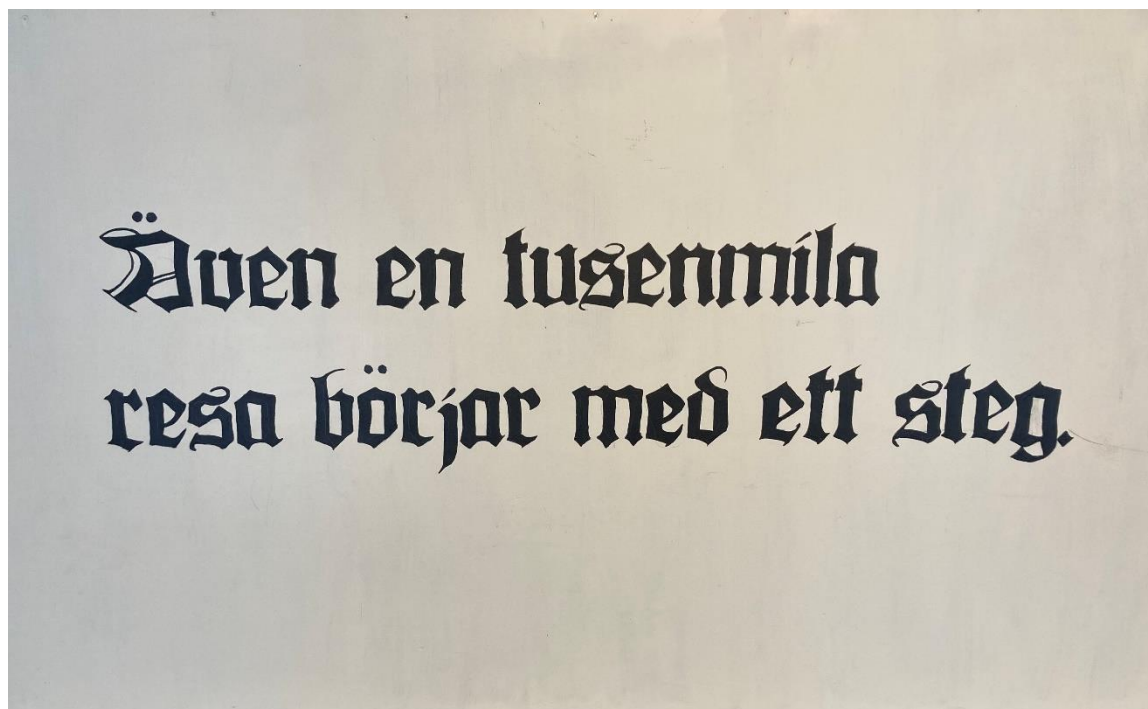# "They call us corona boys"
A qualitative study of multilocal lifeworlds and social implications of multilocality during the Covid-19-pandemic in the area of Åre, Sweden

Författare
Nicolai Ekecrantz

Handledare
Jonas Lindberg

Masteruppsats i Geografi med kulturgeografisk inriktning
HT2022

GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET
HANDELSHÖGSKOLAN

Institutionen för ekonomi och samhälle
Avdelningen för Kulturgeografi
Handelshögskolan vid
Göteborgs Universitet

ABSTRACT

In accordance with contemporary scholars, the identified increase of urban-rural mobility during the pandemic testifies that multilocality, in terms of living an everyday life in more than one place, is gaining momentum (Di Marino, 2022; Willberg, 2021). In a Swedish context, however, the qualitative research on this emerging housing phenomena is sparse, despite the rich tradition of examining non-residential housing in terms of second homes. Thus, by applying an explorative approach, this thesis aims to capture the phenomena of multilocality in the second home and tourism intensive recreational environment of Åre, Jämtland, in the light of the pandemic. The thesis focuses on the manifestations of multilocal lifeworlds and highlights potential social implications of having an everyday life in more than one place. Through ethnographic fieldwork and semi-structured interviews with 18 multilocal respondents, it emerges how the multilocal lifeworlds in Åre constitute a multifunctional, golden edged everyday life, providing a welcomed contrast to the urban work-oriented everyday, not least in the pandemic era. Moreover, the findings suggest that the pandemic and its effects, due to a shift of norms regarding remote working, acts as both an enabler and accelerator in order to establish and maintain the multilocal lifeworlds. Also, the thesis illustrates how the multilocal practitioners, by being both present and absent, faces social dilemmas which further reveals their position in between dichotomies of being resident and visitor, of being rooted and nomadic.

Acknowledgements

The completion of this thesis marks the end of a five-year long journey of studies in human geography and urban planning.

First, I would like to thank Jonas Lindberg for contributing with insightful comments and encouraging words along the way. From starting out during the autumn of 2021 with the ambition of spending two months investigating a development project in Botswana, it finally came down to a week of hiking in the Jämtland spring winter.

I would also like to take this opportunity to humbly thank all respondents that has contributed in the making of this final product. Understanding more about what it is like to live in multiple places has been both interesting and educational. I would be lying if I said I was not jealous of you at times!

Thank you, Agnes, for putting up with me and my frenetic fingering on the computer late at night.

Last bot not least, the greatest of gratitude should be addressed to the Sögaard family and the staff on the SJ train to Linköping on the 5th of April. Without you, no thesis.

Table of contents

1. Introduction

Sometimes it takes disruptive events for us as human beings to stop, reflect and form new ideas about what shapes our times. Undoubtedly, the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic[1] was a rarely seen trend break for people of my generation born in the 1990s, which with its consequences down to the individual level more than any other societal change left an echo in our consciousness. Personally, apart from adopting new rules and norms on social distancing and rigorous hygiene rituals, the pandemic brought new understandings of how we as humans can move in time and space, physically and virtually. Thanks to the pandemic, I was able to combine work and study in a way that was previously physically impossible. By switching tabs on the computer at home, it became possible to move between different social and spatial contexts previously spatially dispersed.

This forced pandemic transition towards digital work may very well be the final spark for the digitalisation of the labor market that has long been predicted (Randall et al., 2022; Willberg, 2021). While the conditions for working remotely have been in place for a long time, it is first in this pandemic era, when employers and employees were badly compelled to download Zoom and Teams and buy new sets of webcams, that we can envision a real change in behavior. This revolution has rewritten the previous dependence on place for work, indicating a growing trend of urban-rural relocations in the Nordic countries (Willberg, 2021; Di Marino, 2022). For, if I am neither allowed nor really need to be in the physical workplace, what keeps me then in the city?

Simulatenously, the Covid-19 outbreak also marked a significant decrease of long-distance leisure travel in the Western world, replaced by an increasing demand for domestic travel and mobility. In a swedish context, the pandemic provoked a second home bonanza in ruralities: *"Efterfrågan på semesterhus skjuter i höjden i pandemin"* (Dagens Industri, 2020-10-10), *"Hemmajobbare flyr till landet"* (Aftonbladet, 2020-03-18), "*Fortsatt stark efterfrågan på fritidshus under pandemin"* (SVT Nyheter, 2021-02-23). Already twenty years ago, Wilhelmsson (2002) noted how the development of communication technologies actualizes the need to explore the relationship between mobility and rootedness. The mobility trends in Sweden during the pandemic further reinforces and consolidates this need.

---

[1] Read hereafter as *pandemic*.

Unquestionably, few things remain as ubiquitously accessible in Sweden as second homes and it is therefore appealing to describe these identified changes of mobility towards rural aras in terms of a boom in second home living. However, in this study I argue that the disruptiveness of the pandemic calls for a reconsideration of conventional conceptions. The strong Swedish research tradition on second homes is closely entwined with a set of dichotomies, which in my judgment has been overturned during the pandemic. The second home is traditionally considered just as a "second" home, i.e. a recreational oriented home (See Marjavaara et al., 2019) that does not directly imply that it also may constitute a place of work and everyday life. However, as people to a greater extent has been able to work remotely from their summer cabins or winter lodges during the pandemic, it becomes clearer how the fundamental meaning of the recreational second home needs to be reevaluated. Moreover, the idea of the recreational second home testifies to the fact that it is a seasonal dwelling, a place to occupy mainly during weekends and holidays. This too makes little sense in the context of the ability to work far away from the physical workplace during the era of the pandemic. Instead, it has been perfectly possible for the urban dweller to spend Monday morning reading work emails before stepping out in the peripheral rurality.

Thus, in order to properly understand the pandemic's effects on relocations among remote workers in Sweden, the concept of *multilocality* appears better suited for the task. Multilocality, a relatively young, interdisciplinary research concept orginating from the context of the central European alpine areas, emphasizes various situations where people live everyday lives based in more than one place simultaneously (Danielzyk et al., 2021; Hilti, 2016). As noted by Hilti (2016, p. 468), multilocal life "resists dichotomous attributions". In difference to the traditional descriptions of the recreational second home as a tranquil place for recreation, the multilocal home may constitute a place for fluid transitions between working life, everyday life, leisure and recreation (Danielzyk et al., 2021; Schier et al., 2015). To my understanding, such fluid transitions appear to perfectly embody the character of the pandemic infused relocations to the Swedish countryside.

Inerestingly enough, despite being surveyed in central Europe and other Nordic countries (Schier et al. 2015; Di Marino, 2022), multilocality still remains unexplored in Sweden. Thus, to further investigate multilocality in rural Sweden in the light of the pandemic represents unbroken ground, which ignites a spark of curiousity and interest. In a Swedish rural context, few places are better suited to exemplify the extremes of the above-mentioned effects of pandemic than the mountainous Åre area in Jämtland. During the last five years, Jämtland

county have experienced the highest price development of second homes in the country, with Åre municipality coming out on top as the average purchase prices have more than doubled (140%) during the same period (Fastighetsbyrån, 2022).[2] With the ambition to match this demand, new forms of ownership has been introduced on the local housing market as it is nowadays possible to buy shares in a shared holiday home (Hemnet, 2021).

Many times before, Åre has undergone a successful metamorphosis in times of declining visitor numbers and external pressures (Skålen, 2011). Unlike many other Swedish ski resorts, the majority owner Skistar has also successfully established Åre as a year-round living village. This study of multilocality in the area of Åre principally stems from this evoked curiosity in exploring how the impact of the pandemic has affected the possibility to establish or maintain an everyday life based in in multiple locations, and how such an everyday life may have certain social implications. Hypothetically, the possibilities to establish, or maintain, a mobility intensive lifestyle between urban and rural appears to be favourable in Åre, as train and air communications with major cities such as Stockholm and Gothenburg are very convenient.

1.1 Problem definition

Looking one step further, this curiosity for exploring the phenomena of multilocality in the Åre area in the light of the pandemic also highlights how there are still few empirical answers regarding multilocality in a Swedish context. First, regardless of the fact that there is a particularly strong research tradition on second home tourism in Sweden, non-resident groups, who are caught between the dichotomies of neither being a purely recreational resident nor a permanent resident, have not been as thoroughly examined. The numbers of previous ethnographic qualitative studies exploring the whereabouts and backgrounds of multilocal people in Sweden are sparse, although previous research from other parts of Europe may provide a first indication about which ones comprise the multilocals. Di Marino (2022) highlights how multilocals of today consist of a broader group of people with more diverse professions and social backgrounds than earlier predecessors in the form of digital nomads. Previous research also suggests that there are various motives and reasons for living multilocally. Depending on the relationship and hierarchies of the multiple places of living, Hilti (2016) has distinguished four distinctive multilocal lifeworlds, which suggests that some

---

[2] Average price 2016/2017 compared with average price 2021/2022.

multilocals live in different places to experience contrasts while others live a similar life in several geographical areas. However, in the tourism intensive Åre area, it still remains unknown who lives multilocally and how the potential multilocal lifeworlds are being manifested. In accordance with Danielzyk (2021), encouraging more ethnographic research on multilocal people in new geographical contexts, this study sets out to explore multilocality in order to better understand who is multilocal and how their lifeworlds are manifested, in terms of dividing their time and everyday activities between Åre and other places of living.

Secondly, earlier research shows that the pandemic has had a significant impact in terms of relocations from urban to rural areas in a nordic context (Willberg, 2021; Randall, 2022). However, the motives for such relocations and the role of the pandemic in establishing, as well as maintaining, multilocal lives are not yet clearly determined through qualitative studies in a Swedish context. Interestingly enough, previous empirical findings suggest that the conditions for multilocality have been good in the nordics already prior to the pandemic due to being in the forefront regarding remote working possibilities (Randall et al., 2022). This curious interest of gaining knowledge of how the pandemic has affected the possibilities and motives for living multilocally goes in line with Danielzyk et al (2021), proposing that there is need for further qualitative research on the motives behind multilocality. Thus, the conditions for teleworking during the pandemic justify exploring how multilocal people in the Åre area potentially have adapted their living patterns.

Thirdly, the existence of multilocal practitioners in the area of Åre also raises other questions of curiosity given that being multilocal implies living in other places as well. This prompts a discussion on whether regular absence from a place affects an individual's social relations, relationships and attachment to the place. In the light of the pandemic, the transition towards remote working actualizes the interest in better understanding how the relationship between the mobile and the rooted, as seen in the works of Vilhelmsson (2002), can describe the multilocal's relationship to place. Given the broad research on second home owners and second homes in Sweden, there is a wide range of studies examining the second home owners relationship and attachment to their second home destinations as well as other studies that have investigated the local involvement of second home owners in the host community (See Nordin & Marjavaara, 2012; Müller et al., 2010). Nordin & Marjavaara (2012, p.302) describes second home owners with a certain degree of local presence and involvement in local associations as "semi-permanent, or non-local locals". However, this branch of research

largely assumes that these non-local residents are on site in an area during specific predetermined seasons, especially during their free time. To date, there is less known in a swedish context about the social role in the local community of other non-permanent residents that occupy and remain in the place in their daily lives to work and live an everyday life.

Nevertheless, some empirical studies have dealt with the social positioning and role of multilocals in local societies (Nadler, 2016). One consistent theme is that people with pluralistic living arrangements are positioned in between the more conventional actors in local communities, such as permanent residents and tourists. (Schier et al. 2015). Multilocals are neither tourists, nor are they locals in their different destinations, as they operate in the grayscale of this resident/visitor dichotomy. Thus, there is reason to broaden the scope of knowledge on non-permanent residential groups' relationship and attachment to place and their involvement in local society, by including multilocals in the Swedish context. In times when place seems to play less and less importance for work life, given the possibilities of remote working, it appears interesting to explore the importance of the Åre area for the multilocal practitioners, based on their personal considerations of social implications and attachment to the area.

To sum up, there is a lack of empirical studies clearly addressing the phenomenon of multilocality in a Swedish context. This study is therefore steeped in an exploratory approach to try to answer the curious questions concerning multilocal lifeworlds and the social implications of living multilocally in the Åre area that arise in the light of the pandemic.

1.2 Aim and research questions

In the light of the pandemic's socially transformative effects, a growing interest in understanding the implications of urban-rural mobility is being identified by contemporary scholars (Di Marino, 2022; Willberg 2021). Thus, by applying an explorative approach, this thesis aims to capture the phenomena of multilocality during the pandemic, in terms of flexible living arrangements, in a not yet explored geographical context of the swedish mountainous rurality of Åre. The empirical analysis, based on interviews with multilocal practicioners, will focus on three main aspects. First, emphasis is on exploring how multilocal lifeworlds are being manifested in the Åre area. Second, the pandemic effects on these multilocal lifeworlds intend to be understood. Moreover, in accordance with Hilti (2016), emphasizing the importance of gaining knowledge concerning the social implications of

multilocal lifestyles, the role and social position of the multilocal in the Åre area, in relation to permanent residents and tourists, will be addressed.

1.2.1 Research questions

In order to fulfill the aims of this study, the empirical discussion focus on the following research questions:

- *How are multilocal lifeworlds being manifested in the case of the Åre area?*

This question takes inspiration from Hilti's (2016) description of different multilocal lifeworlds. The analysis targets on describing the background and motives of the respondents and addresses various themes related to the multilocal lifeworlds, in terms of the respondent's experiences of having an everday life in the area and the respondents approaches towards the area as a home.

- *In what ways has the pandemic affected the ability of the respondents of the Åre area to establish, or maintain, their multilocal lifeworlds?*

Linked to this question, the respondents' reasoning on how the pandemic has affected their perspectives on multilocality in general are presented, but the analysis mainly focuses on how the pandemic has specifically affected their lifeworlds in Åre.

- *In the context of the Åre area, what are the social implications of living multilocally and how do multilocals relate to locals and tourists?*

In relation to this question, themes relating to the multilocals' own considerations of the implications of living a social life based in several places are addressed. Also, topics concerning the multilocal respondents' attitudes to other groups in the local area and to their own role as residents are discussed. Thus, this includes whether the respondents identify as residents, and how this is related to other groups present in the area.

1.3 Limitations

In this explorative study, the geographical area of investigation is delimited to deal exclusively with multilocality through the lens of the Åre area. The Åre area is a chosen term that should not be equated with the boundaries of Åre municipality (see definition in *4. The Åre area – Background and geographical setting*), however, all of the settlements highlighted in the study are found within the municipality's boundaries. Secondly, the study focuses on

multilocal practicioners within the geographical area of study, i.e. people that base their lives in the Åre area while simultaneously also living in other places. This means that individuals or groups of people having other kinds of residential structures in the area, such as permanent residents or short-term visiting tourists, are not addressed in the study's collected data.

1.4 Reader's guide

This introductory chapter is followed by chapter two – *Multilocality in a mobile world: Past, present and future,* which provides the reader with the study's fundamental theoretical framework of mobility and place, followed by a defining conceptualization of multilocality and an overview of previous works on multilocality and its related fields. In chapter three, *Methodology,* the study's hermeneutic methodological starting point is being presented along with an exposition of the applied research design, consisting of ethnographical fieldwork and semi-structured interviews. Chapter four, *The Åre area – background and geographical setting,* contains a brief historical description of the area of study, combined with a presentation of the different places of living within the area of Åre that constitues a home for the 18 multilocal respondents. The empirical findings of the study are presented in chapter five. This chapter is divided into four sections. *5.1 Multilocal lifestyles in the Åre area: A case of diversified homogeneity,* begins with an introduction of the multilocal respondents of the study and a further categorization according to various motives and reasons for living multilocally in the Åre area. The second empirical section, *5.2 The pandemic effects on multilocal lifeworlds in the area of Åre* deals with the pandemic effects on multilocal lifeworlds, as seen through the perspective of the respondents ability to establish or accelerate a multilocal life during the pandemic era. Thereafter, the third section, *5.3 The expressions of multilocality – the Åre area in the multilocal lifeworld*, develops the discussion about how the multilocal lifeworlds are being manifested in the Åre area. Lastly, in section four of the empirical chapter, *5.4 Being multilocal in the Åre area – social implications*, attention is turned to the social implications that arise and becomes identified among the respondents due to living in more than one place simultaneosly. This chapter further develops how the respondents consider their role and position in the local society of Åre. Finally, Chapter six - *Concluding remarks,* intends to tie the knot concerning multilocality in the Åre area in the light of the pandemic. This is done by a summarization of the most important findings of the study, followed by a brief concluding discussion on the future of research on multilocality.

2. Multilocality in a mobile world: Past, present and future

This chapter consists of three separated parts, although being interconnected, in the way to present the theoretical starting points and frames of this study. The first part discusses how the perspectives of mobility in relation to other fundamental geographical problems have undergone changes, which has implications for the emergence of multilocality as a research concept. Thereafter, an introduction to the concept of multilocality, its definitions and most significant works is being made. Lastly, previous research contributions in terms of empirical studies on multilocal lifeworlds, the pandemic's effect on multilocality and various aspects of the social implications of multilocality are highlighted.

2.1 Mobility research in a moving world

"What, then, does Bauen, building, mean? The Old English and High German word for building, buan, means to dwell. This signifies: to remain, to stay in a place." (Heidegger, 1951)

To fully understand the growth of contemporary multilocality, its relation to mobility cannot be ignored. For, by breaking down the true meaning of this compound word, it becomes evident that mobility is a prerequisite for the multilocal. *Multi*, short for multiple, stems from Latin and means more than one, or many. Locality, or *local,* on the other hand means something that is restricted to a certain part, body, region or nation. Thus, to be able to acquire multiple localities and seamlessly move from place A to place B, and act of displacement is needed (Cresswell, 2006). That is mobility.

In relation to Heidegger's (1951) mentioned consideration of dwelling, multilocality appears as more complex. It is not about staying in one place, but to be recurrently permanent in several places. Staying or moving can be seen as antipodes, which reveals a continuous interplay between stability and dynamism, rootedness and indecisiveness that surrounds multilocality. In accordance with Schier et al. (2015), this interplay of mobility and stability is also fundamental in studies on residential multilocality. Hence, in order to understand how these forces interact, a first theoretical starting point concerns views on sedentarism and nomadism related to mobility and place.

2.1.1 Sedentarism and nomadism

Although man has always been moving, the way that society and research has treated mobility in various efforts of explaining the world is changing repeatedly. In modern society and

research, mobility has gone from marginalized to valorized. As noted by Cresswell (2006, p. 11), being mobile was once "to exist on the margins", "to be without place, both socially and geographically". This traditional view of mobility as an abnormality is highlighted by many contemporary mobility scholars (Cresswell, 2006; Sheller & Urry, 2006), who addresses the existence of *sedentary* ideas as predominantly inherent in social sciences, as well as in general societal ideas. Emerging from the enlightenment, sedentarism holds values of fixity and territorialisation in its core. Sheller & Urry (2006, p. 208-209) depicts how sedentarism, vaguely originating from Heidegger's ideas of dwelling, have been dogmatic in research in terms of embracing stability, place and dwelling, while research has rejected distance, placelessness and movement as abnormalities. From a sedentary viewpoint, the world is regarded as territorialized and consists of bounded, well defined geographical objects and corresponding identities, i.e countries, nation-states, regions, provinces (Cresswell, 2006, p. 27). Thus, mobility, due to its dynamic and rootless nature, is presented as a pathologic condition. This differentiation of stability and mobility as antipodes becomes further evident in the earlier descriptions of the characteristics of rural versus urban places. Rural life embodies stability, consistency and mooring as opposed to the alienating and demoralizing urban life based on erratic movements (Cresswell, 2006, p. 36-37).

Sedentarism, however, in all its splendor, has not stood unchallenged. Cresswell (2006) highlights how the existence of *nomadic* theory, have continuously contrasted the sedentary in its efforts of appreciating mobility as a contributor to development, liberty and progress. The nomadic theories go beyond geographical territories and disciplinary segmentations and presents a view of the world that stresses the importance of dynamism, fluidity and flows. Here, mobility constitutes freedom and becomes a useful tool for emancipation and resistance against the existing powers of society. Thus, as the western society progressively emerges as more dynamic, mobile and less centered on stability, Cresswell (2006, p. 45) notes how the "nomad thought" is expanding, which illustrates a postmodern way of seeing the world. As objects, phenomena and groups of people become more fluid, the previously dominating sedentary divisions and categorizations are no more fully adequate to describe and understand increasingly ephemeral phenomena.

Moreover, the nomad thought and the rise of mobility reshapes the relationship and understanding of place. Places previously thought of as nonplaces, like highways and travel hubs, gain relevance due to their ephemeral and temporal existence, marking the dynamism

and fluidity (Cresswell, 2006). In its sedentary, historical essence of structure and rigidity, place becomes passé, considered as a product of the past. Sheller & Urry (2006) states how social sciences, in the past, have been far too ignorant in the way it has been treating mobility. In today's globalized world, however, mobility is becoming ever-increasingly important as technological and infrastructural advancements contribute to increased fluidity and dynamism.

2.1.2 New mobilites paradigm

In this historical context of ignorance, the new mobilities paradigm emerges (Cresswell 2021; Sheller & Urry 2006). Hannam, Sheller & Urry (2006,4) highlights how the shift of focus regarding mobility, *the mobilities turn*, constitutes a critique towards the social sciences for not acknowledging how movements of people are a part of the spatialities of social life. Early scholars influenced by the new mobilities paradigm helped relocate mobility from the backwaters of research, from the margins, to a position where mobility is considered meaningful and anchored in relation to social structures and power in society (Cresswell, 2021). Mobility of today is, by displaying dynamism and fluidity greatly associated with progress and excitement, while sedentary values are losing interest. Rootedness and stability are becoming equal to backwards-looking and irrelevance (Cresswell, 2006, p. 25).

Prominently, the new paradigm stands in stark contrast to the dogma of fixed places as the dominant arenas for social interactions. Instead of places and spatial sedentarism, the scholars of the new paradigm stress the importance of exchanges, relations flows and interconnections in space, thus linking places and the interactions in between places (Scheller & Urry, 2006). Scheller & Urry (2006) emphasizes how this new paradigm should not be seen as a pure reaction against the a-mobile, sedentary approach of previous research and societal ideas. It is not about replacing existing boundary systems with a deterritorialized world. Instead, the paradigm focuses on questioning scalar logics by looking at a world beyond spatially fixity of geographical terrains. Furthermore, the paradigm stresses the acknowledgement of how immobile infrastructures are embedded in all mobilites (Sheller & Urry, 2006, p.210). Sassen (2002) notes how mobility, in terms of fluidity, is made possible by immobile systems of great sophistication. The railway track, the telephone and the bus stop are all part of the context of mobility.

Importantly, this new paradigm of mobility goes beyond both the sedentary and nomadic metaphysics. Sheller & Urry (2006, p. 211) here notes a "delineation" of the various accounts

of the world by stating that the paradigm questions how such accounts are themselves mobilized and that prior conceptualizations are being left behind. Instead, mobilities in the new paradigm should be seen as a general concept, including various forms of movements and flows. One of many approaches might be to consider the shortened scales of time and space that are giving rise to new patterns of mobility and creating the conditions for multilocality today.

2.1.3 Time-space compression

In this discussion about a transition regarding the view of mobility, it is inevitable not to mention how the social sciences have related to the technological and infrastructural developments that mutually contribute to the co-production of this new mobility. Along with the continued globalization, the world is becoming more interconnected. In accordance with Cresswell (2006), movement, as one form of mobility, demonstrates the intricate relationship between space and time. When moving, space becomes temporalized and time becomes spatialized. Simultaneously, time and space are products and context for movement, and the ever-changing relationship is being reflected in the time-space compression (Cresswell, 2006).

In social sciences and notably in geography, the theoretical framework of time-space compression has been applied in research aiming to increase the understanding of how societies and people cope with the ameliorated conditions regarding transport and travel in space and time (Harvey, 1999; Warf, 2011). Warf (2011) underlines how time-space compression is to be considered as a central issue in human geography, due to the fact that the concept deals with the ever-changing positioning of communities in time and space. Cresswell formulates (2006, p. 4) the time-space compression as "the effective shrinking of the globe by ever-increasing mobility at speed enabled by innovations in transportation and communications technology". The theory of time-space compression focuses on how such changes are affecting the people impacted by tempo-spatial related processes (Warf, 2011). Therefore, the emergence of new mobility trends and living patterns, such as multilocality, needs to be seen in the light of the theoretical understanding of time-space compression, in accordance with Larsen et al. (2006).

Furthermore, the shift of focus regarding the importance of mobility also demonstrates mobility's position as an empowering tool. As shown in the works of Scheller & Urry (2006),

scholars of the new mobility paradigm have approached the implications of mobility in terms of being a tool for power and status in the mobile, time-space compressed world. These considerations reveal the unequal conditions surrounding contemporary mobility structures. Scheller & Urry (2006) notes an increased need for tools and assets for enabling full participation in the networked society. Furthermore, the unequal distribution of mobility, in terms of varying capabilities for people to determine when, where and in what way to move and not, is being linked to social status and stratification in accordance with Gustafsson (2014). This entails a discussion regarding a possible fragmentation of a mobile, worldly elite and locally-oriented, less mobile people. Additionally, Di Masso et al. (2019) highlights how one common perception stems from the belief that the globalization-generated mobility of a social elite further weakens the group's relation to place. This goes in line with Rye (2015) who emphasizes the fundamental condition of multilocality as socially unequally distributed in a discussion on dimensions of the radicalized mobility in the light of the mobilities paradigm. The ability to be mobile is dependent on social aspects, such as sex, class or ethnicity (Rye, 2015).

