

CONCERNS ABOUT MEAL DELIVERERS

**INCOME TOO LOW, RUSHED,
AND NO SECURITY**



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MEAL DELIVERY IN THE NETHERLANDS

There are three major platforms in the Dutch meal delivery sector: Thuisbezorgd, Deliveroo, and Uber Eats. All three have a multi-million turnover but are also making huge losses. The only reason they have not yet gone bankrupt are the deep pockets of the venture investors. Each platform hopes it will eventually be the only one left.



WORLDWIDE TURNOVER (IN EUR)

Thuisbezorgd: 427 million
Deliveroo: 306 million
Uber Technologies: 2.1 billion



LOSS

Thuisbezorgd: 103 million
Deliveroo: 256 million
Uber Technologies: 7.2 billion



RATES FOR RESTAURANTS

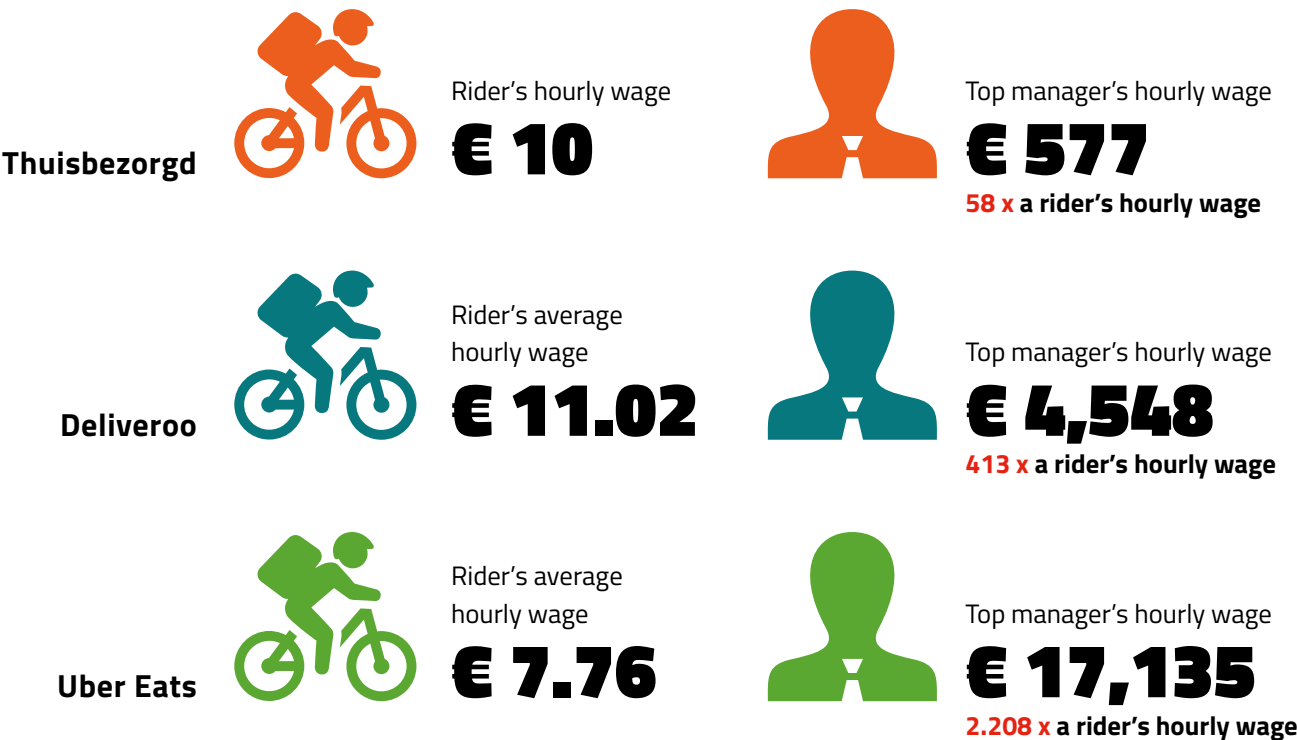
Restaurants pay between 30% and 35% of their turnover for deliveries.



KNOWN VENTURE CAPITAL

Thuisbezorgd: 766 million
Deliveroo: 1.3 billion
Uber Technologies: 20.9 billion

SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES IN INCOME BETWEEN TOP MANAGEMENT AND RIDERS



RIDERS' EMPLOYMENT

- **Thuisbezorgd:** temporary agency workers
- **Deliveroo:** up to 31 January 2018 in paid employment, from 1 February 2018: bogus scheme with bogus self-employed workers
- **Uber Eats:** bogus scheme with bogus self-employed workers

CHARACTERISTICS OF SELF-EMPLOYED WORKERS

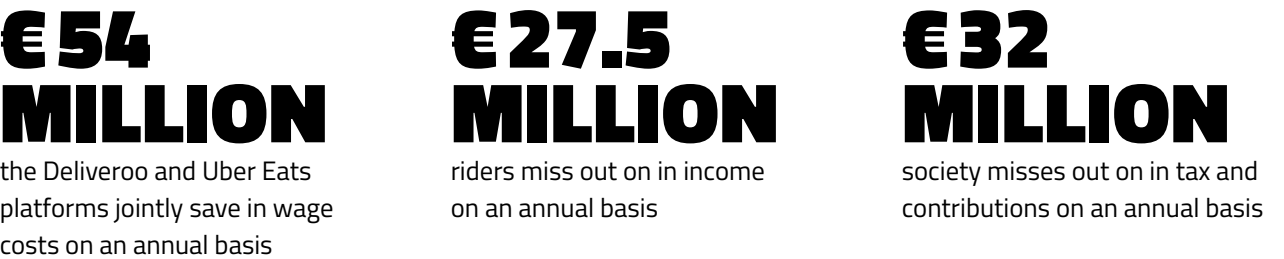
	Genuinely self-employed	Deliveroo	Uber Eats
Tarief	Negotiable	App determines	App determines
Uitvoering werk	Own discretion	App checks everything	App checks everything
Werk uitbesteden	Able to outsource work to others	Only possible after an ID check and a personal interview with Deliveroo, or by giving your phone to someone else	Ninety seconds to find a subcontractor

CONSEQUENCES FOR BOGUS SELF-EMPLOYED WORKERS

- No protection or safety net: riders have no recourse in the event of sickness, dismissal and unemployment.
- Low and insecure income: self-employed riders are not paid a fixed hourly rate, receive no bonuses for working weekends and evenings, and do not accrue holiday or pension rights.
- Lack of appreciation: no formal say, no parental leave, no training possibilities.

COSTS RELATING TO BOGUS SCHEME

The bogus scheme with self-employed riders works out cheaper for the platforms than having to pay meal deliverers a regular wage based on the collective labour agreement.



WHAT SHOULD BE DONE

- Reverse the burden of proof: workers are always employees, unless the company proves that:
 - 1) the worker started a business on their own initiative, and
 - 2) does not perform work as part of the company's core activities, and
 - 3) is not managed and supervised by the company.
- Comply with legal rulings and uphold them relating to bogus employment.

SUMMARY

The meal delivery sector in the Netherlands is dominated by three platforms: Thuisbezorgd, Deliveroo, and Uber Eats. Deliveroo and Uber Eats apply a bogus scheme whereby deliverers are put to work in the unjust capacity of freelancers. These deliverers are paid per delivery made (a piece-rate fee) and directed through an app. This app stipulates how the job needs to be done, who should perform it, and where and when it should be performed. Due to the way the riders are being instructed, they are actually employees who are entitled to an employment contract and a decent wage.

CUT-THROAT COMPETITION

The Dutch meal delivery sector is a reflection of the worldwide competition between meal delivery platforms, which is a sector with a multi-billion euro turnover. Platforms are competing with each other as regards price: namely, the one with the lowest costs will be able to make deliveries at a lower price. This in turn yields more customers and a larger market share. Their aim is to obtain a monopoly position, and once this has been achieved, the platforms can determine rates and become profitable. Until then, they will be competing with each other in a race to the bottom where employment conditions are concerned.

DISADVANTAGED RIDERS

Meal deliverers are not paid enough for the work they perform, and are barely, if at all, making ends meet. The platforms have taken away their rights by means of a bogus scheme with bogus self-employed deliverers, who have no social safety net whatsoever. Their vulnerable position under Dutch employment law does not allow them to stand up against the platforms, and riders are being played off against each other. There is a stark contrast between platforms and deliverers. Where the platforms have a multi-billion euro turnover with top managers to whom millions of euros are paid, riders often do not even earn the statutory minimum wage.

VULNERABLE POSITION

The FNV has talked with hundreds of riders, analysed wage data, and conducted in-depth interviews. We have noted that the position of the deliverers is becoming increasingly weak. Again and again, Deliveroo and Uber Eats have unilaterally adapted the app's modus. We have observed a whole range of changes that resulted in riders needing to work increasingly more and earning increasingly less. Many riders are doing this job temporarily, and stop as soon as they have found a better alternative. The remaining group, which usually involves labour migrants and students from outside the European Union, is becoming steadily more vulnerable.

DIRECTED BY AN APP

Because meal deliveries mostly take place around lunch and dinner time, and during weekends, this curbs the deliverers' personal flexibility and freedom. As a result of the piece-rate fees, little money is to be earned outside these hours. Furthermore, platforms make use of nudging: incentives and bonuses to ensure that riders work whenever it suits the platforms. As a result, by means of piece-rate fees and nudging, platforms direct their riders how (as quickly as possible) and when (at peak hours) they want.

RIDERS AND SOCIETY FOOT THE BILL OF BOGUS SCHEMES

Working with bogus self-employed people is extremely profitable for Deliveroo and Uber Eats. By not paying the riders in line with the Dutch Collective Agreement for Professional Goods Transport by Road [cao Beroepsgoederenvervoer], the platforms save EUR 54 million a year in labour costs. This means that a part-time deliverer is earning EUR 3,400 and a full-time rider EUR 11,700 too little on an annual basis, respectively. Furthermore, society is also deprived of a considerable amount of money: almost EUR 32 million in tax money, social security contributions, and pension contributions.

RIDERS DESERVE SECURITY AND A DECENT WAGE

Since the previous FNV report 'Riders deserve better' report was issued, the situation with Deliveroo and Uber Eats has only deteriorated. They maintain their bogus scheme with bogus self-employed workers and this trend must stop. The deliverers of these platforms are entitled to an employment contract and secure pay, based on the cao

Beroepsgoederenvervoer. Furthermore, it is also time for Dutch authorities to intervene and take action: namely, address bogus self-employment and make it easier for workers to demand an employment contract. Only in this way, riders will be given security and a decent wage as well as the social protection to which every employee is entitled.

