Multi-local Living in Mazowieckie Province: Specificity and Universality of an Underestimated Phenomenon

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The article presents a study of the practices of multi-local residents of Mazowieckie Province in Poland, examining their spatiotemporal arrangements, motives, activities, and how they perceive the influence of multi-local living on their life. The analysis is based on semi-structured, problem-oriented interviews and an online survey conducted in 2023 on a sample that preserves the key socioeconomic characteristics of the inhabitants of Mazowieckie Province.

▪ **Keywords**: residential multi-locality, multi-local living arrangements, mobility, Mazowieckie Province, Mazovia, Poland

V članku je predstavljena študija praks multilokalnih prebivalcev Mazovijskega vojvodstva na Poljskem. Raziskane so njihove prostorsko-časovne ureditve, motivi, dejavnosti in dojemanje vpliva multilokalnosti na njihovo dnevno življenje. Analiza temelji na polstrukturiranih, problemsko usmerjenih intervjujih in spletni anketi, izvedeni leta 2023 na vzorcu, ki predstavlja glavne socialno-ekonomske značilnosti prebivalcev Mazovijskega vojvodstva.

▪ **Ključne besede**: multilokalna bivališča, multilokalne življenjske ureditve, mobilnost, Mazovijsko vojvodstvo, Mazovija, Poljska

Introduction

Research on human mobility and residential mobility has had a long tradition in the discipline of geography. However, changes in lifestyle and the labor market, accompanied by new communication technologies and rapid means of transport – as well as increasing living expenses in cities, lack of affordable housing, uneven distribution of labor opportunities, and the Covid-19 pandemic – have modified human spatial behavior and opened new avenues of research. One of these lines of inquiry gaining popularity as an independent research topic in recent years is the concept of multi-locality. Multi-locality (multi-local life, multi-local living arrangements) is most often understood as *vita activa* in several places – everyday life distributed over several locations that are visited for long or short periods and serve different functions (Rolshoven, 2006). We find various definitions of spatial behavior related to multi-locality and many synonyms for this term in existing literature.[1] In this article, multi-locality is also understood as the practice of living alternately in different places, with an emphasis on residential

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[1] The literature on this topic also introduces other terms referring to life in several places, such as Stock's (2009) concept of polytopic living, Duchêne-Lacroix's (2014) archipelago (German: Archipelisierung), or Beck's (1997) orthopolygamy (German: Ortspolygamie).

multi-locality. It is assumed that multi-locality is pragmatic spatial behavior[2] in places characterized by a particular and content-restricted range of available resources and utilization potentials (Danielzyk et al., 2020). In this article, multi-local living arrangements are considered a socioeconomic practice performed by individual or collective actors to carry out their intentions and achieve specific goals in a space where goods, resources, and utilization potentials are unequally distributed. They are also specific spatiotemporal organizations of everyday life that mediate between the needs of different spheres of life and connected persons that cannot be satisfactorily fulfilled in a single place (Weichhart, 2015; Weichhart, Rumpert, 2015).

A review of the international literature revealed that multi-local living is not a new issue; however, nowadays it seems that the phenomenon has changed in quantitative and qualitative terms. Quantitative changes indicate that people are increasingly living in 'constant motion' or sometimes simultaneously in several places, and qualitative changes include aspects such as motivations, causes, and manifestations of life, their individual and social alterations, and the importance of a mobile lifestyle (Danielzyk et al., 2020). Wood et al. (2015) emphasize that multi-local living is both a reason for and a consequence of mobility practices, and is therefore connected with mobility research. To note, mobility studies have had a significant impact on the development of multi-local research, introducing a paradigm shift in mobility research (Urry, 2007; Cresswell, Merriman, 2013). Nevertheless, multi-locality cannot be characterized exclusively by mobility, and it should be seen more as a conjunction or nexus between mobility and sedentariness. Multi-locality research most often describes the everyday practices of mobile employees and changes in their lifestyles (see Rolshoven, 2009; Rolshoven, Winkler, 2009), while residential multi-locality is considered a new concept in mobile housing arrangements (see Reuschke, 2012). The first group of studies on multi-locality concentrates on career-oriented elites who operate on a global scale (see Bonss et al., 2004) as well as a local one. Studies can also be found that deal with specific mobile groups frequently using repeatable routes – for example seasonal workers, permanent campers, the inhabitants of boathouses, airline staff, and children staying with each of their parents after separation (Hilti, 2013). The multi-local lifestyle may also be related to recreational activities – for example, through regular demand in holiday homes/apartments. Studies related to housing, on the other hand, concentrate on the standard of living in different house types, access to affordable housing, residential preferences, or residential segregation (Grzegorczyk et al., 2019); however, only a few have so far referred to the dynamic character of housing arrangements (e.g., Weichhart, Rumpolt, 2015). Publications in geography indicate that more studies are needed to explore how the area of residential multi-locality influences spatial development. Some emphasize

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[2] 'Spatial behaviors' are understood as the spatially manifested or overt acts of people performing a range of daily or other episodic activities (e.g. journey to work, shopping, recreation, education, and so on), but also relate to how individuals regulate and use their spatial environments.

that research has to focus on the interaction between residential multi-locality and numerous areas of life (Dittrich-Wesbuer, 2016; Eichhorn, Schulwitz, 2017; Danielzyk et al., 2020), while others posit it should offer an alternative perspective to current debates on urbanization, population concentration, and new spatial linkages between urban and rural areas (Lehtonen et al., 2019; Slätmo et al., 2019; REBUST, 2021).

The literature review revealed a gap in multi-locality research in Poland. *Wielolokalność*, a term that is a direct translation of multi-locality, is not widely used in Polish scientific literature.[3] In Poland, multi-locality has usually been studied inexplicitly; however, there are anthropological and ethnographic studies highlighting social and spatial mobility from a multi-sited perspective (i.e., Stanisz, 2012; Kaczmarek, 2015). There is a significant amount of sociological, economic, and political science research on migration and social change (i.e., White et al., 2018) or the migration of highly mobile groups (Brzozowski, Kaczmarczyk, 2018 – on professionals) that also use transnational and translocal perspectives. Geographical studies in this vein focus on spatial mobility, commuting, and their impacts on different spatial practices (Komornicki, 2011; Śleszyński, 2012; Krzysztofik, 2019; Wiśniewski et al., 2020). Existing research on second homes, conducted within the framework of the geography of tourism or rural geography, seems to be closest to the issue of multi-locality (e.g., Heffner, Czarnecki, 2011; Czarnecki, 2017; Społeczny Instytut Ekologiczny, 2021). Geographical research takes spatial development and environment into consideration but does not concentrate enough on people's activities that have nowadays expanded through the development of a nexus of relationships between two or more places of residence. There is still the need for studies where the center of gravity shifts, placing focus not only on macroscopic perspectives but also on households themselves, people's way of life, the organization of everyday life, and subjective prosperity.

