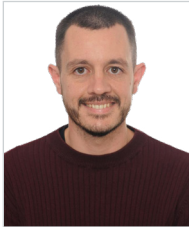


# Challenges in freelance journalism academic research: a literature review

## *Retos de la investigación sobre periodismo freelance: una revisión bibliográfica*



**Cristian Ramón Marín Sanchiz.** Journalist and pre-doctoral research staff at the Miguel Hernández University (UMH). Professor Marín currently lectures on the UMH Bachelor's Degree in Journalism, as well as on the Double Degree in Journalism and Audio-visual Communication and on the Master's Degree in Innovation in Journalism, always on topics related to business management and entrepreneurship. His main research interests are freelance journalism, business models for news media companies, business models for sports journalism. He has published in Spanish and international journals, such as Journalism Practice.

Miguel Hernández University, Spain

c.marin@umh.es

ORCID: 0000-0001-8263-4549



**José María Valero-Pastor.** Lecturer and researcher in the area of Journalism at the Miguel Hernández University. He has published scientific papers in several high-impact journals, such as Journalism Studies, *El Profesional de la Información* and *Revista Latina de Comunicación*, among others, and in prestigious publishing houses, such as Routledge. He has enjoyed stays of research at CEU San Pablo (Madrid) and Fordham University (New York). He is currently working on the international project "Journalism Innovations in Democratic Societies". He also coordinates the Advanced Web Design module in the Master's Degree in Innovation in Journalism. His main research interests are related to media management and innovation, organizational innovation in news outlets.

Miguel Hernández University, Spain

jose.valerop@umh.es

ORCID: 0000-0002-6210-2761

Received: 24/05/2022 - Accepted: 08/11/2022 - Early access: 29/11/2022 - Published: 01/01/2023 Recibido: 24/05/2022 - Aceptado: 08/11/2022 - En edición: 29/11/2022 - Publicado: 01/01/2023

### Abstract:

Freelance journalism is a form of employment in which the self-employed professional offers his or her services to different clients without a long-term commitment. In a context of economic turbulence, journalistic companies use this type of employment to make their workforces more flexible and reduce budgets. As a result, it has experienced tremendous growth over the past two decades. In view of this expansion, the aim of this research is to bring together the knowledge that the scientific literature has generated about this

### Resumen:

*El periodismo freelance es una modalidad laboral en la que el profesional empleado por cuenta propia ofrece sus servicios a distintos clientes sin un compromiso a largo plazo. En un contexto de turbulencias económicas, las empresas periodísticas utilizan esta modalidad de empleo para flexibilizar sus plantillas y reducir los presupuestos. En consecuencia, ha experimentado un gran crecimiento en las dos últimas décadas. Atendiendo a esta expansión, el objetivo de la presente investigación es agrupar el conocimiento que la literatura científica ha generado en*

### Cómo citar este artículo:

Marín Sanchiz, C. R. and Valero-Pastor, J. M. (2023). Challenges in freelance journalism academic research: a literature review. *Doxa Comunicación*, 36, pp. 87-105.

<https://doi.org/10.31921/doxacom.n36a1692>

employment alternative. To this end, a systematized bibliographic review (n=58) is used. The results reveal that freelance journalism is a heterogeneous profession, although women predominate, and that this majority group faces difficulties related to the reconciliation of personal and professional life. Furthermore, there is evidence of a predominance of unsatisfactory working conditions in various markets around the world, although freelance journalism also brings professional advantages to well-positioned individuals, such as flexibility and autonomy, which enhances the importance of self-management strategies. Therefore, it is concluded that the scientific literature should continue to focus on working conditions, but should also delve into the training of journalists, the development and teaching of this type of strategies and, as a topic little explored to date, the policies and legislation affecting the sector.

#### **Keywords:**

Freelance journalism; working conditions; self-entrepreneurship; media entrepreneurship; journalism employment.

*torno a esta alternativa de empleo. Para ello, se emplea una revisión bibliográfica (n=58). Los resultados revelan que el periodismo freelance es una profesión heterogénea, aunque predominan las mujeres, y que este colectivo mayoritario se enfrenta a dificultades relacionadas con la conciliación de la vida personal y profesional. Además, se evidencia un predominio de las condiciones laborales insatisfactorias en diversos mercados del mundo, aunque el periodismo freelance también aporta ventajas profesionales a los individuos bien posicionados, como la flexibilidad y la autonomía, lo que realza la importancia de las estrategias de autogestión. Por ello, se concluye que la literatura científica debe continuar centrándose en las condiciones laborales, pero también debe profundizar en la formación de los periodistas, el desarrollo y la enseñanza de este tipo de estrategias y, como temática poco explorada hasta la fecha, en las políticas y legislaciones que afectan al sector.*

#### **Palabras clave:**

*Periodismo freelance; periodista autónomo; condiciones laborales; emprendimiento periodístico; periodismo emprendedor.*

## **1. Introduction**

At the end of the 20th century, a growing interest in freelance employment began to take shape: a figure halfway between entrepreneurship and self-employment that has been conceptualized in numerous ways. Generically, it can be understood as a worker who creates a portfolio of clients for himself or works through collaborations with other companies, and even as “a business without employees” (Kitching and Smallbone, 2008; Van den Born and Van Witteloostuijn, 2013).

This employment dynamic, closely linked to production outsourcing processes (Örnebring and Ferrer-Conill, 2016), has clearly spread in the creative industries. Already at the end of the 20th century, Handy (1989) defended the idea that companies would have three types of workers in the future: more stable employees, who provide key skills for the company; freelancers hired for specific projects; and a contingent workforce more oriented towards routine tasks.

The phenomenon has been analyzed by more than 1200 publications in indexed journals (Baitenizov et al., 2019). However, although journalism has undergone an evolution similar to that of other sectors and the freelancer has become a key figure for the information market, the scientific literature specialized in media has not yet developed a broad theoretical corpus that addresses the phenomenon from a journalistic point of view and offers keys for the development of the field of study. Most studies focus on the working conditions of professionals, a complex reality that needs present and future development, but which should be the prelude to an expansion of the scientific literature.

In this context, the objectives of the present study are twofold: (1) to conduct a literature review on the working conditions and self-management strategies of freelance journalists, with the aim of establishing a state of the art; and (2) to identify potential future lines of research that will contribute to the theoretical and practical advancement of the body of studies.

