Coworking Spaces for Facilitating Social Entrepreneurship

The Case of La Paz, Bolivia

Lucas Du Priest

Department of Human Geography
SGEM 08
Spring 2020

Examiner: Teis Hansen
Supervisor: Josephine Rekers

Abstract

Generally credited to have originated in 2005, coworking spaces provide hybrid work environments to individual professionals, entrepreneurs, and start-ups. Simultaneously, social entrepreneurship has received increasing attention as a solution to topical problems. This thesis aims to provide an empirical exploration of the ways in which coworking spaces facilitate social entrepreneurship, seen from the providers of such spaces as well as their users. The thesis project is situated in La Paz, Bolivia. Based on the existing literature and under the wider definition of coworking spaces, 11 coworking spaces have been identified in La Paz. Three main types of coworking spaces have been classified: Space A contributing with a supportive role for social entrepreneurship and have closer ties to local urban and social issues, Space B providing cafés with shared workspaces, and Space C which are mainly a commercial, profit-seeking product responding to the demand for flexible office spaces. 5 coworking spaces have been categorized as Space A. Based on the results of this thesis project, I argue that coworking spaces are highly reliant on the coworking model set forth by the founders/managers, provide facilities (space infrastructure), and on-going, in-house support (social, educational, and financial) to facilitate social entrepreneurship. The results can be seen as a basis for future research on coworking spaces with the intention to facilitate social entrepreneurship.

Keywords: coworking spaces; social entrepreneurship; La Paz; Bolivia

Word count: 18529

Table of Contents

1. INTRODUCTION **1**

1.1. AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS 2

2. LITERATURE REVIEW **4**

2.1. THE CHANGING NATURE OF WORK 4
2.2. DEFINING COWORKING SPACES 6
2.3. MAKING COWORKING SPACES WORK 10
2.4. SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP 12

3. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK **15**

3.1. FOUNDERS 15
3.2. SPACE 15
3.3. COMMUNITY 16
3.4. LOCAL CONTEXT 17

4. METHODOLOGY **19**

4.1. RESEARCH DESIGN 19
4.2. RESEARCH PROCESS 20
4.3. METHODS 21
4.3.1. Interviews *21*
4.3.2. Participant Observation *24*
4.3.3. Informal Conversations *25*
4.4. DATA ANALYSIS 25

5. RESEARCH SETTING **27**

5.1. THE PLURINATIONAL STATE OF BOLIVIA 27
5.2. LA PAZ, BOLIVIA 29

6. RESULTS **31**

6.1. COWORKING SPACE PROVIDERS 31
6.2. COWORKING SPACE USERS 41

7. DISCUSSION **46**

8. CONCLUSION **50**

9. BIBLIOGRAPHY **53**

10. APPENDIX **63**

10.1. RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS 63
10.2. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE 1: COWORKING SPACE PROVIDERS 63
10.3. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE 2: COWORKING SPACE USERS 64

List of figures

Figure 1. Conceptual framework. **18**
Figure 2. Map of the Plurinational State of Bolivia. **28**
Figure 3. Spatial distribution of coworking spaces in La Paz, Bolivia. **30**
Figure 4. Spatial distribution of the different types of coworking spaces in La Paz, Bolivia. **32**

List of tables

Table 1. Definitions of coworking spaces. **9**
Table 2. Key characteristics of the different types of coworking spaces. **37**

1. INTRODUCTION

Spaces for work are changing. The shifting terms of where and how to work has created a need for spaces to accommodate those who work both outside the home and outside the firm. These hybrid workspaces are found in particular kinds of so-called “third places” (Oldenburg, 1989) and since 2005 these are increasingly formalized and known as coworking spaces (Neuberg, 2005). Coworking spaces provide “fluid working environments” (de Peuter, Cohen, and Saraco, 2017: 695) as well as spaces to network and establish social and business connections (e.g. Spinuzzi, 2012; Parrino, 2015; Moriset, 2013) for individual professionals, entrepreneurs, and start-ups. With a predicted 5.1 million global coworking space users by the year 2022 in over 30,000 spaces, coworking spaces have increased significantly in recent years (McBride, 2017). Though originating in the Global North, coworking spaces in the Global South have begun to burgeon as well (Merkel, 2015). Coworking spaces’ rapid increase in South America is particularly highlighted by the first Latin American summit of collaborative and coworking spaces — LATAM Coworking Summit — which was held in Mexico City on March 13-15th, 2019. The rapid global proliferation of coworking spaces has grabbed the interest of academia. For example, scholars have described coworking and coworking spaces from the viewpoints of workplace design (Assenza, 2015; Servaty, Perger, Harth and Mache, 2018), “knowledge exchange” (Parrino, 2015) “dynamics of innovation” (Capdevila, 2015), “coopetition” (Bouncken, Laudien, Fredrich, and Görmar, 2018), and impacts on local, urban, and regional economic environments (Mariotti, Pacchi, and Di Vita, 2017; Fiorentino, 2019; Buksh and Mouat, 2015; Kojo and Nenonen, 2017, Fuzi, 2015).

Simultaneously, social entrepreneurship has gained increasing attention over the past two decades (Seelos and Mair, 2005; Mair, 2010). Likewise, entrepreneurship as a vehicle for fostering development and economic growth, particularly in emerging economies struggling with high unemployment rates and poverty, has generated a strong interest amongst scholars (Matlay, 2008; Ikebuaku and Dinabo, 2017). Grappling with an economy characterized by high levels of informality (Medina and Schneider, 2018) and a young population (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2012) who find it difficult to locate and secure a “formal” job even with a university degree, Bolivians are increasingly using entrepreneurship as a strategy to address problems like poverty and unemployment (Villaroel Rojas, 2010; Dana, 2011). Necessitated by local challenges (Zahra, Gedajlovic, Neubaum, 2009; Dacin, Dacin, and Tracey, 2011), social entrepreneurs are developing organizations and/or business models that are filling a void by implementing entrepreneurial initiatives that integrate a focus on the

ingenious use of economic resources with an emphasis on social value creation (Austin, Stevenson, and Wei-Skiller, 2006).

1.1. Aim and research questions

In contrast to the previous literature on coworking spaces highlighted above, however, this thesis project can be situated in an emerging strand of literature on coworking spaces that foregrounds social entrepreneurship (Surman, 2013; Fiorentino, 2019) by asking: what is the relationship between coworking spaces and social entrepreneurship? Despite the various advantages of coworking and coworking spaces, relatively limited knowledge exists about the support offered by coworking spaces for facilitating social entrepreneurship, from both the perspective of the provider and the user. To close this gap, this thesis project specifically has two research questions:

1. How do providers of coworking spaces seek to facilitate social entrepreneurship?
2. What aspects of coworking spaces do users find supportive for their social entrepreneurship activity?

This paper therefore aims to provide an empirical exploration of both providers of coworking spaces and their role in facilitating social entrepreneurship and what aspects of coworking spaces that social entrepreneurs find supportive.

To answer the two research questions and fulfill the articulated research aim, this thesis explores coworking spaces and social entrepreneurship in the spatial setting of La Paz, Bolivia. La Paz was chosen for three interrelated reasons. Firstly, the country has undergone a "process of change" (Fontana, 2012) and has commenced to search for alternatives to address persistent economic and social challenges in one of South America's poorest countries. La Paz is Bolivia's political capital and the role of coworking spaces in facilitating social entrepreneurship is an interesting as well as a highly relevant topic to study in this spatial context. Secondly, La Paz is the city in Bolivia with the most coworking spaces and was also chosen purposefully over other cities in Bolivia. Thirdly, I conducted an internship in the city between September 2019 and January 2020 at the Instituto de Estudios Avanzado en Desarrollo (INESAD).[1] La Paz was therefore also chosen conveniently regarding questions of accessibility.

Exploring the role of coworking spaces in relation to social entrepreneurship is relevant in regard to potentially addressing local urban and social challenges. As highlighted

[1] INESAD is a think tank and research institute located in La Paz, Bolivia, which performs research and advocacy concerning economic development in South America with a large focus on Bolivia in particular.

previously, coworking spaces have been considered to have impacts on local, urban, and regional economic environments (Fiorentino, 2019; Mariotti et al., 2017; Kojo and Nenonen, 2017; Fuzi, 2015; Buksh and Mouat, 2015). Exploring social entrepreneurship in the context of coworking spaces in a spatial setting of a “process of change” (Fontana, 2012) may elucidate how coworking space providers facilitate social entrepreneurship, what social entrepreneurs themselves say on the matter, and ultimately provide results which may indicate important aspects to consider when designing future coworking spaces for social entrepreneurship.

This chapter is followed by the literature review on the changing nature of work, the coworking space phenomenon, and social entrepreneurship. Chapter 3 consists of the conceptual model and how I will operationalize concepts from the literature in order to fill a research gap. Chapter 4 contains the methodology, comprising the research design, research process, and research methods in the form of interviews, participant observation, and informal conversations. The methodology chapter ends with a section on data analysis. Chapter 5 introduces the reader more thoroughly to the research setting of La Paz, Bolivia. Chapter 6 firstly entails the results from coworking space providers and subsequently coworking space users. A discussion evaluating my findings ensues in chapter 7. A conclusion in chapter 8 with suggestions for future research ends the thesis.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

To approach the research questions conceptually, the following chapter is organized as follows: chapter 2.1. outlines the changing nature of work which has changed the way in which and where people work. Chapter 2.2. outlines the origins of the coworking space phenomenon and defines how the term is utilized in this thesis project. Chapter 2.3. highlights relevant coworking space literature. In chapter 2.4. the concept of social entrepreneurship is elaborated on and how it relates to this thesis project.

2.1. The Changing Nature of Work

The nature of today's work is changing in both advanced and emerging economies (Djankov and Saliola, 2019). Generally categorized by a transition from Fordism to Post-Fordism, the overall character of production and work in today's economy has in particular been reshaped by technological progress, the evolution of business models and organizational structures, and as pressure on organizations to be more swift, cost-effective, and competitive has advanced (Davenport and Prusak, 1998; Drucker, 2002). Digitalization and incessant innovation have become prominent features associated with today's economy where the digital transformation over the past three decades has blurred the boundaries of the firm and reshaped the traditional production patterns away from repetition and mass-production dominating production and work up to about the 1980s (Davenport and Prusak, 1998). Furthermore, the service industry and service jobs in the "new economy" has altered the skills that employers seek. In addition to substantive knowledge and expertise, the changing nature of work has been accompanied by a significant expansion in the number or workers with high levels of human capital (Scott, 2010). Consequently, the changing nature of work has further changed how people work, where people work, and the terms under which people work (Djankov and Saliola, 2019). While the changing nature of work has in particular been observed in developed countries with advanced economies, this pattern is starting to emerge in developing countries with emerging economies as well. Related to this thesis project and the context of Bolivia, the share of employment in high-skill occupations in Bolivia increased by 8 percentage points between 2000 and 2014, according to a World Bank Development Report (2016).

Particularly after World War II, economies were characterized by Fordism in manufacturing and heavy industries. Jobs during Fordism were characterized by full-time and long-term commitments between employers and workers. However, since the 1970s, Fordism and the productivity of manufacturing industries has declined, and so has the full-time and

long-term commitments between employers and workers. While the concept of Fordism was introduced by Gramsci (1999 [1929-1935]) in the 1930s, the concept was largely ignored in academic literature. It was only in the late 1970s that the "regulationist school" started to re-introduce Gramsci's ideas and the literature commenced to concentrate on the transition of economies away from the standardized mass production and mass consumption of Fordism (Aglietta, 1976). The literature, as pointed out by Bonanno and Constance (2001) and Henry and Pinch (2000), illuminated terms of transition such as flexible specialization (Piore and Sabel, 1984), disorganized capitalism (Lash and Urry, 1987), and flexible accumulation (Harvey, 1989). This literature on the new economic order was coalesced under the term post-Fordism (Lipietz, 1992).

Drawing from the literature in the 1980s and the transition of economies, literature emerged in the 1990s which further focused on the informational age (Castells and Hall, 1994), the learning economy (Lundvall and Johnson, 1994), knowledge-based capitalism (Florida, 1995), and soft capitalism (Thrift, 1997). Later entrants elucidated a further shift to the digital economy (Pratt, 1998), digital capitalism (Schiller, 1999), and the creative economy (Florida, 2002). The above literature recognized that, under the imperative of the knowledge economy, the spatial basis of production was being transformed. Characterized by knowledge and information as key drivers of productivity, growth in high technology industries and outsourcing and offshoring of tasks, the knowledge economy shifted the geography of jobs as digital technologies eliminated many of the geographical barriers associated with certain tasks (Powell and Snellman, 2004; Antràs, Garciano, and Rossi-Hansberg, 2006; Moretti, 2013).

As advances in technology and the evolution of business models and organizational structures has continued, alongside increasing pressure on organizations to be more flexible, cost-effective, and competitive has progressed, the literature has shifted to the so-called gig economy (see for example, Graham, Hjorth, and Lehdonvirta, 2017; Cook, 2014; Woodcock and Graham, 2020). This new business and organizational model encompass outsourcing work through an open call to a geographically dispersed crowd where talent brokers can seek contingent workers for project-based or gig work, often in virtual marketplaces (Todolí-Signes, 2017). Nevertheless, the digitalization of work and the gig economy has shifted work to organizational practices built around projects "at the boundaries of the firm" rather than "tied to the central management of their 'homebase'" (Grabher, 2002: 246). This shift has led to more flexible, short-term, or freelance jobs with few benefits of guarantees.

Additionally, work is increasingly characterized by multidisciplinary collaboration across sectors and has become a key element in the knowledge economy (Davenport, Long and Beers, 1998; Hua, Loftness, Heerwagen, and Powell, 2011). As the changing nature of work has sparked a seismic shift in the workforce and its efforts to collaborate, the contemporary economy has produced a change in workplaces as well. As noted by the literature on workplaces, rich interactions are important for collaboration to succeed simultaneously as time for distraction-free, concentration-requiring tasks is imperative for workplace collaboration in knowledge-intensive work (Hua et al., 2011). Recently, work practices to further support and stimulate collaboration, interactive learning, and fresh thinking has stimulated the growth of hybridized workplaces. Digital technology, new business models and organizational structures, and increased pressure on organizations to be more flexible, cost-effective, and competitive has not only changed the way people work and the terms on which they work, but more importantly, the contemporary economy has changed where people work. Increasingly, workers in the knowledge and gig economy are utilizing an open-source, collective-driven and networked approach to working (Lange, 2011: 202). This is increasingly taking place in coworking spaces instead of in serviced offices, telecenters, or traditional corporate offices.

2.2. Defining Coworking Spaces

The contemporary coworking concept is generally credited to have originated in San Francisco in 2005 (Neuberg, 2005). The concept habituated a "third" way of working by coalescing a traditional, well-delimited workplace in a community-like environment with the independent work-life balance of a freelancer, characterized by freedom and independence. The originators of coworking (without the hyphen) highlighted the importance of coworking as working together in a shared environment as opposed to co-working (with the hyphen) where professionals work closely together on a piece of work, often within the same company (Fost, 2008).

While the focus of this thesis project is on coworking spaces, it is important to situate coworking spaces within, and differentiate it from a wider collection of so-called "third places" (Oldenburg, 1989) in order to comprehensively understand the phenomenon. These "third places" (cafés, bars, and libraries, for example) are informal meeting places between the "first place" (the domestic home) and the "second place" (workplace) (Oldenburg, 1989). For Oldenburg, "third places" are "homes away from home where unrelated people relate" (Oldenburg, 1999: 1). Furthermore, these "third places," according to Oldenburg, provide an

"inclusively sociable atmosphere, offering both the basis of community and the celebration of it" (Oldenburg, 1999: 14). However, the separation of spheres between the home, work, and social activity have become further nuanced and blurred in the knowledge and gig economy.

Consequently, there are a number of hybrid spaces, in addition to coworking spaces, that have interpolated the different spheres of home and work and have facilitated the domestic with productive activity together with social interactions. Waters-Lynch, Potts, Butcher, Dodson, and Hurley (2016) traced the historical origins of coworking spaces back to 1959 with the establishment of the first business incubator at the Batavia Industrial Center Warehouse in Batavia, New York. Similarly, Kojo and Nenonen (2017) commenced their historical overview in the mid-1970s with serviced offices and telecentres which grew rapidly in the 1970s and 1980s, especially across North America, Europe and Japan. In broad terms, these services shared a business model that is based on flexible and low commitment rental access to office space and amenities. By bundling a combination of services in typically strategic, attractive, convenient or prestigious locations in exchange for an all-inclusive fee, these spaces used the economics of sharing, or "club good," to provide access to otherwise cost prohibitive spaces for individuals (Water-Lynch et al., 2016: 9). Additionally, the sharing of cost, space, and amenities between multiple users reduced the risk associated with the fixed costs of traditional office leasing arrangements. However, early digital technology — adaptation of mobile phones and email — disrupted the value of the core amenities that serviced offices and telecentres provided; mailbox addresses, fax machines, and fixed phone lines became outdated. In the 1990s, the pioneering hacker spaces originated in Germany where a community-operated workspace functioned as open community labs where people could come together to share resources and knowledge to build and make things, often incorporating elements of machine shops, workshops, and/or studios (Waters-Lynch et al., 2016). By the mid-2000s, however, the increasing development of digital technology — widespread accessibility to laptops, wireless internet, the cloud, open access software, smart phones and so on — has further spurred the diffusion away from fixed locations for knowledge work. As described in the previous section on the changing nature of work, technological progress and the transformation of the economy has enabled new work practices to take precedent and new workplaces to form. These workplaces, coworking spaces, were structured so that individuals could choose flexible workplaces and engage in social and professional cooperation and intentional productive coopetition (Bouncken et al., 2018).