This article provides a geographic analysis of the spatiotemporal practices of the multi-local residents[4] of Mazowieckie Province (Mazovia[5]). It examines residents'

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[3] To the author's knowledge, this term has only been used in sociological, anthropological, or ethnographical studies. As an example, A. Bańka (2006) uses the phrase 'multi-locality of life' when writing about transnationalism and the changing conditions of work and professional careers. A. Stanisz (2012) uses the term 'multi-locality' to describe the living environment of Polish long-distance truck drivers employed in companies operating in Western Europe. The second direct translation, *wielomiejscowość*, is used primarily in criminal law (multilocation principle) "Art. 6 § 2 k.k. is about the principle of multilocation, according to which a prohibited act is considered to have been committed in the place where the perpetrator acted or failed to act to which he was obliged, or where the effect constituting the hallmark of the prohibited act occurred or was intended by the perpetrator" (Nawrocki, 2016: 89).

[4] Multi-local residents are considered to be people who declare that they use at least two places of residence, including at least one located in Mazowieckie Province.

[5] The term Mazovia is used hereinafter in the text referring to the Mazowieckie Province. The province has an area of 35,579 square kilometers and, as of 2019, a population of 5,411,446, making it the largest and most populated province of Poland. It should be noted that in terms of geographical divisions, the province covers a larger area than the Mazovia region. The eastern part of the province is the Podlaskie region, while the southern part is the Sandomierz land, which is part of Lesser Poland. Moreover, part of historical Mazovia region (most of the former Łomża Voivodeship) lies outside the current territory of the province.

perceptions of their multi-local lifestyles by posing the following questions: How do respondents organize their lives in space and time? What are the motives behind multi-local practices? What are residents' activities at their different places of residence? How do residents perceive multi-locality and its effects on different aspects of their lives, and would they like to change their lifestyles?

The analysis is based on select materials obtained from semi-structured, problem-oriented interviews, which were conducted as part of the preliminary research in 2022 (n=11), and an online survey on a sample that preserved the key socio-economic characteristics of the inhabitants of Mazovia (n=996). The analysis is based on research conducted for the project titled 'Residential multi-locality in Poland and its importance for sustainable spatial management'.[6] The results from the qualitative and quantitative studies are intentionally combined in this article to show different aspects of the multi-local living arrangements of Mazovia inhabitants.

Mazovia is located in east-central Poland, with its capital located in the city of Warsaw. Mazovia is the center of science, research, education, industry, and infrastructure in the country. It currently has the lowest unemployment rate in Poland and is classified as a high-income province. The decision to concentrate on Mazovia as a case study follows the assumption of the pulling force of the capital city, a specific and complex labor market with the highest wages in the country, and an increasing number of remote job offers. Moreover, in Mazovia, we can observe a specific housing situation characterized by very high real estate prices and a large number of new flats and residential buildings completed both in the capital and in the surrounding communes (Jarczewski, Sykała, 2020).

Specificity and universality of multi-locality in Poland

In the case of Polish (geographical) research, studies of multi-locality are almost non-existent (Jaczewska, 2023). This is partially due to a lack of official data on living in multiple places. In Poland, the phenomenon of using many locations simultaneously and for various purposes is not uncommon. However, a person can have only one place of residence under Polish law. Moreover, according to Polish civil law, the place of residence is not defined as a specific address (flat, house) where a given person lives, but the town where this address is located. For many years, the most important information for

statistical purposes was the registered place of residence.[7] The registration obligation is generally ignored nowadays in Poland: it is a common practice to maintain a permanent residence address in a place other than the place of permanent residence (e.g., city of birth) to obtain privileges resulting from the registration (accommodation, lower rates of motor insurance, the possibility of enrolling a child in kindergarten). This registered location is still commonly and wrongly identified as a place of residence.[8] The lack of data makes multi-locality impossible to capture based on official statistics, as numerous researchers analyzing this phenomenon have also pointed out (see Othengrafen et al., 2021; Danielzyk et al., 2020). The 'unreported number' of people living in several places simultaneously is probably higher in Poland than in Western Europe because they live with friends, family, other relatives, or in a shared flat – but are not registered there.

Another reason for the lack of studies results from specific historical circumstances. Before 1989, centrally planned housing policy limited multi-locality. The lack of financial resources, the so-called housing gap – namely, the shortage of housing – and overcrowding in flats meant that having two or more dwellings only concerned a small part of society (Grzegorczyk, Jaczewska, 2018). Restrictive regulations on permanent residence did not allow for two places of residence.

Nevertheless, studies connected with mobility and living arrangements in numerous places have been indirectly maintained in Poland since the 1960s and 1970s, mostly in relation to commuting and second (holiday) houses. The industrialization of Poland after the Second World War and the resulting displacement of the population caused great interest in the issue of commuting to work (see Gawryszewski, 1974) and longer-term circular mobility (Dziewoński et al., 1977). Numerous studies, based on surveys and interviews conducted in workplaces, have made it possible to shed light on different facets of commuting practices (means of transport, travel costs, motivations, characteristics of the place of residence, etc.). An interesting group of commuters are the so-called peasant-workers (*chłoporobotnik*). Peasant workers (the peasant dual-occupation population) would spend the week in the city working in industries and living in hostels, moving to rural areas on weekends or for seasonal work (Słabek, 2002). Their social and spatial practices have commonalities with those of today's seasonal workers or migrant workers. They created new cultural and social spaces between rural and urban areas. Even though they have not always perceived positively by city dwellers,

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[7] Regulations on the obligation to register from the People's Republic of Poland period show significant similarity to analogous Soviet practices, although they were not as restrictive. After the political change in 1989, the regulations on 'registration' were not formally abolished in Poland. Military institutions dealing with the records of conscripts and reservists base their registers on this data, similar to the judiciary and the banking system.

[8] These two types of information are completely separate, as the place of residence is a concept based on civil law, while the concept of a registered residence functions on the basis of demonstrative law. Registration itself is not tantamount to residing in a given town (although submitting an application for registration is tantamount to submitting a declaration that a given person intends to stay in a given place permanently – in the case of registration for permanent residence, or temporarily – in the case of registration for temporary residence).

they were a link through which social changes taking place in cities were transferred to rural areas. After a period of great interest in the issue of work-related mobility, there was a departure from this topic among researchers, especially during the period of political and economic transformation (Wiśniewski, 2013).

The second set of studies linked with mobility and living arrangements developed in Poland focused on second residences, mostly created as holiday houses, and known in the former 'Soviet Bloc countries' as dachas (*дáча*). Dacha does not have a single meaning but can refer to luxury second homes at the seaside, year-round houses next to the bigger cities, seasonal residences in rural areas, or collective gardens both inside and outside the city (Rusanov, 2019; Moskalonek et al., 2020). Because of the dominance of state ownership of land,[9] sometimes owning a plot of land for recreation was the only option for Polish inhabitants. After the transformation and privatization of land in the 1990s, the number of holiday and second homes spread all over the country, especially on the outskirts of bigger cities and in attractive tourist areas (Kajdanek, 2022).

A spatial-centric perspective was used in the surveys researching mobility, commuting, or second homes. Quantitative estimates were predominant, the majority of which focused on travel to work, reasons for travel, behavior in the field of mobility, or the influence of second houses on spatial development. The focus in these studies was on group (mainly male) mobility rather than on households and partners of mobile workers as well as on spatial or economic development (a place-based approach was used more frequently than a people-based approach).