To achieve these objectives, a series of research questions are posed:

- RQ1. What is the definition of the freelance journalist?
- RQ2. Are there sociodemographic features that define this group?
- RQ3. What are the working conditions in which freelancers operate?
- RQ4. What strategies of self-management and resistance do professionals employ to improve their work situation?
- RQ5. What future lines of research are proposed by academia in the studies conducted to date?

### *1.1. Advent and consolidation of the freelance professional in today's economy*

The freelance professional has become a key figure for the knowledge economy thanks to the Internet, which has offered the possibility of developing independent career paths in light “of the popularization of a culture based on technologically advanced forms of work that are sustained by entrepreneurship and innovation through creativity” (Gandini, 2016). Self-employment is considered to be the simplest form of entrepreneurship, and has a remarkable impact on the economy of numerous countries (Baitenizov et al., 2019).

Although the origins of freelance journalism date back to centuries ago, when some writers who were hired by the upper echelons of society to write political pamphlets (Cohen, 2015), nowadays this concept generally refers to professionals in creative industries who work simultaneously with several clients without a long-term link with them, and who are hired for specific tasks that depend on their knowledge, such as the creation of informative content, web programming, or graphic design (Florida, 2002; Baitenizov et al., 2019). Consequently, they are also known as ‘portfolio workers,’ because they develop a catalog of work that they use as a sample of the quality of their services to obtain new assignments in the future (Handy, 1985; Fraser and Gold, 2001).

The crystallization of self-employment as an increasingly frequent labor alternative in economies around the world (Waters-Lynch et al., 2016) is rooted in neoliberal philosophy, a globally widespread approach that advocates little public intervention in the economic system. This vision thus defends the rational logic of markets (Mitchell, 2006) and has allowed the consolidation of the concept of neoliberal governmentality (Van den Born and Van Witteloostuijn, 2013; Arnold, 2001), which gives increasing protagonism to the individual in terms of the development of his or her career path.

These transformations in labor relations have led to a growing interest in the figure of freelance professionals in fields as diverse as art (Woronkowicz and Noonan, 2017), translation (Moorkens, 2020), software companies (Ahmed and van den Hoven, 2010) or the media, whose specific situation is analyzed below.

## 1.2. Socio-economic context of the contemporary media ecosystem

The evolution of digital technologies over the last three decades has generated profound disruptions in practically all economic sectors, of which the media industry has been particularly affected (Díaz Nosty, 2017). The change in information consumption habits and technical possibilities has established itself as a constant, which is becoming increasingly pronounced and heterogeneous, and forces companies to adapt continuously in order to survive (Küng, 2017). In addition, new actors are emerging and consolidating, more focused on intermediation between producers and consumers than on the direct generation of value, such as social platforms (Feijóo, 2013, p. 7). These digital multinationals monopolize the attention of audiences and monopolize advertising investment in the network, with more atomized formats, better segmented campaigns and affordable prices for a greater number of companies (Myllylahti, 2018). The loss of social and economic influence of the media accelerates the obsolescence of its traditional business model and its subsequent hegemonic digital version, characterized by free content and excessive advertising dependence (Boczkowski and Mitchelstein, 2017, p. 16).

However, while traditional media suffer to sustain their huge cost structures and transform their product and corporate culture (Küng, 2017), the digital ecosystem provides opportunities for other types of journalistic organizations born under the umbrella of the post-industrial philosophy (Anderson, Bell and Shirky, 2012). Generally, these are more austere initiatives that take advantage of the low entry barriers to the internet publishing business and grow to the extent that their products manage to validate their starting hypotheses (Valero-Pastor and González-Alba, 2018). Digital native media have shown a better performance in convulsive contexts, as they tend to adopt new technologies earlier and experiment more profusely with journalistic formats, business models and organizational methods (De Lara et al., 2015; Salaverría, 2020; Valero-Pastor et al., 2021). In short, the absence of large infrastructures and business inertia gives these initiatives the necessary agility to continuously meet the needs of the audience and overcome technical challenges (Küng, 2017).

In any case, traditional newspapers continue to have a differential value in the rootedness of their journalistic brand, which generates greater trust in a context marked by misinformation (Vara-Miguel, 2018). The industry's recent shift towards business models sustained to a greater extent by revenue from users accentuates the importance of this factor, which the academic literature points out as essential for payment intentionality (Goyanes et al., 2018; O'Brien et al., 2020). The promising start of these models therefore represents an opportunity for traditional media to reinvent themselves and adjust their structures to the demands of the new ecosystem.

This adaptation not only involves making teams and workflows more flexible, but also the human capital on staff to reduce fixed costs. Organizations, both digital natives and traditional, are designing networks of freelancers and outsourcing services, which allows them to improve their coverage and products at specific moments without compromising their long-term sustainability. On the contrary, the stability of workers is affected and journalism begins to experience a reprofessionalization that affects the labor relations between journalists and media (Deuze and Witschge, 2017).

### 1.3. Structural characteristics of freelance journalism: autonomy vs. precariousness

In parallel to what has happened in other sectors of the creative economy, the figure of the freelance journalist has experienced enormous growth in recent decades. In 2005, Spain registered 11.5% of self-employed reporters, while in 2020 the proportion of freelance journalists stood at 31% (*Asociación de la Prensa* de Madrid, 2005; *Asociación de la Prensa* de Madrid, 2020). Meanwhile, between the years 2008 and 2015, the national information market destroyed 11,875 jobs (Gómez Patiño, 2018), an evolution that has turned out to be similar in other countries. Proof of this is that, in the Netherlands, freelance journalism “is increasingly the norm” (Vandenberghe and d’Haenens, 2021); in the United Kingdom, 35% of journalists call themselves freelance (Spilsbury 2016; Hayes and Silke 2018); and in Canada, the figure has grown from 5% in 1996 to 17% in 2019 (Wilkinson, 2019; Bertuzzi, 2020). Given this situation, the scientific literature has attempted to unpack the elements that shape this mode of employment, resolving that it is mainly characterized by a tension between autonomy and precariousness (Cohen, 2012; 2015; Mathisen, 2017; Das, 2007; Gollmitzer, 2018, p. 12).

