EMBRACING THE DIGITAL AGE: THE FUTURE OF WORK IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

NEW FORMS OF EMPLOYMENT AND PLATFORM WORK

Implications for youth employment policies and skills development

COUNTRY REPORT: NORTH MACEDONIA
Disclaimer

This report was prepared for ETF by PPMI
Author: Aleksandar Kostadinov
Editors: Vaida Gineikytė-Kanclerė and Ugnė Pilkionytė, PPMI
 Coordination and supervision: Iwona Ganko, ETF

The contents of the report are the sole responsibility of the ETF and do not necessarily reflect the views of the EU institutions.

© European Training Foundation, 2022
Reproduction is authorised, provided the source is acknowledged.
The European Training Foundation (ETF) is engaged in the international debate about the future of work in developing and transition countries, in particular in the EU Neighbourhood and Central Asia. It has launched several actions analysing global transformations that impact labour market performance and skills demand, identifying the implications for workers and learners. Updating and consolidating the knowledge on recent changes in work patterns driven by digitalisation sheds light on key issues for employment and skills development.

This report is a part of the ETF study conducted in the 6 Western Balkan countries, following the work in the 6 Eastern Partnership countries The future of work: New forms of employment and platform work in the Eastern Partnership countries. The country-specific research and consultations in North Macedonia took place between December 2021 and May 2022. The manuscript was completed in June 2022.

The analysis confirms the huge impact of technological change on Western Balkan economies, including Albania, with the Covid-19 pandemic accelerating digitalisation trends and increasing labour flexibility. New economic models with efficient matching of labour and skills demand and supply provide online-based employment opportunities and, to some extent, skills development. Young people take up those opportunities, which open up new markets and new ways of work, often becoming an alternative to migration. Therefore, beyond the inherent volatility of contractual relationships, issues of quality and inclusiveness, new forms of work are an important source of income, a place to use and develop skills, and a chance to harness entrepreneurial potential.

The ETF would like to thank the author - Aleksandar Kostadinov, the PPMI team led by Vaida Gineikytė-Kanclerė and Ugnė Pilkionytė, as well as all the institutions and individuals in North Macedonia contributing to the reflection throughout the study. The report also benefited from a valuable input of the ETF experts – Cristina Mereuta, Eva Jansova, Maria Rosenstock, Florian Kadletz and Stylianos Karagiannis. Silvia Ornano supported the implementation of the study. Iwona Ganko coordinated the study and supervised the preparation of this report.
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTENTS</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SETTING THE SCENE</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEW FORMS OF EMPLOYMENT</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLATFORM WORK</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote platform work</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On-location platform work</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CURRENT REGULATION, POLICIES AND STRATEGIC APPROACHES</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLICY IMPLICATIONS</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOURCES</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES LIST</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Social, economic and technological changes within the EU and Neighbourhood countries, including North Macedonia, have fostered a notable increase in labour market flexibility. New and non-standard forms of employment have grown in scale and prominence in recent years. Many of these new forms of employment deviate from traditional concepts of work, both in terms of their legal and contractual form, as well as in practical working conditions.¹

Some of the most notable non-standard forms of employment include temporary employment; part-time and on-call work; temporary agency work and other multiparty employment relationships; as well as dependent self-employment. Besides the general of increasing flexibility in labour markets, digitalisation enhances non-standard forms of work can be linked to digitalisation in many cases. Work through digital labour platforms is one of the more notable manifestations of recent transformations in the employment landscape, especially given the context of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Platform work is a new and expanding phenomenon and the key focus of this report. It can be defined as services provided on demand and for remuneration by people working through digital platforms. These platforms can facilitate the provision of both remote and on-location services that require diverse skill levels, and – depending on the business model of the platform – exert various levels of algorithmic control over workers. Platform work can also be referred to as gig work, on-line freelancing, or app work; or is simply better known by the brand of individual platforms such as Uber, Glovo, Upwork and many others.²

This report will examine the emergence of the new forms of employment and platform work in North Macedonia, by relying on a mixed-method approach to data collection and analysis, involving desk research, interviews, and analysis of automatically collected data from the platforms. The in-depth research was complemented with a survey to identify priorities for policy actions.

The desk research and interviews were conducted in English and Macedonian between December 2021 and February 2022. Interviews were targeted at policymakers, representatives of business and worker associations, as well as platform companies operating in North Macedonia and people working through these platforms.

The automatic data collection was conducted between November and December of 2021 and targeted four platforms that are popular among freelancers from the Western Balkans - Freelancer.com, People Per Hour, Guru.com, and Hubstaff Talent. These platforms were selected based on the number of people from the region working through them, as well as the possibility to collect data in an automated way from the platforms. Upwork, one of the major platforms, could not be scraped automatically due to measures it implemented by the platform to limit such activities at the time the automated data collection took place. Therefore, this platform was covered through other data collection methods.

SETTING THE SCENE

According to the World Bank, North Macedonia is an upper-middle-income country that focuses on a few industries for growth. Since gaining independence in 1991, the country has made significant progress in liberalising its economy, improving its business environment, and reforming its institutions toward a market-oriented economy.

Over the past two decades, the economy maintained a low inflation rate, moderate public debt (under 60% of the GDP), and a fixed exchange rate for the Macedonian Denar against the Euro. Price stability and moderate budget deficits were relevant for maintaining the country’s macro stability and sustained economic growth, but less effective against high and persistent unemployment.

The country’s economy is closely linked to Europe and most of its business and trade relations are conducted with European countries. Although the country is a net importer, it significantly relies on exports – mainly to the EU - with Germany being the main trade partner. The main economic sectors that contribute to the GDP are the service sector with a share of about 56% of GDP, agriculture with 9%, and industry with 19%.

