

COMBINING COLIVING AND COWORKING IN AMSTERDAM


A STUDY EXPLORING THE DEVELOPMENT OF
COLIVING AND EXPERIENCES OF DIGITAL
NOMADS IN COLIVING COMMUNITIES

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Colophon

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Preface

I am very proud to present to you this master's thesis that has been written to complete the master's programme Spatial Planning with the specialization of Planning, Land and Real Estate Development. The research into the concept of coliving has given me the opportunity to further explore my interest in the influence of the built environment on human experiences. I strongly believe in the importance of putting people and communities first in future urban planning approaches. Coliving is a step in the right direction in offering housing that is more human-centered. I would like to start off with some words of appreciation as it was not possible to conduct this research without the cooperation of certain people.

Firstly, I would like to express my gratitude to *abcnova* for allowing me to do my research and learn more about the field of area and real estate development. I am grateful for all my colleagues who welcomed me with open arms. I would especially like to thank my internship supervisor, Johan Slob, for his advice and feedback. You believed in my abilities, helped me grow from my mistakes, and celebrated my accomplishments. Your insights were thoughtful, genuine, and helpful.

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I thank you beforehand for the time you will dedicate to read my thesis.

Mariella Marugg

Nijmegen, July 2022

Summary

The expansion of the digital labor market has fueled the growth of digital nomads in recent years. Many digital nomads tend to live and work in coliving spaces to experience a sense of community and to overcome the isolation that a nomadic lifestyle brings along. So far, little research has been done to explore the subjective experiences of digital nomads living and working in coliving spaces. This study is particularly interested in exploring why digital nomads combine coliving and coworking in Amsterdam or whether this is a forced outcome for them. Residents of three coliving spaces in Amsterdam have been interviewed to acquire a better understanding of why digital nomads participate in community living and to generate new insights on the practice of coliving.

This study uses in-depth qualitative research methods in combination with a practice theory approach to explore the phenomenon of coliving based on its material, meaning and competence elements. Through a hybrid approach of inductive and deductive thematic analysis, the predefined operationalization of coliving spaces enhancing a digital nomad's well-being has been altered and expanded based on the carried out empirical research. The emergence and future potential of coliving has also been researched based on interviews that were conducted with coliving providers of the researched cases, a real estate consultant and a project manager of the municipality of Amsterdam. Lastly, a document review was carried out to research what specific structures of coliving spaces are that can be identified.

This research argues that the different dimensions that affect the experience of coliving for digital nomads interrelate with each other. When the dimensions of social, physical and psychological resources are all connected, residents experience coliving to the highest degree. Research participants of this study notice how important it is for them to have the possibility to work from a coworking space and the positive effect it has on the overall experience of combining coliving and coworking. Market-oriented and governmental actors regard the development of coliving as promising and identify a bright future for the sector. However, the demand for coliving must originate from a desire to interact with others and create meaningful relationships for a coliving space to be successful. This study reveals that in some instances, people do not carry out coliving to experience community living but undertake it for other reasons.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Over the past five years, coliving has spread fast across urban landscapes in the Global North (Bergan, Gorman-Murray, & Power, 2021). Coliving is an example of how precarity imprints spatial markings on urban landscapes as a result of changing economic conditions. Coliving gives precarious labor a place to call home, as well as influencing the meanings and practices of home, resulting in new domestic cultures (Bergan, Gorman-Murray, & Power, 2021, pp. 1205). According to Davies (2015), coliving is partly inspired by the increase of freelancers 'coworking' together. Traditionally, shared living has been associated with students, hippies, and the elderly. However, trends in young professional lifestyles have persuaded a new generation of entrepreneurs to look into such lucrative business opportunities (Coldwell, 2019; Davies, 2015).

Convenience and community are at the heart of the concept of shared housing (Davies, 2015). Coliving companies typically provide flexible, short leases as well as monthly flat costs that cover rent, bills, housekeeping, and shared activities. One of the most highly cherished aspects of any coliving facility is the sense of community (Von Zumbusch & Lalicic, 2020). Coliving spaces attract people from all over the world, each with a unique background and set of talents. The dynamic of the coliving spaces' atmosphere encourages extensive social engagement. Furthermore, coliving fosters an abundance of opportunities for personal interaction and the creation of friendships, especially for digital nomads and remote workers.

Digital nomadism is emerging as one of the most recent technological advancements in the history of technology, along with changes in the organization of society and economy (Wang et al., 2019, pp. 1). Digital nomads are a community of remote, location-independent workers who prefer to gather around like-minded communities of location-independent persons (Sutherland & Jarrahi, 2017). Digital nomads place a high value on a sense of community, a productive working environment, convenience, and the chance to consult with and learn from others (Chevtaeva, 2021). As a result, communal work-leisure hubs that mix working and residential amenities are more likely to establish interpersonal relationships among digital nomads (Orel, 2020). To provide the 'perfect' home for digital nomads, coliving providers meticulously curate spaces, tenant communities, and domestic services (Bergan, Gorman-Murray, & Power, 2021).

A blurring of the lines between the digital and the physical, as well as the personal and the professional has resulted in the need for coworking spaces (Davies, 2015). Many urban practices experience the process of privatization and enclosure in the neoliberal city as the sharing economy is gaining more traction (Hodkinson, 2012). In recent years, specialized and dedicated shared social spaces have emerged in many cities. Among these shared social spaces, the coworking space can be seen as the most prominent type (Chan & Zhang, 2021). Digital nomads and remote workers use coworking spaces as a shared office setting. These spaces are rapidly becoming more common around the world, and they offer the opportunity for social interaction in addition to basic business infrastructure (Gerdenitsch, Scheel, Andorfer & Korunka, 2016). Coworking spaces are also upcoming because more traditional forms of working from an office are undergoing changes more often. These changes accelerated during the COVID-19 pandemic as many people had to work remotely.

The COVID-19 pandemic had a detrimental impact on the global labor market in 2020. The short-term effects were sudden and often severe. Perhaps the most obvious impact COVID-19 has on the workforce is the dramatic increase in the number of employees working remotely (Lund et al., 2021). Not as intense at the peak of the pandemic, but remote work and virtual conferencing may continue. Following the positive experience of working remotely during a pandemic, some companies are

already planning to move to a flexible workspace, reducing total floor space. This will reduce the number of employees that need to come to the office every day. As more employees tend to work from home, the question arises whether or not people will start to desire the office interaction at home and will possibly be looking into alternatives to achieve a community feeling.

After the COVID-19 outbreak, a large increase in emotional loneliness among Dutch adults has been detected (Van der Velden et al., 2021). Von Zumbusch & Lalicic (2020) have demonstrated in their study that coliving spaces can facilitate well-being for their residents. Therefore, the idea of being able to live and work in a coliving project has the potential to gain more attention as the sharing economy continues to expand and remote working increasingly becomes the norm.

1.2 Problem statement

In the 2010s, the phenomenon of digital nomadism emerged and has experienced massive growth ever since (Shawkat et al., 2021). The rapid expansion of the digital nomad as a location-independent worker has been aided by the rapid acceptance of technology, as well as the current global situation. Digital nomads often work in the 'gig economy' which has become an increasingly important segment of the labor market as companies tend to hire independent contractors and freelancers instead of full-time employees (Randstad, 2020). Between 2019 and 2020, a 49 percent increase in American digital nomads was detected, signaling a global movement toward remote employment and an increase in this community (Delgado, 2021).

Research on the reasons for and consequences of this transition has largely been studied using objective measurements of income, working hours, and employment circumstances, with little attention paid to people's subjective experiences of living and working as a digital nomad. It appears that a number of digital nomads tend to live in coliving projects for their sense of community (Von Zumbusch & Lalicic, 2020). In-depth qualitative research is required to acquire a better understanding of why digital nomads participate in community living whilst working remotely. By focusing on people's experiences, more strong theories on housing situations in modern employment can be developed, as well as future policy aims.

Rather than solely focussing on the resident perspective, this study also looks at the current situation of the coliving industry. To get a comprehensive idea of why coliving spaces are being made, the perspective of market-oriented and governmental actors is sought after. The current state of the housing market in Amsterdam is discussed to determine how coliving evolves in the real estate market. By doing so, motivations behind the coliving movement are discovered, as well as giving consideration on the future potential for the development of combining community living and remote working in coliving spaces.

1.3 Research aim

The purpose of this study is to examine what the future potential of coliving is and research the reasons why digital nomads combine living and working in coliving spaces by looking at both the benefits and downsides of this type of housing. Firstly, in the theoretical framework understanding is sought of different types of shared housing. By analyzing academic literature on different typologies of this phenomenon, coliving can be explained and be placed in a framework. Secondly, the research seeks to gain new scientific insights into why digital nomads make the decision to enter a coliving project and collectively use working spaces or whether this is a forced outcome of the current housing market. This study aims to better understand digital nomads' experiences in coliving projects. Qualitative methods are used to gain in-depth insight into the motivations and perceptions of digital nomads who live and work across various coliving projects in Amsterdam. The study also looks at the development of coliving and its future potential which is researched by interviewing market-oriented

and governmental actors. Summarized, this research has the following aim: To explore why digital nomads combine coliving and coworking; what the different structures are of coliving spaces; and how market-oriented and governmental actors regard the development of the coliving industry and its future potential.

The scope of this empirical study is restricted to contemporary types of shared housing, combined with shared facilities and collective workspaces. The theoretical framework of this study is derived primarily from planning literature from Western countries. Data analysis is carried out on empirically collected data from Dutch coliving spaces. The empirical data for this study has been collected in Amsterdam. Therefore, the scope of this thesis is limited to Dutch urban residential developments.

1.4 Research question

Based on the problem statement and research aim, the following research question has been formulated that is driving and guiding this study:

What is the future potential for coliving and why are digital nomads already using it in combination with coworking in the municipality of Amsterdam?

1.4.1 Sub-questions

To further uncover the topic and to get an idea on why digital nomads combine coliving and coworking, the next sub-questions will help guide the research and will help deliver an answer to the research question:

- 1) How do market-oriented and governmental actors regard the development of coliving?
- 2) What are specific structures of coliving spaces that can be identified?
- 3) Do digital nomads choose to carry out coliving or is this a forced outcome?
- 4) How do digital nomads experience coliving and coworking in coliving spaces in Amsterdam?

1.5 Relevance

The relevance of this research can be described from two perspectives: societal and scientific relevance. Societal relevance addresses the question of how the research contributes to the solution of real-world problems. How the research will contribute to academic knowledge is referred to as scientific relevance.

1.5.1 Societal relevance

The entire world witnessed a global shift toward remote work that was pushed in large part due to the COVID-19 pandemic. This transition has had an impact on the full-time worker's experience, resulting in an increase in the number of digital nomads (SOI, 2020). Businesses of all sizes have learned that remote work can be carried out, which became clear as a result of the pandemic. This has sparked widespread support among CEOs, managers, and employees for enabling flexible work schedules and remote working arrangements after the pandemic is over (PwC, 2021). This move has a key implication for the digital nomad trend. There will be an increase in the number of traditional employees who become digital nomads and people who will work remotely (SOI, 2020).

Companies have been wary about allowing their personnel to roam the globe. This has changed as an increasing number of businesses have stated long-term plans to allow for considerably more remote employment (SOI, 2020). This allows millions of people to become more nomadic. Having a nomadic lifestyle can get lonely, and this is where coliving enters the picture. Coliving spaces emphasize the

social value of living together to assist people to overcome the isolation that comes with urbanity and digital nomadism (Von Zumbusch & Lalicic, 2020). Coliving spaces can enable digital nomads to form more meaningful and long-term relationships. As a result, coliving spaces become an essential component of a digital nomad's lifestyle (Wang et al., 2019).

As more and more people reimagine where and how work will be carried out, the phenomenon of digital nomadism is on the rise as well as the number of digital nomads searching for community living. By examining experiences of digital nomads and remote workers living and working in coliving spaces, this work might offer insights into how individuals that do not have a location-based job encounter coliving spaces as a means to solve the societal side effect of urban loneliness. Furthermore, this thesis will contribute to the exploration of digital nomads living and working in coliving communities and how coliving spaces affect their day-to-day life practices.

1.5.2 Scientific relevance

Many academics have been researching different collaborative housing typologies over the years. The concept of coliving is the subject of a great deal of research as multiple studies show (Olick, 2017; Mellner, Niemi, Pollanen & Osika, 2021). When looking at the phenomenon of coliving among digital nomads, little research has been done to examine these new living situations and whether they improve the lifestyle of digital nomads (Von Zumbusch & Lalicic, 2020). In two ways, this study can contribute to the scientific debate. Firstly, this research can contribute to the debate about coliving under digital nomads and remote workers by taking the first steps in exploring their experiences as they make use of this housing typology in the municipality of Amsterdam. This research can provide theoretical insights into the potential consequences of coliving by considering under which conditions coliving spaces reduce loneliness and isolation.

Second, this research makes use of practice theory, which has not been used extensively in the study of coliving as of yet. Rather than focusing on the individual actor on the one hand and impersonal social structures on the other, practice theory proposes focusing on situated practices that are extra-individual (Trowler, 2014). Practice theory takes a holistic perspective, seeing context and behavior as inextricably linked through continual practice performance, and considers processes of change as emergent. Individual performances create practices on one level, however, take place against a more or less consistent backdrop of other performances, and are only then intelligible (Rouse, 2007). Empirically, the relation between coliving and digital nomads as a social practice has not yet been addressed. Therefore, this research aims to contribute by studying how the 'practice of coliving' is demonstrated in different social contexts, which may provide useful insights for academics of civic involvement in urban development.

1.6 Thesis outline

The structure of the thesis is as follows. In Chapter 2 the literature on shared housing typologies and digital nomads is discussed. Also, the framework of the practice theory is explained to understand how individuals make and transform the world they live in with their motives and intentions. In Chapter 3 the methodological approach will be explained. Chapter 4 gives the case description. In Chapter 5 the results combined with an analysis for each method of data collection is presented. This will be followed by a conclusion of the results in Chapter 6 and then, finally, the discussion is presented in Chapter 7.

2. Theoretical framework

In this chapter, the fundamental concepts driving this research are described. The theoretical frameworks are divided into three different themes: 1) practice theory, 2) the concept of co-housing and its typologies, and 3) digital nomads. These three themes are the basis for this research as I will research how these themes are shaped when combined in practice. The theoretical frameworks and supporting literature will be used as a starting point for the analysis.

2.1 Elements of practice theory

According to Schatzki (2001), the status of human beings as subjects and agents is bound to practices that are spread in time and space. Practice theorists agree that researching organizations, communities, professions, policymaking, or state interaction as an area of practice are a worthwhile endeavor because they consider social practices to be the lowest unit of analysis which are materially anchored in bodies and artifacts and rely on implicit knowledge (Bueger, 2014, pp. 384). One of the advantages of practice theory is that short-term social change and everyday activities can be conceptualized by questioning what peoples' motivations for doing a practice are. To describe how practices are organized in everyday life, practice theorists use time theories and ideas about temporal rhythms (Blue, 2019). Practice theory looks into how temporal experiences affect the coordination of daily life. This theory questions long-standing boundaries between the individual and society and instead places practices as a fundamental viewpoint for social inquiry. A practice ontology allows an examination of how certain practices arise, become established in, and disappear from social life.

According to Reckwitz (2002), practice theory is a type of cultural theory. The shift to practices appears to be linked to an interest in the "every day" and "life-world." Several aspects of a 'routinized type of behavior' are interconnected and generate practices: "forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge" (Reckwitz, 2002, pp. 249). Cultural theories are novel in that they explain and understand actions by rebuilding the symbolic structures of knowledge that permit and restrict agents to interpret the world in certain ways and act accordingly. Social order is anchored in collective cognitive and symbolic structures, in a "shared knowledge" that enables a socially shared means of ascribing meaning to the world, rather than as a result of mutual normative expectations. Thus, practice theorists emphasize the need for shared or common symbolic knowledge systems for social order.

Shove et al. (2012) have used the conceptualization of practices from the work of Reckwitz (2002) as a starting point and created a simplified scheme based on three elements: materials, competences and meanings. Firstly, materials are focussed on what consists of "objects, infrastructures, tools, hardware and the body itself" (Shove et al., 2012, pp. 23). Secondly, the element of competence is referred to as "multiple forms of understanding and practical knowledgeability" (Shove et al., 2012, pp. 23). Lastly, the mental activities, emotion and motivational knowledge described by (Reckwitz, 2002) are combined into the element of meaning to describe "the social and symbolic significance of participation at any one moment" (Shove et al., 2012, pp. 23). These three elements of practice theory are used to explore the phenomenon of coliving in order to try and identify an emergent social structure. Feldman & Orlikowski (2011) describe different approaches for researchers to use when applying a practice lens. Their theoretical approach is used in combination with the conceptualization of Shove et al. (2012) to analyze the practice of coliving and explore the explanation for carrying out this activity. By using practice theory, theoretical relationships can be studied that "explain the dynamics of everyday activity, how these are generated, and how they operate within different contexts and over time" (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2011, pp. 1241).

2.2 Shared housing typologies

In the literature on shared housing, three different types mainly emerge. First of all, you have co-housing, also known as 'Centraal Wonen'. This is a type of alternative housing in which a number of residents from various households share a number of communal facilities. According to Tummers (2015), these collectively built and self-managed housing clusters are a type of housing that aims to create vibrant social networks and healthy environments. Co-housing is a phenomenon in which residents actively take control of their housing and environmental situations in existing buildings or new constructions. Co-housing can be described as a pragmatic response to changing demographics and lifestyles. By collaborating during construction and management, co-housing tries to overcome homogeneity and exclusion by promoting diversity, solidarity, and inclusion. There is an ambition to create "non-anonymous" neighborhoods that include affordable housing, energy-efficient buildings, and a reduced ecological footprint. According to Babos, Szabó, Orbán & Benkő (2020), sharing spaces, activities, creation and tenure fits into the category of cohousing. Collective self-build housing entails groups arranging housing for their own use and sharing commission, whereas collective self-help housing entails renovating properties and bringing it back into use.

Secondly, coliving goes one step further as it means that strangers move in together, each signing their lease for their own bedroom and bathroom, but share the common areas (Olick, 2017). It is a form of "intentional" community where residents plan and manage their communities collaboratively to build social and support networks which are defined as self-organized building collaboratives, traditional and new co-operatives, and community-driven housing (Mellner, Niemi, Pollanen & Osika, 2021). Hereby, social isolation is reduced by a communal sense of belonging, ownership, and facilitation of regular interaction which results in a sense of social inclusion and cohesion (Czischke et al., 2020). However, social interactions can also create conflicts about different values, goals, and behaviors among members of the community.

Shared living is the last of the three types of shared housing. At the most basic level, shared living means that two or more people come together under the same roof to share part of their lives. Shared-living apartments are homes where people who know each other choose to live together. This shared living arrangement can foster deep, lasting relationships among those who live together, as well as produce positive community effects (Messerly, 2008). Shared use of living spaces is usually done on a domestic scale and requires consent and subsequent obligations to share the room, as well as social or community ties that may result from shared use behavior. Because of this, sharing is more likely to transform the spatial composition of these spaces (Widlok, 2017).

Moreover, the three different types of 'shared housing' all have their communal nature in common in which meaningful relationships are expected to occur. However, studies also show that disagreements can arise in these situations regarding differences in values for example (Wilkinson & Ortega-Alcázar, 2019; Messerly, 2008). The differences of the various types mainly lie in the fact of how much is shared and if the residents are strangers or have known each other for a longer time. This study will focus on the second type of housing, namely coliving. Figure 1 distinguishes an overview of the different typologies. For the purpose of this research, only the discussed categories of co-housing have been added to the figure. The blue circle indicates where coliving fits into the picture.