The concept of autonomy can be understood in three different ways, according to Nygren et al. (2015). First, as a professional ideal that is permanently strived for. Second, as a perception that professionals have about their ability to be independent (e.g., independence in making decisions related to the informational content they create). And finally, there is a real and effective autonomy that professionals have when performing the tasks inherent to their job, although determining this is a difficult task due to the absence of clear and unequivocal indicators (Asp, 2012). Not surprisingly, many studies explore the autonomy perceived by freelancers, considering that autonomy is a key factor for the professionalization of journalism (Hallin and Mancini, 2004).

Previous studies reveal that freelance journalists from different countries perceive a high degree of autonomy and flexibility, something that is positively valued for the opportunities it offers in terms of reconciling professional and personal life. However, it can also be understood negatively, because it often implies instability and the need to work at night or on weekends (Marín Sanchiz, Carvajal and González Esteban, 2021). In addition, freelance journalists tend to earn low incomes and do not enjoy the same social protections -such as unemployment benefits- as their employed peers, circumstances that result in a loss of control over their own work (Salamon, 2020). Moreover, because of their independent status in the market, they are forced to deal with problems in payments by their employers (Cohen, 2017), and even to practice what is known as ‘hope work’[1] (Kuehn and Corrigan, 2013), characterized by agreements in which the journalist works for free or for less compensation than they actually deserve in the hope that such collaboration results in future paid assignments. Although the latter circumstance also occurs in other modalities of labor linkage, such as internships. All of them belong to the category of ‘atypical employment’; that is, that which is temporary, part-time, dependent on several parties -subcontracting, for example- or which does not involve a formal and well-defined relationship, such as the figure of false freelancers (Deuze et al., 2020).

In short, freelance journalists are, a priori, more vulnerable to the effects of precariousness, a term that was coined by Bourdieu (1963) to differentiate between workers with permanent positions and those with temporary positions. The concept was consolidated in Europe starting in the 1970s, when it was adopted by left-wing movements that denounced the difficulties in accessing stable positions, especially among younger citizens (Alberti et al., 2018).

In light of these findings, it is possible to determine that freelance journalists operate in a context plagued by difficulties, both in labor and purely journalistic terms, as professionals “do not go beyond covering news and stories in the short term because of financial and temporal pressures” (Hayes and Silke, 2018, p. 13). The complexity of this situation calls for a literature review to determine what the state of the art is and to enable future researchers to make theoretical-practical contributions of greater impact at the academic and industry levels.

## 2. Methodology

The methodology used in this study is a literature review that was carried out in four phases. The first was the selection of the research sample (Annex 1). To this end, a search was carried out in three databases: Scopus, Web of Science and Google Scholar, using the keywords “*periodismo freelance*” and “freelance journalism” in all three cases. The reason for choosing these two more generic terms is that searches that narrowed the focus (e.g., “freelance journalism” + “working conditions”) yielded extremely limited results, taking into account that this is a young field of study in which there is not a large scientific production and no standardized terminology.

In Scopus and WoS, all references were included, while in the case of Google Scholar, the search was limited to the first 20 pages because, after that point, papers appeared that were clearly outside the focus of the study (e.g., more generic studies on journalism). Final Degree Papers were also discarded because they were not peer-reviewed and did not belong to authors usually cited in the field of study. In summary, WoS and Scopus were used as reference databases to obtain research articles published in indexed journals, while Google Scholar served as a complement for the search.

The sample obtained was subjected to an evaluation to follow a snowball strategy and detect research that was frequently cited and pertained to the informative field. In addition to including several papers that did not appear in the aforementioned databases, non-peer-reviewed works by Nicole S. Cohen, author of a reference book in the field, were added. Similarly, reports and white papers produced by various international research centers were added. Despite not being subject to blind peer review, these papers are included because of their high citation rate in the literature selected first. Book reviews and those records that could not be found, even partially (first pages), were discarded from the sample. Finally, a Google Scholar alert was created to detect new research during the course of the study. This initiative resulted in the addition of three research studies to the sample.

Third, the sample was analyzed through a keyword search within each document, following the research questions. Table 1 shows the terms used, although a second reading was subsequently carried out to detect relevant information that was not expressed in those terms.

Table 1. Terms employed for sample selection according to research questions

Research question	Search terms (in Spanish)
What is the definition of freelance journalism?	“definición,” “concepto” “conceptualización”
Are there sociodemographic traits that define this collective?	“femenino,” “masculino,” “hombre,” “mujer,” “género”
What are the labor conditions for freelance journalists?	“condiciones laborales,” “precariedad”
What self-management and resistance strategies do these professionals employ to improve their position?	“resistencia,” “estrategias,” “autogestión,” “prácticas”
What future research lines does academy propose in the current literature?	“futuro,” “futuras investigaciones,” “próximos estudios”

Fuente: prepared by the authors

ISSN: 1696-019X / e-ISSN: 2386-3978

Finally, the results found were subjected to a critical synthesis process aimed at identifying trends in research, as well as exposing diverse results that reflect the kaleidoscope of findings made by authors from around the world.

3. Results

3.1. Definition of the freelance journalist

The scientific literature shows that one of the concerns of academia is to find an accurate conceptualization of freelance journalism. To this end, some of the studies analyzed go back to the etymological origin of the expression, recalling that a “freelance” (Argiz Acuña, 2003) was a professional soldier who, during the Middle Ages, offered his services, but “had no permanent connections or professional obligations” (Banning, 2005, p. 1) beyond the provision of specific services agreed with clients. Over time, this meaning was applied to the creative professional who, generally, “is self-employed and sells his or her services and/or work to a variety of employers without a long-term commitment to any of them” (Marín Sanchiz, Carvajal and González Esteban, 2021a; Walters, Warren and Dobbie, 2006, p. 6). Freelancers “are paid for the stories they produce, usually by the word or a flat rate per article” and “must work their own commercial success by generating content concepts that attract editors

with the goal of securing work,” including journalistic modalities in the orbit of traditional reporting, such as brand journalism (Templeman, 2016, p. 12).

In addition to working for all kinds of clients outside the news sector in work such as corporate communications or public relations (Koch and Obermaier, 2014), Banning (2005) recalls that the terms ‘freelance journalist’ and ‘freelance writer’ are used interchangeably and sometimes also encompass novelists, poets, screenwriters, television editors and even ghostwriters, among other profiles.

### *3.2. Sociodemographic challenges of freelance journalism*

In addition to a broad and in-depth review of the working conditions that, in general, affect the job satisfaction of freelance journalists, the analysis of this theoretical corpus reveals a broad interest in the influence of sociodemographic factors on the exercise of the profession.