INTERVIEW

'DELIVEROO KEPT CHANGING THE SYSTEM; MY INCOME BECAME TOO UNCERTAIN'

Jasper hired an electric bike, registered online as a meal deliverer for Deliveroo, and could start immediately.

'I thought this was the most practical way to earn money. I had arrived in the Netherlands in November 2019 and needed an income. At the time, it was quite easy to get started with Deliveroo, but there is a waiting list now. 'At first, Jasper worked for Deliveroo through Limited Riding, a special programme for people from other EU countries who want to work in the Netherlands. The only restriction is that you cannot earn more than about EUR 600 a month. Jasper: 'I didn't need a VAT number [BTW-nummer] or a Chamber of Commerce registration number, so I could start working instantly.'

'150 others are waiting to take your place'

Quite soon, Jasper was earning more than EUR 600. The Deliveroo job became his main income, with which he could

pay his fixed expenses - until Deliveroo changed the system in February 2020. The company opened up its platform, and Jasper's income plummeted from an average of EUR 80 to barely EUR 50 a day. Jasper, 'It's terrible if your main source of income suddenly disappears. I love riding my bike, and my job as a meal deliverer is a great way to get to know the city of Amsterdam, but my income became too uncertain, while my recurring expenses like rent and bills have to be paid every month. **At the start of the corona crisis, when nobody wanted to work, Deliveroo increased their bonuses. That may sound nice, but it is sheer manipulation. As soon as they had enough meal deliverers, Deliveroo changed its bonus system again.'** According to Jasper it was no use telling Deliveroo how their actions affected his situation and that there were certain things that he disagreed with. 'Deliveroo just says, if you're not happy, there are 150 others who will be eager to take your place.'

Waiting in a restaurant? That will cost you money

'You are paid per delivery. Of course you feel pressurised to ride through town as quickly as possible so as not to lose precious time. In fact, Deliveroo forces you to bike fast. Your income depends on it; because you are paid per delivery you want to deliver as many meals as you can in one day. Waiting at a restaurant? That will cost you money. If you need to wait five minutes at a restaurant, and that happens about 10 to 12 times a day, you earn much less.'

Jasper quit his meal delivery job with Deliveroo in June 2020 and now works in the customer service department of Basic Fit via a recruiter. He may qualify for a permanent employment contract, which will also give him income security. That is important to him.



1. INTRODUCTION

Following the press conference of 15 March 2020, during which Dutch Prime Minister Rutte announced that the entire restaurant and catering sector had to close in order to curtail the COVID-19 (corona) virus, the number of orders plummeted because restaurant kitchens were closed and the public had bought large stocks of food. This dip lasted a week and then the meal delivery sector experienced a significant boost. The meal delivery **platforms** were among those who benefitted from the corona crisis, but the meal **deliverers** themselves were not. They were sometimes called heroes and people applauded them, but their position remains vulnerable. They work for multi-billion companies in the capacity of bogus self-employed workers for extremely low pay. They are paid a piece-rate fee per delivery, but barely have a say in the number of deliveries they make. They are unable to negotiate their rates and are subjected to the whims of platforms, which determine which deliveries they get assigned, how they do their job, and who is admitted or blocked as a deliverer.

EXCESSIVE FLEXIBILISATION OF JOBS IN THE LABOUR MARKET

The situation in the meal delivery sector illustrates the excessive flexibilisation of jobs in the Dutch labour market. Political and legal policymakers are expressing their concerns about this. National politicians are being urged to introduce measures for a decent labour market on the premise of equal pay for equal work at equal costs.

EVASION OF LABOUR LAW

National and international platform companies such as Deliveroo, Uber Eats, Uber Taxi and Temper take no regard of the norms and values of Dutch society, and think they do not need to comply with our labour law. After all, they are new, innovative, digital, and flexible and therefore believe that our laws and regulations do not apply to them. However, they are no different from regular companies that take care of their employees, pay wages in line with the collective agreement on terms and conditions of employment (CAO), and contribute to pension accrual and social security. The platform companies keep stressing that because they are so special they do not need to meet their obligations as employers.

PROTECTION, A LIVING WAGE, AND SECURITY FOR RIDERS

The aggressive global struggle between meal delivery platforms has brought about a downward spiral in employment conditions. The FNV trade union seeks to establish a minimum standard and to ensure that the same rules and regulations apply to these companies as to other transport companies that operate in the Netherlands. We consider it good practice to make use of smart technologies to enable or facilitate processes, and also feel that workers should be able to choose for themselves when they wish to work. However, we do not want them to be protected poorly as bogus self-employed workers who need to work themselves to the bone for a living wage, and have no security whatsoever. Furthermore, we do not want the state (and therefore society) to miss out on large amounts in revenues because they disappear into the pockets of managers and shareholders.

PURPOSE OF THE REPORT

In this report, we describe how the meal delivery sector in the Netherlands is organised. On the basis of hundreds of interviews with riders, insight is given into what it is like to be a meal deliverer. We show how Deliveroo and Uber Eats are staging a pseudo reality in order to evade employer obligations and employment contracts. We set out the financial consequences for riders and how much society loses in revenues due to the bogus schemes that are applied. We end the report with urgent recommendations. This report is a follow-up to FNV's report 'Riders deserve better', which was submitted to the Standing Committee for Social Affairs and Employment of the Dutch Parliament's House of Representatives [Vaste Kamercommissie Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid van de Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal] in June 2019. Since then, the deliverers' situation has not improved. On the contrary, their situation has actually deteriorated.

2. THE FIGURES BEHIND THE MEAL DELIVERY MARKET

In 2019, the restaurant meal delivery market accounted for a turnover of around EUR 2 billion in the Netherlands. This market is growing about 20% annually and its turnover is expected to double in the next six to ten years. The driving force behind this growth are the three online delivery platforms: Thuisbezorgd, Deliveroo and Uber Eats.

MILLIONS IN TURNOVER



Thuisbezorgd in the Netherlands is undeniably the largest meal delivery platform, with 8,500 affiliated restaurants and 38 million orders in 2019. That year, Thuisbezorgd had a turnover of EUR 121 million in the Netherlands - EUR 23 million more than in 2018. Established in 2000, Thuisbezorgd is a Dutch enterprise that expanded its business operations to several neighbouring countries, where it operates under the name Just Eat Takeaway.com (a new name after the acquisition of its British competitor 'Just Eat'). The company became the largest in Europe by buying competitors and merging. In 2020, after the takeover of Grubhub - an American online and mobile prepared food ordering and delivery platform - Just Eat became the second largest delivery platform in the world. Globally, 53,000 restaurants are connected to the platform, which had a turnover of almost EUR 427 million in 2019 against EUR 240 million in 2018.



Deliveroo has served the Dutch market since 2015, currently making deliveries for about 2,500 restaurants in 18 towns and cities. The Dutch turnover for 2018 and 2019 is unknown, but amounted to EUR 13.8 million in 2017. Deliveroo originated in Great Britain and has established itself in thirteen countries. In April 2020, the American webshop giant Amazon obtained a large share in the platform. Globally, Deliveroo's turnover amounted to EUR 525.5 million in 2018 and to EUR 306 million in 2017.



Uber Eats has been active in the Netherlands since 2016 and makes deliveries for over 2,500 restaurants in 15 towns and cities. The American parent company Uber Technologies does not disclose any information on Dutch operating results. Globally, Uber Eats' turnover amounted to EUR 2.1 billion in 2019, which was EUR 850 million more than in 2018. Uber Eats' share in Uber's overall turnover increased to 17%.

MILLIONS IN LOSSES

The three online meal delivery platforms are achieving huge turnovers, which are increasing significantly on an annual basis. However, the expenditure side involves such vast amounts that they still suffer losses of many millions.

- Takeaway's loss amounted to about EUR 14 million in 2018 and as much as EUR 103 million in 2019.
- In 2017, Deliveroo suffered a loss of EUR 220 million and about EUR 256 million in 2018.
- Uber Eats does not disclose any details on profits or losses, but Uber as a whole suffered a loss of up to EUR 7.2 billion in 2019.

These huge losses are largely due to the fierce global competition in which the companies are involved. The platform economy is based on the winner-takes-all principle. It is all about becoming the market leader with the largest possible market share. Only then will a company become profitable. The meal delivery platforms therefore invest billions in growth, by recruiting restaurants and rolling out their businesses in more and more countries and towns and cities. Furthermore, substantial sums are also invested in marketing, app development, court cases, recruiting new deliverers, and in the salaries and bonuses of top management. However, payment of meal deliverers is a cost item that is being kept as low as possible.

VENTURE CAPITAL

The money put into conquering the market comes from venture investors, who are not deterred by short-term losses as long as their venture capital is used for the growth strategy.

- From 2012 up to when they went public in 2016, Thuisbezorgd fetched EUR 86 million in venture capital. In 2019, the additional issuing of bonds and shares yielded another EUR 680 million to acquire its German competitor Delivery Hero, the company behind Foodora, which has since stopped its operations in the Netherlands.
- Since its founding in 2014, Deliveroo has gathered over EUR 1.3 billion. The most recent round of investment yielded EUR 487 million, with Amazon as the largest investor. Other parties involved in this round of investment were existing financiers of Deliveroo: T. Rowe Price, Fidelity Management & Research Company, and Greenoaks.
- Uber, the parent company of Uber Eats, beats them all. Since it was founded in 2009 until the company went public in May 2019, Uber acquired EUR 20.9 billion in investment money. In addition to its founders, companies that include Google / Alphabet, the Japanese SoftBank, and the Saudi Government (The Public Investment Fund) have invested billions in the company.

BIG EARNERS AT THE TOP

Regardless of the results, top management of meal delivery platforms are remunerated excessively.

- At Takeaway in 2019, CEO Groen received EUR 720,000, CFO Wissink EUR 664,000 and COO Gerbrig EUR 622,000, which means they jointly received about two million euros in salary and bonuses. Up to 2019, their personal blocks of shares were worth EUR 475,116 for CEO Groen, EUR 415,768 for CFO Wissink, and EUR 386,093 for COO Gerbrig.
- Deliveroo is rather vague about management earnings, but top manager Shu was reportedly paid a basic salary of EUR 276,100 in 2018, and also received a block of shares worth EUR 9.6 million. In 2018, a total of EUR 22.9 million in shares was distributed among management.
- Here, Uber’s management also beats them all. In 2019, its five top managers jointly received EUR 58.4 million in salaries, bonuses, shares, and options. CEO Khosrowshahi alone pocketed over EUR 35.6 million.

