## *Multilocality*

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*Publication date:*
2020

*Citation for published version (APA):*
Ovaska, U., Bergs, R., Goodwin-Hawkins, B., Heley, J., & Oedl-Wieser, T. (2020, Jun 22). Multilocality: ROBUST Public Infrastructure and Social Services Short Report. https://rural-urban.eu/publications/multilocality-case-studies-helsinki-frankfurtrhein-main-wales-and-metropolitan-region

# CoP Public Infrastructure and Social Services

## Short Reports

12.6.2020
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# Multilocality

## Living Lab Helsinki, Living Lab Frankfurt/Rhein-Main region, Living Lab Mid-Wales, Living Lab Metropolitan Area of Styria

**Key words: multi-local living, tele-work, new forms of working, commuting, residential multilocality**

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. What is multilocality

Multilocality has been internationally studied during the last few decades especially in the research fields of migration and mobility, living and leisure, developing countries, social sciences and family studies (Wood et al. 2015; Lehtonen et al. 2019). Multilocality can consist of various forms of mobility, such as seasonal migration, short and long-distance commuting, and residential multilocality (Petzold 2017). Reasons for multilocality vary from weekend commuters and couples in double households to expatriates and transnational workers, and from people with holiday homes to children having two families (Danielzyk et al. 2020). In other words, the phenomenon is related to globalization, increased labour market flexibility, and the growth of household wealth and change in family structures. It is further accelerated by digitalization that enables time- and place-independent work, and predicted to increase in the future (e.g. Heinonen and Ruotsalainen 2011; Rissanen et al. 2013; Lehtonen et al. 2019).

*ROBUST receives funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 727988.**

## 1.2. Why is multilocality relevant?

Multilocality offers an alternative perspective to the current debate on urbanization and population concentration. It is not a simple matter of rural-urban interaction, but a multiform phenomenon that integrates urban and rural residents into both directions (Lehtonen et al. 2019). Therefore, a strict division between the urban and the rural undermines the understanding of where people spend their time and does not allow for a more complex understanding of their relation and effects on services (Sältmo et al. 2019).

There are challenges connected to the phenomenon. Population statistics overestimate urban and underestimate rural populations, because people are moving and living temporarily in many places over the year (Lehtonen et al. 2019). The provision of public services is based on estimations and projections of census data on permanent inhabitants, and thus, multilocality is still largely ignored in policy and planning (Sältmo et al. 2019). From the perspective of rural areas, there are challenges linked to maintaining cultural sustainability. The housing price level may rise beyond the reach of many local people, in particular, the younger ones. Moreover, there is a risk of negative impacts on the environment, such as increasing greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions or excessive land use.

On the other hand, multilocality also contributes to rural development in terms of job creation, planning of cultural activities and provision of services (Sältmo et al. 2019). New forms of time- and place-independent work reduce the need for commuting and enable teleworking. However, teleworking is not possible without a proper Information and Communication Technology (ICT) coverage. Sustainable multilocality requires services or infrastructure with scalable solutions and systems that adapt more dynamically to changing demand over time like social and health services, energy production, food, waste, transport (Lehtonen et al. 2019). In addition, multilocal people could be seen capable of initiating and developing new ideas and practices that benefit rural-urban interaction and synergies.

## 1.3. Applying the ROBUST conceptual framework to multilocality

The ROBUST project developed a conceptual framework (Woods et al. 2018), combining key research concepts with good practice in regional policy. The framework has three principles:

- New localities – Connecting the local by designing for the real areas in which we live, work and collaborate, and understanding how these link to wider networks.
- Network governance – Deciding together through participation in government and partnerships between sectors, to create systems and services for everyone's needs.
- Smart development – growing smart and sustainably by prioritising what each local economy can do best.

These principles can be applied to multilocality and to future responsive strategies in policy and practice.


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A locality is an area that has meaning for people's lives and with which they can identify. The concept of new localities (Jones & Woods 2013) explores how those areas have form and function. Some localities are just the same as official maps of towns or regions, but many are not. Identifying localities focuses on cores rather than boundaries. A core is typically an institution or identity that a locality has formed around. Localities cohere in two ways: 1) Material coherence, which means the institutions and physical structures that hold a locality together; and 2) Imagined coherence means the sense of identity residents feel for a locality and share with one another. Although it is possible for a locality to form in just one of these ways, strong localities need to have both.

Governance refers to how the work of governing a nation or region is organised. Network governance emphasizes: 1) the participation of local stakeholders, and 2) partnerships across sectors and scales. Although central government is still important, its role in network governance is more to coordinate and enable than to direct. The approach can hence be summed up as giving local and regional partnerships the 'power to' rather than the state keeping 'power over' (Shucksmith 2010, 4). This has been advocated in, for example, the EU's 1996 Cork Declaration and the OECD's 2006 report The New Rural Paradigm.