In this sense, the literature review highlights that women have a prominent presence in freelance journalism (Templeman, 2016). Banning (2005) describes the most common freelancer in the United States as “a 49-year-old white woman who lives in a large city, has an advanced education, is married and has at least one child”. The predominance of women is also evident elsewhere, such as Sweden (Norbäck and Styhre, 2019) or New Zealand (Hannis, 2008), although it is also clear that this is a very heterogeneous profession. In Germany, the proportion of men is higher than that of women (Koch and Obermaier, 2014), and in some markets, such as the UK, men and women “are equally balanced” (Spilsbury, 2016, p. 4). Caucasian professionals generally predominate (Spilsbury, 2016; Banning, 2005).

In this context, studies such as Antunovic et al. (2019) or Elmore (2009) are specifically oriented to address the role of women in the sector. The latter starts from a feminist point of view. It aims to delve into the specific problems of women in American newsrooms, where they encountered barriers to the exercise of their profession as diverse as lack of respect for their work, the abuse of overtime or the worsening of their situation when requesting a reduction in working hours. Among their findings, they described a certain marginalization of some female professionals who offered “resistance” to their expulsion from the job market through freelance journalism after personal episodes such as the birth of a child.

Complementing these contributions, Massey and Elmore (2011) conducted a study on job satisfaction among U.S. female professionals that served to prove that freelance journalism is a work alternative that allows women to reconcile their professional career with parenting. In this research article, women show a greater concern for family issues, something that also occurs in Gollmitzer’s (2014) contribution. However, Mathisen (2017) described, in a study bounded in Norway, that men also value the flexibility of freelance work as a positive aspect for work-life balance, a goal also pursued by freelance journalists in Australia (Das, 2007).

Another variable to consider, according to Norbäck and Styhre (2019), is partner relationships. In an article focusing on Sweden, “many of the freelancers interviewed said that a prerequisite for being able to work as a freelancer is to have a partner with a permanent position.” Family support is, in short, a livelihood with key importance for the exercise of the profession (Marín Sanchiz, Carvajal and González Esteban, 2021a).



For his part, Norbäck (2019) echoes, in a theoretical section, the difficulties faced by independent professionals in the media industry in general (e.g., music sector), whose labor problems can be interpreted as a deficit in individual skills as an entrepreneur. To this end, it relies on the research of Gill (2011) and Scharff (2016), who expose a lack of analysis and criticism of the structural problems of the profession, including gender discrimination.

Regarding age, the results of Marín Sanchiz Carvajal and González Esteban (2021, p. 19) reveal that, in the Spanish market, newcomers are “particularly vulnerable, because participants with less experience express lower levels of job satisfaction” than those with a longer career. This is consistent with the argument of Banning (2005), who concludes that sociodemographic variables such as age, gender or ethnic variables affect the attitudes, career trajectory and success of professionals.

### *3.3. Working conditions of freelance journalists around the world*

There is consensus around the idea that freelance journalists are part of the phenomenon known as ‘atypical work’, which currently accounts for the majority of the workforce in the media industry (Deuze et al., 2020). According to Walters et al. (2006), atypical workers are those who do not have a permanent and/or full-time employment position. Accordingly, it includes temporary and internship contracts, short-term attachments or independent career development. According to Hayes and Silke (2018), because of its relevance in today’s labor market, atypical employment should no longer be considered as such: it is becoming the most common practice because it allows media to reduce their organizational budgets and gain in flexibility.

Scientific literature developed around the globe also agrees that freelance journalism belongs to precarious jobs, defined by Cohen, Hunter and O’Donnell (2019) as “work for pay that is characterized by uncertainty, low income and limited social benefits”. Experts explain, repeatedly and in different contexts, that freelance journalists often experience “uninspiring working conditions” (Das, 2007, p. 143). Generally speaking, the most commonly used variables to study working conditions and job satisfaction are the following: income level, flexibility, autonomy (work and ethical), work-life balance, existence of external pressures (e.g., media owners), opportunities for advancement and growth in the labor market, security (e.g., in the case of war correspondents), socioeconomic and legal system (e.g., availability of social security), and existence of professional associations and unions.

The difficulties experienced due to low income, lack of stability and certainty in daily work or the drop in job satisfaction compared to journalists working in traditional jobs are phenomena described in countries as disparate as the United States (Hunter, 2015), Australia (Meehan, 2001; Das, 2007), Spain (Marín Sanchiz, Carvajal and González Esteban, 2021), Canada (Cohen, 2017), Sweden (Norbäck and Styhre, 2019), Germany (Gollmitzer, 2014), United Kingdom (Brown, 2010) or Lithuania (Rasciute, 2017). In this context, Marín Sanchiz, Carvajal and González Esteban (2021a) highlight the need for a cross-national study that evidences the similarities and differences between regions. In addition, the presence of non-Western countries in the sample, with the exception of Australia, is very low or practically non-existent. For example, countries such as Egypt or Colombia only appear represented in Solomon’s (2015) research on educational programs on the discipline analyzed in the present study, while a recent study on South Asian climate change journalists describes a similar situation to the rest of the countries (Wadud, 2021).

Mathisen (2017) summarizes the global situation of freelance journalists as a constant tension between autonomy and precariousness, also warning that there are professionals with high levels of job satisfaction. Marín Sanchiz, Carvajal and González Esteban (2021) or Rasciute (2017) also obtained similar results: there are freelance journalists who express complacency with their working conditions. In this sense, De Cock and de Smaele (2016) insist on the idea that there is no fixed list of advantages and disadvantages of freelance journalism, because all the variables that are usually analyzed (e.g., flexibility, length of working hours) can be considered from a positive and negative point of view.

Precisely, Rasciute (2017) assures that his interviewees assume that some difficulties inherent to entrepreneurship are inherent to the profession and naturalize them. From a theoretical point of view, this is consistent with the theory of neoliberal governmentality, which forces journalists to develop an entrepreneurial mindset that aligns the needs of the professional with the demands of the market to operate successfully, thus transferring to the individual -who develops a series of individual and collective practices to operate in the media ecosystem- the responsibility for success or failure (Marín Sanchiz, Carvajal and González Esteban, 2021).