In 2021, the country has significantly recovered from the COVID-19 pandemic-induced recession of 2020. Preliminary data shows that GDP growth for 2021 has reached 4.1% (EUR 11.7 million), after a 6.1% contraction in 2020. Economic recovery in 2021 was driven by a combination of domestic fiscal stimulus policies, vaccination campaigns, the reopening of businesses, and the favourable external conditions for exports to EU countries. Government funds for businesses in the form of subsidies, favourable loans, and direct support were generously provided throughout the pandemic. These so-called “economic packages” contained more than 100 measures specifically targeting the economic sectors that were most affected by the pandemic, as well as vulnerable groups of people, the self-employed, and various economic activities.

Despite numerous measures available to businesses, the number of registered active businesses had decreased by 3.7% by the end of 2020 compared to 2019. Micro-sized companies constituted the largest share of this decrease. In 2021, a combination of lowered infection rates and vaccination campaigns led to lowered mobility restrictions and the reopening of businesses. The reopening was especially welcome by entities working in the tourism, trade, travel, and accommodation sectors, which have experienced difficult times during the lockdowns and were disproportionately affected by the pandemic. Economic recovery in EU countries, which account for about two-thirds of North Macedonia’s exports, also provided a boost in the country’s exports which tended to increase demand for labour in the Free Economic Zones. The economic recovery is expected to resume in 2022 and growth is forecast at 4.2%, but these expectations remain highly uncertain.

In 2020, the labour force in North Macedonia consisted of 1.69 million people, of which 56% were active and participating in the labour market. The inactive population represented 44% of the working-age population in 2020, of which 61% were women. Economic growth over the past decade boosted the demand for the workforce. The number of employees (aged 15-79) rose from 678,000 in 2013 to 794,000 in 2020, which increased the employment rate from 40.6% to 47.2% in the respective period. This increase, however, did not close the gender gap, and the employment rate of women

---

5 https://vlada.mk/ekonomski-merki-covid19
7 https://fez.gov.mk/despotovski-vo-tirz-postignati-bliz/
8 https://www.imf.org/en/Countries/MKD
10 State Statistical Office of the Republic of North Macedonia, Yearbook 2021
accounted for 38.4%, compared to 55.9% for the male population. Increased demand for high-skilled labour, low educational level of the population, and emigration of youth have led to recent shortages of skilled labour force, which may hinder economic growth in the mid-term. At the same time, participation in lifelong learning remains very low, with only 2.6% of adults participating in training in 2020.11

During the transition period, the country featured one of the highest unemployment rates in Europe, reaching as high as 37.3% in 2005.12 As a result of government structural reforms in education and targeted labour market policies over the past 15 years, the country had made significant progress in decreasing the unemployment rate to 16.4% in 2020.

In the initial months of the pandemic, the Employment Service Agency registered a sharp increase in unemployed persons. The number of active jobseekers rose from 105,816 in February 2020 to 156,432 in December 2020, which was nearly a 47% increase in just a nine-month period.13 The policy response was crucial in preserving jobs and containing accelerated layoffs. By the end of 2021, although significantly higher than before the pandemic, the number of active jobseekers decreased to 130,982.

The youth unemployment rate (aged 15-29) was around 50% in the early 2010s but has improved over the past decade and stood at 25% in the third quarter of 2021.14 Despite trends towards a taming of youth unemployment, the activity rates of the young population in North Macedonia are still below the EU-27 average, especially for the less educated and female populations. Policy changes over the last 15 years have kept young people in education for longer, which may explain their lower activity rates in the labour market.

Data from Eurostat15 shows that the share of youth who are neither in employment nor in education and training (NEET) has increased during the pandemic across all European countries, reaching 14% in the EU-27 in 2020. In comparison, the NEET rate in North Macedonia among the young population reached 26.2% in 2020 for the population aged 15-29, an increase by two percentage points compared to 2019. This represents one of the highest rates in Europe.

Statistical data show that youth labour in North Macedonia is underutilised. One of the reasons for this may be inadequate education and skills to enter the labour market. For instance, an ILO study from 2016 found that the transition from school to work in North Macedonia took on average of 31.2 months (2.5 years) from the time of graduation to attainment of a first job deemed to be either stable or satisfactory. Meanwhile, for youth with primary education it could take as long as 62 months to complete the transition.16

The educated workforce often chooses to migrate abroad due to the lack of local employment opportunities in North Macedonia. Over the last 15 years the growing number of private and public universities in the country has led to an increased number of people with tertiary education. As a result, thousands of university graduates across the country are failing ever to find satisfactory jobs for their level of education and, thus, leave the country. Statistics from Eurostat show that 1,283 resident permits for remunerated activities were issued to citizens from North Macedonia in 2013 across the EU-28. This number had increased almost tenfold by 2019 when 11,427 resident permits were issued.17

However, not everyone in North Macedonia considers emigration an option. In order to avoid long-term unemployment or emigration, many young people decide to upskill or acquire new knowledge and skills for emerging digital jobs offered on global platforms. A growing number of young, educated

---

11 ETF (2021) Adult participation in lifelong learning in the past 4 weeks (aged 25-64), Key indicators on education, skills and employment 2021.
15 Eurostat database, accessed 09 March, 2022
17 Eurostat database, accessed 09 February, 2022
graduates have started to attend short, non-formal courses that allow them to acquire IT skills needed for platform work. As the demand for such courses has been increasing, there has also been an exponentially growing number of educational centres that offer non-formal education training. The most popular areas are IT, digital marketing, art and design, and similar subjects, where young people can acquire the necessary skills for freelancing. As of early 2022, there were at least 22 privately-owned “IT academies” that offered various short-term training programs in the local language.

North Macedonia has witnessed progress in its efforts to digitalise the economy. Data from the State Statistical Office shows that 83.7% of households had access to an internet connection in 2021, of which 87.1% had a broadband connection. The number of mobile phone subscribers in 2021 reached 1.87 million and represented 90.3% of the population. Along with mobile phone penetration, mobile internet subscribers reached 1.4 million in the second quarter of 2021. Another indicator of digitalisation is the number of orders via the internet, which has been on a rise over the last decade. In 2009, only 3.5% of the population reported having ordered goods or services on the internet, while this share rose to 35.9% in 2019. This indicator is even higher among the young population (aged 15-24), as 45.8% of them reported buying or ordering goods over the internet in 2019.