2.1.4 Place and place attachment in the new mobilities paradigm

Evidently, multilocality is intimately linked to both place and mobility. Often considered to be a fundamental part of geography studies, place needs to be seen from new perspectives in the light of the new mobilities paradigm. Originally being a central aspect of sedentary world, Scheller & Urry (2006) stress how place in the new paradigm has been released from its previous territorial restrictions. Places have lost their *auras* and have become dynamic, as increased compression of space and time, with innovations such as the railway, enforces the participation of places in networks rather than merely being fixed geographical objects (Scheller & Urry, 2006; Cresswell, 2006). Di Masso et al. (2019) builds on this, by illustrating how the predominant sedentary character permeates previous human geography research on place attachment. This can be seen in the general assumptions of the negative consequences of residential mobility and in how the production of placelessness has raised the cautionary finger among scholars. Thus, Di Masso et al. (2019) emphasizes the mobilities turn's contribution in reevaluating how mobile practices affect the way we as humans consider being located and bonded to place.

Place attachment, often seen in conjunction with similar terms such as place identity and place dependance, becomes an important aspect when understanding the implications of increased

mobility and the interplay of mobility and place (Di Masso et al., 2019). In the light of the sedentary approach, Gustafson (2014) highlights how place attachment has generally been considered as a positive feature, while mobility has been considered negative in previous research. Being rooted in a place has been associated with good conditions for social prosperity. On the other hand, being highly mobile was priorly considered a factor for disintegration and alienation (Gustafson, 2014). Moreover, a general assumption surrounds the idea that mobile people tend to lose local anchoring to a place, just as people possessing strong attachment to a place tend to disregard a mobile-intensive lifestyle. According to Gustafson (2014, p. 38), however, these contradictory relationships have begun to shift as an "increasingly powerful norm" places mobility in a positive light, whereas place attachment instead is considered potentially bad. Mobility has become associated with progressiveness, development, individual growth and open-mindedness, while local rootedness and stationarity, on the other hand, represents retrospection, social confinement and constricted possibilities (Vilhelmsson, 2002; Gustafson, 2014).

In the efforts of revaluing the study of mobility in its relation to place, Gustafson (2014) also highlights how previous research has merely been focused on the conceptions of place attachment in terms of placing long-term residents in the forefront. Permanent residents have had a higher value, while the place attachment amongst mobile groups, second home owners and non-permanent residents have been devalued. However, later studies raise the issue of non-permanent residents and their likelihood to develop strong emotional bonds to other places than their primary homes. Gustafson (2014) further emphasizes how mobility can result in people becoming attached to different places, in various ways and to different degrees. This is seen in the distinction of *places as roots*, and *places as routes* (Gustavsson, 2014; 2001a):

"Place as roots represents a traditional understanding of attachment to a home place, based upon long-time residence, strong community bonds and local knowledge. The conception of place as routes suggests that places may also be important to less routed, more mobile persons. In that case, places may be meaningful as expressions of a person's individual trajectory and identity, by representing personal development, personal achievement, and personal choice rather than roots and continuity. Importantly, the conceptions of "roots" and routes should be understood as ideal types, and a person's attitudes to place may incorporate aspects of both." (Gustafson, 2014, 39)

Moreover, Di Masso et al. (2019) suggests that previous research on place attachment and mobility have regarded place attachment as an unintentional marker of social class, as unequal possibilities to engage in mobility widens the gap between spatially rooted citizens and the cosmopolitan placeless elite. However, when referring to the works of Gustafson (2001, 676),

Di Masso et al. (2019) concludes that it is possible to experience place attachment in terms of a dynamic relationship between mobility and staticness, although it being related to ambiguity. The dynamics of place attachment should be seen in terms of interrelations between fixity and fluidity, spatial staticness and temporal stability (Di Masso, 2019). Vilhelmsson (2002), highlights the importance of understanding mobility in its relation to the static and spatially fixed. In its essence, movement and mobility of all forms marks interruptions of spatial permanence, which illustrates a deficit of local attachment (Vilhelmsson, 2002). In Di Massos (2019) framework on mobility-driven place attachment, fixity is at one end, illustrating place attachment in terms of extensive static rootedness and temporal continuity. Thus, for the individual, being fixed means full anchoring to a unique life-space, e.g. spending an entire life living in one house (Di Masso, 2019). Flow, on the other hand, manifests the opposite situation of maximum movement and disconnection to space over time, contributing to the sensation of placelessness (Di Masso, 2019). In many cases, processes of fixity and flow coincide as the individual complements or compensates when navigating through these processes. This is seen in the perceptions that fixity, in the form of rootedness, encourages and stimulates the interest in mobility.

The feeling of place attachment may also emerge in the form of an integration of fixity and flow, creating a web of spatial nodes with importance for the individual. In accordance with Di Masso (2019), integration of fixity and flow is related to complex movements between various places, rather than being fixed or temporarily connected to place, and can be seen in situations where people experience several places of belonging, in reference to Deleuze & Guattari's (1987) description of "rhizomatic" configurations, i.e. place identity that is non-hierarchically dispersed in multiple places. Furthermore, Di Masso (2019) acknowledges the influence of digital mobilities for being able to change the perceptions of everyday life institutions and happenings by virtually condensating spatially distant places. Even if not affecting the real purpose of mobility between multiple localities, digital mobilities made possible by the internet may intensify and boost the attachment of such places (Di Masso, 2019).

Thus, having framed the theoretical understanding of mobility in contemporary global society, the new mobilities paradigm and its approach to place and place attachment, it is time to focus on the inter-relational concept of multilocality, "the expression of a highly mobile lifestyle which combines diverse forms of mobility" (Hilti, 2016, p. 478).

2.2 The concept of multilocality

"…multilocality can refer to reflexive relationships with places. An anthropologist, traveler, or anyone whose place has been transformed, for example, by a natural disaster or suburban development-in other words, anyone dislocated from his or her familiar place, or from the possibility of local identity is keenly aware of contrasts between the known and the unfamiliar. In such situations, people often see a new landscape in terms of familiar ones. This is a multilocal way of sorting out meaning. Finally, a single physical landscape can be multilocal in the sense that it shapes and expresses polysemic meanings of place for different users. This is more accurately a multivocal dimension of place, but multilocality conveys the idea that a single place may be experienced quite differently." Rodman (1992, p. 646-647)

The concept of multilocality may include more than just the mere fact that people are being present in events of life in multiple places. Rodman (1992) opened up a semiotic discussion on the concept of multilocality in relation to space. Multilocality includes reflexive, transformative relationships of space and expresses multiple meanings and perceptions for various users. In this section, important theoretical considerations of the concept of multilocality are being presented.

2.2.1 Framing multilocality: Residential multi local living arrangements

By adding "Residential" to multilocality, Danielzyk et al. (2021) clarifies the circumstances surrounding the phenomenon as we know and identify in today's society. The foundation of multilocality is the practice of having multiple, simultaneous living arrangements at various geographical places. Thus, given that second home ownership has been a common residential structure for many decades, multilocality in itself is not a new feature. For example, Hilti (2016, 468) highlights how pre-modern forms of multilocal practices such as summer recreation homes and migrant part-time localization tend to be ignored in the discussion about the contemporary phenomena. However, Danielzyk (2021) distinguishes the residential multilocality from second home living by emphasizing that the former housing structure implies that practices and chores of everyday life are carried out at the different locations. Residential multilocality is thus having more than one geographical base for the various activities of life. It does not necessarily include a spatial division of leisure and work as the multilocal practitioner is able to actively engage in everyday life in the various places (Randall et al., 2022).

Furthermore, these dynamic, multi-faceted structures surrounding multi-local living illustrate how the concept reveals diverse, rather than dichotomous, preconditions. By addressing multilocality as a "mélange phenomenon", Hilti (2016, p. 478) motivates how multi-local

living withstands such abovementioned dichotomies, such as of leisure and work. The social phenomenon of living multilocally "flourishes in a complex structure of controversial fields." and contributes with counterforce against "rigid social structures" (Hilti, 2016, p. 468, 479). Importantly, multilocality should not be considered as part of other, similar mobility-intensive phenomena (Randall et al., 2022; Di Marino, 2022). Multilocality reveals situations where there are continuous connections of multiple places. Regular commuting nor migration is able to adequately describe the connections, as multilocality occurs with flexibility and without prompting a permanent move (Randall et al., 2022).

2.2.2 Multilocal lifeworlds and lifestyles

Danielzyk (2021) furthermore develops how multilocal lifestyles express interaction and intertwining between stability and mobility. Multilocality contrasts previously rigid living patterns by enabling fluid transitions between working life, everyday life, leisure and recreation within the same environment. Multilocality is also defined by a high degree of flexibility in the relationships between the different places that make up the individuals'aggregated multilocal lifeworld (Hilti, 2016). As multilocal lifestyles often are characterized by high levels of mobility, it is possible to be both here and there, and somewhere in between during different periods (Danielzyk et al., 2021; Hilti, 2016).

Schier et al. (2015) provides four examples of how the practice of multilocality constitutes coordination of stability and mobility. While regularly moving between certain places, people establish close ties to multiple, stable geographical areas. This mobility is dependent on stable immobile points, which could be seen in travel stations, but also people or things that are rooted in the place they are returning to. Stability in the mobile everyday life could also be reflected in the practice of developing customs and routines when on the move between places (Schier et al., 2015). Lastly, multilocal practitioners also often take advantage of immobile tools, for examples the internet or cell phones, to engage in virtual mobility in order to remain connected with their other places of living when physically stationed in the other place.

Hence, as new trends and technologies make work life and lifestyles more flexible and individualized, mobility patterns are evolving in response (Danielzyk et al., 2021). This thinking goes in line with Hilti (2016, p. 468-469) stating that the choice to live multilocally has clear links with the structural societal changes and developments that can be linked to

increased globalization, transnationalisation and the innovation of new technologies. As the social phenomena is interconnected with the development processes of the western world society, multilocality is thereby also greatly intertwined with other social fields and fields of research concerning the economic, entrepreneurial, political, jurisdictional and planning-related areas of influence (Hilti, 2016).

2.2.2.1 Four multilocal categories

Based on the purpose, character and motives behind the multilocal living arrangement of the individual, Danielzyk (2021, p. 3-4) continues the discussion by dividing multilocality into four different categories:

1. Work-related multilocality, for example weekly commuting.
2. Separate housing long distance-relationships.
3. Multilocality due to partly intergenerational living or children of divorce living with both parents part time.
4. Seasonal relocations or tourism related multilocal living arrangements, which may be amenity driven second home ownership etc.

This fourth category of multilocal living arrangements displays a higher degree of voluntarism regarding the spatial relocation than the other and is thus dependent on the individual's ability to create habitats in multiple locations. The cost-intensiveness of multilocality as a housing phenomenon is therefore needed to be integrated into our understanding, in accordance with Perlik (2012). However, Hilti (2016) notes that multilocality should be regarded as a phenomenon including different levels of society in accordance with empirical studies rejecting the idea that only socio-economic elites and vulnerable groups interact in multiple environments. Research has previously mainly focused on multilocality in the extremes, in terms of a mobile lifestyle due to economic constraints of the individual or culturally produced transformative multilocality. At the same time, emphasis is put on multilocality as an asset and income dependent practice (Hilti, 2016, p. 480), which displays a rather ambiguous situation. Thus, multilocal living based on seasonal relocations or amenity driven factors is the only category of the phenomenon which with certainty can be linked to having financial wealth and prosperity.

2.2.2.2 Multilocal lifeworlds

By distinguishing a typology of four distinct multilocal life world patterns, Hilti (2016) findings supplements Danielzyk et al. (2021) aforementioned categorization and helps to demonstrate the pluralism of how multilocal living is manifested, arranged and practiced. First, multilocality could be expressed in terms of compromise and conditionality, labeled by Hilti (2016) as a "*parallel multi-local lifeworld*". Under such circumstances, the different houses of living within the lifeworld have different purposes and degree of attachment. The living arrangement consists of hierarchies, as one place of living is considered to be the home while the other/s is/are "purely functional" (Hilti, 2016, p.473) and accessed due to requirements of the individuals' work situation.

Furthermore, the phenomena express a human desire to live in contrasting environments described as *Counter worlds* (Hilti, 2016, p.474). In this context, the option to engage multilocally is explained by the urge to live a life differentiated from everyday life in the principal home environment. However, the attachment and feeling of home is characterized by an equal relationship between the different places. Instead, it is the differences between the places, the different character of the activities carried out in the different sites and the variation in housing standard that drives this sort of multilocality.

Opting for living a life in multiple places could also be driven by the increased possibilities and amenities that various environments can offer the individual. Hilti (2016, p.475) describes this as the *double worlds*, as it entails an overlapping life in terms of choices between activities of leisure, work and family life in the different environments. Here too, the feeling of home is equally distributed between the places of housing, although the undefined status of life in the different places can lead to a feeling of not being rooted in any of the environments. Multilocality is expressed as a way of profiting from the advantages and amenities that the various places have to offer (Hilti, 2016).

The fourth category within the typology targets the aspects of mobility that surround the concept of multi-local living. *In-between* worlds (Hilti, 2016, p.477) consists of proceedings being made in the transition between the places of living, thus affected by conditions in terms of distances between the different housing options and the optional ways to travel "between here and there" (Hilti, 2016, p.477). As being on the road between places constitutes a

significant part of the multi-local life, routines and rituals become part of the individuals' highly mobile in-between lifeworld.

2.2.3 Multi-house homes

As the activity of living multilocally comes with interaction in different spatial contexts, the understanding of the multilocals attachment to place and the perception of what is to be considered home has been of importance in research. The works of Danielzyk et al. (2021) and Hilti (2016) show that certain kinds of multilocal living arrangements are characterized and driven by some degree of imperative necessity, which indicates unequal status relations between the residencies. Home is where your heart is, not where your work is. However, in the context of increased usage of second homes as an expression of multilocality, the very understanding of the concept of the home is challenged by Arnesen et al. (2012). In accordance with Arnesen et al. (2012), the term "second home" is misleading as it entails an evaluative relationship of the feeling of being at home between different places of residences. Instead, as multilocals may feel at home at both places, the second home is rather a "second house in a home – a multi-house home." (Arnesen et al., 2012, p. 182). Arnesen et al. (2012) approaches houses as material objects, while the home is to be considered as an immaterial recollection of all houses regardless of the fact that the houses may have different, or equal, meaning and significance within the aggregated home-entity. This thinking goes in line with the typologies of *counter worlds* and *double worlds* demonstrated by Hilti (2016), thus illustrating the dynamic definition of spatial anchoring expressed by some types of multilocal housing arrangements.

Furthermore, by distinguishing the interrelations and characteristics of actors in multi-house home dense spaces, Arnesen et al. (2012, p. 189) opens up for a broader understanding of the positioning of the leisure-oriented multilocal second house owner as "in between" traditional permanent residents and pure tourists. This group is distinguished from the tourists since they express a feeling of being at home while also having invested in a fixed residence that they own. At the same time, they are not part of what can be described as "locals", due to the fact the main purpose for this recreation-related residency is not fundamental housing functions which also results in shorter periods of stays throughout the year (Arnesen et al., 2012). Thus, this subdivision of multi-locals is to be considered as differently-attached residents operating operating between the traditional resident/visitor dichotomy (Schier et al., 2015).

2.3 Empirical studies on multilocality

Understanding how the growing attention to multilocal practices can be related to the new mobilities paradigm, in terms of acknowledging the interaction between stability and mobility that occurs in the highly mobile multilocal lifeworlds, it is now time to focus on what previous empirical findings has identified and what yet remains unknown. This section presents particularly important contributions concerning the social impacts of living multilocally, along with previous findings regarding non-local populations in the Swedish second home context. Moreover, findings concerning multilocality in relation to the pandemic and the impact of multilocal people on local communities are presented.

2.3.1 The rise of multilocality

Multilocal living is on the rise, both in practice and in terms of an increasing research interest (Schier et al., 2015). The popularization of multilocality research is mainly being attributed to the fact that more and more people in fact see multilocality as an opportunity in the mobility intensified contemporary society. In this context, multilocality fills in the gaps out of previous conventional understandings of human residential movements. As mobility between different places of living is in transition towards becoming increasingly irregular, unpredictable and temporary, multilocality provides answers to the questions that traditional concepts, such as second home research or part-time migration lack the capacity to frame (Greinke et al. 2022).

However, many aspects of multilocality still appear to be unexplored, just as this dynamic and progressive interdisciplinary field of research continues to overlap and bridge to others (Schier et al., 2015; Greinke et al., 2022). Several scholars (Schier et al., 2015; Di Marino, 2022) calls for continued assessment of multilocal living arrangements in new geographical contexts and in relation to the pandemic.

Until today, empirical studies have been focusing on trends in Europe and research about multilocality in the central European alpean countries have been particularly strong (Schier et al., 2015). The geographical areas for surveying have extended to other northern european countries, including the nordics, only in recent years and are continuously growing (Di Marino, 2022). Similarly, the scope of research on multilocality has widened. Here, Di Marino (2022) notes a transition in multilocality research, from mainly focusing on socio-spatial polarization of urbanities and ruralities, to including aspects of increased usage of second homes, or demographical and environmental implications for hosting communities

within the research scope. This goes in line with Greinke et al. (2022), emphasizing how previous multilocal research efforts have been unexpectedly sparse in demonstrating the spatial and urban planning perspective. Instead, scholars of the field have been predominantly interested in the family-oriented and ethnographic aspects of multilocality. Furthermore, previous multilocal research has mainly been focusing on urban areas, thus partly neglecting the rural setting (Greinke et al. 2022).

2.3.2 Second home tourism and multilocality

Understanding the complexities and dynamics that surrounds multilocality for the individual practitioner, one way of addressing multilocality can be to incorporate and acknowledge it in relation to other forms of residential structures. In accordance with Schier et al. (2015), multilocality has been reoccurring in studies on second homes, a collective term for a large tradition of research that identifies various aspects of cottage life and recreational living. Spending more time in the second home is also seen as contributing to the development of a multilocal life, as "leisure residences are no longer part of tourism but a new form of dwelling" (Perlik, 2011, 4).

As noted by Marjavaara et al. (2019), it is not controversial to argue that the Nordics and Sweden in particular has been, and still is, in a leader position when it comes to second home research. A major area of research in this field has been focusing on the various impacts of second home tourism, related to local economy, environment and socio-cultural aspects (Nordin & Marjavaara, 2012). Rye (2015) highlights that, in a rural perspective, the increase in second home mobility has brought demographical changes as larger groups of people live in second home intensive areas than what municipal statistics reveal. This increase of mobility to rural areas contributes to the heterogenization of the countryside where local economy is better adapted to respond to the growing needs of services demanded by the mobile community. Furthermore, new lifestyles are brought to light as a consequence of this new urban to rural mobility, which may stand in contrast with traditional interests and cause conflicts in the environment (Rye, 2015). Nordin & Marjavaara (2012) also emphasizes that a broad scope of previous research has stressed the negative socio-cultural impacts of second home tourism for the local society. One general belief is that second home owners lack the interest and will to become involved in local contexts, together with local people, in different kinds of associational forms. This is based on the view that second home owners first and foremost consider the destination to have a personal recreational value, rather than

emphasizing participation in the local community (Nordin & Marjavaara, 2012).

In a study on local engagement in associations of Swedish second home owners, however, Nordin & Marjavaara (2012) concludes that there is reason to reconsider this view, as a considerable amount (62%) of second home owners actually takes part in local associations. Moreover, time appears to be an important factor for local involvement. The second home owners that were active in local associations did also stay for longer periods of a year in the second home environment compared to their peers who did not participate as actively in local affairs (Nordin & Marjavaara, 2012). Thus, when being actively engaged, which requires a certain degree of local presence, the second home owners have the potential to build trustworthy and long-lasting relationships with permanent residents. This means that, according to Nordin & Marjavara (2012, p. 302), one can refer to these non-permanent groups as "semi-permanent, or non-local locals". Likewise, this limbo relationship of second home owners is also visible in tourist-intensive settings, where the second home owner is portrayed neither as a regular tourist nor a local resident (Müller et al. 2010).

Previous research on second home living in Sweden have also examined how second home owners relate to their rural living environment. In a survey study on second home owners in rural areas, Müller et al. (2010) notes how participation in local initiatives and events was found to be relatively low, in relation to association involvement. It is mainly at social events and parties that holiday home owners come to participate locally. Instead, an affective relationship to the rural destination can be seen in other factors, such as the expressed desire by a majority of the respondents that parts of the tax paid at the home destination should be redistributed to the rural second home municipality (Müller et al., 2010).

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the Swedish research on second homes mainly consider this housing phenomenon as a usage of a leisure home/ holiday home, suggesting a particular hierarchy between a more permanent living space and the recreational home. The usage of second homes is also considered as a form of tourism, as seen in the usage of the term second home tourism Marjavaara et al (2019). Owning a second home is in this context generally regarded as long-term commitment that can last for generations (Müller et al., 2010). Furthermore, second home residency in the countryside has previously also been closely linked to and interpreted as a kind of rural tourism. According to Rye (2015) this is due to the fact that this group of residents share consumption approaches and aesthetic values with the short-term tourists, rather than the everyday-oriented values of the permanent residents.

However, as witnessed by the conceptualization of the multi-house home (Arnesen et al. 2012), second home residents stand in contrast to pure tourists due to the practice of continuous revisits and relocation within the same area of living. Rye (2015) draws this perspective of announcing a certain degree of place attachment to second home tourists further, by exemplifying how second homes in many cases are inherited and used for generations within a family. Thus, the strengthened place attachment and emotional and social relationship with the place can be linked to having ownership and property rights in the environment.

However, despite the growing interest in multilocality, several scholars emphasize how the research field is still underdeveloped in a nordic context, especially in Sweden as most nordic studies focus on norwegian or finnish multilocal patterns (Di Marino, 2022; Willberg, 2021). There is a need for future research to explore how multilocal practitioners affect the environment, both positively and negatively, in the various places in terms of built environment and working oriented issues (Di Marino, 2022). Notably, this becomes relevant in a nordic context due to the likelihood that more people eventually will spend longer periods in recreational summer homes and cabins located in tourism-intense areas, thus becoming multilocal, as shown in the light of the pandemic (Di Marino, 2022).

2.3.3 Multilocality in the light of the COVID-19 pandemic

Although it was not long ago that the pandemic broke out in earnest in Europe in the spring of 2020, considerable research efforts have already described the effects of the pandemic in relation to mobility patterns. In accordance with Randall et al. (2022) it is first with the pandemic, due to its forced transition towards digital systems for work operations, that we see a general shift in perspectives regarding digitalisation and remote working. Even if technological systems of information and communication happened to be well-developed and highly functional prior to the pandemic, it is first when a majority of workers was badly compelled to engage online, when the intimate social process of knowledge production physically was no longer an option that the potential of remote working was made visible to the public (Randall et al., 2022).

Apart from the more expected mobility consequences of community lockdown (e.g decreased work commuting) scholars have also found how the pandemic triggered other, unforeseen mobilities. In a study on changing mobility patterns during the COVID-19 pandemic in Finland, Willberg (2021) notes how the conditions for multilocality were ideal in the country

when the virus hit Europe. As a sizable amount of the population had access to a second home refuge while also being encouraged to work remotely, the pandemic intensified urban to rural mobility. Willberg's (2021) example from Finland shows that the general level of mobily declined, while simultaneously, the urban mobility towards second home dense areas of the country rose significantly during the same period. Randall et al.'s (2022) findings further suggests that increased opportunities to work remotely was highlighted as the primary (or important) factor for temporary relocations in the study of local and regional communities in nordic countries. In a nordic context, however, Di Marino (2022) emphasizes how the pandemic impact on the possibilities of living multilocally has not been as crucial as in other parts of Europe. This is being linked to the fact that the Nordic countries have been further ahead in their view of flexible working patterns and the possibility of working from home, mainly in knowledge-intensive sectors and government agencies (Di Marino, 2022).

It is also being acknowledged, by Di Marino (2022), among others, how the interest in multilocality, as a fundamental social phenomenon underlying these mobility transitions, has gained interest during the time of pandemic. In accordance with Willberg (2021), the increase of urban to rural mobility reveals multilocality which, in the light of the pandemic, posed challenges for the receiving communities. Additionally, the pandemic effects on work life digitalization further emphasize the idea of having the possibility to work from anywhere, anyhow, anytime. One way of reflecting on this flexibility is that place becomes less important. However, Di Marino (2022, p.129) argues that, for the multilocal practitioner, "place still matter" as the physical conditions of the remote workplace, the location and the distances are important factors when people choose where to relocate.

Moreover, the increase in urban-rural mobility also demonstrates the need for more research on multilocality in the light of the pandemic (Willberg, 2021). As increased multilocality equals intensified, spontaneous and flexible mobility between places of living, Willberg (2021) states that the situation in Finland during the pandemic reveals how this unpredictability may cause serious concerns for the rural, often peripheral host society. In the pandemic context, it created problems for the management of crises, which relates to more than just handling the spread of the global virus, but also how infrastructures and municipal services should be planned and designed when the population of an area undergoes strong fluctuations.

2.3.4 Social implications of multilocality

Research efforts to strengthen the knowledge on social aspects and implications of living multilocally have mainly been conducted by scholars of the Central European, German-speaking research branch. Nadler (2016) emphasizes how previous research, oriented towards the social aspects, mainly have focused on mapping out the movement between the different places rather than studying the implications of multilocal lifeworlds and the multilocals attachment to multiple places. More recently, it is also being emphasized how today's multilocals comprise a broader category of people than previously presented in research (Di Marino, 2022). Di Marino (2022, p. 128) notes how, apart from the entrepreneur pioneers of remote working, the multilocals of today are "white-collar employees of organizations from both the private and public sectors and from different age groups and varied industries (for example, business and information and communication, marketing and communication, research, and education)". A noticeable growth in mobile workspaces such as coworking cafés and hubs indicates that the group of multilocals is not only becoming more heterogeneous, but also larger in number (Di Marino, 2022).

Time is being attributed as an important factor when building a social life in a new place as a multilocal practitioner. In a study on transnational multilocality in central europe, Nadler (2016) portrays a situation where the multilocals tend to exhibit a sort of "humbleness" when relocating to a new place. This is seen in a tendency of applying an observational role, initially covering up for personal characteristics, in order to understand local mentalities and contexts (Nadler, 2016). At a later point, however, these characteristics are allowed to come to light. Nadler (2016) means that the processes of local relationship building are launched, often fuelled by having a physical workplace as place for networking or when investing in property. Moreover, in Nadler's (2016) study on workers in the creative knowledge industry, it is being clear that the multilocals appropriates the new places, by balancing between maintaining their own identity while also incorporating local customs, teachings and traditions into their lives. Not every element of the local culture goes in line with their own beliefs.

The inevitable multilocal state of being sometimes present and sometimes absent is highlighted in the works of Greinke et al. (2022), examining the social effects of multilocality in rural Germany. Regardless of the fact that it is possible for the multilocal to be engaged in local activities and life in multiple places, Greinke et al. (2022) underlines how the time-

bound presence in a place aggravates regular, active involvement in local associations and clubs. As such social contexts are based on regular participation, the multilocal risks moving quickly from being actively engaged to losing interest if not keeping up with the current local events and affairs. However, Greinke et al. (2022) further clarifies that from the multilocal's perspective, there are also benefits making up for the unfavorable conditions of absence and presence. When living in multiple places, it is possible to combine the amenities of the places and to live an everyday life including a rich palette of activities. Nevertheless, there is potential for improvement in the integration of multilocals in local communities. In order to streamline the local involvement of multilocals, services and social contexts for interaction needs to be better tailored with formats suitable for the highly flexible group (Greinke et al., 2022). The ambiguous positioning of people living in more than one place is further highlighted by Schier et al. (2015). For locals it may appear as multilocals sometimes are present and at other times absent, however in reality, practitioners of such pluralistic living arrangements should rather be seen as here, there and in-between in a continuous web of movements between stages of stability and movement. An important aspect of the multilocal life is therefore to manage when to be present and absent, and to respond to the external expectations of presence that exist in each place (Schier et al., 2015).