Researchers and policymakers have long been aware that people, innovation and knowledge exchange all play important roles in economic growth. However, it is increasingly acknowledged that growth policies should not be one-size-fits-all but tailored to place-based requirements and capacities (Naldi et al. 2015). This has been integral to the Europe 2020 strategy's call for 'smart growth'. 'Smart' here does not mean technology (although technology can certainly enable smart development), but simply taking a more intelligent approach to growth. Smart growth, smart specialisation and smart development are all variants of a similar idea: that regions should focus their growth policies and resources on taking advantage of their competitive strengths.

In this short report we will focus on public infrastructure and social services that are affected by multilocality. We present cases from Finland, Germany, Wales and Austria. We will apply the framework by Woods et al. (2018) to discuss the lessons learnt from these examples.

## 2. Examples

In this section four different case studies are presented. In Finland, seasonal migration to summer cottages located in sparsely populated areas is a cultural custom and habit. In Germany, commuting to cities is a common phenomenon. In Wales, rural sustainability is an important aspect of multilocality. In Austria the phenomenon is visible in multiple ways.


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## 2.1.Helsinki

It is estimated that 2.4 million Finns are seasonal residents. This population is made up of people who live part of the year outside their registered place of residence, in practice mostly in their summer cottages. The seasonal population has increased because both the number of summer cottages and the time spent there have increased in recent decades. The importance of the seasonal population is different for the regions (figure 1). According to population statistics, for example, the county of South Savo (Lake Saimaa area) has approximately 145,000 inhabitants on the last day of December in official statistics, but the average number of inhabitants in July is 80,000 more. In addition, during midsummer, the population of South Savo is estimated to double. Problems of regional equality related to multilocality stem from the fact that in South Savo, for example, the cumulative use of 418,000 people during the year is beyond the reach of official statistics. In addition to seasonal population from other parts of Finland, there are several second home owners coming from the neighbouring metropolis St. Petersburg, Russia. The South Savo case shows that the use of rural areas in Finland is not properly considered in the planning of the society.

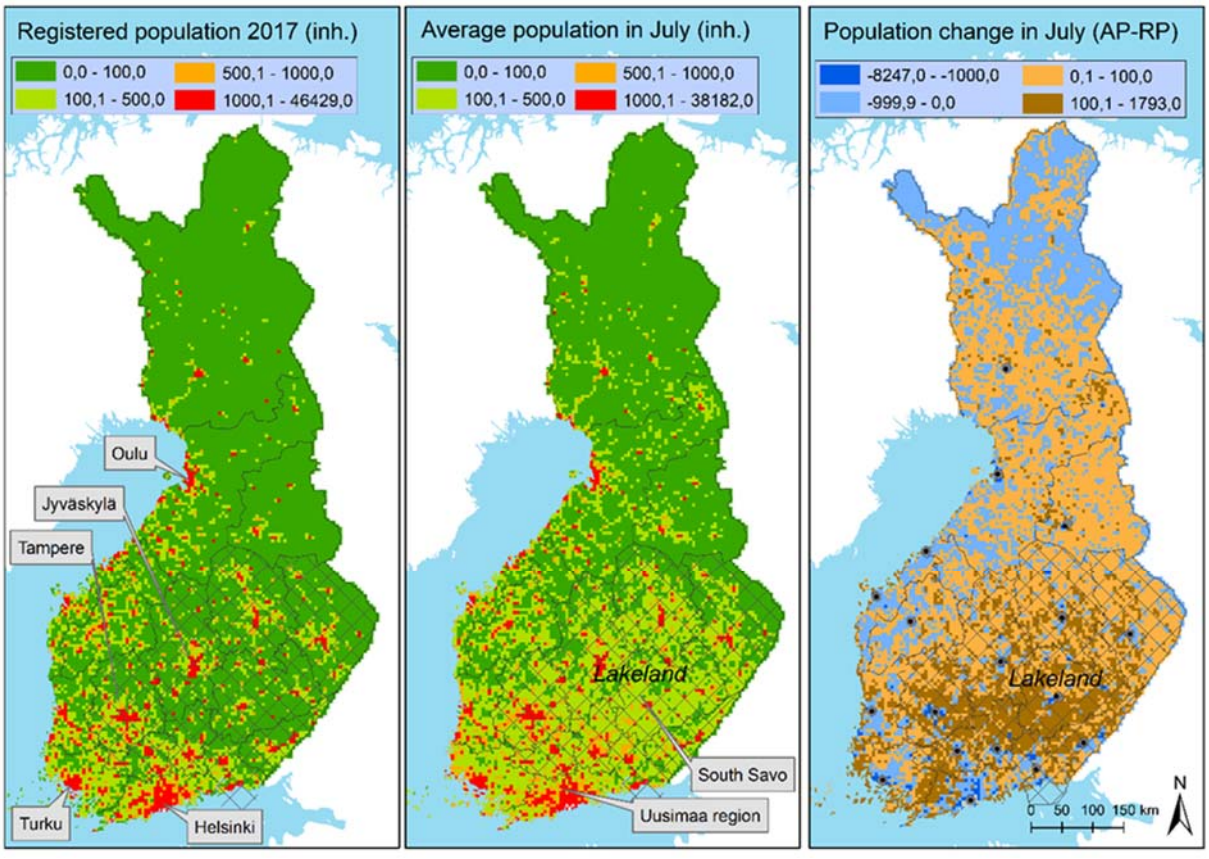


*Figure 1. Registered population, estimated average population and their change in July 2017. Source and further information: (Ovaska et al. 2020).*