Nevertheless, the population’s digital skills in North Macedonia remain rather low compared to EU countries. Data from Eurostat shows that the percentage of individuals who had low digital skills in North Macedonia in 2019 stood at 50%. This was 21 percentage points higher than the EU-27 average. Meanwhile, the share of individuals with above basic digital skills in the country stood at 15%, compared to the EU-27 figure of 31%.

---

18 https://99schools.mk/informalEducation?page=3
550_InfOpst_Mk_ekupuvaci12m_ang.px/table/tableViewLayout2/?rxid=80c432f2-bf81-4a38-9ff3-76254ca730b9
22 Eurostat database, accessed 9 March, 2022
NEW FORMS OF EMPLOYMENT

According to the Labour Force Survey (LFS), full-time employment remains the predominant form of employment in North Macedonia. More than 95% of the workers were employed full-time in 2020 (or 763,070 out of 794,909). This ratio has remained stable over the last decade. Part-time workers are mainly found among the self-employed and unpaid family workers. However, more notable changes can be identified in other forms of work.

Interestingly, despite the increased prevalence of freelancing, self-employment as a form of employment has decreased in North Macedonia in recent years. Data from LFS show that in 2016 there were 127,000 self-employed persons, while in 2020, this number dropped to 110,000.23 Despite an increase in numbers throughout the period 2016-2019, the pandemic year attributed to a one-third drop in self-employed persons. The sharp decrease is mainly registered for manager, while the number of professionals, technicians and service and sales workers increased. Self-employment mainly saw a reduction in sectors other than those in which high-skill freelancing is prevalent. Furthermore, freelancing is likely to not be fully accounted for in labour statistics. Eurostat data show that most of the self-employed in North Macedonia are agricultural workers, service and sales workers, and craftsmen (see the figure below). Compared to the EU-27 average, only a small portion of the self-employed in North Macedonia belong to the category of ‘professionals’ - about 7,000 thousand persons or 6% in 2020. IT specialists, the group that most of the remote platform workers belong to, would increase the percentage of ‘professionals’ if they were identified and enumerated as such in the LFS.

Figure 1. Percentage of self-employed by ISCO occupation out of the total number of self-employed persons in 2020, EU-27 and North Macedonia comparison

Source: Eurostat, author’s calculations.

---

23 Eurostat, Self-employment by sex, age, occupation
Looking into the development of other non-standard forms of work, intermediary work agencies were recognised as Private Employment Agencies (PEA) in 2006 and are regulated by the Law on Private Employment Agencies. According to current legislation, PEA can cede workers to employers, subcontract workers, and serve as an intermediary for employment in the country or abroad. In view of the following sections, it is important to note that the law on PEAs does not regulate the possibility of hiring local platform workers working on digital labour platforms and acting as intermediaries for third parties from abroad. Even if the law was amended, such cases would be rare because of the high transaction costs that would be borne from this (PEA commission, bank fees, exchange rate losses, etc.).

Furthermore, the number of people working under temporary work contracts in the country has grown in the last decade. In 2011, around 15% of all employees were working under a temporary contract, close to the EU-27 average. During the pandemic in 2020, the share of persons working under temporary contracts grew rapidly and reached about 18%, equal to 116,000 persons, while the EU-27 average stood at 13.2%. Nevertheless, temporary employment is less common among local private companies because of ambiguity in labour regulations. Companies choose to conclude service contracts which are easier and have fewer constraints with respect to labour legislation and payment of obligatory social contributions.

For years there have been concerns regarding the broad informal sector in North Macedonia. Different calculations show that the informal sector accounts for between 20% and 40% of the GDP, while the International Labour Organization estimates that 13.8% of the employed population (or about 130,000 persons) have “informal employment” status. This prevalence of informality is partially linked to the rigid business regulations, bureaucratic burdens, and legislative gaps which hinder registering as self-employed or creating start-ups. Our desk research and interviews revealed that many freelancers do not register their businesses to evade expensive bureaucratic procedures and confusing legislative loopholes. They prefer to remain “invisible to the institutions”. There are, however, several foreign-donor-sponsored organisations that are promoting start-up systems in the country, especially for freelancers.

North Macedonia’s informal sector has been able to absorb the shocks caused by the transition from a planned to a market economy in the 1990s. Since then, a significant number of workers have continued to work in the informal economy, notably in the agricultural, construction, transportation, manufacturing, and sales and retail sectors. In addition, the high rate of informality across sectors means that informal workers now represent a fast-growing number of the country’s labour force.

The COVID-19 pandemic has had a negative impact on both formal and informal workers. However, formal workers were at least entitled to receive various forms of support in case of unemployment through government schemes. People in the informal sector could not rely on government support during the pandemic. Contrary to the belief that the pandemic would increase the rate of unemployment, the LFS registered a decrease in the unemployment rate during the pandemic. This decrease could be attributed, at least to some extent, to an increase in informal work, as youth and the unemployed found temporary informal employment under service contracts or on-call arrangements.

---

26 https://startupmacedonia.mk/
28 Service contracts are under Law on obligations in North Macedonia.
29 Government imposed lockdowns during the pandemic years 2020 and 2021, have affected normal functioning of the businesses operating in hospitality industries by imposing frequent closures. Such situation was partially mitigated by businesses with introduction of own food delivery services that experienced exponential growth in just two years. New imposed reality foresees more courier delivery personnel and vehicles, than waiters to serve indoor. Given that significant part of the of the waiters and indoor working personal became redundant “overnight”, during the interviews conducted, several persons working as courier riders acknowledged that previously worked in some of the indoor positions and now work on-call without contract.
Finally, as mentioned, North Macedonia has witnessed a rise in the number of freelancers, also categorised as remote independent contractors. With the advent of the pandemic the demand for project-based tasks increased and so the number of remote workers from North Macedonia offering services under independent contracts had grown. Although their exact prevalence is not known, unofficial social groups offer a growing number of job opportunities for remote workers. Remote independent contractors do not work under employment contracts in accordance with the local legislation. This is because employers are usually non-resident legal entities and do not have local offices in the country. Thus, they are not required to pay social contributions and other benefits to Macedonian remote independent contractors.

