

# **Examining New Geographies of the Collective Agency of the Self-Employed and Home-Based Businesses**

ERC WORKANDHOME Working Paper 5

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## 1. Introduction

This report is designed to introduce and inform further research into the organization and agency of the self-employed and, more specifically, home-based businesses. There is a multitude of organizational and associative structures that are responsible for organizing the self-employed across Europe, from federations and confederations, to trade unions and professional associations. The form this representation takes can be influenced by many factors: cultural, industrial and legal. In many countries, the self-employed can today join certain trade unions that also organise employees: this is especially the case in sectoral unions such as craft and trade, journalism, music and transport, where self-employment is readily becoming the norm, not the exception. In some cases, the union may have specifically designated membership categories for 'non-employees' (which may or may not include the solo self-employed) and in others, the self-employed may be included in collective bargaining even if the union has no specific provision for their economic status. Many unions however may, by choice or by national law, be unable to accept self-employed members.

A variety of trade or professional associations represent both employees and the self-employed in specific sectors. In addition to the unions, there are, in many European countries, organizations like the FSB (Federation for Small Businesses) in the United Kingdom, representing small to medium sized enterprises (SME's) on national and regional levels. However, there are also an increasing number of newer organizations concerned with the solo self-employed, micro-entrepreneurs and/or freelancers, on both a sectoral and inter-sectoral level. Such organizations have received very limited attention in the academic literature. The following report and associated appendices include details of these newer, lesser known organizations across the EU, as these provide an opportunity for unique and novel research.

The report begins by identifying and collating relevant bodies of academic literature and presenting a detailed overview of the organizations within the EU currently organizing the self-employed, by country. The report also covers some of the cross-national partnerships which exist for the self-employed within the EU. We present membership data from two professional associations for the self-employed, comparing the characteristics of the members of these organizations with the characteristics of the self-employed within the general working population. The report ends with a spotlight on key topics drawn from the research conducted thus far and reflects on future areas of research. Extensive searches within both the academic and 'grey' literature were carried out in the process of preparing this report and relevant literature, websites and other resources can be found in Appendix B and within footnotes throughout the document. A method note for the collection of the meta-data presented here can be found in Appendix A.

## 2. Literature Summary & Research Gap

A comprehensive search of the academic literature was carried out to compile a list of journal articles, book chapters and conference papers on the topic of organization of the self-employed. Whilst changes to union membership, traditional union renewal and decline have been covered extensively in the literature, discussions surrounding the organization and representation of the self-employed are more limited (Apitzsch et al., 2016). However, several authors have identified the ‘missing link’ of entrepreneurs and the self-employed in contemporary studies of labour organization (Barreiro and Ravix, 2008), and there is a literature covering the inclusion and exclusion of the self-employed within traditional employee trade unions (McCrystal, 2014; Webster and Bischoff, 2011; Pernicka, 2006). Coverage of the new organizations and associations which cater to and represent the self-employed, however, is modest (Pernicka and Reichel, 2014). Furthermore, what can be defined as the “organization of the self-employed” varies according to different definitions of self-employment within the literature – i.e. some articles refer to the solo self-employed (Apitzsch et al., 2016), some to freelancers (Osnowitz, 2007; Saundry et al., 2007; Saundry et al., 2012) and some more generally to entrepreneurs and micro-businesses (Bianchi, 2007). Therefore, the use of the term self-employed often becomes interchangeable among these definitions. Although very little has been written on the organization/collective agency of the solo self-employed, or home-based-businesses (HBBs), there is relevant literature pertaining to other non-standard employment forms that have concerns which are similar to the above groups, or whose status overlaps with the general ‘self-employed’ group (Cella, 2012). Many issues with organizing the self-employed mirror that of other non-standard categories of employment within the context of the ‘gig economy’<sup>1</sup>, and are more extensively covered in the academic literature (Hennekam and Bennett, 2017; Durazzi, 2017; Donini et al., 2017). Therefore, the literature search conducted here was expanded to include other relevant literatures, and references can be found grouped accordingly in Appendix B.

