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The Mutual Shaping of Gender and Entrepreneurship in Co-Living Spaces

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to be independent, resourceful, and powerful,
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Abstract

Based on an ethnographic study in the Bay Area and Munich, this dissertation explores the mutual shaping of gender and entrepreneurship in co-living spaces. Unpacking such a dual process is built upon the idea that both of the constructs, gender and entrepreneurship, are always in the making. Therefore, this dissertation traces gender and entrepreneurship today, employing co-living spaces as a case study.

Mainstream media typically describes co-living spaces as a new form of urban communal living designed for entrepreneurs, tech professionals, and flexible workers. In co-living spaces, entrepreneurs do not only share business networks or investment opportunities, but they also share house chores, relationship break-ups, and Sunday brunches. As I argue throughout this dissertation, the ubiquitous quality of co-living spaces—which encapsulates work, domesticity, and leisure—provides a captivating opportunity for understanding how the figure of the entrepreneur is currently gendered. Drawing on Science and Technology Studies (STS) and Gender and Entrepreneurship Studies, the dissertation aims to contribute to the current feminist critique of finding alternative ways for exploring gender as an overarching construct (Ahl & Marlow, 2012; Marlow, 2020; Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2017).

One of the main findings of the dissertation is an emergence of a particular bond among co-living entrepreneurs, which provides both emotional and business support for the parties involved. I have coined the term "entrepreneurial kinship" to refer to this specific social tie created among entrepreneurs who come from different walks of life yet share similar entrepreneurial experiences. While entrepreneurial kinship provides very much-needed social ties to the entrepreneur, who is expected to be geographically mobile, this bond tends to dissolve once the entrepreneur moves to the next endeavor.

In conclusion, the dissertation frames co-living as a compensation practice to cope with the challenges that arise from the precariousness of an entrepreneurial life. I argue that despite providing an alternative to traditional lifestyles, co-living spaces do not ultimately destabilize existing gender relations.

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Chapter 1

Preface

> We are living in a challenging era. Our society requires a transformation. In a world filled with difficulties, the co-living community we are creating targets individuals who aim to bring solutions to these challenges. We aim to enforce new insights on how the world can thrive in the future. This co-living space is for trailblazers who might at first be considered lunatics, but who will eventually guide the world into a prosperous future.[1]

This is the slogan on the homepage of a co-living space. Their webpage features beautiful photos of the house, background information, and postings of currently available rooms. The webpage is so well-written that it immediately draws you in; you immediately want to be part of this community. At the end of the day, don't you want to be surrounded by like-minded people? Don't you want to be a pioneer of this society? Don't you want to change the world?

But let's pause for a moment. What is a co-living space? The mainstream media often defines it as a new form of communal housing, designed for entrepreneurs, flexible professionals, and tech workers. Yet, this definition does not end here; it only gives birth to more questions, such as: What could co-living spaces tell us about the ever-changing dynamics of our society? Considering the idea of domestic space has historically been associated with femininity, what could co-living spaces tell us about new ways of doing gender in new kinds of homes? What's more, how could co-living spaces reconfigure the interplay between gender *and* entrepreneurship?

This dissertation explores how gender and technology entrepreneurship mutually shape one another in co-living spaces. Unpacking such a dual process is built upon

[1]Extracted from the website of a co-living space, used in a paraphrased form in order to keep the anonymity of this particular co-living space. Retrieved 01.03.22.

the idea that both of the constructs, gender and entrepreneurship, are always in the making, dynamic and impacting each other. Therefore, this dissertation checks the pulse of gender and entrepreneurship today, employing co-living spaces as a case study. In co-living spaces, entrepreneurs not only share business networks or investment opportunities, they also share household chores, relationship break-ups, or Sunday brunches. As I argue throughout the dissertation, this ubiquitous quality of co-living spaces—which encapsulates business, domesticity, and leisure—provides an amazing opportunity to understand how the figure of an entrepreneur is currently gendered, not only in the business realm but also in other aspects of life. This dissertation, therefore, examines the way entrepreneurship is gendered in co-living spaces by tracing the figure of the entrepreneur in different aspects of co-living, from how residents develop social ties, how they organize domesticity, and whom they select as residents. To do so, I conducted an ethnographic study in two different co-living spaces, one in the Bay Area, the United States and one in Munich, Germany.

Both constructs, gender and entrepreneurship, deserve our scholarly attention in different ways. First, considering the constant presence of entrepreneurial discourse in our everyday life, it is of vital importance that we continuously keep an eye on how entrepreneurship is being reconfigured. A similar change also goes for gender. We are living in a time, especially in the Global North, where the idea of gender has never been as discussed, contested, and embraced. Gender mobilizes societal change at every level; therefore, it is important to carefully trace how it is constantly being remade.

Yet, it is not only the dynamic aspects of gender and entrepreneurship that bond them together. Gender and entrepreneurship have had an intriguing and complex relationship throughout history. It wasn't almost 1980s that the gender question entered the world of entrepreneurship, both in academia and beyond (Jennings & Brush, 2013). Once gender entered the scene, it opened up a wealth of questions, from micro practices to macrostructures. This dissertation contributes to the young but extensive and ever-growing literature of Gender and Entrepreneurship. I aim to contribute to this body of work by inviting an innovative lens of another inspiring literature: Science and Technology Studies (STS). Throughout the dissertation, I argue that both literatures have much to learn from one another.

This introductory chapter problematizes gender and entrepreneurship by situating them within the ongoing academic debates and lays out the research question which

guides this dissertation. First, it provides a short outline of the contemporary theoretical perspectives of gender in relation to entrepreneurship. Then, it discusses the use of the terms *figure* and *context*. Third, it introduces the case of co-living spaces and explains the ways in which the idea of co-living is connected to the premise of domestic revolution. After shortly introducing the method, the chapter offers an outline of the dissertation.

1.1 Introduction

The figure of the entrepreneur is depicted as the person who starts with nothing, goes after a possibility, and ends up with everything. Such a figuration is not new, it has existed at different moments in history.[2] However, it has arguably never been as alive and ubiquitous as it is today. Parents would like to raise the next Steve Jobs (Vercelletto, 2012) or Elon Musk (Mejia, 2018). New articles are published regularly on which tech region will become the next Silicon Valley (Cheng, 2021; Cook, 2022). Academic courses in entrepreneurship are found at both undergraduate and graduate levels in many universities. The subject is a prominent research topic for scholars across disciplines such as economics, management, business, and engineering. What's more, the entrepreneurial mentality seems to go beyond the business realm and has infiltrated everyday life.

Even though the figure of the entrepreneur is prevalent in Western societies, the question of who can have access to entrepreneurial subject positions appeared quite late in both public debate and in academic literature. One of the reasons for such a delay is the meritocratic framing of entrepreneurship (Ahl & Marlow, 2012). Merit, here, is seen as a safeguarding characteristic, ensuring equal access for all people, independent of their backgrounds and personal characteristics. Such a framing, however, disregards social categories such as gender, race, class, ethnicity, or age. That is why, beginning in the 1990s, it has been more widely recognized that the meritocratic framing of entrepreneurship is rather *gender blind* (P. Lewis, 2006).

The gender question in entrepreneurship opens up a new area of discussion that problematizes gender within the field of entrepreneurship. For example, Ahl (2006) argues that the entrepreneur is indeed a gendered construct and is exclusively figured as masculine. In other words, the values associated with entrepreneurship resemble

[2]The figure of the entrepreneur is usually linked with the American Dream, and its roots go back to America's founding fathers (Duncan, 2014).

values typically labeled as masculine in Western society. Even though the figure of the entrepreneur seems like an open resource for all human actors, scholars explained that non-male bodies are not able to demand the same kind of privilege by simply adopting masculine-coded values because such adaptation strategies are usually associated with negative connotations, instead of providing access to entrepreneurial resources (Schippers, 2007).

The discussion on gender in entrepreneurship has resulted in a series of efforts in the field of entrepreneurship to increase women's participation. Accordingly, to be seen as credible actors, female entrepreneurs are offered multiple support strategies such as mentorships, personal training, or role modeling programs. Even though both the fields of entrepreneurship and academia tend to appreciate the efforts to increase female representation, the academic community of Gender and Entrepreneurship has recently expressed concern regarding the contemporary discourses and practices being used (Marlow, 2020; Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2017).[3]

Within the framework of this critique, scholars argue that the efforts to increase the number of women in entrepreneurship focus mainly on fixing the individual woman, and by doing so, reinforce the notion of women as being deficient (Marlow & McAdam, 2013). In other words, the field of entrepreneurship tends to position men as the standard norm and women as problematic (Bruni et al., 2004b; Marlow & Swail, 2014). That's why the focus has usually been on how women fail to meet the normative expectations of the entrepreneur (Ahl & Marlow, 2012) and how this can be solved by investing in the individual women's entrepreneurial progress. Yet, scholars acknowledge that these efforts tend to blame women for being victims of discrimination (Marlow, 2020). Accordingly, the entrepreneurship field tends to position individual women as representative of the overall gender category and refers to women as "the embodiment of the gendered subject" (Marlow & Swail, 2014, p.81). That is to say, when gender is brought into question, it is pigeonholed as being only about women and their issues. Consequently, contemporary critique suggests that the current scholarly tendency in entrepreneurship research reaches "an epistemological dead end" and lacks a reflective critical perspective (Ahl & Marlow, 2012, 543).

[3]Marlow and Martinez Dy (2017)'s article that has been cited in this dissertation is the early online version. For the printed version of this article, please refer to: Marlow, S., & Martinez Dy, A. (2018). Annual review article: Is it time to rethink the gender agenda in entrepreneurship research? International Small Business Journal, 36(1), 3–22. https://doi.org/10.1177/0266242617738321.

Therefore, the representation of gender requires more sophisticated scholarly attention. What is needed is a rich examination of gender as an overarching construct (Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2017).

Within the aforementioned framework of the feminist critique, scholars suggest a series of future research pathways. One of the research perspectives, the one that I will follow and further develop in this dissertation, is *situating the entrepreneur in a context*. As Ahl and Nelson (2015) write:

> We conclude that the value of entrepreneurship should be theorized in context as well as in the specific. One cannot ignore the full lives of entrepreneurs, including their family commitments and the societal structure in which they live. We encourage an abandonment of the individualist approach (i.e., the great man) in entrepreneurship theory and a continued challenge to the gendered male-entrepreneur norm (Ahl & Nelson, 2015, p.274).

Ahl and Nelson argue that what is further needed is to pay special attention to the context within entrepreneurial research. Focusing on the context is particularly important for them since the entrepreneur is historically positioned as the heroic figure whose success lies only in their ability and talents. Indeed, the figure of the entrepreneur seems to be linked with another famous figuration, the scientific genius, whose uniqueness distinguishes them from the rest of society. They are seen as "one brilliant mind that might have been inspired by its contexts, but that would have been a genius anywhere and anytime" (Müller, 2012, p.8). Such a detachment of the individual from the context is initially conceptualized by Shapin and Schaffer (1985) and later developed by D. Haraway (1997) in the concept of the *modest witness*, which positions the scientist as a disembodied figure who is able to detach himself[4] from the mundanity of everyday life.

Similarly, the entrepreneur has usually been framed as a figure that is distinguished from the rest of society on the basis of individual qualities. It is not the context that makes one an entrepreneur but rather the individual qualities such as self-determination, vision for the future, innovation, or persistence. The narrative goes as follows: The entrepreneur, usually depicted as a young white man, discovers the next big idea in a garage, persistently pursues his idea in the face of challenges,

[4]The use of personal pronoun belongs to the authors.

and eventually revolutionizes society. However, such a simplistic understanding of the figure risks stripping away any web of relationality embedded in the context.

This dissertation aims to tell a new story about the figure of the entrepreneur. I focus on an often neglected aspect: the context. Accordingly, I intend to situate the entrepreneur in a co-living space. Unlike the dominant narrative, entrepreneurs are not only found on stage, pitching the next big idea. They also live in a home. They eat, sleep, cook, and socialize with other people. Thus, one of the assumptions of this dissertation is that situating the figure of the entrepreneur into a co-living space could provide us with a better grasp of the ecologies of relationalities surrounding this figure. Such attention to the neglected part of entrepreneurship could help us better understand the figure of the entrepreneur in greater detail.

In the paragraph above, I mention that I frame co-living space as contextual. Yet, context seems to have an elastic quality that is used in multiple ways in social science literature. For example, Science and Technology Studies (STS) is not very fond of the term context. Latour writes that context is "simply a way of stopping the description when you are tired or too lazy to go on" (Latour, 2005, p.148).[5] However, my usage of context is not derived from dullness. On the contrary, it is rather derived from careful attention to the sensitives of two literatures—STS and Gender and Entrepreneurship—I would like to bridge together. Gender and Entrepreneurship literature frames entrepreneurial housing (such as co-living spaces) as a *context* (Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2017). In STS, however, there is a differentiation between *context* and *situation*. Context is seen as "which *surrounds* something, but assuredly is *not* part of it," (Clarke et al., 2018, p.17) whereas situation—with an interpretive twist—means surrounding something *while* being part of it. In this dissertation, I frame co-living spaces as entrepreneurial housing that surrounds the figure of the entrepreneur but also is part of it. Therefore, I use the word *situation* throughout the dissertation to refer to co-living spaces unless specifically referring to original texts which use the word *context*.[6]

The framing of co-living spaces as a situation does not mean it is unidimensional. Rather, following scholars of STS (D. Haraway, 1988; Latour, 1987, 2005; Law, 1992), I frame co-living spaces as an assemblage of heterogeneous actors (both human and non-human) composed of, but not limited to, residents, artifacts, money, events,

[5]Here, Latour quotes Rem Koolhaas (Latour, 2005, p.148).

[6]Interested readers can find more information on this debate in the section 2.2.6.

gender, discourses, ideas, race, social ties, pizza, age, guests, and gardens. Therefore, by subscribing to the material semiotics approach, I aim to understand how a web of practices in a social world is composed of elements that are both material (as in the physical matter that would shape and be shaped by interactions) and semiotic (as in carrying meaning-generating and sense-making properties) (Law, 2019). Thus, this dissertation not only evaluates relationships among humans—even though the dissertation has a specific focus on the assemblage of human actors and their social ties—but also technologies and how social values, particularly gender, are inscribed in the imagination, creation, and usage of these artifacts.

When I employ the word *figure*, I use it with a double meaning. First, I refer to the ways which the notion of an entrepreneur is given a particular form. Second, I use it to question how this particular form is able to, in turn, shape other forms (Castañeda, 2002). This double meaning provides a method to unpack and explore the entrepreneur in greater detail. I conceptualize the figure of the entrepreneur as a material-semiotic *actor* who has both material and semiotic elements (Castañeda, 2002; Suchman, 2007).[7] Among the material-semiotic family,[8] I particularly subscribe to the feminist definition of material semiotics (D. Haraway, 1988) which counters the claims of objectivity and acknowledges the situatedness of the knower. The question is then, not how to produce objective knowledge, but how to bend the figures of speeches, narratives, or tropes to create alternative feminist worlds (Law, 2019). As Haraway puts it neatly, "[f]eminist objectivity means quite simply *situated knowledges*" (D. Haraway, 1988, p.581). Hence, this dissertation is a quest for situated knowledges, particularly the neglected ones. While the majority of the literature on entrepreneurship focuses on human actors—women in particular—this dissertation extends the scope of the research by inviting non-human actors as one focus for analysis. By doing so, it invites a variety of situated knowledges that informs gender and opens debate regarding the extent that new forms of living could bend our constructs of gender.

Yet, here a big parenthesis is needed. Shifting the focus from individual women does not mean that I find their engagement unimportant. On the contrary, women's involvement in entrepreneurship is vital, especially because the figure of the entrepreneur tends to be positioned as "a normative model of the human" (Bröckling,

[7]Please visit section 2.1.1 to read more about the concept of the figure.

[8]Following Law (2019) I do not treat material semiotics as a general theory but rather as an approach that would cultivate *a set of sensibilities* to be practiced.

2016, p.21), setting defining characteristics on how to be a human. Therefore, it is invaluable to discover ways to make women visible within the entrepreneurial discourse without rendering them deficit. With that in mind, this dissertation seeks to find new ways of discovering gender as an all-encompassing construct, with the aim of contributing to the aforementioned feminist scholarship.

As briefly mentioned above, this dissertation empirically focuses on a particular situation: *co-living spaces*. In literature, it is often stated that most entrepreneurial activities occur within a home context (Carter et al., 2017). Given the centrality of housing in entrepreneurial activity, contemporary entrepreneurial research has two primary foci. The first focus is on spousal business partnership (known as copreneurial relationship) and how it overlaps or diverges in the couple's division of labor in their ventures and housework (McAdam & Marlow, 2013). The second focus is on successful (visible) women entrepreneurs, examining the ways they juggle both realms of work and housework (Brush, 1992). Though contemporary research brings attention to entrepreneurial living, there is a further need for new research perspectives that go beyond male-female binaries and discover gender as an always-in-the-making and situated construct.

There are various definitions of co-living spaces. The one which this dissertation adopts, defines co-living as "a new type of communal living which is purpose-built or refurbished accommodation, in which individuals (often defined as professionals and entrepreneurs) live together and strive to formulate and practice a lifestyle defined by a set of shared values" (Musilek, 2020, p.13). Co-living spaces tend to be fully furnished and include utilities (such as internet, electricity, and rent) in the monthly payment. Additionally, they often include working space, which enables residents to work from the space where they live. They also claim to offer "effortless socialisation" (Musilek, 2020, 15) provided via a wide range of social and leisure activities and networking possibilities among its members.

Musilek argues that co-living spaces are "a fascinating case for the exploration of transformations in contemporary work-lives" (Musilek, 2020, 13), as co-living spaces bring three important aspects of life—personal life, housing, and work—together. I completely agree with him that the ubiquitous aspect of co-living spaces is fascinating for social inquiry. However, the focus of this dissertation is the mutual shaping of gender and entrepreneurship. I argue that it is particularly interesting to use co-living spaces as empirical cases since they create an amazing opportunity to understand

entrepreneurial actors and their practices beyond the boundaries of spousal relationships or the portrayal of visible individual (women) entrepreneurs. It enables us to examine different kinds of gender enactments in entrepreneurial living that are not necessarily linked to romantic relationships or existing visibilities but still lie at the intersection of domesticity, work, and leisure.

When the idea of co-living spaces was first introduced to the public in the mid-late 2010s, mainstream media tended to present them as a "global movement" (Flurin et al., 2018), a "future of home" (Lafci, 2018), and as a "millennial commune" (Kaysen, 2015). One of the dominant narratives built around co-living spaces was its potential of altering "the basic model for life" (Lee, 2018). Accordingly, co-living spaces are positioned not just as mere housing, but as a force that could alter the current paradigm of living. Within this narrative, co-living spaces are presented as a "domestic revolution" (Moore, 2016).

Co-living is not unique in being framed as a domestic revolution. Throughout history, different communal housing trends have attempted to ignite a domestic revolution. As an example, the historian Dolores Hayden wrote about a group of feminists—known as material feminists—in her book *The Grand Domestic Revolution* (Hayden, 1981). At the end of the 19th century, material feminists built a co-housing arrangement where women communally shared domestic responsibilities such as child care. The idea of cooperative housekeeping aimed to end women's domestic isolation and repetitive housework. Unlike the material feminists' co-housing movement, the narrative of co-living spaces does not necessarily focus on gender. Accordingly, the idea of co-living seems to be neither designed by feminists nor claims to be anti-patriarchal. Still, the narrative of changing basic forms of living resonates with questions of gender and issues that are historically problematized within the context of gender, such as domesticity. In that sense, gender as a construct that is always in-the-making requires our careful attention and participation in new modes of doings.

Inspired by the quest to trace gender in-the-making, this dissertation assumes that entrepreneurs' take on co-living spaces constitutes an empirical case that could reveal the dynamic flux between the construct of gender and the figure of the entrepreneur. Accordingly, by examining how living is organized in co-living spaces, it aims to investigate how entrepreneurship and gender mutually shape one another. Therefore, I ask in this dissertation:

How do gender and entrepreneurship mutually shape each other in co-living spaces?

This research question adopts a Feminist STS approach of mutual shaping (also known as co-shaping) (Wajcman, 2004, 2010) which postulates that gender informs and is informed by entrepreneurial practices. In other words, gender as a construct shapes entrepreneurial doings, while the figure of the entrepreneur shapes what gender means. Such a dynamic understanding of mutual shaping is rooted in the constructivist tradition and requires a careful commitment to employing a wide range of socio-material and discursive aspects of techno-scientific practices (Wajcman, 2010).

Throughout the dissertation, I specifically employ Situational Analysis, which uses a wide range of analytical tools for researchers to explore the situatedness of the phenomena of gender and entrepreneurship co-shaping in depth. Contrary to the common definition, here, situation does not refer to a short moment of encounter located at a certain time and place. It rather "involves a somewhat enduring arrangement of relations among many different kinds and categories of elements that has its own ecology" (Clarke et al., 2018, p.17). By focusing on the situation as a main unit of analysis, I aim to explore the co-constitutiveness of the network of human, non-human, cultural, or discursive entities and their relationalities that inform the gendering of the figure of entrepreneur in entrepreneurial spaces—in particular, in co-living spaces. Thus, situating the figure of the entrepreneur in a co-living space allows me to problematize the heroic figuration of the entrepreneur and re-ground it within its ecologies of relationality, reminding us that the entrepreneur is a relational figure.

In search for the co-shaping mechanisms of gender and entrepreneurship, this dissertation is based on a nine-month participant observation at two co-living spaces, one located in the United States (anonymized as the BayHouse) and one in Germany (anonymized as the MunichHouse). The ethnographic study includes 23 interviews with 22 different participants, conducted between 2019–2021. Though both co-living spaces share commonalities, they embrace different discourses toward entrepreneurship. In that sense, the MunichHouse particularly defines itself as a start-up hub.[9] On the other hand, the BayHouse's focus is not necessarily on entrepreneurship but rather on cultivating diversity. Though their stances on entrepreneurship seem different, I have framed both houses as entrepreneurial, not only because they housed

[9]The phrase has been paraphrased in order to keep the anonymity of the co-living space.

more than one entrepreneur,[10] but they also organized activities typically associated with technology entrepreneurship, such as tech talks, or hackathons.

Staying close to the Situational Analysis and Grounded Theory tradition (Charmaz, 2006; Clarke et al., 2018), I have adopted the "constant comparative method" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967/2006), which allows me to identify differences in the data. However, the constant comparative method does not provide country-level comparisons which inform generalization about the U.S. and Germany. Rather, each case study is analyzed in its own locality and thus should be read accordingly.

As final words of introduction, this research, by no means, aims to play "the god trick" (D. Haraway, 1988, p.581), claiming to provide "the view from above, from nowhere" (D. Haraway, 1988, p.589). On the contrary, it is—like all other knowledge claims—a product of situated accounts, inherently linked to the sites of knowledge production and consumption. My body, my background, my vision—and the spatial and temporal dimensions that situate me in a particular way—have informed, limited, and shaped this work. It is therefore inevitable that throughout the research and writing of the dissertation, I made cuts that shaped, framed, and limited this study. In fact, "[t]hese cuts become part of" my findings (Müller, 2012, p.39). Accordingly, I made the decisions to make these cuts as visible as possible in order to provide reflexivity and accountability throughout the process of knowledge production.[11]

Therefore, this is my personal account of the gendering of the figure of entrepreneur in the U.S. and Germany in the first half of the 21^{st} century. Even though this dissertation is a product of a particular thought collective, all errors are mine. I hope this account encourages others to join the debate. After all, only one century of devoted feminist scholarship has revolutionized the ways we live today. This is just the beginning. We need each other's accounts, stories, and presence to make this world more liveable.

1.1.1 Mapping the Discussion

This section outlines the overall dissertation. The following chapter, Chapter 2, lays out the conceptual framework which grounds this research within the current schol-

[10] Entrepreneurial housing is often defined as spaces where more than one entrepreneur live (Carter et al., 2017) For more details, refer to Chapter 2.2.6.

[11] Here, I use the concept of *reflexivity* to refer to the self as a key actor in doing responsibility, whereas *accountability* refers to the values enacted within the relationality of the self and a collective (Kenney, 2015).

arly discussion. The chapter is divided into two sections: The first half focuses on entrepreneurship, whereas the second half focuses on entrepreneurship in relation to gender. The chapter starts by introducing the figure of the entrepreneur and its main characteristics. Then, it revisits the classical take on entrepreneurship, discussing how entrepreneurship is usually understood in the literature of management and economics. The next section particularly builds on Bröckling's concept of *entrepreneurial self* (Bröckling, 2016), explaining how entrepreneurship has become "a regime of subjectification"(Bröckling, 2016, xiii). The final part of the first half discusses how the entrepreneurial mode has aspirational elements of contemporary subjectivity which are tied to mechanisms of oppression and emancipation as well as inclusion and exclusion.

The second half of the conceptual framework problematizes gender in relation to the figure of the entrepreneur. It starts by setting the conceptual ground by explaining the main terminology around gender and sex that are actively used throughout the dissertation. It then visits classical gender theories—gender as doing, performative, and relational—which ground this dissertation. Subsequently, the chapter gives particular attention to different forms of manifestation of difference through gendered values—in particular multiple forms of femininities and masculinities. Finally, it outlines the current debates in the literature on gender and entrepreneurship, situating the dissertation within the state of the art.

Chapter 3, elaborates on the main research question and the particular individual research questions that each empirical chapter explores.

Next, Chapter 4 lays out the main methodological perspectives upon which this dissertation is based. First, it lays out the main methods of gathering data. Then, it moves to the scientific material and explains the co-living spaces, the MunichHouse and the BayHouse, in greater detail. Next, it focuses on data analysis methods, with a specific emphasis on Situational Analysis (Clarke et al., 2018) and Constructive Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006). After outlining the limitations of the dissertation and explaining the main logic behind the research ethics, the final section situates the researcher within this dissertation.

The empirical portion of this dissertation focuses on three different dimensions: gatekeeping in entrepreneurial living, dealing with domesticity, and building social ties. Each of these three dimensions are explored in empirical chapters as follows:

Gatekeeping in entrepreneurial living. Chapter 5 explores the ways in which new residents are selected in co-living spaces. The chapter is built upon the metaphor of *gatekeeping,* which refers to both the embodied gatekeepers who select new residents and the values that inform the logic for the selection of new members. One of the main arguments of this chapter is that the language of diversity is being instrumentalized in gatekeeping practices. Findings show that the language of diversity that is adopted in co-living spaces is informed by the idea of forming superhero teams where human capital such as backgrounds, hobbies, or entrepreneurial interests become central elements to represent diversity. In the chapter, this logic is called "the superhero model of diversity." The way this model is manifested in co-living spaces seems to be gendered, allowing only a limited number of non-male subject positions to exist.

Dealing with domesticity. Chapter 6 opens with the question: How are domestic tasks organized and negotiated among co-living residents? This chapter explores the concept of *entrepreneurilization of domesticity* to explain how entrepreneurial mentality infiltrates into the logic of doing domestic work. Accordingly, one of the main arguments is that the values traditionally associated as masculine inform the technological interventions created in co-living spaces to organize domestic life. Here, I further elaborate on how entrepreneurial values inform and are informed by masculine-coded values which are inscribed into the technological artifacts.

Building social ties. Chapter 7 traces the social ties that are created and sustained in co-living spaces. Analysis has shown that one of the narratives that residents often express is to define fellow residents as *family.* On the basis of such an empirical finding, this chapter argues that a family-like bond often emerges among co-living members is not limited to business-only relationships but also diffuses into other aspects of social life, providing a wide range of resources such as emotional support. Accordingly, this chapter coins the term *entrepreneurial kinship* which is defined as a specific type of social bond that brings together entrepreneurs from different backgrounds yet share similar entrepreneurial experiences. Entrepreneurial kin is seen as a strong social tie at the time of the interaction, yet has a tendency to turn into a loose tie when the immediate interaction ends—which usually happens when the entrepreneur moves out of the co-living spaces. Thus, entrepreneurial kin seems to be linked to a multi-layered understanding of temporalities connected to the figure of the entrepreneur.

Finally, Chapter 8 re-frames the empirical findings in the light of the current scholarly debate—with particular attention to Feminist STS, sociology of time, and kinship studies. The first part of the chapter draws conclusions on the co-shaping mechanisms of gender and entrepreneurship, and how the findings of this dissertation inform such a mutual shaping. The following two sections elaborate on a specific temporal aspect that frames the figure of the entrepreneur and draws conclusions about how such temporality informs the gendered constructs. The rest of the chapter outlines future research perspectives and provides guidance for further research. Finally, the chapter ends with an epilogue.

Chapter 2

The Conceptual Framework: an Analytical Guide to Gender and Entrepreneurship

In the following chapter, I will lay out the conceptual framework of this dissertation. In doing so, I aim to situate my work in an ongoing scholarly debate, especially within the fields of Science and Technology Studies, and Gender and Entrepreneurship Studies. As the notions of entrepreneurship and gender form the backbone of this dissertation, I will carefully examine them as two separate yet often overlapping terms.

The chapter is divided into two main sections: Situating the Figure of The Entrepreneur and Conceptualizing Gender in Relation to Entrepreneurship. The first section focuses particularly on *entrepreneurship* and how it is framed in the literature. It starts by unpacking entrepreneurship by diving into its etymology. It then lays out different concepts and locations linked to entrepreneurship, such as innovation, risk management, and Silicon Valley. This dissertation takes the figure of the entrepreneur as the main referential point in explaining how the notion of entrepreneurship is related to gender. Accordingly, the chapter then reflects upon the notions of figure and figuration. Next, it outlines the classical take on entrepreneurship in the literature of economics from the late 20^{th} century and the beginning of the 21^{st} century, since the figure of the entrepreneur is often linked to historical accounts of entrepreneurship.

Entrepreneurship, however, has not only been considered an economic construct but also a cultural practice (Bruni et al., 2005). Therefore, the chapter then visits constructivist and critical accounts of entrepreneurship, with a focus on Bröckling's concept of *entrepreneurial self*, which involves different kinds of schemes upon which individuals are expected to make sense of their lives (Bröckling, 2016, xi). Based on

this model, individuals are expected to shape themselves through multiple fields of forces such as institutional arrangements, entrepreneurial discourses, social technologies, or technologies of the self. Drawing on Bröckling's entrepreneurial framework, I note that one aspect is that the entrepreneurial figure has aspirational elements of contemporary subjectivity which is linked to mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion. That's why the following chapter visits the scholarship that focuses on emancipatory promises and oppressive motives of entrepreneurship and how they are linked with inclusion and exclusion mechanisms of different social categories, particularly gender.

The second section of this chapter, conceptualizes *gender* as an important dimension that co-shapes the figure of the entrepreneur. Subsequently, the second part of the literature specifically focuses on gender. It starts by explaining how I chose the co-shaping approach and why. Then, it lays out the terminology used throughout the dissertation. Here, the section visits the prevalent vocabulary in gender studies such as *sex, gender, femininity, and masculinity.* It also pays special attention to debates around gender, with a particular focus on gender as a situated conduct and a performative act.

One of the pressing agendas of the literature of Gender and Entrepreneurship is the effort to reposition gender as more than just a women's issue and by doing so redefine gender as an overarching construct. By creating a link between gender and entrepreneurship, the chapter then visits the literature on gender and entrepreneurship, explaining the state-of-the-art questions in the field. To contribute to this effort, it focuses on the exploration of gender as a resource in entrepreneurial households, particularly in co-living spaces.

To move the discussion away from a simplistic understanding of gender and comparisons between the entrepreneurial endeavors of men and women, the chapter introduces new ways of exploring gender relations in entrepreneurial households. To do so, it invites the feminist STS tradition into the existing conversation by focusing on non-human actors like technologies, different forms of social ties, and gatekeeping values that inform the gender relations in various compositions of entrepreneurial households. By doing so, the chapter aims to contribute to the growing dialogue between Gender and Entrepreneurship Studies and Science and Technology Studies.

2.1 Situating the Figure of the Entrepreneur

Before going into the details of entrepreneurship, I would like to visit its etymology. Even though the word entrepreneur has been actively used in the 21^{st} century, multiple definitions have been scattered across centuries, spaces, and academic disciplines. In the book *World Encyclopedia of Entrepreneurship*, Filion (2011/2021) identifies entrepreneur as a French word derived from the verb *entreprendre*, meaning undertaking. The term itself could be divided into two different parts. *Entre* stands for "between" and *preneur* stands for "taker." The literal translation of entrepreneur could then be "between-taker"(Filion, 2011/2021, 73). According to Filion, the term entrepreneur first appeared in different spelling forms (such as "empreneur") in the 13^{th} century, specifically in 1253. It then transformed to today's spelling in 1433.[1]

According to Casson, the term entrepreneur was introduced to the discipline of economics by Cantillon. The term did not seem to follow a steady increase in usage; in fact, as Casson states, it nearly disappeared from theoretical literature (Casson, 1982/2003, p.19), and didn't reenter the literature of economics until the 20^{th} century.

Even though entrepreneurship has increasingly become a focal research subject across disciplines, it is not a stand-alone concept. Entrepreneurship is often linked with other concepts in contemporary Western societies, such as innovation, risk management, scalability (Pfotenhauer et al., 2022), test beds (Engels et al., 2019), and hackathons (Irani, 2015).[2] This subject's versatility allows researchers to study entrepreneurship from many angles with multiple different methods. What's more, entrepreneurship is often tied to a specific location: Silicon Valley. There have been attempts to explain why Silicon Valley's example attracted worldwide attention. As Sturgeon (2000) explains:

> [I]t seemed to offer the possibility that a region with no prior industrial history could make a direct leap to a leading-edge industrial economy, given the right set of circumstances, without the time and effort required to pass through any intermediate stages of development. Here was "cowboy capitalism" in its most raw and dynamic form (Sturgeon, 2000, p.15).

[1] Here, Filion cites (Rey, 1994, p.700).

[2] Irani (2015)'s article that has been cited in this dissertation is the early online version. For the printed version of this article, please refer to: Irani, L. (2015). Hackathons and the Making of Entrepreneurial Citizenship. Science, Technology, & Human Values, 40(5), 799–824. https://doi.org/10.1177/0162243915578486.

The instant success of Silicon Valley encouraged people to search for a model that applies to different regional contexts and potentially provides them with a similar level of success. In the literature, an abundance of articles and books explain how to reproduce the Silicon Valley model. One example is Steiber and Alänge (2016)'s book *The Silicon Valley Model: Management for Entrepreneurship*, where they aim to create a new management model by unpacking the individual factors that make Silicon Valley a successful tech hub.

It is not just Silicon Valley that has been exposed to the vivisection of best practice transfer. Many have tried to copy other successful innovation models, hoping to gain the same level of economic success. However, attempting to create a universal innovation model is criticized in academic literature. For example, by comparing the implementations of the MIT model of innovation in three different countries: the UK, Portugal, and Singapore, Pfotenhauer and Jasanoff (2017) criticized the efforts of creating a universal model for innovation. They rather recommended focusing on the particularities of each case by paying deliberate attention to creating effective articulation of each country's own imaginaries of innovation.

As I tried to exemplify above, entrepreneurship is often tied to other concepts and associated with certain locations. This broad scope allows for the examination of the concept from multiple angles. However, in this dissertation, I specifically focus on *the figure of the entrepreneur*, particularly as informed by Science and Technology Studies' understanding of the figure and figuration.

2.1.1 Figure, Figuration, and the Entrepreneur

Science and Technology Studies has a long tradition of using figures to explain the ways in which things acquire a particular form (Castañeda, 2002; D. Haraway, 1997; Suchman, 2007). For example, Stengers (2005) employs the figure of the idiot to reflect upon the idea of the cosmopolitical proposal. She dwells especially upon the temporal dimension of the figure, the idiotic quality of slowing down, in order to playfully criticize how the cosmopolitical proposal is infused with the sense of urgency (Stengers, 2005). As seen in Stengers' example, a figure is often used as a tool for other practices, to make us able to think of multiple associations linked with it. To further explain, as Castañeda wrote in her book *Figurations: Child, Bodies, Worlds*:

> [The] concept of figuration makes it possible to describe in detail the process by which a concept or entity is given particular form—how it is

figured—in ways that speak to the making of worlds (Castañeda, 2002, p.3).

Figures not only help us understand how things are constituted but are also often able to "body forth" certain doings/beings in return (Castañeda, 2002, 3). STS scholars often frame a figure as simultaneously material and semiotic. Whether a figure is verbal or material, they evoke associations across diverse realms.

Following the STS tradition, I conceptualize the figure of entrepreneur as a material-semiotic actor, (D. Haraway, 1988) which entails both meaning-generating and material elements. I employ the concept of figure to provide a method of understanding the means through which the entrepreneur is brought into existence. I am also interested in how the figure of the entrepreneur shapes and generates different forms of doings and beings in return. In this co-shaping process, my focus is particularly on gender. I dwell upon the question of how the figure of the entrepreneur is co-shaped by different interpretations of gender. This also includes the concept of gender being informed by the very figure of the entrepreneur. To do so, I carefully examine the figure of the entrepreneur with gender-sensitive lenses while mapping out areas of both visibilities and invisibilities.

The figure of the entrepreneur is often connected to historical accounts of the entrepreneur, how it is imagined, and how such imagination is—or is not—transferred into practice. To provide a detailed account of the figure, I will first build on the historical figure of the entrepreneur. Accordingly, in the following section, I will trace entrepreneurship in the literature of classical economy. Here, I draw on four economists who focus specifically on entrepreneurship.

2.1.2 A Classical Take on Entrepreneurship

Since the early 1950s, several economists have dwelt on the subject of entrepreneurship to define its boundaries. Their attention focused on questions such as: Who can be an entrepreneur? What kind of qualities does it take to be an entrepreneur? And what are the main functions of an entrepreneur? Even though these attempts to define entrepreneurship are detailed and well-formed, I argue that any attempt to define entrepreneurial qualities can be problematized as boundary claims,[3] that are

[3]To have a more detailed account of the boundary claims in Science and Technology Studies, refer to Thomas F. Gieryn's chapter called "Boundaries of Science" in the book: *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies* (Gieryn, 1995).

derived from the desire to set entrepreneurial activities apart from other cultural and economic practices.

Therefore, I frame entrepreneurship as a social practice, situated in a certain time and place, not a stable phenomenon with certain and unchangeable characteristics. Yet this framing was not always employed in academia. Scholars of economics often tried to demarcate entrepreneurship from non-entrepreneurship. Still, it is important to examine these efforts as they have the potential to define the areas of contestation, negotiation, power, and privileged positions. Accordingly, in the following section, I will unpack the boundary-drawing attempts of five major economists who dealt with the question of entrepreneurship.[4] These scholars are respectively: Ludwig von Mises, Israel Kirzner, Joseph Schumpeter, Frank Knight, and Mark Casson.

Ludwig Heinrich von Mises. Before going into the details of entrepreneurship, the economist Ludvig von Mises centers his argument around human action.[5] He describes human action as "will put into operation" (Von Mises, 1949/1963, p.11). Hence, there is a strong connection between an individual's actions and their will, where the will manifests as action. Here, will is defined as making choices and, by doing so, eliminating other options. The primary motive of human action is characterized as avoiding uneasiness (Von Mises, 1949/1963).

Mises discusses time as one of the important factors of human action. According to him, there are two important characteristics of time that impact its economization: its scarcity and irreversibility. To put it simply, according to Mises, there is uncertainty about the future. If that were not the case, people would not have to choose or act. This element of uncertainty makes action an "always a risky speculation" (Von Mises, 1949/1963, p.106). Here, Mises introduces three modes of dealing with the future: gambling, engineering, and speculating. Gambling involves a lack of information about what is at stake and the surrounding conditions. Gamblers believe only in their luck. Engineering, on the other hand, is knowing as much as possible about a situation and, by doing so, trying to gain control of the situation. Among the three modes, Mises gives particular attention to the last one: speculation. Speculation is about adjusting oneself in relation to others' behaviors. Additionally, one's success

[4]I have followed in Bröckling's footsteps in selecting the major economists who dealt with the question of entrepreneurship. For a different account, you can check (Bröckling, 2016).

[5]Human action is central in understanding Mises' theory. He attributes the study of human action to a separate field called Praxeology. This field does not focus on the psychological rationale behind a certain action, but the action itself (Von Mises, 1949/1963).

depends on one's promptness and capability of maneuvering in grasping the future. According to Mises, "[e]very action is speculation" (Von Mises, 1949/1963, p.113).

Mises explains that entrepreneurs are a function of market operations (just like other functions of market operations such as landowners, workers, or capitalists). He frames entrepreneurs as "driving force of the market process" (Von Mises, 1949/1963, p.328). Entrepreneurs primarily seek an economic advantage by benefiting from the price differences in the market. Entrepreneurs are: "Quicker of apprehension and farther-sighted than other men, they look around for sources of profit. They buy where and when they deem prices too low, and they sell where and when they deem prices too high (Von Mises, 1949/1963, p.328)."

For Mises, everyone has the potential to be an entrepreneur if they are committed to anticipating the future conditions of the market better than others. In that sense, there are no gatekeepers of entrepreneurship who enable someone to be an entrepreneur. Indeed, it is the other way around. As he puts it:"A newcomer does not need to wait for an invitation or encouragement from anyone. He must leap forward on his own account and must himself know how to provide the means needed (Von Mises, 1949/1963, p.313)."

Israel Meir Kirzner. In explaining what an entrepreneur is, Kirzner follows in Mises' footsteps and starts his argument with human action centered around the idea of "to remove uneasiness" (Kirzner, 1973, p.33). According to Kirzner, there is an element in human action that can not be easily explained by the classical economic rationale that focuses on the economic feature of individual activity (such as maximizing, allocating, calculating, or economizing). He calls this element "the entrepreneurial element" (Kirzner, 1973, p.31).

The main characteristic of an entrepreneur,[6] according to Kirzner, is alertness towards hidden opportunities. The entrepreneur, therefore, is characterized as being alert to the unexploited opportunities between price differences between sellers and buyers (or inputs and outputs).

This alertness to hidden opportunities is related to accessing information, but not necessarily possessing it. That is to say, entrepreneurs, according to Kirzner, could hire services to alert them to the difference between two sets of prices. Though the hired service or person might have superior information about the market, because

[6]Or, what Kirzner often calls the "pure entrepreneur (Kirzner, 1973, p.46)."

the entrepreneurs exploit the price differences and know who to hire, their alertness is the ultimate factor that impacts the course of events. Therefore, the entrepreneur is the one who is alert to where to search for information. Kirzner attributes such kind of alertness as the "highest order of knowledge" (Kirzner, 1973, p.68). The ability of alertness, according to Kirzner, does not exist to the same degree in each individual. With this statement, Kirzner reserves the entrepreneurial element of human action to particular people in society, distinguishing them from others. For him, whether someone has such a characteristic can only be understood retrospectively, after the success of exploitation of the price differences.

Joseph Alois Julius Schumpeter. To Mises and Kirzner, entrepreneurial quality lies in taking advantage of differences in the market. Schumpeter's entrepreneur, however, is characterized as the innovator who finds new combinations to do things (Bröckling, 2016). Schumpeter famously defines the entrepreneurial process as:

> [T]o reform or revolutionize the pattern of production by exploiting an invention or, more generally, an untried technological possibility for producing a new commodity or producing an old one in a new way, by opening up a new source of supply of materials or a new outlet for products, by reorganizing an industry and so on (Schumpeter, 1943/2003, p.132).