Even though many different associate remote independent contractors and platform workers are overviewed in the following chapter, there are some differences between the two groups. For example, remote independent contractors are not hired through online marketplaces. They establish long-term contractual arrangements with a specific company and sign non-disclosure agreements, intellectual property agreements, and non-competition agreements, which allow them to access certain company resources and familiarise themselves with the business culture and operations. Platform workers on other hand, are hired on a short-term basis, often through escrow agreements,\(^\text{30}\) and have the platform as an escrow agent.

\(^{30}\) Escrow as an instrument whereby a third party (intermediary) acts on behalf of two other parties that are in the process of completing a transaction.
As elsewhere in the world, platform work in North Macedonia has seen exponential growth in the past few years, both on local and global platforms. With rapidly increasing internet penetration and digitalisation over the last decade, citizens from North Macedonia have been increasingly interested in enjoying the benefits of working in global digital markets. The digitalisation of the country and access to the internet opened various job opportunities for people seeking better salaries or to earn additional income. The emergence of digital platforms, both global and local, have affected the lives of thousands of households in the country.

Platform work fits well with the broader trends towards the increasing popularity of freelancing and remote work. The COVID-19 pandemic has changed the way businesses operate. Companies had to adapt to new conditions such as remote working, quarantined employees, and travel restrictions. Despite the differing opinions about the efficacy of remote work, businesses are increasingly introducing digital tools into their workplaces and hiring platform workers. These new developments offer more opportunities for freelancers more generally and platform workers specifically, in terms of flexibility, pay, and efficiency. However, they also have raised questions about minimum wage requirements, health and social protection, consumer rights, and informal practices in the sector.

Based on interviews, field research, and expert inputs, the following sections present how platform work in North Macedonia has the potential to contribute to GDP growth and create thousands of new jobs across all sectors in the next three years. It also identified payment transfers used by platform workers on global platforms and priorities that must be addressed by policymakers in order to take full advantage of platform work and the opportunities it offers. However, even though platform work has been present in the country for at least a decade, the topic has prompted little to no discussion from policymakers and remains unmonitored in North Macedonia. The necessary instruments and policies have not been put in place to allow public institutions and the legislative framework to overview how things are evolving for platform workers.

Remote platform work

Due to limited data on remote platform workers, the following findings are triangulated based on three available sources: the Online Labour Index (OLI)\(^\text{31}\), the Gigmetar report\(^\text{32}\), and data automatically collected for the purposes of this study. It is important to note that while the data from the three sources complement each other and provide accurate indications of the scope of online work, the findings are not directly comparable:

- The Gigmetar report from August 2021 presents data on registered platform workers on Upwork, Freelancer.com, and Guru.com.
- Automatically collected data in November 2021 represents registered platform workers on Freelancer.com, Guru.com, Hubstaff Talent, and People Per Hour (PPH) platforms.
- OLI data presents information on active (not registered) platform workers on four English language web-based freelancing platforms Fiverr, Freelancer.com, Guru.com, and People Per Hour.

---


The OLI index, which monitors the largest English language platforms, estimated that 0.6% of the global platform workforce originated from North Macedonia and placed the country among the top 20 suppliers of platform labour in July 2017. The latest figures from January 2022 show that 0.22% of the global platform workforce originated from North Macedonia, with 0.62% of the clerical and data entry occupations coming from the country. According to the data from the OLI, engagement in online work among Macedonians fluctuated in the past and has become more stable since late 2020, although it has not bounced back to the pre-pandemic levels (see the figure below).

**Figure 2. Change of engagement in online work among North Macedonian workers on digital remote labour platforms over time, relative to 2017**

![Figure 2. Change of engagement in online work among North Macedonian workers on digital remote labour platforms over time, relative to 2017](image)

Note: The graph presents the percentage change between the number of active workers from North Macedonia on a specific day compared to the number of active workers at the start of data collection in 2017, which is used as a reference date. This graph was based on OLI data which calculated a weighted estimate of currently active workers by periodically sampling workers on four of the largest online platforms once every 24 hours.

Nevertheless, according to Gigmetar measurements from August 2021, North Macedonia was the leader in the Western Balkan and SEE regions in terms of platform workers per capita, with 249 gig workers per 100,000 inhabitants and around 5,000 platform workers registered on the three platforms monitored by the tool. This finding about the high prevalence of remote platform work among North Macedonians has also been confirmed by other sources.

The automatically collected data from four selected platforms also revealed a large online workforce from North Macedonia. The number of registered workers was 4,176 in November 2021. Considering the country’s total working-age population (aged 15-64) in 2020, the share of platform workers in North Macedonia was 0.29% - the highest share in the Western Balkans. Out of the registered online workers, 17.6% could be considered active workers. The most popular platform among registered workers was Guru.com, with over 2,000 registered freelancers from North Macedonia (this accounts for almost 50% of all registered workers from North Macedonia on the four investigated platforms). The second most popular platform was Freelancer.com with 1,566 registered workers. Hubstaff Talent and People Per Hour platforms hosted significantly fewer freelancers from North Macedonia, with 454 and 139, respectively.