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The municipal taxation system in Finland is based on a single and permanent place of domicile: all the municipal taxes are paid there and used for financing e.g. public health and social services to the local people. Multilocal people and families may annually spend even several months in the municipality where they have summer cottages. Nevertheless, they do not pay taxes to finance the public services. The use of official statistics as the basis of social and regional planning and resource allocation is therefore problematic. The statistics do not recognize seasonal populations, and thus current regional policy and planning favour urban areas and ignore seasonal mobility.

For a more equitable planning of society, a better understanding of how areas are used at different times of the year is needed. Multilocality and seasonal/ part-time use of the areas is an important aspect of this. Therefore, consideration should be given to the need for (regional) policies that take into account the fact that multi-local people also live and work outside urban areas for a long period of time, even though formally their place of residence is in the cities or even abroad (Ovaska et al. 2020).

## 2.2. Frankfurt/Rhein-Main region

PRAC has contributed a short empirical paper (Issa & Bergs 2020) on the relation of less commuting and climate protection using both data on out-commuting at district and functional area level as well as different empirical parameter for vehicle-specific emissions, single-driver versus ride sharing, rebound effects and more. The region consists of a major urban node characterized by strong in-commuting and rural and peri-urban parts with agricultural, residential and recreational functions. Commuter balance in those areas is mostly negative. The study also includes a chapter illustrating potential saving effects of GHG emission at the level of functional space. This chapter draws on a former ROBUST study (Budde 2018).

Less commuting will lead to a more sustainable use of roads and will require a secure and sufficient broadband connection in all parts of the region. Even though the relative GHG saving effect appears rather moderate (< .5 percent) for the region itself it is important to stress that the global relative effect is substantially higher as compared with less populated regions of the same areal size. The subject is of utmost importance and actuality in the Frankfurt/Rhein-Main area. The region is one of Germany's most rapidly growing regions. The risk of urban sprawl and negative agglomeration effects is growing and policy and the private sector are obliged to intervene with feasible and effective measures.

A majority of people work in the city while living in rural or peri-urban areas around. This necessitates commuting. If there is more work done by telecommuting, the functional division between urban and rural will change. There is anyway a global trend of automatization in production and services besides a lot of prevailing inefficiency in


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human resource allocation in work life (further outlook in Issa and Bergs (2020. 18f). There should be a broad dialogue among stakeholders of the civil society on sound and evidence-based research outcome and its implications for policy and individual behaviour in working life and commuting. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry (IHK) Darmstadt in addition to the Regionalverband (RV)Frankfurt/Rhein-Main can facilitate such a process of information and sensitization or to contribute to it. In May 2020 the research partner of the LL Frankfurt/Rhein-Main region was interviewed by the IHK Darmstadt about their ROBUST study. This interview will be published on the website of the PERFORM initiative[1].

The study shows that there are relatively minor effects for the region itself. But globally, reducing commuting in agglomeration regions will have a substantial effect on climate protection. Interaction is expected between the local and regional economy (private sector, trade unions, employer associations), the civil society and the local and regional administrations.

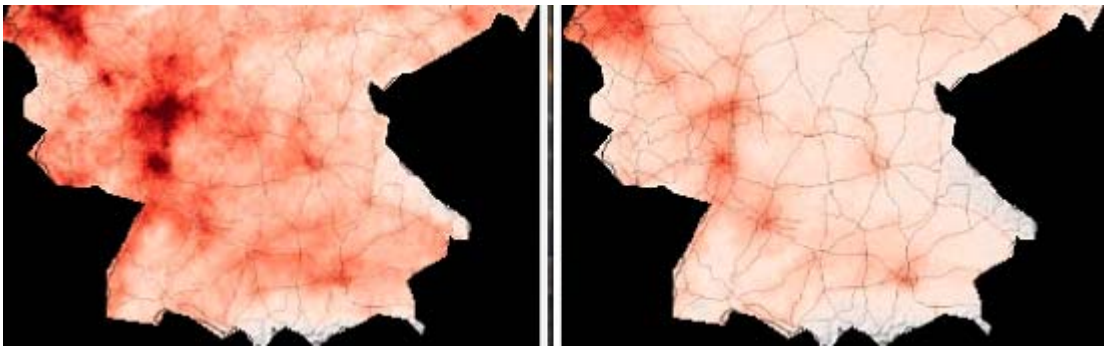

*Figure 2. $NO_2$ emissions (mid-March 2020) and $NO_2$ emissions mid-April 2020*

