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Positionspapier aus der ARL 123

MULTILOCAL LIVING AND SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT

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MULTILOCAL LIVING AND SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT

Contents

1   Brief introduction to the phenomenon of multilocality

The sheer diversity of the phenomenon of multilocal lifestyles renders it 'invisible'.

In this position paper, the 'Multilocal living and spatial development' Working Group at the Academy for Territorial Development (ARL)[1] discusses a current social phenomenon that has spatial implications at various levels: multilocal living arrangements, i.e. the practice of living alternately at different locations. Increasing numbers of people live at more than one location and establish spaces for their everyday activities at each location (residential multilocality).

The reasons for such living arrangements are diverse; among them are engaging in gainful employment, attending school and university, accessing medical clinics and health resorts, visiting cultural venues, maintaining social relationships, or other reasons such as holidays and recreation. Multilocal living arrangements are often highly dynamic; they not infrequently come about for multiple, interconnected reasons, such that the individual residences assume multiple and alternating roles. The terms used to describe the phenomenon are often overtaken by the same dynamic, and the meanings of terms and concepts such as 'centre of vital interests', 'principal residence', 'family', 'household', 'near', 'far' and many others need to be correspondingly recalibrated in both everyday and specialist discourses. The Working Group is striving to develop a vocabulary appropriate to this dynamic change in living arrangements.

Multilocal lifestyles are characterised by the interplay between mobility and stability (mobile lifestyle but with stable 'anchor points' and materialities), the relations between locations (arrangements involving 'here', 'there' and 'in between'), a state of flux (e.g. constant development and change in the course of life) and fluidity in how one shapes one's life (e.g. household and lifestyle types, the transitions between everyday life, leisure and work) (Schier/Schad/Hilti et al. 2015).

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1   The members of the Working Group reflect the spatial trends and discourses in Germany, Austria and Switzerland, where they work in relevant academic institutions.

The growing significance of this phenomenon corresponds to the accelerated pace of social change in today's society. The framework in which multilocal lifestyles develop can be outlined in keywords such as Europeanisation and globalisation, migration and transnationalisation, the individualisation and pluralisation of lifestyles and household types, the flexibilisation and subjectification of work, the spatial division of labour, the development of new information, communication and transport technologies, and last but not least gender and ethnic emancipation movements. All of these trends are associated with changing requirements, needs and opportunities for mobility.

The current scientific discourse makes it clear that the phenomenon as such is nothing new but that multilocal lifestyles need to be reclassified, both quantitatively and qualitatively. While the multilocality of itinerant labourers, the upper classes or middle-class summer holidaymakers was once limited to only a few social groups, today it manifests itself as a lifestyle option for much larger segments of the population, such as the children of separated parents, teenagers and young adults at schools away from home, certain work and family situations in middle age, and older people who wish to temporarily relocate to the mountains or the sea. All of these (and many others) are potential 'multilocals'. While multilocal life is a global phenomenon, our considerations here relate to central Europe.

The ways in which multilocal life play out are linked with the aspects of society which frame their backdrop: the economy (changing working patterns, multinational corporations, the housing sector), politics and policy (political participation, social and health policy), law (tax law, civil and voting rights, rights of residence) and planning (architecture and settlement development, spatial and transport planning). The Working Group focuses primarily on the interfaces between and interactions between state and local spatial planning in the context of the common good, equalisation policies, and people's everyday lifestyles.

Multiple locations and the diverse patterns of movement associated with them are closely related to socio-spatial circumstances. As temporary residents, multilocals use urban infrastructures in their own ways and rhythms and shape urban and village development just as much through their presence as through their absence. The long-term effects of this have thus far received scant attention in research.

The issue of multilocal living arrangements is not only a matter of urgency in prosperous urban spaces; residents in economically disadvantaged regions sometimes have multilocal arrangements in order to reconcile a desire to stay in their homeland and maintain their social relationships with an (adequate) employment situation. In this way, multilocals combine the different spaces of their everyday life in specific ways.

Fact sheet: Friday on the ICE train
It's been a long time since I found myself waiting at the train station on a Friday afternoon. I'm on my way to a family reunion in my family's home city. It's still important to us even though none of us has our main home there now. We plan to have a drink together this evening, so I left my office in Bonn just after my core working hours. I made a reservation so I wouldn't have to fight for a seat.

A colleague takes the seat next to me. I know him by sight from the canteen. He tells me he commutes regularly between home and work since the organisation he works for moved its offices. His wife and their two teenagers didn't want to move to the new city. They still live in their detached house in the Frankfurt suburbs, in a place they know and close to the friends they've known for years. That means that after jumping through a lot of hoops to get special permission, he now begins his work week on Monday at noon, works ten hours a day and returns to the family home on Friday afternoon. But this week he's going back and forth for the second time because there was a family meeting on Tuesday to talk about why his son is having trouble coping with life and with his mother.

The train is full, so I give up trying to get to the restaurant car. The mobile coffee service can't get through because the aisles are full of people who couldn't get seats.

Sitting diagonally across from me is a girl of about 12 who is reading for most of the time. She seems to be travelling alone and to be very familiar with the Friday afternoon situation on the train, which some adults find confusing. Every time the guard comes through, she has a few friendly and thoughtful words for the girl. Pricking up my ears, I hear that the girl is on her way to the airport in Frankfurt to fly to visit her father over the weekend. She does that every month.

The train arrives in Mainz and several passengers alight while others board. A young woman takes the seat next to me. The young man accompanying her stands in the aisle with two rucksacks that are too wide for the luggage rack above the seats and are now blocking passage through the aisle. The two young people apparently don't want to leave their rucksacks on the shelves near the entrance to the carriage since it's hard to keep an eye on them. They're talking about an exam the young man, who is obviously a student, took today before the trip. Now they're on the way to her parents, talking about their plans for the weekend with friends they'll meet up with where they used to live.