However, the shareholders really hit the jackpot by the company going public:

- When Takeaway/Thuisbezorgd went public, its founder Groen made almost EUR 18 million. His remaining block of shares is now worth at least EUR 1.3 billion. The three venture investors – Macquarie Capital, Prime Ventures and Rheingau Ventures GmbH – sold their shares for EUR 92.5 million, EUR 38.5 million and EUR 5.3 million, respectively. The remaining shares represent a value of EUR 281 million. This comes down to a profit of 380% on their investment of EUR 86 million over a period of four years.
- At Uber, founders Kalanick and Camp own shares worth EUR 4.7 billion and EUR 3.2 billion, respectively. The blocks of shares of the various venture investors range in value from EUR 1.7 billion to EUR 8.5 billion.

All the financial information is derived from the previous annual reports of the three online meal delivery platforms.

	Turnover in the NL	Worldwide turnover	Worldwide loss	Known venture capital	Remuneration top manager
Takeaway/Thuisbezorgd	121 million (2019)	€ 427 million (2019)	€ 103 million (2019)	€ 766 million	€ 1.2 million (2019)
Deliveroo	13.8 million (2017)	€ 306 million (2017)	€ 256 million (2017)	€ 1.3 billion	€ 9.6 million (2018)
Uber Eats	Unknown	€ 2.1 billion (2019)	7.2 billion (2019)*	€ 20.9 billion*	€ 35.6 million (2019)

* Amounts refer to Uber Technologies as a whole, 17% of which involves Uber Eats. However, Uber does not provide any insight into the figures of Uber Eats.

Table 1: Overview of the flows of funds of the largest meal delivery platforms

WHAT MEAL DELIVERERS ACTUALLY EARN

These huge amounts of money are in stark contrast to what meal deliverers earn with their work. In calculating the amounts specified in the files, we converted the self-employed riders’ income into an hourly wage. This enables us to compare these incomes with the hourly wages the FNV believes riders should be paid under the Collective Agreement on Terms and Conditions of Employment for Professional Goods Transport by Road and Mobile Crane Rentals [cao Beroepsgoederenvervoer]. Below is an overview of the lowest, highest and average hourly wages we have seen in this investigation, which differ very greatly indeed from the ‘hourly wage’ of the top managers.

	Highest hourly wage*	Lowest hourly wage*	Average hourly wage**	Top manager’s hourly wage***
Takeaway/Thuisbezorgd	€ 10 (21+ years)	€ 6.20 (16 years)	unknown	€ 576.92
Deliveroo	€ 15.11	€ 8.26	€ 11.02	€ 4,548.08
Uber Eats	€ 9.88	€ 6.37	€ 7.76	€ 17,134.62

* average wage of an individual deliverer: the total income over a period of four weeks, divided by the number of hours that the individual was online and available for work.
 ** average of all deliverers with the platform we have analysed
 *** remuneration per annum, divided by 52 weeks, divided by 40 hours a week

Table 2: Overview of the hourly wage of riders with various meal delivery platforms

This chapter shows how managers and shareholders are making huge amounts of money, while their platform suffers a loss, and meal deliverers usually do not even earn the minimum wage.

3. MEAL DELIVERY IN PRACTICE

All three meal delivery platforms have an app at the core of their business operations. Riders log in with their smartphones and await their first order. They then head for the specified restaurant, take receipt of the order, and deliver it to the customer. The entire process then starts all over again.

In the case of Deliveroo and Uber Eats, only the delivery process from the restaurant to the customer counts for the remuneration. The riders are not paid for the time they spend waiting for orders, riding to the restaurant, and waiting until the restaurant has completed the order. They therefore sometimes refuse orders if they anticipate that much unpaid time may be lost. In that case, they can take on fewer orders and, if a piece-rate fee is involved, will lose out on income. Thuisbezorgd riders on the other hand receive an hourly wage, and waiting times are also paid. Refusing orders is not necessary because all their time is being paid. In this chapter we describe what it is like to work as a meal deliverer.

‘Restaurant owners prefer to make use of Thuisbezorgd deliverers. We - Deliveroo and Uber Eats riders - are usually impatient and keep asking whether the meal is ready for delivery, because time is money to us.’

DELIVEROO

Over the past years, Deliveroo has changed much in the app’s operation, and with regard to who they allow access to the platform. When Deliveroo started in the Netherlands, riders were hired in paid employment. However, since 1 February 2018, Deliveroo has only worked with self-employed riders. These bogus self-employed workers enter into a Service Provision Agreement [Overeenkomst van Opdracht, abbreviated to OvO] with Deliveroo without being able to negotiate their fee. Rates are determined per delivery by the platform. Deliveroo applies a waiting list to allow riders access to the platform. In this way, they try to ensure that riders are allocated sufficient orders. Potential Deliveroo riders have to watch instruction videos that show how the app works, before being subjected to a test to check whether they have understood this. The platform has overall control: it interferes with access to the app, creates waiting lists when there are too many riders, and blocks accounts in the event of disagreeable conduct. The main disadvantage of delivering meals for Deliveroo is that riders do not know how the rate of an order has been made up.

HOW TO BECOME A DELIVEROO RIDER

- You register online. You need to be at least 16 years old, and have a bicycle and a smartphone.
- Since the start of the pandemic, registration takes place online and you receive all the steps by email.
- After registering you are sent a video. When you have watched it, you need to make an appointment to have your ID checked.
- After your ID has been checked, you will be asked for some details for your Deliveroo account.
- Next you sign the agreement with Deliveroo and order your delivery bag (Rider Kit).
- You state in what capacity you would like to work:
 - Unlimited rider: if you want to earn more than EUR 620 a month, you need to register with the Dutch Chamber of Commerce (which costs EUR 50).
 - Limited rider: if you do not want to register with the Chamber of Commerce (CoC) you may earn a maximum of EUR 620.32 per four weeks as a limited rider (Deliveroo uses the term ‘hobby rider’ for this). In that case you do not need to pay tax and contributions, but neither do you qualify for self-employed tax deduction [zelfstandigenaftrek]. Deliveroo blocks your access to the app once this amount has been reached or exceeded.
- You download the app and receive your Rider Kit, a jacket and a power bank at home.
- Once your account is online, you can log in to the Rider App and start working in the town or city you indicated.
- On the RooCommunity website (a type of intranet), people communicate about weekly bonuses and matters such as safety and discount offers.

GETTING STARTED WITH DELIVEROO

- You log in on the app and wait until Frank (the name of Deliveroo’s algorithm) allocates you an order.
- You receive a notification for an order. You see the restaurant’s and the customer’s locations and how much you will earn with this delivery.
- You have 90 seconds to accept the order. If you are not paying attention and fail to accept, it will count as a refusal. If you accept, you will be sent the restaurant’s address and you can leave.
- When you arrive at the restaurant, you confirm this in the app. The order number then becomes visible, which you pass on to the restaurant; the order is prepared.
- On receipt of the order, you put the meal in your Rider Kit and confirm in the app that you have taken receipt of it.
- You receive the customer’s address and get on your bike.
- When you arrive at the customer’s address, you confirm this in the app.
- After handing over the meal, you complete the order in the app. That is when you have earned the fee for this order.
- Another notification may already be lined up in the app. If not, it is a matter of waiting for the next order. This may take a long time.

EN-ROUTE EMERGENCIES

- If you are involved in an accident or something is wrong with the order, you have to report this in the app. You are then given five options to specify the type of emergency. As long as you have not done so, you will not be allocated any new orders. One of the riders’ biggest frustrations is that it is no longer possible to personally contact and notify a Deliveroo staff member.
- If you cannot work because you are sick or have been involved in an accident, you will be without income. Deliveroo has a personal injury insurance scheme but compensation is low and disproportionate to a full-fledged occupational disability insurance [arbeidsongeschiktheidsverzekering]. Riders are unfairly given the impression that they are adequately insured.

PAYMENT

The composition of the per-order payment has been a great mystery for Deliveroo riders since the Distance Based Model was introduced. The distance from the restaurant to the customer is incorporated into the payment. The amount is different for each delivery.

Deliveroo also grants various bonuses, which may increase the earnings per order. For example, weekly incentives per town or city are announced on RooCommunity, the company’s own website. As a rule, Deliveroo pays riders once every two weeks. If you want to be paid immediately, it will cost you EUR 0.50 irrespective of the amount paid. Deliveroo draws up an invoice for the rider.

Another option is to have payment effected through Verloning.nl, which acts as the riders’ withholder agent [inhoudingsplichtige]. They arrange payment of income tax and social security contributions. If desired, they also reserve an amount for a holiday money and leave days, an occupational disability insurance or pension. However, this is not free of charge, and Verloning.nl will deduct a 5% fee from your income for their services.

CASCADE OF CHANGES

In the five years that Deliveroo has operated in the Netherlands, the platform has introduced some major changes. These changes may be favourable for the platform, but the riders do not benefit from them. By making these changes, the platform has increasingly tried to conceal the obvious characteristics of the status of employer.

- 2015: Riders have an employment contract with Deliveroo and a fixed hourly wage. The employer’s contributions were EUR 13.91 an hour.
- May 2017: freelance model is announced. Great opposition among riders; the Riders Union is established, which later affiliated to the FNV.
- August 2017: new riders can only get started in the capacity of self-employed workers.
- February 2018: riders with an employment contract are now forced to become self-employed. Any other employment construction is no longer an option.
- February 2018: the fixed hourly wage is changed into a piece-rate fee of EUR 5 per order. The employer’s contributions were EU 11.69 an hour.

- Rating system: deliverers with a high rating are allowed to register for the best-paid shifts. A high rating allows you to state your preferred working hours early on Monday. A high rating is obtained if you score well on attendance (have worked during registered shifts), for having as few late cancellations as possible (cancelled less than 24 hours prior to a shift), and for working during super peaks (making deliveries during peak week-end hours for four consecutive weeks).
- August 2018: introduction of the Distance Based Model: the piece-rate fee depends on the distance you need to ride, divided by the average time you spend on riding the distance per hour. Riders' earnings drop.
- August 2019: no longer possible to refuse orders. After massive protests and stoppages in several towns and cities, Deliveroo reverses this.
- March 2020: introduction of the Free Login System. Riders can work at any desired time, shifts are abolished, and rating records are no longer kept. With bonuses for peak hours, non-refusal and unattractive rides, Deliveroo ensures there will always be a rider who can do the job.
- September 2020: introduction of the orders on time system. The restaurant no longer prepares the meal when the customer orders it online, but is informed what time the rider will arrive. In this way, the order will be ready when the rider arrives at the restaurant. After three late arrivals at a restaurant, the rider will be blocked from the app and no longer able to work.