### *3.4. Entrepreneurship and self-management of a professional career as a freelance journalist*

The link between freelance journalism and the entrepreneurial phenomenon is evident after the literature review (Ladendorf, 2012; Mathisen, 2017; Marín Sanchiz and González Esteban, 2021). However, Deuze and Witschge (2018, p. 165) argue that journalism “has enjoyed a rich and relatively stable history of professionalization” that has been deforming and that it needs a compression of the specialty and its adjacent field of study that goes beyond journalism (beyond journalism, in English) and also entrepreneurship, in the most economic sense of the concept. Following this theoretical starting point, the freelance journalist is an entrepreneur who acts in a network of professional, social and economic relationships that go beyond the traditional boundaries of the media.

In this context, previous studies show that professionals show a proactive attitude in order to improve their working conditions, although it is observed that the interest of the academy in these self-management strategies is lower than in the case of job satisfaction.

The most extensive compilation is that of Marín Sanchiz, Carvajal and González Esteban (2021a), who identify “a toolkit” to empower freelance journalists that is made up of nine strategies: three content strategies (diversifying the ways of offering it to clients, differentiating the topics and approaches used and optimizing the work to sell it in different ways) and six self-management strategies (negotiating with media and companies, rejecting jobs that offer poor conditions, establishing networks of contacts, carrying out personal branding activities, training and associating). Like Norbäck and Styhre (2019), the authors identify these practices as a form of resistance against the impositions of the system. Templeman (2016), for his part, recalls that freelance journalists are unable to influence certain aspects of this role within the media industry, but recognizes that changes in the industry have created new job opportunities that need new skills to be taken advantage of.

Therefore, when it comes to developing the skills necessary for freelance journalism, education plays a preeminent role. Elmore and Massey (2012, p. 119) recognize the importance of including activities related to business and entrepreneurship, since “journalism [education] programs run the risk of not opening the door to meaningful employment opportunity.” Following

this same line of thought, Solomon (2015) advocates for a constant adaptation of curricula, in addition to the inclusion or enhancement of specific skills such as storytelling, interpersonal relations (networking) or business, in addition to promoting awareness of elements such as security, which can be useful for newcomers to the labor market or for vulnerable professionals in conflict zones (Wasim Raza et al., 2021). Canter and Wilkinson (2020) also bet on the sale of stories to editors and knowledge of the law and rights, while Marín Sanchiz and González Esteban (2021b, p. 576) complement these findings with the importance of multimedia journalism, as well as “a greater deontological burden, emotional management of self-employment or business knowledge would contribute to graduates facing their professional work from a stronger position”.

### 3.5. *Future lines of research*

The recommendations of the scientific literature to give continuity to the field of study have been numerous and very diverse over the years, although a series of common concerns are detected. The first of these is to obtain a global perspective on the freelance phenomenon, with the aim of understanding, in addition, how different media and socioeconomic systems impact the working conditions of freelance journalists (De Cock and de Smaele, 2016; Templeman, 2016; Rasciute, 2017).

Specifically, another common claim is to study the tensions between the development of freelance journalism and that of other positions related to public relations and corporate communication, both from a business, ethical and professional identity point of view (Koch and Obermaier, 2014; Holton, 2016; Mathisen, 2017).

The incidence of sociodemographic variables -in particular, gender and age-, on the practice of freelance journalism is another common concern (Gollmitzer, 2014; Antunovic et al., 2019; Hayes and Silke, 2016; Marín Sanchiz, Carvajal and González Esteban, 2021). As evidenced in previous sections, there are clear indications that women and younger professionals are more vulnerable to the negative aspects of the profession, but the academy recommends a further deepening, including factors such as the journalistic quality of the work produced in the equation (Hayes and Silke, 2016).

Rosenkranz (2019) puts forward an atypical point of view, proposing that future research should study “in what ways freelancers experience failure” or “under what conditions professional anxiety becomes unsustainable.” He also advocates analyzing the existence of intermediary companies that allow uncertainty to be reduced, an issue addressed in Hoag and Grzeslo’s (2019) work on Online Outsourcing Markets (OOMs), platforms that connect buyers and sellers of digital jobs, such as journalistic content. As these authors consider that their work ran the risk of having arrived at an effervescent moment in the use of this type of solutions, they propose to follow up on the phenomenon for years to come.

Other research emphasizes the need to analyze the resistance of freelance journalists to seek greater job satisfaction (Norbäck, 2019): from union organization or the use of intellectual property over content (Salamon, 2018) to conducting a cross-national study on the self-management strategies employed by professionals (Marín Sanchiz, Carvajal and González Esteban, 2021a).

The scientific literature also focuses on the need to study the skills required to work as a freelancer successfully. In this sense, Marín Sanchiz and González Esteban (2021b) suggest investigating the demands of the media from the editors’ point of view, as well as study programs that address training in journalistic entrepreneurship, while Gollmitzer (2014) and Templeman (2016) express their interest in professional development from different points of view (e.g., importance of self-knowledge as professionals, managing the balance between professional and personal life).

#### 4. Discussion

This literature review sheds light on different characteristics of freelance journalism, from a sociodemographic and working conditions point of view. In reference to the first research question (What is the definition of the freelance journalist?), there is a broad consensus in the studies analyzed: the freelance journalist is an independent professional who offers journalistic products (news, reports, etc.) and services to the media and other types of companies. Consequently, it is a position closely linked to knowledge - both of the profession itself and of the different niche specializations - and which requires a high degree of education and continuous training, as stated by Baitenizov et al. (2019).

Precisely, education is one of the practices that another of the research questions of this study aims to analyze (What self-management and resilience strategies do professionals employ to improve their work situation?), but there is a wide range closely linked to daily work: from the differentiation of the content offered, in order to be unique in the market, to associationism or the development of personal branding activities. The philosophy that the profession should adopt, attending to the industrial context in which freelancers operate, is the constant recycling of skills (Solomon, 2015; Marín Sanchiz and González Esteban, 2021).

The analysis of previous theory reveals that women have a predominance in freelance journalism, and that older professionals are also more common, although there is a wide range of results in this regard (PI2: Are there sociodemographic traits that define this collective?). In any case, no distinctions are observed in the use of self-management practices in the different genders and age ranges, but there is consensus that the strategies are a form of resistance to the working conditions prevailing in the market, characterized mainly by low incomes, long working hours and difficulties in reconciling personal and working life, especially in the case of women and motherhood. Nevertheless, this study serves to compile and confirm scattered findings that dispute the classical view of the freelancer as a professional with low rates of job satisfaction (e.g., Mathisen, 2017).