All in all, nothing especially unusual for a Friday afternoon on the InterCity Express.

2   The state of research

2.1   The diverse manifestations of multilocal life (typologies)

Multilocal lifestyles are underpinned by various reasons and purposes and can take a variety of forms.

From the perspective of both planning theory and practice, it is desirable to develop a differentiated and empirically verified understanding of the forms of multilocal life in order to discern and adequately understand the planning needs to which they give rise.

Working with types (typology) has proven to be a fruitful method to make sense of the variety of phenomena and to determine how to operationalise them in research processes. The criteria by which forms can be classified depend on the questions being asked. It is often useful to begin with the reasons or purposes that lead to multilocal lifestyles. For an initial overview, the motives can be classified as relating to a person's career, education, leisure pursuits, family or relationships – although empirical observations show that these can always overlap and change dynamically in individual cases. Forms of multilocal life related to a person's career or leisure pursuits differ in their rhythm and frequency, in the permanence of the arrangements, the local engagement of actors, the demand for everyday consumer goods, transport links, and the availability of housing. In contrast, classification into voluntary and forced forms is difficult, as the individual cases fall along a continuum between the necessary and the voluntary since every arrangement has desirable and undesirable aspects.

Against this backdrop, the following classification appears useful:

- multilocal living arrangements related to a person's work or professional training with or without a partner;

- long-distance relationships with separate households ('living apart together');

- multilocal living arrangements in multi-generational family relationships (e.g. children of separated parents, grandparents caring for children, children caring for parents);

▪ semi-tourist forms of multilocal life (e.g. owners of holiday homes) or seasonal relocations by retirees (e.g. to the south or to a permanent caravan park).

Other classifications that can be of possible planning relevance are those related to forms of housing (type, size and location of dwelling) or to forms of mobility between places of residence (means of transport, distances, frequency of use).

Fact sheet: A factory electrician in Saxony and Bavaria

Mr P. is a factory electrician. For most of his life he worked in a steel mill in Saxony, but with the closure of the mill during German reunification he became unemployed. He did not want to just muddle through until early retirement; work – gainful employment with colleagues – is part of his life. His new job as a factory electrician is in Bavaria. To work there, he has to leave his wife, his house and village as well as his sheep and rabbits behind. He always comes home when his shifts allow it. He covers the distance by car; the drive takes four to five hours. At first the arrangement was transitional, but now it appears likely that it will last until he retires in about 15 years. His wife has not adjusted to the situation as well as he has. She misses him, feels as if 'half of me is missing' and is unable to accept the intermittent separations without complaint. During his absences, she takes over his chores in the house and garden as best she can. She leaves some things for him to do when he returns. In Bavaria he looked for a place like the one he is already familiar with: a house in a village with a workshop and garden. His landlord is a widower and has adopted Mr P. into his circle of friends. As an electrician he has been able to lend a helping hand more than once – 'from Monday to Thursday', as he says. He has helped renovate the houses, and sometimes he cooks for 'the people'. Mr P. knows how to get along with the people he meets, both here and there. He uses his experiences as a DIYer and colleague to make new ones. He experiments with the opportunities to establish and build new relationships. In contrast, his wife is more sensitive to what she has lost as a result of this lifestyle. She rarely takes part in his life in Bavaria. She is a guest at the factory's Christmas parties, but the place is 'somewhere else' for her. Mr P. sees the good sides of the arrangement: he is expanding his network, works and earns money (minus the costs of double housekeeping) and recognition. He does not question his life with his wife in the house they share; he will return to his village on the River Elbe when his multilocal episode is over.

2.2 Distribution and location of multilocal lifestyles

Structural bias causes official statistics to underestimate the phenomenon of multilocality.

The growing quantitative significance of multilocal arrangements has been noted by many experts and is already considered a 'mass phenomenon' (Weichhart 2009: 10). What figures can be cited for multilocal lifestyles in Germany, Austria and Switzerland? How should the underlying survey instruments used to collect the data be assessed?

(Un)suitability of the survey instruments

Many of the instruments used to collect data provide an inadequate picture of everyday multilocality because the spaces in which multilocals are active do not coincide with administrative categories and concepts of spaces. All official surveys are based on registration law and the determination of a principal residence. A household is identified with only one residential location and is registered with a more or less fixed number of members. This approach is based on a policy and administration system of the (European) state that makes a fixed allocation of people to a territorial area and allocates individual (civil) rights and obligations on this basis. In addition, fiscal equalisation payments among the federal states and municipalities are linked

to the number of residents. In this system, multilocal arrangements with temporary stays and alternating places of residence – each or all of which may be of equal rank to the individual in question – or membership in different households are largely invisible. Overall, it can be assumed that a not sizeable proportion of multilocals are not recorded by such surveys and are thus significantly underreported (cf. Section 3.2). For example, this is documented by Sturm/ Meyer (2009) for the population registers in Germany and by Wisbauer/Knausl/Marik-Lebeck et al. (2013: 2 et seq.) for Austria.

To assess the effectiveness of the instruments, how the arrangements are implemented in everyday life should be investigated by involving several relevant people. Concepts related to housing and dwellings need to be (newly) defined. The motives and reasons underlying the arrangements need to be recorded with similar transparency, and it needs to be possible to add them to the classifications (cf. Section 2.1).

Figures from official statistics

If one considers the representative, register-based census and the microcensus as valid national sources, then 2.1% of people in Germany (2010), 7.3% of the households in Switzerland (2010) and 9.8% of the people in Austria (2009) use a second home (Dittrich-Wesbuer/Kramer 2014; Wisbauer/Kausl/Marik-Lebeck et al. 2013; ARE 2012). However, these figures are not directly comparable due to methodological differences in the design of the surveys. For Austria and Switzerland in particular, it can be deduced from the available information that purposes related to leisure pursuits comprise the majority of the multilocal living arrangements; arrangements related to a person's work, training or education are clearly secondary. In addition, it can be seen that cross-border arrangements represent an important subset of the multilocal living arrangements for these two countries. Individual, though not systematically occurring, indications suggest the importance of agglomerations as both sources and destinations for multilocal lifestyles.