The last thirty years have been marked by dynamic change due to numerous political, economic, and social transformations. These alterations caused similar processes to begin to shape the phenomenon of multi-locality in Poland as well as in the countries of Western Europe (Danielzyk et al., 2020). Political changes have facilitated the mobility and the migration of Polish citizens, including their economic migration to other countries – especially in EU countries (White et al., 2018). Economic changes, characterized by a shift from a state-led economy to policy reforms characterized by the slogan of "less state, more market", caused significant changes in the labor market and the spatial distribution of both employers and employees (concentration of job offers in the cities). Reforms that were carried out in the neoliberal spirit created the conditions for deregulation and increased the flexibility of labor markets (Arnholtz, Leschke, 2023). The instability of labor relations, combined with increased mobility opportunities, led to an increase in multi-local practice patterns. Economic changes made it possible for groups of people who had achieved economic success to create or maintain several places of residence. There was a growing interest in building houses and second homes in suburban areas, particularly at the end of the 1990s, which resulted

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[9] State-owned enterprises, in order to attract employees, also offered the possibility of obtaining a recreational plot. To this day there are colonies of plots scattered all over Poland with preserved names of former industrial plants.

in significant urban sprawls (Mantey, Sudra, 2019). At the same time, social changes, individualization, and the differentiation of lifestyles also led to 'relational forms' that apply to relationships within couples with separate households (Botterill, 2014).

The specificity of multi-local practices in Poland results from the above-mentioned historical, political, economic, and social conditions. There are lower levels of mobility and greater levels of stability of residence in comparison to Western European countries. Nevertheless, it can be observed that increasing numbers of people in Poland live at more than one location and establish spaces for their everyday activities at each location (residential multi-locality). The reasons for such living arrangements are connected with a universal need to have gainful employment, attend school and university, access medical or cultural facilities, maintain social relationships, or other reasons such as holidays and recreation. In Poland, we can observe an increasingly uneven distribution of resources (especially access to work and gainful employment) and utilization potentials (spatially unevenly increasing property prices), which will contribute to greater mobility and more frequent multi-locality practices.

Although the issues of multi-locality are not widely discussed and next to invisible in geographic research, the concept of multi-locality fits into the debate on changing topics of study in the discipline. After the post-war dominance of neo-positivist philosophy in the scientistic approach in geography, which resulted in an increased interest in quantitative methods and concepts of modeling spatial processes, there was renewed interest in the humanistic approach in the early 1970s. Consequently, research has emerged, broadly defined as the 'cultural turn' in human geography. The new face of the geography of culture and the growing importance of radical approaches (social geography) have opened up new opportunities for importing many theoretical concepts and methodologies that have been developed in the social sciences into geography. These include approaches to the study of space, which are expressed not only in terms of real territorial space but also in terms of socially or culturally constructed space (Lisowski, 2003). Human geography, therefore, concerns people's relationship to their living environment resulting from the ways they 'inhabit' it, and these interactions materialize in specific forms.[10] Contemporary interpreters of Vidal de la Blache believe that *genre de vie* (lifestyle) is a way of 'dwelling', and its essence is society's adaptation to the surrounding conditions (Wójcik, Suliborski, 2021). Milieu (place, living environment) is a reflection of everyday problems and values assigned to individual elements of the environment. Multi-locality from this perspective can thus be seen as a specific *genre de vie* that expresses possible adaptations to surrounding conditions (social, economic, demographic, environmental, political, etc.), which in turn reflect the everyday problems of individuals and the values they attribute to the elements of a widely understood living environment.

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[10] Rembowska (2005: 104) defines the living environment as "the world which a human being inhabits, shapes, gives meaning to, perceives, identifies with or feels a presence about."

Methods and data

An exploratory approach was used to characterize the spatiotemporal practices of Polish multi-local residents – including their motives, activities, and their perceptions of multi-local life. First, semi-structured, problem-oriented interviews were conducted. Respondents for the preliminary study were randomly selected using the snowball method (chain sampling) and academic or personal contacts.[11] The preliminary study sample included 25 people. However, only 11 of them were taken into consideration in this article, as they were the respondents who were multi-local and had at least one residence in Mazovia. The interviews were conducted from May to October 2022 using communication tools (Google Meet, Zoom) and in person. They lasted from 40 to 120 minutes and also covered topics that are not included in this article.[12] The interviews were examined by using MAXQDA software for qualitative content analysis (Barbie, 2013). Table 1 lists the main characteristics of the interviewees, including their most important residences, main reasons for becoming a multi-local resident, whether the multi-locality is connected with family obligations, frequency of travel, and type of movement. All the respondents were around the same age, highly qualified, and worked predominantly in knowledge-intensive sectors. This part of the study does not assert to be representative and intends to contribute to a better understanding of the specificity of multi-local living arrangements in Poland. It was used to refine the research tools.

Table 1: Characteristics of the research group (interviews). Source: own elaboration.

No.	Code*	Occupation	Main places of stay	Main reason	Connected with family obligations	Frequency of travel	Type of movement
1	B.01.K.40	Researcher – engineer	Warsaw – Copenhagen – Serock (touristic area)	Work	Yes	Often	International
2	A.02.K.40	Researcher – geologist	Wroclaw – Warsaw –USA	Work, lifestyle	No	Medium often	International
3	A.04.K.45	Researcher – geographer	Montpellier – Warsaw – Asia	Work, lifestyle	No	Medium often	International
4	K.05.M.39	Researcher – social scientist	Warsaw – Wroclaw	Work	Yes	Often	Domestic
5	D.07.K42	Researcher – political scientist	Kraków – Warsaw	Work	Yes	Often	Domestic

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[11] I used the non-probability sampling technique where existing study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances. Thus the sample group is said to grow like a rolling snowball.

[12] During the interviews, I asked questions related to (1) the motives behind multi-local practices, (2) the respondents' organization of their lives in space and time and their activities at particular places of stay, (3) housing solutions used and attributes of places of residence that are important to them, (4) means of transport used, (5) importance of modern technologies for them and the use of any elements of the sharing economy, (6) the advantages and disadvantages of operating in several places and whether they would like to change their lifestyle, and (7) how COVID-19 affected their spatial behavior.

6	M.08.K.40	Economist – international firm	Warsaw – Rome – Paris	Work lifestyle	No	Medium often	International
7	M.10.M.53	Economist – international firm	Warsaw – Rome – Mazuria Lake District (touristic area)	Work	Yes	Medium often	International
8	A.11.M.38	Transport company owner	Warsaw – hometown	Work family	Yes	Medium often	International
9	A.12.K.40	Interpreter	Warsaw – Brussels – Zegrze Lake (touristic area)	Work recreation	Yes	Often	International
10	J.13.K.38	Interpreter	Warsaw – Brussels	Work	Yes	Often	International
11	U.14.K.37	Administration employee	Kraków – Warsaw – family house in mountains	Work	Yes	Medium often	Domestic

*The data in the study were coded. The first letter means the first letter of the name, the number means the interview number, K stands for female, M for male, and the last number means the respondent's age.