CASCADE OF CHANGES

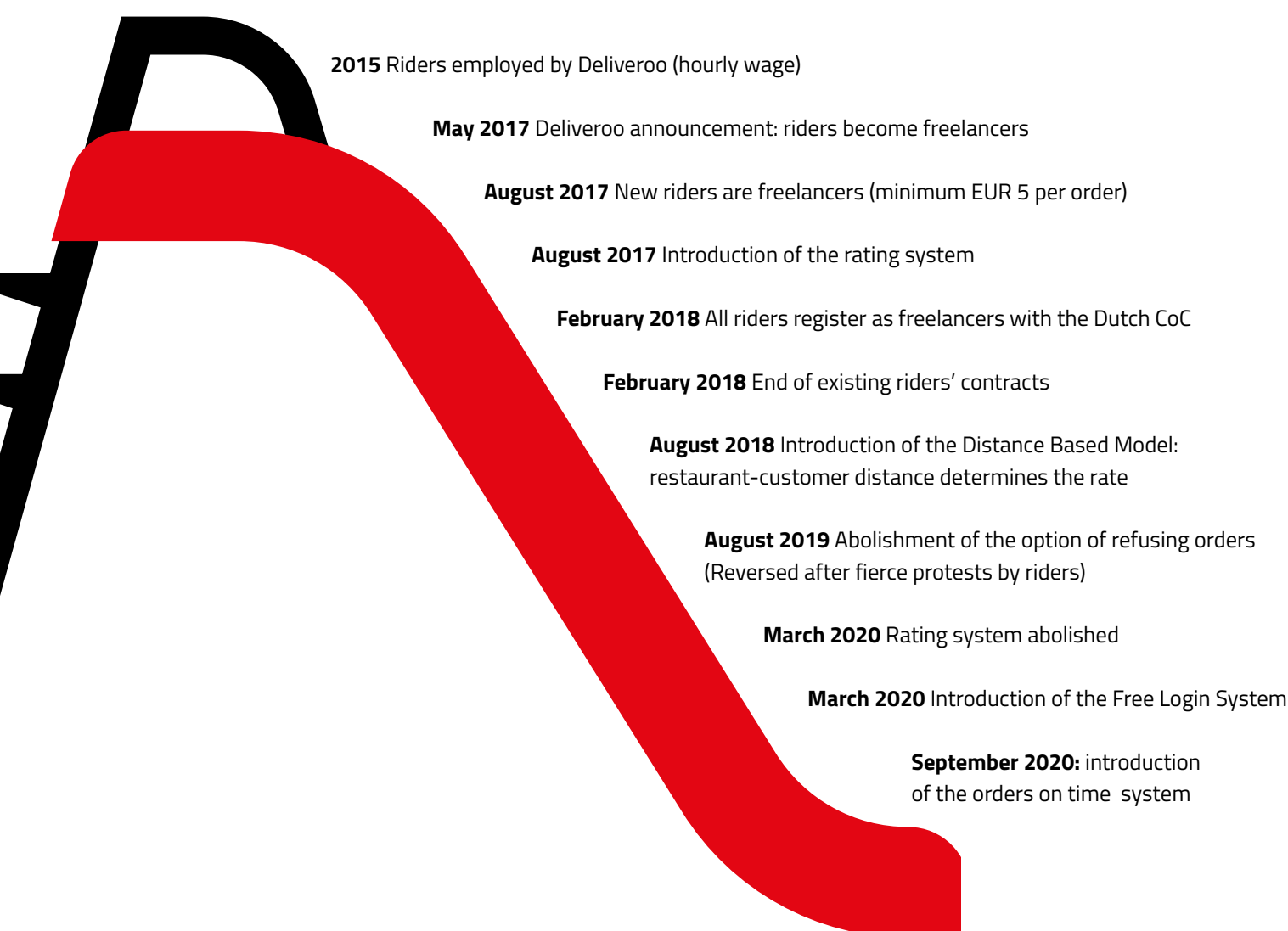


Figure 1: Cascade of changes for Deliveroo's meal deliverers

UBER EATS

After first hitting the Dutch taxi market in 2014, Uber also started to compete with Deliveroo and Thuisbezorgd for a share in the meal delivery market in 2016. Uber Eats has no waiting list to start working with its app. You can register today and collect your delivery bag tomorrow to get started, as it were. For every order, Uber Eats riders enter into a new Service Provision Agreement [Overeenkomst van Opdracht, abbreviated to OvO] with the restaurant where they collect it. Uber Eats determines the rate, which is not part of the OvO the rider approves. As a rider, you do not see the fee that is paid for the job you do until the order has been delivered to the customer. Uber Eats has made relatively few adjustments to its delivery app. Quite soon after they entered the meal delivery market, Uber Eats abolished the fixed per-order rate (EUR 5). In this respect, the riders' biggest frustration is that too many riders are allowed access to the app, as a result of which bonuses and multipliers, which increase the rate per delivery, disappear.

Uber Eats' riders are assessed by both the restaurant and the customer for each order they collect and deliver. This rating needs to stay over a certain percentage to be able to deliver meals for Uber Eats. If your rating is lower, you will be blocked from the platform.

'It's really annoying that we don't get paid for our ride to the restaurant'

HOW TO BECOME AN UBER EATS RIDER

- You register as a deliverer on the Uber Eats website.
- You agree to a security check and upload the required documents.
- As soon as you have received the activation notification, you can start accepting deliveries for Uber Eats.
- You can have the delivery bag sent to your home or collect it at one of the Uber Eats offices.
- You have to provide for your own bicycle, telephone, clothing and insurance.
- All bonuses and multipliers are specified in the app, which you can view as soon as you are online with the app.

GETTING STARTED WITH UBER EATS

- You log in to the app to be able to accept orders.
- You receive a notification for an order, which you accept or refuse. You have to make up your mind within one minute, otherwise you automatically refuse. Not accepting orders affects your cancellation rate, which keeps track of the number of orders you refuse. This rate has to be over a certain percentage, otherwise you are removed from the app.
- When you accept an order, you get to see where the restaurant is located. You do not see this prior to acceptance.
- When you arrive at the restaurant, you confirm this on the app.
- You receive the order and confirm this on the app.
- Now the app shows where the customer is situated and the order needs to be delivered.

'By now, based on the indicator on the map, experienced riders can estimate fairly accurately which restaurant the job involves. You would rather not accept an assignment if you know that you will have to wait a long time for the order to be ready.'

- You arrive at the customer's address and deliver the order.
- You confirm delivery on the app.
- Once you have confirmed the delivery, the app shows how much you have earned with this order.
- You wait for the next order. You are not paid for the time you spend waiting.

PAYMENT

The composition of the per-order payment is clearer for Uber Eats riders. Rates differ per town and city, and the per-order rate paid by Uber Eats is made up of three components. You receive a fixed amount for collecting the meal from the restaurant and a fixed amount for delivery. In addition, you are reimbursed per kilometre travelled. Various promotions may apply, which will be added to the amount. The rates and promotions differ per town or city.

INTERVIEW

'WE USED TO HELP EACH OTHER IF SOMEONE'S BIKE WAS BROKEN'

Debbie Berendsen is an outdoor person who loves riding her bike, so working as a meal deliverer was the perfect job for her. She has already been making deliveries for Deliveroo for about two and a half years, riding her bike all around Arnhem, where she lives, and lately increasingly often in other towns and cities as well.

'Since Deliveroo introduced its Free Login System in March 2020, everyone can always log in.' She not only lost her hard-earned, carefully accumulated hours in one fell swoop, but suddenly has to compete with dozens of people from all over the Netherlands. **'If Deliveroo's app announces bonuses for deliveries in Arnhem, people from Amsterdam hop on the train, hire a public transport bike [OV-fiets], and just sit somewhere waiting for orders.** And besides increased competition, the per-order rate has also dropped.'

We were a small group of riders who worked almost full-time.

Debbie was one of the Arnhem-based deliverers who could count

on fixed hours before the free-login era. 'We were a group of about ten deliverers who worked almost full-time. If you needed to wait at a restaurant, you always saw the same small group, chatted with each other, and also took over each other's shifts. To keep your statistics with Deliveroo up-to-par, you also needed to work weekends. And if you wanted a weekend off, you could always ask someone else to take your shift. In this way, it did not affect the number of hours you were assigned by Deliveroo. The company planned shifts on the basis of expected orders and also mailed them to us. They wanted us to earn about ten to fifteen euros an hour.'

Longer waiting times means less income

She told us she received an email just four days before Deliveroo introduced the Free Login System. 'I had been working for them for two and a half years, and our group was told that all the hours we had built up had been cancelled! Yes, this is more efficient for Deliveroo, because now they always have someone available. The new deliverers don't know the restaurants and waiting times, so they'll accept

anything they can. What's more, Deliveroo pays per delivery and not per hour, so you earn less.' According to Debbie this is why some meal deliverers speed down bicycle paths so as to arrive at the customer's address as quickly as possible and be available again for the next order. 'This sometimes provokes aggressive reactions from people.'

Cohesion gone

Because she used to work full-time for Deliveroo, Debbie became familiar with many restaurants in Arnhem. 'Small restaurants in particular are very happy with us. Both the owners and the staff would often have a chat with you, and fully understood that we didn't like long waiting times, but they couldn't always help it.' Now that Debbie works much less, she automatically makes fewer deliveries for the same restaurants. 'Some of them actually ask whether you've been on holiday because they haven't seen you for such a long time. The cohesion with other meal deliverers is also gone. Sometimes you bump into someone you know, but there isn't the sense of being colleagues that there used to be. We used to help each other

if someone's bike was broken or their phone battery was empty.'

People are being played off against each other

Debbie not only faces competition from students who come by train from other towns and cities, but also increasingly from

mothers with cargo bikes who have started delivering meals since the Free Login System was introduced. 'Like students, they are happy if they get just one order a night. The position of these people who do this 'on the side' is very different from mine. But I can no longer make ends meet.'



'I receive a EUR 20 bonus if I've made ten deliveries between 5 and 9 p.m. I also keep an eye on multipliers: if it's busy, I might earn a top rate of EUR 25 an hour.'