In relation to Arnesen et al.'s (2012) thinking of the multi house home, Greinke et al. (2022, p. 72) discusses the development of a sense of home among multilocals by distinguishing the experience of "feeling at home" and "the sense of home in the secondary residence". In this German rural context, the attachment to the place and the sense of home in the residence was low among the multilocals, illustrating a hierarchy between the different residences within the multi-home. According to Greinke et al. (2022), such conditions reduces the likelihood of local involvement by the multilocals. However, the mere experience of feeling at home in the multiple places appeared to be strong among the surveyed. It is also being emphasized within research on multilocal practitioners that objects and materialities have a significance in order to enforce the feeling of an everyday life in a new place. Nadler (2016) notes how storing personal items and gadgets for recreational and work-related purposes contributes to giving the life in the place the nature of everyday life.

2.3.5 The impact of multilocals on local community

Previous research demonstrates that the recent increase of multilocality reveals local challenges that further raise appropriate questions about the future development and planning

in peripheral communities. In demography and public administration, multilocal flows tend to fall between the cracks. Willberg (2021) highlights how multilocality visualizes vulnerabilities in how current political bodies' decision making is based on data and information which assumes that people de facto live in one place. As the administrational division does not take into account the multilocals, crises, such as the pandemic, can cause unexpected influxes of large amounts of people to second-home and multilocal-intense areas. This becomes problematic, not only for emergency planning in otherwise sparsely populated areas, but also in the longer term to cover the need for social services and infrastructure. Di Marino (2022) goes even further, meaning that absence of multilocals in the demographic statistics means that local decision makers and planners face a difficult situation in times when multilocality is on the rise. It becomes a dilemma to cater for the needs and demands of both the local all year-round population and the multilocal group, who, to a large extent, relocates with irregularity. In this situation, decision makers and planners are one step behind as the irregularity and current statistical methods makes it hard to map the real output of multilocal trends. Thus, in order to get up to speed with the intensive mobility, Di Marino (2022) stress a need to reevaluate the perspective on places and cities, from a sedentary divisionary approach towards a perception of regions and cities as part of flexible networks.

Furthermore, the multilocal, mobile-intensive lifestyle also reveals issues concerning ecology and environment. Greinke et al. (2022) demonstrates the need for further discussion on the ecological impact of multicality as the living phenomenon implies intense traveling and extensive consumption of land area. In the nordic second home context, research has also witnessed a trend break towards emphasizing convenience and a higher standard of living. The former simplistic and leisure-oriented cottage is nowadays being replaced and refurbished into a multifunctional dwelling, with the possibility of all year-living (Vittersö, 2007; Xue, 2020). Xue (2020) views this development as a paradox, as the aspiration to incorporate a more natural life is dependent on the need for modern means for transport and home equipment systems.

Ultimately, this in-detail presentation of the applied concept of multilocality and previous empirical findings shows that, although research on multilocality is growing, there are still many questions concerning multilocal lifeworlds and social implications of living in more than one place that remains unanswered. This is particulary true in a Swedish context, where the ethnographic contributions highlighting the background, whereabouts and motives of

multilocal practicioners and their lifeworlds are sparse. In accordance with Danielzyk (2021), this study of multilocality in the area of Åre intends to contribute to new knowledge about these mobile groups in a previously unexplored geographical context. As contemporary scholars emphasize how multilocality is actualised in the light of the pandemic, the case of Åre simultaneously becomes a case for contributing to the understanding of how the pandemic and its effects have affected people's ability and motivation to be multilocal. Moreover, this knowledge review shows that there is a lot of research on the role and position of non-local residents in a Swedish rural second home tourism context. This however, mainly concerns non-local residents with seasonal, recreational purposes in rural areas. Since multilocality is characterised by a higher degree of flexibility and emphasizes everyday life in several places, the study can contribute to a new understanding of how multilocal practicioners stand in relation to how other non-resident groups have traditionally been portrayed.

3. Methodology

As the aim of this study is to contribute to the understanding of the social phenomena of multilocality, by exploring how multilocal lifeworlds unfold in a yet undiscovered geographical context, a methodological approach focusing on emotional and subjective expressions appears to be favorable. Thus, in essence, this study takes its methodological starting point from a hermeneutic, qualitative research tradition holding the interpretation and understanding of the empirical material as fundamental pieces (Gustavsson, 2004). In addition, this chapter also includes reflections and discussions on the study's ethical approach and subjective positioning, a review of the fieldwork, and accounts of the collection and processing of the qualitative data.

3.1 A hermeneutic theoretical starting point

To grasp the multilocal lifeworlds, and the participating individuals' experiences of living in more than one place, an interpretative approach is needed. In accordance with Gustavsson (2004, p. 13), gaining knowledge through interpretation is the key when aiming to understand the inner feelings and meanings of individuals' existences. This leads to a hermeneutic approach to the study of multilocality in the case of the Åre area.

Additionally, in order to gain insights about the social reality, in this case of multilocal people, Dalen (2021, p. 15) notes how the concept of *lifeworlds* is a commonly used approach in qualitative research. Lifeworlds embraces the understanding of everyday life, and its approaches and experiences, as seen in Hilti's (2016) study on multilocal lifeworlds. Originating from modern phenomenology and the German philosopher Husserl, applying lifeworlds to the qualitative approach becomes a constructive tool as it adds the dimension of understanding the individual's experience. (Dalen 2021, p. 15).

Another key element of the interpretive hermeneutic qualitative approach is the idea of the *hermeneutic circle,* the thinking of entirety and parts. The hermeneutic circle of knowledge production is often presented figuratively as a spider's web, where the overall comprehension only becomes available after parts and entirety are tested every other time (Nyström, 2021). This goes in line with the interpretative process taking part in the production of this study. Before collecting empirical data by performing interviews, the first part of the interpretative process has been permeated by explorations of previous research on multilocality. Later, this preliminary part has been joined with an entire set of empirical data, which at a later stage,

once again has been linked to new explorations of existing knowledge. Ultimately, the emphasis has been on understanding the various parts and aspects that emerge in the empirical data collected, in order to finally be able to present an interpretation of the entire material. As seen in this process as well as in hermeneutics, interpretation does not stand alone, but interacts intricately with other knowledge-generating and progressive elements. In accordance with Ödman (2004), understanding, pre-understanding and explanation also form the basis of the hermeneutic knowledge production. *Understanding* may at the first glimpse appear as a vague concept because of its everyday use in language. In a hermeneutic sense, however, understanding is about profoundness, as it is able to shape and affect the individual on existential terms (Ödman, 2004, p.74).

Moreover, the fact that an individual or researcher, when interpreting societal phenomena, never starts the journey towards understanding from a blank page or a neutral position, is reflected in the moment of *pre-understanding.* In this study, the *pre-understanding* is reflected in the previous experiences and knowledge, which affects how new understanding is shaped, in accordance with Ödman (2004, p.75). The process of interpretation is guided by the targeted preconceptions that are essential for being able to develop understanding. Lastly, *explanation,* often linked to the french philosopher Paul Ricoeur, stands in a close relationship to understanding. There is a need to explain the objects or aspects interpreted, and to explain, an initial understanding is required. Nyström (2021) also highlights how further explanations, in accordance with Ricoeur, are essential to disclose more of an interpreted text than what seems to be evident at the very first glimpse.

3.2 A subjective positioning and ethical considerations

It is important to acknowledge that, in all aspects, subjectivity surrounds this study given the use of a qualitative hermeneutic approach based on interpretations of the world. Complete objectivity is not compatible with social science research (Valentine, 2013, p. 112). Gustavsson (2004) reflects on the advantages and disadvantages of the hermeneutic approach as it gives rise to unique interpretations. Choosing the qualitative approach enables flexibility and freedom to use different methodological tools, such as interviews or observations, for empirical explorations. However, as the individual researcher always comes with a unique pre-understanding, it is also likely that the interpretation and explanation of the empirical material becomes personal. Another researcher would most likely approach the interpretation from a different perspective, which gives birth to other, non-identical findings (Gustavsson,

2004). Hence, in this case, it is important to note that the empirical material is being understood and interpreted followed by one individual and subjective assessment process.

Thus, it becomes highly relevant to reflect on the subjective positioning surrounding this study. Valentine (2013) highlights how the identity of the researcher affects and forms the relations and meetings that occur when undertaking qualitative studies based on social interactions, such as interviews or focus groups. For the interviewer, it can therefore appear easier to engage with informants that share the same interests, background or other experiences. This can also be reflected in the different meetings with multilocal people based in Åre, where some of the respondents had many commonalities with me (being the same age and sharing an urban background) which contributed to a common understanding on many issues. Personally, even if the differences regarding ages, profession, habitat and background in some cases were bigger between the informant and me in the role of being a researcher, it should not be seen as a considerable gap causing consequences for how these conversations developed. Rather, the importance of making detailed preparations beforehand and to quickly adapt to the specific situation should be stressed. Such preparedness contributed to making every conversation fluent and interesting also for the interviewee.

Furthermore, it is noted by Valentine (2013, p. 113) how "you may find it easier to build a rapport with your research participants and conduct interviews if your project is linked to your own interests…". Here, it should be noted that even if I am not occupying a multilocal lifestyle, I carry my own experiences of living in different places, for longer periods or shorter, both during my childhood and adult life. It is therefore likely that I have a different pre-understanding in relation to multilocality and multilocal lifeworlds than what would have been the case if I had lived a more sedentary-oriented life, based from one house and one place, up until the preparation of this study. In accordance with Dalen (2021), such pre-understandings can influence the conversation with informants and contribute to the production of the empirical material. Thus, bringing preconceptions in the fashion of facilitating contributions to the understanding of the informants' statements is prioritized.

Importantly, Dowling (2016) brings up the aspect of power, as power relations always surrounds qualitative social research in various ways. This stems from the general conception that knowledge is power, and that the way research describes various social phenomena, or for that matter lifeworlds, can influence the way the common man will perceive these practices in the future (Dowling, 2016). This is a fact that cannot be ignored: "Power can not

be eliminated from research since it exists in all social relations." (Dowling, 2016, p.36). In this study, the power relations between the informants and the researcher should be considered reciprocal. This reciprocal relation is due to the fact that the differences in social position are low, neither the undersigned nor the informants are in a position of dependency, which could affect the production of the research material. In accordance with Dowling (2016), the power relations can also be seen as reciprocal due to the fact that there are no significant differences in the utility of taking part in the study. The informants have nothing to gain in terms of economical aspects or social empowerment, more than finding the issue of multilocality interesting from their personal point of view.

Although there are no directly apparent risks or costs of participation, it is still of great importance to consider the ethics of undertaking qualitative studies using the interview as a methodological tool. Dalen (2021) highlights three research ethics criteria that have been applied when interacting with the informants of this study. First, the participation is based on voluntary consent. The participants have not received any external pressure when choosing to take part in the study. Secondly, the respondents have been informed about the consent (Dalen, 2021). In advertising material and before formally beginning every interview, the purpose of the study and the interview has been thoroughly addressed, also allowing the participants to ask questions beforehand. Lastly, the work has been guided by confidentiality requirements (Dalen, 2021). The informants have been asked for permission to record the interview, thereafter followed by a clear statement that no material will be disclosed to third parties or that anyone's personal data will be revealed. Dalen (2021) notes the importance of anonymity when presenting the final empirical findings and due to the area of Åre being relatively delimited and sparsely populated, the decision to anonymise not only the respondents names but also other eventually sensitive personal data that may appear in certain quotes was made early on in the process. This anonymisation is motivated by the risk of otherwise stigmatizing the interviewees, as the interviews cover questions that focus on their personal opinions about local phenomena where conflict of interests are common, such as local community development or tourism. Thus, in this final product, the respondent's real names are replaced with fictitious ones, in order to avoid potentially exposing the originators of various disagreements.

3.3 Research design

To capture the spirit of multilocality, in terms of being located in different places at different times, the design of this research is being marked by a mixed use of ethnographic research in the area of Åre, combined with semi-structured interviews performed remotely, by telephone or by the use of digital meeting softwares.

3.3.1 Ethnographic fieldwork

In the beginning of April 2022, one week of ethnographic fieldwork was carried out in the Åre area. During the week out on the field, visits were made to the different villages and areas within the Åre area where the respondents live, or where potential multilocals could live. Mainly, this fieldwork served two purposes; one important aspect was to gain knowledge and understanding about the different places of examination, but the visit to the Åre area also became an opportunity to spread the word about the study, as the period of conducting interviews was still ongoing. It later turned out, however, that the majority of the interviews had already been conducted remotely.

The ethnographic fieldwork material is based on casual data collection, in the form of observations, field diary notes and more informal types of conversations, rather than formal interviews with local inhabitants. In accordance with Rodenstedt (2014), observations of places can be an asset to better understand the social customs and behaviors in the area of study. The casual character of the fieldwork is reflected in two a priori unplanned observations that were conducted during the week spent in the Åre area. When speaking about the project and the intended data collection with the host at one of the hostels I stayed at during the week, I received an invitation to a workshop on the subject of community development, held by the steering group of the *economical association for Södra Årefjällen* (Swedish: Södra Årefjällen ekonomisk förening) later that day. This became a possibility to spread the word about the study to people living locally, but also a chance to discuss the issues of community development through the lens of multilocality. Ultimately, this material was chosen not to be included in the collected empirical material after a judgment that the participants in the meeting did not, sufficiently enough, meet the criteria for multilocality that I have chosen to use to recruit respondents. The idea of the other observational visit arose after identifying that the *House Be coworking office* (explained in further detail in chapter 4) was mentioned by several respondents as an important place for social interaction in many of

the interviews conducted prior to the visit to the Åre area. Thus, as it seemed reasonable that a visit to the coworking facilities could attract more people meeting the desired criterias, I contacted House Be and was offered to come to one of their regular Friday breakfasts for networking. During my visit to House Be, the purpose of the study and the aim of my visit to the Åre area was presented to a group of people during a round of presentations. This was later followed by casual conversations with the attendees. Observations and opinions from these conversations were later written down in the field diary, and are thus also part of the empirical data as a complement to the interviews.

3.3.2 Participation criterias and the recruitment of respondents

Taking into account this study's emphasis on exploring multilocal lifeworlds and social implications of multilocality in a new geographical context, the selection of interviewees has been based on specific criterias. In accordance with Stratford & Bradshaw (2016, p. 124), "criterion sampling involves selecting all cases that meet some criterion", in this case being multilocal in the Åre area. First of all, the most essential criterion that needed to be fulfilled was that the respective participant lives a life that goes in line with what Danielzyk et al. (2021) defines as possible multilocal categories. This implies that all respondents have a home or live regularly in at least one additional place in their everyday lives. Secondly, the respondents needed to live somewhere in the Åre area at some point, or for some period of time, during the pandemic period. Thirdly, a selection criterion has also been that respondents should spend time in the area beyond their holiday weeks, but this does not exclude being in the area only on weekends or in other free time. However, as it is part of the purpose of the study to investigate the pandemic effects on multilocality in the Åre area, it has not been a criterion that all respondents have moved to Åre during the pandemic. This is reflected in that 8 out of 18 respondents was established as multilocals before the spring of 2020. In addition, no particular weight has been given to the respondents' backgrounds in terms of previous places of residence, occupation, gender or level of education. This has been chosen deliberately, as gaining knowledge about who is multilocal in the Åre area is related to this explorative study's research question concerning the manifestation of multilocal lifeworlds. Excluding some multilocals because of their previous background or occupation would have been biased.

The criterias of living multilocally partly based somewhere in the Åre area during some point

of the pandemic has been explicitly described in advertising and marketing targeted towards potential interviewees. A combined information and marketing material about the study was initially distributed in various local Facebook groups. Personally, the use of Facebook to reach out to people has been implemented with great success when undertaking ethnographic research projects in previous academic studies. Also, given the universal and widespread use of this social media platform today, there are no reasons to believe that recruiting participants in this fashion gives rise to any suspicion of bias or certain tendencies. The prepared information and marketing text went out to the following Facebook groups related to the Åre area:

Group name	Description	Number of members[3]
Boende i Åre	Used to search for housing, rent housing and ask questions about housing in Åre.	20, 200
Boende och bytes i Undersåker/Hålland/Åre	Used to search for housing and to rent out housing in Åre, Undersåker and Hålland.	3, 300
Det här händer i Åre	Used for information about events, news and happenings in the village of Åre.	6, 200
Duved tycker om dig	For people living, visiting or that is interested in Duved.	3, 300
Edsåsdalens vänner	A group for everyone living, visiting, working, creating or longing for Edsåsdalen.	3, 200
Järpen	For people born and raised in Järpen, and people that have moved to Järpen in later years.	2, 000
Näringslivsutvecklingen i Åre kommun	Used to tell news about business development in the municipality of Åre.	8,100
Ottsjö Så klart	For everyone who likes Ottsjö.	3, 100

Figure 1: The Facebook groups used for advertising

Additionally, posters were distributed and set up in a number of locations visited during the field visit in the Åre area. Apart from setting up posters in different places in central Åre,

---

[3] As of 1 november 2022.

information about the study was also distributed physically in Duved, Mörsil, Järpen, Edsåsdalen, Ottsjö, Undersåker and Vålådalen. In the end, reaching out to multilocal people by posting in Facebook groups was indeed more successful, as 15 of the respondents became connected to the study this way. Through personal contacts, two additional potential individuals that matched the multilocal criterias were contacted, although only one of these replied and participated in an interview. Of the remaining two respondents, one was linked to the study by the use of the *Snowball method*, as one participant came up with a recommendation of another person that would be suitable to interview. The last person included in the study became interested and reached out after having a conversation during the observational visit to the House Be coworking space. Moreover, it should be stressed that a number of planned interviews got canceled, due to mutual problems of finding a suitable time, whilst later in the process I also decided that the 18 interviews already conducted constituted a sufficient empirical material in relation to the scope of the study. The absentees include people I came in contact with during the field trip, people who reached out through Facebook, as well as people in the Åre area who ran across my posted leaflets. It is difficult to evaluate if certain aspects were left out due to the failure of conducting these potential interviews, as the amount of information about any respondents that I received before the interviews in most cases were sparse. Many respondents replied with no more information than that they found the study interesting and that the description based on the selected criteria was indicative of their personal life situation.

The total group of 18 participants contains a variety of people from different generations, having mixed backgrounds, professions and various previous connections to the Åre area. Thus, the participants have been categorized, and further subcategorized into different subgroups to facilitate the understanding of each individual's situation. First, the individuals have been divided according to their length of residency in the Åre area. Participants living in the area part-time prior to the pandemic, *The established multilocals*, consists of eight persons. They have thereafter been subdivided into three different subgroups according to their main purposes of establishing a multilocal life in the Åre area:

- *Skiers and nature enthusiasts* (three people with amenity reasons)
- *Linkages to Jämtland* (two people with family and kinship reasons)
- *Occupation related* (three people with work or study reasons)

The remaining group of ten participants are first categorized as *pandemic fortune seekers*, due to the fact that they established their respective multilocal lives in the area after the pandemic hit during the spring of 2020. These multilocal settlers are further sub grouped into four categories based on their different motives and backgrounds:

- *Remote working skiers* (four young skiing interested men)
- *Remote workers fleeing the city* (two young women interested in nature and the mountain environment)
- *Seniors with amenity reasons* (two soon-to-be retirees with an interest in skiing and nature)
- *Nomadic lifestyles* (two people regularly moving to new places).

Importantly, distinguishing different categories within the total group of multilocal respondents in this manner should be seen and understood as multilocal ideal types in the case of the Åre area, rather than being a perfect description of reality. Originating from the German sociologist Max Weber, ideal types can be used as a guidance when trying to measure and compare reality with social science concepts and phenomena (Jansson Boström, 2020). In accordance with Jansson Boström (2020), ideal types should not be considered as ideals to be pursued, but rather as a construction that emphasizes certain aspects. Thus, the chosen categorization into the different subgroups is influenced by previous research attempts to categorize multilocal characteristics (See Danielzyk, 2021), but also a product of the chosen criterion sampling. Anomalies and dynamics are to be found within each of the groups. In the empirical chapter, *figure 2* provides further information and a brief background of the 18 participants.

3.3.3 Semi-structured interviews

The fundamental empirical data of this study consists of 18 semi-structured interviews with people living multilocally based in the Åre area. All of the interviews were conducted remotely, either by telephone or through the use of digital meeting services. Given that the conversations during the interviews departed from prepared questions and themes, although the respondents were given space to develop their thoughts and descriptions of their multilocal life in Åre, the used interview format is best described as semi-structured. As noted by Wide & Hakeberg (2021), using interviews in qualitative research should be seen as a handicraft, rather than a formalized method, as there is a recurring need to make adaptations

depending on the specific situation that occurs in every unique interview setting. Thus, despite having a prepared interview guide highlighting the most important topics and themes, there has also been some room for spontaneity and flexibility in each interview situation. Questions have not always been asked in the exact same way or in a predetermined order, as adjustments have been made according to a sense of the direction in which it is appropriate to take the conversation forward. Following the words of Dunn (2016, p.158) "The semi-structured is organized around ordered but flexible questioning."

To create understanding of the multilocal lifeworlds of the Åre area, conducting interviews emerged early in the preparation of the study as a preferable methodological tool. Nyström (2021) emphasizes the importance of an open-minded approach to interviews in lifeworld studies, as questions asked should encourage respondents to reflect and ponder about the phenomena in focus. Thus, focus is on curious discussion rather than firm questioning (Valentine, 2013). Since it has been an explicit objective to understand the multilocal lifeworlds and the potential benefits and disadvantages of such an everyday life, it has been a conscious choice to ask many open questions so that the respondents themselves can reflect and speak freely from the heart without any fear of providing the wrong answer. Additionally, the choice of asking open and broad questions has also been beneficial and thought-provoking in the later stages of interpreting the collected empirical data. The open-ended questions reveal a wide range of perspectives and aspects that respondents use to explain their different viewpoints, which has helped to create an understanding of the different approaches within the multilocal group.

In the light of hermeneutics, this type of linguistic interpretation is important for creating and disseminating understanding about phenomena and contexts. All respondents make their own interpretations of the questions they are being asked, which is reflected in how the empirical data reveals various aspects and scales depending on the specific question. The choice to not give the respondents more information than necessary to be able to respond to the question based on their own interpretation has therefore been a conscious choice in the work. This can for example be seen in the open questions concerning whether the respondents identify as residents of Åre (or other localities). Instead of presenting a common understanding of interpretation, by describing my definition of what constitutes a resident of Åre, such questions have been presented without further clarification. In this way, it has been possible to create a further understanding about what the respondents consider to be important when it

comes to being a resident, rather than ensuring if the respondents feel like residents or not. This type of open questioning opens up reflection, which makes it easier to recognise other trends and approaches of importance in the later stages of analysis.

3.3.4 Analysis of data

By conducting interviews and visiting the Åre area, this study's fieldwork has resulted in an extensive empirical material for further interpretation and analysis. Gustavsson (2004, p. 14) notes that qualitative research is by no means about free speech. Instead, the quality and plausibility of interpretations constitute assessment criterias, based on the chosen qualitative method. This is particularly important in hermeneutics, as the practice of interpreting other people's thoughts and opinions can be seen as a kind of theft, albeit an acceptable one, as long as we do not deliberately misinterpret (Gustavsson, 2004).

Following interviews and fieldwork, the first step in the analysis of data has been to transcribe all interview recordings into written text. Thereafter, as noted by Dalen (2021), the time consuming but interesting phase of processing the material could eventually begin. The process of coding and categorization has first of all been based on the different fundamental themes and aspects that this study aims to answer. For example, factual information or the respondents developed arguments about the effects of the pandemic on multilocality have been linked together. Subsequently, a deeper analysis of each main theme has been carried out, in order to find common features in the respondents' answers, as well as to find nuances or deviations. Sections of the transcription text being of an irrelevant nature, where the respondent deviates from the topic or flies away in his/her thoughts have been screened out. This also concerns duplicates or sections bridging over several different themes. In these cases, editing and interpretation based on my personal preunderstanding, have been crucial aspects in the coding process.

The argumentation in the empirical chapters in this final version of the study is thus based on extensive textual processing by interpretation of the transcribed material. It should also be noted that the quotations, which are the only parts of the transcription material to be included in the final version, have been translated from Swedish to English. There might therefore be reason to make reservations for possible loss of linguistic meanings that emerge after translation of the original Swedish transcriptions.

3.3.5 Reflections

Lastly, some short reflections regarding the process of conducting this study are as follows. It should be noted that applying the research mode of semi-structured interviews and ethnographic fieldwork is influenced by previously good results and experiences of using such methods in other student essays. The fieldwork and interview phase took place in March and April 2022 and also this time the process progressed smoothly. As mentioned, the use of Facebook to reach out to potential respondents proved to be an effective tool also for this subject. Although it cannot be argued that there are any tendentious features amongst the respondents who came in contact with the study this way as the use of Facebook is widespread, there are still some important aspects to consider. Letting the interviewees contact me, rather than the other way around, may risk the potential of amplifying certain voices and people. Not everyone is keen on answering a post on Facebook, even if personally experiencing that they fit the description. On the other hand, doing it this way around may have the benefit that the researcher does not need to question himself for choosing certain respondents. As seen, the respondents of this study are for the mostpart people that themselves has chosen to participate. Also, as many of these Facebook groups receive a large number of new posts per day, it is not certain that everyone who has been interested has actually seen the advertisements. Thus, it should be emphasized that the respondents have been recruited by timing, chance and personal interest.

The choice of performing the interviews remotely was early on in the process seen as a prerequisite. Not only due to the fact that I do not live close to the area of examination, but also since the multilocal respondents, of natural reasons, are not always in the Åre area either. In general, interviewing remotely over such a long distance has been working fine. After experiencing two years of pandemic, both me and the respondents are familiar with digital meetings, although it should be stressed that certain aspects and expressions may be left out when communicating on a distance. Indeed, it is difficult to create the same presence and intensity in an interview context when gestures, body language and faces are not visible to the same extent as when you meet physically. In addition, not all interviews have been performed through video calls as some respondents were not able to have their camera on. In these conversations, the mutual interaction that comes from different emphases and facial expressions is further complicated.

The work process for this study has been in progress more or less actively for 11 months. It is

possible to recognize both positive and negative aspects of a prolonged period of work. One way of seeing it is that, during periods of not spending much time and therefore not progressing very fast, the understanding och interpretative process has been suffering. This has meant that the take-off time to get started again has also been long as it has been a requirement to reacquaint with the subject and previous knowledge. However, throughout the whole process, the study has always remained deep in the mind, which has evoked new ideas and impressions on the way, thus contributing to forming a solid base of understanding.