Schumpeterian understanding of innovation is not about inventiveness, but rather finding new combinations of production and distribution. Here, entrepreneurs are depicted as the key players who pioneer innovation. Accordingly, Schumpeter defines five characteristics of innovation: 1)"The introduction of a new good," 2) "The introduction of a new method of production," 3) "The opening of a new market," 4) "The conquest of a new source of supply of raw materials or half-manufactured goods," 5) "The carrying out of the new organisation of any industry" (Schumpeter, 1934/2021, p.55).

In comparison to the "economic man" whose defining characteristic lies in careful economic calculation (Schumpeter, 1934/2021, p.73), Schumpeter defines the figure of the entrepreneur with characteristics such as the "will to conquer," "impulse to fight," and a built-in motivation for "to prove oneself superior to others" (Schumpeter, 1934/2021, p.75). In that sense, the entrepreneur is presented as a heroic figure that is filled with the desire to challenge the status quo.

In Schumpeterian understanding, the entrepreneur is characterized as the man of great vision who is willing to take chances. The entrepreneurs specifically seek difficulties. Their success is not motivated by the benefits of success, but rather for the sake of it. Accordingly, entrepreneurial motivation rather lies in "delights in ventures," and "the joy of creating, of getting things done" (Schumpeter, 1934/2021, p.76). As Schumpeter famously puts it, the entrepreneur has to have "the dream and the will to found a private kingdom." Entrepreneurship is "the nearest approach to medieval lordship possible to modern man" (Schumpeter, 1934/2021, p.75).

Schumpeter defines entrepreneurs as a special type of people who are privileged to execute new combinations. These people are portrayed as a minority that are unique and blessed with "super-normal qualities of intellect and will" (Schumpeter, 1934/2021, p.82). He famously states, and I paraphrase: everyone can sing, but Carusos are scarce. Therefore, Schumpeter's formulation distinguishes entrepreneurs from the rest of society.

Entrepreneurship, for Schumpeter, is not seen as much as a social class or a permanent social position in the case of, for example, land ownership. Rather, it is strictly limited to the situation when the entrepreneur "carries out new combinations" (Schumpeter, 1934/2021, p.65). Schumpeter does not write that entrepreneurship cannot lead to an elevated class position. As an example, entrepreneurs can become capitalists if their business is successful. However, the moment they stop innovating, they lose their entrepreneurial quality. In that sense, for Schumpeter, entrepreneurship is something that is temporary.

Frank Hyneman Knight. Knight's conceptualization centers risk and uncertainty at the heart of entrepreneurship. According to him, there are two kinds of uncertainty that an entrepreneur might face. The first type can be avoided to a certain degree via insurance-like preventative measures. But the second type of uncertainty can not be forecasted and needs to be burdened by the entrepreneur. Thus, Knight defines an entrepreneur as "simply a specialist in risk-taking or uncertainty bearing" (Knight, 1942, p.129).

For Knight, entrepreneurs act as economic pioneers and initiate innovation. However, he differentiates between entrepreneurs and other innovation-making agents, such as inventors or research scientists. Even though other agents might engage with

innovation to some degree, to be an entrepreneur, Knight argues, one has to take the risks of innovation.

The reasons risk-taking or uncertainty-bearing are featured as prominent characteristics of the entrepreneur lie in Knight's understanding of what an entrepreneur does. Knight states that the entrepreneur usually hires services for a fixed amount, creates a product using the hired services, and sells the product for a certain amount. The amount that remains when the expenditures (hired labor and capital) are deducted is defined as profit (Knight, 1942).

Regardless if the profit is positive or negative, entrepreneurs are portrayed as ultimately the responsible party. Therefore, entrepreneurs are the ones who are expected to pay the salaries of the employed personnel, independent of the success or failure of the enterprise. That is why whomever or whatever they collaborate with, hire, or use is framed as instrumental and can not be counted as responsible parties. In Knight's view, the responsibility can be attributed to the entrepreneurs only.

Mark Casson. Decision-making is central to understanding Casson's portrayal of the entrepreneur. Accordingly, he defines the entrepreneur as "someone who specializes in taking judgmental decisions about the coordination of scarce resources" (Casson, 1982/2003, p.20). Here, an entrepreneur is seen as an individual person, not as an organization or committee, since it is only the individual who has the ability to decide. However, Casson qualifies someone as an entrepreneur only when they specialize in decision-making. Everyone can make high-stake decisions every now and then, but entrepreneurs specialize in decision-making and do so on behalf of others. Such specialization does not mean that the entrepreneur knows every detail of every subject under consideration. Rather, they are qualified in all aspects of decision-making, either by hiring a decision-making service or by hiring other resources. Therefore, the entrepreneurial function is connected to the central element of economic discipline: choice and decision-making.

In Casson's definition of the entrepreneur, coordination refers to "a beneficial reallocation of resources" (Casson, 1982/2003, p.21). Such reallocation is always in the making, and the entrepreneur is the one who orchestrates this continuous change in allocation. Finally, scarce resources, in Casson's definition, are seen independently of institutions or economic systems. Entrepreneurs can therefore exist in socialist

or traditional societies, even though they are usually associated with open market economies.

Casson, just like Schumpeter, positions entrepreneurs as having superior judgments which differentiate them from ordinary humanity. Entrepreneurs are presented as individuals who have a strong belief and without their intervention in the subject at hand, the decision would be wrong. Here, the reward of superior judgment is highly interlinked with the entrepreneur's ability in negotiation. The entrepreneur exercises bargaining power by compelling others to trade with them, leaving the entrepreneur in a better position, and leaving those they trade with in much the same position as before the trade.

According to Casson, most entrepreneurial characteristics are innate. However, some qualities may be improved with training or experience. For example, imagination and foresight tend to be innate and essential entrepreneurial qualities, whereas analytical and computational skills can be improved with training. Similarly, practical knowledge can be improved with life experience. Some characteristics, like imagination, are vital for entrepreneurs, and others, such as delegation or organizational skills, are seen as nice-to-have qualities. If an entrepreneur does not excel in one of the secondary characteristics, they can team up with or delegate someone and still successfully function as an entrepreneur (Casson, 1982/2003).

As seen above, all five economists, Ludwig von Mises, Israel Kirzner, Joseph Schumpeter, Frank Knight, and Mark Casson, have a certain understanding of who can be an entrepreneur and what qualities are considered entrepreneurial. Arguably, the claims of demarcating entrepreneurship from non-entrepreneurship have been performative in shaping the figure of the entrepreneur, constituting a body of knowledge affecting the way entrepreneurship is constructed. In the next section, I will move away from normative boundary-claims to a more constructivist and critical understanding of entrepreneurship.

2.1.3 Tracing the Figure of the Entrepreneur: The Entrepreneurial Self

In the previous section, I discussed the classical take on entrepreneurship in the literature on the economy. Yet, entrepreneurship is not only studied within the discipline of economics. It is also often framed as a cultural practice (Bruni et al., 2005). Accordingly, there have been a number of authors interested in the figure of entrepreneur

outside the discipline of economics. Each tends to frame the concept differently, including but not limited to "enterprising culture" (Burrows, 1988/2015), "entreployee" (Pongratz & Voß, 2003), "enterprising self" (Rose, 1992), "entrepreneur-mentality" (Bruni et al., 2005) or "entrepreneurial citizenship" (Irani, 2015). Particularly important for my study is the sociologist Ulrich Bröckling's concept of "the entrepreneurial self" (Bröckling, 2016). According to Bröckling, the entrepreneurial self is:

> [A] set of interpretative schemes with which people today are supposed to understand themselves and their lives. It involves normative demands and role models, as well as institutional arrangements, social technologies and technologies of self according to which people are expected to regulate their behaviour (Bröckling, 2016, p.xi).

In Bröckling's account, the entrepreneurial self is not about what a person is, but rather what a person needs to become. This is one of the reasons that the entrepreneurial self is not "an empirically observable entity" (Bröckling, 2016, p.20) but rather "a normative model of the human" (Bröckling, 2016, p.21). Additionally, one of the functions of the entrepreneurial self is organizing life around an entrepreneurial mentality. That is why Bröckling explains the entrepreneurial self not only as a normative model but also as a combination of technologies of self and social technologies. In that sense, in Bröckling's understanding of the entrepreneurial self, it is not the subject that is under investigation but rather "a regime of subjectification" (Bröckling, 2016, p.xiii) that seeks to understand which knowledge is being mobilized in order to build the subject as well as the ways in which "the subject being has been problematized in certain historical moments" (Bröckling, 2016, p.3).

Since *the self* and *the mode of subjectification* are positioned as major elements in Bröckling's concept of the entrepreneurial self, I will give a brief pause to explain them. As Bröckling explains, the school of governmentality understands the self as a paradox, not something to be solved. Rather, the self exists in a state of contradiction, simultaneously embodying autonomy and heteronomy. In both, the autonomous authors create their own life while being subject to practices influenced by power dynamics (Bröckling, 2016). To explain it further, Bröckling quotes Deleuze "[s]ubjectivation is created by folding" (Deleuze, 1988, p.104 as cited in Bröckling, 2016). Therefore, when discussing the self, we are not merely referring to certain descriptive qualities but rather an ongoing effort of shaping these attributes both

within and without through self-technologies and social technologies. Self is seen as never a finished product but a continuous project of becoming.

If the subject is always in the making, then understanding the subject in its own historicity becomes a vital focus of researchers of governmentality. A genealogical understanding of subjectification, therefore, examines how the subject has been historized and provides a variety of perspectives of how the subject has been seen, shaped, and built through time.

Such a problematization is a combination of multiple efforts of both society and the self, including but not limited to "institutional arrangements and expertise systems, categories of ordering and methods of sorting, learning programmes and mechanisms of sanctioning, (self) monitoring and (self) formation procedures with the help of which individualized subjects are generated and self-generate." (Bröckling, 2016, p.4). Therefore, to unpack such a problematization, the school of genealogy defines subjectification as a process of conditioning in which discursive constructs, self technologies, and social technologies come together. As Bröckling argues, the entrepreneurial framework is a contemporary process of conditioning that is expected to shape (and promote a self-shape of) the subjects. It defines how to be a human in this century.

Throughout the dissertation, I describe the figure of the entrepreneur in relation to gender as thickly as possible. Inspired by Bröckling's understanding of the entrepreneurial self, my focus is not on the entrepreneurial subjects as empirical entities. I am rather interested in a regime of subjectification that focuses on how the figure of the entrepreneur is gendered in Western tech-heavy societies. To do so, I draw on various ethnographic materials ranging from semi-structured interviews to participant observation to textual analysis. I have analyzed the design and the usage of domestic technologies, co-living arrangement websites, news articles, op-eds, and social media feeds. Such diverse materials allowed me to map different kinds of institutional arrangements, routines of everyday lives, gatekeeping practices, social technologies, and technologies of the self, allowing an understanding of the figure of the entrepreneur in greater detail.

2.1.4 On Mechanisms of Oppression, Inclusion, and Exclusion

The entrepreneurial mode includes aspirational elements of contemporary subjectivity which are tied to mechanisms of oppression and emancipation as well as inclusion and exclusion (Goss et al., 2011; Jennings et al., 2016; Ruebottom & Toubiana, 2021).

One of the reasons entrepreneurship is considered unique as compared to other managerial positions, is its connection to emancipatory potential, the idea that entrepreneurship is not only being pursued in order to produce wealth, but also to cultivate the emancipatory potential of human possibility. In that respect, Rindova et al. (2009) initiated three core elements for entrepreneurial activities to be seen as emancipatory endeavors: seeking autonomy, authoring, and making declarations. Seeking autonomy refers to an entrepreneur's desire to free themselves from previous restrictions. Authoring happens when entrepreneurs become not only their own author "but also others in the exchange relationships required to pursue change" (Rindova et al., 2009, p.483). Making declarations refers to entrepreneurs mobilizing a discursive practice of declarations in order to create the desired change.

The emancipatory potential of entrepreneurship has also been seen as means to alter gender relations. This concept has contributed to an increased attention in literature on the emancipatory or empowerment potential of entrepreneurship in relation to gender (Al-Dajani & Marlow, 2013; Alkhaled & Berglund, 2018; Dy et al., 2017; Ughetto et al., 2020). Al-Dajani and Marlow (2013), for example, analyzed the relationship between gender and entrepreneurship by studying the empowering potential of entrepreneurship in a marginalized community of displaced Palestinian women. They concluded that emancipatory entrepreneurial activities could indeed potentially create social change. However, they also warn that emancipatory potential should not be seen as a linear process. In contrast, Al-Dajani et al. (2015) investigated the role of intermediary organizations who aim to enhance the emancipation of poor women by engaging them in micro-entrepreneuring activities. They concluded that even though those organizations supposedly help women's empowerment, they indeed constrain their entrepreneurial potential by limiting women's ability to create contracts with more competitive organizations.

Another critical study on the emancipatory potential of entrepreneurship conducted by Dy et al. (2017), asked whether digital entrepreneurial activity performed

by women could be presented as a solution to socio-economic marginality. They concluded that women's digital entrepreneurship reproduces existing inequalities, and therefore the policy narratives such as framing the internet as an equalizer should be approached with caution.

Entrepreneurial potential has not only been evaluated in connection to emancipation, but also in oppression. The entrepreneur has been characterized with various negative traits such as egotism, waywardness, domination, opportunism, and selfishness (DeLeon, 1996). Jones and Spicer (2009) argue, for example, the entrepreneurial figure should not be seen as a universal character, "but a historically and spatially specific figure who is implicated in relations of domination" (Jones & Spicer, 2009, p.26). On a similar note of domination, an empirical case study in Brazil da Costa and Silva Saraiva (2012) concludes that higher education infused with hegemonic discourses on entrepreneurship becomes a mechanism for the reproduction of capital, instead of being a tool for human emancipation.

Another angle that emphasizes the oppressive side of entrepreneurial endeavors has been by employing the metaphor of *dark side*, which refers to the negative—and often hidden—part of entrepreneurial activities. For example, Shepherd (2019) divides the negative dimensions of entrepreneurship into three parts: dark side, downside, and destructive side. The dark side relates to the actor's own negative reaction—both emotional and psychological—to entrepreneurial action. The downside means the loss of capital by entrepreneurs involved in entrepreneurial practices. Finally, the destructive side of entrepreneurship refers to entrepreneurial action which causes damage to society.

In addition to the dark side of entrepreneurship, multiple studies highlight the oppressive aspect of entrepreneurial activities. For example, Pio (2007) investigates ethnic entrepreneurship among female Indian immigrants in New Zealand and reveals layers of sociopolitical challenges these women face in entrepreneurial activities due to their English accent, their appearance, or lack of local experience. Such studies are focal to understand the oppressive mechanisms of the entrepreneurial mode of being.

In this dissertation, after researching both oppressive and emancipatory accounts of entrepreneurship, I elected to follow Verduijn et al. (2014) 's view of entrepreneurship's potential. Verduijn et al. (2014) conceptualize entrepreneurship not as a two-headed phenomenon where entrepreneurship enacts either emancipation or oppression, and by doing so being dystopian or utopian. Instead, they go a step further and

create a more nuanced understanding of micro manifestations, employing two additional views: heterotopian and paratopian. The latter, paratopia, represents a micro equivalent of dystopia in which entrepreneurship leans towards negative connotations of entrepreneurship, such as oppression. A heterotopian view, on the other hand, depicts entrepreneurship as leaning towards positive connotations of entrepreneurship where there are mechanisms to resist the oppressive side of entrepreneurial practices.

Verduijn et al. (2014) proposes a multi-layered understanding of entrepreneurial potential, incorporating both utopian-dystopian and heterotopian-paratopian perspectives. By doing so, Verduijn et al. (2014) challenges the simplistic views that see entrepreneurship as either a fully evil activity that needs to be avoided or as an exclusively positive savior that needs to be promoted. Rather, by employing heterotopian and paratopian views of entrepreneurship, they open up a space where they allow different manifestations of entrepreneurship to exist. In this dissertation, I also acknowledge entrepreneurial practices as neither completely emancipatory or oppressive. I conceptualize entrepreneurship as embodying diverse potentials that assume moments of oppression and emancipation, as well as aspects of both heterotopia and paratopia.

In that sense, entrepreneurship in itself is not necessarily good or bad, but is always a situated conduct. Understanding different inclusion and exclusion mechanisms of entrepreneurial practices could enable us to unpack different moments of entrepreneurial potential. As mentioned above, some inclusion and exclusion potentials of entrepreneurship are tied to gender. In the next section, I will discuss how gender relates to entrepreneurship.

2.2 Conceptualizing Gender in Relation to Entrepreneurship

In the previous sections, I laid out the scholarly discussion around the figure of the entrepreneur. One of the important constructs that inform this figure is *gender*. Hence, this part of the literature review focuses particularly on gender. To do so, I will first explain the ways in which I employ the term *mutual shaping*, specifically emphasizing the interplay between gender and entrepreneurship. Then, I will lay out the vocabulary of gender as used throughout the dissertation. In the next section, I will focus the discussion around gender and sex and explain how the biological and

cultural aspects of gender have been scrutinized. Next, I will revisit the well-known gender debates of gender as situated conduct or a performative act. I will then dive into the debate around multiple masculinities and femininities and how those constructs inform and—are informed by—hegemonic gender relationships. In the upcoming section, I will transition from the exploration of diverse conceptualizations of gender to examine the relationships between gender and entrepreneurship. To do this, I will refer to historical debates as well as current scholarly discussions in the literature on gender and entrepreneurship.

One important scholarly agenda in the literature on gender and entrepreneurship is to find alternative ways to approach the questions of gender in the field of entrepreneurship without stigmatizing all gender-related issues to women and by so doing, depicting women as deficit. Therefore, this scholarship searches for ways to emphasize the often-neglected aspects of gender. One approach is to dethrone the image of a heroic entrepreneur by situating it in a household and, by doing so, unpack the often-invisible ecology of relationalities that sustain this figure.

In this dissertation, I specifically contribute to the realm of entrepreneurial households by examining co-living spaces as a venue. Henceforth, in the remaining literature review, I focus on literature regarding entrepreneurial households. Households are conceptualized as an often-unattended venue with the potential to provide researchers an important resource to discover various iterations of gender in entrepreneurship. However, it seems that contemporary literature focuses more on the comparison between men and women and their entrepreneurial endeavors, either with a focus on successful female entrepreneurs or entrepreneurial spouses.

To move the discussion away from the comparison between men and women in their entrepreneurial endeavors, I am motivated to introduce new ways of exploring gender relations in entrepreneurial households. To do so, I invite the Feminist STS tradition into the existing conversation and focus on technologies, different forms of relatedness, and gatekeeping values that inform the gender relations in various different compositions of entrepreneurial households. By doing so, I aim to contribute to the growing dialogue between Gender and Entrepreneurship Studies and Science and Technology Studies.

2.2.1 On the Mutual Shaping Approach

Throughout the dissertation, I use the term *mutual shaping* (also known as co-shaping) as a theoretical and methodological framework inspired by the Feminist STS approach to understand the complex interplay between gender and entrepreneurship. This framework has usually been employed within the context of gender and technology, where technology is framed as "both a source and a consequence of gender relations" (Wajcman, 2004, p.7). That is to say, gender relations are conceptualized as being inscribed in technological artifacts while masculinity and femininity gain meaning through their engagement in various kinds of technologies (Wajcman, 2010).

However, instead of problematizing gender in relation to technology per se, I shift the focus to the concept of entrepreneurship and examine the co-shaping mechanisms of gender and entrepreneurship. In this new setting, co-shaping is positioned as a rationale of simultaneity and equal depth, where gender informs and is informed by entrepreneurial practices. In other words, gender constructs manifest themselves in entrepreneurial modes of doing, while the figure of the entrepreneur continuously shapes gender relations.

Here, a parenthesis is needed. I chose the term co-shaping rather than other STS frameworks that also imply mutual shaping, such as co-production intentionally. The idiom of co-production, as used by Jasanoff (2004), treats science and technology as political agents. It acknowledges that nature is ordered by technology and knowledge while society is ordered through culture and power. In other words, humans create artifacts and discourses to re-configure nature, while also producing a variety of tools such as laws or experts to structure society (Jasanoff, 2004, 14). Even though a co-productionist account is valuable for exploring the interplay between the ordering nature and society, the term is often linked with sociotechnical imaginaries that specifically focus on comparing diverse national contexts and how cultural aspects of visions are co-produced in these contexts.[7]

Throughout the dissertation, I use a comparative method, but rather than the nationwide context that is used in the tradition of sociotechnical imaginaries, I employ a "constant comparative method"(Glaser & Strauss, 1967/2006, p.105) to reveal differences in the data. I aim to illuminate the specificities of the localities in the data without claiming to create a national comparison between Germany and U.S. Even though I acknowledge that these two countries have different cultural and national

[7]For an example, please refer to (Longhurst & Chilvers, 2019).

backgrounds, I particularly focus on the specificities of the cases of co-living spaces and avoid generalizations. Therefore, by selecting the mutual shaping approach, I exempt this work from nationwide companions.

2.2.2 A Note on Terminology: Sex and Gender

Due to this dissertation's content, I use several gender and sex-related terminologies. I would like to clarify the terms before going deeper into the subject.[8] Starting from the 1970s, the term gender has been used to denote the difference between biological sex and social constructions of what is considered masculine and feminine (Fine, 2017). Oakley (1972/1985), one of the most well-known scholars to create a clear definition between gender and sex, defined the terms as follows:

> "Sex" is a word that refers to the biological differences between male and female: the visible difference in genitalia, the related difference in procreative function. "Gender" however is a matter of culture: it refers to the social classification into "masculine" and "feminine" (Oakley, 1972/1985, p.16).

Based on Oakley's definition, sex refers to anatomical distinctions of male and female, whereas gender refers to a socially constructed understanding of masculinity and femininity. In other words, sex refers to being "female" or "male," and gender refers to being "women" or "men." In that sense, the biological categorization of sex is created on the basis of specific biological markers such as genes, internal and external genitalia, and hormones. Gender, however, is rather seen as a product of a social structure. Importantly, Oakley explains that sex categories have typically been used as a point of reference when constructing gender. But such projection of sex to gender does not suffice since gender needs to be culturally contextualized and thus is always changing. Referring to the social construction of gender, de Beauvoir famously states:

> One is not born, but rather becomes, woman. No biological, psychical, or economic destiny defines the figure that the human female takes on in society; it is civilization as a whole that elaborates this intermediary product

[8] I mainly drew on Kaygan (2012)'s outline in section 2.2.2, 2.2.3, and 2.2.4 to select which major gender scholars to focus on.

> between the male and the eunuch that is called feminine (De Beauvoir, 1949/2011, 293).

Beauvoir's explanation has been considered an early differentiation between gender and sex. For Beauvoir, there is an asymmetrical construction of manhood and womanhood in which women become women in reference to men while the opposite transaction does not happen. She argues that taking men as a point of reference puts women in an inferior position. In that sense, there is a process of othering happening in society that positions men as the main subject whereas women are the other. According to Beauvoir, women are not able to grasp the origin of othering as they don't have the necessary means or solidarity. That is why women's emancipation lies in discovering such solidarity and taking responsibility of their liberation.

The distinction between gender and sex on the grounds of biological and social differences has been subject to certain criticisms. One of those criticism has been Oakley's emphasis on the early socialization process to explain the construction of gender (Holmes, 2007). The critique focuses on gender as not being stabilized at a certain age but rather always being in the making, something that continues into the latter course of life, not only early childhood. The second criticism of the gender socialization theory has been its inability to explain why some people resist certain gender roles. In other words, why do certain people adopt gender roles while others try to change them? Thus, the critiques of socialization theory argue that it gives too little power to individual agency and too much power to social structure (Holmes, 2007).

Discussions on social construction have focused on sex as well as gender. Butler (1993) argues that the category of sex is a normative category that is part of a practice that governs bodies. Time, according to her, materializes the ideal construct of sex. Therefore, sex is depicted not as a static bodily condition, but rather a process that is subject to a double force of a regulatory practice and continuous iteration through time (Butler, 1993). Butler is not alone in questioning the static understanding of sex. Based on an in-depth historical review, Laqueur (1990) explains how, until the late 18^{th} century, male and female sex were not seen as two different sex categories but only as one category (called one-sex model). According to Renaissance doctors, female genitals were seen as synonymous to male genitalia but assumed to be inside the body. It was only after 18^{th} century that the female and male sex were divided into two categories. But the widely used two-sex model is not immune to criticism.

For example, Fausto-Sterling (2000) argues that the two-sex model does not capture the "full spectrum of human sexuality" (Fausto-Sterling, 2000, p.19). She proposes a new multimodel that includes other categories of sex, such as intersex people who have combinations of multiple sexual characteristics.

The aforementioned criticisms are widely accepted in gender studies. That is why, in order to prevent confusion of terminology between sex and gender, some scholars use the terms "sex/gender" or "gender/sex" (Fine, 2017). While the backslash helps to overcome ontological representation to some extent, I agree with Fine (2017) in saying it also runs the risk of disrupting a smooth reading experience. This dissertation has a constructivist angle and supports the scholarly effort of nuancing the categories of sex and gender. However, in order to provide a smooth reading experience, I followed Oakley (1972/1985)'s terminology. I used the term sex, male, female, maleness, and femaleness in order to refer to biological aspects of sex that are attached to human anatomy, whereas I used the terms women, men, manhood, womanhood, femininity, masculinity, feminine, and masculine in order to refer to the socially constructed notion of gender.

2.2.3 Gender as Situated or Performative

Gender is one of the greatest structural divides in any society. It has been discussed and debated for centuries. That is partly why it is impossible to cover every scholarly discussion about gender here. Hence, I focus on two main theoretical lenses in this section: gender as a situated conduct and gender as a performative act.

Drawing on an ethnomethodological stance and inspired by symbolic interactionism, West and Zimmerman (1987)'s landmark article explains gender as a form of doing. Gender is seen as something that is part of what people do, not who they are. West and Zimmerman (1987) defines gender as an "emergent feature of social situations: both as an outcome of and a rationale for various social arrangements, and as a means of legitimating one of the most fundamental divisions of society" (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p.126). Thus, gender has been conceptualized as a "situated doing" that only exists within a certain context and is performed in ongoing interactions with others. Reframing gender as a form of doing has opened an enormous area of research both within and beyond gender studies. It has allowed scholars of gender to focus more on interactional and relational aspects of gender dynamics.

The second important reformulation of gender has been the introduction of the concept of performativity. In this regard, Butler explains gender as an act (not a noun) and as being constructed through repetitive performances (Butler, 1990/1999). Even though, from an outside perspective, there might be an illusion of a stable gendered self that is created through bodily gestures and other kinds of styles, Butler sees gender not as a static construct but as always and continuously in the making through repetitive acts. She explains: "Gender ought not to be construed as a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts follow; rather, gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a *stylized repetition of acts*"(Butler, 1990/1999, p.179).

Butler frames gender as a doing, yet there are two important points. First, Butler does not attribute the performance to the doer. Drawing on Nietzsche, she claims that what is essential is the deed and "there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender" (Butler, 1990/1999, p.33). Having said that, Butler, in her later book *Undoing Gender* dives into the ontology of the self and explains "I" as something outside of itself that occurs within the web of social relations. In doing so, Butler acknowledges the fact that gender is not being done alone. Rather, it is always a "'doing' with or for another, even if the other is only imaginary" (Butler, 2004, p.1). Second, in Butler's account, words have the power to affect gender construction. In this sense, it could be argued that Butler focuses more on how "gender does us" instead of how gender is done (Butler, 1990/1999 as cited in Holmes, 2007, p.173).

Though situated conduct and performativity may seem different, they still have things in common. Both approaches encourage us to see beyond what looks natural. They invite us to dust off the traces that time has materialized through routinized repetitions. They encourage us to look deeper into gender as a construct. In the next section, I will dive more into this notion and lay out another layer: masculinities and femininities.

2.2.4 Femininities and Masculinities

Framing masculinities and femininities as multiple has been a breakthrough for gender research. Connell (1987), a gender scholar who leads this stream of thought, argues that there is a certain "gender hierarchy" in societies. The idea of gender hierarchy,

as Connell employs it,[9] is based upon the premise that there is a certain gender order in societies. This order is built around the rationale of creating a "global dominance of men over women" (Connell, 1987, p.183).

In this order, there is one type of masculinity that is portrayed as the most dominant, called "hegemonic masculinity" (Connell, 1987, p.183). Hegemonic Masculinity is framed as a resource that gives privilege to the ones who are able to enact it. One important aspect of hegemonic masculinity is that it often privileges (heterosexual) men. The other important aspect of it is that it is always relational and is constructed in relation to multiple forms of subordinated masculinities and femininities in general. Connell (1987) also introduces the notion of "emphasized femininity" (Connell, 1987, p.183), which is a form of femininity based on the idea of accommodating to the desires of men. However largely welcomed this theory is, the heavy emphasis on masculinity in Connell's theory has received criticism. For example, Brod argues that masculinity studies appear to have a tendency to disregard women as a relevant part of analysis (Brod, 1994 as cited in Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

In order to recover the under-theorized part of the feminine, there have been several attempts to theorize femininity. Schippers (2007), for example, reframed Connell's original theory and introduced the concept of "pariah femininities" (Schippers, 2007, p.95), a kind of feminity that manifests attitudes that are usually associated with hegemonic masculinity. However, though these attitudes are well-received when enacted by men, when they are performed by women, they are often seen as negative.

Another attempt to study femininity focuses on female masculinity, referring to a variety of subject positions such as butch, trans-gendered men, drag kings, and many others. Here, Halberstam (1998) argues that studying female masculinity enables us to understand how male masculinity is constructed. It helps trace the contours of masculinity by understanding how it manifests in non-male bodies. What's more, Halberstam argues that framing female masculinity as a bad imitation of male masculinity, serves as gender politics, helping to bolster the power of male masculinity (Halberstam, 1998). Similarly, Nguyen (2008) argues that the subject position of butch lesbian threatens dominant male power by interfering with the naturally created connection between male bodies and male masculinity. By doing so, female

[9]Kessler et al. (1982) first coined the term "gendered hierarchy" (Kessler et al. (1982) as cited in Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) in an empirical study that focuses on social inequality in Australian high schools and later developed by Connell (Connell, 1987; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

masculinity acts as a "point of disruption" (Nguyen, 2008, p.666) to the dominant patriarchal order.

The above-mentioned theories of gender have guided me to understand how gender, as a sense-making device could have alternate meanings. In this dissertation, I conceptualize gender as always situated, relational, and in the making. That is why one of the aims of this dissertation is to situate the figure of the entrepreneur within a context and reveal its relationality by unfolding different kinds of multi-layered relations—with human and non-human actors—that surround such a figure. By doing so, I aim to focus not necessarily on the empirical entrepreneur in the flesh but the *figure* of the entrepreneur. I am interested in how such a figure is composed in relation to different types of masculinities and femininities, and how gender in turn defines the figure itself. But before going into the details of the empirical work, I would like to first visit the Gender Entrepreneurship Literature and explain how gender has been discussed in relation to entrepreneurship.

2.2.5 Gender and Entrepreneurship

The category of gender appears relatively late in entrepreneurial research.[10] One of the reasons for this historical neglect toward women's entrepreneurship is arguably linked with a meritocratic rationale, the idea that all people have an equal chance to succeed if they work hard and are ambitious (P. Lewis, 2006). The illusion of entrepreneurship being open to all leads to focusing on so-called core activities of entrepreneurship, such as exit strategies, opportunity recognition, or growth. This focus is considered as staying true to the meritocratic roots of entrepreneurship and keeping it gender-neutral. Yet, scholars state that the notion of meritocracy perpetuates an impression that entrepreneurship is a gender-free concept, and neglects the gender aspect of entrepreneurship, and by doing so, becomes "gender-blind" (P. Lewis, 2006, p.457). Here, the current literature seems to agree that claiming an entrepreneurial subject position still has certain gendered limitations (Ahl, 2006; Yang & Aldrich, 2014).

Hence, there has been a scholarly interest in women's entrepreneurship as a research category to rectify the historical neglect of the topic. Jennings and Brush (2013) lists the increasing number of published works in rated journals that focused

[10]The studies of female entrepreneurship becomes visible in academia starting from the 1980s and 1990s (Jennings & Brush, 2013; Marlow et al., 2009).

on women's entrepreneurship from a feminist perspective. There are countless studies conducted to identify what women lack in terms of entrepreneurial skills and how their entrepreneurial abilities and characteristics could be improved. As an example, Carter et al. (2007) investigates the role of gender in banks' lending decisions. They state that female loan officers are more worried about the size and conditions of the loan, as well as the business plan, in comparison to their male counterparts. Similarly, Balachandra (2020) discovers a gender imbalance in gatekeeping practices in funding: Because the overwhelming majority of venture capitalists (VCs) are men, there is a significant gender bias in investment decisions for early-stage capital with the male VSc favoring male entrepreneurs over females.

Even though the above-mentioned studies are invaluable in bringing gender into the discussion and making gender visible in entrepreneurial research, it also risks recreating women's subordination and reinforcing the idea of women as being secondary to men (Ahl, 2006; Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2017). In her significant contribution to understanding gender in relation to the figure of entrepreneur, Ahl (2006) creates an extensive analysis drawing on foundational entrepreneurial texts and contemporary sources. Through her research, Ahl demonstrates how the discourses of entrepreneurship, which emphasize qualities like self-centeredness, daring, and independence, also align with the discourses of masculinity, including self-reliance, risk-taking, and self-sufficiency. Consequently, she argues that the sameness of the two discourses reveals that the entrepreneur is indeed a masculine figure.

The widespread interpretation of the figure of the entrepreneur being a masculine figure has consequences for women. Unless women subscribe to a masculinized discourse, women entrepreneurs are positioned as deficit (Ahl & Marlow, 2012), and individual women are seen as problematic (Marlow & Swail, 2014). However, even when women adopt masculinized discourse, it does not ensure entrepreneurial success. Here, Marlow and Martinez Dy (2017) adopts Clarsen (2014)'s notion of gendered bodies to the entrepreneurial context where they argue that the normative ideal of the entrepreneur when enacted by a male body creates privileges for men, which in turn results in women not being able to claim the same male privileges by simply adopting a masculine behavior. Instead, such adaptation strategies are associated with negative connotations (Schippers, 2007).

Multiple consequences arise when attention shifts to women and their entrepreneurial skills and abilities, or lack thereof. First, because being a woman is associated with the

notion of gender, the category of women turns into "a generic proxy for the gendered subject" (Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2017, p.2). Marlow and Swail (2014) argues that making women and gender a synonym does not provide women recognition within entrepreneurial circles, nor does it create a balance in a larger debate. It simply perpetuates the stereotype of women as being underperformers. In that sense, a certain gender hierarchy is created and sustained through positioning individual women as the main unit of analysis. Second, shifting the attention to women's entrepreneurial abilities runs the risk of removing empirical examples from the context and creating a fictive construct of women. It reinforces a specific profile for women, namely the normative white heterosexual woman entrepreneur from the Global North (Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2017).

When the main focus is placed on women and their perceived lack of entrepreneurial command, entrepreneurial mentorship is often the proposed solution to address the problem. These programs supposedly shape women into conforming to normative entrepreneurial ideals. Yet, these attempts focus on what women lack and by doing so position them as deficit. Consequently, entrepreneurial research that lacks reflective critique runs the risk of running into "an epistemological dead end" (Ahl & Marlow, 2012, p.543).

Though exposing women's entrepreneurial problems has significantly shifted entrepreneurial literature away from gender blindness, it also unintentionally creates a deficit model where women as a category become synonymous to gender. The approach of inclusion of women based on a comparison to men risks positioning them as subordinate actors. This is framed as a "subtle form of subordination" which focuses on what women lack and therefore positions them as a problem (Marlow & Swail, 2014, p.90).

In the quest to avoid an epistemological dead end and make the debate around gender and entrepreneurship more nuanced, a thought collective emerged in the last decade. Their main aim is to explore gender in all its manifestations and articulations, rather than focusing only on women (Ahl & Marlow, 2012; Marlow, 2014; Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2017; Marlow & Swail, 2014). In order to avoid depicting women as a deficit in entrepreneurship and instead produce novel and more sophisticated forms of knowledge around gender and entrepreneurship, Marlow and Martinez Dy (2017) have invited scholars to contribute in three different areas of research: making different forms of masculinity visible, incorporating intersectional, decolonial and queer

stances, and exploring gender as a resource of entrepreneurial households.

1- Making different forms of masculinity visible. The first line of research suggested by Marlow and Martinez Dy (2017) invites scholars to explore various forms of masculinities. The literature highlights that when one thinks of an entrepreneur, the prevailing image is of a white man in a Western context. This positions heterosexual white men as the "normative entrepreneurial actor" (Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2017, p.7) and grants privileges to men in various aspects of entrepreneurial life. However, such a portrayal oversimplifies the understanding of entrepreneurship by assuming that all men benefit all the time. Feminist scholarship has emphasized that masculinity manifests itself in multiple forms (Connell, 1987). While entrepreneurship arguably promotes a hegemonic form of masculinity, the other (subordinate) forms of masculinity tend to be under-scrutinized within the entrepreneurial field. Therefore, one way to explore "gender as a contextualised multiplicity" (Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2017, p.7), is to unpack different forms of masculinity.

2- Incorporating intersectional, decolonial, and queer stances. Secondly, Marlow and Martinez Dy (2017) suggests incorporating intersectional, decolonial, and queer practices into entrepreneurial research. This line of research acknowledges the prevailing bias of the white Global North and Western context in shaping the figure of the entrepreneur and is committed to finding possible ways of reconfiguring it. By embracing the intersectional feminist critique, Marlow and Martinez Dy recognize that gender is a social category that is continuously enacted in relation to other categories such as age, ability, and race (Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2017). What's more, this strand of research also addresses decolonial questions, critically examining the claims of entrepreneurship as an emancipatory tool to potentially solve the problems of disadvantaged women such as refugees (As an example, you can refer to (Al-Dajani et al., 2015)). Last but not least, this invitation urges researchers to study LQBTQ+ communities and how they possibly manifest entrepreneurship as a way to bypass systemic gender discrimination (ex. homophobic prejudices) in different organizations.

3- Exploring gender as a resource of entrepreneurial households. The final strand of research proposed by Marlow and Martinez Dy (2017) focuses on gender

as a resource that informs entrepreneurial households. Here, the household is conceptualized as an understudied context where an important part of entrepreneurial activities occur. This research line aims to unpack complex household environments including but not limited to couples, kin relationships, or families. It dwells upon questions like division of labor, power hierarchies, emotional and/or financial support from other entrepreneurial or non-entrepreneurial members of the household, and support from family or relatives outside of the household. The main motivation of this line of research is to acknowledge entrepreneurship as an activity that is not conducted in isolation, but always in relation to other people, networks, and interactions. This dissertation aims to answer specifically this—the third—strand of research call and explore co-living spaces as entrepreneurial households that are informed by gendered interactions and constructs. In the following section, I will go deeper into the conceptualization of entrepreneurial households.

2.2.6 Entrepreneurial Households: A Context or a Situated Practice?

The traditional figure of the entrepreneur is portrayed as a solitary hero who is responsible for the success or failure of their ventures (Bruni et al., 2005). Such an individualistic take on entrepreneurship has been increasingly challenged over the years. Researchers show that entrepreneurial activities are indeed collective acts, happening not only in professional teams (Klotz et al., 2014) but also within households, involving various household members (Jayawarna et al., 2013). Based on this premise that entrepreneurship is done in relation to others, scholars have turned their attention to the context of entrepreneurship to understand the complex relationship between entrepreneurial pursuits and their surroundings. Among varied contexts, researchers repeatedly highlight *households* as a vital place where entrepreneurial activity occurs (Carter et al., 2017; Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2017). Therefore, studying households provides valuable insight into the complex relationships surrounding entrepreneurship.

Before going into the details of entrepreneurial households, I would like to pause and reflect on what *context* means in relation to entrepreneurial households. As explained in the previous section, Marlow and Martinez Dy (2017) calls researchers to study entrepreneurial households as a context that provides the opportunity to discover entrepreneurial activities in greater depth and demolish the detachment of

the entrepreneur from their surroundings. They remind us that it is the surrounding that enables the figure of the entrepreneur to function and even exist.

However, conceptualizing households as a context might raise some eyebrows within the STS scholarship. For example, Latour writes (in quoting Rem Koolhaas) that context is "simply a way of stopping the description when you are tired or too lazy to go on" (Latour, 2005, p.148). Felski (2011) puts it neatly that context is seen as "[n]ew [c]ritical oblivion" (Felski, 2011, p.573), it is something that is reserved for the unexplained. These critiques highlight the limitations of context in grasping the dynamic nature of the social. Rather, the word context seems to portray social as static background.

Though these critiques are understandable, this dissertation aims to create a dialogue between two literatures: Gender and Entrepreneurship (which employs the word "context") and STS (which detests the word "context").[11] In order to respect the sensitivities of both literatures, I have adopted Clarke et al. (2018)'s framework of *situation* to frame the concept of context in this dissertation. Accordingly, Clarke et al. (2018) explain that context is "which *surrounds* something, but assuredly is *not* part of it," (Clarke et al., 2018, 17). Therefore, they introduce the notion of *situation* as an alternative to context which includes the element of *co-constitutiveness* (Clarke et al., 2018). Accordingly, situation is defined as a concept that simultaneously surrounds something, *while* being part of it.

In this dissertation, I frame co-living spaces as entrepreneurial housing that surrounds the figure of the entrepreneur but also is part of it. Therefore, throughout this dissertation, I will use the term *situation* to describe entrepreneurial households unless directly referencing scholars who specifically use the term *context*. This reframing provides me the freedom to capture the dynamic quality as well as the relational aspects of households while respecting the sensitivities of both literatures.

Exploring entrepreneurial households as a situation is important for multiple reasons. One key aspect is to gain a deeper understanding of the blurred boundaries of work and home. Parsons (1944) reports that the smaller households and nuclear families introduced by industrialization and urbanization are characterized as more mobile and flexible than pre-industrial families (Parsons, 1944 as cited in Carter et al., 2017). Such a compact constellation within the new economic system also requires

[11] I chose the word *detest* intentionally, referring playfully to the vocabulary of STS scholars as they write "context stinks" (Felski, 2011; Latour, 2005).

a certain division of labor which in turn draws blurred boundaries between work and home.

Accordingly, domesticity has been associated with specific sex roles where women are mainly responsible for emotional support and care practices while men are positioned as the main provider and wage earners. Gillis and Hollows (2009) argue that associating women with the private sphere, from the late 18^{th} onwards, has had a vital role in the creation of new forms of gender inequality. However, multiple scholars argue that the boundaries between work and life have been redrawn, and the rigid categorization of private and public became more fluid in the post-industrial era. For example, the home has been introduced as an important place for work (Felstead et al., 2005; Mason et al., 2011), which challenges previously built boundaries of domesticity and work. This reconfiguration also arguably alters the inequalities based on such boundaries. Therefore, in order to understand the ever-contested boundaries of work and life, it is vital for researchers to examine new forms of living.

