

Insight into practices of Warsaw's multilocal residents: spatial and temporal arrangements, motives, types of residence and use of public services

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Abstract. The article aims to present the multilocal residence practices of Warsaw inhabitants by focusing on four key aspects: the distribution of living arrangements across space and time, the underlying motives, housing solutions, and patterns of use of public services. In this exploratory study, we describe selected results from the first ever analysis of multilocal residency in Poland, which was based on data obtained through a nationwide research panel carried out in 2023. Here, we focus on multilocal Varsovians (n=445).

Analyses indicate that having two places of stay not far from each other was dominant among the group being researched. A concentration of places in the Mazovia Voivodeship was evident, as was the long duration for which multilocal residents had used both areas of stay. Among Warsaw's inhabitants, multilocal living arrangements are related to semi-tourist uses of properties, a person's work or professional training, and (multi-generational) family relationships. Research highlights that family ties (cohabitation) and socio-economic conditions of development play substantial roles in shaping multilocal practices. The article contributes to the complementary knowledge of housing practices and can help build the multilocality knowledge base in Central and Eastern Europe.

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1. Introduction

Research on migration and residential mobility has a long tradition in geography. One of the emerging concepts is multilocality (*Note 1*), which is taken to mean “*vita activa* in various places”, i.e. everyday life distributed across several places of stay which are visited for periods of various durations and used with variously extensive functional division (Rolshoven, 2006: 181). Residential multilocality, in our research, is understood as residency that alternates among different places, implemented by individual or collective actors to fulfil their intentions and achieve specific goals in a space where goods and resources – and the potentials for their use – are unevenly distributed. Due to the need to move, it is also a specific spatial and temporal organisation of life that mediates between the needs of various spheres of life (usually associated with work and leisure) and related people (family, friends) that cannot be satisfied using a single place of stay (Weichhart & Rumpert, 2015; Jaczewska, 2023a).

The organisation of life in several places is not a new phenomenon; nevertheless, nowadays, more and more people are living and acting in such a way. Poles are perceived as a society with low residential mobility and considerable stability over time in terms of places of residence (Czerniak, 2023). However, this does not contradict the development of multilocal practices, and the lack of desire to move may even favour it. Polish research based on statistics relating to a single place of stay (declared and registered) does not provide a complete picture of how people function in space. This is why we see a great need for the development of studies that would include residents who use several places of residence in the analysis. Most of the research on multilocality to date has been on Western Europe (Lehtonen et al., 2025), while research on Central and Eastern Europe is far less common (*inter alia*, Bajuk Senčar (2023) on Slovenia, Matanova (2023) on Bulgaria). There is an apparent research gap concerning our region, and this research seeks to fill it.

This article aims to characterise the practices of Warsaw's multilocal inhabitants and answer the questions: 1) How do multilocal residents act in geographical space and time? 2) What are the motives behind multilocal living arrangements? 3) What kind of housing solutions do they use? 4) What are the initial patterns of use of various public services in the places of stay? Learning about the different spatial behaviours, motives, housing

solutions used, and use of public services makes it possible not only to show how people function in space but also indirectly to identify the socio-economic conditions behind the practices. This knowledge is needed to propose development planning solutions that include mono-local and multi-local residents.

The work refers to selected results of the first (exploratory) study in Poland (*Note 2*) on multilocal residences conducted within the broader project on Residential Multilocality and its Influence on Sustainable Spatial Development (*Note 3*). In this article, we concentrate on the descriptive part of an analysis of multilocal Varsovians (residents who declared at least two places of residency, with Warsaw as one of their places of stay; n=445).

This article consists of five main parts. After the introduction, we discuss the state of art, methods, and the specifics of Warsaw as a case study. The following section describes selected results of the analysis of multilocal practices of Warsaw residents. In the last section, we summarise the findings and outline new research topics.

2. Residential multilocality: an emerging research phenomenon

Multilocality as an independent research subject has been gaining scientific interest over the last two decades (Jaczewska, 2023b). An analytical concept was presented in 2009 in the journal *Informationen zur Raumentwicklung* (1/2 2009) (*Note 4*) (Nadler, 2014). Multilocality researchers looked at how everyday life was spatially organised in alternative ways to traditional migration and circular mobility (such as commuting) in between these two socio-spatial poles, and they focused on analysing the combination of different places in an individual's daily life (Weichhart & Rumpert, 2015).

Research on multilocality has developed considerably in recent years. After initial analyses that were mostly empirical and described the daily lives of mobile people or the stages of living with and without mobility (Rolshoven, 2006; Rolshoven & Winker, 2009), later authors added further links to issues. Research, which focused on work-related multilocality, was enriched by the aspect of assessing the prevalence of the phenomenon in Europe (e.g., Ojala & Pyöriä, 2018; Bürgin et al., 2022). At the same time, social changes, individualisation, and differentiation of lifestyles also led to research on different forms of multilocality, such

as relationships that involved couples with separate households, children staying with each parent in turn due to separation, or grandparents coming regularly to look after grandchildren (Danielzyk et al., 2020). Studies on housing arrangements and their spatial nexuses or the dynamic character of housing arrangements have increasingly been presented (e.g., Hilti, 2011; Reuschke, 2012; Wood et al., 2015; Jaczewska, 2023a, 2023b; Willecke, 2024, 2025).