4. The Åre area – historical background and geographical setting

In this study, the practice of multilocality is being explored departing from the mountainous Åre area in Jämtland county, Sweden. It is important to note, however, that *the Åre area* is not an established term in demographical or administrative statistics, although here being used collectively to designate the various multilocal places of settlement within the municipality of Åre (*Åre kommun*). A first geographical demarcation, both regarding where the multilocals live and the places that have been visited during the fieldwork, is thus derived from the fact that all sites are within the municipality's borders. As the study does not cover all areas of the municipality nor all its major villages and settlements, the term *the Åre area* includes exclusively in this study three of the six total sub areas within the municipality. That is, *Åredalen/Undersåker*, *Södra Årefjällen* and *Järpen/Mörsil/Mattmar.*
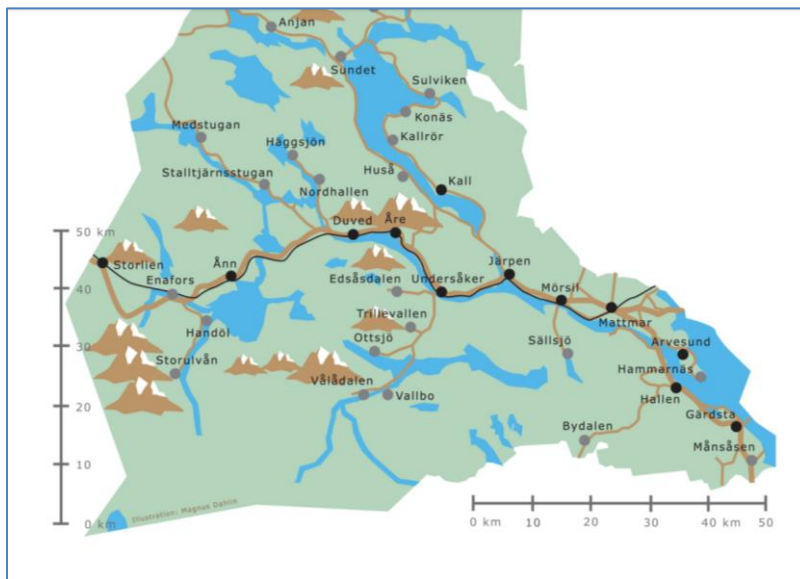
Figure 2: The municipality of Åre. (Åre kommun, 2022)

The Åre area located in Jämtland county is positioned in what could be considered as the heart of the Swedish mountainous rurality. Of all 21 Swedish counties, the percentage of people living in localities was the second lowest (72%) in Jämtland county in 2020 (SCB, 2022), while this degree is even lower in Åre municipality at 63,4% (SCB, 2022).

Inevitably, the rise of the modern Åre is largely influenced by the development of the railway, still visible today as a considerable number of visitors travel to and from the area on rails (Skålen, 2011). In a historical perspective, the establishment of the railway in these

westernous parts of Jämtland in the late 19th century should be regarded as the first step towards the tourism development and exploitation that has characterized the area ever since (Edsåsdalen, 2022). Initially, the upper-class attraction for Åre and other parts of western Jämtland was mainly about hunting, fishing and recreation in the fresh mountain summer air, rather than winter activities (Edsåsdalen, 2022). These western parts of Jämtland, including Åre, early had a pole position among the wealthy few who had the opportunity of mountain tourism, due to the efficient railway connections. However, the transformative Swedish holiday reforms in 1938 came to expose Åre to competition, seen in an increased boom for tourism in other mountain environments in Sweden coming from broader social strata (Skålen, 2011).

Bordering Norway, the municipality of Åre has roughly 12, 000 permanent inhabitants (Åre kommun, 2022) as of today. The demographic development, when looking both at the whole municipality and the Åre area, highlights considerable local contrasts. Although Åredalen/Undersåker has witnessed strong population growth, other parts of the municipality are characterised by increasing ageing and negative population trends over time (Översiktplan, Åre kommun, 2017). At the same time as pressure and demand for tourist-intensive environments is increasing, rural areas are tending to become even more sparsely populated.

4.1 Åredalen/Undersåker

Historically being a settlement dominated by agriculture, the valley of Åre (*Åredalen*) constitutes the center for the railway influenced tourism exploitation focused around the mountain of Åre (*Åreskutan*) and its various opportunities for sports and outdoor activities. Initially being a summer health resort, the opening of the first Swedish ski lift in Åre the year 1940 can be seen as a definite milestone in Åre's modern history, marking the transition from being a summer tourist destination to becoming a winter sports mecca (Skålen, 2011). Furthermore, the state decision to designate the destination of Åre as a national pilot project area for recreation during the 1970's can be seen as contributing to the emergence of the extensive ski resorts found today in what is known as the Åre Mountains (*Årefjällen*) (Skålen, 2011). In similarity to the overall socioeconomic development in Sweden during the 1980s and 1990s, the real estate bubble of the early 1990s eventually became the fall of the previous steady growth in Åre. As a consequence, a number of local firms and businesses had to

declare bankruptcy. Today's owner of the ski resort, Skistar, bought the facilities at the turn of the millennium and is part of the transition towards reorienting the agenda to promote and plan for tourism in both summer and winter. Thus, growth in terms of tourism development and an increasingly bigger population can mainly be linked to Åredalen, although Undersåker has experienced a similar development in recent years (Översiktsplan, Åre kommun, 2017). In terms of sales, the aggregated Årefjällen destination is of today the second biggest ski resort in the country, only inferior to Sälenfjällen (SLAO, Branschrapport, 2022).

4.1.1 Åre by

Not only being a central figure in terms of touristic activity or permanent population, the village of Åre (Åre by) is also home to the majority (11 of 18) of the multilocal respondents of the study. Located at the foot of the mountain of Åre (Åreskutan), the village of Åre is the focal point and center of destination tourism in the area. Here, there is a wide range of restaurants, cafés, bars, hotels and shops, in close proximity to the train station. Additionally, the coworking center *House Be* is located in central Åre, approximately a fifteen minutes walk from the train station. The coworking space is described as a "gathering place, to share ideas, network, do business and get inspiration and help to take your company to the next level", following the device "work, play, be" (House Be, 2022). House Be offers different memberships for professionals, ranging from 295 SEK to 3995 SEK, along with overnight accommodation deals.

4.1.2 Undersåker

Located circa 15 km southeast of central Åre along the highway following the river *Indalsälven*, Undersåker is home to one of the multilocal respondents. In contrast to Åre, Undersåker is not directly connected to any ski resort system. This small community had 650 residents in 2020 and offers basic community services in the form of a preschool, elementary school and a small grocery store. (SCB, 2020)

4.1.3 Duved

A mile to the west of Åre village, in the direction towards Norway, lies Duved which shares a ski system with central Åre. In relation to neighboring Åre's expansion, Duved did also undergo development during the mid 20th century (Skålen, 2011). Apart from touristic developments, ski slopes, hotels and a padel hall, Duved is characterized by a all year living

society and is home to two of the multilocal respondents. Local service in terms of an elementary school, restaurants and a grocery store are the main amenities. Duved and its surrounding settlements have increased in population during later years and are soon to reach 2000 inhabitants (Duvedmodellen, 2022).

4.1.4 Tegefjäll

Additionally, one of the multilocal respondents lives in Tegefjäll. Positioned between Åre village and Duved, this area is to be considered an incorporated holiday village in the complete mountain area rather than a formal locality due to a high number of seasonal residents. Tegefjäll has a strong connection to mountain activities and shares a ski lift system with Duved.

4.2 Södra Årefjällen

Located south of central Åre, Södra Årefjällen are characterized by both common features and differences in relation to the main town of Åre. Covered by great amounts of reindeer herding mountains and protected areas, Södra Årefjällen is sparsely populated and often considered as smaller and quieter in comparison with the more tourism intensive environment of Åredalen (Åre kommun, 2017). However, ski enthusiasts find pleasure here too, as there are a number of smaller ski systems in the area's mountain environment, along with facilities for nature tourism, hiking and cross-country skiing (Åre kommun, 2017).

4.2.1 Edsåsdalen

One of the old rural mountainous villages in the sparsely populated lands south of Indalsälven is Edsåsdalen, about one mile south west of Undersåker. For tourists there are good opportunities for both alpine and cross-country skiing in the area and in the community, there are accommodation facilities in the form of hotels, hostels and cottages. Edsåsdalen is described as a "genuine mountain village, with less congestion" (Edsåsdalen.se, 2022). In similarity with Duved, the tourism in Edsåsdalen emerged during the early 20th century and is now considered as an all year destination. One of the multilocal respondents is based in Edsåsdalen. The resident population is nevertheless small, only consisting of 80 people (CSB, 2022).

4.2.2 Ottsjö

Circa two miles further south from Edsåsdalen lies the locality of Ottsjö. This is also a small

locality, having 116 registered residents in 2020 (SCB, 2022). Positioned between the mountains *Ottfjället* and *Hållfjället*, Ottsjö is notably associated with mountain fishing, as the lake *Ottsjön* offers good opportunities to catch char and trout. The small grocery store, a micro brewery and a hotel constitute Ottsjö's main facilities. Ottsjö is home to one of the multilocal practitioners.

4.3 Järpen - Mörsil - Mattmar

The last subarea is located to the east of central Åre and is in this study represented by one of the respondents living in Järpen. Historically, this area has been characterized by industrial activities and forestry and cannot be attributed to the long-standing expansion of tourism that can be seen in other parts of the study area. The localities Järpen and Mörsil lie strategically along the motorway and railway (Åre kommun, 2017).

4.3.1 Järpen

The administrative center of Åre municipality is located in Järpen, the second biggest locality in the municipality with around 1,600 inhabitants. Here are the municipal buildings and associated public services found, along with facilities such as grocery stores, restaurants, a cinema, systembolag and a sports hall. In similarity with other places in the area, Järpen offers good possibilities for outdoor recreation, notably cross-country skiing, as many successful Swedish cross-country skiers have attended the local high school. Tourism developments, however, are sparse here.

5. Empirical findings

This empirical chapter is divided into four sections. By introducing the multilocal respondents and their various backgrounds and motives for ending up in the Åre area, the first section provides an initial insight of the multilocal lifeworlds. Thereafter, attention is drawn to the pandemic effects, as the second section highlights the multilocal respondents' accounts of how the pandemic has affected the ability to establish, or maintain, their multilocal lifeworlds based in the area. When reaching section three, the time is ripe to delve deeper into the multilocal lifeworlds, focusing on the respondents various considerations of everyday life and the feeling of being at home in the Åre area in comparison to the other lifeworld(s). Lastly, in the forth section, various social implications of living multilocally based in the Åre area are discussed, along with a review of the social role and positioning of the multilocals in the local context.

5.1 The multilocal practicioners of the Åre area: A case of diversified homogeneity

In order to better understand the different multilocal lifeworlds that emerge in the area of Åre, this initial section of the results contains a brief introduction of the multilocal respondents. The common features among the respondents are described, followed by a further explanained categorization of the different multilocal practitioners within certain subgroups. Furthermore, apart from outlining the various motives for relocating to the area, the section also highlights the great variety of living structures within the subgroups.

5.1.1 Urban people with remote working possibilities

The respondents exhibit personal differences in terms of age, sex, professions and regional and national background, but there are also several commonalities applicable to everyone within the group. In general, Di Marino's (2022) description of the dynamic characteristics of contemporary multilocal white-collar employees provides a valid starting point when compiling the common features of the respondents. One common denominator is the urban background of the respondents, as only one person lacks experience of living in larger cities. Instead, this person has lived in a smaller Swedish town, rather than an urban metropolitan area. Of the overwhelming majority of urban dwellers, many have their background in Stockholm, although a significant part of the respondents also lives in smaller cities in the south of Sweden. Furthermore, the interviewees share, albeit to different degree and extent, the possibility to perform daily work tasks remotely. The vast majority works in the private

sector, in business, information and communication industries.

The varieties within the group of respondents suggests that the motives for choosing multilocality are diverse (Hilti, 2016; Danielzyk, 2021). Therefore, a breakdown into subgroups is justified. Depending on their individual background, relation to the area, everyday occupation and multilocal character, the respondents are divided into four different subgroups. The brief summary below outlines the main characteristics and members of each subgroup. Here, it should be noted that some of these subgroups are overlapping, in the sense that it is possible to find common features, for example in sharing an interest in skiing or nature activities. As described in the methodology chapter, these groupings should first and foremost be regarded as different ideal types. Firstly, the respondents are divided based on who lived in the Åre area prior to the pandemic, the so-called *established multilocals*, and who has settled in the area during the pandemic, the *pandemic fortune seekers*.

Name	Occupation	Agegroup	Places of Residence	Length of residence in the Åre area	Multilocal subgroup
Karin	Civil servant	Midlife	Åre & Stockholm	Established multilocal	Skiers and nature enthusiasts
Mikael	Self employed	60+	Duved & small town in Småland	Established multilocal	Skiers and nature enthusiasts
Jan	Self employed	60+	Åre & Stockholm	Established multilocal	Skiers and nature enthusiasts
Sofia	Civil servant	Midlife	Tegefjäll & Östersund	Established multilocal	Linkages to Jämtland
Patrik	Civil servant	Midlife	Edsåsdalen & Stockholm	Established multilocal	Linkages to Jämtland
Torbjörn	Civil servant	60+	Duved & Västerås	Established multilocal	Occupation related
Wilma	Student	Young adult	Järpen & Wales	Established multilocal	Occupation related
Claude	Student	Young adult	Åre & Umeå	Established multilocal	Occupation related
Jens	Civil servant	Young adult	Åre & Stockholm	Pandemic fortune seeker	Remote working skiers
Hampus	Civil servant	Young adult	Åre & Helsingborg	Pandemic fortune seeker	Remote working skiers
Vincent	Civil servant	Young adult	Åre & Stockholm	Pandemic fortune seeker	Remote working skiers
Rickard	Civil servant	Young adult	Åre & Örebro	Pandemic fortune	Remote working

				seeker	skiers
Susanna	Civil servant	Midlife	Ottsjö & Stockholm	Pandemic fortune seeker	Remote workers fleeing the city
Sara	Civil servant	Young adult	Undersåker & Örebro	Pandemic fortune seeker	Remote workers fleeing the city
Thomas	Self employed	60+	Åre, Linköping & Halland	Pandemic fortune seeker	Seniors with amenity reasons
Annika	Self employed	60+	Åre, Linköping & Halland	Pandemic fortune seeker	Seniors with amenity reasons
Amina	Civil servant	Midlife	Åre, Gotland & Stockholm	Pandemic fortune seeker	Nomadic lifestyles
Henrik	Retiree	60+	Åre, Stockholm & abroad	Pandemic fortune seeker	Nomadic lifestyles

Figure 3: The multilocal practicioners of the Åre area.

5.1.2 The established multilocals

Amongst the respondents who lived part time in the Åre area prior to the pandemic, there are differences regarding geographical backgrounds and previous connections to the area. First and foremost, the interviews reveal that the overall motives for becoming multilocal can be associated with either amenity-related or occupation-related reasons. The natural amenities and recreational opportunities offered in the Åre area explains why a number of the respondents have become interested in relocating part-time to the mountainous environment:

"I bought an apartment in Åre in 2014. I had been looking for apartments in Åre to use as a second home for some years. I ski very very much. Downhill skiing. So I wanted to have something of my own instead of lugging stuff around all the time. Then, Skistar sold a chalet in Åre, in Åre Fjällby. It was exactly where I wanted to live, it was just the right size and it was just the right price. So then I decided... Back in 2014, the idea was that it would be a second home and then, when I stopped working in the future, I would move there, I thought. It was an idea I had from the beginning." (Karin)

The *skiers and nature enthusiasts* Karin, Jan & Mikael share in common that they have owned their respective dwellings in the Åre area for a number of years, although having no roots or further background in the area. The choice to live multilocally is due to the opportunities to engage in outdoor activities and skiing available in the environment. Jan and Karin move back and forth from Stockholm and Åre, while Mikael has his base in a smaller town in Småland. These ski enthusiasts are in mid-life and have begun to plan for retirement and the winding down of their working lives. Investing more time in the Åre area is part of such a decommissioning process and can thus be seen as a kind of amenity and leisure driven relocation (Perlik, 2011; Danielzyk et al. 2021).

Amongst the respondents who have been established in the Åre area for a longer period of time, some have clear links to the environment through kinship and upbringing. Sofia splits

her time between the nearby childhood town of Östersund and Tegefjäll. Patrik lives his family life in a Stockholm suburb although his family roots, close relatives and childhood friends are to be found in Jämtland and the Åre area. Thus, for these people with *linkages to Jämtland*, the Åre area represents places as roots (Gustafson, 2014). The choice of settling in the Åre area is not solely guided by amenity and leisure-oriented reasons but also personal ties to this particular place.

As explained by Danielzyk et al. (2021), work opportunities or long-distance relationships constitute other reasons for multilocal living solutions. In the case of the Åre area, such forms of multilocality are represented by three *occupation related* respondents who have chosen multilocality to be able to access labor markets, education, networks and relations available outside Jämtland. In his daily life, Torbjörn commutes regularly with the night trains between Duved and the southern parts of Sweden to combine an urban working career with the desire to live in the rural mountain environment. To be able to spend time with her boyfriend, Wilma departs from Järpen to go abroad frequently, while Claude moves between Umeå and Åre with the primary purpose of combining her university studies with a passion for skiing. All three express a desire to spend more time in the area. However, work, education and relationships call for a need to relocate to other places, which allows them to adapt to a multilocal everyday life.

5.1.3 The pandemic fortune seekers

Unlike the above mentioned, the remaining proportion of the respondents has only been settled in the Åre area first after the pandemic outbreak in the spring of 2020. Their respective characteristics and living patterns will be further explained divided into four different subgroups.

Amongst a group of four respondents, *the remote working skiers*, a relative homogeneity is found. The characteristics of the group fits well with Di Marino's (2022) description of the contemporary multilocal employees. Originally from urban environments in southern Sweden, these young men have finished their university degrees and are white-collar workers in the private sector. Equally, they share an interest in skiing, nature and outdoor recreation as it is offered in Åre and all four have chosen to settle in central Åre due to its proximity to the ski system. Their choices to settle in can be traced back to the mutual desire to perform a so called "adult season", which means spending much of their free time skiing but, unlike

seasonal workers, still perform their regular office work:

"I have thought before that I would like to do a season again but with my last job I didn't. it was a normal office job really. Where, despite the pandemic, I needed to go into work and do some lab measurements and stuff, so it would probably have been hard to negotiate by doing this for several months. It would probably have been a pain in the ass. It's like, I have more had like, taking leave and doing a season in the back of my mind before. But now I could kind of like, now I could just continue with the usual." (Hampus)

Jens, Hampus and Vincent work for companies that have turned fully digital during the pandemic, while Rickard has negotiated with his employer to be able to alternate remote working with on-site work at the office in Örebro on a two-week interval. Hampus and Rickard have young children and thus, the family situation calls for a need to frequently relocate to the south of Sweden.

In similarity, the *remote workers fleeing the city*, Susanna and Sara relocated parts of their everyday life to the Åre area during the pandemic to work remotely. However, for the two, moving to the Åre area were not mainly linked to an interest in skiing. The choice of place to settle within the area have instead been influenced by family connections and other social preferences. Susanna discovered the small village of Ottsjö with the help of her sister already living there. While actively searching for housing outside central Åre, in order to find a more picturesque mountain village, Sara eventually came to enjoy the community found in Undersåker. Jointly, they shared a longing to escape the one-sided urban everyday life and experience a more peaceful life in closer contact with nature, which reveals how the area's amenities, according to the respondents, not only are centered around skiing.

Moreover, amenity related reasons for moving to the Åre area is also found amongst the respondents who settled in during the pandemic. This includes the *seniors with amenity reasons*, Thomas and Annika, who can be considered as highly multilocal, commuting regularly throughout the year between the work environment in Linköping and their dwellings in Halland and Åre. Just like Jan, Karin and Mikael, this couple are beginning to see the end of their careers and life in Åre is fitting to their current stage of life. Being able to work remotely and having expatriated adult children means that nothing longer ties them to one specific place in their everyday life. When choosing to settle in central Åre, the possibility to engage in the various activities of the mountain are highlighted as a motive behind the move.

Left is Amina and Henrik, who do not want to be pigeonholed easily. In contrast with the other respondents, they have long experience of living in various places, abroad and in

Sweden, and consider themselves to have rather *nomadic lifestyles*. The recent retiree Henrik splits his time between a tranquil existence in Åre and recurring international assignments as a sports instructor in Asia. Amina expresses a mobile lifestyle through her alternating residence in Stockholm, Gotland and Åre, while also spending time with her family in her childhood environment in the Gothenburg region.

5.1.4 Temporal differences in the multilocal structures

Importantly, the interviews suggests that there is great variation of living patterns and everyday life-structures within this group of multilocal residents in the Åre area. Some of the respondents consider that they spend more time in Åre than in their other places of living. Claude, for example, leaves Åre mainly due to having obligations and meetings in Umeå. On the other hand, Henrik goes abroad occasionally and Susanna, who has her physical work place in Stockholm, values visiting the office and her apartment in the capital from time to time. Thus, both push and pull factors appear to affect the different individuals' multilocal tendencies in the Åre area.

The respondents' presence in the area also varies due to seasonal preferences. A slight majority of the respondents spend time in the Åre area throughout the entire year, while the remaining focus their living to a particular period or season of the year. Naturally, the winter season is of highest priority among the respondents who show an interest in skiing. Mikael pre-schedules the period of living in Duved during winter and early spring, while Jan tends to knock down the stakes in December and remain in Åre more or less until the ski system closes in early May. Sofia constitutes the one exception, as she prefers being in Åre mainly during the months of summer.

All of the respondents claim to be present in the area for longer periods than just the statutory holiday weeks of a year. However, just as some of the individuals spend more time in the Åre area than in their other habitats, others live in the Åre area for much more limited periods in comparison to their other dwellings. In terms of quantity of time Patrik, Thomas & Annika mark the minimum as they estimate that they occupy their dwellings in the area for about ten weeks a year. Furthermore, several of the respondents exhibit what, according to Hilti (2016), can be described as mobility-intensive and flexible lifestyles. This is illustrated by Amina, who moves between a number of different accommodations and relationships with unpredictability and spontaneity:

"Because I'm in three places. I'm a bit more in the 'more places than two places' category… Now it's connected

with work too of course, even if I don't have to be, it's... I've been based in Stockholm for over twenty years, so that's where you have your... most friends." (Amina)

Flexibility in terms of being able to be spontaneous in the choice to spend time in the Åre area is highlighted by several others. When their respective dwellings in Tegefjäll and Edsåsdalen are not rented out, Karin and Patrik often relocate to the area at short notice. Moreover, Hampus and Rickard express mobility intensity by their weekly movements to and from southern Sweden although their ability to be spontaneous is restricted due to their respective family situations.

Thus, the diversity within the group of multilocal practitioners in the case of the Åre area, regarding age and profession, relation to the area, seasonal and temporal preferences confirm Hilti's (2016) description of multilocality as a multi-faceted and complex phenomenon. Nevertheless, the respondents do share commonalities in their urban backgrounds and in their overall amenity and nature tourism related motives to settle in the area, thus, manifesting signs of homogeneity. Additional commonalities linked to the choice of settling multilocally in the area emerges in the discussion of the pandemic's effects and will be further evaluated in the following empirical section.

5.2 The pandemic effects on multilocal lifeworlds in the area of Åre

In this section, attention is brought to the pandemic's impacts on multilocality in the Åre area. At first, the general impact of the pandemic on the multilocal respondents housing perspectives are dissected, followed by a further examination of how the pandemic's consequences and aftermath affected the multilocal lifeworlds, based in Åre and other places.

5.2.1 The pandemic as an accelerator

As known, the pandemic caused restrictions on the individual's freedom of movement and assembly in Sweden. However, when discussing the pandemic's effects in general, the aggregated impression is that the multilocals tend to attribute this period of restrictions in rather positive terms. The interviews demonstrate that several of the respondents bear witness that the pandemic overall contributed positively as a trend break and turning point for them personally in their everyday life situations:

"Then I think a little bit, during the pandemic too, that some of my friends who maybe just sat in their apartments and didn't take this chance like I did and kind of got to do something completely new. It's almost like fulfilling a dream. For me it felt more like the pandemic was something very positive. Because I fulfilled a dream that I had almost forgotten I had because you get so caught up in life." (Sara)

The perspective of the pandemic period as a positive turning point is further emphasized by Mikael, stating that the pandemic has not had any direct negative consequences for him personally. Instead, the side effects of increased remote working have been considered beneficial:

"Of course, there are a lot of problems with the pandemic, of course there are. But, apart from that, you have to say that the pandemic has made things better for us. Almost in every way. We have been able to work more from home and what we do has not been negatively affected to any great extent. I mean, some people have become ill and close relatives have passed away and their jobs have disappeared, their businesses have gone bad or something like that. We've been so damn lucky, we haven't suffered anything. It's just been okay to sit at home and have digital meetings. That suits us perfectly." (Mikael)

Thus, in general, it appears as the optimal conditions for multilocality, as described by Willberg (2021), have been seized by many of the respondents. In the case of the Åre area, the pandemic-related work life changes acted as an eye-opener for a multilocal lifestyle. Several respondents describe how they gradually realized that work, executed in an office environment prior to the pandemic, now was perfectly possible to perform remotely, which goes in line with Randall et al.'s (2022) thinking of a definitive shift regarding the perceptions about remote working during the pandemic era. For the respondents these insights sparked thoughts of changing place and enabling more flexible spatial movements, as the definitive introduction to digital work tools opened up possibilities to work outside of the familiar urban

environment:

"When the pandemic hit, we just felt: "No, we're going to sit here in Linköping and, like, we might as well be in Halland when we're going to stay away from people." For a little while, we thought. But then it turned out that the pandemic made it so much longer and we also learned that we could work in a completely different way. That's how it turned out. I had a lot to do in the spring and it actually worked very well from down there. You learned how to use Teams and all those things. So, once the pandemic was over... well, we had talked a bit about how much fun it would be to go away for three weeks and be up here in Åre, we thought at the time, just to be able to ski and work at the same time. So, we started looking at renting something." (Annika)

The adaptations from a physical to a digital professional landscape thereby marks the pandemic's role as an *accelerator* to a multilocal lifestyle in the case of the Åre area. Thus, it appears that for many of the respondents, the pandemic brought new insights about the time-space compression of using virtual mobility, in terms of communicative tools, to be able connect with different places. In accordance with Randall et al. (2022), although video conference systems and digital workspaces were established long before, many of the interviewees came to apply such tools more frequently when restrictions of physical meetings and assemblies became reality during the pandemic. The pandemic's role as an accelerator of multilocality is exemplified by Annika, describing that the need to be gathered in a physical place no longer needs to be fulfilled:

"Well, if the pandemic hadn't come, we wouldn't have realised how good it really is to work remotely like this. Because before that, we were always back on Monday because Thomas always had Monday meetings that he had to attend. I mean, those Monday meetings can now be taken by phone or Teams instead. So, if the pandemic hadn't come, I don't think we would have had Åre. I don't think so." (Annika)

Thus, several of the respondents stress the importance of the pandemic as a turning point for establishing a multilocal lifeworld based in the Åre area. Understanding the additional possibilities of remote working, many of the respondents witnessed how they began to question the utility of remaining in the urban work environment. Sara's story testifies that the incentives to remain in the city were no longer as strong as before, which led her in on the idea of settling in Åre:

"But I never really got going and then in 2020, during the pandemic, I thought: Yes! This spring. Now I'm going to go, now I'm going to make it happen in December and then just like that: "Well, I don't have anything that means I still have to be in Örebro?" Like. I could be away for weeks. I can work from there. So, I started to formulate it a bit like this: Yes, but maybe I should rent something in Åre in the longer term?" (Sara)

Moreover, the respondents' testimonies show how their employers' adaptation to new approaches and measures during the pandemic played an important role in enabling their multilocal establishment. Being able to offer remote working as a mainstream employer has been far from a given in the past, according to several of the respondents. However, the employer's perceptions towards remote working have changed during the years of the pandemic, which can be seen as part of the pandemic's enabling and accelerating effects on multilocality. Jens works for a company today transitioned to being fully remote and for

Hampus, a potential digital work position was crucial for his later decision to move to Åre. Amina describes how changes in corporate attitudes during the period of pandemic in the aftermath can be seen as a paradigm shift regarding the perception of office work and place:

"What has happened is also how the patterns from companies have changed. Where I work, they've gone out with a very strong policy that it's about deciding how much you need to come in. At least if you look at the type of company I come from, there will definitely be a shift in how the company policy towards how much you need to be in will be rewritten. Our policy has been rewritten and they even advertise it as part of "Sustainability". That it cuts down on carbon. They've noticed that we're working hard. So, it's not like anyone is hiding. Yes, it's not that it's worse because you don't have an office to go to. Then this enables exactly what is happening. That you can just stay." (Amina)

These paradigm shifts regarding remote work policies has affected the everyday life situation for a majority of the interviewees who had no residence nor previous relation to the Åre area. Apart from Annika's testimony, Susanna mentions that it was pandemic-related that she bought a house in Ottsjö and Jens made the move to Åre village when the pandemic started in 2020.