Social ties have been another angle in understanding complex household compositions in relation to entrepreneurial endeavors. Here, kinship appears as an important aspect of entrepreneurial work. Verver and Koning contend that kinship, as "interpersonal ties grounded in relatedness," is a key component of the sociocultural environment of entrepreneurs where they conduct entrepreneurial work (Verver & Koning, 2018, p.631). Similarly, Hamilton (2006) argues that positioning family at the heart of research—as opposed to an entrepreneur—gives researchers an opportunity to provide a more complex understanding of entrepreneurial processes. In relation to this, there has been a specific focus on *copreneurial ties* (Marshack, 1994; Millman & Martin, 2007), a relationship with spouses working together in an entrepreneurial venture while also sharing a domestic life. Yang and Aldrich argue that when entrepreneurial activity intersects with a spousal relationship, existing gender inequalities rooted in family dynamics are re-inscribed into the new venture (Yang & Aldrich, 2014). In that sense, while men dominate leadership roles and stay visible, women's entrepreneurial work is often rendered invisible or hidden (Hamilton, 2006; K. Lewis & Massey, 2011).

In this section, I have framed the entrepreneurial household as a situation that is understudied yet inextricably part of entrepreneurial activity. In order to understand the entrepreneurial household in depth, this dissertation focuses on a particular

form of a household: co-living spaces. Co-living spaces are often composed of entrepreneurs, tech workers, and flexible professionals living together under one roof. I argue that this unique constellation, which often combines practices of leisure, work, and domesticity, creates a great opportunity for researchers to understand how the figure of the entrepreneur is gendered today. Accordingly, in the next section, I will revisit Marlow and Martinez Dy (2017)'s invitation to explore gender as a resource in entrepreneurial households and invite STS literature as a new way of doing intervention to this academic debate.

2.2.7 Eliminating the Dead End: The Feminist TechnoScience

As mentioned in the previous chapters, Marlow and Martinez Dy (2017) assert that examining entrepreneurial households as a context where entrepreneurial work is practiced could shift academic focus away from redundant gender comparisons and end the tendency to view women's entrepreneurial activities as deficit. Their new stream of research encourages researchers to discover new ways to understand the gendering of entrepreneurship.

Even though the proposed approach is highly inventive, existing literature on entrepreneurial households does not seem to have the altitude to fully support this perspective, and risks falling into the same dead end described by Marlow and Martinez Dy (2017). Current literature primarily focuses on two dimensions: spousal dynamics of copreneurial relationships and the personal traits of successful women entrepreneurs, both of which arguably reinforce the view of women as deficit.

Contemporary studies on copreneurship mainly examine the division of labor and relationships between spouses who engage in entrepreneurial activities and domestic responsibilities together (Brannon et al., 2013; K. Lewis & Massey, 2011; Marshack, 1994; Millman & Martin, 2007). However, this line of research tends to compare how men and women distribute tasks within entrepreneurial partnerships and ends up pointing out where women are lacking or where their contributions are deemed invisible. This tendency—however unintentional it might be—reinforce the idea of women being deficient as entrepreneurs. On the other hand, the studies that unpack the strategies and personal traits of successful women entrepreneurs mainly focus on what methods women adapt to be successful in the entrepreneurial world (Batool & Ullah, 2017; Javadian & Singh, 2012; Reavley & Lituchy, 2008; Winn, 2005). This line of research could also be problematic, as it puts the burden of fixing the

existing structural gender problems solely on women. It assumes there are certain entrepreneurial traits that women could adapt in order to overcome gender inequality in the entrepreneurship field without examining the relation of forces that create unequal gender structures.

To summarize, both studies reinforce patriarchal structures by highlighting how some women entrepreneurs successfully navigate business or domestic arenas. In doing so, the foci in the literature for both branches of study reproduce the "subtle form of subordination" (Marlow & Swail, 2014, p.90) by positioning women as not good enough or putting the responsibility of solving gender-based inequalities only on the shoulders of women. Based on these findings, it is apparent there is a need to produce novel forms of knowledge in entrepreneurial household literature to avoid creating new dead-ends while attempting to eliminate existing ones. In pursuit of this objective, I invite the theoretical approaches and sensitivities of Feminist Technoscience Studies (FTS). In the upcoming paragraphs, I will first briefly explain what FTS is and will then explain why FTS is a fitting intervention in entrepreneurial household studies.

FTS strives to bring technology and science to the center of analysis, providing methodological and theoretical tools to analyze gender, technology, and science, at an equal depth. It is difficult to narrow the diverse FTS literature into a few sentences, as the scholarship itself serves as an umbrella to embrace diverse perspectives from technology, science, and gender. For example, an FTS scholar, Wajcman (2010) frames technology as a culture in which gender relationships are cultivated in relation to new modes of doing. From a different angle, Harding (1986) critically examines the binary constructs of culture-nature, or reason-emotion, as well as institutions of Western modernity that provide privileges for masculinity in Western culture. In order to unpack this bias, scholars frame technoscience as a material-semiotic practice, which offers feminist researchers a new lens of understanding how technology and science are a vital part in constructing gendered subjectivities (D. Haraway, 1997; Law, 2019). Therefore, FTS has a deep commitment to understanding technology and science as a material-semiotic practice and aims to develop theoretical and methodological foundations to analyze the mutual shaping of gender and technology (Faulkner, 2000; Wajcman, 2010).

I believe FTS could provide an alternate way to examine gender in entrepreneurial households. FTS, and STS in general, gives an opportunity to examine not only

human actors, but also non-human ones such as plants, masculinities, discourses, artifacts, and animals. First, FTS has a tradition of exploring *artifacts* and how they have influenced gender inequalities. For instance, Oudshoorn et al. (2004) introduces *the I-methodology* to explain how designers, who are predominantly male, design technological artifacts modeling themselves as the users of their designs, thus inscribing a masculine norm into the very design of a technological artifact. As another example, van Oost (2003) traces an artifact—Philips electric shavers—instead of examining behaviors of male and female users, in order to explore gender dynamics. By using *gender scripts* as an analytical tool, she concludes that the gender of the imagined user has an impact on the material design of electric shavers. Similarly, Wajcman argues that the daily use of objects has the power to demonstrate an individual's gender identity. In that sense, "the daily doing of housework" becomes a central part of motherhood and wifery (Wajcman, 2010, p.149). FTS scholars study not only the design of artifacts but also their life trajectories. For example, Cockburn and Ormrod trace the life of microwaves to understand how gender and technology mutually shape one another (Cockburn & Ormrod, 1993).

Second, FTS encourages us to focus on masculinities and femininities, instead of the comparison of men and women. This is particularly helpful when it comes to the aforementioned dead-end that the literature of the entrepreneurial household faces. Faulkner (2000), for example, investigates the link between masculinity and technology, arguing that engineers' collective pleasure in technology is a vital element in shaping engineering identity at large. Another example is the work of Kleif and Faulkner (2003), who analyzes how robot hobbyists and software engineers from the U.K. and U.S. experience pleasure in the creation of technologies. They conclude that technology is a "gender-authentic and gender-available avenue" for male engineers who seek mastery over uncertainty (Kleif & Faulkner, 2003, p.296). To summarize, the focus on masculinities and femininities could be an alternative way of moving beyond the existing dichotomy of men-women in entrepreneurial literature.

In conclusion, I argue that FTS has the potential to bring new vantage points to entrepreneurial and gender literature. Its theoretical and methodological grounds could help us to move beyond the male-female dichotomy in entrepreneurial households and remind us that gender is always dynamic and in the making. That is why one of the main aims of this dissertation is to create a dialogue between Gender and Entrepreneurship Literature and FTS/STS. To do so empirically, I ground my work

on a specific entrepreneurial household type: co-living spaces. Before going into the details of the empirical work, the next section will explain the research questions and methods that this dissertation tackles.

Chapter 3

Research Questions

In the course of a grand-scale research project such as a doctoral dissertation, there are always times of doubt. When I experienced such times of uncertainty, this dissertation's research questions have acted as an anchor and an umbrella that guided and welcomed each empirical chapter into its scope while still allowing them to stand on their own.

I will not go into the details of each research question here since I have explained them in other chapters.[1] However, as a structured reader myself, I understand the importance of having a map at the beginning of a reading journey. Therefore, in this section, I gathered all the research questions and categorized them into three groups, each corresponding to an empirical chapter. Let's begin with the main research question of this dissertation:

> *How do gender and entrepreneurship mutually shape each other in co-living spaces?*

This research question was formulated at the inception of this doctoral project in July 2017. As discussed in Chapter 1, this question is grounded on the constructivist idea of co-shaping (Bray, 2007; Wajcman, 2004, 2010). Its objective is to investigate how gender as a construct is shaping and shaped by the figure of the entrepreneur. Immediately after setting the main research question, I began conducting exploratory fieldwork. During this phase, I attended several entrepreneurial events and engaged with key actors in the field, such as investors and co-founders. My focus was twofold.

[1] Specifically, I have provided a detailed explanation of research questions in each empirical chapter: Chapter 5, Chapter 6, and Chapter 7.

First, I sought to understand the sensitizing concepts of the field—a set of initial concepts helping researchers to be sensitized about specific research areas (Blumer, 1969 as cited in Charmaz, 2006). Secondly, I searched for an empirical case that would provide an opportunity to unpack the dynamics of entrepreneurship and gender in a contextually rich manner. After an initial analysis of the exploratory fieldwork, it became evident that co-living spaces would serve as an ideal case study for exploring both gender and entrepreneurship in equal depth.

During the ethnographic fieldwork, I focused on recording the life of residents in the selected co-living spaces. This included capturing what they found interesting or problematic, paying attention to their language use, practices, and significant processes (Charmaz, 2006). Following the principles of Grounded Theory and Situational Analysis, I simultaneously collected and analyzed the data (Charmaz, 2006; Clarke et al., 2018). When the analysis reached a point that offered an intuition about certain relationalities, I determined three processes that would allow me to articulate different co-shaping mechanisms of gender and entrepreneurship. Each process formed the basis of one empirical chapter: gatekeeping in entrepreneurial living, dealing with domesticity, building social ties. However, the fieldwork did not conclude once these processes were established. I refined and elaborated these categories using theoretical sampling (Charmaz, 2006). These questions and categories prompted me to go back to the field and collect more data to gain a deeper understanding of these dimensions. The following section outlines the specific research questions designed for each chapter:

1. The Empirical Chapter 5 focuses on *gatekeeping entrepreneurial living* by analyzing the selection process of new residents into co-living spaces. By framing the selection process as gatekeeping practices and values, the chapter inquires how practices of inclusion and exclusion are enacted in the entrepreneurial community. This chapter mainly asks the following questions:

   How are residents selected?

   What values are established to govern who lives in entrepreneurial communal living?

   What happens when the entrepreneur, whose life is driven by individuality, is put in a house of many?

2. The Empirical Chapter 6, focuses on *dealing with domesticity* by analyzing how co-living residents organize domestic life. Following non-human actors in co-living spaces, this chapter explores how technology is utilized in co-living spaces. It also sheds light on what kinds of domestic ideals and practices are mobilized in entrepreneurial living. Accordingly, I ask:

   *H*ow do co-living space residents organize and negotiate domestic work and other shared duties?

   What are the domestic ideals of co-living residents?

   What technological interventions do residents make?

   What domestic practices do residents mobilize?

3. The Empirical Chapter 7, explores *building family-like social ties* which are often adopted by the residents of co-living spaces. I refer to this social tie as *entrepreneurial kin*, a form of social tie that is developed among entrepreneurs, providing them the support system they often need to pursue an entrepreneurial lifestyle. Accordingly, I ask:

   What kind of relationships are formed in co-living spaces?

   How do residents attribute value to these relationships?

   What do these social ties make possible?

Chapter 4

Research Material and Methods

In this chapter, I explain the methods and materials used to collect and analyze data for this dissertation. I begin by outlining the various data collection methods, namely through semi-structured interviews, website analysis, and participant observation. Following the data collection discussion, I delve into the scientific material, providing a descriptive overview of the main features of the empirical cases. Next, I discuss the methods of data analysis, namely Situational Analysis (SA) and Constructive Grounded Theory, and how I analytically employ them in the data. I then lay out the study limitations, listing the potential shortcomings. Finally, I explain the ethical perspectives which I have adopted throughout the research and situate myself as a researcher.

4.1 Methods of Data Gathering

The overall gathering of data, excluding the exploratory research, took place between January 2019 and April 2021. The data that informs this research was primarily collected through three qualitative data collection methods: semi-structured intensive interviews, website analysis, and participant observation. All three methods are an integral part of this ethnographic research and I will explain each one in detail.

4.1.1 Semi-Structured Intensive Interviews

Intensive interviews allow an in-depth exploration of the topic under investigation (Charmaz, 2006). Accordingly, I have conducted 23 intensive semi-structured interviews with 22 participants to understand participants' interpretations of their own experiences. All interviews took place between January 2019 and April 2021. Due

to the coronavirus pandemic and the internationality of the interviewees, seven of the interviews took place online. The interviews were recorded and transcribed. All interviewees signed informed consent forms, and before the interview, I provided time to answer any of their questions or concerns to their satisfaction.

Generating an interview sample for this project was rather straightforward. I hoped to interview all the existing residents (22 in total, 10 women and 12 men) of the MunichHouse and the BayHouse for the first sample set. However, only 13 residents in total (6 from the BayHouse and 7 from the MunichHouse) were available to participate as part of the first sample. After I began interviewing, it became clear that I needed to also interview ex-residents of the MunichHouse and the BayHouse. This was important for two reasons: (1) to have an insight into what kind of lives the ex-residents built after leaving the co-living space, (2) to gather more heterogeneous data on living in a co-living space. The latter point is built upon the premise that the ex-residents might have a different—and perhaps more critical—point of view than the current residents, since they have a temporal and spatial distance from the co-living space where they once lived.

Using current resident suggestions and contact information from the co-living spaces, I developed a second sample of potential interview participants, focusing exclusively on ex-residents of the MunichHouse and the BayHouse. The second sample is greatly influenced by situational maps that I created during the first sample of interviews. I will explain the situational maps in the Section 4.3. The process of creating the second sample helped to create theoretical sampling, which allowed me as a researcher to gather thicker data in order to build the theory (Charmaz, 2006). During the data collection phase for the second sample, I encountered some challenges in setting up interviews with former residents. This was primarily due to the historical and organizational structures of the two co-living spaces. The MunichHouse, for example, had a much higher turnout compared to the BayHouse as they collaborated with a university's startup center to rent some of their rooms for a period of three months to international students attending the entrepreneurship training. Eight out of the nineteen ex-residents listed on the MunichHouse website agreed to have an interview.

Though the BayHouse offered similar short-term residency through an online marketplace for homestays, the renting period was much shorter (from 1–2 days to 1–2 weeks) in comparison to the MunichHouse (for 3 months period). Additionally, when

I was conducting the fieldwork, the BayHouse was no longer renting their rooms to the online homestay company, and I was not able to obtain their contact details. Still, I interviewed one former long-term resident.

Ultimately, I secured nine interviews for the second sample. Once I reached a point where gathering new data did not lead to revelations or new theoretical insights—in other words, once the data was saturated (Charmaz, 2006)—I stopped adding more interviews. Interviewing ex-residents allowed me to further elaborate the categories created in the first sample.

The 22 interview participants ranged in age from 24–38 (the BayHouse having a relatively older population), with 13 men and 9 women, 7 from the Bay House and 15 from the MunichHouse. The interviewees' backgrounds varied widely. Among the residents, there were entrepreneurs, engineers, graphical designers, authors, trainers, and students. The interviewees' lived in the co-living spaces from nine days to four years. Though I decided not to ask about the sexual orientation or nationality of the interview participants, such information was volunteered by some of the interview participants. One of the interviewees brought up being in a same-sex relationship. Another interviewee spoke of their heterosexual marriage and child from this marriage. Interviewees came from countries such as Brazil, Switzerland, the United States, and Germany. One reason for the diverse participant nationalities was the cooperation that the MunichHouse had with a start-up center. Seven of the interview participants were part of this cooperation.

Because one of the main foci of this dissertation is entrepreneurship, a disclaimer about the entrepreneurs living in both the MunichHouse and the BayHouse is needed. The MunichHouse identifies itself as a start-up hub[1] and initially only accepted people with a start-up or a prospective idea for a start-up. The focus of the BayHouse, however, is on diversity. Even though the co-living spaces had different targets, there was more than one entrepreneur living in both of the houses. This is particularly important, as the literature often defines the main characteristic of an entrepreneurial household as a housing complex that has at least one self-employed or business owner living in it (Carter et al., 2017).

Research projects might infer linear progress to an outsider. But in reality, they are messy, shaped by many small decisions along the way. There were two pivots during the research process: the first was the number of interviews, and the other

[1] I have explained this point more in detail in the Chapter 5.2.1.

refers to the number of case studies. Apart from resident and ex-resident interviews, I also conducted contextual interviews with several venture capitalists and co-founders in Munich and San Francisco. These interviews were exploratory interviews, providing diverse perspectives of entrepreneurial culture in both cities. They especially helped me find a suitable case study during the early stage of my doctoral project. However, as I later decided to focus exclusively on co-living spaces, I excluded the contextual interviews from the scope of this dissertation.

Initially, I intended to conduct three case studies instead of two, analyzing three different communal living arrangements. In addition to the two co-living spaces (the MunichHouse and the BayHouse) used as the primary cases in this dissertation, I intended to include a flat-share located in the Bay Area, where I stayed during my research visit at UC Berkeley. I initially planned to include this flat share as a case study to provide a non-co-living example to better understand the contrasts and particularities of a co-living space. Yet, for the sake of simplicity and clarity, I later decided to exclude the case of flatshare from the scope of this dissertation. Nonetheless, my experience of living in this flatshare still informed the analysis. I will explain this point in more detail when I explain how I used *constant comparative methods* in Section 4.3.

The remainder of this section will discuss three points: the framing of gender during interviews, interview length, and interview guidelines. Though I was interested in the topic of gender and wanted to learn about gender relations in the field, I was very careful to avoid producing non-existing gender relations by only asking about gender in the interviews. Following Glaser's advice, I sidestepped the fallacy of forcing data into pre-made categories (Glaser, 1998 as cited in Charmaz, 2006). Accordingly, I always start my interviews with general questions and patiently wait for the subject of gender to arise. If it does not, I ask a few follow-up questions about gender to see if it arises as a sensitizing concept. If not, I drop the topic and note it. After all, if gender does not emerge as a topic, that is in itself data that needs to be recognized. I take a similar approach in participant observation; I try to understand the overall situation without forcing gendered conclusions. Instead, I observe the situation with gender-sensitive eyes, and whenever gender arises, I note it and meticulously follow the topic. I believe this approach enables me to provide a closer picture of the situation.

Since the temporality of entrepreneurial culture resonates with the culture of an *elevator pitch*—a well-known practice in Silicon Valley based on the idea to create

the most prominent content in the least amount of time—doing research in the entrepreneurial field usually means that one is always *pressed for time* (Wajcman, 2015). Most of the residents that I interacted with were used to 5–10 minutes for a formal interaction. It was not an easy task to ask interviewees to allocate a longer time period for the interviews. Consequently, I adjusted to the normative demands of the entrepreneurial culture and asked the most important questions in an abbreviated time. Nonetheless, I used the interviewing process itself as a practice to understand the culture in the making. I accepted whatever time the interviewees were willing to allocate for this project. Fortuitously, some of the shortest interviews provided indispensable information which ultimately changed the course of the dissertation.

Finally, I prepared the interview guidelines before going to the field and use it as a basis for the interviews.[2] However, I did not always follow the interview guidelines, as I, too, encouraged unexpected stories to emerge (Charmaz, 2006) by asking open-ended questions. Also, due to the varying interview duration, I was not always able to ask all the pre-scripted questions and sometimes had to keep the interviews focused and topic-oriented. For example, Silvia,[3] an organizer of women's circles in the BayHouse, only had a short time for the interview but it was vital for me to take the opportunity to interview her as gender was an important focus of this project. Though the time available was not ideal, I still learned valuable information about the situation.

4.1.2 Website Analysis

I drew on website analysis for data collection in two different stages: the exploratory stage and the fieldwork. In both stages, the website analysis included *extant text* analysis, where I, as a researcher, did not affect the construction of the texts (Charmaz, 2006). The initial document analysis, using various co-living websites, news articles, interviews with residents, and op-eds, was vital in gaining an understanding of co-living spaces and their discourses. From this data set, I selected and analyzed 11 of the most promising articles covering diverse narratives of co-living spaces. This initial analysis helped me not only to understand how co-living spaces are presented in the mainstream media, but also allowed me to build abstract maps and select the first co-living space for the fieldwork.

[2]The interview guidelines can be found in the Appendix A.

[3]In this dissertation, all the names of the interview participants are used in an anonymized form.

The second part of the document analysis focused on the texts about the MunichHouse and the BayHouse. Drawing from nine websites and news articles about the two co-living spaces provided by the co-living space members (five texts about the MunichHouse and four on the BayHouse), I acquired an intensive understanding of how the MunichHouse and the BayHouse present themselves, how they are presented by the media, and which texts the residents deemed important.

4.1.3 Participant Observation

Participant observation is a critical aspect in understanding a subject matter. As Charmaz writes, ethnography includes recording, participating, and observing a life of a specific group in a sustained manner (Charmaz, 2006). Accordingly, I conducted nine months of participant observation, spending circa six months in the MunichHouse from January 14, 2019, to July 20, 2019, and approximately three months in the BayHouse from November 04, 2019, to February 08, 2020. This participant observation—which included attention to detail in daily interactions, routines, and events—gave me a deep understanding of co-living spaces.

After selecting the co-living spaces to base the research on, I contacted each of them. The field access followed two different paths in two co-living spaces. In the MunichHouse, I emailed one of the co-founders and explained my interest in researching co-living spaces. He invited me to the co-living space itself to interview him on January 14^{th}, 2019 and introduce me to the residents who were present at the time. I briefly explained the topic of the dissertation. Also, the co-founder raised my wish to the rest of the residents to conduct my research in the next house meeting. Once they granted me access to the MunichHouse, I secured multiple interviews on different days and was also invited to future events.

In the BayHouse, I tried to follow the same method as in the MunichHouse to email the founder(s) to get an appointment. However, the contact information of the co-founders was not available online. Hence, I went directly to the BayHouse on November 4^{th}, 2019. A resident, Susanne, welcomed me with ease and a smiling face. She was about to leave the house for a new job in another city. I introduced myself as a researcher and explained that I would like to do research on the BayHouse. Susanne allowed me to interview her in return for helping her move. I happily helped her, thankful for having field access. Charmaz's advice was in the back of my mind: "the ethnographer may remain welcome only if he or she provides a novel presence in

the setting." (Charmaz, 2006, p.21). On that day, showing a novel presence meant helping with the move.

Before the interview, Susanne contacted the other residents via their online communication channel (Slack) and let them know I would like to research the BayHouse. She also wrote my name and communication details on a whiteboard they use to communicate with each other (pictured in Figure 4.1.) After obtaining the approval of other residents, she invited me to their regular dinners (also known as family dinners) on Wednesdays and Sundays.

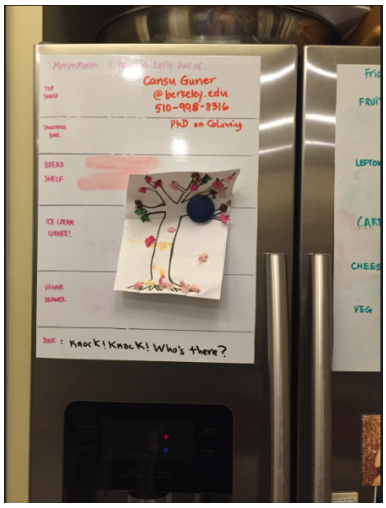

Figure 4.1: My arrival was announced to the household via the whiteboard as well as the instant messaging program (Slack).

After securing field access in both the MunichHouse and the BayHouse, I started attending activities organized in these spaces. I attended multiple meals[4] and had coffees and casual chats with the residents (and guests) of these co-living spaces. Though I was not a resident in either of the co-living spaces due to institutional and personal reasons, I was committed to understanding their daily routines. Therefore, I joined their daily activities, such as grocery shopping or weekly cleaning tasks.

The events organized in co-living spaces are important as the events act as meeting points with the outside world and provide both visibility and credibility to the co-living space. That is why I paid particular attention to "being there" (Geertz, 1988, p.1) when important events took place. For example, I participated in a launch party of another co-living space owned by the same company as the BayHouse. Almost

[4]Such as family dinners in the BayHouse and Pizza Gathering in the MunichHouse.

all the members of the BayHouse attended what they called their "sister co-living space's" opening night. Over 50 people participated in the event and it lasted until the morning. I made sure to talk to as many people as possible and noted several conversations in my field notebook.

On another note, I took an active role in organizing and attending a hackathon in the MunichHouse. The co-founder asked me if I could invite some engineers to join the hackathon. In order to bring a novel presence to the fieldwork, I coordinated the attendance of two engineers.

I took notes during the entire fieldwork. Sometimes I had a comfortable amount of time in between interviews, but often, I had to take brief notes in between conversations and had to fill in the blanks later. Both co-living spaces necessitated my full attention and participation. I did not want to miss any important conversation that might provide inside information about life in a co-living space. Yet, due to the "all-encompassing nature of entrepreneurial work" (Musilek, 2020, p.321) that covered work, leisure time, and living in general, I often visited my office during the fieldwork to finalize notes and update my situational maps to form a better understanding of the overall situation.

4.2 The Scientific Material

As introduced earlier, this dissertation is based on fieldwork from two co-living spaces: one located in southern Germany (anonymized as the MunichHouse) and the other on the West Coast of the U.S. (anonymized as the BayHouse). Both houses present themselves as co-living spaces in various venues, such as their websites and social media.

To protect the privacy of residents of these co-living spaces, I have limited the number of photos used in this dissertation. I have only used photos when identifying information (such as faces) is blurred. Not using photos unfortunately limits the reader's access to some essential information. Consequently, I describe the MunichHouse and the BayHouse as descriptively as possible to depict how these co-living spaces look to an outsider.[5] I will first explain how I discovered each co-living space.

[5]Apart from the descriptive definition of co-living spaces provided in the next section, I have also explained several aspects of the MunichHouse and the BayHouse in later empirical chapters. For example, I chronicled organizational structure, internal dynamics, and culture in Chapter 5. I also explained their physical structure in Chapter 6.

Then, I will lay out numerical information, such as how many people live in these co-living spaces and the monthly rent. Finally, I will create a detailed description of their physical appearance.

4.2.1 On the MunichHouse

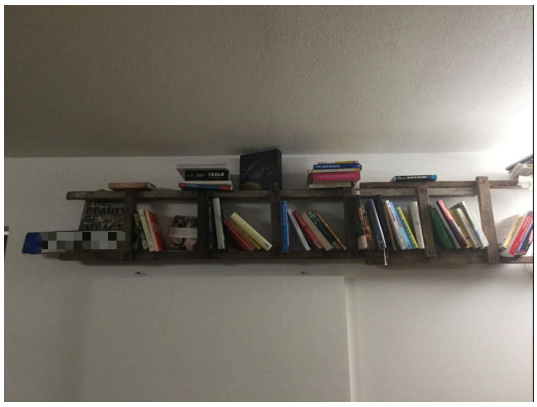

Figure 4.2: A bookshelf full of entrepreneurial books at the MunichHouse.

I was first introduced to the concept of co-living spaces at a start-up event in Munich. Two attendees were talking about the MunichHouse and expressing their enthusiasm about the idea of living there. Hearing about an entrepreneurial house excited me on many levels. At the time, I was searching for a case study that would provide insight into the multi-layered lives of entrepreneurs, encompassing both domestic and entrepreneurial practices beyond what could be learned in typical start-up events such as start-up competitions. Therefore, I decided to reach out to the MunichHouse.

The MunichHouse, as explained by one of the co-founders, was initially a real estate project started by an elderly couple who had planned to rent it to a large family or a medical facility. However, in 2017, it was transformed into a 485-square-meter co-living space with 17 rooms and 6 bathrooms. The rooms were leased for approximately 545 Euros.

The location of the MunichHouse is relatively central: 5 min walking distance to the closest metro station, and the city center is approximately 25 minutes away by public transport. The neighborhood is composed of single-family houses, and there are no signs or logos to indicate that it is a co-living space. Hence, at first glance, the MunichHouse appears to be a single-family dwelling. As will later be described, the

BayHouse is also in a similar neighborhood without signage to indicate the nature of the dwelling.

The MunichHouse is a three-story building with a large yard. The garage stands right next to the entrance, where a smart electric car (which is a start-up project of one of the residents) is parked. Rather than the typical style of apartments with separate bells for each resident, here, there is only one doorbell. In the entrance, there is a mailbox with boxes for each resident. Beyond that is the guest bathroom and a long corridor leading to the living room and dining area. The living room consists of a large dining table, a few couches, a game console, a television, and a small bar for alcoholic drinks. Several houseplants and paintings give the room a cozy feel. On the right, one can see into the open kitchen, which is separated from the living room by a relatively small dining table. The kitchen can fit approximately five people at a time, and most appliances are shared by the residents. Behind the kitchen, there is a pantry for food storage and two large refrigerators.

On the left side of the living room, a thick curtain with a noise-dampening property divides the living space with a co-working area with five desks. Though the residents who use the co-working area regularly use the same desks every day, they are shared assets that do not belong to any of them. Most of the books on the shelves are about entrepreneurship (As pictured in Figure 4.2). A long corridor off the co-living space leads to the staircase to the residents' bedrooms and private bathrooms on the second and third floors. The residents usually keep their bedrooms closed, but the generous backyard offers another shared space for socializing. The yard can be accessed through the doors at the far end of the living room. An outdoor table, chairs, and a built-in barbecue grill were placed for residents to mingle on summer days. In the middle of the yard, a small dog house was placed to protect a robotic lawn mower from rain.

4.2.2 On the BayHouse

After completing the first case study in Munich, I searched for a second case in the Bay Area. Since the focus of the MunichHouse was particularly on start-ups, I decided to pick a co-living space with a different focus in order to have variety in research results. I found the BayHouse which advertised a particular focus on diversity. Since the main focus of this project is gender, I saw an important potential in the BayHouse, in terms of bringing significant insights into how diversity is framed in co-living arrangements.

Also, even though the main focus of the BayHouse was not on start-ups, it still hosted entrepreneurs, which made it a good fit for the topics of this dissertation.

Before going into details about the physical appearance of the BayHouse, I will provide numerical data. According to interview participants, the BayHouse was launched in 2016. As of 2020, the market value is approximately 5-6 million dollars, and the rent of a furnished single room with a shared bathroom ranged from \$1,300–\$1,800, depending on the room. While conducting the fieldwork, two rooms were empty, and the residents were searching for two new residents.

One of the initial things that draws attention to the BayHouse is the big flower garden leading up to the house. Two broad, inviting steps lead up to the main door and doorbell. There is no sign or logo of the BayHouse on display. From a distance, it is hard to tell that it is a co-living space as it blends in with the single-family houses on the street. Double doors with round windows invite residents into the large entryway that leads into a large, bright living room, where a grand piano gives an elegant appearance. Houseplants are sprinkled around, soaking up the ample sunlight. A large fireplace is flanked by several leather couches. The architecture and interior design give the house a polished and expensive feel. The decor resembles old British homes with dark woods that seemingly contradict the usual start-up aesthetic of minimalistic, colorful, and playful. However, though the BayHouse has a rather classy design, elements of playfulness in the funny photos of the residents, a dummy's leg inside the fireplace, and a sunglasses-wearing sculpture belie the playfulness of the residents.

A guest bathroom adjoins the living room which leads into the entrance to a dining room with a large wooden table, a second fireplace, an ornate chandelier, and a shelf with decorations and bottles of alcohol. Here, the household attends what they call family dinners. A doorway leads to a shared kitchen that can fit more than ten people and is equipped with a small table for four. The whiteboard in the kitchen is full of notes, announcements, and warnings.

Most kitchen appliances are shared by all the residents. Also, they do groceries collectively. This is a major difference when compared to the MunichHouse where residents take care of groceries individually. In order to have a good understanding of residents' nutrition choices (e.g., vegetarian, vegan, or food allergies), the BayHouse utilizes a food voting technology that enables each resident to participate in weekly votes to decide the ingredients to be purchased. The kitchen leads to a small yard

where many events, such as barbecue nights, are organized. The staircase leads to the second and third floors, where the private rooms and bathrooms are located. These rooms vary in size and shape. Some residents have larger rooms depending on the amount they pay monthly.

4.3 Methods of Data Analysis

For analysis, I have combined two complementary approaches: Situational Analysis (SA) for data analysis and Constructive Grounded Theory for coding and memoing (Charmaz, 2006; Clarke et al., 2018). I will first briefly explain these two analytical lenses and why I chose them to analyze the data I collected. Then, I will discuss how I specifically employed these two approaches to the data.

Situational Analysis / Constructive Grounded Theory. Created by Anselm Strauss and Barney Glaser at the end of the 1960s, Grounded Theory (GT) is a qualitative social science method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967/2006). Inspired by Symbolic Interactionism, the main unit of analysis of GT is the *basic social process*, which allows the researcher to pay attention to recurring human action on an abstract level. Such recurrence in the data is ensured by coding the data and creating categories from codes to derive broader meaning from the data.

Since its creation, there have been multiple attempts to redesign grounded theory and adjust it to contemporary research needs. In this endeavor, Katy Charmaz, a student of Grounded Theory, created a branch of GT called Constructive Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006). Glaser and Strauss's GT focuses on *discovering theory* as a scientific observer. In Constructive GT, however, the researchers *construct* theories through their wide range of engagements with past, present, actors, and practices alike. Thus, it is not that scientific findings are discovered, rather they are constructed. This important shift could also be interpreted as a step away from a positivist take on GT towards a more constructivist understanding of GT. In her book, *Constructing Grounded Theory*, Charmaz (2006) provides researchers a set of detailed *principles and practices* for gathering rich data, coding, writing memos, and creating theoretical sampling. I have especially employed Constructive GT when it comes to coding (categorizing data segments with a shortened name) and memo writing (a step

where researchers reflect upon the data between data collection and writing drafts).[6]

Adele Clarke, a scholar from the GT tradition, introduced Situational Analysis (SA) as an updated version of the Grounded Theory which is more sensitive to the needs of post-structural and interpretive turn. It is important to note that Situational Analysis is compatible with Constructivist Grounded Theory. Indeed, Clarke et al. (2018) recommends applying constructivist GT's coding schema to SA (Clarke et al., 2018, p.109).

SA claims to emancipate GT from its "remaining positivist recalcitrancies" (Clarke et al., 2018, p.23), such as lack of reflectivity about the researcher's role or assumptions that researchers are invisible and disembodied subjects without prior knowledge or opinions about their subject matter. Hence, SA situates researchers as a vital part of knowledge production and recognizes that their knowledge is indeed a situated knowledge, not an objective or absolute truth. SA also utilizes various elements, such as individual or collective actors, discursive constructions, temporal or spatial elements, or sociocultural or symbolic elements. The main aim of SA is to create a rich analysis of a situation by producing a variety of maps. Clarke defines a situation as "a somewhat enduring arrangement of relations among many different kinds and categories of elements that has its own ecology" (Clarke et al., 2018, p.17). Accordingly, SA maps are used as powerful cognitive tools that provide insight into relationalities within a situation under examination. As defined by Clarke et al. (2018), there are three main maps: situational maps, social worlds/arenas maps, and positional maps:

(1) Situational maps help explore main elements in a given situation. These elements can be human, non-human, discursive, cultural, or historical.

(2) Social worlds and arenas focus on the collective actors in a situation and give an overview of social, organizational, or institutional aspects. It also facilitates understanding the arenas of commitment, which reveal ongoing negotiations and discourses.

(3) Positional maps help determine the main positions that are taken—or not taken—in a given situation. Positional maps are not focused on finding a coherent

[6]Since Charmaz (2006) exclusively elaborates each step of the Constructive Grounded Theory approach, I won't go into further detail here. Interested readers can visit her book for a deeper explanation.

position of each actor but are instead interested in the heterogeneity of different positions, even if the opposing positions are held by the very same actor.

One of the biggest reasons I use Situational Analysis is its compatibility with theories of Science and Technology Studies, in which this dissertation situates itself in. First, SA provides a wide range of analysis tools to take nonhuman actors into account. For instance, this served well when I traced the artifacts created in co-living spaces in organizing domesticity. Secondly, SA provided a valuable framework to explore relational dynamics in the research, aligning with the main situation of this dissertation: the mutual shaping of entrepreneurship and gender. Here, SA provided flexibility to discover relationalities in a situation that are not immediately visible to the naked eye. The method of comparison—comparing each item with the other one on the map—helped crystallize differences and discover invisibilities in a given situation.

Last but not least, SA supplied tools to situate myself as a researcher within the study. Accordingly, it allowed space to contemplate my role as a researcher and its significance in the process of knowledge production. This reflective perspective aligns well with Feminist STS, which challenges notions of objectivity and emphasizes the interconnectedness of knowledge and the context in which it is produced.

Situational Analysis / Constructive Grounded Theory in action. As previously stated, I employed Constructive Grounded Theory for coding and memoing and Situational Analysis for general data analysis. Accordingly, I engaged in multiple steps of data analysis, like coding, memoing, theoretical sampling, saturation, situational maps, and positional maps.

Following the GT tradition, I started data analysis as soon as I collected the first piece of data. Accordingly, I created the first situational maps during the exploratory phase of research, aiming to understand the field of entrepreneurship. These initial situational maps highlighted gender as "sites of silence" in entrepreneurial discourse (Clarke et al., 2018, p.108).

Throughout my research, I amended situational and positional maps to inform the next set of interviews and identify questions that revealed a deeper understanding of co-living spaces. Below, I explain the following data analysis tools: comparing, coding, memoing, and mapping. Though some of those tools are used simultaneously

(for example, coding and mapping) to provide analytical differentiation, each will be explained in dedicated sections.

Comparing. Throughout the analysis, one important tool was *constant comparative methods* (Charmaz, 2006; Clarke et al., 2018; Glaser & Strauss, 1967/2006). To differentiate co-living spaces from other communal forms of living, I used insights gained from a normal flatshare I experienced during my research at the University of California, Berkeley. I created situational maps that compared my flatshare experience to the MunichHouse. Though I chose not to include the flatshare as a case study in the overall research project, this comparison helped me determine the similarities and distinctions between co-living spaces from other forms of communal living. Through these initial situational maps, I identified the actors, technologies, and practices that do not exist in normal flatshares but were present at the MunichHouse.

After conducting participant observation and interviews at the BayHouse, I then moved to the second stage and created situational maps to compare the MunichHouse to the BayHouse. I tried to understand the differences and similarities between the two. Comparing the MunichHouse to the BayHouse helped highlight the particularities of each co-living space at multiple levels, such as country-level specificities, local differences, or personal qualifications. I discuss these differences in the empirical chapters in greater detail.

Coding and Memoing. Coding is one of the main modes of analysis of Grounded Theory Approach. Since coding in qualitative research tends to reflect an individual relationship between the data and the researcher, there are no hard rules on how to code. I primarily followed Charmaz (2006) when coding. Charmaz defines coding as a process to categorize data with a brief name that represents the data (Charmaz, 2006).

After each interview, I produced either a memo or a map to reflect immediate impressions of the interview. These memos and maps include but are not limited to, ideas for future interviews, previously unrecognized relationships among actors, and impressions of the interviewees' tone.

All interviews were transcribed personally or by student assistants[7] from our research group. Working with student assistants not only helped me get transcriptions

[7]I take this opportunity to thank all the students assistants who contributed to the transcription of the interviews.

done, but it also allowed me to exchange ideas with them. In many discussions I had with our student assistants who know the material on a deeper level, I had a chance to revisit the data with new perspectives and sensitivities.

I completed most of the initial coding with pen and paper since it provided a deeper immersion in the material. Next, I uploaded the transcribed interviews into MAXQDA (a qualitative data analysis software package developed for grounded theory approaches) for further coding. The coding software platform facilitated recognition of repetitive coding and enabled the ability to search for key words in the transcribed interviews.

I began the coding process with line-by-line coding, labeling sentences or parts of sentences with specific codes. Along the way, some codes merged into each other. Some codes seemed less present in the transcribed interviews. I added some of the codes from my situational maps to find equivalent codes in the data. Then, using MAXQDA, I organized the codes into code families and created a focused coding.[8] The focused coding reflected the data from transcribed interviews as well as from maps created along the way. In addition to focused coding, I used theoretical coding to uncover relationships between the categories created during the focused coding process and construct a coherent story between them.

In addition to memos regarding participant observations and interviews, I also integrated memoing into coding. I created coding memos to understand the rationale behind the coding. I also used memos to keep track of the changes in certain codes. These memos helped me understand how and why the codes were changed and documented my rationalization as the research project progressed in time.

Mapping. As mentioned above, I started mapping early on in my work for this dissertation. I used mapping for several reasons: (1) to make sense of the initial impressions, (2) to understand the connections and relationships between both human and non-human actors, and (3) to find the invisibilities in the field that are not immediately accessible to the naked eye. As I gathered more data, the maps represented a more elaborate understanding of co-living spaces. Through the iterative mapping process, I developed two categories of maps: "situational maps" (Clarke et al., 2018, p.127) and "positional maps" (Clarke et al., 2018, p.165). I did not engage with the

[8]Focused coding can be defined as selecting "what seem to be the most useful initial codes (Charmaz, 2006, p.42)."

third SA category of maps, "social worlds/arenas maps"(Clarke et al., 2018, p.147), as I mainly focused on understanding the heterogeneous positions of the actors and major elements in the situation.

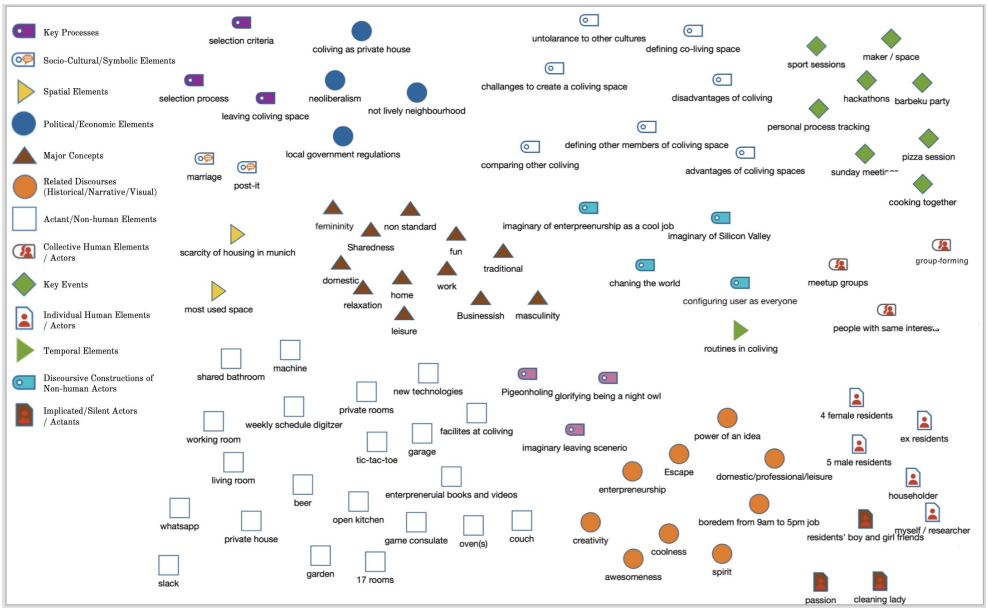

Figure 4.3: This figure exemplifies an ordered map as outputted by the MAXQDA software.