Research on multilocality increased notably after the COVID-19 pandemic, which contributed to greater visibility of the phenomena. Attention was paid to the increased importance of remote work (e.g., Di Marino et al., 2024); the impact of residential multilocality on rural areas, their infrastructure, services, housing and spatial planning (Lapintie, 2022; Pikner et al., 2023; Lehtonen et al., 2025); or potential increases in social inequalities in rural areas (Greinke & Lange, 2022), including in the context of depopulation (Schmidt-Thomé & Lilius, 2023). Moreover, in the latest studies, researchers have been looking at the relationship between permanent and temporary residents (Back, 2020), people co-involved in multilocality (Wächter, 2025) or gender differences in practices (Willecke & Wächter, 2024). They also deepen knowledge of multilocal residents' practice of homing (Willecke, 2024), the role of location-specific capital (Skora et al., 2024), local (dis)engagement (Rüger et al., 2022) and decision-making (Jaczewska, 2025).

The above-indicated studies have contributed to the creation of a strong research field on multilocality, and the aspects emphasised in this article have already been investigated. Therefore, the novelty of our work comes not from the subjects described but from the location of the research. In Poland, the various lines of inquiry that look at social behaviours, mobility and stability, or housing arrangements that might be called multilocal are typically not investigated through the lens of multilocality (*Note 5*). For example, multilocality in terms of temporary or sessional migration is seen as an established strategy and an alternative to emigration. Studies on suburbanisation and internal migration stress the significance of people moving into or out of a region (Kajdanek, 2022), but they typically do not look at how many people left their former residence and still utilise it. Second-home ownership is thought to have become common in the postwar era, and the majority of geographers' studies have focused on second-home ownership, mainly from the viewpoint of the communities and settlements where second homes are situated (Heffner & Czarnecki,

2011; Adamiak, 2015; Czarnecki, 2017)(*Note 6*). Given the paucity of research showing practices integrating two or more residences in Poland, in the following text we highlight Polish peculiarities of the phenomenon, as well as showing universal aspects converging with research in Western Europe.

3. Research methods and study area

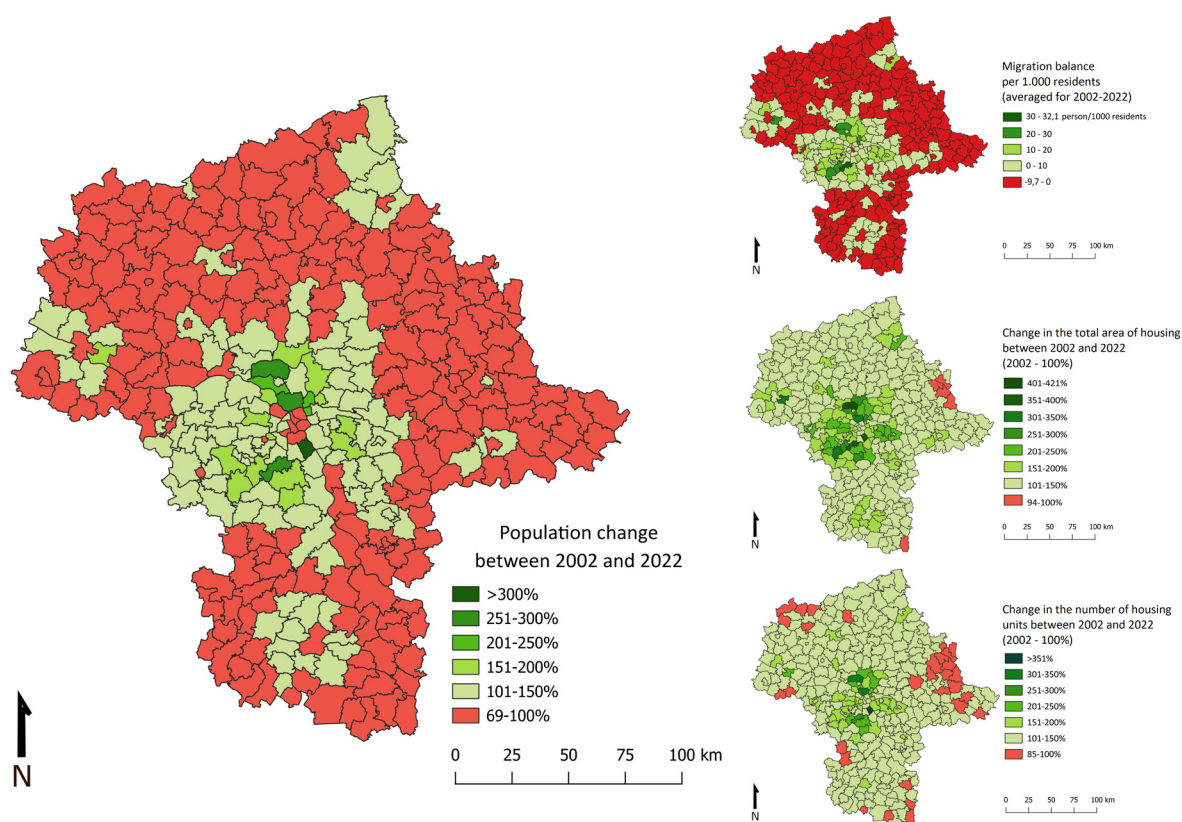
Multilocality is a challenging phenomenon to investigate quantitatively because the actual whereabouts of people are usually not registered, and, thus, we cannot trust traditional statistical data. The conducted research was exploratory; therefore, we strove to reach as many multilocal residents as possible (given financial constraints) and learn as much as possible about different types of multilocality practices. The analysis included in this article is based on selected results obtained through surveys conducted in 2023 using the nationwide Ariadna research panel. The Computer-Assisted Web Interview (CAWI) consisted of 74 open and closed questions, and the survey was addressed to people who declared at least two places of regular residence, including at least one in the Masovian Voivodeship (*Note 7*). This article focuses on people who indicated that they have at least two places of stay and that Warsaw was one of their residences ($n=445$). It was not possible to research a representative group; nevertheless, we reached a sample that preserves the structure of key socio-economic age, sex, and education characteristics of the adult inhabitants of the voivodeship. Table 1 presents the characteristics of the study group.

