

The changing location of work: the informal workspaces of the Millennial generation

A qualitative case study of Phoenix

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August, 2019

The changing location of work: the informal workspaces of the Millennial generation

A qualitative case study in Phoenix

A thesis submitted in the partial fulfillment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
Master of Science in Economic Geography.

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Date: 17th of July 2019

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Summary

Since the 1990's a lot of changes have occurred in the labour market in the US. The shift in contractual arrangements and the advancing communication technologies make that work can be performed from a wide variety of locations. As a result, economic activity is not solely performed at the traditional offices anymore and informal workspaces such as coworking spaces, libraries and coffee shops are getting increasingly popular as new locations of work. The fundamental assumption that economic activity has a fixed location is therefore not valid, especially not for the Millennial generation. This generation has grown up with mobile communication technologies, internet, and an increasingly precarious and short-term job market which allows them to work from anywhere.

Many people in the labour force move around and much of their work can now occur at the informal workspaces but we still know very little about how workers feel about these new locations of work. The goal of this research is to give a more in-depth understanding of why the Millennials choose to work remotely and why they choose specific informal workspaces to work from. This research gives an analysis of the motivations and constraints Millennials experience when working from informal workspaces such as coworking spaces, cafés and restaurants, and home.

To the best of our knowledge, no earlier studies have analysed the motivations and constraints the Millennial generation experiences for different informal workspaces despite the fact that this generation is a very interesting group to study because of the aforementioned reasons. To give a more in-depth understanding of this topic, this study has executed a qualitative research study on the hypermobility of jobs of the Millennial generation. In total, 36 interviews with Millennials with hypermobile jobs have been conducted. In this study, it is found that the workweek of Millennials with hypermobile jobs is characterized by variable locations of work and variable hours of work. The main coupling constraints that are proven to influence the workweek of Millennials are social obligations and client meetings. Furthermore, this study has proven that the largest share of the Millennials is satisfied with the hypermobility of their jobs. The main motivations for working remotely has to do with the trust base that is instantly created when employers allow employees to work remotely and the different atmosphere and energy in the working environment because the participants can choose to work from inspiring places. Furthermore, the feeling that people are in charge of their own schedule so that they don't have to miss out on social events is important to them and the feeling that they are more productive also makes that they feel satisfied with their hypermobile jobs. Most of the participants believe the hypermobility of their jobs positively influences their work-life balance. The biggest downside for the Millennials is that when working remotely, you do not have that community feeling. Additionally, it is found that the Millennials who are employed in the gig economy do not experience different constraints when working hypermobile than the Millennials who are not employed in the gig economy. Also, it is proven that Millennials prefer to work from coworking spaces and coffee shops which have a modern and fancy design. They prefer to work from inspiring workplaces with high energy and for those reasons they reach out to those places. The results of this study strongly point in the direction that the popularity among working from informal workspaces is not going to slow down but will continue to grow.

Keywords: *location of work, Millennials, hypermobile jobs, informal workspaces, motivations, constraints*

Table of contents

- Summary 4
- Table of contents 5
- List of tables and figures 7
- List of abbreviations 8
- Chapter 1: Introduction 9
 - 1.1 Two key changes 9
 - 1.2 Research Objectives 11
 - 1.2.1 Research goal 11
 - 1.2.2 Research questions 12
 - 1.2.3 Structure of this thesis 13
- Chapter 2: Theoretical framework 14
 - 2.1 The context of the United States 14
 - 2.1.1 The mobility of communication technology 14
 - 2.1.2 The gig economy 15
 - 2.1.3. The new urban space economy 16
 - 2.2 Where to work? 16
 - 2.2.1 Types of teleworking 16
 - 2.2.2 New locations of work 18
 - 2.3 The decision making process of choosing the informal workplace 21
 - 2.3.1 Time-space geography 21
 - 2.3.2 Constraints when working hypermobile 23
 - 2.3.3 Motivations to work hypermobile 23
 - 2.3.4 The context of the Millennials 24
 - 2.3.5 The different informal workspaces 25
 - 2.4 The conceptual model 26
- Chapter 3: Methodology 29
 - 3.1 Case study approach 29
 - 3.2 Research methods 30
 - 3.3 Data collection 31
 - 3.4 Data analysis 34
 - 3.5 Reflection on the research process 35
 - 3.5.1 Challenges & Constraints 35

3.5.2 Ethical considerations.....	36
Chapter 4: Results	38
4.1 The workweek of Millennials with hypermobile jobs.....	38
4.1.1 Who	38
4.1.2 Where	39
4.1.3 When	41
4.1.4 Different work-related activities.....	41
4.2 How Millennials feel about their hypermobile jobs	42
4.2.1 Freedom.....	42
4.2.2 Authority	44
4.2.3 Energy	45
4.3 The informal workspaces	48
4.3.1 The traditional office space	48
4.3.2 Home	48
4.3.3 The library	49
4.3.4 Coffee shops.....	50
4.3.5 Coworking spaces.....	51
Chapter 5: Discussion.....	59
5.1 Limitations.....	59
5.2 Recommendations for further research	60
Chapter 6: Conclusion	54
6.1 Recommendations for policy-making	58
References	62
Appendices	68
1. Interview guide Millennials with hypermobile jobs.....	68
2. Interview guide experts	70
3. Informed consent.....	71
4. Codes.....	72

List of tables and figures

List of tables:

- Table 1:** The two-by-two matrix of Wiberg (2005).
- Table 2:** The most striking differences between working from informal workspaces such as coffee shops, coworking spaces, libraries and home and working from the traditional office.
- Table 3:** Characteristics of the participants who took part in this study. Age, gender, main location of work, sector and form of contractual arrangement are shown.
- Table 4:** The average hours the participants spend at their main location of work and at other places.
- Table 5:** Presentation of the motivations and constraints that are considered to be important when working remotely.
- Table 6:** Overview of the pros and cons the participants experience when working from different informal workspaces.

List of figures:

- Figure 1:** Share of employment growth accounted for by workers under traditional and alternative contracts.
- Figure 2:** Three-dimensional framework conceptualising work location (Halford, 2005).
- Figure 3:** Conceptualization of the metropolitan space economy: fixed employment centres and places of work (Shearmur, 2016).
- Figure 4:** Conceptual framework of this study
- Figure 5:** Locations of data collection in the metropolitan of Phoenix
- Figure 6:** Grounded theory data analysis (Noble & Mitchell, 2016).
- Figure 7:** An overview of the main location of work of the participants in this study.
- Figure 8:** The new conceptual model based on the outcomes of this study. This figure illustrates the pros and cons the Millennials experience when working hypermobile and why they choose for certain informal workspaces to work from.
- Figure 9:** The new conceptual model based on the outcomes of this study. This figure illustrates which factors influence how Millennials feel about the hypermobility of their jobs.
- Figure 10:** The new conceptual model based on the outcomes of this study. This figure illustrates which motivations and constraints the Millennials experience when working from certain informal workspaces.

List of abbreviations

CBD: Central Business District

FWC: Flexible Work Centre

ICT: Information and Communication Technology

IT: Information Technology

US: United States

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Two key changes

Prior to the 1990's most young people were entering a job market where full-time jobs were the standard and where their career was characterized by periodic changes between stable jobs (Friedman, 2014). A quarter of a century later, young people are entering a labour market in the gig-economy. As Boltanski and Chiapello (1999) describe, work gets more and more project based and people are chosen based on their skills. In the gig-economy workers have to defend their own position in the labour market because of the new project-based arrangements. As Friedman (2014) shows with respect to the United States (US):

A growing number of American workers are no longer employed in “jobs” with a long-term connection with a company but are hired for “gigs” under “flexible” arrangements as “independent contractors” or “consultants,” working only to complete a particular task or for defined time and with no more connection with their employer than there might be between a consumer and a particular brand of soap or potato chips (Friedman, 2014, p. 171)

Since the 1990's a lot of changes have occurred just as Millennials were entering the labour market in the US. One of the changes shown by the quote of Friedman (2014) is the shift in contractual arrangements of workers. Another main change in the labour market is the possibility to work from different locations due to advancing technology (Schieman & Young, 2010).

Economists, planners and city managers often rely on the assumption that economic activity takes place in offices and other buildings dedicated to economic activity. Concepts such as the Central Business District (CBD), suburban employment centres, polycentrism, edge cities and edgeless cities have provided planners a framework in how to understand economic activities and economic value creation across cities. These theories in turn, have influenced how cities have developed over time because these concepts have been integrated in urban policy thinking (Shearmur, 2016). The concepts above rely on a fundamental assumption that economic activity has a fixed location. The concepts are usually understood as referring to economic establishment and to the workers attached to these establishments (Shearmur, 2016). For example, the observation of specialized employment centres led to the idea that the geographic clustering of economic activity is important for productivity (Marshall, 1890; Porter, 2003). Furthermore, it is believed that agglomeration economies will generate interactions between firms that lead to economic growth. City planners have actively promoted the spatial clustering of economic activity because this would stimulate economic growth and economic value creation. There can be assumed that economists, planners and city managers often have relied on the assumption that economic activity happens at fixed places of work. However, the two aforementioned key changes in the economy that have occurred in the labour market ask for a reconsideration of this relationship.

The first key change that influences the relationship between economic growth and fixed places of work is the shift from traditional contractual arrangements to alternative contractual arrangements. This growth has been fast across the whole economy in the US (Figure 1).

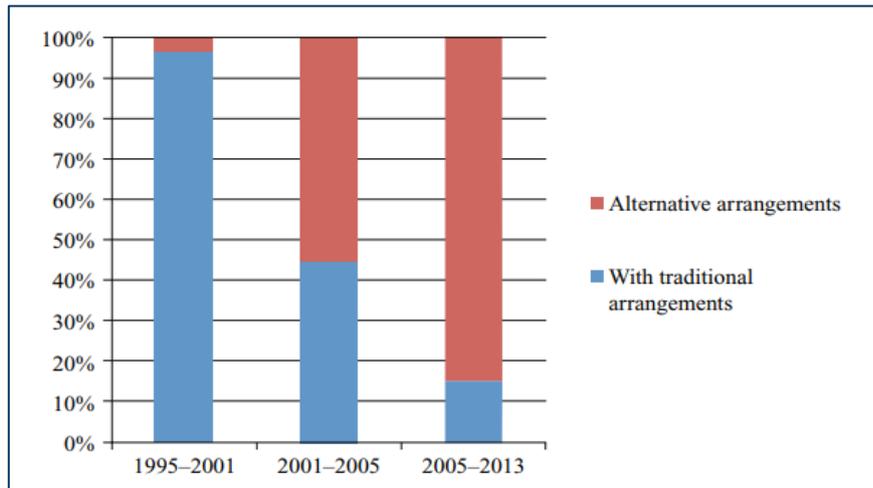


Figure 1: Share of employment growth accounted for by workers under traditional and alternative contracts, 1995–2013 (Friedman, 2014)

As shown in figure 1, 85% of all new jobs created between 2005 and 2013 in the US economy had alternative contractual arrangements rather than traditional contracts “with fixed hours, location and certain expectations of security” (Friedman, 2014, p. 176). As a result, workers are constantly defending their own current gig in the labour market leading to increased pressure and competition. Subsequently, their workday extends well beyond traditional hours and work is not performed at fixed places anymore but at all types of locations such as cafés, parks and restaurants (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999; Friedman, 2014). Because of the extending working hours and project-based work, work has to be performed from different locations.

The second change in the labour market, the growing communication technology is also linked to the gig economy. Due to the growing communication technology, work can be performed from different locations (Friedman, 2014). Devices as mobile phones make it possible to access web-based documents from a variety of places. Even conference calls can be made from any location. With access to these tools and information, the idea that workers perform their work only at the office is obsolete. The workplace has become a place for socializing and for meetings. If someone wants to work in a more quiet place, he or she could better go to a café or a park (Bennet et al., 2010; Waber et al., 2014). Although the changes that have occurred in the labour market increases pressure and competition between workers because of project-base work, the Millennials appreciate the flexibility that they gain in return. A survey from 2017 that included 30 countries revealed that Millennials value flexibility very highly (Deloitte, 2017). This includes flexible work hours, flexible roles and the ability to work from various locations. We can therefore claim that the changing labour market has two sides for Millennials in the US. The one side in which they voluntary choose for flexible places of work and flexible hours and the other side which leaves them with no choice but to work from different places.

The fundamental assumption that economic activity has a fixed location is therefore no longer valid in every situation, especially not for the Millennial generation. This generation has grown up with mobile communications technology, internet, and an increasingly precarious and short-term job market (Palfrey & Gasser, 2008; Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999). As Friedman (2014) points out, and as revealed in studies such as Bowlby (2008), ILO (2016) and Worth (2016), the rise in non-standard work started in the early 1990s and accelerated in the mid-2000s, just as the first Millennials were entering the job market. Therefore, Millennials are the first generation that have entered a labour market where short-term work contracts and work instability have become the norm (Perlin, 2012). In the context of new contractual

arrangements, the advancing communication technology and the appreciation of flexibility of the Millennial generation, actual value creation and economic growth occurs anywhere within the city and even beyond it. As a result, economic activity is not solely performed at the original offices anymore and informal workspaces such as coworking spaces, restaurants and cafés are getting increasingly popular as new locations of work (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999; Friedman, 2014; Shearmur, 2016; Houghton et al.). However, the dissolution of the workplace is not occurring for all types of jobs nor for all types of workers. Jobs can be classified in the dimension of mobility that results in three broad categories: Hyper mobile jobs, semi-mobile jobs and immobile jobs (Shearmur, 2016). A hyper-mobile job is one where many of its activities can be performed away from a particular geographic location. A semi-mobile job can also be performed at several different locations. However, these locations are constrained by the frequent need to be at particular places on a specific time. Immobile jobs are jobs that are performed (mostly) at a specific location (Shearmur, 2016). So, except for immobile jobs, the location of work does not necessarily have to apply to economic activity.

Much has been written in academic analysis about the new location of work and researchers acknowledge the fact that workers are working in multiple workplaces (Felstead et al., 2005; Hislop & Axtell, 2007; Vilhelmson & Thulin, 2016) but the location of work of the Millennial generation in specific has not gained much attention so far (Shearmur, 2016). For example, modes of work that has been extensively studied is telework and working from home. Teleworking has similarities with mobile working as both can be performed from a variety of locations. However, teleworking is more focused on working while travelling. Existing literature about teleworking has concentrated more on measurable aspects of telework such as who does it, for how long and so on (Graham and Marvin, 1996). Additionally, the research of Hislop & Axtell (2009) and Vilhelmson and Thulin (2016) have focused on working footloose. These studies are related to teleworking and are mostly quantitative. How workers feel about working at different places remains unknown. Recently more has been written about the different informal workspaces and their characteristics but this research also remains mainly quantitative (Kojo and Nenonen, 2015). The limited amount of earlier studies about the location of work of the Millennial generation in specific makes that there is still little scientific debate about where Millennials jobs perform their work-related activities in the US while there is evidence that more people will start working from informal workspaces.

To summarize briefly, due to alternative contractual arrangement and growing communication technology many people in the labour force move around and much of their work can now occur at the informal workspaces. Although researchers acknowledge that the location of work is changing (Vilhelmson and Thulin, 2016; Hislop and Axtell, 2009), we still know very little about how workers feel about these new locations of work. There is a shortage of literature on where the Millennial generation perform their economic activity and what their motivations and constraints are. Moreover, in the existing literature one important change is not included, namely the increasing short-term employment contract which force Millennials to work from multiple locations. This new labour market characteristic is not taken into account yet in research but is likely to influence the motivations and constraints of people to work from multiple locations.

1.2 Research Objectives

1.2.1 Research goal

The goal of this research is to give a more in-depth understanding of why the Millennials choose to work remotely and why they choose specific informal workspaces to work from. This research gives an analysis of the motivations and constraints Millennials experience when working from informal

workspaces such as coworking spaces, cafés and restaurants, and home. The researches discussed above are predominantly of a quantitative nature and tend to focus solely on the role of communication technology. For the Millennial generation, working from informal spaces can be voluntary but the change in contractual arrangements can also leave them with no other option. Many Millennials in the labour market already work from different locations and there is evidence that this number will grow even more. Due to the expected growth in the number of Millennials working from different locations, the Millennial generation is an interesting group to study. Moreover, it remains unclear how Millennials feel about working from the informal workspaces, what are their motivations and constraints. This gap in the existing literature is important to study because it will add scientific information about the motivations and constraints the Millennials experience when working remotely and how this affects the well-being of people. The explorative nature of this study serves as the stepping stone for larger quantitative studies about the experiences and feelings of workers towards the hypermobility of their jobs. Hence, this study investigates how Millennials feel about working remotely and how they feel about working from the different informal workspaces.

Additionally, this study provides insight in how the urban space economy will develop in the future. For planners it is highly relevant to be able to predict where economic activity might take place within the Millennial generation, because this will influence the decision-making process in for example, zoning, building use and the economic function of public space. Insight in the motivations and constraints that people experience when working remotely indicate where people prefer to work and what they need. For example, if the results of this study advocate for the development of a certain type of informal workspace or indicate which workspaces are lacking and why, planners might focus on the development of working places which are preferred. The insights of this study are helpful in order to respond better to the aforementioned developments. Thus, the results of this study can help spatial planners and policy makers to better respond to the needs of hypermobile workers. Moreover, entrepreneurs can also take advantage of these results when this study finds indicators that certain informal workspaces are very popular amongst Millennials with hypermobile jobs.

1.2.2 Research questions

In this study, insight is provided in how Millennials feel about working from informal workspaces. Additionally, this study will identify the motivations and constraints they experience when working from the informal workspace. Current Millennials with hypermobile jobs will be interviewed in this research. Although workers not included in the Millennial generation might also benefit from increased mobile technology, it is expected that this generation is more familiar with the use of technology and that they work more often under alternative contractual arrangements (Friedman, 2014), therefore, only the Millennial generation will be included in this study. Additionally, this study will focus on Millennials with hypermobile jobs as the dissolution of the workplace is not occurring in all types of jobs. This leads to the following main question of this study:

Why do Millennials with hyper mobile jobs work at informal workspaces?

To answer the main question, 3 sub questions have been set up:

1. *How do Millennials with hypermobile jobs organise their workweek?*
2. *How do Millennials feel about their hypermobile jobs?*
3. *What motivates Millennials to work from certain informal workspaces and which constraints do they experience?*

The interviews will be conducted in the metropolitan of Phoenix. There is evidence that Sunbelt cities like Phoenix are less affected by the Millennial generation, but this metropolitan is nowadays an attraction for Millennials due to its relatively low costs of living and doing business (JLL, 2018) (Mallach, 2018). In a report of TH Real Estate (2018) it is stated that Phoenix will be the next Millennial Magnet. The insights provided in this study will help urban planners in Phoenix to adapt their urban policies to changes in location of economic activity that are likely to occur with the arrival of more Millennials in Phoenix. Furthermore, this study might influence the urban policies in more cities in the US because the Millennials will outnumber the baby boomers by 2020 (Pew Research Centre, 2016) in the US and subsequently change the location of work in many American cities.