In addition to the study on less commuting and because of its unexpected actuality, PRAC has carried out a further statistical investigation of specific factors affecting GHG emission in the context of the current Covid-19 pandemic. The study[2] (*Effects of the Covid-19 pandemic in the area of tension between the economy and climate change: A case study at rural and city district level in Southern Germany*) views not only the area of the RV Frankfurt/Rhein-Main but the contiguous Bundesländer Hessen, Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg during mid-March to mid-April 2020, thus a major part of Southern Germany. Starting from a more global perception of "working from home" and its impacts on the environment under the pandemic (by descriptive analysis of recent survey results), spatial data on change in $NO_2$ emissions, local SARS-Cov-2 infection incidence, the local levels of "teleworkability" and the sudden local increase of short-term work were merged to assess how telework-ability, incidence and short-term work has affected the observed reduction of GHG emissions (specifically $NO_2$).

[1] https://www.perform-frankfurtrheinmain.de/
[2] Will be pubilshed soon.


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The analysis was inspired by a recent paper from the University of Mannheim (Fadinger and Schymik 2020) who found telework-ability as an important factor of regional resilience against Covid-10 contagion. Interestingly, the NUTS-2 region Darmstadt, to which the RV Frankfurt/Rhein-Main belongs, exhibits a strong level and ranks among the most infection-resilient German regions. The econometric analysis was carried out within a process of augmented models, starting with a simple non-spatial regression and then complemented by a spatial error, a spatial autoregressive, a spatial Durbin and an SLX model. Preliminary estimates show that Covid-19-incidence has a significantly negative impact on the change of GHG emissions (shedding light on how timely and appropriately people could have reacted with lockdown, slowdown of economic activity and thus protection against contagion) while telework-ability has a strong positive influence, thus confirming results of the prior study. The indirect effects of the predictors (i.e. the average impact of the neighbour districts) is also rather strong, so that major spatial relationships and forces in this context are to be established. This could be particularly demonstrated by the SLX model. By and large, both studies (and notably the experiences under the pandemic) confirm the concept of more "Working from Home" as an important future pathway of infrastructure to enhance climate protection.

## 2.3. Wales

In Wales second home ownership has long been a subject to intense debate. Multilocality of this type has been a vexed question for several decades, with the cultural and economic aspects of this process being of longstanding political concern (e.g. Gallent et al. 2003). Concerns have especially been raised about the effects of second home ownership on the long-term sustainability of rural communities, including full-time residents being priced out of the local housing market. A sharp increase of house-price to income ratios in many parts of rural Wales from the 1970s onwards has been widely attributed to the forces of supply and demand. In terms of supply, there are established issues surrounding the development of affordable housing, including; restrictive planning (particularly in the Brecon Beacons, Snowdonia and Pembrokeshire National Parks); the high cost of land and the attendant reluctance of developers to construct affordable housing. Considering those factors impacting upon demand, Welsh rural landscape has undoubtedly exerted a powerful attraction to (comparatively) wealthy in-migrants, retirees, buy-to-let investors and holiday- and second-home owners (see Kitchen and Milbourne 2006).

Allied to concerns regarding reduced affordability of housing stock for the local population (and particularly young families) is the associated impact on culture and language. Many rural localities in Wales have higher proportions of Welsh speakers than the country as a whole, and monoglot English-speaking incomers can be perceived as hampering efforts to sustain the vitality of the language. It is important to recognise that, in this sense, multilocality can be a deeply divisive issue. Indeed,


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during the 1970s and 1980s, an arson attack campaign in rural North Wales deliberately targeted holiday homes.

The maps below show that second home ownership in Wales is less a general rural issue than a specifically coastal *and* rural issue. The map on the left uses data on the numbers of dwellings officially registered as second homes for the purposes of council tax. By comparing each local authority's share of the total numbers of registered second homes in Wales against that authority's share of the total housing stock in Wales, it becomes possible to assess whether second homes are over- or under-represented. On the map, darker red areas show an over-representation, while darker blue areas show under-representation. The four rural and coastal authorities shown on the map together account for almost half of the total registered second homes in Wales (StatsWales 2020).