- Every week, Uber Eats riders receive an overview of their earnings in the app: the Payment Statement. This statement specifies what they are paid for their rides and any additional bonuses:
 - Boost Your Earnings (multiplier, which means the fee multiplied by a specific percentage at certain locations per order)

'Boost Your Earnings by making deliveries in Rijswijk or Scheveningen: on weekdays x 1.3 and in weekends x 1.5. Also depending on the weather.'

- Quests Promotions (bonus for X number of consecutive deliveries within a certain time frame)
- It is also specified how much Uber withholds in Uber fees and tax.
- You pay an Uber Fee per delivery. Tax and the Uber Service Fee are together exactly 10% of the total amount the rider receives per order.
- Uber Eats transfers the final amount to the rider.
- All amounts are excluding VAT.

IF THINGS GO WRONG

- If something goes wrong with the order or you are involved in an accident, you have to report this in the app. No personal support is available.
- You have no income if you are sick or were involved in an accident, as a result of which you are unable to work.

Compared to Deliveroo, Uber Eats has made few adjustments to the way it directs riders with its app. The most important change is that Uber Eats riders must first be located in a so-called blue zone (a virtual geographic area in a town or city centre where many restaurants are situated) in order to be able to receive orders.

Uber Eats allows anyone on the platform. During specific times of the year, riders are rewarded with a referral bonus for recruiting extra riders. This increases competition among the riders. The more riders available, the lower the per-order fee.

'In April 2019, a friend stood to receive a EUR 200 bonus if I would also start delivering for Uber Eats, which I did. We split the sum and then did the same with a few other friends. Recently, the bonus for recruiting people was reduced to EUR 100.'

'When Uber Eats had just started in the Dutch city of The Hague and did not have many riders there, you could sometimes earn around EUR 14 per hour with very few orders.'

CHANGING COMPOSITION OF THE GROUP OF DELIVEROO AND UBER EATS RIDERS

The composition of the group of deliverers has changed because of the adaptations to the Deliveroo app system, and Uber Eats entering the Dutch meal delivery market. The riders that had been employed by Deliveroo until February 2018 stopped working en masse as soon as they were obliged to become self-employed. This group consisted mainly of Dutch and European students. The current Deliveroo and Uber Eats riders are still mainly students, but with a non-European background. This can be attributed to the fact that non-European students in paid employment are allowed to work 16 hours a week without a work permit (source: Dutch Inspectorate for Social Affairs and Employment - Inspectie Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid, abbreviated to Inspectie SZW or ISZW).

However, this does not apply to working as an independent entrepreneur. This group of people have no interest in changing their working relationship with platforms that make use of a self-employment scheme. For the platforms, they are an excellent target group to exploit. They will do the job anyway because they have few other options.

THUISBEZORGD

Thuisbezorgd works differently from Deliveroo and Uber Eats. They started as an online platform, bringing restaurants and customers together. When a customer ordered a meal, the order would be taken care of by a deliverer employed by the restaurant. When Thuisbezorgd started as a platform, they had no deliverers working for them. After Deliveroo set up business in the Netherlands, Thuisbezorgd also started employing deliverers to be able to compete.

HOW TO BECOME A THUISBEZORGD DELIVERER

- Thuisbezorgd deliverers work through a temporary employment agency (mainly Randstad) for a Thuisbezorgd division called 'Scoober'.
- You register with the agency and are given an agency-work employment contract [uitzendovereenkomst] with Thuisbezorgd.
- Your contract with Randstad specifies that you work 12 hours per four weeks, but in practice this is a minimum of eight hours a week, which amounts to 32 hours per four weeks.

GETTING STARTED

- Every week, you state when you want to work. Thuisbezorgd draws up a schedule for the week, and informs you whether you can work the hours you specified through the app.
- There is a day shift from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. and an evening shift from 4 p.m. to 11 p.m. You are obliged to work one evening during the week and one evening during the weekend (Friday, Saturday, or Sunday).
- Fifteen minutes before your shift starts, you collect an electric bike and a backpack from the Thuisbezorgd warehouse.
- You log in to your app to be able to receive orders. Orders may also be allocated by human planners (dispatchers).

PAYMENT

- You are paid by the hour. Your payments are effected by the temporary employment agency.
- In the second and fourth month, the hourly income for riders aged 22 years and older is increased to a maximum of EUR 10.

IF THINGS GO WRONG

- If something goes wrong, you do not need to communicate this through the app but can contact the dispatchers by phone.
- If you are unable to work due to sickness, you will be paid in line with the collective labour agreement for temporary agency workers [cao voor Uitzendkrachten]. The collective labour agreement applies two qualifying days for sickness benefit [wachtdagen bij ziekte], one of which is compensated.

This chapter shows that all three platforms direct their deliverers by means of an app. While Thuisbezorgd started as an app to coordinate supply and demand between customers and restaurants, the company has now developed into a full-fledged competitor of the Deliveroo and Uber Eats platforms. The platforms determine who is admitted to the app, at what locations people work, and when they work. As a result of adjustments to the algorithm, the composition of the group of deliverers and the remuneration is changing in the case of Deliveroo and Uber Eats.

4. DELIVEROO AND UBER EATS RIDERS ARE EMPLOYEES

CONTRACT OF EMPLOYMENT

Employment contracts are based on wages, authority, and personal labour. Regarding each of these aspects, Deliveroo and Uber Eats are trying to create a pseudo reality, hiding behind technology in order to circumvent authority, and using the term 'rate' to evade the concept of wages. And on paper they go to great lengths to make it look as if the work does not need to be carried out personally. In other words: these platforms are resorting to tricks that they devise to avoid being labelled employers.

WAGES OR RATES

Deliveroo and Uber Eats refer to fees and rates, but the money paid to riders is in fact a wage. One of the differences between wages and rates is that an employee cannot influence the wage level, while an entrepreneur negotiates his or her own rates. Wages cannot be negotiated for each and every job. Your wage level is stated in your contract, and if it involves a piece-rate fee, your contract states how this concept works. As an employee who is paid a wage, you have to make do with the wage that has been agreed with the employer.

Self-employed workers determine the rate at which they want to do the job. Their rate includes various elements, such as material costs, the time needed to do the job, reservations to be made for holiday/leave, training, holiday money, and money to be set aside to cover sickness and retirement. All these elements collectively determine the level of the rate entrepreneurs ask for their work.

As stated in chapter 3, the periodic statements that platforms provide to the deliverers closely resembles a payslip. Under the notion of 'self-billing', the platforms produce their own payslips.

No rate negotiations with platforms

Uber Eats and Deliveroo deliverers cannot negotiate a fair price for their work. The platforms determine how much they will earn making a delivery. Over the past years, the platforms have often unilaterally changed the delivery price. For example, Deliveroo and Uber Eats switched from a fixed piecework payment to a fee per kilometre. Because deliverers cannot negotiate their rates and have to accept what the platforms decide. Therefore, what they receive is nothing other than a wage. Furthermore, they are paid a piece-rate fee, which is a rather old-fashioned form of wage.

No work, no costs incurred by platforms

Most companies pay their employees an hourly wage. You are paid for the hours that you are available to work. The platforms want to serve customers and generate a turnover, every day of the week from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. In some towns and cities they even operate until very late at night. Because of the piecework model they do not need to draw up schedules, like good employers do. In this way, they always have staff available, and they only pay them when there is work. The costs relating to the time with no work [leegloopkosten], in other words the non-productive hours between orders, are to be borne by the deliverer. In other companies, these non-productive costs are covered by the employer. If there are too many non-productive hours, a company will need to make choices and decide between costs and customer-friendliness. Then there will be competition relating to elements where competition is desirable: customer-friendliness, service, and quality. The platforms currently compete on false grounds by saving on labour costs. All in all, the platforms' way of remunerating their deliverers can be qualified as wages/ piecework, and clearly not as a freely negotiable rate.

AUTHORITY

The platforms have authority; they are in charge, they determine how deliverers do their job, how much work they get, and check whether the job is done properly. The platforms decide who does the job and assigns orders via their app. They make use of their own algorithm to determine which rider is offered an order.

Supervision: platforms monitor everything

The platform meticulously monitors where you are and what you do. Riders have to confirm each phase of the delivery process in the app. In this way, they are constantly under scrutiny: the platform always knows where you are and what you are doing.

'For example, if I accept an order and do not leave immediately, a notification appears on my screen.'

This automated checking system has replaced the supervising manager. This is worse than ordinary management: a human supervisor would not constantly keep an eye on what you do, breathing down your neck all the time. For example, in September 2020, Deliveroo introduced a system to notify restaurants what time the rider can be present. The phrasing used to communicate this to riders in the RooCommunity clearly marks a relationship of authority [gezagsverhouding]:

'For this system to operate adequately, both parties will need to contribute. Restaurants need to observe the new timing system and riders are asked to avoid unnecessary delays by following the steps in the app at the right time.'

Control: platforms influence riders

The platforms are making increasing use of nudging - applying incentives to make deliverers do what the platform wants. The clearest form of nudging consists of granting bonuses to deliverers. If they do what the platform wants and requires, they may receive a higher fee. This enables platforms to serve customers and generate revenues at their desired times: namely, every day of the week at lunch and dinner time, without having to make use of a fixed scheme with the associated labour costs.

The platforms decides

The platforms have a new method of control, using the latest technology. This clearly still involves directing and authority, although in a more subtle manner, and which in some cases has shifted towards the realm of psychological influencing through built-in nudges. The crux of the matter is that deliverers have no say in when and how or how fast they do their job, and which way they implement it.

PERSONAL LABOUR

Another way Deliveroo and Uber Eats try to avoid being labelled employers is by pretending they are indifferent about who performs the job. However, in practice they actually want to know exactly who does it. Self-employed entrepreneurs who negotiate their own prices can decide themselves whether to send someone else to do the job. They incorporate this into their rate: enough money needs to be left to make a little profit and to pay a staff member, colleague or subcontractor. For example, this way, a self-employed worker can accept various jobs at the same time. As long as the job is done, it does not really matter who performs the work.

With regard to Deliveroo and Uber Eats things do not work this way: the rates are too low to make enterprising profitable. You cannot hire someone else and have a bit of money left for yourself. In practice, this possibility of replacement therefore looks much better than it is. The riders' contracts state that they are allowed to arrange replacement, but if they receive an order and decide not to carry it out themselves, they are given a mere 90 seconds to accept or decline. This does not leave enough time to arrange a replacement. What is more, who likes the idea of handing over their phone to someone else?