There are several studies on the unionization of the dependent self-employed and franchises (Haiven, 2006) - both groups exist in a grey area in relation to labour law protection and trade unions – which have been studied with particular interest, given the considerable rise in numbers of individuals falling into these categories and the increased use of so-called ‘bogus-self-employment’ by employers to cut staffing costs (Navajas-Romero et al., 2017). There is also literature that looks at the organization of contingent, atypical or non-standard workers more broadly, which provides insight into changes to union membership and structure and attempted union renewal through the inclusion of non-standard members (Holst et al., 2008; Heery, 2009; Signoretti and Puligano, 2016; Haake, 2017). The organization of precarious workers has also received more academic attention and although not always referring directly to self-employment, is highly relevant, particularly in the case of solo self-employment, which

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<sup>1</sup> “The gig economy involves the exchange of labour for money between individuals or companies via digital platforms that actively facilitate matching between providers and customers, on a short-term and payment by task basis.” (Lepanjuuri et al., 2018)

is often considered to be precarious work and agency poor (Hardy, 2017 Hyman and Gumbrell-McCormick, 2017; Martinez Lucio et al., 2017). Finally, there is a small body of literature covering homeworkers and collective action (Bergan, 2009). However, this literature focuses on traditional 'homeworkers' (Eaton & Dagg, 2004) – low skilled workers mostly in manufacturing industries such as textiles (some employed, some self-employed), rather than highly skilled professionals who work from home. None-the-less, many of the solo self-employed in European countries fall into the category of homeworkers (Eurostat, 2017), and the literature on homeworking targets some issues which might also be experienced by this group. However, there is a clear research gap, as no study we could identify to date has focused on the home dimension of solo self-employment in relation to organization, representation and collective action.

The vast majority of literature identified in this search has been drawn from economics and industrial relations journals, with few studies coming from economic geography or regional science. However, considerations of structure and agency (both worker and collective), within labour geographies (Plummer and Sheppard, 2006) could provide a novel theoretical lens with which to look at unionisation and collective action of the self-employed both regionally and cross-nationally, within many organizational forms and 'spaces' such as professional associations, cooperatives and online networks (Castree, 2007; Coe, 2013; Warren, 2014; Hastings, 2016). Further interdisciplinary research could also provide the crucial, and thus far missing, link between the geographies of collective agency and the actions of the self-employed within the context of the home.

### 3. Organizations

Below is a list of large-scale organizations specifically supporting the self-employed across the EU. In some countries there are 100s of small, local organizations and cooperatives carrying out similar activities on lesser scales. Many of these exist under an umbrella federation or organization which provides support to these local branches or independent interest groups. The organizations included here operate on either a national or regional scale and are inter-sectoral. Most organizations have a membership fee (with different levels) and offer many services in addition to lobbying and/or collective bargaining, such as legal advice, insurance and other benefits that the self-employed cannot otherwise access.<sup>2</sup>

Country	Organization	Acronym	Additional Comments	Website
<b>Finland</b>	Suomen Yrittäjät	SY	The Federation of Finnish Enterprises, representing all sizes and sectors. However as of 2009 34% of members were self-employed workers with no employees.	<a href="https://www.yrittajat.fi/">https://www.yrittajat.fi/</a>
	Yrittäjänäisten Keskusliitto	YK	The Central Association of Women Entrepreneurs has been looking after the interests of female entrepreneurs since 1947. It acts as an umbrella company for more than 100 local organizations across the country.	<a href="http://www.yrittajanaiset.fi/">http://www.yrittajanaiset.fi/</a>
<b>Sweden</b>	Företagarförbundet	FF	The Swedish Association of Free Entrepreneurs is the only major organization in Sweden	<a href="https://www.ff.se/">https://www.ff.se/</a>

<sup>2</sup> Please see <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/comparative-information/self-employed-workers-industrial-relations-and-working-conditions> for information on the organization of the self-employed across Europe, and links to country specific data.