Warsaw, as the capital of Poland, creates specific conditions for the development of residential multilocality. The urban centre has a population of 1.861 million people, and the agglomeration has ~3 million inhabitants (GUS, 2023). Even with rapid suburbanisation, the capital city's population increased by 10.3% (from 1.688 million people) (*Note 8*) between 2002 and 2022. The increase owes mainly to a positive migration balance, and this testifies to the city's drawing power. As part of the internal migration to the capital, most people come from the Masovian Voivodeship; conversely, as part of the outflow from the city, most people go to the capital's suburban areas. Therefore, in Figure 1, we analyse the data for the whole province. Warsaw has a receptive labour market offering relatively high wages (*Note 9*). Both the number of new developments and the number of handovers of completed residential buildings

Table 1. Characteristics of the multilocal residents of Warsaw

Variable	Subgroup	n=445	%
Gender	Female	270	60.7
	Male	175	39.3
Age	18–24	34	7.6
	25–34	135	30.3
	35–44	112	25.2
	45–54	66	14.8
	55+	98	22.0
Education	Primary/middle school	5	1.1
	Vocational	9	2.0
	Secondary	67	15.1
	Post-secondary	48	10.8
	Higher undergraduate	52	11.7
	Higher master's degree or equivalent	253	56.9
	Other	11 (8 with PhD and 2 Professors)	2.5

Source: own elaboration

**Fig. 1.** Population, migration balance, growth in number of housing units completed: changes between 2002 and 2022

Note: A: population change in communes, cities with county rights and Warsaw districts, 2002–2022 (cumulative change, where 2002 = 100%); B: average migration balance per 1,000 inhabitants, 2002–2022, in communes, cities with county rights and districts of Warsaw; C: change in area of housing in communes, cities with county rights and districts of Warsaw, 2002–2022 (cumulative, where 2002 = 100%); D: change in housing in communes, cities with county rights and districts of Warsaw, 2002–2022 (cumulative, where 2002 = 100%)

Source: own elaboration based on GUS (2023) Author: Jan Szczepański

are substantial compared to other cities in Poland; even with qualitative improvements (an increase in the housing area per capita and a reduction in overcrowding of apartments according to official statistics), housing needs are still not being met significantly, due to high housing prices (*Note 10*). The varied demographic structure of the Warsaw metropolitan area (but also of the whole Mazovian Voivodeship, from which most new inhabitants of Warsaw come), with its unequal distribution of jobs, education and attractive leisure destinations, may favour the development of multilocality motivations: These motivations include education (among young people), job-seeking (among middle-aged people), and recreation (among older people entering retirement age).

4. Insight into the selected results of an exploratory study on multilocal practices of Warsaw residents

4.1. Spatial and temporal organisation of multilocal residents

The first step in analyses of multilocal residence is understanding the spatial distribution of the phenomenon and the frequency of use of a particular location. Within the group of 445 polled, 87.9% of respondents indicated that they had two places of stay, 11.2% had three places, and 0.9% had more than three places. Among the second places of residence, 95.5% of respondents declared they were in Poland; of these, 67.6% had their second place of residence in the Masovian Voivodeship, 4.5% in the Lubelskie Voivodeship, 3.8% in the Podlaskie Voivodeship, and 3.8% in the Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship. The last three are voivodeships of the slightly poorer part of Poland (the so-called “eastern wall”), from which job-induced migration to Warsaw and the Mazovian Voivodeship is a popular practice. In the opposite direction, people who want to have a recreational plot or second house are moving due to the much cheaper price and greater availability of land.

In the Masovian Voivodeship, the second place was most often in the capital city of Warsaw or the following counties: Warszawski Zachodni, Legionowski, Piaseczyński, Pruszkowski, Wyszowski, Radomski, Garwoliński (Fig. 2). These local governments have socio-economic relations with Warsaw which are based on the

mutual complementarity of their functions combined with good transport accessibility. These counties have a base of cheaper apartments, lower maintenance costs and access to green areas, but are not competitive in terms of jobs and access to services, especially medical or cultural ones. Relative geographic proximity favours the mobility of residents and the decision to combine the advantages of living both in and outside the capital.

Data on the dynamics of population changes and the completion of new housing investments indicate that, during the years 2012–2022, suburbanisation processes intensified, and the zone of urban sprawl covered a larger area than it had in the previous decade. In the case of rapidly developing areas around Warsaw, our studies confirm the high dispersion of land-use development in rural areas (Dudek-Mańkowska et al., 2024), which may increase the cost of maintaining public service infrastructure or environmental degradation. However, the distribution of places of residence indicates that spatial connections (nexus) are created between urban and rural areas (Warsaw and rural areas in the province) and between urban and urban areas (Warsaw and cities in the province). Building a network of connections could potentially have a positive effect (in maintaining the service or improving its quality), especially in outlying areas suffering from population decline (Pociūtė-Sereikienė et al., 2019; Schmidt-Thomé & Liljus, 2023).