Upon project kickoff, I started creating abstract situational maps and outlined the major human and non-human actors, various technologies, and narratives. This layout helped me understand what exists and what does not in co-living spaces. As previously mentioned, early situational mapping highlighted gender as a significant area of invisibility in the entrepreneurial field. Later, I created ordered versions of abstract situational maps and created categories ranging from discursive constructions to silent actors and spatial elements. An example of an ordered map can be found in Figure 4.3. Ordered maps helped me understand co-living spaces in a more systematic manner.

I actively utilized *relational maps* to gain insight into the interconnectedness of elements within the research (Clarke et al., 2018, p.127). This method was particularly valuable in exploring gender dynamics in co-living spaces. By employing relational maps, I could investigate the process of gendering *without* imposing gendered conclusions. Through these maps, I had an opportunity to ask how each element might be—or might not be—connected to gender. Engaging with gender in relational maps

created a moment of reflexivity to understand the role of gender in shaping the figure of the entrepreneur.

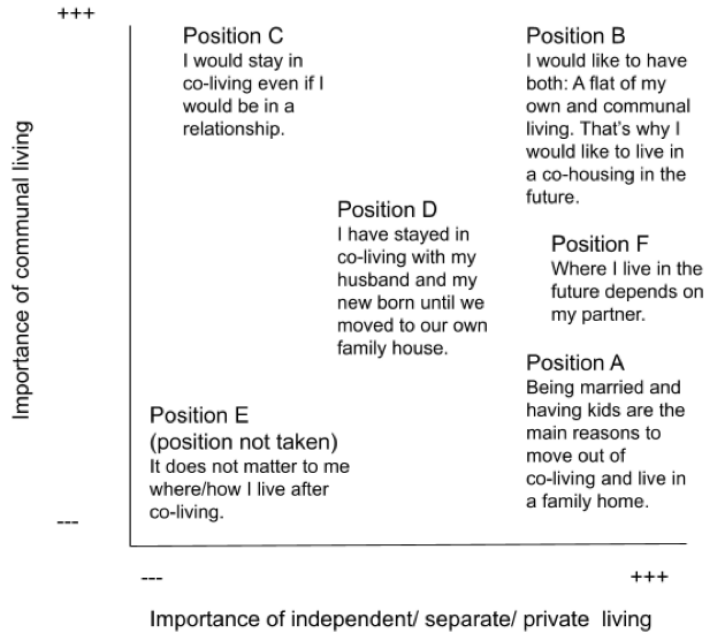

Figure 4.4: Positional Map: Imaginations or practices of residents after co-living life.

In addition to abstract and ordered situational maps and relational maps, I also used *positional maps*. Positional maps are designed to create an understanding of "*major positions taken on issues in the situation*" (Clarke et al., 2018, p.165). These maps allowed me to create a full spectrum of positions in co-living spaces. Additionally, they helped identify distinct positions taken—or not taken—by the same actors.

For this project, I developed positional maps to explore: (1) the imaginations and/or practices of ex-residents about post-co-living life and (2) how residents make sense of their social ties with other fellow residents. These positional maps are the foundation for two empirical chapters: Chapter 5 and Chapter 7. You can find an example of positional maps in Figure 4.4,[9] which informed Chapter 5. Interestingly, some interviewees embraced heterogeneous positions, simultaneously holding two different viewpoints. And, sometimes, an invisibility became visible. Position E in

[9]The positions presented in this map are paraphrased versions of interview quotes.

Figure 4.4 is a good example of finding invisibility in a situation through positional maps. None of the participants expressed Position E: "It does not matter to me where I live after co-living." The non-existence of this position in the data can be interpreted in various ways. For example, it might indicate that future living arrangements hold an important place for participants. It could also imply that the notion of co-living inherently includes consideration of what comes afterward. In summary, positional maps enhanced my understanding of the data by systematically allowing me to see the major positions taken or not taken on certain topics.

4.4 Limitations of the Study

As with any research project, there have been some limitations. Some of these limitations are due to the structure of co-living spaces, which other co-living researchers such as Musilek (2020) have also noted. Other limitations are more specific to this research. First, due to the finite time and financial resources allocated to this project, only two distinct co-living spaces were researched. Though these two cases were specifically selected to reflect the diversity and different narratives of co-living spaces (e.g., the MunichHouse's dominant descriptive narrative was on entrepreneurship, whereas the BayHouse focused on diversity), it does not represent the full variety and form of co-living spaces. Future researchers could focus on more diverse population sizes, narratives, and participants in co-living spaces.

Second, I was not able to live in either co-living space due to funding constraints and personal motives. Accordingly, I attended as many co-living space events as possible and based my research on in-depth interviews and ethnographic accounts of participant observations. Though my outsider's perspective provided a unique understanding of co-living spaces, living in these spaces might have allowed a different kind of access to the field.

Third, this research project is bound by nine months of participant observation. The time limitation is particularly significant in co-living spaces with a high turnover of residents. Because of the time limits, it was only possible to include a limited selection of residents in the research. Moreover, as the project captured only a finite amount of time, some significant milestones, such as the opening day of co-living spaces, were not included.

Moreover, though I tried to conduct in-depth interviews with as many residents as possible, it was not feasible to include all residents since some were not present in the shared areas of the co-living spaces or did not respond to my interview request.

4.5 Research Ethics

All research participants participated voluntarily, they were informed about the project beforehand, and signed informed consent forms. Two informed consent forms were used: *Consent to Participate in an Ethnographic Study* and *Interview Informed Consent Form.*[10] The form which is titled "Consent to Participate in an Ethnographic Study," was designed for ethnographic fieldwork that targeted the current residents of co-living spaces. The second form, "Interview Informed Consent Form," mainly covered interviews with participants who are not current residents of the MunichHouse or the BayHouse. Though the consent form for ethnographic fieldwork also included interviews (as ethnography often uses interviews as a method), the second form was rather designed for outside participants, e.g., guests, venture capitalists, co-founders, and ex-residents. You can find a copy of the Interview Informed Consent Form in the Appendix D, and the forms for the ethnographic study were specifically designed for each co-living space are also contained in the Appendix B and Appendix C. Note that some areas in the form are blurred to guard the privacy of these establishments.

In addition to the informed consent forms, every time I joined a common event, I informed and reminded the residents of my role as a researcher. I answered their questions regarding the research and encouraged them to ask more. Also, before the field access, I informed the gatekeepers in both co-living spaces about the research. Accordingly, in the MunichHouse, I informed both of the co-founders, who were also the residents of the co-living space. Similarly, the co-founder of the property management venture was also a resident in the BayHouse, was also informed about the research, and also provided personal information about my role at the university and my overall research interests.

The MunichHouse was active in organizing events that were open to the outsiders, such as hackathons. In these instances, I secured informed consent from the participants. One participant expressed his interest in joining the ethnographic research

[10]Since my department changed during my doctoral formation, I updated the information in the consent form accordingly. The previous document is titled: "Consent to Participate in the Interview Anonymously," and a copy of it can be found in the Appendix E.

but excused himself from any photos. Accordingly, I excluded him from any of the photos taken.

In the BayHouse, I attended one public event organized by the BayHouse property management company. The event took place in another co-living space, but almost all the members of the BayHouse were present. However, since the attendance at the event was expected to exceed more than fifty people, the co-founder asked me to forgo the informed consent form, yet specifically allowed me to use the data collected during the event. Still, during the event, I always introduced myself as a researcher, expressed my interest in using the data for my dissertation, and made sure to answer any questions that arose.

Though this dissertation might not cover a particularly sensitive subject, it is still about people's lives. Therefore, throughout the dissertation, I adopted Blumer's motto of "[r]espect your subjects" (Blumer, 1969 as cited in Charmaz, 2006, 19) and always prioritized respect and human dignity above anything else. Participants sometimes asked me to keep their information confidential or off the record. In these cases, I was particularly attentive to keeping the information out of the dissertation and respecting the participant's privacy.

During the fieldwork, I took numerous photos but have only used photos for illustrative and functional purposes. In these cases, I made sure to anonymize the photos by blurring the faces of the participants.

One of the challenges I tackled was the "presence of 'irregular' research participants" (Musilek, 2020, p.111). These irregular participants were not members of the MunichHouse or the BayHouse but rather guests, partners, or family members who visited the co-living spaces irregularly. Though I tried to secure an informed consent form whenever possible, it was not always practical to chase everyone who stepped foot in the co-living spaces. Since I did not stay in either co-living space, I was only able to access the members I encountered during the day or at events. Also, due to the high turnover of the co-living space residents in both of the co-living spaces, there might be a chance that I never met some members of the co-living space and therefore did not include them in the research. Yet overall, all the participants I encountered showed interest and support for the research.

4.6 Situating Myself as a Researcher

One strength of Situational Analysis is to take current academic trends in reflexivity into account. SA challenges Grounded Theory's previous assertions that researchers are not an integral part of the research and acknowledges that researchers are indeed a constitutive component of it. This perspective is very much linked with the viewpoint of Feminist STS scholars who don't frame researchers as *modest witnesses*—disembodied observers of knowledge production (D. Haraway, 1997). Rather, researchers are seen as active contributors to the formation of knowledge. In this context, the knowledge that researchers produce does not represent the truth but rather should be seen as knowledge-claims, attached to a particular surrounding (such as temporal, spatial, historical, cultural, and personal elements), and therefore is always partial and situated (D. Haraway, 1988). It is within this framework of situated knowledge production that I will provide some personal background to situate myself as a researcher. Though it is impossible to capture my whole story or my relationship with this research, it could still be seen as an attempt to remind us that this dissertation produces knowledge that is deeply situated.

This work is about gender and entrepreneurship, and while it adopts a symmetrical approach to both topics, it is important to note that the research idea first originated from my never-ending curiosity about entrepreneurship. My fascination with entrepreneurship originated with my upbringing in an entrepreneurial household, with my father as an entrepreneur. From a very early age, I experienced the roller-coaster ups and downs of entrepreneurship. This experience sparked my curiosity about the lure of entrepreneurship that keeps entrepreneurs in the business despite stark failures. Years later, I worked at a tech startup and witnessed the internal dynamics of the entrepreneurial world and became even more puzzled. Upon starting my doctoral training, this profound curiosity led me to search for a better understanding of entrepreneurship.

Gender has also been a sensitive topic in my life and played a part in choosing gender as a focus for this dissertation. Being an Istanbulite by birth, I grew up in a society with strong patriarchal tendencies in its culture and social structure. While I was lucky to be born into a family that believed in gender equality, I still witnessed gender-based inequality on several occasions in my own experiences and through acquaintances. Such experiences fuelled my desire to learn more about gender and

how it impacts people's life. My interest in gender took on a new dimension when I encountered Feminist Science and Technology Studies. Through my readings and conversations with other scholars, I discovered a sense of solidarity among feminist scholars. Gender became an infinitely enchanting and enriching subject for me. I think what makes gender particularly interesting is it is the ability to be transcendent, go beyond the limits of a social category and rather be a lens for understanding the other—not just others, but also other sides of ourselves. That is why, I think, gender is a journey inward, toward the self.

It is also important to note my own gender and how that might impact this dissertation. I identify as a woman. I maintain that this identification is vital in understanding the knowledge this dissertation produces. That is to say, if this research were conducted by a person who identified as a nonbinary, or a man, they would encounter different interactions with their interviewees due to their background, focus, or bodies. Moreover, their interaction would likely enact a different type of situated knowledge compared to my own. Hence, this is to say that this project is written from a woman's perspective.

Finally, a couple of words about my nationality: I am not a native of either country where I conducted this research. I am neither a German nor an American. This situation might have its advantages and disadvantages. Some content may have been lost in cultural or semiotic translation. In both co-living spaces, English was the spoken language, though the German language was also present in Germany. As my German language skill is at an intermediate level, I might have missed some content. Also, in both countries, I might have missed some cultural references. Yet, being an outsider provided me many opportunities. Since I was an outsider, I was able to question everything that I encountered as unfamiliar, which ended up making a lot of invisibilities visible. My status as an outsider shaped the end product in a particular way that some other researchers—whether native or not—might not be able to produce. This research is, after all, situated in my cultural background, my worldview, my body, and my practices. It is a systematic understanding of how I see the mutual shaping of gender and entrepreneurship in co-living spaces.

Chapter 5

"What Are Your Superpowers?": Gatekeeping Entrepreneurial Living

This chapter covers the selection of new residents in co-living spaces. When one applicant is selected for co-living, this also means that other applicants are excluded. Hence, this chapter is based on the premise that the process of selection is linked to the practices of inclusion and exclusion. Accordingly, throughout the chapter, I argue that selecting co-living residents is not only about the inclusion of particular individuals into co-living but also about reconfiguring who belongs to the entrepreneurial community and who is excluded.

Throughout the chapter, I will use the metaphor of *gatekeeping* to discuss the selection process of new residents. As the term suggests, gates permit or deny access to a place, person, community, or set of values. Gatekeeping can take multiple shapes. It can be enacted by a human, a non-human, or discursive constructs. Indeed, the concept of gatekeeping is well-studied in the literature of Science and Technology Studies. It is particularly used in the context of *gatekeeping science* (Crane, 1967; Merton, 1973), a distinctive role that is delegated to the members of the scientific community to decide what or who is scientific—and what or who is not.

However, in this chapter, I re-contextualized the metaphor of gatekeeping in order to explain the inclusion and exclusion dynamics in new forms of entrepreneurial living. By using the term gatekeeping, I specifically refer to the actors as well as material-semiotic practices allowing some people to live in a co-living space while disallowing others to do so. To put it briefly, this chapter aims to analyze various *gatekeeping*

practices and values that have implications on who is considered an entrepreneur and what it takes to live in an entrepreneurial community.

Finally, I argue that the language of diversity, as a discursive gatekeeping practice, is being instrumentalized in co-living spaces. However, the concept of diversity in this context often moves away from the academic connotations of diversity, such as age, gender, ability, or race. Instead, it is linked with "acquired human capital" (Foucault, 2008, 229), such as background, hobbies, or entrepreneurial interests. In order to explore this understanding of diversity, I unpack an often-used narrative of superhero teams in co-living spaces. Throughout the chapter, I refer to this understanding of diversity as the *superhero model of diversity*. The presence of this superhero model of diversity in co-living spaces is not surprising but rather evidential, considering two factors. First, entrepreneurship is often linked with the notion of meritocracy, where individual abilities are considered crucial in determining one's entrepreneurial potential. Second, entrepreneurship is often associated with uniqueness, where entrepreneurs are portrayed as gifted individuals who are capable of seizing big opportunities. Both of these qualities can be attributed to superheroes as characters (or superhero teams) who possess special abilities that differentiate them from the rest of society.

This chapter is composed of three sections. The first section, "Embodied Gatekeepers," discusses how current co-living residents act as gatekeepers, especially because they are often responsible of searching for and deciding upon new candidates. The second section, "Values as Gatekeeping," focuses on the values of *entrepreneurship* and *diversity* and how these values inform the selection of new candidates. Considering the strong link between co-living and entrepreneurship, it is rather evident that entrepreneurship acts as a gatekeeping value in the selection of future residents. However, in this section, particular attention is given to how the notion of diversity is mobilized as a value to inform the new resident selection process. To illustrate, I utilize the narrative of superhero teams and how this narrative shapes the portfolio of residents. Additionally, I explore social categories, such as gender, race, or age, to provide a full picture of how diversity is mobilized as a value. The final section, "Beyond the Gate," explores why and under what conditions residents move out of co-living. This final part is built upon the assumption that understanding gatekeeping requires not only tracing who and what passes through the gates but also who and what exits them.

5.1 The Embodied Gatekeepers

This section explores *the embodied gatekeepers* in co-living spaces. In both of the case studies, the existing residents typically select the newcomers. Drawing on this insight, I argue that these practices provide existing residents with the authority to decide not only who belongs to a particular co-living space but also who belongs to an entrepreneurial community (and who does not). To put it simply, I use the term *embodied gatekeepers* to refer to the individuals in co-living spaces who select the next residents. The following section will delve into two elements of embodied gatekeeping: finding candidates and decision-making.

Finding candidates. Both of the co-living spaces, the MunichHouse and the BayHouse, use three different ways to find new candidates: (1) online mediums, (2) friendship circles, and (3) third party organizations.

Online mediums. Candidate residents often find co-living spaces via websites or social media channels. At the BayHouse, the availability of new rooms is announced by the property management company on webpages like Craigslist. At the MunichHouse, the co-founders used websites such as WG Gesucht. The advertisements usually include the main features of the available rooms, e.g., their proximity to the city center and the size of the rooms. Susanne[1], a resident of the BayHouse, explains how she found the BayHouse:

> I moved to Oakland first. I was living in a regular apartment in a different part of Oakland, and then wanted to move out of that apartment, and I was lucky I just found this on Craigslist.[2] (A resident of the BayHouse)

In order to apply for residency at the BayHouse, applicants must fill out a Google Form with questions, including but not limited to name, contact details, and more specific questions such as the candidate's motivation for living in a community (as illustrated in the Figure 5.1) or the candidate's digital presence (as presented in the Figure 5.2). The MunichHouse, on the other hand, expects their candidates to apply via email with contact information and their resume attached.

[1] In this dissertation, all the names of the interview participants are used in an anonymized form.

[2] All the quotes in this dissertation are lightly edited in order to provide a smooth reading experience.

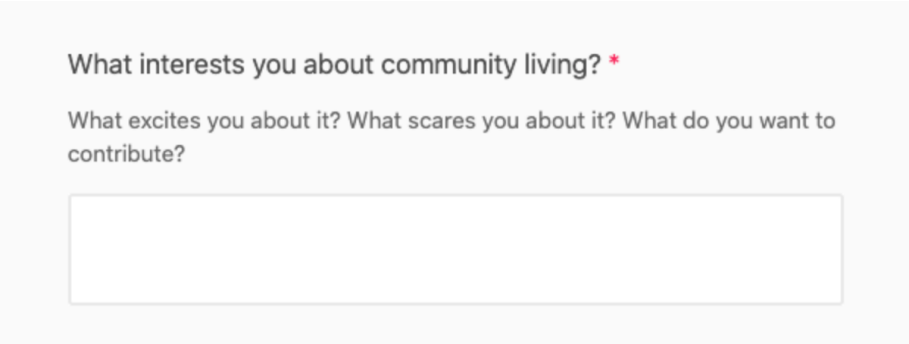

Figure 5.1: Questions in the Google Form-1 / the BayHouse

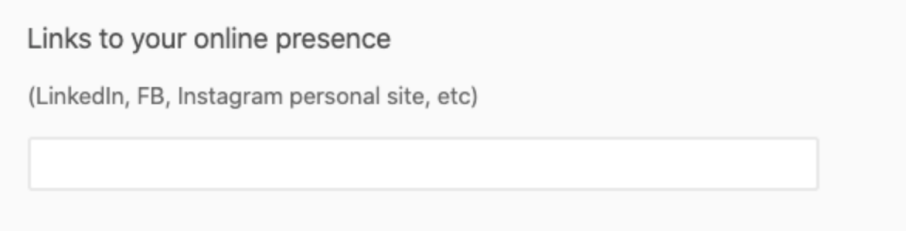

Figure 5.2: Questions in the Google Form-2 / the BayHouse

Friendship circles. In both co-living spaces, connecting to new candidates via friendship circles is one common way to find new residents. Existing residents often contact their own friends when there is a vacant room. This method is usually seen as a safer way to select new candidates since the existing residents act as a reference for the new candidates. Additionally, guests of co-living events or parties apply for the available rooms. For example, when I asked a former resident named Emma how she found the BayHouse, she explained:

> We had friends that lived at the BayHouse [...] and they had some rooms opening up, so a friend suggested that we check it out. So we had dinner there, and we looked at the space, and we really loved the house. (An ex-resident of the BayHouse)

This quote illustrates how important friendship circles are in finding new co-living residents. As also seen in normal flatshares, new residents are often found through the friends of existing residents.

Cooperation with a third party organization(s). The third way of finding new candidates is through third party organizations, such as start-up centers or homestay companies (such as Airbnb). The cooperation between co-living spaces and third party organizations often shapes the ways in which new residents are selected.

The MunichHouse. The MunichHouse favors cooperation with organizations such as start-up centers or tech companies. One such collaboration took place with a university's start-up center, in which the MunichHouse leased all the rooms on the upper floor to them. One of the residents of the MunichHouse, Benny, explains their cooperation with a start-up center:

> We asked [the start-up center], "Hey do you want to cooperate in this startup house? We are building this. Are you interested in renting a part of it?" And they said, "Yeah, we need space [...]" And then we negotiated more with them and with the homeowners—that was a lot of work. And then, in the end, it was like they took the whole roof area—the upper floor. (A resident of the MunichHouse)

The start-up center that Benny refers to was organizing an interdisciplinary entrepreneurship course immediately after the MunichHouse was built. The participants of this course were primarily international professionals. Consequently, the center needed housing for them for a three-month timeframe. According to the arrangement between the MunichHouse and the start-up center, the start-up center would select the participants for the interdisciplinary entrepreneurship course, and, by doing so, they were simultaneously selecting new residents at the MunichHouse. The cooperation between the MunichHouse and the start-up center continued for one and a half years and came to an end when the start-up center took an initiative to create its own accommodation for its participants.

The BayHouse. According to interview participants, three rooms in the BayHouse were reserved for Airbnb guests for short-term residents (from one week up to one month). Though the residents initially agreed to the idea of renting rooms to Airbnb, the high circulation rate was not appreciated by the existing residents. John, a resident of the BayHouse, explained his concern for Airbnb during an interview:

> We stopped doing it because it was so many people coming through that it was hard to have five or six different guests in one week because someone had to tell like "Ok this is how we wash the dishes. This is where the food is..." and how to clean this and then sometimes you'd get a bad guest or a good guest, or they were too young (A resident of the BayHouse).

As seen in John's quote, even though the short-term residency helped fill up the available rooms for a certain amount of time, it was seen as a hustle by the long-term residents because the short-time guests were not familiar with the routines of the BayHouse.

This section discussed three methods of finding new candidates for co-living applicants: online mediums, friendship circles, and third party organizations. Once applications are received, residents of co-living spaces employ specific methods to select the newcomers. The following section details this decision-making process.

Deciding on new residents. Both in the MunichHouse and the BayHouse, new candidate selection is usually made through voting, in which the majority of residents need to agree on a particular candidate. Still, all the residents hold the power to veto any candidate they believe is not a good fit. First, I will outline the details of the decision process for the BayHouse and close with the process at the MunichHouse.

The BayHouse. The BayHouse organizes what is called *dinerviews*—a term that merges the words interview and dinner—to decide on new residents. According to interview participants, the BayHouse usually invites five or fewer applicants to dinnerviews. As the name suggests, the dinnerviews often include dinner and take place in the dining room. All residents are highly encouraged to attend. As explained by the interview participants, when everyone finishes their dinner, the organizers divide the applicants into groups of two or three, and the residents ask the applicants about their backgrounds, interests, or hobbies. It is expected that all residents interact with all applicants, so, the residents move from one small group to another to get a good sense of each applicant. The residents vote on the applicants at the next scheduled house meeting. If there is no time for a house meeting, Slack (an instant messaging program) is also used for voting. The applicant with the majority of votes and no veto votes is selected as a new resident.

The MunichHouse. The decision-making process in the MunichHouse resembles the BayHouse, with a few differences. As explained by the residents, applicants are invited to dinner that all existing residents are also expected to attend. First, the residents give the candidates a house tour, especially allowing the applicants to view the vacant room. Then, the existing residents and candidates have dinner together. At the start of the dinner, the co-founders give a welcome talk, elucidating the vision and mission of the MunichHouse and explaining the routines for daily tasks. Throughout the dinner, the applicants and residents mingle, getting to know each other better. As practiced at the BayHouse, the applicant selection is done in the next house meeting. The applicant who gets the most votes with no vetos is selected as the new resident.

Unlike the BayHouse, the MunichHouse invites the applicants to dinners twice and then invites applicants and residents to activities such as playing card games or to a collective sport event to get to know the candidates better. Benny explains why they invite the applicants to multiple events:

> Usually, we try to make many things with these people. So we invite them for dinner. And we invite them again for dinner. And then we play pool together. So we kind of try to get to know the person quite good. Because I think you cannot know who a person is after half an hour or after one hour, so we usually make two or three or four meetings. And then, it's sometimes really clear—this person is really interested in moving in here. (A resident of the MunichHouse)

As the quote shows, having a better understanding of the applicant's profile is tested by meeting with them multiple times. The purpose is to determine if the applicant's profile aligns with the values of the co-living space. However, applicant selection events such as billiards or video games are often considered to have masculine connotations. Hence, one could argue that the practice of gatekeeping which informs the decision-making process is partially enacted through masculine values.

Throughout this section, I illustrated how gatekeeping is performed by the residents of co-living spaces. I refer to this process as *the embodied gatekeepers*, as the decision of future residents is embodied by the existing residents. From here, I will move to how gatekeeping *as a set of values*, such as entrepreneurship or diversity, governs who is selected as a new resident. I will start by discussing entrepreneurship

as one of the values that act as a gatekeeping mechanism that informs new resident selection.

5.2 Values as Gatekeeping

This section examines the role of values as gatekeeping practices within co-living spaces. A wide range of values are selected by co-living spaces, such as farming, sustainability, well-being, entrepreneurship, or diversity. Note that not all co-living spaces focus on a specific value, but many do. These values, if applied, enforce certain gatekeeping properties for new resident selection. In the remainder of the section, I will mainly focus on two specific values: entrepreneurship as promoted by the MunichHouse, and diversity as emphasized at the BayHouse.

5.2.1 Entrepreneurship as a Gatekeeping Value.

Entrepreneurship is usually depicted as a foundational value of co-living spaces by mainstream media. Similarly, most co-living spaces define themselves as entrepreneurial and/or accept entrepreneurs as residents. In the MunichHouse, entrepreneurship is depicted as a foundational value. Yet, the BayHouse also seems to adopt entrepreneurial values to some extent. In order to have a good overview of entrepreneurship as a value, I examine entrepreneurship on three levels: (1) entrepreneurs as residents, (2) co-living space as a start-up project, and (3) entrepreneurial ambition as a selection criterion. In the following paragraph, I will explain each of these three aspects.

According to Carter et al. (2017), an entrepreneurial household is defined by two criteria. First, one or multiple residents must be self-employed. Second, the entire or partial financial stability of the household should depend on the work of these self-employed residents in the household (Carter et al., 2017). According to the first criterion, both the MunichHouse and the BayHouse are indeed entrepreneurial households, as both co-living spaces inhibit one or more entrepreneurs. Since each resident pays their portion of the rent individually, the overall financial stability of these co-living spaces does not entirely depend on these entrepreneurs. Nonetheless, one can still argue that these entrepreneurs' income greatly contributes to the cash flow of the co-living spaces. Therefore, throughout this project, I refer to both the MunichHouse and the BayHouse as entrepreneurial households.

Regarding a co-living space as a start-up project, both the MunichHouse and the BayHouse are entrepreneurial projects and are, therefore, presented as start-ups themselves. The two co-founders of the BayHouse created the co-living space as a start-up project along with 12 other co-living spaces across the US. Each co-living project has its own set of investors who invest by buying the houses to run as co-living spaces. After the investors invest in the house, the co-founders take over the management of the house. Unlike the BayHouse, the co-founders of the MunichHouse did not turn the co-living project into a company. Thus, it remains a personal initiative. However, it is still framed as an entrepreneurial project by the co-founders.

Thirdly, both co-living spaces select people on the basis of their entrepreneurial ambitions. Here, the MunichHouse differentiates itself from the BayHouse dramatically, as it defines itself as *a start-up hub*[3] and only accepts members who consider themselves as *entrepreneurial*. At the time when the MunichHouse was first founded, the criterion for residency was rather strict, as the MunichHouse only accepted entrepreneurs who had a start-up or at least an intention to build one. Yet, this criterion has greatly changed with time. Benny tells how such a transformation happened:

> So in the beginning, we were pretty focused on this start-up topic which got more and more flexible over the month because we realized okay, you don't really have to have a start-up, it's also okay if you want to change the world somehow. If you have an idea, if you are a maker. So it's basically, are you creative, are you a maker? (A resident of the MunichHouse)

As shown in the statement, though the selection criteria for the MunichHouse, at its outset, targeted entrepreneurs, the criterion has drifted to allow those who "want to change the world" or those who are "makers." This shift created broader access to the MunichHouse for those without start-ups while still keeping the entrepreneurial promise of the MunichHouse intact. On the other hand, the BayHouse's focus was not specifically on entrepreneurship. However, they specifically include entrepreneurs among their profile of residents, openly welcoming them to the co-living space in platforms like their websites.

Finally, both the MunichHouse and the BayHouse, enact entrepreneurial practices which arguably make them entrepreneurial. These entrepreneurship-specific practices

[3]This phrase has been paraphrased in order to keep the anonymity of the co-living space.

vary from pitching, to tech talks, to hackathons. For instance, the MunichHouse organizes a pitching night where entrepreneurs present their start-up idea to the crowd for five minutes and receive feedback on the basis of their presentations. Similarly, they also organize hackathons where the participants try to find a tech solution to a problem over a limited timeframe. The BayHouse also engages in similar entrepreneurial practices where they organize TED-style tech talks in their living room, where one participant presents a tech-themed subject.

In summary, all of these points grant both the MunichHouse and the BayHouse entrepreneurial qualities. Here, I argue that these entrepreneurial qualities, which are embraced by both co-living spaces, act as a gatekeeping value, informing who will (or will not) be selected as a new resident. If the residents do not engage with entrepreneurial values of some sort, it usually results in them being excluded even from the candidacy of living in these co-living spaces.

5.2.2 Diversity as a Gatekeeping Value.

The last section discussed the notion of entrepreneurship as one of the gatekeeping values which informs who will (or will not) be future residents. However, entrepreneurship is not the only value that impacts the selection of new residents. This section explores diversity as another gatekeeping value of co-living. While the MunichHouse's focus was particularly on entrepreneurship, the BayHouse has a focus on diversity. This section will examine the BayHouse's take on diversity and discuss how diversity as a value informs the selection of a new generation of residents.

Company X and a theme-based culture. The BayHouse has specifically chosen diversity as a theme. In order to explain how this theme works and how it was selected, it is important to provide some background information about the structure of the BayHouse. The co-living space is managed by a property management company which from now on will be referred to as Company X or the X. Company X was founded in 2014 as a spin-off project by three co-founders (two men and a woman). From its inception, Company X has been viewed as a start-up initiative. Consider one of the co-founder's quotes:

> We're still a start-up in a sense that we are not profitable, but we are actually pretty close. So with the projects that we have already in our

> pipeline, we can more or less make it to break even and cash flow positive, so we're getting pretty close to not being a start-up anymore. (A co-founder of Company X)

According to their websites, as of 2020, Company X was actively managing 12 co-living spaces located in the United States. As one of the interview participants explains, the business model of Company X is based on acting as a liaison between the investor(s) who invest in the purchasing of the house and the residents who live in the co-living space. According to their model, the investors themselves only indirectly communicate with the residents via Company X. With the same logic, the residents communicate only via Company X. Susanne, one of the residents of the BayHouse, explains the operational system of Company X:

> So [Company X] are the connection to the residents and kinda the go-between between the residents on one side and the investors on the other side because property in the [U.S.] is very expensive, like this house is probably worth, now, five million or six million or something, but I think it was worth like two or three when they bought it so for the investors it's been a really good investment to buy a house and then to lease it and make money off of, you know, the leases. The investors that own the house are separate from [Company X], so, for each property, they make a relationship with somebody who's willing to invest in the property itself, and they have multiple of those like the people who own this house also own the house next door. (A resident of the BayHouse)

However, as one of the co-founders of the BayHouse explains, the main role of Company X is not total management of each house but to assist with settlement. According to their business model, once they make sure the settlement takes place, they are not actively involved in the inner operations of the house but only intervene regarding such things as physical maintenance of the co-living space or mediating if a disagreement arises between the residents. Though they maintain a hands-off approach for the management of the house, they determine the makeup of the residents by first selecting a group of people, known as *catalysts*, who generate the culture of co-living in each house. Through this catalyst selection process, Company X acts as the first gatekeepers of the co-living space and passes along their gatekeeping values to the catalysts.

The catalysts. Company X designs each of their co-living spaces around a specific theme, such as sustainability, social impact, well-being, or diversity. However, themes are not set directly by Company X. After co-investors invest in each house, the X seeks out what they call catalysts (also known as "founding members") who are responsible for deciding on the theme for the co-living space where they will reside. Susanne explains the catalysts in the interview as:

> Catalysts are the first ones to move into [a co-living] space, and it's their job to fill it with more members of the community, reach out to their networks, and they form the initial culture, like who are we gonna invite living with us and how are we gonna make rules and the catalyst members are the ones that kinda determine, how are we gonna do chores, how are we gonna do food, all of those things are really rules that are set up not by [the Company X] but by the people who live at each property. (A resident of the BayHouse)

Susanne elucidates that the search for catalysts is done via various mediums such as websites, social media announcements, or by word of mouth. Catalysts fill out an online Google Form and specify that they are interested in a leadership position, which could be seen in Figure 5.3.

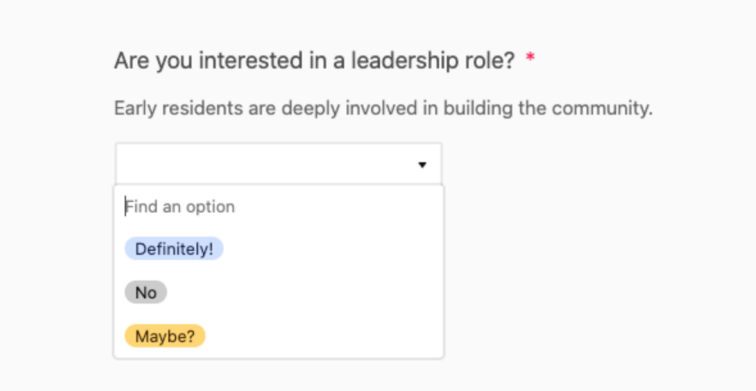

Figure 5.3: Taken from the website of Company X / Google Form for applying a soon-to-be created co-living space

Catalysts are also the first residents to move into a co-living space. As previously mentioned, Company X expects the catalysts to set a culture for each co-living space. This process is referred to as *culture generating*. Throughout the process of generating a culture, which generally takes three to five months, the X offers catalysts a

consultancy about the in-and-outs of generating a culture in a co-living space. The process of consultancy is performed through meetings, workshops, or co-interviewing between the founders and catalysts. One of the co-founders explains why they expect catalysts to cultivate a culture in the co-living space:

> We can't manufacture culture, in fact, people always talk about scaling culture as if culture were one thing that was replicated, but actually, the culture grows and evolves, and it does so in an unpredictable manner. [...] We select, we call them catalysts, but we bring together a core group of anywhere. Honestly, it can start with one and then sort of snowball into two or three but, yeah, the ideal group is like three to five people per home, [...] and we support them in kind of coming up with their own vision and getting clear on like the sort of values and direction that's driving them and then sort of train them in a lot of the practical systems of house meetings, food-systems, governance, communications, chores, cleaning, all that kind of stuff. (A co-founder of Company X)

Culture generation, as they call it, is framed as a multi-layered process, composed of several factors. First and foremost, the theme of the co-living space organizes the selection process of the new residents since catalysts seek those who could contribute to the theme. It also determines the design of the house, which is done by the architect working for Company X. For example, one of the co-living spaces managed by Company X has a theme of sustainable living, and they have a farm in their backyard with multiple chickens and roosters. They also grow their own vegetables. The internal decoration of the house also resembles a farmhouse. Another co-living space lives by the value of fostering creativity and intellectuality. To promote this value, their ground floor is a headquarter of a non-profit organization that teaches low-income youth of color how to code software.

After the theme is determined, the catalysts determine what kind of residents they'd like to attract in terms of age range, occupations, and general characteristics. Even though all co-living spaces managed by Company X use the same online infrastructure for finding new candidates, they have customized questions concerning each house.

When it comes to the BayHouse, five catalysts who were present at the creation of the home determined that the theme for their co-living space should be "diversity,

inclusion, and environmentalism." These three values are set to act as a principle that informs the selection of new members. They were not only abstract principles but also manifested in different media channels. For instance, the website of the BayHouse explicitly states that they welcome queer and trans people of color and encourage people from all gender backgrounds to apply.

So far, this section has discussed the gatekeeping values of diversity and entrepreneurship, both of which largely inform the process of selecting new residents at the MunichHouse and the BayHouse. As explained in the previous paragraphs, one of the theme-focused values adopted by the BayHouse was diversity. Even though the MunichHouse did not state this same value, diversity still holds a significant place in their overall narrative. In order to further explain how the idea of diversity is being enacted as a gatekeeping value in co-living spaces, the next section will explore the idea of a superhero team and how this metaphor organizes and informs the idea of diversity in both co-living spaces.

5.2.2.1 The Superhero Team

The notion of hosting residents with diverse backgrounds has been something that is greatly cherished in both co-living spaces. Drawing on this insight, this section will focus on how diversity is manifested in the MunichHouse and the BayHouse through the metaphor of superpower and superhero teams. To do so, I will mainly draw on Fawaz (2018)'s conceptualization of "the problem of difference" (Fawaz, 2018, p.23). Fawaz focuses on how diversity is enacted in the comic industry. As he explains, every superhero in a superhero team is designed to have a different feature that makes them unique and sets them apart from the team. However, as Fawaz argues, the constellation of the team is not only about bringing unique features together but also assigning the ability to negotiate these differences constructively in order to peacefully coexist. This notion of superhero teams extends beyond the comics industry; it also governs how diversity is managed in co-living spaces. An example can be seen in the application form of the BayHouse, shown in Figure 5.4 where the residents are asked about their superpowers.

As illustrated in the figure, identifying a superpower is one of the obligatory application questions for the BayHouse. It is not whether one has a superpower, but rather which superpower one has. Here, I argue that the idea of having a superpower informs the community building in the BayHouse and serves as a gatekeeper value.

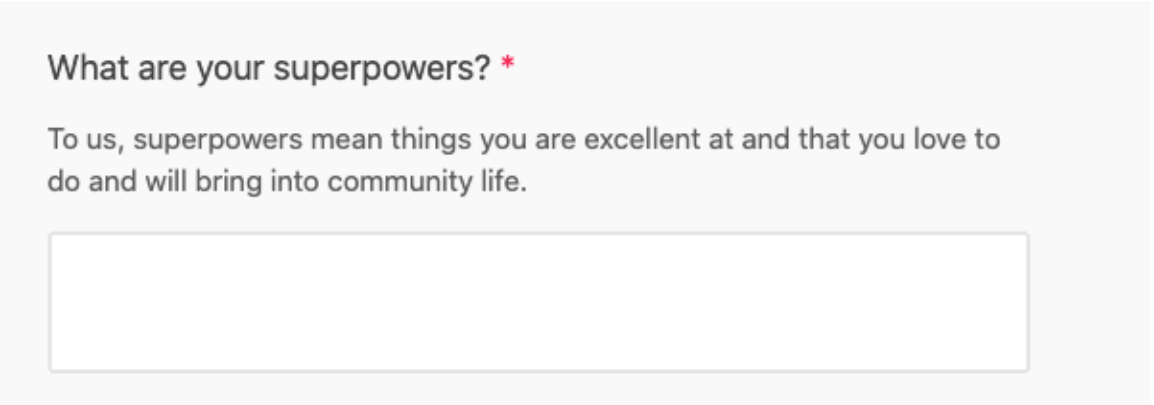

Figure 5.4: The Application Form to be a Resident in the BayHouse

Accordingly, the idea of diversity is based on the premise that the unique powers of residents would make the community stronger and more interesting. It is believed that when people have diverse interests and backgrounds, it is more likely that the community will have denser communal harmony as well as more interesting events, parties, or any other house-related activities. Consequently, when searching for a new resident, one of the desired criteria is to have a unique quality that is different from the existing residents. I refer to this logic of diversity as *the superhero model of diversity* and argue that it is an emblematic social practice of entrepreneurial communities.

The superhero model of diversity especially resembles what Foucault (2008) call "acquired human capital" (Foucault, 2008, 229), the qualities that one acquires in time, such as interests or skills. According to Foucault, as opposed to innate human capital, such as genetics, acquired human capital depends on one's own self-determination of acquiring them. Note that not all diversity models focus on acquired human capital. For instance, the *Benetton model* of diversity frames diversity mostly as an aesthetic value where different races and ethnicities are brought together (Lury, 2000). In that respect, the Benetton model of diversity is arguably governed by the idea of innate human capital.

Before going into each characteristic of the superhero model of diversity, it is important to point out the gendered implications of the superhero reference. Borrowing elements from the culture of fantasy in the selection of co-living residents has many important gender-related implications. Firstly, comic book worlds are particularly gendered. As Brown writes, "[c]lassical comic book depictions of masculinity are perhaps the quintessential expression of our cultural beliefs about what it means to be

a man" (Brown, 1999, p.26). Thus, how a hero is imagined has consequences in the normative construction of masculinity. The heroine in the fantasy world is portrayed as an active subject who is very different from "the traditionally passive roles offered to women," yet, on the other hand, she is often presented as extremely eroticized and sexualized by her physical portrayal (Brown, 2011, p.7). Here, I argue that using comic book narratives such as superpowers or superhero teams in the selection of co-living residents can not be decoupled from the fantasy world's gender connotations. Thus, such an assemblage is inherently gendered.

The following paragraphs will elaborate on the three foci of the superhero model of diversity: (1) uniqueness of each individual, (2) being complementary to each other, and (3) resistance to the status quo. The next paragraphs will explain these points in detail.

Uniqueness of each individual. In a superhero team, each member has unique qualities. Let's use the Avengers superhero team as an example. The Avengers consist of many members, such as Iron Man, Spider-Man, the Hulk, and the Black Widow. Iron Man owns armor that grants him extraordinary physical power. The Hulk, on the other hand, can jump big distances and land without an injury. Similarly, the Black Widow has an unmatched ability to heal.