1.2.3 Structure of this thesis

The remainder of this thesis is as follows. In chapter 2, the theoretical framework is explained, in which the most relevant theories and concepts regarding the locations of work are described. This analysis results in the conceptual model which is also visualized in chapter 2. In chapter 3, the methodology is explained, providing explanations and justification of the methods that are used and information about the participants that took part in this study. Additionally, there will be reflected upon the challenges and constraints of the method used in this study. In chapter 4, the results are analysed. The results are used to answer each sub question individually and the outcomes of this study will be compared to existing literature. In chapter 5, the conclusion of this study is described and the policy-recommendations are highlighted. Lastly, chapter 6 provides the reader with the discussion of this study in which will be reflected upon the outcomes of this study. Additionally, recommendations for further research will be provided.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

In this chapter, relevant academic literature and concepts that can explain the location of work of the Millennial generation are clarified. This research will predominantly focus on the motivations and constraints Millennials with hypermobile jobs experience when working from informal workspaces. This chapter will start with providing more general information about the topic but throughout the theoretical framework, the literature will be narrowed down to end with the motivations and constraints people experience when working from informal workspaces. This theoretical framework will start with explaining how the location of work has developed over time. In the end of this chapter, the conceptual model integrates all the aforementioned aspects and describes the expectations that are based on the theoretical framework.

2.1 The context of the United States

Mobility is constantly increasing. So much that some theorists even speak of a mobility turn (Urry, 2007; Büscher and Urry, 2009). American urban scholar Anthony Flint points out “the rise of the mobile workforce”, where employees decide “where and when to meet with clients or fellow workers as it suits their schedules, and employees are letting them do so”. And indeed, the last two decades have seen an increase of mobile and nomadic work (Su and Mark, 2008). The reasons for this are diverse: the development of computers and mobile phones as well as the increasing nomadicity of work and the rise in self-employment (Liegl, 2014). In this section, the two main reasons for the increasing mobility of the Millennial generation in the United States is explained. Subsequently, this section describes how this changing mobility influences the location of work.

2.1.1 The mobility of communication technology

The first cause of the increasing mobility of the Millennial workforce relates to the advancing communication technology. The organisational and spatial configurations of workplaces are changing. Digital technologies readdress the way both private and public sectors communicate and achieve their organisational mission objectives (Alizadeh, 2013). Especially digital technologies disrupt the workplace because of the availability of Wi-Fi, mobile phones, cloud computing and videoconferencing. These technologies allow workers to work from multiple locations away from the office and to work from outside the traditional 9-5 hours workday.

In 1980, Toffler started as one of the first researchers to link mobility, technology and freedom. ICT-enabled mobility made workers' home and work spaces integrating. Since then, mobile work aroused interest from academics. The digital nomad- a mobile knowledge worker equipped with digital technologies to work anytime, anywhere (Kleinrock, 1996) was first reported by Makimoto and Manners in 1997. The digital nomad represents an increasing share of the working force today: roaming the urban and inter-urban landscape, setting up her laptop wherever she wants, in cafés, airports and trains. In popular discourse, the digital nomad is footloose, works everywhere and carries her office in her laptop (Liegl, 2014). Offices and other places dedicated to work or economic activity are replaced by more informal spaces located everywhere in the city.

One might assume that people who work footloose have jobs that ask to be performed from different location such as sales managers and project leaders. Their mobility is a result of the affordance of mobile technology and advancing mobile technology. However, the mobility of workers is no longer limited to those who must travel (Liegl, 2014). The communication technology changed radically in the mid-1990s. The communication technology advanced and became available for everyone. Moreover, the advancing technology increased the mobility of the communication technology and the reliability (Shearmur, 2016). These changes have a variety of consequences. The first is that many work-related activities can be performed from a wide variety of locations instead of just at the office. From the 1990s

onwards, technology made it possible to work from home and this was the first alternative that was acknowledged by researchers that questions this assumption. Working from home became a popular debate for researchers (Nilles, 1994; Handy & Mokhtarian, 1995) but they still relied on the idea that specific activities are performed in one particular location. In this case that work happened at home or at the office.

The communication technology kept on advancing and mobile phones and other handheld devices have more than ever altered the spatial work patterns. Additionally, work in itself has changed. The industry sector is declining and makes place for the growing service sector. The workers in the service sector rely more on the use of mobile phones and other handheld devices. These devices allow access to social media and web-based documents from everywhere. Even conference calls can be made from all over the world. Those handheld devices make it possible for workers to have meetings and other activities at real-time coordination. These changes influence the location of work especially for the Millennial generation, those who have grown up with mobile communication technology are more at ease with those possibilities compared to older workers (Rainie & Wellman, 2012).

2.1.2 The gig economy

Another important main change is the decline in long-term employment relations and the rise of what has come to be called the 'gig economy' which evolved around 2000 in the US (Friedman, 2014). Business rely on a largely mobile workforce with few permanent employees and this new way of working has become prominent in the American economy. As mentioned in the introduction, a growing share of the American workforce is no longer employed in jobs with a long-term connection with a company, a job ladder, and mutual interest in the well-being of both company and the worker (Friedman, 2014). The workers are hired under flexible arrangements, as independent contractors or consultants, only working to complete a particular task for a certain period of time. Workers are constantly chosen based on their skills and have to defend their own position in the labour market. This results in higher pressure and work days that extend well beyond the traditional 9-5 hours. Gig workers are employed around all professions across the American economy. They are employed in coffee shops, university lecture halls, consultancy and farms. Rather than skill or training, the workers are distinguished by the social relations of work and the type of contractual arrangement (Friedman, 2014). In the long term employment with traditional contractual arrangements, a worker's position and earning depended on job tenure and future positions and rewards (Friedman, 2014). However as is the case for the gig economy, workers are hired on the spot for the job without regard for their past employment and without promise for future employment.

As shown in figure 1, 85% of the new jobs created between 2005 and 2013 in the US were jobs with alternative arrangements instead of the traditional contracts with fixed hours and fixed location (Friedman, 2014). The alternative contractual arrangements have become prominent across the whole economy and the new forms of contractual arrangements are common in every sector. Especially the people employed in the service sector have seen their arrangements shifting with almost 30% from traditional arrangements with fixed hours and fixed location towards the project based arrangements between 2005 and 2017 (Statista, 2018). Friedman (2014) states that people employed in the gig economy create their offices in bedrooms/ coffee shops and coworking spaces. Additionally, Kojo and Nenonen (2017) claim that short-term lease contracts are one of the main drivers for the increasing popularity of informal workspaces. The numbers of the increasing share of alternative contractual arrangements in the US thus suggest that informal workspaces are becoming growingly important as new places of work.

2.1.3. The new urban space economy

Because of the advancing communication technology and the shift in contractual arrangements, Millennials are not solely obliged to their offices anymore. Because of this increasing mobility, people can work wherever they want and start reaching out to informal workspaces. The two aforementioned changes are likely to influence the way the urban space economy is shaped, if this is not happening already. Since the 1980s, the functionalistic division of urban spaces into the basic functions of housing, work, leisure and mobility has been criticized (Di Marino & Lapintie, 2017). The boundaries between the urban functions are blurring. Work is not solely performed in CBDs anymore but is reaching out to spaces for leisure, such as coffee shops and restaurants. Especially the increasing mobility of the Millennial generation makes that work can be performed at different locations which are not designated as working spaces. It has become possible to work from several places that have not been designed for working purposes. Although planners did not foresee the blurring of urban functions, employers and employees both benefit from this situation. Employers don't have to rent offices in expensive CBD and employees don't have a long commute which lead to less travel hours (Houghton et al., 2018). Moreover, the employees state that they prefer to work from these new locations, even for those who prefer working alone in a crowd (Di Marino & Lapintie, 2017). The fact that both employer and employee prefer the new location of work, already indicates that the way we think about the current space economy is outdated. Also, the important positive externalities that firms gain in agglomeration economies can now be obtained in other ways. Knowledge spill overs which are highly valuable for firms can now be communicated through email and calls which is a cheaper option than locating the office in CBDs. Therefore it can be concluded that the relationship between economic activity and location of work is not fixed anymore and that work is performed outside the location of the traditional offices in CBDs. But how does this changing relationship affects the way the urban space economy is shaped and what does the changing mobility mean for the Millennial workers? Next sections gives more insight into these questions.

2.2 Where to work?

In the previous chapter it became clear that the relationship between economic activity and location of work is not fixed anymore. Work can happen anywhere in the city and it is likely that work is performed at different places. This chapter provides the reader with information about existing literature about the location of work and how this influences the shape of the urban space economy. This subchapter is set up as follows. Firstly, the different types of teleworking are explained and the type of teleworking this research will focus on is discussed. Secondly, the location of work of teleworkers is defined on the basis of two conceptual models and how this is different from the original models of the urban space economy.

2.2.1 Types of teleworking

The debate about the new location of work gained interest around the 2000s (Clear and Dickson, 2005; Daniels et al., 2001; Tietze and Musson, 2005). To identify the new locations of work of people, it is necessary to identify the different definitions and categories that are given to people who work away from the office. This section will therefore firstly point out the different categories of working away from the office and identify the category of workers this research will focus on. Once this type of worker is identified, there will be elaborated on where these people work and how they influence the urban space economy.

One of the most discussed topics about mobile work is teleworking, this has led to several definitions. Daniels et al (2001: 1154) defines telework as work which *'usually involves travel and/or spending time on customers' premises and where people doing this work may use laptop, computers and mobile phones to support their mobile work* while Clear and Dickson (2005, p221) define telework as *'working offsite*

(at home, at a customer site, or on the move whilst linked all day or for some period whilst offsite to a firm's computer system'. Tietze and Musson (2005, pp 1337) define telework as *'working at a distance... "anywhere, anytime," ...Rather than from a particular location'*. Several definitions have been ascribed to teleworking and the main message is that teleworking allows workers to work from a wide variety of locations. However, these definitions remain very broad and can also include jobs such as lorry driving. This involves mobility as well. Therefore, Lilischikis (2003), Shearmur (2016) and Felstead et al., (2002) tried to categorize workers on a different level than just mobility.

One of the most influential typologies of mobile workers is to categorize workers on the basis of their level of detachedness from the workplace (Lilischikis, 2003). As described in the research of Lilischikis (2003), yo-yos are the workers who have a fix base and who occasionally work away while nomads work constantly changing places of work. But this typology still doesn't specify the relationship between work and mobility. There is no distinction made between workers whose work requires to work from multiple locations or workers who choose to work in multiple places. This is also the case for the typology Shearmur (2016) uses in his research. He states that the dissolution of the workplace does not occur for all types of jobs. Jobs can be classified in the dimension of mobility that results in three broad categories: Hyper mobile jobs, semi-mobile jobs and immobile jobs (Shearmur, 2016). A hyper-mobile job is one where many of its activities can be performed away from a particular geographic location. A semi-mobile jobs can also be performed at several different locations however, these locations are constraint by the frequent need to be at particular places at particular times. Immobile jobs are jobs that are performed (mostly) at a specific location (Shearmur, 2016). So except for immobile jobs, the location of work does not necessarily have to apply to economic activity. However, the typology of Shearmur still does not make a distinction between truck drivers whose work has to be performed away from the office and accountants who can choose where to work. The importance of this distinction between choice and constraint is stated by Felstead et al., (2002). His typology focusses on the relationship of mobility to the accomplishment of work tasks. His study differentiates between 3 types of workers:

Mobility as work: cycle couriers, truck drivers and pilots. Their goal is the movement of people, goods or vehicles between places.

Mobility for work: district managers, construction workers & direct sellers. Their work is spatially dispersed and requires mobility to accomplish it. Their work cannot be accomplished in a single workplace but may involve more or less frequent movements. The workers' experience of mobility may be more or less central to their jobs.

Mobility while work: accountants, hand-knitters, editors, information technology (IT) consultants and academics. Some or all of the work tasks can be carried out at multiple locations or even while mobile. This type of work requires the use of information and communication technology.

It can be concluded that opinions differ about how to categorise mobile workers. As the main question of this research suggests, this study is interested in Millennials with hypermobile jobs. A hyper-mobile job is one where many of its activities can be performed away from a particular geographic location (Shearmur, 2016). This definition still remains very broad and thus there will be specified on workers in the gig economy who work primarily using electronic communication technology. For these individuals, laptops and Wi-Fi makes it possible to work from locations away from a traditional office. This study is interested in workers who can choose their location of work and although gig economy taxi or delivery drivers (e.g. Uber) perform their work-activities from different locations, they cannot choose their location of work. In this study, the definition of Shearmur (2016) is therefore complemented by the categorization of Felstead (2002). This study is interested in Millennials with hypermobile jobs, which type of work is mobility while working. Felstead (2002) already identified these workers as accountants, IT consultants, editors and academics. This means that this study focus on jobs in, for

example, the consultancy sector, since those workers are more dependent on their laptop than on a particular location. In this study no distinction has been made between different sectors. Workers in every sector are taken into account, provided that they can choose their own location of work.

2.2.2 New locations of work

Now that the workers of interest are defined, it is interesting to find out where those people work and how the location of work evolved over time. This section will discuss two revolutions in the dissolution of the traditional workplaces. The first revolution is that working from home became the new standard, and the second one is that people start to reach out to the so-called third workplaces instead of home. Following on this, the new locations of work will be identified and described and how this has influenced conceptual frameworks of the urban space economy.

Working from home became increasingly popular and until recently, the distribution of workplaces was regarded as a dichotomy. It was either working from the office or from home. Working from home became possible because of the advancing communication technology but today, also urban spaces are characterized by access to virtual networks through public and private Wi-Fi spots (Willis, 2008). These third workplaces have recently gained attention. Scholars focused on the role of coffee shops, libraries and co-working spaces as emerging spaces for working (Bilandzic and Foth, 2013; Gandini, 2015). Working from third workplaces becomes possible because working practices are changing and are becoming more flexible (Pyöriä, 2003), there is growing access to private and public Wi-Fi (Grubestic and Murray, 2004), and public spaces respond to these changes by making their places easier and more convenient to work from. As a result, the dichotomy of workplaces has shifted towards a trichotomy.

As mentioned before, scholars acknowledged that telecommunication made it possible for workers to work from home but until recently there was little debate about the shift towards third workplaces. As one of the first researchers, Halford (2005) conceptualised the locational characteristics of mobile telework and extended the concept of location of work towards a third dimension of mobility. It accounts for where work occurs for mobile workers beyond the two domains of home and office, which are the central focus of Halford's analysis. This locational framework is visualized by a triangle, with the three corners representing the home, the employer's premises (office) and all the other locations beyond home and office (cafés, trains, hotels etc), the so-called third workplaces. As shown in figure 2, the three corners represent the three ideal types of pure office worker, pure home-based teleworker and pure mobile teleworker. The pure mobile teleworker never works from home or the office in this case. Home-office workers whose work is performed both at home or the office are located somewhere on the line between the pure office worker corner and pure home-based teleworker.

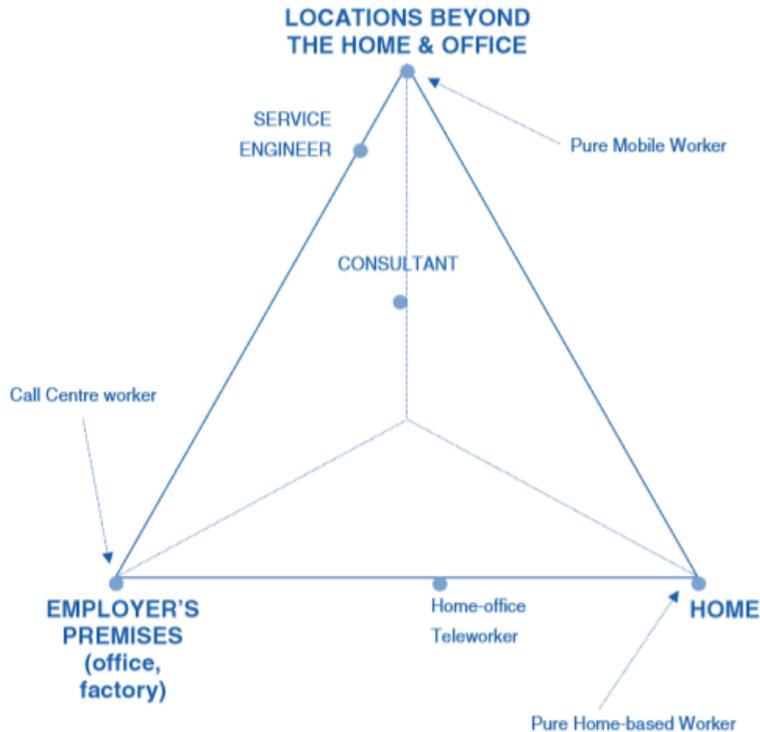


Figure 2: Three-dimensional framework conceptualising work location (Halford, 2005).

The framework of Halford emphasizes that workers balance their time and efforts between different locations. Moreover, his framework illustrates how mobile workers are required to make different balances, dependent upon the way their work time is divided between their homes, offices and other locations. It is an important feature of the framework for recognizing that mobile workers are heterogeneous and their location of work is variable (Hardill & Green, 2003).

While the main point of Halford's framework is the recognition of a new dimension of the locations of work, it still remains unclear what these kinds of places are. The workers that are identified are able to work from multiple locations they choose themselves. Cafés, restaurants and other leisure-related locations are new locations of work for the Millennial generation. Train stations and airport lounges are also important places where work is performed (Shearmur, 2016). Additionally, Flexible Work Centres (FWCs) are a new form of work environment that has emerged, supported by the introduction of internet and the world wide web. These digital work hubs or coworking spaces grow in popularity around the world (Houghton, 2018). Freelance, remote and home-based workers who seek social interaction are able to hire a desk in a growing number of FWCs on an hourly, daily, weekly or full-time basis (Houghton, 2018). Coffee shops, incubator spaces and libraries are often located in those FWCS making the workplace a good opportunity to interact with others from different professions and industries to gain more knowledge and to extend their personal networks. Moreover, FWCs offer a workspace for some close to home but away from the home-based distractions.

Work can be performed from a wide variety of locations but it are the employers that have to allow their workers to work from multiple locations on a flexible basis. In literature it becomes clear that employers can save costs when their employees can work from other locations instead of from an expensive office in the CBD (Houghton, 2018). Moreover, the higher productivity of workers is also an important factor in the decision of employers to allow their workers to work elsewhere (Houghton, 2018). Additionally, the workers value the trust base that is needed for flexible work between employer and employee very

highly and also the reduced travel time they gain in return when working more flexible hours on different locations (Houghton, 2018).

The fact that there are benefits for employees as well for employers indicates that working from multiple locations is popular and it is estimated that the number of mobile jobs will only increase in time. Shearmur (2016) therefore provided a framework about the new urban space economy. Jobs are not performed anymore at fixed locations, nor only at home or the office. In figure 3, the framework of the metropolitan space economy of Shearmur (2016) is shown. He proposes that economic activity does not only happen in the CBD anymore but also in the sub-centres which interacts with their hinterlands. He proposes that mobility has changed leading to work performed from different locations. People are not travelling every day to CBDs and offices anymore. Along the axes economic activity takes place in the new urban space economy. Many workers and economic agents are no longer assigned to fixed places such as the office or home. Instead, each worker has its own daily trajectory (Massey, 2005). The city is still punctuated by fixed places but these are not the places anymore where high-value work is performed. The fixed places are places where mobile workers meet such as café's, restaurants, private offices and other places where people can meet face to face. These fixed places have always existed in the urban space economy in sub centres, but the economic function of these places might be far higher than is assumed today.