Given the numerous aforementioned limitations, these figures represent lower limits. This is also indicated by the results of the sample survey of income and expenditure in Germany, which are well above the values from the microcensus. This survey clearly distinguishes second homes (for work- and education-related purposes) and holiday homes, in contrast to the microcensus. At the beginning of 2013, nearly 3% of private households in Germany had a work-related second home and nearly 2% had an additional residence for leisure purposes (Dittrich-Wesbuer/Kramer 2014: 48). Here it should be noted that the boundaries between holiday homes and work-related residences are steadily blurring with the growth of mobile working. Studies from Scandinavia show how holiday homes are increasingly being adapted to new needs, whether for the purposes of work, to serve as meeting points or for reasons of prestige (Arnesen/Overvåg/Skjeggedal et al. 2012).

Uncounted multilocal arrangements

The focus on monolocal households in official statistics also means that certain arrangements, such as couples living separately, are ignored. Family arrangements involving the children of separated parents or multilocal arrangements between different generations (multilocal multi-generation families) are also missing from the data, as are transnational multilocal arrangements. Some information about the relevance of such arrangements can be gained from other representative surveys. For example, citing the Socio-Economic Panel (Sozio-ökonomisches Panel, SOEP) for 2006, Asendorpf showed that 10.9% of all Germans over 18 years old claim a partner outside of their household (2008: 756). Analyses are also available from the German General Social Survey (Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften, ALLBUS) and the Panel Analysis of Intimate Relationships and Family Dynamics (Pairfam), which suggest similar levels (cf. Reuschke 2010; Rüger/Feldhaus/Becker et al. 2011). According to data from the AID:A (Aufwachsen in Deutschland: Alltagswelten) survey, 8% of the underage children in Germany can be classified as multilocal since they regularly live with both of their (separated) parents (Schier 2013: 191).

Multilocality as a widely established practice

In Germany and Switzerland, the official data and results from the major population surveys can be compared or supplemented with figures from current research projects. Their designs focus on multilocal lifestyles and the diversity of multilocal arrangements, and their findings show much higher figures: a postal survey of people in differently structured neighbourhoods in three German urban regions[2] revealed proportions of multilocal households between 6% (suburban neighbourhoods) and 25% (inner-city neighbourhoods) (cf. Dittrich-Wesbuer/Osterhage 2014: 7). In a representative panel survey in Switzerland[3], 28% of those surveyed in 2013 claimed to be living multilocally. On the whole, such findings indicate that there are people in multilocal living arrangements in broad segments of society and in all age groups, such that multilocality can indeed be regarded as the 'mass phenomenon' postulated by Weichhart (2009). It should not be overlooked that multilocality has long been standard practice in the countries of the Global South and is the subject of increasing study (Benz 2014; Dame 2015; Macamo/Duchêne-Lacroix/Perlik 2015).

2.3   Key areas of research

Work on complementary concepts is proceeding in various disciplines, with insights to be gained from the synopsis.

Many disciplines are involved in current research on multilocality, guided by specific research interests and providing various theoretical and methodological contributions. For the most part, multilocal arrangements are seen as subjective strategies to adapt a person's lifestyle – spatially and temporally – to the needs and opportunities of present-day societies. Premodern arrangements are considered for their important explanatory or historical context (e.g. the summer holidays of the upper class or the seasonal work of itinerant labourers).

A key point of reference for the discussions in the literature is the research into changing and increasing mobility in the context of the (recent) modernisation of society, which has links to the approaches of transnationality research. Many empirical studies on mobile or explicitly multilocal lifestyles have been undertaken from this perspective, especially in the context of changes in working life (e.g. the 'varimobile', 'shuttle', 'transmigrant/transnational' mobility types; see Schneider/Ruppenthal/Lück et al. 2008).

Research into housing, households and families addresses important aspects of residential multilocality. Decisions about where to live and changes in housing needs in a mobile and increasingly diverse society have been intensively discussed since the 1990s. The alternating use of multiple dwellings and the meaning of such living arrangements for the families involved have been addressed, often with an international or neighbourhood-based perspective (Hilti 2013; Weiske/Petzold/Zierold 2008). In addition, psychosocial and health problems have been examined, particularly for people (and their partners) affected by work-related multilocality (e.g. Schneider/Limmer/Ruckdeschel 2002; Schneider/Rüger/Münster 2009). The focus now is on accounting for changes in lifestyles and in demands on housing. The configurations of multilocal relationships have been addressed in a few family research studies. 'Doing family' under the conditions imposed by the multilocality of family members has received much more attention in recent years, resulting in a focus on the children in post-separation families who alternately live with their fathers and mothers (e.g. Schier 2013).

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2   German Research Foundation project Wohnstandortentscheidungen in polyzentrischen Stadtregionen (2010–2012) with the following partners: Department of Geography, Bonn University; Research Institute for Regional and Urban Development (ILS) in Dortmund; Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography (IfL) in Leipzig.

3   Swiss National Science Foundation project Multilokales Wohnen in der Schweiz – bewegte Praxis im Wechselspiel physisch-materieller, sozialer und biografischer Bedingungen (2012–2014) with partners ETH Zurich, University of Basel, Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts.