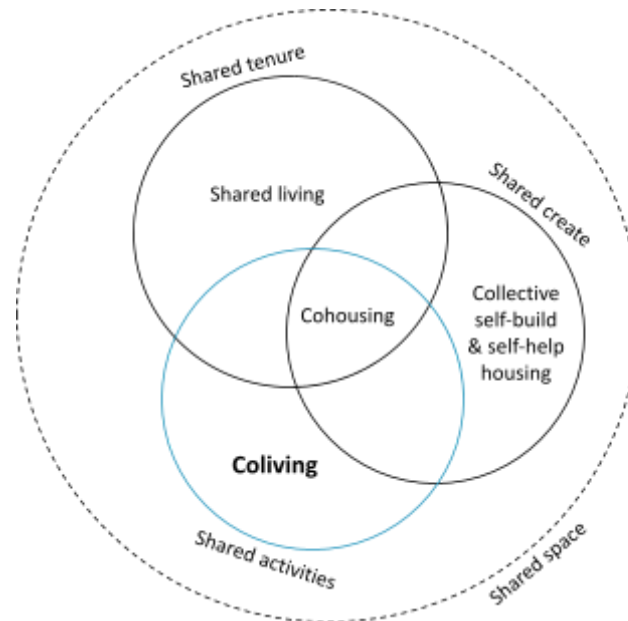


Figure 1. Sharing-based co-housing categorization according to Babos, Szabó, Orbán & Benkő (2020), (altered by the author).

2.3 Target group: digital nomads

The term 'digital nomad' was first used by Makimoto & Manners (1997) as people who operate outside of the classical organizational boundaries. Digital nomads are nowadays recognized as a social phenomenon of current work-life (Müller, 2016) in the form of professionals who work digitally over the internet to support a lifestyle of perpetual travel and expat living with flexible working hours, and a departure from the traditional office setting (Schlagwein, 2018; Richter & Richter, 2020). A digital nomad can be regarded as a 'contemporary entrepreneur' who introduces disruptive business models into multiple industries (de Vaujany, 2016) part of the network information-communication society that has emerged because of mobility and digitalization (Kuzheleva-Sagan & Nosova, 2017). Studies show that digital nomads earn between €9.500 and €160.000 per year (De Gruttola, 2022). This broad range alludes that a digital nomad can be a low-income, middle-income or high-income earner.

Reichenberger (2018) distinguishes 4 different levels of digital nomads shown in Table 1. Level 0 merely defines the essential prerequisites for becoming a digital nomad (primarily location independence through online-based jobs). Level 1 digital nomads are those who use their geographic independence on a small spatial scale while remaining mostly in their home environment. The second level includes occasional and intermittent travel with subsequent 'homebase' returns. In these situations, a permanent resident is maintained and travel is restricted to specific periods. Level 3 digital nomads are characterized by constant full-time travel with no fixed housing or homebase to return to, utilizing the location independence given by their working conditions. To summarize, travel is not seen as a required condition for becoming a digital nomad but rather one feasible way of exploiting location mobility.

Level	Definition
0	Digital nomads are individuals who achieve location independence by conducting their work in an online environment,
1	transferring this independence to mobility by not consistently working in one designated personal office space
2	but using the possibility to simultaneously work and travel
3	to the extent that no permanent residence exists.

Table 1. Definition of digital nomads according to Reichenberger (2018).

According to a survey, the number of mobile knowledge workers in Europe and the United States increased from 15% to 29% between 2001 and 2012 (Schadler et al., 2013). Coworking spaces are popular among digital nomads (Chevtaeva & Denizci-Guillet, 2021). There has been a significant increase in the number of coworking spaces. Only 21,000 people worked in coworking spaces throughout the world in 2010, but by 2019 that figure had risen to 2.17 million (Mazareanu, 2020).

2.3.1 Gig economy

The gig economy is attracting an increasing number of people. This is a colloquial term for a person who makes a career by sharing and selling goods and services, frequently through a digital marketplace, to work on demand (Dolber et al., 2021; Parigi & Ma, 2016). Jobs that used to last a lifetime have nearly vanished, and the technological transformation we are witnessing has produced new job prospects in the form of mostly short-term jobs (Torpey & Hogan, 2016). Since a couple of years ago, employment is structurally more uncommitted, indeterminate, and free of expectations (Parigi & Ma, 2016).

The sharing economy, and more specifically the gig economy, has been defined as a broad trend in how peer-like exchange or sharing has entered numerous contexts. Individuals have more agency in arranging and aligning several digital platforms to support relevant work practices than they have in relying on a single dominant, central intermediary (Sutherland & Jarrahi, 2017). The gig economy plays an important role in the lives of digital nomads as some have full-time employment and do extra gigs on the side. However, there are also digital nomads that lack full-time employment and live off of their gigs (Beverly, 2018). The digital nomad community is unique in terms of its degree of detachment from location and organization-based work, self-identity and web presence, and active use of various digital tools and platforms that enable digital nomads' work (Sutherland & Jarrahi, 2017). Therefore, the gig economy allows the digital nomad community to be location independent and explore their entrepreneurial opportunities.

2.3.2 Well-being

Although the phrase 'well-being' is frequently researched and used in academia, there is no universally accepted definition. According to Dodge et al. (2012, pp. 230), stable well-being is obtained when people have the psychological, social, and physical requirements to meet a specific psychological, social, and/or physical challenge. Within the well-being paradigm, three key areas emerged as significant: social resources, physical resources, and psychological resources. Dodge et al. (2012) propose a new definition of well-being as the point of equilibrium between an individual's resource pool and the problems they confront. When an individual faces a problem, the system of challenges and resources becomes unbalanced, as the individual is obliged to modify his or her resources to meet the challenge which is shown in Figure 2. Zumbusch & Lalicic (2020) argue that

coliving spaces support digital nomads' general well-being by affecting their social resources, physical resources, and psychological resources.

Social resources

One of the most highly cherished aspects of any coliving space is the sense of community (Zumbusch & Lalicic, 2020). First, the dynamic of the atmosphere of coliving spaces encourages extensive social engagement as it fosters opportunities for personal interaction and friendship. Second, coliving spaces provide a platform for digital nomads to communicate and exchange ideas as community members can introduce new business contacts or provide feedback on projects or company ideas. Third, being in a coliving environment forces digital nomads to be more responsible in their life, resulting in the formation of beneficial habits such as a regular workout program and a healthy diet. In some ways, the coliving environment looks to generate an informal code or standard that disciplines members to live by, and digital nomads are adhering to these norms in order to avoid alienation.

Physical resources

According to Zumbusch & Lalicic (2020), the community manager is the most important physical asset in coliving settings for digital nomads. As residents move in and out of a coliving space, the community manager is responsible for fostering a sense of community by organizing frequent events and activities that allow residents to socialize with one another. Apart from facilitating social interaction, this activity gives a sense of structure in the lives of digital nomads, allowing them to better manage their days and balance their professional and personal lives. Furthermore, coliving spaces provide users with several communal areas. Within these public spaces, particular areas are designated for working, while others are reserved for socializing. These clearly labeled shared spaces assist digital nomads in establishing clear boundaries between work and pleasure, which is critical for their well-being. Also, besides the community element, coliving spaces provide users with essential amenities such as towels, bedsheets, culinary utensils, and work materials. Digital nomads can travel with a simple lifestyle thanks to the essential physical comforts supplied in coliving spaces.

Psychological resources

Although the nomadic lifestyle provides digital nomads with the needed independence, they frequently experience emotions of isolation, are misunderstood, or have been incorrectly branded when they are referred to as travelers. Coliving spaces have positively reinforced their self-identity as digital nomads, resulting in a sense of belonging (Zumbusch & Lalicic, 2020). Furthermore, the existence of the community has advanced the creation of an informal code that governs people's actions, making digital nomads more self-aware of their actions. The infrastructure of coliving spaces, as well as the existing community within them, serves as a powerful support system allowing digital nomads to self-actualize and prolong their nomadic lifestyle.



Figure 2. Definition of Wellbeing (Dodge et al., 2012).

3. Methodology

The following section provides an inventory of methods that were used in this research. This includes the research paradigm, research design, the operationalization of the central topic and a conceptual model, methods of data collection and analysis followed by the limitations of this research by looking at its validity and reliability.

3.1 Research paradigm

Each researcher and individual, in general, is influenced by different research paradigms or worldviews (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, pp. 105). Guba and Lincoln have established four fundamental paradigms informing and guiding inquiry, especially qualitative research: positivism, postpositivism, critical theory, and constructivism. Ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions underpin these paradigms (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, pp. 108). Ontology focuses on the nature and structure of reality, as well as what can be known about it. Epistemology is concerned with the mind's relation to reality. Lastly, the methodological question focuses on how the researcher goes about discovering what he or she believes can be known.

The research philosophy that best suits this research is constructivism. This research paradigm states that there are multiple realities, each of which takes diverse shapes and is unique to each person or group (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, pp. 110). These realities are shaped by our experiences and perspectives as each of us sees things differently, and what we see is influenced by a complex combination of social and contextual forces as well as preconceptions (Moses & Knutsen, 2012, pp. 9). Various people can see the same thing and interpret it differently. Individual and social traits (such as age, gender, and ethnicity) can help or hinder a person's vision of the world (Moses & Knutsen, 2012, pp. 10). According to Guba & Lincoln (1994; pp. 111), the values of the researcher influence the outcome of the research, as his or her perspectives and the respondent are considered to be interactively linked that create the understanding of the realities being researched. Through interaction between the researcher and research participants, individual social conceptions can be interpreted by using conventional explanatory techniques while also using dialectical interchange to compare and contrast the various realities. Interviews have been used as the primary source of data collection on the grounds that this will help discover the social constructions of the respondents.

3.2 Research design

The methodology that best suits this study is a qualitative research approach because of its in-depth characteristics, in which the underlying dynamics of digital nomads living and working in coliving spaces are sought to be explained through primary data collection, namely conducting interviews. A multiple-case study has been chosen for this research because it investigates a particular phenomenon at several different sites (Stewart, 2012). In this thesis, respondents have been asked to express their experience and opinion on living and working in three different coliving projects as digital nomads in the municipality of Amsterdam. Moreover, this research has exploratory characteristics as in previous research the experiences of digital nomads have not been clarified yet. The qualitative method chosen for this study is a hybrid approach of inductive and deductive thematic analysis (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). A deductive approach was followed primarily since the categorization of coliving spaces enhancing a digital nomad's well-being according to Von Zumbusch & Lalicic (2020) was used as a predefined framework for this study. However, by also allowing for themes to be identified inductively from data this study explores if there are other resources that have an influence on the experiences of digital nomads and remote workers in coliving spaces. This has been accomplished by making use of inductive thematic coding and deductive thematic coding.

In this comparative study, an attempt is made to map out the different perspectives of digital nomads living in one of the three researched coliving spaces in Amsterdam. According to Bryman (2016, pp. 60), a (multiple) case study is the most suitable method to obtain an answer to the research question, as it allows for an extensive and deeper investigation of people's expectations and analyzes rich data. The experiences of digital nomads combining coliving and coworking need to be researched in-depth because experiences are a multi-factor aspect that is asking for qualitative inquiry. Since Amsterdam is nationally known for its relatively high number of coliving spaces, this case study can create relevant insights for other cities that have a higher number of coliving projects compared to the national level median.

In this research, carrying out coliving is presumed to be a chosen way of life for some digital nomads, however not for everyone as for some it will be a forced outcome to be able to live in the municipality of Amsterdam. The assumption is supported based on a combination of the theoretical framework and current housing market conditions. The data acquired in support of the hypothesis is compared against new data that has been collected through empirical research, mainly in the form of interviews. It is decided whether the original hypothesis stands in line or disagrees with the new findings, from which new or supplementary hypotheses can be built and recommendations for future research and praxis can be formulated (Van Thiel, 2014, pp. 119).

Figure 3 shows the different phases of this study. First, a literature review was done in which a desk research led to exploring the different components for the conceptual framework. Phase two consisted of making an overview of the different coliving spaces that were looked into and conducting interviews with both residents and experts on coliving. After completing the data collection phase, it was necessary to organize the data and analyze it accordingly based on two different coding schemes. After reflecting on the theoretical framework, the last phase consisted of presenting the conclusion and discussion of the thesis.

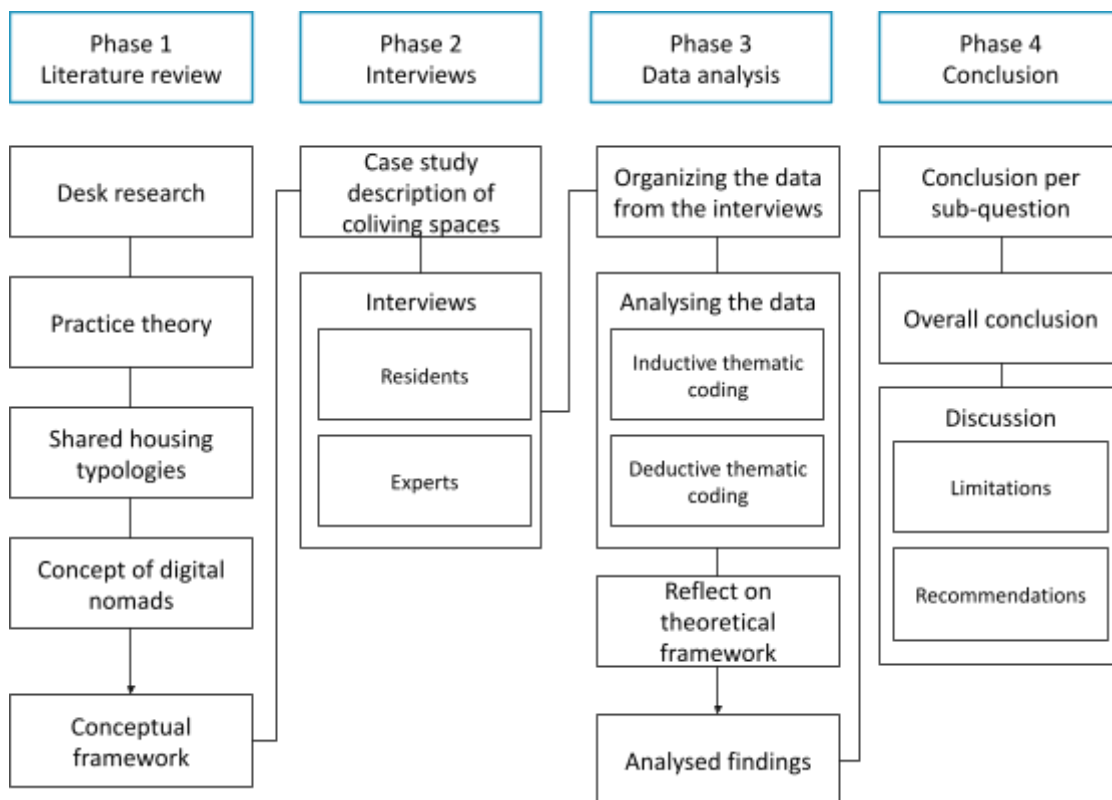


Figure 3. Research design with elaboration on different phases (created by the author).

3.3 Operationalization and conceptual model

To be able to say something about the experiences of respondents, the concept of coliving spaces enhancing a digital nomad's well-being needs to be explained. In the theoretical framework, this concept according to Zumbusch & Lalicic (2020) has been presented. Their result on what the digital nomads' well-being entails has been used throughout this research. The operationalization of the concept can be seen in the table below.

Variable	Dimension	Indicator
Coliving spaces enhancing a digital nomad's well-being	Social resources	Community
		Social interaction
		Human connection
		Business contacts
		New Perspective
		Accountability
		Establish Good Habits
	Physical resources	Community manager
		Sense of structure
		Communal space
		Creating work and leisure boundaries
		Basic amenities
	Psychological resources	Minimalistic lifestyle
		Sense of belonging
		Self Awareness
Support system		
		Self Actualization

Table 2. Operationalization of coliving spaces enhancing a digital nomad's well-being based on Von Zumbusch & Lalicic (2020).

The table above shows what the concept of coliving spaces enhancing a digital nomad's well-being entails and its related indicators that have been used as guidance throughout this research. It was anticipated that not all of the indicators would come up and that other themes would arise in this

study. The unit of analysis throughout this research consists of digital nomads and remote workers who have been asked about their motivations for coliving since this research aims to assess what their experiences are. Market-oriented and governmental actors provided insights into the development of coliving over time and were asked how they regard the future potential of it. Therefore, it leads to the following conceptual model:

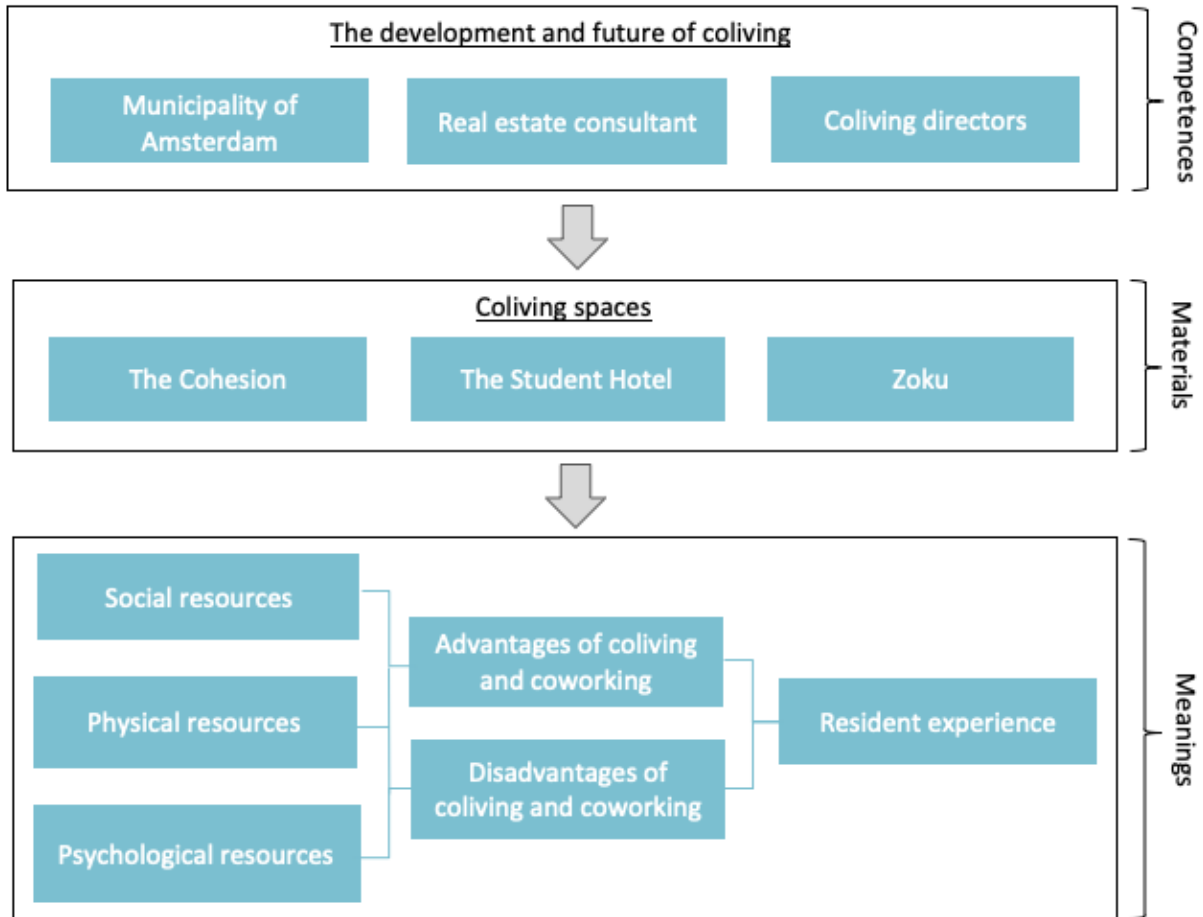


Figure 4. Conceptual model (created by the author).