Figure 5.5: Icons for residents that resemble each resident's unique feature:
The Drop-Front Mailbox in the MunichHouse

I argue that valuing differences in superhero teams resembles the way community is built in co-living spaces. One example of how this is manifested is in the drop-front

mailboxes of the MunichHouse. As seen in Figure 5.5, each icon represents a defining quality of each resident. Yet, none of the icons on the mailboxes are the same. This illustrates how the idea of difference is sustained in co-living spaces and is enacted through the idea of relationality. One can only be unique in relation to another. A good example of such relationality can be found in one of the interviews, Andreas, an ex-resident of the MunichHouse, explains why he thinks he was chosen to live in the MunichHouse:

> The people from [the MunichHouse] said, "Ok, I might be interesting for them." You know? I have the right mindset for the house. Because that was what they really were choosing. People who fit in the house and people who are very different. So this was very interesting and very good. [...] I talked to [Benny] about this, and he said he always chose people [..]who have different expertise. So he—they, the founders, didn't like to have a house of just coders, or just mathematicians or whatever. They chose very random people to connect them. And, that's was I think that was the reason why they also agreed that I can live there, because it's not that everyone can go and like, "Hey! I'd like to live at [the MunichHouse]." (An ex-resident of the MunichHouse)

In Andreas's account, the reason he was selected as a resident is because he comes from a background that ensures difference in the co-living space. Thus, it is the relational difference of background, hobbies, or personal characteristics that increases the possibility of one's selection to the community. The idea of difference is not only limited by being different from each resident, but also the idea of being different—even superior—from the rest of the world. The belief that their differences make them superior can perhaps most succinctly be explained with an interview with Matt:

> I would say that our people, the people that live here, are definitely not your average random [people], you know, they're doing creative things, they're thinking about the world unconventionally, they're trying to challenge the status quo, they're activists or entrepreneurs. (A resident of the BayHouse)

As the quote illustrates, being a resident in a co-living space is seen as an attribute that grants exceptionality. It is also possible to interpret this quote the other way

around; it is someone's exceptionality that grants access to a co-living space. Yet, both of the interpretations prioritize the idea of difference as an attribute for a co-living space resident. Such an idea of difference resembles Schumpeter's definition of an entrepreneur, as he depicts entrepreneurs as a special type of people who are in the minority but are unique and blessed with "super-normal qualities of intellect and will" (Schumpeter, 1934/2021, p.82). The way Schumpeter formulates the figure of the entrepreneur differentiates them from the rest of society based on their individual qualities. The Schumpeterian figuration of an entrepreneur seems to be very much linked to Fawaz (2018)'s idea of *difference* in a superhero team. In both, difference is the attribute that makes the individual special. Based on these two theoretical backgrounds, I argue that the way difference is mobilized in a co-living space is not only linked with the logic of superheroes but also—and especially—linked with a greater entrepreneurial narrative of *being special*. Consider Benny's following quote:

> The most challenging part in the house was getting everybody [going in the] same direction. Which does not mean that everybody has to do and think the same but find a common sense, a common spirit. You know, you need some common activities and some common expectations [of] what will happen here. But this was not easy because the people living here were kind of alpha females, alpha males, you know? If you get some start-up CEOs to live together, they are not the people to say, "Okay, okay, I do this." (A resident of the MunichHouse)

In Benny's account, the people who live in the co-living space are "alpha males and alpha females." Here, he uses the metaphor of alpha, which is usually reserved for referring to a higher status in a social hierarchy among animals. Alphas are known to be dominant. What Benny means in this quote is that the residents who live in a co-living space are the leaders of their society. They obtain power and authority. When each resident has this kind of authority in a co-living space, however, it can cause difficulty in creating a community; when everyone is dominant, no one wants to compromise.

Benny's quote resembles the way in which Fawaz (2018) problematize the notion of difference where each character in a superhero team must be unique, yet they also "must substantively respond to and negotiate their differences to peacefully cohabit a heterogeneous world" (Fawaz, 2018, p.23). This kind of response and negotiation are

grounded in the tension of collectivity and individuality. When everyone is expected to be a superhero, then the question becomes how to create a community that provides enough space for each individual to be a hero in their own right, while residing in a collective. The findings show that there are two techniques adopted by co-living spaces which relate to these questions: (1) being complementary to each other and (2) personifying the status quo as a villain.

Being complementary to each other. In both the MunichHouse and the BayHouse, bringing complementary individuals together is one of the techniques to accommodate individual residents into a collective. Here, what matters seems to be not only superpowers but how each superpower is a constituent of the superhero team. Building on the reference of the Avengers, it is not only the heroic powers of Iron Man, the Hulk, and the Black Widow that matter but also how well they complement each other as a team. Similarly, team building in co-living can be seen as an act of finding complementary roles that make the overall team function better. Consider the following quote from Michael, one of the residents of the BayHouse:

> I think it's partially about the individuals and partially about the group of catalysts. Having someone who has really strong project management or organizational skills or attitude and one person maybe is more creative, and one person's more emotionally tuned in to the vibe of the group and someone else maybe is more aesthetically inclined and thinking about design and, so bringing together complementary people. (A resident of the BayHouse)

The underlying logic here is that the team in the BayHouse is composed of different subject positions which complement one another. It is not the people themselves, but rather what they represent that matters. In order to build a perfectly functioning team, the complementary subject positions need to fit one another. This can also be seen in Susanne's quote:

> If somebody recently moved out and that person was really energetic and playful, then we know that that's some energy that's leaving the house we might be looking more for a person who's energetic and playful. (A resident of the BayHouse)

As seen in both Michael's and Susanne's quotes, there is a tendency to search for certain subject positions, which hopefully create a perfect team. These subject positions can be personal characteristics such as being playful or grounding, or they can be coupled with social roles such as organizational skills. Therefore, it is not individuals per se that are important when searching for a new resident, but certain qualities that these individuals represent. These qualities are important in keeping the team intact. The next section will elucidate a different dynamic related to the problem of difference: Personifying status quo as a villain.

Personifying status quo as a villain. Comic novels usually rely on the idea that the existence of a superhero team largely depends on the existence of a villain. To explain this premise, I will continue to explore the example of the Avengers. One common enemy that the Avengers fight against is a character called Loki. Loki is usually presented as a villain whose power tends to be stronger than any individual in the team. But once the team gathers together and uses their individual powers to make the team stronger, they beat Loki.

The diversity model adopted by co-living spaces often resembles the logic of superhero teams in comic literature. However, the villain in co-living spaces is often not an embodied character like Loki; rather, it is usually the tacit agreement to challenge the status quo together. In other words, the villain that the co-living residents fight against is the *idea* of status quo. This motivation usually appears in the data as a narrative of "wanting to change the world." Hypothetically, co-living spaces create the best environment for this narrative as the other residents are like-minded people who also want to change the world.

The BayHouse's vision statement is an example of how the narrative of challenging the status quo is translated into a practice. This co-living attributes their legacy to an American biologist who allegedly lived in the same house during the early 20^{th} century. There is only limited information online about this biologist. Yet, the narrative displayed on the BayHouse's webpage acts as a way to share the vision of the BayHouse.

As the narrative goes, this biologist discovered a specific type of cell that plays a vital role in the transformation of a caterpillar into a butterfly. These cells are responsible for forming the body of a butterfly during metamorphosis. However, at the onset of the transformation, these cells face resistance from the old cells. To

overcome this resistance, these specific cells must work together in solidarity to build the beautiful body of the butterfly. This analogy represents one of the primary visions of the BayHouse: The idea that the world is in the process of a great transformation, and it needs trailblazers who will dare to challenge the status quo. Here, the residents of the BayHouse are depicted as the trailblazers who will transform society at large.

Though society may resist the incoming transformation, the residents of the BayHouse are presented as idealists who have the necessary vision and ability to guide this transition. This tale shows not only the motivation behind challenging the status quo—to transform society for the better—but also how the idea of challenging the status quo is instrumentalized to build solidarity among the residents of the BayHouse. Hence, the status quo plays the role of a villain. Challenging the status quo together is the practice that makes the BayHouse a community. To take this a step further, this narrative acts as a cement that holds the residents together in a community without impairing their individuality.

This section focused on the superhero model of diversity that is often adopted by co-living spaces, whether or not they literally adopt the term superhero. This specific model of diversity seems to be mobilized as a gatekeeping value that informs the selection of future residents. Yet, in order to have a more comprehensive understanding of how diversity is enacted in co-living spaces, it is important to evaluate different social categories such as gender, age, race, and ethnicity.

5.2.2.2 Social Categories.

So far, I have outlined two different practices of gatekeeping in co-living: (1) existing residents acting as embodied gatekeepers and (2) values informing the selection process of new residents. As previously mentioned, the model of diversity often employed in co-living spaces is based on hobbies, abilities, or personal experiences—the superhero model of diversity. This model differentiates itself from the academic understanding of diversity which usually focuses on social categories such age, gender, race, ethnicity or other social categories that are inherited or somewhat given to the individual. Although these categories are usually considered as highly fluid, one aspect behind these social categories is that people often do not consciously decide if they belong in them. Note that individuals might exercise agency to decide if they belong to a certain social category. They sometimes do, and that is why the academic understanding of diversity considers these social categories fluid.

Furthermore, the boundaries between these two models of diversity—academic and superhero—are often permeable. The superhero model of diversity borrows elements from the academic understanding of diversity. For example, being a female entrepreneur might be considered a superpower in some co-living spaces. The reason why I created boundaries between these two rationales of diversity is to create an analytical distinction which could allow us to understand the contrast between them. This boundary-drawing attempt also resonates with Foucault (2008)'s distinction of acquired human capital and innate human capital (Foucault, 2008, 227),[4] the former referring to the human capital that is externally acquired through people's lived experiences, while the latter focuses on human capital that is inherited. In the framework of this dissertation, the acquired human capital informs the superhero model of diversity, whereas the innate human capital informs the academic understanding of diversity.

Even though co-living spaces do not seem to prioritize the academic understanding of diversity as much as the superhero model of diversity, it still is important to understand how social categories are reflected in the field in order to have a good grasp of different manifestations of diversity. Accordingly, the next section is devoted to the social categories of age, gender, race, and ethnicity.

Gender. In both of the co-living spaces, gender specifically stands out as a gatekeeping practice, as they sometimes seek to create gender balance by applying a gender quota to the resident population. The MunichHouse tries to create a gender balance by encouraging female entrepreneurs to apply when there is an open room. They also highlight the gender of female entrepreneurs on their website. For instance, here is a quote taken from the website of the MunichHouse where they describe one of the female residents:

> "[Silke] is one of a kind: She's a female entrepreneur."[5]

[4]Here, Foucault employs the notion of *human capital* (Foucault, 2008, 219) to differentiate neoliberalism between earlier versions of liberalism. According to him, the main differentiation between the two is that the former builds on the idea of the "entrepreneur of himself" rather than being "partner of exchange"(Foucault, 2008, 226). Accordingly, the human capital, whether innate or acquired, is seen as an investment to equip the individual in steering themself within the neoliberal system by carefully calculating risks and costs of living.

[5]Taken from the website of the MunichHouse, retrieved August 6, 2020. This sentence has been paraphrased in order to keep the anonymity of the co-living space.

Referring to the female co-founder as one-of-a-kind reveals the MunichHouse's acknowledgment of the scarcity of females not only in co-living spaces but also in wider entrepreneurial scenes. In this written text, one can also sense Silke is being congratulated for being a female founder.

At the BayHouse, a gender quota was also introduced as an intervention. As one interview participant explains, one of the female residents voiced the need for more female residents. She proposed searching for only female candidates for the next round of selection. Following her request, the next round of interviews was conducted only with women applicants. This instance is described by Susanne during an interview:

> We've never had a majority female. We've always had a majority male but just by between like one and more than one. The original founders were two women and three men, and then I think the next two people who moved in were two men and then a couple, a man and a woman, and so unintentionally, they had invited more men than women to move in at first, and one of the women has been the most vocal going forward being like, "we need to rectify this. In our next wave, let's only speak to women." In our last wave, we got two women to move in, which feels wonderful. (A resident of the BayHouse)

As seen in this quote, Susanne refers to a chain reaction wherein the initial gender imbalance led more men to be selected as residents. As the selection of new members depends on existing residents' votes, the dominance of male residents creates a chain reaction where more men are selected as new residents. This occurrence is indeed a very well-studied phenomenon in entrepreneurship. For instance, when the gatekeepers (such as investors) of early-stage funding largely consist of men, their (often unconscious) gender bias leads to a tendency to favor male candidates over females (Balachandra, 2020).

Age. The age range differs between the MunichHouse and the BayHouse. The MunichHouse mainly targets young founders from the late-20s to the early-30s, whereas the BayHouse introduces itself as "the mature house" and usually focuses on residents in their early to mid-30s. Perhaps the different approaches to age are best captured in Matt's quote when he explains how he feels about the BayHouse's age setting:

> I feel like our place is more adult. (A resident of the BayHouse)

The understanding of adulthood in Matt's account does not seem to refer to the Western adulthood prerequisite, namely being over 18, but rather refers to a set of values such as taking responsibility for their actions or keeping the co-living space clean and tidy. Furthermore, Susanne explains why they tend to select mature people as new residents in the BayHouse:

> I think we select people who seem like they would be pretty low drama. (A resident of the BayHouse)

From Susanne's point of view, high drama is allocated for youth, while mature people are connected with notions of tranquillity and conflict avoidance. Contrasting with the BayHouse's focus on mature residents, the MunichHouse caters to younger individuals. For instance, Anna, who was 36 at the time of the interview, shares her sense of loneliness in the MunichHouse due to the age gap between her and the other residents:

> It is also weird to me that because [I've been] married for like a long time and [the other residents] are single... And I was there doing all this working, internships and missing my husband and they are partying. So it is a bit weird to me. (A Resident of the MunichHouse)

As Anna explains, the other residents who were younger than her often attended social events like parties, while Anna's attention was reserved for work and her previously built social ties. Accordingly, the age gap made Anna feel excluded, as she did not feel like she belonged to the community age-wise.

Race and ethnicity. Both the MunichHouse and the BayHouse seem to adopt welcoming language towards different races and ethnicities. This welcoming language was especially present in the BayHouse where their website has a clear reference to welcoming queer and trans people of color. Still, almost all the interview participants that I interviewed were white. This raised the question of how the language of progress is translated into practice. As we know from the literature, the language of progress can be deceptive. For example, as Benjamin (2019) writes, "the language of 'progress' is too easily weaponized against those who suffer most under oppressive systems, however sanitized" (Benjamin, 2019, p.8). Though the BayHouse did not seem at all oppressive, I think the argument still applies. Welcoming language, when it is not

translated into practice, runs the risk of making residents content with the existing mix of residents. This might also lead to not taking the necessary actions to further diversify the portfolio of residents.

Early on, the MunichHouse had a cooperation with a university's start-up center. This agreement necessitated the MunichHouse to host several guests for a period of three months. These guests were selected by the start-up center, which mainly targeted international participants. Almost all of the participants were coming from abroad, countries such as Brazil, Switzerland, or India. The intervention performed by the start-up center arguably made the MunichHouse more open to different races and ethnicities. Some residents were content with the amount of internationalization. Some of them, however, were not as pleased. When asked what was the most challenging part of living in a co-living space, Jeff, a resident of the MunichHouse, answered:

> Too many new people. Also, the integration because it was mostly internationals, mostly from India, and they have totally different standards. Especially about cooking and the kitchen and everything. [...] They have maids. We don't. So we had to [teach] them to clean their sh*t. And that's always hard when there's so many new people. And that was too much for me. (A resident of the MunichHouse)

As seen in Jeff's statement, the specific group of people, namely people coming from India, were—rather harshly—criticized for their different cultural domestic codes. However, Jeff was not the only one who complained about different cultural standards of cleanliness. Sophia stated in an interview:

> Some of the people that moved in were coming from India, also I have friends that are from India telling me, there you have people who help you with cleaning so you don't have to do it yourself. And when you move somewhere in Europe you have to start learning to do it all by yourself. And in the beginning, then it is just different from what you are used to doing. For example, when you are cooking for the first time, it's normal that you are probably making a mess or burn. When you always had someone cleaning and taking the dishes you most likely forget to put them into the dishwasher yourself (An ex-resident of the MunichHouse).

Sophia's language was more empathetic in explaining a similar challenge regarding different domestic cultural codes. It seems domestic backgrounds impact how much one is welcomed into a community. As Sara Ahmed states, there is often a discrepancy between the language of diversity that is usually adopted by institutions and the institutional practices which resist translating this very language into daily practices (Ahmed, 2012). As shown in the examples of the MunichHouse and the BayHouse, it is not enough to adopt a progressive language or even ad-hoc practices when it comes to welcoming others. There can still be resistance in each step towards turning these progressive narratives into actions. That is to say, the findings show us that welcoming others is not a final narrative that needs to be adopted only once. It rather needs to be constantly reviewed and meticulously orchestrated in order to make diversity an institutional practice.

This section centered around different social categories and the ways in which they are manifested in the MunichHouse and the BayHouse. The next and final section will focus on a different aspect of gatekeeping entrepreneurial living: Beyond the gate.

5.3 Beyond the Gate.

The previous sections discussed two characteristics of gatekeeping in entrepreneurial living: the embodied gatekeepers and the values that act as a gatekeeping rationale that influences the selection of a future candidate. This section, however, focuses on the other side of the gate. It is often assumed that residents of co-living spaces will decide to move out after a certain period of time. Based on this finding, this chapter seeks to identify the factors that motivate residents to leave and what kind of futures they imagine or realize when they move out. By investigating the circumstances surrounding a resident's departure, I aim to trace the limits of gatekeeping in entrepreneurial living. Building on the door-closer analogy of Latour (1988), gates—or as Latour calls them, hole-walls—are not only a means for entry, they are also a means to exit. Accordingly, I argue that in order to fully grasp the idea of gatekeeping in co-living, one needs to examine its margins, not only tracing who enters co-living spaces but also who leaves them and why.

I followed two different methods to understand why and how residents leave a co-living space. First, I interviewed former residents of co-living spaces or those who moved out during the time I was conducting my fieldwork. Second, I asked the

existing residents, if they were to move out of the co-living space, what reasons and timing they would envision. The results show that there are multiple stories of how and when residents would drop out of the co-living space. Most of the time, these different stories intersect or co-exist, creating a multi-layered understanding of the departure. One of the most reiterative and common reasons (whether imagined or actual) for leaving a co-living space is matrimony. Marriage (and having kids) is seen as an end to communal living. Moreover, while some residents have a clear end date for co-living in their mind, others prefer to continue the communal lifestyle, either in the form of co-housing or continuing with co-living. In the following paragraphs, I will focus on each of these points one by one.

Marriage and Having Kids. Heterosexual marriage appeared as one of the most common symbolic acts leading to dropping out of co-living spaces. The promise of building a nuclear family marks the end of co-living, positioning it more as a temporary stage of life between studentship and marriage. The ideal of a nuclear family arguably resembles the persistence of the American Dream,[6] where the heterosexual family with children is expected to buy a house with a garden and a garage. In this framework, having children was specified as a reason to leave co-living space. Consider Matt's quote:

> The only reason I would move out is if it was for having kids I think [..] or a partner, you know, but I think I would hopefully live with my partner here. But I would only move if I needed to buy a house to have kids or move into a bigger space to have children. (A resident of the BayHouse)

Having a nuclear family as a reason to leave surfaced not only in the U.S. but also in Germany. As Benny put it:

> I think when you make this step in life, if you become parents or if you get married, for me personally, it wouldn't be the right place to live then. I think this would be a symbolic event in your life where you say—or even before a bit maybe—a year or half when you say, "Ok, now we go and find our own place to stay and look for a flat or a house." (A resident of the MunichHouse)

[6] Or, its Bavarian counterpart.

Benny explains that when one gets married, it is important to focus on the family and not get distracted by co-living space events. Consider Benny's following quote:

> I think if you are married, then your life is focused on another thing. I think if you get married, then your life should focus on the family and on this person. So, nice as it is to live here, it also has some disadvantages. You don't have so much personal space. And I think if you decide to get married, then the focus should be on the family I think. And not getting distracted from all these events and parties here. (A resident of the MunichHouse)

Even though some residents saw marriage as an important motivation to quit the co-living type of living, not all residents shared this same view. Actually, a few residents explained that they would prefer to move into co-housing once they move out of co-living spaces, as they would like to keep a communal living style but with a twist. I will explain this view in the next section.

Evolution to co-housing. Based on the findings, some residents would prefer to move into a co-housing space once they move out of their co-living space. Just like a co-living space, co-housing is also a type of communal living where residents share common areas such as laundry facilities, communal childcare options, or recreational features, while everyone has their own flat, including their own kitchen and bathroom. The idea of co-housing is having the privacy of a flat while still benefiting from a shared life with others. Michael, a resident of the BayHouse, is one of the co-living residents who would prefer co-housing:"I've definitely been daydreaming about doing a more urban co-housing kind of thing. Maybe like building or renovating a small apartment building and each having your own kind of apartment but then having, you know, [community]." (A resident of the BayHouse)

Benny shares a very similar vision for his future living scenario:

> What I could imagine is some compromise between this [co-living] and [my] own house. For example, [A name of a co-housing in Germany][...] It's not a shared flat, it's a shared house from people [...] but the main idea is that you have the big house. And families. And they own - all of them have their own flat inside this house. But you have common rooms.

> For example, common living rooms in the house. You have a tool room, for example, to build stuff. Or a library. So this is like a mix between this and living completely on your own. So you have your own flat, but you also have some shared community areas. So this is what I could imagine, maybe, as a family. (A resident of the MunichHouse)

As seen in Benny's quote, he states that he would prefer to move to a co-housing once he starts a family. Yet, this view was not shared by all the residents. A small portion of them expressed their wish to continue living in a co-living space, even after marriage. The next part will discuss this point in more detail.

Continuing to live in a co-living space. A few residents stated their wish to continue living in a co-living space even after building a family. This wish to keep living in a co-living space after getting married was especially present in the BayHouse, as there was a married couple who previously lived in the BayHouse and had a baby while living there. It seems like witnessing the journey of this married couple opened up this alternative possibility to some residents who could imagine choosing a similar path in the future. This is how John puts it:

> Even if I got in a relationship or something, I think I'd want to stay in the house [...] I watched two of our old roommates who were married. They moved in, and they had a kid, and they raised a kid here for a year and a half and, I don't know, I'd rather have the community around and build my relationship around that lifestyle than try and create something new somewhere else (A resident of the BayHouse).

This section explored the margins of co-living, finding out when and why residents would possibly leave such a lifestyle. I explored not only those who are welcomed to co-living via certain gatekeepers and gatekeeping values, but also those who leave these gates when the time comes. In general, I have discussed three central aspects of gatekeeping in entrepreneurial life: (1) the embodied gatekeepers, (2) a set of values enacted as gatekeeping, and (3) motivations to leave co-living. Accordingly, I argue that all these aspects are vital in comprehending the inclusion and exclusion mechanisms of entrepreneurial living. These aspects also tell us who is seen as belonging to an entrepreneurial community.

5.4 Results

By employing the metaphor of gatekeeping, this chapter explores the ways in which future residents are selected for co-living spaces. Accordingly, I have divided the chapter into three different sections. The first section, "The Embodied Gatekeepers," focuses on how current residents often play a big role in selecting new residents. The section, "Values as Gatekeeping," explores how certain values govern the idea of selection in entrepreneurial living. Here, I specifically dwell on the value of entrepreneurship and diversity, as they are the main focuses of the MunichHouse and the BayHouse, respectively. The last section, "Beyond the Gate," focuses on when and how the residents decide to leave co-living spaces.

There are a number of insights that could be drawn from this chapter. Firstly, new residents of co-living spaces are found primarily through online mediums, friendship circles, or third party organizations. Existing residents act as the main decision-makers in deciding who will join the entrepreneurial living. The involvement of every resident is ensured by a majority vote. It is important to note that a single veto from a resident often results in the rejection of the new candidate. In the selection process, two things seem to matter: the candidate's profile and their social fit with the co-living group.

In the MunichHouse, since the focus is on recruiting entrepreneurs, it is important that new candidates have an entrepreneurial background. However, the MunichHouse definition of entrepreneur seems to be liberated from business connotations and is rather perceived as an attitude towards life, embodying characteristics such as a desire to change the world. This finding supports the notion that entrepreneurship is not an occupation per se, but rather a "project of entrepreneurial subjectification," in which the subjects are expected to shape themselves in relation to entrepreneurial ideals (Bröckling, 2016, p.165).

In both of the co-living spaces, the social fit of the new residents is one of the most important criteria for selecting new residents. The idea of social fit includes an alignment between the prospective residents and the values of the co-living space. The values of co-living spaces are usually set by the initial member(s) of residents. For example, diversity, inclusion, and environmentalism were set as values of the BayHouse by the initial few residents. However, even long after the initial residents

leave the co-living space, the values they created seem to persist and organize the ongoing way of living.

Though diversity was not a core value of the MunichHouse, they have also adopted a certain language of diversity. In both co-living spaces, the notion of having a diverse community was highly valued. However, this notion seems to diverge from an academic understanding of diversity, such as age, gender, or race. Rather, diversity is understood as a diversity of backgrounds, skills, or hobbies. Drawing on the metaphor of superpowers and superhero teams in co-living spaces, I refer to this model of diversity as *the superhero model of diversity*. I argue that the superhero model of diversity informs the selection of co-living members.

One of the most significant aspects of the superhero model of diversity is the assumption that each person possesses a distinctive characteristic that contributes to the general makeup of the community. Moreover, it is assumed that each person's distinctive characteristics complement one another. The idea is that the moment these characteristics join together, they build a community. Here, the BayHouse differs from the MunichHouse, as these characteristics are not seen as qualities special to each resident but rather as subject-positions which move beyond belonging to a single person but rather become a fixed quality that is needed for the community. As an example, when an introvert resident quits the BayHouse, the residents seek to replace them with another introvert due to the belief that this subject-position is needed to keep the existing balance in the co-living community.

The findings also show that, as seen in superhero teams, co-living spaces instrumentalize the idea of a villain to keep the community together. In both co-living spaces, the villain was not an embodied person but rather the concept of the status quo, and it was expected that residents should confront the status quo together.

In order to have a fuller picture of how diversity is enacted in co-living, this chapter also investigated how social categories such as age, gender, race, and ethnicity are mobilized in co-living spaces. According to the results, being a woman applicant is considered a quality that would elevate the chance of selection into a co-living community in both the MunichHouse and the BayHouse. Though the notion of internationality is presented as a desirable feature, in practice, it was often considered a problem to communal life, based on the ground that it could cause disputes in everyday life. Regarding age, the MunichHouse targets younger residents in their

late-20s to early-30s, while the BayHouse defines itself as a mature community and usually selects residents in their early to mid-30s.

Overall, in this chapter, I examine the gatekeeping practices in co-living spaces that allow certain actors entry to a co-living space, while excluding the entry of others. I argue that diversity is instrumentalized as a gatekeeping practice in entrepreneurial living. I specifically explored a particular understanding of diversity, where the idea of difference is based on skills, experiences, or hobbies. I refer to this model as the superhero model of diversity. According to this model, a co-living resident is expected to have distinctive features that separate them from the rest of the residents. Yet, this diversity model does not only base on individual differences, but also is grounded on the premise that the diverse features of residents make the community stronger in the end. Therefore, it is expected that each individual is deemed to be different, yet their features are complementary within the community. In conclusion, this chapter sheds light on the practices and values that shape the selection and departure of residents in co-living spaces and emphasizes the role of gatekeeping in defining an entrepreneurial community.

Chapter 6

If Engineers Had Been Cinderella: Entrepreneurialization of Domesticity

In her 1997 article "Domestic Technologies: Cinderella and the Engineers," the feminist scholar Cynthia Cockburn asked:

> If Cinderella had been an engineer, would she have produced technologies more adjusted to the varied needs of those doing her old tasks in the home? (Cockburn, 1997, p.369)

By positioning Cinderella at the center of technology policy, Cockburn asks what would happen if the subjects responsible for domestic work also possessed the technological expertise to innovate the domestic field. By doing so, she questions how our social priorities might shift if domesticity, that is often associated with women, were a focal point for technological development. Domesticity has historically not been a focal point of development and has, in fact, largely been neglected as an issue for scholarly interest. Harper identifies the main reasons behind this neglect as: (1) lack of motivation to boost the productivity of domestic tasks, (2) product designers' perception that household technology is boring, and (3) limited user involvement during the design stage (Harper, 2003).

However, feminist scholars have challenged Harper's second point that domestic technology is *unexciting*. By doing so, they have decoupled domestic technology from domestic work, attributing the dullness to the domestic work itself. One of the pioneers of second-wave feminism, Betty Friedan refers to the unexciting nature of domestic work, saying, "[e]ach of us thought she was a freak [...] if she didn't

experience that mysterious orgastic fulfilment the commercials promised when waxing the kitchen floor" (Friedan, 1963/1979, p.1). The feminist scholar Simone de Beauvoir similarly addresses the Sisyphean repetitious nature of domestic work. She writes that "the housewife wears herself out running on the spot; she does nothing; she only perpetuates the present" (De Beauvoir, 1949/2011, 487). Both scholars point out that it is not the domestic technology that is dull, rather it is the domestic work itself that is unexciting.

Harper's third point questions this gap between motivation and ability. If there is a recognized need for technological advancement, why is there so little involvement of users of the technology? In the Science and Technology Studies (STS) spirit of questioning alternative social constellations, we can wonder what if the ones who do the housework are also the ones who are equipped with technological expertise? How would they tackle the never-ending nature of housework? Circling back to Cockburn's point of the fairy tale, it is timely to revisit her controversial question with a twist:

> If engineers had been Cinderella, what kind of technologies would they produce to adjust to the varied needs of doing their new tasks in the home?

Though the fairy tale of Cinderella might not be rewritten with an engineer at its center, current-day engineers are turning into Cinderellas in order to meet the living standards of entrepreneurial life. In this chapter, I attempt to answer the above-mentioned question by focusing on how residents of co-living spaces organize domestic work. Though one of the primary goals of co-living spaces is to organize life around entrepreneurial pursuits, somebody still needs to take the trash out, reload the dishwasher, and coordinate the daily household duties. Often such domestic tasks are done by the residents themselves. Since most of the technology entrepreneurs also have engineering or design backgrounds, it creates a fascinating opportunity to find an answer to how would entrepreneurs organize domesticity.

Findings show that the residents often bring an entrepreneurial mindset and practices into organizing domestic work. Therefore, the organization of domestic life in co-living spaces could be viewed as a continual translation of entrepreneurial values into the domestic space. To explain this happening, I offer *entrepreneurialization of domesticity* as a helpful notion highlighting how the entrepreneurial mentality permeates domestic spaces. By unpacking the entrepreneurialization of domesticity, this

chapter sheds light on the ways in which domestic constellations are being exposed to entrepreneurial modes of doing.

In order to create a detailed account of the entrepreneurialization of domesticity, I revisited Williams (2001)'s schema of domestic work, where she analyzes the gendered division of domestic labor in a familial setting. By doing so, she challenges the idea of promoting the notion of caring in the analysis of domestic work, as she claims that it provides an illusion of "where there is 'care' there is no 'work"' (Williams, 2001, p.1461). Instead, she situates care as a work. To elaborate on the concept of care work, she lays out seven different categories of care work that need to be tackled on a regular basis in order to keep the domestic space running in traditional heterosexual nuclear families. These categories are as follows: (1) growth work, (2) housework and yardwork, (4) household management, (5) social capital development, (6) emotional work, (7) care for the sick, and (8) childcare. As her categorization creates a solid basis for understanding the different kinds of domestic work in domestic spaces, I utilize her analysis to lay out what kind of domestic work exists in co-living spaces and what kind of domestic work is unique to them.

However, in order to use her schema in the context of entrepreneurial living, some alterations were required. I left child-related work (such as growth work regarding carrying a baby, giving birth, or child care) out of the analysis. Even though children might be present in entrepreneurial living, their existence is out-of-ordinary and not a usual practice. Hence, I focused on three categories of domestic care work in this chapter: (1) housework, (2) household management, and (3) social capital development. In addition, I introduced two new categories of domestic work that apply to entrepreneurial living: (4) innovation creation and (5) brand work. The revisited schema is illustrated in Figure 6.1.

To give a brief outline of the chapter, I will first discuss the ways in which entrepreneurial values are inscribed in handling the housework in both the MunichHouse and in the BayHouse. By doing so, I will introduce five different processes of entrepreneurialization of housework: (1) vision-orientedness, (2) economization, (3) automating, (4) gamifying, and (5) surveillance. I will then focus on how household management is handled in co-living spaces and describe how it is made *start-up-like*. Thirdly, I will lay out social capital development and explain the network-building in co-living spaces. By creating a link between traditional elements of engaging with domesticity and newer varieties, I will introduce two new segments of doing domesticity

Dynamics of Doing Domesticity	Traditional Care-Work in Familial Structures (Williams, 2001)	Domestic Work in Entrepreneurial Living			
		The Munich House		The Bay House	
		Manifestation of Domestic Work	Analysis	Manifestation of Domestic Work	Analysis
Housework and Yardwork	Housework → done by women / or outsourced Yardwork → done by men / outsourced	Technology: The Chore Digitizer	Automating → The Chore Digitizer Economization → Monetary fee Surveillance → Revealing domestic data Gamifying → Whiteboard game	Technology: Hidden Camera & Food voting tool	Automating → Food Voting Tool Economization → Trading Surveillance → Hidden Camera Vision-orientedness →The website
Household Management	Majorly organized by women	Sunday Meetings	Start-up-like household management	Weekly Meetings	Start-up-like household management
Innovation creation	-	Hackathons	A new form of domestic work	Outsourcing the venue	A new form of domestic usage of space
Social Capital Development / Network-work	Majorly organized by women	Pitching Nights and Pizza Sessions	Start-up Centred Networking	Launch parties	Community-building centred networking

Figure 6.1: The Revisited Schema of Domestic Work in Entrepreneurial Living

in co-living spaces: innovation creation through utilization of hackathons and other venues as ways of reconfiguring domestic culture; and branding work where co-living spaces are framed as a brand.

6.1 Housework and Yardwork

Williams (2001) presents housework and yardwork as a major part of domestic work. This includes cleaning tasks such as scrubbing the floors, cleaning the toilets, laundry, cooking, grocery shopping, and so on. Similarly, yardwork includes such tasks as planting, watering and feeding plants, mowing the yard, trimming trees, and more. She notes that while housework is disproportionately done by women, yardwork,

which is not generally addressed in feminist literature, is done by men.

Following William's categorization, I first analyzed how housework and yardwork are handled at the MunichHouse and the BayHouse. Though the MunichHouse hired a cleaning lady for a certain amount of time, there have been times when there was no cleaning lady, and the responsibility of all the housework fell to the residents. Similarly, the BayHouse hired a cleaning service for a certain amount of time, but still, there have been long periods when the cleaning was not outsourced. In both of the co-living spaces, even when there were cleaning personnel, some regular and frequent cleaning tasks, such as cleaning the kitchen counter or tidying the living room, were still handled by residents. In this chapter, I mainly focus on the ways residents handled chores. I paid particular attention to cleaning as it was one of the biggest issues in both co-living spaces. In my analysis, I found out there are five different processes where entrepreneurial values are inscribed in housework and yardwork: (1) economization, (2) vision-orientedness, (3) automating, (4) gamifiying, and (5) surveillance. In the upcoming section, I argue that all five processes lead to the entrepreneurialization of domesticity, contributing to the reconfiguration of domestic life in relation to entrepreneurial values. The next section will explore these processes one by one.

The first process examined is *economization*, which involves positioning domestic tasks in relation to monetary incentives. This could manifest in various forms, such as monetary penalties for neglecting certain domestic tasks or using economic language to define and prioritize domestic work. Arguably, economization can be situated at the center of entrepreneurial mentality, where monetary profit becomes a primary motivation for taking action.

The second household process I observed in co-living spaces is *vision-orientedness*. In this process, a domestic ideal is positioned as an attribute of success. Vision-orientedness exists at the intersection of two important characteristics of entrepreneurship: goal-setting and future-orientedness. In this framework, a certain domestic ideal (such as a clean house) can be seen as a goal that needs to be achieved within a certain period of time.

The third entrepreneurial intervention is *automating* of housework and yardwork. This intervention utilizes smart home technologies to optimize and automate cleaning tasks. Automating can be seen as a reflection of the high-tech industrial regime, where optimization is seen as the ultimate goal of production processes. In co-living spaces,

the concept of automation transcends beyond the domain of the high-tech industry and infiltrates into the domestic setting with an aim to automate housework and yardwork.

Another process of entrepreneurialization of domesticity is *gamifying*. This entrepreneurial tool applies gaming principles to make seemingly boring and burdensome domestic tasks more engaging and enjoyable. Gamifying could be seen as an effort of the new economy to redefine the meaning of work by incorporating elements of competition, ambitiousness, or self-reliance which often are associated with the idea of masculinity (Ahl, 2006).

The last process of entrepreneurialization of domesticity is *surveillance*. In both co-living spaces, I observed surveillance either in the form of tracking historical housework data of the housework or using secret cameras to monitor and enforce the cleanliness of the house. While surveillance might not be an explicit entrepreneurial aim or a quest, it can still be considered entrepreneurial in character as it is a by-product of integrating information technologies into domestic constellations. In the next section, I will specifically focus on how housework and yardwork are organized in both the BayHouse and the MunichHouse.

The MunichHouse. In the MunichHouse, organizing housework is seen as one of the biggest challenges. For some participants, the organization of housework was problematic, especially because of the high number of residents. Stephan, a resident of the MunichHouse, emphasizes this problem in the interview:

> I mean it's difficult to live with 17 people which we were initially. And it's such a big group so there's a lot of things which you have to micromanage. A lot of things related to keeping the house clean. [...] All of those things cost a lot of time. And for me, that was basically the worst part of it. (A resident of the MunichHouse)

Similarly, in Andreas's account, the housework was one of the biggest problems in living in a co-living space. When asked about his greatest concern in housework, he said:

> Cleanliness in the kitchen [...] makes me a little bit distracted from my routine in the morning to prepare a meal. To prepare myself for the day,

> for achieving great things. And, then you come into the kitchen, and then one day the spoon was on this side, and the next day the spoon was on the other side. And then sometimes you had to move everything from the oven to make your coffee and this was a hassle for me. (An ex-resident of the MunichHouse)

In Andreas' view, a messy house is seen as a hurdle blocking him from accomplishing his greater entrepreneurial goals. Though the task of coordinating housework is considered an obstacle in achieving entrepreneurial goals, it is also seen as a challenge to be solved by entrepreneurial intervention. Therefore, housework is entangled with entrepreneurial ways of solving problems. Over the years, the MunichHouse has explored multiple alternatives to manage domestic work. The upcoming section describes some of the innovative approaches created by the residents of the MunichHouse.

The Door-hanger system. The door hanger system is one of the solutions introduced by the residents of the Munichhouse to facilitate the coordination of cleaning tasks. The system works as follows: Each week, seventeen cleaning tasks are written on a card that is hung on each of the resident's bedroom doors, guiding the residents to their cleaning tasks for the week. Once the residents complete their task, they place the sign on the next door clockwise. This ensures that each resident takes turns performing different cleaning duties. Andreas, an ex-resident of the MunichHouse, explained:

> So, in the time I was there, we started [with] small Post-its. Which we did hang from door to door. [..] So there were like 17 tasks [..] for 17 people. And every week, you had your Post-it on your door, and if you have done it, you just hang it clockwise to the next door. (An ex-resident of the MunichHouse)

Similarly, Peter, another resident of the MunichHouse, explains the door-hanger system:

> These little marks that [you] would put on your door, and every week you had to manually shift them over to the next ones, or they had the tasks. So it was rotated over the door. (A resident of the MunichHouse)

Peter emphasizes the manual qualities of the sign system, which require the residents to shift the sign from one door to the next. The residents are responsible for the door hanger transaction. They also need to remember which direction to rotate the marks. However, in the course of time, the door hangers system began to fail. During our interview, Silke, a resident of the MunichHouse, expressed her frustration:

> We just wrote it down on little cards, so we put it on every door. But then, at some point, the little cards just stopped staying at someone's door, and suddenly there were five, and somewhere else were no tasks done [..] It was everywhere, and then we thought we need to have a better solution. (A resident of the MunichHouse)

As Silke explains, one problem with the door-hanger system was that it delegates the act of rotating the signs to humans. Latour points out a similar disruption to daily life in his research. He finds that, in the absence of hydraulic door closers, visitors are expected to close the door manually. When this task is delegated to humans, a variety of problems in daily routine occur (Latour, 1991).

According to Silke, when the problem of rotation of door hangers first appeared, they tried to solve the problem in house meetings. However, despite some residents' confessions, the door hangers continued to pile up on some doors, leaving other doors empty and the corresponding residents with no particular chore. When talking about the issue in house meetings did not work, they started to look for other solutions.

The Chore Digitizer As a response to the door-hanger system, the MunichHouse brought in a non-human intervention called the Chore Digitizer to coordinate housework. The Chore Digitizer (CD),[1] is an automated technology that one of the residents with an engineering background, Peter, created in order to assist residents in delegating their cleaning tasks by automatically designating them to residents on a weekly basis. This digital system removes the need for manual coordination and ensures that each resident is assigned tasks.

As shown in Figure 6.2, the technology Chore Digitizer has an interface of a tablet screen where each chore matches with the resident's photo, signaling which chore is given to which resident for the week. The technology is connected to a business communication platform (Slack), and when the residents complete their tasks, they

[1]This particular home technology is used in an anonymized version.

are expected to write a simple piece of code (backslash done) in Slack in order to let the system know that the chore is completed for the week. The task is generally assigned on Wednesday, and the deadline is on Sunday at midnight.

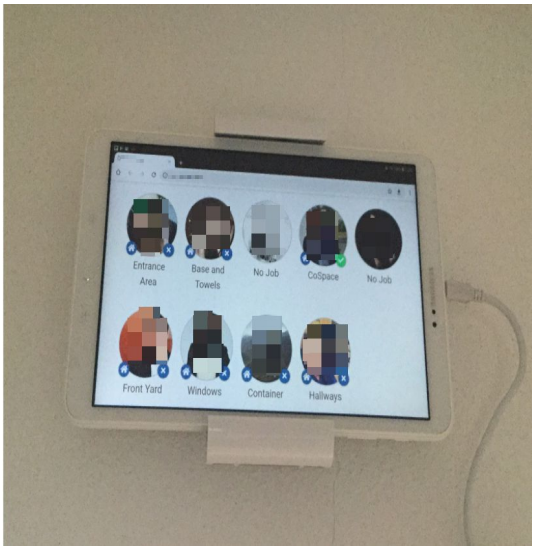

Figure 6.2: The Screen of the Chore Digitizer

A group of residents came up with the idea for CD and Peter wrote the code. When I asked Peter about the process of creating the Chore Digitizer, he explained:

> (Benny) had the idea that - there should be a way to make this [distribution of cleaning tasks] easier, to automate as much as possible. So...we sat there on the table and discussed how to do it and I was like, yeah, f*ck it, I do it. ((laughs)) So I pitched it and wrote it one or two days. (A resident of the MunichHouse)

As seen in his statement, the main motivation in creating the CD was to *automate* household chore assignment and delegate the task of distribution of housework to a non-human. Additionally and importantly, the process is done within the domain of entrepreneurial practices as the designer utilizes the word *pitching*, an entrepreneurial way of presenting an idea, during the interview.

The CD is not the only technology that is used to automate housework. In the MunichHouse, residents use several other automation tools. One of them is to automate the laundry. Andreas explains how the automation of laundry works:

> You schedule the washing machine with the calendar. This is so awesome. (An ex-resident of the MunichHouse)

The implementation of CD and the calendar scheduling of the washing machine aims to free up residents' time so they are able to focus on the demands of their entrepreneurial endeavors. Furthermore, the delegation of housework to a non-human is not only seen as a solution to housework distribution but also contributes to the image of the MunichHouse as a so-called *techy place*, which in return seems to fit to the entrepreneurial vision of the co-living space.