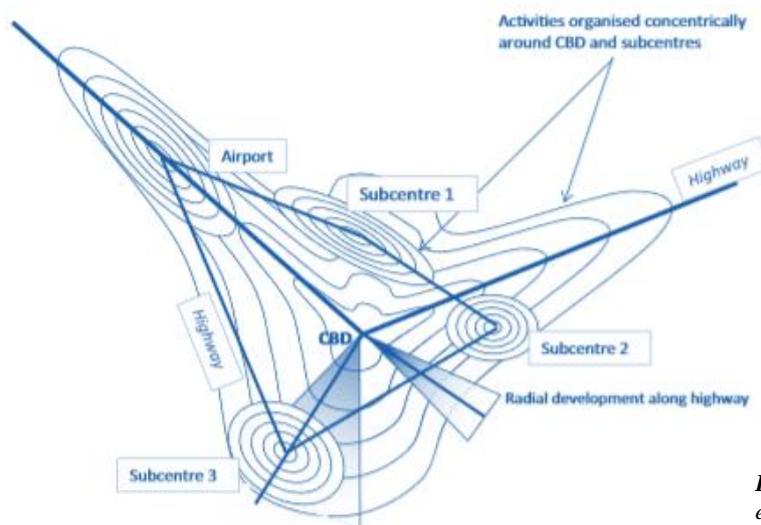


Figure 3: Conceptualization of the metropolitan space economy: fixed employment centres and places of work (Shearmur, 2016).

The conceptual models of Shearmur (2016) and Halford (2005) illustrate the changing location of work and thus a different conceptualization of the urban space economy. The conceptual model of Halford (2005) indicates that the location of work is changing by identifying third work-places. Shearmur (2016) elaborates on this by identifying the location of work of people who neither work solely at home or the office, in the metropolitan space economy. As becomes clear, work is performed from informal workspaces such as restaurants, cafés and coworking spaces everywhere in the city and not solely at CBDs anymore (Houghton et al., 2018; Halford, 2005; Shearmur, 2016). However, it remains unclear why people choose the places they work from. As mentioned before, the framework of Halford recognizes that mobile workers are heterogeneous and that their location of work varies throughout the day or week (Hardill & Green, 2003). Thus, it is interesting to find out what the locations of work are of the Millennial generation and to what extent they experience constraints when working from third

work-places. To get a better understanding of the motivations and constraints Millennials might experience when looking for places to work, the next section provides the reader with information about the current motivations and constraints that are identified in academic literature.

2.3 The decision making process of choosing the informal workplace

The main message from the previous sections is that the location of work is changing and that this will shape the urban space economy in a different way. Working from coworking spaces, restaurants, cafes and even on the road is becoming increasingly popular. As the main question of this research suggest, the aim of this study is to find out why people choose to work from certain informal workspaces and what prevents them to work from others. As already stated in chapter 1, there is debate about the changing locations of work but it still remains unclear why people work where they work and where they prefer to work. This section will give an overview of all the aspects that influence the decision-making process of choosing a workplace of the Millennial generation.

2.3.1 Time-space geography

Before starting off with identifying the challenges and constraints people experience when working from multiple locations, it is important to understand how the activities of people in daily life are influenced by time-space geography and by the nature of different work-related activities. The time-space geography of Hägerstrand (1989) explains how different constraints influence the decision-making process of choosing a workplace. Additionally, the two by two matrix of Wiberg (2005) explains how different work-related activities affect the location of work of people. Both theories help understand how Millennials with hypermobile jobs organise and structure their workweek.

Time-space geography influences the activities of people in daily life. Time-space geography focuses on the interrelationship between activities in time and space and the constraints that are enforced because of these interrelationships. It recognizes that people can physically only be in one place at a time and activities occur at variables place for a limited duration (Miller, 2017). Hägerstrand (1989) is the founder of the time space geography and identified the three major types of constraints that restrict an individual's choice. Capability constraints limit the activities of individuals through their own physical capabilities and/or available resources (Miller, 2017). People have to eat and sleep from time to time and these activities demand space and time. Coupling constraints refer to the type of constraints where people are limited in activities because they have to meet with other people. For example, workers have to attend meetings and conferences at a specific space and time. The third constraint Hägerstrand (1989) pointed out is the authority constraint. Authority constraints are restrictions over particular space-time domains. For example, people cannot reach certain activities because they are not allowed to drive since they have no driver's license. Another example is that a gated community can make it difficult and illegal to enter at designated times while a public street cannot (Miller, 2017). The role of the advancing communication and information technology (ICT) also made their entry in the time space geography. Hägerstrand (1989) identified the constraint that people restrict in everyday life to be psychically at more than one location. However, the role of ICT strikes this hypothesis since mobile ICT's increase the importance of simultaneity (Thulin & Vilhelmsen, 2019). This influences people's structuring and organizing of everyday life and time use (Wellman, 2001).

The constraints identified by Hägerstrand are applicable to categorise different constraints people can experience when working hypermobile. The main constraints workers face when working from different locations are categorized under the three main constraints. Capability constraints limit the activities of individuals through their own physical capabilities and/or available resources (Miller, 2017). No internet and no power are subject to the capability constraints. In addition, finding a suitable workspace can also

be classified as a capability constraint. Coupling constraints refer to the type of constraints where people are limited in activities because they have to meet with other people. Face-to-face contact or conference calls for example require collaboration between two or more people. People have to take into account the schedules of co-workers and this influences how they can organise their day. Moreover, people have to deal with family matters which affects their working schedule. The last constraint Hägerstrand identified allows for authority. Authority constraints are restrictions over particular space-time domains. Workers are not allowed to make conference calls when they work in quiet zones or can't work at a particular place outside the opening hours. The aforementioned constraints influence how people organise their workweeks.

Different work-related activities might also influence the way in how people shape their workweek. The different activities workers have to perform are categorised in the two-by-two matrix of Wiberg (2005). The matrix identifies the different forms of activities that demand a specific time and/or place. In other words, the two-by-two matrix identifies the level of time and place dependence of work-related activities. In table 1, the different types of work are visualized. Few tasks are truly anytime and anywhere (cell 1). These task generally require only little or no direct communication. However, in practice, technological, practical and cultural constraints prevent many task from performing anytime and anywhere. Faulty equipment, logistical problems and unsuitable behaviour in environments lead to the fact that not many tasks can be performed anytime and anywhere. People have to charge their laptops and phones and these capability constraints influences where tasks can be performed. In cell 3, the tasks that are time dependent are categorized. These tasks can be formally performed everywhere however direct communication and schedule-harmonisation are constraints that limit the task to be performed from everywhere. In cell 3, the coupling constraints are dominant in restricting the individuals choice to work where they want to work.. Some place dependent work involves multiple locations and thus movement such as taxi drivers and fire fighters. Therefore, whereas place-independent work as in cells 1 and 3 may involve mobility, place-dependent work as in cells 2 and 4 requires mobility (Cohen, 2010). When work has to be performed at a particular time and particular place (cell 4), external constraints determine the level of worker's movement.

Space (place)		
<i>Time</i>	<i>Independent</i>	<i>Dependent</i>
Independent	1. Anytime anywhere: Tasks can be done independent of time and place. Work reliant on technology.	2. Anytime, particular place: Tasks that need to be done in a particular place but can be done anytime. Work requiring particular technologies.
Dependent	3. Particular time, anywhere: Tasks that can be done independent of place but at a certain time or order. Work requiring live-communication, negotiations.	4. Particular time, particular place: Tasks that must be done in a particular place within a particular time. Personal and professional services requiring co-presence: teaching, manicure, live performance.

Table 1: The two-by-two matrix of Wiberg (2005).

This study focusses on jobs which can be performed from multiple locations due to amongst other things the increasing communication technology. However, there are work-related activities which ask for a

specific place or time. Conference calls for example cannot be made from anywhere and thus this feature influences how people organise their workday or workweek. Moreover, face-to-face contact is still recognized as highly important in economic interactions and innovations (Bathelt & Turi, 2001). As this feature is dependent on place and time it can affect the location of work of people. The point that is made here, is that having a hypermobile job can still mean that some of the work-related activities require a specific time and place and that this will influence how Millennials organise their workweeks. Consequently, it might result in specific work-related tasks that are performed in informal workspaces. Spinuzzi (2012) already identified that coffee shops are primarily used to work on administrative tasks.

2.3.2 Constraints when working hypermobile

When working remotely, practical issues have to be taken into account. Makoto and Mark (2008) used three foci in their research to identify important challenges people face when working away from the office. As one will see, these challenges overlap with the aforementioned constraints. The first focus is on the assembling actants. Because of the mobility of the workers, they rely heavily on their portable office. They cannot participate in their different working environments without a laptop and certain applications. The mobile office is seen as a necessary component. The mobile office must be able to adapt to different infrastructures and workers should always have access to power and connectivity. The second focus is seeking resources. Mobile workers must constantly seek resources to keep their mobile offices operable. They have to find space with a desk, printers and so on. Some resources are non-material such as privacy and quietness but can also include IT support or technical experts. The last focus of the research of Makoto and Mark (2008) is on integrating with others which shows similarities with the research of Houghton et al. (2018). Workers have to integrate with their co-workers for collaboration and this requires face-to-face contact or contact via skype or other social media applications. People who work from multiple locations are more liable for becoming invisible in the organization and face more challenge to synchronize with colleagues. Additionally, workers are also preoccupied with cost. For example, when workers want to work from coworking spaces they are designated on paid memberships. Additionally, the research of Illegems and Verbeke (2004) state that flexible work can create challenges for employers as well for employees such as: teamwork, face-to-face contact, security of internal data, innovative interaction in the office and career advancement.

2.3.3 Motivations to work hypermobile

Now that we identified the constraints people experience in daily life to work from multiple locations, the motivations to work from particular locations will be discussed. Houghton et al. (2018) identifies the opportunities of flexible work for both employees and employers in a broader context. The key benefits include: improved recruitment success and staff retention, reduced absenteeism, increased business resilience, higher productivity from workers who are more focused as well as less stressed and tired, reduced costs by rationalising expensive CBD office space, opportunities to decentralise business opportunities and reaching out into new communities and markets and flexibility of domicile location (Houghton et al., 2018). But the benefits of flexible work arrangements are not limited to cost reductions and improved productivity. Illegems and Verbeke (2004) investigated teleworking from a management perspective. They suggest that the flexible work arrangements can be used to attract, motivate and retain high-skilled workers which have specific knowledge. Moreover, these workers contain qualities and skills which are hard to replace. Illegems and Verbeke (2004) state that the impact of these people on business performance can be of great value for employers. Employees choose among different reasons for flexible work and offering attractive employee packages including flexible work options is becoming vital in attracting employees. For employees one of the main reasons to choose for flexible work is to better maintain the work-life balance. Employers enable workers to manage their work-life balance

themselves and hence achieve higher levels of performance (Illegems and Verbeke, 2004). In addition, the benefits of flexible work extend into a larger social and regional context. The effects of working close to home and not in CBDs are less traffic congestion and reduced carbon emissions (Illegems and Verbeke, 2004).

Houghton et al. (2018) and Illegems and Verbeke (2004) identified the motivations for both employees and employers of flexible work and it is clear that this type of work has benefits for both parties. Their research indicates that people prefer to work from locations they can choose themselves, however it remains unclear which locations the workers prefer and why. As already mentioned, it is becoming more popular to work from coworking spaces, restaurants and cafés but where people prefer to work and why is not investigated yet. The reader therefore has to keep in mind that existing literature might not cover all the motivations of the workers. The abovementioned constraints that workers can experience, can also be converted into motivations. No power and/or connectivity can be experienced by workers as a constraint but power and/or connectivity in particular location can be a motivation for people to work at particular locations. Additionally, as workers are more capable to maintain the work-life balance when they can choose their location of work, it makes sense that workers chose to work from locations close to home or easy to reach.

2.3.4 The context of the Millennials.

The aforementioned motivations and constraints are applicable on every worker with a hypermobile job. As the main question of this research suggests, the group of interest in this study is the Millennial generation. Hardill & Green (2003) state that it is important to recognize that mobile workers are heterogeneous and their location of work is flexible. However, Haynes (2011) argues that each generation of workers has a preference of workplaces with related expectation. Haynes (2011) states that the Millennial generation tends to use technology more as an integral part of their everyday lives than previous generations. He also explains how this generation is getting increasingly mobile. As a result, Millennials are more likely to reach out to informal workspaces wherein urban functions are blurring. Informal workspaces such as coffee shops, libraries and coworking spaces are preferred over the traditional office. Additionally, a survey from 2017 that included 30 countries revealed that Millennials value flexibility very high (Deloitte, 2017). This includes flexible work hours, flexible roles and the ability to work from various locations. We could therefore argue that the Millennial generation is likely to be satisfied with the hypermobility of their jobs.

To a certain extent, research assumed that people who could work from different locations worked under flexible arrangements (Houghton et al., 2018). These arrangements include fixed hours but not the fixed location. The increasing alternative contractual arrangements in the U.S. adds another dimension to the hypermobility of the Millennial generation. The benefits might not compensate the negative externalities that employees experience when working under alternative contracts. As already mentioned, people that work under alternative contracts experience higher pressure and have working days extending the traditional 9-5 hours. Therefore, working from multiple locations is not a choice anymore but also an obligation. It is likely that this new form of working influences the motivations and constraint the Millennials experience when working outside of the office. For example, Houghton et al., (2018) mentioned that flexible work maintains a better work-life balance whereas the gig economy might lead to a more disturbed work-life balance of workers. People can take their jobs home to finish tasks. Moreover, people who prefer to work at offices have to perform their work-related tasks away from the office and this might negatively influence the productivity. The positive consequences Houghton et al. (2018) and Makoto and Mark (2008) sum up, are debatable in the context of the gig economy. Especially because research about the productivity of employees who work remotely is contradictory. Houghton (2018) states that working hypermobile increases the productivity about employers while there are also beliefs that distractions at home leads to decreasing levels of productivity (Cable & Elsbach, 2012).

2.3.5 The different informal workspaces

The general constraints people can experience when working hypermobile have been identified and the expectations of the Millennial generation towards the hypermobility of their jobs has been explained. It is expected that the Millennial generation feels satisfied with working remotely. However, features such as Wi-Fi and a proper desk are requirements to work remotely. Public spaces are responding to these needs and an increasing share of the hypermobile workers is reaching out to these workspaces. To better understand why people prefer informal workspaces over the traditional office, van Dinteren (2010) summed up the most striking differences between working from informal workspaces and working from the traditional office (Table 2). As one will see, some of the differences are in line with the aforementioned constraints.

Working from informal workspaces	Working from the traditional office
Independent	Tasks from boss
Freedom	Control
Responsibility for employee	Responsibility for boss
Output oriented	Input oriented
Variable locations	Fixed location
Variable hours	Fixed hours
Blurry work-life balance	Strictly separated work-life balance
Trust between employer and employee	Distrust between employer and employee

Table 2: the most striking differences between working from informal workspaces such as coffee shops, coworking spaces, libraries and home and working from the traditional office.

Much is known about the possible motivations and constraints people can experience when working remotely but there is little known about the preferences of working spaces of the Millennial generation. Millennials can reach out to informal workspaces because of various reasons. The three main reasons have been used to classify these types of workers (Bouncken & Reuschl, 2016). Whereas **learners** use informal workspaces to acquire knowledge and exchange information with peers from equal or other disciplines, **socializers** search for recognition and acknowledgment when working hypermobile. **Utilizers** use informal workspaces to profit from technical infrastructure. The presence of printers for example gives these workers the opportunity to do their jobs better.

The different informal workspaces that exists nowadays can be classified into profit and non-profit making objectives and the level of access of the users (Kojo & Nenonen, 2015). Non-profit informal workspaces are libraries and coffee shops where they both are open to the public but where the use of a coffee shop requires the purchase of a service. Profit-making informal workspaces are coworking spaces and incubator offices for example. The coworking spaces are open to the public as one could sign up however, incubator offices are open for a preselected group of individuals (Kojo & Nenonen, 2015). In this study, the informal workspaces have been identified as coffee shops, coworking spaces, libraries and the home environment.

Houghton et al., (2018) state that due to the flexible location of work, workers could better maintain their work-life balance. They can choose to work at home or at coworking spaces or cafés which are located close to home. In this way, the workers can avoid the traffic congestion in CBD. The proximity of cafes and coworking spaces can thus be a motivation to work at particular informal workspaces. However, one should also keep in mind that the gig economy can have a negative impact on the work-life balance of workers. As Friedman (2014) points out, due to the growing communication technology and project based work, people have to be constantly available. The influence of informal workspaces can thus also be seen as a constraint on the work-life balance of workers. The availability of power and

connectivity is also a motivation or constraint that is applicable to all the informal workspaces. Makoto and Mark (2008) state that the availability of power and an internet connection is important in making the decision where to work. The absence of power and/or connectivity in informal workspaces is a constraint while the availability of power and/or connectivity is a motivation to work at a particular workspace. Apart from proximity, Di Marino and Lapintie (2017) identify other spatial characteristics which influence the decision-making process of where to work. The design of the informal workspaces and nearby attractive public spaces such as gardens are also considered as valuable when looking for places to work.

As long as there is Wi-Fi and power, it is not too far and the work-life balance is maintained, one could argue that it does not matter from which informal workspace the Millennials work from. Until now, research focusses on motivations and constraints people experience when working remotely but it remains unclear if people experience the same motivations and constraints from different informal workspaces. Chapter 2 illustrated that the location of work shifted from a dichotomy towards a trichotomy although working from home can be seen as one of the most convenient options when working hypermobile. There are no costs involved and the workers have no commuting time. So what makes it that people reach out to other informal workspaces and which setting do they prefer?

Coworking spaces, also called flexible work centres or digital work hubs, is a growing informal work location. This new work environment is supported by the advancing communication technology and the development of Wi-Fi networks (Houghton et al., 2018). Coworking spaces are getting increasingly popular around small start-up business, creative industries, designers and freelancers (Houghton et al., 2018). Freelance, remote and home-based workers are able to hire a desk on an hourly, weekly, monthly or yearly basis. The reason why people choose to work in such coworking spaces are various. People can seek social interaction, the coworking space is close to home or people want to get away from home-based distractions (Houghton et al., 2018). Another important reason is that these workers can interact with workers from other professions and industries as everyone can hire a desk in the coworking space. In this manner, workers can be inspired by other workers and grow their personal networks. Coworking spaces are mostly co-located with coffee shops, incubator spaces or libraries which makes them attractive places to work (Bilandzic and Foth, 2013). A constraint workers can experience when working from a coworking spaces might be the costs that are involved as the workers have to hire deskspace.

Coffee shops and restaurants are forms of informal work spaces and their popularity among hypermobile workers is growing (Makoto and Mark, 2008). Because restaurants have similar characteristics as cafés, the motivations and constraints to work from these places will be listed all under the term coffee shops. Motivations to work from these places can be similar to those from coworking spaces. People can meet workers from other professions and most cafes offer Wi-Fi nowadays. Additionally, cafes are free and this might be a big motivation to choose cafés over coworking spaces.

Libraries are also an upcoming informal workspace but it remains unclear in literature for what reasons people would go to libraries. Wi-Fi and desks are an important requirement when working hypermobile and most of the libraries are equipped with those amenities.