The organisation of activities in space and time was influenced by distances and travel times. The frequency of travel between residences varied; most people travelled two to three times a month (22.7%), once a month (21.7%), or once a week (19.3%). The majority indicated that the time needed to reach their second place was between one and two hours (33.5%), less than one hour (19.1%), or two to four hours (16.4%). Travel by private car as a driver or passenger (62.7%) dominated, followed by train (25.4%) and bus (19.1%). The frequency of declared trips makes it possible to determine the potential impact on the burden on road infrastructure as significant. The stated choice of the car as the dominant mode of transportation additionally uncovers a potential burden on the natural environment.

Among the respondents, only 61% declared that they were registered in the first place of declared residence, 25% in the second place, and 1% in the third place. The rest of the respondents declared that they were registered in another place, and it was a place not indicated in the places of regular residence. Among inhabitants not registered in Warsaw, 83%

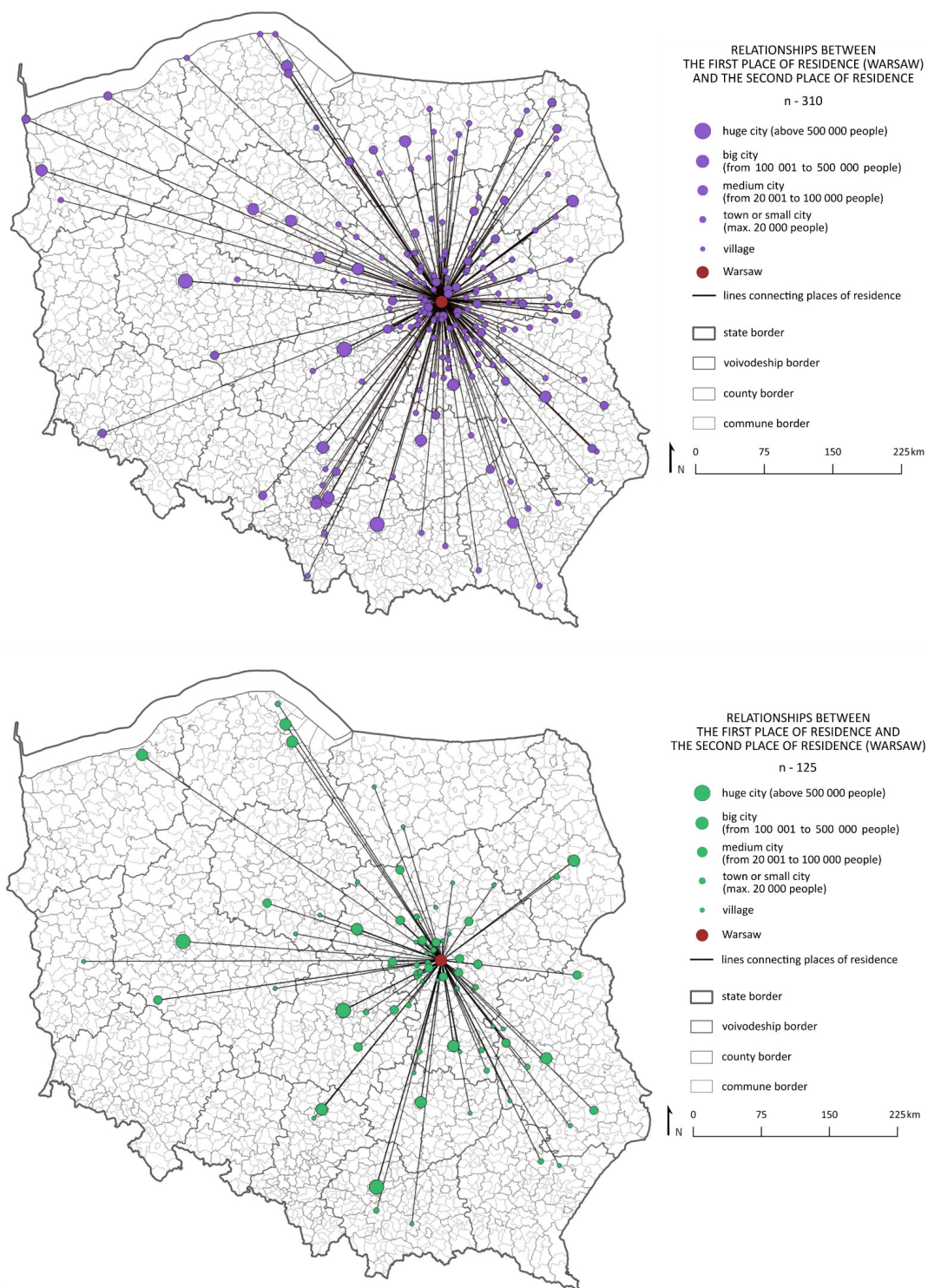


Fig. 2. Spatial pattern of multilocal living arrangements of Varsovians

Note: To ensure the figure's readability, the places of stay (on a figure) show their distribution, not their number in individual counties. The analysis excluded people who indicated Warsaw as the third place n=10

Source: own elaboration Author: Jan Szczepański

(144 from 173 respondents) indicated that they spent more time in the capital than in other places of declared residence. By contrast, among people declaring registration in Warsaw, 24% (67 from 272 respondents) spent more time in other locations. This indicates a large disparity between the places of residence and the declared residence. For spatial planning, local authorities use official data, and thereby rely on data that both underestimates and overestimates the number of residents and does not capture temporal variation.