The second part of the data was obtained from the nationwide research panel 'Ariadna'.[13] Research was conducted as an online survey (CAWI) that took place from December 2022 to January 2023. It included 996 persons with at least two places of residence, including at least one in Mazovia. The survey sample reflected the key socioeconomic characteristics of the adult inhabitants of the voivodeship in terms of age, sex, education, and size and type of place of residence (city, rural areas, etc.) (Table 2). The data were examined using SPSS IBM software.

Table 2: Characteristics of the research group (panel survey). Source: own elaboration.

Variable	Subgroup	n	%
Gender	Female	595	59.7
	Male	401	40.3
Age	18–24	111	11.1
	25–34	272	27.3
	35–44	265	26.6
	45–54	151	15.2
	55 and more	197	19.8
(Main) Place of residence	Village	130	13.1
	Small town (up to 20,000 inhabitants)	69	6.9
	Medium-sized city (from 20,000 to 99,000 inhabitants)	181	18.2

[13] Ariadna is the biggest independent nationwide research panel in Poland with a valid Interviewer Quality Control Program (PKJPA) certificate confirming the high quality of the research services provided. Website of the panel: https://panelariadna.pl.

	Big city (from 100,000 to 500,000 inhabitants)	118	11.8
	Very large city (more than 500,000 inhabitants)	498	50.0
Education	Primary/middle school	12	1.2
	Vocational	31	3.1
	Secondary	196	19.7
	Post-secondary	120	12.0
	Higher undergraduate	122	12.2
	Higher master's degree or equivalent	503	50.5
	Other	12	1.2

In Poland, the Polish term *wielolokalność* describing multi-locality is not popular. The ambiguity of the concept became particularly evident during the interviews conducted as part of the preliminary research. People participating in the study spoke more often about living arrangements in numerous places than "multi-locality." Living in multiple places was associated both with daily life in multiple places, rhythmic everyday practices, cyclical travel, and specific lifestyles. Being aware of the ambiguity of the term in the panel research, the author decided to adopt a description of multi-local living arrangements and purposely did not use the Polish term *wielolokalność* to describe multi-locality.

The following section combines the results obtained from the qualitative and quantitative studies. The qualitative research sheds more light on forms of multi-local practice and their remarkable diversity, while the quantitative research reveals general trends and characteristics of multi-local performances.

Multi-local living arrangements of Mazovian residents

How do multi-local respondents organize their lives in space and time?
In the qualitative interviews, respondents indicated that they organize their lives in space and time in very diverse ways, and these arrangements change quite often. Having two residences was the most common arrangement among respondents, but seven out of eleven people indicated that they also use a third place. The third place was mainly related to the specificity of their employment or recreation needs. Due to the overrepresentation of people with high qualifications, mobility was very high and concerned mostly with moving between large cities (in six cases, these were regular trips abroad).

The following statement clearly shows the changeability of practices over time. An economist working in an international company indicated that she works remotely and has considerable freedom as far as her residence is concerned: *"I currently work, mostly remotely, from my first and second place of stay and don't have any formal*

travel schedule [...] It all depends on the project and where I have to be" (M.08.K.40). However, the interpreter working for European Union agencies indicated a regularity and cyclical pattern to her travels: *"It's like three times a month I go away for three to four days, and it's either Brussels or Strasbourg. So, three weeks in a row and then a week off. This week's break is not due to the nature of work, because I could go every week, but I don't want to. I am on a contract, not a full-time job; therefore, I can choose and decide how much I will work"* (A.12.K.40). In the case of regular and cyclical trips, the characteristics of activities undertaken in space and the time spent were strictly defined.

The practice of multi-local living involved various forms of mobility. Four such forms related to changes of residence were identified in the interviews: relocation (settled movement), migration (international and internal), travel (tourism and business), and daily mobility. These forms are often interrelated and interdependent and also change over time – features that could only be captured in the qualitative part of the study. According to respondents, multi-local living arrangements are usually not connected with a one-off event but they constitute a process that continues with varying degrees of intensity throughout a person's life. These arrangements affect all aspects of a mobile person's daily life, as well as that of the non-mobile people with whom they are in a relationship.

Of the 996 persons that participated in the survey, 86.1% of respondents indicated that they had two residences, 12.6% had three places, and 1.3% had more than three places. A vast majority declared that their main place of residence was located in Poland (99%). Furthermore, many also declared that their main residence was in Mazovia (85.2%), which is due in large part to the structuring of the survey sample. Other common voivodeships include Lublin, Lesser Poland, Łódź, Pomeranian, and Podlaskie (voivodeships closest to Mazovia) (Figures 1 and 2). Only 68% of respondents declared that they were permanently registered at their main place of residence, which confirms that the place of registration does not coincide with the place of the main residence.

The majority of respondents indicated that their secondary residence was also located in Poland (96.6%); 36 respondents indicated that their second place was abroad.[14] Within the second place of residence, we continue to observe the dominance of Mazovia (73.3%), but there was also a higher percentage of inhabitants from the Lublin, Podlaskie, Łódź, Warmia-Masuria, and Silesia voivodeships. The location of the secondary place of residence corresponds to areas from which employees are attracted to Warsaw (e.g., Lublin, Podlaskie, Łódź voivodeships) as well as areas that are attractive for second, holiday homes (e.g., Warmia-Masuria and Podlaskie voivodeships). Almost 22% of

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[14] Examining the places found abroad, the most important were countries such as Germany (13 respondents) and the United Kingdom (9). Mostly, the second places of residence were located in Europe (34) and only two were outside Europe (in the USA). This corresponds with the most important migration destinations for Polish citizens.

respondents were permanently registered at their second residence. The third place of residence was located mostly in Masovian and Lublin voivodeships.

The quantitative part of the survey indicated the dominance of two places of residence close to each other. Bilocation (two places of stay) seems to be the dominant type in Poland, but the quantitative part of the research did not allow for the selection of a greater number of residences (more than three) or a demonstration of changes in practice over a lifetime (questions only addressed the situation at the moment of the survey). A significant concentration of places in the Warsaw Metropolitan Area is also evident. Particularly significant connections between Warsaw and the surrounding areas can also be observed based on the analysis of migration processes (suburbanization), commutes to work, commutes to secondary schools, etc. Results indicated that commutes to work include the broader zone of Warsaw's influence – not only the immediate Warsaw area but also communes located along the main roads and railway lines towards bigger cities like Białystok, Lublin, and Kraków – as well as cities in the western part of the voivodeship. The suburbanization areas to which the inhabitants of Warsaw move include a much smaller number of communes located close to Warsaw, in particular in the southwestern part of the capital region (Jarczewski, Sykała, 2020).