2.4 The conceptual model

In figure 4, the conceptual framework of this study is visualized. As became clear from literature, the increasing mobility of communication technology and the rise of the gig economy lead towards a changing location of work. Especially the Millennial generation is affected by these changes as they were the first who entered a short term labour market. Moreover, this generation is more familiar with the communication technology than previous generations which makes them more likely to work from multiple locations. Although researchers acknowledge that the location of work is changing, it remains

unclear where people prefer to work and why. This is where the main research question arises: Why do Millennials with hyper mobile jobs work at informal workspaces? This research provides more insight in the motivations and constraints workers experience when working from multiple locations and why. The Millennials with hyper mobile jobs in this research were already identified in the previous chapter: those who are born between 1981 and 1996 (Fry, 2015) and those who have jobs which can be performed from multiple locations. The informal workspaces in this study are coffee shops, coworking spaces, the home environment and libraries.

The first sub question of this research is: how do Millennials with hypermobile jobs organise their workweek? As became clear in section 2.3, the workweek of Millennials with hypermobile jobs is influenced by particular work-related activities. Conference calls for example can be made from anywhere however, it is likely that people prefer to make those calls from quiet spaces. It is expected that the workweek of Millennials is influenced by work-related activities that require a specific time and location. Additionally, authority, coupling and capability constraints are likely to influence how Millennials organise their workweek. For example, face to face contact with a co-worker (coupling constraint) requires a different organization of the workday. As mentioned before, this study wants to give a more in-depth understanding of this processes and therefore the first sub question will identify what constraints exactly and which particular work-related influences the work day of Millennials.

The second sub question of this research is: how do Millennials feel about the hypermobility of their jobs? As became clear from literature, Millennials value the flexibility they have very highly. Additionally, the trust base that is created between employer and employee makes people feel satisfied when working hypermobile. The downside is that when people are forced to work from informal workspaces, they might experience more cons than pros. Whether working hypermobile increases or decreases productivity remains debatable. This study will provide more insights in how the Millennial generation feels about working hypermobile and will identify the motivations and constraints they experience.

The third sub question of this research is: what motivates Millennials to work from certain informal workspaces and what prevents them to work from others? Although the main drivers to work from informal workspaces have been identified in literature, it remains unclear what location people prefer to work from and why. This research will identify the pros and cons of the different informal workspaces of the Millennial generation.

In the conceptual model the current motivations and constraints are presented based on existing literature. These motivations and constraints will be leading in the interview but the researcher is aware that the literature might not have covered all motivations and constraints yet. As shown in figure 7 in the conceptual model, it is expected that the workweek is influenced by capability, coupling and authority constraints. Moreover, certain work-related activities might influence how Millennials organise their workweeks. Also shown in the conceptual model are the factors that are likely to influence how Millennials feel about the hypermobility of their jobs. For now, the factors that are identified have to do with the work-life balance and the trust base. Lastly, the conceptual model shows the different informal workspaces that will be studied in this research.

To summarize, the current aspects that have been identified in literature are related to the sub questions and are shown in the conceptual model (Figure 4). The goal of this research is to give a more in-depth understanding of these processes and to create a new comprehensive conceptual model that contains all the motivations and constraints the Millennials experience when working hypermobile. Because of the explorative nature of this study, this study does not make use of hypothesis or expectations.

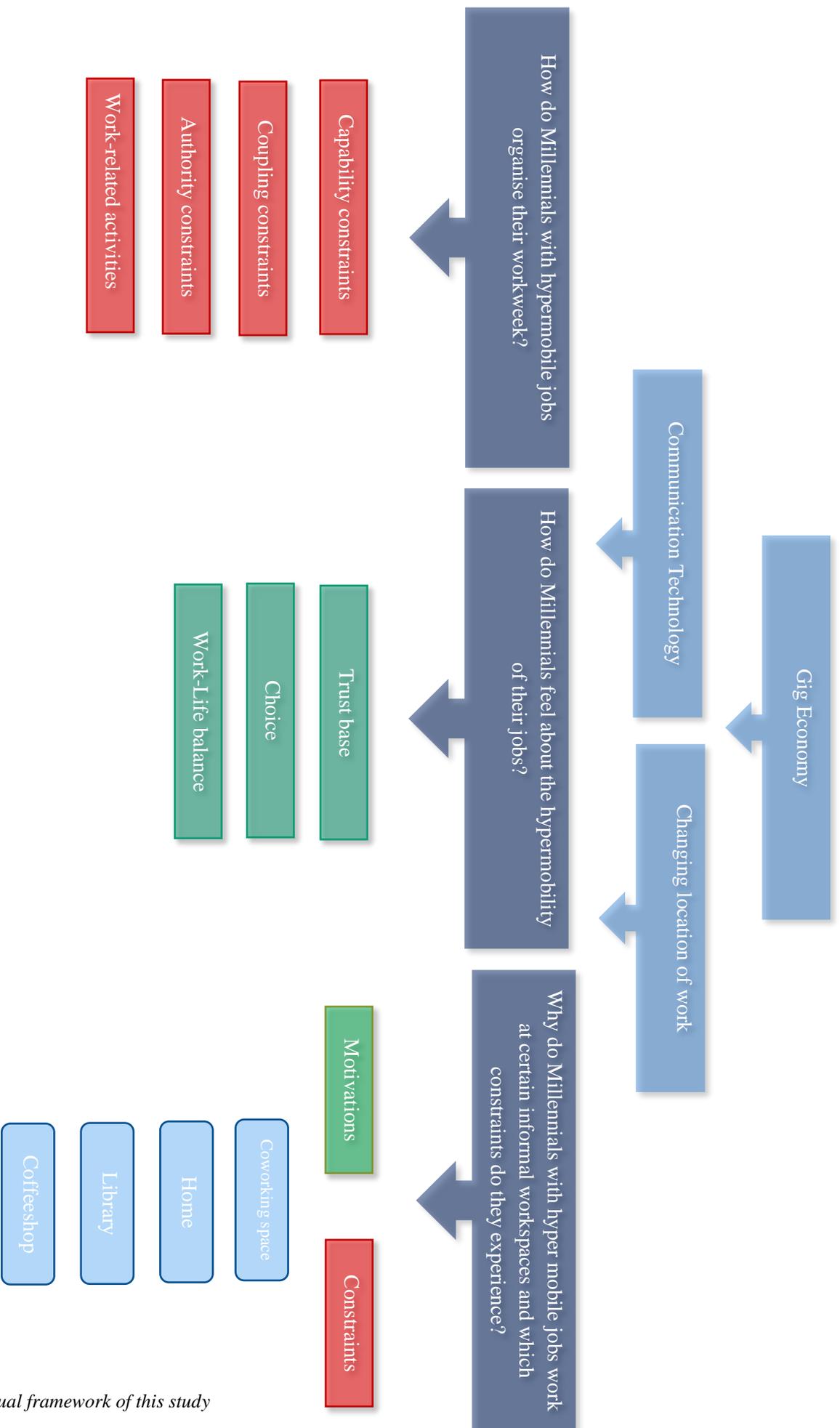


Figure 4: Conceptual framework of this study

Chapter 3: Methodology

In the previous chapters it is explained how the changing location of work might influence the shape of the urban space economy and how the motivations and constraints of workers might have an influence on it. However, when it comes to the motivations and constraints of the Millennial generation when working from multiple locations, a gap in literature can be found. This has led to the following research question:

Why do Millennials with hyper mobile jobs work at informal workspaces?

This research question will be answered with the use of an empirical research method. This chapter presents the information of the context in which this research has taken place. Firstly, the research design of this study is presented followed by the data collection method. Secondly, challenges and constraints that have been experienced are described and lastly the ethical considerations are explained. Additionally, this chapter provides the reader with an overview of the participants that took part in this research.

3.1 Case study approach

Although there is debate about the changing location of work of people, research has not focussed solely on the Millennial generation and their location of work. The motivations and constraints workers experience resulting in why they prefer particular locations over others have not gained attention yet in research. This study is therefore exploratory.

This research uses a single case-study approach. According to Yin (2003), case studies can be used to explain, describe or explore events in the everyday contexts in which they occur. The case study approach is very useful in capturing information on explaining how, what and why questions (Yin, 2003). In this research, especially the why question is important concerning the subject. Not much is known yet about the location of work of the Millennial generation, what motivates them to work where they work and how they feel about their new location of work. The case study approach seems to be the most appropriate approach in this research because it is useful for answering these questions more in-depth. The case in this case study will be the Metropolitan of Phoenix. This study uses a case study approach and the following principles are taken into account for significant data collection: the use of multiple sources, creating a case-study database and maintaining a chain of evidence (Yin, 2003). The first principle has to do with the use of multiple sources. Yin (2003) highlights the importance of evidence from two or more sources. The second principle has to do with the way of organizing and documenting the data collected for case studies. Yin (2003) argues that a case study report may not have presented adequate data, and without a case study database, the raw data may not be available for independent inspection. The database helps researchers to better handle and manage the data. The third principle has to do with maintaining a chain of evidence. There have to be explicit links between the questions asked, the data collected and the conclusions that are drawn. These three principals have been maintained throughout this research to increase the validity and reliability and will be explained throughout this chapter.

This study uses a single setting (the metropolitan of Phoenix) and therefore lacks generalizability (Bickman and Rog, 2009). This means that the results of this study cannot be applied on the larger population. However, the results of this study can be extended to other cases which have similar circumstances. For this reason, this study prefers to talk about transferability of the results and not about generalizability (Bickman and Rog, 2009). This is not seen as an disadvantage as the aim of this exploratory research is to build a new theory instead of making generalizations.

3.2 Research methods

This study answers the research question by the use of a qualitative research approach. In this study the experiences of people are important. The qualitative approach is therefore the most appropriate one because qualitative research methods are used to answer questions about experience, meaning and perspective (Hammarberg, Kirkman and de Lacey, 2016). In this research project, semi-structured interviews will be used to answer the research questions. Semi-structured interviews allow for an open response in the participants' own words rather than a yes or no type of answer. Because this study is explorative, the participants' own answer is highly valuable. The interview questions result from existing literature but as already indicated, it is likely that literature has not covered all aspects yet. In this study, the participant's own answer might therefore add interesting information and insights to this subject.

The use of multiple sources verifies the data and gives a more in-depth understanding of the underlying processes and meanings (Bickman and Rog, 2009). This strategy of triangulation reduces the risk that conclusions reflect the limitations of a specific method, and increase the validity and generality of the research (Bickman and Rog, 2009). To guarantee these principles, this study made use of two different sources. The first source of information are the semi-structured interviews with Millennials with hypermobile jobs. Moreover, two experts have been interviewed to validate the data. Information gathered by the use of interviews is an inductive way of reasoning and in this study, the different ways of interviewing already validates the first principle of Yin (2003). Additionally, deductive reasoning is used to get a more in-depth understanding of the subject of interest. With the use of deductive reasoning, the researcher is provided with a theoretical framework of this study and to come up with the interview guide for this study.

As the main question of this research suggests, this study is interested in Millennials with hypermobile jobs. A hyper-mobile job is one where many of its activities can be performed away from a particular geographic location (Shearmur, 2016). This study focuses on workers in the gig economy who work primarily using electronic communication technology. For these individuals, laptops and Wi-Fi makes it possible to work from locations away from a traditional office. This study is interested in workers who can choose their location of work and although gig economy taxi or delivery drivers (e.g. Uber) perform their work-activities from different locations, they cannot choose their location of work. Jobs in the construction, transport and sales sector might also not be performed at fixed places (Shearmur, 2016) but these types of jobs will not be of interest in this study because these workers are not able to choose their location of work. This means that this study has its focus on jobs in, for example, the consultancy sector, since those workers are more dependent on their laptop than on a particular location. As mentioned in chapter 2, this research focuses on the Millennial generation. The chances to find workers who meet the requirements are higher when sticking to this generation because this generation entered as one of the first generations the gig economy. Additionally, this generation is more likely to be familiar with the advancing communication technology (Shearmur, 2016; Friedman, 2014). This research will stick to the Millennial definition of Fry: those born between 1981 and 1996 (2015). This study has made use of purposive sampling to conduct the data. With purposive sampling, the researcher made sure that the participants are familiar with the topic and that they could give useful answers on the interview questions (Flick, 2018). In this study, it is important that the participants fit the requirements of being a Millennial with a hyper-mobile job because the interview questions are answered based on experiences. Before starting off the interview, the interviewer asked potential participants their age and to what extent their job is hypermobile. When a person qualified as a Millennial and worked more than 80% hypermobile, he or she was considered as a potential participant. The minimum of 80% is used to make sure the participants have experience with working from different workspaces. Moreover, the researcher made sure the participants worked hypermobile primarily using communication technology by asking

how much he worked remotely on electronic devices. Although the participants at informal workspaces were chosen randomly, in the end the researcher tried to interview more women than men to keep the number of men and women as participants equal. The number of interviews conducted is based on the criterion of saturation (Flick, 2018). It states that researcher can stop sampling when including more cases does not contribute any new information about the concepts that have been developed (Flick, 2018; Schwandt, 2001). After 35 interviews, the researcher had the idea that no new information came up during the interviews and that much information was repeated. This is when the researcher decided the saturation point had been reached and to stop interviewing.

The interviews were conducted in the metropolitan of Phoenix, Arizona (US). This is because of the practical reason that the researcher was on the moment of data collection in the city of Phoenix. However, Phoenix is an interesting case to study since researchers have identified that this area might attract many Millennials in the upcoming years (JLL, 2018; Mallach, 2018). Within the metropolitan of Phoenix, the participants were found in informal workspaces. These informal workspaces have been identified in the theoretical framework as coworking spaces, cafés and restaurants work (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999; Friedman, 2014; Shearmur, 2016; Houghton et al, 2018.).

To conduct the interview, the researcher set up an interview guide with the aim of understanding the reasons people choose these places of work and how they feel about working hypermobile (Attachment 1). The respondents were for example asked about how they organise their workweeks and how they feel about the hypermobility of their jobs. They were also asked about their personal preferences for the informal workspaces and about the motivations and constraints they experience. Additionally, the participants were asked to fill out a weekly calendar to get more insight in the locations and hours of work of the participants. Lastly, the participants were asked to mark their locations of work and their living environment on a printed map of Phoenix. In this way, the researcher gained more insight in the geographical context of working locations of the Millennial generation. For interviews with experts a different interview guide has been set up (Attachment 2). The experts were asked about their experiences and knowledge about the locations of work of the Millennial generation and possible motivations and constraints they could experience. Before starting of the interviews, the researcher must gain permission of the participants to conduct the data. In this study, the researcher explained the informed consent verbally and handed over a written informed consent which was included in both interview guides (Attachment 3). The informed consent explained to the participants that the research is conducted on behalf of the University of Groningen, for which purpose it is used, how the data is treated and that the interview is recorded. The researcher explicitly mentioned that the participants were allowed to stop the interview at any time. The interview only took place when researcher and participant both vocally agreed on it.

3.3 Data collection

The recruitment of people to participate in this research entailed a variety of strategies. One of the strategies used in this research is the face-to-face recruitment (Sixsmith et al., 2003). In this case, the researcher went to coworking spaces to ask whether she was allowed to observe the people working in coworking spaces and talk with potential participants. The researcher also went to coffee shops to find and talk to potential participants for the study. Another technique to recruit participants besides face-to-face contact is via the internet because the internet expands the possibilities for increasing the participant pool (Hamilton and Bowers (2006). In this study, the researcher emailed several coworking spaces. Some of them linked the researcher directly to potential participants but most emails remained unanswered. Another recruitment technique applied in this study is snowball sampling. With the snowball technique, participants are randomly sampled from the target population and via interviews

with this group, further participants are recruited through asking for referrals (Goodman, 2011). This technique has been applied both to people met in coffee shops and coworking spaces. After the researcher introduced herself and explained the interview requirements, some people came up with potential participants to interview. In order to find suitable interviewees at the informal workspaces, the people who were using IT services were approached (purposive sampling). They were asked if they were working and if they would be willing to participate in this research project. Before starting off the interview, the interviewees were asked if they were a Millennial and if their job was hypermobile. Between 23/04/2019 and 15/05/2019, 35 interviews have been conducted in the Metropolitan of Phoenix. The total number of participants is 38. Two of the interviews have been with researchers from Arizona State University to validate the data the other participants could give. The researchers are both specialized in the labour market and housing market of specifically the Millennial generation and were therefore able to tell more about the characteristics of this generation. The other 33 interviews were with Millennials with hypermobile jobs. Three of these interviews were with two participants at the same time. The age of the participants varies between 22 and 40 and 19 of the participants are men and 19 are female.

The interviews have been conducted in two different areas in the metropolitan of Phoenix. There is chosen to interview in Downtown Phoenix and in Tempe (Figure 5). Because Millennials are more likely to work and live in downtown than in other areas (Experts, P12 & P32), this was an obvious area to interview. Moreover, Di Marino and Lapintie (2017) claim that nearby attractive places such as parks and squares are valuable to people when choosing their locations of work. The downtown area has more attractive places nearby and thus is an interesting case to study. The metropolitan of Phoenix exists of many surrounding cities and to give a better representation of the Metropolitan of Phoenix, one of the cities had to be taken into account. Out of the cities, Tempe is chosen because of its higher amount of Millennials in comparison with the others (American factfinder, 2019). The researcher conducted the interviews in coffee shops, libraries and coworking spaces in downtown Phoenix and in Tempe. As mentioned before, the informal workspaces have been identified as coffee shops, coworking spaces, restaurants, libraries and homes. To give a good representation of the different informal workspaces, profit making and non-profit making informal workspaces are taken into account in this research. The non-profit making informal workspaces are home, the library and coffee shops and the profit making informal workspace are the coworking spaces (Kojo & Nenonen, 2015). In this study, the researcher tried to find participants both in profit and non-profit making informal workspaces. Additionally, the researcher choose the informal workspaces which are open to the public. In this way, no particular groups were excluded from the study.

Locations of data collection

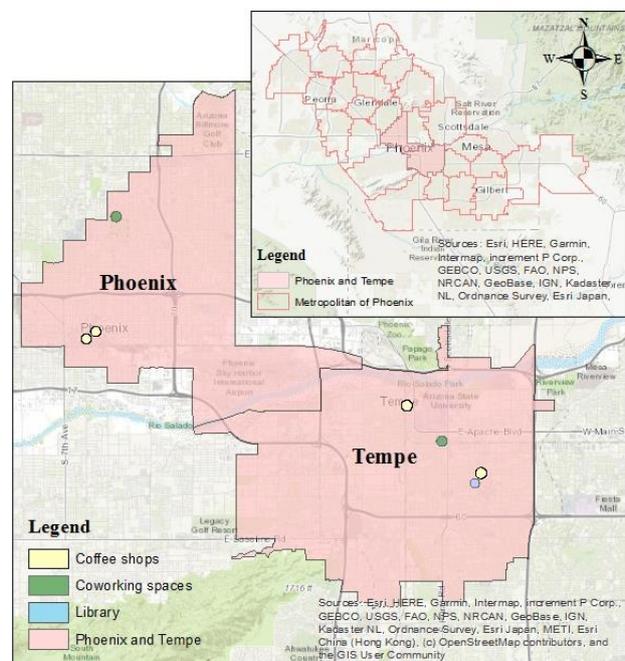


Figure 5: locations of data collection in the metropolitan of Phoenix

The coworking spaces are chosen because of their availability. Many coworking spaces have been emailed but only one in downtown and one in Tempe approved the interview request. The coffee shops have been identified on how attractive they are for working Millennials. After trying a few coffee shops in downtown and Tempe, the researcher knew where the Millennials were working. The researcher stuck to those coffee shops where a lot of Millennials were working because it increased the chances of finding participants that fit the requirements. In total, 12 interviews have been conducted in coworking spaces, one in a library and 20 in coffee shops. During the data collection process, the researcher found only few Millennials that were working from libraries, which explains the small amount of participants working from libraries in the research.