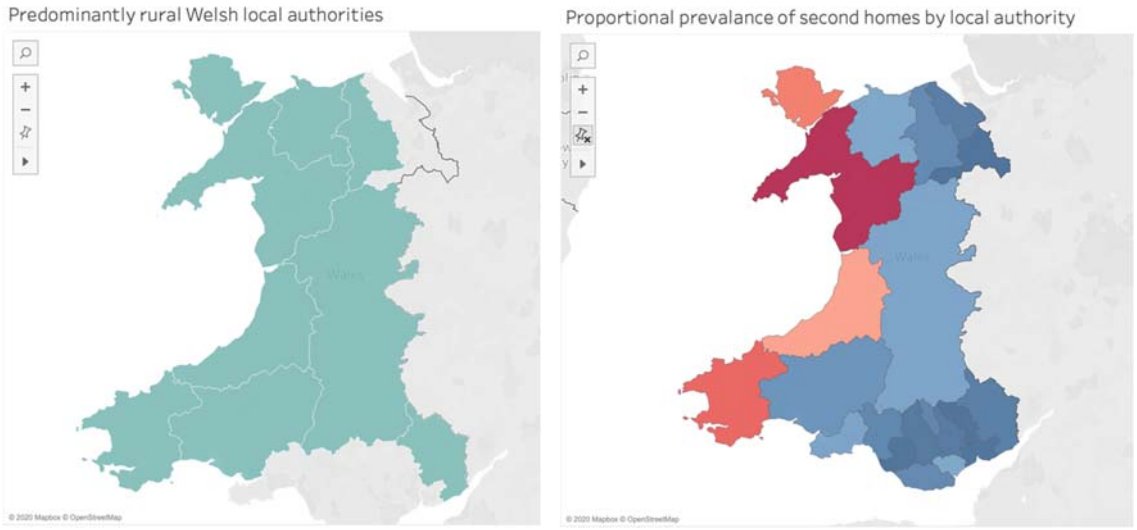


*Figure 3. Second homes as coastal and rural. StatsWales data 2020*

However, data on the number of dwellings officially registered as long-term empty (again for taxation purposes) also shows over-representations in many of the same areas where second homes are prevalent. This is a crude comparison, which should be



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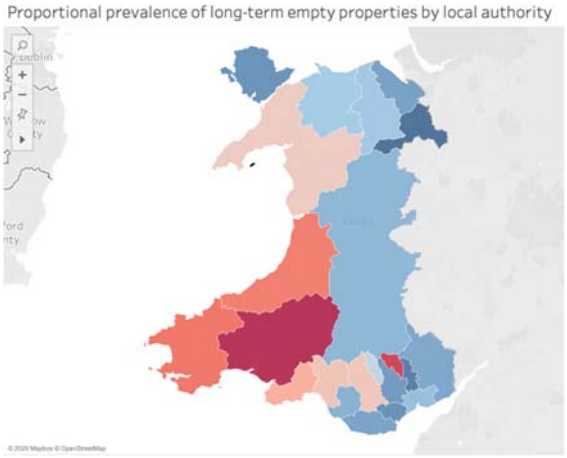


*Figure 4. Patterns of empty homes. StatsWales data 2020*

viewed with caution because the spatial scale is too large to meaningfully examine the relationship between second homes and empty homes in specific localities in rural Wales. Nevertheless, it does seem to reflect earlier findings (Gallent et al. 2003) that indicated that second homes were a symptom of the inequalities created by rural socio-economic decline, rather than – as is sometimes claimed – a causative factor. Indeed, one small-scale historical study illustrates how selling to the second-home buyer market initially emerged as a strategy to deal with growing numbers of vacant and derelict rural properties (Gant 2020).

Some concerns regarding second home ownership and the sustainability of rural communities focus on the impacts of reduced service demand. Second home owners are unlikely to send their children to local schools, register with a local GP, or use village bank branches, for example, and without demand, services wither. Yet, while the heat map at right shows that access deprivation is most prevalent in rural areas, there is no simple correlation between poor access to services and high rates of second home ownership. It should also be noted that there is a paucity of recent research on the attitudes and practises of second home owners in rural Wales. As such, studies of this type peaked in the late 1970s and early 1980s (e.g. Ashby, Birch and Haslett 1975), and again in the 1990s (e.g. Girard and Gartner 1993), and so there exists a very real danger of translating the findings of this body of work into the present day.

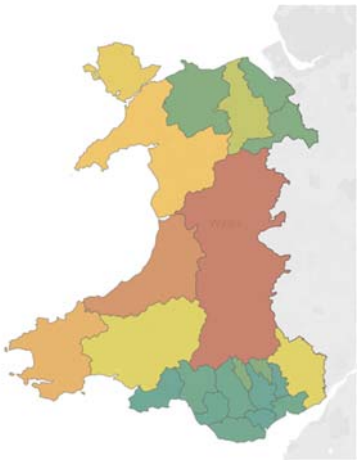

*Figure 5. Prevalence by local authority of areas in 20% most access deprived in Wales (red = most deprived). WIMD 2019*

Recently, local governments in Wales have focused on the impacts of multilocality on the tax base. Many of the governance mechanisms regarding multilocality and service provision in Wales have oscillated around questions of whether second home owners are adequately contributing to the provision of services through council tax payments. As a consequence, rural authorities have responded to these concerns through raising tax premiums on second homes. Across the four rural and coastal authorities identified in the map above, 88% of registered second homes are paying a taxation premium (StatsWales 2020). However, concerns remain that legal loopholes enable some

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second home owners to exempt themselves from paying these premiums through claiming business status. This issue has brought multilocality into dramatic focus during the Covid-19 crisis, with a significant amount of public debate revolving around the means and extent to which second home owners are (unfairly) claiming business relief packages (e.g. Gallent 2020).