4.2. Motives behind multilocal behaviours

The second step after determining spatial relations was to understand why our respondents became multilocal. Among the numerous publications relating to motives, we were inspired by Hilti's (2011) book, in which she described in detail the different types of multilocal practice. We used four basic categories and an open-ended question in the study. When respondents chose one of the basic categories, they were asked to specify the answer, e.g. family responsibilities were divided more into

subcategories: childcare, elderly person care, etc. The most important motives declared within basic categories and those elaborated from open-ended questions are indicated in Table 2.

Work was the primary motivator among the main categories, followed by family responsibilities, then leisure and educational requirements. By adding to the four main categories of answers from the open-ended questions, the dominant reason becomes needs related to recreation and leisure (escape from the hustle and bustle of the city), followed by work. The importance of individual needs increases (preserving independence, the need for quality time and hobbies) and issues related to family circumstances (inheritance of property or attachment to the place of residence), and they become more important than education.

The motive related to work influenced practices, and the existence of a well-developed labour market concentrated in Warsaw was strong. Respondents most often indicated that their decision was related to the search for a job that met their financial expectations and skills. Interestingly, the possibility of working remotely was indicated as an important factor by only 8.1% of the respondents, and women

Table 2. Main reason contributing to living in several places

	N	%	F	%	M	%
Work-related	91	20.4	54	21.5	37	22.0
Family obligations	65	14.6	15	6.0	9	5.4
Recreational and leisure needs	50	11.2	36	14.3	29	17.3
Education-related	24	5.4	15	6.0	9	5.4
The desire to take a break from the hustle and bustle of the city	48	10.8	24	9.6	24	14.3
The need to maintain independence (by having a second place)	45	10.1	32	12.7	13	7.7
I inherited an apartment/house.	27	6.1	16	6.4	11	6.5
I like my family home and don't want to move out permanently.	26	5.8	19	7.6	7	4.2
Long-distance relationship	23	5.2	15	6.0	8	4.8
Free time and pursuit of hobbies	14	3.1	8	3.2	6	3.6
I didn't want to move permanently.	9	2.0	5	2.0	4	2.4
Because of health reasons	7	1.6	5	2.0	2	1.2
I couldn't buy/rent a flat for the whole family.	6	1.3	3	1.2	3	1.8
Keeping in touch with friends	4	0.9	1	0.4	3	1.8
Other	6	1.3	3	1.2	3	1.8
Total	445	100.0	251	100.0	168	100.0

Source: own elaboration

dominated this group. The motive connected to preferring a recreational place stems from historical, political and economic conditions and preferences (Jaczewska 2023a). Of importance here is living in a large city and thus having a greater need for an environmentally friendly place. Surprisingly, men declared a desire to rest from cities more often than did women. Regarding family commitments, though caring for children was a factor (5.8%), caring for parents and grandparents was even more important (16.2%). Although there was no difference between women and men in their declared involvement in caring for children, there was a visible difference in declarations of caring for parents and grandparents, where women's answers dominated.

In our study, family relations and obligations seem to be more important than in other European countries (Othengrafen et al., 2021; Danielzyk et al., 2020). However, in China, researchers have shown that, similarly to us, family relations are very important (Li & Xu, 2022). Studies show a diversity of motives but also non-obvious gender differences between motives. At the moment, we can confirm that the dominant motives are related to free time and well-being, followed by work and family obligations. Detailed analyses taking into account the relationships with age, life stage, economic position, and perception of multilocality as a voluntary or forced practice are needed to draw further conclusions.

4.3. Types of housing used by multilocal-living Varsovians

Our study devoted a lot of space to topics related to the housing solutions used by residents, cohabitation, and the analysis of preferences

for choosing the first and second place of stay. By analysing how places of residence are used, we can highlight important and culturally specific dimensions of multilocal practices. As the first place of stay (in Warsaw), most respondents had their own or a family apartment (56.9%), a rented apartment (19.8%), or their own or a family house (12.6%). Concerning the second place of residence, owning an apartment was most often indicated by respondents, whereas their own house or a family house was reported only slightly less often. The second place of stay was more often specified as being used as a holiday home (Table 3). The most common combinations were apartments in Warsaw combined with, in a second location: 1) a second apartment (n=88), 2) a detached house (n=83), or 3) a holiday home (n=53). Less common, but also popular, was renting an apartment in Warsaw along with, at the second declared place of stay, ownership of: 1) a house (n=36) or 2) an additional apartment (n=34). What distinguishes Polish studies from Western studies is the overrepresentation of owner-occupied apartments over rented ones. This situation is similar in Central and Eastern Europe, where historical, political and socio-economic conditions have contributed to the dominance of the owner-occupied housing sector (Grzegorzczak et al., 2019).

