drivers selecting when and where they'd like to relax. Being able to take a break however desired is a major expression of personal choice and exercise in autonomy. The pinnacle of Grab's labor model is the degree of freedom it offers its employees; an aspect that has not gone unnoticed by them.

The second primary finding identified by this project was the predominance of various challenges to the wellbeing of Grab drivers. Two categories of job obstacles were devised to measure this variable: financial and physical (see Figure 4.1.4 and Figure 4.1.5). In the first category, costs related to the motorcycle itself were of principal importance. Gas and bike maintenance specifically were noted to be the largest cash sinks, with the commission fee taken by Grab as the next most significant depletion. In regards to the physical challenges, traffic and weather were reported to be the greatest threats to physical wellbeing, while health and safety concerns, as well as the length of working hours, were consequent problems. Health and safety were of particular importance to participants, and as demonstrated by the responses in Section 4.2 (Danger), also the most spoken about topics. While all of the sample considered driving for Grab worth it (see Figure 4.1.6), the arduous nature and hardships of the job should not be understated.

Overall, employment with Grab seems to be a balance of appreciation for the positive aspects of the job, such as independence and decent earnings, with the negative features, most notably motorcycle costs and physical hazards. A pleasantly surprising finding of the study was the high degree of satisfaction reported by drivers (Figure 4.1.6). Ultimately, this insight tipped the inquiry into a favorable light, leading

the researcher to conclude that Grab is doing more good than harm in the streets of Ho Chi Minh City.

Further research on the topic should absolutely be pursued. As the aforementioned difficulties of validity suggested, a larger sample size should be optimized to produce more projectable results. Additionally, in order to better represent the multifarious drivers of Grab, an ethnographic investigation conducted in Vietnamese should take place. In the realm of interviews, more diverse sources should be contacted, including (but not limited to) government officials and company administrators. Finally, Grab is but one of several rideshare firms operating in Ho Chi Minh City, and efforts should be made to include drivers from other companies into the fold. The spirit of the xe máy rideshare industry is innovative and vibrant, and deserves to be studied with the utmost consideration.

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Appendix

BẢNG KHẢO SÁT TÀI XẾ XE CÔNG NGHỆ

Xin chào, em tên là Maddie Davis và hiện tại em là sinh viên nghiên cứu của Trường Đào tạo Quốc tế (SIT). Hiện tại em đang thực hiện một nghiên cứu nhỏ về nghề chạy grab và em mong muốn được xin ý kiến khảo sát của anh/chị. Bài khảo sát này sẽ mất không quá 5 phút để thực hiện. Bài khảo sát dựa trên tinh thần hoàn toàn tự nguyện và tất cả các câu trả lời sẽ hoàn toàn được ẩn danh. Em sẽ gửi tặng anh/chị 10.000đ để cảm ơn sau khi anh/chị thực hiện khảo sát. Anh/chị có thể từ chối trả lời bất kỳ câu hỏi nào. Câu trả lời của anh/chị sẽ được sử dụng ẩn danh cùng với những câu trả lời khác trong bài báo cáo nghiên cứu của em. Hãy trả theo những sự thật. Em cảm ơn anh/chị rất nhiều vì đã tham gia khảo sát.

1) Năm nay anh/chị bao nhiêu tuổi?	
	tuổi.

2) Anh/chị đã sống ở thành phố Hồ Chí Minh bao lâu rồi?r						
3)	Anh/chị đã lái xe cho <i>Grab</i> được bao lâu rồi? nămtháng.					
4)	Anh/chị mong muốn tiếp tục lái xe cho <i>Grab</i> trong khoảng bao lâu? năm tháng					
5)	Anh/chị ước tính trung bình bạn anh/chị kiếm được bao nhiêu tiền chạy grab mỗi tuần?					
6)	Đâu là lý do chính khiến anh/ chị lựa chọn nghề chạy xe grab:					
	O Tài chính					
	O Thăng tiến nghề nghiệp					
	O Tự do không bị gò bó					
	O Đóng góp cho cộng đồng					
	O Cho vui (Sở thích)					
	O Khác (vui lòng ghi rõ):					
7)	Vui lòng đánh dấu các yếu tố về tài chính mà anh/ chị phải đối mặt khi chạy xe cho <i>Grab</i> :					
	O Giá xăng					
	O Phí trả app					
	O Phí cầu đường					
	O Quy định của chính phủ					

	O Bảo dưỡng xe máy							
	O Khác (vui lòng giải thích):							
8)	Vui lòng đánh dấu những khó khăn mà anh/ chị gặp phải khi lái xe cho <i>Grab</i> :							
	O Giao thông							
	O Thời tiết xấu							
	O Số giờ làm việc							
	O Các mối quan tâm về Sức khỏe và An toàn (vui lòng giải thích):							
	O Hành vi khách hàng (vui lòng giải thích):							
	O Khác (vui lòng giải thích):							
9)	Vui lòng khoanh tròn mức độ yêu thích công việc chạy xe Grab của anh/ chị:							
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10							

Không thích Trung lập Rất thích

10) Vui lòng viết vào khoảng trống bên dưới nếu anh/ chị muốn ch cứ thông tin gì về công việc của mình. Cảm ơn anh/ chị.	ia sẻ thêm bất
MOTORCYCLE DRIVER QUESTIONNA	IRE
Helle and agree in Moddin Device and Laws a student accompless from	the Cohean for
Hello, my name is Maddie Davis and I am a student researcher from nternational Training (SIT). I am interested in collecting your thoughts	
driving a motorcycle for a living. This survey should take no more than 5	
completely voluntary and totally anonymous. You will be given 10,000 s	
You may decline to answer any questions. By completing the survey, yo	ou acknowledge
hat your responses may be used anonymously along with others in a	student report.
Please answer truthfully, and thank you so much for your participation.	
1. How old are you?	
years	
2. How long have you lived in Ho Chi Minh City?	yea

3.	How long have you been driving for [app]?	years	months
4.	Please estimate how long you wish to continue	driving for [app]	
		years	months
5.	Roughly how much would you estimate you take	e home per week on avo	erage
	driving for [app]?	<u>d</u>	
6.	Please mark your primary motivation(s) in drivi	ng for [app]	
	O Financial Opportunity		
	O Career Advancement		
	O Independence		
	O Contribute to and/or join a Community		
	O Fun		
	O Other (please elaborate)		
7.	Please mark the financial factors you feel you	struggle with in driving	for [app]
	O Gas Prices		
	O App Commission		
	O Tolls/Fees		
	O Government Regulation		
	O Bike Maintenance		

	0	Other (please e	elaborate	.)						
8.	Ple	ease ma	rk the p	hysical	factors	you fe	el you	strugg	le with	in driv	ving for [app]
	0	Traffic									
	0	Weathe	r								
	0	Hours W	Vorked								
	0	Health a	and Safe	ety Conce	erns (ple	ase elal	borate)):		 	
	0	Custom	er Beha	vior (plea	ase elab	orate) _					
	0	Other (p	olease e	laborate))						
9.	Ple	ease circ	le on tl	ne follov	ving sca	ale hov	v mucl	h you e	njoy di	riving f	for [app]
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		Strongly D	Dislike			Neutral					Strongly Enjoy

10. Please write in the space below if you would like to share any more information about your work. Thank you so much for your participation.					