3.4 Research method

3.4.1 Data-collection

Interviews

Conducting interviews is seemingly the most widely employed method in qualitative research (Bryman, 2016, pp. 466). The flexibility of the interview is what makes it so attractive. A distinction can be made between qualitative interviewing and interviewing in quantitative research. The latter tends to be more structured. In this study, qualitative interviewing has been used because the interviewee's point of view is important to get a hold of, and only with more flexibility it is possible to receive rich, detailed answers (Bryman, 2016, pp. 467). Both residents of coliving spaces and experts have been interviewed on the topic.

Resident interviews

Respondents for this study were approached to arrange interviews by visiting coliving spaces and through online platforms used extensively by digital nomads. Each interview followed a similar structure in order to improve the interview's reliability and validity. The purpose of the interview was to collect data that can be generalized and compared concerning digital nomads' experiences with coliving. A semi-structured interview has been chosen to have a flexible interview process. An interview guide was used with a list of questions and specific topics to be covered. However, the interviewee still has a great deal of leeway in how to reply as questions may not be asked exactly in the way outlined in the guide (Bryman, 2016, pp. 487). By doing so, the interviewees can put the emphasis on how they understand and frame certain phenomena, in this case, being part of a coliving community as a digital nomad. The interview guide can be found in Appendix III. Three residents from each coliving space were interviewed as this turned out to be the number of interviewees necessary to achieve data saturation. Table 3 illustrates who the study participants for the resident group were.

Resident	Case	Profession	Level of digital nomadism (Reichenberger, 2018)	Age	Gender
TC1	The Cohesion	Fintech company	0	33	Female
TC2	The Cohesion	Expat housing provider	0	28	Female
TC3	The Cohesion	Content creator and medical writer	1	33	Male
TSH1	The Student Hotel	Organization psychologist and mediator	1	58	Male
TSH2	The Student Hotel	Graphic designer	3	36	Female
TSH3	The Student Hotel	Creative and digital marketing consultant	3	25	Female
ZO1	Zoku	Photographer, videographer and director	2	42	Male
ZO2	Zoku	Online coach and daytrader	3	28	Female
ZO3	Zoku	Photographer and graphic designer	2	37	Male

Table 3. Overview of resident interviews.

Expert interviews

Instead of solely conducting resident interviews, market-oriented and governmental actors have also been questioned to acquire a better understanding of the models and desired impacts of coliving spaces as well as uncovering how coliving has developed over the last years and where it can go in the future. This contributes to the exploratory aspects of this study as arguments from coliving

directors, a real estate consultant and a project manager have not been explored yet in-depth related to this topic. Interviews with both coliving directors were initiated to be able to develop an overall picture of the researched coliving spaces. The real estate consultant and project manager were recruited by means of stratified purposive sampling as they are typical cases and had a direct reference to the research question being asked (Bryman, 2016, pp. 408-409). Given the exploratory goals of these interviews, an unstructured interview format has been used. Instead of using a typical questionnaire, a topic list in each interview was used. This gives the interviewees more freedom and room to discuss subjects that weren't included in the literature review. The experts were allowed to respond freely and were further questioned when points that seemed worthy of being followed up arose (Bryman, 2016, pp. 468). The topic list for the coliving directors can be found in Appendix I and the topic list for the project manager and real estate consultant follows in Appendix II. In Table 4 an overview is presented of the experts who have been interviewed for this study.

Expert	Profession
Coliving director 1	Real estate developer The Student Hotel
Coliving director 2	Co-founder Zoku
Real estate consultant 1	Director real estate advisory company
Project manager 1	Project manager ground affairs municipality of Amsterdam

Table 4. Overview of expert interviews.

Document review

A document review was chosen to answer the sub-question: “What are specific structures of coliving spaces which can be identified?” This has been done by means of exploring different editions of a coliving magazine that is created by experts from the coliving industry as well as analyzing a book written by a coliving entrepreneur. By doing a document review, it was possible to gain a more qualitative understanding of the different structures of coliving spaces and summarize what the outcomes are. Table 5 presents an overview of the reviewed documents.

Document	Title
Art of coliving	The complete guide to understand the coliving industry and learn how to build life-enhancing coliving spaces at scale
Coliving insights No. 1	Exploring coliving as an innovative housing solution
Coliving insights No. 2	Is coliving here to stay?
Coliving insights No. 6	Fostering thriving communities in shared living
Coliving insights No. 7	Spatial design & architecture for coliving

Table 5. Overview of reviewed documents.

3.4.1.1 Methodological framework

In the previous paragraph it has become clear that interviews have been conducted with both residents and experts. These two types of respondents offer a different perspective on coliving and give different insights into this type of housing which the study tries to present. Through resident

interviews, the experiences and motivations for carrying out coliving can be obtained as well as reflecting on contributing resources that can be found in coliving spaces. By conducting interviews with experts, the selected cases can be reflected upon from a different perspective as experts can tell more about the motivations for creating coliving spaces and the development of it throughout the years. Through these interviews, data has been obtained from different angles that resulted in gathering general insights into coliving, together with obtaining in-depth information that only residents and experts can provide. Figure 5 presents an overview of the specific data that has been retrieved by using the research methods of this study.

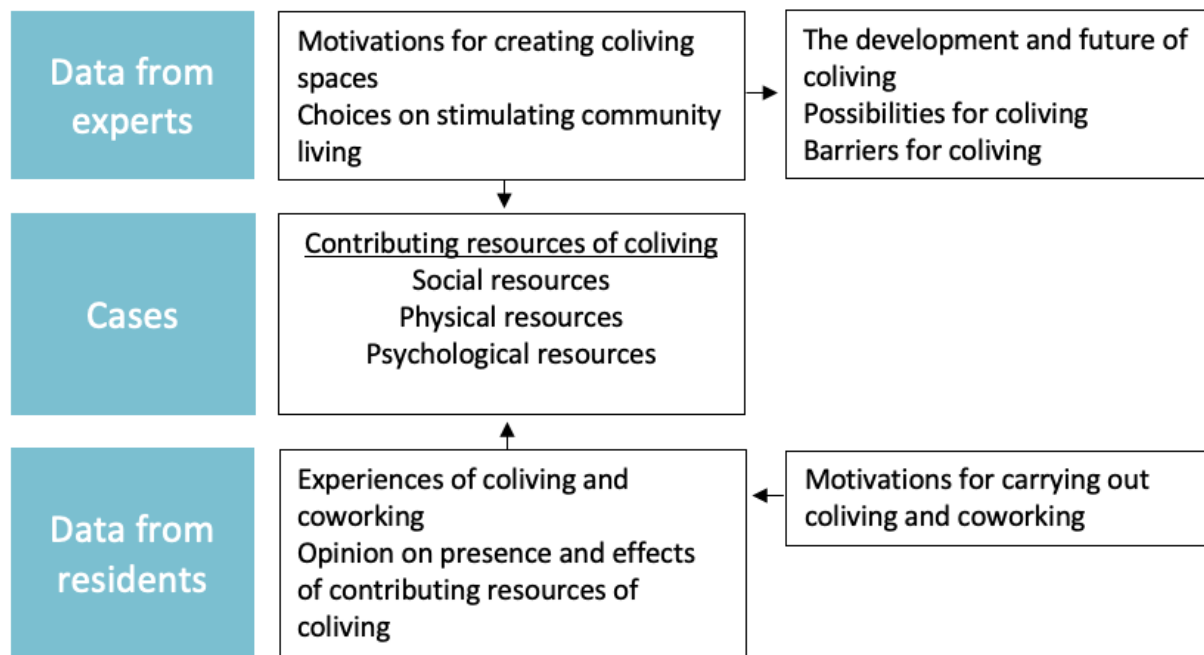


Figure 5. Overview of data retrieved using research methods (created by the author).

3.4.2 Data-analysis

In this study, the literature review and interviews are the primary sources of data. The conducted interviews have been recorded and transcribed in order to process the data and then analyzed by looking at the dimensions and leading codes identified in *Chapter 3.3, Table 2*. By also allowing new themes to emerge directly from the data or by changing predefined codes, inductive thematic analysis (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006) was used when additional themes turned out somewhat different from the predetermined indicators from the predefined framework of coliving spaces enhancing a digital nomad's well-being according to Von Zumbusch & Lalicic (2020). To help with the data interpretation and to analyze the transcripts, the qualitative data-analysis tool *ATLAS.ti* has been used to efficiently carry the inductive and deductive coding out. The existing themes are complemented by new themes which allow for a structured presentation of results. The code list for experts can be found in Appendix IV and the code list for residents follows in Appendix V.

3.5 Validity and reliability

Validity and reliability are important criteria for sound scientific research (Van Thiel, 2014, pp. 48). When conducting research, the quality of information and results is critical. Reliability and validity are closely interconnected but apply to different aspects of research that will be described below.

Internal validity

Whether there is a correspondence between researchers' observations and the theoretical ideas they develop is referred to as internal validity (Bryman, 2016, pp. 384). It relates mainly to the issue of

causality and is concerned whether a conclusion based on a causal relationship between two or more variables is sound and valid (Bryman, 2016, pp. 41). What counts is whether a theoretical notion has been appropriately operationalized, as well as whether the presupposed causal relationship between the independent and dependent variables is there (Van Thiel, 2014, pp. 49). The applied qualitative research strategy and methodology in this study have a high internal validity because of its in-depth characteristics. As digital nomads' experiences are researched in detail and in-depth, the causal relationship between variables can be examined. Therefore, the internal validity is high due to the wealth of information collected (Van Thiel, 2014, pp. 87).

External validity

The degree to which findings can be generalized across social settings is referred to as external validity (Bryman, 2016, pp. 384). It describes to what extent the study's findings apply to other people, institutions, times, or places (Van Thiel, 2014, pp. 49). The external validity of this research is low because case studies make it difficult to generalize across different social settings in multiple cities as it is context-dependent (Bryman, 2016, pp. 41-42). It is difficult to generalize findings to other situations, either because the case is unique or because the results are limited to the context in question (Flyvbjerg, 2006). According to Farthing (2016), external validity can be improved by conducting semi-structured interviews with multiple respondents. Semi-structured interviews provide for some organization in data collecting. By interviewing multiple respondents, the possibility of results being generalized to other Dutch contexts comparable to this one grows.

Reliability

The topic of whether a study's results are reproducible is addressed by reliability (Bryman, 2016, pp. 41). The accuracy and consistency with which the variables are measured determine the study's reliability (Van Thiel, 2014, pp. 48). The more exactly and consistently the variables are assessed, the more likely the results will be systematic and representational rather than coincidental. Firstly, accuracy refers to the measurements instruments that are used. Variables should be captured as accurately and precisely as possible. For that reason, one item list with relevant questions has been made for the interviews. Data from those interviews can then provide evidence for the existence of a causal relationship.

Secondly, consistency refers to the idea of repeatability; under identical conditions, the same measurement will lead to comparable results (Van Thiel, 2014, pp. 48). Repeatability improves a study's reliability because it ensures that the findings are accurate. However, in the social sciences, research frequently focuses on people as a source of data. Because people experience things differently, repeating a study will not necessarily produce the same results. A way of attaining repeatability is to carefully document the steps that have been taken. By linking academic literature and planning theories, other researchers can replicate the study following the same procedure for other coliving projects. As this research has documented every step, it will enhance the reliability of the study.

A weakness of qualitative research to keep in mind is that the researcher's interpretation is the method by which knowledge is extracted from the data. Therefore, the data in this study is potentially influenced by the researcher. The different actors also interpret their experiences which makes it difficult to have consistency in the study because other respondents potentially have different thoughts about the same subject (Van Thiel, 2014, pp. 48). By standardizing the methods within this study and keeping the topics during the interview the same for each respondent, the reliability and thus the consistency ultimately increases.

4. Case description

This chapter describes the current situation of Amsterdam and provides information about the selected coliving spaces that have been used as cases in this thesis to further uncover the topic. The geography of Amsterdam is described as well as the current state of the housing and office market.

4.1 Geography

In this study, the focus lies on coliving spaces that are situated in the municipality of Amsterdam. It was decided to do this because Amsterdam is the municipality that has the most community living spaces within the Netherlands (VGW, 2022). Figure 6 shows where the municipality of Amsterdam is located in the province of North-Holland. Amsterdam has the highest number of inhabitants of all municipalities in the Netherlands, namely 873.338 in 2021 (CBS, 2021). It is considered to be one of the municipalities that is the most densely populated in the country. Urban areas are where coliving spaces are most prevalent and digital nomads tend to stay at the most popular cities in the world (Diamond, 2021). Therefore, it was expected that relevant coliving spaces for this research could be found in Amsterdam. Table 6 gives an overview of large scale developer-led coliving spaces in Amsterdam.



Figure 6. Map of the Netherlands in which Amsterdam is highlighted (created by the author).

Coliving space	Number of apartments
Change= Nieuw-west	498
Change= Zuidoost	596
OurDomain Diemen	774
OurDomain Zuidoost	1559
The Cohesion Don Bosco	429
The Cohesion Little Manhattan	872
The Cohesion Lofts	212
The Cohesion Wembley	126
The Student Hotel City	574
The Student Hotel West	707
Villa Mokum	627
Zoku	133

Table 6. Overview of large scale developer-led coliving spaces in Amsterdam. Source: BAM Wonen (w.d.), Change=(2022), OurDomain (2022), The Cohesion (2022), The Student Hotel (2022), Zoku (2022).

4.2 Housing market of Amsterdam

It is becoming more and more expensive to live in the municipality of Amsterdam (Wooninfo, 2022). As in previous years, the trend towards expensive housing stock continues (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2022b). The middle segment has shrunk due to price increase in the owner-occupied and private rental sector. As a result, both low- and middle-income people have fewer options on the Amsterdam housing market. There are more people who are in need of social housing compared to the available homes. Middle-income households are especially hit hard by this situation, as the number of affordable homes for them is increasing slightly, but is an increasingly smaller part of the total (Wooninfo, 2022). Figure 7 shows with the left graph what the Amsterdam housing stock by property looks like.

The Amsterdam housing stock of 2021 was dominated by a private rental sector that outnumbers owner-occupied homes (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2022b). This is reflected in the housing supply: the supply of owner-occupied housing has fallen in recent years, while the supply of private rental housing has expanded dramatically. The right graph of Figure 7 reflects the trend toward a greater private renting sector. Private rental houses account for more than half (54,6%) of recent occupancy, but account for less than a third (30,5%) of the housing supply as could be seen on the left graph of Figure 7. This is most likely due to buy-to-let homes being purchased to rent out, and keep-to-let home owners relocating and renting out their 'property.' Thus, homes for sale are appearing on the market, but they are less frequently used as owner-occupied homes among recent inhabitants, as some of these homes are afterwards rented out as private rental homes.

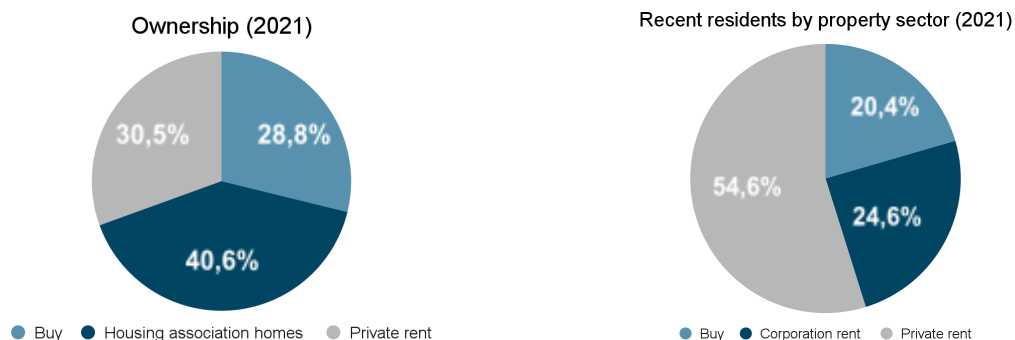


Figure 7. Amsterdam housing stock by property and recent residents by property sector (created by the author based on Gemeente Amsterdam, 2022b).

4.2.1 Coliving policy of the municipality of Amsterdam

After having acquired a better picture of the dynamics of the Amsterdam housing market, it is possible to describe where coliving fits into the picture and what the regulations look like. The Housing Act (Huisvestingswet) determines that a living space is occupied by one household (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2022a). If a house is occupied by several people, who together do not form a household, this is referred to as *woningdelen* (shared housing). As all segments of the housing market are experiencing severe shortages, many people find that sharing a house is their only option. *Woningdelen* is used by not only young people and students, but also newcomers, labor migrants, and knowledge migrants, whether forced or not. As a result, developers and landlords are providing coliving spaces that can be shared by multiple households. *Woningdelen* comes in two forms: *kamergewijze verhuur* (room rental) and *inwoning* (lodging).

Independent living quarters are rented out to various households in the case of *kamergewijze verhuur* (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2022a). Residents pay for the use of the room and share the cost for the

shared areas within the residence, such as the kitchen, bathroom and living room. This is contradictory to the purpose of *inwoning* as the initial resident and the resident are clearly distinguished. For example, when a family takes in a relative to care for or shelter. A household may also provide *inwoning* to a friend who has become homeless as a result of, for example, a divorce.

Woningdelen is seen as an important way for Amsterdam to address the rising demand for living space (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2022a). Despite the tense housing market, many home seekers turn to *kamergewijze verhuur* and *inwoning* to locate homes for a short or longer period of time. This alternative, according to Amsterdam, should not be eliminated. However, Amsterdam aims to avoid *woningdelen* from becoming so popular that it has a negative impact on quality of life and housing stock composition. While Amsterdam allows *woningdelen*, it also offers a set of guidelines to prevent negative consequences. These rules apply to all residential properties and consists of a maximum for the number of homes that are occupied by room, both at neighborhood level and per building; a maximum for the number of residents per room; limitation on the number of independent living spaces that can be realized in a home; requirements for sound insulation; and a mandatory shared living space.

4.3 Office market of Amsterdam

Digital nomads are not only in search of housing but also a space to work. For that reason, it is also necessary to look into the office property sector of Amsterdam and determine how these dynamics could affect coliving. The Amsterdam office market has experienced high volatility as the vacancy rate has increased with 0,8 percent over the last year (Wagemakers, 2022). In 2022, 6,4 percent of the total surface area is vacant. Many companies did not risk renting office buildings due to uncertain market conditions during the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, the office market is entering a new phase.

More people have adopted hybrid working to the fullest, while some are still searching for the ideal compromise between working from home and being physically present in the office (Vastgoedmarkt, 2022). It is becoming clear that the office's function is shifting toward that of a meeting place for people where interaction is mostly desired. The quality of the workplace is gaining importance as well as the sustainable quality of office real estate. All office buildings bigger than 100 square meters must have at least energy label C from upward of 2023, otherwise it cannot longer be rented out. Almost 40 percent of the offices currently do not meet the requirements, and it is doubtful whether it is possible to achieve the correct energy label in time (Klumpenaar, 2022).