33 The OLI monitored Fiverr, Freelancer, Guru, and PeoplePerHour, in July 2017. In the consequent years it increased the number of monitored platforms, however which platforms were these is unclear.
34 [https://ilabour.ox.ac.uk/where-are-online-workers-located-the-international-division-of-digital-gig-work/](https://ilabour.ox.ac.uk/where-are-online-workers-located-the-international-division-of-digital-gig-work/)
Nevertheless, the most popular remote work platform seems to be the US-based Upwork. The Gigmetar report found that Upwork remained the most popular platform among North Macedonian platform workers during the 2020-2021 period, with a share of about 54.8% of all registered workers from the country, followed by Guru.com with 25.3% and Freelancer.com with 19.9%. In early 2022, there were about 18,100 reviews for individuals from North Macedonia registered on Upwork. As such, higher levels of activity among North Macedonians can be observed on Upwork compared to other investigated platforms. By contrast, the sum of reviews on Freelancer.com, Guru.com, Hubstaff Talent, and People Per Hour combined was only 9,300 in November 2021.

Other popular platforms used to find remote work are Fiverr, Pangea and Toptal. Overall, platform workers from North Macedonia mostly work on global English language platforms mainly for clients in the US and Western Europe.

The automatically collected data revealed clear preferences for certain occupations among North Macedonian remote platform workers (see the figure below for occupational distribution). The dominant occupation among registered workers was creative and multimedia work, with 32% offering such services. The second most popular occupation was software development and technology work, with 27.2% of workers offering skills in the field. This can be partially explained by the fact that North Macedonia has a small and underdeveloped IT market which has driven local IT specialists to turn to foreign markets as platform workers. There were slight differences in occupational preferences across platforms. On Freelancer.com, Guru.com and PPH, creative and multimedia work was the leading occupation, while on Hubstaff Talent software development and technology dominated among freelancers from North Macedonia.

The Gigmetar data from August 2021 displayed similar occupational distribution among online workers from North Macedonia. Creative and multimedia was also the leading occupation with 34.2% of registered workers undertaking such work. The second most popular occupation was software development, constituting 19.6% of registered workers. In the remaining occupations, the share of registered platform workers was as follows: clerical and data entry - 20%; writing and translation – 12.5%; sales and marketing support – 8.3%; professional services - 5.3%.

---

38 This is the only available metric, as the platform does not provide a number of registered workers, and implement measures to block automated data collection attempts. [https://www.upwork.com/hire/mk/](https://www.upwork.com/hire/mk/)
Male platform workers from North Macedonia tend to dominate online labour platforms. According to the Gigmetar report, in terms of the gender distribution of registered platform workers, 38.8% were female and 61.2% were male. Based on automatically collected data, males from North Macedonia were twice as likely to register on the four selected platforms than females. Gender distribution also differed per occupation. Female workers tended to slightly dominate in writing and translation as well as in clerical and data entry tasks, while there were more male registered workers in the remaining four occupations. Men were significantly more likely to engage in software and development work as there were only 14.9% of female workers registered in this occupation.

In terms of earnings, platform workers from North Macedonia offered the cheapest labour compared to those from other Western Balkan countries. In August 2021, Gigmetar estimated that, on average, platform workers from North Macedonia demanded USD 16.05 per hour. Based on the automatically collected data for this study, which used a slightly different selection of platforms, the rate was even
lower at USD 12.9. In both analyses, North Macedonia ranks last place in terms of the average hourly rate requested by platform workers in Western Balkans.

Nevertheless, based on the automatically collected data, there was significant variance across platforms when it came to requested hourly rates. Freelancers on PPH demanded average hourly rates which were double those requested on Guru.com - USD 23.8 compared to USD 11.4. Online workers on Freelancer.com demanded USD 12.5 and USD 15.4 on Hubstaff Talent.

**Figure 6. Average hourly rate in USD demanded by North Macedonian platform workers, by platform (November 2021)**

Males from North Macedonia tended to, on average, demand up to one dollar more than females on all four platforms. Interestingly, the gender fee difference was insignificant on Freelancer.com and Guru.com, however, female workers on Hubstaff Talent requested three dollars less compared to males on the same platform. On PPH women demanded higher rates than male online workers by almost USD 2.5.

**Figure 7. Average hourly rate in USD demanded by North Macedonian platform workers, by platform and gender (November 2021)**
The automatically collected data revealed that the two highest-paid occupations were professional services and software development and technology work. In both occupations, online workers, on average, demanded USD 14.6. The occupation with the lowest hourly rates was clerical and data entry in which freelancers from North Macedonia, on average, requested only USD 9.9 per hour.

Figure 8. Average hourly rate in USD demanded by North Macedonian platform workers, by occupation (November 2021)

Overall, having the lowest hourly rates in the region does not discourage remote platform workers from North Macedonia from accepting assignments, because the average net salary in the country is much lower than what you can earn on digital platforms. For example, at the end of 2021, the average net salary for workers in the administrative and support service sector was just a little above EUR 500 per month, while platform workers can earn a similar amount of money in just one week.

Social connections, blogs, and Facebook groups are the main source of information about platform work. There have been several attempts to formalise such groups in the form of associations with official membership, but they have failed to enrol a significant number of members and provide continuity. For example, one Facebook group named “Allied Committee of Programmers of Republic of Macedonia” has more than 14,000 members and hosts active debates on announcements, experiences and knowledge sharing on issues related to platform work.

On-location platform work

The new wave of digitalisation that took place during the pandemic led to the evolution of new forms of employment. As a result, the business models of global platforms were replicated in the domestic market. In parallel to the booming e-commerce services market in North Macedonia, at least five local platforms have been established and offer services and employment opportunities through on-location platform work. The local market is dominated by on-location food delivery platforms. However, some evidence suggests that ride-hailing and postal delivery services have also adopted the platform business model.

40 http://makstat.stat.gov.mk
41 https://www.facebook.com/freelancedonia/
42 https://www.facebook.com/groups/skprm
As of early 2022, the local on-location platforms were:

- kliknijadi.mk for food delivery;
- paket.mk for delivery of groceries and various goods;
- foodguru.mk for food delivery;
- asaply.mk for food delivery;
- fitkit.mk for health and fitness services.