20 Participants are fulltime employed and 16 participants are self-employed, they were either freelancers or entrepreneurs. Almost all participants are employed in the service sector as one could see in table 1. To have the share of men and women equal in this study, the researcher interviewed 19 men and 19 women. The researcher had more difficulty finding women than men because of the simple reason that more men were present in the informal workspaces. Furthermore, most of the participants (34 out of 36) that took part in this research have hypermobile jobs. They could perform their work-related activities from anywhere and they are free to choose their location of work. The other two participants were to a certain extent free to choose their location of work but were mostly limited to working at the office. In the table below (table 3), more information is given about the participant's characteristics.

	Age	Main location of work	Sector	Type of contractual arrangement
1	22 F	Home	Service sector	Freelancer
2	35 M	Coworking space	Service sector	Company owner
3	37 M	Library	Science sector	Fulltime
4	31 M	Coworking space	Service sector	Fulltime
5	27 F	Coworking space	Service sector	Fulltime
6	38 M	Coffee shop	Service sector	Fulltime
7	32 F	Coffee shop	Service sector	Freelancer
8	31 F	Coworking space	Service sector	Company owner and salary worker
9	32 F	Coffee shop	Service sector	Freelancer
10	37 M	Coffee shop	Service sector	Fulltime
11	26 F	Coffee shop	Service sector	Fulltime
12	F		Researcher	
13	34 M	Coffee shop	Service sector	Self employed
14	34 M	Coffee shop	Service sector	Salary worker and freelancer
15	36 M	Office	Science sector	Fulltime
16	32 M	Coffee shop	Service sector	Company owner

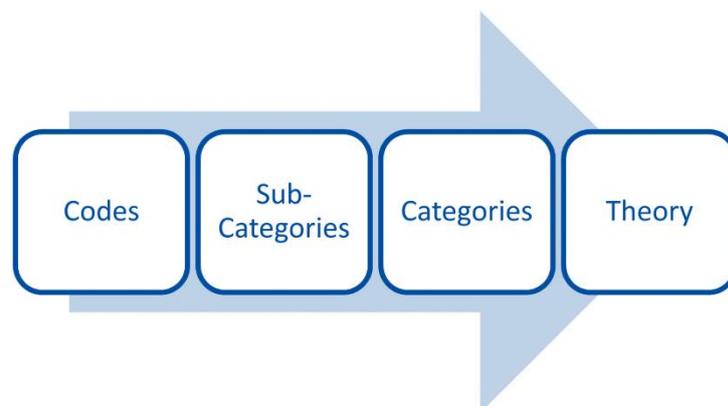
17	32 F	Office	Health care sector	Fulltime
18	34 M	Coffee shop	Service sector	Company owner
19	32 M	Coffee shop	Service sector	Company owner
20	39 M	Coworking space	Service sector	freelancer
21	35 M	Coworking space	Service sector	Fulltime
22	40 F	Home	Service sector	Fulltime
23	24 F	Coffee shop	Service sector	Freelance
24	26 M	Coworking space	Service sector	Fulltime
25	28 F	Coworking space	Service sector	Fulltime
26	28 F	Coworking space	Service sector	Fulltime
27	34 M	Coworking space	Service sector	Company owner
28	35 F	Home	Service sector	Fulltime
29	35 F	Home	Service sector	Fulltime
30	26 M	Coffee shop	Service sector	Self-employed
31	30 F	Home	Justicial authorities	Salary worker, freelance
32	37 F	-	Researcher	-
33	31 M	Coffee shop	Service sector	Fulltime
34	39 F	Home	Service sector	Freelance
35	31 F	Coffee shop	Service sector	Company owner
36	33 F	Coffee shop	Service sector	Company owner
37	28 M	Coffee shop	Service sector	fulltime
38	26 F	Office	Service sector	Fulltime

Table 3: Characteristics of the participants who took part in this study. Age, gender, main location of work, sector and form of contractual arrangement are shown.

3.4 Data analysis

After the data collection, the researcher transcribed all interviews and uploaded them in Atlas.ti. This program allows the researcher to work with large amounts of qualitative data in an organized way (Atlas.ti, 2019). By using Atlas, the second and third principle of Yin (2003) are maintained. Yin (2003) argues that the case study report may not have presented adequate data, and without a case study database, the raw data may not be available for independent inspection. To prevent the fact that other researchers cannot find the raw data back, the interviews will be entered in Atlas.ti so that other researchers can find the data back in an organized way. The third principle of Yin (2003) has to do with the chain of evidence. There have to be explicit links between the questions asked, the data collected and the conclusions that are drawn. Although it remains hard to verify this principle, Atlas can be very helpful in this. It helps the researcher to get a clearer overview of the data whereby better conclusions can be derived.

Coding is the first step in analysing the conducted data and the researcher tried to name specific lines or segments of the data by creating codes. The coding process has been executed in an inductive and deductive way. The largest share of the conducted data has been analysed in an deductive way. As mentioned before, many codes are based on the conceptual model of chapter 2. The motivations and constraints that have been identified in chapter 2 were used as the first codes in the analysing process. For example, during the interview there is specifically asked about how the work-life balance is influenced and this factor became automatically one of the codes in the coding process. However, as stated before, it was also expected that new motivations and constraints would be identified during the data collection process. To analyse this newly found information, the researcher made use of the grounded theory methodology. In this way, the researcher could analyse the data in an inductive manner (Noble & Mitchell, 2016). The central principle of the grounded theory is that the researcher's theories about a topic are constructed based on their own data, in this case based on the semi-structured interviews. The analysis of qualitative data in grounded theory can be split up in different steps (figure 5, Noble & Mitchell, 2016). Because the researcher transcribed the interviews by herself, the open coding process went smoothly since the transcribing process provided the researcher already with the main themes. In the advanced stage of the coding process, the researcher tried to define these specific segments into higher-level codes and the lower-level codes. As shown in Attachment 4, higher-level codes categorisations consist of more specific lower-level codes. Atlas.ti was very helpful in this because it could quickly show priority between sub-categories. Subsequently, the process of categorisation helped the researcher to prioritise bigger categories from less important categories. In the last step of the



data analysis, the researcher used selective coding. This involves identifying the core category and methodically relating it to other categories (Noble & Mitchell, 2016). By integrating categories together, the researcher was able to form a new grounded theory as will be explained in chapter 5. In attachment 4, an overview is given of all the codes that are used to analyse the data.

Figure 6: Grounded theory data analysis (Noble & Mitchell, 2016).

3.5 Reflection on the research process

Doing interviews entails challenges and constraints along the research process. This section will stress the challenges and constraints of the research process of this study and it provides the reader with ethical considerations which have been taken into account.

3.5.1 Challenges & Constraints

When conducting the interviews, the researcher has been faced with several challenges and constraints which are explained in this section.

An important challenge which is common in qualitative research is failure to generate the information anticipated from the interviewees (Flick, 2018). To cope with this challenge, the researcher conducted two pilot studies to explore how participants would answer to the questions formulated. In this way, the researcher made sure the research design and methods used fit the research questions. As a result, the interview guide has been improved after the first two interviews because the interviewer didn't get the desired answers.

A common challenge when doing qualitative research has to do with the interpretation of the answers. The researcher tried to avoid being speculative to push possible answers to participants they might otherwise not have given. However, one should keep in mind that when the researcher asked follow-up questions, this might have been suggestive for the participants and could have influenced the outcomes of this study. Furthermore, the beliefs or expectations of the researcher can unconsciously influence the participants of this study, this is called the observer-expectancy effect. The researcher has tried to analyse the data with the most open view. In this way, she tried to avoid that the data would be interpreted in the wrong way.

Another constraint that one should keep in mind when interpreting the results is that this study is dependent on the information the participant wants to share. The participants responses might not be accurate or truthful. This influences the reliability of the data and can influence the results. It is hard to check whether the participant speaks the truth but the researcher tried to verify the information by asking follow up questions.

Lastly, the researcher experienced some challenges in conducting the interviews itself. The earlier interviews were conducted in a different manner than the latter because of several reasons. Firstly, as mentioned before, the first two interviews were slightly different than the other interviews. Secondly, the interview skills of the researcher developed in a positive way during the data collection process. As the data collection process progressed, the researcher knew better how to lead the interview and how to keep the interview focussed on the important subjects. However, the interview guide was still a helpful tool in directing the conversation towards the topics and issues that were relevant for this study.

Although the researcher acknowledged and coped with these challenges and constraints, the researcher is aware that these implications can slightly impact the outcomes of this study.

3.5.2 Ethical considerations

Doing interviews can bring complex ethical issues to the surface because of the personal nature of this method (Flick, 2018). The researcher is aware that she has to collect the data in an ethical way. As a guidance for collecting the data in an ethical way, the Belmont Report identified three ethical principles: beneficence, respect and justice (Mertens, 2015).

An important tool to comply with the principles of the Belmont Report is the informed consent (Attachment 3). The informed consent explains the aim of this research to the interviewees, the further procedure and the use of their data. By explaining the informed consent to the interviewees, the researcher ensured the participants that they are not identified by name in this research and that the results cannot be linked back to them as an individual. Additionally, the interviewees were informed that the data will not be used in any other way than this thesis and that the recordings of the interviews were stored in a safe and secure manner to prevent access to these by third parties.

To conduct the research in an ethical manner, the researcher had to be aware of the research consequences during the data collection and data analysis. During the data collection, the researcher had to consider personal hardships of the participants (Flick, 2018). Despite the fact that this study is interested in the location of work of the participants which is not a difficult or emotional, the participants

personal hardships and problems could still come up during the interview (Flick, 2018). To deal with this, it has been pointed out to the participants that the he or she can end the interview at any time. The interview did not start before the researcher and interviewee both vocally agreed on the informed consent which explains all the rights of the participants.

Another constraint the researcher had to cope with is the representation of the participants (Flick, 2018). The researcher tried to write in ways the participants can recognize as truthful and tried to represent the participants respectfully. Moreover, the researcher had to consider how to avoid that representations might contribute to stereotyping of participants (Flick, 2018). Although the research is mainly about the location of work of participants and might not be considered as sensitive, the researcher tried to minimize the research consequences for the participants.

By explaining the informed consent and by minimizing the research consequences for all the parties involved, the researcher made sure this study has been executed in an ethical way.

Chapter 4: Results

In this chapter, the results of the data analysis will be discussed and the results will be compared to academic literature. In order to enhance a clear structure throughout this chapter, the results will be presented for every sub question.

4.1 The workweek of Millennials with hypermobile jobs

In order to answer the first sub question: How do Millennials with hypermobile jobs organise their workweek? the interview results, the weekly calendar and the map of Phoenix have been analysed. Participants have been asked how they organize their workweek (Attachment 1, question 2), if they could point out what their locations of work are throughout the week and where their locations of work are located. To structure this part, the following points will be covered: who, when and where.

4.1.1 Who

In chapter 3, trivial information has been given about the participants. This section will give a more in-depth explanation about the participants that took part in this study. This first outcome of this study is that all participants are employed in the service sector. The researcher went to different co-working spaces and coffee shops and only found Millennials employed in the service sector working from those informal workspaces. One could therefore argue that most Millennials working from informal workspaces, are employed in the service sector. This finding is in line with the research of Friedman (2014). As Friedman (2014) points out: due to the growing communication technology, work can be performed from different locations. Especially people working in the service sector mainly work from their laptops and phones so this might be an explanation for the fact that people in informal workspaces are mostly employed in the service sector. Additionally, Friedman (2014) states that people employed in the creative industry work more remotely. Many of the participants in this study who work in the service sector have creative jobs. They are either self-employed in the communication and media industry or in the tech industry. This might also explain that many participants found in coffee shops and coworking spaces are employed in the service sector. As one of the experts (P32) states in the interview, there is a lot of emphasis on the service industry jobs and that some of what comes from that mobility and where they want to live. Their type of jobs simply makes it possible for them to work from anywhere and thus to live anywhere. As explained by one of the experts (P32), Millennials like the flexibility and thus might aim for hypermobile jobs in the service sector.

The Millennial generation covers a wide range of ages. The youngest Millennials are born in 1997 and the oldest are born in 1981 (Fry, 2015). The average age of participants is 32 which means the average participant is born in 1987. Thus, especially the older part of the Millennial generation took part in this study. One possible explanation for this can be that younger Millennials are still in college or university or start working in a traditional office job. As many of the Millennials pointed out in the interviews, they didn't choose to work remotely on purpose, it was an opportunity they gained from their boss. They didn't think beforehand that working remotely had such positive effects but once they start working remotely they don't want to go back to their office job. Younger Millennials who just enter the labour market might also not see the benefits of remote working beforehand and choose for a traditional 9-5 job in the first place.

Furthermore, as the researcher had a harder time finding female participants, it can be assumed that more men are working from informal workspaces than women. This finding can be clarified by the study of Farrell and Greig (2016). They state that 67% of all workers employed in the gig economy in the U.S. are men. People working in the gig economy appreciate the flexibility to work from different locations, thus in absolute numbers, more men than are employed in the gig economy can be found in informal

workspaces. 16 participants in this study are employed in the gig economy so this might to a certain extent explain why more men are working from informal workspaces.

4.1.2 Where

The workweek of Millennials with a hypermobile job is flexible. This became immediately clear when the researcher asked them to fill out what an average workweek looked like. The hours of work and the location of work varies per day and per week and the participants had a difficult time pointing out how many hours of work they spend at different places. An overview of the main locations of work of the participants is shown in figure 7.

Main location of work of participants during a week

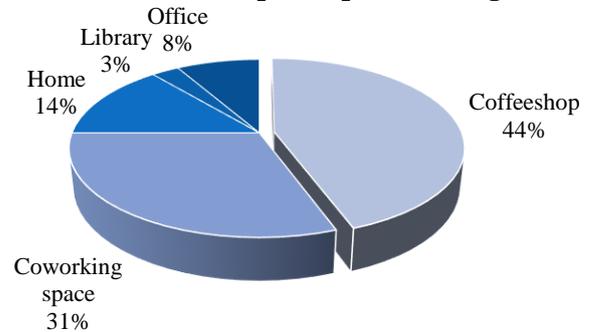


Figure 7: An overview of the main location of work of the participants in this study.

The first finding when looking at the calendars of the participants is that almost all participants work from different places throughout the week and most of them throughout one day. Table 4 gives an overview of how many hours people spent at their main location of work and how many percent of the hours they work from other locations. Many of the participants who work mainly from home also go to coffee shops now and then. The same goes for participants who mainly work from coworking spaces. They also work from coffee shops and home once in a while. The participants who work from coffee shops are most likely to work from other places like home with 32% of their working hours spent not in coffee shops. The person that took part in this research who worked mainly from the library also goes often to other locations (60% of the time) however, it is hard to draw conclusions based on one observation. The same goes for the participants who worked mainly from the office. One should keep in mind that results are based upon only three participants. The participants who work mainly from the office work less from other places than just the office. This authority constraint is important since it determines to what extent people are freely to choose their location of work. This highly influences the location of work for those people. Another possible explanation for their almost fixed location of work can be as many participants with hypermobile mention, when you work hypermobile, you always have your office with you. Your laptop and your phone are your office and you can open it up whenever you want and wherever you are. The participants in this study who worked from the office have less hypermobile jobs what can make it easier for them to put their work down when they are not in the office although there can be assumed that they also have their phones with them during the evenings. Moreover, the participants in this study who mainly work from the office were found in informal workspaces. One should keep in mind that people who work 100% from the office are not part of this research. Therefore, the actual rate of how many hours people spend working at the office when the office is their main location of work might be higher.

Hours	Main location of work	Number
	Home	6
% hours spent home	73%	
% hours spent elsewhere	17%	
	Coffee shop	16
% hours spent at coffee shop	68%	
% hours spent elsewhere	32%	
	Coworking space	10
% hours spent at coworking space	75%	
% hours spent elsewhere	25%	
	Office	3
% hours spent at office	83%	
% hours spent elsewhere	17%	
	Library	1
% hours spent at library	40%	
% hours spent elsewhere	60%	

Table 4: *The average hours the participants spent at their main location of work and at other places.*

The participants gave different reasons why they worked at different locations. One of the main reasons why they choose to work from different locations is because of diversity and energy. Sometimes they just feel like working from home or a coffee shop. It depends on their mood and they will see in the morning where they are going. At least, this is how the younger Millennials were organizing their workweek. Millennials with kids did it differently. Whereas the younger Millennials tried to schedule their locations of work around their social obligations with friends, the location of work of Millennials with children depends on the schedule of their partners and children. One participant dropped her daughter off at day care and went working in a nearby coffee shop until she can pick up her daughter. It can therefore be assumed that coupling constraints dominate the workweek of both the younger and older Millennials. Additionally, the Millennials find it important that their location of work is convenient. The younger Millennials state that one of the most important reasons why they choose a place to work is that it has to be close to home or easy to reach. Commuting time is seen as one of the most time wasting things to them and thus should be limited. This finding is in line with Houghton (2018) who argues that people who work remotely appreciate the reduce in travel time. As a result, the participants in this study find their informal workspaces close to their home. A more in-depth explanation about why they choose certain informal workspaces will be given in section 4.2 and 4.3.

Furthermore, capability constraints did influence the locations of work of the participants to a certain extent. As in line with the research of Makoto and Mark (2008), the availability of power and connectivity is a condition that counts for all informal workspaces. Without Wi-Fi and without power the participants cannot do their jobs properly and they won't reach out to spaces without those amenities. Some participants even state that they prefer certain coffee shops over others because of the internet speed. This is also because all participants are working in the service sector and most of them in the creative industry. A lot of the participants have to download video files which requires a strong internet connection. Although all participants possessed a car and thus transport cannot be seen as a capability

constraints, convenience was for the participants the most important factor in finding their location of work and commuting time did not fit in that picture.

4.1.3 When

Besides the flexible locations of work Millennials with hypermobile jobs have, the time they spent working is also different than the traditional 9-5 hours. The participants can set their own hours of work and most of the time the Millennials do not stick to the 9-5 hours.

As two of the participants mention:

'I can work on my most productive hours, work less and still have the same outcome' P36.

Some people work much better early on, some people work better at 6 in the morning. So that you can really get the most out of your energy. Because that is what it is, it is an energy thing. Wake up, work as fast as you can, as much as you can' P16.