However, the extensive use of the word coworking, along with its contemporary buzz, has turned coworking into a term often misinterpreted, misused, or confused with telecentres

and/or serviced offices (Waters-Lynch et al., 2016; Kojo and Nenonen, 2017). The distinction between the two “hinges upon the degree of social collaboration versus the importance of location and facilities of the office environment” (Waters-Lynch et al., 2016: 1) or as Capdevila (2013: 5) succinctly put it: “Coworking spaces distinguish themselves from mere shared offices by focusing on the community and its knowledge sharing dynamics.” While coworking spaces generally share a similar business model to the serviced office and telecentre industry (flexible, all-inclusive monthly fee for access to space and amenities), the profiles of the original coworkers, the centrality of a social environment and collaboration, and the aesthetic design of the spaces themselves are three interrelated features most commonly cited as distinguishable factors (Waters-Lynch et al., 2016).

First, the early coworking movement was led by young people who sought to break social isolation associated with working from their homes or traditional third places. These early members were often involved in the funding, design and construction of coworking spaces while framing a “working as partying” as the informal, social atmosphere (Nakaya, Fujiki, and Satani, 2012). Accordingly, early coworking spaces translated into informal modes of dress, language, and sociality while serviced offices attempted to replicate the dress convention, image, and language of formal organizations (Waters-Lynch et al., 2016).

Second, the coworking movement is distinguished from the serviced office industry by emphasizing the social interactions of its users as a core feature in their “membership community” (Fost, 2008; Spinuzzi, 2012; Capdevila, 2013; Parrino, 2013; Gandini, 2015). Social participation is typically enabled through a variety of organizational platforms (Parrino, 2015) such as frequent social events, newsletters, physical boards that display membership profiles, and coworking space facilitators.

Third, coworking spaces reflect an aesthetic design that blend “work and play” as opposed to the serviced office industry that reflected Fordist standardization (Van Meel and Vos, 2001; Waters-Lynch et al., 2016).

Despite the distinction provided here, coworking has become an enthusiastically articulated concept and has become a buzzword with no clear definition (Gandini, 2015; Capdevila, 2013). Table 1 contains a selection of the various definitions found in coworking space literature. A perusal of the definitions in Table 1 leads to the suggestion that the definitions of coworking spaces focus on three different aspects: coworking spaces as informal, bottom up initiatives (Lange, 2011; Kojo and Nenonen, 2017), coworking spaces as an organizational model based on a flexible, all-inclusive monthly fee for independent knowledge workers to access space (Spinuzzi, 2012; Waters-Lynch et al., 2016; Gandini,

2015), and coworking spaces as collaborative, resource, and knowledge sharing office environments (Parrino, 2015; Fuzi, 2015; Waters-Lynch and Potts, 2017; Fiorentino, 2019; Capdevila, 2013).

***Table 1**. Definitions of coworking spaces.*

	Source	*Definition*
1.	Lange (2011)	"Collective-driven, networked approach of the open source idea translated into physical space." (p. 292)
2.	Kojo and Nenonen (2017)	"… an office concept that is operated by an independent entrepreneur, who may, however, receive financial backing." (p. 165).
3.	Spinuzzi (2012)	"… open-plan office environments in which they work alongside unaffiliated professionals for a fee." (p. 399).
4.	Waters-Lynch et al. (2016)	"… open plan offices that mobile, independent knowledge workers share as places of work." (p. 420).
5.	Gandini (2015)	"Coworking spaces are shared workplaces utilized by different sorts of knowledge professionals, mostly freelancers, working in various degrees of specialization in the vast domain of the knowledge industry." (p. 194).
6.	Parrino (2015)	"1. the co-localisation of various coworkers within the same work environment; 2. "the presence of workers heterogeneous by occupation and/or sector in which they operate and/or organisational status and affiliation (freelancers in the strict sense, microbusiness, employees or self-employed workers); 3. "the presence (or not) of activities and tools designed to stimulate the emergence of relationships and collaboration among coworkers." (p. 265).
7.	Fuzi (2015)	"Co-working spaces are shared, proactive and community-oriented workspaces rented by a diverse group of professionals from different sectors." (p. 465).
8.	Waters-Lynch and Potts (2017)	"Coworking spaces are shared office environments that a heterogeneous group of workers (rather than employees of a single organization or industry) pay to use as their place of work, to engage in social interaction and sometimes collaborate on shared endeavors." (p. 420).

9.	Fiorentino (2019)	"… a shared workspace that might also in some cases offer a set of relating facilities and amenities to its users, (e.g. machineries, trainings, incubation or acceleration programmes for start-ups, etc)." (p. 1768).
10.	Capdevila (2013)	"… localized spaces where independent professionals work sharing resources and are open to share their knowledge with the rest of the community." (p. 3).

Source: Author's own creation based on literature review.

The last set of definitions of coworking spaces (6-10) attempt to incorporate the commonly promoted five core values of coworking: collaboration, community, sustainability, openness and accessibility *(*Neuberg, 2005; Hillman, 2005; coworking.com, n.d). While espousing these core values are not a requirement to be a coworking space, they have been a key propellant to why coworking has become a global trend. In this thesis project, therefore, drawing on Capdevila (2013), Parrino (2015), Fuzi (2015), Waters-Lynch and Potts (2017), and Fiorentino (2019), coworking spaces will be referred to as shared office renting facilities where independent professionals, entrepreneurs, and start-ups work to share resources and knowledge.

2.3. Making Coworking Spaces Work

Coworking spaces have established themselves and grown exponentially over the past decade with a predicted 5.1 million coworking space users worldwide by the year 2022 in over 30,000 spaces (McBride, 2017). It is therefore not surprising that coworking spaces have received increasing attention in academic literature. In the early literature on coworking spaces, Spinuzzi (2012) focused on coworking as an emergent collaborative activity. His most helpful findings are that coworking space differentiate themselves from others by arranging the coworking space in different ways according to location, design, flexibility, and professionalism. These differentiators are highly reliant on proprietors or hired and designated managers "who structure, design, furnish, and run their sites based on their understanding and model of coworking" (Spinuzzi, 2012: 418).

Consequently, coworking space "animators" (Surman, 2013), "staff of facilitators" (Parrino, 2015), "curators" and "hosts" (Merkel, 2015), "hosts" or "facilitators" (Fuzi, 2015), "promoters" and "managers" (Durante and Turvani, 2018) have received attention in coworking space literature. While the literature on the geographies of knowledge creation claims that spatial co-location can increase the likelihood of relationships, learning, and

knowledge spillover (Capdevila, 2013), the above literature highlights that just providing a space and a shared work context is not sufficient in stimulating relationships and enabling synergies.

The literature on the role of coworking space managers, animators, staff, hosts, and facilitators have particularly focused on their two folded role. On the one hand, the coworking space manager deals with the management and organization of space and shapes how the coworking space functions physically. On the other hand, the coworking space manager functions as a mediation mechanism to tend to the sociality of coworking spaces. As such, coworking space managers curate the social network of coworking spaces and attempt to facilitate interactions and relationships, foster professional collaboration, and direct establishment of emerging networks within the membership community. To this end, the access to communities and networks, often facilitated by the coworking space manager, as well as the spatial, technological, and social mingling of home, work, and play within coworking spaces relates to coworkers' productiveness and performance. While questions regarding entrepreneurial performance and opportunism have arisen (Bouncken and Reuschl, 2018; Spreitzer, Garret, and Bacevice, 2015) the vast majority of literature on coworking spaces emphasize the opposite and particularly emphasize social interaction, collaboration, and interpersonal trust of its users as core features in the membership community (e.g. Fost, 2008; Spinuzzi, 2012; Capdevila, 2013; Parrino, 2013; Gandini, 2015; Kojo and Nenonen, 2017).

Recently, coworking spaces have emerged in the academic literature regarding the evolution of cities and regions where coworking spaces are seen as affecting urban environments, contributing to regeneration processes at both the local, urban, and regional scale (Mariotti et al., 2017; Fiorentino, 2019; Kojo and Nenonen, 2017; Buksh and Mouat, 2015; Fuzi, 2015). From this strand of research, coworking spaces play a role in their immediate environment by, for example, strengthening community ties through modifying the daily and weekly cycles of use within the districts they are located and boosting traditional services such as retail and commercial activities, bars, and cafés in the neighborhood (Mariotti et al., 2017). Moreover, Fiorentino (2019) provides part of a way forward by adding to the literature through an investigation of coworking spaces' intermediary role in local economic development. To this end, Fiorentino has provided a taxonomy of coworking spaces in Rome, Italy, according to their local embeddedness and task held by each space. The first type of coworking spaces acted as a "social incubator" with an educational and social role, especially for the recently unemployed, eldest, immigrants, and women. These spaces put forward

claims of social innovation and social entrepreneurship and were more locally embedded and showed a deeper concern for local urban and social issues. The second type acting as a "start-up incubator" providing economic and technical support to entrepreneurs and start-ups. The third type acting as "real estate incubator." Related to this thesis project, Fiorentino's (2019) classification of "the social incubator" is of high relevance for this thesis project, especially as Tintiangko and Soriano (2020: 82) have claimed that "coworking spaces in the Global South tend to favor only a select class of independent knowledge workers while largely ignoring the needs of disembedded workers."

To actively facilitate social entrepreneurship, Surman (2013) has provided a basic model for "building social entrepreneurship through the power of coworking spaces." The framework offers a basic pyramid for understanding the relationship between space, community, and social entrepreneurship where the curation of members, a culture of shared values, and access to infrastructure and social networks are especially key. In this view, a community that strives for social entrepreneurship does not form automatically when coworkers occupy the same space. According to Surman (2013: 192), coworking space "animators" need to propel coworking spaces to go beyond the status quo of solely working on their own work and to include social entrepreneurship or social responsibility within their daily lifestyle and work.

The literature on coworking spaces and local, urban, and regional impacts (Mariotti et al., 2017; Fiorentino, 2019; Kojo and Nenonen, 2017; Buksh and Mouat, 2015; Fuzi, 2015) adds to coworking space literature and fills a gap by demonstrating how coworking spaces can facilitate positive economic change on the local, urban, or regional level. However, a gap remains. While both Surman (2013) and Fiorentino (2019) both pointed out that some coworking spaces are more conducive to supporting social entrepreneurship than others, it remains unclear how coworking spaces try to actively facilitate positive social change. Specifically, it is unclear how coworking spaces seek to facilitate social entrepreneurship, and what social entrepreneurs themselves say on the matter.

2.4. Social Entrepreneurship

Social entrepreneurship is commonly attributed as a practice that integrates economic and social value creation by attempting to generate economic development while simultaneously addressing social issues through offering services and products or by the creation of new organizations with a social mission as a raison d'etre (Mair and Marti, 2006; Austin et al., 2006; Portales, 2019). Globally, socially conscious individuals and groups have

commenced to introduce and apply innovative activities and business models to address social problems which previously have largely been ignored by business, governments, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). While social entrepreneurs have become highly visible agents of change in advanced economies, social entrepreneurs have increasingly played an important role in emerging economies where social needs have been given limited attention because of resource scarcity and corruption (Zahra et al., 2009). Responses to a social problem or addressing a social need that is unsatisfied in a systematic way can find their sources in multiple actors and sectors of society. However, social entrepreneurship and social intrapreneurship have become the main evidence and implementation of socially innovative activities and business models (Portales, 2019).

Social entrepreneurship as a concept emerged in the 1980s when the two perceived antagonistic terms and values —social and entrepreneurship — were consolidated by the public sector, scholars, and practitioners (Mair and Marti, 2006; Dees, 2007; Wells, Valera, Wilf, Martone, Rimal, and Sakumoto, 2018). However, social entrepreneurship has only attracted the serious interest of scholars over the past two decades (Short, and Moss, Lumpkin, 2009; Alvord, Brown, and Letts, 2004). As the concept has emerged rather quickly in scholarly literature, social entrepreneurship in academia has primarily been concerned with defining the concept (e.g. Mair and Martí, 2006; Peredo and McLean, 2006), and has therefore had a substantial focus on conceptual over empirical research (Short, Moss, and Lumpkin, 2009).

However, social entrepreneurship lacks conceptual clarity and is difficult to operationalize and has become a so-called “fuzzy concept” (Markusen, 2003). Social entrepreneurship has therefore come to mean different things for different people and researchers. For example, for one group of researchers, social entrepreneurship is referred to as not-for-profit initiatives as it seeks non-traditional funding strategies, organizational structures, and strategic tools to create social value (Austin et al., 2006; Van Slyke and Newman, 2006; Dees, Emerson, and Economy, 2002; Boschee, 1998). For a second group, social entrepreneurship is the socially responsible practice of commercial businesses engaged in cross-sector partnerships (Baron, 2007; Sagawa and Segal, 2000; Waddock, 1988). For a third group, social entrepreneurship is viewed as a means to ease complex and persistent social problems and accelerate social transformation beyond solutions to the initial problems (Alvord et al., 2004; Mair and Marti, 2006). From this point of view, social entrepreneurship can produce small changes in the short term but its potential in producing large, systematic changes in the longer term is what defines its considerable utility. For a fourth group, social

entrepreneurship are economically sustainable ventures that generate social value (Santos, 2012; Robinson, 2006). As such, the literature reveals that a single, agreed-upon definition of social entrepreneurship remains contested. While most definitions of social entrepreneurship "refer to an ability to leverage resources that address social problems…. there is little consensus beyond this generalization" (Dacin, Dacin, and Matear, 2010: 37).

As highlighted by the proliferation of definitions, social entrepreneurship is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon as there is no standardized or universally accepted definition of the concept. Nevertheless, Dacin et al. (2011) in their analysis of 37 definitions of social entrepreneurship, find that a common denominator is defining social entrepreneurship as "the primary mission of the social entrepreneur being one of creating social value by providing solutions to social problems" (Dacin et al., 2011: 1204). As such, it is imperative that the creation of social value weighs heavy in social entrepreneurship (Peredo and McLean, 2006; Zappalà and Lyons, 2009). In this view, social entrepreneurship provides an alternative to a culture of selfishness and greed driven solely by economic performance in traditional companies (Hemingway, 2005; Mintzberg, Simons and Basu, 2002). For traditional companies, its primary interest is the generation of economic value before the attention of a social problem. As traditional companies seek the generation of economic value, one of the ways to increase its economic value is the generation of social value. In other words, traditional companies are profit-seeking or profit-maximizing. For social entrepreneurship, its creation is motivated from the need to address a social problem by offering a good, service, or new organizational structure to the market. From this perspective, social value is created through the production of economic value rather than economic value added through the generation of social value (Yunus, 2008). Following this, social entrepreneurship refers to the management of a binary structure. On the one hand, social entrepreneurship is characterized by a social mission, and on the other and, by commercial activities.

Shadowing Austin et al. (2006: 370) as the most commonly cited peer-reviewed article on social entrepreneurship, social entrepreneurship is therefore defined in this thesis project as an "entrepreneurial activity with an embedded social purpose." This definition illuminates the tensions between the commercial activity and social objectives of social entrepreneurship and is appropriate for this thesis project given the complexity of defining the term and our primary focus on coworking spaces.

3. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

How do coworking space providers seek to facilitate social entrepreneurship? And what aspects of coworking spaces do users find supportive for their social entrepreneurship activity? To answer these two research questions, the conceptual framework builds on the model presented previously by Surman (2013). Four dimensions of how coworking spaces seek to support social entrepreneurship are therefore presented below, i.e. founders, space, community, and local context respectively.

3.1. Founders

As noted by Surman (2013), internal factors propel coworking spaces beyond the status quo of solely working on their own work and to include social entrepreneurship or social responsibility within their daily lifestyle and work. Internal factors that are key for the sustainability and viability of the coworking model have been illuminated to be so-called coworking space managers, curators, hosts, facilitators or animators (Spinuzzi, 2012; Surman, 2013; Parrino, 2015; Merkel, 2015; Durante and Turvani, 2018). There are a variety of coworking funding models ranging from independently organized and self-financed to franchise-based or community operated (Spinuzzi, 2012; Fuzi, 2015; Orel and Kubatova, 2019). Consider this, coworking space founders might equally play the role of the coworking space manager. The founders'/managers' organizational configuration, motives, philosophy, and coworking membership model related to coworking and social entrepreneurship therefore matters and needs to be given particular attention. Questions that ought to be considered are, for example: what organizational configuration, motives, philosophy, and coworking model do founders/managers express? Are there any particular coworking funding models or business philosophies that are tilted towards social value? What about the founders/managers do social entrepreneurs articulate?

3.2. Space

The literature on coworking spaces highlights a workspace layout based on the principles of spatial openness which is meant to stimulate the flow of individuals in space, foster connections, and to increase opportunities for collaboration and conversation. This mostly includes openly located flexible workstations to increase the likelihood of creating chance encounters and unplanned interactions, but also private desks/rooms for more concentrating-requiring tasks (Capdevila, 2013; Assenza, 2015; Servaty et al., 2018). Coworking spaces are therefore typically designed to promote serendipitous encounters, informal meetings, and spontaneous get-togethers which is meant to further develop

relationships between coworking space users. An atmosphere, interior aesthetic design, services, and amenities that blends features from the domestic home, workplace, and play, breaking the social isolation associated with working from home, has been noted to be more conducive to creativity, productivity, and innovation (Van Meel and Vos, 2001; Assenza, 2015; Servaty et al., 2018). Under this assumption, coworking spaces are environments of localized and spontaneous socialization, and from this point of view they transform into centers of social life. Questions that ought to be considered are, for example: what workspace layout, atmosphere/interior design, services, and amenities exist in coworking spaces? Can we differentiate coworking spaces based on physical characteristics? What about these aspects do social entrepreneurs find important?