The stability in places of residence was substantial: 30.1% of people indicated that they had never moved, 27.6% had moved once only, and 20.0% had moved twice. The average duration of usage of the first place of residence and the second place of stay was long. Although the largest group consisted of people having used their first residence for an average of three to five years (over 22%), as many as 17.8% indicated that they had used their first place for more than 30 years. For the second place of residence, most respondents had used it for more than 30 years (22%) or between 20 and 30

Table 3. Type of housing solutions used by respondents

Type of residence	First place		Second place	
	N	%	N	%
Own or family apartment, partner's apartment	253	56.9	159	35.7
Own detached or private house or family or partner's house	56	12.6	142	31.9
Rented apartment	88	19.8	33	7.4
Communal or social housing	36	7.6	11	2.5
Rented detached/semi-detached/terraced house	8	1.8	20	4.5
Holiday cottage/holiday home	4	0.9	76	17.1
Other	2	0.4	4	0.9

Source: own elaboration

years (18.2%). This confirms the assumption that the low residential mobility declared in statistics does not contradict the development of multilocal practices. For most people, the second place is an expansion of the field of spatial practices without giving up the first place.

Most places of stay were shared, and only 16.2% of respondents indicated that they lived alone in the first place of stay and 13% in the second place of stay. In the first place of residence, respondents predominantly reported living with a partner or spouse (38.9%) or with a partner/spouse and children (23.1%). Despite the high values obtained for the second place in the above two categories (24.0% and 15.5% respectively), the largest number of answers concerned living with parents (30.0%). Private relations with family, partners and friends seem to have significance for maintaining a few places of residence. Among Warsaw's multilocal inhabitants, a high proportion of second residences are (1) inherited or shared by families in rural areas from which employed people (part of the family) moved to the city, (2) holiday homes on recreational plots also often shared by a whole family, or (3) second homes that arise as a manifestation of the inhabitants' preferences to have their own house in suburban areas (sometimes connected with not being able to fulfil aspirations within the city). Quite often, one location was used by different members of the family. Frequently, one of the places was where parents or grandparents still lived. The shared use of residential spaces derives from the existence of multi-generational family relationships in Poland and allows for the distribution of the costs

of maintaining several places of residence among family members. This may explain why, despite a lower level of economic development, multilocal practices can develop, and that they do not necessarily have to concern only the wealthier part of society. From the point of view of sustainable development planning, cohabitation is also a more ecological practice.

The most decisive reasons for choosing the first place of residence included distance from the workplace and the cost of purchase or rent. Only in a second place of residence was attention paid to the features of the apartment or house itself (size, layout) and the living environment (neighbourhood, location within the city). For the second place, the most important features were, in descending order: proximity to recreational areas and green areas, features of the living environment (neighbourhood), distance from the workplace, features of the residential building, and purchase price. It was pointed out that the place of residence resulted from external conditions, rather than the respondent's preferences.

4.4. Residential multilocality and the use of public services

An important aspect of residential multilocality is its uneven and changing burden on existing public services at each residence over time. The research points out that services can be divided into (1) those that are more assigned to the first place of residence, where more time is spent, such as care infrastructure, education and healthcare; and (2)

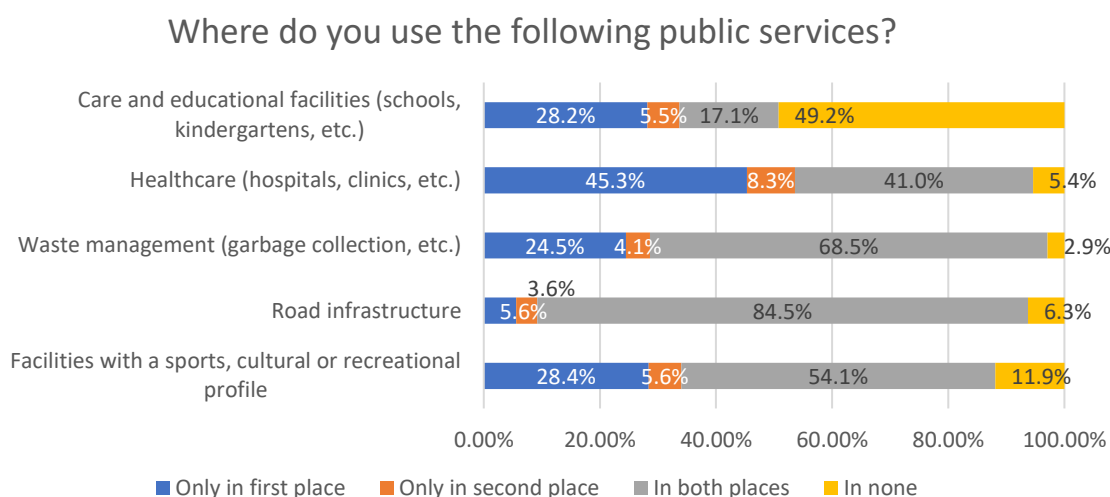


Fig. 3. Use of public services by multilocal residents

Source: own elaboration

those that are used in the second place of residence depending on the time and frequency of visitation (e.g., road infrastructure, garbage collection, etc.). The burden on road infrastructure or the uneven demand for public transportation is particularly often demonstrated in the literature on multilocality (Danielzyk et al., 2020), whereas other services are less often examined. In the presented study, most respondents indicated that they use services at both places of residence (Fig. 3). With that said, for Warsaw residents, services more often assigned to the first place, like care institutions, schools or healthcare facilities, were also used more often in the city itself. The more frequent use of these services may be influenced by the fact that Warsaw has a large concentration of institutions providing such services and the quality of these services is perceived to be higher than in areas away from capital in the Masovian Voivodeship. This was reflected in respondents' high ratings of these services in the first place of declared stay and lower ratings of these services in the second place of stay (*Note 11*). Facilities with cultural, sports and recreational profiles were slightly more often used in the second place of stay and also highly rated.