Respondents were asked how they came to live at multiple locations. About 38% answered that they had maintained one residence in Mazovia (mostly in Warsaw) and established an additional place within the voivodeship. In this group, the first residence was usually an apartment in Warsaw and the new one was connected to both second homes and holiday accommodations established in the voivodeship. About 26% of the respondents indicated that they had changed their first place of residence and moved to Mazovia, keeping their secondary place of residence outside the voivodeship. In this second group, there was an overrepresentation of new residences being associated with work opportunities in the Warsaw Metropolitan Area. About 23% had previously lived in one place within the region (mostly in Warsaw) and established a second location outside Mazovia. The third group was most often connected with people setting up a holiday home outside the voivodeship in more tourist areas.

The frequency of travel between residences varied, but most people traveled once a week (22.5%); more frequent trips (two to three times a week) were declared slightly less often (21.5%), as were trips less than once a month (19.3%). The organization of activities in space and time was largely influenced by spatial conditions, particularly distance and time linked to travel between residences. Travel time ranged from less than one hour to more than 8 hours. The majority of respondents indicated that the time needed to access the second residence was between half an hour and one hour (17.3%), one and two hours (30.6%), or between two and four hours (16.8%). Answers concerning travel time indicate the predominance of moving over relatively short distances, and the analysis of directions shows that it is often a migration between communes adjacent to the capital city of Warsaw.
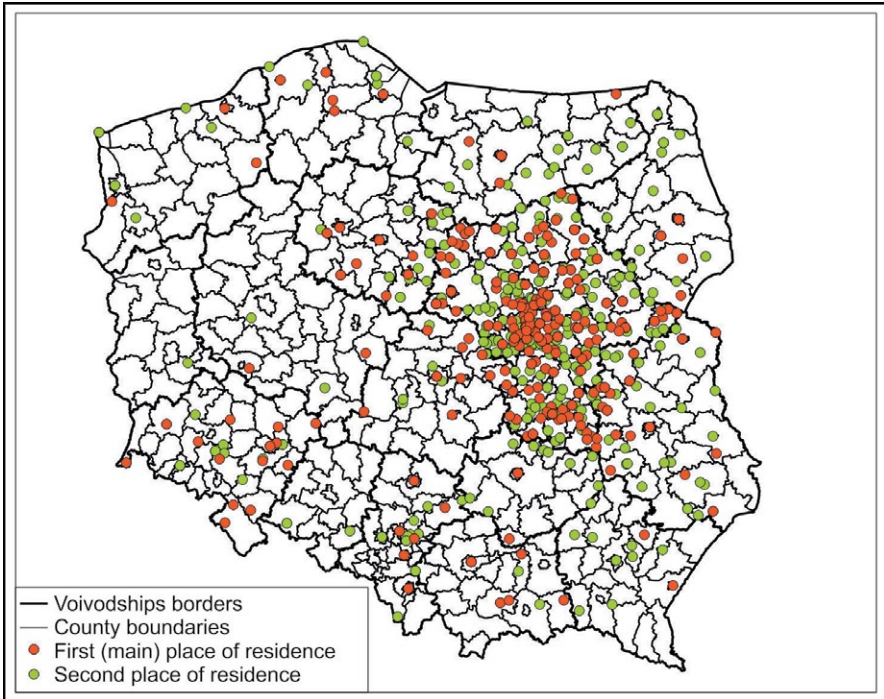
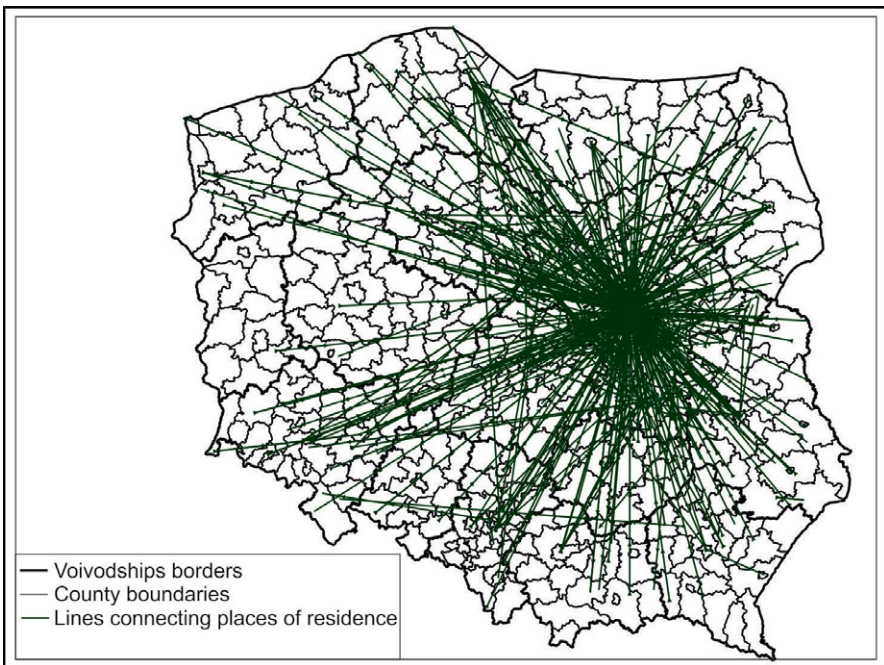Figure 1: The spatial pattern of the multi-locality of Mazovian residents.

Figure 2: First and second places of residence of multi-local Mazovian residents.

Questions concerning modes of travel showed that travel by private car as a driver and passenger (66.5%) was predominant, followed by train (24.5%), and bus (16.7%). The length of the journey, the availability of different means of transport, and the cost of the journey influenced the frequency of travel. The travel time declared by respondents did not always match the declared distances between residences. Respondents often revealed longer distances (in km) and shorter travel times, which shows that respondents' perceptions of time and distance, as well as of space of activities, were perceived differently from the real geographical distance and space in question.

Respondents specified that they spent most of their time during the year at their main place of residence (75.4%), 15.1% of people spent more time at the second place, and only 9.4% at both places. The stability of places of residence was significant: 29.9% of people indicated that they never moved, 28.9% only moved once, and 20.2% moved twice. The average time of people lived at their first, as well as their second place of residence, was long. Although most respondents were living at their first and second residences for an average of 3 to 5 years (over 20%), as many as 15.9% indicated that they had been living at their first place of residence for more than 30 years. In addition,16.4% stated that they been using their second place of residence for more than 30 years.

A lower degree of residential mobility and the long-term use of multiple residences are characteristic features that result from, among other things, the specificity of housing preferences and the real estate market in Poland. Poles value owning flats: as many as 84% of them live in owner-occupied flats. The remaining 16% reside in rented accommodations. Such a proportion is not only distinctive to Poland but is also present in other countries of Central and Eastern Europe (Milewska-Wilk, Nowak, 2022). Most people strive to own real estate, and this also leads them to rely on long-term housing loans. Relatively cheap loans in Swiss francs, which were popular not so long ago, nowadays mean that the debt incurred exceeds the value of the apartment or house; thus, it is not profitable to sell. On the other hand, the very high prices of flats or houses in Warsaw do not allow for the fulfillment of residents' aspirations; hence, they try to build houses in the suburbs. The first place of residence, if not necessary, is left as an element of capital investment or is 'kept' for children or retirement.

What are the motives behind multi-locality practices?