3.3. Community

The literature on coworking spaces conjugates a key theme — community. Typically, the concept of community refers the possible relational implications within coworking spaces to find other people, ideas and resources, share experiences, learn from others, and celebrate each other's successes (Moriset, 2013; Waters-Lynch and Potts, 2017). In short, a coworking community is a communication network which supports individual professionals, entrepreneurs, and start-ups. Community in coworking spaces therefore appear as environments in which relationships and interpersonal interactions can develop, which may also have effects in terms of professional relations and exchange of knowledge. This is enabled by coworking spaces organizational platforms which are aimed at creating synergies among coworkers and stimulating different forms of proximity (Parrino, 2015). Organizational platforms are comprised of, on the one hand, community managers, curators, hosts, facilitators, or animators who deal with the management and organization of space and with the facilitation of the interactions and relationships between coworkers (Spinuzzi, 2012; Surman, 2013; Parrino, 2015; Merkel, 2015; Durante and Turvani, 2018). On the other hand, organizational platforms are comprised of events and support infrastructure (Parrino, 2015). Considering the former, community managers, curators, hosts, or animators are of key interest as they take the central place of community in coworking spaces by the use of mediation mechanism to help build, grow, and manage users and their networks (Surman, 2013; Parrino, 2015; Durante and Turvani, 2018).

Given the framework provided here, we can explore if coworking space founders perform this fundamental role too. Considering the latter, lacking secure surroundings and work conditions, individual professionals, entrepreneurs, and start-ups are likely to be

exposed to uncertainty, especially in early phases of their development (Waters-Lynch and Potts, 2017). Their success depends on demand, but also on financing, know-how, or consultancy support to realize and scale their ideas (Scott, 2006). The provision of activities, resources, events, and support infrastructure are therefore worth considerable attention as specific support can encourage and sustain social entrepreneurship. Questions that ought to be considered are, for example: What events and support infrastructure exists? What support do social entrepreneurs articulate as significant?

3.4. Local Context

The structure presented above offers a rudimentary framework based on coworking space literature for understanding the relationship between founders/managers, space, community, and entrepreneurship within coworking spaces. The founders/managers, the workspace, and community within coworking spaces function as enabling mediums that support the cultivation of trust between coworkers and the discovery and exchange of information. But, alone, the framework does not fully provide how coworking spaces may facilitate social entrepreneurship or support social entrepreneurs.

As communities and localized environments (Parrino, 2015), coworking spaces have "local bonds" (Neuberg, 2005) which can be defined as the specific context of place. For example, coworking spaces are emerging as new economic and social intermediaries where coworking spaces are demonstrating deeper concerns for and attachment to the area of choice by contributing to mitigate local urban and social issues (Fiorentino, 2019). From this point of view, coworking spaces are localized and are established within the locations where they are deemed as needed. This is partially a result of entrepreneurial activities being both socially and spatially embedded (Scott, 2006). As such, we can assume that the activities of coworking spaces and the activities happening inside coworking spaces are so as well. Specific local urban and social issues, together with the conceptual framework provided here, may generate activities aimed at both economic and social value within coworking spaces. Social entrepreneurship has especially arisen due to "locally embedded contexts" (Dacin et al., 2011: 1206) such as simultaneous market and government failures, resource scarcity, and corruption, particularly in emerging economies (Zahra et al., 2009). This allows entrepreneurs to identify a problem in locality as social entrepreneurs "usually start with small initiatives, [and] often target problems that have a local expression but with global relevance" (Santos, 2012: 335). Through the support of coworking spaces and its community, social entrepreneurs can mount the challenge to address local urban and social issues.

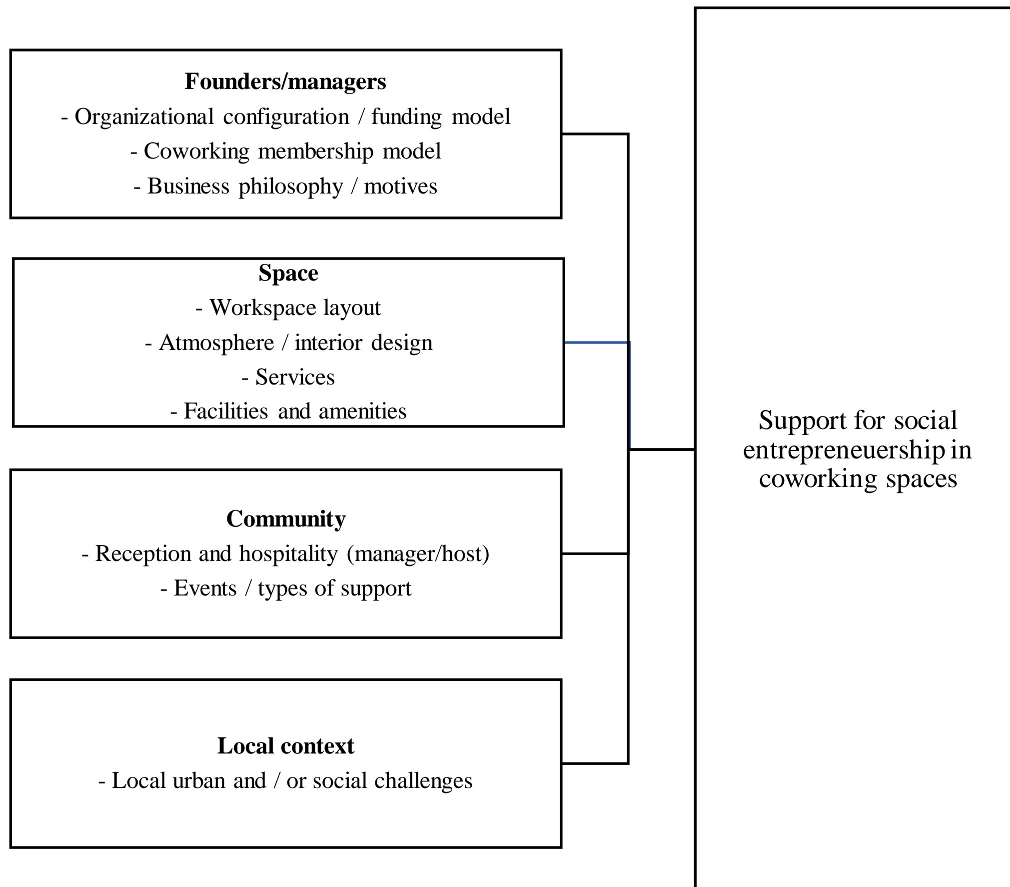


Figure 1. *Conceptual framework.*

4. METHODOLOGY

This methodology chapter consists of a detailed description of the research design in section 4.1 and research process in section 4.2. Section 4.3. highlights the research methods utilized in this thesis project in the form of interviews, participant observation, and informal conversations, respectively. The chapter ends with a section on the approach for data analysis and how the data was organized and processed. The chapter on methodology is followed by situating the reader into the research setting in chapter 5.

4.1. Research Design

In this thesis, an abductive qualitative approach in a case study was used in order to answer the research questions and to achieve the aim of providing an empirical exploration of both providers of coworking spaces and their role in facilitating social entrepreneurship and what aspects of coworking spaces that social entrepreneurs find supportive. This thesis project draws on an abductive research approach as research activities moved back and forth between empirical data collection and theory and as empirical data and subsequent data analysis inferred the relationships between coworking spaces and social entrepreneurship, albeit without asserting them (Dubois and Gadde, 2002). This approach allows for the investigation of the research questions while putting theory and empirical observation into dialogue with one another which allows for a greater understanding of both empirical phenomena and theory (Dubois and Gadde, 2002).

As this thesis project draws on a case study, it is characterized by predefined boundaries — social entrepreneurship in the context of coworking spaces in La Paz, Bolivia — to limit the scope of the research as to enable an in-depth understanding of complexity (Silverman, 2013; Yin, 2012). This case study is therefore specific in focus in terms of people and context while at the same time it explores a phenomena where relationships are ambiguous and uncertain. Using a case study which draws on an abductive qualitative approach allows the research to cover contextual conditions. Relying on case study methods are widely accepted and preferred, especially when conducting research on new and topical issues such as both coworking spaces and social entrepreneurship (Short, Moss, and Lumpkin, 2006; Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton, 2012; Corbin and Strauss, 2015). Utilizing La Paz as a "starting point for further analysis" (Bennet and Shurmer-Smith, 2001: 202) allows the case study to expand the knowledge of coworking spaces facilitating social entrepreneurship. This allows the findings of my case study to be used to further develop knowledge regarding social entrepreneurship in the context of coworking spaces by finding confirming or disconfirming

results (Flyvbjerg, 2006). By doing so, the results from this case study may contribute to the general theory of support for social entrepreneurship in coworking spaces.

4.2. Research Process

The empirical data collected in this research partially originates from research in La Paz, Bolivia, conducted between September 2019 and November 2019 as part of an internship at INESAD. Data was collected for this thesis project through interviews, participant observation, and informal conversations to triangulate the evidence (Eisenhardt, 1989). There were four phases to the research process, outlined below.

The first phase consisted of an inventory. Information and data were gathered regarding coworking spaces via coworker.org, Google, Facebook, and Instagram using key words in my search such as *cowork, coworking, coworking space, or coworking La Paz* allowing the app or browser to search near my physical location. The search yielded the initial finding of 13 spaces that communicated being coworking spaces. A visit to each space ensued where an initial assessment of the space took place considering the definition of a coworking space: shared office renting facilities where independent professionals, entrepreneurs, and start-ups work to share resources and knowledge. 6 spaces were excluded during this stage as the space had closed or the building or space had been vacated. As such, 7 coworking spaces were primarily identified. The process of snowballing introduced me to other spaces part of the coworking ecosystem during this stage (Longhurst, 2010; Valentine, 2005: 117). As I was made aware of additional coworking spaces and introduced to them, the phase of inventory yielded 11 coworking spaces in La Paz. To the extent of my knowledge, this includes all coworking spaces in La Paz. During the first visit to each coworking space I took descriptive and reflective field notes on first impressions, community size, physical infrastructure, and services offered by the coworking space (Bouncken, Clauss, and Reuschl, 2016; Fuzi, 2015). This first phase was pivotal in moving from a general interest in coworking spaces for my internship work to the investigable research questions for this thesis. Phase one ended with mapping coworking spaces and grouping them together into categories. The mapping was done using the mobile app Survey123 for ArcGIS. The data from the mobile app was later transferred to ArcGIS desktop software for the maps utilized in this thesis project.

The second phase consisted of semi-structured interviews with coworking space founders and/or managers. The founders/managers were chosen to include people with expertise who work with the empirical phenomena on a daily basis as to provide as complete and accurate information as possible about the case of interest (Longhurst, 2010; Guest,

Bunce, and Johnson, 2006). 11 coworking space founders and/or managers were interviewed during this stage representing a voice from each space.

The third phase consisted of participant observation. As part of participating in the empirical phenomena, informal conversations were held with coworking space users to talk about what economic activity they were engaged with, what they thought about coworking, who coworks, when they cowork, and why they cowork. During fieldwork I identified and was introduced to social entrepreneurs who utilize various coworking spaces.

The fourth phase of the research consisted of contacting social entrepreneurs who utilized coworking spaces and conducting semi-structured interviews. 5 social entrepreneurs who were available and willing to take part were interviewed.

4.3. Methods

The research methods applied in this thesis project include semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and informal conversations. This section illustrates these methods and the way in which they were applied.

4.3.1. Interviews

In total, 16 semi-structured interviews were conducted with coworking space founders, managers and users (see appendix 10.1). Interviews with coworking space founders/managers represented a voice from each one of the total 11 coworking spaces identified in La Paz and were chosen purposively on the basis of their experience related to coworking spaces (Longhurst, 2010: 108). The sample selection of coworking space users were based on the criteria that they were social entrepreneurs i.e. "conducting an entrepreneurial activity with an embedded social purpose" (Austin et al., 2006: 370) while simultaneously utilizing coworking spaces. Exploring Facebook events, participant lists of such events, and talking to coworking space founders and users — snowball sampling (Longhurst, 2010: 109; Valentine, 2005: 117) — yielded 5 participants who fulfilled the criteria. The participants utilized 4 different coworking spaces in La Paz, providing a more nuanced, or illustrative, sample (Valentine, 2005: 112).

All but one interview was conducted at the location of respective coworking space or additional offices the social entrepreneur as to provide a "neutral" setting (Longhurst, 2010: 109). One interview was conducted at a café as it was the preferred choice of the participant at the time. The longest interview lasted 75 minutes and the shortest interview lasted 18 minutes. The average length of all 16 interviews was 40.5 minutes. Interviews were conducted in both

Spanish and English with a majority (11 of 16) in Spanish. The data collected during interviews yielded 110 pages of transcripts. For the interviews conducted in Spanish, I translated the parts of the interviews that I used within this thesis from Spanish to English. All participants were informed through an introduction about the purpose of the research, the availability of the thesis online upon completion, treatment of the data, and the possibility to withdraw from the research at any moment. All participants were asked for their consent to participate in the interview, to be audio-recorded during the interview with a digital recorder and if statements and claims from the interview could be used in the research.

As a native speaker of English and Swedish with a working proficiency in Spanish, this has, at times, meant utilizing web and software services for translation and relying on native speakers to contextualize and clarify certain words, sentences, or paragraphs. The sensation that details and information were missed during interviews in Spanish existed, sometimes more often than not. However, the feeling was trumped by the glee of doing research in a third language. My understanding was at times constrained by my linguistic ability and this related to occasions where I had to ask respondents to repeat themselves, ask the same questions several times, or occasions where I missed an opportunity to ask a follow-up question. This was especially illuminated when re-listening to interviews. During this process I particularly learned “what a dolt one is” (Watson, 2004). Nevertheless, the language barrier and misunderstandings during interviews sometimes proved fruitful as respondents communicated in different terms and manners to bridge the linguistic gap between us. For this thesis project, working in a third language has meant a deeper approach to the empirical material gathered as the content of the documents in a different language demanded critical and intensive engagement (Crane, Lombard, and Tenz, 2009). Moreover, working in a third language often created common ground between the participants and myself. This occurred by establishing a rapport with the participants, often surrounding their positive reaction to what I could convey in Spanish, or comical moments (i.e. mistakes) which intercultural or interlanguage research can produce.

However, semi-structured interviews were the most suitable method for this qualitative thesis project for three major reasons. First, the research questions demand a detailed discussion on the emerging phenomenon of coworking spaces in La Paz and support for social entrepreneurship. Semi-structured interviews are promising source of data for studies on emerging phenomenon (Corbin and Strauss, 2015). Second, semi-structured interviews are more flexible compared to surveys or structured interviews and, at the same time, they are more ordered and directive than unstructured interviews (Doody and Noonan, 2013). Semi-

structured interviews give the respondents the opportunity to speak at length, the freedom to express their views in their own terms and has the potential to lead to spontaneous discussions and instant feedback on the topic of discussion (Eisenhardt, 1989; Neergaard and Ulhoi, 2007; Doody and Noonan, 2013). Third, respondents included founders and managers of coworking spaces as well as coworking space users who prefer to talk about their specific space, experiences, success stories, failures, and challenges (Cassell and Symon, 2004; Neergard and Ulhoi, 2007). As semi-structured interviews are “conversational and informal in tone” (Longhurst, 2010: 105), they are “related to talking and talking is natural” (Doody and Noonan, 2013: 28). The open nature of semi-structured interviews therefore encourages depth and vitality in responses which assists in collecting rich data. This has the potential to increase the validity of the study (Hand 2003; Deamley, 2005).

Semi-structured interviews require a well-prepared interview guide (Longhurst, 2010: 106-107). Therefore, two interview guides were created for this thesis project (see appendix 10.2) — one for coworking space founders/managers and one for coworking space users — in order to facilitate a flexible and reflective approach to the interviews and the “interpersonal relation of the interview situation” (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009: 102). The interview guide was created in both English and Spanish with the Spanish interview guide being checked both by students working at the internship office as well as by my internship supervisor. The flexible and reflective approach of semi-structured interviews using an interview guide allowed for asking new questions, seeking clarification where necessary, and picking up on themes that emerged during the interviews. The interview guides were adapted throughout the fieldwork process to include emerging details, challenges, experiences, and thoughts. The interview guide generally followed an order with questions participants were likely comfortable answering to more difficult or thought-provoking questions, as suggested by Longhurst (2010). However, as semi-structured interviews permit, the questions were not always asked in the order listed. This allowed the interview to unfold in a conversational manner providing the participants time and opportunity to explore and share information. Nevertheless, by the end of the interview the interview guide was cross-referenced to make sure that all the relevant questions had been covered during the duration of the interview. As “it is not possible to formulate a strict guide to good practice for every interview context” each interview conducted consisted of preparation, consideration and practice (Dunn, 2005: 81). Follow-ups were sought through WhatsApp or in-person if questions arose during or after data processing.

4.3.2. Participant Observation

Participant observation was conducted by working at two different coworking spaces in La Paz (Link and NetWork) in November and December 2019 and January 2020 respectively, for 40 hours in each location for a combined total of 80 hours. The data collected consisted of 15 handwritten pages of fieldnotes which were later typed up. Participant observation was chosen as a qualitative method to complement the interviews and to get a better understanding of the setting and phenomenon researched by providing different angles and perspectives (Laurier, 2010; Jorgensen, 1989). There are "no preset formal steps" for participant observation (Laurier, 2010: 117), but participant observation is part of our everyday lives. Participant observation is an "easy" skill we do on a daily basis by observing and participating in specific situations. However, the skill of participant observation for qualitative research involves observing *and* participating in the specific phenomenon(s) studied. As suggested by both Laurier (2010) and Creswell (2013), the material produced through fieldnotes should be both descriptive and reflective commentary which comprises empirical research data that needs to be analyzed to make sense of more abstract problems. The descriptive fieldnotes in this thesis project consisted of the characteristics of the space: its physical structure and configuration, location, community size, and services provided. The reflective field notes consisted of focusing on the research questions as well as member and managerial activities.