From the citations above it becomes clear that the Millennials feel like they are more productive when they can set their own hours of work. As became clear from the other interviews, one of the reasons not to stick to the 9-5 hours is productivity. The participants don't feel productive working 8 hours straight. They prefer working on their most productive hours which is sometimes in the early morning or in the late evening. The hypermobility of their job allows them to set their own hours of work. But not only the productivity is an important factor in why Millennials want to choose their own hours of work. Millennials with children can adapt their working hours on their children's needs. Millennials without children state that they can adapt their working hours to their social life. They can lunch with friends whenever they want, they just take a break from work and work a bit longer in the evening. One side note is that working outside the traditional 9-5 is not always an option. The participants who had to meet with clients or colleagues during the day tried to stick more to the 9-5 hours than the participants who didn't have meetings. We could therefore state that the type of job is an important factor in influencing the working hours. This outcome can be related to the study of Wiberg (2005) who states that some activities require a specific time and place and therefore affects the location of work of people. This coupling constraint of meeting clients or colleagues turned out to be an important factor in the locations of work of Millennials. Although client or colleague meetings influence the flexibility of the location of work of Millennials, they still try to manage their location and hours of work in such a way to balance it best with personal life.

4.1.4 Different work-related activities

The location of work of the participants is influenced by the different work-related activities they have to perform that day. As mentioned before, meetings with clients or colleagues is an important factor that affects how Millennials can organize their workweek. Those participants tried to stick more to the 9-5 hours and were limited in choosing their own hours of work as they had to be available during the day. Also, the locations of work did clearly change when they had to meet with clients or colleagues. Most of the time, the participants went to specific locations to meet up with their clients and as a result, the participants choose places of work close to these meeting places. One can assume that convenience is still an important factor in determining their locations of work for these participants. Meetings with clients happened most of the time face-to-face for these participants but many of the participants in this study were also familiar with videoconferencing. Although videoconferencing doesn't require people to be at a particular location, the participant did have their preferences. Most of them preferred to take phone calls and videoconference calls at home because of the privacy and because of the professional aspect. In coffee shops, you are dependent on variables such as noise which can badly influence the

quality of the videoconference calls or phone calls. The participants want to make sure they were able to fulfil these task properly and thus preferred to make phone calls at home. If participants were at the moment of call in coffee shops, some of them reached out to their car to make phone calls because of the aforementioned reasons. Whereas work-related tasks as video calls are not preferred to do from coffee shops, the Millennials feel that they are perfectly capable of doing administrative tasks at informal workspaces. Moreover, Millennials feel comfortable doing any work-related tasks at informal workspaces as long as they can treat personal information confidentially. In conclusion, client meetings and specific work-related tasks require a specific time and place and therefore affects the location of work of people (Wiberg, 2005). These coupling and capability constraints are important factors in structuring the workweek of Millennials

In sum, the results of this study are in line with existing academic theories and can be complemented with newly found information. This study gives a more in-depth explanation about the meaning of the constraints of Hägerstrand (1989) and to what extent certain work-related activities influences the workweek of Millennials in this hypermobile context. To the Millennial generation, coupling constraints mean that they organise their workweek around their social obligations and whereas authority constraints has to do with restricting working-hours, the capability constraints have to do with convenience such as access to Wi-Fi and power and specific work-related tasks. This study found that the workweek of Millennials is mainly influenced coupling and authority constraint and less by capability constraints. Furthermore, this study found that the workweek of Millennials is influenced by client meetings and videoconference calls that require a specific place and time or by work-related tasks that contain personal information about clients.

4.2 How Millennials feel about their hypermobile jobs

In order to answer the second sub question: how do Millennials feel about their hypermobile jobs? Two questions of the interview guide (Attachment 1) have been analysed. Question 3: To what extent would you say your job is hypermobile and how important is this feature for you in a job? and question 4: in general, how do you feel about the hypermobility of your job and why?

Although about half of the participants have the possibility of going to a traditional office, most of them choose voluntary to work remotely from the informal workspaces. The participants who don't have any other option than working from informal workspaces, are mostly satisfied with working remotely. One of the questions in the interview guide (attachment 1) is: how do you feel about the hypermobility of your job? From the 34 participants with hypermobile jobs, 30 react mainly positive. They mention immediately that they don't want to go back to the traditional 9-5 hours anymore and some of them even feel more happy and less stressed when working remotely. Two participants with a hypermobile job are not satisfied with working remotely. Two other participants who are not allowed to work remotely that often, wish they were allowed to work more remotely. But what value Millennials so high about their hypermobile jobs and the fact that they can work hypermobile? This section gives answer on the sub question: how do Millennials feel about their hypermobile jobs? and provides the reader with the motivations and constraints the Millennials experience when having hypermobile jobs.

The results of this sub question are divided into three main themes: freedom, authority and energy. The different motivations and constraints can all be imputed under these three themes and gives a more structured overview of the results.

4.2.1 Freedom

The first theme is freedom. The participants gave different reasons about which aspects they like and don't like about their hypermobile jobs and as one will see, all reasons stated below have to do with

freedom. As mentioned before, one of the first features Millennials mention what they like about their hypermobile job is the flexibility they get and this finding is in line with the study of Deloitte (2017). This study states that Millennials appreciate the fact that they can choose their own hours of work and choose their own locations of work and this is exactly what the Millennials in this study also mean by flexibility. The expert (P32) agrees with this. She states that Millennials want to feel that perception of freedom that you can go anywhere and work everywhere. She finds that Millennials appear to enjoy the flexibility more than other generations and that this is one of the reasons why their locations of work vary on a daily or weekly base. However, in literature it remains vague what this flexibility exactly entails and what people like about the fact that they have the freedom and flexibility to schedule their own workweek. In this study, Millennials appreciate the fact that they can choose their most productive working hours and the location they want to work from. As some participants mention, when you have to go to a doctor, you don't have to ask your boss for permission. You can just schedule it around your working hours. You just start a bit earlier in the morning or work till late in the evening. For the participants, it feels like they have more privacy and power over their social lives. One of the participants perfectly illustrates what many participants mention:

'Plus I don't like, I have never been a clock puncher or anything. The time card, like you know when someone is checking when you were there at 7.55 or 8.05 you know what I mean and somehow that determines my, whether I invest in my work or not. So having to ask permission for those normal life events, I hate it, I hated it. In this way I kind of be my own boss. Because everyone has bad days. But when you have a bad day at the office you have 3 bosses, you know what I mean, knocking on your door: what is going on today? While out here if I have a bad day, maybe I go home early but then I start really early the next day. So I have that freedom to kind of role with my emotions. And it is just way more natural.' P11.

More participants agree with the feeling that you can be your own boss. There are no micromanagers around to check if you work hard enough and get your work done. According to the participants, you cannot work 8 hours straight a day and they admit that when they used to work in an office from 9-5, they didn't work for at least 2 hours a day. As one of the participants mentions and what is in line with the quote of participant 11:

Baby Boomers like older generation is so set on the traditional like 9 to 5, they are like: if I don't physically see you in here, I don't know if you are really working you know'. P36.

Millennials feel different about their productivity compared to other generations and feel like there must be thought of a new concept about how to measure productivity. Productivity cannot be measured depending on how many hours a day you are at the office. Moreover, the Millennials mention that they even feel more productive when they work remotely without a boss around. As mentioned before, the participants choose their most productive hours on a day and work sometimes less than 8 hours, but still get the same amount of work done or even more. This finding is in line with the study of Houghton (2018). Houghton (2018) states that more employers allow employees to work remotely because they see that their employees are more productive when working remotely. Whereas Houghtons (2018) study does not explain why people are more productive when working remotely, this study explains this by the fact that the participants feel more productive when there are no managers around. Additionally, the participants state that when they work more remotely they choose their most productive hours and thus feel work more focused and efficient. However, 2 participants mention that they don't feel any difference when working with or without a boss. They feel productive because they always want to do a good job. They state that as long as you are motivated to finish your work, you can do it from anywhere. And that is what many participants mention about the hypermobility of your job: you have to be

motivated and disciplined. Working remotely is only granted to people who have that motivation and self-discipline because the participants agree that they have a harder time getting back to work when they can work on their own terms.

One other aspect the Millennials like about the hypermobility of their jobs is that they can better enhance a work-life balance. There is debate in literature whether the hypermobility of jobs positively or negatively influences the work-life balance (Houghton et al., 2018; (Cable & Elsbach, 2012) and the outcomes of this study have turned out to be two-sides as well. Most of the participants state that their hypermobile jobs have positively influenced their work-life balance. For Millennials with children this means in most cases that they are able to spend more time with their kids as their job allows them to work in the evening for example. Moreover, many of the participants with children value the hypermobility of their job high especially when their partners don't have hypermobile jobs. In this way, the partner with the hypermobile job is the one who tries to adapt to the schedule of the partner so that both work-life balances increases. For the participants without children the work-life balance also increases but the reasons differ. Those participants value their social obligations high and with their hypermobile jobs, many of them are able to attend more social events than when they have to be in an office from 9-5. However, there is also a gloss upon the hypermobility of jobs. Especially when the participant first started their jobs, they had a difficult time to maintain a healthy work-life balance. They state that due to communication technology, they have their office always with them. It is easy for them to open up their laptops in the evening when they are at home because their office is always with them. This sometimes influenced their work-life balance in a negative way. But the longer they were employed in their hypermobile jobs, the better they could set boundaries. In the end, most participants agreed that their hypermobile jobs positively influenced their work-life balance. One participant mentioned for example that he is always able to make it to lunch with friends and just catch up with work later that day. It seems very important to the Millennials that they don't skip out on events that means a lot to them. Their hypermobile jobs allows them to attend more of those events. One participant even mentioned that now that he has a hypermobile job, he still does not attend all social events but he is able to choose which one he wants to go to and which one not. As many other participants mention, just the fact that you are able to choose it yourself, makes it feel better. One participants gives a good example of this by saying:

'I think it is one of those things that when you are forced into something that we learn to hate it'. P38

And this aspect comes back into every reason the participants give why they like the hypermobility of their job. Hypermobility of jobs seems to go along with freedom. Freedom in their working hours, freedom in the location of work and freedom to plan around important social events. The participants feel like they are the ones who are in charge of their jobs which makes them feel more satisfied with their job. The hypermobility gives them the flexibility to do their work around their social obligations so they don't miss out on important events for them. As a result, many participants mention that they feel more happy and less stressed now they have a hypermobile job.

4.2.2 Authority

Authority is the second theme. Authority turned out to be an important factor in why the participants prefer their hypermobile job over their previous office job. As mentioned before, being micromanagement had only negative effects for the participants. As illustrated by participant 11, the clock punching of managers annoys many participants and the fact that the participants feel like they have to justify every move they make, makes them feel more satisfied with their hypermobile job. When working remotely, the participants do not have to deal with the aforementioned constraints but they mention more motivations why working remotely has their preference. One feature that goes along with

their bosses allowing them to work remotely is trust. Many participants mention that when their boss allows them to work remotely, there is an instant feeling of trust. One participant illustrates this:

'Because ultimately employees want to feel trusted and that is a perfect example of trust, like: I trust that you are doing your work, I give you the freedom where you want, but I trust that you will get your work done and that is just so empowering.' P36.

One side note is that the feeling of trust and not feeling micromanagement does not really apply to the participants who are self-employed because they are their own boss. However, for the participants who are employed under a boss, trust turned out to be an important factor for the participants in how they feel about their hypermobile job. The instant feeling of trust gives the Millennials a better feeling about themselves and about their hypermobile jobs. This finding is in line with the research of Houghton et al. (2018) who argues that workers value the trust base between employer and employees very high. In this study, some participants even mention that trust is what you aim for when working for a boss.

Another important aspect that has to do with authority is formality. Some participants feel pressure to show up formally dressed at the office. Some of the participants feel uncomfortable dressed that way or just think it is not necessary. As one female participants says:

'So it, I definitely don't put in as much effort with my appearance not going into an office every day and I was like Erica wont judge me. I spend less time getting ready and I don't try as hard to look like really polished and professional unless we have clients meetings.' P36.

Working from informal workspaces allows the participants to dress less formally but dress more comfortable. One participant (M, 35) works for 80% hypermobile and likes the fact that he is able to wear shorts when he works remotely. He is not allowed to wear shorts at the office. This is one other example of how the authorities can influence the participant's experience in an office in a negative way.

4.2.3 Energy

The third theme that deals with the motivations and constraints Millennials experience when working hypermobile is energy. Energy is an important aspect in determining whether people feel comfortable and productive. An in-depth understanding will be given about what this energy entails in different informal workspaces in the next section (4.3) but this chapter will relate energy towards how the Millennials feel about their hypermobile jobs.

When asking the Millennials how they feel about their hypermobile jobs and why, one of the first things that came up is energy. Many participants mention that the energy is different in informal workspaces if you compare it to a traditional office or a cubical. The participants give different reasons for this. The first feature that differs for the participants is that the people that are working in informal workspaces, work there because they want to and not because they have to. They feel that people are more motivated which in turn motivates them to work as well. Additionally, the people that work from informal workspaces are employed in all kinds of sectors and this gives a dynamic atmosphere according to the Millennials. Although the participants mention that they are not even sure what people are doing on their laptops in the informal workspaces, they feel people are focussed around them. As two participants illustrate:

'People in a co-working space are here because they're doing something that they want to be doing so it is a different energy. But also I don't even see the same people every day you know, it could be could

be different people so. I'm not super focused on what other people are doing here but I like that they're doing their own thing.' P21

'We love the energy here too, like the music, the pastries, everyone is super friendly who works here and then we can just tell even if we don't interact with other people, like just feeling the energy of entrepreneurs and people, you're not alone. It is fun to see everyone else working here, and you see like the fashion, just keeping our finger on the pulse of like what's going on in phoenix, in the community, like what is hip, what is cool.' P36

One other aspect that has to do with energy is the way in which the spaces are furnished. All participants dislike the cubicle, traditional office space. They state that it is boring and that the environment does not stimulate their creativity. Almost all participant work in the service sector and many of them are employed in the creative industry. As a result, many of the participant are looking for inspiring places which stimulates their creativity. One participant perfectly illustrates what the energy of informal workspaces does to him:

I think, because most of the coffee shops tend to be, like the aesthetic tends to be more art and more inspiring that I actually find myself be feeling more creative and more excited about my work. And the second part I think the ability to meet new people and to be in more social environments. And as long as I put my headphones on it doesn't affect my focus when I need to focus but it also lends me to take the headphones off and creating new relationships. P18.

Although most participants prefer the appearance of informal workspaces over the traditional office, 2 participants would like to work from the traditional office. The two participants work remotely and thus are left with no other option than working from the informal workspaces. In this case, both work from coworking spaces to create that kind of office setting. However, they find the coworking space too distracting. They think it is too loud and the setting is too informal. They feel more productive in an office because there are less distractions. Although most of the participants feel satisfied with the different energy that rules in informal workspaces, some participants still prefer the traditional office space. And one aspect of the traditional office space that more participants miss is the community feeling. The downside of working remotely is that you don't have your coworkers around and that it is hard to create that community feeling which you have in an office environment.

Working from informal workspaces can also mean that the Millennial has less financial stability. 16 participants are self-employed or freelancer and are thus employed in the gig economy. People employed in the gig economy are hired for 'gigs' under flexible arrangements as independent contractors or consultants, working only to complete a particular task. Although the participants who are self-employed are not really hired under gigs, they are dependent on the projects they have. The participants feel no higher pressure although they have less financial stability. They don't feel more stressed when they have to look for a new gig but when they do, the pros of having a hypermobile job still outweigh the cons.

To value the motivation and constraint that are identified, an overview of the major points as mentioned by participants concerning what they like or not like about their hypermobile jobs can be found in table 5.

Major point	Description	Mentioned by ... participants
Work-life balance	Positive influence on work-life balance	22
Freedom	Freedom to set up own schedule	19
Energy	Different energy in informal workspaces	17
Productivity	Feeling more productive when working hypermobile because people choose to work during their most productive hours	15
Managers	Feeling more productive because there are no managers around	11
Community	Missing the community that you get when working in an office	9
Work-life balance	Negative influence on work-life balance	5
Own boss	Feeling as if they are their own boss	4
Trust	Instant trust base between employer and employee	4
Appearance	Dress less formally	3

Table 5: Presentation of the motivations and constraints that are considered to be important when working remotely.

As illustrated in table 5, many participants feel that the hypermobility of their job positively influences their work-life balance. The people that mention that it negatively influenced their work-life balance, have a harder time putting put their work away than the ones of which their work-life balance is positively influenced. They feel that because of the hypermobility and because of the fact that your office is always with you, work and life are getting intertwined. Overall, the bigger share of participants state that the hypermobility increased their work-life balance and this has all to do with the freedom they get. 19 participants mention that they are really happy with the freedom to schedule their own workweek. They are able to attend social events that are important to them and thus better able to maintain a healthy work-life balance. Another motivation for working hypermobile is productivity. 15 participants illustrate that they are more productive when working on their own terms, also because there are no managers around (11 participants). For four participants, another motivation to work remotely is because they feel they are their own boss. Working remotely also creates a trust-base between employer and employee which is important according to four participants. Another motivation for three participants to work remotely is that they can dress less formally. Working hypermobile has one common downside for many of the participants, they miss the community that you get when you work in an office. For many participants this was the reason to work from coworking spaces as you get that community feeling again.

To get back to the sub question, this study found that Millennials value the hypermobility of their job very high because of motivations and constraints that can be categorized under the three main themes: freedom, authority and energy. As identified in earlier literature, the trust base, flexibility and the work-life balance are important factors in how Millennials value the hypermobility of their jobs. Additionally, factors such as energy and community feelings turned out the be important. One can assume that the gig economy does not influence how Millennials feel about the hypermobility of their jobs. Moreover, one could argue that people who are forced to work from informal workspaces experience more constraints

than motivations. Both assumptions about remain speculations as too few participants took part in this research.

4.3 The informal workspaces

From the previous sections it became clear that most of the participants are satisfied with their hypermobile jobs because they can work on their own terms. The participants that have been interviewed worked from informal workspaces such as home, coffee shops, coworking spaces or a library and what stood out is that most participants change their work environment every day. This chapter gives answer on the sub question: what motivates Millennials to work from certain informal workspaces and which constraints do they experience? This chapter will identify the motivations and constraints the Millennials experience when working from the aforementioned informal workspaces and why they choose to change their work environment that often.

This sub chapter will start off with discussing the motivations and constraints of the informal workspace: the traditional office. This informal work environment is not the most popular one in this study but the motivations and constraints the Millennials experienced when working from the office turned out to play a big part in why the Millennials choose to go to other informal workspaces. By explaining the shortcomings of less popular informal workspaces, this sub chapter will end by describing the popular informal workspaces and how they substitute to those shortcomings.

4.3.1 The traditional office space

As mentioned in chapter 4.1, almost half of the participants have the opportunity to work from the office at the company they are employed but as shown in figure 6, only a small amount of the participants choose to work mainly from the office. Almost all participants used to work a 9-5 job at the office but they are now happy to set their own terms. What are the motivations and constraints the Millennials experience when working from the office? A common reason not to choose to work from the office is because of the commuting time. The participants can save a lot of time when looking for places to work closer to home. But the most common reason why the participant prefer not to work from the office is because of the energy. The participants feel that there is a different energy and vibe going on in the informal workspaces compared to the traditional office. They feel not stimulated by the environment and some participants even mention that they feel trapped. Moreover, when working in the office you have to stick to the 9-5 hours and these are not the most productive hours for the participants. Also the managers that are walking around are for many participants a downside. However, the community feeling is one aspect many participants do like about working from the office. Overall, the cons outweigh the pros the Millennials experience when working from the office and they take their resort to informal workspaces.