Taxation, however, remains a problematic proxy for multilocality because it focuses on whole dwellings rather than individual patterns of mobility. Only those dwellings which are wholly used as a second home, and have no other purpose, are here taken into account. Little is yet known about how individual multilocality interacts with rural sustainability, with significant assumptions being generated through reference to a limited and often dated body of research around this issue. More so, there has been little work to interrogate the different patterns of service need and consumption created by multilocality in Wales as potential opportunities for alternative models of, or innovations in, service provision (cf. Lehtonen et al. 2019).

Four developments have, however, emerged:

- Previous research has suggested that multilocality contributes to the local economy through spending in local shops (e.g. Wallace et al. 2005). While this spend is more likely to be on retail than health and community services, for example, retail spend can be potentially mobilised through service hub models which co-locate multiple services in the same space. For example, Cletwr is a shop and café in rural Mid Wales which has developed a successful business model in which profits from food sales subsidise community events and activities (Goodwin-Hawkins 2020).
- Telework as a form of multilocality has been considerably less high-profile than second home ownership. By enabling working within rural areas through digital connections to urban jobs, telework can enhance local demand for services. However, poor digital infrastructures are often a hampering factor. In Monmouthshire, the county council has been working to tackle these problems by equipping village halls with superfast broadband. This investment creates digital hubs, where people from the surrounding area are able to access the connectivity they require.
- More broadly, there is a need to avoid over-simplifying the relationship between second home ownership, service provision and multilocality. This not only reflects the limited research base in Wales and potentially other rural regions in Europe, but also variability between communities and the types of services needed and on offer. With political rhetoric tending to focus on the financial contributions of second home owners through taxation and spend, it is also the case that this cohort have the potential to increase the viability of local services as well as introduce new opportunities and social capital to communities through, for example, volunteering and leadership.


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- Finally, there is a need for a more nuanced understanding of who second homeowners in rural Wales are, inclusive of their residential biographies. On this point there are likely to be significant differences in the relationships between second home owners and their 'host' communities depending on their status as, for example, first time 'incomers' or later-life returnees. Furthermore, the status of their multilocal connections as intra-regional, international and/or intra-rural is also likely to have some bearing on their relations with place.

## 2.4. Metropolitan Area of Styria and beyond

The Metropolitan Area of Graz consists of Graz, the second largest city of Austria, and 51 municipalities of the districts of Graz-Umgebung and Voitsberg. The region is with 494,227 residents the most populated one in the province of Styria (Landesstatistik Steiermark 2019). Graz is a popular place for working and living, which is also evident in the continuously increasing population (+ 10,1% 2012-2019). Additionally, 32,000 people are commuting daily to Graz, from the surroundings, from the neighbouring districts and even from Maribor in Slovenia. Graz holds diverse industrial clusters in the field of car construction, greentech, human technology as well as in creative industries. Furthermore, 52.000 students are living in Graz and study at one of the 8 universities (of applied sciences). Amongst them, there are 4,270 Erasmus students from around 70 countries. (Stadt Graz 2019, 52f).

For Graz the analysis of data shows, that 15.5 people per 100 residents have a secondary residence. Graz lies thus significantly above the Austrian average of 13.6 and Styria of 10.9. In the districts of Graz-Umgebung (7.7) and Voitsberg (6.7) the value is significantly lower than in Graz (Statistik Austria 2019). How can this high proportion be explained? It can be assumed that many of them have second homes for leisure and holiday purposes or that many people live a professional-related form of multilocality such as long-distance and weekly commuters – so called shuttles – or students with primary residence in their region of origin. It also suggests, that it is further an expression of changing lifestyles and multilocal forms of living across national borders (STATISTIK AUSTRIA 2015; Fischer 2020).

Depending on the region that is considered in Europe, one can speak partly of a mass phenomenon. In Scandinavian countries in particular, this share is up to 50% (Wood et al. 2015) In Austria, 13.6 people per 100 inhabitants have a secondary residence. This is very remarkable when you consider the absolute number of 1,199,318 persons. Mulitilocal lifestyles affect politics, the local economy and infrastructure as well as the


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social life in rural municipalities. In the province of Styria for instance, attractive tourist areas[3] such as the „Salzkammergut“ in the Northern Alps (district of Liezen) have very high rates of secondary residence (20 per 100 inhabitants). The consequences of this development are manifold: (i) high property prices which are not any more affordable for local people, (ii) excessive land use despite low land reserves, (iii) migration of young people, (iv) many „cold beds“ during the year and (v) financial losses because there is no fiscal equalization from the state for secondary residences in rural municipalities (STATISTIK AUSTRIA 2015; 2019; Danielzyk and Dittrich-Wesbuer, 2020).