Furthermore, as in any research, the researcher has a role. The role of the researcher within participant observation can be conceptualized on a continuum from complete outsider to complete insider, where the researcher is an outsider or an insider to a greater or lesser degree depending on the researcher's social location (Jorgensen, 1989; Laurier, 2010). My social location as a white European male master's student conducting an internship with a well-known economic development think tank and simultaneously conducting thesis data collection, defined my social location as an outsider during this thesis project. Due to my limited perspective and experience which inherently contain built-in limitation and biases, there is no guarantee against inaccurate findings while using this method (Jorgensen, 1989). Nevertheless, being an outsider is a common role in participant observation (Jorgensen, 1989). Additionally, because of my social location, access to different information, people, settings, and bodies of knowledge it may be assumed that a "pre-given" role in the coworking spaces and its community was established and acted upon ranging from "outsider" and tourist to potential friend and researcher (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002).

The politics of participating as an outsider presented difficulties. First, as time was limited for this research project, the presence of an outsider-researcher could not be

completely routinized. Second, lacked familiarity with the setting resulted in the noticeable presence of an outsider which resulted in display of suspicion, indifference, and unresponsiveness by a select few as my presence was not legitimized. For the majority, however, my presence was legitimized and my role as an outsider-researcher was met by curiosity, friendliness, and even deference. Third, participants tended to respond to questions and inquiries with preconceptions based on my pre-given role and may therefore have participated more/less enthusiastically. I acknowledge sensitivity to how my role limited and facilitated participant observation in this thesis project. To this end, participant observation has consisted of both observation and participation where one or the other has been pursued dialectically considering the context, setting, and situation. Participant observation was constantly a process of observing and participating carefully and patiently (Laurier, 2010). Nevertheless, as "the best participant observation is generally done by those who have been involved in and tried to do and/or be a part of the things they are observing" this has been pursued to the best extent possible given my outsider-researcher role (Laurier, 2010: 118). Participant observation results will be incorporated into chapter 6 which illustrates my findings.

4.3.3. Informal Conversations

The two above mentioned research methods were triangulated by informal conversations during the fieldwork period (Eisenhardt, 1989; Clifford, French, and Valentine, 2010). These conversations were not recorded as to maintain the natural situation and facilitate open, honest conversation. Using an audio recorder might have impeded this. These informal conversations were followed by taking field notes as soon as possible after the conversations as to document main statements and claims. The data collected during informal conversations consisted of 6 hand-written pages. These informal conversations have at times been rich and insightful. For example, informal conversations have connected me with social entrepreneurs in the coworking space ecosystem through snowballing and given me a supplementary insight into the challenges which entrepreneurs who utilize coworking spaces in La Paz encounter.

4.4. Data Analysis

In abductive qualitative research, data collection and data analysis are simultaneous and concurrent processes (Silverman, 2013; Creswell, 2009; Gray, 2004). The process of data analysis started already during fieldwork as a parallel process between gathering data, initial

analysis, making interpretations, and writing. This process generated a deeper and deeper understanding of the data as the project continued as time was spent reflecting on daily experiences. The data analysis was guided by Creswell's (2009: 172-176) approach to data analysis and interpretation through 6 consecutive steps.

The first step of data analysis consisted of organizing and preparing the data. This involved transcribing interviews, typing up field notes, and sorting and arranging the data into different categories depending on the sources of information. In cases where the interviews were conducted in Spanish, transcripts were produced using a software program. The audio recordings were then listened back to in conjunction with the produced transcripts to validate and self-edit errors or mistakes that might have been transcribed from the software. Additionally, to develop skills over time as a novice researcher, it has been suggested to listen back to an interview and transcribe it before the next one in order to identify when responses could have been probed (Doody and Noonan, 2013). This was done to the best extent possible for all interviews. The second step consisted of reading through the data to obtain a general sense of the information while also reflecting on its overall meaning. During this step the process involved returning to the field notes, audio recordings, and reading the transcripts again while simultaneously reflecting and writing notes. The third step consisted of data analysis with a coding process — that is, organizing segments, paragraphs or sentences of the transcribed material into categories, and labeling those categories with a term. Although codes are likely to change and transform throughout the process, the initial codes used were "in vivo codes" wherever appropriate (Creswell, 2009; Cope, 2010: 446). This was done to identify descriptions and themes relevant to the research questions in this thesis, following the guidance of both Creswell (2009) and Cope (2010). In the fourth step, the coding process was used in order to generate descriptions of the data that later were developed into a small number of categories and themes — founders, space, community, and local context — for analysis. In the final steps, these categories and themes were interpreted, and the written analysis generated.

5. RESEARCH SETTING

The particular context and conditions of the spatial setting for this thesis project is of high relevance in order to explore the contemporary emergence of coworking spaces and their facilitation of social entrepreneurship. The research setting is briefly illustrated in the following section including an overview of Bolivia's social and economic situation followed by a similar overview of La Paz.

5.1. The Plurinational State of Bolivia

Bolivia is a particularly interesting and relevant context in which to explore coworking spaces and social entrepreneurship. The coworking space ecosystem and social entrepreneurship in Bolivia is evolving in a context where neither government initiatives nor traditional for-profit businesses have been able to deliver sufficient solutions to contemporary problems such as social inequalities, poverty, and unemployment. Far-reaching structural reforms, new economic policies, and large deposits and export of natural resources in the form of minerals, agricultural products, and natural gas have contributed to Bolivia as a regional leader in economic growth (Kehoe, Machicado, and Peres-Cajías, 2019: 1; Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2017). However, Bolivia is still one of South America's poorest nations with one third of Bolivia's 11 million inhabitants living below the national poverty line (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2018; Landguiden, 2019). Furthermore, Bolivia has a strong dependency on commodity and primary goods exports which has led to low value added and little economic diversification.

At the same time, Bolivia has one of the world's largest informal economies, according to a recent International Monetary Fund (IMF) report, with a total of 62.3 percent of the private sector workforce operating within this category (Medina and Schneider, 2018). In Bolivia, the informal economy is characterized by micro and small-scale enterprises operating as subsistence enterprises. One the one hand, subsistence entrepreneurs conduct "entrepreneurial actions, undertaken in the informal sector of the economy, by individuals living in poverty in the bottom of the pyramid (BOP) or subsistence marketplaces to create value for their consumers" (Viswanathan, Echambadi, Venugopal, and Sridharan, 2014: 1).

These enterprises and entrepreneurial activities are labor intensive and use scarce resources to alleviate poverty by operating small businesses that encompass individual, family-run, and associative activities that provide products and services. Owing to the social vulnerabilities due to work and living conditions, subsistence entrepreneurs have little chance of improving productivity, human capital, or access to credit and technology (Borda and

Ramirez, 2006; Ratten, Jones, Braga, and Marques, 2019). However, these subsistence enterprises are viewed as an important tool in alleviating poverty and fighting unemployment. It is suggested to consider subsistence micro and small-scale enterprises as part of poverty reduction strategies (Borda and Ramirez, 2006). On the other hand, and in contrast to subsistence enterprises, are productive micro and small-scale enterprises with growth potential (Jemio and Choque, 2006).

Relatedly, it has been acknowledged by diverse scholars that social entrepreneurship can play a potential role in the contemporary solutions of social, economic, and environmental problems (Dacin, Dacin, and Matear, 2010; Rahdari, Sepasi and Moradi, 2016; Rey-Martí, Ribeiro-Soriano and Sánchez-Garciá, 2016). As social inequalities and poverty in urban areas are related to low quality employment, reduced income levels, and the informal character of Bolivia's economy (UNICEF Bolivia, 2003; Medina and Schneider, 2018), building social entrepreneurship through the power of coworking spaces potentially offers an alternative solution to support entrepreneurs in Bolivia.

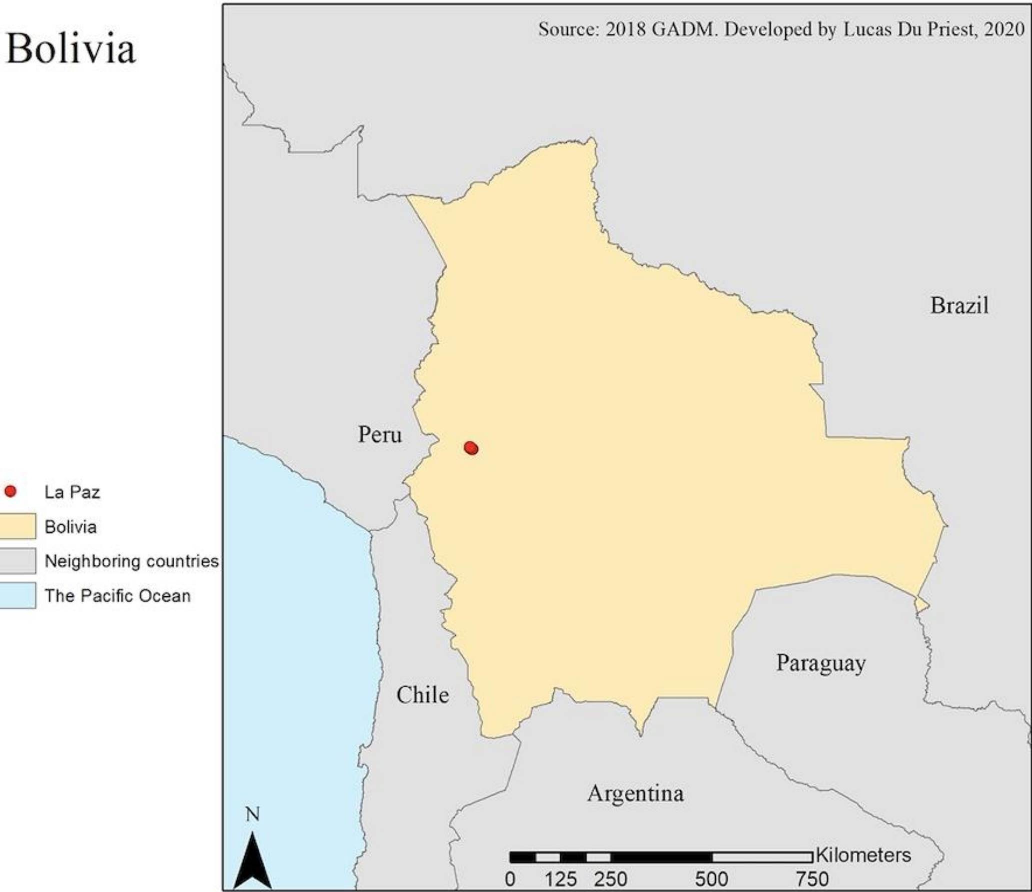


Figure 2. *Map of the Plurinational State of Bolivia.*

5.2. La Paz, Bolivia

Situated between 3200 and 3800 meters above sea level, La Paz is the highest administrative capital in the world. While Sucre is the constitutional capital, La Paz is the seat of government and the de facto capital of the Plurinational State of Bolivia. With an estimated 800,000 residents, La Paz is the third-most populous city in Bolivia after Santa Cruz and El Alto (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2016). However, the metropolitan area, which is formed by La Paz, El Alto, and Viacha, makes up the most populous urban area in Bolivia with the department of La Paz having a projected population of roughly 2.9 million residents in 2020 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2018).

As La Paz is Bolivia's political, administrative and cultural center it also contributes to a large portion of Bolivia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Together with Santa Cruz, the two cities contribute to nearly 50% of GDP (Méndez, 2013). As the country as a whole, the metropolitan area of La Paz is highly unequal in terms of wealth. Socio-economic status with ethnicity and culture unofficially demarcates different neighborhoods in the city. As a result of rural-urban migration to La Paz in the 1980s and 1990s (see Andersen, 2002), the city experienced an informal urban sprawl which today characterizes the slopes of the river valley stretching up north and west towards the adjacent city of El Alto. This has created the local axiom "the higher you live the poorer you are" with the general assumption that these areas are inhabited by people of lower socio-economic status (Maclean, 2018: 715). However, while vulnerability and poverty exist, substantial wealth is harbored as well as these areas are characterized by commerce (Maclean, 2018). The city center of La Paz is characterized by the business district, government offices, universities, embassies and travel agencies for the growing tourism industry while new skyscrapers and modern apartment blocks tower over historic colonial buildings and plazas. The more affluent neighborhoods are located in the southern part of the city and are characterized by a commercial district, medium to high income residential areas, and extravagant country clubs.

Coworking spaces are concentrated in two main districts of the city which generally follows the axes of existing public transportation. One concentration exists in the southern part of the city, specifically the neighborhood San Miguel, while the other concentration exists in the city center located in the neighborhoods of Sopocachi and the historic city center. The two areas are characterized by public transport accessibility through both the newly implemented cable car system and public bus system, where the cable car system especially has facilitated network creation and movement (Maclean, 2019), availability and affordability of space, and a functional mix.

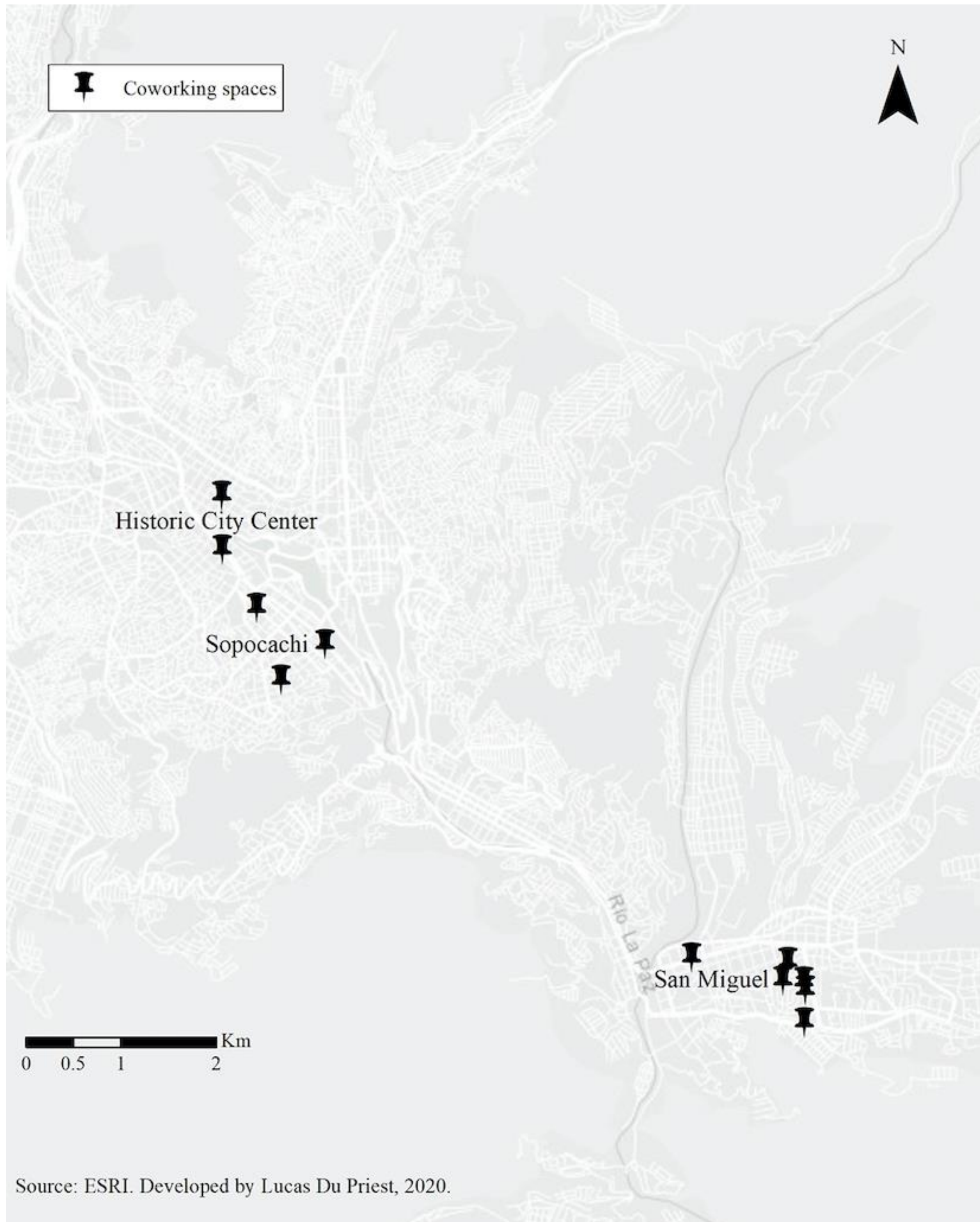


***Figure 3**. Spatial distribution of coworking spaces in La Paz, Bolivia.*

The two areas of concentration are related to two main commercial areas of the city, San Miguel in the south and the city center in the north. Additionally, the coworking spaces follow the axes of existing infrastructural and transportation axes, specifically the cable car system.

6. RESULTS

This chapter entails the empirical findings based on fieldwork conducted. Section 6.1. focuses on the importance of the founder, space, community, and local context in building support for social entrepreneurship. The data collected for this section includes interviews with 9 coworking space founders and 2 coworking space managers and regarded particularly: the background, motivations, and objective of the founders in opening a coworking space, the spatial infrastructure present in coworking spaces, and the types of support infrastructure that are promoted inside the coworking spaces. This analysis, combined with previous research conducted during an internship, shed light on the varied nature of coworking. In particular it resulted in the identification of three different types of coworking spaces: Space A, Space B, and Space C which all differ in terms of coworking model, physical design, and support offered. Section 6.2. focuses on data collected from 5 social entrepreneurs within coworking spaces and important aspects of coworking spaces in supporting their particular business, organization, or work.