5.2.2 More time in the Åre area: the pandemic as an enabler

The pandemic trend breaks have also had a significant impact on the respondents with previous experience of settlement in the Åre area. Almost all respondents living in Åre sporadically in the past came to spend more time in the area during the pandemic. Here, the interviews highlight how the pandemic transitions, in terms of increased opportunities for teleworking, provided the perfect impetus to prolong these periods of living. The urge to return to their respective urban work environments was no longer a concern, which is notably evident for respondents with a previous ambition of devoting more of their time to the Åre area but who, due to their work situation, needed to be present on site in their respective urban environments. The exceptional situation of the pandemic thus provided an accelerator to pursue this earlier desire and the group was able to take advantage of the unusual circumstances that prevailed during the period:

"Then, like just two years ago, we thought, 'We want to be up here more. That's me and my partner then. At least all winters preferably and in the short term like that. She's the same age as me. Well, then we started thinking about phasing out our working life and being able to work from home. The pandemic accelerated that." (Mikael)
......
"At that time, I was in the office in Solna five days a week. You worked in the office five days a week. Before the pandemic, you could only stay at home on weekends. It's been perfect with the pandemic. Now you've been sitting in Duved working and maybe going down once in a while. Before last summer, you might have been in the office five or six times. In a year and a half. " (Torbjörn)

Importantly, Torbjörn's account here stands in contrast with many of the other respondents as the enabling effects of the pandemic, in terms of being able to spend more time in Duved, in fact led to a decreased amount of mobility back and forth. This should be seen in the light of

Torbjörn's occupational related motives for multilocality, which has prompted the need to travel south. Patrik, who prior to the pandemic examined the possibility to work remotely, constitutes another example of how the conditions for flexibility in the choice of physical location for work changed:

"No, I wasn't even allowed to work remotely before. One day a week I could work from home. There was a time when I actually worked from home, but it was explicitly stated that when I worked from home I would do it from my home in Stockholm and not from anywhere else. Unless I was travelling on business, so to speak. This came in handy when the pandemic hit in March 2020." (Patrik)

Other transformative pandemic effects have also impacted the respondents to spend longer periods of the year in the area. In addition to teleworking norms, the declining tourism in the Åre area explains Karin's motivation to start spending longer periods in her apartment:

"Then when the pandemic came, the lifts closed and everyone who rented second homes, apartments and cabins from Skistar had their bookings cancelled. Because people had rented to go skiing and then this came along that you shouldn't move more than two hours from home. Then my apartment was empty. And I work for a telecom company and we've always been able to work remotely and from home because our whole business idea is to "Work where you are". So, you can't say to staff: "No, you have to be in the office!" When selling mobile solutions and video conferencing systems. But then when the whole system shut down, my boyfriend who is equally crazy about skiing… he just: "No, now our apartments are empty. We don't get any income from them. We have to sit at home and work, you have to stay isolated. The lifts are closed. Let's buy touring skis!" " (Karin)

5.2.3 Leaving the urban milieu: The pandemic as push-factor

In addition to the overall adjustments by employers', as part of a digital transition, the interviews firmly indicate how the pandemic also marked a departure from everyday routines for the respondents. Several respondents highlight how they felt a need for change during the pandemic times. In the wake of the changed everyday life that the pandemic brought, it became both reasonable and possible to break up with prevailing patterns and everyday life structures. The one-sided life during the pandemic, with both work and leisure restricted to a small urban apartment, became the basis for questioning why one actually chooses to settle in cities. Hence, the respondents expressed an attitude of "taking the opportunity" to become more mobile and move to a new location when it became clear that the pandemic was an exceptional situation. Several emphasize how they aspired to benefit from the pandemic circumstances, as they had an understanding that it may not be possible to conduct work remotely in the future, when going back to the "old" normal:

"Well, it was the second pandemic year. I guess I was like a lot of people back then: "Okay, let's go into the second lap". I tried to think like this: "What can I do now that I might not be able to do later if we go back to business as usual and so on". Because, then the office was completely closed. So that you would work from home basically. And instead of sitting at home in my apartment and kind of rotting, I thought: "Yeah, but damn. I can live somewhere I think it is nice to be." (Jens)
....
"In 2020, during the pandemic, I thought: "Yes! This spring. Now I'm going to go, now I'm going to make it happen in December" and then just like that: "Well, I don't have anything that means I have to be in Örebro?"

Like. I could be away for weeks. I can work from there. It probably came from myself that I realized that I could take the opportunity because I don't have to be there. I could have worked from anywhere." (Sara)

These personal stories bear witness that a need to leave the urban environment arose as a consequence of the pandemic and its restrictions on physical assemblies. A desire to explore new environments, with opportunities for outdoor recreation and activities emerged at times when the interviewees were more or less confined to their urban apartments. Hence, the Åre area became interesting due to its characteristics of being an environment where one can engage in such activities and lifestyles. In addition, the insights and experiences from being part of the digital transition during the pandemic has also led to permanent attitude changes. For Susanna, who splits her time between the urban buzz in Stockholm and a quiet life in Ottsjö, the new, overwhelmingly positive experience of living in Jämtland meant that the possibility of remaining in the area in the long run, even after the pandemic, influenced her choices in the labour market:

"Then I started thinking about how I could continue doing this, because it just felt right. So, then a house came up that I actually bought last summer. I also changed jobs this summer and the first question I had for them was, "What's your view on working remotely?" and they said: "it's no problem, we have people living in other countries and working remotely". That was also a reason to take this job, I must admit." (Susanna)

5.2.4 Nuances: no pandemic impact on the individual's choice to be multilocal

The abovementioned narratives reinforce the picture that the pandemic-related trend breaks had a significant impact on many of the respondents' attitudes towards engaging multilocality and establishing multilocal lifeworlds. However, it is also important to note that the choices to settle part-time in Åre cannot be linked exclusively to the pandemic effects. In accordance with Di Marino (2022), the fundamental pandemic impact on the conditions for living multilocally are considered to be lower in a Nordic context than compared with other european countries, as the Nordics have been more progressive regarding the possibility of remote working. This is reflected in Jan's case, as the pandemic has not meant any major changes or trend breaks on a personal level:

"I could do my job anywhere in the world. That's what's a bit special about me, I haven't been affected by the pandemic in that way. I've become more isolated, like everyone else of course. But I've been used to it before. We're a small team and we don't have that many clients, we have fifteen small companies internationally that we help with international marketing. Me and my colleague then, mainly Swedish companies. I work from home. The reason I rented a room at House Be was because I wanted to have social contact. I don't need to do that, I need a broadband connection and my laptop. That's what I need, nothing else." (Jan)

Others emphasize how the digital work transition cannot be linked solely to the implications caused by the pandemic. This becomes evident in Hampus ' account of how he came to relocate to Åre, where the shift to a fully digital work role, rather than digital conversions in the workplace had an impact on his move:

"Really, the background is that I changed jobs about a year ago to a job that is fully remote. Then I realised,

damn, that there is an opportunity. My normal place of work is in my home in Helsingborg and then I realized that, damn. I don't actually have to be there, I can be wherever there's other fun things to do. Helsingborg in winter is not so damn cool. At least if you like to be outside." (Hampus)

Furthermore, the choice to establish multilocally is in some cases also specifically linked to the structural conditions of the respondents. Several of the older respondents described how multilocality in the Åre area and in other places was made possible by being at a stage in life where previous chores and relationships in other places no longer need to be maintained on a daily basis. As there is no longer a responsibility to provide for the uprising of children or taking care of elderly, there is no need to be in one place all the time:

"We're over sixty and that also means that... I mean, we have no one to consider but ourselves and so on, other than our children, of course. But they don't live at home, they live in Stockholm. When you have grown-up children, you have nothing to take into account in the same way, but it has been the customers and so on in our companies. But we've realised that it's possible to do it in a different way. Because I can imagine, if we were in our forties now and had smaller children... you can't just pull them out of school and all that. But it's been thanks to the pandemic and now that we're getting older and we have our own companies." (Annika)

5.3 The expressions of multilocality - The Åre area in the multilocal lifeworld

Understanding the pandemic effects on the defined group of respondents, it is time to delve deeper in to the multilocal lifeworlds of the Åre area. Initially, the considerations of life in Åre as a place for everyday life in relation to other places of living is being introduced. This section also highlights how the respondents express the role and meaning of the multilocal lifeworld based in Åre, in reference to Hilti's (2016) categorization. Thereafter, attention is drawn to the respondents' relationship to the home in Åre, in comparison with the different houses within their respective multi-house homes.

5.3.1 In between everyday life and holiday

During the interviews, an important starting point has been to open up discussions about which places of living the respondents consider as places of everyday life commitments. The interviews show that almost all respondents feel that time spent in the Åre area throughout a year can be seen as a sort of everyday life. Evidently, this can be explained by the fact that all of the respondents actually spend either working time or time for everyday tasks when being in the area. None of the respondents consider their time in Åre as strictly free time and holidays. Instead, there is an element of everyday life in the form of work, studies, household chores or other things that are part of everyday life, or are usually associated with weekly continuous commitments. Thus, many claims that the area is first and foremost an everyday life environment, even if the Åre area often is primarily associated with winter holidays and outdoor recreation:

"You realise that it's pretty much everyday life. Eight hours of the day is spent working. Then you can be a bit flexible and take a long lunch and go out for a few skiruns at lunchtime, or you can leave early on a day and go out in the slopes. But it's still a working day, so, well, that's what's so sad, that so much time is spent working when you look out of the window." (Rickard)

However, it is important to emphasize that the everyday life in the Åre area is not mere everyday life, of the same breed as the urban everyday of which many of the respondents are familiar with. Several of the respondents emphasize how everyday life in the Åre area differs to some extent from the urban counterpart, as it contains additional activities and moments that are not part of the conventional working day. When in the Åre area, the respondents have the opportunity to engage in outdoor and leisure activities. A number of respondents points out how this contributes to a "spiced-up" everyday life, a "day with a twist", and a "day in a holiday environment", which is expressed with overall positive values:

"There's a kind of everyday life here too that I don't have if I just come here. I mean, I've been here on holiday too. You come here for a week, you ski like crazy from morning to night. Out partying and maybe, then you go home. I don't have that life here. For me, I have to go shopping once a week at least, there's a bit of cleaning to do, there's laundry to do. Actually, it's more relaxed. Because now I'm not stressed out because I don't ski. If you go here for a week, you get really stressed out if something makes you not be able to ski for a day. Because you've paid a lot of money for a week. For me it's just "No, but I might not feel like it today." Like today, the sun is shining and has been shining all day today but I still had other things to do. I've been doing laundry and packing for the trip and such. But I'm not particularly stressed about it. Maybe I'll take a run down the slopes tomorrow. Maybe, if I feel like it." (Henrik)

Given the recognition of the descriptions of the Åre area as a well-known tourist and leisure area, it is also clear in a number of interviews how life in the area is difficult to define as either holiday or everyday life. This can be linked to how the concept of everyday life has traditionally been understood. Everyday routines in Åre thus lie, for many of the respondents, somewhere in between what is usually associated with everyday life and holiday. People work their hours, but also spend time on leisure activities more frequently than in the urban home environment:

"It's somewhere in between and I think about that a lot. Because... and what you want it to be, because it's not so obvious. First when you went up, it was like holiday. And people said like this: "Yes, you're on holiday for weeks at a time." Well, it's not really like that, you sit in your telephone meetings and then maybe you get an hour in the middle of the day when you can sneak out and go for a couple of rides down the slopes and think it's lovely. Then it's like a working day, but you have it up here and you don't have much time to get out for a ride." (Mikael)

Mikael's answer show that the surrounding environment, in terms of friends, family and colleagues, often has a view of the Åre area as a place for holidays and leisure. Moreover, others indicate that they are met with curiosity and amazement when portraying their everyday life in the area. Further, Hampus describes how these preconceptions has made him perform active choices to show that he works to an equivalent extent as in the urban milieu:

"When it's been really nice, I've taken a day off from work instead. Then I've been pretty keen to make sure there's no whining. I can imagine that people perceive it as 'Oh, is he just up there? Is he working at all? Is he just there skiing and stuff on work days?" So instead I've rather made sure it looks nice. And I've had those thoughts before a bit, being one of the first people at my job who is 100 percent remote. I've had that thought before as well, that it's important to do a proper job and be available. And even at home I sometimes take an hour for lunch and do something other than just take lunch as well. Run some errands and shop at the ICA to avoid shopping at the ICA at like five. So, it's basically just an extension of that." (Hampus)

The approach to life in the Åre area as in-between, as neither purely recreational nor exclusively everyday life-oriented is further highlighted by the way the respondents choose to divide their time between their urban setting and the area. For example, Karin's approach shows that the Åre area is considered as more than a place for work and everyday life. To her understanding, work can be conducted from the two places albeit holiday days are restricted to Åre:

"Now I am also free from work. In my apartment in Stockholm, I'm never at home here when I'm free. On the other hand, I am at home in Åre when I am free, but when there were so many weeks at Christmas and New Year's

where I was supposed to have a three-week holiday, but because we were there for so long, I cancelled my holiday because I didn't need a holiday, I could go skiing on the weekends." (Karin)

Thus, for many respondents, being in the Åre area is equal to being at the crossroads of holiday and everyday life. This duality of perceiving the milieu as both an everyday and holiday life sphere constitutes a pleasant dilemma, causing confusion to some degree. For Rickard, being in Åre provides a sense of being on holiday and therefore, work is experienced as a necessary evil to a greater extent than when being present in Örebro. Jens builds on this when describing how he initially had difficulties to find an everyday rhythm, as he discovered life in Åre village to be largely characterized by tourism and leisure activities. Essentially, this multilocal dilemma of place can be seen as a "have your cake and eat it too" situation for the affected respondents. The benefits of being able to work remotely and still maintain the urban network clashes, to some degree, with the potential risks of not being able to conserve the inner perception of what is first and foremost considered a holiday environment:

"It's been more of a bit of everything. At the same time, you don't want to lose this holiday feeling completely either. So, it's a bit split, I can say. Because it's like relaxation and leisure and outdoor life, but otherwise you can live such a life and have everyday life with less and less work, because that's like my career plan." (Mikael)

Susanna further exemplifies this multilocal dilemma of everyday life in the area as her view of life in Ottsjö relates to positive sentiments of an "everyday life with a holiday golden lining". However, when going on holiday there is uncertainty as to how she will perceive being in Ottjsö, which now also has become a place associated with work:

"Has it been a holiday? It feels a bit like it. Like this summer, I'm going to take a late holiday. Because in July, yeah, but if I'm there working, it's almost like a holiday because I can be out doing things in the evenings and weekends. And take a break in the middle of the day and stuff like that. So, for me it feels a bit like holiday life. Well, that's actually an interesting question. It's a bit like this: What am I going to do when I'm on holiday? Should I rent out then? Will I feel like I'm on holiday if I'm just in the house in Ottsjö? Do I have to go away somewhere to feel that I'm free? I don't really know. We'll see this summer how it turns out." (Susanna)

5.3.3 Counter worlds

"Well, it's like two different lifestyles. I would say that. Yes, but in a way it's like stamping out of one life and stamping into the other. Then, it's full focus on that life. Yes, it's special." (Rickard)

In general, multilocality's ability to enhance the feeling of liberation, of being able to swap contrasting environments, is expressed by a significant part of the respondents as "getting the best of both worlds', which should be seen in reference to Hilti's (2016) description of having *counter worlds*. The respondents' descriptions of multilocal life reveals that the opportunity to have counter worlds also has a major impact on the choice to move between places. The benefits of being able to relocate to the Åre area makes it possible to escape the, for the moment being, unwanted aspects of everyday life in the urban environment. In those situations, the everyday life in the Åre area becomes a much welcome complement. Thereby,

choosing to leave when it suits the individual demonstrates the liberating advantages of multilocal living:

"The advantage is that you get two... you get two worlds. And the advantage of this alternating residence is actually that I don't have to... if I don't want to be in Åre in October/November, then I don't have to. Because even though November in Stockholm is boring, November in Åre is terribly boring when it's on that side as well." (Karin)

…………………..

"I guess that's the advantage of being able to choose to live in Stockholm, when the conditions for feeling good are good. And live in Åre, when the conditions for feeling good are good there. The only schizophrenic thing is in the summer, when it's a bit difficult to choose. When it's so very nice in both places. I feel privileged, I must say. That I have these two places to live, of course." (Jan)

Thus, the motives for relocation between the counter worlds of the Åre area and the urban environment is based in intricate struggles between various push and pull factors of the places. When Stockholm is dull Åre becomes a haven, and vice versa. For the *remote working skiers* and the *skiers and nature enthusisasts*, particularly good weather conditions may also motivate a relocation to Åre, even if at the moment, there is nothing that makes them actively want to leave the urban environment. The determining impact of such external conditions on the choice of residence in Åre is also shown in the respondents reasoning about when to not be in the area:

 "Then there's autumn, it's cosy to be in Åre for a week in November. You can go to the bakery, you can meet your friends, you can kind of chill out and watch Netflix. But in November, before the snow comes and before you can go skiing, Åre isn't really the most fun place in the world. Because there's a lot of precipitation. A lot of Åre residents who make their living from tourism try to go somewhere else during that period." (Karin)

In accordance with Hilti (2016), having multilocal *counter worlds* is characterized by an overall willingness to experience differences between the places of living. As seen in Thomas' testimony, being able to experience regular scenery transitions between urban and rural is considered an advantage of living multilocally in Åre. This goes along with the impression of being on the road towards a place where the conditions are better for the time being, leave something in exchange for something better:

"It gives you... what can I say... a sense of renewal on your own terms. Because it's just as... the change and renewal and movement itself is, for me anyway, appealing. It's always nice to go to Åre and it's nice to leave because you're going somewhere else. And it's the same to and from Linköping and to and from Halland. The change of scenery." (Thomas)

This appreciation and attraction of contrasts can be seen to accentuate the qualities of the different places for the multilocal practitioner. After being absent for a period of time, the individual has time to long for the activities and qualities associated with the area, which are exclusively enjoyed while being present.

" Contrast? It really is. When I leave here. Last Sunday I went skiing and last Monday I came to Hornstull (Stockholm), in the middle of the concrete. That's part of the charm too, that there's so much contrast. Then I

really get both. Advantages of living in two places? For me it's that I get... because there's a lot that's fun about the city too, and now I get that but I don't have to be here all the time. Stockholm is much more fun when you don't have to be here all the time, I feel. Now it's great fun to just go out dining, go to the cinema. You appreciate what you don't get in both places. " (Susanna)

Counter worlds could also be seen in differentiated activities and daily practices in the different places of living (Hilti, 2016). Here, several respondents express an evident desire of combining urban practices with natural and rural hobbies and personal interests. In such situations, multilocality facilitates as it enables for the individual to be part of the contrasting lifeworlds simultaneously. This is seen in Claude's testimony about the time in Åre being the best of her life as she has been able to study while skiing in her free time every day. In her own worlds, a combination of usefulness and pleasure. Many of the respondents also perceive how the Åre area provides for a more active life beyond work with engagements in skiing, nature life and other forms of recreation. The respondents' urban contexts, on the other hand, are characterized by a sedentary everyday life with high productivity and activity in the workplace, but with less room for self-recreation, spontaneity and leisure activities. In Åre, however, time is distributed and planned differently, as seen in that the respondents confess that they, in general, tend to spend fewer working hours than in the urban counterpart:

"Well, I'm probably working a little less up here. When I come down, I find that all the boring administration that's not urgent, I save that for when I'm down in Småland. It's a shame to waste your Åre time with such boring stuff." (Mikael)

Thus, when being in the Åre area, the respondents to a higher extent aims to facilitate the pursuit of leisure and recreational activities offered in the local context when the work day is done. Many of the interviewees share how they tend to reschedule their working days, to be able to engage in skiing for a couple of hours during daytime. Others take leave from work when the weather forecast looks good, or go for a ski session when there are gaps in the schedule, in between meetings during the working day. This idea of making the most of time spent in the outdoor environment is perfectly embodied by Amina, engaging in the interview while simultaneously skiing down the slopes of Åre:

"I think I was in a valley. It's things like this, you know, when you talk to people who live in Åre, you have to put up with the fact that they're in the slopes. That's actually the case. If you're working, you're working most of the day and the reason you're here is to be able to take the opportunities you have, so it's very quick. You throw yourself out there. This is the next step, the very thing I'm working on. It's the coverage. But... Mullfjället took our contact." (Amina)

Such examples of prioritizing leisure, or rather balancing the working career with personal interests, is not always found natural for the respondents when being in the urban environment. Thus, longer periods of stay in the Åre area has brought new insights concerning the role and importance of work in the daily lives and routines for a number of

respondents.

"There were days when the weather was kind of bad or it was... because I didn't have the same social circles up there, it can easily be like, 'Oh, I might as well work, I don't have anything else to do anyway.'" But I don't remember it being that often really. But when I closed the computer, it was like I was in a place where I could do something else than just work. Otherwise, when you worked from home, it was like you worked all day at the computer and then you just switched windows and went on to watch Netflix like, after work. On the same computer like, it wasn't as separeted between personal life and work life then I think." (Vincent)
………
"Well, my level of ambition at work is much lower. I value it much less now than I did before I moved here. So, it's a bit interesting. It's something I've been thinking about, that I don't have the same motivation about my career, I would say. But I don't feel bad about it either. Sometimes I can feel a little bit stressed that I feel like I should be doing a little bit more. But that's nothing new. I've felt that since I started working. But I prioritize, I really try to fit in like maybe a long lunch or being away for a few hours during the day and cross-country skiing or something like that. " (Jens)

Additionally, some stress the benefits of being able to do things and be part of activities outside work, which is further related to a sentiment of being able to let go of thoughts about work more easily. Furthermore, the unanimous consideration of the Åre area as a tranquil, leisure and recreation-oriented environment puts the experience of carrying out daily work in the environment in a positive light. Some respondents recall an ease to distance themselves from work while in this new work environment, which should be seen in the light of the contrasting perception of the Åre area, in relation to the high-intensity, urban, traditional work environment that the multilocals face in the bigger cities:

"Maybe it was a little easier to, like, distance yourself from the work, I think. When you've been sitting and working and stressing about something on the computer and then you turn it off and you're in the middle of a, like, winter paradise. It feels easier to disconnect and put into perspective what matters than if I'm sitting in the city, in Stockholm. Then it's a bit more always on mode work-wise I think." (Vincent)
…………
"Yes, I do other things in my spare time and above all: I feel more relaxed working in this environment too. It's more relaxing to look at a mountain than a six-lane highway that I usually look at when I'm sitting in the office." (Patrik)

Thus, in the eyes of the multilocals, the Åre area becomes a refuge to a more flexible existence where the many musts and rigidities of the urban context can be circumvented:

"I feel it now when I'm in Stockholm, just getting to work. My God, how much time you spend just sitting and riding the metro and commuter trains. It feels so incredibly pointless when you can just, well... my office in Ottsjö is in the attic, so I can just go up the stairs and sit down and I'm in the office as well. It's really nice. That's what makes it so flexible." (Susanna)
………
"I think it was almost that when I changed environment so radically from Stockholm to Åre, it was almost easier to draw a line between private life and, like, working time. Because it was the kind of environment that invited me to do so much more than just work. I remember that it was harder to draw that line when I was working from home in Stockholm, for example. There it was more like sleeping in the office and you know... shuttling between the bed and the desk, sort of. Whereas in Åre it was like, well, I was outside a lot and did a lot of snowboarding and skiing and stuff like that. There was quite an eventful life outside of work and... well, it feels like overall Åre is not the place where people are that job-focused in a way. So, it was quite easy to disconnect from work if you like. When I wasn't working." (Vincent)

It is also being pointed out how working life in the Åre area is characterized by a higher

degree of efficiency, given that time is liberated to a greater extent when working remotely.
Time previously spent commuting to and from the office can instead be spent outside,
engaging in recreational activities, which provides further meaning to the *counter worlds* of a
metropolitan life and a recreation-oriented life in the Åre area.

5.3.4 Double worlds

Importantly, it should also be noted that there are individual variations in the degree of
lifestyle change within the respondents' multilocal geographies; experiencing counter-life
lifeworlds is not shared by everyone. For some, such as Jan, Hilti's (2016) *double worlds*
description fits better to describe the situation where he has the ability to be flexible in how he
works regardless of his location. It is the choice of activities outside working hours that
changes with location, rather than the fundamental contents of the daily scheduling:

"If the weather is nice in Stockholm, I can plan to go for a round of golf in the morning, for example. And work
in the afternoon. In Åre, I sometimes get up really early and then it's the eight-in-eight theme, i.e. eight o'clock in
the World Cup eight -lift (VM-åttan). And then I'm out skiing for three hours, maximum. Two hours maybe. And
then home and then I work the rest of the day." (Jan)
………………
"I feel like I'm living there now. I take my computer with me, but I have a charger and a mouse in both places. It
makes you feel like it's more of a permanent home. It's the same routine in Åre as in Stockholm. It wasn't like
that before. In Stockholm, I lived there, lived and worked. In Åre, I was on holiday and skiing. Now it's kind of
the same. You get up, you start your computer, you make breakfast, you have meetings. It's exactly the same
routine." (Karin)

Notably, respondents living in the village of Åre, demonstrate how everyday life has its
similarities to life in the urban environment. The option to engage in urban practices in the
village of Åre such as eating out, visiting shops and cafées and work out at a gym makes the
everyday life in the area similar to the urban correspondent:

"I have this SATS Sweden so when I'm in Åre I go and train with my friends in Åre at SATS. It's just everyday
life. It's pretty much the same everyday life there as here. Åre and Stockholm are not that different. I have my
ICA card, so I go to the ICA here in Stockholm and I go to the ICA in Åre. The only difference is that here in
Stockholm I don't ski. I don't go to Hammarbybacken. I don't think it's worth the effort." (Karin)

Karin's consideration goes along with Jan who underlines that the differences between his life
in Stockholm and Åre in reality are not as big as it is possible to imagine when comparing the
sizes of the two locations.

" Nah. For me personally, it's not a big difference. Then you have to remember that... even in Åre, especially in
the spring and summer, there are events all the time of different kinds for different target groups. More for young
people than for me perhaps, but ah...A good selection of restaurants too. Because there are also in Visby, in
Stockholm and in Åre." (Jan)

It is therefore important to emphasize how far from everyone lives a counter life depending on
where they are located for the moment. Rather, many everyday events in the Åre area can be
translated into the urban context, and vice versa. When living close to Åre village, the

respondents benefit from the village pulse, have access to the local buzz, restaurants and bars. Work is executed in a similar way and certain respondents live in accommodations of similar standard to the urban counterpart. The only difference is really the opportunity for social life. Thus, in this urbanized mountain environment, the multilocal lifeworld for these respondents can be seen as a mix of double worlds and counter worlds.