			representing wholly small enterprises, members must be micro-businesses (0-9 employees).	
<b>United Kingdom</b>	The Association of Independent Professionals and the Self-Employed	IPSE	Membership of 68,000, not-for-profit, owned and run by the members with different membership levels. The IPSE is the largest membership body supporting contractors, independent professionals and freelancers in the UK. Involved in government lobbying; formed in May 1999 to oppose the original IR35 proposals.	<a href="https://www.ipse.co.uk/">https://www.ipse.co.uk/</a>
	Federation of Small Businesses	FSB	Formed in 1974 as the National Federation of Self-Employed; protects and furthers the interest of members who must be self-employed or directing businesses with less than 250 employees.	<a href="http://www.fsb.org.uk">http://www.fsb.org.uk</a>
<b>Germany</b>	Verband der Gründer und Selbständigen e.V.	VGSD	Organization giving voice to the self-employed and founders of companies in Germany, focus on law.	<a href="https://www.vgsd.de">https://www.vgsd.de</a>
<b>Italy</b>	Associazione Consulenti Terziario Avanzato	ACTA	First professional association to give a voice to Italian Independent Professionals – i.e. creative, scientific and technical industries.	<a href="http://www.actainrete.it">www.actainrete.it</a>



<b>Belgium</b>	Hoge Raad voor Zelfstandigen en de KMO	HRZKMO	The Supreme Council is a government consultation platform for self-employed and SMEs. As a consultative forum, the Supreme Council groups around 170 recognized professional and inter-professional organizations. Those listed below are all members of the HRZKMO.	<a href="http://www.hrzkmo.fgov.be/">www.hrzkmo.fgov.be/</a>
	Federation of Independent Professionals	FEDIPRO vzw	Focuses on the ipros or independent professionals in Belgium.	<a href="http://www.fedipro.be">www.fedipro.be</a>
	Organization for the Self-Employed and SMEs	UNIZO	The Flemish Organization for the Independent Worker has no party political affiliation but Christian roots. Belgium, specifically Flanders, has a long tradition of self-employed people and small or medium-sized enterprises. Established more than 100 years ago, UNIZO is the largest Flemish organization for self-employed entrepreneurs and champions the interests of these entrepreneurs. Has a division for the 'free' professions.	<a href="http://www.unizo.be">www.unizo.be</a>
	Fédération Nationale des	UCM	The National Federation of Middle Classes' Unions is the French speaking counterpart of	<a href="http://www.ucm.be">http://www.ucm.be</a>

Unions des Classes Moyennes		UNIZO, also with a specific division for free professions. Membership micro-entrepreneur based.	
Other(s)	-	<p>The following are the other organizations which hold a seat in the HRZKMO, more information can be found on their websites:</p> <p>Neutral Syndicate of Self-Employed (Neutraal Syndicaat voor Zelfstandigen/Syndicat Neutre pour Indépendants, NSZ/SNI)</p> <p>Liberal Federation of Self-Employed (Liberaal Verbond voor Zelfstandigen, LVZ)</p> <p>Committee of Free and Intellectual Professions (Comité des Professions Libérales et Intellectuelles, CPLI), which together with the Committee of Self-Employed and SME (Comité des Indépendants et des PME, CIPME) forms the Union of Independants and SMEs (Syndicat des Indépendants et des PME, SDI/SDZ).</p> <p>General Middle Classes Federation (Algemeen Middenstandsverbond, AMV)</p>	<p><a href="http://www.nsz.be">www.nsz.be</a></p> <p><a href="http://www.sninet.be/fr">http://www.sninet.be/fr</a></p> <p><a href="https://lvz.be/">https://lvz.be/</a></p> <p><a href="http://www.sdi.be/">http://www.sdi.be/</a></p>

<b>Netherlands</b>	Platform Zelfstandige Ondernemers	PZO	The Platform of the Self-Employed Entrepreneurship Association (PZO-ZZP) has been in existence since 2002.	<a href="http://www.pzo.nl">www.pzo.nl</a>
	FNV Zelfstandigen		FNV Self-employed is an autonomous association, part of the FNV (Dutch Trade Union Federation). FNV is governed by a member's council and FNV Self-employed has their own elected representative within this. They are involved in lobbying at the Hague, provide legal assistance, training and discounted insurance for members. In 2007 there were 25,000 self-employed members across the FNV; they are the fastest growing membership group.	<a href="https://fnvzzp.nl">https://fnvzzp.nl</a>
<b>France</b>	Fédération des Auto-Entrepreneurs	FEDAE	Auto-entrepreneurs or micro-entrepreneurs is a specific legal status in France (introduced in Jan 2009), where a sole trader wishes to run a business under the MICRO-BIC/BNC tax regimes. Subsequently, in the March of 2009, the Federation of Auto-Entrepreneurs was set up, to gather, defend, raise awareness and provide support and recognition to individuals falling into this category.	<a href="http://www.federation-auto-entrepreneur.fr">www.federation-auto-entrepreneur.fr</a>
	Syndicat des Consultants	SYCFI	SYCFI is a trade union for professional trainers, coaches and consultants which work on a	<a href="http://www.sycfi.org">www.sycfi.org</a>