4.3.2 Home

As one could say, working from home is the most convenient way of working from an informal workspace. There is no commuting time and there are no costs involved. However, only 14% of the participants (Figure 6) in this study choose to work mainly from home when having the possibility to work from anywhere. Working from home is what many participants first did when starting with their hypermobile jobs. It is easy and convenient but many participants had a hard time to focus and to put themselves to work. As many participants mention and as one participant illustrates:

'Because there are too many distractions out, the tv, the cat bothering you. Playing on your keyboard. I can't do that' P30.

Distractions that are often mentioned are pets that have to go for a walk, laundry or cleaning. The participants know that when they are not at home they are not able to fulfil these tasks but when they

work from home their work-life balance gets easily intertwined. All participants agree that they do not work the most efficient when working from home because there are too many distractions around. Moreover, they state that working from home can influence their work-life balance in a negative manner. Some participants feel that when you work from home from the kitchen table for example, it is hard to put your work down in the evening because your office is always there and if you didn't feel that productive that day, it is more easy to open up work again in the evening. As some participants mention, going elsewhere is a great stimuli to get work done. One of the participants illustrates the constraints and motivations she experiences when working from home:

'I often work from home but today cuz honestly I'm cheap and it was like \$13 just to buy breakfast which is like more than I spend on breakfast normally. But today I was really like, hit the pave and get a lot done this morning before I have to turn to family oriented stuff in the afternoon. Like I really want to hit it hard today so I thought if I go home and you now it's like, you just get distracted by like the laundry or like talking to my husband he works from home. So I'm just like, I go to a Coffee shop and get more stuff done' P34

Apart from being less productive, the home environment misses out on another point. As already mentioned in chapter 4.2, the biggest downside when working hypermobile is that you have to miss the community feeling. The participants state that from time to time, they go to other informal workspaces just to be out and about and socialize. One participants perfectly illustrates this:

'Yeah I like home for the privacy aspect but it's the same thing I mean even if you work from home it is still typically, your still confined to an area and I like the feel of being able to be around people, there is an energy in the air you know when people are meeting and talking and working that you don't get when you're alone' P31.

The constraints the participants experience when working from home have to do with their productivity, the work-life balance and the energy. But as mentioned by participant 31, the home environment is good for the privacy. It became clear from the interviews that participants performed different work-related activities at different location. The home environment turned out to be the most convenient place when working with confidential information, paper files and to do a videoconference call. The participants mentioned that at home, you can control all the variables around you such as noise and wind and this was very important to them. When working with paper files, they didn't want the wind to mix up all the files and when videoconferencing, they didn't want the environment to be too loud. The participants agreed that the home environment is the only informal workspace in which you can control all these variables and be sure that everything will go as you please. The home environment also turned out to be the most favourite informal workspace when the participants felt sick. They mentioned that they were still able to work from out of bed but in a way more relaxed manner than outside the home environment. As mentioned in chapter 4.2, the Millennials appreciate it that the nature of their hypermobile jobs allow them to role with their emotions. The participants state that when they feel not 100% or just having a bad day, they can still perform work-related activities and get work done instead of being in an office getting interrupted by managers all the time about what is going on.

Working from home allows the participants to role with their emotions and to work while being sick but overall the participants have difficulty with being productive at the home-environment. The biggest downside of working from home is that there is no community feeling as it is only you.

4.3.3 The library

The library is also designated as an informal workspace. Only one participant in this study works mainly from the library and some participants in this study choose to work from the library once in a while. The

library allows them to work in quiet but they state that it is sometimes too quiet. They miss the energy vibe which is present at other informal workspaces. The participant interviewed in this study who mainly worked from the library, always choose to work from the café inside the library. The participants that worked from the library once in a while mentioned that when they had to work really focused or when they had to be really concentrated, they would go to the library because other informal workspaces might be too distracting. Thus, working from the library is an option for the participants the work from, but in the end they prefer a more energetic vibe. We can therefore conclude that the Millennial generation is looking for a certain vibe or energy to work in. Another aspect the participants mentioned as something negative is that they feel like they have to pack all their stuff when going to the restrooms. Some people felt that they could leave their stuff on the tables when working in the library whereas others didn't. This annoyance was present in all the informal workspaces and was depending on the person. Also, most libraries don't offer that many food and coffee options as other informal workspaces which was also one of the reasons why the participants spread out to other informal workspaces. One participant illustrates the constraints he experiences when working from a library:

'I have worked from libraries before, it is just really depending, you know coffee shops are, for me I rather work here because you can have coffee and food while I am working. I mean, I guess, it has also to do with a little bit more atmosphere. You know, when places are more busy it is gonna make me feel busier. If it is really really quiet and slow I get bored' P6

Another con of working from the library is that it is a quiet area which is unsuitable for making calls. Many participants do have to make a lot of calls in one day so for them the quietness was an inconvenience.

In conclusion, working from the library can be helpful to be productive sometimes but after being too long in the library, the Millennials start to reach out to other informal workspaces with a different atmosphere and with more energy.

4.3.4 Coffee shops

Coffee shops together with coworking spaces, are the most popular informal workspaces because of various reasons. This section will elaborate on why coffee shops are favoured and the next section will explain what the motivations for Millennials are to work from coworking spaces.

As mentioned in section 4.3.1, the home environment is the most convenient informal workspace to work from because there is no commuting time and there are no costs involved. However, the participants had a hard time being productive and they miss the community feeling. Working from home is just you. In section 4.3.2 it became clear that the participants mentioned that the library is good place to work from however, many participants mentioned that it is too quiet. A coffee shop is therefore the perfect substitute between working from home and working from the library. In coffee shops is more background noise and people can be part of a community. And amongst other things, coffee shops are therefore seen as a good place to work from. This section will explain the motivations and constraints Millennials experience when working from coffee shops.

One of the reasons why the participants choose to work from coffee shops is because of the energy. They state that in coffee shops, there is a high energy because they feel like the people working over there, are working because they really want to and this positively influences the productivity of the participants. One participant mentioned that in the library or the traditional office, he felt like there was a low energy. People are working because they have to and are not that motivated and this participant really felt like he needs the high energy that is present in coffee shops. More participants mention that they like the fact that a lot of people are working there and that it has a positive impact on their

productivity. Another aspect of the energy is the way the spaces are furnished. Most coffee shops nowadays look hip and fancy and as already mentioned in chapter 4.2, many participants work in the creative sector and they feel more creative when they work from inspiring workplaces such as coffee shops. As a result, the participants look for stylish, fancy coffee shops. The stylish, fancy coffee shops does not only positively influence the creativity of the participants. Some participants mention that they choose the most fancy coffee shop just to hang out with people who are more fancy than they are. We can therefore assume that Millennials also go the fancy coffee shops because of the status that is attached to working from coffee shops. Additionally, when the researcher looked for coffee shops where Millennials were working, the coffee shops where there was a large share of working Millennials were always the ones with good design. Apart from the energy in coffee shops, Millennials also looked at practical reasons. They choose coffee shops with strong Wi-Fi and they prefer to have large tables to work from.

But working from coffee shops also has its downsides. According to the participants, it is sometimes stressful to find good spots because you can't make a reservation for a table and sometimes the tables are all taken. Also other variables such as noise cannot be controlled when working from a coffee shop and this is for the participants one of the reasons why they choose to perform amongst other things administrative task from a coffee shop and not to do for example videoconference calls. Moreover, as some participants mention, you never know who is next to you and thus the people working from coffee shops were reluctant in working and talking about private information. One could argue that Millennials feel less comfortable doing work-related tasks that handle personal information at informal workspaces. Besides that, some participants didn't want to take risk of leaving their stuff on the table when they had to go to the restrooms, which was an inconvenience for them. The participants also made sure not to discuss intimate information through the phone because in a coffee shop, you never know who is listening with you. For that reason, some participants made videoconference calls from their cars.

In conclusion, many participants choose to work from coffee shops because of its high energy and the status that goes along with it but this informal workspaces still has the downside that people cannot control the environment.

4.3.5 Coworking spaces

Besides working from coffee shops are coworking spaces also very popular among the participants in this study. The people that work from coworking spaces are very satisfied and participants who don't work from coworking spaces can still see the benefits of working from these settings. One of the main benefits the participants state is that you can control the variables. A coworking space is a work-environment so in general less people talk but if the participants wanted to be sure no one interrupted them, they just go to one of the videoconference rooms. The coworking spaces make sure that the participants can professionally do their jobs. The participants in this study take their jobs very seriously and they want to make sure they look professionally. Additionally, the participants state that coworking spaces are places with high energy just like coffee shops. People work there because they want to and not because they have to and they feel that energy and makes them feel more productive. Additionally, when you sign up for a coworking space you instantly have a community which is one of main motivations to get a membership. Houghton (2018) already identified that people want to work from coworking spaces because they seek interaction or they want to get away from home-based distractions. In this study the participants stated that indeed they find themselves in a community when working from a coworking space and they find themselves more productive. Many participants also state that the community feeling is different from the community you get when working from the traditional office. In coworking spaces people with all different professions work from the same spot whereas in an office you are mostly tied to people within the same field. For many participants this was a big motivation

because it increased their network and they thought it was interesting to meet all these new people from different professions. One could argue that coworking spaces have the same characteristics as coffee shops but do have the benefits of controlling the environment. As a result, the participants mentioned that whereas in a coffee shop people try to limit their work-related activities to tasks that use personal information confidentially, in coworking spaces the participants feel safe to talk about private information. However, some participants are not very praising about coworking spaces.

A coworking space is in a way a kind of office setting. To some of the participants, coworking spaces reminds them too much of the traditional office and they feel trapped in a sense again. Going to a coworking space 5 days a week feels not flexible and thus is not preferred. Some Millennials fix this problem by buying a day pass and some of them just work for a few hours a day at a coworking space and reach out to coffee shops as well as home for a few hours. Another participant didn't like the atmosphere in coworking spaces. He stated that it felt too cold and he just didn't feel comfortable. Where the research of Bilandzic and Foth (2013) state that coworking spaces are mostly co-located with coffee shops, incubator spaces or libraries which makes them an attractive place to work, this participant finds the additional services in co-working spaces too distracting. He would prefer the traditional office space without the hipster like environment. One of the main downsides of working from coworking spaces is the fact that you have to sign up for a day-pass or membership. For the participants who choose to work at least 4 days a week from that space that wasn't a problem but for the participants who liked the change in settings, the costs were the main reason not to sign up. They prefer working from coffee shops over coworking spaces.

Overall, coworking spaces are popular informal workspaces but for some people the environment doesn't feel comfortable. The biggest advantage is that the participants are able to control their environment to make sure they look professional. To give a clear overview of all the pros and cons that the participants experience when working from the informal workspaces, a summary is given in table 6.

Workspace	Pros	Cons
Home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No costs involved - No commuting time - Flexible hours 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No community - Hard to be productive - Too many distractions
Library	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Good for productivity - Flexible hours 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Too quiet - Low energy - Feeling that you cannot leave your stuff when going to the restrooms - No privacy
Coffee shop	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - High energy - High productivity - Inspiring places - Community feeling - Flexible opening hours 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participants cannot control variables such as noise - Costs involved because participants feel obligated to buy drinks/food - Feeling that you cannot leave your stuff when going to the restrooms - No privacy - Status symbol
Coworking space	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - High energy - High productivity - Inspiring places - Community feeling with different professions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Costs involved - Some participants don't like the atmosphere - Still a bit of an office setting

-
- | | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participants can control variables - Privacy if you want | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Status symbol |
|---|---|
-

Table 6: Overview of the pros and cons the participants experience when working from different informal workspaces.

To get back to the sub question, the Millennials experience different motivations and constraints for every informal workspace as shown in table 6. It can be concluded that the motivations and constraints that were already found identified in existing literature have been complemented by newly found motivations and constraints. Additionally, this study identified the motivations and constraint for four different informal workspaces. The motivations and constraints that are found apply for almost all participants but it should be kept in mind that there are exceptions. A few participants felt the opposite but no conclusions can be drawn from it as the sample size is too small for it. For now, it is important to acknowledge that the motivations and constraints Millennials experience are depending on the person.

Furthermore, informal workspaces can be categorized in places that are used by learners, utilizers and socializers. Bouncken & Reuschl (2016) state that utilizers use informal workspaces to profit from technical infrastructure whereas learners use informal workspaces to acquire knowledge and exchange information with peers from equal or other disciplines. Socializers search for recognition and acknowledgment when working hypermobile. It became clear that miss the community and therefore reach out to places as coffee shops and coworking spaces to seek interaction. Coffee shops and coworking spaces are therefore used as places to search for recognition and acknowledgment. Coworking spaces are also used by utilizers. Some participants mention that they appreciate the office-like features that are available at coworking spaces such as printers. The participants that worked from the library mention that they did that solely to work focused. One could therefore argue that the library is a place to acquire knowledge. Coworking spaces and coffee shops can also be seen as places to acquire knowledge but more importantly, people can exchange information with peers from equal or other disciplines. This is especially important for the participants who worked from coworking spaces. It was of great significance for them that they could exchange knowledge with people from all kind of different fields. Coffee shops were less seen as places to exchange knowledge but they remain important places to acquire knowledge. In sum, coworking spaces are used by socializers, utilizers and learners. Coffee shops are used by socializers and learners and libraries are used by primarily learners.

In conclusion, besides confirming the current literature, this study gives a more in-depth explanation about the motivations and constraints for every informal workspace. Furthermore, the type of users are distinguished for coworking spaces, coffee shops and libraries.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The present study has set out the motivations and constraints Millennials experience when working hypermobile and how they feel about the hypermobility of their jobs. Millennials are the first generation to have entered a labour market where short-term work contracts and work instability have become the norm (Perlin, 2012). This generation is also more at ease with the advancing communication technology. As a result, economic activity is not solely performed at the original offices anymore. Informal workspaces such as coworking spaces, restaurants and cafés are getting increasingly popular as new locations of work. This study has given a more in-depth understanding of why the Millennials choose to work remotely and why they choose specific informal workspaces to work from. Furthermore, this research gives an analysis of the motivations and constraint Millennials experience when working from informal workspaces such as coworking spaces, coffee shops and home. As far as is known, no earlier studies have analysed the motivations and constraints the Millennial generation experiences for different informal workspaces despite the fact that this generation is a very interesting group to study because of the aforementioned reasons. We believe that this study is the first work that shows the motivations and constraints for particularly the Millennial generation when working remotely in the US context. Studying this topic and especially in relation to the Millennial generation is important as the number of remote workers is likely to increase but it remains unclear how people with hypermobile jobs feel about this. Moreover, it will influence the way we have to think about the urban space economy as work-related activities are not performed at the office anymore, but anywhere within the city. Therefore, this study has executed a qualitative research study on the hypermobility of jobs of the Millennial generation. In total, 36 interviews with Millennials with hypermobile jobs have been executed and two with experts who represent the interest of Millennials in the labour market to validate the data. The interviews have been conducted in eight different informal workspaces spread over two cities of the Metropolitan Phoenix over a time span of three months. This chapter discusses the results presented in chapter 5 and provides final answers to the research questions. Moreover, this chapter will show the new conceptual model that has been derived from the results of this study. Firstly, the way Millennials organise their workweeks is discussed and which factors influence how Millennials structure their workweek. Secondly, how Millennials feel about the hypermobility is evaluated. Thirdly, the motivations and constraints the Millennial generation experiences when working from certain informal workspaces is discussed.

The first finding that stood out is that the workweek of Millennials is characterized by variable locations and variable hours of work. The Millennials choose their locations of work amongst other things because of convenience. The variable locations of work results from the fact they appreciate the change in environment and because they prefer to choose their locations of work in line with social obligations. For example, close to day care. The hours of work of the Millennials are also very flexible. The Millennials don't want to miss out on social obligations which results in working hours outside the traditional 9-5 hours. For the Millennials this is a big advantage because they don't have to pass over on important social events and because they are able to work on their most productive hours. For some participants, this is in the early morning or early evening. Hägerstrand (1989) identified constraints that influence the activities of people in daily life. In this study, it is found that especially coupling constraints impact the workweek of Millennials. The Millennials align their workweek with their social life and try to align their schedule with the schedule of their partners. Furthermore, it is found that certain work-related activities influence how Millennials organize their workweeks because the activities require a specific place or time (Wiberg, 2005). This is especially the case for Millennials who are in contact with clients during the day, which can therefore also be seen as a coupling constraint. Those Millennials try to stick more to the traditional 9-5 hours than the Millennials who don't have to stay in contact with clients during the day. Furthermore, activities such as videoconferencing require a specific place as the

Millennials want to control their environment to make sure they look professional. This is less possible in coffee shops and therefore they prefer to make videoconference calls from home. To get back to the sub question, it can be concluded that Millennials organise their workweeks in the most efficient way around their social lives and that the organization of their workweeks is mostly affected by coupling constraints. Additionally, the workweek of Millennials is influenced by certain activities such as work-related videoconference calls as they require a specific place or time. In figure 8, the conceptual model of chapter 2 is complemented with the newly found features that influence how Millennials organise their workweeks.

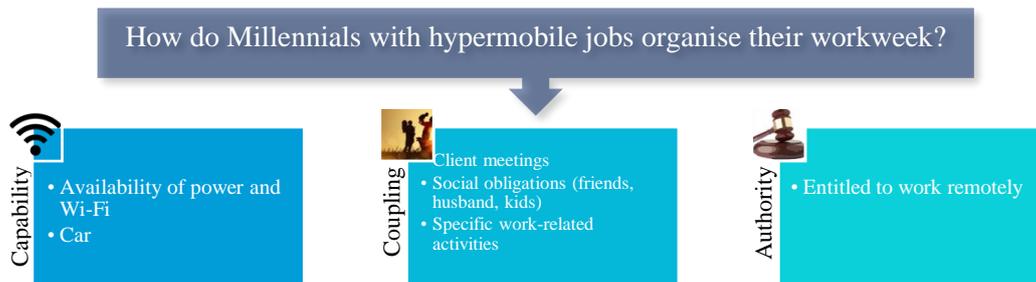


Figure 8: The new conceptual model based on the outcomes of this study. This figure illustrates how the workweek of Millennials is influenced by capability, coupling and authority constraints.

This research has pointed out that in general, the Millennials are very satisfied with the hypermobility of their jobs. Many participants feel that the hypermobility of their job positively influences their work-life balance and mention that the instant feeling of trust that is created between employer and employee is valuable to them. Some people that mentioned that it negatively influences their work-life balance, are having a harder time putting work away than the ones of which their work-life balance is positively influenced. They feel that way because they always have their office with them and in this way work and life are getting easily intertwined. Overall, the bigger share of participants state that the hypermobility increased their work-life balance. This research also found other factors that have a big share in how Millennials feel about the hypermobility of their jobs. The energy that goes along with working hypermobile has turned out to be valuable for the Millennials. Furthermore, the freedom they get when working hypermobile is a big motivation to continue working hypermobile. The hypermobility of their jobs has one common downside for many of the participants. They miss the community that you get when you work in an office. For many participants this is the reason to work from coworking spaces or coffee shops as you get that community feeling again. This study has not found any indication that the Millennials who are employed in the gig economy experience different constraints when working hypermobile than the Millennials who are not employed in the gig economy. The research of Friedman (2014) expected that the Millennials employed in the gig economy would have to deal with more competition, higher pressure and longer working days. However, in this study the Millennials don't feel that way. An explanation for this can be that Millennials value the freedom they get very highly as has become clear in the interview with the expert (P32). And as many participants mentioned, the pros of working hypermobile still outweigh the cons such as higher pressure to defend your position in the labour market. To get back to the sub question, Millennials value the hypermobility of their job very high because it positively influences their work-life balance and because of the freedom and energy that goes along with working hypermobile. However, one should keep in mind that there is a thin-line between the work-life balance that gets positively or negatively influenced. In figure 9, the conceptual

model of chapter is complemented with the newly found features that influence how Millennials feel about the hypermobility of their jobs.