Regional research examines the spatial implications of residential multilocality. It addresses the consequences for local and regional markets as well as looking into effects on the scenery, resource consumption, and socio-spatial implications (Perlik 2009; Dirksmeier 2010), often highlighting second homes used for leisure purposes. The umbrella term 'second home' is used in the discussion of a wide variety of related but not always clearly distinguishable phenomena such as vacation/holiday homes, *Kontrastraum-Wohnen* (a German concept involving having different homes in antithetical settings, e.g. in a city and by the sea), weekend homes, retirement migration, amenity migration and the like. Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon countries have an entire research tradition devoted to this (e.g. Arnesen/Overvåg/Skjeggedal et al. 2012; Overvåg 2011).

The phenomenon of multilocality has yet to receive much consideration in planning theory and political science. Insights can be sought in works that address the problems of governance in modern societies in connection with growing uncertainty, the precarious legitimation of political authority, and the decreasing capacity of bureaucracies to act, and connects these with governance concepts (cf. Haus 2012; Mayntz 2004; cf. Section 3.3).

3   Spatial trends and implications

3.1 Housing and the housing market

Multilocal living arrangements are accompanied by changes in housing needs and forms of housing.

Multilocals make use of a variety of different forms of housing, which in addition to conventional flats or houses can include sublet rooms, flatshares or staff housing, on-premises sleeping quarters (e.g. for railway employees at train stations), caravans at permanent caravan parks, rooms at boarding schools, hotel rooms, Alpine cabins, a friend's sofa and many others.

Because of their heterogeneity, multilocals are a very diffuse target group for the housing sector, and not all people who have multiple places of residence are of equal economic importance in the housing market. However, a substantial proportion of them have specific requirements for dwellings and their surroundings on various levels, which manifest themselves in terms of the choice of flat, building, housing estate or neighbourhood. The level of the individual flat, for example, could include children alternating between separated parents and having their own rooms in both their mother's and their father's home or with stepfamilies (with two or more cores, i.e. living across several households) that may comprise three or five members. At the building level in the context of multilocal living arrangements, questions of upgrades to the services could arise, such as remote-controlled heating or security services. At the housing estate level, links to transport and utility infrastructure will take on new significance for some multilocals. And at the neighbourhood level, multilocals have an impact due to their alternating presence and absence, which has a corresponding effect on the rhythm of their local social, political and economic participation.

Multilocals have become an important clientele for suppliers on the housing market, as is reflected in the nature of the changes in the properties offered on the market. As a particular type of consumer, multilocals require mobility, pluralisation and flexibility on the supply side. For example, accommodation intended for temporary occupancy, such as boarding houses, are seeing strong demand. But innovative housing projects with a longer-term focus are also increasingly taking the mobility and multilocality of their residents into account, for example with flexible rental arrangements for extra rooms or shared parking spaces. There is also a boom in internet platforms for private housing agencies. These are not only attractive to those who travel regularly, but also to people with multilocal living arrangements for work reasons.

The exact relationships between the individual sociodemographic and socioeconomic profiles and lifestyles of multilocals and the various spatial levels is largely unknown. It is scarcely possible to derive general strategies for action that go beyond the location-specific strategies developed by actors in the housing sector thus far. However, it is clear that with the quantitative expansion and the qualitative differentiation of multilocal living arrangements, demands on housing suppliers will grow. It will suffice less and less often to merely provide the infrastructure. Instead, social and organisational arrangements will increasingly play a role in the integration of diverse forms of housing (e.g. borough managers, caretaker services, support and service offerings). This will lead to changes in the social relationships among neighbourhood residents that will tend to take the form of market-like transactional relationships. Moreover, this issue is becoming increasingly volatile for both cities with tight housing markets and for tourist regions; 'cold beds' (often empty houses) and their negative social, economic and ecological impacts are now being widely debated, especially in Switzerland where voters decided in a 2012 referendum to limit second homes to 20% of a municipality's total housing stock.

Fact sheet: Boarding houses
The individualisation and pluralisation of society are also affecting the housing market. Special types of housing for temporary residents have competed successfully on the market for quite some time now. A new development is the rising number and increasing variety of suppliers of temporary housing and, in particular, that these suppliers are giving increasing thought to variations in their target group. A current example from Switzerland is the 'Baufeld 20 Brünnen' project by the Aare Building Cooperative in Bern. Three residential property developers have banded together to develop the 'BILLY' settlement on three plots. Their plans include both conventional housing and 'accommodation for people on the move' to whom 'services like absence management or washing and ironing' are offered. One of the plots is even reserved for temporary living arrangements, with plans for small furnished units with a personal atmosphere and needs-oriented services. The developers envisage a differentiated set of future residents, identifying ten relevant target groups: business travellers or 'job nomads' (e.g. highly qualified IT specialists), temporary employees from the EU/EFTA region, employees of public institutions (e.g. university lecturers or hospital staff), 'suddenly single' people, weekly residents (a Swiss legal status for weekly commuters), students, young people in their first apartment, people in need of temporary accommodation due to renovation work in their permanent homes, visitors or staff of foreign embassies, and even lovers seeking a place for discreet trysts (cf. Baugenossenschaft [Buliding Cooperative] Aare 2013). The groundbreaking ceremony for this project took place recently; 2017 should show whether and by which multilocals the development will ultimately be embraced.

3.2   Transport and mobility

The available transport services affect the nature of multilocal arrangements – and vice versa.

The practice of multilocal arrangements can only be adequately understood against the backdrop of the increasingly ubiquitous accessibility enabled by the steady improvement of transport services. This is particularly true of those forms of multilocality in which great distances need to be covered between residences. Conversely, residential multilocality places specific demands on transport services that are determined by the particularities of multilocals' travel behaviour. This applies to both local transport services in the places where multilocals live and long-distance transport between their places of residence.

The differences between the individual mobility needs of people in multilocal and monolocal living arrangements are mainly determined by the particular configurations of the spaces in which they carry out their activities. To date, mobility research has mainly assumed a structure of this space of action that forms around the place of residence as a node and where relevant also around the workplace or school as secondary nodes.