Motives linked to work and family obligations were predominant in the answers provided in the qualitative interviews. Usually, there was not just one motive but often two or more interrelated ones. The need for a recreational place of residence was not so evident; instead, respondents would more often talk about their individual personal needs (hobby, sport, contact with nature, mental health, etc.). Some respondents indicated that their multi-local practices were associated with a strong sense of attachment to their original place of residence, which discouraged them from giving it up. One of the respondents who worked as a researcher in France and maintained an apartment

in Warsaw expressed: *"The second place* (Warsaw*) is also a matter of a kind of, how to say ... longing. I kept Warsaw because I like to go to Poland, I like to go to Masuria* (Lake District)*, visit friends, and I like to go to the mountains and visit friends. It's like ... a 'refuge'. You know, a place where when something difficult happens or I have to intervene then…. This is also a place in Poland where it's easier for me to act"* (A.04.K.45). The nature of attachment was very diverse. In addition to functional and economic factors (partner's place of work, children's education, property), the emotional ties associated with identifying with a place were essential. The statement below effectively reflects the varied emotional attachment to different places: *"Even though I've lived in Warsaw for 12 years and this is my home... I don't feel... you see, I'm a 'jar'*[15] *unfortunately, and I also realize that I don't put much effort into building up this place* [...] *I don't feel at home also there* (in the second place of my parents' house in Wrocław*). I don't have such emotions related to the place as are traditionally prescribed for a family home. I spread these emotions to the whole city of Wrocław. My place is there. That is my place, and I feel well there" (*K.05.M.39).

Almost all the respondents also indicated the need for freedom and independence. A researcher who divides his life between Warsaw and Wrocław indicated that: *"I treat these trips as compensation for my innate selfishness* [...] *So I would like to be independent* [...]*. This allows you to keep your distance. I just need more of this space for myself. But when I go to Wrocław, I automatically start to miss my family, so I start to appreciate what I don't have at the moment. So, it's a positive thing, even though most people around me are rather surprised and see it as a cost"* (K.05.M.39). The varied responses show an extended approach to housing in which multi-locality was defined not only by multiple locations but also by multi-local relationships between space and everyday practice (Stock, 2009).

In the quantitative part of the research, the most important motives were related to work, recreation and leisure time (the need for rest and recreation or the need to escape from the hustle and bustle of the city), and family obligations (Table 3). Subsequent answers can be divided into several subcategories. Some concerned personal preferences and needs – for example, the need to maintain independence (8.1%) or pursue hobbies (4.4%). Some resulted from attachment to a place of residence (7.6%) and a lack of desire to move permanently (2.2%). The responses also included motives related to continuing long-distance relations (5.8%) or maintaining contact with friends (1.6%). In addition, it was indicated that the inheritance of the house contributed to the adoption of multi-local living arrangements (6.8%). Several people also pointed to negative aspects, such as the inability to buy or rent a flat for the whole family.

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[15] "Warsaw jar" – a term used to describe people who work, live and study in Warsaw, but who do not originate from this city and regularly (usually during weekends) travel home. These inhabitants traditionally often brought homemade food in jars to Warsaw, and hence they were called "jars".

Table 3: What was the main reason that contributed to your living in several places? Source: own elaboration.

	N	%
Work	209	21.0
Recreational and leisure needs	172	17.3
Family obligations	141	14.2
Having a second place of residence allows me to maintain my independence	81	8.1
I like my family home and don't want to move out permanently	76	7.6
I inherited an apartment/house	68	6.8
Education	63	6.3
Long-distance relationship	58	5.8
Free time and pursuit of hobbies	44	4.4
I didn't want to move permanently	22	2.2
I couldn't buy/rent a flat for the whole family	18	1.8
Keeping in touch with friends	16	1.6
Because of health reasons	15	1.5
Other	13	1.3
Total	996	100.0

Among the work-related motives that contributed to multi-locality, respondents most often indicated searching for a job that met their financial expectations. Quite a large group specified that the type of work they performed required them to live in several places. What seems interesting is that the possibility of working remotely was indicated as an important factor by only 7% of the respondents. In the case of family commitments, apart from caring for children (19.3%), caring for parents and grandparents was also important (16.8%). Gender differences are also interesting: while there was no difference in declared involvement in caring for children between women and men, there was a visible difference in declarations of care for parents and grandparents, where women's answers were predominant. The second difference observed was a higher percentage of men indicating the need to maintain independence, and a higher percentage of women indicating the need for recreation.

What are the most important activities in different places of residence?

In qualitative research, organization around work and the attempt to combine activities related to work and family duties were more clearly visible in the respondents' description of the activities conducted than in quantitative research. Only two respondents indicated that while they are at work, they also have time for themselves, hobbies or time to meet friends. The feeling of the lack of a work-life balance and a sense of neglecting their duties towards children due to working outside their place of residence was particularly evident among women. The translator who spends three days a week abroad pointed out: *"When I'm at home, I mainly take care of the children. You know, homework, visits to the doctor ... life. I also have this feeling that because I'm often*

away, I neglect them. So, when I am there, I try to make up for lost time and relieve my husband a bit. I have a problem with the division between the spheres of professional and private life. When I'm at work, I think I'm neglecting my home, and when I'm at home, I think about my backlog of work" (B.01.K.40).

The last group of activities related to free time was more diverse, and sometimes people devoted their free time to participating in current cultural events, practicing sports, and gardening. Among the respondents, it was clear that the boundaries between individual places of stay were unclear concerning activities. Such 'blurring boundaries' (Jordan, 2008) involve sets of oppositions such as primary residence and secondary residence, or work and free time. However, they are also expressed in the demarcation of places of activity and the existence of places 'in between' with ambiguous structures of social interaction.

Several characteristic activities in various places of residence were identified in the quantitative part of the research. The first group included those who identified with organizing life around family, relatives, and work. Activities related to family and relatives at particular residences were closely related to the stage of life of individual respondents. People with small children tended to concentrate on caring responsibilities during their stay at the main place of residence. People who did not have children or already had independent children mentioned more often, for example, the available recreational facilities or cultural events at their main place of residence. People who had elderly parents/grandparents tried to find time to ensure regular contact with their relatives. In the case of people who would commute to work for a few days, it was clear when questioned about organizing life around work that they were absorbed by work. The majority indicated that they tried to work very intensively, and did not have enough time for other activities. Due to the different activities undertaken at the first and second residences, it was apparent that they served different functions (Table 4).

Table 4: What are the most important functions of the first and second places of your stay? (Multiple-choice question). Source: own elaboration.

	What are the most important functions of your first place of stay for you?		What are the most important functions of your second place of stay for you?	
	n	% of all answers	n	% of all answers
Family residence	503	30.7	387	25.9
Partner's place of residence	235	14.3	138	9.2
A meeting place with friends	199	12.1	196	13.1
Workplace	323	19.7	183	12.3
Place of training and education	84	5.1	74	5.0
A place to use the recreational offer	66	4.0	218	14.6
A place to enjoy the cultural offer	100	6.1	77	5.2
A place to pursue a hobby	109	6.7	185	12.4
Other	19	1.2	34	2.3
	1638	100	1492	100.0

The first place of residence was more often connected with activities concerning family obligations and work, while the second place was connected with recreational activities as well as those related to family. The second residence is frequently recreational, such as holiday homes, but they are often family homes as well; hence, family relationships remain an important activity there.