Weichhart (2009, 11f; 2015) suggests therefore, that regional policy should recognize more seriously the impacts of multilocality on structures, functionalities and social life of cities and municipalities with high(er) rates of secondary residences. Both sides of the coin have to be considered in relation to impacts of multilocality and secondary residences – the *obstacles* and the *chances*. Especially in smaller rural municipalities the high proportion of secondary residence illustrates a structural problem. For people who are only registered as a secondary resident the municipality will not receive financial compensation from the state but infrastructure and (social) services as well as other municipal tasks have to be provided to them. Since a few years in some provinces of Austria – Vorarlberg, Tyrol, Salzburg, Carinthia and Upper Austria – municipalities raise taxes for secondary or leisure residences to finance the costs and expenses they cause (e.g. winter service, maintenance of roads, sewerage, water supply, …).

Beyond rather reactive or frame-setting tasks (e.g. taxes for secondary residences or protection against misuse) of municipalities, they often rarely approach these people and invite them to participate in the local social community (ZAK 2019; Danielzyk and Dittrich-Wesbuer, 2020). Therefore, it would be beneficial for rural municipalities affected by multilocality, if they develop already at an early stage approaches and strategies about (i) how they want to address these multilocals, (ii) which social and public infrastructures should be developed in future and (iii) which kind of living spaces are needed. Furthermore, „diversity competence“ would be helpful to prevent or moderate any cultural conflicts that may arise between locals and multilocals. Furthermore, ideas should be generated how multilocals can bring in their skills and human capital into local development to attain braingain. In this respect, social diversity can be enriching for communities and can hence contribute to the vitalisation of rural municipalities (Greinke and Hilti, 2020; Faustmann and Rössl, 2016).

[3] In designated tourist municipalities in Tyrol, Vorarlberg and Salzburg, but also in Carinthia and Upper Austria many people with second residences have no primary residence in Austria (e.g. Germans, Italians, Dutch, Russians). This includes both leisure and old-age residences, as well as residences of seasonal workers employed in the tourism industry. In Tyrol and Salzburg, the high demand for holiday apartments has led to the introduction of a quota for the share of second homes (STATISTIK AUSTRIA, 2015).


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Since many years, the multilocal lifestyle is gaining importance and is driven by social trends such as increasing mobility, digitalization, more frequent changes of job and

residences, lifelong learning and diverse family models. In the perspective of rural development, multilocals can be seen as knowledge transmitters and as an important link between their different living environments (ZAK 2019). Especially in economic weak (remote) regions the opportunities of multilocal lifestyles need to be more highlighted. Multilocal people can contribute to the stabilization of the regions e.g. through their needs for (more specific) goods and services, through revitalising vacancy or through their business networks.

***Good practice „MULTILOCALITY in different phases of life cycle as an opportunity for the Innviertel-Hausruck Region" in Upper Austria***

The implementation of this Agenda 21 project shows that regional initiatives and intermediary structures in rural areas like Regional or LEADER Managements can give important incentives for the awareness raising concerning multilocality and for advancing rural-urban linkages and synergies. The aims of the Agenda 21 project are:

- Stakeholders of the region Innviertel-Hausruck develop awareness of multi-locality and the specific needs of multilocal people and see this lifestyle as a crucial opportunity for the development of the region.
- Needs of multilocal people in three different life cycle phases– young adulthood, 2nd move and retirement – are analysed, recommendations for action are derived tested in pilot municipalities.
- In the Innviertel-Hausruck region, a viable network with and for multilocals is emerging, which supports the multilocal lifestyle in the region sustainably and permanently and acts as a corresponding docking station.

*Figure 6. Workshop "MULTILOCALITY" in the Innviertel-Hausruck Region*
*Source: RMOÖ 2020*



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The Agenda 21 project „MULTILOCALITY in different phases of life cycle as an opportunity for the Innviertel-Hausruck Region“ in Upper Austria invites people who live multilocal to participate in the project and discuss in various forms of network and working meetings:

- Impuls and networking event "StadtLandler[4] - today here and tomorrow there";
- Five regional network-meetings of the StadtLandler;
- One video workshop[5];
- Two workshops as part of an “Agenda 21 thematic laboratory” on the subject of “multilocal WORK” in Vienna and in Ried im Innkreis[6];
- Two workshops in each the two model municipalities Taiskirchen und Ried im Innkreis;
- Various informal meeting in between.

The target groups of the project are near the multilocals of different ages, people from the region who are interested in the topic and representatives of the two model municipalities. During the meetings, there were also participants from other localities abroad (e.g. Brussels or Straßbourg) who took part via video conference. This was a basic element of all workshops in the project.


*Figure 7. Word cloud “Multilocality” created in the project “MULTILOCALITY” in the Innviertel-Hausruck Region Source: RMOÖ 2020*

[4] StadtLandler is an artificial term in the Innviertel dialect and means people who are living in the city (Stadt) as well es in the courntryside (Land).
[5] http://inn-salzach-euregio.at/multilokal?id=38
[6] http://inn-salzach-euregio.at/multilokal?id=62


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Multilocal lifestyles are becoming increasingly important. Therefore, the diverse faces of the multilocal lifestyle were worked out in the workshops using the personas method and three of them were clearly illustrated in a video[7]. This is an important tool to raise awareness of this lifestyle as well as its potential for the regions and the municipalities. The script was developed in the context of a video workshop in September 2019 together with the multilocals.