6.1. Coworking Space Providers

This section elucidates the empirical analysis regarding research question 1: How do coworking space providers seek to facilitate social entrepreneurship? To answer the research question, the data collected in the interviews with 11 coworking space providers regard particularly their original motivations and intentions for opening up a coworking spaces, their choice in terms of space, their coworking space community, and their relationship with the local context.

Founder

The rise of coworking spaces in La Paz, Bolivia, is recent. The first two coworking spaces opened in 2014 with a proliferation of coworking spaces opening up in the past two years. As of January 2020, 11 coworking spaces were identified by the author which promoted themselves as coworking spaces. From the internship work conducted in the fall of 2019, three different types of coworking spaces have been identified in La Paz. The first type is referred to here as Space A (5 out of 11 spaces). These coworking spaces seek to support individual professionals, entrepreneurs, and start-ups while at the same time putting forward claims for social entrepreneurship, social innovation, and/or social responsibility. As such, these spaces tend to demonstrate a concern for local urban and social issues. This occurs both through their activities and events as well as through their business philosophy. Combined, the coworking space attracts particular groups of coworkers, businesses, or crowds from the external community. The second type of coworking spaces, referred to as Space B (3 out of

11 spaces), offer a niche in the market for people who want a shared workspace that is not necessarily a fully committed coworking space nor a simple café. The third type of coworking space, Space C (3 out of 11 spaces), are commercial products and respond to the market demand for flexible office spaces. For this thesis project, interest in the first type of coworking spaces, Space A, is of high relevance.

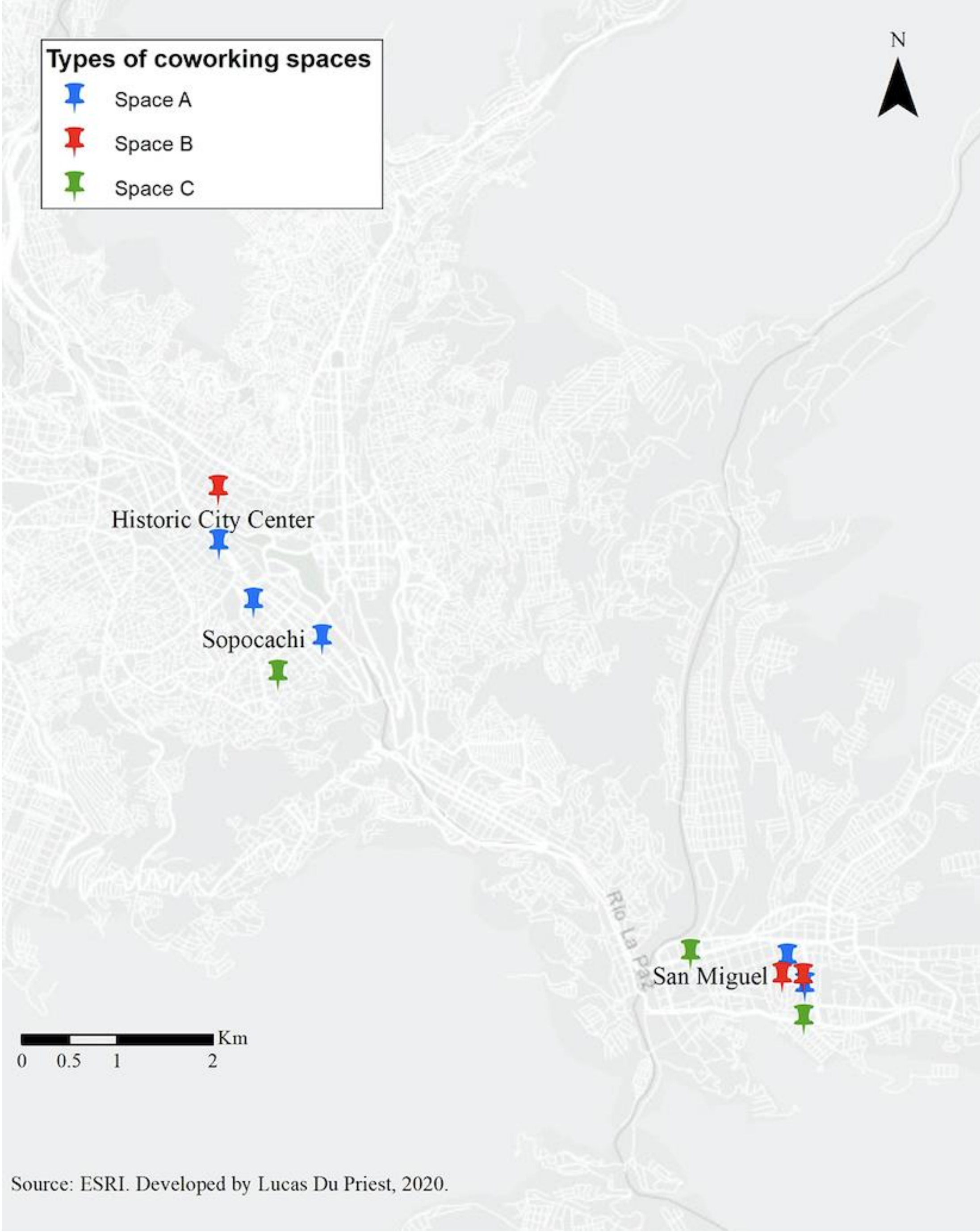


Figure 4. *Spatial distribution of the different types of coworking spaces in La Paz, Bolivia.*

The two areas of concentration are related to two main commercial areas, San Miguel and the city center, as well as the main infrastructural and transportation axes, specifically the cable car system.

Nevertheless, the coworking ecosystem in La Paz is predominantly independently organized and self-financed coworking spaces owned by local, private founders (9 out of 11 spaces). In 4 cases the coworking space had been opened and was operated by an individual. In 3 other cases the coworking space had been opened and was operated jointly between several business partners. In 2 cases the coworking space had been opened and was operated by a couple. In 1 case, the coworking space is owned by a public institution, the National Chamber of Commerce of La Paz, and have partnered with a café to set up a small business center and coworking space. In the last case, the coworking space is owned by a larger hotel and coworking chain.

Regarding the motivation of coworking space founders' in Space A coworking for solving a need was cited. This was highlighted by two founders who stated: "We saw that there was no space for freelancers [and] we want to empower women… Other than their houses, they do not have a place where they can work" (INT 1). Or "I wanted to build a coworking space with a multidisciplinary community that could converse and collaborate so that to help entrepreneurs grow and develop in a system in which we all win" (INT 5). A majority of founders of Space A detailed that they previously had worked as independent professionals (4 out of 5 founders), sometimes pursuing several business ideas before engaging in their current activity of operating a coworking space, or had a connection to other independent professionals and from that identified a need-based demand for coworking spaces. As stated by one founder: "I wanted to start my own business and spent a lot of time with my friends at cafés, at our homes, but it wasn't the right place… We wanted something more… the community" (INT 6). Moreover, the motivation of coworking space founders in Space B, coworking as an attempt to differentiate themselves and add value to their main activity of gastronomy and coffee were articulated. As highlighted by one founder: "Competition between cafés in this area is brutal" (INT 4). These spaces demonstrated little regard to foster collaboration among workers and rather viewed their coworking space as a side-business to other, primary ventures. Additionally, coworking space founders of Space C simply articulated motives in terms of financial outcomes for their rationale behind opening a coworking space. "For us this office space and our coworking space is a good real estate business… We are a high-level executive cowork" (INT 14). These self-proclaimed coworking spaces are therefore a commercial product responding to the local market demand for flexible office spaces. As such, it can be questioned if these spaces actually can be considered coworking spaces as they articulated claims of exclusivity and therefore inhibit a shared work environment to share resources and knowledge.

Nevertheless, founders all had one thing in common: they chose to open a coworking space in La Paz because of personal attachment based on spatial and social embeddedness. All coworking space founders and managers were from La Paz or had moved to La Paz early in life. Although a majority had studied and worked abroad for some time, those who had once left Bolivia returned at some point in their lives to work or to start a family (6 out of 11 founders and/or managers).

Space

Space A were typically carefully designed to foster connections and to increase opportunities for collaboration and conversation. Depending on users' preference, budget, or size of venture a variety of workspaces such as private offices, meeting rooms, private desks, and shared desks were offered with connection to high-speed Internet and/or Wi-Fi. Additionally, these spaces featured comfy couches, cafés, coffee and tea makers, open kitchens, phone booths, skype rooms, podcasting rooms, whiteboard walls, and even in one case, an outdoor patio with video games and in another a yoga room while also offering accommodation and a bar. These spaces typically exhibited natural light, high ceilings, plants, art, and inspirational quotes such as "every problem is an opportunity for a creative solution" (INT 1) or "do what you love" (INT 6). As such, Space A reflect an aesthetic design that blend "work and play" as opposed to the serviced office industry that reflected Fordist standardization (Van Meel and Vos, 2001).

Space B were coworking spaces with an in-house coffee shop or café. These spaces offered a small selection of shared workspaces and meeting rooms.

Space C were coworking spaces with a small selection of shared workspaces, private offices, and meeting rooms.

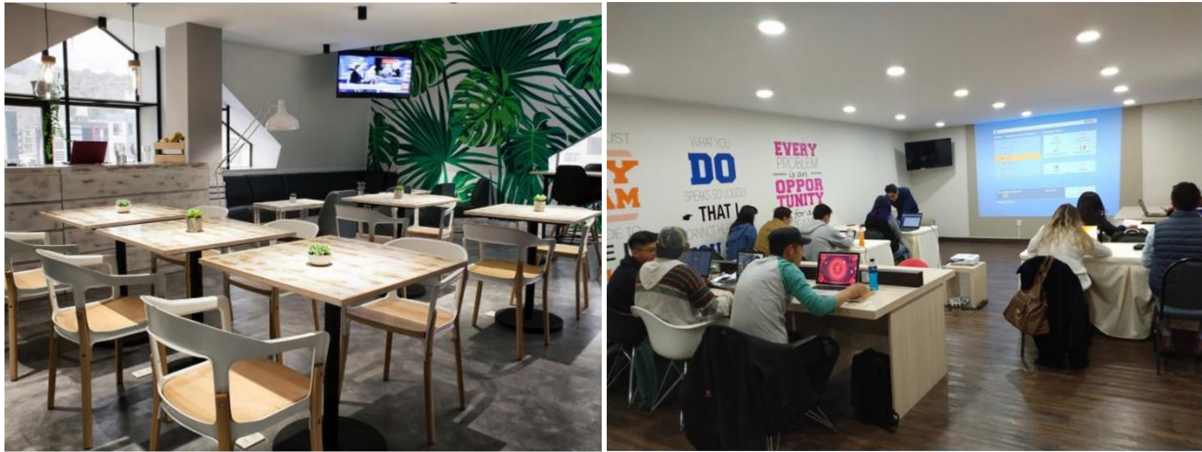
Community

By analyzing the cases identified in La Paz, Space A play a role in the facilitation of entrepreneurship, social entrepreneurship, and empowerment by providing support infrastructure through organizational platforms (INT 1, INT 2, INT 5, INT 6, INT 11). The support infrastructure for entrepreneurs and social entrepreneurs alike firstly entails a coworking space manager and secondly events such as community lunches, workshops, and meetings.

Firstly, a coworking space manager of the relevant coworking spaces were vital for the business model as well as for elements of operation, relationship-building, hosting, and

knowledge and skills sharing. In the case of La Paz and Space A, the coworking space manager was the founder (4 out of 5 spaces) and the office manager (1 out of 5 spaces). In Space A, these individuals have been found to drive the business forward, setting the agenda for what will operate within the coworking space and what values, programs, and events to promote. As such, the founder and/or coworking space manager curates a social environment through the everyday practices of the coworking space. The entrepreneurs with a social mission therefore tend to cluster in Space A as the motivation, business philosophy, activities, and events of coworking spaces attracts particular groups of coworkers.

Secondly, organizational platforms in the form of events provide a support infrastructure for entrepreneurs. One coworking space provided classes ranging from gluten free cooking classes and storytelling workshops to community management classes where a number of sessions are implemented to teach how to start, organize and manage social media platforms (INT 1). Some of these sessions were open exclusively for women as the founders embraced a social mission mantra towards supporting and empowering female entrepreneurship. A second coworking space offered events ranging from a seminar for women to talk about business and business development to digital photography classes and a headhunting showcase event (INT 6). In addition, this coworking space had supplementary organizational platforms in the form of a physical board that displayed membership profiles of coworking space users with relevant contact information as to encourage networking and collaboration. A third coworking space provided social events ranging from seminars on renewable energy, child nutrition workshops and cooking classes to a so-called investment round where entrepreneurs are given the opportunity to present his/her idea and/or project to investors who are willing to promote start-ups. In the words of the founder, the event is to promote "large-scale growth" while at the same time "safeguarding their intellectual property and know-how" as "with collaboration we can help entrepreneurs to scale things up" (INT 5). Additionally, this coworking space was in the processes of "developing a virtual showcase in which we expose entrepreneurs to a virtual market so that they can promote themselves by selling their products" (INT 5).



Picture 1: Coffee and tea corner reflecting the atmosphere/interior design and sociality offered in Space A (Source: INT 6).
Picture 2: Young entrepreneur workshop reflecting the educational support offered in Space A (Source: INT 1).

The combination of the organizational platforms in these coworking spaces form the work organization and the support offered. The support offered provided by Space A in La Paz can be categorized into three main elements: social, educational, and financial support. First, social support refers to support based on entrepreneurial networking, mentoring (e.g. from fellow members and founders/managers) through flexible, informal settings such as community lunches, social media groups, and newsletters. Second, educational support refers to support based on the professional provision of information through workshops, meetings, and seminars. Third, financial support refers to support to connect entrepreneurial talent with capital. Capital is strictly indirect support, however, and is provided by external sources. By providing social, educational, and financial support Space A provides support to connect entrepreneurial talent with networks, knowledge, and capital. The combination of these types of support in coworking spaces therefore enable coworkers to focus on increasing their networks and relationships (social capital), skills, knowledge, and experiences (human capital) while at the same time developing their ideas, sometimes with a financial boost (financial capital). Additionally, by providing access to support infrastructure, Space A reduces barriers for individual professionals, entrepreneurs, and start-ups in their entrepreneurial process which tends to be characterized by high risks, low profitability, and increasingly in the changing nature of work, precariousness and unpredictable work (Moriset, 2013; Gandini, 2015).

Local Context

In Space A, the focus has not only been on creating an entrepreneurial culture with support infrastructure, but on empowering by creating a community for entrepreneurial women (3 out of 5 spaces). “It is [the coworking space] already a point of reference for women, for businesswomen” (INT 6). Or “I want to create a community of women in which they have more than just a ‘club’” (INT 5). As such, Space A facilitate entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship by founders and/or managers who implement a business idea tilted towards a social mission. As highlighted, 3 out of 5 coworking spaces in Space A have articulated a specific social mission at supporting female entrepreneurs. Simultaneously, Space A implement organizational platforms, curating a social environment through the coworking space founder (4 out of 5 spaces) and manager (1 out of 5 spaces) and hosting a wide range of social and educational events. These social and educational events are at times contemporaneous with the articulated social mission of the coworking space and target specifically the support of female entrepreneurs. The values set forth by the coworking space founder and/or manager in turn attracts a community of entrepreneurs tilted towards building social value. The organizational platforms further attempt to reinforce a community with strong social capital and with connections to assets in the entrepreneurial ecosystem.

Table 2. *Key characteristics of the different types of coworking spaces.*

Categories	*Space A (5 spaces)*	*Space B (3 spaces)*	*Space C (3 spaces)*
Founder			
Organizational configuration / funding model	Independently organized and self-financed (4 out of 5 spaces) Part of a larger hotel and coworking chain (1 out of 5 spaces)	Independently organized and self-financed (2 out of 3 spaces) Public institution (1 out of 3 spaces)	Independently organized and self-financed (3 out of 3 spaces)
Coworking membership model	Flexible pricing options for hourly, daily, weekly, and monthly ‘contracts’ to provide community-oriented and collaborative workspaces to support entrepreneurs and start-ups.	Flexible pricing options for hourly ‘contracts’ to provide workspaces which supports individuals who do not work in an office but miss the interactions, coffee chats, and	Pricing options for daily, weekly, or monthly ‘contracts’ to provide office infrastructure for clients.

		amenities of the office environment.	
Business philosophy / motivation	Coworking for solving a need	Coworking as differentiator / added value	Coworking as self-interest / profit
Space			
Workspace layout	Open layout with enclosed and separate workspaces Private offices Meeting rooms	Small open workspaces Meeting rooms	Small open workspaces Private offices Meeting rooms
Amenities	Kitchens Coffee and tea corner Podcasting rooms Skype/video rooms Lounge areas 24-hour access	In-house coffee shop or café	Coffee and tea corner
Atmosphere / interior design	Mix of modern, industrial and homelike	Mix of modern and industrial	Closed
Services	Business address Reception – front office services Use of office infrastructure High-speed Internet Social and professional events (organized by founder/manager)	Use of office infrastructure High-speed Internet Discount in coffee shop or café	Business address Use of office infrastructure High-speed Internet
Community			
Reception and hospitality	Reception and host (founder/manager)	No reception and no host	Reception, but no host
Types of support	Social – community lunches, social media groups, newsletters Educational – workshops, trainings, seminars Financial – access to incubators and accelerators through professional events and connections	Social – coffee, afterwork events, live music Educational – N/A Financial – N/A	Social – N/A Educational – N/A Financial – N/A

Source: Author's own construction based on thesis project research.