In contrast, additional nodes form around the secondary and any other residences of multilocals (secondary action spaces). This kind of mobility reflects a more complex pattern of social and economic relationships with personal networks of family and relatives, neighbourhoods, friendships or professional circles in the different locations. In addition, transitional transport spaces such as airports and train stations where regular or at least occasional transitions take place can take on the character of additional nodes within an action space, especially for the long-distance travel associated with multilocality. When time is in short supply, the large amounts of time required for mobility play a crucial role for mobility requirements. As a result, the subjectively effective use of travel time through activities performed in the transition spaces and vehicles is assuming great importance.

The actual demands placed on transport services are heavily dependent on the means of transport used. For cars there is generally no time lost on waiting or connections, but there can still be transition spaces when travelling by car (overnight stays en route, service areas). The situation is different with trains, buses and aeroplanes. Since the means of transport used vary considerably with the infrastructure available in a space, the mobility requirements of multilocals also vary from one space to another. In this regard, urban and variable/multimodal highly mobile situations (InterCity Express, aeroplane, car) differ from those in suburban or rural settings that are strongly dependent on cars.

Based on these considerations, the demands placed on transport services can initially be differentiated according to requirements relating to local/regional services at the place of residence on the one hand and long-distance services on the other hand. In addition, a distinction can be made between physical infrastructure on the one hand and operational and organisational aspects (service, frequency, speed, etc.) on the other.

In particular, the aforementioned urban consumers whose mobility connects cities *with one another* can be expected to place much more diverse demands on local services such as taxis or 'traditional' public transport systems on the one hand, with an increasingly important role likely to be played by fast and flexible services such as car sharing, bicycle hire or innovative taxi services (Uber) that are provided using modern technologies (smartphones, internet). On the other hand, this clientele also benefits most from the long-distance public transport infrastructure. This applies to the speed of connections, especially at peak hours (and in particular for work-related multilocality); the design and furnishings of transition spaces such as train stations, hotels and airports (waiting areas, quiet zones, food and other services, 24-hour shopping); and connecting travel time with online mobility (Wi-Fi in coaches, train stations and airports) ('plug-and-play places', Nadler 2014). For multilocals, these transition spaces are particularly important for a 'life on the move'.

In spite of these considerations, the demands placed on transport planning by multilocals are difficult to bring into focus due to the public character of transport services (public transport systems, roads, etc.). However, they can become specific when directed at certain groups of multilocals (e.g. assistance for commuting children on trains) or when there are certain local circumstances involving an abundance of multilocals (special tariffs valid at certain times on public transport, e.g. in tourism regions). For example, the few empirical studies on the specific transport implications of multilocality indicate that additional transport needs are associated with leisure-related multilocality (trips to holiday homes or to life partners) (Dijst/Lanzendorf/Barendregt et al. 2005; Haustein 2006). In tourism regions especially, this can be a catalyst for

the creation of special services (e.g. connecting flights to islands in the North and Baltic Seas that are only offered on weekends). Additional infrastructure services unrelated to transport infrastructure can initiate a virtuous circle of increasing demand and supply.

It is difficult to assess the degree to which multilocals' demands for infrastructure leads to concrete funding needs for that infrastructure. However, municipalities have the option of levying special local fees to compensate for infrastructure expenses to some extent. Whereas tourism fees are often levied on the owners of leisure and holiday homes in Austria in particular, large cities in Germany with large numbers of long-distance commuters and students are also increasingly taxing second homes. Such fees on people with secondary residences are based on a certain percentage (usually 10%) of the annual rent excluding utilities, though individual exceptions and specific local regulations apply. From a fiscal perspective, although this tax can generate additional revenues, the amount of such revenues is likely to be less than that which a municipality receives through the system for equalising local authority finances for additional residents who have their principal residence there. The municipalities thus also use this tax to motivate multilocals to shift their principal residence to the municipality. Indeed, significant effects on registration practices can be observed after the introduction of taxes on second homes; there are numerous changed registrations but also some cancellations. It must be assumed that the formal classifications in the population register will often differ significantly from reality and that cities with taxes on second homes will exhibit a considerable number of statistically 'invisible' multilocal users of a city's services, offerings and amenities (cf. Sturm/ Meyer 2009: 18; cf. Section 2.2.).

3.3   Local societies and local policies

Little is known about the form and nature of civic engagement by multilocals. Local policies rarely consider their specific situation.

Multilocals organise their lives at multiple places of residence and integrate themselves into multiple local societies to differing degrees. Regarding the nature and means of their integration, we only know that they wish to maintain important social relationships within the families and households to which they belong to the greatest possible extent. All household members, whose territorial mobility varies along a continuum between mobile and sedentary, are involved in the multilocal arrangements. The sedentary members often support the mobile members in staying in touch with local life, for example by organising meetings with friends or passing on relevant local information. The extent to which multilocals change the social interactions in local neighbourhoods, clubs and associations has not yet been adequately researched. Do the repeated absences of multilocals compromise their socio-spatial integration where they live? Does the social and political involvement of individuals in local events decrease, or can civic engagement of multilocals be observed at multiple locations?

Current studies point to two tendencies. On the one hand, the degree of civil engagement appears to be associated less with multilocality than with individual values. Forms of political engagement are practised that correspond to an individual's lifestyle, e.g. in supra-local networks, donations to charitable causes, or ecologically-oriented daily practices at all relevant locations (cf. Petzold 2016). On the other hand, changes in social relationships are currently being observed, but their erosion or loss less so.