How does multi-locality affect the different aspects of their lives?

In the interviews, respondents indicated both advantages and disadvantages to living in several places, but none wanted to change their lifestyle. Among the advantages of living in several places, they most often mentioned profits related to the possibility of career development and better payment. The second argument that appeared quite often was freedom – as well as the possibility of enjoying a combination of the attributes (access to green areas, culture, medical facilities, etc.) of both places.

An economist who lived his life in Warsaw, Rome, and a village in Masuria Lake District pointed out that multi-local living is associated with problems, especially in maintaining relationships with loved ones. However, the advantages exceed the drawbacks: *"I just like it ... I know that it makes my private life very complicated, but it gives me a lot of satisfaction" (*M.10.M.53). He also added that a change of environment allows him to broaden his horizons and look at the world from a perspective other than 'strictly Polish': *"Besides, it allows me to get to know other people's worldviews and go beyond our strange Polish customs, lifestyle, way of thinking about values"* (M.10.M.53).

In the panel survey, respondents were asked about the impact of living in several places on selected aspects of life. The impact on housing conditions and the quality of living, income and material situation, professional development and career, as well as family, children, and partnership, were positively and negatively assessed (Table 5).
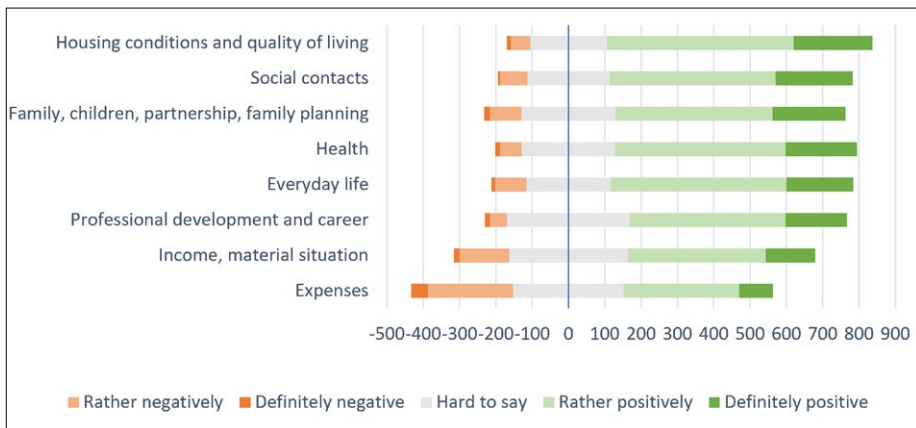

Table 5: How do you assess the impact of living in several places on the following aspects of your life? (Number of positive and negative answers). Source: own elaboration.

Most respondents positively assessed the impact of multi-locality. The impact on living conditions and quality of life was assessed particularly positively, followed by maintaining social contacts, health, and professional development. Positive responses were also visible in the case of the impact of multi-locality on the family, children and partnership. However, in this case, respondents often indicated a negative impact. Expenditure was rated the least positive, recognizing that an additional place of residence always entails additional costs. Respondents assessed that there were more advantages than drawbacks associated with living in several places.

However, when asked if they intended to change their multi-local lifestyle, the greatest share of respondents indicated "yes, but I do not know when it will be possible" (38%). Almost 20% of respondents specified that they considered their current situation temporary, 25% stated that they still wanted to continue living in more than one place, and 17.5% were hesitant.

A positive assessment of the impact of multi-locality, with the simultaneous indication of the willingness to change their way of life, indicates that a major share of respondents treat this practice as a temporary solution. In the case of the inhabitants of Mazovia, this way of life seems to create tension between compulsion and free will.

End remarks

This article describes the practices and behaviors of multi-local Mazovian respondents in Poland. The research presented focused on spatial arrangements and time use (duration and rhythm), motives and activities, and the perceived influence of multi-local life arrangements. Qualitative research exposed the remarkable diversity of multi-local practices, while quantitative research reveals general trends and characteristics of multi-local living arrangements.

The term 'multi-locality' is far from unambiguous, and the subject is not commonly understood in Poland. The combination of research results obtained in qualitative and quantitative studies showed that multi-local practices offer a wide range of implementation options, with smooth transitions from one place to another. The description of this phenomenon, therefore, requires a broader explanation of the dimensions of the attributes of living in several places. The spatiotemporal organization of inhabitants' lives is influenced by the need for spatial mobility. Spatial mobility is increasingly recognized as a key phenomenon of the present day and is treated as both a precondition and a consequence of the global, spatial division of labor and the constantly expanding organization of private social networks (Axhause et al., 2007). Multi-local residence can be considered an example of pragmatic behavior in which, because of the intensity of spatial mobility and the hybridity of its forms, the boundaries between permanent mobility (migration) and daily mobility (circular migration) blur. High mobility means

that new spaces are constantly being created – for example spaces for work or life, but this is not only expressed in terms of real, territorial spaces but also of socially or culturally constructed ones (Lisowski, 2003; Löw, 2016). The socially and culturally constructed space was more clearly visible in respondents' statements than strictly geographical space. The intertwining of different areas of activity was also visible. Respondents indicated the 'blurring boundaries' between motives or activities in different places related to work and free time, but they also expressed the existence of places 'in between' with ambiguous structures of social interaction (e.g., the family house used from time to time as recreational or holiday place – and sometimes also as workplace).

The qualitative and quantitative portions of the research showed that living in several places was a form of mobile living and an alternative to moving. From this perspective, multi-locality can be perceived as a combination of forms of migration with temporary forms of sedentary lifestyles, but also as an independent socio-spatial strategy (Kaufmann, 2002). In the case of Poland, it is a coherent element of a highly mobile lifestyle, as well as a response to mobility overload (lack of desire to commute daily).

In Mazovia, living in two places in close proximity to each other was the predominant form of multi-locality. As already indicated in the text, a significant concentration of places in the Warsaw Metropolitan Area was evident as well as a high level of stability of places of residence. Characteristic features of Polish multi-locality include a smaller number of people relocating and long-term use of residences. Geographical space affects how respondents function, and the distance and time needed to move are important determinants of how often respondents move between places. The research confirmed the strong impact of spatial conditions on the decision to become or remain multi-local; it also demonstrated how these conditions shape spatiotemporal organization. Better quality, high-speed transport systems have enabled and generated both mobility and multi-locality, making it possible to reach spatially distant places in shorter time periods. Public transport is preferred where available; in other cases, people are forced to use private transport. Research results demonstrate the predominance of private transport, which is often associated with the lack of other possibilities for quick access to towns located even in the vicinity of Warsaw. At the same time, it should be noted (this was not the subject of this analysis and requires further research) that multi-local life also affects space. For example, multi-local practices increase land use (urban sprawl) and traffic volume, contributing to tight housing markets and rising housing prices, usually in inner-city neighborhoods. In addition, temporary population fluctuations lead to changes in available commercial facilities, greater use of infrastructure on certain days, and price increases for household services.