Summary

Linking the above considerations to the research question of this section, Coworking Space A seek to support social entrepreneurship in three distinct yet integrated ways.

One, Space A seek to support social entrepreneurship particularly through the business philosophy, motivations, and coworking model set forth by the coworking space founder. The founder is the foundation, and the driver of what coworking model to promote. In La Paz, Space A are coworking models which are twofold. On the one hand, Space A deliberately attempt to foster an entrepreneurial culture with support infrastructure to support individual professionals, entrepreneurs, and start-ups who are looking to escape the isolation of a home office or coffee shop. On the other hand, Space A simultaneously put forward claims for social entrepreneurship, social innovation, and/or social responsibility which attracts and accumulates particular groups of individual professionals, entrepreneurs, start-ups, or crowds from the external community who attend various events. The coworking model set forth by the coworking space founder, the like-mindedness of coworkers, and the relatedness of respective activity pursued by coworkers, creates a coworking space environment where the values of the community members become roughly reciprocal. The simple co-location of coworkers who work inside the same coworking space and who are focused on different working tasks and objectives is not in and of itself therefore not sufficient to promote collaboration, innovation, community, or social entrepreneurship.

The result therefore align with previous literature which suggested that hired or designated community managers (Spinuzzi, 2012), animators (Surman, 2013), staff of facilitators (Parrino, 2015), hosts or facilitators (Merkel, 2015), managers and promoters (Durante and Turvani, 2018) were imperative for the facilitation of interactions and relationships between coworkers as well as the specific coworking model promoted. In La Paz, the founder is the one assuming the role of the manager. As such, he/she promotes a specific coworking model and mediates, facilitates, and connects users to networks, resources, and assets within the entrepreneurial ecosystem. This is highly reliant on that coworking spaces in La Paz are independently organized and self-financed and the founder is the one structuring, designing, furnishing and running their sited based on their understanding and model of coworking. From this point of view, coworking space founders of Space A can be regarded as social entrepreneurs as they themselves are conducting "entrepreneurial activities with an embedded social purpose" (Austin et al., 2006: 370).

Two, Space A seek to support social entrepreneurship by providing an accessible shared office space to give individual professionals, entrepreneurs, and start-ups access to a

conducive physical environment, amenities and facilities. Space A are well-equipped with facilities and amenities ranging from shared office spaces, video conference rooms, and kitchens to high-speed WiFi, free coffee, and lounge areas. Additionally, the spatial infrastructure in Space A attempts to stimulate the flow of individuals and enhance their space as a platform for serendipitous interaction. The social surrounding that specific coworking spaces provide is often seen as a resource (e.g. Spinuzzi, 2012; Parrino, 2015; Servaty et al., 2018). Space B runs the risk of being mere “drop-in” offices with limited professional interaction (Moriset, 2013). While coworking practices may be sought after in principal, they remain accidental. Space C simply offers flexible office rental solutions, but do not seek to establish any collaborative infrastructure or atmosphere.

Three, Space A seek to support social entrepreneurship by providing an entrepreneurial support infrastructure community that is simultaneously tilted toward social value. The mediation of coworking space founders (4 out of 5 spaces) and manager (1 out of 5 spaces) to connect coworkers and the organization of events form the support infrastructure in Space A. From this point of view, the coworking space and its community serves as a business incubator for individual professionals, entrepreneurs, and start-ups through its support infrastructure. The support infrastructure consisted of three elements. First, the social support was based on sociality through organizational platforms (Parrino, 2015) such as community lunches, social media groups, and newsletters. Second, educational support was based on the provision of information through events such as workshops, meetings, and seminars. This element of support contributes to the democratization of innovation by delivering classes and trainings to female entrepreneurs on the one hand, and start-ups, typically university students, dealing with the management of a firm e.g. understanding market forces and crafting business plans, on the other. Third, financial support was based on connecting entrepreneurial talent with capital by providing access to investors, sponsors, and/or business incubators/accelerators. However, the coworking space itself was never found to provide this support but rather helped connect users to assets in the community. Access to business incubators demonstrated to be the main asset provided (INT 8, INT 10, INT 12, INT 16), but also access, connections, and knowledge about capital markets and entrepreneurial competitions (INT 13).

The provision of social, educational and financial support enables coworkers to increase their social, human, and financial capital. At the same time, the support infrastructure connects the community to more access, and easier and quicker access, to networks, resources, and assets in the entrepreneurial ecosystem, even beyond the region of focus.

Moreover, Space A show a deeper concern for local urban and social issues by hosting professional events by businesses coaches, entrepreneurs, or organizations who have the potential to push business ideas or ventures tilted towards social value in locality. Additionally, 3 out of 5 spaces in Space A seek to support social entrepreneurship by deliberately fostering a supportive environment for empowering entrepreneurial women.

6.2. Coworking Space Users

This section elucidates the empirical analysis regarding research question 2: What aspects of coworking spaces do users find supportive for their social entrepreneurship activity? To answer the research question, the data collected in the interviews with 5 social entrepreneurs who utilize coworking spaces regarded particularly perceived important aspects of coworking spaces in supporting their particular business, organization, or work. This analysis shed light on a range of factors of coworking spaces these social entrepreneurs find supportive for their activity, as well as specific aspects of coworking spaces that social entrepreneurs consider valuable.

Founder

The intensity of coworking space use for the 5 interviewed social entrepreneurs varied from "every day" (INT 13) to "a few times a month" (INT 16). 4 out of 5 social entrepreneurs cited using coworking spaces specifically for hosting events such as workshops, consultations, and seminars, often aimed at either young female entrepreneurs, or university students. 5 out of 5 discussed trying to work from home or coffee shops before utilizing coworking spaces more frequently. More importantly, however, all five mentioned the coworking space founders' articulated coworking model, business philosophy, and/or mission appealing and that it often aligned with their own values and viewpoints. As highlighted by one social entrepreneur: "[the coworking space founder] is the best" (INT 8). Or by another: "[the coworking space founders] are really trying something new here" (INT 10). This highlights the importance of the coworking space founder in attracting and subsequently accumulating individual professionals, entrepreneurs, and start-ups tilted towards select purposes. 4 out of 5 social entrepreneurs interviewed in this thesis project have articulated a social mission to specifically address local challenges such as gender inequality and unemployment. This often aligned with coworking space founders' mission and motivations and resulted in the reciprocal cooperation between founders and social entrepreneurs to, for example, create programs, events, and spaces specifically for women.

Moreover, 2 out of 5 social entrepreneurs stated that they were good friends with the coworking spaces founder and that their relationship mattered when choosing to work from a coworking space. Additionally, one social entrepreneur cited the coworking space founder as essential in order to access capital networks and markets. "[The coworking space founder] helped us discover different competitions… We won first prize in a competition for female-led start-ups and received seed capital which has helped and allowed us to publicize our experience at different events and channels in Bolivia and South America" (INT 13). This further emphasizes the coworking space founders' role, as highlighted in the previous chapter, in mediating, facilitating, and connecting users to networks, resources, and assets within the entrepreneurial ecosystem.

Space

In regards to space, the interviewed social entrepreneurs cited accessibility in terms of location (5 out of 5 users), affordability (3 out of 5 users), flexibility for hosting events (2 out of 5 users), atmosphere and interior design (4 out of 5 users), and office infrastructure/services (3 out of 5) as factors that supported their businesses, organizations, or work. This suggests that, in terms of space, 4 things particularly mattered for the interviewed social entrepreneurs.

Firstly, location matters. As highlighted by the interviewed social entrepreneurs, the location of the coworking space was important (5 out of 5 users). Access close to the main transportation axis was cited, as was proximity to individual's respective home. The results that location matters align with previous research. Capdevila (2013), for example, stated that location is the most important characteristic of a coworking space. In his findings, Capdevila (2013) found that coworkers prefer a coworking space that is in close proximity to their home and that a more central and accessible location may further stimulate a local professional community.

Secondly, cost matters. Convenient and easy in-and-out "contracts" of coworking spaces enable social entrepreneurs to access and utilize coworking spaces. 4 out of 5 social entrepreneurs interviewed highlighted specifically utilizing coworking spaces for specific events such as workshops, consultations, or seminars. To this end, the convenience and relatively inexpensive fee for consuming the space was valuable for social entrepreneurs, especially as it allowed flexibility for hosting events. As highlighted by one social entrepreneur: "It is cheap in relation to the costs when you have to rent a whole office space" (INT 8). Additionally, as the social entrepreneurs interviewed for this thesis project are self-

employed, they cannot (or do not want to) commit to being in one location every day. Coworking models which offer prices that vary in length and access ability were therefore preferable. The reduction of fixed costs in comparison to renting a whole office is typically noted in the literature on the reasons for choosing a coworking space (Capdevila, 2013; Spinuzzi, 2012; Waters-Lynch et al., 2016). The relatively low cost of coworking spaces supports social entrepreneurs by reducing the barriers of entry while simultaneously contributing to the reduction of financial and personal risks.

Thirdly, atmosphere and interior design matters. 4 out of 5 social entrepreneurs highlighted the importance of the atmosphere and interior design of the coworking space. The atmosphere of the coworking space was articulated as both facilitating productivity and stimulating interactions. This follows previous findings from both Assenza (2015) and Servaty et al. (2018). The mixture of interactive and private areas was cited as important depending on mood and requirement as interviewees sometimes wished to work in groups or alone. Additionally, the interior design was not necessarily cited as a necessity which supported their business, but rather as a pleasantry which was conducive for their choice in that particular location. This was highlighted by one social entrepreneurs: “A lot of coworks have a closed design… they do not feel like friendly places” (INT 13). The look and the feel of respective coworking environment may therefore arouse certain moods towards the particular place and its users. Various approaches to coworking space atmosphere and interior design may attract potential coworking space users and form initial ties between them, but also produce a certain ambiance that facilitates productivity and interaction.

Fourthly, office infrastructure/services matter. The interviews suggest that a comfortable and conducive environment in which to work is important, but also that providing the right utilities matter. 3 out of 5 social entrepreneurs lamented slow WiFi connections at coffee shops and specifically cited high-speed Internet as a necessity in respective coworking space. However, coworking spaces that offer more than simply high-speed Internet are preferred by social entrepreneurs in La Paz as all five social entrepreneurs interviewed for this thesis project utilize a coworking space within Space A.

Community

The interviewed social entrepreneurs cited the social support (5 out of 5), educational support (2 out of 5), and financial support (1 out of 5) as community factors that supported their business, organizations, or work. Coworking spaces role in providing access to social capital to individual professionals, entrepreneurs and start-ups was particularly strengthened.

The social support in coworking spaces in La Paz is highly dependent on the coworking space founder/manager. The coworking space founder/manager in respective coworking spaces which social entrepreneurs utilize have attempted to create a social culture by the layout of space and events for members of the community. The office infrastructure, as highlighted above, facilitates both productive, concentrating-requiring work and serendipitous interactions. The events for the members of the community, in addition to providing social support, stipulates educational and financial support. The social entrepreneurs interviewed for this thesis project highlighted the social support (community lunches, social media groups, newsletter etc), but also the general social atmosphere of coworking spaces as conducive for their own well-being and work. One social entrepreneur highlighted it as “friendly and safe” (INT 13). This aligns with the vast majority of literature on coworking spaces (e.g. Spinuzzi, 2012; Merkel, 2015; Parrino, 2015). The educational and financial support was less emphasized by social entrepreneurs, however.

This may be a direct result from that the social entrepreneurs interviewed for this thesis project are the one’s providing the educational and financial support in Space A. 4 out of 5 social entrepreneurs work as business incubators/accelerators and utilize coworking spaces for their business purposes. Broadly, business incubators connect entrepreneurial talent, knowledge, education, and capital (Mian, Lamine, and Fayolle, 2016). From this point of view, business incubation increases access to infrastructures and resources necessary for entrepreneurial realization, thereby enhancing their real opportunities and capabilities for success. As highlighted in the previous section, one way in which coworking spaces in La Paz seek to facilitate social entrepreneurship is by hosting a wide range of events such as trainings, workshops, and seminars which often target female entrepreneurs. The business incubators/accelerators who utilize Space A are often themselves the support for social entrepreneurship while simultaneously benefitting from coworking spaces.

Local context

The empirical findings demonstrated that 3 out of 5 spaces within Space A had an explicit aim to support female entrepreneurship. These coworking spaces were founded and operated by women and accumulate activities to create spaces for women and by women. These findings contradict the claims of Tintiangko and Soriano (2020: 82) that coworking spaces in the Global South tend to favor a select class of independent knowledge workers and largely ignore the needs of “disembedded” and more vulnerable workers. Additionally, 4 social entrepreneurs interviewed had an identical objective of supporting female

entrepreneurship and have identified opportunities and mobilized resources to empower and accelerate progress for women through entrepreneurship training on the one hand, and seed capital on the other. Women's limited access to resources and financial backing in Bolivia (INT 16; INT 8), lack of educational opportunities for women (INT 5; INT 12), and machismo in Bolivian culture (INT 8) has necessitated entrepreneurial activities with an embedded social purpose to support female entrepreneurship. These findings suggest that the coworking space founders and interviewed social entrepreneurs working with supporting female entrepreneurship are pioneers and devote their time, energy, know-how, and sometimes even private capital to further women's participation in economic development.

7. DISCUSSION

In essence, the first research question can be answered in the way that coworking spaces seek to support social entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurs. My research findings suggest that coworking spaces especially seek to support social entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurs through the selected purpose or coworking model set forth by the coworking space founder, providing accessible shared office spaces with facilities and amenities that enhance interaction, and offering an entrepreneurial support infrastructure in the form of social support (e.g. community lunches, social media groups, newsletters), educational support (e.g. workshops, meetings, and seminars) and financial support (e.g. access to investors, sponsors, and business incubators). While the literature has highlighted coworking spaces mediating role in local, urban, and regional economic development (Buksh and Mouat, 2015; Fuzi, 2015; Kojo and Nenonen, 2017; Mariotti et al., 2017; Fiorentino, 2019), this thesis project has highlighted that 5 out of 11 coworking spaces in La Paz play a mediating role for social entrepreneurship. This might also have an impact in addressing local, urban, and regional economic and social challenges. In this regard, this thesis project has contributed to the ongoing discourse on coworking spaces by examining the emerging role coworking spaces play in relation to social entrepreneurship (Surman, 2013; Fiorentino, 2019). The findings suggest that select coworking spaces in La Paz can conceivably be considered as soft institutions and try to impact the contemporary economic and social challenges in La Paz by actively trying to shape and facilitate social entrepreneurship through its support infrastructure.

In essence, the second research question can be answered by the identification of aspects of coworking spaces which social entrepreneurs find useful and supportive. The results from this thesis project highlighted that the social entrepreneurs interviewed are looking for a workplace which promotes values similar to their own, is accessible, that offers an inspiring and dynamic atmosphere, provides affordable office solutions, and stipulates a sense of community through opportunities for social interactions with other entrepreneurs. My research findings suggest that the coworking space founder/manager is important for social entrepreneurs as the founder/manager promotes a specific type of coworking space with certain values. In light of literature on coworking space managers, animators, facilitators, hosts, and promoters (Spinuzzi, 2012; Surman, 2013; Parrino, 2015; Merkel, 2015; Durante and Turvani, 2018), the results from this thesis project contributes with an empirical example from La Paz, Bolivia, in which select independently organized and self-financed coworking spaces are not just shared offices, but highly curated environments. This is supported by the

suggestion in this thesis project that social entrepreneurship in coworking spaces is seemingly dependent on the entrepreneurial actions of the coworking space provider. The specific coworking funding model highlighted in La Paz, along with the local embeddedness of the providers, allow coworking spaces to adjust and appropriate its services to address the unique needs and concerns of its users and the local context.

Furthermore, the insights from social entrepreneurs who utilize coworking spaces contributes to the literature on social entrepreneurship as previous work has had a heavy focus on conceptual over empirical research (Short, Moss, and Lumpkin, 2009). Additionally, the results from social entrepreneurs offered insights into the preferences for coworking space characteristics which can further be studied to help build new theories on the use and preferences for social entrepreneurship in the context of coworking spaces. From the sample collected in La Paz, it is important to offer an accessible coworking space in terms of location as social entrepreneurs highlighted proximity to one's home or public transportation as key. Moreover, it is important to offer affordable office spaces with short-term 'contracts' (e.g. by the hour or day) because this is one of the main support for social entrepreneurs in order to reduce fixed costs. To further attract and retain social entrepreneurs, providers of coworking spaces should create an inspiring, creative, and friendly atmosphere with an open layout, but with workstations for different work tasks and activities. Furthermore, it is important for coworking spaces to offer a wide range of workspaces, such as meeting spaces, an open work environment, kitchens, event spaces, lounge areas, and concentration/private rooms to adapt to the needs and activities to the diverse group of entrepreneurs and social entrepreneurs alike which they are attracting. Also, high-speed Internet was essential in terms of office infrastructure. Dogged by poor Internet connections in the past due to limited infrastructure, securing a reliable and fast Internet connection in Bolivia is not a given. To this end, coworking spaces provide its users with a foundational context-specific service. Lastly, feeling part of a community through social events and interactions with other coworkers proved very important support for social entrepreneurs. Coworking spaces role in providing access to social relationships and a community aspect to individual professionals, entrepreneurs, and start-ups (e.g. Merkel, 2015; Spinuzzi, 2012; Parrino, 2015; Moriset, 2013; Waters-Lynch et al., 2016; Servaty et al., 2018) were especially supported by this thesis project. This finding contributes to a further empirical example on the conjugated theme of community in coworking spaces.