Deliveroo lets you have someone replace you on another phone, but not until they have carried out an ID check and spoken to the person concerned. The RooCommunity states: *'Your rider account may be temporarily taken over by someone else. Please note that this person is obliged to have their ID and (if needed) their work permit physically checked by us before he/she can get on the road.'*

RooCommunity's English version even states the following requirement: *'they can't have previously had their own supplier agreement ended by Deliveroo'* (headstrong types are not allowed to replace you). Consequently, there is

INTERVIEW

'TWICE AS MANY RIDES TO EARN THE SAME AMOUNT OF MONEY'

Like many other foreign students, Parvez Hossein works as a meal deliverer. He needs the money he earns to make a living. Parvez works for Deliveroo and Uber Eats.

'The main advantage of working for Deliveroo is that you can decide which and how many hours you want to work. I like this flexibility,' he says. 'But I had to sacrifice a lot for it. Poor pay - Deliveroo applies a low basic rate as a minimum per delivery - and the uncertainty.' Parvez does not regard himself as a true self-employed contractor. 'On paper I'm a self-employed entrepreneur, but in reality I'm not. After all, I cannot negotiate or determine my own rates, and there is a power imbalance. If I say that I can't determine my own rate, they reply that I can see the price when I accept a ride. Yes, that's true, but I cannot negotiate this rate.'

Manipulation

According to Parvez, platforms like Deliveroo and Uber Eats are smart marketing machines. He describes their recruiting strategies as those of a fisherman who doesn't let go of a fish once he's caught it. 'If you're lucky, you can

escape. Otherwise you're stuck. I'm like a fish in a pond, stuck in their nets. They use the flexibility they offer as a means of manipulation.' One example he gives is how they mess with the basic price. 'If bad weather is forecast for tomorrow, Deliveroo cares so much about its riders that they pay 20% extra, but simultaneously reduces the basic rate.' He has tried to figure out how Deliveroo's app, which distributes the rides, actually works. 'If you ask about the app, Deliveroo simply doesn't answer your questions.'

Unclear distribution of orders

Like many other meal deliverers, Parvez alerted Deliveroo after they introduced the Free Login System early in 2020. As a result, many permanent deliverers were suddenly getting far less work because more people were admitted to the platform. 'It is unclear why you sometimes don't get orders. **For example, one day I received five orders within an hour whereas a colleague at the same location received just one.** It doesn't make sense. They should distribute the rides or allocate one to someone who is situated closest to the

restaurant where the meal needs to be collected.'

More deliveries for the same amount of money

When Parvez started working for Deliveroo, he earned 15 to 20 euro per hour. That was enough to invest in an electric bike, so that he could deliver more meals. But now he earns considerably less per hour. 'To earn EUR 50 a day, I have to make ten to fifteen deliveries. That used to be five to six. As a result, I have to make twice as many rides.' Parvez has worked out that, in 2018, he was paid an average amount of EUR 6.90 per order and now he gets just under EUR 4.

Regulations

Parvez, 'I can't work in a shop, because I need to work flexible hours due to my study.' Working based on an employment contract, in paid employment, is no option either. Being a student from outside the EU, with an employment contract he can work no more than 16 hours a week. According to Parvez, this is not enough to make ends meet. This restriction does not apply if you work as a self-employed contractor. 'The more restrictions, the more options for

companies like Deliveroo. And it is an awkward situation because these types of companies are new to the Netherlands. They should actually be monitored very closely.' Parvez has always enjoyed his meal delivery job, but it is no longer fun to work for

Deliveroo as they keep changing things. 'Deliveroo should be more transparent, but I don't think they ever will be. They say they care about us, but they don't. I believe the Dutch government should arrange things better.'



actually no free possibility of being replaced. The work done by deliverers has to be performed personally, exactly as stated in an employment contract. And this makes sense. The deliverers perform work under the colours and on behalf of Deliveroo. Of course, Deliveroo wants to have control over the workers in order to protect their brand name, and deliverers are therefore actually employees.

Why is this a problem?

Because Deliveroo and Uber Eats deliverers get a Service Provision Agreement [Overeenkomst van Opdracht, abbreviated to OvO] rather than a contract of employment, they are bogus self-employed workers (see box below). However, although the deliverers have the same position of dependence as employees, they do not enjoy the same protection. They have no fixed hourly pay, accumulate no holiday entitlement or holiday allowance, are not paid for overtime, and work on Saturdays. Things we consider perfectly normal for employees.

If deliverers get sick, they lose their entire income. They have no employment protection, and the platform can easily block them. They neither build up social protection against unemployment under the Dutch Unemployment Act [Werkloosheidswet, abbreviated to WW] or long-term sickness under the Work and Income According to Work Capacity Act [Wet werk en inkomen naar arbeidsvermogen, abbreviated to WIA], nor accrue pension rights.

Moreover, both Deliveroo and Uber Eats fail to demonstrate good employment practices. They hound the deliverers with a piece-rate fee, and have little regard for the working conditions under which the job is done. No formal form of co-determination [medezeggenschap] has been arranged, and the right to organise in a trade union is undermined. In an employment contract, all these elements are arranged. Riders also miss out on other social security facilities such as parental leave, and have no training and career possibilities. All employers’ risks in the event of a reduced supply of work and in the event of sickness and work accidents are shifted onto the riders.

THE FNV’S VIEW ON SELF-EMPLOYMENT

What is bogus self-employment?

Some self-employed contractors who work for companies have (...) a bogus commissioning party (in a substantive sense, they work on the basis of an employment contract) or depend so heavily on the commissioning party that it is actually very hard to distinguish them from employees.

WHY: employees are replaced by low-paid, less-protected self-employed workers without employees [zelfstandigen zonder personeel, abbreviated to ZZP’ers], merely because the labour costs are lower and risks can be shifted onto the workers.

THEREFORE: the FNV seeks to prevent bogus self-employment. In our view, people become self-employed because they value freedom or aspire to entrepreneurship. Commissioning parties should value specific expertise and reward flexibility, and not have the possibility of hiring self-employed workers merely to save on labour costs and evade employer responsibilities. The accelerated increase in self-employed labour in the Netherlands is linked to two Dutch characteristics: there is no enforcement regarding the prevention of bogus commissioning [schijnopdrachtgeverschap], and there is a significant difference in labour costs between employees and self-employed workers.

THE GOVERNMENT MUST INTERVENE

The riders are therefore clearly not self-employed entrepreneurs, but workers who should be employed by the platforms. In this respect, the judge ruled in favour of the FNV in their lawsuit against Deliveroo (see box below). However, to date nothing much has changed for the Deliveroo and Uber Eats meal deliverers, and the platforms still get away with their practices. For many years, the Dutch government has taken no action whatsoever to eradicate bogus self-employment. In 2018, the minister proclaimed a moratorium [a temporary ban] on the implementation of the Dutch Assessment of Employment Relationships (Deregulation) Act [Wet deregulerend beoordelen arbeidsrelatie, abbreviated to wet DBA]. This means that the tax authorities are not ALLOWED to enforce the Act,

except when malicious cases are involved. In effect, this means that bogus self-employment can continue growing in an unrestrained manner, with all that this entails, as we show in this report: workers are systematically silenced and increasingly worse off.

The politicians have created a climate in which companies can deploy bogus self-employed workers to boost their profits. By means of a paper or virtual reality, platforms manage to circumvent employment contracts, while the Dutch authorities do nothing.

LAWSUIT AGAINST DELIVEROO

In January 2019, the FNV won its lawsuit against Deliveroo, in which the union demanded that meal deliverers be entitled to employment contracts and covered by the Collective Agreement for Professional Goods Transport by Road [cao Beroepsgoederenvervoer]. On 11 September 2020, the appeal court hearing took place with regard to the issue of employment contracts. The appeal court hearing relating to the CAO issue will be held at a later date. Furthermore, the pension fund for the professional goods transport sector [Pensioenfonds Beroepsgoederenvervoer] has also won a court case against Deliveroo, in which they claimed that Deliveroo should have paid pension contributions over the period that their deliverers were employed. In August 2020, the FNV supported two individual members with their demand towards Deliveroo to be given an employment contract in line with the cao Beroepsgoederenvervoer.

Court cases in Europe

In other countries, the meal delivery platforms are also pushing their boundaries, and trade unions are taking legal action. For example, in Spain the supreme court of appeal has ruled that deliverers with the Glovo platform are entitled to an employment contract. France’s supreme court of appeal has ruled that Uber drivers are employees and are therefore entitled to an employment contract. In the Swiss canton of Geneva, the court ruled that Uber Eats drivers will now only be allowed to work under employment contracts. The situation in the Netherlands is therefore not unique and the situation in other European countries shows that the platforms are trying to find loopholes in the law.

Legislation in California

In 2019, the State of California adopted the Assembly Bill 5 (AB5, popularly known as the ‘gig worker bill’, a piece of legislation that went into effect on 1 January 2020, and requires companies that hire independent contractors to reclassify them as employees, with a few exceptions). This Act should ensure that American-based platforms such as Uber, Lyft and Doordash start employing their platform users. A distinction is made between people with a de facto employment status and ‘real self-employed’ workers. By law, you can now only be considered to be self-employed if the employer can prove that the tasks performed are not part of the company’s/ platform’s core activities, and that you have started a business independently and at your own initiative, and are not being managed and supervised by the employer. In all other cases, you will be an employee with the corresponding rights and obligations.

5. FINANCIAL CONSEQUENCES

Platforms like Deliveroo and Uber Eats evade the status of employer and save on wage costs by applying the bogus self-employment scheme. First and foremost, this construction disadvantages the riders, but we as a society are disadvantaged too.

In this chapter we calculate how much money is involved in this bogus scheme. The motive of this scheme is clear: money.

OUR INVESTIGATION

Over the past years, the FNV has talked to hundreds of riders, who have provided us with a wealth of information about how the platforms operate, their working conditions, how the app works, and how much they earn with the work they do. We have talked to riders in the street, conducted in-depth interviews, and organised group meetings, in addition to talking to people via Facebook and WhatsApp groups. In this way, we gained considerable insight into the world of meal deliverers. In-depth interviews were held with 42 riders about their work, and we have carefully analysed invoices. These riders work throughout the Netherlands: in Amsterdam, Arnhem, The Hague, Utrecht, Eindhoven, and Rotterdam.

The financial analysis involved only Deliveroo and Uber Eats because the problems and the issue of underpayment are greatest with these platforms.