	Formateurs Indépendants		freelance/independent basis. They aim to carry out both traditional unionization, instil a code of ethics and create better working conditions for their members.	
<b>Romania</b>	Asociatia Freelancerilor	AF	A non-profit organization promoting the interests of freelancers in Romania, established in 2013. Provides benefits, lobbying, events and networking for members.	<a href="http://www.asociatiafreelancerilor.ro/">http://www.asociatiafreelancerilor.ro/</a>
<b>Poland</b>	Stowarzyszenie Samozatrudnieni	-	The Self-Employed Association for Poland was established in 2013 and works to improve the socio-economic situation of both the self-employed and lpros (freelancers).	<a href="http://www.samozatrudnieni.org">www.samozatrudnieni.org</a>
<b>Croatia</b>	Croatian Independent Professionals Association	CIPA	2350 members, with over 70% in the creative sector. Detailed data on members has been provided below. Aims to create, promote and sustain a healthy eco-systems for all independent professionals working in Croatia. Particular emphasis on holding coworking events and supporting spaces.	<a href="http://www.hdnp.hr">www.hdnp.hr</a>
<b>Spain</b>	Unión de Profesionales y Trabajadores Autónomos	UPTA	The Union of Professionals and Self-employed workers is the largest of the three Spanish organizations listed here, which all regularly work together on issues of policy. It is a confederation, with a trade union structure,	<a href="http://www.upta.es">www.upta.es</a>

			supporting territorial and sectoral organizations in Spain which associate self-employed workers, and micro-entrepreneurs.	
	Federación Española de Autónomos	CEAT	Spanish Autonomous Federation is a professional organization of federative and inter-sectoral nature, incorporating organizations across Spain and sectors/communities, defending the rights of autonomous workers.	<a href="http://www.ceat.org.es/">http://www.ceat.org.es/</a>
	Asociación de Trabajadores Autónomos	ATA	The National Federation of Associations of Employers and Autonomous Workers was constituted in 1997, supporting independent organizations for freelancers in territories across Spain.	<a href="http://www.ata.es/">http://www.ata.es/</a>
<b>Denmark</b>	Håndværksrådet	HVR	Represents businesses up to 49 employees, and the most significant association for the self-employed without employees in Denmark. Members can be found on the website (in Danish), the majority are small one man or family craft businesses.	<a href="https://smedenmark.dk/">https://smedenmark.dk/</a>
<b>Hungary</b>	Kereskedők és Vendéglátók Országos	KISOSZ	The National Federation of Traders and Caterers represents micro-enterprises in the retail trade and hospitality sectors. Its members include	<a href="http://www.kisosz.hu/">http://www.kisosz.hu/</a>

	Érdekképviselői Szövetsége		approximately 10% of the Hungarian self-employed and 20% of small shopkeepers.	
	Ipartestületek Országos Szövetsége	IPOSZ	The National Federation of Craftsmen Boards represents 100,000 SMEs in Hungary, therefore the largest association of Hungarian SMEs.	<a href="http://www.iposz.hu/">http://www.iposz.hu/</a>
<b>Bulgaria</b>	Home Based Workers Association	HBWA	Registered in 2002, HBWA participates in a variety of organizing, advocacy and educational activities, with 42,000 members. Worked for two years with HBW organizations in other countries to create an international network of home-based workers.	<a href="http://www.wiego.org/wiego/association-home-based-workers-bulgaria-ahbw">http://www.wiego.org/wiego/association-home-based-workers-bulgaria-ahbw</a>

## 4. Cross National Partnerships

### 4.1 The European Forum of Independent Professionals

Many of the organizations introduced in this report belong to a not-for-profit organization called the European Forum for Independent Professionals (EFIP). This is an explicit nonparty political collaboration of the national associations across the EU – it does not, therefore, include trade specific, or regional organizations. The forum targets cross-border issues arising for the European self-employed, lobbying the European Parliament and advocating for ease of movement across EU borders – even in cases where this stands in contrast with trade unions. EFIP also conducts research into the rise of self-employment across the EU (Leighton and Brown, 2013).