By answering the two research questions and relating them to previous literature, coworking spaces matter for social entrepreneurship by fostering an entrepreneurial culture

that is simultaneously tilted towards social value, providing a conducive environment for social entrepreneurs to grow and learn from others through the support infrastructure, and in doing so, helping social entrepreneurs to stay in La Paz and Bolivia using their capital, talent, and enthusiasm in the local economy. Furthermore, the educational support, often engaging university students and women, provides a hands-on experience with work life which offers a direct opportunity to be involved with actors in coworking spaces. In this regard, coworking spaces and its members are potential role models for social entrepreneurship participating openly and actively to fight social inclusion issues and unemployment rates, for example. With the support infrastructure from select coworking spaces and its efforts to actively facilitate social entrepreneurship, coupled with the need for such initiatives in La Paz, social entrepreneurship in La Paz might be further established as an entrepreneurial activity in the context of coworking spaces. Furthermore, by providing accessible, affordable, and conducive office spaces, assisting to well-placed advice, and helping users to connect to different forms of capital (social, human, financial) Space A contributes to a social and entrepreneurial surrounding and the reduction of financial and personal risks for individual professionals, entrepreneurs, and start-ups. The reduction of financial and personal risks combined with the support infrastructure which are provided both by and within select coworking spaces give coworking space users the potential to access wider networks and communities. This further attempts to ease entrepreneurial activities as entrepreneurs are exposed to high levels of uncertainty and risk, especially in early stages of development (Scott, 2006).

However, the reach and capacity of coworking spaces support infrastructure can only be as wide as the combined resources of each actor involved. To this end, coworking space providers highlighted difficulties as assets in the entrepreneurial ecosystem are not yet fully combined within coworking spaces in La Paz: “The idea of coworking is not well developed yet in Bolivia…there isn’t a real habit of being able use a shared office here in Bolivia” (INT 1). “We have been working on teaching people about the benefits of having a place like this and being part of the community that we are building here” (INT 6). “What we really try to do is really show the advantages of working in a coworking space, but it is not really well spread” (INT 2). “But here in La Paz it is very difficult because we are very closed” (INT 16). “Young people do not yet know what coworking is” (INT 5). “There are a lot of people who come for the first time and ask, ‘what is a coworking space?’” (INT 11). The coworking spaces in La Paz are primarily (9 out of 11 spaces) based on bottom-up, “informal” initiatives and are therefore independently organized and self-financed. With limited resources, coworking spaces have found it difficult to promote the movement and gain traction. To this

end, coworking spaces in La Paz have yet to become well-recognizable structures of space and the coworking culture has yet to take off. Connecting to literature, the vast majority of work on coworking spaces focuses on the positive effects of access to communities, networks, and an entrepreneurial environment. The articulations above, however, illuminate the warnings by Bouncken and Reuschl (2018) and Spreitzer et al. (2015) that opportunism and competition in coworking spaces are potential reducers of key positive effects, and appears to be a challenge for coworking spaces in La Paz. In an attempt to overcome these challenges, further promotion of coworking spaces should be intensified to increase awareness of coworking spaces as participants highlighted difficulties in getting entrepreneurs in La Paz to see the value of working together, sharing resources, and knowledge. Collaboration between coworking spaces, especially Space A, should be intensified to realize their full potential of support for entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship. Additionally, collaboration between entrepreneurs, coworking spaces, and universities, for example, could be beneficial with regards to entrepreneurial activities and social entrepreneurship. As one social entrepreneur who utilizes coworking spaces highlighted: “Little synergy exists between my organization and universities” (INT 12). So far, coworking spaces are supporting social entrepreneurship through isolated initiatives in place at the local level. A coordinated collaborative strategy between different actors — entrepreneurs, coworking spaces, and universities, for example — to support social entrepreneurship might combine networks, resources, and assets in new ways, increasing the accessibility and potential effectiveness of coworking spaces in supporting social entrepreneurship.

8. CONCLUSION

The objective of this thesis project was to explore coworking spaces' role in supporting social entrepreneurship and what aspects of coworking spaces social entrepreneurs find supportive. In particular, the central research question is concerned with the relationship between coworking spaces and social entrepreneurship. Coworking spaces in this thesis project were defined as shared open-office renting facilities where independent professionals, entrepreneurs, and start-ups work independently in a shared work environment to share resources and knowledge. Social entrepreneurship in this thesis was defined as an "entrepreneurial activity with an embedded social purpose" (Austin et al., 2006: 370). In order to bridge the gap between coworking spaces and social entrepreneurship, the research questions sought to investigate this relationship from the perspective of the providers of such spaces as well as the users. The research methodology of this thesis project consisted of qualitative methods in the form of interviews with 9 coworking space founders, 2 coworking space managers, and 5 social entrepreneurs who utilize coworking spaces, participant observation in two coworking spaces, and informal conversations.

The basic framework for understanding the relationship between space, community, innovation and entrepreneurship, as suggested by Surman (2013), was developed to provide a conceptual framework for the development of social entrepreneurship within coworking spaces. Additionally, considerations from Dacin et al. (2011), Zahra et al. (2009), and Scott (2006) were utilized to further add to a conceptual framework in which the local context and entrepreneurial individuals are the transforming force behind social entrepreneurship in the context of coworking spaces.

This thesis contributes to a more explicit exploration of the ongoing discourse on coworking spaces and the emerging role these spaces play in relation to social entrepreneurship. Considering Bolivia's "process of change" (Fontana, 2012) to address persistent economic and social challenges, social entrepreneurship in the context of coworking spaces in Bolivia's political capital La Paz provided a highly relevant topic. In addition, the thesis specifically contributes to the literature on social entrepreneurship as previous work has had a heavy focus on conceptual over empirical research (Short, Moss, and Lumpkin, 2009).

Considering that coworking spaces are a growing phenomenon for academia, albeit still new, it is a relatively scarce topic and compels a fundamental placement in research. To this end, future research on coworking spaces is needed. The small sample that was subject of this thesis has suggested a range of factors that matter for social entrepreneurship in the context of

coworking spaces. Future research could utilize an extensive questionnaire to further study preferences and characteristics that matter for social entrepreneurs in coworking spaces. These results could help coworking space providers make more well-informed decisions about their coworking space and to focus on offering the most important aspects of priority for social entrepreneurs at a reasonable price. A study as such would have implications for research into improving management of coworking spaces for social entrepreneurship. Additionally, future research could include the El Alto-La Paz metropolitan area in order to compare and contrast conditions, activities and aspects related to social entrepreneurship in the context of coworking spaces. El Alto and La Paz differ widely in terms of class, ethnicity, and socio-economic inequalities, and to the extent of my knowledge, one coworking space exists in El Alto and is associated with the public university of El Alto. Considering this, future research on coworking spaces and social entrepreneurship in university environments provides an interesting avenue for study as bringing entrepreneurs and start-ups into university environments may enrich student and staff learning experience through experiential learning, idea generation, and idea development. Moreover, comparing and contrasting coworking spaces in widely distinctive urban environments poses the question if coworking spaces actualize or alleviate urban socio-geographic disadvantages? A question to be considered is, for example, what is the relationship between the presence of coworking spaces and the spatial distribution of entrepreneurial ventures? This may contribute to a further discussion on the intermediary role of coworking spaces for local development on the city scale (Fiorentino, 2019; Mariotti et al., 2017).

Furthermore, this thesis project has focused on intentions to facilitate social entrepreneurship in the context of coworking spaces. Future research could focus on the extent of social entrepreneurship in coworking spaces in order to elucidate research on the relationship between the presence of coworking spaces and social entrepreneurship. This could be done by generally asking: what is the relationship between coworking spaces and the spatial distribution of social entrepreneurship? Relatedly, outcomes of social entrepreneurship in the context of coworking spaces may further illuminate research on how well coworking spaces and social entrepreneurship resolve the problems posed by the changing nature of work and specific challenges in locality. However, do coworking spaces which support social entrepreneurship really ameliorate people's lives? The complex nature of social entrepreneurship, the growing number of such efforts, and its increasing influence around the world makes understanding and measuring social impact a priority. Yet, how should the impact of social entrepreneurship be measured and understood? Which social

entrepreneurship initiatives have a greater impact? Is it possible to have a so-called "one size fits all" social entrepreneurship impact measurement tool? (Hadad and Găucă, 2014: 120). The literature on social entrepreneurship and social impact is evidently tricky, ambiguous, and complex and the term is not well defined (Hadad and Găucă, 2014; Zappalà and Lyons, 2009). Without a clear measurement tool, social entrepreneurs have commenced to identify their own "measures" to reach their objectives. For example, one social entrepreneur who utilizes coworking spaces in La Paz and who runs a non-profit organization highlighted that the entrepreneurial initiatives that they support must relate to the potential generation of solutions to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This is an example where social entrepreneurship can set realistic objectives grounded in a globally shared blueprint, prioritize initiatives, monitor and improve their own performance, and potentially bring a competitive edge to capital markets.

Lastly, the challenges highlighted by coworking space providers in La Paz and the difficulties of kick-starting the coworking space culture provides an opportunity for future research to reassess the dominant narratives perpetuated about coworking spaces. To what extent can coworking spaces provide the same benefits for coworkers, situated in different socio-cultural and geographic settings from those mostly explored in the current coworking space literature? This thesis provided an empirical example from La Paz, Bolivia. A further exploration of how coworking space providers and users in the Global South imagine, experience, and prioritize these spaces would provide a perspective that perhaps acknowledges that the meanings, concepts, and demands ascribed to coworking spaces are not fixed (Tintiangko and Soriano, 2020).

9. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aglietta, M. (1976). *A theory of capitalist regulation*. London: New Left Books.

Alvord, S.H., Brown, L.D., and Letts, C.W. (2004). Social Entrepreneurship and Societal Transformation: An Exploratory Study. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 40*(3), 260-282.

Andersen, L. (2002). Rural-urban migration in Bolivia: Advantages and disadvantages. Documento de Trabajo No. 05/02, Universidad Católica Boliviana, Instituto de Investigaciones Socio-Económicas (IISEC), La Paz.

Antràs, P., Garciano, L., and Rossi-Hansberg, E. (2006). Offshoring in a Knowledge Economy. The *Quarterly Journal of Economics, 121*(1), 31-77.

Assenza, P. (2015). If You Build It Will They Come? The Influence of Spatial Configuration on Social and Cognitive Functioning and Knowledge Spillover in Entrepreneurial Co-Working and Hacker Spaces. *Journal of Management Policy and Practice, 16*(3), 35-48.

Austin, J., Stevenson, H. and Wei-Skiller, J. (2006). Social and Commercial Entrepreneurship: Same, Different, or Both? *Entrepreneurship: Theory & Practice*, *30*(1), 1-22.

Baron, D.P. (2007). Corporate social responsibility and social entrepreneurship. *Journal of Economics and Management Strategy, 16*(3), 683-717.

Bennet, K., and Shurmer-Smith, P. (2001). “Handling Case Studies.” In Shurmer-Smith, P. (Ed.). (2001). *Doing Cultural Geography,* pp. 199-210. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Bonanno, A., and Constance, H.D. (2001). Globalization, Fordism, and Post-Fordism in Agriculture and Food: A Critical Review of the Literature. *Culture and Agriculture, 23*(2), 1-18.

Borda, D., and Ramirez, J. (2006). Bolivia, Situación y Persepctivas de las MPyPEs y su contribución a la economía. Serie de Notas de Referencia RE1-RN-06-001. Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo. La Paz, Bolivia.

Boschee, J. (1998). Merging mission and money: A board member’s guide to social entrepreneurship. Available at: http://www.socialent.org/pdfs/MergingMission.pdf (accessed on February 28, 2020).

Bouncken, R.B., and Reuschl, A.J. (2018). Coworking-spaces: how a phenomenon of the sharing economy builds a novel trend for the workplace and for entrepreneurship. *Review of managerial science*, *12*(1), 317-334.

Bouncken, R.B., Laudien, S.M., Fredrich, V., and Görmar, L. (2018). Coopetition in coworking-spaces: value creation and appropriation tensions in an entrepreneurial space. *Review of Managerial Science, 12*(1), 385-410.

Bouncken, R.B., Clauss, T., and Reuschl, A.J. (2016). “Coworking spaces in Asia: A Business Model Design Perspective.” Paper presented at SMS Special Conference Hong Kong 2016, Hong Kong.

Buksh, B., and Mouat, C.M. (2015). Activating smart work hubs for urban revitalisation: Evidence and implications of digital urbanism, for planning and policy from South-East Queensland. *Australian Planner, 52*, 16–26.

Capdevila, I. (2013). Knowledge dynamics in localized communities: Coworking spaces as microclusters. Working paper available at SSRN 2414121.

Cassell, C. and Symon, G. (2004). *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research*. London: SAGE.

Castells, M., and Hall, P. (1994). *Technopoles of the World: The Making of Twenty-First-Century Industrial Complexes.* London: Routledge.

Clifford, N., French, S., Valentine, G. (2010). *Key Methods in Geography.* Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.

Cook, N. (2015, July 25). The insecure world of freelancing. *The Atlantic*. Available at: http://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2015/07/building-social-safety-net-freelancers/399551/ (accessed May 22, 2020).

Cope, M. (2010). “Coding transcripts and diaries.” In Clifford, N., French, S., Valentine, G. (Eds.). *Key Methods in Geography,* pp. 440-452. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.

Corbin, J.M., and Strauss, A.L. (2015). *Basics of qualitative research: techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Coworking.com. Available at: http://coworking.com/ (accessed February 19, 2020).

Crane, L.G., Lombard, M.B., Tenz, E.M. (2009). More than just translation: challenges and opportunities in translingual research. *Social Geography, 4,* 39-46.

Creswell, J.W. (2013). *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Creswell, J.W. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, And Mixed Methods Approaches.* Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Dacin, P.A., Dacin, M.T. and Matear, M. (2010). Social Entrepreneurship: Why We Don’t Need a New Theory and How We Move Forward from Here. *Academy of Management* Perspectives, *24*(3), 37-57.

Dacin, P.A., Dacin, M.T., and Tracey, P. (2011). Social Entrepreneurship: A Critique and Future Directions. *Organization Science, 22*(5), 1203-1213.

Dana, L-P. (2011). Entrepreneurship in Bolivia: An ethnographic enquiry. *International Journal of Business and Emerging Markets, 3*(3), 75-88.

Davenport, T.H., and Prusak, L. (1998). *Working knowledge: how organizations manage what they know*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Davenport, T.H., Long, D.W., and Beers, M.C. (1998). Successful knowledge management projects. *Sloan Management Review, 39*(2), 43-57.

de Peuter, G., Cohen, N., and Saraco, F. (2017). The Ambivalence of Coworking: On the Politics of an Emerging Work Practice." *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 20(6), 1–20.

Deamley, C. (2005). A reflection on the use of semi-structured interviews. *Nurse Researcher, 13*(1), 19-28.

Dees, J.G. (2007). Taking social entrepreneurship seriously. *Society, 44*(3), 24–31.

Dees, J.G., Emerson, J., and Economy, P. (Eds.). (2002). *Strategic tools for social entrepreneurs: Enhancing the performance of your enterprising nonprofit*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

DeWalt, K.M. and DeWalt, B.R. (2002). *Participant observation: a guide for fieldworker*s. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Djankov, S. and Saliola, F. (2019). The Changing Nature of Work. *Journal of International Affairs, 72*(1), 57-73.

Doody, O., and Noonan, M. (2013). Preparing and conducting interviews to collect data. *Nurse researcher*, *20*(5), 28-32.

Drucker, F.P. (2002). *Management Challenges for the 21st Century.* Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Dubois, A., and Gadde, L-E. (2002). Systematic combining: an abductive approach to case research. *Journal of Business Research, 55*, 553-560.

Dunn, K. (2005). "Interviewing". In Hay, I. (Ed.). *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, pp. 79-105. Don Mills, Canada: Oxford University Press.

Durante, G., and Turvani, M. (2018). Coworking, the Sharing Economy, and the City: Which Role for the 'Coworking Entrepreneur'? *Urban Science, 2*(83), 1-21.

Eisenhardt, K.M. (1989). Building theories from case study research. *Academy of Management Review, 14*(4), pp. 532-550.

Fiorentino, S. (2019). Different typologies of 'co-working spaces' and the contemporary dynamics of local economic development in Rome. *European Planning Studies, 27*(9), 1768-1790.

Florida, R. (1995). Toward the learning region. *Futures, 27*(5), 527-536.

Florida, R. (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community and Everyday Life*. New York: Basic Books.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry,* 12(2), 219-245.

Fontana, L.B. (2012). The "Proceso de Cambio" and the Seventh Year Crisis: Towards a Reconfiguration of the Relationship between State and Social Movements in Bolivia. *Bolivian Studies Journal, 19*, 190-212.

Fost, D. (2008, 20 February). "They're working on their own, just side by side." *New York Times*.

Fuzi, A. (2015). Co-working Spaces for Promoting Entrepreneurship in Sparse Regions: The Case of South Wales. *Regional Studies, Regional Science*, *2*(1), 462-469.

Gandini, A. (2015). The rise of coworking spaces: A literature review. *Ephemera*, *15*(1), 193-205.

Gioia, D.A., Corley, K.G. and Hamilton, A.L. (2012). Seeking qualitative rigor in inductive research. *Organizational Research Methods, 16*(1), 15-31.

Grabher, G. (2002). The Project Ecology of Advertising: Tasks, Talents, and Teams. *Regional Studies, 36*(3), 245-262.

Graham, M., Hjorth, I., and Lehdonvirta, V. (2017). Digital labour and development: impacts of global digital labour platforms and the gig economy on worker livelihoods. *Transfer, 23*(1), 135-162.