Apart from the above listed local platforms, there are several sectors in North Macedonia that, despite being overlooked by the institutions, have elements of platform work. For example, the liberalisation of postal services led to the creation of dozens of locally operated private delivery services that accept business deals via platforms and hire couriers based on flexible service contracts. According to statistical reports by the Post Agency, the total number of persons hired as private post couriers in 2020 was 1,183 - this is a twofold increase compared to 2015. The turnover among private delivery services grew significantly in 2020 and reached nearly EUR 18.5 million, compared to EUR 19 million for state-owned Macedonian Posts.

Even though international ride-hailing platforms such as Uber have not entered the Macedonian market, loosely regulated taxi services are easily accessible to persons looking to earn additional income. Although there is no information about taxis and licenced taxi drivers in North Macedonia, entering the business is quick and without administrative burdens. This is especially the case in bigger towns. For example, a person wishing to earn additional income may contact one of the registered taxi service companies and get access to a car and the company’s infrastructure (call centre, operators, GIS systems, mobile application) for a daily fee of EUR 100. The person can also use his/her own car and only pay the company’s call centre and administration fees.

The most dominant on-location platforms in North Macedonia are food delivery platforms, on which most data can be found. For example, Asaply is a food delivery platform that entered the market in August 2020. It allows customers to order food from more than 110 restaurants in Skopje through the web/mobile platform. Kliknijadi is an older food delivery platform that was established in Skopje in 2015. The platform cooperates with more than 100 food restaurants in Skopje and Ohrid.

Based on field research and interviews, workers on North Macedonian on-location platforms are predominantly young males with above-average education levels. On Kliknijadi 80% of the staff are couriers of which 95% are males. Another local platform FitKit provided statistics to show that the gender distribution between their contractors is equal and the age distribution is as follows: 10% are aged 18-24; 80% are aged 25-34 and another 10% are aged 35-44.

The pay on on-location platforms varies depending on the platform. An interviewed courier working on Kliknijadi noted that this was his second job. The pay is based on the distance of the deliveries and, according to the interviewee, he earns around EUR 150 per month when working about 20 hours per week. However, the net income for the platform work is lower since transportation expenses (fuel and parking) are not reimbursed for those using their own car or motorcycle. Despite this, the interviewee earns up to 40% of his net salary from his main job and the rest from being a courier. On Asaply, the payments are calculated based on the number of hours worked and are paid monthly. For someone working as a courier, the compensation offered in January 2022 was MKD 130 (around EUR 2) per hour after deducting personal income tax. By taking this average, a courier would earn EUR 160 per month if working 20 hours per week. If one worked 40 hours per week, on-location platforms would offer the opportunity to earn above the minimum salary of EUR 250 and with more working hours could earn the average salary of EUR 485.

---

43 https://ap.mk/mk/informacija-agencija-za-posti
44 According to legislation in place, municipalities administer registration of taxi services and issuing licence for certified taxi drivers.
45 Interview with an on-location platform worker working through KlikniJadi, date 5 February 2022
46 State Statistical Office, accessed 09 March, 2022
In both scenarios above, the workers were hired through service contracts which came with a limited social security, as is common in on-location platform work more generally. Interview data indicate that on Kliknijadi platform couriers are hired through service contracts which are flexible in terms of working hours. On Asaply couriers also work under service contracts and one must own a transportation vehicle (bicycle, motorbike, or car) in order to be hired. The local platform FitKit revealed that 95% of its workforce is hired through service contracts. Working under a service contract means that the employer does not pay for the worker’s social contributions, thus on-location platform workers do not have access to health insurance and unemployment benefits if on-location platform work is their only job.47

Field research revealed that those engaged in on-location platform work are often overqualified for the work they perform, for example, students often work as couriers where low skills are needed and upskilling opportunities are lacking. Upskilling and career opportunities on on-location platforms would be important, but are not yet visible.

Furthermore, informal employment practices are common in both remote and on-location platform work given the ambiguity around labour regulations.

47 www.asaply.com, interview with a delivery rider
CURRENT REGULATION, POLICIES AND STRATEGIC APPROACHES

Since there are no policies specifically targeted at platform workers or new forms of employment, such work arrangements fall under the existing labour regulation. Common contractual arrangements in the private sector can generally be split into three types:

a) Employment contract – in accordance with the Labour law.

b) Service contract – in accordance with the Law on obligations.

c) Authorship contract – in accordance with the Law on authorship.

An employment contract stipulates formal employment relations between the employee and the employer, as well as working hours and other labour rights as per the labour legislation, bylaws, and collective agreements. Workers who have employment contracts are entitled to social contributions (pension and health insurance) paid by the employer and have the right to financial compensation in case of unemployment.

Service contracts, on the other hand, do not fall under labour legislation. Most service contracts are used for intellectual services, consultations, and various delivery of services, both physical and intellectual. Service contracts are widely used as a basis for various physical work or service-related contractual relations, like work on a project, intellectual work, consultations, and more recently for locally hired platform workers. Their duration may vary from a single day to an indefinite period, without obliging the contracting entity to pay social contributions to the service provider, nor leading to an employment contract. Service contracts are taxed with 10% personal income tax.

Authorship contracts are very similar to service contracts, except that they require an intellectual or individual creation in the area of literature, science, or art to be produced as an outcome of the contract. Authorship contracts are eligible for tax deductions depending on the work delivered. Several platform workers have reported that despite the fact that their work (e.g., computer programming) is included in the Law on authorship and is entitled to tax deductions, they cannot prove the result of their work and are taxed with a flat rate of 10% in any case.