### 4.2 SMarteu

Smarteu is a cooperative supporting all freelancers, with an aim at creating a shared platform for entrepreneurship that can help to reduce isolation and precariousness for members, on the basis of pooling economic means, risks, and benefits. It is a not-for-profit organization, set up in 1998. Members are stakeholders and come from across a variety of sectors, and economic backgrounds. Although originally Belgian based, Smarteu operate across the European Union and have 170 full time employees in Belgium and 85,000 members in Belgium, France, Spain, Sweden, Italy, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria and Hungary.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup><http://smart-eu.org/about/>

## 5. Membership Data and Characteristics of the Self-Employed

Below are tables, with detailed membership data, on the profiles of the self-employed members of IPSE in the UK (the Association of Independent Professionals and the Self-Employed) and CIPA (Croatian Independent Professionals Association). The tables provide a comparison with Eurostat data on the profile of the self-employed in the UK and Croatia, to assess who is not represented by these large national associations, and who is. It is clear, from the data below, that the members of both IPSE and CIPA differ dramatically in characteristics from each other, and from their respective, country-wide population of self-employed individuals. This raises questions both about who in the self-employed community (e.g. by gender, age, occupation, precarity) is represented and organized, and who is excluded, and why. The majority of associations do not yet have aggregate data for their members which has been collated and made available publicly, hence for this report only CIPA and IPSE are listed below. Please see the method note for details of the collection of this data.

Croatia	Gender		Location	Age		Education	Occupation		
	Male	Female	Zagreb Based?	24-32	35-49	Degree or Higher	Full-Time	Student	Highest Profession
<b>CIPA<sup>4</sup> Members (2015)</b>	51.19%	48.51%	45.83%	49.05%	32.26%	72%	54.25%	8.35%	Multimedia and Design – 36%
<b>Total Self-Employed<sup>5</sup></b>	68.42%	31.58%	-	55.63%		23.19%	88.08%	-	-
<b>Total Solo Self-Employed<sup>5</sup></b>	67.69%	32.31%	-	64.91%		15.72%	79.87%	-	-

<sup>4</sup> Link to data: <https://infogram.com/freelancing-in-croatia-2015-1gk9vp10wyr8m4y>

<sup>5</sup> Data is sourced from Eurostat; Self-employment by sex, age and occupation (1000): [https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=lfsq\\_espais&lang=en](https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=lfsq_espais&lang=en)



United Kingdom	Gender		Age		Education		Full-Time	Occupation
	Male	Female	40-59	50-59	Degree or Higher	Full-Time	Highest Profession	
<b>IPSE<sup>6</sup> Members</b>	88%	12%	70%	32%	56%	99%	IT and Telecommunications 63%	
<b>Total Self-Employed<sup>5</sup></b>	67.08%	32.92%	55.98%	28.38%	42.37%	74.61%	-	
<b>Total Solo Self-Employed<sup>5</sup></b>	65.96%	34.04%	54.27%	27.2%	41.45%	71.7%	-	

<sup>6</sup> Jenkins (2016), IPSE Membership Typology

## 6. Spotlight: Key Ideas and Case Studies

**Dependent Self-Employment in Italy**  
Italy is a particularly interesting case study in Europe, due to the high proportions of dependent self-employed (over 10% of the working population). This brings a new and grey area into focus as the status of the dependent self-employed is often ambiguous in law and therefore rights to union or association membership may be called into question. How (if at all) are they organizing or being represented in government and what barriers might they face to collective action? (Navajas-Romero et al., 2017)

**Benelux Freelancers**  
The Netherlands and Belgium have far and away the most interest groups (Belgium alone has over 140) concerned with the rights of the self-employed. Many of these are linked to political groups or have religious roots, however an increasing number of cross sectoral organizations are moving away from such affiliations. However, which groups of self-employed workers do they represent? Many, for example, focus on liberal professions or highly skilled independent professionals. This is unsurprising – the Netherlands has the highest proportion of ‘IPros’ in the working population anywhere in Europe! But who is then excluded from IPro interest groups? (Leighton and Brown, 2013)

**Precarious Work**  
The solo self-employed are often considered atypical workers, but it is also worth considering that self-employment can be highly precarious work. Individual agency of the self-employed should be considered within the context of precarious work. Can both high and low paid/skilled self-employment be considered precarious? Are the precarious self-employed agency poor? What are the issues with organizing and representing precarious workers and what kinds of organizations might be able to achieve this?