Gramsci, A. (1999 [1929- 1935]). *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (Hoare, Q., and Nowell-Smith, G. trans.). London: ElecBook.

Gray, E.D. (2004). *Doing Research in the Real World.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Guest, G., Bunce, A., Johnson, L. (2006). How Many Interviews Are Enough? An Experiment with Data Saturation and Variability. *Field Methods, 18*(1), 59-82.

Hadad, S. and Găucă, O. (2014). Social impact measurement in social entrepreneurial organizations. *Management & Marketing. Challenges for the Knowledge Society*, *9*(2), 119-136.

Hand, H. (2003). The mentor's tale: a reflexive account of semi-structured interviews. *Nurse Researcher. 10*(3), 15-27.

Harvey, D. (1989). *The Condition of Postmodernity: an enquiry into the origins of cultural change*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hemingway, C.A. (2005). Personal values as a catalyst for corporate social entrepreneurship. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *60*(3), 233–249.

Henry, N., and Pinch, S. (2000). Spatialising knowledge: placing the knowledge community of Motor Sport Valley. *Geoforum 31*, 191-208.

Hillman, A. (2011). Blog available at: http://dangerouslyawesome.com/2011/08/coworking-core-values-1-of-5-sustainability (accessed February 20, 2020).

Hua, Y., Loftness, V., Heerwagen, H., and Powell, K.M. (2011). Relationship Between Workplace Spatial Setting and Occupant-Perceived Support for Collaboration. *Environment and Behavior, 43(*6), 807-826.

Ikebuaku, K., and Dinabo, M. (2017). Beyond entrepreneurship education: business incubation and entrepreneurial capabilities. *Journal of Entrepreneurship in Emerging Economies, 10*(1), 154-174.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) (2012). Bolivia Caracteristicas de Populacion y Vivienda: Censo Nacional de Populacion y Vivienda 2012. https://web.archive.org/web/20140209134921/http://www.ine.gob.bo:8081/censo2012/PDF/resultadosCPV2012.pdf (accessed May 12, 2020)

Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE). (2016). “Bolivia: Proyecciones de Población, Según Departamento y Municipio, 2012-2020.” Available at https://web.archive.org/web/20161009185250/http://www.ine.gob.bo/indice/visualizador.aspx?ah=PC20103.HTM (accessed February 13, 2020).

Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE). (2017). “Gas Natural, Zinc, y Soya, representan el 54,8% de las exportaciones.” Available at: https://www.ine.gob.bo/index.php/notas-de-prensa-y-monitoreo/itemlist/tag/Poblaci%C3%B3n (accessed February 10, 2020).

Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE). (2018). “Bolivia cuenta con más de 11 milliones de habitantes a 2018.” Available at: https://www.ine.gob.bo/index.php/notas-de-prensa-y-monitoreo/itemlist/tag/Poblaci%C3%B3n (accessed February 7, 2020).

Jemio, L., and Choque, M. (2006). Towards a More Employment-Intensive and Pro-Poor Economic Growth in Bolivia. Institute for Advanced Development Studies. Development Research Working Paper Series No. 18/2006.

Jorgensen, D.L. (Ed.). (1989). *Applied Social Research Methods. Participant Observation.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Kehoe, J., Machicado, C. G., Peres-Cajías, J. (2019). The Monetary and Fiscal History of Bolivia, 1960-2017. National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper 25523.

Kojo, I., and Nenonen, S. (2017). Evolution of co-working places: drivers and possibilities. *Intelligent buildings international*, *9*(3), 164-175.

Kvale, S., and Brinkmann, S. (2009*). Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Landguiden (2019). Bolivia, Sociala förhållanden. Responsible publisher: Swedish Institute of International Affairs. Lindahl, Ylva (Ed.). Available from: https://www.ui.se/landguiden/lander-och-omraden/sydamerika/bolivia/sociala-forhallanden/ (accessed February 12, 2020).

Lange, B. (2011). Re-Scaling Governance in Berlin's Creative Economy. *Culture Unbound*, *3*, 187–208.

Lash, S., and Urry, J. (1987). *The End of Organized Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Laurier, E. (2010). “Participant Observation.” In Clifford, N., French, S., and Valentine, G. (Eds.). (2010). *Key methods in geography*, pp. 116-130. Los Angeles: CA: SAGE.

Lipietz, A. (1992*). Towards a New Economic Order: Post-Fordism Ecology and Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Longhurst, R. (2010). “Semi-structured interviews and focus groups.” In Clifford, N., French, S. and Valentine, G. (Eds.). (2010). *Key methods in geography*, pp. 103-115. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.

Lundvall, B-A., Johnson, B. (1994). The learning economy. *Journal of Industry Studies, 1*(2), 23-42.

Maclean, K. (2018). Envisioning gender, indigeneity and urban change: the case of La Paz, Bolivia. *Gender, Place & Culture, 25*(5), 711-726.

Mair, J. (2010). Social Entrepreneurship: Taking Stock and Looking Ahead. IESE Business School Working Paper No. WP-888. Available at: https://ssrn.com/abstract=1729642

Mair, J., and Marti, I. (2006). Social entrepreneurship research: A source of explanation, prediction, and delight. *Journal of World Business, 41*(1), 36–44.

Mariotti, I., Pacchi, C., and Di Vita, S. (2017). Co-working Spaces in Milan: Location Patterns and Urban Effects. *Journal of Urban Technology, 24*(3), 47–66.

Markusen, A. (2003). Fuzzy Concepts, Scanty Evidence, Policy Distance: The Case for Rigour and Policy Relevance in Critical Regional Studies. *Regional Studies, 37*(6-7), 701-717.

Matlay, H. (2008). The impact of entrepreneurship education on entrepreneurial outcomes. *Journal of Small Business and Enterprise Development, 15*(2), 382-396.

McBride, S. (2017). "2018 Global coworking forecast". Available at: https://usa.gcuc.co/2018-global-coworking-forecast-30432-spaces-5-1-million-members-2022/ (accessed March 6, 2020).

Medina, L., and Schneider, F. (2018). IMF Working Paper: Shadow Economies Around the World: What Did We Learn Over the Last 20 Years? *International Monetary Fund.*

Méndez, A. (2013, July 24). La importancia económica de La Paz. Página Siete. http://www.economiabolivia.org/2013/07/24/la-importancia-economica-de-la-paz/ (accessed February 10, 2020).

Merkel, J. (2015). Coworking in the city. *Ephemera, 15*(1), 121-139.

Mian, S., Lamine, W., and Fayolle, A. (2016). Technology business incubation: An overview of the state of knowledge. *Technovation*, *50–51*, 1–12

Mintzberg, H., Simons, R., Basu, K. (2002). Beyond selfishness. *Sloan Management Review, 44*(1), 67–74.

Moretti, E. (2013). *The New Geography of Jobs.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Moriset, B. (2013). Building new places of the creative economy. The rise of coworking spaces. Available at: https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00914075

Morisson, A. (2017). A Typology of Places in the Knowledge Economy: Towards the Fourth Place. In Calabrò, F., Della Spina, L., Bevilacqua, C. (Eds.). *New Metropolitan Perspectives.* ISHT 2018. Smart Innovation, Systems, and Technologies Conference, vol 100. Springer, Cham.

Nakaya, K., Fujiki, Y., and Satani, K. (2012). Coworking: Working as Partying. PAXi Publishing.

Neergaard, H. and Ulhoi, J.P. (Eds.). (2007). *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods in Entrepreneurship*. Cornwall, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Neuberg, B. (2005). Blog available at: http://blog.codinginparadise.org/2005/08/coworking-event-alternative-office-for.html (accessed March 10, 2020).

Oldenburg, R. (1989). *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Community Centers, Beauty Parlors, General Stores, Bars, Hangouts, and How They Get You Through the Day.* New York: Paragon House.

Oldenburg, R. (1999). *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community*. New York: Marlowe & Company.

Orel, M., and and Kubatova, J. (2019). Coworking as a model for conscious business. *Journal of Global Responsibility, 10*(3), 257-270.

Parrino, L. (2015). Coworking: assessing the role of proximity in knowledge exchange. *Knowledge Management Research & Practice*, *13*(3), 261-271.

Peredo, A.M., and McLean, M. (2006). Social Entrepreneurship: A critical review of the concept. *Journal of World Business, 41,* 56-65.

Piore, M., Sabel, C. (1984). *The Second Industrial Divide: Possibilities for Prosperity*. New York: Basic Books.

Portales, L. (2019). *Social Innovation and Social Entrepreneurship: Fundamentals, Concepts, and, Tools.* Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave MacMillan.

Powell, W.W., and Snellman, K. (2004). The Knowledge Economy. *Annual Review of Sociology, 30*, 199-220.

Pratt, A. (1998). *Making digital spaces: A constructivist critique of the network society*. London: Mimeo.

Rahdari, A., Sepasi, S. and Moradi, M. (2016). Achieving sustainability through Schumpeterian social entrepreneurship: The role of social enterprises. *Journal of Cleaner Production, 137*, 347-360.

Ratten, V., Jones, P., Braga, V., and Marques, C.S. (Eds.). (2019). *Subsistence Entrepreneurship: The Interplay of Collaborative Innovation, Sustainability and Social Goals.* Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

Rey-Martí, A., Ribeiro-Soriano, D. and Sánchez-García, J.L. (2016). Giving back to society: Job creation through social entrepreneurship. *Journal of Business Research, 69*(6), 2067-2072.

Robinson, J. (2006). Navigating social and institutional barriers to markets: How social entrepreneurs identify and evaluate opportunities. In Mair, J., Robinson, J., and Hockerts, K. (Eds.). *Social entrepreneurship,* pp. 95-120. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rus, A., and Orel, M. (2015). Coworking: A Community of Work. *Teorija in Praksa, 52*(6), 1017–1038.

Sagawa, S., and Segal, E. (2000). Common interest, common good: Creating value through business and social sector partnership. *California Management Review, 42*(2), 105–122.

Santos, F.M. (2012). A Positive Theory of Social Entrepreneurship. *Journal of Business Ethics, 111*(3), 335-351.

Schiller, D. (1999). *Digital capitalism: networking the global market system*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Scott, A.J. (2006). Entrepreneurship, innovation and industrial development: geography and the creative field revisited. *Small business economics*, *26*(1), 1-24.

Scott, A.J. (2010). Cultural Economy and the Creative Field of the City. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography 92*(2), 115-130.

Seelos, C., and Mair, J. (2005). Social entrepreneurship: Creating new business models to serve the poor. *Business Horizons, 48,* 241-246.

Servaty, R., Perger, G., Harth, V., Mache, S. (2018). Working in a cocoon: (Co)working conditions of office nomads — a health related qualitative study of shared working environments. *Work, 60*, 527-538.

Short, J.C., Moss, T.W., and Lumpkin, G.T. (2006). Research in Social Entrepreneurship: Past Contributions and Future Opportunities. *Strategic Entrepreneurship Journal, 3*(1), 161-194.

Silverman, D. (2013). *Doing Qualitative Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Spinuzzi, C. (2012). Working Alone Together: Coworking as Emergent Collaborative Activity. *Journal of Business and Technical Communication, 26*(4), 399–441.

Spreitzer, G., Garrett, L., and Bacevice, P. (2015). Should your company embrace coworking? *MIT Sloan Management Review*, *57*(1), 27.

Surman, T. (2013). Building Social Entrepreneurship through the Power of Coworking. *Innovations, 8*(3/4), 189-195.

The World Bank Group. (2016). *World Development Report 2016: Digital Dividends.* Washington D.C.: The World Bank Group. Official website for the *World Development Report 2019:* http://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/wdr2019

Thrift, N. (1997). The rise of soft capitalism. *Journal for Cultural Research*, *1*(1), 29-57.

Tintiangko, J., and Soriano, C.R. (2020). Coworking Spaces in the Global South: Local Articulations and Imaginaries. *Journal of Urban Technology, 27*(1), 67-85.

Todolí-Signes, A. (2017). The 'gig economy': employee, self-employed or the need for a special employment regulation? *Transfer, 23*(2), 193-205.

UNICEF Bolivia. (2003). "Situation of poverty in the country". Available at https://www.unicef.org/bolivia/resources_2332.html (accessed February 15, 2020).

Valentine, G. (2005). 'Tell me about . . . using interviews as a research methodology.' In Flowerdew, R. and Martin, D. (Eds.). *Methods in Human Geography: A Guide for Students Doing a Research Project*, pp. 110-127. Harlow, UK: Pearson Education.

Van Meel, J., and Vos, P. (2001). Funky offices: Reflections on office design in the "new economy." *Journal of Corporate Real Estate, 3*(4), 322–334.

Van Slyke, D.M., and Newman, H.K. (2006). Venture philanthropy and social entrepreneurship in community redevelopment. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership, 16*(3), 345–368.

Villaroel Rojas, M.V. (2010). Business incubators: knowledge transfer and network creation as key success factors. (Unpublished master's thesis). Linnaeus University, Sweden.

Viswanathan, M., Echambadi, R., Venugopal, S., and Sridharan, S. (2014). Subsistence Entrepreneurship, Value Creation, and Community Exchange Systems: A Social Capital Explanation. *Journal of Macromarketing*, *34*(2), 213–226.

Waddock, S.A. (1988). Building successful partnerships. *Sloan Management Review*, *29*(4): 17–23.

Waters-Lynch, J., and Potts, J. (2017). The social economy of coworking spaces: a focal point model of coordination. *Review of Social Economy, 75*(4), 417-433.

Waters-Lynch, J., Potts, J., Butcher, T., Dodson, J., and Hurley, J. (2016). Coworking: A transdisciplinary overview. Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=2712217

Watson, E.E. (2004). 'What a dolt one is': language learning and fieldwork in geography. *Area, 36*(1), 59-68.

Wells, D., Valera, A., Wilf, S., Martone, S., Rimal, G., Sakumoto, K. (2018). The Unlonely Planet: How Ashoka Accelerates Impact. *Social Innovations Journal*, 1-35.

Woodcock, J., and Graham, M. (2020). *The gig economy: a critical introduction*. Cambridge, MA: Polity.

Yin, R.K. (2012). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Yunus, M. (2008, November). Creating a world without poverty: Social business and the future of capitalism. *Global Urban Development Magazine*, 16–41.

Zahra, S.A., Gedajlovic, E., Neubaum, D., and Shulman, J. (2009). A typology of social entrepreneurs: Motives, search processes and ethical challenges. *Journal of Business Venturing, 24*(1), 519-532.

Zappalà, G., and Lyons, M. (2009). Recent Approaches to Measuring Social Impact in the Third Sector: An Overview. CSI background paper, no. 6. The Center for Social Impact.

10. APPENDIX

10.1. Research participants

Participants ID Code	*Role*	*Date of interview*	*Length of interview*	*Language*
INT 1	Founder	October 4, 2019	23 minutes	Spanish
INT 2	Manager	October 10, 2019	30 minutes	English
INT 3	Founder	October 19, 2019	28 minutes	Spanish
INT 4	Founder	October 14, 2019	70 minutes	Spanish
INT 5	Founder	October 15, 2019	56 minutes	Spanish
INT 6	Founder	October 29, 2019	41 minutes	English
INT 7	Manager	October 29, 2019	38 minutes	English
INT 8	User	October 31, 2019	62 minutes	Spanish
INT 9	Manager	November 6, 2019	18 minutes	Spanish
INT 10	User	November 7, 2019	55 minutes	English
INT 11	Founder	November 8, 2019	21 minutes	Spanish
INT 12	User	November 18, 2019	45 minutes	Spanish
INT 13	User	November 21, 2019	56 minutes	Spanish
INT 14	Founder	November 25, 2019	25 minutes	Spanish
INT 15	Founder	November 29, 2019	26 minutes	Spanish
INT 16	User	January 8, 2020	34 minutes	English

10.2. Semi-structured interview guide 1: coworking space providers

Introduction

- Presentation of myself and the purpose of the research.
- The availability of the thesis online upon completion.
- Treatment of the data.
- Possibility to withdraw from the research or interview at any moment.
- Consent to participate in the interview and research, and to be audio-recorded during the interview with a digital recorder.
- Consent if statements and claims from the interview could be used in the research.

General information

1. Name / educational background / background in general
2. What is the name of this coworking space?
3. When did it open?
4. How many members does this space have?
5. How many coworkers use this space on a daily basis?
6. What are the funding characteristics of this coworking space? Is it private, public, etc.
7. What do the members of the coworking space do (for economic activity)?
8. Why coworking space?
9. What do you hope to gain from it?

Coworking and Space

10. Why here in this particular location/building?
11. How did your plan your space? Why?
12. What do you provide for services? What complementary services do you provide, if any, to attract coworkers?

Coworking and community

13. Do you hold any events here? What kind of events? Why these events, etc
14. Do users collaborate here? If so, how? Why?
15. Engagement in forming a community in this space?
16. Engagement in any local community initiatives?

Final questions

17. Would you like to remark any last words about coworking spaces or social entrepreneurship that would be useful for my research?

10.3. Semi-structured interview guide 2: coworking space users

Introduction

- Presentation of myself and the purpose of the research.
- The availability of the thesis online upon completion.
- Treatment of the data.
- Possibility to withdraw from the research or interview at any moment.

- Consent to participate in the interview and research, and to be audio-recorded during the interview with a digital recorder.
- Consent if statements and claims from the interview could be used in the research.

Interview

1. Name / educational background / background in general
2. What do you do (for economic/social activity)?
3. Who is the target group? Why?
4. Why are you engaged in your specific economic/social activity?
5. How did you hear about coworking spaces?
6. What did you hope to gain from coworking spaces?
7. Why do you use coworking spaces?
9. How often are you here?
10. How has coworking spaces influenced/helped your work?
11. Have you helped this coworking space in any way?
12. What are some challenges? Successes?