As the new requirements go into effect shortly, the demand for sustainable offices is rapidly rising. Not only is the demand for environmentally friendly offices increasing, but so is their average rent (Vastgoednieuws, 2022). Amsterdam has experienced the greatest rent increase among the G5 cities of the Netherlands. Users now pay on average €35 per m² more for offices with energy labels A (or better) than for an office with a lower score. Since more people are looking for social interaction and the rent for office spaces in Amsterdam is increasing, renting in the office market is less attractive for certain target groups such as digital nomads. Carrying out coliving in a coliving space that has a coworking space could solve this problem and will be discussed further in the next chapters.

4.4 Coliving spaces

The coliving spaces relevant to this study are all situated in the municipality of Amsterdam. Three different coliving spaces have been chosen as cases for this study: The Cohesion - Don Bosco, The Student Hotel Amsterdam City and Zoku Amsterdam. These cases were primarily selected because of their distinct target group. It was expected that digital nomads could be identified more easily in these coliving spaces as they offer housing specifically to this audience of (young) professionals. The

Cohesion, The Student Hotel and Zoku have multiple locations either in the Netherlands or in different countries around the world. It has been decided to only look at one location of each coliving provider to keep the results as structured as possible. This also has to do with the fact that not every location of the different coliving providers offers coworking spaces in the building which is a prerequisite for this study.

Each location of The Cohesion, The Student Hotel and Zoku in Amsterdam is depicted in Figure 8. The blue arrows indicate the locations that have been chosen to research within this study. In the next paragraph, the chosen coliving spaces will be introduced. More information about the characteristics of the chosen coliving spaces is provided in Table 7. This table includes information about the year of completion, the number of dwellings and the average length of residence.

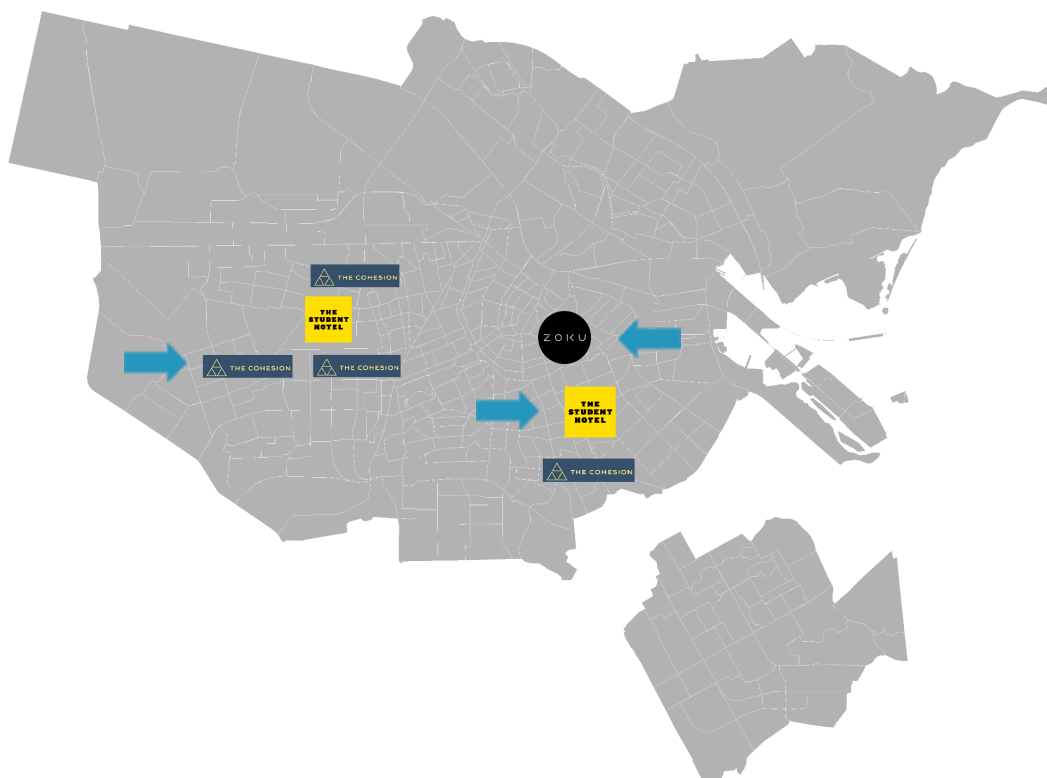


Figure 8. Locations of coliving spaces from chosen coliving providers in Amsterdam, blue arrow indicating researched cases (created by the author).

4.3.1 The Cohesion: Don Bosco

Don Bosco is part of the urban regeneration of the Osdorp/plein area in Amsterdam Nieuw-West. The concept of Don Bosco is based on a sense of community and focuses on young professionals who purchase a home later in life, place a lower value on property, and prefer to share amenities (IVC commercial, w.d.). Don Bosco is a reaction to the city's growing demand for mid-priced affordable housing and trendy living in the city. The structure of the building has a sturdy and robust appearance which is inspired by the industrial harbor buildings in this neighborhood just outside Amsterdam.

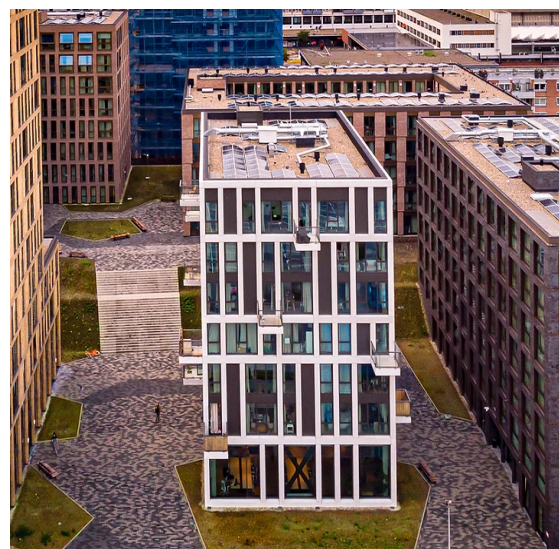


Figure 9. Photo of Don Bosco (The Cohesion, 2022).

The residents of Don Bosco live in their own brand-new and sophisticated micro-studio that are fully furnished but can be customized as needed (The Cohesion, 2022). In the coworking space and relaxation areas people can work, meet, and brainstorm. Don Bosco's coliving atmosphere creates an environment where residents can unleash their creativity and push one another to new heights. The facilities of Don Bosco gives its residents the chance to meet their in-house coliving neighbors who for example could end up being an in-house sparring partner.

4.3.2 The Student Hotel Amsterdam City

The Student Hotel Amsterdam City is part of the urban regeneration of the Wibautstraat in Amsterdam East. Schools, restaurants and clubs are being established in the area making it more of a knowledge axis, a challenging place for students and the public (NRP Gulden Feniks, 2016). The former newspaper headquarters of Parool and Trouw have been redeveloped into the first location of The Student Hotel in Amsterdam. The buildings have been partly gutted, transformed and provided with new additions. The transformation, the new function and the new additions contribute towards a new identity to this part of the city.



The Student Hotel is a new hospitality concept that combines student housing, hotel rooms, coworking spaces, meeting rooms, and events under one roof (The Student Hotel, 2022). The Student hotel can be seen as a buzzing hub where individuals from all walks of life mix and share ideas. Adventurers, entrepreneurs, students, and locals are all welcome. The Student Hotel Amsterdam City offers a digital nomads package for people who want to have an extended stay and want make use of the coworking spaces.

Figure 10. Photo of The Student Hotel Amsterdam City (NRP Gulden Feniks, 2016).

4.3.3 Zoku

Zoku is located in the city center of Amsterdam in the Weesperbuurt. The concept of Zoku has been designed specifically for global nomads: international entrepreneurs, self-employed professionals, project managers, management consultants and free movers-and-shakers (Zoku, 2022). The people that come to Zoku have similar entrepreneurial interests and are open-minded and interested. Global nomads are surrounded by different cultures when they live and work overseas, yet it can be difficult to fully immerse themselves in it. The objective of Zoku is to bring like-minded people together under one roof, connecting international residents with like-minded locals.

Zoku is a home-office hybrid that facilitates worldwide living and working for the traveling professional, with the conveniences of a hotel and the social buzz of a bustling community (Zoku, 2022). While becoming connected into



Figure 11. Photo of Zoku (Zoku, 2022).

the city, Zoku is a laid-back environment to live, work, and mingle with like-minded folks. Global nomads who wish to live and work in a place for a few days to a few months can use Zoku as a home base. When individuals get together, Zoku believes wonderful things can happen. Zoku rents the building to offer their services (Jongerius, personal communication, 2022).

	Case 1. The Cohesion Don Bosco	Case 2. The Student Hotel	Case 3. Zoku
Location	Osdorpplein, Osdorp-Oost	Parooldriehoek, Weesperzijde	Weesperbuurt
Completed	2020	2015	2016
Developer(s)	Rockfield Real Estate	Boelens de Gruyter	Hans Meyer & Marc Jongerius
Number of dwellings	429 studios	574 rooms/studios	133 studios
Range private space sqm	50 m ²	16 - 25 m ²	24 - 46 m ²
Temporality	Medium to long stay	Short to medium stay	Short to long stay
Cost per month - lowest to highest (varies throughout the year)	€865-€2035	€1997-€3008	€4112-€6243
Audience width	Young urban professionals	Students, Young Urban professionals	Urban professionals
Governance model	Top-down	Top-down	Top-down
Yearly occupancy rate	100%	90-95%	90%
Types of shared spaces	Working space, events spaces, fitness area, game room, mediation room	Study room, shared kitchen, game area, gym, cafe, working spaces	Rooftop terrace, living room/kitchen, working space, meeting rooms, music corner

Table 7. Overview of case characteristics (created by the author). Source: own interviews, The Cohesion (2022), The Student Hotel (2022), Zoku (2022)

5. Results & analysis

In this chapter, the results from the document review, semi-structured interviews with digital nomads who live or have lived in coliving spaces and in-depth interviews with market-oriented and governmental actors are described. The results are analyzed by using the sub-questions, the conceptual model and the predefined operationalization that has been altered by using the results from the conducted interviews with residents from the three coliving spaces in Amsterdam that have been used throughout this research. Firstly, the emergence and future of coliving is discussed based on the document review and the expertise from experts. Secondly, the extent to which social, physical and psychological resources influence the coliving experience is addressed based on residents' interviews. Inductively obtained indicators that were not part of the predefined operationalization are presented here. In the last paragraph of this chapter, the overall experience of combining coliving and working is deliberated on from the resident's perspective. The quotes from residents are presented anonymously by using their case abbreviation and number as seen in Table 3. For the purpose of readability, the interviewed experts are referred to by their function as seen in Table 4, with the proper reference at the beginning of the relevant sections. All the citations from the interviewed experts and two residents have been translated from Dutch by the author.

5.1 The emergence and future of coliving

Public and private real estate developers attribute the recent emergence of coliving to multiple factors. Coliving is not considered a new phenomenon of living as it has been known for thousands of years with house sharing on a smaller scale. The rise of developer-led coliving providing accommodation to hundreds of people at once has its origin in the fluctuations on the Dutch housing market. The demand for housing, especially in Amsterdam, exasperates the supply side as more people are in search of the urban lifestyle. In this paragraph, the different coliving structures are explained based on the document review and the demand for coliving will be discussed as well as the possibilities and barriers for these coliving typologies based on the expert interviews.

5.1.1 The different coliving structures

Different movements within the coliving industry can be categorized. There are several ways to distinguish these, namely based on lease term, space allocation, building density, services, amenities, income model, property model and value proposition (Kadiev et al., 2020). Clark et al. (2020) have conducted a survey on what the key features of a successful coliving space post COVID-19 will be. The level of engagement and authenticity of the community is one of the characteristics that differs between coliving structures. This component is considered to be the main feature that will determine the successfulness of a coliving space, as well as the flexibility in rental prices, the (cluster) size of the coliving space, diversification of tenant demographics and geographic locations. The cluster size can be differentiated into a micro-cluster (3-4 people), mini-cluster (20 people) and a macro-cluster (80 people) (Perdrix, 2021, as cited in De Jong et al., 2021b). One of the characteristics of coliving structures that will become more important over the years is to what extent technology is used to foster communities and facilitate connection to the neighborhood (Digital Estate, 2021, as cited in De Jong et al., 2021a).

A more simplified and organized conceptualization has been designed by Scapinelli in which she identified three essential characteristics for coliving that can be measured, namely space, community and services (Flurin, 2018). Scapinelli has created a model to analyze different coliving structures as it divides coliving spaces into five categories: travel-oriented, work-oriented, cost-oriented, community-oriented and urban lifestyle-oriented coliving spaces. Firstly, travel-oriented coliving spaces are typically appealing to travelers and digital nomads (Scapinelli, 2018, as cited in Perdrix, 2021). Their stay is more immersive, providing a sense of the neighborhood and local events, and as a result, it is more expensive than the majority of residential coliving facilities. Secondly, work-oriented

coliving spaces are designed to create work environments for groups of people ranging from entrepreneurs to freelancers, as they offer them a workplace. Next, cost-oriented coliving spaces cater primarily to low-income individuals. Community-oriented coliving spaces devote a significant amount of time and effort to promoting community building and individual empowerment. One of the key focuses is on how coliving can lead to greater personal growth and collective belonging. Lastly, urban lifestyle-oriented coliving spaces focusses on urban areas and provide simple access to real estate in expensive cities while also providing certain facilities. Figure 12 demonstrates where the researched coliving spaces are situated within the categorization.

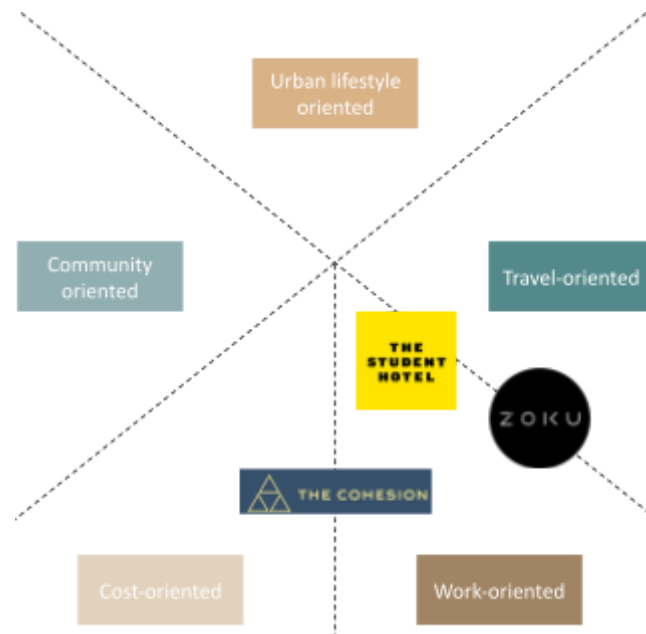


Figure 12. Categorization of researched coliving spaces per main intention according to Scapinelli (2018, as cited in Perdrix 2021), (filled in by the author).

Coliving spaces can be part of multiple categorizations and overlap. Therefore, a precise visual representation is not always attainable. All three researched coliving spaces fall at least in two categories based on the type of space, community and available services. Zoku and The Student Hotel are located in the city center of Amsterdam and The Cohesion just outside the heart of the city, thus the urban lifestyle category is also applicable. The categorization model does not reflect or showcase differences in organizational structures within the coliving spaces, nor the basic characteristics such as housing stock type and the duration of the average stay. Figure 13 shows another model to analyze different coliving structures in which coliving spaces are categorized based on four elements: housing stock type, temporality, audience width and governance model.

Firstly, the number of residents sharing a space is the most important aspect for the type of housing stock (Perdrix, 2021). Secondly, the concept of temporality encompasses everything from short-stay or mixed models to coliving spaces that simply encourage long-term stay. Next, the width of the audience ranges from niche communities to open places. Finally, there is the governance level, which can be divided into four categories: the do-it-yourself model where residents are the ones deciding how the place is run; the top-down model which means that the operator makes all the decisions; the bottom-up model where operators consults and involves residents in the decision-making process; and the systems model where the operator serves as a guide who assists residents to take charge of all or most responsibilities. Thus, cluster size, audience, temporality and residents involvement has been taken into account with this model. The three researched coliving spaces have been placed in

this model in Figure 13. A clear overview of specific coliving structures can be made when combining both the categorization of coliving spaces per main attention and the characteristics model.

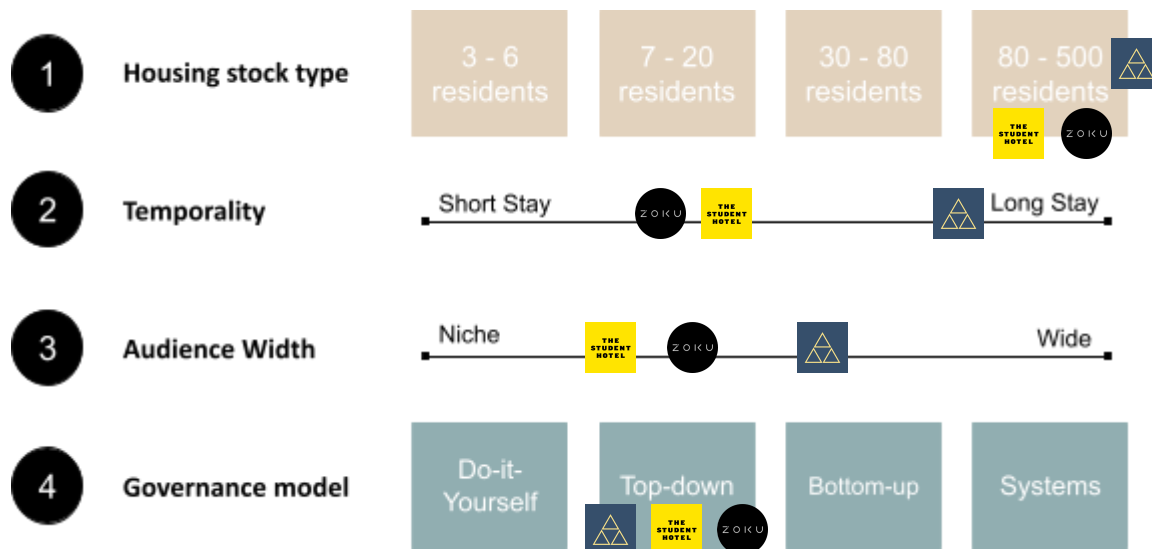


Figure 13. Characteristics model to analyze coliving spaces (Perdrix, 2021), (filled in by the author).

5.1.2 Demand for coliving

To understand how big the demand for coliving is, it is necessary to first discuss the development of the housing market in general since this is the market in which coliving evolves. The housing market has turned out to be too unpredictable according to the real estate consultant. While the real estate market is known as a stable market, the volatility when it comes to developing new real estate projects is actually very high. This has its origin in times in which many real estate developments were coming out of the ground quickly, but also periods in time in which no new homes were being built. According to the real estate consultant (personal communication, 29 April, 2022) the latter has resulted in more demand for housing than available supply nowadays: *“There is now a kind of consensus that there is a real structural need for more homes.”* (Real estate consultant 1, line 18)

Since 2013 there has been a qualitative problem in the housing stock when the financial crisis really hit the Dutch real estate sector. The crisis started in 2009 but it was not until around 2012/2013 that a lot of projects were shut down. Mainly the lack of entrepreneurship and the politics of that time are considered to be the cause according to the real estate consultant. The project manager of the municipality of Amsterdam (personal communication, 29 April, 2022) believes that in terms of demographic development, real estate developments should have continued to be built continuously from the year 2000 but this did not happen because of the financial crisis. The housing production has been very low and has only started to receive traction again since 2017. Right now the real estate sector is trying to catch up with what was not built before, but this is a race against the clock as the demand only continues to increase.