Platform workers who should fall into the category of self-employed workers are beyond the reach of the current labour legislation. While self-employed persons, depending on their economic activity, can include themselves in respective registers (craft chamber, notary chamber and other representative bodies), platform workers and freelancers are not represented and, as such, cannot register their activity and work as self-employed persons. This prevents them from registering with health and pension funds and being entitled to health and pension insurance.
Table 1. Labour market statuses in North Macedonia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labour market status</th>
<th>Does it fall under the Labour Code or Civil Law?</th>
<th>What type of contracts can they conclude?</th>
<th>Are the social security/healthcare contributions obligatory?</th>
<th>If obligatory, who pays for the social security/healthcare contributions?</th>
<th>Is it a common status among platform workers? If so, which type (remote/online)?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>Labour Code</td>
<td>Full-time and part-time employment contracts</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>Becoming popular among remote platform workers (through payroll agencies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service contract/ Authorship contract</td>
<td>Civil Law</td>
<td>Any type (per day, hour, month), any duration</td>
<td>No, only personal income tax</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Yes, predominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>Civil Law</td>
<td>Full-time and part-time employment contracts</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Self-employed person</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed (registered)</td>
<td>Civil Law</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Paid by the state, based on Law on employment and insurance in case of unemployment</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A new type of contract that had emerged and has become more popular among platform workers as of early 2022 is called ‘employment of record’. This type of contractual arrangement targets only platform workers whose work is conducted for foreign markets and who receive payments in a foreign currency. Platform workers working on global platforms cannot pay social contributions in the country they reside in unless they register a company or register as a sole proprietor. Hence, a growing number of North Macedonians opt for this type of contract in order to be entitled to pension and health insurance. Currently, there are several companies which offer such services in North Macedonia, such as Nativeteams, Financebuddy, and Panther.

For example, Nativeteams is a company registered in the USA with local branches in five Western Balkan economies (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, North Macedonia, and Serbia). Depending on the subscription plan, the platform offers a virtual wallet, virtual and physical cards, and an employer of record service through a local branch. Through the platform, clients can transfer their earnings from global platforms to their respective virtual wallets and choose their preferred withdrawal method. Clients who opt for such services are given an employment contract in accordance with local labour law and pay social contributions (health and pension insurance).

The novelties associated with contractual relations and business operations introduced by the platform economy pose serious challenges to policymakers on how to incorporate these new practices into existent legislation. Based on interviews conducted with representatives from the state institutions, it appears that little was known about the phenomenon of platform work in North Macedonia as of early 2022. The lack of awareness further complicates the endeavours of platform workers to explain their activities and obtain recognition from policymakers. As such, platform workers are excluded from the

48 https://nativeteams.com/
49 financebuddy.mk
50 https://www.panther.co/
51 nativeteams.com
main strategic policy documents and plans. An example of one such document is the Operational Plan for Active Labour Market Policies.\textsuperscript{52}

Overall, despite the abundance of measures and programmes available, existing legislation and programmes offer limited and, according to interviewees, unfavourable options for formalizing working relations for platform workers. Domestic platforms draft contractual arrangements in accordance with the local legislation, while foreign platforms remain bereft of clear instructions and guidance from the institutions.

To operate in accordance with the local legislation, platform workers on global digital platforms have the following options:

- Register a company.
- Register as sole proprietor in the trade registry.
- Register as self-employed (for certain professions).
- Use the subscription service through companies that offer employment of record.

For many platform workers, freelancing is considered an additional source of income. A significant number of platform workers, therefore, do not see a reason to register as a legal entity which is usually costly and time-consuming. Hence, these workers look for solutions offered by fintech companies and choose to receive money through transfer payments in foreign currencies or cryptocurrencies. The development of new fintech services like virtual wallets, virtual credit cards, and cryptocurrencies offer fast and less costly money transfers compared to traditional banking services. Some popular virtual credit cards used by platform workers in North Macedonia are PayPal,\textsuperscript{53} Wise,\textsuperscript{54} Payoneer,\textsuperscript{55} and Skrill.\textsuperscript{56}

Currently, Payoneer is the most popular card among platform workers in North Macedonia. As per the client’s request, money from the virtual wallet can remain on the virtual card, can be transferred to the worker’s local bank account, or transferred to a Payoneer issued payment card. Platform workers who usually work for international markets subscribe to Payoneer or other virtual card services. They receive payments in USD or EUR and avoid paying local taxes and expensive bank fees. This allows them to withdraw money from ATMs that hold USD and EUR currencies. Neighbouring countries Greece and Kosovo are the closest locations where they can withdraw foreign currencies in cash. Given that all operations and transactions are conducted on foreign platforms, local authorities lack the mechanisms and capacity to detect, track, and register money flows in remote platform work.

Another key precondition for the development of platform work is a favourable environment for further digitalisation. When it comes to relevant policy approaches, in 2021 the Ministry of Information Society and Administration initiated the consultation process for preparing and adopting a new National Strategy for ICT 2021-2025. Although the Strategy has not been adopted yet (as of January 2022), it foresees six pillars for the development of the ICT sector in the country. These include:

- Connectivity and Governmental infrastructure.
- Centralization and rationalization of e-government services.
- Enhancement of the digital skills of citizens, labour force, and professionals.

\textsuperscript{52} Operational Plans are annual documents adopted by the Socio-Economic Council and implemented by Employment Service Agency. The Plan for 2021 envisaged availability of EUR 24.5 million for various employment schemes, services and measures available to unemployed persons and employers. The Plan also envisages measures for formalizing businesses and opening start-ups for informal businesses and unemployed persons.

\textsuperscript{53} https://www.paypal.com
\textsuperscript{54} https://wise.com/
\textsuperscript{55} www.payoneer.com
\textsuperscript{56} www.skrill.com
- R&D and Innovations.
- Data protection.
- Digital services.

Once it is adopted, the new National Strategy for ICT also envisages the establishment of a Digital Agency. While the Strategy does not specifically mention new forms of employment, the development of digital skills and connectivity should create better conditions for online work in North Macedonia.