Comparison with CAO

To obtain a picture of how much riders and society lose with this bogus scheme, we have compared the income of a ‘self-employed’ deliverer with that of a deliverer with an employment contract, who is covered by the cao Beroepsgoederenvervoer. We have based our investigation on pay scale B of the cao Beroepsgoederenvervoer, as determined by the court in 2019. Moreover, employees under this CAO are also entitled to off-duty days [roostervrije dagen], to a bonus for unsocial hours [onregelmatigheidstoeslag] for working after 9 p.m. and on Saturdays, Sundays and public holidays, and to reservations for holiday allowance and leave days. These elements of monetary value were included in the calculations.

The deliverers

Because the hourly income of deliverers is so low, they often work very long hours. Full-time deliverers, on average, work more than 40 hours a week, and some even work six to seven days a week.

ACCOUNTABILITY AND CALCULATION

Deliveroo and Uber Eats produce invoices in a different manner. Both platforms state the total earnings including bonuses and tips. Deliveroo specifies the exact log-in and log-out times, and the number of orders during this period. Uber Eats only states the delivery time and the calculated fee (including VAT over the fee) on the invoice.

The FNV regards the time between the log-in and log-out times as working time. After all, throughout this period the deliverer is available for work and has no influence on waiting times between deliveries. Only the platform can ensure that deliverers are stationary for a limited time or not at all. That is why we regard waiting time as regular working time. The riding time to the restaurant, from the restaurant to the customer and from the customer back to the central zone has been included in the calculations. In Uber Eats’ calculations, only the time the order was delivered is known. With regard to Uber Eats, we therefore add extra time before and after a 30-minute shift to cover the waiting time until the first order arrives, and for biking back from the customer to the central zone, where many restaurants are situated. Some customers give deliverers a tip, which we did not include in the calculations. After all, a tip is not wage, but rather a sign of extra appreciation by the customer, like a tip given in a bar or restaurant. VAT needs to be paid to the tax authorities and was also not included.



Figure 2: Model Deliveroo invoice



Figure 3: Model Under Eats invoice

INTERVIEW

'FIRST A PERMANENT JOB WITH DELIVEROO, NEXT A FREELANCER FOR UBER EATS'

No, he would not really advise anyone to work as a freelance meal deliverer. Perhaps as a side job, but definitely not as a full-time job. 'It is a hard, dangerous and poorly paid job', says Yorick Bleijenberg.

'You have to work yourself to the bone to make a decent living. Yorick was a meal deliverer for about three years; he first had a permanent job with Deliveroo before becoming a freelancer for Uber Eats'. Most of his fellow meal deliverers are aged between 18 and 35. Why is it that so many, mainly young people, start working as meal deliverers? According to Yorick it is primarily because it is easy and straightforward to start. 'With Uber Eats you register online, then you go to the office to watch an instruction video and answer a few questions to demonstrate that you have understood the instructions. And then you can get started. You download the app, receive a delivery bag, a jacket and a power bank, and from then on you are a 'meal deliverer'. Yorick, 'You're also given a form from the tax authorities, so you get a VAT number. There is no need to register with the Chamber of Commerce if you want to work for Uber Eats. **According to Yorick, freelancers have to pay for the equipment they are**

given. The equipment is given on loan but you still have to pay for it. Uber Eats deducts this amount from their first 'salary'. A nice way to change to the next subject: how much meal deliverers actually earn on average per hour. Yorick, 'It partly depends on when you work, but they earn about five to ten euro an hour. If you have a good delivery, you are paid EUR 5.50. However, this is a gross amount, for which you need to ride your bike or scooter a fair number of kilometres, wait for an order, and keep your own records'. Yorick, 'You earn best on Friday or Saturday evenings from 5 to 8 p.m. There are a lot of orders then'.

Earnings unclear

Yorick explains: 'When you accept an order in the app, you still don't know how much you will earn with the delivery. You have about 60 seconds to accept or refuse the order. You only know which restaurant you need to go to. As soon as you confirm in the app that you have taken receipt of the order, it will show you the delivery location. After the order has been delivered, you finally get to see how much you earned'.

Automated invoices

According to Uber Eats you have an agreement with the restaurants for whom you deliver and not with Uber Eats. But accord-

ing to Yorick there is no evidence of this. 'The invoice that you, as a freelancer, send to the restaurant where you collect the order is generated automatically by the Uber Eats app. The odd thing is that, on paper, the restaurant receives two invoices, one from Uber Eats and one from the deliverer, but they pay Uber Eats. They create a reality that only exists on paper because I do not actually send an invoice to the restaurant and they do not pay me directly'.

No rides, no work

Apart from being online most of the time and at the right moment - during peak hours - meal deliverers can exert little influence on their earnings. And even then you are dependent on the Uber Eats app that controls the entire process.

Yorick, 'After a customer has placed an order, based on its algorithms, Uber Eats determines which online deliverer is closest to the restaurant, and then the deliverer receives a notification in the app. If there are not many rides, that's tough luck for the deliverers, even if they want to work at that moment. I have frequently had days with hardly any work, particularly during the summer season. That's when people tend to go outside and don't order meals.'

Average hourly wage of meal deliverers: EUR 10.70

The average hourly wages of the group investigated by the FNV differ greatly. Generally, Deliveroo’s hourly wages are significantly higher than those paid by Uber Eats, as could be seen in chapter 2. The amounts range from EUR 8 to EUR 11 per hour, with a peak of EUR 15. With these average hourly wages we have calculated a weighted average hourly wage: the average hourly wage per rider multiplied by the number of hours worked by the rider, divided by the total number of hours worked by all riders. Based on these calculations, we arrive at a weighted average hourly wage of EUR 10.70 for self-employed riders.

The total effect

On the basis of our observations, we created two reference persons in order to calculate the financial impact of the practices of Uber Eats and Deliveroo on society, and therefore the competitive advantage they achieve compared with employers who abide by the rules. Our investigation indicates that there are two types of riders: full-time and part-time ones. Part-timers are often Dutch or international students. We have based our investigation on a total of 5,000 riders, 75% of whom are students and 25% work full-time. We opted for an average hourly wage of EUR 12 for our reference persons, which is a higher hourly wage than the weighted average that resulted from our population (EUR 10.70). Although we have talked to hundreds of deliverers, conducted dozens of in-depth interviews, and analysed files, on calculating the total impact we do not want to overestimate the effect. This is also the average hourly wage Deliveroo claims to aim at: ‘As you know, we continue to pursue earnings between EUR 11 and EUR 13 (excluding tips) per hour’ (source: Dutch RTL-News website on 31 August 2019).

Full-timers

Full-timers work 45 hours a week on average: seven hours every Sunday, six hours every Saturday, and the remaining 32 hours during the week. On weekdays, from Tuesday to Friday, they work eight hours a day, of which three evenings until 10 p.m. These are average figures. In reality, these working weeks are longer because there are also weeks of fewer working hours due to holidays or other activities. Full-time riders who work 45 hours a week have usually done this for more than a year and are therefore classified in pay scale B1 of the collective labour agreement (cao Beroepsgoederenvervoer).

Students

Students work an average of 16 hours a week, four of which in the weekend. The other 12 hours are worked on three evenings during the week, two of which until 10 p.m. Students also have working weeks with fewer hours because of interim examinations and holidays. Student riders who work an average of 16 hours a week usually quit their job within a year. We have therefore classified this target group in CAO pay scale B0.

Lack of income for riders

The following tables show that with regard to both reference persons (the full-time and student riders) the basic hourly rate of EUR 12 they would earn under the platform’s bogus self-employment scheme is higher than the basic gross hourly wage in line with the CAO. However, according to the CAO they would also be entitled to bonuses for unsocial/irregular hours [inconveniente uren] and reservations for holiday entitlement and holiday allowance. We observe that the inclusive gross hourly wage is lower in relation to the CAO wage. Full-timers only receive 70% and students only 74% of the amount they would receive under the cao Beroeps-goederenvervoer.

The following two tables show the differences in pay and entitlement for meal deliverers based on collective labour agreement (TLN-CAO) and self-employed riders (Rider). The reference persons are full-timers and students.

Reference person Full-time	TLN CAO	Rider
Gross hourly wage (basic)	€ 11.36	€ 12.00
Holiday money + leave + public holidays	€ 2.97	€ -
Evening and weekend bonuses	€ 2.71	€ -
Gross hourly wage (inclusive)	€ 17.04	€ 12.00
I cost my employer	€ 23.08	€ 12.00
Percentage difference	100%	52%
Net amount	€ 12.17	€ 11.35
I am entitled to		
Pension accrual	YES	NO
25 days holiday/leave	YES	NO
Off-duty days	YES	NO
Holiday money	YES	NO
Continued pay in the event of sickness	YES	NO
Income security	YES	NO
Travelling expenses	YES	NO
A bike	YES	NO
Good employment practices		Bogus self-employment

Table 3: Income and rights of bogus self-employed, full-time riders compared with the TLN CAO

Reference person Student	TLN CAO	Rider
Gross hourly wage (basic)	€ 10.93	€ 12.00
Holiday money + leave + public holidays	€ 2.83	€ -
Bonuses	€ 2.34	€ -
Gross hourly wage (inclusive)	€ 16.10	€ 12.00
I cost my employer	€ 19.04	€ 12.00
Percentage difference	100%	63%
Net	€ 14.87	€ 11.57
Ik heb recht op		
Pension accrual	YES	NO
25 days holiday/leave	YES	NO
Off-duty days	YES	NO
Holiday money	YES	NO
Continued pay in the event of sickness	YES	NO
Income security	YES	NO
Travelling expenses	YES	NO
A bike	YES	NO
Good employment practices		Bogus self-employment

Table 4: Income and rights of bogus self-employed, full-time student riders compared with the TLN CAO

HOW MUCH RIDERS MISS OUT ON ANNUALLY: EUR 27.5 MILLION A YEAR
Compared with the CAO wage, on average, full-time riders miss out on EUR 11,700 in income and part-timers EUR 3,400 annually. In other words, 5,000 riders are paid over EUR 27.5 million too little on an annual basis.

NB: This is a conservative estimate, because we have observed that, on average, riders are not paid EUR 12 but EUR 10.70 an hour. If we include this in our calculations, it turns out that 5,000 riders lose out on as much as EUR 35 million a year. ¹

Furthermore, riders cover their own expenses because they are responsible for most of their equipment: a regular or an electric bike, a mobile phone and a subscription, winter and rainproof clothing, insurance. In addition, they have to pay for an occupational disability insurance [arbeidsongeschiktheidsverzekering], holidays and pension, which amounts to about EUR 150 a month, or EUR 1.60 an hour.