The real estate consultant acknowledges that the demand for housing only keeps increasing and believes that this is caused by a structural demographic and qualitative demand development that is not affected by crises or sentiment in the market. The sentiment in the market and the political situation do have a big influence on the realization of real estate projects. Thus, those two worlds do not match. Due to COVID many people had a feeling that it could mean a huge blow to the housing market. The opposite seems to be the case as there are indications that interest rates are going to rise and the overbidding on houses will not stop soon. It is difficult throughout the Netherlands, but especially Amsterdam has been experiencing a substantially high demand for housing according to

the project manager. Amsterdam is also a municipality that has more resources than other municipalities to manage the differentiation in social housing, mid-market rent and free-sector housing due to the issuing of land on leasehold.

The municipality of Amsterdam attempts to steer real estate developments in the city towards providing affordable and accessible housing for residents to maintain a healthy housing mix because otherwise only affluent people are able to live in Amsterdam. The highest rent per square meter is requested in Amsterdam when the number is compared to the rent per square meter in other Dutch cities. In addition, the trend of working from home has become more popular. According to the project manager it would make sense to build larger houses so that people can incorporate a home office. This is complicated to manage in Amsterdam as the yield option per home is limited. It comes down to how larger the homes developers make, the lower the price residents pay per square meter. Therefore, in practice developers prefer to build smaller homes. Here is where coliving comes into the picture.

The coliving director of Zoku (personal communication, 16 May, 2022) noticed that there was some kind of need in the market for housing with qualitative communal spaces. There are people who visit big cities for a longer period of time but there is little supply of housing for them that takes the social aspect into account. This is how coliving differentiates itself from ordinary forms of living. In recent years, the availability and awareness of the phenomenon of coliving has increased. The whole market is growing and coliving as a search term is expanding. The market of living as a service has matured in the last couple of years which helps to create more demand. According to the coliving director of Zoku this has to do with increased housing prices, especially for people who are entering the housing market. Their lifestyle also plays a role as people are more flexible but are in search for more on demand services:

“We certainly notice a very large group in the young professional group that does not have direct access to housing, who travels a bit more, who might want to use a few more services instead of owning them. [...] And then choose a place where perhaps your living space itself is slightly smaller. But your communal space is a lot bigger.” (Coliving director 2, line 114)

The human aspect in coliving is considered an added value as other real estate providers solely offer a living space. The coliving director of The Student Hotel (personal communication, 13 May, 2022) explains that the idea for creating a coliving space emerged as tenants deserved qualitatively better rooms with additional facilities. At that time, a gap in the market was found with offering temporary contracts as it is no longer needed to deal with all the rules regarding housing policies in the Netherlands. The coliving provider of The Student Hotel believes that coliving is a unique solution, especially in large inner-city areas, for target groups between 20 and 35 years. The first reason is that the house prices are too expensive for younger target groups and the average coliving space offers more affordability. The second reason is that this target group wants to gain and create new experiences and settle for a smaller living space in order to make this happen. People make a conscious choice to live in a coliving space to enjoy the experience as optimally as possible and share this with other people. The coliving director of The Student Hotel explains what the ambition of their coliving space entails:

“Everyone comes together and that is where we actually want to make a difference by creating a space for people to meet and get new ideas and hopefully be the seed through which people come up with ideas to make a better world.” (Coliving director 1, line 106)

As The Student Hotel and Zoku offer short and medium stays in different countries, digital nomads have the ability to stay at one of the coliving spaces elsewhere than Amsterdam. The pipeline

properties of both coliving brands are growing creating a network of coliving spaces for people to visit worldwide. As these coliving spaces not only offer convenient living space but also distinguish themselves by bringing like-minded people together, former residents are able to experience this again at other locations that are located somewhere else in the world. The Student Hotel already has 18 locations so far and has a desire to grow to a worldwide household name in the coliving scene:

“How we view coliving is that we will soon be able to offer a network of coliving because we have the same facilities everywhere.” (Coliving director 1, line 291)

The real estate consultant believes that there is a big group of people who want to live together in a more social way. There is a growing need for development concepts that consider the social bond with your neighbors. There is a counter-trend going on in which people find it more pleasant to live a less individualistic life and the concept of coliving fits well with this. The project manager believes that there is a demand for coliving as more people are single and they do not mind living with other people at all. This is happening on a bigger scale with the sharing economy where not only homes are shared, but also bicycles and cars for example. According to the project manager, the need for coliving may actually originate in the supply side of housing compared to the demand side:

“I do think that perhaps for a somewhat limited group that the demand is really there, but for many people it is also more supply-driven because there is no further supply for them.” (Project manager 1, line 171)

The demand for coliving originated in the demand for housing in general. The Netherlands and especially Amsterdam has been experiencing a disbalance in the demand and supply-side for housing. After the financial crisis, real estate developments were shut down. Not enough homes being developed has resulted in a structural need for housing. As the demand for real estate in Amsterdam keeps increasing, it becomes expensive to find affordable housing. Coliving is in some instances a solution for some people to find a somewhat more affordable place that otherwise would not have been possible to live in by themselves as it is too expensive. However, there is also a certain target group that is specifically in search of community living and choose to have a smaller living space to achieve this. In the next section, the possibilities and future of coliving will be discussed.

5.1.3 Possibilities

In the previous paragraph the emergence and demand for coliving has been presented in the view of experts. The project manager of the municipality of Amsterdam (personal communication, 29 April, 2022) discussed how the sharing economy, smaller households and the trend that people want to live in the city affects the demand for coliving. Before the wider population adopts coliving, a change in the way people think about shared housing has to occur. It took some time before shared mobility as transportation services was adopted, but people are slowly accepting it and see it also has many advantages. The project manager believes the same goes for coliving as the image of community living changes slowly, however more often people start to think especially in cities where there is very little space about what a person must have in their home and what can be made common.

An opportunity for coliving according to the project manager is to help stimulate the movement in the housing sector. One of the causes of the housing crisis in the Netherlands is the limited flow of elderly people from large to smaller homes. Many households continue to live in very large single-family homes even though children have already moved out. It is difficult to encourage people to live in smaller homes to ensure that larger homes are freed up. It is about making it attractive for people to move on, for example offering secluded elderly people to be part of a community. Thus, coliving spaces can not only facilitate well-being for digital nomads (Von Zumbusch & Lalicic, 2020),

but could also help combat the large increase in loneliness among the elderly. The project manager explains why coliving is a smart solution:

“I think that there is a future, not only if there is a need, but also because of the qualitative added value of living together. For example, if you let people of different ages live together to help each other or just to be able to afford to live in very beautiful places.” (Project manager 1, line 273)

The real estate consultant (personal communication, 29 April, 2022) believes that the larger volumes that coliving spaces provide are able to take place in urban environments because people who are in search of community living have a greater need for interaction in their daily lives, so they will live in the city earlier on. A clear target group of young professionals until the age of 35 can be detected as coliving fits less well when people start having children. Theoretically, as coliving is more efficient in terms of use of space, it could be seen as a solution for the housing shortage. However, the real estate consultant does not believe that the problem is the lack of available space in the Netherlands, rather the complexity. When sufficient diversity in the supply-side of housing is established, you ensure that there is enough strength behind projects and more coliving developments will get off the ground:

“When there is a real need for coliving, I think that is much more important than that you can organize it more efficiently because people share spaces. When there is great pressure from the demand side to offer these kinds of concepts, I believe that will provide more acceleration than the efficient use of space.” (Real estate consultant 1, line 161)

The coliving provider of Zoku (personal communication, 16 May, 2022) agrees as there is a trend in coliving concepts where the room product is made very basic and almost business-economically optimized. It starts to feel like a factory when the common area is not organized in a way for social interaction to happen but what actually should be the coliving part of the space. However, the coliving provider of Zoku concludes that the concept of living together with people and sharing things is strong: “I definitely think that coliving will continue to grow and there will be a bigger market for it.” (Coliving provider 2, line 147)

The coliving director of The Student Hotel (personal communication, 13 May, 2022) believes that the way people work has changed forever. The COVID pandemic has shown that remote working is possible on a daily basis and that it is not necessary for people to be stuck in an office all day. People are no longer dependent on living somewhere specific. The importance of having social interaction and human connection has also become clear as people do not want to be alone. People want to learn new things, experience new things, meet new people. Coliving spaces provide a place to work and community living. Therefore, the coliving director of The Student Hotel concludes that coliving will grow in the next few years: “The rise of hybrid work will also ensure that coliving will become an even greater product.” (Coliving provider 1, line 352)

All the interviewed experts believe that coliving has a lot of potential to expand further in the future. It can take some time for people to adopt the concept of coliving, but as was the case with shared mobility, eventually people see what the advantages are. Coliving can help stimulate the movement in the housing sector, for example by freeing up larger single-family homes. However, it is important to acknowledge that the demand for coliving has to be the cause for such developments to take place instead of solely realizing it because of the efficient use of space. Otherwise the experiences of residents will suffer. Lastly, coliving has a bright future because more people will work remotely and will keep searching for authentic experiences with social interaction until a certain age.

5.1.4 Barriers

The interviewed experts believe that coliving has possibilities to grow in the upcoming years. There are also barriers that make the expansion of this housing concept more difficult. The coliving provider of The Student Hotel (personal communication, 13 May, 2022) explains that it is difficult to expand their coliving spaces to more cities as the housing policy is implemented differently at the local level. They have to sit down with the municipality every time to convince them why this type of housing is different, why the coliving space will be an addition to the city and what quality it will bring to the city. The coliving provider of The Student Hotel implies that some cities are more benevolent than others due to the political situation:

“It has to do with the political interest. [...] When there is a solid left policy they could say that it is not in line with the social statutes of the housing policy because we have a slightly higher price than an average rental home.” (Coliving provider 1, line 238)

The coliving provider of Zoku (personal communication, 16 May, 2022) agrees that politics can be a barrier for coliving. Politics and the rules about buildings and destinations often lay behind in reality. The moment you want to create a coliving space, it may be the case that you actually have a lot of trouble in Amsterdam to realize your business case because it does not particularly fit in social rent, middle segment rent or free market rent. The project manager (personal communication, 29 April, 2022) acknowledges that this is quite a difficult issue in terms of control from the government. The question arises if coliving is something that should be steered by the government or if it should be left untouched:

“I think that if you as a government do not take a clear position on this, it will quickly become difficult for developers to develop coliving spaces, because very often it is tested against policy and the policy does not necessarily say what is wanted.” (Project manager 1, line 284)

The real estate consultant (personal communication, 29 April, 2022) discusses that coliving is a very different investment product for the owner because it naturally entails a certain complexity. The people who live in a coliving space have to get along with each other so there is the possibility of having a matching issue. Investors have to believe in the concept and need to be patient. Coliving spaces have to take the progress into account to look for new tenants every time someone leaves but also step in when issues arise between tenants at a given moment. The real estate consultant believes that these operations affect the rent of a coliving space:

“I can imagine that it is not the cheapest form of renting because services like that all have to pay for themselves. So you will have more vacancies and more activity around it. Guidance in the process of who is going to live with whom.” (Real estate consultant 1, line 202)

The main barrier that affects the development of coliving nowadays has to do with the political situation of a certain place. Housing policies are implemented differently at the local level depending on the political interest of the political parties that contribute to the local servants and aldermen. Politics and policy often lay behind which makes it difficult for coliving to expand quickly as some investors and private developers might see it as too risky. Lastly, the complexity of dealing with moving and incoming tenants as well as maintaining the peace in a coliving space makes it an intricate investment product that can be encountered as a barrier.

5.2 The influence of social, physical and psychological resources on the resident experience of coliving

This section presents the data and analysis from the conducted interviews with residents from the three coliving spaces in Amsterdam to discuss how social, physical and psychological resources affect their coliving experience. Each section will discuss the mentioned indicators in the interviews. Not every indicator was mentioned from the predefined operationalization shown in Table 2. The indicators 'accountability', 'self awareness' and 'self actualization' were not mentioned by the interviewees and are therefore not further used in this research. New indicators are also introduced for each dimension in the accompanying section, namely '(personal) relationship', 'convenience' and 'events'.

5.2.1 Social resources

The social resources were expected to be the most important dimension to answer the question why interviewees carry out coliving. In this part, the perceptions and feelings for the different indicators are explained further. In Table 8, an overview of the mentioned indicators for the social resources' dimension in the interviews is given. Each indicator will be discussed separately below.

Community

One of the indicators that has been mentioned the most by interviewees has been community. All nine interviewees mentioned this indicator to positively affect their coliving experience. Community is experienced by the residents of all three coliving spaces as being part of a group of people who have a similar lifestyle and mindset. It is not necessary for residents to work in the same industry or business to feel part of the community. With coliving, interviewees notice that you meet other residents that have common interests and share the excitement of living together within a larger society. The interviewees from The Student Hotel and Zoku are specifically searching for the community aspect in a place where they stay. This has mostly to do with the fact that interviewees from these cases are traveling a lot and are more location independent. Three out of nine interviewees do not have a permanent residency but are traveling all year long. These three respondents carry out the most extreme level of digital nomadism (Reichenberger, 2018). For them it is pleasurable to meet like minded people when traveling and achieve an instant connection since most of the time they do not know someone when they arrive in a new city. Therefore, having a community in a coliving space is for the interviewees from The Student Hotel and Zoku the most important reason for carrying out coliving.

The residents of The Cohesion confirm that the community aspect is not the reason for deciding to carry out coliving. The main reason for all three residents to live at The Cohesion had to do with their financial situation. The interviewees express that the rent is more affordable than for a regular apartment without communal spaces. Even though the residents from The Cohesion indicate that they did not necessarily choose to stay at a coliving space to experience community living in the first instance, they are now very grateful for it. Having a community that consists of their neighbors and sometimes even other people from the neighborhood has surprised them in the sense of how much they enjoy being part of that community. One of the interviewees from The Cohesion expresses their appreciation for being part of a community:

"The community aspect is something I really like in a sense that you do not feel forced to join anything, but whenever you feel like you need it, it is there." (TC3, line 42)

The interviewees that specifically are in search of experiencing communal living also recognize that maybe not everyone at a coliving space is there for the community aspect. Especially the residents of The Student Hotel and Zoku note that people who visit these coliving spaces as tourists are not

necessarily there to meet new people. It is possible that they are visiting Amsterdam for a weekend and are not aware that they are staying in a coliving space and therefore do not engage in fostering new relationships and activities. On the other hand, some residents can be more introverted and find it more difficult to get in contact with other residents. For these people, having a community around them, can already make them feel less lonely:

“There are still people who might be a bit more introverted. Not everybody who stays at a Zoku is necessarily looking for a community experience. But I do think the fact that there is a community experience present certainly influences their decision in some way. [...] There are some people who want to engage in community and then there are some people who do not want to engage. But just being close, in proximity of community is enough to not make them feel alone.” (ZO1, line 338)

Social interaction

In all coliving spaces of this study, social interaction is experienced as a process that comes naturally to the environment as residents act and react towards other residents. The interviewees see social interaction as a valuable asset of coliving affecting their experience because this is one of the aspects that makes it possible for a community to exist in the first place. A total of seven out of nine interviewees have experienced that having social interaction with other residents can turn into something more, such as real friendships. This all starts with having face-to-face interaction in the natural social setting of the communal spaces. In this setting, it is possible to meet other residents accidentally and in a casual manner so that it does not feel forced to talk to each other:

“I have just got to know people very randomly, like someone is asking me what is the wifi password? And then like from there we just start to talk.” (TC1, line 155)

Allowing social interaction to happen can come unnatural to residents, especially when it is their first time staying at a coliving space. A total of three out of nine interviewees expressed that they were not used to fostering social interaction and reaching out to other people at the beginning of their stay. However, after spending time in a coliving space, having social interaction with other residents happens more and is cherished and can be seen as one of the most valued elements that coliving spaces attain. As a coliving space has a dynamic environment consisting of people from all over the world with different backgrounds, unique conversations take place as one interviewee states:

“At first I was a bit shy to just go up to people and start a conversation. Now that I have been doing it for some time, I do not really feel this anymore. I just get excited to have conversations with people. Get to know more about their cultures because I am meeting such a diverse group of people every time.” (TSH3, line 84)

Human connection

Another valuable asset of coliving which makes it possible for a community to establish is human connection according to the interviewees. The residents of the coliving spaces regard human connection as an authentic experience of feeling closeness to other residents and having a deep bond with them from which friendships can flourish. Human connection goes further than social interaction as the former consists of building trust and feeling understood, the latter could consist of only having one conversation with someone and never speaking to that person again. One interviewee remarks that such authentic friendships can occur out of coliving that residents end up traveling together:

“I have made a lot of friends here in the meantime. Last summer, for example, I went on holiday to Italy with various people who all live here.” (TC2, line 93)

Most residents of coliving spaces are trying to make that connection and the community aspect of coliving makes it easier to achieve this. Interviewees who travel multiple times per year are doing this most of the time by themselves and get lonely by living such a lifestyle. In coliving spaces it is possible to receive and obtain that missing meaningful human connection by, for example, sharing experiences together:

“I guess I like the human connections which you make in a coliving space. As I am not traveling with friends or family, and I am going to new places, most of the time I do not know people there. When you meet new people in a coliving space, share experiences with them.” (TSH3, line 59)

The community grows closer together through human connection to the point that the interviewees see them as family and choose to spend special occasions together. The residents are able to get to know each other better over time to the point that there is mutual support but also the awareness to see when somebody needs help during difficult times:

“We just meet and then maybe even hang out together or create some events or like some birthday [...] And it is great that when I see a lot of people now and we just read each other. They are there if you need something.” (TC1, line 161)

Business contacts

It is possible to receive feedback or input on ideas and projects from other residents of coliving spaces or visitors in the coworking spaces. Residents from the coliving spaces have experiences getting advice from other community members but also helping them out when possible. This is a synergy that people experience during the day which is valued. Also, after getting to know each other better, residents start to notice what people's specializations are and know who to go to for specific consultation, exchange ideas or learn new professional skills. Most of the time this is done for free as it is expected that the favor will be returned when needed. Two interviewees mentioned:

“You can ask for advice and people just give it to you without hesitation.” (TSH3, line 107)

“I met someone at the coworking space who needed some graphic work done and I helped him out. So that is also nice, meeting new people who can help you but also the other way around.” (TSH2, line 83)

Two from the three Zoku interviewees managed to do work for the coliving space and thus made business contacts with them. They are both photographers and have made content for the social media accounts of Zoku. Reaching out to the management or staff and making a connection with them lead in some cases to new long lasting relationships. As the pipeline properties of this coliving space expands, they also get asked to make photographs for different locations. One of the photographer contacted Zoku for its contemporary concept:

“I only contact hotels if I feel good about it and the idea or concept appeals to me. [...] I always really look for new concepts or new ideas.” (ZO3, line 62)

The other photographer got approached by the community manager when staying at Zoku to do business together. The community manager was aware that this person was a photographer since they had multiple interactions. Fostering these business interactions is very important according to this interviewee:

“I feel like my actual job is developing and maintaining these interactions and human relationships because ultimately that is the stuff that leads to jobs.” (ZO1, line 244)