Multilocal actors constitute social spaces that are 'translocal' (Steinbrink 2009) and are seen as social fields (Glick Schiller 2013: 182). In (ethnological) spatial research, such arrangements as multilocal lifestyles are conceived of as 'cross-border processes' (Glick Schiller 2013: 180) that

affect and overstep the political and mental boundaries of local societies. The more recent concepts of multilevel governance, with its strength in 'being able to discern and analyse interactions and interdependencies better', are well suited to this phenomenon of multilocal lifestyles (Schuppert 2011: 29). They facilitate connections between the perspectives of all those involved, thus creating new public spheres in whose arenas negotiations about participation and integration can take place.

Whereas something is known about the perspectives of multilocals on the organisation of their own living arrangements, the converse cannot be said to the same extent about the perspectives of the actors in local politics and local society on the living arrangements of the multilocals, with the exception of a few positive examples (cf. 'Wolfsburg' and 'Boarding Houses' fact sheets). Initial reconstructions of the perspectives of local political and administrative stakeholders point towards a substantial lack of awareness of the phenomenon of multilocality in the context of professional and political work (Dittrich-Wesbuer/Eichhorn/Tippel 2014).

One reason for this is apparently the methods and institutions of the system of government, which is based on the principles of the territorial state and thus loses sight of the multilocals living within it (cf. Section 2.2). In Germany, this includes linking active and passive voting rights to the principal residence, meaning that the formal right to participation is systematically limited to only a portion of the space in which everyday multilocal life takes place. Austria is currently testing and critically debating the experiences and effects of the right to vote in municipal elections in secondary residences.

In our opinion, the systematic changes of perspective between those involved in decision-making processes, as proposed in the concept of multilevel governance, enable recognition of and policymaking for translocal social spaces. Thus far, knowledge about these spaces is largely an individual and private matter of the multilocals themselves that is still barely reflected in the public sphere in local societies.

Fact sheet: Multilocality as an urban development opportunity – the case of Wolfsburg
The city of Wolfsburg is a good example of how the issue of multilocality can be addressed in urban planning and politics. Wolfsburg has an above-average percentage of people who are multilocal for job-related reasons. Its central location with excellent transport links and the presence of Volkswagen make it an attractive place to live and work. Official statistics show that more than 10% of the households in many central neighbourhoods are multilocal. Providing accommodation for these households was and is a special challenge for the relevant actors.

As an example, a housing alliance including actors from politics, administration, the housing sector and local employers drew up and is jointly implementing a strategy for multilocal and temporary housing. Working from the available information, the group analysed the similarities and differences in people's reasons for residing in the city and the duration of their stays, thus enabling specific target groups for housing suppliers to be identified, such as business travellers, expatriates, commuters, interns or doctoral students. A study of multilocal lifestyles in Wolfsburg (Leubert 2013) identified various forms of local integration, which were attributed to the interpersonal skills of the actors involved and the practical organisation of the multilocal arrangements.

The living arrangements created or supported by this initiative include rooms in shared flats, studio flats, and flats in penthouses or boarding houses; they are organised as service-based housing. The variety of available dwellings corresponds to the various demands that experience shows will be placed on the flats and to the financial means of the multilocals. Volkswagen has set up a relocation service, mainly for its foreign employees. Its services include support in finding accommodation, moving in and out, and assistance in dealing with the authorities and accessing doctors. The local society in Wolfsburg has chosen the theme of a 'city in motion', with Volkswagen and its diverse worldwide connections contributing to its dynamism. From the perspective of the city's strategic planners, the multilocal and temporary residents are seen as representing an opportunity for the development of urban society there. They strengthen it as a business centre, breathe life into the city and act as ambassadors for Wolfsburg nationally and internationally.

3.4   Regional economies and labour markets

The origins and destinations of previous migration movements are connected in multilocal arrangements, leading to new, different spatial interactions.

A look at regional economies and labour markets reveals that multilocal arrangements are often an expression of socio-spatial disparities that can be observed and experienced at very different scales. Disparities in the economy and the labour markets are often the cause of migration between regions and between countries. Whereas from the perspective of neoclassical economics this involves the 'equalisation of factor endowments' of regional economies on the basis of price signals, spatial planning and regional research see it as an expression of regional deficits that force workers into (involuntary) migration. These outdated views need elaboration due to the increasing incidence of multilocal arrangements. Multilocal arrangements do not involve migration; instead the origin and destination regions of previous migration movements are connected, sometimes over great distances, leading to new and different spatial interactions. Large cities can be linked with one another just as much as rural settlements with large cities, medium-sized towns with small towns, villages with other villages, etc. (cf. 'A factory electrician in Saxony and Bavaria' fact sheet).

For the situation in Central Europe, thus far there is only a small number of empirical studies[4] on these new interactions and arrangements and on the geography of the new translocal and interregional economic spaces. The few available qualitative studies describe multilocal arrangements and their associated transfers of knowledge, social capital and goods of all kinds between the places that are linked in translocal spaces (cf. Weiske/Petzold/Zierold 2008). Regions of potential depopulation and shrinkage can be stabilised through these arrangements by maintaining and expanding networks of multilocal workers, i.e. through their social capital, although they can also be a precursor of outward migration. The transfers of purchasing power triggered by multilocality are equally ambivalent. On the one hand, such financial transfers provide purchasing power and investment opportunities; on the other, 'brain drain' often means the most innovative actors who could best put such funds to work are lacking. In addition to the regional economic effects in the strict sense, there are additional spatially-relevant and stakeholder-related influences.[5] Transferring new knowledge and promoting social mobility (thus

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4   We do not consider the voluminous research on transnationality and multilocality on other continents, for example on itinerant agricultural and industrial labourers or on migrant domestic workers in the countries of the Global South, since that research focuses on other themes.

5   For example, accounting for mountain regions and rural areas in large-scale metropolisation trends. See Perlik 2011 on the relationship between cities on the peripheries of the Alps and Alpine towns with second homes.

achieving long-term territorial capital growth) can be cited as positive effects.[6] Potentially negative effects include increased traffic volume and infrastructure stresses, greater demand for housing, and psychosocial stress for multilocals.