In relation to this, it becomes striking that a significant number of respondents attribute Åre, with emphasis on Åre village, as a suburb of Stockholm. The multilocals' perceptions of Åre as Stockholm suburb, or inner city-like environment, is based on several different assumptions. Notably, the area of Åre is, despite its location in rural Jämtland, perceived as an urban environment much thanks to the people situated and services located in the environment, which evoke urban associations:

"No, I think it's fucking city life. I'd say so. It's not... it's definitely not this small-town feel that you can get in some other villages and stuff, but it's... even though it's not a city, it's an urban feel. And the age groups that are here do influence that I would think. I guess most people are like, most people who are here are between 20-40… It's like... it's like a subway to an experience of nature in everyday life. Or like a teleportation to a more natural life, I guess you could say. Or a... well both close to nature and like... a bit different, so this interesting combination of urban and close to nature. That's actually a pretty good description: it's like... it's close to nature without being peripheral. It's like you've taken a piece of Södermalm and just... it's win-win." (Hampus)
………
"I usually say it's a Stockholm suburb really. So that... I mean, there are very few Jämtland peers here. That's how it is. " (Henrik)
……………
"Then I think, people usually talk about Undersåker as Åre's Södermalm. So it's a bit like this, hip, there's an incredible amount of organic and vegetarian food in the ICA store there. And they also have a lot of... food crafts. That counts for all parts of Åre, but there are several food artisans in Undersåker." (Sara)
……….
"Instead, Åre lives. It's a pretty fun village, but it's Sweden's only real ski resort of international stature. Like a ski resort in the Alps. With bars and restaurants, there's a lot like that. Other places in Sweden are so much more classic Swedish mountain tourism. With a mountain, and then you go skiing and then you go home and sit in the cabin in the evening. Sälen is a bit different then, but.... So Åre is just that, proximity to nature but also a pulse. I guess that's where there's a bit of Stockholm left in me then. " (Jan)

5.3.5 The relationship between the places in the multi-house home

In accordance with Arnesen et al. (2012) the perception of what is considered as *home* can consist of multiple houses, increasingly apparent in these times where flexible living arrangements exist. Broadly, the multilocal respondents portray a unanimous attitude towards the Åre area and their respective dwellings as a kind of home. However, there are significant differences in how the individuals perceive their homes in the area in relation to other homes and dwellings within their multi-local lifeworlds. The motives and explanations highlighting how, and to what extent, their dwellings in the area are to be considered as home are therefore diversified.

5.3.5.1 Equally at home in both environments

One group of respondents experience a feeling of being at home in the Åre area without distinction or comparison, neither with the physical dwelling nor the local society in the urban home environment. Here, feeling at home in the area is rooted in the perception that is homely, in all ways. This is expressed in descriptions of having decorated and furnished the homes according to the same principles and standards as in their other places of living, which contributes to feeling at home. Other respondents demonstrate the opposite, which reinforces this statement. Jan makes a distinction of his dwellings in Åre and Stockholm following this criterion. To his understanding, his dwelling in Åre is more of a recreational house than his home in Stockholm due to the fact that it is decorated and furnished as a short time-stay tourist apartment in contrast to his apartment in Stockholm.

Owning your home can also be seen to have an influence on the enhanced sense of being at home. Susanna states explicitly the investment of a condominium in the area is seen as contributing to the perception of the dwelling and environment as home. This is also pointed out by Annika, who argues that the three dwellings she alternates between are home due to having bought and owned them. Furthermore, several respondents' answers reveal that the feeling of being at home goes beyond the four walls of the house. The local conditions and the context in Åre matter and the feeling of being at home are, for some, linked to the environment being conceived as familiar. This is seen in Patrik's descriptions of spending time in Jämtland in his childhood, just as in Karin's case, where friends and relatives have begun to settle near her home in Åre. Thus, having social relations and networks in the local area appears to play an important part when constructing a home in a new place for the multilocal. Sara considers both Undersåker and Örebro as home and points out how the few but qualitative social connections she established contributed to the feeling:

"Like, I have more relationships overall here as well. I also think it's something that affects how at home you feel in a place. I've lived here and I've lived here for almost eight years so it's not really comparable, but I feel very, very at home after having... this apartment. When I came back there, I felt like I was coming home. So, in that way it really feels like you're coming home and this family like, they're so sweet. They often write "Welcome back" and there was a little present like this. Yes, you often feel very welcome. So, it felt like... And that's probably why I feel that I could also in the long run feel at home with relationships there as well." (Sara)

For others, as *the remote working skiers* Rickard and Hampus, settling down" at home" in this new environment has by no means been complicated. As they have previous experiences of living in various places for undetermined periods of time, adaptation to a life in a new environment is described as a smooth and facile process. A non-hierarchical attitude towards

the different houses within the home is also seen in some of the interviewees' reflections about their housing in the Åre area. Susanna, who during the pandemic came to buy a house in Ottsjö, emphasizes how she considers her home in Ottsjö as another housing that is equally home, rather than it being a second home:

"It's like one more home. I feel like I'm living in two places. I think so. At the moment, I feel better in Ottsjö. It has to do with the fact that I live better there and feel very comfortable in my house. I'm happy about the apartment here. But I've lived there for so long that when I get there, I feel that, yes, I'm at home here too. But, I would... if you think purely in terms of the apartment, I could just as easily have lived in another apartment in Stockholm and felt just as at home there. Actually. A bit like that." (Susanna)

Furthermore, the fact that several of the interviewees spend time in the area for social gatherings with close friends, relatives and family can be seen as a sign that Åre is, for some, one of several places where the multilocals have a home that constitutes a part of their multi-house home. Jan spends his holidays, as new year, Christmas and easter in his apartment in Åre together with friends and family living in other parts of Sweden. This is also seen in Patrik's story of leaving Stockholm for Edsåsdalen together with the family in time for Christmas holidays.

5.3.5.2 At home - but in different ways

In accordance with Hilti's (2016) consideration of the complexity of multilocality as a living phenomenon, the interviews confirm that there are other nuances regarding the feeling of being at home within the group of multilocal practitioners. Several respondents make distinctions concerning the feeling of being at home in their multiple living environments, including the Åre area. For Wilma, there is a clear hierarchy between her perception of being at home in Järpen and in the urban context which is manifested in reflections of personal differences in the different environments:

"Yes, there is a second Wilma at home. I don't know how to explain it but not that you're like another person fully, but it's a little different. The environment makes you different. And, of course, it becomes home too because you find and recognize yourself and have friends and have a bit of everyday life in between as well. But, it's like... the more I've been away, or whatever they say, the more I know I like it here. " (Wilma)

Rickard also acknowledges the contrasts linked to the personality when discussing the feeling of being at home. Despite a great gap in lifestyle and everyday life in the different places, both Åre and Örebro are at home:

"It feels like home somehow at both places. Yeah, so it's very strange to have, like, two places that feel like home in that way. But as I said, it's very different because here I have my sons in Örebro and up there it's... it's like a lonely life or whatever you want to call it. A bachelor's life." (Rickard)

Rickard's experience demonstrates how there is no definite need to link the feeling of being at home with having social relations and networks in the area. Being at home in Örebro is linked

to mooring and personal historical ties in terms of having family and children there. On the other hand, at home in Åre intertwines with completely different associations, as in the personal interests in skiing and outdoor life. This multilocal distinction of homeliness into a family and kinship related home and a home as a base for personal interests further reflects the counter worlds (Hilti, 2016) of the Åre area. Moreover, portraying Åre as the home environment based on personal interests is not always the case. Patrik, who predominantly lives in Stockholm but has a family linkage to Jämtland, is an example that also the Åre area can constitute a place for mooring, which makes this duality in home expressions further complex.

"It's home but in different ways. But for me, being a Jämtland peer basically, this became a home for me actually. I feel very much at home here. Then it also has to do with the fact that we did a total renovation on this little tiny townhouse we bought. And it was us who redecorated and redesigned everything so we made it the way we wanted it. It makes you feel at home too." (Patrik)

Thus, this nuanced feeling of being at home in the multi house home suggests that a home within a multi house can be chosen, but also be given by default, as different places can represent both roots and routes, in accordance with Gustavsson (2014). For example, Sofia feels at home in Åre as she believes that the area's atmosphere corresponds perfectly with her self-beliefs and personal identity. Sofia has chosen, or rather decided, to be at home in Åre. While in Östersund, she experiences less freedom and more obligations. Nevertheless, Sofia is also at home in her home town of Östersund, where she is still working and lives her family life. Despite never choosing Östersund as her home, she understands that the mooring and personal ties to the city creates conditions for expressing it as a home.

5.3.5.3 The maturing concept of home

As the pandemic became an enabler for spending more time in the area, it is also evident how many of the respondents with previously restricted or non-existent experience of living in the Åre area bear witness of an enhanced feeling of being at home:

"Well, that's a bit different. Since historically we've been more in Västerås, maybe we've... been more at home in the past. If you've been there five days a week and two days in Duved, then... of course, it's a bit more at home. But now, since the pandemic, you've been almost more in Duved than in Västerås, so the last two years Duved has been more at home." (Torbjörn)

Evidently, this enhanced feeling of being at home is linked to spending more time in general in the dwelling and the area. However, the transition towards working remotely can be seen as a factor influencing the respondents experience of being at home as a resident in the area. Karin underlines how increased time spend working in Åre has led to the adaptation of new routines that remind her of the life in the urban environment which enhances the feeling of

being home, and also living in the area. The perception of Åre as home is also something that some of multilocal practitioners have reflected upon after spending more time in the area during later days. Mikael's reflecting answer shows how seemingly simple and trivial statements very well can demonstrate the evolution into what is considered a home:

"That's what we used to say: Now I'm going home. But now we say home to Duved and home to Småland. So, it's... When we've been up here for the second winter now, we've started and also like this... We have these chalkboard systems, although it's an app, you could say. On the computer. That you use to plan the work. But we use it for to-do lists too. We used to have one called "Åre" and one called "home". But now we have the shopping list for Duved, it's under "Home". Then we have Home Duved and Home Småland there. It becomes very manifested when you do it that way. But these are concepts that we think about and talk about sometimes too. What is home? This... and we want to equip the house here so that it's not something simple, primitive, but it should be as good a standard and have the same possibilities for cooking and other things as at home, as it were. It should be home." (Mikael)

The pandemic effects, leading to spending more time in Åre have also made some of the interviewees reconsider their own approach to living in the area. For Claude, the initial idea of her dwelling in Åre was that it was to be considered as a holiday home for regular visits during the winter season. However, as her student life in Umeå went digital, Åre became a home even during periods when she wasn't practicing skiing or other outdoor activities. This goes in line with Patrik's story of how the house in Edsåsdalen went from being a strict holiday home to a more flexible safe haven during the pandemic.

5.3.5.4 Hierarchical relationship between the houses within the home

Nevertheless, it is important to note that some of the respondents beliefs stand in stark contrast to the aforementioned conceptions about feeling equally at home in Åre as in the other places of their multilocal lifeworlds. After all, clear hierarchies between the different houses within the multi-house home exist in some of the individual cases. Thomas & Annika emphasizes this by stating that the urban setting of Linköping constitutes their base. Åre can in one way be seen as another home, although with significantly less emotional and personal significance.

However, after all, the respondents' considerable conception is that the respective dwellings can be seen as positioned in between what is considered a permanent home and a second, or purely recreational home. This can be related to the fact that the multilocal respondents neither spend all their time in the area nor restrict their visits to periods of holiday and recreation. Karin, who happens to have three dwellings, emphasizes this view of the multilocal considerations of home in the Åre area. For her, the inherent hierarchy between the three dwellings reveals that the multilocal life in Åre, which includes work life and enables

flexibility in accommodation throughout the year, differs from the third dwelling in the Stockholm Archipelago, defined as a holiday home. In contrast to Åre, she only spends time in this "holiday home" when free from work as the dwelling due to its lower standards, is only available during certain periods of the year. Thus, such thinking provides the idea that multilocal life based in the Åre area can be considered as a form of living that should be seen neither as a permanent residence (a base or similar) nor as a pure holiday home. It is not a dwelling intended for habitation during a particular season or part of the year. Nor is it a second home for the vast majority of residents in the sense that it is hierarchically subordinate to the other dwelling. Rather, it should be seen as another home in the multi-household home:

"It's a home and the funny thing is that in Stockholm I'm a member of that condominium association. So, there was some issue that we discussed in the board meeting in Åre and then I said: "Yes, but I can check with my board in Stockholm. We have discussed this there. I'll check it out." So when I checked with my chairman here in Stockholm, I saw that: "Well, my housing association in Åre, we have this problem that we had here in Stockholm, like, how did we solve it?" Then my chairman here in Stockholm says, he just: "Do you have another one? Do you talk to the left? Do you have another housing association?" Then I was like this: "Yes, I do". So that I would say that I have two homes and a summer house. It's a summer home. I close it in the fall and then I open it... because I ski so much, I'm never in my summer house until, well... the end of May. " (Karin)

5.4 Being multilocal in the Åre area - social implications

This final empirical chapter aims to deepen the understanding of the social implications of multilocal living in the case of the Åre area. Starting from the respondents' testimonies of what it is like to live in the area for a significant part of a year, without, for that matter, being a full-time resident, the chapter reveals various negative aspects emerging in the light of the multilocal spatio-temporal dilemma of presence and absence. In relation to this, possible improvement proposals are presented. Lastly, the chapter provides various examples of how the multilocal humbleness (Nadler, 2016) is visible in the example of Åre and in the local positioning of multilocal practitioners.

At the outset, it is important to stress that in general, the respondents describe a warm and welcoming reception from local residents in the Åre area, albeit there is a vast range of explanations of what lies behind. Several of the skiing interested multilocals, notably residents of Åre village, point at the effects of ski tourism. Having common interests in what the mountain can offer has been important for getting to know other people locally. Jan points to the fact that the general skiing interest found amongst people in Åre facilitates the process of moving to the area and to settle in the local community. It's easy to get to know people, because you simply have the same reasons and motivations for being in the area, sharing an arena to engage in your most cherished interests:

"For me, it's the combination of the mountain world and great restaurants and this amazing openness that exists among the people who live there. I've experienced... Being in a second home in a small village outside Mora, in Dalarna. You don't come into the village there like a Stockholmer, you can live there for twenty years and you're not really accepted. Up in Åre, you are. You have a common interest with everyone here, there you can live there for twenty years and you're not really accepted. Up in Åre, that's where you become one. You have a common interest with everyone who is there." (Jan)

The fact that many others are in a similar situation, being newcomers to the area, is also seen as contributing to inclusion, according to the respondents. There is a common need to get to know others in a new place, which makes it easy to make new acquaintances in the village. Interestingly enough, the perception of sharing many interests with others goes beyond skiing or cycling. Even those interviewees that are not actively engaged in the more conventional leisure interests, as Sofia, who states that the fact that many share the same outlook on life and interests has had an impact on her sense of receiving a warm local reception.
Moreover, central Åre's good conditions for a vibrant social life, although being located in a rural, sparsely populated setting are also highlighted. A number of the respondents express a slight sentiment of amazement over the fact that it has been very easy to be included in the

local community. This should be seen in the light of how social life in an urban environment stands in stark contrast to life in the Åre area. Torbjörn and Henrik emphasize how the urban social life and its norms are characterized by a higher degree of anonymity, thus affecting social relationships, and the lack of in-depth relationships, with neighbors, local residents and the local trade. The Åre area, however, is being portrayed as an inclusive and welcoming environment that demonstrates local solidarity and togetherness, which is not a common feature in the multilocals urban settings.

Having that said, it also appears to be evident that multilocal living, based in the specific locality, is accompanied by a set of aggravating social preconditions. In one way, this is reflected in how mobility can be considered as an interruption of permanence, which highlights deficits of the local attachment (Vilhelmsson, 2002). As noted by Schier et al. (2015), the multilocal practitioner faces the issue of spatial and temporal presence and absence between the multiple places of living, which requires the individual to make difficult trade-offs. In turn, the choice about where to be present, or absent, for the time being has proven to complicate the multilocals involvement, and the willingness to become involved, in local events in the place where one chooses to be physically absent (Greinke et al., 2022). Furthermore, the multilocal is not only here and there, but equally important in-between when moving between the different local stable points (Schier et al., 2015). On the whole, the respondents' testimonies of their multilocal lives based in the Åre area gives fruit to these ideas of dilemmas of presence and absence, which additionally clarifies the multilocal experience of being in-between. This is reflected in five distinctive features, which will be described in detail hereafter.

5.4.1 Being out of step with regularity

In broad, the interviews demonstrate how a considerable amount of the multilocals engage in the local community in various ways when spending time in the Åre area. This is seen in the story of Jan, who a couple of years ago moved to Åre part time and since then has been engaged in a local choir and within the House Be community. Henrik expresses his local engagement by acting as a volunteer during various races and ski events, while also being an active member of a cinema association in Järpen. Local engagement also goes beyond Åre village and Järpen, as in Patrik's involvement in the village association of Edsåsdalen, or in Susanna's regular visits to the various village assemblings and local festivities in Ottsjö.

Other respondents mention signs of engagement in local societal issues, by participating in association activities and club work, or by actively joining group discussions on community development on local Facebook pages.

However, the multilocal preconditions of presence and absence also reveal how many respondents experience that the regularity of social happenings, events and encounters, both regarding work and recreation, is out of step with their personal rhythm in the area. Despite the internet's facilitating effects on being connected virtually, it appears as presence in one place really means absence in another. This fundamental multilocal precondition is being reflected in several of the respondents' testimonies, in terms of experiencing difficulties in maintaining social relationships due to physical absence. This goes in line with Vilhelmsson (2002), that it is notably the social relations and networks that are of importance when establishing rooted bonds with a certain place. Here, respondents emphasize social relations with friends, family, colleagues, but also, local people. First and foremost, it is being expressed how multilocality makes social life balancing in two places or more difficult for the individual:

"How can I make it work when I still have friends in Umeå that I haven't seen in a very long time? So, once you're here they want to see you, while I have to take care of a lot of other things when I'm in Umeå that you can't do when you're in Åre. When you're in Åre, it's the same. There are also people you want to meet, so it's a bit... to get it all together and people don't really know where you are, because there's quite a lot of going back and forth lately. You always have to explain that: Yes, I live in two places, but. People sometimes ask. Yes, but you study in Umeå, but why are you never here?" (Claude)

Others consider the disadvantages of being physically, and mentally, far away from work life relations and social business connections. By being absent, the individual risks missing out on valuable everyday encounters, which means that, once again present, they feel that they are not fully aware of the local news, nor what is happening in everyday life for the more rooted people. Jan reflects on these risks of missing out, which in the long run may weaken social relationships:

"My friends from way back, I spend time with them regularly when I'm in Åre. But, I have to be honest, since I'm not in Åre every month, you lose that contact a little bit and then you regain it. So, there is a difference between living in two places like that. It makes this... very regular contact where you meet maybe several times a month, which I like to do if you live in one place. It doesn't exist for me." (Jan)

Thus, it appears to be problematic to build a strong network of social relations when continuously moving between places of living, never staying long enough in one particular place. As many of the respondents are new settlers in the Åre area, building social relationships in the area are of particular importance. In this process, the respondents highlight certain structural difficulties especially affecting the multilocal practitioner, emerging as one

explanation for the perceived social problems. Many forums for social exchange and activities are based on regularity and routines, badly adapted to the mobility-intensive living patterns of the multilocal. Annika demonstrates how it became difficult to maintain scheduled, recurring activities in Linköping when becoming multilocal and settling in Åre. Her irregularity in the Åre area makes it even more difficult for her to engage in similar regular activities when in Jämtland:

"So, I've actually stopped singing and that's a bit of a shame. But in a choir, you have to... if you're going to be in a concert, you have to be in every rehearsal. That's not possible, you can't be away and then you come once before and then you're at the concert. It doesn't work. And it's a bit boring. In the middle of all this. But I don't think the choir in Åre wants someone who comes eight times and then is gone. Because that's a consequence of this, that you can't do this in the same way as you might want to. There are certain things...weekly stuff that comes up again, you can't get involved in." (Annika)

Annika's example of the choir here is a prime example, in line with Greinke et al.'s (2022) findings, of the multilocal problem of managing regularity in social relationships. The choir fits as a parable for how preparation and regularity, not only in certain activities, but also in social life in general, is a prerequisite. The failure to attend risks to lead to losing contact and local involvement. Similar aggravating circumstances of absence are highlighted by Torbjörn, who recalls the difficulties of building a social life in Duved when spending most of his week working in the south of Sweden. Amina builds on the approach that regular presence in an environment is of great importance when trying to establish a social life in a new environment. Spending a couple of days in the environment here and there, or only being there for the weekends, weakens and the opportunities and decelerates social growth and exchanges with other residents:

"For me at least, it has become more quality of course but maybe also lonelier in a way. Because you're never really stay in any one place. Long enough to really start a community, if you're at more than one, which I am. Because I'm in three places. I'm a bit more the "more places than two places" category. I imagine in the long run there will be some fatigue in that. That I feel that soon I might have to sell some... Gotland or this to have a home closer like. Where I have old contacts. Now it's connected to work of course, even if I don't have to be, it's... I've been based in Stockholm for over twenty years so that's where you have most of your friends." (Amina)

Amina stands out from many other of the multilocals, although agreeing with the ideas of other respondents that the local presence plays an essential role in the social situation when living multilocally. By having three different houses, which she alternates between with indeterminate, but regular intervals, Amina can be seen as on the far end of the multilocal spectrum, in what Vilhelmsson (2002) describes as philobats, people who strive for continuous change without commitment. This extreme form of multilocality demonstrates how being recurrently disconnected from the living environment can result in a prominent feeling of rootlessness.

"But I find that I have a harder time with the disruptions. Actually. It was so damn nice when I kind of got to

come back from Gotland when I had been away from Gotland because I decided that Gotland was home. But then when winter came and it got terribly dark and not nearly as much fun to live... because I don't live in Visby. I live south. All this calm and pleasant thing was finally just: "Eeeh, hello?" And then I haven't really gotten into everything. Yes, it was nice to know what home was but I didn't have as much stimulation as I might have suddenly felt I needed. I can feel a certain rootlessness in that and I have to work with that. Because it's almost easier for me to move than to stay. So, there are so many aspects..." (Amina)

5.4.2 The uncertainty of presence hinders local involvement

Secondly, the feeling of being out of step with regularity is molded by the *uncertainty of presence*. Multilocality's ephemeral and dynamic nature, seen in unforeseeable shifts between being present and absent, explains how the possibilities to engage locally in the Åre area are negatively affected. In accordance with Nordin & Marjavara (2012), in order to become locally involved in assocations, time is a highly significant factor in building trust and networks. However, as for many respondents, being multilocal is self-inflicted accompanied with an uncertainty of presence, regarding when and for how long one will remain in the area, which affects the conditions and initiatives for local involvement:

"Yes, there will be more socialising down here. And it's mostly because you don't know how often you're there. So, there's no chance of getting involved in anything when you know you're going to be away most weekdays all the time. It feels a bit impossible, or unnecessary, to get involved much. So, we'll have to see after the pandemic, in normal circumstances, whatever it is. As I said, if there are only two days in the office, then that's three days out of five in Duved. At least there will be more. So that you can get a bit more involved in the social life in Duved." (Torbjörn)

As seen in Torbjörn's statement, local involvement is sought and desired, but not always possible to achieve based on the circumstances surrounding the multilocal lifestyle of intensive and regular relocations. The uncertainty of presence also complicates the establishment of regular routines and participation in recurring social events and gatherings when in the area, which hinders the multilocal's ability to fully integrate and engage in local society:

"Then another dilemma that comes before you're settled and in a community is that you don't have routines for certain things. So it gets a bit... well, you don't have... I don't have a gym card here now. I go out and ski a little bit and stuff, but if you're in Stockholm it's clear. Then I sing in the choir on Tuesdays and do yoga on Wednesdays. That kind of excitement. Of course, there is in Visby and there is yoga in Klintehamn and if I were to stay longer in one place I would probably also get more uptight habits. " (Amina)

The uncertainties of presence due to the continuous, sometimes spontaneous, relocations back and forth provide an indication for the identified lack of local involvement amongst the multilocal respondents, which could be seen in the light of Vilhelmsson's (2002) thinking that mobility tends to create gaps in local anchoring. When constantly being on the move both physically and mentally, the multilocal has a hard time finding the right opportunity to engage locally rather than lacking the will to do it:

"No, if I had known that I would have lived there as long as I actually did, I would have... I would have liked to do it. But I never knew that... I was always unaware of how long it would last and then I didn't want to start

something that I can't finish because then I'll move to Umeå again." (Claude)

This unwillingness to put effort and energy into short-term, transient social relationship building recurs in several interviews. As shown by Wilma, it can also be about the temporal constraints of the social counterpart:

"And then I can feel that I have lived here for a long time and met this crowd... I would say that you stop trying to make new friends because you probably think that they will soon move away anyway, unfortunately. I think that's how I feel about myself. Not that you're not nice, but you're not actively trying to make new friends." (Wilma)

Here, the impacts of tourism in the Åre area may partly explain why some respondents show signs of reluctance to get involved in developing social relationships. As a considerable amount of the workforce are seasonal workers, it is common that people come and go. Not only the temporal character of the multilocals, but the temporality of the whole area thus plays a role in the ability to build relationships. It is also important to note that many of the respondents are aware of this dilemma of presence and absence and consider it to be an expected, albeit equally unfortunate, consequence of the multilocal lifestyle. As seen in the work of Greinke et al. (2022), certain quality of life benefits may make up for the unpleasant preconditions of presence and absence. By weighing up the advantages and disadvantages, many respondents find the liberating aspects of being able to change living environment as compensatory for temporary social shortcomings:

"In Åre, it's more the environment as such that attracts. Not really that there are any people we have a relationship with there. I think it's very difficult and you have to... if you want to create relationships and anchoring, you need to invest time and presence with people. I don't see us ever spending so much time in Åre that we get that trust from the people there. Because it will be just the same... the change and renewal and movement in itself is, for me anyway, appealing. It's always nice to go to Åre and it's nice to leave because you're going somewhere else." (Thomas)

Thomas' thinking here goes in line with Nordin & Marjavaara's (2012) suggestions that time spent in the certain place is a key prerequisite to be able to gain trust when not being a full time resident.

5.4.3 Compensating for lost time

When looking deeper into the social implications of the multilocal lifestyles, however, it appears as if the consequences of presence and absence is no zero-sum game. In accordance with Schier et al. (2015), practitioners of pluralistic living environments are both present, absent and in-between in the various places. Intermittent presence also testifies to another intermittent absence in another place, which has exponential consequences for the overall sense of being present anywhere at all. In the case of the Åre area, where many of the

respondents are newcomers, it becomes apparent that there is a common need to cope with the reality of spending less time in the corresponding urban environment. This shrinking urban presence have had negative consequences for social life and attachment in the former solely home soil, in accordance with the respondents. Apart from the practical difficulties of maintaining social connections in social events and associations, it is being highlighted how the relocations to the Åre area weakens the relationship and contact with the urban environment. It is first and foremost relations to other people in the other geographical environment which become affected negatively.