New perspective

Residents feel connected to other people in coliving spaces and feel like they can have a conversation with everyone who is staying there because the environment stimulates this. Interviewees even recognized that the experience is so good that they appreciate life more and have a new perspective of it since experiencing coliving. Residents are appreciative that coliving allows them to have a nomad lifestyle. One interviewee was not aware that something was missing while moving around but this became clear after having stayed at one of the coliving spaces. This person has since then always looked for community living in search of finding social contact. Another interviewee states how this new perspective on life came into existence:

“I would say that a coliving space actually has given me a new perspective on life. How important it is to have social interaction and be surrounded by like minded people.” (TSH2, line 132)

Establish goods habits

One of the indicators that interviewees mentioned that coliving has brought them, is the aspiration to establish good habits. Being surrounded by motivated people in an inspiring environment has a positive effect on the residents as it inspires them to work harder and change negative daily behavior based on the behavior of others. First arriving at a coliving space can therefore also be confronting and establishing good habits takes some time and dedication. The interviewees however feel supported by their environment and are able to make everyday changes. An interviewee was able to reflect on their previous lifestyle compared to the current situation while living in a coliving space:

“I had really bad habits. [...] My lifestyle was not really healthy, but when I moved here, I started to rethink everything about my lifestyle. [...] I can definitely say that my habits totally changed to positive since I moved here with this new flatmate, with this new environment, this is stimulating.” (TC1, line 261)

As every researched coliving space has an in-house fitness area or gym facilities located closeby, interviewees feel less of a burden to exercise. A daily routine with good habits is easier to establish because the element of having to travel to the gym has been removed from the equation. The coworking spaces also contribute to establishing good habits. Residents are able to go to work without having to leave the premises. Not needing to go to work during the morning rush hour is appreciated by them but also something they specifically search for when deciding to stay at a coliving space since it is necessary to carry out their lifestyle of working remotely. Coliving enables residents to start a routine that distinguishes different good habits:

“I think that because I am able to live and work in the same building, my day to day routine has improved a lot. I have established some good habits. When I was in the Student Hotel I could also use the gym facilities so that was really nice. I was able to work, have fun but also work out.” (TSH2, line 102)

Apartments within coliving spaces are most of the time smaller than the average condo as communal spaces are located somewhere else in the building instead of inside of the apartments. One of the interviewees suggests that the lay-out of the apartment and the lack of exterior space has something to do with why people could feel the need not to stay inside all day but to go outside instead resulting in establishing better habits:

“So it all starts with the fact that most of the apartments here do not have a terrace. So you feel the need to go out more often. [...] I just say that the design of the apartment is meant in a way that I feel pushed to go out so I can see myself going out more often.” (TC3, line 167)

(Personal) relationship

The only new indicator that came up within the social resources' dimension during the interviews was the impact that having a (personal) relationship with the staff of a coliving space has on the resident experience. Having a relationship with a place, does not only give its residents a sense of familiarity that they want to return, it also gives them less inconvenience during rebooking a stay. Especially people who travel value highly being able to call the coliving space directly and know that they are taking care of while receiving the same hospitality and valued communal experience. One of the interviewees discussed the willingness to pay a higher price to receive this:

“Most above everything else, what I prize is just the direct relationship and communication that I have with them at this point. Reserving a room at a Zoku for me is not an anonymous experience at all. [...] just having that direct relationship with them is what I love the most, and you cannot put a price on that.” (ZO1, line 461)

Summary of social resources

Interviewees expressed in their replies that the following indicators are indeed relevant: community, social interaction, human connection, business contacts, new perspective and establishing good habits. Across all cases, having social interaction in a coliving space was mentioned the most by interviewees as this indicator is perceived as highly valued followed by being part of a community. The case of The Cohesions reveals some differences in why interviewees decided to carry out coliving. For them, the community aspect was not the primary reason to live in a coliving space but the affordability. For the interviewees from the other cases, it was. In addition, especially the Zoku case reveals that interviewees emphasized the aspect of personal relationship to positively affect their coliving experience. The indicator 'accountability' from the predefined operationalization was not mentioned by any of the interviewees.

Dimension	Indicator	Times indicator mentioned through-out all interviews	Number of respondents who mentioned the indicator at least once
Social resources	Community	21	9
	Social interaction	26	9
	Human connection	15	9
	Business contacts	11	7
	New perspective	7	4
	Establish good habits	10	6
	(Personal) relationship*	6	3

*Table 8. Overview of mentioned social resources. * = new indicator*

5.2.2 Physical resources

All physical resources were not expected to come up in the interviews with residents, however they did. Here, the experiences and encounters with the different indicators will be discussed more. In

Table 9, an overview of the mentioned indicators for the physical resources' dimension in the interviews is given. Each indicator will be discussed separately below.

Community manager

Community managers are a special component of coliving spaces as their function is to foster a community and create a sense of belonging by organizing frequent events and activities that allow residents to socialize with one another. This is especially important when residents move into a coliving environment since it might be their first experience with communal living and are not used to sharing certain facilities. One interviewee mentions how important it is to have engaging staff in a coliving space:

“Coliving spaces tend to have staff that are more engaging. And give you a more individualized sort of experience, as opposed to just being a nice staff. They will ask you questions and see how you are doing. [...] I think those things help you forget that you are staying at a hotel.” (ZO1, line 327)

Apart from facilitating social interaction, the community manager provides a feeling of order in the lives of the residents, allowing them to better manage their days and balance their professional and personal lives. When residents are struggling with an issue or have a question regarding their stay, the community manager is the first person to approach. For example, one interviewee wanted to organize an event and by contacting the community manager it was possible to get the community together:

“Last year I had the idea to do some kind of clothing market, so I sent the community manager an email and she said come by my office, we talked and eventually we organized the clothing market for the people here.” (TC2, line 189)

Sense of structure

Residents are able to organize their day and create a sense of structure in the coliving spaces. The communal spaces help residents to perform different activities in house. Residents can more easily organize their day by having these different functions nearby. A coliving space is so unique because residents are able to structure their day based on the different facilities that a coliving space provides. Having these options ensures a rich experience for the residents and is highly valued by them. For example, one interviewee states the following:

“I did have a sense of structure during the day when I stayed here. I would wake up, have a coffee at the cafe or go outside to grab some breakfast. Then I would go to the coworking space to do some work and in the evening I would either go do something fun or go to the gym.” (TSH2, line 139)

Coliving actually helps create a sense of structure by allowing people with similar lifestyles to meet each other. A sense of structure can be created when residents decide to do different activities together during the day, such as having breakfast and then going to the working space. When residents decide to do this multiple times per week, a routine can be established as one interviewee explains:

“So meeting people is the main draw for me in coliving. What this does is also give you a routine because for the next day you decide to go have a coffee in the morning together or meet each other at a certain time in the working space. Or maybe even go to the gym together for a workout session.” (TSH3, line 145)

Communal space

Coliving spaces offer residents different types of communal spaces that are designated for working, while others are reserved for socializing. The communal spaces are by all interviewees recognized as an intricate part of their coliving experience as this is where the residents are provided with an environment to get to meet each other and form friendships over time. When talking about community, social interaction and human connection, residents discuss the importance of communal spaces for these social resources to exist. For six out of nine interviewees, the communal space is the place where they spend most of their time during the week. Relationships are made in the communal spaces as one interviewee states:

“It is really a great way to get to know each other, especially since you have the common areas. Then we regularly go to work out with several people, just use those rooms with the people you get to know here.” (TC2, line 94)

The communal spaces are labeled according to the different functions. Therefore, residents can draw clear lines between where it is possible to do work and have pleasure. The communal spaces help to create work and leisure boundaries which will be discussed in the next sub-paragraph. Having different spaces in a coliving space to do multiple types of activities is appreciated by residents. One interviewee mentions why having different communal spaces in a coliving space is convenient for their day to day activities:

“It is a place where you have a number of different functions together, allowing me to do a number of different types of work at one location.” (TSH1, line 31)

Creating work and leisure boundaries

As the three coliving spaces also have separate coworking spaces in the building, it is possible for residents to create work and leisure boundaries. The coworking spaces give residents a different environment to go to do work instead of having to do this in their apartment. Separating work and leisure activities from each other is seen as important by residents as they want to keep their work life and personal life apart. One interviewee states that being able to go to a different place boosts their energy and concentration:

“Having the chance to just go downstairs and just literally walk a few steps and just work from a different area, really gave me a lot of energy.” (TC3, line 69)

An interesting point that some residents made was that it can be hard to create work and leisure boundaries as they encounter the same residents in the coworking space but also in the other communal spaces that are made for leisure activities. In that sense, people are part of a certain place and can either help create boundaries or dismantle boundaries. One interviewee shares that separating hanging out with different people when working and during free time, creates work and leisure boundaries:

“Creating work and leisure boundaries was for me easier to do at The Student Hotel compared to other coliving spaces because of the students who stayed there. Normally the people who you meet in the coworking space, are also the people who you will hang out with after work. In the Student Hotel I would not really see students in the working space. That also ensures more boundaries between work life and the regular life I think.” (TSH3, line 160)

Basic amenities

Coliving spaces come most of the time pre furnished and provide residents with basic amenities such as towels, bedsheets and kitchen utensils. The residents can travel in a minimalistic manner thanks to

the basic amenities supplied in co-living spaces. Four out of nine interviewees also recognize being able to do the laundry on location and being able to cook food in a kitchen as a basic amenity for them. When a laundromat and kitchen are provided, it makes the experience for the residents less complicated. One interviewee explains why this is the case:

“It sounds so miscellaneous, but just having laundry on the property. I am traveling. I might be gone for a whole month at a time. [...] So I'm always having to wash and rotate. [...] So structurally for me, laundry is the biggest thing. And then the second thing would obviously be the kitchen in the room, being able to cook in the room just makes the whole trip cheaper when you can buy your own food to cook versus going out to eat for every meal.” (ZO1, line 417)

Minimalistic lifestyle

For five out of nine interviewees, it is the case that they travel with as little luggage as possible as it is not possible for them to take all their belongings with them. Having the previously mentioned basic amenities in a coliving space help these residents to continue their minimalistic lifestyle. This has been explained by one of the interviewees:

“As it was not the first coliving space I stayed in, I would not say that The Student Hotel changed my lifestyle but because of the amenities I was able to continue the lifestyle I have had for some years now.” (TS2, line 142)

Convenience

The first new indicator that came up within the physical resources' dimension during the interviews was the impact that having convenience in staying at coliving space has on the resident experience. The overall payment that residents pay include the rent for the apartment and service costs that allow residents to make use of all the facilities and take part in organized activities by the coliving space. Having this convenience of paying a bill per month that includes everything ensures less hassle and makes it possible for all the residents to engage in activities with each other:

“All these activities are included in the service costs. So we pay the rent, and then on the side, we pay a service cost. That is to maintain all these facilities for us. It is a great initiative to make the bond better between us.” (TC1, line 141)

Events

The second new indicator that came up within the physical resources' dimension during the interviews was the impact that events have on the resident experience. Organized events by either the coliving space or by residents make it possible for the community to get to know each other better. Sometimes interviewees only meet people at the coworking space where it is more difficult to have a meaningful conversation while people are working. When meeting a neighbor at an event, it is more common to have meaningful interactions with one another according to one interviewee:

“Something that I just thought of was that there are also many social events happening. Some were organized by The Student Hotel and some were not but we were still invited to come which was really nice. I think this is a great way to meet other people and also to get to know each other better outside seeing each other during working hours.” (TSH2, line 163)

Examples of events range from parties and workshops to pizza nights. These events bring the community together and are appreciated by residents. Sometimes events are not only open to residents of coliving spaces, but also to people from the neighborhood. When this is the case, it is also possible to meet local people who otherwise would have been more difficult to interact with. One interviewee affirms that being able to go to events has many benefits:

“I remember before COVID on Friday nights, they would have these community nights where there would be open mic and all the local kids would come in. And I thought those were super fun, especially if I am not necessarily hanging out with friends or anything or I am kind of on my own. It is a fantastic time to meet people. It is a fantastic time to get recommendations of other cool things to do around the city so that part of the community aspect, I think is really special.” (Z01, line 204)

Summary of physical resources

The following indicators are indeed relevant according to the interviewees: the community manager, sense of structure, communal space, creating work and leisure boundaries, basic amenities and a minimalistic lifestyle. Across all cases, the importance of the communal spaces is mentioned. The communal spaces allow some interviewees to have a sense of structure and create work and leisure boundaries but also influence the social resources. This will be explained further in *Chapter 5.2.4*. In addition, interviewees emphasized the aspect of convenience and events to positively affect their coliving experience.

Dimension	Indicator	Times indicator mentioned through-out all interviews	Number of respondents who mentioned the indicator at least once
Physical resources	Community manager	11	7
	Sense of structure	9	6
	Communal space	27	9
	Creating work and leisure boundaries	5	5
	Basic amenities	11	6
	Minimalistic lifestyle	6	5
	Convenience*	8	6
	Events*	7	6

*Table 9. Overview of mentioned physical resources. * = new indicator*

5.2.3 Psychological resources

The psychological resources were expected to come up but not to the extent they did. The recognition and attitude towards the different indicators are explained further. In Table 10, an overview of the mentioned indicators for the psychological resources' dimension in the interviews is given. Each indicator will be discussed separately below.

Sense of belonging

Having a sense of belonging means being part of a community and being accepted as a member according to the interviewees. From the interviewees it became clear that coliving spaces increase their self-identity of being a digital nomad and working remotely as they are surrounded by like minded people. One interviewee explains how experiencing the same battles and navigating through life together results in feeling part of a family:

“There are a lot of people now that we know from the beginning of this journey here and I can call them family. We spend like a part of lockdown together. [...] Everything was closed and we shared the same struggles and the same experience there, and it is making a bond, you know?” (TC1, line 286)

It does not necessarily matter how active someone is within a community to feel accepted as a member. Another interviewee explains the expectation of encouraging people to get in contact with each other and being more involved in the community. When these situations turned out differently, it does not mean that the sense of belonging goes away:

“I describe this place where I really feel I belong. I feel I am not as active as I would be because I remember when I started living here, I said I could be more involved in a way of really bringing people together or creating more workshops and stuff. I have not as much as I wanted, but I still feel really belonging to the community.” (TC3, line 216)

From the interviews it became clear that not all the interviewees feel this sense of belonging. This mostly has to do with the time spent at one of the coliving spaces. Residents experience a greater sense of belonging when staying for a longer period of time at a coliving space. This has to do with being able to get to know more people in the community and being able to feel more at home. Thus, a sense of belonging does not necessarily apply to short stay residents but it does result in a sort of connection as two interviewees mention:

“I think I was not at Zoku long enough to really feel that sense of belonging, but I have to say that Zoku does feel a little bit like my home so in a sense maybe.” (ZO2, line 189)

“Belonging goes a long way but I do feel a kind of connection.” (TSH1, line 138)

Support system

Residents of coliving spaces acknowledge how the existing community operates as a support system for them, to the point that the other community members start to feel like family. The communal spaces are said to be the reason why this is possible to happen, since this is the place where people meet each other and valuable relationships are built over time. Thus, the infrastructure of coliving spaces and the community ensures the possibility to find a support system in other residents:

“I make use of the common spaces a lot and I am a friendly person so it is really easy to meet other people. It goes back to my interest in different cultures, meeting different people, knowing their interests and then it becomes like family at some point.” (TC1, line 164)

Residents have had previous experiences with having roommates, sharing apartments and living with nearby neighbors. There was no daily contact with roommates or neighbors which caused a feeling of living independently even though people were nearby. When interviewees compared their previous experiences to their coliving experiences, having a support system is what stands out. These relationships are built on relying on each other as one interviewee mentioned:

“I can really feel that there is always someone that I can count on. I know all the people on my floor personally, and it feels nice. It is something I never had before.” (TC3, line 248)

When residents were asked about their experiences at the coliving spaces, interviewees discuss how the people that they have met are the best thing that they have gotten out of their stay. Even till this day, the friendships that were made still stand and even though most of the time these people do not live near each other, they stay in contact and meet up when visiting someone's hometown. One

interviewee mentions how friendships are built by trusting each other and by establishing such a deep emotional connection to the point that keys of apartments are shared:

“I also really appreciate that I have found people here who I can trust. There are several people who have a key to our apartment. [...] it just feels very familiar.” (TC2, line 172)

Sense of safety

The last new indicator that came up in the resident interviews is having a sense of safety when residing in a coliving space. Residents trust each other to the point that they feel really safe around one another and do not feel a burden to ask for help when needed. What has become clear from the different interviews is that people who stay for a longer period of time in a coliving space encounter meaningful support that leads to having a sense of safety:

“You really get kind of support, you have like an extra neighbor or just a WhatsApp group for any kind of emergencies, and you really feel kind of safe for some reason.” (TC3, line 47)

Another interviewee expresses that having that feeling of safety is the outcome of feeling protected being surrounded by people who you trust. This particular interviewee is a resident of The Cohesion which is located in Osdorp, a neighborhood with one of the highest crime rates in Amsterdam. Even though this resident is aware of the situation in Osdorp, coliving ensures a sense of safety:

“I also really appreciate that I have found people here who I can trust. [...] I always close my door behind me and it is locked, but I do not lock it again. So there is a real sense of safety. That is also really present despite the fact that it is Osdorp and Osdorp is known as unsafe in Amsterdam. I have the idea that it is very safe here and I think that is due to coliving.” (TC2, line 172)

Summary of psychological resources

Interviewees communicated that the following indicators are indeed relevant: sense of belonging and support system. These two indicators were mentioned across all cases, however, specifically short-stay residents experience this at a lower degree since they spend shorter periods of time at the coliving space. When interviewees stayed at one of the coliving spaces for longer periods, a sense of belonging and support system would arise after some time. In addition, especially The Cohesion case reveals that interviewees emphasized the aspect of sense of safety to positively affect their coliving experience. The indicators ‘self awareness’ and ‘self actualization’ from the predefined operationalization were not mentioned by any of the interviewees.

Dimension	Indicator	Times indicator mentioned through-out all interviews	Number of respondents who mentioned the indicator at least once
Psychological resources	Sense of belonging	7	7
	Support system	11	6
	Sense of safety*	4	3

Table 10. Overview of mentioned Psychological resources. * = new indicator

5.2.4 The interrelationship between social, physical and psychological resources

In the last three sections, every indicator that affects the coliving experience has been discussed. It turns out that the different dimensions of social, physical and psychological resources interrelate with each other. From a practice theory point of view it is not unexpected that the three dimensions would affect one another as the elements are mutually constitutive and cannot be seen separately. Individual practices are significantly important in the production of social life (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2012), become established and over time constitute the respective local practice of coliving.

Figure 14 shows the interrelationship between the indicators from each dimension. All interviewees believe that the communal spaces are the heart of coliving spaces as it fosters social interaction. A community manager also helps to foster this with organizing events. Social interaction turns into human connection which over time turns into a community. Thus, the physical resources encourage the social resources. When the community is established, the psychological resources appear as community members get a sense of belonging, support system and the feeling of safety. When the three different dimensions are all connected, residents experience coliving to the highest degree.