With regard to working conditions (PI3), one of the contributions of this research is to compile the key variables with which they are frequently analyzed: level of income, flexibility, autonomy (work and ethical), work-life balance, existence of external pressures, opportunities for progress and growth in the labor market, security (e.g., in the case of war correspondents), socioeconomic and legal system, and the existence of professional associations and unions.

Finally, the future lines of research proposed by the studies analyzed (PI4) have been analyzed and several trends have been detected which, in general terms, involve going deeper into aspects already analyzed, such as working conditions and their derivatives (relationship with sociodemographic variables, job satisfaction, etc.). Although the present research article is oriented to this same aspect, it has been observed that practically all the studies found in the sample conformation phase are limited to this same field of study. That is why the main recommendation of the literature review is to broaden the focus to less fertile ground, such as the dynamics of content production (to know in which specializations they are more present, what are the dynamics of relationship with sources, etc.) or to link the field of study with the effervescence of the economy of creators, which may represent a new turning point for the future of independent professionals by prioritizing personal trajectories over work for third parties.

In the section on limitations, the authors wish to emphasize that this is a literature review in which an attempt has been made to maintain a high level of rigor and transparency at all times, but this does not prevent the synthesis of the findings from implying certain risks for the replicability of the results and conclusions.

## 5. Conclusion

The scientific literature makes it clear that freelance journalism is a heterogeneous profession that is subject to high levels of work pressure, although this does not prevent some professionals from showing a high level of job satisfaction. This conclusion is in line with the findings of previous empirical research (Marín Sanchiz, Carvajal and González Esteban, 2021), which places freelance journalism in a dilemma between the precariousness of a type of employment that guarantees neither a fixed income nor broad social security coverage, and the autonomy of freelance work.

Given this ambivalent context, it is important that the field of research on this topic continues to take the pulse of the working conditions of freelance reporters, but also moves into different areas, such as the relationship with editors or the training of journalists. According to the research analyzed, the field should advance in this direction in order to make practical contributions with greater applicability for freelance journalists. In this way, since we are immersed in the logic of neoliberal governmentality (Mitchell, 2006) in which more and more responsibility is transferred to the individual for his or her professional performance, it could contribute to improving his or her capacity to maneuver in the labor market.

In this regard, it is striking that, despite the fact that numerous authors criticize this neoliberal drift of the labor market, the field of study focuses on eminently individualistic strategies to address the problems. Few of the studies in the sample make reference to associationism, while none place labor policies and legislation in the sector as a line of future research, with the result that the academy itself may be perpetuating a situation it reproves. In any case, this suggests a certain pragmatism, since the strategies studied are more actionable in the short term.

## 6. Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank Gareth Bouch of Vroom Media for proofreading the English text. The reviewer is a BA in philosophy with experience in media.

7. Specific contributions made by each author

	Name and Surname
Conception and design of the work	Cristian-Ramón Marín-Sanchiz
Methodology	Cristian-Ramón Marín-Sanchiz
Data gathering and analysis	Cristian-Ramón Marín-Sanchiz and José M. Valero-Pastor
Discussion and conclusions	Cristian-Ramón Marín-Sanchiz and José M. Valero-Pastor
Writing, formatting, review, and version approval	Cristian-Ramón Marín-Sanchiz and José M. Valero-Pastor

8. Bibliographical references

Ahmed, M. A. & van den Hoven, J. (2010). Agents of responsibility—freelance web developers in web applications development. *Information Systems Frontiers*, 12(4), pp. 415-424. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10796-009-9201-0>

Alberti, G., Bessa, I., Hardy, K., Trappmann, V. & Umney, C. (2018). In, against and beyond precarity: work in insecure times. *Work, Employment and Society*, 32(3), pp. 447-457. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017018762088>

Anderson, C. W., Bell, E. & Shirky, C. (2012). *Post-Industrial Journalism: Adapting to the Present (Informe)*. Columbia Academic Commons.

Antunovic, D., Grzeslo, J., & Hoag, A. (2019). “Ice Cream is Worse, and Joblessness is Not an Option” Gendered experiences of freelancing. *Journalism Practice*, 13(1), pp. 52-67.

Argiz-Acuña, Á. (2006). De mercenarios a héroes: un recorrido por la historia del periodismo Freelance. *Estudios sobre el mensaje periodístico*, 12, pp. 27-43.

Arnold, J. (2001). Career and career management. En N. Anderson, D. S. Ones y H. K. Sinangil (Eds.), *Handbook of industrial, work and organizational psychology: Organizational psychology* (pp. 115-132). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781848608368.n7>

Asociación de la Prensa de Madrid. 2005. *Informe Anual de la Profesión Periodística 2005* (Informe). Asociación de la Prensa de Madrid.

Asociación de la Prensa de Madrid. 2020. *Informe Anual de la Profesión Periodística 2020* (Informe). Asociación de la Prensa de Madrid.

Asp, Kent (2012). *Svenska journalister 1989–2011*. Göteborg: JMG, Göteborgs Universitet.

Baitenizov, D.T., Dubina, I.N., Campbell, D.F.J., Carayannis, E.G. & Azatbek, T.A. (2019). Freelance as a Creative Mode of Self-employment in a New Economy (a Literature Review). *Journal of the Knowledge Economy*, 10, pp. 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13132-018-0574-5>