When I asked about his initial impressions of the CD, ex-resident Andreas explained:

> These are the things, I really liked [...] So, they really used this tech stuff. Also like easy things. But, they use it in their daily living. Where I live in now, I have to go down and write in a huge book. Which is not so convenient. (An ex-resident of the MunichHouse)

Apart from automating the housework, another important feature of the CD is a monetary punishment system in which five euros is automatically withdrawn from the resident's bank account if they fail to complete their chores. The fee is then distributed among the ones who completed their tasks successfully. By creating such a system, the domestic tasks are seen as an attribute of an in-house economy, where the dutiful members make a profit from the undutiful ones. I called this process of *economization of the housework*. In one of the interviews, the designer Peter explained the importance of the involvement of money: "Everyone is doing it [the tasks] at the moment because, I mean, money is in the game." (A resident of the MunichHouse)

A similar statement on the impact of monetary enforcement considering domestic duties can be found in Silke's comments:

> I mean, it's more the blame game. This is more like, if you don't do it, you pay five euro, and I think it leads to hurt when it's not done, because if you just say, please do it, and we have no system, it never worked out. (A resident of the MunichHouse)

In Silke's account, the monetary punishment system holds a specific value in which it works like a protective shield against the emotional hurt coming from some

residents' omission of their domestic duties. When pleading does not work to hold someone responsible for their domestic duties, money acts as a sanctioning power, protecting the other residents who do their chores from getting emotionally hurt.

Another important issue that resulted from the introduction of CD is surveillance in the domestic space. This technology tracks residents' movements in relation to domestic tasks. I asked Peter how the CD is getting information about who is doing their tasks and who is slacking; Peter answered: "I track everything [...] So basically, I have an overview of all the tasks and all the residents." (A resident of the MunichHouse)

Peter's reference to the tracking power of the CD incites several questions regarding surveillance. The code for the CD is based on two separate principles: prioritization and randomization. For the CD to work, the designer first needs to create a list of the chores. After outlining the possible domestic tasks, the designer also needs to figure out how often these chores need to be done, as some chores are required weekly, but others are, for example, only performed once in six months. Prioritizing the domestic tasks is important because it is the rhythm that the CD assigns the tasks to each resident. Once prioritization and randomization are set, the domestic tasks are randomly assigned. As the residents of the MunichHouse often travel, the designer also has integrated an option in the CD to make a resident unavailable for a certain period of time. When residents leave the MunichHouse for traveling purposes, they can set themselves unavailable in the Slack channel, and this protects them from getting punishment for not doing their chores. Even though it seems handy to track the availability of residences via digital tools, it can also be argued that it creates a certain amount of surveillance over the physical absence and presence of residents.

It is not only the roll call that incites the surveillance question. The screen where the tasks are matched with the residents hangs on the wall of the entrance to the home. When the residents fail to complete their task, everybody, including residents and guests, are able to see the failure. Additionally, the same screen is available online not only to members of the house but to anyone who knows the website. Even though the website is created for the members to check their duties when they are away from the house, making the website public creates a situation in which a total stranger can be informed about the cleanliness of the house. When I asked the designer why he chose to publish the CD online, he answered:

> I mean, this is to put some kind of pressure, as well as a peer pressure. I mean, all the others have done their tasks already. Sh*t, I have to hurry. I have to do it as well [...] It [the tablet] shows you are the last person. I mean everyone can see who visits you that you are still the last person who hasn't done his task. And naturally, you get kind of competitive so "ok I have to do it as well." I mean it's like, a little bit of social pressure. [...] So everybody can see who has done it, who has not, beforehand, it was kind of anonymous [...] And, now they can see it. Everybody sees who is just like a lazy f*ck. (A resident of the MunichHouse)

As Peter notes, using a public display can be considered as a technique of social pressure. So, when residents do not do their chores, they know the other residents will see their neglect. Here, making neglect visible seems to be used as a way of sanction.

An important point is that the successful usage of the CD ended up playing a main role in the termination of the work contract of the cleaning lady. Though the hired cleaning lady came to the MunichHouse twice a week for cleaning, whenever I asked the residents how they handled the cleaning, everybody referred to the CD, and very few residents mentioned the existence of cleaning personnel. For instance, during the interview with Silke, she referred to the reason for the termination of the cleaning personnel's contract as:

> We had a cleaning lady before, but it was when we were so many people that it was also not so good, so now it's better when we're just less people and everyone is responsible every week for something, and this works kind of good. (A resident of the MunichHouse)

The almost-non-reference to the presence of cleaning lady could be seen as an example of the cleaning lady being viewed as a *non-person* where the work of the cleaning lady is visible to the residents, but the cleaning lady as a person is invisible (Star & Strauss, 1999).

Finally, Williams (2001) specifically mentions yardwork in her article, as yardwork is often neglected in other feminist texts. She explains the reason behind such neglect is due to the fact that yardwork is often performed by men. Through including yardwork as part of housework, Williams (2001) acknowledges the importance of representing work done by different gender identities. Motivated by Williams' approach,

I pay special attention to how the yardwork is performed in the MunichHouse. As seen with household chores, the residents tried to automate the yardwork as much as possible by using a robot lawn mower that automatically cuts the grass. This technological solution aligns with the broader trend of automating domestic tasks and reflects the entrepreneurial mindset of finding innovative ways to optimize and streamline everyday responsibilities. The first time I saw evidence of the robot lawn mower was when I saw a dog kennel in the backyard. I did not recognize that there was a machine inside. When I asked if they have a dog, Jeff, a resident of the MunichHouse, answered: "Uh no. [...] it's a machine which cuts the grass. [...] So you can take it through rain and snow." (A resident of the MunichHouse)

It is interesting to note that the robot lawn mower was cleverly placed in a dog kennel, giving the appearance of a pet rather than a machine. This alternative placement might demonstrate the residents' desire to integrate technology seamlessly into their living environment and create a harmonious coexistence between automation and everyday life.

The BayHouse. In the BayHouse, housework can be seen as an important manifestation of domestic labor where domestic order is being negotiated among multiple actors and actants. Here, cleaning tasks were not rotated among residents as they had been in the MunichHouse, but were rather designated to specific residents. Hence, if a resident is responsible for mopping the floors, they are always responsible for mopping the floors until they would like to change their domestic task. This process was explained by Michael, a resident of the BayHouse: "In this house, we do not do rotating chores, we, everyone sticks to the same chore, although every six months or so, because new residents will come in, they get kind of traded around (A resident of the BayHouse)."

Michael's use of the word "trading" carries interesting connotations. It implies an economic perspective and aligns with the economy-driven mentality of handling housework. Although no money is involved in the transactions, the sharing of housework could resemble bartering, a traditional means of trading that involves the exchange of goods and services instead of money. I position the mechanism of trading of housework within the process of *economization* in which the domestic tasks are viewed through the lens of economic incentives. Michael is not the only one who

refers to the vocable of trading. Here, John, another resident of the BayHouse, explains how the distribution of chores is handled: "Every once in a while, we check in on how are the chores going and then you can, one on one, see if someone wants to trade or say, 'I'm not happy with this chore. Does anyone wanna take it on? It is free'." (A resident of the BayHouse)

John's reference to the chores being "free" could be seen as a further reference to the economization of housework, where chores are seen as a means of internal house economy. If the chores are prone to a certain mentality of economics, it is vital to understand the matching mechanisms of chores with residents in the first place. Susanne, a resident of the BayHouse, explains the process: "We wrote down all of the chores and let people claim their favorite ones [...] Some people, like one person mops the floor because they really, really love mopping floors." (A resident of the BayHouse)

Susanne introduces motivation as an important criterion for matching the chores to the residents. Here, Michael supports Susanne's point:

> We try to match chores to people who actually feel motivated to do them, or it's something that they would do anyway, rather than give people chores that they're like, "Oh my god, I could care less about this, and I don't even know why we need to do it," like that person's not gonna do it. They're not gonna be motivated. (A resident of the BayHouse)

Both Susanne and Michael highlight the role of motivation behind performing house chores. Their quotes could be linked to an often-used entrepreneurial narrative of "[y]ou've got to find what you love" (Jobs, 2005),[2] which advises people to choose a task that they are motivated to do so that it does not feel like it is an obligation but rather a joyful activity. Through presenting the notion of love as the main motive of doing chores, this narrative seems to detach the idea of necessity from household chores.

The economization of housework also applies to the outsourcing of the chores to a third party, in which money is used for the transaction of cleaning. According to residents, the BayHouse had not outsourced cleaning personnel initially. However, after Company X, the managing company of the BayHouse, began offering cleaning

[2]Steve Jobs' 2005 commencement speech at Stanford could be shown as an example of this narrative (Jobs, 2005).

services to its co-living spaces, the residents agreed to outsource some cleaning tasks while reserving the routine chores to be handled by the residents. One of the ex-residents, Emma, explains the recruitment of cleaning personnel as:

> But now, we know they also have a cleaning service that comes which we didn't have when we lived there, and I'm glad that they did that. I think it's helpful to do to have like a deep clean by professional cleaners regularly. (An ex-resident of the BayHouse)

However, despite hiring cleaning personnel and distributing the remaining chores among the residents, cleaning-related problems still existed in the house. Indeed, cleaning has been a contentious issue in the BayHouse. Some residents were not satisfied with the cleanliness of the house. As a result, one of the residents, Martin, decided to take a two-step action plan to bring orderliness to the housework. His plan included a positive and a negative incentive. Martin created a website to materialize his vision. This website included a written statement of a vision of a clean house and a countdown timer that counted backward to this vision. When I asked Martin what the website was about, he explained:

> The website told a story about the future moment when we would switch from ignoring house expectations about kitchen cleanliness to resuming following the rules we had agreed upon. The end of carelessness. A specific date was chosen for this transition, and the website had a counter which counted down for a month or two leading up to the big day.[3]

As can be seen in the quote, Martin creates a domestic vision. I will refer to his act of creating this vision as "vision-orientedness" and situate it as part of the entrepreneurialization of domesticity, where a domestic ideal is framed as an objective to achieve. In Martin's domestic vision, all the residents diligently look after the cleanliness of the kitchen and follow the house rules. Martin's countdown timer added the dimension of time sensitivity into this domestic vision.

In addition to positive incentives, Martin also initiated a negative incentive by placing hidden cameras in the kitchen to find out who was constantly leaving dishes in the sink, despite frequent reminders in the house meetings. I asked Martin why and how he put the hidden cameras, and he explained: "The idea was that [...] two

[3]Taken from the field notes, 05.08.2020.

things to do at once. One was to just get people's attention[..] And the second was to actually find out." (A resident of the BayHouse)

He explained the process of introduction to the cameras as follows:

> [I] turned it on at ten pm on the first night and then I got up at 6:30 am the next morning and checked it.[...] The timer had nine hours of battery memory, I didn't set an alarm to get up, but I got up early and checked it. And sure enough, like within the first hour or two, someone put the cup in the sink. And so [...] it felt amazing to like have some clue, you know, some evidence. (A resident of the BayHouse)

In Martin's quote, it can be seen that he invested a considerable amount of time and effort to arrange the hidden cameras to catch the individual leaving the dishes in the sink. Once Martin identified the responsible person, he was relieved. As his initiative might be considered unusual and possibly intrusive, I asked the opinion of other residents. Michael explains how he evaluates the introduction of hidden cameras as:

> Right now [Martin] is [...]like "I'm gonna put cameras in the kitchen" showing who's not putting their dished away. [...] We're generally actually really good about dishes. The bar is just extremely high so the fact that there's one dish on the drying rack is like "This is a criminal offense and what the f*ck?" when in most even just normal singular family homes you'd be like "Yeah there's one dish in drying rack and no dishes in the sink. What's the problem?" but because it's so many people, on a principal level, we try to keep it ridiculously clean. (A resident of the BayHouse)

Here, Michael compares acceptable levels of cleanliness between a family house and a co-living space. He concludes that the high number of residents results in an increase in expectation levels. Similarly, John, a resident of the BayHouse, also refers to the high number of people as the main reason for cleanliness issues:

> That's why the camera is up right now. It would be for a while we had it, but I think it's mostly because there are so many guests and sublets and new people that no one ever really was told what is happening and that's why it's kinda this joke with the camera. (A resident of the BayHouse)

Though John refers to the hidden cameras as a joke, according to some residents, the existence of hidden cameras created heated discussions during the house meetings. I personally felt the tension in the air during one of the family dinners and wrote the following in my field notes:

> There was some sort of tension among the residents during the dinner. I am told that it is because of the hidden camera. Even though the person that put the dirty dishes in the sink ended up being a guest, the resident who hosts this guest became very angry and unplugged the hidden camera. She also called a house meeting to discuss this issue further.[4]

There are two different ways of interpreting the story of hidden cameras in the kitchen. First, it is possible to frame the hidden cameras as a violation of privacy, especially due to the fact that the cameras were installed without the permission of the rest of the household. In this interpretation, the hidden cameras are reminiscent of reality shows like *Big Brother*, where domestic life is displayed with cameras. Here, Hunt (2009) claims that the very design of *Big Brother* creates a domestic dystopia, especially because the existence of cameras strips the privacy away (Hunt, 2009). A similar conclusion can be drawn for the case of the hidden camera in the BayHouse.

The second interpretation, however, could view the same story as an entrepreneurial attempt. From this point of view, installing cameras can be situated within the realm of entrepreneurialization of domesticity, where domestic problems are tackled with an entrepreneurial repertoire of solutions. From that perspective, installing hidden cameras can be seen as a form of taking an entrepreneurial initiative to achieve the desired aim of cleanness.

On another note, over the course of time, the BayHouse used different methods in order to automate household tasks. During my fieldwork, one of the most apparent automations was the food voting system. I will provide a brief background on how food is managed using the food voting system.

The BayHouse uses one shared fridge for all residents, and all the residents can eat every ingredient in the fridge. The residents do not do grocery shopping on their own; rather, one of the residents does the shopping for everyone. Yet, coordinating which ingredients to buy for which resident had been an ongoing problem. The BayHouse first used a whiteboard system to create a shared shopping list. According

[4]Taken from the field notes, 26.01.2020.

to residents, however, the usage of the whiteboard was rather messy and made it hard to keep track of desired ingredients in an organized manner. Correspondingly, they decided to automize the issue of food voting as much as possible and started using an online tool. Michael, a resident of the BayHouse, explains the food voting technology:

> There's this food voting tool that we have for, you know, one person is vegan, one person is vegetarian, one person really likes almonds. We have created like kind of a weighted average tool for people to vote on individual ingredients and then you can sort of start to build out the food program from there, like what you need to buy and what the most important ingredients are. (A resident of the BayHouse)

When I asked about what other kinds of technologies that they have been using in the house, Michael continued to explain:

> We use a lot of technology. We call it kind of like a Frankenstein-model where we piece together a bunch of different software programs and sort of woven them and tied them together in pretty coherent way. So we haven't really built any custom software; we've built a lot of custom integration. (A resident of the BayHouse)

As Michael's quote shows, although the technological infrastructure that is used in the BayHouse is not uniform but rather ad-hoc, it still illustrates the tendency to adopt automation in different aspects of their daily lives as much as possible.

6.2 Household Management

Maintaining a house often involves a certain amount of management. In this section, I will specifically focus on how the MunichHouse and the BayHouse deal with household management which often includes tasks such as coordinating a co-living event or collectively evaluating new residents' applications. Managing the co-living spaces, in both cases, is usually done through house meetings where the residents discuss the problems of the house.

Household management is another category in Williams (2001)'s schema, where she outlines the domestic tasks of traditional families. Some of her examples of

household management tasks are coordinating the task of picking up the child from school, attending parent-teacher conferences, or arranging doctor's appointments for the family. She adds that these tasks are often disproportionally done by women. Here, Williams (2001) argues that managers in companies earn a good salary for similar executive management positions, though when it comes to housewives, it tends to be overlooked and taken for granted.

Similarly, residents of the MunichHouse and the BayHouse are not paid to deal with household management. Yet, there is an important difference between how a traditional household is managed compared to co-living spaces. The results show that in both the MunichHouse and the BayHouse, they approach household management in a similar manner to managing a start-up. For instance, as explained by interview participants, a moderator is usually present in the meetings, and a designated person keeps meeting minutes. They also use technologies that are often used in start-up meetings, such as instant messaging programs for business (like Slack), cloud file storage and synchronization services (like Google Drive), or online calendars (like Apple Calendar). This start-up-driven approach of utilizing technology distributes household management among individual residents regardless of their gender, as opposed to traditional households where management usually falls to women. In the following section, I will go into the details of management in the MunichHouse and in the BayHouse, respectively.

The MunichHouse. The MunichHouse organizes regular weekly Sunday meetings to discuss household-related issues. Though I was not able to attend these meetings as I was not a full member of the community, I had a chance to ask about the content of the meetings in various interviews. According to residents, meetings are a place where they discuss organizing events such as hackathons, as well as long-term planning and coordination. Sarah, for example, explains what they discuss in house meetings as: "What happened last week [...] daily issues. Animals come into the house or [...] the usual stuff. Or what to expect next week. Are we doing something special? Or for the pizza event. Who's doing what? [...] More this organizational stuff." (A resident of the MunichHouse)

According to interview participants, the MunichHouse uses house meetings as a venue to discuss a wide range of problems. For instance, in the following quote, Peter portrays a scenario where residents lie about completing their chores:

> (Benny) gets basin towels, so he has to wash all the towels. And he says he washed all the towels. And you have the time because posted when it was done, and you get downstairs and you are in the kitchen, and you see: Wow, it's still not cleaned, with all the f*cking dirty towels. So, he basically would have lied at the moment. So it's just like relying on the trust that [...] the resident is honest. But if you see that he is not honest, you have to say something. And then that's part of the discussion for next Sunday. (A resident of the MunichHouse)

As seen in Peter's quote, a house meeting is an important place where residents communicate reoccurring problems and even tackle conflict. A similar practice of house meetings also exists in the BayHouse, which I will explain in the next section in detail.

The BayHouse. Similar to the MunichHouse, house meetings at the BayHouse are important occasions to discuss coordination and organization of domestic tasks. A similar start-up-like infrastructure has been used in the meetings. For example, the residents explained that they use Google Drive for meeting notes, Slack for collecting meeting points, and a moderator to coordinate the discussion in the meetings. The BayHouse also uses the meetings to organize events and discuss the problems that arise in the housework. For some residents, house meetings are regular routines in the household. Susanne, for example, specifically pointed out the regular character of house meetings:

> We have those [the house meeting] on the calendar twice a month. [...] And they're consistent and we usually have one person who's volunteered to facilitate [..]the conversation. We have a Google Drive together as a community that has a document with all of our house meeting minutes and agendas and so before the meeting, you can kind of put an item on there that you wanna talk about during the meeting and sort of a time estimate like I'd like to spend eight minutes talking about buying silverware or like the, you know, a new way to do laundry or something. Or discussing new residents moving in or discussing events that we're gonna have. So the house meetings, we try to keep them to about an hour. Sometimes they go over to like two hours. (A resident of the BayHouse)

Michael, however, points out that the house meetings are rather organized in an ad-hoc fashion when there is an issue to be discussed:

> I guess on the calendar we have our house meetings are supposed to be every two weeks, but I would say every other time we have a house meeting scheduled, we cancel it (laughs), or we're like, there'll be five people around and are like, "Are we having a house meeting?" and no one really like drives the agenda. (A Resident of the BayHouse)

An important difference between the household management of the two co-living spaces is that the BayHouse is managed by a property management company. Company X sometimes intervenes on issues such as the physical maintenance of the house. Another important difference of the BayHouse is the existence of a perceived hierarchy between the chores and management positions. That is to say, interview participants often implied a certain kind of hierarchy when it came to household management tasks. Accordingly, there was a differentiation between menial labor (such as cleaning) and management roles (such as leadership positions or recruitment positions). Michael, a resident of the BayHouse, explains it as follows:

> There are also leadership positions that are less of chores and more like other roles [..] like one person is much more involved in housemate selection and interviews and another person's more involved in putting together little gatherings within the house [..] We try not to have to draconian of a view of chores, like there're definitely some people [...] who contribute more than others in the house [...], but at the same [time], I think we take a pretty expansive view of what participation and contribution looks like, and you know, some people bring really interesting people around and maybe don't do as much cleaning (laughs) but we value that too. (A resident of the BayHouse)

In Michael's account, the definition of domestic labor includes both chores and management roles that contribute to the functioning of the community. The idea of differentiating domestic labor resembles Williams (2001)'s household hierarchy, where she draws a distinction between menial tasks which are linked to maintenance of the house and require physical labor (such as scrubbing the floor), and spiritual tasks that create more of an added value to the household (such as taking children to a film).

Williams (2001) explains that the menial tasks in traditional families are usually done by women (and especially by women of color), whereas the latter are performed by white women or men. Such hierarchy of housework, she argues, contributes to the politics of domestic ideology. Another kind of hierarchy of housework seems to exist in the BayHouse, which constructs a certain order between menial work and organizational work.

To further demonstrate the hierarchy of housework in the BayHouse, I turn to my fieldwork notes. When I learned that the residents do not rotate the housework but instead have stable tasks, I asked one of the residents if I could accompany him when he performed his task. By doing so, I aimed to gain a deeper understanding of how chores are performed in the BayHouse. Here is a quote from my field notes:

> During one of the dinners, I asked [Matt] what his chore is. He answered that his chore is taking the trash out on Mondays. Then, I asked him if I could come and help him to do his chore. First, he burst into laughter. Then he said that it would be boring for me to watch him emptying the trash. As an alternative, he tried to convince me to attend more interesting events, like the upcoming launch party. He was very kind, and I knew that he wanted to help me find an interesting case so that I could write it for my dissertation. Still, I insisted that I was really interested in every aspect of the housework, and that is why I wanted to accompany him to take the trash out. He then finally agreed for me to join him on the following Monday.[5]

As shown in the field note, Matt implies a household hierarchy between chores, where he positions organizational events more worthy to display to a researcher in comparison to dull housework, such as emptying the trash. This example further illustrates the implicated understanding of household hierarchy in the BayHouse.

6.3 Social Capital Development / Network Work

Developing social ties can be framed as work. After all, they require time and effort to keep those ties maintained. Based on the findings from my research, I categorized two different types of work that are linked to developing social ties in entrepreneurial

[5]Taken from the field notes, 06.11.2019.

co-living: *kinship work* and *network work*. Kinship work refers to developing family-like ties among the members of co-living spaces, while network work refers to creating a network within the larger community. Specifically, the former is exclusive to the social ties among the residents, while the latter involves guests of co-living. I will go into the details of the former in the following chapter, Chapter 7. In this section, I will focus on what network work means in the context of co-living.

According to Williams (2001), social capital development is an important and time-consuming aspect of domestic care work. She argues that social capital development is a gendered work and is done disproportionately by women. In her framework, there are different types of social capital development, such as maintaining kinship ties, initiating and maintaining friendship networks, status development work, and children's welfare. For example, maintaining existing kinship ties often entails sustaining frequent contact with the father or mother of one's spouse. Williams (2001) states that in familial households, women often contact their mothers-in-law more than their spouses with their own mothers.

The second point that Williams raises is initiating and maintaining friendship networks, which is also usually done by women. The task of initiating and maintaining friendship networks includes attending dinner parties or other kinds of social events.

Thirdly, as Williams writes, wives who are married to executives are expected to invest time in what she calls status development work. As a part of such work, wives are expected to be members of certain clubs or serve on boards in order to contribute to the promotion of their husbands. And finally, in families with children, it is not only the husbands at the center of social capital development but also the children. Williams (2001) argues that mothers feel the necessity to invest enormous time in their children's school activities, which requires another set of networking, such as networking in the school community.

Williams' structure is based on heterosexual familial settings that include children, husbands, and wives. In entrepreneurial households, however, even though there can be married partners or sometimes even children, this is not a usual occurrence. Yet, that is not to say that social capital development is not part of entrepreneurial living. On the contrary, it can be argued that one of the main reasons for the creation of co-living spaces is to create a network intended to equip the entrepreneur for their future course of action, both financially and socially. I refer to this as *network work*

to emphasize the work that is done in order to create and sustain professional networks in entrepreneurial settings. These kinds of networks are vital for entrepreneurs, especially for their financial future, as their future might depend on who they know (Ferrary & Granovetter, 2009). In both the MunichHouse and the BayHouse, I traced situations that enable network work. In the next two sections, I lay out the specificities of each co-living space in relation to network work and focus on how it operates in the local contexts.

The MunichHouse. The MunichHouse regularly organizes an event called the *Pizza Gathering*[6]. In general, this event aims to bring different actors, such as investors and co-founders, in the entrepreneurship field together and promote networking. In the Pizza Gathering, the attendees not only make homemade pizza together, but they also pitch their start-up idea to the whole group.

Pitching a start-up is considered one of the most important activities not only in the MunichHouse but also in the entrepreneurial scene in general. The act of pitching (sometimes known as the elevator talk) is typically composed of a three to five-minute presentation of a start-up idea. Entrepreneurs are expected to be precise and quick in telling the gist of their idea so that investors can decide if they are interested in financially investing in the start-up. Ideally, entrepreneurs are expected to be pitch-ready at all times so that they would not miss any opportunity to secure an investor.

The incorporation of pitching could be seen as an effort to make the co-living space a hub for professional network creation in the MunichHouse. During pitching in the Pizza Gatherings, volunteers find an opportunity to practice their pitching skills where they present their start-up (or an idea of a start-up) on a stage within three to five minutes. Following the presentation, the guests and residents are expected to ask questions and give feedback. According to residents, Pizza Gatherings have created a networking opportunity for many and facilitated several start-up ideas to flourish.

In Pizza Gatherings in the MunichHouse, every resident is allowed to invite their friends and acquaintances who are ideally interested in entrepreneurship. Depending on the weather, the pitching sessions may be organized in the yard or indoors. Attendees gather around 7 p.m., mingling, making, and eating pizza until the pitching session that starts around 9:30 p.m. Usually, five to six people pitch for three minutes

[6]The name of the event is altered to provide a layer of anonymization.

each. Following the pitching session, people chat in small groups, receive feedback for their ideas, and network. Guests start to leave around midnight.

The pitching events are designed not only to create a venue for practicing entrepreneurial abilities, but also for channeling the creation of entrepreneurial networks where the professional's ambitions are supported. When attending one of the pitching nights, I volunteered to pitch a start-up idea on stage. The start-up idea that I presented was created a few months earlier with two of my colleagues while we were at a conference dinner in Padua, Italy. We were complaining about not meeting with the right scholars with whom we might collaborate in the future. To solve this problem, we jokingly created an idea of a matching app designed for professionals to use in conferences. The app would match the academic profiles during the conference so that we could meet with people who shared our academic interests. We even gave a name to the app: "The Intersect." This is how I recorded the occasion in my field notes:

> We heard [Benny]'s voice kicking off the pitching session. I was the second presenter. Some presenters pitched an existing idea of a start-up, such as a hybrid car. Some pitched an idea that they had been working on for a long such as a computer vision start-up [....] After the pitching session came to an end, a guy named [Andreas] was looking for me. He told me that he is working on a start-up that could provide a technical basis for my start-up idea. He showed me the app he created. I told him that it was not my idea alone, that it was created together with two of my colleagues. We exchanged numbers. The next day, I got a message from [Andreas], inviting me for a coffee to talk more about the idea that I pitched.[7]

As seen in the fieldwork notes above, pitching night has the potential to create professional entrepreneurial networks that might lead to the creation as well as the development of a start-up. As these networking events are considered an integral part of entrepreneurial living, I argue that networking should be considered a type of domestic work which residents are expected to participate in.

[7]Taken from the field notes, 02.02.2019.

The BayHouse. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the BayHouse residents are not solely entrepreneurs but rather a mix of people from different backgrounds. For this reason, their networking events were not specifically entrepreneurship-focused. The main focus of the networking events in the BayHouse was to create a network within communities, in particular with fellow co-living communities in the Bay Area.

There are multiple networking events organized in the BayHouse, such as a dating event that targets single residents and aims to find an appropriate partner for them by inviting certain guests. For the sake of simplicity, however, I will specifically focus on a particular networking event called the launch party. The aim of the launch party was announced as *kicking off* the new co-living space of the property manager, Company X. As the two co-founders of Company X were residents (though one of them had already moved out) of the BayHouse, they were present at the party along with the other residents of the BayHouse.

The launch party attendees were not necessarily entrepreneurs. However, referring to the party as a launch party could be associated with the entrepreneurial mentality. In other words, positioning the new co-living space as a product that needs to be launched could be seen as a manifestation of entrepreneurial ideas being infiltrated into the logic of co-living spaces. The launch party itself was worth mentioning in more detail. Below is my observation from the party:

> The party started at 7 p.m. and lasted until midnight. The number of attendees was very high, exceeding 50 people. [Michael], a [BayHouse] resident, invited me and told me it was a 1950s theme party where everyone would wear a costume from the 1950s. When I arrived, it was already a bit crowded, and everybody, including myself, was in 50s costumes. Around 9 p.m., the co-founders of [Company X] gave a speech where they welcomed the new co-living space and introduced it to the community. Then, the catalysts were invited to talk for a few minutes. The speech was photographed by a professional.[8]

The whole launch event could be seen as an effort to situate the new co-living space within the community of the Bay Area. Even though this party was framed as a fun activity, these kinds of networking activities are seen as an integral part of entrepreneurial living, which necessities a certain amount of time and organizational

[8]Taken from the field notes, 08.11.2019.

efforts from residents. Therefore, I suggest categorizing these events as a type of domestic work.

6.4 Innovation Creation

Co-living spaces do not only organize events to foster networking but also innovation. The high entanglement of co-living spaces with entrepreneurship seems to be manifested through *innovation-stimulating* activities such as hackathons. Arguably, the idea of organizing activities to stimulate innovation is new to domestic spaces, as in traditional households, innovation is not usually seen as a central governing motive which daily activities are organized around. The lack of emphasis on innovation in Williams (2001)'s schema can be shown as an example to back up this assumption. That is not to say that innovation does not happen in traditional families, but rather its existence is often not planned or as carefully executed as in co-living spaces. That is why I introduced *innovation creation* as a new category in domestic work within entrepreneurial living. In the following two sections, I will focus on innovation creation practices in the MunichHouse and the BayHouse.

The MunichHouse. One of the ways in which the MunichHouse integrated innovation practices into the domestic space is through the organization of hackathons. Before explaining how the MunichHouse tackles hackathons, I will provide general information about what a hackathon is. The word hackathon derives from two separate words: "hacking" and "marathon." Though the definition of a hackathon could vary from place to place, the main idea behind a hackathon is to create a functioning tech solution to a problem within a marathon-like timeframe. Hackathons often have an overarching theme, where different groups create different solutions for the same theme. These events usually bring together a diverse background of tech workers together, such as engineers, designers, and project managers for a limited amount of time.

Hackathons could be seen entrepreneurial as they are inextricably connected to entrepreneurial values such as innovation creation, problem-solving, risk-taking, and creativity. Accordingly, Irani (2015) defines hackathon as "one emblematic site of social practice where techniques from information technology (IT) production become ways of remaking culture" (Irani, 2015, p.1). This opens up a possibility of rethinking

hackathons not only as places where technological solutions are being offered but also where entrepreneurial subjects are created.

In the MunichHouse, organizing bi-monthly hackathons is part of their regular practice. During my fieldwork, I had an opportunity to be a participant observer at one of the hackathons they organized. I noted my experience in my field notes:

> When the co-founder of [the MunichHouse] invited me to the hackathon, he politely requested that I bring some engineers who might be interested in participating in the hackathon. I brought two engineers along and arrived at the event at 10 a.m. The night before, we were informed that there would be journalists from a TV channel who would create a documentary about the hackathon.[9]

As seen in my field notes, the hackathon in the MunichHouse was filmed by a TV channel. This might indicate a wider public interest in innovation-oriented events organized in entrepreneurial living.

The event started with dividing the participants into two teams. These two teams were set to compete for the best idea; the team with the most votes at the Pizza Gathering would be the winner. In my field notes, I explained the formation of the teams as follows:

> Upon arrival, two teams were formed: a computer vision team and an app team. I was a part of the former. My role of "idea bringer" was predetermined by the co-founder. The co-founder also chose to be a member of our team. The second team was from the household, who were working on developing an already existing technology [the Chore Digitizer]. The event started us brainstorming with Post-its and writing on a glass door with a glass marker. Meanwhile, the camera was recording our actions, asking us to repeat certain acts again and again or to pretend as if we are interested or amazed by something. At some point, it became more of an act than actually doing the task.[10]

The formation of the two teams was based on the technical skills of the members of the teams. The engineers in my team had a background in computer vision. One

[9]Taken from the field notes, 09.03.2019.
[10]Taken from the field notes, 09.03.2019.

of the members of the app team was the one who designed the Chore Digitizer. The material equipment used during the hackathon varied from laptops, sensory cameras, and speakers to Post-its, glass doors, and whiteboards. As seen in Figure 6.3, the use of Post-its and a glass door could be interpreted as making the hackathon more entrepreneurial, as these objects could be regarded to have a high connotation with entrepreneurial culture in general. In that sense, these entrepreneurial objects could be seen as immutable mobiles (Latour, 1990) in which their forms and functions stay stable while their material forms travel across different entrepreneurial settings. In that sense, the entrepreneurial objects like Post-its could be seen as material entities carrying certain entrepreneurial values such as self-initiatives, innovation, or creativity around different contexts.

Arguably, the existence of the television channel that records our actions the entire day created a highly choreographed atmosphere. On some occasions, there was literal choreographing as the reporters requested certain moods or actions upon participants. For example, they asked if participants could pretend to be laughing while writing on the glass door.

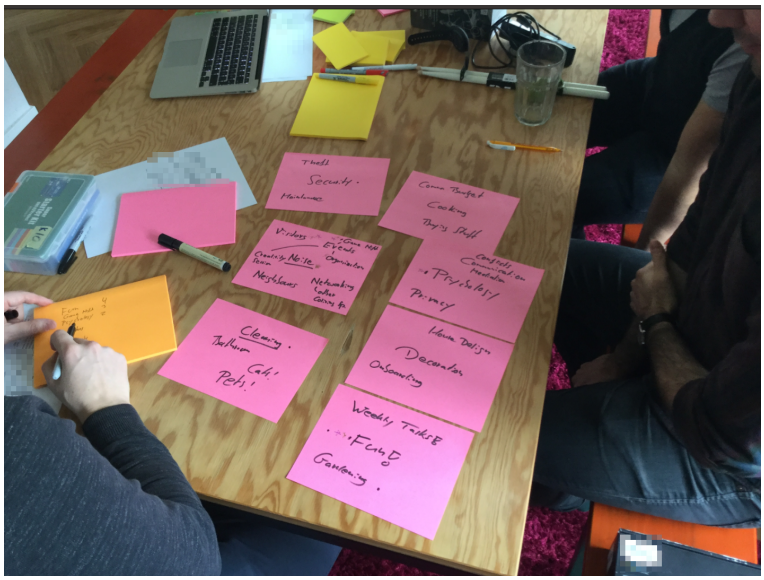

Figure 6.3: Brainstorming with Post-its During the Hackathon

The hackathon was divided into different sections such as brainstorming, implementation, and presentation. After the teams were formed, the first session was brainstorming. I noted the occasion in my field notes as follows:

> In the brainstorming session, we had two priorities in mind: making something "cool" for the house so that visitors could be amazed or to repair non-functioning devices. All the ideas were subjected to voting. Among many ideas, my team (the computer vision team) chose the idea of an [Athletic Fridge] that allows one to eat chocolate only after one performs three different yoga poses. The yoga poses were to be detected by a camera positioned in front of the fridge door.
>
> TV shooting lasted until noon. When the reporters left the place, the second group stopped working. However, the computer vision group worked until [the Pizza Gathering] started—even slightly longer. Both groups are asked to present their outcome at the pitching session.[11]

In general, hackathons are usually organized around a certain theme. The hackathons in the MunichHouse were no exception. In the hackathon I attended, the theme was "hacking the house," and had three-fold aims: (1) developing a tech-related fix to a domestic problem of the MunichHouse, (2) optimizing the daily life of entrepreneurs, (3) fostering the cool image of the MunichHouse in a way that would positively surprise visitors. The first two aims could be evaluated as functional ones, focusing on bringing innovative solutions to problems or situations. However, the last one, the aim of making the house look cool, could be seen in a different light. The notion of *coolness* that puts certain actions, objects, culture, or ways of knowing under a spotlight has intrigued scholars for a long time. For example, Liu (2004) focuses on the rise of digital technologies and how such technologies have given rise to a new high-tech culture of cool. Liu argues that the notion of coolness is linked to the post-industrial notion of innovation, which focuses on the replacement of the old with the new. Using the narrative of coolness in the hackathon, then, could be seen as an effort to situate the co-living space within the new high-tech culture.

As a result of the hackathon in the MunichHouse, two projects are being created: the Athletic Fridge and the Chore Digitizer.[12] Even though the latter was not entirely developed during the hackathon, the aim during the hackathon was to further develop it by adding certain integration features. The former project, the Athletic Fridge, was created entirely during the hackathon. The aim of the project was to promote bodily movement before consuming food from the fridge. Both of the projects were presented

[11] Taken from the field notes, 09.03.2019.

[12] Both of the technologies are used in an anonymized form.

at the Pizza Gathering that occurred the same afternoon of the hackathon. After the presentation, the attendees voted on who developed the most promising idea that day.

To conclude, the adaption of hackathons into co-living spaces could be seen as an effort to position innovation-creation as one of the main components of entrepreneurial living. Moreover, innovation-creation could be seen as a new form of domestic work where entrepreneurs are expected to devote a particular time and effort.

The BayHouse. The practices of innovation manifest differently in the BayHouse. From time to time, they open their living room to external and internal events—not only for events organized by internal residents, but also for events organized by external guests. As the main focus of the BayHouse is not solely based on cultivating entrepreneurship, the events organized in the BayHouse are not only focused on innovation-creation activities like hackathons. Having said that, most of the events could still be considered innovative in character. According to residents, the BayHouse offers a variety of events, from technology-oriented subjects like renewable energy to workshops on edible mushrooms and organic food consumption. The main characteristic shared across all these events is to cultivate an exchange of ideas within and across communities.

Unlike the MunichHouse, the organization of events requires more of an individual initiative, not a communal one. When I was interviewing John, a resident of the BayHouse, he explained how the main responsibility of organizing an event is on the shoulder of the organizer: "You can take ownership and then you ask if anyone wants to help, but it's your responsibility and your event unless otherwise [specified]." (A resident of the BayHouse)

Susanne explains how they allow outsiders to organize events: "We've had people use our space as just a nice comfortable venue [...] So it's just a good space to open to the community." (A resident of the BayHouse)

Susanne continues:

> One of the guys who lived here, [...] organized some, almost like TedX style speaker series to talk about [...] economy and tech. Like ways that tech and AI are used to take away people's autonomy and [...] he went to Oxford and he had founded a think tank about new economic theory, so we have more intellectual type of speaker series [..] we had recently a

> renewable energy company come and give a talk about the product that they are making and projects that they were doing I think that they had some of their investors here. (A resident of the BayHouse)

According to Susanne's account, there have been several tech-related talks in the BayHouse where the speakers, organizers, and attendees come together and exchange tech-related ideas. These kinds of organizations could be seen as a source where innovation cultures are assembled through intersections of residents and participants.

In summary, as seen in the MunichHouse, the BayHouse also organizes events to stimulate innovation. I argue that this is a relatively new kind of domestic work where residents are required to spend particular time and attention to innovation creation. In the next section, I will focus on the final category of domestic work in entrepreneurial living: branding work.

6.5 Branding work

The research showed that co-living spaces often involve activities of branding, such as using logos to characterize the house or social media channels to connect with online communities. Branding does not exist in Williams' categorization of domestic labor, as it might not be a concern for a nuclear family. For example, nuclear families do not usually have web pages where they list the members of their family. However, creating a brand of co-living is one of the major streams of work in co-living spaces. That is why I included branding work as a distinct and new kind of domestic work in entrepreneurial living.

As briefly explained above, branding efforts of co-living spaces could vary from generating a name for the co-living space, to having a website, to choosing a logo. To start with, both the MunichHouse and the BayHouse have names which could be considered rather unusual compared to nuclear family houses or flatshares. Unfortunately, I can not write the actual name of these co-living spaces in order to protect their privacy. However, I could point out that both of the names of the co-living have a connotation with technology or science, which could be evaluated as an attempt to position them within the high-tech entrepreneurial culture.

Apart from their name, both of the co-living spaces have a website that explains the culture and vision of the co-living space. Additionally, the MunichHouse has a full profile of the residents, including their photos, brief resumes, interests, and hobbies.

On top of this, the MunichHouse lists the supporters with which they have had collaborative work with in the past. Finally, both of the co-living spaces have social media channels where they upload photos of the residents and guests and announce upcoming events and available rooms.

All of these efforts, from managing social media channels to websites to logos, could be seen as branding practices that aim to make the co-living space a brand. Such branding practices require a lot of time and human resource investments. For instance, there needs to be a person who constantly updates the social media platform and a person who designs the logo. Hence, branding work in co-living is a distinct kind of domestic work.

6.6 Results

This chapter focused on how living together is organized in co-living spaces. It is built upon the assumption that entrepreneurial living might involve new practices to organize domestic work, which in turn co-shapes both entrepreneurship and gender. It outlined that the way domestic work is handled in co-living spaces is often linked to entrepreneurial practices such as hackathons.

By laying out the different kinds of entrepreneurial aspects of domestic work, I offered *entrepreneurialization of domesticity* as a useful tool to explain how entrepreneurial mentality infiltrates the very dynamics of domestic labor. In order to unpack this notion, I used Williams (2001)'s list of domestic work as a blueprint, where she lays out all the work that needs to be done in traditional households. Williams (2001)'s list provided a base to understand the differences in housework that exists in traditional household versus entrepreneurial ones.

The chapter spotted five different processes leading to the entrepreneurialization of domesticity in housework and yardwork: (1) economization, where housework is positioned in relation to financial incentives, (2) vision-orientedness, where a domestic ideal is seen as a quality of success, (3) automation, where chores are optimized through automation, (4) gamifying, where the logic of gaming and competition is inscribed to chores, and (5) surveillance, where co-living life is exposed through online data and hidden cameras. When it comes to household management, the chapter argues that the way a household is managed in co-living spaces resembles the way

that start-ups are managed. In other words, co-living spaces often borrow the tools of management from start-up culture.

The chapter then moved to the practices of social capital development in co-living spaces. Here, I specifically focused on networking practices, and argued that networking practices should be considered a form of domestic work in entrepreneurial living, as networking is often framed as an integral part of entrepreneurial life. That is why I refer to this practice as *network work* and situate it as a type of domestic work in co-living.

I have noted two additional types of domestic work which do not exist in Williams (2001)'s schema but are rather unique to entrepreneurial living: innovation-creation and branding work. Differing from traditional families, co-living spaces tend to organize innovation-stimulating activities such as hackathons. These activities can be seen within the framework of the entrepreneurialization of domesticity, as they often borrow practices from entrepreneurship. Similarly, co-living spaces often brand themselves through different tools such as websites or social media channels. I argued that branding often requires dedicated time and effort and should therefore be framed as a type of domestic work.