"Then... this thing about personal relationships and closeness with other people. It suffers when... it's a completely different thing when you're in one place all the time or at least two places. I think that's one of the bigger drawbacks that you... natural relationships with people in the place don't really happen." (Thomas)

For Sara, the strength in the personal relation to the city of Örebro and her social relations in the city both became affected by spending a significant amount of time in Undersåker during the lapse of an entire year. Susanna also points to how spending more time in Ottsjö may cause disruptions and weakened anchoring in Stockholm:

"Yes, I can feel that I have lost my attachment. Not completely, but I still try to get away and see everyone I can when I'm here. It's like I'm going to get rid of everything in a week here. But I still try to see friends that I have down here, but it gets a little different. Now I'm coming down for a week, now I have to take the opportunity to do everything. Like. Actually, I'd just like to sit up in the house in Ottsjö and have a good time. I live in a small apartment here too, that's it. I have much better accommodation up there." (Susanna)

As reflected in Susanna's answer, the multilocal practitioners perceive a place-bound deficit of their social maintenance of life in the urban area. Thereby, they tend to compensate for the lost urban time after a period spent in the Åre area. Such perceptions thus lead to an increased need to make use of the often short time spent in the environment to maintain and restore the social relations linked to the place. To some extent, this may also cause interruptions to the work related relations connected with the urban place. As emphasized by Mikael and Thomas, social networks in both personal and professional spheres get affected by reduced physical attendance and decreased amounts of meetings:

"Social relationships are always about investing time in each other. And that has certainly, what can I say, diminished the strength of the relationships in both Linköping and Halland. In some situations, it's very clear that I'm outside... what can I say, some of the relationships that are created in a workplace. We talk about this openly and are aware of it. That there are quite a few things that I'm not involved in, for better or worse, precisely because I've been away for so long. It would have been different if it had been an every-other-week thing or if you'd been away for two or three days. Now it's like six weeks in a row and stuff." (Thomas)

Vilhelmsson (2002) highlights how disruptions from a place can create a breeding ground for emotions such as homesickness or nostalgia. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that there is no absolute consensus among the respondents that the multilocal individual needs to fight

against a dwindling presence in several places, at all times. Disagreement within the group of multilocals can for example be seen in discussions concerning the so-called FOMO-phenomena, *the Fear Of Missing Out* on activities and social events. Sara mentions that multilocal living causes this FOMO, in terms of a feeling of missing out on activities in Örebro while being in Undersåker and vice versa:

"A bit of a feeling that you might miss some things in one place. Like now, when I'm down here. Then I can feel a lot of longing for Åre and maybe see that someone has posted about it there: "Oh, I want that!" Like that. Or: Wow, they've got a lot of snow now. That's how you get like this: "And then the other way around, when I was in Åre in September. Not so much the others, but in September when things started to get going again in Örebro. When it wasn't completely dead. Then you could be like this: "No, I'm going to miss this too!" Like that. Maybe it's a bit of a FOMO too. I don't know. And that you want to be at that crayfish party, like." (Sara)

However, the *remote working skiers* Hampus and Rickard disagree on this notion that the multilocal lifestyle contributes to the feeling of being in the wrong place at the wrong time by stating that continuous commuting between the family life in south of Sweden and activity-focused life in Åre have not led to any loss of attachment or a feeling of missing out on events in their respective hometowns. These differing views should be seen in the light of the fact that there is also great variation in terms of how the individuals chose to spend their time in the area. While Hampus and Rickard tend to relocate for the south every two weeks, Sara has chosen to stay in Undersåker for longer periods, which may explain why the housing transition has greater consequences for some individuals.

5.4.4 The semi-local positioning of the multilocals

Additionally, the experience of being in-between is even more visible, if not most obvious, in the way the majority of the multilocal respondents relate to using the term " resident" to describe their living in the Åre area. Some respondents do emphasize how they consider themselves as an Åre's resident or Undersåker's resident. Rickard, who, although he has lived in Åre for a rather short period, sees himself as both an Örebro resident and Åre resident. Sara agrees with the latter, stating that she is an Undersåker's resident. At the other end of the scale, two of the respondents do not see themselves as residents of the area in any respect.

Furthermore, there are differences of opinion among the respondents regarding what background is suitable for addressing yourself as a resident of Åre. Some of the respondents state that the social climate of the Åre area is welcoming, due to the fact that they perceive that a significant part of the population in Åre village have moved there during later years. This group therefore believes that there is no requirement to have a long history in the area or to have grown up there to be able to call yourself a Åre resident, as can be the case in other

small societies. As long as you spend much time in the area, or even live permanently, you have the right to call yourself a Åre resident. The lion's share, however, lands in descriptions that connect to the experience of being in between the rooted and the transient, the resident and the guest. This can be seen, for example, in statements in which respondents apologize for shortcomings by adding brackets:

"It's a good question. Yes, to some extent. But as I said, I'm not there maybe as often as if you had a job there. So you're not there as often, but I would say that you're a Duved Resident. Yes, I would say so." (Torbjörn)

In accordance with Torbjörn, many of the respondents express a self-reflective skepticism linked to their own identity as residents of the Åre area when simultaneously being part-time residents also in other places. Several argue that they do not spend enough time in the area to call themselves residents, which is seen in Claude's approach that the level of presence in the environment affects the identity as a resident. Her current mobile lifestyle of regular commute means that the identity as a resident is kept alive, albeit with reflective doubt regarding both Umeå and Åre:

"Well, for a year and a half you've been an Åre resident because you've really just been there. Right now it's a bit... but I'm still an Åre resident now too. So it's... it's still in two places. I wouldn't say that you're only one or only the other. Especially now that there's a lot of commuting and you're not there for as long." (Claude)

Hence, the dynamic and mobile lifestyle as a multilocal makes it complex for many respondents to define themselves according to sedentary identities, such as being a resident. Many respond to the question of residency by depicting the image of being in a borderland. Experiences of not being a resident, in its normal rooted sense, but also not a guest in the environment, recurs in a number of interviews. Jan and Susanna gives voice to this perplexity of being in the borderland of place identity:

"Good question. I probably wouldn't want to think of myself as a weekly guest like that. Who just comes to visit but I probably have my tentacles and roots into the village a bit more anyway. Not least during the two years when I was very regular. Member and... in the choir and so. Because then I got to know quite a few extra people, where we had the common interest." (Jan)
......
"Am I an Ottsjö resident or a Stockholmer? I don't really know. Do you have to choose? That's the thing. " (Susanna)

The overall reasoning of the respondents suggests that the majority of multilocals are not considering themselves as residents of the Åre area on the same terms as year-round residential local people. In the eyes of the multilocals, the notion of being a resident is heavily dependent on staying in the area for longer periods than themselves. Thus, one way to label the multilocals based on their own attitudes about being in-between is to describe them in terms of being *semi*-locals in the area. Clearly, the respondents perceive that they have a

lower degree of attachment and are less rooted than locals, which makes them reluctant to call themselves residents. At the same time, the availability of local knowledge, networks and contacts in the different places makes the perceived level of attachment and residency higher than for temporary guests. This thinking of a semi-local multilocal identity originates from Karin, who further explains her perceptions about the different degrees of residency in the area:

"If you ask people who were born or raised in Åre and went to school in Åre, they are like this: "There's only us!" All the others are tourists who have moved here, but then there are those... the locals who have moved here but actually live in Åre. They are written there, that's where they live, that's where their suitcase is. And then there's us: Semi-locals, who actually have a home there but are written elsewhere but are in our homes enough to know people in the village. You talk to them at the ICA, they recognize you as well. Many of my friends work with... some still have their Stockholm jobs but work remotely permanently, while others actually work in Åre. Driving an ambulance, working in a lift, working in a café. You notice that when there are big tourist weeks. That's when you notice who's a bit more local than others. That's just it: You go shopping late. You go skiing at lunchtime when all the tourists are in for lunch. You... if you want to go out to eat in the evening, you don't go to the square and eat, you take the car and go to Duved and eat in the restaurants there, like that. To avoid... this. And it's the same in the summer if you want to go downhill cycling, then it's better to do it on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday than to do it at the weekend. So that... I'm not a local, but at least I'm a so-called semi-local." (Karin)

The perception of being semi-local should be seen in relation to what Nordin & Marjavaara (2012) describe as non-local locals, in terms of second home owners who spend longer periods of stay in their second homes and are actively engaged in local associations. The multilocals, however, perceive that their all year-round presence makes them appear more rooted in the eyes of the locals than more traditionally seasonal summer or winter guests. Although not being able to become fully local while living multilocally, there is atleast a higher likelihood to identify as residents than people living there during predetermined seasons. The possibility and likelihood to stay in the Åre area during longer periods also contributes to a belief that the local population appreciates the multilocal residential structure in comparison with other visitors and guests:

"I think they're so used to people coming there too. They're probably quite happy that people come and stay there for more than just three weeks a year, like. Sometimes you wonder if they think you're a bloody Stockholmer who comes and... but, I think they're so used to people having cottages and being there quite a bit so I think it's probably only positive that you're someone who's there a bit more. I imagine... No, but that's a bit difficult." (Susanna)
....
"Well, I think so, but if you were to ask someone who was born and raised in Åre, they would still think you're... I'm first and foremost a Stockholmer to them. But I'm still an okay Stockholmer because I seem to think their home town is so good that I actually bought a house there and I'm not just there in the winter. " (Karin)

5.4.5 Population registration: a moral foxhole

This final aspect highlighting the multilocal feeling of being in-between relates to the practical responsibility of deciding where to set up administrative bases when being present both in Åre and elsewhere during the lapse of a year. Reflecting upon where to be registered

has been a relevant issue for many respondents, just as the increase in multilocality has been seen to cause real demographic concerns for rural communities (Willberg, 2021; Di Marino, 2022).

The sedentary structures surrounding the fiscal system of Sweden positions the multilocals, whether they like it or not, in what can best be described as a moral foxhole situation. As the multilocals lives in more than one place but only are registered for taxation in one of these places of living, the issue of registration becomes a highly relevant concern. In contrast to more sedentary lifestyles, the multilocal is de facto using several places in their daily lives and can thus be said to have both the rights and obligations that are part of local democracy under the Swedish political system. In a municipality such as Åre, this becomes a certainly prominent problem as the demand for the area changes throughout the year, both for tourists and for multilocals, as previously shown. Regardless of where the individual chooses to register, the decision may be viewed with disapproval in the perspective of the other place, as important social functions and public infrastructure are inevitably used over the course of a year. Furthermore, the motives to not register are not as clear for the multilocals as for seasonal residents, who do not relocate with the same amount of flexibility as multilocals potentially do. Doubts surrounding where to be registered is also highlighted by many of the respondents in the interviews. Mikael, for example, mentions how Åre's intermittent popularity generates public infrastructure funding problems:

"When you talk to people, who you meet at these breakfasts and such, who are more familiar with the local area, you understand that it's not so damn easy to have a municipality where almost no one is registered and pays taxes, but most people are quite wealthy and can afford to have a second home. But they don't pay taxes here, it's possibly that they use local tradesmen who in turn pay taxes. But not many people contribute to the water and sewerage system and so on." (Mikael)

The fact that few are registered in the area is, by many, widespread and largely described as a problem for the local community. This discussion concerning civil registration, and the current trends with people moving in without registering in the area, is by some approached with contempt:

"This debate about the population register. Because I myself can find it quite provocative when people have obviously decided to live here. They have lived for longer than a year even, and still have not chosen to register here, but rent out their apartment in Stockholm. Remaining, written on that apartment and in that way maybe saving, there will be some pennies anyway, they might save a few thousand a month even. But by doing so, they are not contributing to society here, I think. And I find that quite provocative because I am aware of the investments that are needed for Åre municipality. To be able to develop Åre municipality. And then it becomes difficult when they do not get money from those who actually use and live here, but do not pay for themselves. I think that's really bad." (Jens)

Other contributions demonstrate an awareness about the moralically complicated situation

when you live in more than one place but only pay tax in one municipality, which could be seen in reference to Müller (2010), findings that rural second home owners expressed wishes that the hosting rural municipality should receive parts of their tax money. To Thomas' understanding, he is using commons without actually helping to pay for such schemes in Åre, whereas in his other places of living he contributes by paying tax or having a local business. Thus, alternative structures for local municipal funding is proposed, which goes in line with Di Marino's (2022) thinking that there is a need to re-evaluate current administrative divisions in the light of increased multilocality:

"For what we use. And there you can think of a lot of things you might think should be different. We don't pay any fees at all for all the municipal services that exist and that we use. You might think that there should be a different model for this type of place. Like getting a larger share of... yes, but the whole wind energy debate, for example: the property tax should go to the municipalities where they are rather than to the state, since energy is delivered elsewhere and garbage collection, municipal infrastructure in the form of roads, schools, the region runs health care. There are lots of such services that we use but don't really pay for." (Thomas)

As in the story of Thomas, there are signs that the multilocals have a slight guilty conscience about not being written in the municipality of Åre despite spending a significant amount of time there. For many, the motives for not choosing to pay tax in Åre is explained by the fact that in the role of being a local consumer, one nevertheless contributes, albeit indirectly, to the revenue of the municipality. However, far from everyone is being as frank about his economical intentions as Jan:

"I guess it's because I'm always so very used to the question: if you live up here so much, why don't you sign up here? But, what use are we to you? You don't pay taxes here. And yet you use social functions in different ways. But I have not been asked that question. I've just felt a bit guilty about it myself. But the simple reason is that the municipal tax is several crowns more expensive up in Åre, so I don't want to throw that money away. There are... but of course, I contribute anyway. At least in that the ICA manager becomes wealthy. I'm contributing to that. And he pays taxes, so I'm sure it will be great." (Jan)

In accordance with Willberg (2021) and Di Marino (2022), the multilocals responses show that the trend of increased multilocality during times of the pandemic has brought vulnerabilities with the current sedentary tax registration system. The system of paying local tax to a municipality is based on a norm that people pay tax where they live, which in the sedentary perspective, is one fixed place. Thereby, using social services in multiple places, it becomes difficult to determine where to best contribute with your tax money:

"I think that's a small vulnerability in the way our system works. There are not so many incentives for the individual that you have to be registered where you are registered and maybe that... Now then, it has become even more apparent with this situation with covid. That, now that you can live wherever you want. Where are you going to be taxed then? Are you three months in one place, but you live somewhere else? Those three months, that municipality doesn't get, like, any of the three months' wages." (Jens)

As multilocality has become increasingly popular, Jens highlights how the issue of registration becomes an ominous problem for localities like the Åre area, who faces a

significant influx of people without receiving refunds in terms of tax revenues:

"And then this thing about being registered before the thirtieth of November, then the whole municipality gets the remaining year's council tax. So, if I'm registered in Stockholm 29th of November. Then I move here and next year I live here. Then Stockholm will get my whole tax, even though I have lived in Åre. But they got nothing for it. Then I move somewhere else. It will be a pity for all the small villages, I think. Who have the opportunity to develop, but don't get the opportunity in principle, but just have to pay for it. I think something simply has to be done there, but I don't know what's best. " (Jens)

Additionally, the responses show a tendency within the group of respondents to engage in certain local development issues. Rather than engaging and discussing municipal affairs and issues, the multilocals tend to reflect on matters concerning local economy, consumption and commerce. This can be explained by the fact that the multilocal group, with the underlying preferences, choices they have and based on their position in life, does not have any greater needs of the municipal services in terms of pre-schools, schools or elderly care that the municipality of Åre caters for. At first glance, they can also be seen as sustaining rather than draining forces of the national economy. However, the multilocals demonstrate certain awareness about the prevailing municipal problems concerning water supplies, sewage systems and road infrastructure, amongst other things, where they in accordance with Xue (2018) appear to have a real impact in the host community. In the end, this group of part-time residents in the Åre area are not directly being affected to the same extent as people living in the area, or at least not as affected, when not having children nor elderly people to take care of in their daily lives.

5.4.6 Multilocal solutions to the dilemma of presence and absence

As seen, the majority of the respondents demonstrates a willingness to engage locally, however, the often sporadic and uncertain presence makes it difficult and unmotivating to actively seek local involvement. Greinke et al. (2022) highlights how, in order to improve the integration of multilocals in local communities, there is a need to better tailor the formats, activities and services that appeal to this mobile group. The stories of the use of what, according to Di Marino (2022) can be described as popular social meeting places for multilocals, such as coworking hubs, illustrate how the multilocals demand precisely these types of solutions.

Amongst the multilocals living in Åre village, Tegefjäll and Duved, and especially amongst the *remote working skiers*, the coworking office center House Be is consistently highlighted in the interviews as an important hub and starting point in the process of constructing a social life and network in the Åre area. Several of the respondents state that they either rent an office

space at House Be or regularly take part in the community's various events, activities and networking opportunities in central Åre. During times of remote working, such physical meeting places are of great importance as they provide a social context for a group of individuals who otherwise lack natural social contexts in a new location. This is perfectly illustrated by the story of Mikael, who, when visiting the House Be breakfast seminar posed a question to the group of participants that was more about reaching out to the local population than about forging work-related relationships. Contexts and meeting places such as those offered by House Be makes it possible to reach out locally with issues and ideas in a relatively new setting where the individual lacks the contact pathways and networks of the urban home environment, which therefore could be seen as contributing to local integration:

"Well, not quite as much yet, but it's getting to the point where you have some local contacts. And House Be has been an important factor in that. I have to say that. For... was it that meeting you were with when I asked out wanting to borrow a car seat? Oh, yeah. Yes, it was. Yeah, that was it. I went to pick it up today, so it's kind of fun. It would have been easier in Småland because there are lots of friends there who... There are some who have children, have had children recently or have grandchildren or something like that. There would have been quite a few people to call to ask such a question. Whereas up here, I didn't have so many people I could call and ask such a question." (Mikael)
…………..
"There's a place I've heard very positive things about called House Be. There are several people who live there and work and its really people in my style, like IT people who can work remotely but who work in an office. And they go skiing together and they have... there are people from all over the country and they've got a community here because of that." (Vincent)

Even in this context of coworking, however, the dilemma of presence and absence negatively affects the ability to become involved. This is shown in how subscriptions and contracts offered, in terms of residential, work and leisure services, are not always adapted to a group that moves regularly:

"But it would have been even better if there was the possibility to connect with people socially in a not too arranged way if you know what I mean. Just that there are natural platforms to meet people and stuff. You know, if there's... I looked up if there was a coworking space and there is. But then it was also this kind of complicated thing with long subscription times. If I could have rented an office, an office space for two weeks, that would have been perfect. Then I would have done it. To have an office and talk shit at the coffee machine and stuff, instead of sitting at home in the cottage every day. So, I'm a social creature and I like to meet people as well, but that was maybe the hard part. House Be, I checked them out a little bit too. It's a bit, a bit off but there's nothing wrong with that but I was under the impression that it was quite... If I remembered correctly, quite tedious subscription options kind of thing. There was nothing that suited me for that period.

I was a bit keen on it but as it was forty hours... or as I'm here forty percent of the time, their options were simply too expensive. On the other hand, I think if... I don't know how to organize it but a cheaper one or with a little more hotel-like piece where people can move in for a little shorter time or something. So that it's suitable for people like me who are not a hundred percent here." (Vincent)

Thus, many respondents identify a significant development potential in how local businesses can better provide services and market offers aimed at their group of mobility intensive residents. As previously noted, there is a general lack of market alternatives and adjustments

for people living part-time in the area, which in accordance with the multilocals, shows how the local economical market has not adapted fully to the influx of more flexible living patterns. In particular, these market shortcomings are related to different kinds of formats and subscriptions of local services which do not offer adopted packages to the target group. As lift passes to the Åre ski system, gym passes and rental of office space are based on sedentary norms, in terms of annual offers or shorter offers based on the customer being in Åre full time, the multilocals experience that their mobile way of life often falls through the cracks:

"On the other hand, I train regularly at the gym and it was a bit of a bummer when I had to check out a gym card in Åre for a period like this, half long period. Either it was a one-off entry fee at Sats or I had to get a full-year card. And it turned out like this: Yes, but it's a bit... yes, but then I fall a bit between the cracks. Then it would have been really good if there had been one of these half-long formats, like one month at a time or two months or something like that and... because it was a bit tricky then." (Vincent)

Thus, when living multilocally, it appears as the advantageous options for the potential consumers are fewer than for people remaining in Åre for restricted periods as tourists or for people living there all year round. Having experienced this personally, Vincent identifies that there is a need of enhancing local services and supplies for people living multilocally, who are in between the local resident and the short-term tourist:

"Maybe it's generally like this, like seasonal formats or shorter formats of all sorts. Anything from gym passes to evening classes to various meetups or breakfast lectures or whatever as well. Some kind of like activity calendar that is geared for those who are not just there for a week as a tourist but also not living there permanently year-round but is kind of like this... that can attract those people like yourself, who are there for a longer period but not the whole year. I think that would be nice actually." (Vincent)

Understanding that forums for social interaction are emphasized as important when starting a multilocal life in the area, the fact that access to such places (coworking spaces, recreational areas and activities amongst other things) are not tailored to the multilocal consumer reveals how the sedentary norms prevail, which in turn may affect the multilocals potential to gain access to the social opportunities in a condescending way. Hampus mentions how he personally aims to be part of these kinds of social context when planning his long-term future in the area:

"I think, that's my next step if I'm here a lot. It will be like, I'm probably not going to sit at home and work, but I'm going to want to be in a place where I meet people and work. That will be my next step. But in that I haven't been here since COVID here that much, I haven't been there enough to be able to establish that but I think there will need to be places where you have hubs where people who work the same way will want to meet." (Hampus)

5.4.7 The multilocal humbleness

In relation to previous sections, demonstrating how the majority of multilocals exhibit a reluctance to relate to sedentary labels associated with being a resident, there is reason to link this to what Nadler (2016) describes as the multilocal *humbleness.* This is seen in the various ways of nuancing and neutralizing the social position in relation to other groups, as will be

explained hereafter.

5.4.7.1 Lacking interpretative prerogative

As shown earlier, for the respondents identifying with the in-between place identity of being *semi*-local, there is a pronounced resistance to address yourself as a fully integrated resident. This relates to the perception of how other resident groups in the area view the multilocal. Mikael feels that there is an implicit requirement among locals that you, when living in the Åre area, must have some degree of attachment or roots in the area, in order to truly consider yourself an Åre resident. Even if he personally perceives himself to have some degree of attachment and involvement locally, he believes that people who have grown up in the area are of more restrictive beliefs:

"Well, I'd probably like to see myself with one leg up here more than maybe the locals do. Because of course, for them this is... we who live like this, it's a bit of a luxury life, I imagine they think so too. They live their everyday life and we just drift around and go here and there and be where we think it's best. So I would like to see myself more as a Duved resident, but you have to realise that you're not really one. I met someone at the store today. Some lady who said "Yes, but I've moved here too." I said: "Well, how long have you lived here?" "Twelve years," she said. "Well, then you're a real Åre resident." "Well, I'm from Sörmland from the beginning". She still had that identity anyway." (Mikael)

Mikael's response testifies to the notion that not only geographical origin matters when it comes to the right to title oneself as a resident of the area. A perceived difference in cultural background and interests also seems to influence the view of what constitutes a resident, in the eyes of multilocal. This approach goes in line with Patrik, claiming not to be an Edsåsdalen resident, as the title implies kinship or clear connections with the physical environment:

"No, I don't. Being an Edsåsdalen resident, then it's Edsåsdalen since generations back and you have a surname that is associated with the village. Then there are many people who have moved in here in recent years. There has been little new construction here, but a whole new area with sixty plots has been released and houses have been built and many people have settled there permanently. Then there are several people like me who I know live here sometimes and work remotely. That's it." (Mangus)

The multilocal respondents with the most mobility-intensive lifestyles embodies this perception even more explicitly. The nomadic Amina expresses that she has no interpretative prerogative when it comes to describing herself in terms of being an Åre resident. In accordance with Patrik's interpretation of the importance of historical connections and kinships, Amina considers herself to be neither, as in between, in all her living environments:

"I'm in between. I'm not staying anywhere then. I'm a nature person who likes people who like the outdoors, adventure. Maybe they're here because it's here. But when you say Åre residents, it's also very easy to think of a certain thing. And that's a bit dangerous perhaps. Maybe that's what Årebo is all about, I don't know. But when you say Årebo to me, I think of people who have lived here for more than a generation. Who have more than... maybe even two generations here. Now I know some of them and get along with them. I like them very much, but they have grandmothers and grandfathers and great-grandmothers and great-grandfathers quite close by.

That's Årebo for me." (Amina)

Thus, explanations like Amina's bears witness that the multilocals, in general, perceive the expression of "being a resident" as something profound, as something that can be problematised and reflected upon to a greater extent than simply living in a certain place, like in the Åre area. Again, linkages from "being a resident" are drawn to personal attachment and to kinship, as well as personal and historical roots in the physical environment. In reference to the work of Nadler (2016), the multilocals may appropriate the new place of Åre, although keeping their own identity and the local context in balance. Appropriating the identity of being an Åre resident is thereby an example of such an element that many respondents choose to renounce. Instead, the perception of a lack of interpretive prerogative in place identity creation is prominent, especially among the multilocals with mobile lifestyles and a lack of background connections to the Åre area.

Rather than appropriating the identity of being a local resident, some of the multilocals seem to adopt other customs and tendencies after active observation, in accordance with Nadler (2016). For respondents without kinship or family connections to Jämtland and the Åre area, one subset points to the fact that it is rather the knowledge of what is simmering under the surface in the local debate that is of importance in forming the opinion that they have some degree of local attachment in their new environment. Some refer to the fact that having knowledge of the local social debate strengthens attachment in the environment. Here, it is being stressed how it becomes important to follow the local media and to do your own research, in order to become informed about the local social debate when establishing in a new context:

"I have... but quite early on I tried to study. Local politics, who's in charge? What are the issues being dealt with and so on? I started to subscribe to Östersundsposten, which is the biggest newspaper here. As well as, reading a lot of local news on Swedish Radio and P4 Jämtland. SVT's local news and so on. I think just by doing that you get a pretty good idea of what's going on and it also makes me feel like I have a better local connection." (Jens)
……………………
"Yes. I guess you could put it like this: When we're in Småland, just as when we are here. The news we watch on TV, local news, we watch both Jämtland and Jönköping. So, we kind of follow the local debate up here in some way. Even if we don't participate in it." (Mikael)

Having local knowledge and geographical awareness of the area thus appears as an additional reason for considering yourself attached. Several of the *remote skiing workers* mention how they have a good knowledge of the Åre mountain and the other ski areas, but also the villages around the Åre area. Knowing where to do what and where to go contributes, to some extent, to the feeling of being locally rooted. Jens testifies how he has acquired a lot of new knowledge about the mountain environment by incorporating new habits into his daily life,

which were not previously a priority in the urban environment:

"It's also a damn strange thing. I've never owned a car before, but I've bought a car. I never thought I would, because I usually cycle a lot in Stockholm. And I have a big environmental idea that it's unnecessary to have a car if you don't have to, like. Here you have to have a car if you don't want to be very limited. But by having the car, I think I've also become more... that I discover Jämtland more because it... when you're out on different adventures. Top tours, I top tour a lot. And then you're out somewhere and just: "Well, there's this". Then you find some little local stone oven baked pizzeria, or something like that and just "That's cool.". Then you hang out there for a bit and start talking to some people there, maybe get to know someone and so on so that... you discover probably, I discover a lot more of Jämtland here because of it than I did of Stockholm County when I lived in Stockholm." (Jens)

5.4.7.2 A perceived lack of mandate

Secondly, this perceived lack of interpretive prerogative reveals a more fundamental and comprehensive expression of multilocal humbleness in the case of the Åre area. Consistently, the interviews reveal how the respondents also perceive a certain lack of mandate to speak out in the local community of the Åre area. This should be seen in the light of the discussion that the degree of presence in the Åre area is considered as decisive for having the right to express oneself. Not living exclusively in the area appears to put a damper on the respondents in local issues:

"I wouldn't say I am. Just because I feel so very fugitive of me. I'd like to live here, but maybe not all the time. I don't dare to say anything about it because... Or I do dare. But I feel like I'm not really here and I don't have... not that I don't have a say in anything, but... well, I don't really know. It feels a bit hypocritical to say anything, and I'm not even here. To sit and shout about not having it feels... a bit awkward." (Wilma)
………………

"I can make my stand 'local-locally', like in my housing association in Åre and so on. And I can think about things, like that they should change the infrastructure and how they should do it and so on. But I don't know if I have any mandate...I don't think I have any mandate to have a voice like, in those issues. When it becomes more municipal or whatever." (Sofia)

For others, this perceived lack of mandate goes even further, which is explained by the fact that it is considered that one does not have the same intentions to be in the area as people who live there all year round. Thus, in accordance with Nadler (2016), maintaining a low profile while also being fairly new in the local environment is emphasized:

"We note that there is a strong expansion. Construction cranes and stuff but I don't know if we have any... what to say... we have no right to have any opinion on it really. We are part of the potential problem. We don't have that mandate. We are not written there, we have no intention of writing ourselves there. That we would get involved, either for or against. That would be like being outside what we have a mandate to do, I think. But we should contribute in the way we can by consuming in the region, so. Pay for us. For what we use. " (Thomas)
....
"What can I say about this? I don't really live here, do I? Yes, I can feel that. Should I come here and suddenly start thinking a lot of things? Who hasn't even lived there for real. I'd probably be a bit disturbed if someone completely new came along and just started telling me how things should be. You have to be a bit humbler, I think." (Susanna)

Nadler finds (2016) that working, or buying a home in the new environment can be a way for the multilocals to shed their humbleness and unleash more of the personality traits. Moreover, the responses of the multilocals suggest that an individual's employment and role in the local

community may have an impact on whether they feel they have the right to have local mandate. Thomas reflects on this, as in how the contribution to the local society affects his approach towards having a local mandate in his different places of living:

"There (Halland) it's a bit different. A little different mandate in that we contribute to the locality in a positive way by running a business and we attract a few people there anyway who consume other things in the locality and so on. So, we have a different... a greater role in the local environment and contribute in a different way than we do in Åre, where we are probably more of a drain than a source of nourishment from that perspective, from a municipal perspective. Then sure, we consume lift passes and some food in the shops, restaurant visits, some local services, naprapaths and gyms and other things. So, in that way we are contributing. "(Thomas)

Thus, it is reasonable to think that the general multilocal perception of lacking local mandates is not only based on the fact that these individuals exhibit an inferiority to locals in the area due to being less rooted and spatially attached. Nevertheless, as many of the respondents have settled in the area for recreational and amenity-related purposes, it appears as if the lack of mandates also reveals an implicit confirmation that one does not perceive oneself as contributing to society to any great extent. The multilocals are in Åre to ski and enjoy a recreational-oriented everyday life, rather than making contributions to the local community, as the locals of the Åre area do.