- Banning, D. (2005). *Freelance journalists: Careers, attitudes, and demographics*. University of Nevada, Reno.
- Bertuzzi, R. (2020). Value Proposition: Canadian Freelance Writers at the Intersection of Exploitation and Alienation. *New Proposals: Journal of Marxism and Interdisciplinary Inquiry*, 11(1), pp. 18-33.
- Boczkowski, P. J. & Mitchelstein, E. (2017). Scholarship on Online Journalism: Roads Traveled and Pathways Ahead. En P. J. Boczkowski y C. W. Anderson (Eds.), *Remaking the News. Essays on the Future of Journalism Scholarship in the Digital Age* (pp. 15-26). Cambridge, Massachussets: MIT Press. <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/10648.001.0001>
- Bourdieu P (1963). *Travail et travailleurs en Algerie*. Paris: Mouton & Co.
- Brown, M. (2010). Why freelancing is now a dead loss. *British Journalism Review*, 21(1), pp. 61-65.
- Canter, L. & Wilkinson, E. (2020). *Freelancing for Journalists*. Routledge.
- Cohen, N. S. (2012). Cultural work as a site of struggle: Freelancers and exploitation. *Triple C*, 10(2), pp. 141-155. <https://doi.org/10.31269/triplec.v10i2.384>
- Cohen, N. S. (2015). Entrepreneurial Journalism and the Precarious State of Media Work. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 114(3), pp. 513-533. <https://doi.org/10.1215/00382876-3130723>
- Cohen, N. S. (2017). Freelancing as the Good Life?. *International Journal of Communication*, 11(3).
- Cohen, N. S., Hunter, A. & O'Donnell, P. (2019). Bearing the burden of corporate restructuring: Job loss and precarious employment in Canadian journalism. *Journalism Practice*, 13(7), 817-833.
- Das, J. (2007). Sydney freelance journalists and the notion of professionalism. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 13(1), pp. 142-160. <https://doi.org/10.24135/pjr.v13i1.890>
- De Cock, R., & De Smaele, H. (2016). Freelancing in Flemish News Media and Entrepreneurial Skills as Pivotal Elements in Job Satisfaction: Perspectives of Masters or Servants?. *Journalism Practice*, 10(2), pp. 251-265.
- De Lara González, A., Arias Robles, F., Carvajal, M. & García-Avilés, J. A. (2015). Ranking de innovación periodística 2014 en España. Selección y análisis de 25 iniciativas. *El Profesional de la Información*, 24(3), pp. 235-245. <https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2015.may.02>
- Deuze M. & Witschge, T. (2018). Beyond journalism: Theorizing the transformation of journalism. *Journalism*, 19(2), pp. 165-181. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884916688550>
- Deuze, M., Kotišová, J., Newlands, G., & Van't Hof, E. (2020). Toward a theory of atypical media work and social hope. *Artha Journal of Social Sciences*, 19(3), pp. 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.12724/ajss.54.1>
- Díaz Nosty, Bernardo (2017). 2007-2017. Disrupción en el sistema de medios. En Díaz Nosty, Bernardo (Dir.). *Diez años que cambiaron los medios*. Madrid: Fundación Telefónica, Ariel
- Elmore, C. (2009). Turning points and turnover among female journalists: Communicating resistance and repression. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 32(2), pp. 232-254

- Elmore, C. & Massey, B. (2012). Need for instruction in entrepreneurial journalism: Perspective of full-time freelancers. *Journal of Media Practice*, 13(2), pp. 109-124.
- Feijóo, C. (2013). Soportes digitales y transformación de las industrias de contenidos. *El Profesional de la Información*, 22(1), pp. 5-9. <https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2013.ene.01>
- Florida, R. (2002) *The rise of the creative class*. New York: Basic Books.
- Fraser, J., & Gold, M. (2001). Portfolio workers': Autonomy and control amongst freelance translators. *Work, Employment and Society*, 15(4), pp. 679-697. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0950017001006791>
- Gill, R. (2011). Life Is a Pitch: Managing the Self in New Media Work. En M. Deuze (ed.) *Managing Media Work*, pp. 249-62. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Handy, C. B. (1985). *The future of work*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers
- Handy, C. (1989). *The age of unreason*. Denmark: Random House.
- Hannis, G. (2008). New Zealand Print Freelancers-Who They Are, What They Earn, Where and What They Publish. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 14(1), 79-92.
- Hayes, K. & Silke, H. (2018). The Networked Freelancer?. *Digital Journalism*, 6(8), pp. 1018-1028. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1505438>
- Hayes, K. & Silke, H. (2019): Narrowing the discourse? Growing precarity in freelance journalism and its effect on the construction of news discourse. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 16(3), pp. 363-379.
- Holton, A. E. (2016). Intrapreneurial informants: An emergent role of freelance journalists. In *The Future of Journalism: Risks, Threats and Opportunities* (pp. 254-264). Routledge.
- Gandini A. (2016) The Rise of a Freelance Economy. En: A. Gandini (Ed.). *The Reputation Economy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-56107-7>
- Gollmitzer, M. (2014). Precariously employed watchdogs? Perceptions of working conditions among freelancers and interns. *Journalism practice*, 8(6), 826-841.
- Gollmitzer, M. (2018). Freelance journalists and interns: Responses to precarity and reconfigurations of the journalistic ethos (Tesis doctoral). Communication, Art & Technology: School of Communication. Simon Fraser University.
- Gomez Patiño, M. (2018). La profesión periodística española a la deriva. *Vivat Academia. Revista De Comunicación*, 143, pp. 45-59. <https://doi.org/10.15178/va.2018.143.45-59>
- Goyanes, M., Artero, J. P., & Zapata, L. (2018). The effects of news authorship, exclusiveness and media type in readers' paying intent for online news: An experimental study. *Journalism*, pp. 1-19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918820741>
- Hallin, D. C. & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511790867>