At first glance, the way entrepreneurial living is organized in co-living might seem gender-free as the burdens of housework are often the responsibilities of all residents, independent of their gender. This might create the impression that it is the quality of being an entrepreneurial resident that makes one responsible for domestic work, not his/her gender. However, when we unpack the new ways of doing domesticity in entrepreneurial living, we see that gender comes into play in multiple ways. That's why, in the rest of this section, I will discuss how the notion of the entrepreneurialization of domesticity is linked to gender.

One of the entrepreneurial interventions to domestic life in co-living spaces is turning housework into a game. Throughout the chapter, I referred to this situation as *gamifying domestic work*. Gamifying can be framed as an entrepreneurial tool, where gaming principles are translated to housework in order to ease the seemingly boring and burdensome quality of domestic tasks. However, the gaming mentality is often built on the premises of competition, which has strong connotations to masculinity (Ahl, 2006). That is why, I argue, that the way domestic work is organized in co-living spaces is strongly informed by ideas of masculinity.

Creating a vision appeared as another intervention to domestic life in co-living spaces. Here, domestic vision is often linked to the idea of success. In that sense, a certain domestic ideal, such as a clean house, is framed as a goal that needs to be succeeded within a certain time. Take the example of the countdown system created in the BayHouse, for example. Here, a male entrepreneur named Martin took an individual initiative to create a website to enforce a certain domestic ideal. However, from the literature, we know that vision is always embodied, partial, and related to power (D. Haraway, 1988). When setting a domestic vision turns into a practice of entrepreneurial living, it is a good time to ask whose domestic vision it belongs to? Who has the power to create a vision? Who has the ability to create the technologies to enforce such a vision? Any kind of domestic vision could be, if not should be, always associated with its creators' background, mind, body, and experience.

Surveillance seemed to be another characteristic of organizing domesticity in co-living. In both the MunichHouse and the BayHouse, I observed a certain degree of surveillance, either deliberately using hidden cameras in order to enforce surveillance over the cleaning tasks, or in the form of keeping online data in relation to housework. Even though surveillance might not necessarily be an entrepreneurial aim or a quest, it can still be seen as entrepreneurial in character as it is a by-product of the high involvement of information technologies in domestic constellations. In both of the co-living spaces, in order to apply an entrepreneurial way of thinking to domestic work, private domestic life becomes exposed and vulnerable. In other words, the private sphere, which is historically coded as feminine, becomes an arena of entrepreneurial gaze.

Finally, domestic tasks are linked to monetary incentives in co-living. This is applied, for example, in the form of monetary punishment for not doing a certain domestic task in the MunichHouse. Arguably, such an incentive can be positioned at the center of entrepreneurial mentality, where monetary profit is the main motivation for taking or not taking an action. Yet, monetary punishment can be seen as a highly contentious issue in enforcing domestic work. There has been a long feminist discussion about the commodification of domestic labor and whether it is good or bad in liberating women. As Huws (2019) writes, for example, with the introduction of digitalization, housework becomes "the epicenter of capitalism." She creates a direct link between women's liberation to the ability of feminist strategies to challenge capitalism. Here, I echo Huws (2019). As the example of co-living shows, there is a

trend of linking domestic work to monetary incentives. For some, an entrepreneurial way of handling domesticity might be an ideal solution. Yet, others might despise it. Whatever the conclusion, I argue that this debate needs to receive more public attention and be orchestrated in a way that contributes to the liberation of people who are mainly responsible for housework, yet often not paid for it.

By observing different characteristics in entrepreneurial living, I offered *entrepreneurialization of domesticity* as a useful concept to explain how entrepreneurial masculinity infiltrates the very dynamics of domestic labor. I argue that within the framework of entrepreneurialization of domesticity, notions of masculinity are being mobilized as interventions to domestic work. What's more, entrepreneurial interventions seem to reconfigure the visibility—or invisibility—of domestic labor. As seen in both the MunichHouse and the BayHouse, the domestic work performed by entrepreneurs is deemed as highly visible. Domestic work in the hands of masculine entrepreneurialism suddenly becomes a new source of entrepreneurial pride and reputation, something that is not only cool to do, but also cool to show to others. However, this is not the only story. In the MunichHouse, for example, the house cleaner was a woman whose presence was usually not visible to the eyes of residents. Even though she was the main person in charge of cleaning and was regularly coming to the co-living space to take care of the so-called menial tasks, her work was essentially invisible, mundane, and definitely not entrepreneurial.

To conclude, as shown throughout the chapter, the way domesticity is entrepreneurialized in co-living spaces reconfigures both notions of entrepreneurship and gender, though on different levels. In the next chapter, I will continue to explore the mutual shaping of entrepreneurship and gender by focusing on the social ties created and maintained between the residents.

Chapter 7

"We are coworkers, but we are also family": Entrepreneurial Kin in Co-Living Spaces

I saw them as my little family. (An ex-resident of the MunichHouse)

This is how Jimmy, an ex-resident of the MunichHouse, described his fellow residents: family. His eyes sparkled when he said this sentence. It was surprising, considering he had lived in this co-living space for just a couple of months. Yet, he was definitely not alone in his attribution. During my fieldwork, many participants often referred to other residents as *family* or *family-like*. Moreover, during the fieldwork, the narrative of family was everywhere. Just to give an example, the communal dinners were called "family dinners" at the BayHouse.

Drawing on these empirical insights, this section explores the family-like ties which are often adopted by the residents of co-living spaces. I refer to this social tie as *entrepreneurial kin*,[1] a form of social tie that is developed among entrepreneurs, providing them the support system they often need to pursue an entrepreneurial lifestyle. One function of entrepreneurial kin is to bring entrepreneurs from different backgrounds with similar entrepreneurial experiences together, creating a deep yet fluid social tie. That is why, throughout the chapter, I argue that entrepreneurial kin is mobilized as a resource in which the figure of the entrepreneur is negotiated, assembled, and reconfigured.

In the introductory section of this chapter, I will further explain the term entrepreneurial kin. Then, I will discuss how entrepreneurial kin is linked to the nor-

[1] I would like to express my sincere thanks to Prof. Dr. Adele Clarke for her suggestion of naming this concept as entrepreneurial kin as well as her valuable contribution to the overall chapter.

mative demands of entrepreneurship. Here, I will specifically focus on the constant demand for international mobility that is often framed as a necessity in entrepreneurial pursuit. Linking the requirement of constant international mobility to the loosening of familial ties, I will then discuss the need for entrepreneurial ties. After providing a couple of examples of entrepreneurial kin, I will finally discuss how this term is linked to the contemporary feminist imaginary of kinship.

The figure of the entrepreneur is often linked to a set of normative demands which an entrepreneur is expected to fulfill in order to stay relevant within their field. One such normative demand is the requirement of constant international mobility. For instance, as Agarwal et al. (2004) writes, innovation is made possible by people moving from one place to another. This requirement affirms that in order to be innovative, an entrepreneur has to be constantly on the move, chasing the next innovative idea. For instance, Germany might be presented as a good future step for a tech entrepreneur who would like to specialize in the car industry. Similarly, Silicon Valley is often presented as a promising option for an entrepreneur who would like to pursue an investor. Both of these examples often require an individual to move from one country to another.

Constant international mobility is perhaps best depicted as a requirement among entrepreneurial subjects in academia. Latour, for instance, portrays an academic called Pierre Kernowicz, who trades one location for the next, in order to achieve greater academic credibility (Latour, 1993).[2] Pierre, as Latour writes, travels to different countries like France and the U.S., not hesitating to change his location at any given moment for higher academic credibility. Challenging this expectation, Fochler (2010) criticizes the requirement of constant international mobility with the notion of "cosmo-idiots." As argued by Fochler (2010), contemporary researchers are expected to be internationally mobile all the time. Yet this requirement does not lead to engaging with the local community, rather researchers live in their own bubble of work, which results in posturing them as oblivious cosmopolitans who do not experience the geographical reality of their place of residence (Fochler, 2010 as cited in Müller, 2014b).

The ramifications of the omnipresence of constant international mobility have major consequences. Often, this requirement means that individuals have to leave

[2]The original French version of this article has been cited in the bibliography section. I have used an unpublished English translation of the manuscript here. Nonetheless, the accuracy of the unpublished translation has been confirmed by a native speaker.

their immediate social connections, families, and friends and sail to unknown parts of the world where they don't know a single soul. Even though they might stay in touch with their close ties (via communication technologies, for example), they often lack social ties in their new location. What's more, even if they are in contact with their family and friends, these family and friend circles are often unable to understand the rhythm of entrepreneurship and, accordingly, might not be able to provide the social support an entrepreneur needs. In some cases, entrepreneurship can have even detrimental effects on these relationships. For example, scholars such as Wright and Zahra (2011) argue that when entrepreneurs become obsessed about working hard for their business, it negatively impacts family life and harms the existing kinship ties. Hence, the qualities of entrepreneurship sometimes lead to the loosening of familial ties.

Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2004) argue that the loosening of familial ties is very much linked to the idea of individualization in which traditional social ties, which once played a major role in shaping people's lives, lose their importance. Accordingly, Beck-Gernsheim (1998) argues that the contours of family are being rewritten. She refers to this new understanding of family as "post-familial family," (Rosenmayr, 1992 as cited in Beck-Gernsheim, 1998, p.54) which is a "new historical form" (Beck-Gernsheim, 1998, p.54) of family that includes alternative ways of family-making and building traditional family networks. Similarly, Beck (1992) refers to the evolution of familial ties:

> With the extension of the dynamic of individualization into the family, forms of living together begin to change *radically*. The relationship between family and individual biography loosens. The lifelong standard family, which sublates the parental biographies of men and women summarized in it, becomes a limiting case, and the rule becomes a movement back and forth among various familial and *n*on-familial forms of living together, specific to the particular phase of life in question. (Beck, 1992, p.114)

It is important to note that Beck (1992) does not argue for the end of the nuclear family, but rather for its transformation. He argues that the connection between the individual and the family will be loosened as a result. Though the idea of a nuclear family will still exist, new forms of living will also become viable options

for individuals throughout different phases of their life. Consequently, the historical ideals of a nuclear family will shift from being the dominant practice to simply being one option among others (Beck, 1992).

The previous paragraphs posit that entrepreneurial activity might necessitate the loosening of familial ties due to geographical distance and other considerations. Yet, as Tsing (2015) states, individuals often need a web of relations to maintain their lives. In this case, we could ask ourselves, how can an entrepreneur maintain living in the absence of ties? Here, I argue that entrepreneurial kin becomes a solution to provide the support entrepreneurs often need. Entrepreneurial kinship ties can take multiple forms. For example, it can be in the form of supporting a fellow entrepreneur on the verge of a nervous breakdown if they do not get the funding they need. It can be in the form of providing an opportunity to present their start-up idea to others. It can also manifest in small things, like congratulating someone on achieving the daily goal that they set for themself. Whatever form it takes, entrepreneurial kin surrounds the entrepreneur with a support system.

Before going into the empirical examples of entrepreneurial kin, I would like to pause to reflect upon the notion of *kinship*. Here, the notion of kinship I adopt does not refer to traditional kinship ties based on legality or blood, such as marriage or children,[3] rather, I specifically refer to the feminist STS agenda, which encourages all humans and non-humans of all backgrounds to cultivate alternative types of kin (Clarke & Haraway, 2018). Accordingly, D. J. Haraway (2016) and Clarke and Haraway (2018) conceptualize kin as a specific kind of imaginary focused on issues like reproductive, environmental, or multispecies justice. The idea here is that creating alternative kinship ties with human and non-human actors plays an important role in stopping or at least slowing down the ongoing destruction of the earth. Therefore, kinship is imagined as a tie that cultivates responsibility towards the self and others. By tracing entrepreneurial kin in co-living spaces, I assess its potential contribution to this particular feminist imaginary that aims to create social justice through the means of kin.

In summary, this chapter traces social ties in co-living spaces, especially those framed as family-like. To analyze these social ties, the chapter asks: How do residents attribute value to family-like social ties in co-living spaces? and what do these

[3]An interested reader could refer to Schneider (1984)'s book, *A Critique of the Study of Kinship*, for a comprehensive understanding of traditional kinship ties.

social ties provide? The next section examines the notion of entrepreneurial kin and discusses it in three main dimensions: (1) entrepreneurial kin as a family-like tie and how it manifests in co-living spaces, (2) the different types of emotional resources that entrepreneurial kin provides, and (3) how entrepreneurial kin is transformed in relation to time.

7.0.1 Entrepreneurial Kin as a Family-like Tie

In the introduction of this chapter, I presented entrepreneurial kin as a notion to explain family-like ties that are built among the residents of co-living spaces. This section will dive into the empirical evidence to further support this notion. Among interview participants of the MunichHouse and the BayHouse, it was common to define their fellow residents as *family* or *family-like*.

In the BayHouse, the narrative of family was apparent from the very start. For example, residents organized what they called "family dinners" where all residents have dinner together and talk about their day or any other subject they are interested in. Residents explain that one reason for family dinners is to strengthen the ties among the BayHouse members. Family dinners were often organized twice a week: Sundays and Wednesdays. The dinners on Sundays were *the member's only* family dinner, which only residents of the BayHouse were allowed to attend. However, the family dinners organized on Wednesdays were open to the friends and relatives of residents. In the quote below, Susanne describes the family dinners as:

> Every time we cook a meal, we have two cooks. One is the head chef who plans the menu and one is the sous chef who helps prepare things and chop and stuff like that [...] so family dinners is the thing that we do twice per week. (A resident of the BayHouse)

The existence of family dinners could be seen as a particular attempt to recreate familial relationships within the atmosphere of co-living. The discourse of family, however, was not only limited to the existence of family dinners. When I asked John, a resident of the BayHouse, what the best part of living in a co-living space is, he said:

> I think it's coming home or to like people in the kitchen or waking up and making breakfast and food and talking and joking and just having that

> unstructured family community feel of like the support and friendship. (A resident of the BayHouse)

John's emphasis on the "unstructured family community" could be seen as a direct comparison of the co-living community to a family. In John's account, the notion of family is grounded in relation to the daily routines of living, such as making breakfast. Moreover, his understanding of family and friendship seems to be linked to the idea of support. In another interview, Emma explains the reason why she and her husband decided to live in a co-living space: "[We thought] it would be nice to have some people around because we live out here on our own. Our families are on the East Coast in New York and Tennessee, so you know, we decided, ok, we're gonna stay [in the co-living space] and we'll see how it goes." (Ex-resident of the BayHouse)

Emma and her husband's motivation for moving into a co-living space was to be surrounded by people who could support them in the absence of their families. One of those supportive persons was a resident named Klara. Emma explains how she perceived Klara:

> My housemate [Klara] who lived in the room next to us, she was in love with [my son]. We have a joke that she is his first girlfriend. So she would come down every morning and have coffee with us and sit with us and just hang out while I would feed him. She very much values family and we consider her like an extended family member. (An ex-resident of the BayHouse)

This quote is an example of how making kinship today involves mobility (Kroløkke et al., 2016). When Emma and her husband moved to the BayHouse in search of a social tie in the absence of their families, they ended up connecting with different people such as Klara, who they call an extended family member. The tie between Klara and Emma's family resembles the notion of "supplementary voluntary kin," where certain social ties fill the void in the absence of legal or blood kin who are geographically far away (Braithwaite et al., 2010). Emma's family is too far away to provide the physical support that is often required for a newborn baby. Here, Klara's support was supplementary to the support provided by Emma's existing family and friends, yet still crucial for Emma, to the point that she defined Klara as family.

The narrative of family-like ties does not only appear in the BayHouse. The residents of the MunichHouse also mobilize similar connotations. For example, Jimmy explains how he perceives the residents of the MunichHouse:

> I saw them as my little family. [...] They're always welcoming and they're always extremely supportive of whatever I was doing [...] I would act the same way to them, you know, in return. So in that sense, with the relationship and the support network and all of the activities, very much so felt... like we were a growing family. (An ex-resident of the MunichHouse)[4]

In Jimmy's account, the members of the MunichHouse are seen as family. He specifically highlights two reasons why he considers the MunichHouse residents as family: their unconditional support and welcoming attitude towards residents. When I asked what is specific about co-living spaces that create family-like ties, he answers:

> I honestly think [...] with start-up culture, their whole thing is that they don't want to be, like traditional big business companies, right. They don't want to have really strict processes or really strict work culture. And their whole idea is that, you know, "Everyone here is close. We're a small team." You know, "We see, we're coworkers, but we're also family" type of idea. And I think the co-living spaces kind of push that idea a little bit further, right? Because now, not only we're coworkers, but we're now roommates. And that kind of forces you to interact with each other on a more personal level. (An ex-resident of the MunichHouse)

In this quote, Jimmy creates a connection between the entrepreneurial mode of subjectivity and the logic of co-living spaces and how the latter acts as an extension of the former. According to him, it is the normative demand of the entrepreneurial ideal of blurred boundaries—of work and leisure—has been translated into the idea of co-living. In that sense, living together has been characterized as a conditioning process that makes members of co-living spaces interact on a more personal level. Even though family-like relationships were common among member of co-living spaces, it was not shared with everyone. Especially in the MunichHouse, there were some residents who define their ties to other members differently. Consider Peter's quote:

[4]I have used parts of this quote at the beginning of this chapter.

> I have a really certain definition of the word "friend" [...] Friend is not everyone for me [...] It's always hard to say that in three months someone is a good friend to you [...] Friendship grows over years for me. [...] I've really kind of grown fond of the people living here. So it's not like just colleagues or just residents, but it's this step before friends? [...] Well...it's definitely not just "person you know" [...] Some people are really like residents for me, and some are going to be friends. (A resident of the MunichHouse).

Peter constructs a certain hierarchy of social ties and clearly differentiates friends from residents. Friends are considered people who he builds high personal attachments with. Note that he does not use the narrative of family-like ties when defining co-living residents. In his account, temporality has been characterized as the most important quality to grow a friendship tie. Since co-living is usually for a shorter period of time, he does not define members of co-living spaces as friends. In order to define some residents with whom he feels closer, he creates an in-between category of residents and friends. Just like Peter, Jeff, another resident of the MunichHouse, mentions time as an important factor in bonding with someone. He explains: "I need half a year until I'm familiar with people, although I like a big shared flat, I also need some degree of stability." (A resident of the MunichHouse)

Even though both co-living spaces had residents who employed the narrative of family-like, when defining their fellow residents, there was a difference between the MunichHouse and the BayHouse. Accordingly, the residents of the BayHouse tended to use the family-like narrative more commonly in comparison to the residents of the MunichHouse. Also, most of the residents of the MunichHouse who used this narrative had international backgrounds. One factor that might explain this difference could be due to the cultural differences in building social ties in different countries. In Germany, people are known to define themselves as more reserved when it comes to building a new social tie, whether it is a friendship or a family-like tie. People from Germany often sustain their existing social ties for many years. It is not uncommon to find people who still maintain their kindergarten friendships for their entire lives. In this perspective, building a family-like tie in Germany may be framed as something that requires a very long time to forge. Thus, the short amount of time provided in co-living settings might lack the time required to build a close tie with the other residents in the German context. Compared to Germany, it seems more

likely to build closer social ties in a shorter amount of time in the U.S. Though this assumption might explain why the MunichHouse residents were more reluctant to use the narrative of family-like in defining other residents, one has to be careful about using nation-wide generalizations. Accordingly, I offer the aforementioned assumption as only an optional explanation while being aware of the existence of other types of interpretations.

7.0.2 Entrepreneurial Kin as an Emotional Resource

Interview results show that one of the functions of building entrepreneurial kin is acting as an emotional resource. Emotional support manifests in various ways, such as offering encouragement, providing reassurance, showing up in times of need, or empowering individuals. In the case of co-living spaces, I will provide five examples of emotional support that are created through entrepreneurial kin: shared entrepreneurial experiences, encouragement, mentorships, relatedness, or gender-specific circles.

Shared entrepreneurial experiences. One of the ways residents provide emotional support to each other is through the mobilization of shared experiences. Consider Silke's quote: "This is good to be in an environment like that, because you have people who have a similar experience, and its up and down up and down, but you're not by yourself." (A resident of the MunichHouse)

Here, Silke explicitly states that living with people who have similar entrepreneurial experiences creates the opposite feeling of loneliness. But it is not only a sense of camaraderie that is created through these social ties. They also seem to help normalize the entrepreneurial mode of being. Silke continues to explain:

> In a startup event, it feels like everyone is just putting a mask on, like in this, show master, who is just telling how great, how perfect everything is working and going, and if you're here you see the reality, or you see that people are sometimes sad, or sometimes disappointed, or just want to throw everything on the ground, because it doesn't work, or nothing works, and then at some point, it works again.[5] (A resident of the MunichHouse)

[5] I have used this quote also in the Chapter 1.

In this quote, Silke expresses how living together is different from being in any other entrepreneurial setting. For example, entrepreneurs at start-up events might try to enact the ideal version of the entrepreneur, which often has the connotation of adopting an extremely positive attitude at all times. Goffman (1956) calls this tendency as "frontstage behaviour" (Goffman, 1956, 78) where the behavior of the individuals reflect the norms and expectation of society. However, this performance is often disrupted in co-living, as it is not an event-like setting but rather a form of living. Co-living provides residents an opportunity to observe each other over a longer time frame. This allows residents to witness each others' "backstage conduct" (Goffman, 1956, 78) where they often let their guard down and tend to be free of norms and expectations. When residents live together, they experience not only the good side, but also the challenges and setbacks of entrepreneurship that are often hidden from public view.

The exposure to other residents' lives over a period of time seems to have contrasting effects. On one hand, residents witness that other residents also sometimes suffer when things do not work and this might provide solace and solidarity between the residents who go through similar challenges. However, it also runs the risk of normalizing the problematic side of entrepreneurship. When residents notice others facing similar hurdles with entrepreneurship, they might conclude that suffering is an integral and normal part of entrepreneurship. In other words, witnessing the lives of entrepreneurs over a longer period of time could make the suffering part of entrepreneurship a norm.

Encouragement. Encouragement emerges as another form of emotional support that is mobilized in co-living spaces, as it motivates entrepreneurs in their pursuits. For example, when I asked Peter what the best part of living in a co-living space is, he said:

> The spirit in this environment. Because the others encourage, or we could each other to pursue your own ideas and dreams, and well, I start to work on an idea I had before again. [..] Because I pitched my idea and I got a lot of positive feedback for it and it was like yeah, you can try. [...] This positive encouragement is what I really like about this environment here because you have like this whole space to work but you can like talk with the others about your ideas and about what thrives you at the moment.

> And that's really really nice time of living together. (A resident of the MunichHouse)

In Peter's quote, other residents' encouragement to pursue his entrepreneurial ambition is one of the biggest advantages of living in a co-living space. Here, my field notes also support Peter's statement. I observed that the enactment of encouragement takes many forms in co-living spaces. It could be in the form of individual encouragement, where one member encourages the other to continue, for example, when they have lost an investor. But, it could also be in a collective form where the residents collectively provide feedback to each other's start-up ideas in events such as hackathons or pizza gatherings.

Alternatively, it could be in a more institutionalized form where the practice of encouragement has been routinized. For example, a MunichHouse resident created a system called the *Achievement Companion*,[6] which creates collective support for residents to achieve their goals. In the mornings, the residents send each other voice messages, declaring their goal for the day. This goal could either be professional, such as launching a website, or it could be a personal goal like losing weight. At the end of each day, they cross-check the day's accomplishments via voice messages using the digital communication platform. If a person's goal was not achieved, they are expected to explain why, and by doing so, keep themselves accountable to the residents and themselves. Andreas, an ex-resident of the MunichHouse, explains the Achievement Companion as: "Everyone was sending a voice message in the morning. Today, I achieved whatever. Sending the objective, making him bonded to his aim. And, the evening that you were kind of approved by the others." (An ex-resident of the MunichHouse)

In this quote, enactment of encouragement is seen as a tool for creating a bond between the self, the entrepreneurial objective, and the entrepreneurial community. Cultivating such a bond supports residents in achieving their entrepreneurial aims and, thus, makes them successful in their entrepreneurial endeavors. Also, seeking approval from others creates a self-responsibility to achieve the stated goal in the given time frame. In this case, therefore, the kin between the entrepreneur and the other entrepreneurs is built through the act of holding each other accountable.

[6]The name of this technology has been anonymized.

Mentorship. Mentorship is another form of emotional support present in co-living spaces. The MunichHouse has a mentorship program designed for newcomers, where an experienced resident is appointed as the mentor for new arrivals. The newcomer can ask questions about the routines of the co-living space and other topics, such as where to apply for internships or where to find the best bars in Munich. Sophia explains:

> When I moved into the house, I had an assigned mentor, which was someone like one of the house residents, and that was a person I could always go to, and maybe that also made it feel more, yeah, it just felt like it's an easier transition and I'm also moving in with people that I already like somehow, because we had other things in common, now I think that's where the emotional support was coming from. (Ex-resident of the MunichHouse)

Sophia's quote demonstrates that the mentor does not only give informational support but also provides emotional support for the new residents. Mentorship is also common practice in other entrepreneurial constellations, where experienced entrepreneurs or investors give mentorship to newcomers and, by doing so, pass along the know-how and insider knowledge of the industry. Such forms of mentorship cultivate networks among entrepreneurial actors. In MunichHouse, however, the mentorship does not only provide industrial know-how transition but also guidance to everyday life and routines of living. Within the everyday-ness, emotional support becomes one of the repertoires for building kinship.

Relatedness. Emotional support manifests itself not only in institutionalized practices like mentorship. It can also be in simpler forms, such as relating to other residents through common values or practices. Relatedness is different from shared experiences as the emotional support in relatedness does not necessarily derive from past experiences but rather from each individual's background, which creates a basis for building connections with others. Emma's quote could be an example of such relatedness: "I mean, the ways that we connected at [the BayHouse] were just so much more beyond housemates. People just naturally organically made connections on all different areas of interest and topics." (An ex-resident of the BayHouse)

Her quote illustrates how common interest areas are one of the ways in which people build relatedness. Matt expresses a similar narrative:

> I think that's the best part. And just always kind of feeling like you're connected to folks. I think that human connection is something that is one of the most important things for happiness and for health, and that's psychologically proven, you know. And in a house like this, you're always around other people. (A resident of the BayHouse)

In Matt's quote, the specific quality of a co-living space brings different types of people together and promotes human connection. This has been explained as one of the main catalysts for relatedness. In other words, the unique constellation of co-living space is seen as an advantage, as residents often find a chance to relate to one another. Another example of relatedness can be seen in Michael's quote:

> Well, I think it's a really important aspect of community in general and also just from a, I don't know, ethics and, being in 2019, I think it's important to move the needle forward in terms of how society is comprised and that I think we have an opportunity and if we look at the world that we're in right now is highly divided, divisive especially in the US but in a lot of other countries as well. So I think there is a really interesting opportunity to connect people who would not otherwise meet and do so on a really deep and lasting way. (A resident of the BayHouse)

Michael emphasizes how the BayHouse brings different people together who would not otherwise build such a connection. Once again, the co-living spaces are seen as platforms where people with different backgrounds can *relate* to each other.

Gender circles. Another form of emotional support in co-living is manifested in the practice of *gender circles*. When I was conducting the fieldwork, there were two active gender circles in the BayHouse: a men's circle and a women's circle. Both circles were not co-living exclusive events but rather individual initiatives of two of the residents of the BayHouse. Outside participants were also invited to join these circles. The gender circles were hosted in rotating houses, so sometimes in the BayHouse and sometimes in other participants' houses. One of the residents explains the main aim of these circles is to create gender-based solidarity among the participants. Martin, who is the organizer of men's circles, explains:

> One of the things about men in America [...] is that [...] we are not as good at making really intimate, personal, vulnerable friendships with other men as women are with other women and so [...] I realized a lot of my closest friends were women and realized there's a big opportunity to build that kind of relationship with men. (A resident of the BayHouse)

As seen in Martin's quote, men's circles in the BayHouse are inspired by women's friendship ties. In that sense, the main aim of men's circles was to create space for the manifestation of vulnerability and intimacy among the members of the circle. The existence of men's circles could be seen in line with Granovetter (1973)'s definition of a strength of a tie, where both the emotional intensity and intimacy are mobilized through the creation of certain practices. Matt further explains men's circles:

> [u]sually, it is just about sharing and supporting each other and having a safe space to share. [...] Each one [gender circles] is different. [...] But generally, it is a format where people gather weekly or monthly to share what's going on in their lives, stuff they're having problems with getting ideas from the group being vulnerable being like, "Hey, I'm going through a breakup." or, "Hey, I'm having trouble with my father, my mother." or, "I am feeling not confident." about all kinds of stuff. (A resident of the BayHouse)

Matt's quote shows that there are various personal topics raised in men's circles, such as romantic relationships, parental relationships, or personal matters. Additionally, men's circles are seen as spaces that are *safe* to express emotions. In essence, men's circles are designed to provide gender-based emotional support.

Similar to men's circles, there were also women's circles organized in the BayHouse. Silvia, a resident of the BayHouse, explains the routines of the women's circles: "We get together once a month, and it's a time for us to come together and have intentional time to talk about certain issues or talk about whatever is going on for us." (A resident of the BayHouse)

Both men's circles and women's circles could be seen as important practices for cultivating gender-based solidarity. It could be argued that through gender circles, gender becomes a fundamental sense-making device that helps build emotional ties among the participants of co-living spaces.

This section discussed that there are multiple ways to build emotional ties in co-living spaces, such as through shared experiences, enactment of encouragement, mentorship, relatedness, and gender circles. I argue that such emotional resources act as leverage in forming entrepreneurial kinship ties. In the end, it is the mobilization of emotional resources that bonds the members of co-living spaces together.

7.0.3 Temporality

Time is often framed as one of the most important elements when building family-like ties in co-living spaces. This section will discuss three aspects of time that impact entrepreneurial kinship ties: a shared past, the frequency of interaction, and post-co-living.

A shared past. Residents often express that the past that they shared together is one of the factors that bonds them together. Yet, they referred to the idea of shared past in different forms. For example, some residents already had a shared past long before moving into the co-living space. Others met in the co-living space but spent a lot of time together. To give an example to the former, a resident of the MunichHouse, Jeff, knew Benny before moving to the co-living space: "I used to live with [Benny] in Studentenstadt [...] We lived in a big shared flat." (A resident of the MunichHouse)

Sarah from the MunichHouse also lived with Benny and Jeff before moving to the co-living space together. "I knew [Benny] before. And [Jeff], we lived together at Studentenstadt[...] for a long time. So when I heard they were founding a new flat, I was completely in." (A resident of the MunichHouse)

Similarly, Emma from the BayHouse explains how she and her husband already had a shared past with one of the residents of BayHouse: "We had friends that lived at [the BayHouse], friends that we knew from camp, from this summer camp for adults." (An ex-resident of the BayHouse)

These examples show how previous interpersonal relationships constitute an important part of shared past and social bonding in co-living. Yet, most of the residents got to know each other not through previous friendship circles, but through living a shared life together in the co-living spaces. There are numerous residents who met at the BayHouse or the MunichHouse and lived together for a couple of years. This length of time inevitably creates a shared past among these residents.

The frequency of interaction. How often residents interact seems to have an implication on the creation and sustainment of entrepreneurial kin. Even though the residents live in one house together, the frequency of interaction of the residents tends to differ. Andreas explains this difference: "Seventeen people, imagine, there are people, I fall in love and there are people which I don't even know their name." (An ex-resident of the MunichHouse)

Here, Andreas expresses how he builds different levels of closeness with different residents. According to his account, it is not living together that automatically creates social bonds among the residents but rather the frequency of interaction with each one of them. I recorded a similar field note:

> Just like the MunichHouse, kitchen and living rooms tend to be the areas where people interact the most here [in the BayHouse]. Yet, most of the people tend to have one or two people whom they are close with. They tend to interact with the close ones more often.[7]

As seen in both Andreas' quote and in the field note, it is usually not the case that all members of the co-living space build deep social bonds. This might indicate that the frequency of interaction plays an important role in determining the strength of a social tie. In other words, when people interact together more, they tend to build stronger social ties. But, it seems to be two-way, meaning that when people have strong ties, they also tend to interact more with one another.

Tracing the kinship after co-living As previously explained, entrepreneurial kinship is characterized as a deep social bond that provides support to residents in co-living spaces. However, the findings show that these ties tend to dissolve once the social setting that allows such bonds to flourish disappears. In that sense, entrepreneurial kinship can be both deep and loose, depending on the time. Thomas' quote could be seen as an example:

> As an international person, you don't have family here, you know. So you try to identify with what is the closest that you can get to that. And at that time, that was kinda what it was, you know. It was people that I spend most of my life with [...]. I think the word family comes up just

[7] Taken from the field notes, 15.01.2020.

> because when I left there, I felt like I would always be welcomed there. (An ex-resident of the MunichHouse)

For Thomas, the creation of family-like ties was derived from the non-existence of traditional family kinship ties. Thus, the family-like ties that are built in an entrepreneurial setting are seen as rather functional. They are built to substitute or replicate the traditional family structure but only temporarily. This finding is in line with Braithwaite et al. (2010)'s characterization of the convenience of voluntary kin that is being formed "around a specific context (e.g., the workplace), time period (e.g., a support group during a 12-step program), or stage of life (e.g., undergraduate college years)" (Braithwaite et al., 2010, p.400-1). Similarly, entrepreneurial kin is often seen as a temporary relationship to support individuals with entrepreneurial pursuits. In other words, it is seen as instrumental. Another example of the instrumentality of entrepreneurial kin is shown in Jimmy's following quote. When I asked him when he had last contacted one of the residents, he answered:

> It has been a long time since I've talked to some of them, but I do have a few of them [...] that I'm close with like on my phone book, for example, on Instagram I message them every now and then.[...] A lot of it is mainly through social media. (An ex-resident of the MunichHouse)

Even though Jimmy previously defined the members of the co-living space as his family, once he was out of the MunichHouse, the density of relationships decreased from family-like intensity to mere social media acquaintanceship. It could be argued that the social tie is transformed from a strong tie to a weak one. Another example comes from Sophia; when I asked her how she would define her relationship with other residents, she answered:

> At this point, I don't keep in touch a lot with them. But I guess close acquaintances, maybe. I feel like if any of them would text me and ask me for something, I would definitely be there, or if I go to Munich, I would text them and say, "Hey, let's meet for a beer." So, that kind of relationship. (An ex-resident of the MunichHouse)

As seen in Sophia's quote, there was no regular interaction with the other residents after leaving the MunichHouse. Yet, at the same time, it is important to note that

Sophia still refers to other residents as *close acquaintances*, in spite of the lack of current interaction.

Despite the fact that most of the ex-residents expressed that they are not in frequent contact with the other residents once they move out, some ex-residents explained that they were able to sustain their relationship. Sometimes these relationships are even transformed into another form of kinship. The marriage of two housemates in the BayHouse, Klara and Leo, is an example of this situation. In her quote, Emma explains how Leo and Klara decided to get married while Klara helped Emma take care of her son:

> Our housemate who lived next door, [Leo], started spending time with [Klara] while she was watching [my son] and now they are engaged they're getting married next month and we were just at her bachelorette party this past weekend.[...] She found love again" (An ex-resident of the MunichHouse)

As shown in Leo and Klara's example, the family-like ties also have the potential to turn into traditional familial ties. In this case, instead of loosening the family-like tie, it gains a new meaning, trajectory, and strength. However, these cases were rather rare instances. Usually, once residents move out of the co-living space, the frequency of contact tends to decline.

7.0.4 Results

Throughout this chapter, I focused on a specific social tie that is built among entrepreneurs in co-living spaces. I have coined the term "entrepreneurial kin" to describe unstructured, family-like social ties that developed among entrepreneurs in order to cope with the normative demands of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurial kin is linked to the idea of "post-familial family" which highlights the increasing importance of individual biographies (Beck-Gernsheim, 1998). I argue that contemplating entrepreneurial kin can provide better insights about the contours of post-familial family, making us reflect on different types of ecologies of relations other than the traditional family ties.

This study reveals two important aspects of entrepreneurial kin: temporality and depth, which seemingly mutually shape one another. Entrepreneurial family-like ties tend to be very deep at the time of interaction, so much so that residents define each

other as family. Yet the intensity and frequency of interaction of these ties mostly endures only for the period of the co-living stay.

Results show that an important function of entrepreneurial kin is to provide emotional resources for entrepreneurs. These emotional resources can be in the form of emotional support in times of the dark side of entrepreneurship" (Shepherd, 2019; Wright & Zahra, 2011), such as the anxiety, loneliness, and exhaustion that are related to entrepreneurial pursuits. Emotional support can also provide encouragement for entrepreneurs as they fulfill normative entrepreneurial demands. In that sense, entrepreneurial kin has a potential to create a feeling of camaraderie when neoliberal subjects try to orchestrate multiple different expectations of entrepreneurship. Furthermore, the encouragement manifests in multiple ways, as seen in the example of the Achievement Companion, where entrepreneurs encourage one another to fulfill their daily goals. Moreover, entrepreneurial kin arguably helps to naturalize the practices of entrepreneurship. Especially when entrepreneurs witness other entrepreneurs going through challenges similar to their own, they tend to think that what they are going through is entirely normal. Here, the structure of co-living spaces can be particularly important since entrepreneurial residents have an opportunity to witness other entrepreneurs' lives for a longer time span as opposed to a short encounter as in a start-up competition. In total, these emotional resources are vital for entrepreneurs living increasingly mobile lives.

However, these ties are not necessarily developed by all the residents of co-living spaces. They tend to be built among a subset who interacts regularly and who are perhaps in need of (or in search of) emotional support. Thus, the concept of entrepreneurial kin does not suppose that all entrepreneurs (or, in this case, all the residents of co-living spaces) perceive each other as family. Still, the findings indicate that family-like attributions in co-living spaces are not uncommon.

Within the exploration of entrepreneurial kin, an important aspect to consider is the influence of gender at multiple layers. The first layer, and rather an obvious one, is in the shape of gender circles.[8] Entrepreneurs find comfort and support in same-gender gatherings (such as men's circles or women's circles), where they discuss their problems and be vulnerable without worrying about the judgment of the opposite gender. Such gatherings among entrepreneurs (and beyond) foster a sense of social connection that is informed and enabled by gender.

[8]As seen in the BayHouse.

The second layer where gender comes into play is in the very use of the word "family." The study findings reveal that the term "family" within entrepreneurial kin is typically used in a gender-neutral manner, devoid of specific gender connotations. For example, residents do not call each other "brother" or "sister,", as it is often seen in fraternities or sororities. Furthermore, the practices regarding entrepreneurial kin differ from the practices of the nuclear family in multiple ways. For example, entrepreneurs tend to manage their finances independently as opposed to the joint finances of many nuclear families. These points might seem like the justification to frame entrepreneurial kin as a genderless concept. However, as noted in STS literature, an absence of a reference does not necessarily indicate a lack of substance (Star & Strauss, 1999). Hence, ignoring gender connotation from the practice of entrepreneurial kin while still using the term "family" could be interpreted as an attempt to renegotiate the meaning of gender in the notion of family. Moreover, within a larger framework, decoupling gender from entrepreneurial social ties might constitute another manifestation of "gender blindness" (P. Lewis, 2006), disregarding the presence of gender dynamics in entrepreneurship.

The final—and most crucial—layer is rather a critique. I framed entrepreneurial kin as an alternative to traditional ties, as it was neither based on blood nor legality. Entrepreneurial kinship's perceived departure from traditional roles encouraged me to assess its promise—that it might be a form of kinship that could cultivate social justice. To this aim, I assessed if entrepreneurial kinship has a potential to contribute to the Feminist STS imaginary of kinship—which advises us to make kin with humans and non-humans to serve in the repair of the broken world due to centuries-long environmental destruction (Clarke & Haraway, 2018). However, the results of this study depict a different picture. Instead of producing social justice, entrepreneurial kinship tends to reinforce the demands of the neoliberal regime by proposing alternative ways for entrepreneurs to tolerate the precariousness that is engraved in the entrepreneurial figure. Instead of contributing to the effort of repairing the world, entrepreneurial kinship seems to perpetuate the existing forms of inequalities embedded in the neoliberal regime. I will further discuss this last point in greater detail in the discussion chapter.

Chapter 8

Discussion & Conclusion

The three empirical chapters of this dissertation present different ways in which the figure of the entrepreneur is gendered. In this discussion and conclusion section, I will bring the findings of the chapters together and situate them further with the goal of providing a rich critique of co-living spaces' potential to transform existing gender dynamics. To achieve this, the chapter findings will be analyzed in conjunction with recent discussions in Feminist STS, sociology of time, and kinship studies. I will especially problematize the temporal dimensions that surround and bound the figure of the entrepreneur and will draw conclusions on how these temporalities might inform heteronormative futures.

8.1 Discussion

The discussion section is structured around three distinctive points. First, I will focus on the co-shaping of gender and entrepreneurship, highlighting the multi-layered quality of this relationship. Second, I will problematize the notion of "afterward," a dominant temporal logic in co-living spaces, resulting in entrepreneurs pushing certain life decisions into the future. I will then discuss the notion of "entrepreneurial kinship"—a strong yet temporal social tie that is created among entrepreneurs in co-living spaces, and situate it further in a larger debate around gender and thus create a link between temporality and social ties. Before discussing these three points, I will first start briefly summarizing the main structure of the dissertation in order to create a basis for further discussion.

8.1.1 Brief Outline of the Dissertation

Our research questions act as an epistemological lighthouse to guide research in times of uncertainty and the overwhelming complexities of empirical cases. This dissertation adopts the following research question:

> How do gender and entrepreneurship mutually shape each other in co-living spaces?

Asking this research question makes it clear from the very start that it is inspired by a Feminist STS approach (Bray, 2007; Wajcman, 2004, 2010), namely mutual shaping (also known as co-shaping), and presupposes that gender both informs and is informed by entrepreneurship. In other words, gender relations are manifested in entrepreneurial practices while the figure of the entrepreneur, in turn, shapes the meaning of gender. Such an approach is rooted in a constructivist tradition and requires a deep commitment to integrating discursive, social, and material dimensions of technoscientific practices (Wajcman, 2010).

Staying true to the roots of Situational Analysis and the Grounded Theory tradition, I went into the field with the motto of seeking "sites of silences" (Clarke et al., 2018, p.108). Before long, it became evident that gender was a controversial issue in entrepreneurship that was either kept too silent or overexposed. The way gender is problematized in the entrepreneurial field created a basis and motivation for this research to further explore the meaning of gender in entrepreneurship.

Though the research question was intact and well-formulated from the beginning, it took a while to figure out a specific case that would help to understand both gender and entrepreneurship in equal depth. Back then, I was committed to finding a case that would put the entrepreneur in an unusual situation that would ultimately create enough contours to make especially silent gender relations visible. In parallel to my search, I came across a fascinating article by Marlow and Martinez Dy (2017) where they discuss how women are seen as "a generic proxy for the gendered subject" (Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2017, p.2) in entrepreneurship—when gender is in question it is always linked to women. They suggested that the current research trend of focusing only on women's issues in entrepreneurship runs the risk of reproducing the idea of women as deficient. To create more generative results, they urge researchers to focus on the wider implications of gender as a construct. To do so, they invite researchers to investigate the following three-fold research agenda in entrepreneurial research:

incorporating intersectionality, focusing on different (preferably non-hegemonic) kinds of masculinity, and situating the entrepreneur in a household.