Figure 9: The new conceptual model based on the outcomes of this study. This figure illustrates which factors influence how Millennials feel about the hypermobility of their jobs.

It appears that the Millennials prefer to work from coffee shops and coworking spaces because of the high energy and because of the community feeling. At home, they miss the community feeling and they have a harder time to be productive because of home-based distractions. For these reasons, they reach out to informal workspaces such as coffee shops and coworking spaces. This is in line with the research of Cable & Elsbach (2012) who claimed that at home there are too many distractions. However, working from home remains a popular place to work from but the Millennials prefer to interchange between the home environment and other informal workspaces. As has become clear in the first sub question, Millennials prefer variable working hours and working from home allows them better to work in the early morning or late evening. It can be concluded that coffee shops and coworking spaces are becoming increasingly popular places of work but these places of work are interchanged with the home environment. Especially the coffee shops and coworking spaces with an industrial and fancy design are in demand. To give an answer on the sub question, the Millennials experience different motivations and constraints for every informal workspace. It is important to acknowledge that the motivations and constraints Millennials experience are depending on the person. A few participants have mentioned for example that they don't like the coworking space environment. Because of the small sample size of this study, no conclusions can be drawn from this but it should be kept in mind that it might have an influence on the outcomes of this study. In chapter 6 there will be returned to this. In figure 10, the conceptual model of chapter 2 is complemented with the motivations and constraints the Millennials experience when working from specific informal workspaces.

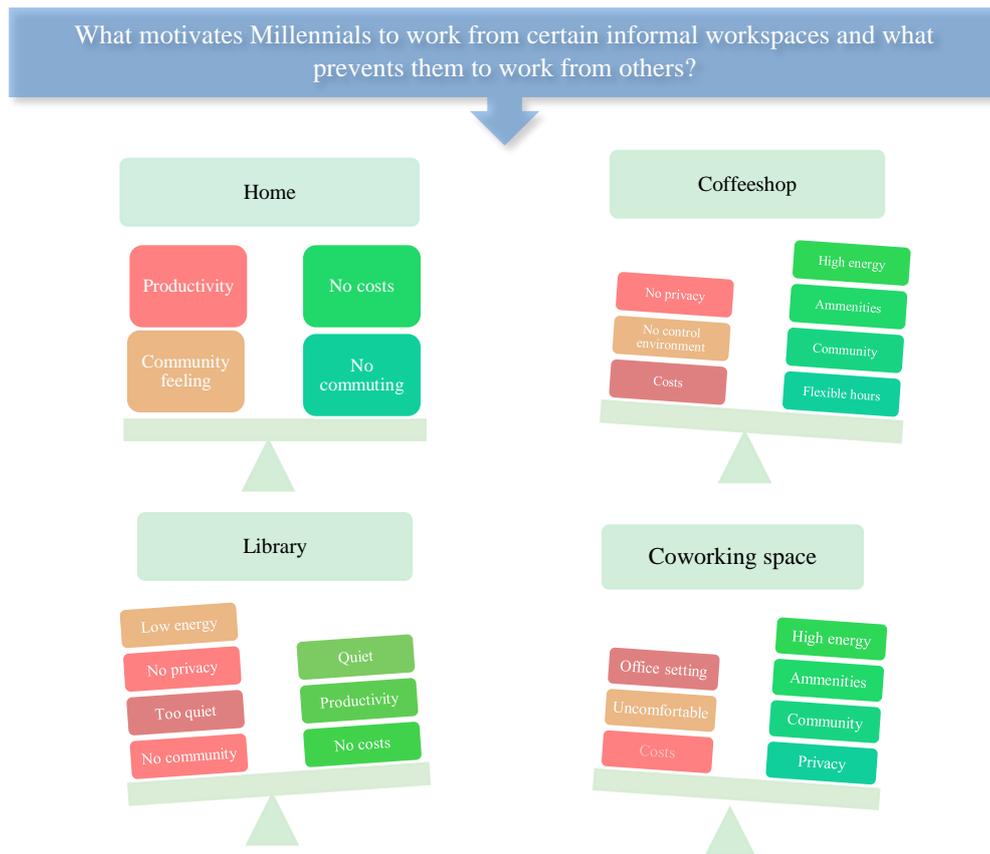


Figure 10: The new conceptual model based on the outcomes of this study. This figure illustrates which motivations and constraints the Millennials experience when working from certain informal workspaces.

In conclusion, the workweek of Millennials with hypermobile jobs is characterized by variable locations of work and variable hours of work. The main coupling constraints that have proven to influence these variables are social obligations and client meetings. Furthermore, this study has proven that the largest share of the Millennials are satisfied with the hypermobility of their jobs. The main motivations for working remotely are the trust-base that is created, the different energy in the working environment because they can choose to work from inspiring places, the feeling that people are in charge of their own schedule so that they don't have to miss out on social events, the feeling that they are more productive and for most of the participants, they believe the hypermobility of their jobs has positively influenced their work-life balance. The biggest downside for the Millennials is that when working remotely, they don't have a community feeling, In contrast to earlier research (Friedman, 2014), it is found that the Millennials who are employed in the gig economy do not experience different constraints when working hypermobile than the Millennials who are not employed in the gig economy. They don't feel more pressure than the Millennials not employed in the gig economy and to them, the pros of working remotely outweigh the cons. The workweek of Millennials with hypermobile jobs is characterized by different locations of work and it seems that the Millennials prefer to interchange the informal workspaces with the home environment. Because the home environment is for many participants too distracting, they reach out to informal workspaces such as coffee shops and coworking spaces. It is found that Millennials prefer to work from coworking spaces and coffee shops which have a modern and fancy design. They prefer to work from inspiring workplaces with high energy and for those reasons they reach out to those places. In fact, coworking spaces are more wanted when people are looking for that community feeling and when people have to discuss private information related to their jobs. The downside for coworking spaces however is that for some people it still feels like the traditional office

and that you have to pay for it. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that the motivations and constraints Millennials experience are depending on the person.

5.1 Recommendations for policy-making

The fact that many Millennials are satisfied with the hypermobility of their jobs and that they don't want to go back to the traditional 9-5 jobs, indicates that informal workspaces are appreciated amongst employees. Moreover, as stated in the research of Houghton et al. (2018), working remotely has also benefits for employers as they don't have to rent expensive offices in CBS anymore. As many participants have explained in the last question of the interview (Attachment 1, question 10), for their employers it was difficult to trust their employees whether they are productive or not when working remotely. This study has found that the employees feel more productive working remotely than when working in the office and the participants state that their employers are gradually seeing that the hypermobile jobs pay off for both employer and employee. The participants mention that the companies they are employed at, are more willing to allow people to work hypermobile and as a consequence, the informal workspaces will become even more popular. The biggest share of the participants that took part in this study, are employed in the service sector. This indicates that working hypermobile is especially popular amongst employers and employees in the service sector.

This study clearly indicates that it is likely that informal workspaces like coffee shops and coworking spaces will become the new places of work and this will be relevant to the future of planning and design of urban spaces. The focus on traditional zoning that is still present in policy-making is one of the obstacles in accommodating new and flexible informal workspaces everywhere in the city. Policy-making should acknowledge that the traditional functionalist understanding of the urban space economy of different zoning will shift towards an urban space economy with mixed use. This shift is relevant for local authorities, stakeholders, entrepreneurs and directors of these facilities. It is essential that governmental institutions move away from policy-making focussed on traditional zoning and that they are open to mixed use development. Governmental institutions should collaborate with stakeholders, entrepreneurs or directors of these facilities to respond to the demand of the new informal workspaces to provide hypermobile and remote workers with workspaces adapted to their needs and preferences to keep hypermobile and remote workers satisfied and their employers satisfied. Governmental institutions could for example actively outsource the development of informal workspaces to entrepreneurs who can see it as a profit making business model.

Chapter 6: Discussion

This chapter will reflect upon the outcomes of this study and recommendations for further research will be done.

6.1 Limitations

This research has tried to identify the motivations and constraints the Millennial generation experiences when having hypermobile jobs. One should keep in mind that the participants found in the informal workspaces represent a selected group in a certain country and geographic area at a given time. This study is about Millennials with hypermobile jobs employed in the service sector in the metropolitan of Phoenix. However, when having a critical view on the results, one might question to what extent the results relate specifically to the Millennial generation or to the hypermobility of jobs.

As has become clear in this study, the Millennials explain that they feel different about their productivity than other generations. The Millennials think other generations do prefer the 9-5 hours over flexible working hours. Additionally, as one of the experts (P32) mentions in this study, she finds that Millennials appear to enjoy the flexibility more than other generations and that this is one of the reasons why their locations of work vary on a daily or weekly base. From the Millennial and expert point of view, there seems to be a consensus that the Millennial generation thinks differently about these concepts than other generations. However, three participants that took part in this study do not qualify as a Millennial as they are older than the age of 38 and the researcher has not noticed any difference in the responses of those participants compared to the Millennials who qualified as a Millennial. This can be seen as a limitation of this research as it might indicate that being satisfied with working hypermobile does not only count for Millennials who are at ease with the communication technology, but for everyone from any age who is at ease with advanced information and communication technology. Moreover, the Millennials gave motivations and constraints related to working remotely which can be projected upon any generation. Older Millennials explained that one of the first motivations to start working remotely is that they can adapt their schedules to their partner's and kids schedules which resulted in a better maintained work-life balance. This motivation was especially identified by the older Millennials. The younger Millennials who took part in this study mentioned that they experience working hypermobile as very positive because they can schedule their work around their social obligations, such as meetings with friends. It is likely that in other generations, people also appreciate the fact that they can maintain a better work-life balance with family or friends at particular stages of life. Furthermore, previous generations did not have the change of working remotely because the communication technology was not as advanced as it is right now. Thus, the Millennial generation is the first generation that has had the possibility of working remotely and for which it has become an option. The outcomes of this study strongly point in the direction that being satisfied with working hypermobile is not a Millennial thing but it is just an option which was not there before. It can therefore be argued that the consensus that Millennials have different preferences than other generations is concluded too quickly. The motivations and constraints that are identified relate more to the stage of life of participants instead of a specific generation. If this assumption holds true, it is likely that the coming generations continue the trend of working from informal workspaces instead of working from the traditional office. Especially for people of all generations employed in the service sector, informal workspaces are likely to become increasingly popular.

Another outcome of this study is that the participants with hypermobile jobs find themselves having a harder time maintaining a work-life balance. They mention that because of the hypermobility of their jobs, their office (laptop and phone) is always with them, also in the evening at home. Especially in the beginning of their hypermobile jobs, participants had a hard time setting boundaries when to work and when not to work. Although only two participants mainly worked from the office in this research, they

felt less pressure to check their e-mails in the evening or pick up their phones despite the fact that they have their phones with them at home. This might indicate that the participants who choose to work hypermobile, had a harder time maintaining a work-life balance when having traditional jobs than people who choose to stick to a traditional office job. The participants of the interviews are found in informal workspaces such as café's, restaurants and coworking spaces. One should consider that this influences the outcomes of this research since only Millennials who work from informal workspaces are interviewed. Because the workers who choose to work from an office are left out of this study, it is too early to relate a better work-life balance to working remotely. It might depend on the preference of the person instead of depending on the type of job. Additionally, it is likely that the participants that have taken part in this research are more positive about working from informal workspaces as they already made the decision to work from those places. As has become clear in this study, two participants who were forced to work from coworking spaces indeed said they prefer to work from the traditional office. This might suggest that the opinions about working remotely differ and that still a large share of people might prefer to work from the traditional office.

Lastly, this study focusses on the informal workspaces which are open to the public. The research of Kojo & Nenonen (2015) points out that besides coworking spaces, coffee shops and libraries, other types of informal workspaces are emerging. Incubator offices for example are also becoming more popular locations of work. However, these spaces are open for a preselected group of individuals (Kojo & Nenonen, 2015). In this study, there is chosen to take only the informal workspaces which are open to the public into account. People working from informal workspaces which are open for a preselected group might experience different motivations and constraints which might not be identified in this study.

5.2 Recommendations for further research

This study has aimed to contribute to the existing knowledge on hypermobile workers of the Millennial generation in the US labour market context. Reflecting on the outcomes of this study, some topics could be studied more to verify the findings of this study. The recommendations for further research flow partly from the limitations as discussed above.

More qualitative research can add relevant information on the topic. As discussed in the limitations (5.1), further research can find out whether the motivations and constraints applies to more generations than the Millennial generation and to what extent the motivations and constraints are coherent with the stage of life. Additionally, it is interesting to find out whether there are differences in the motivations and constraints people experience when they work from the office while having a hypermobile job. As already indicated in chapter 4, two participants who were forced to work from coworking spaces indeed said they preferred to work from the traditional office. This suggest that the opinions about informal workspaces differ among individuals. Furthermore, the motivation that is attached to working from modern and fancy informal workspaces such as status has not been found in earlier research. This might explain the fact that all the participants have been found in fancy coffee shops and coworking spaces with an industrial design. Further investigation could study whether this assumption holds true and if so, finding out to what extent status is important when choosing locations of work.

Further research can also add relevant information when using quantitative methods. The qualitative nature of this study has generated hypothesis which could be further tested with quantitative research methods. Firstly, a quantitative study design could offer a more comprehensive understanding of the motivations and constraints the Millennials experience when working remotely by studying a larger population on a bigger geographical scale. A quantitative research approach can study different groups in different geographic areas to explore the geographic and age factors that might influence the motivations and constraints the participants experience. A study design like this might also give insight

in to what extent the motivations and constraint are a Millennial thing. Furthermore, this study has generated hypotheses which can be tested with a quantitative research design. For example, in this study it is found that freedom is the biggest motivation to choose to work hypermobile. A quantitative research design can test this hypothesis for different groups in different geographical areas and might add interesting information about which motivations and constraints are mainly present amongst different groups. The outcomes of the quantitative studies on this subject could serve as the foundation upon which generalisations can be made.

To summarize briefly, future research should focus on different generations and groups to find out whether the motivations and constraints are coherent with the Millennial generation. Especially qualitative research could provide explanation on the limitations discussed above when studying the motivations and constraints in a wider range of generations, locations and job types. This to better understand the contextual factors that influence how people experience working from informal workspaces.

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Appendices

1. Interview guide Millennials with hypermobile jobs

	Interview Guide
Questions	<p>1. What is your current employment status and what do these jobs encompass?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - (Employee, Independent worker, entrepreneur, multiple jobs?) + professional occupations. - Type of contractual arrangement, one year for example. - If you work as an employee, what is your function? (manager, executive?) <p>2. How is your workweek organized?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - locations of work (office, Coffee shop, coworking space) - hours of work - how do you travel to work? Important aspect? - different work-related activities performed at certain places because of meetings, confidentiality etc. - outside the 9-5 hours and during holidays? Role of contractual arrangement? - percentage of week where? - calendar of a week? <p>3. To what extent would you say your job is hypermobile and how important is this feature for you in a job?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - work related activities that can be performed from a wide variety of locations (explain to participants hypermobility) - voluntary or no other option? - do you have the possibility to work from a traditional office? - role of contractual arrangement, job occupation and communication technology in this? <p>4. In general, how do you feel about the hypermobility of your job and why?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - positive/negative? - would you prefer working from the traditional office? <p>5. How important are personal circumstances (Kid, relationship) in influencing your location of work?</p> <p>6. What motivates you to work from this informal workspace?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - office equipment, opening hours, connection from residential place, atmosphere, colleagues, no choice, transportation, work-life balance - what is the most important motivation? - different motivations for different locations of work?

	<p>7. What prevents you to work from other places?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- office equipment, opening hours, connection from residential place, atmosphere, colleagues, no choice, transportation, work life balance- what is the most important drawback?- different constraints for different locations of work? <p>8. What is for you the big difference between working from this informal workspaces and working from the traditional office?</p> <p>9. To what extent does your place of work changes your residential location behaviour?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- where do you live right now, zip code.- usual place-of-work influenced your residential location?- or residential location influenced usual place-of-work? <p>10. How do you see the future of location of work in your field? Do you think it is getting more hypermobile?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- away from the traditional office?- Should something change if more people have to work mobile?
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2. Interview guide experts

Questions	<p>1. What are current trends in the labour market for the Millennial generation? How does it differ from previous generations?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- hypermobile jobs- growing use of communication technology <p>2. How do these trends affect the location of work for the Millennial generation? Away from traditional office?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- what is the role of the growing hypermobility of jobs in this?- Other factors?- Role of contractual arrangements- Role of growing communication technology <p>3. What are common motivations and constraints Millennials could experience when working from multiple workspaces?</p> <p>4. How you think the Millennial generation in general feels about working from the informal workspaces?</p> <p>5. To what extent do you think the location of work can change the location of residence when Millennials have hypermobile jobs?</p> <p>6. How do you see the future of location of work for the Millennial generation and how do you think this will change the urban space economy?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- away from the traditional office?- differences between sectors?
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3. Informed consent

Before starting off the interview I will explain you the informed consent. The interview will only take place if the me, the researcher and you, the participant both vocally agree on it.

The goal of this research is to find out where Millennials with hyper mobile work. Participation in this research should help advancing the understanding of the changing location of work. You will be asked questions about your motivations and constraints to work where you work.

Your participation in this research project is voluntary. You will not be paid for the participation and you can withdraw anytime without penalty. If you feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview, you have the right to decline to answer any question or end the interview. If you withdraw before or during the interview, you will not be part of the research.

You will be interviewed by a master student of the University of Groningen in the Netherlands. The interview will last about 20 minutes. Notes will be written during the interview and the interview will be recorded.

I, the researcher, will not identify you by name in this research. Your confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. This means that the results of this study cannot be linked back to you as an individual. The findings of this study will be used exclusively for my academic research. The recordings of the interview will be deleted after finishing the research.

4. Codes

Attachment 4 gives an overview of the codes that are used in Atlas to analyse the data. The first table shows the codes that are used in the interviews with Millennials with hypermobile jobs. For the interviews with the experts, different codes have been used.

Code groups	Codes
Location	Coffeeshop
	Coworking space
	Difference informal/traditional
	Working from home
	Library
	Space
	Watch stuff
Different work-related activities	Private
	Administrative tasks
Feel about hypermobility of job	Energy
	Discipline
	Stress
	Productivity
	Managers
	Working hours
	Work-life balance
	Inspiring
Personal circumstances	Kids
	Work-life balance
	Friends
	Space
	Family

Codes used to analyse the interviews with experts:

Commuter time
Coworking space
Downtown
Flexibility
Flip side
Location
Service sector