Other important ideas, that were generated in this project, are coworking spaces in Vienna[8] and Ried im Innkreis, which will be implemented in the years 2020-2021. The manager of the "Kipferlhaus" was born in Ried im Innkreis and he invited to the 1st Agenda 21 thematic laboratory "multilocal WORKING" to Vienna. Using the method of design-thinking the participants planned a co-working space in accordance with the requirements of a multilocal lifestyle regarding (i) how to use the coworking space, (ii) furnishing of the room, (iii) development of potentials and (iv) services. The 2nd Agenda 21 thematic laboratory took then place in Ried im Innkreis. With the results from both Thematic Laboratories, the respective temporary "home base" for multilocals and commuting co-workers from Vienna and Upper Austria will be created in Vienna as well as in Ried. This should be implemented until 2021.


*Figure 8. Participants in different kind of Mulitlocality-Workshops in Inn-Salzach EUREGIO. Source RMOÖ 2020.*

[7] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yHlQIM-f2fk&feature=youtu.be
[8] https://kipferlhaus.at/


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## 3. Discussion and conclusion

In the following we apply the three principles by Woods et al. (2018): new localities, network governance and smart development to multilocality and discuss shortly the future responsive strategies in policy and practice.

### 3.1. Multilocality and new localities

New localities provide a useful reminder that people build their own sense of a locality around how they live, work and move – not around the official borders of a municipality or region. Indeed, people who are multilocal by definition have multiple localities. As the Finnish example above shows, this presents challenges for traditional models of taxation and service provision that presume static populations within administrative boundaries. In the Austrian case, multilocality across national borders raises further questions about how to plan for changing populations. On a smaller scale, multilocality can pose challenges for the coherence built around shared local identities by full-time residents. In Wales, second home ownership has been particularly controversial for this reason. At the same time, multilocality can create opportunities for designing services around localities in more sustainable ways. In the Frankfurt region, a shift to telework is an opportunity to de-centre the city from commuting patterns. Similarly, in Finland efforts to understand seasonal populations are suggesting new ways to design local services.

### 3.2. Multilocality and network governance

The principles of participation and partnership are useful for envisaging how multilocality can be better integrated into planning and decision-making systems. As the case studies above illustrate, multilocality has to date largely been treated as a governance problem insofar as it affects municipal taxation. However, the cases also suggest a positive role for governance in both regulating and responding to mobility in progressive ways, and providing appropriate services for non-static populations. Just as sustainable multilocality requires scalable solutions and systems that adapt over time, designing those solutions necessitates participation and partnership.

### 3.3. Multilocality and smart development

To date, multilocal residents have often been overlooked as resources for smart development in many rural regions, where they could be a source of 'brain gain'. Partly, this may be due to statistical assumptions of static populations. On the other hand, mobile populations have figured in development in ways that are, arguably, *not* smart – such as unsustainable commuting patterns in Frankfurt, or the knock-on effects of tourism in Austria, which is making some areas increasingly unaffordable for full-time residents. Using smart development planning strategies to foster rural-urban synergies could offer ways to find a healthy balance.


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## 3.4. Concluding remarks

In this paper we have presented case studies of multilocality across Europe. These examples contribute to our understanding of the heterogeneity of multilocality: they are shaped by time and place and are context dependent. In addition to these differences, there were commonalities in the cases. Moreover, the given cases are merely examples, and more could have been found in the represented areas. Nor do the examples mean that there are no equivalents in other countries, for example, commuting or seasonal labour migration are familiar phenomena in different regions.

As mentioned earlier, seasonal living in summer cottages is a well-known Nordic phenomenon that is based on cultural customs and habits. Nevertheless, the taxation system is not taking this into account, which forms a challenge to service provision. The same problem with second homes and service provision affects Wales. The demand for second homes also increases housing costs in Wales, which makes it difficult for local people to find reasonably priced housing. This is a challenge also in Styria, which is a popular recreation destination and additionally has e.g. many students. Moreover, commuting is taking place more or less everywhere in Europe, and Frankfurt area with its large population has worked with the problems it causes – but has also come up with new ideas on development. All of the case areas have projects and initiatives, or at least discussions, going on to overcome challenges caused by multilocality.

As we have seen, there are also several benefits that can be obtained from multilocality. In this context the most important issue is that it can help to revitalise rural areas and thus benefit the whole society. At the same time the society has not been completely able to keep up with the development. This has had effects e.g. on the provision of public infrastructure and social services. The most important lesson to learn from the case studies presented in this short report is that multilocality in its different forms is becoming more common. During the Covid-19 outbreak, the phenomenon has become more interesting than ever. It is even possible that the current Covid-19 crisis not only accelerates the changes in the way we work and live but launches the onset of a new multilocality for good.

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*ROBUST receives funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 727988.**

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*ROBUST receives funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 727988.**

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*ROBUST receives funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 727988.**