THE AMOUNT DELIVEROO AND UBER EATS SAVE IN LABOUR COSTS: EUR 54 MILLION A YEAR

Employers also need to pay employer’s contributions on top of the gross wage. The gross hourly pay consists of a basic hourly wage, plus a holiday allowance, holidays/leave, public holidays and bonuses (Monday to Friday after 9 p.m., and Saturdays and Sundays). Employer’s contributions include tax, pension, and social security contributions, such as the Healthcare Insurance Act [Zorgverzekeringswet, abbreviated to Zvw]; Unemployment Insurance Act /General Unemployment Fund [Werkloosheidswet/Algemeen Werkloosheidsfonds, abbreviated to WW and Awf, respectively]; Basic premiums for the Invalidity Insurance Act / Work and Income (Capacity for Work) Act; the Work and Income, Return to Work (Partially Disabled) Regulations; the Sickness Benefits Act flex [Wet op de arbeidsongeschiktheidsverzekering / Wet werk en inkomen naar arbeidsvermogen, Regeling werkhervatting gedeeltelijk arbeidsgeschikten, and Ziektewet flex, abbreviated to WAO, WIA, WGA and ZW flex, respectively], and pension contributions. If we add these costs saved to the savings made in wage, the financial advantage enjoyed by the Deliveroo and Uber Eats platforms collectively amounts to **EUR 54 million a year**.

STUDENT Difference TLN CAO and Rider				
Difference	hour	month	year	3.750 studenten
Gross wage	€ 4.10	€ 284.23	€ 3,411	€ 12,790,442
Employer’s contributions	€ 7.04	€ 487.90	€ 5,855	€ 21,955,350
FULL TIME Difference TLN CAO and Rider				
Difference	hour	month	year	1.250 fulltimers
Gross wage	€ 5.04	€ 982.23	€ 11,787	€ 14,733,435
Employer’s contributions	€ 11.08	€ 2,159.79	€ 25,918	€ 32,396,886
FULL TIME + STUDENT Difference TLN CAO and Rider				
Difference	hour	month	year	5,000 riders
Gross wage				€ 27,523,877
Employer’s contributions				€ 54,352,236

Table 5: Costs saved by the employer on meal deliverers

1 In the previous report, ‘Riders deserve better’ (2019), 5,000 freelance riders earned an average of EUR 27,655,000 too little. For these calculations, an average hourly rate of less than EUR 10 was used.

NB: this is also a conservative estimate. If we were to base our calculations on the observed EUR 10.70 per hour, then the employer’s advantage would come down to over EUR 62 million. ²

MONEY LOST BY SOCIETY: EUR 32 MILLION A YEAR

In addition to saving on wage costs, the bogus scheme with bogus self-employed workers applied by Uber Eats and Deliveroo also affects society. After all, significantly less income tax and premiums and no pension contributions are paid for self-employed contractors vis-à-vis workers with an employment contract.

The following table shows the total financial disadvantage for society per year, relating to the entire group of 5,000 deliverers. The impact differs per type of rider, with, respectively, EUR 2,594 for a student rider up to no less than EUR 17,740 for a full-time rider. Calculated over the entire group of 5,000 riders, society misses out on EUR 32 million per annum as a result of the platforms’ practices.

	Tax and contributions Riders per year	Tax and contributions Rider covered by the TLN CAO	Difference in taxes and contributions	Difference pension fund	Total difference
one rider	€ 572	€ 5,434	€ 4,861	€ 1,520	€ 6,381
5,000 riders	€ 2,861,698	€ 27,168,104	€ 24,306,406	€ 7,597,901	€ 31.904,307

Table 6: Costs for society

NB: these calculations are also based on an hourly rate of EUR 12. If we base our calculations on an average hourly wage of EUR 10.70, the disadvantage suffered by society will amount to over EUR 32.6 million. ³

Based on this chapter, we can draw the following conclusion: the amounts by which riders are disadvantaged, the sum that the platforms save in labour costs, and the amounts by which they disadvantage society add up to millions of euros on an annual basis. And because the riders’ remuneration has not increased over the past years, whereas the hourly wages under the cao Beroepsgoederenvervoer are increasing, this disadvantage will increase by a few millions more.

2 In the previous report, ‘Riders deserve better’ (2019), with 5,000 freelancers, an average of EUR 52,690,000 in labour costs was saved. For these calculations, an average hourly rate of less than EUR 10 was used.
3 In the previous report ‘Riders deserve better’ (2019), society suffered an average loss of EUR 27,530,000 on 5,000 freelance riders. For these calculations, an average hourly rate of less than EUR 10 was used.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This report shows that the meal delivering sector has become the drain outlet of the labour market. Managers and shareholders in this sector are lining their pockets while the platforms themselves make huge losses (and therefore do not pay tax), and deliverers often earn less than the statutory minimum wage.

The three meal delivery platforms control their deliverers through apps. Thuisbezorgd provides for an agency-work employment contract [uitzendovereenkomst] and acknowledges its status as employer. Deliveroo and Uber Eats act like employers: through nudging and other tactics they ensure that deliverers do exactly what they want, while they apply a bogus self-employment scheme to evade employer's contributions and thus engage in a price competition with other platforms by trampling on the deliverers.

BOGUS SELF-EMPLOYED RIDERS

The platforms circumvent their responsibilities as employers by using a whole range of tricks. Uber Eats and Deliveroo create a pseudo reality to circumvent the status of employer. They refer to wages as rates and hide behind the app technology in order to evade the key concept of employership, namely: a relationship of authority. On paper, they do all they can to make it look like the work does not need to be carried out personally. Uber Eats and Deliveroo benefit from having as many meal deliverers as possible, because then the supply will be high and labour costs can be kept low. The deliverers are in the same position of dependence as employees, but do not enjoy the same protection. They have no fixed hourly wage, do not accumulate holiday entitlement and holiday allowance, do not accrue pension rights, and have no safety net to protect them against unemployment or in the event of sickness.

RIDERS AND SOCIETY MISS OUT ON MILLIONS OF EUROS

In chapter 5 we stated that this involves a lot of money. FNV's analysis shows that part-time deliverers are paid EUR 3,400 and full-time riders EUR 11,700 too little on an annual basis. By evading the cao Beroepsgoederenvervoer, the Uber Eats and Deliveroo platforms annually save EUR 54 million in labour costs. Furthermore, society is also deprived of a considerable amount of money: at least EUR 32 million in tax money, social security contributions, and pension contributions.

EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS UNDER PRESSURE

The platforms evade their duty to pay tax, social security and pension contributions. These companies are growing fast, but their practices are undermining the carefully constructed social security system that we have established in the Netherlands. In the long term, the trend of competing on employment conditions may lead to companies in other sectors feeling compelled to apply a similar earnings model.

UNFAIR COMPETITION

In the future, companies like Deliveroo and Uber Eats may also pose a risk for the Dutch transport sector. As soon as these platforms – or derivatives thereof – also start delivering consumer goods, they will be competing directly with companies that play by the rules and comply with the cao Beroepsgoederenvervoer. These companies will feel pressurised to cut down on costs, including labour costs, in order to keep up with the competition.

HIGHT COSTS FOR RESTAURANTS

To restaurant owners, the opportunity of having meals delivered appears to be a nice extra source of income. However, the platforms charge them high service fees: on average 30% to 35% per delivery.

THINGS CAN AND MUST BE DONE DIFFERENTLY

Restaurants and consumers benefit from apps that bring meals and customers together. Through these apps, deliverers make use of an easy way to get work, which enables them to strike a good balance between work and private life.

Labour relations that fit in with the current economy; co-determine your timetable, flexibility, and income security. Insured and working safely. Being seen and heard, and having a say in your work. Being backed by a social safety net in the event of unforeseen setbacks.

The platforms, with their crafty techniques, have a duty of care towards the deliverers who work for them. They are not figures, amounts or numbers but people who co-use the advanced app. People who actively cooperate in getting restaurant meals delivered to customers, come rain or shine. Platform work must, should and can be performed with normal, sound labour relations. Not until all these conditions are met will we be able to speak of modern companies with contemporary labour relations. To achieve this, we would like to make a few recommendations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The FNV seeks to put an end to this undesirable situation with meal delivery platforms, and wants deliverers to enjoy the same protection as any other employee in the Netherlands. Therefore, the FNV is taking legal action against these platforms. Unfortunately, this has not yet led to the desirable results, as following the court ruling of January 2019, the situation at Deliveroo has only deteriorated.

We urge all meal delivery platforms - and Deliveroo and Uber Eats in particular - to conduct themselves as good employers.

- The platform companies must employ the deliverers and apply the cao Beroepsgoederenvervoer.

Furthermore, we strongly urge the government and policymakers to put an end to the bogus self-employment scheme we have shown in this report as soon as possible. The FNV has the following recommendations:

- **Workers are always employees:** Reverse the burden of proof in demonstrating employment, similarly to the Californian AB5 legislation. Workers are always employees and if this should lead to a dispute, it will be up to the company to prove that the worker involved is self-employed – in other words, that: 1) the worker started a business on their own initiative, and 2) does not perform work as part of the company's core activities, and, 3) is not managed and supervised by the company. In this way, the strongest party – the employer – bears the burden of proof, and individual employees do not need to bear this burden.
- **Comply with legal rulings.** In the Deliveroo case the ruling was 'provisionally enforceable' [to have immediate effect – in Dutch: bij voorraad uitvoerbaar]. The court allowed the government and tax authorities to enforce the ruling on Deliveroo with immediate effect but they failed to do so, with all that this entails.
- **Enforcement of the Dutch Assessment of Employment Relationships (Deregulation) Act [wet DBA]:** The moratorium [a temporary ban] on the implementation of the Wet DBA must be lifted with immediate effect to enable the tax authorities to start enforcing legislation on bogus self-employment, and to determine without delay that it involves work performed by employees in this sector. Start by enforcing the wet DBA in the case of meal deliverers.
- **Bogus self-employment is an independently fineable offence [eigenstandig beboetbaar feit].** The Dutch Inspectorate for Social Affairs and Employment [Inspectie SZW] must adopt it as such so that they can further investigate labour relations if other labour laws are complied with.

The FNV will continue to support current and former riders in demanding an employment contract and claiming outstanding wages [achterstallig loon] until these platforms start behaving as decent companies.

Finally, remember that you, as a consumer, are also free to make choices. Nobody wants to contribute deliberately to maintaining unfair situations in the labour market. As consumers, you are part of society, and our society is missing out on millions. Act like a critical consumer: ask the companies questions, express your concern, and voice your objections. At the end of the day, companies can only maintain these practices because of the consumers who make use of their services.