In addition to this, a new strategy on digital skills is currently under development. The existing ‘National Vocational Education and Training (VET) Strategy’ 2013-2020 underlines the importance of digital skills among VET students. Within the framework of the Strategy, the use of ICT in teaching and learning at three regional VET centres was enhanced. On the level of primary and secondary education, the ‘E-school’ project fostered the use of digital tools among schoolteachers. The ‘Breaking Barriers - Embracing Literacy through Digital Media’ project (2014-2017) was implemented by the Community Development Initiative; it targeted adults that lacked basic digital skills and prepared educators to adapt to a digitalizing environment.

During the pandemic, the Ministry of Education of North Macedonia in cooperation with the Ministry of Information Society and Administration implemented a targeted policy for digital skills training among young people. Among other things, the measure provided 2,500 vouchers for students to co-finance IT and digital skills training.

---

57 https://mioa.gov.mk/?q=mk/node/3485
59 RCC (2021). Digital skills needs and gaps in the Western Balkans - scope and objectives for a fully-fledged assessment, p.47.
This report shows that platform work is on the rise in North Macedonia. Given that salaries in the country are among the lowest in Europe, platform work is widely welcomed thanks to its higher income opportunities. However, ambiguities in labour regulations, lack of regulation on transactions from abroad, as well as practices like employment of record and informal work, have led to a situation where platforms and their workers are not comfortable disclosing information about their contractual arrangements. Field research revealed that only one out of five local platforms that were approached was willing to provide information about contractual relations with its platform workers. Field research indicates that many local platform workers are registered under service contracts (rather than employment contracts) and are not aware that they are not entitled to health and pension insurance.

The trend of hiring workers through platforms accelerated significantly during the pandemic years of 2020 and 2021. Some representatives of state institutions assume that the decrease in youth unemployment over the past two years has been due to the growth in informal employment, especially in the sectors of e-commerce and delivery services. Platform work is highly diverse and constantly changing which makes it difficult to define and hinders the collection of comparable data on platform workers. Nevertheless, certain policy recommendations can be made.

New forms of employment and platform work should be placed higher on the policy agenda. As of early 2022, labour legislation does not provide clarifications on what status and contract platform workers are entitled to.

- In order to recognise, monitor, and protect workers in atypical forms of employment some legal clarifications would be needed. For example, platform workers should be given the option to register as self-employed. Currently, it remains almost impossible for platform workers to operate as self-employed. This situation is different for agricultural workers, craftsmen, lawyers, religious workers, and other groups who have representative bodies and simplified tax reporting practices. Left without the option to register their economic activity, platform workers, delivering services through local and international platforms, tend to underreport their incomes and contribute to the informal economy. Policymakers need to address this gap and allow platform workers and those with flexible arrangements who are willing to operate as self-employed to register their business activity and get access to simplified tax procedures and the possibility to join the formal labour market.

- There is also a need for greater representation of platform workers. Attempts to formalise platform work through associations have not been successful. As of January 2022, there were no representative bodies for platform workers which could advocate for their demands and needs. To a certain extent, the reluctance to form such bodies also stems from the fear of investigation by the tax and labour authorities, as a significant portion of platform workers work informally. Hence, there is an urgent need to support platform workers to create representative bodies among trade unions, employer’s organisations, and policymakers in order to reduce informality in platform work.

- Regulating international financial transactions is another important area to boost new freelance opportunities. The current Law on Foreign Exchange Operations treats natural persons and self-employed workers as “residents”. Residents are forbidden to open accounts in foreign banks and foreign payment institutions. Exemptions are made to natural persons who have worked abroad temporarily and can prove their working status with a work contract from a foreign entity. Considering that the majority of platform workers work on global platforms, in order to receive money from clients and avoid expensive transaction fees and local taxes they choose to open accounts in foreign payment institutions. This practice has two rationales behind it. First, many platform workers are not aware of local legislation and many assume that the institutions do not have mechanisms in place to monitor the opening of foreign accounts by residents. Second, gaps in the legislation result in platform workers not having a clear status on money transfers from foreign payment platforms. This adds to the informality in the sector since
there is almost no communication between global platform workers and policymakers. Thus, changes should be made in the way the North Macedonian government approaches income received from abroad.

- Skills development in order to fill in shortages in the growing sectors should be seen as another priority for action. A significant share of remote platform workers provides services in the IT sector. It should be noted that although the information and communication sector in North Macedonia employs around 2% of the workforce, it produces 4% of the GDP. Therefore, the sector provides higher productivity than other sectors of the economy. It is important to verify what occupations are crucial in driving the GDP and search for priority occupations to be upskilled. Also, the industries that make up a significant share of export of services, such as multimedia and creative industries and clerical and marketing support, should be priority occupations for training programmes. Furthermore, training programmes should focus more on skills that would make workers more competitive on global digital labour platforms. Career guidance and support services would be helpful in making new employment opportunities more visible for young people by providing them relevant guidance. However, career guidance policy and services are at a very early stage of development as a recent ETF review highlighted. Recommendations point to setting up a strategic, well-coordinated policy, investing in professionalisation of service provision, and setting up career education aimed at developing career management skills throughout formal education, in line with recent reforms.

- New forms of employment and platform work would need further recognition within policies and labour market services as workers in new and atypical forms of employment are not yet seen as a target group of Active Labour Market Policies could be further opened for instance to platform workers, granting them access to training courses, counselling, guidance, and continuous education.

---

macedonia
## SOURCES

### List of interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date of the interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
<td>Country representative</td>
<td>2021-12-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Statistical Office</td>
<td>Head of Social Statistics</td>
<td>2021-12-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote worker</td>
<td>Software Programmer</td>
<td>2022-01-04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FitKit</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>2022-01-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASAPLY</td>
<td>Delivery rider</td>
<td>2022-01-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Bank of the Republic of North Macedonia</td>
<td>Head of Division for Production and Dissemination of External Statistics</td>
<td>2022-01-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dekra - Temporary Employment Agency</td>
<td>Head of business Development</td>
<td>2022-02-03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KlikniJadi.com</td>
<td>Delivery rider</td>
<td>2022-02-05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NativeTeams</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>2022-02-05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REFERENCES LIST