### Alternative Forms of Organization

In addition to organizations, unions and associations, the role of the web, blogs, and online forums now represent an important form of organization, networking and support. Many self-employment associations recognise this and like UNIZO, for example, facilitate web based communities.

<https://www.unizo.be/projecten/love-be-free-freelance-netwerk-voor-zelfstandige-dienstverleners>

Other ‘alternate’ forms of organization include coworking and cooperatives. The former in particular, is set up by organizations such as IPSE which offer hot desking memberships (at various locations), and SMarteu. For research conducted into coworking by CIPA (Croatia) see below.

<https://infogram.com/coworkingmrf-0624>

<https://infogram.com/coworking-spaces>

It is certainly worth considering the implications of alternative forms or spaces of organization beyond associations, interest groups and unions, and how these give agency to workers who might be excluded from traditional collective bargaining and support, particularly given the increasingly digital nature of work and its relevance for those self-employed who work primarily from a ‘home office’.

## 7. Further Research

Drawing on the academic literature, key ideas, data, and meta-data analysed for this report, we conclude with relevant and specific research questions for future development of the field of organization and collective action of the self-employed.

- ✓ How can we define what is 'effective' and 'useful' organization for the self-employed? How might the needs and desires of the self-employed differ in this regard, from employees?
- ✓ Is the collective 'voice' of the self-employed better strengthened as a part of a more diverse, inter-sectoral organization such as a trade union, or an association/cooperative specifically supporting entrepreneurs? Which might be better suited to meeting the needs and desires of home-based businesses, in particular?
- ✓ Are home-based businesses organizing/being organized? If so, through which organizations, spaces or mediums?
- ✓ Do organizations that represent SME's sufficiently represent the concerns of the solo self-employed or micro-businesses?
- ✓ How do spatial, cultural, industrial and legal differences influence the representation of the self-employed across place, space and Europe?
- ✓ In which regions or countries are the solo self-employed particularly organized?
- ✓ Why do cross sectoral organizations such as IPSE in the United Kingdom attract a certain membership profile (e.g. male, highly skilled, older individuals)? How does this compare to other European countries and organizations? How have the member organizations of EFIP evolved differently across the EU?
- ✓ How does gender interact with the agency (both collective and individual) of the self-employed?

## 8. Appendix A: Method Note

The methods used in this project involved literature searches using SCOPUS and Google Scholar (see below for complete search terms), the compilation of an endnote library, and online searches to identify relevant organizations through their websites and <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/>. Information and meta-data on organizations were collated from internet sources, and some organizations were subsequently contacted by email to request data or further information for inclusion in the report.

In Section 5, aggregate population estimate data were accessed through Eurostat; the meta-data for these dataset series can be found here: [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/EU\\_labour\\_force\\_survey\\_-\\_methodology](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/EU_labour_force_survey_-_methodology). The data for IPSE (United Kingdom) were drawn from their membership typology, and the data for CIPA (Croatia) can be found here: <https://infogram.com/freelancing-in-croatia-2015-1gk9vp10wyr8m4y>. Both organizations conducted in-house research into their members characteristics and compiled aggregate statistics made available online.

### 8.1 Search Terms

#### 8.1.1 Scopus

- Structure and agency AND economic geography
- Worker agency
- Trade union AND collective agency
- Trade union OR collective agency AND self-employed OR self employed OR self-employment OR self employment
- Trade union OR professional association AND self-employed OR self employed OR self-employment OR self employment
- Trade union OR professional association AND contingent OR non-standard OR atypical
- Trade union OR professional association AND precarious
- Trade union OR professional association AND home based business (no results)

#### 8.1.2 Google Scholar

- Organization of home based businesses
- Organization of homeworkers
- Organizing homeworkers

## 9. Appendix B: Literature & Resources

### 9.1 Academic Literature

#### 9.1.1 Organization of Entrepreneurs and the Self-Employed

- APITZSCH, B., RUINER, C. & WILKESMANN, M. 2016. Traditional and new intermediary actors in the labor markets of the highly-skilled solo self-employed. *Industrielle Beziehungen*, 23, 477-497.
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