Assigning the place of residence to one place means that only one place is taken into account when planning the demand for services; but it also results in finances being transferred to local governments through paying taxes in one place. The study shows that multilocal residents use services in each place of their stay and their stays are not included in the planning process. Only a few studies in Poland to date have researched the use of services by temporary residents from the perspective of planning authorities (with Czarnecki's (2018) studies related to second-home owners being an exception); here, too, we feel the need for further studies.

5. Discussion and conclusion

Recent studies indicate that residential multilocality has come to occur in most social systems and affects members of all social classes (Danielzyk et al., 2020), and our region is not an exception. Nevertheless, the subject of multilocality is under-researched in Poland, and further description of this phenomenon requires a broader explanation of the dimensions of the attributes of living in several places and the structural conditions that construct possible spaces of actions. The research described in this article covers only a fragment of the issues

that seem important. The aim was to present the practices of Warsaw's multilocal residents, and we focused on spatial arrangements, motives, housing solutions, and use of public services. The research exposed differentiation in multilocal practices but also some general trends and characteristics in multilocal living arrangements.

Having two places of stay not far from each other was dominant among the group being researched. As already indicated in the text, a sizable concentration of places in the Warsaw metropolitan area and the Masovian Voivodeship was evident. So too was the high level of stability of the places of stay; a low number of moves and long-term residency in a place seem to be characteristic features of Poland, but this does not contradict the development of multilocal practices. We are observing rapid changes regarding an increase in internal migration (Śleszyński, 2023; Maleszyk & Kędra, 2020), which may indicate that this practice will become even more prominent shortly. Still, the propensity for mobility is slightly lower than in other EU countries; however, there is an increase in work-related migration, a concentration of residents in the largest cities and their outskirts, and an outflow from peripheral areas or those experiencing economic problems. The concentration of inhabitants in the surrounding Warsaw commune is connected with both the availability of land for housing investments and finance because of the very high real-estate prices in Warsaw (i.e., a lack of opportunity to realise housing aspirations in Warsaw). In line with Perlik's (2024) research, we believe that multilocality can be seen as an indicator of the changing relationship between urban, suburban and rural areas – i.e., between metropolitan centres and their associated peripheries. New connections and relationships are being created, but there is also a functional division between high-productivity production areas (i.e., places offering work) and consumption zones (i.e., those offering urban living and leisure). This spatial arrangement unfortunately seems to contradict the goals of sustainable development.

Geographical space affects how respondents function, and travel distances and times are important determinants of how often respondents use and move between places. As in other studies (Othengrafen et al., 2021), our research confirmed the large impact of spatial conditions on decisions and, at the same time, how they shape spatial and temporal life organisation. The available transport services affect the nature of multilocal arrangements, and vice versa (Danielzyk et al., 2020). European nations with advanced transportation systems –

particularly, high-speed rail and highway networks – are the subject of several multilocality studies for a reason. In the case of Varsovians, the relationship between available transportation and mobility is complex. In the declarations, we note both multilocality, which is linked to high mobility due to the availability of high-speed transport links, and the result of mobility overload. In the second case, excessively long commuting times cause some respondents to choose to live in the city and only use suburban homes on weekends, instead of commuting daily. In our research, private transport dominates, which is often associated with a lack of other possibilities for convenient access to towns located even in the vicinity of Warsaw. The lack of more ecological alternatives to commuting has an impact on the environment. The intensive development of suburban areas, taking the form of dispersed development, entails a fairly high frequency of commuting, which causes a substantial burden on the road infrastructure and extends travel times. New transport connections are being created, and this increases the likelihood of developing multilocal practices. Still, time accessibility – not distance – is the dominant aspect influencing residential practices.

The most important nexuses are created between urban and rural areas and (less often) between pairs of urban areas, and residential multilocality can be an opportunity and a risk for maintaining relations between the areas used. Schmidt-Thomé and Lilius (2023) indicate that multilocality can be an element of smart shrinking and help with preserving public services in depopulating areas. Multilocal residents can influence the development of ICT infrastructure and eliminate the differences between rural and urban areas, as the analyses of Bürgin et al. (2024) indicated. Multilocal practice may also increase conflicts between residents who are perceived as permanent and temporary (Back, 2020). In our research, we assume that the perception of the phenomenon by local authorities and whether they want to seize the opportunities provided by the presence of temporary residents will be of great importance. We believe that the dispersion of development in rural areas is not conducive to sustainable development and will contribute to increasing the costs of network development.

The most important motives for establishing an additional place of regular stay are work-, leisure- and family-related reasons, which is consistent with research conducted in Western European countries (Danielzyk et al., 2020). Of great importance is the search for more attractive places to live in areas outside the city, which is related to the increasing

importance of free time, recreational needs or well-being and the desire to escape from the big city. This is compounded by the greater availability of land and the fairly attractive price of building a new house compared to buying real estate in Warsaw. The development of remote-work options, which allows you to use several places more often and throughout the year, is also noteworthy. It should be noted that, in Poland, remote-work possibilities are growing, though it still applies to only selected professions. After the pandemic, work is more often performed remotely, but, in many companies, especially in the administration and public sector, remote work is applied for one or two days a week.