- Hoag, A. & Grzeslo, J. (2019). Awareness of and experience with online outsourcing journalism labor markets: A benchmark study of freelance journalists. *First Monday*.
- Hunter, A. (2015). Crowdfunding independent and freelance journalism: Negotiating journalistic norms of autonomy and objectivity. *New Media & Society*, 17(2), 272-288. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444814558915>
- Kitching, J., & Smallbone, D. (2008). *Defining and estimating the size of the UK freelance workforce. A Report for the Professional Contractors Group*. Kingston University
- Koch, T., & Obermaier, M. (2014). Blurred lines: German freelance journalists with secondary employment in public relations. *Public Relations Review*, 40(3), 473-482.
- Kuehn, K. & Corrigan, T. F. (2013). Hope labor: The role of employment prospects in online social production. *The Political Economy of Communication*, 1(1), 9.25.
- Küng, L. (2017). *Strategic management in the media: Theory to practice*. Second edition. London: Sage.
- Ladendorf, M. (2012). Freelance journalists' ethical boundary settings in information work, *Nordicom Review*, 33(1), pp. 83-98
- Marín-Sanchiz, C. R. & González-Esteban, J. L. (2021). Análisis de la formación universitaria en periodismo freelance: la perspectiva de los profesionales españoles. *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, 27(2), 569.
- Marín-Sanchiz, C. R., Carvajal, M. & González-Esteban, J. L. (2021). Survival strategies in freelance journalism: an empowering toolkit to improve professionals' working conditions. *Journalism Practice*, 1-24.
- Massey, B. L. & Elmore, C. J. (2011). Happier working for themselves? Job satisfaction and women freelance journalists. *Journalism Practice*, 5(6), pp. 672-686
- Mathisen, B. R. (2017). Entrepreneurs and idealists: Freelance journalists at the intersection of autonomy and constraints. *Journalism Practice*, 11(7), pp. 909-924. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2016.1199284>
- Meehan, K. (2001). It's the hard life for freelancers. *Australian Journalism Review*, 23(1), pp. 99-109
- Mitchell, K. (2006). Neoliberal governmentality in the European Union: education, training, and technologies of citizenship. *Environment and planning D: society and space*, 24(3), pp. 389-407. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d1804>
- Moorkens, J. (2020). Comparative satisfaction among freelance and directly employed Irish-language translators. *Translation & Interpreting*, 12(1), pp. 55-73. <https://doi.org/10.12807/ti.112201.2020.a04>
- Myllylahti, M. (2018). An attention economy trap? An empirical investigation into four news companies' Facebook traffic and social media revenue. *Journal of Media Business Studies*, pp. 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/16522354.2018.1527521>
- Norbäck, M. (2019). Glimpses of resistance: Entrepreneurial subjectivity and freelance journalist work. *Organization*, 28(3), pp. 426-448
- Norbäck, M. & Styhre, A. (2019). Making it work in free agent work: The coping practices of Swedish freelance journalists. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 35(4), 101076. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scaman.2019.101076>

- Nygren, G., Dobek-Ostrowska, B. & Anikina, M. (2015). Professional autonomy. *Nordicom Review*, 36(2), pp. 79. <https://doi.org/10.1515/nor-2015-0018>
- O'Brien, D., Wellbrock, C.-M. & Kleer, N. (2020). Content for Free? Drivers of Past Payment, Paying Intent and Willingness to Pay for Digital Journalism – A Systematic Literature Review. *Digital Journalism*, 8, pp. 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2020.1770112>
- Örnebring, H. & Ferrer-Conill, R. (2016). Outsourcing newswork. En T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo y A. Hermida (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Digital Journalism* (pp. 207–221). Sage Publications Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473957909.n14>
- Rasciute, A. (2017). The Secret Land of Freelance Journalism in Lithuania: a life-world study of professional challenges in the digital era. Lund University
- Rosenkranz, T. (2019). From contract to speculation: New relations of work and production in freelance travel journalism. *Work, Employment and Society*, 33(4), pp. 613–630.
- Salamon, E. (2018). Precarious E-Lancers: Freelance journalists' rights, contracts, labor organizing, and digital resistance. En S. Eldridge y B. Franklin (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of developments in digital journalism studies* (pp. 186–197). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315270449-15>
- Salamon, E. (2020). Digitizing Freelance Media Labor: A Class of Workers Negotiates Entrepreneurialism and Activism. *New Media & Society*, 22(1), pp. 105–122. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444819861958>
- Salaverría, R. (2020). Exploring digital native news media. *Media and Communication*, 8(2), pp. 1–4. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v8i2.3044>
- Scharff, C. (2016) The Psychic Life of Neoliberalism: Mapping the Contours of Entrepreneurial Subjectivity. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 33(6), 107–122.
- Solomon, E. F. (2015). How freelance journalists can help shape journalism education. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 71(2), pp. 241–247.
- Spilsbury, M. (2016). Exploring freelance journalism. Newport: *National Council for the Training of Journalists*
- Süß, S. & Becker, J. (2013). Competences as the foundation of employability: a qualitative study of German freelancers, *Personnel Review*, 42(2), pp. 223–240. <https://doi.org/10.1108/00483481311309393>
- Templeman, T. L. (2016). Freelance journalism in the 21st century: Challenges and opportunities. Queensland University of Technology
- Valero-Pastor, J. M., García-Avilés, J. A. & Carvajal, M. (2021). Transformational Leadership and Innovation in Digital-Only News Outlets. Analysis of Quartz and El Confidencial. *Journalism Studies*, 22(11), pp. 1450–1468.
- Valero-Pastor, J.M. & González-Alba (2018). Las startups periodísticas como ejemplos de innovación en el mercado mediático español. Estudio de casos. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 73, pp. 556–582.

- Van den Born, A., & Van Witteloostuijn, A. (2013). Drivers of freelance career success. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 34(1), pp. 24-46. <https://doi.org/10.1002/job.1786>
- Vandenberghe, H., & d'Haenens, L. (2021). The Netherlands: On media concentration and resilient freelance journalists. En J. Trappel y T. Tomaz, (Eds.). *The Media for Democracy Monitor 2021: How Leading News Media Survive Digital Transformation* (Vol. 1). Gothenburg: Nordicom, University of Gothenburg.
- Vara-Miguel, A. (2018). Confianza en noticias y fragmentación de mercado: el caso español. *Comunicació: revista de recerca i d'anàlisi*, 35(1), 95-113.
- Wadud, M. (2021). Precariously Employed Climate Journalists the Challenges of Freelance Climate Journalists in South Asia. *Journalism Practice*, 16(2-3), pp. 262-280.
- Walters, E., Warren, C., & Dobbie, M. (2006). The Changing Nature of Work: A global survey and case study of atypical work in the media industry. *International Federation of Journalists*
- Wasim Raza, S. Fateh, A., Shahzad, M. A. & Khan, A. (2021). Safety and Security Issues of Media Professional: A Case Study of Freelance Journalists in Pakistan. *ANNALS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND PERSPECTIVE*, 2(2), pp. 409-417.
- Waters-Lynch, J., Potts, J., Butcher, T., Dodson, J. & Hurley, J. (2016). Coworking: A transdisciplinary overview. *SSRN*, 2712217. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2712217>
- Wilkinson, S. (2019). Canadian Journalism in Decline: Fewer Permanent Jobs, Less Security. J-Source. <https://j-source.ca/canadian-journalism-in-decline-fewer-permanent-jobs-less-security/>
- Woronkowicz, J. & Noonan, D. S. (2019). Who Goes Freelance? The Determinants of Self-Employment for Artists. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 43(4), pp. 651-672. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1042258717728067>