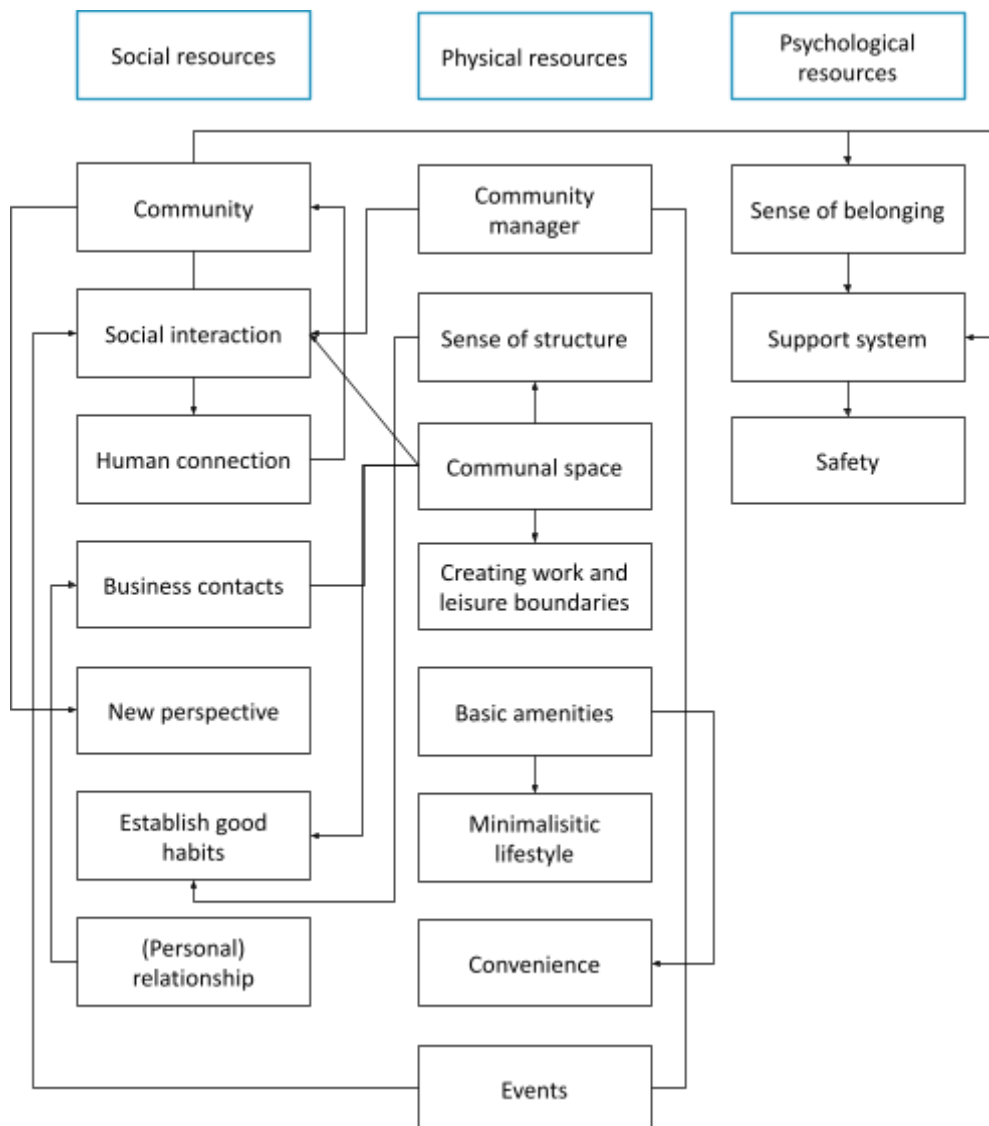


Figure 14. Overview of the interrelationship between social, physical and psychological resources (created by the author).

The figure on the previous page is further structured by applying an association analysis (Warudkar, 2014). A Sankey diagram has been made to determine the most important relation by frequency and to simplify the complexity of understanding these relationships. Sankey diagrams have directed arrows with widths proportional to the amount of flow quantity that is being represented (Ifu, 2022). These so-called flow quantities visualize the indicators of this research; if a flow is twice as broad, it indicates double the quantity. Thus, a Sankey diagram highlights the biggest and most important entries in a system. Figure 15 shows the Sankey diagram of the interrelationship between the indicators from each dimension.

A strong connection can be seen between the most mentioned indicators by interviewees: social interaction, human connection, community and communal space. These four indicators are highly interrelated with each other as can be seen on the Sankey diagram in the width of the flows between each indicator. It became clear from the data collection that the communal space is integral for social interaction to occur. Social interaction makes human connection possible which results in being part of a community. These flows are considered to be the most important relations by frequency and are associated with each other remarkably to positively affect the coliving experience.

What becomes clear from the Sankey diagram is that both physical resources and psychological resources are only directly interrelated with social resources. Mostly smaller relations can be noticed between the other indicators from these dimensions such as the relationship between establishing good habits and having a sense of structure. No direct relationships can be found between physical and psychological resources. However, physical and psychological resources are indirectly related. For example, without communal spaces, the existence of a community would not have been possible. Without the existence of a community, it is implausible for residents to have a support system. Thus, the social, physical and psychological resources are all (indirectly) related.

A hierarchical classification between the social, physical and psychological dimension has been developed based on the Sankey diagram. The most important relations of the three dimensions are clustered by frequency in figure 16. Firstly, physical requirements shape the primary needs of interviewees. The physical resources of coliving spaces provide material aspects such as communal spaces, community managers and basic amenities for residents to carry out daily activities (Shove et al., 2012). Three out of nine interviewees assign an economic meaning to the coliving practice, as this practice was originally carried out by them to fulfill their primary needs.

The secondary requirements of respondents consist of social needs, such as social interaction, human connection and community. The physical resources are needed to fulfill the social needs of residents of coliving spaces. The demand for coliving amongst six out of nine interviewees emerges from meanings of urban loneliness, isolation and by means of improving one's well-being. Thus, social resources of coliving spaces produce the social and symbolic significance for some interviewees and further materialize the practice of coliving (Shove et al., 2012).

Lastly, psychological needs establish tertiary requirements. Coliving spaces make it possible for residents to obtain a sense of belonging, support system and sense of safety based on the length of the stay and personal engagement. Everyday actions that are taken to fulfill the social needs produce structural contours of social life (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2012, pp. 1241) which can satisfy psychological needs of residents who reside in coliving spaces.

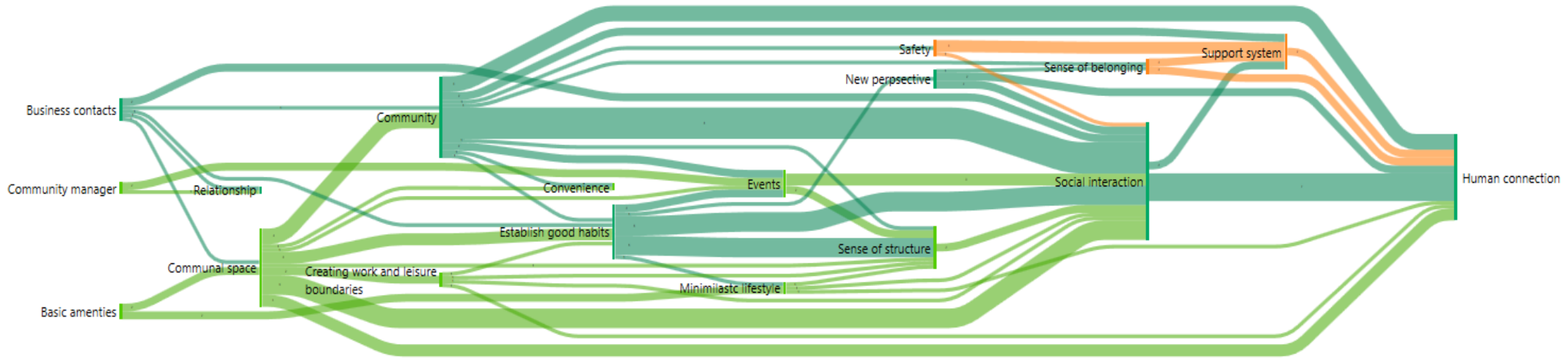


Figure 15. Sankey diagram of the interrelationship between social (dark green), physical (light green) and psychological resources (orange) (created by the author in ATLAS.ti).

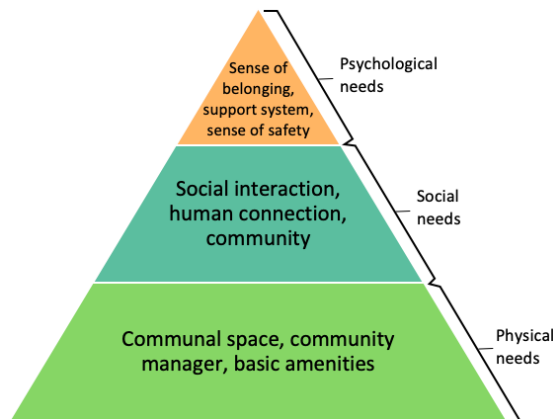


Figure 16. Hierarchical classification of social, physical and psychological resources (created by the author).

5.3 The overall experience of combining coliving and coworking

In the previous paragraph, the influence of social, physical and psychological resources on the resident experience of coliving has been discussed. The coworking spaces within the coliving spaces have already been mentioned for its importance under people who work remotely. This section will look into the advantages and disadvantages the interviewees experience in combining coliving and coworking in the three researched coliving spaces in Amsterdam.

5.3.1 The advantages of coliving and coworking

When residents of the coliving spaces were asked the question which advantages they can think of when combining coliving and coworking, multiple answers were given. The main advantage that came up in the interviews was the social connection residents experience by staying in a coliving place and making use of the coworking space. Digital nomads do not have an office space to go to as they work remotely. For them it is not possible to have social connections during the working day as there are no colleagues to meet in person. Not being able to have unplanned conversations with other people results in loneliness and feeling disconnected. One resident mentions how important having human connection is during the day when working alone. Coworking space foster this and therefore she does not feel the need to meet colleagues:

“I do not have to meet my colleagues. This is better. They are not my colleagues, they are my neighbors. They are people I live with.” (TC1, line 157)

Combining coliving and coworking functions for residents of coliving spaces because people have the same mindset and a similar lifestyle. The three researched coliving spaces all offer a place to digital nomads and they feel welcome and at home for that reason. In coworking spaces, it is possible to meet new people and eventually create friendships. Combining coliving and coworking gives residents an opportunity to have social interaction, but it does depend on how social somebody is:

“When someone is socially oriented, that is also a very good way to network. [...] So even if you are there alone for a few days, you get to know people anyway.” (ZO3, line 135)

Another reason why social interaction is seen as an advantage of combining coliving and coworking is because it positively affects the well-being of residents. Having verbal contact with people helps residents of coliving spaces to feel connected and part of a community. Interviewees value going to the coworking space so much that for instance, if one has to stay home during the workday because a package will be delivered, it makes them feel uncomfortable to the point that they start to long to go to the coworking space again. Working in the same space as other residents is motivating because residents not only support each other but also they do not make them feel alone as one interviewee mentions:

“My well-being is definitely negatively affected if I work at home. So thank God I have the coworking space if I can put it like that. I'm not used to work from home. [...] I don't like it because I'm totally alone with my laptop, but when I go there, I know that I'm going to meet people.” (TC1, line 180)

The second advantage that residents named in combining coliving and coworking is the convenience of having the coworking place either in the building or closeby their apartment. The availability of coworking spaces gives residents of coliving spaces the possibility to work from another environment instead of from their apartment and create a daily routine. Especially with long working days, residents do not like to be surrounded by the same four walls of an apartment. Coworking spaces offer a dynamic environment with enough variation such as meeting rooms and booths to work from which make residents feel like they are not stuck in a single room the entire day. Interviewees

reminisced on previous experiences in which they did not have the option of going to a coworking space and had to go to cafes to work. Traveling with public transportation through rush hour was explained as a nightmare. Having a coworking space on the premises of a coliving space is very convenient according to an interviewee:

“I have to go out and into another building. That is an advantage because then you have time to go somewhere. [...] Then you have the idea that you are going to work because you are in a different environment, because the apartment itself is of course not that big. [...] So then it is just a big advantage if you have a number of those coworking spaces.” (TC2)

The third advantage that came up in the interviews was the boost of creativeness and energy that residents experience when combining coliving and coworking. Seeing other people working in the coworking space and bouncing ideas off each other creates an environment of creativity where residents can flourish. Four out of nine interviewees mentioned that it is important for their job to unlock the creative part of the brain which can be done by interacting with other people. It is difficult to get this done as a digital nomad when they are by themselves. The coworking spaces help as one interviewee explains:

“The office space for me is just a boost of creativity that I cannot have at home. Mainly coming from COVID, where I was literally the whole time inside. And I really need an extra, like just another place, another environment to just pretty much focus more or just get more productive.” (TC3, line 129)

To conclude, residents of coliving spaces mention the intricate role social interaction, having a coworking place nearby and being able to work in a creative environment have on the overall experience of combining coliving and coworking. The interviewees notice how important it is for them to have the possibility to work from the coworking spaces. The presence of a coworking space in coliving spaces is one of the reasons for five out of nine interviewees to carry out coliving. The advantages of combining coliving and coworking has been discussed. However, interviewees also experience some disadvantages that will be explained in the next paragraph.

5.3.2 The disadvantages of coliving and coworking

In the previous paragraph, the advantages of coliving and coworking have been discussed. Residents of the coliving spaces were also asked the question which disadvantages they can think of when combining coliving and coworking. The first disadvantage that residents could think of is the ease at which they can get distracted when working because of the vibrant environment. It can get noisy in the coworking space as residents have meetings, ask each other for feedback or simply have conversations together. What also adds to the equation is that two out of the three researched coliving spaces have different facilities near the coworking space, such as a bar and cafe. These facilities are not only available to residents from the coliving space, but for everyone. As people who are not working make use of those facilities, it brings extra noise to the coworking space. One interviewee elaborates on this:

“The hotel also simply has the appearance of attracting other types of people in the evening to join the bar and drink cocktails. [...] It is possible that certain people who have work to do are distracted more easily by other visitors. You cannot say that we work in silence until seven o'clock in the evening because then there are already people drinking and eating.” (ZO3, line 149)

Residents also organize events for clients or schedule meetings in the coworking space. There is a lack of privacy to a certain extent because of the open floor plan of the coworking space. This makes it harder to concentrate as noise can decrease people's efficiency. One interviewee acknowledges that clients can get distracted because of the environment of the coworking space:

“It can also be distracting. I noticed in some participants that it takes extra effort to focus because there is so much going on around them. I think that is the most important disadvantage.” (TSH1, line 74)

The second disadvantage that interviewees thought of when combining coliving and coworking is the feeling that you are living in a bubble and start to feel disconnected from the rest of the world. As the community aspect plays such an important role in coliving spaces, residents start to rely on each other for social interaction and human connection. Over time, when the relationships with other residents in the coliving space grows, it can happen that they start to isolate themselves from other friends. Residents of coliving spaces are surrounded by each other everyday and one interviewee explains the importance of leaving the bubble:

“The only downside is that I kind of closed myself in this bubble. It is so comfortable that you do not have to travel anywhere to go to the office to work. Sometimes I feel like maybe I should change places just for a change. [...] It becomes really like a routine that you cannot really leave because it feels good, it is great, it is comfortable. [...] I try to get out of this bubble during the weekends. So I try to go out and see other friends, see other people that are not from The Cohesion.” (TC1, line 206)

In summary, residents of coliving spaces point out that the vibrant atmosphere of the coworking spaces can be distracting as other visitors also make use of the space that are not necessarily there to work. Interviewees also mention the feeling they have of living in a bubble when you are part of the community of a coliving space. According to them it is important to stay in touch with people who do not live in the same building, but this can become difficult with full agenda's and because residents tend to establish a routine when moving into a coliving space. These disadvantages affect the overall experience of combining coliving and coworking. However, interviewees do recognize that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. Residents consider combining coliving and coworking as a unique experience and value the advantages highly.

6. Conclusion

This chapter presents the answer to this study's research question. First, the sub-questions are addressed, after which an answer to the main research question is given. This will be done based on the relevant literature, the theoretical framework, and the results from the data collection.

6.1 The development of coliving as regarded by market-oriented and governmental actors

To research what the future potential of coliving is, market-oriented and governmental actors have been interviewed in-depth to discuss the emergence and development of this type of communal housing as well as its possibilities and barriers. Next, the different structures of coliving spaces have been identified to distinguish which types of coliving spaces have been researched in this study.

1) How do market-oriented and governmental actors regard the development of coliving?

The demand for coliving stemmed from a widespread demand for homes. The demand and supply for housing has been unbalanced as real estate developments were stopped following the financial crisis. As the demand for real estate in Amsterdam grows, finding cheap housing becomes more difficult. In some cases, coliving is a way for people to find a somewhat more inexpensive place in the city. However, there is a distinct target group that is looking for community living. All interviewed market-oriented and governmental actors believe that coliving has a lot of room to grow in the future. It may take some time for people to accept the concept of coliving, but eventually the benefits will exceed the downsides. One of the reasons for digital nomads to carry out coliving is to prevent loneliness. Coliving can also be a solution for other target groups that experience isolation, for example elderly people who could move to coliving spaces. This development could have a big impact on the current housing shortage.

Coliving can help to stimulate the housing market by freeing up bigger single-family homes. However, it is critical to recognize that the demand for coliving must be the catalyst for such advancements, rather than simply occurring as a result of space efficiency. Otherwise, residents' experiences will be harmed. Coliving also has a promising future since more individuals will work remotely and seek authentic encounters with others. The major barrier for coliving is the political context in a given location. At the local level, housing regulations are executed differently according to the political interests of the political parties in power. Politics and policy are frequently behind the times, making it difficult for coliving to grow rapidly, as some investors and private developers may view it as a high-risk investment. Also, the difficulty of dealing with moving and arriving tenants, as well as keeping the harmony in a coliving space, makes it a complex investment product.

2) What are specific structures of coliving spaces that can be identified?

In the literature, coliving spaces are distinguished by looking at the lease term, space allocation, building density, service, amenities, income model, property model, value proposition, the level of engagement and authenticity, flexibility in rental prices, cluster size, diversification of tenant demographics and geographic locations and the technological advancements. The most profound model to analyze different coliving structures divides coliving into five categories. Travel-oriented, work-oriented, cost-oriented, community-oriented and urban-lifestyle oriented coliving spaces focus each on a different aspect to create a unique experience. One of the limitations of this model is that coliving spaces can be part of multiple categories. As this model does not demonstrate the differences in organizational structures and basic characteristics of coliving spaces, another model was created to analyze which different coliving structures can be identified. Here, the housing stock, temporality, audience width and governance model are included. Every possible coliving structure can

be determined when combining both the categorization of coliving spaces per main attention and the characteristics model.

6.2 Interpretation of the influence of social, physical and psychological resources on the resident experience of coliving

As the aim of this research is to research how digital nomads experience coliving, it is necessary to understand the influence that social, physical and psychological resources have on the resident experience.

Social resources

Digital nomads accredit community, social interaction, human connection, business contacts, new perspective, establishing good habits and having a (personal) relationship to positively affect the coliving experience. These indicators are considered to be the most impactful elements of coliving.

Physical resources

The community manager, having a sense of structure, communal space, creating work and leisure boundaries, basic amenities, minimalistic lifestyle, convenience and events are considered to affect the coliving experience of digital nomads in a positive manner. These indicators allow the social resources to occur and are thus inevitably important for the practice of coliving.

Psychological resources

Having a sense of belonging, support system and sense of safety all contribute to digital nomads having positive experiences in coliving spaces. Digital nomads are able to have these psychological resources when a community is created. After having researched how the social, physical and psychological resources affect the resident experience, it was possible to answer the sub-question:

- 3) Do digital nomads choose to carry out coliving or is this a forced outcome?