The same week that I read Marlow and Martinez's article, I was invited to an entrepreneurial event in Germany. It was the first time there that I came across the idea of co-living spaces. Coming across the existence of co-living spaces was rather the desired moment in researchers' life: a moment of eureka. Soon after, I decided to explore the mutual shaping of gender and entrepreneurship in co-living spaces. By taking co-living spaces as the main case study, I aimed to situate the entrepreneur in a household that would potentially reveal different angles of gendered relations. The reason co-living spaces are an alluring as well as evocative research object is two-fold.

First, since the entrepreneurs not only work but also live in co-living spaces, it gives an opportunity to understand the often neglected aspect of entrepreneurial pursuit: its tie to domestic life. It is easy to imagine an entrepreneur giving an elevator pitch, but it is not usual to think of an entrepreneur taking out the trash, cooking, or cleaning. The domestic aspects of life are usually associated with the figure of the housewife, not the figure of the entrepreneur. Yet, the household dynamics are vital places where the entrepreneurial activity takes place (Carter et al., 2017). Thus, studying co-living spaces could give us the neglected link between domestic spaces and entrepreneurship. Considering the domestic space has usually associated with the feminine (Fraiman, 2017) and the figure of the entrepreneur is associated with the masculine (Ahl, 2006), the interplay between the two seems like a promising tension to tackle in a large research project such as a doctoral dissertation.

Second, households are usually seen as places where social ties are developed. These social ties are important, especially given the fact that they are seen as essential interpersonal ties which provide affective and financial support to the entrepreneur. Yet, the research on social ties in entrepreneurial households usually focused on copreneurial relationships where the spouses work together in their entrepreneurial venture (Brannon et al., 2013; McAdam & Marlow, 2013; Millman & Martin, 2007; Yang & Aldrich, 2014). Since co-living spaces are structurally different from copreneurial households—it is usually colleagues, not partners, who live together in co-living spaces—studying co-living spaces could have the potential to provide a fresh perspective to entrepreneurial households. It could also provide us with new ecologies of participation to entrepreneurial pursuits that were previously neglected.

Having the aforementioned motivations in mind, this dissertation is designed to create a dialogue between Science and Technology Studies, and Gender and Entrepreneurship Literature. There are other works that contribute to such a dialogue (such as (Bruni et al., 2005)), yet this dissertation aims to cultivate the interaction between the two disciplines even further by providing a rich case study on communal entrepreneurial living. Instead of focusing only on women as a gendered subject, I aimed to show that gender means more than just women's issues in the entrepreneurial field. To this end, I turned to STS studies and invited a wide array of theoretical approaches into this discussion.

Rather than focusing on men's and women's relationships in entrepreneurial households, I traced technologies, discourses, relatedness, and other material-semiotic practices that have a potential to show different ways of crafting gendered life. Shifting the spotlight from women in the entrepreneurial field is by no means intended to degrade the importance of women's engagement with entrepreneurial activities. Women's generative engagement with entrepreneurship is vital since entrepreneurship is not just an occupation but "a regime of subjectification" (Bröckling, 2016, p.xiii), which shapes what it means to be a human in the 21^{st} century. That's why making women's issues visible in entrepreneurship is arguably one of the true successes of decades-long academic work. However, it is time to focus on the overarching character of gender relations to potentially provide us with different perspectives. The ethico-political commitment of feminist scholarship requires innovative approaches to avoid reproducing discourses like *male as the norm*.

In three different empirical chapters, I focus on three different dimensions of co-shaping mechanisms of gender and entrepreneurship. These dimensions act as anchors that provide different entry points for understanding gender-in-the-making in co-living spaces:

Gatekeeping entrepreneurial living. Chapter 5, asks *who gets to live in co-living spaces?* By doing so, it aims to identify the practices and system of values that govern who lives in entrepreneurial communal living. I use the metaphor of *gatekeeping* in order to explain not only embodied actors who choose who will live in a co-living space but also the values that govern the logic behind the selection mechanism. I argue that the language of diversity is instrumentalized as a gate-keeping practice that ensures the creation and sustainability of entrepreneurial community.

Also, the findings show that the way the language of diversity is instrumentalized is very much linked to superhero narratives—I call this the "superhero model of diversity"—where the qualities of acquired human capital, such as hobbies and skills, inform the understanding of diversity in co-living spaces.

Dealing with domesticity. Chapter 6 traces the technologies used in co-living spaces that are created with the goal of organizing domestic tasks. The guiding question of the chapter is: *how are domestic tasks organized in co-living spaces?* Here, I offer "entrepreneurialization of domesticity" as a useful term to explain how an entrepreneurial mentality infiltrates the dynamics of domestic labor. Within the framework of entrepreneurialization of domesticity, I argue that the values that are typically coded as masculine inform the technological interventions that are created to organize domestic work.

Building social ties. The chapter 7 focuses on the social ties that are created and sustained in co-living spaces. These social ties are particularly important considering the increasing expectations of the neoliberal regime that entrepreneurs should be constantly mobile. The guiding question of the chapter is: *what kind of relationships are formed in co-living spaces?* Here, I argue that a particular bond emerges among co-living entrepreneurs that is not only limited to business interactions but also ubiquitous to all aspects of social life which provides both emotional and business support for the parties involved. I coin the term "entrepreneurial kinship" to refer to that specific social tie created among entrepreneurs who come from different walks of life yet share similar entrepreneurial experiences.

The three aforementioned empirical chapters focus on the three dimensions of co-shaping of gender and entrepreneurship. The rest of this chapter will further discuss these findings.

8.1.2 Multi-Layered Co-Shaping.

As explained earlier in this chapter, one of the biggest assumptions of this dissertation is that gender and entrepreneurship are co-shaping one another. Inspired by Feminist STS accounts of co-shaping (Wajcman, 2010), I assume that gendered constructs are manifested in entrepreneurial doings while the figure of entrepreneur re-configures how gendered relations are built. The results of this study not only support this

assumption, but also show that the co-shaping is happening in a multiple-layered manner.

During the fieldwork, I found no overt sexism[1] being articulated in the co-living spaces. Furthermore, there seemed to be a general acceptance of the idea that women can be (if not should be) entrepreneurs. However, in line with the perspectives of a number of scholars (Ahl, 2006; Bruni et al., 2004a, 2004b), the values that are typically associated with the entrepreneurial identity in both of the co-living spaces, resemble the values that are traditionally coded as masculine in the present Western society. For example, the interview participants often described entrepreneurship using values such as being competitive, seeking discomfort, being confident, and being willing to take risks—all traits commonly attributed to masculinity. Consequently, based on the findings, the figure of the entrepreneur seems to remain a highly gendered figure.

The results further suggest that the members of the co-living spaces tend to appreciate entrepreneurship as a meritocratic property that is available to anyone who is willing to enact entrepreneurial values or is simply eager to give "what it takes" to be an entrepreneur. Thus, many of the members of co-living spaces tend to treat entrepreneurship as a genderless endeavor, not necessarily acknowledging that the figure of the entrepreneur is a gendered figure which embodies the values that are usually coded as masculine. The tendency to treat entrepreneurship as a genderless concept is well-studied in the literature (P. Lewis, 2006). However, this does not necessarily mean that there was no gender awareness in the field. The respondents tend to acknowledge sexism in the start-up industry, especially the way it limits the number of women who engage in entrepreneurial activities.

Additionally, the results show that gender is evident in gate-keeping practices to determine who will live in entrepreneurial spaces and who will not. The concept of gate-keeping is inherently linked to inclusion and exclusion mechanisms, such as who is perceived as a legitimate entrepreneur or whose profile is considered a social fit. Here, the findings suggest that diversity is being instrumentalized as a gate-keeping practice in co-living spaces. It appears that co-living space gatekeepers prioritized diversity—in terms of backgrounds, interests, and hobbies—as a guiding rationale for selecting who will be part of the entrepreneurial community. Within this context, gender is often utilized as a resource to bring diversity to co-living communities. For

[1]By the term sexism, I refer to personal or structural discrimination and/or prejudice on the basis of one's own sexual orientation or gender identity.

instance, throughout the fieldwork, respondents articulated multiple times that there were efforts to increase the number of women residents. One good example is gender quotas that were introduced for a limited period of time by the members of the BayHouse to only select women as new members to balance the gender distribution.

However, apart from these carefully orchestrated efforts, the methods that are integrated into selecting mechanisms for new members tend to include activities that are traditionally coded as masculine, such as playing pool or video games. So while there is an openness to welcoming non-male participants to be part of the co-living community in both co-living spaces, such openness tends to be only for those who subscribe to the masculine-coded values independent of their gender. Additionally, there was a noticeable lack of any reflection that might lead to a change in the notion of what the figure of entrepreneur entails. Instead, the "add women and stir" approach (Harding, 1995, p.295) tended to be embraced, integrating only a handful of women into the existing infrastructure without questioning the internal dynamics of this very structure. Including women without questioning the overall gender dynamics of the co-living spaces seems to result in an omission of a wider gender debate, which includes but is not limited to topics like lived experiences of queer and non-binary entrepreneurs, as well as the role of intersectionality in entrepreneurship.

Another kind of co-shaping is linked with the tension between two different domains: entrepreneurship and domesticity. The former is usually framed along with traditionally masculine-coded values (Ahl, 2006), while the latter is associated with traditionally feminine-coded values (Fraiman, 2017). Here, the findings show that the active engagement of the figure of the entrepreneur within the domestic sphere does not necessarily alter its masculine-coded connotations that are usually connected to the figure of the entrepreneur. In other words, entrepreneurship seems not to be tainted by the domestic, and the figure of entrepreneur seems not to be feminized. Instead, domesticity-related issues are being absorbed into the domain of entrepreneurship and treated as if they are other entrepreneurial problems to solve. Domesticity is, thus, being entrepreneurialized.

The findings further suggest that domesticity emerges as a problem in co-living spaces that is in need of constant solutions. Within the framework of entrepreneurialization of domesticity, the interventions that are introduced to solve the problem of domesticity were very much linked with the accounts of technological entrepreneurship. A good example is the hackathons organized in the MunichHouse. These

hackathons frame domesticity as a challenge to overcome by stating the theme as: "hack the house." Embracing values that are usually coded as masculine, such as competition, exemplifies how domesticity becomes an arena that is constantly needed to be tinkered with through masculine-coded values.

8.1.3 A Delayed life.

Co-living is infused with a sense of "afterward." Life goals that are usually associated with traditional lifestyles such as getting married, having children, or settling down are often postponed until the entrepreneur is decidedly successful. The sense of afterward might not be dominant and visible in the co-living spaces at first glance. Yet, it almost acts as a vanishing point in paintings[2] organizing where everything else needs to be directed.

As seen in Chapter 5 in Section 5.3, a large number of residents referred to getting married or having children as the main reason for leaving co-living. For those residents, co-living is viewed as a temporary form of living that helps sustain life until traditional ways of life come along. In other words, the traditional form of living that is usually associated with adult life is actively pushed into the future until entrepreneurial activities reach a certain level of success. In that sense, the dominant temporal understanding in a co-living space seems to be linked with the entrepreneurial idea of hustling until the entrepreneurial project works out. Pimentel (2013) and Sawyer et al. (2018) frame the logic of pushing things into the future in two different ways: "the extended adolescence" (Pimentel, 2013) or "the age of adolescence" (Sawyer et al., 2018) . Both terms indicate a widened period of adolescence, which significantly extends the transitory period between childhood and adulthood.

Pimentel (2013) argues that the time period that is usually reserved for adolescence has been extended due to wider cultural change, which includes, but is not limited to, a shift in parental expectations. Accordingly, previous generations were expected to take care of themselves, even in their pre-teen years. Yet, as the author suggests, the contemporary generation of parents is more protective of their children, which results in preventing them from taking responsibilities and therefore extends the time devoted to adolescence.

Sawyer et al. (2018)'s idea of "the age of adolescence" resonates with the idea of an extended adolescence. According to Sawyer et al. (2018), there have been a

[2]Fluchtpunkt in German.

number of important societal changes that have altered the period of adolescence, extending it from the age of 10–19 to the age of 10–24. First, physical growth is no longer expected to stop after teen years, but extends into the twenties. Furthermore, contemporary generations are pushing important social milestones such as getting married, being a parent, or graduating to later ages than their parents. In summary, all of these conditions are presented as reasons for lengthening the time allocated for adolescence.

Both concepts of an extended adolescence or the age of adolescence refer to a temporal logic of pushing the idea of growing up out into the future. For the sake of simplicity, from now on, I will refer to this particular logic as "delayed life." I argue that there is a link between the logic of delayed life and the logic of co-living spaces; in both, there is an effort to postpone certain aspects of life. In order to lay the groundwork for making sense of the idea of a delayed life as a particular temporal logic of co-living, I will now visit important concepts from the sociology of time and STS, which focus on temporality in contemporary Western societies. These concepts are respectively: the state of anticipation, entrepreneurial self, and latent individualization.

Adams et al. focus on the notion of anticipation as a temporal object, defining anticipation as "thinking and living toward the future" (Adams et al., 2009, p.246). They argue that the idea of anticipation is a defining quality of the present moment. In that sense, anticipation organizes not only the future moment but especially the present moment. The present, however, often is ignored or deemed less important in the promise of a better future. They write: "[t]he present is governed, at almost every scale, as if the future is what matters most" (Adams et al., 2009, p.248). Importantly, the state of anticipation is not only composed of certain tendencies shared between individuals but rather acts as a dominant logic to govern contemporary subjectivities.

The temporal characteristics of contemporary Western society also act as a useful resource in defining the figure of the entrepreneur. Here, Bröckling explains how the entrepreneurial self is "a subject in the gerundive—not something that exists but something that ought to be brought into existence" (Bröckling, 2016, p.20). That is why the entrepreneur is not considered an empirical entity, but rather a "normative model of the human" informing the idea of what people are supposed to become (Bröckling, 2016, p.21). The temporal pressure, thus, makes the entrepreneur in a constant struggle to be what one is supposed to be.

Within this constant rush to chase the future (whether it is the future self, promise, funding or expectations, etc.), the entrepreneurial selves tend to render the current constellations, such as positions, countries, and social environment, as only instrumental—as a means to an end. Müller captures this in her concept of *latent individualization* where she explores the temporalities of academic work as part of new public management (Müller, 2014a, 2014b). She argues that under the specific conditions of academia, which could be characterized by competition and mobility, postdocs tend to relate their existing collective context from the perspective of their future selves and their career needs. One thing that is very important here is that the future self that is echoing back is the future self that is no longer part of its current collective context. That is why postdocs tend to perceive the social relations in their current positions only as instrumental.

All three concepts—the state of anticipation, the entrepreneurial self, and latent individualization—express a certain temporal logic that instrumentalizes the present moment for the sake of a golden future. I argue that such a temporal dynamic also resonates in co-living spaces. As a relatively new form of living, co-living residents tend to actively push things into the future while the present moment is seen as a moment of hustling in order to achieve a better future.

The efforts to delay life that are usually associated with adulthood create an interesting tension between having the privileges of a child versus not having the ability to demand certain things that are usually associated with adult life, such as financial, emotional, or geographical stability. A good example of the former point is the efforts to gamify chores in the MunichHouse. By transferring the logic of gaming into non-game contexts, the residents seek to alter the burdensome connotations that are usually associated with adult domestic tasks.

It could be argued that the privileges of a child that are offered to the entrepreneur are not limited to co-living spaces, but rather are emblematic of the wider tech culture and are linked to the idea of *not growing up*. To this end, early adulthood gets extended until it is no longer feasible. Furthermore, there is a sense in entrepreneurship that one needs to stay very young for a long time. This sense seems to be connected to the act of pushing things into the future and fashioning a kind of contrived youth which is more compatible with a certain way of living where one can not demand certain things such as stability. This speaks to a kind of extended period of hovering in space, which is not necessarily considered bearable in the long run for entrepreneurs.

It is rather seen as a band-aid solution. However, because it is a transitory quality, it is seen as something that one will grow out of.

Arguably, the delayed life reflected in co-living spaces is linked with wider aspects of the economy, specifically connected with the erosion of the middle class in Western societies. To put it bluntly, there is an aspect of the economy that forces delaying life. Most entrepreneurs in their late twenties or early thirties are not able to afford a house in expensive tech hubs like the Bay Area. Accordingly, most interview participants mentioned the economic necessity of living in a co-living space, as they had no other option than to live in a shared housing community.

But even if shared housing is seen as a necessity, it is also framed as advantageous. In some sense, co-living almost acts as an extended dorm experience, a carefree stage of life where one does not need to get one's act together, and can delay adulthood for perhaps another decade. Still, living in co-living spaces usually is not seen as a pitiful existence. It is rather the opposite. The results of this study show that the economic necessity that motivates one to live in a co-living space is often rendered as a silent narrative. Rather, notions about living in a co-living space are usually linked with positive values such as coolness and trendiness. If entrepreneurs are not able to afford the luxuries associated with adult life, why not enjoy the freedom, flexibility, and playfulness that entrepreneurship provides? That's why it is not accidental, for example, that gamification of domestic tasks is very present and very much appreciated in co-living spaces. This is not to argue that entrepreneurial interventions in domestic life are indeed more progressive. But the residents of co-living spaces tend to see them as more progressive and enjoy them as compensation for having to live with other people due to economic limitations.

But if co-living space is infused with the sense of afterward, an interesting question to ask is, what is expected from afterward? Here, the logic of entrepreneurship and the logic of being in a co-living space seems to be very much connected with the logic of wealth. In most cases, there is the idea that the entrepreneurial project will be successful, and such success will be followed by wealth. The wealth will create the resources to allow the transition to the traditional ways of living. In that sense, co-living is seen as a halfway house. There is an expectation that "afterward" will bring large spaces, big houses, families, and traditionality in every way.

Arguably, the idea of afterward is linked with the American dream:[3] a heteronor-

[3]or its Bavarian equivalent.

mative family with children, a car, and a large house. It might be surprising to find the old American dream among the molecules of progressive ways of living. But it is very much alive, in flesh and blood, though it stays invisible to the naked eye. The American dream acts as the vanishing point—which I referred to earlier—that organizes life in co-living spaces.

In conclusion, co-living is a compensation practice to cope with the challenges that arise from the precariousness of an entrepreneurial lifestyle. It compensates that the rents are too high, it compensates that residents are expected to be mobile all the time, or it compensates for maintaining a house. It is seen as an arrangement for now, but it does not intend to revolutionize how we live in the long run. Instead of choosing traditional occupations such as becoming a lawyer or a doctor, the entrepreneur bets on a new title that would provide certain luxuries, such as flexible working hours. Still, there is a character of gambling underneath the surface. By accepting a life that is uncertain, communal, space-wise small, and not traditional, the entrepreneur enters a lifestyle that supports a delayed life, which allows one to bet on a certain kind of living for a while until one becomes successful enough to achieve traditional values. However, it does not mean that co-living mobilizes a real transformation in modes of living; rather it serves as new means to achieve old goals.

Even though the idea of co-living looks progressive on the surface, it is still inscribed into an old logic. The temporality that exists in co-living spaces does not necessarily challenge traditional layouts of life, traditional gender norms, or heteronormative futures. Instead, traditionality is achieved using new ways. A similar example of this entrepreneurial rationale is manifested in the well-known phrase "laptops and lederhosen"[4] that is commonly used in Bavaria, Germany. Lederhosen are a leather garment that are traditionally worn by men in German-speaking countries.[5] The phrase refers to combining technology and traditionality in future-making. It also implies using new methods to achieve old values. The problem is, however, the old values that are promoted, tend to privilege mostly white Western men. By selecting lederhosen instead of another piece of traditional clothing such as the *dirndl* that is traditionally worn by women in German-speaking countries, there implied a certain manliness that is wished to be preserved in the imagination of high-tech and innovative society for the future. Even though the usage of laptops initiates a new method,

[4]For more on this topic, you can refer to: (Hooper, 2002).

[5]There is also a women's version of lederhosen (known as *damenlederhosen*), but it is not as commonly used as men's version.

the imagination of a future high-tech society is very much linked to preserving old values that privilege men. What is not imagined, however, is destabilizing the gender regimes in a way that would benefit the underprivileged.

Similarly, even though co-living looks like a new method of living that could transform the way we live, it is indeed imagined as a temporary solution that would keep the entrepreneur housed until they achieve the traditional forms of life, which would then reinforce traditional gender norms. I will revisit this point once again in the following section, where I discuss the social bonds that are created in co-living spaces.

8.1.4 No Strings Attached

In the previous section, I explained how co-living residents tend to relate their existing collective environment only as temporary while actively pushing life decisions, such as getting married or having children, into the future. I referred to this as *the delayed life*, where entrepreneurs try to slow down certain dimensions of life while they are living in co-living spaces. The time spent in a co-living space is mainly considered the time for hustling, a period where the entrepreneur mainly focuses on work and pushes out all other aspects of life until wealth arrives. Within this period of hustling, the entrepreneur is expected to perform whatever it takes to be a successful entrepreneur. Such a formula of success usually involves constant mobility not only geographically, such as from one tech hub to the next, but also a move from one business idea to the next, one funding agency to the next, or one co-founder to the next.

Latour draws on a similar entrepreneurial figure in his article: "Portrait of a Biologist as Wild Capitalist" (Latour, 1993). He portrays an academic, Pierre Kernowicz, who embodies the capitalist values of the academic system and ends up being a capitalist himself. Employing Marx's vocabulary, Latour defines capital as something that circulates in the form of a cycle with no goal other than the expansion of the cycle itself. That is why Latour describes Pierre as a capitalist who runs through the cycle of credit, where he accumulates new information in order to reach a more beneficial stage in his academic career. The new information that Pierre seeks to accumulate does not have any other value than an exchange value. He trades one affiliation for the next, one boss for the next, and one research object for the next, in order to achieve higher profitability which would help him to expand his cycle of capital. What's more, Latour defines Pierre as not only a capitalist but a wild one,

as Pierre would not hesitate to change his values at any given moment in order to reinvest them for higher profitability. Latour asks:

> What thing is he [Pierre Kernowicz] accumulating? Nothing in particular, except perhaps the absence of inhibition, a sort of free energy prepared to invest itself anywhere. Yes, this is certainly he, the Don Juan of knowledge. One will speak of "intellectual curiosity," a "thirst for truth," but the absence of inhibition in fact designates something else: a capital of elements without use-value, which can assume any value at all, provided the cycle closes back on itself while always expanding further (Latour, 1993, 128-9).[6]

The absence of inhibition Latour describes relates to the absence of ties. The entrepreneur is figured as a free-floating subject who is never tied to an actor, place, or relationship. It is rather depicted as an actor who needs to be ready to trade whatever is necessary for the next opportunity. However, as Tsing (2015) argues, people often require a web of connection to maintain their lives. The question then becomes, how can the free-floating entrepreneur sustain a living without having ties?

Here, I argue that entrepreneurial kin emerges as a means to provide entrepreneurs with a network of relations. In my case studies, a large number of residents tend to describe a special bond that emerged between their fellow residents. In this context, they tend to define one another as family. In order to explain such a happening, I have coined the term *entrepreneurial kin*, which could be characterized as a strong yet temporal tie. One of the important characteristics of this tie is that it is usually considered a strong tie at the time of interaction, yet it loosens when the frequent interaction comes to an end, which usually happens when residents move out of the co-living space. Entrepreneurial kinship provides the very much-needed social ties to the entrepreneur in times when one needs them. But it dissolves once the entrepreneur moves to the next endeavor. Hence, this tie could be described as instrumental, designed to tolerate the specific needs of the figure of the entrepreneur. In other words, entrepreneurial kin accommodates the fragility, precarity, and sacrifice that is embedded in this figure.

[6]The original French version of this article has been cited in the bibliography section. I have used an unpublished English translation of the manuscript here. Nonetheless, the accuracy of the unpublished translation has been confirmed by a native speaker.

Entrepreneurial kin provides affective resources for entrepreneurs in a number of ways. It provides emotional resources to deal with *the dark side of entrepreneurship* (Shepherd, 2019) that appears in multiple forms, such as depression, anxiety, and loneliness. Several interviewees explained how the network of residence in a co-living space helps them to deal with the ups and downs of entrepreneurship and said they feel less alone when surrounded by many people with whom they feel deeply connected.

Entrepreneurial kin also seems to provide the necessary encouragement that an entrepreneur needs in order to be successful in entrepreneurial endeavors. In both of the co-living spaces, it was a common practice for entrepreneurs to support one another in pursuing their dreams. This kind of support appears in multiple forms, both at a personal and collective level. As an example, participants were not only giving feedback on each other's ideas during the pitch nights in the MunichHouse, but also encouraged one another to remain in the business. Similarly, in the program they created called the Achievement Companion, residents track their daily progress and encourage one another towards their goals.

Finally, entrepreneurial kin tends to naturalize the normative demands of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurial living often positions the entrepreneur in a context where everyone around them is also an entrepreneur, stabilizing a very precarious portrayal of the figure. For instance, when residents witness other residents also having a hard time due to the uncertainty related to entrepreneurial funding, they tend to think that it is normal to live in a life that is guided by fear, uncertainty, and anxiety. To put it differently, the precarity of entrepreneurship is reinforced as the norm.

Despite all the affective resources that entrepreneurial kin provides at the time of interaction, it seems to be linked to the form of living that is connected to the temporal logic of delayed life. It is seen as a phase, as a period. There is an assumption that entrepreneurial kin is disposable. It is not considered a form of kinship that expects or intends to take long-term responsibilities for one another. In other words, there is usually no responsibility attached to maintaining these ties. Hence, it is a tie with no strings attached. One can engage with these relationships deeply, holding the belief that it is completely fine to leave them behind once the transition to a brand-new future of wealth and traditionality comes in.

During fieldwork, I traced the ex-residents of these co-living spaces. It was rare that they maintained contact with their fellow residents. Regardless, they still con-

sider one another as close acquaintances, though they tend not to talk to one another after leaving the co-living space; they mostly only stayed friends on social media. Most of them expressed that they haven't kept the relationships active, not because they don't want to, but because they do not have the resources to keep in touch with the residents. These entrepreneurs tend to be completely overworked or be in a financially precarious situation and try to hustle until they reach their entrepreneurial goals. Hence, most of the residents didn't have the availability or energy to keep those relationships active. It is exactly this quality of entrepreneurial kin that speaks to the free-floating character of the entrepreneur.

Contemplating entrepreneurial kin can allow us to better understand the current innovative ways of making human connections. However, we should be careful in drawing immature conclusions such that entrepreneurial kinship is an alternative type of social tie to a hetero-normative family. Here, it is timely to revisit Beck's argument that I mentioned in Chapter 7. In his book *Risk Society*, Beck argues that the process of individualization infiltrates into the structure of the family and results in loosening the monopoly of the traditional family as a dominant form of living. He writes: "the rule becomes a movement back and forth among various familial and *non*-familial forms of living together, specific to the particular phase of life in question"[7] (Beck, 1992, p.114).

The findings of this dissertation support Beck's argument. Co-living spaces come at a certain phase of life for the entrepreneur. Yet the imaginary of the traditional family remains persistent. Instead of a continuous back and forth between familial and alternative forms of living, co-living acts as a suspended form of life until the entrepreneur is ready to move on to traditionality. Entrepreneurial kin is seen as transient until one returns to normal ways of making kin. In relation to this, co-living spaces are seen rather as a holding place until wealth arrives and hopefully provides the necessary infrastructure to build a traditional lifestyle. Here, the logic of wealth seems to be connected to transitioning to a more conservative form of living.

Since the idea of entrepreneurial co-living is relatively new and associated with alternative forms of living, it has usually been portrayed as a progressive form of living. Especially in the media, co-living spaces are pictured as a form of living that could alter the traditional ways. It is considered a "domestic revolution," (Moore, 2016), "rental housing with a progressive twist," (Puri, 2018) or a change in "our

[7] I have previously used the same reference in Chapter 7.

basic model for life" (Lee, 2018). In this context, co-living is pictured as more than housing, but a grandiose and progressive change in domestic living.

From a so-called domestic revolution, one could expect a destabilization of existing gender relations in the sense that it would alter traditional gender roles toward more transformative experiences. This assumption, though promising, is not the conclusion of this dissertation. First, let me explain what I mean by transformative experiences. When I write transformative experiences, I am specifically referring to the feminist STS agenda that has emerged in the last five years which invites humans and non-humans of all backgrounds to "make kin, especially non-biological kin"(Clarke & Haraway, 2018, p.2), as a means of cultivating social justice. In the book *Making Kin Not Population*, Clarke explains the type of kin that they pursue as follows: a "feminist science studies-informed pro-kin *and* non-natalist politics of reproductive justice for *all* species and future imaginaries toward their realization in our era of environmental crises and degradation" (Clarke & Haraway, 2018, p.1).

The way entrepreneurial kin is currently practiced in co-living spaces, however, doesn't look transformative as it does not create forms of sustainable change in society. It does not seem to fulfill feminist imaginaries of kinship ties that could promote multispecies, environmental, or reproductive justice (Clarke & Haraway, 2018; D. J. Haraway, 2016). It is rather seen as transient in character. This does not necessarily mean that there is no possibility that individuals could have transformative experiences in co-living spaces. There might be a small caveat of people who come out of this experience and decide not to pursue the old ways of living in the future. They might feel the co-living experience could lead them to pursue a different form of life. Thus, we should not automatically assume that there is definitely no transformative potential. It might exist on a small, individual scale, but the way co-living is framed does not seem to have profound transformative potential to forms of living. In other words, co-living is geared toward ultimately supporting capitalist, heteronormative, traditional living. Co-living might suspend the traditional gender role to a certain degree with masculine-coded interventions, but it does not ultimately focus on changing it in a broader scope.

8.2 Conclusion

I divide the conclusion into two sections. The first section will suggest directions for future research, building upon the findings of the dissertation. The second—and final—section concludes the dissertation by situating the research further, on both personal and academic grounds, discussing the extent of the findings from a larger perspective.

8.2.1 Future Research Perspectives

This doctoral project focused on co-shaping mechanisms of gender and entrepreneurship, with a particular focus on co-living spaces. However, just like any other research project, it gave birth to many new research questions. Therefore, this section will focus on future research perspectives. One of the findings of this dissertation is that co-living provides entrepreneurs a space where they can safely delay their important life choices like getting married or having children. Referring to a specific body of literature: (Pimentel, 2013; Sawyer et al., 2018), I call this specific temporality as "delayed life." Such a tendency towards life seems to instrumentalize the present for the promise of a better future. However, the notion of delayed life does not only exist in co-living spaces, as it is often seen in other entrepreneurial contexts. That is why I suggest that future research perspectives could concentrate on finding more empirical cases with a similar temporal logic, unpacking its scope and limitations. Understanding how and why entrepreneurs delay their significant milestones in order to have a better future would not only expand our knowledge in a specific manner but could also open up space for possible intervention of care to the very figuration of the entrepreneur.

Moreover, "entrepreneurial kin" has emerged as a main concept in this doctoral project. As explained in previous paragraphs, entrepreneurial kinship can be linked to the practice of delaying life, providing entrepreneurs with a network of momentary relationships to cope with the precariousness that is embedded in entrepreneurship. These kinship ties are often not built with the intention of keeping them forever but are rather sustained until entrepreneurs stop delaying their life. Though this project creates a basis for the concept of entrepreneurial kin, future research is needed to provide further empirical examples, mapping the margins of entrepreneurial kin and further explaining how it helps entrepreneurs tolerate uncertainties of entrepreneurial

endeavors and where it falls short. Having a greater understanding of entrepreneurial kin would not only help us to understand entrepreneurial social ties but also could possibly give insight into the new kinds of social bonds in the wider scope of the neoliberal regimes.

Thirdly, both case studies of this dissertation are located in the Global North. Back in 2017 when this project began, co-living spaces were seen as a new kind of accommodation, mostly located in tech hubs of the Global North. Although the coronavirus pandemic seems to have largely impeded the pace of co-living in becoming more widespread, this trend now seems to be back both in the Global North and South. Therefore, it would be timely to revisit co-living spaces in different contexts, especially in the Global South. Understanding co-living spaces in different gender regimes could further expand our knowledge on the co-shaping of gender and entrepreneurship.

Furthermore, future research perspectives could focus more on LGBTQ+[8] entrepreneurs in order to further unpack the mutual shaping of gender and entrepreneurship. I agree with a number of scholars such as Marlow and Martinez Dy (2017) that exploring the lived experiences of LGBTQ+ entrepreneurs in an entrepreneurial scenery could possibly bring diverse viewpoints and enrich entrepreneurial studies, which are often notorious for situating the cisgender female as the spokesperson of gendered subjects.

Finally, this doctoral project explored gender in multiple ways, such as: How entrepreneurial living is being gate-kept, how life is organized through domestic technologies, and what kind of social ties support entrepreneurs to keep going in times of constant mobility and uncertainty. However, future research could still unpack the ways in which gender is enacted in co-living, for example by specifically focusing on the ways in which masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) and femininities (Schippers, 2007) are mobilized and performed by a range of human and non-human subjects. This research direction would not only enlighten us further on the relationship between gender and co-living spaces but also possibly provide a chance to grasp the new ways of making gender.

[8]LGBTQ+, here, is employed as a blanket term which includes all kinds of sexual orientations and gender identities.

8.2.2 Epilogue

I remember vividly when I was presenting my work at UC Berkeley in 2019, one of the audience members gasped in horror when she learned about the existence of co-living spaces for the first time. She explained how she found the idea indeed very dystopic. She was specifically referring to the lack of boundaries between work and life, where one's whole life is only reduced to work. This is rather a moment of triumph of the neoliberal regime, she explained, where one gives one's life in the hands of exploitation. Her choice of the word "dystopia" attracted my attention. The opposite word, "utopia," is often used by the members of co-living spaces when they describe how they perceive their own living conditions. The residents often mentioned how they found supportive social ties in co-living spaces that helped them cope with the troubles of normative expectations of entrepreneurship. They spoke about meeting diverse people from all over the world who enrich their own lives. They explained how their fellow residents encouraged them to pursue their dreams, while their own social circles tended to not understand what drives them. For them, living in co-living spaces was rather an opportunity to be surrounded by like-minded people.

As a researcher, however, co-living spaces mean something different from dystopia or utopia to me. I was surrounded by a particular mode of attention: hope. With a feminist agenda in mind, I was hoping to discover an alternative mode of living that would tell us something new about how to destabilize existing gender relations. I hoped that co-living could exemplify a different possibility of the human condition, embracing gender sensitivities toward more responsible, reflective, and accountable futures. Especially when I observed the technologies and techniques created in these spaces in order to organize domesticity, I asked myself, what if co-living spaces would have the altitude to change the gender inequality that is historically rooted in the domestic space? I was almost looking for a blooming alternative gender regime that we could potentially transfer to other parts of life.

However, the deep analysis and engagement with the subject showed me that co-living spaces tend to stabilize traditional gender norms. Co-living is seen as a form of life that provides a framework to push out future life decisions for a limited amount of time. It seems to exist until traditional forms of living come in. It supports entrepreneurs until their projects become successful, and entrepreneurs become wealthy. What is implied in this imagination, however, is that the logic of wealth

allows the entrepreneur to return to mostly heteronormative ways of making kin. Co-living might look progressive on the surface, especially by bringing masculine-coded interventions into organizing domesticity, which might create the impression that it could potentially destabilize existing gender roles. However, when examined from a wider perspective, the way co-living is structured right now does not ultimately revolutionize how we live long term. It does not challenge the traditional layout of life. It does not cultivate feminist imaginaries of kinship that would provide social justice for all species. Rather, co-living acts as a compensation practice that accommodates the precarity that is engraved in the figure of the entrepreneur. By doing so, it helps entrepreneurs to accomplish the same old traditionality, but in fresh ways.

This should not, however, be understood as a critique of the people that I have met during the fieldwork. To the contrary, I am fascinated by these people and by their work ethics, resilience, and never-ending creativity. They were welcoming from the very beginning and stayed welcoming during the entire fieldwork. They were like an embodied example of a researcher's wild dream: fieldwork, waiting with open arms. Throughout the research, these residents taught me a lot about friendship and supporting one another in times of hardship. Just like any other researcher in the 21^{st} century, I was also an entrepreneur, after all.

Appendix A

The Interview Guideline

Interview Guideline

"Co-shaping of Gender and Technology Entrepreneurship:
A Situational Analysis of Co-living Spaces."

In this conversation, I would like to talk to you about your experiences on living in a co-living space.

I would like to record this interview for research purposes. Information from this interview will be presented in an anonymized form. Any resulting materials will be stored on a password-protected server and will be only accessible to the project researchers.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Biographical questions

- To start with, can you tell us a little bit about yourself?
- What is your background?
- When did you move to this co-living space?

Experience of living in a co-living space

- How was your experience of living in this co-living space?
- How did you end up living in a co-living space? What was your first impression?
- For the co-founders: How did you end up starting this co-living space?
- What kind of activities do you do in this co-living space?
- Do you have certain rituals?
- How do you differentiate work and leisure when living in this co-living space?
- What is the most challenging part of living in a co-living space?
- What is the most advantageous part of living in a co-living space?
- How do you organize the chores? Do you use any technology?
- What do you do when someone does not do their chores?
- What kind of sanctions do you apply?

On New Residents

- How do you select a new resident?
- How do you define your fellow (past) residents?
- For the ex-residents: Do you still in contact with the past residents?
- If so, what channels do you use?

Future Plans

- How do you imagine your living situation in the future? Where would you live?
- Would you like to continue living in a co-living space in the future (for example, if you get married or have kids)?

Final Questions

- Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix B

Consent to Participate in an Ethnographic Study—BayHouse

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

Dear Madam or Sir,

I hereby agree to participate in an ethnographic study conducted by Cansu Güner Birdal, being held since 04.11.2019 at I am aware that this study is conducted under Munich Center for Technology in Society (MCTS) of the Technical University of Munich.

I agree that attendance is voluntary, not being compensated. The interviews conducted during the research will be recorded on phonograms and transcribed. I am aware and agree that some or all of my statements may be cited in publicly available reports, publications or presentations. However, this ensures that citations are used **only in anonymous form** and care is taken not to disclose my identity. The photos, videos, phonograms, and the transcripts are kept at the MCTS and access is permitted **only for scientific purposes** and requires the approval of the project management. **All data will be kept strictly confidential.**

This project is planned to be completed by the end of Cansu Güner Birdal's PhD studies.

If I wish, I can cancel my participation in the ethnographic study at any time during the event without giving reasons. In this case, the data taken will be included in the analysis only with my explicit consent.

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. In addition;

[] I give permission for my photos and/or videos to be taken during the research.
[] I give permission for the use of my photos and videos that appear on websites and social media channels

(Please check all that apply)

Name of Subject:

Signature of Subject _____ Date _____

Signature of Investigator _____ Date _____

All questions and concerns should be addressed to Cansu Guner Birdal under the above contact information:

Cansu Güner Birdal
Munich Center for Technology in Society,
Arcisstraße 21, 80333 Munich
Visiting address : Augustenstr. 46
email: cansu.guner@tum.de
phone: +49 (89) 289 29232

Appendix C

Consent to Participate in an Ethnographic Study—MunichHouse

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

Dear Madam or Sir,

I hereby agree to participate in an ethnographic study conducted by Cansu Güner Birdal, being held since 14.01.2019 at I am aware that this study is conducted under Munich Center for Technology in Society (MCTS) of the Technical University of Munich.

I agree that attendance is voluntary, not being compensated. The interviews conducted during the research will be recorded on phonograms and transcribed. I am aware and agree that some or all of my statements may be cited in publicly available reports, publications or presentations. However, this ensures that citations are used **only in anonymous form** and care is taken not to disclose my identity. The photos, videos, phonograms, and the transcripts are kept at the MCTS and access is permitted **only for scientific purposes** and requires the approval of the project management. **All data will be kept strictly confidential**.

This project is planned to be completed by the end of Cansu Güner Birdal's PhD studies.

If I wish, I can cancel my participation in the ethnographic study at any time during the event without giving reasons. In this case, the data taken will be included in the analysis only with my explicit consent.

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. In addition;

[] I give permission for my photos and/or videos to be taken during the research.
[] I give permission for the use of my photos and videos that appear on websites and social media channels related to

(Please check all that apply)

Name of Subject:

Signature of Subject _____ Date _____

Signature of Investigator _____ Date _____

All questions and concerns should be addressed to Cansu Guner Birdal under the above contact information:

Cansu Güner Birdal
Munich Center for Technology in Society,
Arcisstraße 21, 80333 Munich
Visiting address : Augustenstr. 46
email: cansu.guner@tum.de
phone: +49 (89) 289 29232

Appendix D

Interview Informed Consent Form

INTERVIEW INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Dear Madam or Sir,

I hereby agree to participate in an interview conducted by Cansu Güner Birdal. I am aware that this interview is conducted under the Munich Center for Technology in Society (MCTS) of the Technical University of Munich. I agree that the interview is voluntary, not being compensated, and will be **recorded on phonograms and transcribed**. The phonograms and the transcripts are kept at the MCTS and access is permitted **only for scientific purposes** and requires the approval of the project management. **All data will be kept strictly confidential**.

I am aware and agree that some or all of my statements may be cited in publicly available reports, publications and presentations. However, this ensures that citations are used **only in an anonymous form,** and care is taken not to disclose my identity.

If I wish, I can cancel the interview at any time without giving reasons. In this case, the interview will be included in the analysis only with my explicit consent.

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study.

Name of Interviewee:

Signature of Interviewee: _____ Date:

Signature of Interviewer: _____ Date:

All questions and concerns should be addressed to Cansu Guner Birdal under the above contact information:

Cansu Güner Birdal
Munich Center for Technology in Society,
Arcisstraße 21, 80333 Munich
Visiting address: Augustenstr. 46

email: cansu.guner@tum.de
phone: +49 (89) 289 29232

Appendix E

Consent to Participate in Interview Anonymously

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN INTERVIEW ANONYMOUSLY

Dear Madam or Sir,

I hereby agree to participate in an interview for the Post / Doc Lab Reorganizing Industries of the Munich Center for Technology in Society (MCTS) of the Technical University of Munich. I agree that the interview is voluntary, not being compensated and will be **recorded on phonograms and transcribed.** The phonograms and the transcripts are kept at the MCTS and access is permitted **only for scientific purposes** and requires the approval of the project management. **All data will be kept strictly confidential.**

I am aware and agree that some or all of my statements may be cited in publicly available reports and publications. However, this ensures that citations are used only in anonymous form and care is taken not to disclose my identity. The employees involved are bound by a confidentiality agreement.

If I wish, I can cancel the interview at any time without giving reasons. In this case, the interview will be included in the analysis only with my explicit consent.

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study.

Name of Interviewee:

Signature of Interviewee: _____ Date:

Signature of Interviewer: _____ Date:

All questions and concerns should be addressed to Cansu Guner Birdal under the above contact information:

Cansu Güner Birdal
Munich Center for Technology in Society,
Arcisstraße 21, 80333 Munich
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