Thus far there is a very slim knowledge base on (policy and planning) approaches to the phenomenon outlined here; further empirical studies that describe multilocal arrangements in more detail would be helpful. They could benefit conceptually from the research on international migration and transnationality that distinguishes dimensions such as the political-legal framework, physical infrastructures, social structures and institutions, as well as individuals' identities and life projects (cf. Pries 1996: 467-469). This could provide a better basis for debate on the dynamics and stresses of multilocal living arrangements, their contributions to spatial and economic trends, and policy and planning approaches.

Multilocality in Central Europe manifests itself in various contexts; examples of some of the impacts of this phenomenon are listed below.

a) *International metropolises with a very high proportion of second homes* (e.g. *Paris, London, Vienna, Berlin*): The effects include rising house prices in certain densely populated city-centre neighbourhoods with a tendency towards gentrification; growing demand, especially for small flats; and the increasing phenomenon of buyers acquiring an entire floor of a building which contains multiple apartments (e.g. for investment purposes). The resulting crowding-out effects and temporarily empty buildings have led to repeated conflicts and protests. There is a high level of international awareness of this trend. Second homes in these cities reflect their strong position and positive image, which results in improved international connections and growth in sectors such as construction, real estate, domestic services, (high-priced) retail, culture and many others. This trend is especially beneficial for the real estate sector, though its significance is difficult to gauge given the overall number of ownership changes and the total economic power of a metropolitan region.

b) *A company town with the headquarters of a global corporation* (e.g. *Wolfsburg*): Many highly qualified international professionals live in these cities in multilocal arrangements as weekend or even monthly commuters. To some degree, the same positive and negative effects can be observed here as for (a), as well as heavy traffic from business travel and growth effects, especially for domestic services.

c) *International tourism sites* (*in the mountains or at the seaside, e.g. St. Moritz*): These places feature a high proportion of second homes that are generally not rented out and are at times empty. These dwellings are not only used for holiday and leisure activities, they also serve as workplaces, for family gatherings and for maintaining social and professional networks. Their multilocality is reflected in the fact that their main purpose is not tourism. The fact that they are empty at times results in a high degree of land take, considerable costs for infrastructure, and local socio-spatial segregation, crowding out local residents with lower purchasing power. These are usually locations that are already easily accessible. In terms of the regional economy, it is considered beneficial for the regions that the municipalities can offer an above-average range of retail and domestic services because of the second homes. The real estate and the construction and renovation sectors also enjoy above-average benefits. Bloat in the construction sector often leads to an unfavourable local economic structure. High proportions of second homes place considerable demands on municipal services and administrations. However, depending on the federal state, some municipalities can generate significant revenue through fees and taxes.

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6   Regarding territorial capital, see Camagni/Capello 2010; OECD 2001; Pecqueur 2006.

d) *Structurally weak and shrinking rural areas or old industrialised areas in (functional) peripheral zones (e.g. regions in eastern Germany)*: These regions are shrinking rapidly because of structural changes in industry and agriculture (or because of transformation-related structural discontinuities) with much higher unemployment and growing deficits in infrastructure (the classic regions of net outward migration). Multilocal arrangements provide an opportunity for households to retain locations in such regions and support them with financial transfers. This in turn creates local demand and generates new social networks and more social capital through interregional interactions. However, multilocals are 'missing' from political and civic engagement (e.g. local politics, volunteer fire brigades) and they are also subject to psychosocial stresses.

e) *Scientific centres (e.g. Kassel, Siegen)*: Such centres feature a high proportion of academic staff in universities and non-university research institutions with many weekly commuters and long absences. This results in increased demand for high-priced small flats, more traffic, unbalanced infrastructure utilisation, and growth in the construction and real estate sectors and in local retail and food services.

Fact sheet: From tourist to part-time resident

Tourism in the Alps has been stagnating since the 1980s. There is a number of reasons for this, including uncertain snow cover, shorter stays, and competition from destinations outside of Europe.

The tourism sector was the driving force behind the development of the construction and real estate sectors in many regions in the Alps. With the decline of tourism, both sectors found a new business model for new markets in the development and sale of second homes, though the development of the larger projects is mainly the province of companies from outside of both the towns and the sectors. They exploit changed consumer needs, marketing attractive cultural spaces under the label of a landscape.

On the demand side the Alps lose their attractiveness as a tourist destination, but gain in importance for part-time residents. These are either earlier residents who have inherited an old house or former tourists who feel attached to a place and achieve a changed status and greater flexibility by buying a second home; they feel almost like natives. The dwellings purchased are no longer used for tourism; some of them are used for location-independent work. They also serve as a meeting place for extended family (multi-generation house) or to receive friends and business associates, which also raises the social status of the owners. Depending on the arrangement, such second homes also promote leisure commuting (Arnesen/Overvåg/Skjeggedal et al. 2012) or multilocality.

In Andermatt in the canton of Uri in central Switzerland, a major Egyptian investor is developing a golf resort with high-priced apartments, hotels and an 18-hole golf course. Because of this new resort, investments were also made in the expansion and connection of the Sedrun and Andermatt ski resorts. The real estate market collapsed as a consequence of the project. The private property owners were no longer willing to sell, expecting land prices to develop as they had done in St. Moritz or Davos. The effects radiated outward into the neighbouring municipalities. Russian investors were interested in properties in Göschenen, looking to acquire accommodation for the future employees of the resort. Young people from Andermatt who wanted to purchase homes were forced to look for them in towns far down the valley.

> The drivers of resort development are the (increasingly transnational) operators of cable cars and sport facilities, and also private investors from within and outside the region. The newly built apartments are used by the buyers themselves or rented out. At least the owner-occupiers will thus be bound to the new location for the longer term, and the private renters will also have to care for the properties regularly. A new form of mobility is arising that goes beyond purely tourism purposes. By developing the resort, the investors are creating a new multilocality. Given the existing circumstances, it will serve to increase the utilisation and profitability of the installed infrastructure.