Digital nomads who have experienced coliving at The Student Hotel and Zoku all chose to carry out coliving as community living which allows them to work but also have that sense of being part of a community. These two coliving spaces accept short-stay and medium-stay which permits digital nomads to carry out their nomadic lifestyle and therefore choose to live there for days, weeks or months. However, coliving is in fact for some a forced outcome. The interviewees of The Cohesion confirm that the social aspect of coliving is not the driving force behind their decision to carry out coliving. The primary cause for them was their financial background as living in a cost-oriented coliving space is cheaper compared to other housing in Amsterdam. Despite the fact that the interviewees of The Cohesion did not initially want to live in a coliving space in order to experience community living, they are now quite appreciative of it and are part of the community that is made up of their neighbors. Based on the results of this study, the majority of interviewees chooses to carry out coliving and for the minority it is a forced outcome.

6.3 Explanation for combining coliving and coworking

- 4) How do digital nomads experience coliving and coworking in coliving spaces in Amsterdam?

Digital nomads who live or have lived in coliving spaces discuss how important social connection, proximity to a coworking space, and the ability to work in a creative setting are to the overall experience of coliving and coworking. It is critical for digital nomads to be able to work from coworking places. Therefore, the presence of a coworking space is for some the reason to live in a coliving space and carry out coliving. Digital nomads do experience some downsides when combining

coliving and coworking. The lively ambiance of coworking spaces can be distracting because of other guests who also make use of the facility but not work. The impression of living in a bubble is a shared ordeal when digital nomads become part of a coliving space's community. Staying in touch with those who do not live in the same building is considered to be crucial, but this can be difficult with packed schedules and as daily routines and habits are established when moving into a coliving environment. These drawbacks have an impact on the experience of coliving and coworking. However, digital nomads acknowledge that the benefits outweigh the drawbacks. Combining coliving and coworking is considered to be a one-of-a-kind experience and digital nomads highly value the benefits.

6.3 Explanation of the future potential of coliving and why digital nomads combine coliving and coworking in coworking spaces in Amsterdam through a social practice lense

This master's thesis aim was to explore why digital nomads combine coliving and coworking; what the different structures are of coliving spaces; and how market-oriented and governmental actors regard the development of the coliving industry and its future potential. The resident experience of coliving was considered relevant because the academic literature on practice theory revealed that researching communities as an area of practice is worthwhile as short-term social change and everyday activities can be conceptualized (Bueger, 2014). As digital nomads were questioned on what their motivation for doing this practice are, it was possible to research how the practice of coliving is organized in everyday life, and how carrying out community living affects the coordination of daily life. By also conducting in-depth interviews with market-oriented and governmental actors, it was possible to examine how the practice of coliving was able to arise and how it has become established in the real estate market (Blue, 2019). The following research question was formulated:

What is the future potential for coliving and why are digital nomads already using it in combination with coworking in the municipality of Amsterdam?

The heated housing market and the imbalance in housing demand and supply in Amsterdam offer possibilities for the expansion of coliving. Finding affordable housing in Amsterdam is becoming more difficult as demand for living spaces rises. Coliving can be a means for people to find a slightly more affordable place in the city in some situations. Coliving, according to competent market-oriented and governmental actors, has a lot of space to grow in the future. People may take some time to accept the concept of coliving, but the benefits are believed to eventually outweigh the drawbacks. Coliving has a bright future since more people will work remotely and desire genuine interactions with others. For coliving to expand rapidly, the political climate and policies do have to work in favor of coliving. Otherwise, some investors and private developers may continue to view it as a high-risk investment. The implementation of new policies regarding coliving developments is important because the current policies are vague and obscure. Political clarity, transparency and consistency supports the further development of coliving by making it a less precarious investment for investors and private developers. When the understanding of coliving and practical knowledgeability amongst these actors grows, the development of coliving spaces has the potential to expand remarkably in the future.

Certain coliving spaces provide affordable housing to its residents. Digital nomads from this study that carry out coliving in a cost-oriented coliving space mostly do this out of necessity and not out of desire. The affordability of living in cost-oriented coliving spaces is an immense appeal to be able to live in Amsterdam as the rent prices keep increasing in the city. Some digital nomads are forced to live in a coliving space, however, the experiences have turned out to be more advantageous than expected. With coliving, digital nomads are able to combine living and working in the same complex, which is considered to be highly convenient and time saving. Also the community aspect of coliving has overtime turned out to be something that these people can no longer disregard in their everyday

life. However, it is important to keep in mind that some people carry out coliving because of the material elements that a coliving space provides.

There is in fact a specific target audience that is interested in community living and choose to carry out coliving because of the social relations that are made. Digital nomads experience loneliness by living a nomadic lifestyle. Coliving spaces have turned out to be a solution that positively affects their well-being as social interaction quickly turns into much more than that. Digital nomads are able to do their work in the coworking space and receive the sought after social connection during the working day. In communal spaces, neighbors turn into friends and over time these relationships shape a community. These temporal experiences coordinate the daily life of residents in coliving spaces, not solely as individuals but also as a society. The practice of carrying out coliving and being part of a community results in having a shared knowledge that enables digital nomads to ascribe meaning to their world and act accordingly.

Using practice theory as a means to analyze coliving reveals that meanings, competences and materials are interdependent relations and are required to interrelate for coliving spaces to emerge and become materialized for people to experience in their daily lives. The practice of coliving is only able to be carried out when market-oriented and governmental actors contain the relevant competences for this type of development. The developed coliving spaces can be seen at the material element that is needed for people to carry out the practice of coliving. Coliving as a practice is intrinsically connected and interwoven with coliving spaces. By questioning what peoples' motivations are for doing this practice, this research argues that a demand for coliving amongst partakers of this research appears from meanings of urban loneliness, isolation and by means of improving the well-being of digital nomads. Further meanings ascribed to coliving by some research participants were that of financial beneficial outcomes and not out of community motivations. The resident experience reveals that short-term social changes and everyday activities that take place in coliving spaces are detrimental in the production of social life and further establishes the practice of coliving. Therefore, the material, meaning and competence elements are considered to mutually shape coliving to become an established practice in the material world.

7. Discussion

In this final chapter, the research is reflected upon. The limitations and main points of improvement are discussed. Recommendations for further research are given, partly based on the limits of the process of the research and the results. To conclude, recommendations are provided for coliving founders, community members, real estate developers and public bodies regarding coliving spaces in urbanized regions.

7.1 Reflection

The researcher looks back with satisfaction on the outcomes of the research. The process of writing this thesis was at times challenging, especially during the data collection phase. The first intention for this research was to apply a mixed-methods approach. Qualitative methods in the form of in-depth interviews would solely be applied to research the impressions and opinions of market-oriented and governmental-oriented actors regarding the emergence and future potential of coliving. The intention was to apply quantitative methods to focus on the motivations of digital nomads that carry out coliving and examine their experiences by conducting surveys. However, it turned out to be infeasible to receive a high response rate due to the difficulty of reaching digital nomads who live or have lived in a coliving space in Amsterdam. Therefore, it was decided to apply a qualitative research method for both the market-oriented and governmental-oriented actors as well as digital nomads who have experienced coliving.

These results build on existing evidence of Von Zumbusch & Lalicic (2020) on the importance coliving spaces to assist people to overcome the isolation that comes with urbanity and digital nomadism. The results of this research contribute to a clearer understanding of which indicators affect the coliving experience of residents who live in a coliving space in the municipality of Amsterdam. This research has provided new indicators that affect the resident experience but also has determined which indicators are not considered as relevant by residents of coliving spaces that were included in the predefined operationalization. This research provides new insights into the interrelationship between the indicators from the social, physical and psychological dimensions. As Von Zumbusch & Lalicic (2020) have not made a distinction about how the different indicators are related to each other, this research significantly moves the scientific debate forward. It was possible to determine what residents consider to be important in coliving, how different resources are interrelated, and what the hierarchical classification is of these resources.

In line with the hypothesis, this research concluded that carrying out coliving is for some digital nomads a chosen way of life because of the need for social, physical and psychological resources. However, this is not the case for everyone. For some digital nomads coliving is a forced outcome to be able to live in the municipality of Amsterdam. Finding affordable housing in Amsterdam is a growing challenge for lower and middle-income households as house prices have been increasing dramatically. Cost-oriented coliving spaces can help ease the burden of the soaring affordable housing shortage and provide inexpensive accommodation with the benefits that the human-centered experience has to offer. Based on these findings, recommendations for future research and praxis have been formulated. This will be described in *Chapter 7.3*.

7.2 Limitations

The generalizability of the results is limited by the applied qualitative research methods. Residents from three coliving spaces in Amsterdam that were selected as case studies have been interviewed. This makes it more difficult to generalize findings to other situations as the possibility arises that the cases are unique or due to the fact that the results are limited to a certain context (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Conducting semi-structured interviews can improve the possibility that the study's findings apply to similar social settings in Dutch urban areas (Farthing, 2016). Thus, the external validity of this

research is relatively low, however, this does not mean that the results are not generalizable. The qualitative nature of this study also allows for extensive results and conclusions as it was possible to research the topic of coliving to a greater extent.

Due to certain circumstances, it was not possible to interview an expert from The Cohesion. As there is a lack of expert data on this case, the results cannot confirm how a coliving director of a more cost-oriented coliving space with mostly long-stay residents regards the emergence and future potential of the coliving industry. It limits this study as it was not possible to examine if a coliving director of a coliving space with a different structure has other opinions and motivations on coliving in general, and the emergence and development of this type of housing. Thus, no comparisons could be made between expert data from The Cohesion and the other two coliving spaces as there was no expert data available. This limitation will be discussed in the next paragraph as a recommendation for further research.

The reliability of this data is impacted due to a selection bias in the sampling of residents for conducting semi-structured interviews. Finding suitable respondents turned out to be more difficult than anticipated. Firstly, the researcher has visited the three different coliving multiple times and residents were approached to request interviews. Only one resident that fitted within the target group of this research was found. Next, coliving managers were contacted to see whether they could help but due to privacy reasons no personal data could be shared of current and previous residents. Lastly, online websites were used to find the right respondents. This turned out to be the best way to get in contact with digital nomads who live or have lived in the three research coliving spaces. Some respondents were selected through the referral sampling technique. Therefore, the representativity of the sample population was weaker than expected.

It is beyond the scope of this study to research resident-led cohousing. The three coliving spaces that were chosen as case studies are all developer-led coliving spaces. The target group of this research was expected to be difficult to encounter in resident-led co-housing as the process of establishing a cohousing requires a location dependence that digital nomads do not have. Therefore, this study only provides evidence from experts and residents who have experience with developer-led coliving. In the next section, a recommendation will be made based on this limitation.

7.3 Recommendations

7.3.1 Recommendations for future research

This research looked into the resident experience of developer-led coliving spaces in Amsterdam. Future studies should not only take the resident experience of coliving into account, but also examine how residents of community-led co-housing experience this type of living. As residents of community-led co-housing have certain responsibilities and influence the decision making process, it would be interesting to research what their experiences are with community living. In this case it is possible to discover the competences and human agency of residents instead of solely market-oriented and governmental actors. This recommendation goes hand in hand with the recommendation to expand the target group of digital nomads to residents in general. For both developer-led coliving spaces as community-led co-housing it is valuable to examine what their experiences are and whether or not carrying out community living is a choice or a forced outcome for them.

Further research is needed to establish the emergence and future potential of coliving through the eyes of a coliving director from a cost-oriented coliving space with mostly long-stay residents as it was not possible to research this in this study. Researching the motivations and opinions of coliving directors that develop cost-oriented coliving spaces makes it possible to look more critically at the

development of coliving as data will be gathered from relatively more affordable coliving spaces that can be compared to the less affordable coliving structures. With background knowledge and institutional know-how specifically regarding cost-oriented coliving, it will be possible to further develop the conclusions of this research. Thus, it is recommended to carry out in-depth interviews with coliving directors that manage cost-oriented coliving spaces in Amsterdam or in other highly urbanized areas because of the lack of scientific research on the topic.

Furthermore, data in this research is currently limited to certain market-oriented and governmental-oriented actors, namely coliving directors, a real estate consultant and a project manager from the municipality of Amsterdam. For further research it is recommended to explore opinions of other experts such as investors and policy advisors to expand the scientific debate and reveal how different experts view the emergence and future of coliving. A further exploration of findings from relevant market-oriented and governmental-oriented actors can be used to analyze how experts from different fields interpret coliving as a living concept. Thus, further research should take more perspectives into account to forecast the further development of coliving and to determine what can be done to help stimulate this progress.

7.3.2 Recommendation for praxis

The coliving industry is still in its formative years and will need to make improvements to continue to be a viable alternative to traditional real estate. Coliving cannot simply be a housing alternative for middle-class young professionals to remain relevant. Real estate developers must provide innovative, affordable and intergenerational purpose-built coliving developments to be part of a movement of intentionality. The coliving sector has the ability to humanize the real estate industry, cope with increasing loneliness and build housing stock based on human connection. Housing providers should not create coliving spaces for the sake of it, but use the opportunity to improve residents' well-being by utilizing the living structures the twenty-first century has to offer.

The emergence and development of coliving can be attributed to external factors, mainly the overheated housing market, changing societal values, an urban flux and the arrival of new city dwellers and a growing mobile workforce. This study concluded that coliving is for some people a forced outcome due to rapidly growing real estate prices, but over time the community aspect becomes highly valued amongst residents and cannot be disregarded anymore. As the Dutch housing market becomes increasingly inaccessible, especially in Amsterdam, developing coliving spaces that foster human connection is inescapable. Therefore, coliving may replace traditional living practices in the future not only driven by external factors, but also motivated by a cultural trend towards authenticity, human connection, and a desire for growth through group interaction.

Further, communal spaces should be designed for different purposes when developing future coliving spaces. This study showed that there are many social, physical and psychological resources that affect the coliving experience positively. Communal spaces are the heart of coliving spaces and the place where community members interact, make friendships and become part of the community. Residents of coliving spaces however use certain communal spaces for different purposes, such as working and entertaining. When combining different functions in a communal space, the intentions of residents clash from which irritations can arise. It became clear in this study that having a bar and living kitchen connected to the coworking space can negatively affect the workflow when it becomes too noisy. Thus, developers should remember the main intention and the target audience's needs when defining communal space by designing communal spaces for different purposes.

Finally, local zoning laws and public policies provide the biggest planning obstacles for coliving spaces as coliving concepts do not quite fit inside the conventional zoning rules. This research identified the importance for public authorities to implement policies specifically regarding coliving developments



in order for the coliving sector to remain pertinent. More flexibility in the development of coliving spaces will be accomplished when using a holistic approach with more communication and collaboration between different actors. Hopefully, this results in city planners, planning authorities, city councils and real estate developers to become more comfortable and familiar with the concept of coliving in the future. In turn, this leads to more purpose-built, human-centered coliving options for people to maximize their social value and have life-enhancing experiences.

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Appendix I: Topic list - Experts (coliving directors)

(A) Introduction

Ask approval for recording the respondent

Introduction of respondent

- Introduction of coliving project

(B) Coliving

Why develop a coliving space?

- Planning process
- Target group
- Resident selection
- Age of community and length of stay
- Yearly occupancy rate
- Characteristics → collectives spaces
- Stimulating community living

How did the market for coliving evolve?

- Demand
- Explain increased need
- (Housing) policy
- Comparison with rest of housing market
- Expectations for the future

Why do people choose to carry out coliving?

- Opportunities
- Barriers and main challenges
 - Solutions for challenges

(C) Coworking

Why include coworking spaces?

- Users of the space
- Why it works

(D) Conclusion

Thank the respondent for his contribution

Ask if the respondents has a question or would like to say something

Ask if the respondents would like to be mentioned anonymously in the thesis

Appendix II: Topic list - Experts (Project manager & real estate consultant)

(A) Introduction

Ask approval for recording the interview

Introduction of respondent

- Introduction of position at the company

(B) Housing crisis

What does the housing market in Amsterdam look like?

- Development
- Leading cause of problems
- Challenges

How has COVID-19 impacted the local market?

- Own experiences in projects

(C) Coliving

Have you worked on a project that made use of community living features?

- Familiarity with coliving

How did the market for coliving evolve?

- Demand
- Target audience
- Explain increased need
 - Tight market
 - Changed needs
- (Housing) policy
- Comparison with rest of housing market
- Expectations for the future

Why do people choose to carry out coliving?

- Opportunities/possibilities
- Barriers and main challenges
 - Solutions for challenges → current housing problems

Who is the most important stakeholder for coliving?

- Influence of the municipalities, housing associations and developers
- Combination

What are suitable locations for coliving spaces?

(D) Conclusion

Thank the respondent for his contribution

Ask if the respondents has a question or would like to say something

Ask if the respondents would like to be mentioned anonymously in the thesis

Appendix III: Interview guide - Residents

(A) Introduction

Ask approval for recording the interview

Introduction of respondent

- Name
- Age
- Nationality

(B) Digital nomadism

What is your current profession?

Do you work in the gig economy?

- If so, what type of gig job do you have?

Why did you become a digital nomad?

(C) Coliving

How long do you live here?

How long are you planning to stay? or How long did you stay?

Why did you choose to live in this coliving space?

- Which amenities are available there?
- Did you make use of them?
 - Why (not)?

Is it expensive to live in this coliving space?

Why did you choose to carry out coliving? Or was this a forced outcome?

(D) Coworking

Why did you choose to combine working and living in a coliving space?

- Does loneliness play a part? Your well-being?

What are the advantages for you in combining co-living and working?

What are the disadvantages for you in combining co-living and working?

Does living and working in a co-living space meet all your expectations? Explain further.

(E) Contributing resources

What do you think of the following social resources? Does this affect your experience of living and working in a coliving project positively?

1. Community
2. Social interaction
3. Human connection
4. Business contacts
5. New perspective
6. Accountability
7. Establish good habits

What do you think of the following physical resources? Does this affect your experience of living and working in a coliving project positively?

8. Community manager

9. Sense of structure
10. Communal space
11. Creating work and leisure boundaries
12. Basic amenities
13. Minimalistic lifestyle

What do you think of the following psychological resources? Does living in a coliving project give you this?

14. Sense of belonging
15. Self awareness
16. Support system
17. Self actualization -> the full realization of one's potential, and the full development of one's abilities and appreciation for life

Are there other resources that you think are important that are missing?

(F) Conclusion

I would like to end this interview, do you have any questions for me or would like to say something else?

Thank the respondent for his/her contribution

Appendix IV: Code list - Experts

Code families	Codes
Coliving	Community living
	As a housing concept
	Most important stakeholder
	Opportunities
	Barriers
	Suitable locations
	Value for money
Project specific	Concept
	Facilities
	Target audience
	Occupancy rate
	Coworking
Housing market	Flexibility
	Current housing market
	Development housing market
	(Housing) policy
Coliving market	Housing problem
	Development coliving market
	Increased need coliving
	Future of coliving
	Comparison with housing market

Appendix V: Code list - Residents

Code families	Codes
Coliving	Affordability
	Location
	Future
Combining coliving and coworking	Advantage
	Disadvantage
	Lonely
	Well-being
	Productivity
Social resources	Community
	Social interaction
	Human connection
	Business contacts
	New perspective
	Establish good habits
	(Personal) relationship
Physical resources	Community manager
	Sense of structure
	Communal space
	Creating work and leisure boundaries
	Basic amenities
	Minimalistic lifestyle
	Convenience
	Events
Psychological resources	Sense of belonging
	Support system
	Sense of safety