The motives for adopting multi-local life practices are diverse but are similar to those in other European countries. Othengrafen et al. (2021) emphasized that motives for multi-local lifestyles are mutually dependent, which is also visible in this research. Usually, multi-locality serves as a strategy for performing tasks connected with work

and family. In this survey, the main motives were related to work, recreation, and family obligations.

The first major reason is the need to find a suitable job. Unevenly distributed labor resources (concentrated in Warsaw) significantly influence practices, as was apparent in the study, which indicates a relationship between one place of residence and the existence of a well-developed labor market. The deregulation of labor markets and instability push employees to work in different places during their professional careers, which, combined with increased mobility opportunities, leads to an increase in multi-local practice patterns. The presented research does not confirm that multi-locality in Mazovia has its source in a changing working style (remote work), accompanied by the development of telecommunications technologies. Instead, multi-locality is probably more related to the reduction of affordable housing, the inability to meet housing aspirations, or the spatially concentrated labor market. Only 7% of those who indicated work as the main reason for becoming multi-local expressed that remote work influenced their decisions. The second motive is connected to the preference for a recreational place to live, which also stems from historical, political, and economic conditions.

Private relations with family, partners, and friends seem to be mutually dependent on the two above-mentioned motives. In Mazovia, which seems to be a Polish specificity, a significant proportion of second homes are (1) inherited or shared by families in rural areas from which employees (part of a family) moved to the city, (2) holiday homes on recreational plots (called *dachas* in Eastern Europe), and (3) second homes that manifest inhabitants' preferences to have their place in suburban areas (sometimes connected with the lack of possibility of fulfilling aspirations within the city). Quite often, one location is a family home or a shared recreational plot used by different members of the family. Frequently, one of the places is where parents or grandparents still live.

When analyzing the activities at individual places of residence, it was evident that work and family were the central elements around which everyday life revolved for most people. It can be seen that there are no clear boundaries between work time and leisure time or between the place of work and the place of private activity. Activities are closely related to people's stage of life as well as their social status, which was not analyzed in this article, but which I intend to take up in the next paper. An individual's activity patterns result from interactions between personal factors (e.g., socioeconomic characteristics, preferences, attitudes, and prejudices) and external factors (e.g., environmental and social structures). Spatial mobility reflects the scale of possible interactions between social groups. Mobility changes people's experiences and modifies their relationships with particular places. Differences in people's mobility can be considered a factor contributing to further social differentiation or stratification, and thus may create a kind of mobility inequality.

Most respondents positively evaluated the influence of multi-locality on their lives. What seems interesting is that, in quantitative research, only 25% of respondents

indicated that they wanted to stay multi-local. Almost 40% of the respondents said that they intended to stop multi-local living but did not know when it would be possible. In the case of the inhabitants of Mazovia, this way of life is treated as temporary and creates tension between compulsion and free will.

Even considering the specificity of Polish research, it seems that the social changes that are currently taking place are universal. Nowadays, multi-local households can also be primarily interpreted as a phenomenon of social change that has developed as a result of increasing demand for mobility. This demand stems from changing economic and political conditions and a personalized lifestyle, which in turn need to cope with different family/relatives obligations and one's own development (Othengrafen et al., 2021).

The research described herein is only a fragment of the issues that seem to be socially important. From the point of view of geographical research, the concept of multi-locality or living in many places can be seen as a significant and complementary research approach for studies analyzing only one place of residence. Contemporary research based on statistics on one residence does not give a full picture of how inhabitants function in space. Incorporating multi-local living practices into research creates an opportunity to understand where people also live temporarily during the year, the rhythm and duration of their stay, and the relationship with a given place; both when present and absent. This approach can help avoid the idea of a static and closed spatial network, which is mostly visible in Polish research by instead emphasizing movement, flow, and new interdependencies between spaces. There is not enough awareness about multi-locality in Polish general debates. Further studies may lead to an increase in understanding of the influence of multi-local practices on changing demands for different services over time and sustainable development. It may also help in understanding differences in the form and content of civic engagement relationships between multi-local residents and local communities. Moreover, in the case of Poland, multi-locality can draw attention to the specificity of inequalities in access to resources, goods, and services and can also help analyze the factors of social and spatial exclusion (gender inequality, transport, or digital exclusion).

Acknowledgements

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Multilokalno življenje v Mazovijskem vojvodstvu: posebnost in univerzalnost podcenjenega fenomena

Avtorica preučuje prostorsko-časovne prakse multilokalnih prebivalcev Mazovijskega vojvodstva (Mazovija) na Poljskem, pri čemer se osredinja na njihove motive, dejavnosti in dojemanje multilokalnega načina življenja ter njegov vpliv na vsakdanje življenje. Multilokalnost ni novo vprašanje, vendar se zdi, da se je danes ta pojav kvantitativno in kvalitativno spremenil. Kvantitativne spremembe kažejo, da ljudje vse pogosteje živijo v »nenehnem gibanju« ali živijo hkrati v več krajih. Kvalitativne spremembe vključujejo motivacije, vzroke in manifestacije multilokalnega življenja, individualno in družbeno vrednotenje multilokalnosti ter spreminjanje pomena mobilnega življenjskega sloga. Multilokalnost postaja vse bolj preučevan pojav, vendar primanjkuje raziskav, ki bi analizirale razmere na Poljskem. V članku predstavljena analiza temelji na kvalitativni in kvantitativni raziskavi: enajst polstrukturiranih, problemsko usmerjenih intervjujev je bilo opravljenih v predhodni raziskavi leta 2022, spletna anketna raziskava, izvedena leta 2023 pa na vzorcu (996 anketirancev), ki predstavlja glavne družbeno-ekonomske značilnosti prebivalcev Mazovije. Po uvodnem poglavju avtorica obravnava razmere na tem področju, pri čemer se osredinja na specifičnost in univerzalnost pojava multilokalnosti na Poljskem. Nato so predstavljene uporabljene metode in rezultati raziskave. V besedilu so izbrana opažanja iz kvalitativne raziskave združena z bolj kvantitativnimi analizami, ki temeljijo na podatkih iz ankete. Zadnje poglavje obsega povzetek analize in usmeritve za nadaljnje raziskave.

Raziskava osvetljuje specifične značilnosti multilokalnega prostorskega vedenja, na katero vplivajo družbene, gospodarske in okoljske razmere. Motivi za uporabo več lokacij vključujejo izpolnjevanje družinskih obveznosti, iskanje ustreznega dela in rekreacijo. Poljske specifičnosti multilokalne bivanja so povezana z velikim pomenom, ki ga imajo družinski odnosi in potrebe po rekreaciji.

Vendar se zdi, da posebnosti poljske raziskave kažejo na družbene spremembe, ki so univerzalne. Multilokalnost postaja *genre de vie*, ki je posledica prilagajanja ljudi razmeram v okolju, hkrati pa izraža vsakdanje težave in vrednote posameznikov v razmerju z njihovim življenjskim okoljem.