The type of houses used is connected with people's stage of life and status (Hilti, 2011) but is also the result of external factors. Our studies indicate that family ties, understood broadly, and the sharing of property by relatives are meaningful in the development of a network of places of residence. A substantial part of multilocal behaviour that results from family relations and sharing space seems to be a characteristic feature in Poland. Among Warsaw residents, multilocal housing arrangements are predominantly associated with semi-tourist forms of multilocal living, work and (multi-generational) family relationships. Second homes are: (1) inherited or shared homes in rural areas, from which some members of the family have moved to the city, (2) holiday homes, or (3) second homes, which reflect a preference for having one's own home with a garden – a preference that cannot be satisfied in the city. Also noteworthy is the fact that many respondents said they had no influence on the choice of residence and type of houses used. The importance of familial ties was emphasised once again – and external circumstances in general. Although housing availability in terms of the number of residences being built is increasing, financial availability is decreasing. Speculation in recent years has caused increases of several dozen per cent in prices throughout the country, and those wanting to buy real estate are often forced to take out a mortgage at one of the highest interest rates in Europe. Financial constraints have a substantial impact on the choice of location or quality of housing.

Our research confirms that most people use public services in both places of residence. When residents are assigned to a single location, only one location is considered when determining service demand. Considering the difference between registered and used residences, it is important to emphasise the difficulty of developing effective service planning assumptions. One key problem is

the accurate assessment of the demand for public transport, medical specialists, schools or investments in cultural activities.

There is a great need to continue research into the issue of multilocal residents in Poland, especially in the face of growing development inequalities and demographic problems. The debate should be launched on the methodology of collecting statistical data and the awareness of local governments regarding the existence of the phenomenon of multilocality. Currently, the assumptions adopted in spatial planning are based on data that does not reflect reality, and only “formal, permanent” residents are visible to local authorities.

Notes

1. In the literature, there are also other terms referring to living life in several places, such as Stock's (2009) concept of “polytopic living”, Duchêne-Lacroix's (2014) “archipelago” (German: Archipelisierung), and Beck's (1997) “orthopolygamy” (German: Ortspolygamie). The English-language debate tends to use the broader term “translocality” (Brickell, Datta 2011). Here, residential multilocality comprises several dwellings both within and across borders for various work-related and leisure-related reasons, as no other term has the same nuanced meaning.
2. To the best of the authors' knowledge.
3. Project was financed by the National Science Centre, Poland under Sonata-17 (no. UMO-2021/43/D/HS4/00153). The project aimed to assess the advancement of the phenomenon of multilocal living and the socio-spatial effects related to residential multilocality. The second goal was to identify how the problem of residential multilocality is perceived by local authorities' representatives. The methodological aim was also to evaluate empirical research methods and propose the most appropriate approach for Polish research. The practical goal is to identify the tools available to municipalities to respond to the phenomenon of residential multilocality. The project will be conducted during 2022–2026.
4. They indicated that, while research on transnationalism deals with geographically and culturally distant systems, those on multilocality are more clearly focused on a smaller geographic scale – the local. The local scale becomes most important here for experiencing daily life, temporality and learning about used spaces. Today, the two terms are treated as synonyms.
5. The situation is similar in other Central and Eastern European countries. We notice an increase in interest in the topic. For example, Lithuanian studies concentrated on tourism show a particular interest in temporary residents (Pociute-Sereikiene et al., 2024). In Bulgarian studies, the authors draw attention to the growth of multi-location practices triggered by contemporary processes of post-Fordist labour market development and urbanisation (Perlik, 2024). In Latvian studies, Göler and Krišjāne (2024) describe changes in mobility and migration with reference to multilocal social networks.
6. Only Śleszyński (2024), referring to our earlier research, points out that multilocation is a common practice and that basing statistics on official records does not show the scale of having a second residence.
7. The concept of multilocality is not popular in Poland, so the study used a descriptive definition. The survey included people who declared (self-identification) that they have at least two places of residence (including at least one in the Mazowieckie Voivodeship) that they use regularly and in which they stay overnight at least a dozen times a year. The company that conducts the panel survey and to which the survey was commissioned was responsible for selecting respondents whose characteristics match the socio-demographic characteristics of the province's residents. The final selection of respondents and whether they met the requirements specified in the survey were controlled by the survey company. Respondents' answers were verified for completeness, time of filling out the survey, and inaccuracies in the answers. About 300 questionnaires that did not meet the requirements were rejected.
8. It should be mentioned that the population of Warsaw is underestimated due to the inclusion of registered people and not people actually residing and officially staying in other places: especially students and economic migrants (both domestic and from abroad).
9. The medium monthly salary increased from PLN 3,238 (value for Poland: PLN 2,240) in 2004 to PLN 8,540 in 2022 (value for Poland: PLN 6,706) and is still increasing (GUS, 2023)
10. There are 0.57 habitations per inhabitant, and this value is gradually increasing, as is the average price per m2 of usable floor area –

from PLN 7,655 in 2015 to PLN 10,313 in 2022 (GUS, 2023).

11. Nevertheless, respondents also assessed the potential changes they would propose to the authorities that would be needed for further improvement in quality and increase in quantity of the institutional offer. The results of the open questions relating to respondents' proposals will be included in following articles.

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