4   Conclusions: Policy implications and the need for research

Social and economic change – which began in the 1970s and gained momentum in the 1980s – led to transformations in labour markets and household structures. Changes in industrial production and the growth of the service sector call for more flexible labour market structures and working conditions. Career paths have shifted from lifelong work at a single location for a single employer to paths that often have discontinuities and play out at different locations. Multilocal arrangements are one way of dealing with these new post-Fordist working arrangements.

At the same time, social differentiation and the number of households have increased and lifestyles have diversified. The new jobs needed in the service sectors often favour central locations in large cities and metropolises. Family members are often at previous and likely decentralised locations or physically separated due to changes in family relationships (separations and new partners). Multilocal arrangements are thus becoming increasingly essential to maintaining close social relationships.

The realisation of multilocal arrangements is greatly facilitated by technical developments in transport and telecommunications and the expansion of the associated infrastructure, and new lower-cost mobility services.

Multilocal arrangements can be located along a continuum between the necessary and the voluntary since every arrangement has desirable and undesirable aspects. This is not least also dependent on subjective considerations in each case. From the perspective of spatial research and planning, it can be seen that the effects of these developments are ambivalent not only for different spatial development and municipality types (cf. Section 3.4) but also for different groups of stakeholders.

Multilocality dynamises social networks and interactions. Together with other forms of mobility, it increases resource consumption (in terms of settlement area, infrastructure and transport services) and has significant economic, social and cultural impacts on the locations that in some cases are still unforeseeable. This is particularly true in two aspects: the utilisation of and payment for services can no longer be clearly attributed to residents, and civic engagement and the exercise of democratic rights are made more difficult.

Multilocal lifestyles are not completely private matters. On the one hand, they should be viewed from the perspective of policymaking as personal strategies for dealing with social challenges, achieving one's aims in life, and pursuing happiness. On the other hand, they also need to be seen in the context of structural, spatial and resource-related processes of change. Political action needs to account for both the personal everyday dimensions and the structural conditionalities (facilitations and limitations).

Policy implications

A number of (socio-)political and planning implications can be identified that should be taken into account when discussing possible actions.

From the perspective of spatial planning and regional structural policy, this leads to a new view of regions that previously experienced net outward migration. The phenomenon of multilocality potentially opens up new opportunities for these regions which should be monitored and supported as needed. At the same time, however, multilocal arrangements generally contribute to rising demand for housing and thus in some cases to greater land take for settlement purposes, which tends to be in conflict with the aims of sustainable settlement development. At the very least, increased demand for housing leads to rising real estate prices, especially in nationally and internationally important cities and tourist destinations, with problematic consequences for people of fewer means. Moreover, (long-distance) traffic and transport volumes also increase because of multilocal arrangements.

In the aforementioned areas for planning action, multilocal arrangements lead to additional pressure to act. However, that pressure is also present due to other, similar trends such as increased migration to the major centres.

Support for social integration and for (political and civil) engagement on the part of multilocals and their households at their various locations is an issue unto itself. Several measures are conceivable in this regard, from an expanded range of commissions and addressees for the agencies that assist new residents (*Neubürger-Agenturen*), which should develop into 'welcoming agencies', to the right to vote in municipal elections in secondary residences.

The shaping of the political and legal framework to support multilocal living arrangements and their physical infrastructures (especially for transport and housing) needs to be the subject of public and specialist discussion. This applies to voting, registration, tax and other laws.

In addition to the planning and policy fields of action, the housing sector needs to be addressed; it should adjust to growth in the number of new multilocal arrangements. While the construction of boarding houses will presumably remain a small market segment for an affluent clientele, expanding the role of real estate investors and caretakers in large housing developments would be desirable to provide functional support and promote the social integration of multilocal households, for example.

The need for further research

Thus far there has been little research in Central Europe on multilocal living arrangements with their spatial and social implications. Research is needed on the following topics:

- There are numerous motives for multilocal living arrangements that are related to changes in labour markets and household structures. The extent of their effects on social inequality, gender equality, etc. needs to be investigated.

- Since multilocality has far-reaching consequences – on the use of land, infrastructure, social and tax systems but also on the structure of individual household expenses – research on the motivations for and causes of multilocality is still needed. Ideally, this research ought to be socio-psychologically and ethnographically grounded and should examine personal profiling (distinction gain), reputation and investment strategies. The duration of multilocal arrangements and their relation to different phases of life should be better understood.

- In this connection (but not only in this one), the data on multilocal living arrangements urgently needs to be improved: the proportions of multilocal households specified by spatial and municipality type and social characteristics are little understood. Only with this

information will it be possible to determine how strongly multilocal arrangements contribute to increases in housing demand and traffic and transport volumes, for example.

- Transfers of funds and social capital from work locations to principal and secondary residences as part of multilocal lifestyles are especially interesting from a spatial science perspective. There is very little validated knowledge on this subject.

- Multilocality plays an important role in expanding labour markets and in equalising disparities between fragmented labour markets. At the same time, this leads to stresses and resource consumption among employees as well as businesses. To research this, new approaches for economic and geographic studies on location research would be useful.

- The effects of multilocal life on political and civic engagement in the various locations of multilocal households are also little understood. Directly related to this is the question of how the temporary presence of multilocals is perceived by long-term local residents; this is currently the subject of contentious debate. The consequences of temporary absences for various processes and forms of participation should also be researched.

- Finally, a critical, theoretical and conceptual discussion and redefinition of outdated concepts for 'households', 'commuting', 'working hours', etc. is called for. In order to understand these diverse phenomena, appropriate strategies and empirical research are needed; the results of this research could also benefit planners in determining what measures and actions are needed.

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