5.4.7.3 Neutrality and nuances in the approach to area development

Additionally, the multilocal voices mainly accentuate the nuanced position in the debate concerning tourism development in relation to conservation, which further emphasizes the multilocal humbleness. It is being highlighted in several interviews how the debate is present and lively. Seeing both sides, the multilocal approach values and understands the local perspective towards exploitation just as the potential benefits in increased market share and demand:

"There is a great discussion here in Åre about the expansion of the Rödkullen area. It is of course the case that there... there are... I haven't really taken a position, I don't have enough information, but I understand that for those who make their living from tourism, seven thousand more beds are... it's an enhancement in some way. It's even more people you can make money from, in different ways." (Henrik)

Many respondents share the view that tourism plays an important role in the local economical context. As tourism's important role is generally acknowledged, it may explain why many of the respondents express how debating tourism in the Åre area quickly becomes a sensitive issue. By simultaneously identifying risks due to continuous developments causing further exploitation of the nature environment, the multilocal attitude tends to lean towards the neutral and nuanced, in terms of understanding the extremities. The maintenance of this approach is evident in Henrik's attitude to conducting referendums linked to an expansion project:

"You can't live here and not accept tourism. Then you would feel so bad if you were constantly upset about tourism here. Yes, they come here and it's a lot of Porsches and stuff and it's a lot of money. But that's what people live on here. Except for me. But I'm not bothered by it. I understand that it's like this. I can't keep getting upset about it, but it's the livelihood of a lot of people here and what makes it actually a pretty fun place to live. That a lot of people come here. I mean, they could never have the lifts they have here on the mountain if we only have the occupancy we have week four. It would go out of business in no time. Like, we need Christmas, New Year's, sports and Easter holiday weeks to have this huge lift system. You have to understand that." (Henrik)
....
"At the same time, I see the other side too. That it can't just be a Disneyland here. There is a nature to protect as well. I haven't really landed on that, but on the other hand I'm in favour of actually having a referendum on it. Because there is a debate about it. There is a collection of signatures to get ten percent of the municipality together. They need about a thousand signatures. Then the municipality will have to hold a referendum and then people will really have a say in the whole thing. I'm in favour of the referendum anyway. But I haven't decided what I think about the issue itself. Because you hear so much both here and there." (Henrik)

Claude builds upon the neutral and nuanced, stating that it is important to see tourism's role as a dominant local labor industry, just as other kinds of predominant industries in former industrial towns in rural parts of Sweden. As the Åre area lacks other dominant industries, the tourism sector becomes increasingly important due to its ability to generate work. However, continuous growth of the tourism sector also reveals intricate issues surrounding several aspects of the areas' capacity:

"It's a very important source of income. Especially in Åre where there is not much else. There's no other industry like that, so it's very important. But then of course... when it starts to get too much, then it's not all positive anymore. It's always necessary to upgrade and expand the loading capacity and things like that, the lift system. Perhaps also the infrastructure. You can't just build new housing, leaving the rest of the village on the same level. It has to go with the rest, that everything else can develop and keep up." (Claude)

Even in the multilocal perspective, it appears as the debate and conflicts of interest surrounding tourism expansion are to be seen as fragile talking points. Several respondents state that it may be difficult for people engaged within the tourism industry to genuinely debate tourism development in a critical way. For example, Sofia emphasizes that she is able to raise criticism without complications as she does not earn her living from tourism. It would have been different, however, if tourism was her main source of income. As tourism offers a livelihood for many people locally, it thus becomes complicated to address ominous issues related to urban planning or continuous building and infrastructure expansion. In general, the respondents highlight how the local dependency on tourism can cause hinders on the ability to speak out about local development:

"There are so many people who depend on tourism. And because of that, you don't always dare to say what you think about it. Because I mean, if you say something, a bad word about Skistar, for example, then you shoot... yes. But, for me who does not work in Duved, I'm a bit more outspoken and I sometimes get a lot of flack for criticising the livelihood of many people in the village if you write something on Facebook about how Skistar behaves and things like that. Because everyone depends on tourism, but it's not me who doesn't work there. If you work for Skistar, you don't dare criticise them. Or if you work in a restaurant, you don't dare to criticise them because your employer might get angry with you for saying things like this. Which is detrimental to tourism." (Torbjörn)

………….

"But then there are also strangers among those who live there who think that Åre is too exploited. They don't like the idea of building more in the Ullådalen valley and there are environmental movements pushing this. Then there's the fact that Skistar is the big player there and there's no one else. There is a bit of a love-hate relationship with Skistar. Many people who live in Åre depend on Skistar for their income, of course. Without Skistar and so on, there would be no skiing. At the same time, lift pass prices are being raised and people may grumble a little, but they accept it. You understand that it has to be that way, more or less. So, it's a very special place." (Jan)

5.4.8 Semi-locality? Being in-between local and tourists

In this final part of the section, focus is on the common features of respondents' attitudes towards other groups in the Åre area. In reference to Nadler's (2016) thinking of the multilocal balancing of appropriating local customs and procedures while also maintaining the personal elements of identity, two main characteristics are found among the group of multilocals in Åre.

5.4.8.1 Uniformity and self-identification

In general, the respondents' descriptions of social life in the Åre area demonstrate that there are similarities in how local interaction takes place as well as how the respondents relate to their own role of being multilocal residents in the area. The multilocals, to a high extent, identify and interact with like-minded people and the individuals of the various sub-groups identified in the first empirical section tend to identify with people of the same or similar backgrounds. Self-identification and feeling of community with people with similar professions and educational and geographical backgrounds are evident amongst the group of ski and nature interested remote workers, notably based in the Åre village, but also other places.:

"So, it's been really easy to get to know people because everyone here and especially at House Be has been very inclusive. "We're going on that summit tour" or "We're going on that thing". The first day I came here I was invited to go cross-country skiing. Yeah: "Wow, this is great!" So, I got to know some people on the first day. It feels like it's very different socially than what I'm used to before. Here people are adults, have jobs and work remotely but share that interest and then it becomes like the gateway to getting to know people. You don't have to be best friends for that. But you have it and then it can be fun and then you can have a beer. You might even work in the same place. I would say all the friends I have here work remotely… And also have university education and so on so that... Yes." (Jens)
………..

" And this little village of Edsåsdalen, it is usually completely dead for long periods. Historically, there have been people in the cottages between week seven and week fourteen. Between the sports holidays and Easter. But otherwise it has been very, very empty. But nowadays there are people here all the time. They call us corona boys here in the village. The ones who come here to work and do a bit of tourism at the same time. Combine this… There are several of us in the same row of townhouses who have also worked remotely up here, doing the same thing as me. So, we usually get together and drink coffee from different balconies, because you have to keep your distance and all that. Or had to, anyway." (Patrik)

It is also possible to link the multilocals' identification with like-minded people to the comparable multilocal lifeworlds. Amina argues that, to her understanding, it is easier to

identify and socialize with others who also live in other places during parts of the year, as this group has different perspectives than people who live in an area all year round.

"The funny thing is that I think the people you hang out with are the ones who are more like you. Who live the way you live. So, to be anchored here, to meet those who don't live that way is harder. I imagine communities are more likely to develop with those who are a bit more similar. Like in Edsåsdalen, I think that those who hang out there a lot and get anchored there have a more similar behaviour. I would probably find it easier, as I do now, to hang out with others who live in more than just one place than who might then live in just one of the places where I live. Who have more of the same pattern as me." (Amina)

The identification with like-minded people who, in contrast to residents of the Åre area who are raised in the environment, have chosen to relocate to the area part-time due to the various qualities unfolding in the Åre area, thus also emerges as a way for the multilocals to legitimize and explain their role in the local environment. After all, the Åre area is experiencing high levels of in-migration and interest from people from other parts of the country, suggesting that it is part of a wider context with a common input into the enjoyment of the environment. For Sofia, the fact that she shares the reasons behind her relocation to Tegefjäll with many others who have chosen to settle in Tegefjäll in their adult years thus becomes a way to make her residence reasonable:

"Well, that's a very interesting question because I feel like both. But when I'm sort of complaining about people or complaining about how crowded it is here, then I'm more like a resident. But I'm aware that I have two residences and that I'm registered in one of them. So, it's still something that I'm very aware of and think about often. But a lot of people who live here are just like me, they haven't lived here all their lives. But moved in because they... as I put it, that it suits their person. (Sofia)

The self-identification with other people living multilocally in the area is also brought up as a factor creating nuances concerning the experience of identifying as a resident in the Åre area. For example, Thomas do not consider it realistic to become locally anchored to the degree that confidence and trust from the local community is gained. However, he firmly believes that it is possible to achieve this with people in similar situations, who potentially shares the feeling of not being fully rooted:

"I don't see us ever spending so much time in Åre that we get that trust from the people there. It could be, however, that you get that relationship with people who behave in the same way as us. Who might be there for longer... a few weeks, months, a year. The... people who behave like that, you can create a relationship. They are just as much visitors as we are." (Thomas)

5.4.8.2 (Multi)locals in relation to tourists

Understanding the variety concerning the experience of local attachment and residency amongst the group of respondents, it becomes prominent how there is a much more unified approach towards the role of being a multilocal resident when examining the relationship with tourists. Regardless of whether the respective multilocal respondent identifies as an Åre resident or not, they are unanimously local in relation to temporary visitors and tourists. To a

large extent, this can be explained by the fact that the multilocals approach and follow the various norms and practices of the year-round population, rather than the tourists. Acting like locals, or rather not acting like tourists, becomes particularly important during the most tourist-intensive times of the year, as the local population tend to adapt the everyday life patterns to the current tourism intensity and quantities:

"You notice that when there are big tourist weeks. That's when you notice who's a bit more local than others. Those things like: You go shopping late. You go skiing at lunchtime when all the tourists are in for lunch. If you want to go out to eat in the evening, you don't go to the square and eat, you take the car and go to Duved and eat in the restaurants there, as it were. To avoid this." (Karin)
....
"I laugh along with the people who live here at the tourists. I'm not one of them, I feel, but I'm at least more Åre resident than tourist, if we say so. I haven't gained a new perspective, but I've been to similar places before, and there are lots of people there where I've been more permanently than them anyway. So, it's nothing new in that way." (Hampus)

Thus, expressing an approach to the short-time tourism similar to the locals becomes a way for the multilocal in the case of Åre to approach the local identity and its people, in reference to Nadler (2016). This may imply adapting to the way the local residents cope with intensive tourism periods, as well as to join in the lamentation of the troubles that arise when there are many tourists in circulation:

"Well, New Year's week in Åre, we are not on holiday that week, we work then because there are just so many people everywhere. Instead, we are locals. We work. Everyone goes to the after ski and then everyone goes down to ICA and buys dinner. So about 8pm, ICA is open until 10pm. All the local's kind of go shopping after 8pm because by then all the tourists have gone home and had a sauna and cooked dinner and... But when I bought my apartment, then I started being there in the autumn holidays and started being there kind of between seasons." (Karin)

For the multilocal practitioner, another strategy to differentiate from fellow tourists is to demonstrate presence during periods of less tourism in the Åre area. It is also evident that the respondents spend time in the environment during periods when tourists are not present to the same extent. As in the words of Jens and Sara, the place identity and attachment to the Åre area is linked to the periods between seasons, when the permanent residents interact without the same external interferences. Thus, experiencing local anchoring is to a large degree related to tourism in the sense that the multilocal is convincingly more locally present than the average visitor. Being present in the area for different periods of a year appears to contribute to increased local awareness, which plays a part in distinguishing who is in fact a resident, local or a tourist in the local environment. This can be seen in Rickard's testimony that he can differentiate people more easily after have spent more time in Åre:

"At least on some, it's not that you're a hundred percent sure of yourself, but I think you can often sort of see if. Then you also start to recognize the ones you've seen in Åre this summer and so on. So, you start to know who are Åre residents in a way too. That you actually recognize them to face and so. In appearance. But, no, it's definitely a very touristy town, that's how it is. You can see that there's a slow train of people down to the train station every Sunday afternoon and a slow train of people up the hill the next day. You can tell when they come. You can see it in the slopes and also when it fills up and when there are changeover days. There are completely

different lift queues and so on." (Rickard)

In the multilocals' perspective, spending time in the Åre area during the tourism low-season is in large part conceived as being positively received by the locals, which thereby is portrayed as a factor promoting further local integration and strengthening the acceptance of the multilocals by local residents. According to several of the respondents, being present in the area during fall and summer contributes to the feeling of a village community as the locals slowly start to identify who is really being dedicated with their subsistence in the local environment.

"Like, I'm there in November when it rains. It's a bit like, if you're there in November when it rains, then you're a good person. If you're just there skiing, well, that's good, but you can't consider yourself a local if you're not there during that period when everyone thinks it's boring." (Karin)

Another consistent trend identified among the respondents is that the multilocals of the Åre area take precautionary action towards major tourist flows. Almost all of the respondents share in common that they adopt their own everyday life in the area in times of tourism peak season. During the winter sport holidays (week 7-9), easter and christmas and new years holidays, the multilocals adapt their routines and living patterns in the area, albeit to varying degrees. One part of the multilocals choose to leave the area completely during all, or at least parts of these weeks, and relocate to their other places of living:

"Well, week nine you can't go to... Then you can't even go skiing in Duved. So, week nine I haven't been home for over ten years. It's not possible to be in the village then. Not even in Duved." (Torbjörn)

For the ones fleeing the Åre area when tourism is at its highest point, it appears to be common to rent out the apartment or dwelling. As rentals during these weeks generate significant incomes due to the high demand from tourists, many people see that they might as well give up their life in Åre for a bonus income. The extra income is seen as beneficial over being on site during busy periods:

"You change patterns some weeks. That's what we do. We rent out the flat those weeks and then you get a hell of a lot of money and you don't have to queue for the lift, queue for the slopes, queue for the shops, queue for the restaurants. And we're pretty social people anyway, but no... we think that's too much. We'll go away then. " (Mikael)

Thus, two factors can explain such reasoning amongst this group of multilocals. The Åre area becomes un-prioritized due to the stress, queues and congestion, but also because of the economic benefits of the decision to rent out their accommodation during these weeks:

"Yes, we have chosen not to be here during sports holidays. Partly because it's too damn crowded and partly because you get good income from rentals then. That's what we intend to do in the future, and then we're also thinking of at least one of the major holidays, Christmas or Easter or something like that. To rent out then. Just because... for economic reasons and also because there are a lot of people there. We have the opportunity to be there when there are few people and the accessibility is so much better. So, there are a lot of aspects you don't

have to think about. Parking spaces and lift queues and people on the mountain touring and so on. Since we don't have children to consider and work-wise you can control quite a lot, we think there's no reason to be there when everyone else is there." (Thomas)

However, not everyone chooses to leave when tourism is high. Some of the multilocals instead adopt what themselves conceive as what the locals in the Åre area do during these weeks. For Karin, working full-time during the winter holidays, when tourists come to Åre for recreation, becomes a way to identify with the local population and their everyday routines. Claude chooses to stay in Åre, but travels to other parts of Årefjällen or Jämtland to go skiing. Sara demonstrates how the long queues and traffic congestions brought her to new places for her daily shopping, while Torbjörn avoids the restaurants and cafées in Duved as there is a low probability to get a table. Whatever the measure, the active changes in everyday life patterns testify to how tourism becomes a factor that affects the individual's ability to live his or her ordinary daily life.

6. Concluding remarks

Born out of curiosity, this study has aimed to explore the phenomena of multilocality, i.e. having living arrangements in more than one place, in the area of Åre in the light of the pandemic. Based on the argument that the pandemic has brought about transformative changes in society, it seemed necessary to view the trend of increased relocations from urban to rural settings in a new conceptual lens.

First, as multilocality is sparsely investigated in Sweden, this study has intended to contribute with new perspectives on how multilocal lifeworlds are being manifested in a new geographical context. In conclusion, the empirical findings suggest that it is possible to confirm how multilocality emerges as a multifaceted and dynamic living phenomenon. This is shown in the *diversified homogeneity* found among the urban, white-collar multilocal practitioners of varying age, just as it is seen in the multiple motives for establishing a multi local lifestyle, be it amenity, nature, kinship or occupation related. Importantly, it should be noted that the ability to work remotely in the case of Åre almost should be considered as a prerequisite for sustaining multilocality. Thus, just as previous scholars have highlighted the inequalities regarding the ability to be mobile, the composition of the respondents testifies to the fact that there are, after all, limits to how dynamic the group of multilocals can become. The possibilities to benefit from time-space compression synergies by remote working are not equally distributed across occupations and sectors.

Another lasting impression is how the multilocal lifeworlds in Åre is embraced by a sense of everyday life with a golden edge. In contrast to corresponding urban living places, the findings indicate how everyday life routines and priorities to a greater extent lean towards leisure and recreation in Åre. The Åre area represents a multifunctional safe haven, a place where the multilocals can stay both to be free and to work. It is these contrasts between Åre and the urban environment, *the counter worlds*, that predominantly emphasizes the benefits of a multilocal everyday life, as the respondents actively seek to combine the merits of an urban work life with the pleasures of a rural recreational life. Experiencing counter worlds bring new perspectives on the everyday life and personal life situation, as life in the Åre area gives meaning to activities outside working hours more explicitly. For some, Åre becomes both a playground in the middle of the business career and a breathing hole where problems and stress of the urban everyday life more easily can be avoided. Thus, one of the most interesting

findings from this study is that the home in Åre for many of the multilocals, constitutes a multihome in its full sense. Rather than being a hierarchically subordinated second home for recreational purposes, it is merely another home and apart from urban residences, it is equal parts a place for work, holiday and recreation. Nevertheless, this should be understood with a pinch of salt, as the fact that the multilocals do not live full-time in Åre likely influence these representations. It seems less likely that the site would fill the same multifunctionality if it were an everyday place week in and week out.

Secondly, this study was set out to gain understanding of how the pandemic has affected the multilocal lifeworlds in the Åre area. As a matter of fact, it can be concluded that the pandemic has had an impact on the respondents' ability to live, and further develop their respective multilocal lifestyles, even if not everyone taking part in the study has experienced a change of life patterns during this transformative period. For the majority, however, it turns out that the pandemic effects became an accelerator to a multilocal life, which is particularly evident for the *pandemic fortune seekers,* respondents with no, or previously little, experience of the time-space compressing benefits of being able to work remotely with the use of technical, communicative tools. For these respondents, the eagerness to get out of the city during the pandemic became the first spark towards establishing a multilocal life in the Åre area. Not only introducing a multilocal life, the pandemic did also generate new perspectives concerning urban life and the future possibilities to continue to work remotely as a way to maintain the counter worlds of an urban life and a life in the Åre area. Here, it should be emphasized how different companies and employers' shift of attitudes concerning remote working possibilities plays a major part in the acceleration to a multilocal life. In the new normal of the pandemic, new remote working norms has contributed to making multilocal practices less abnormal in relation to the more sedentary ways of living and working. This also includes the respondents who had a home in the Åre area before the pandemic, as the findings show that many came to spend increased amounts of time in Åre thanks to the pandemic possibilities.

Lastly, a sincere curiosity to gain knowledge of the social preconditions and potential implications of living multilocally has encompassed this study. As demonstrated, there are in fact a number of aggravating social preconditions of multilocality, which complicates social life in the Åre area for the respondents. This further reinforces previous research that portrays the multilocal identity of being in-between, due to the patchy, irregular presence, and absence,

in the different places of living. The experience of being in-between reoccurs repeatedly, as it is becoming difficult to cope with the regularity that shapes social life in a place. Undoubtedly, the multilocals show an interest and willingness to become involved, however, the uncertainty of presence makes many actively choose not to participate, which in the long run risks to result in not putting in the effort of building networks, relations and contacts locally.

Moreover, the multilocal *humbleness* in the process of integration, as seen in various ways of nuancing and holding neutral positions in issues regarding local development and their own role in local society, also reflects this perception of being in-between regularity and ephemerality. These findings should be reflected in its geographical context, as the area of Åre, notably central Åre, is strongly affected by short-term tourism and temporal seasonal workers, which may, in part, explain why some of the respondents show less motivation for becoming locally involved. Moreover, it is important to note that the findings suggest that many multilocals express a self-awareness about these social problems. Simply, they have chosen to value the benefits of being able to live a counter worlds life in the Åre area over the potential social disruption it causes.

Thus, the overall impression indicates that even if the dependence of place may decrease due to the possibility of remote working, presence and regularity in a place still play a major role in the maintenance of social life. This is seen in how many of the multilocal respondents demands market solutions better tailored for a mobility-intensive group as a means to ameliorate the social situation when establishing or maintaining a multilocal life in the area. Just as previous research has noted, such adaptions are likely a step in the direction towards more active multilocal involvement as the individuals more on their own terms can decide when to engage based on their temporary, fleeting presence.

Interestingly, this multilocal experience of being in-between is also seen in how the multilocals of the Åre area express a self-reflective scepticism towards considering themselves residents of the area. In terms of being neither resident nor a visitor, the in-betweenness is apparent, as it becomes difficult to express residency by using such extreme forms of either being fully attached or completely rootless. In one way, the findings show that the multilocals appears to be more local than second home owners, due to the fact that they tend to spend greater amounts of time in the area. On the other hand, the degree of flexibility

and spontaneity characterizing the multilocals makes such conclusions open for further interpretation. For now, it may be sufficient to state that the multilocals are in the same spectrum of being non-residential, yet actively present, in reference to how locally active second home owners have been presented in previous works. However, interestingly enough, the multilocals show greater signs of confidence and determination in their ways of expressing a feeling of being local in relation to tourists, which is explained by the fact that the multilocal everyday life and life when in the Åre area reminds more of the life of the permanent population. Thus, these findings enforce the image of a semilocal multilocal identity. The multilocals are nevertheless local in the area when comparing themselves with tourists.

The multilocal experience of being in-between may pose pressing community planning issues for the hosts, as well as moral dilemmas for the individuals practicing different kinds of alternate living. Despite not being dependent on welfare services in terms of education or health care to any greater extent, it should still be noted that the by living in the Åre area, multilocals affects infrastructural and economical matters of municipal interest. As the impacts of multilocal practitioners in smaller rural communities are highlighted by both the respondents of the study and contemporary scholars, more thorough investigations on this issue appears both highly relevant and needed in research on multilocality.

When concluding, the exploration of multilocality in the Swedish rural mountainous context is permeated by one recurring impression, concerning both the theoretical concept and the living arrangement practice. For, as seen in the multilocal semilocal identities, the experiences of everyday life and the dilemmas of presence of absence, multilocality is, in its essence, in-between. This may very well be the pleasant downside of multilocality, as the inherent freedom of choice within the multilocal lifeworlds simultaneously gives rise to various dilemmas. Of where to be, who to meet and what to do. Likewise, the practice of multilocality itself is in-between in the research tradition that emphasizes second homes and permanent residences as the dominant housing forms. Thus, for future research it appears intriguing to continue the assessment of multilocality as an increasingly widespread living phenomenon by incorporating it more explicitly to the sophisticated Swedish research tradition of second homes. By doing so, it is possible to draw more general conclusions on the impact of increased multilocality on rural communities in Sweden, in the light of the pandemic effects on remote working.

7. References

Arnesen, T., Overvåg, K., Skjeggedal, T., & Ericsson, B. (2012). Transcending orthodoxy: The multi-house home, leisure and the transformation of core periphery relations. In *Regional Development in Northern Europe* (pp. 200-213). Routledge.

Cresswell, T. (2006). On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203446713

Cresswell, T. (2021). Valuing mobility in a post COVID-19 world, *Mobilities, 16:1*, (pp. 51-65) DOI: 10.1080/17450101.2020.1863550

Dalen, M. (2015). *Intervju som metod*. (2nd ext. ed.) Malmö: Gleerups utbildning.

Danielzyk, R., Dittrich-Wesbuer, A., Duchêne-Lacroix, C., Fischer, T., Hilti, N., Perlik, M., ... & Weiske, C. (2021). *Multilocal living and spatial development* (No. 123). Positionspapier aus der ARL.

Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F. (1987). A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia. *Trans. by Massumi, B.).,* University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

Di Masso, A., Williams, D. R., Raymond, C. M., Buchecker, M., Degenhardt, B., Devine-Wright, P., ... & Von Wirth, T. (2019). Between fixities and flows: Navigating place attachments in an increasingly mobile world. *Journal of environmental psychology*, *61*, (pp.125-133). https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2019.01.006.

Di Marino, M. (2022). Multilocality of Living and Working Pre and Post COVID-19 Pandemic. https://doi.org/10.18261/kp.115.2.3

Dowling, R. (2016). Power, subjectivity and Ethics in Qualitative Research. In Hay, I. (red.) *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*. 4th ed. Canada: Oxford University Press. (pp. 29-44)

Dunn, K. (2016). Interviewing. In Hay, I. (red.) (*Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*. 4th ed. Canada: Oxford University Press. (pp.149-188)

Duvedmodellen. (2022). *Om Duved*. https://www.duvedmodellen.se/om-duved/ (Retrieved 2022-11-01)

Edsåsdalen turism AB. (2022). *Om oss*. https://edsasdalen.se/om-oss/ (Retrieved 2022-11-01)

Flowerdew, R., & Martin, D. M. (Eds.). (2013). *Methods in Human Geography: A guide for students doing a research project*. Routledge.

Fornmark, H. (2020). Efterfrågan på semesterhus skjuter i höjden i pandemin. *Dagens industri*. 10 October. https://www.di.se/nyheter/efterfragan-pa-semesterhus-skjuter-i-hojden-i-pandemin/ (Retrieved 2022-05-01).

Greinke, L. & Lange, L. (2022). Multi-locality in rural areas – an underestimated phenomenon, *Regional Studies, Regional Science*, 9:1, 67-81, DOI: 10.1080/21681376.2021.2025417

Gustafson, P. (2001). Roots and routes: Exploring the relationship between place attachment and mobility. *Environment and behavior*, *33*(5), 667-686.

Gustafson, P. (2014). Place attachment in an age of mobility. In *Place Attachment: Advances in Theory, Methods and Applications* London: Routledge. (pp. 37–48). Retrieved from http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-207439

Gustavsson, B. (red.) 2004. Kunskapande metoder inom samhällsvetenskapen. 3., [rev.] uppl. Lund: Studentlitteratur

Hannam, K., Sheller, M & Urry, J. (2006). Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings, Mobilities, 1:1, (pp. 1-22) DOI: 10.1080/17450100500489189

Harvey, D. (1999). Time—space compression and the postmodern. *Modernity: after modernity*, *4*, 98-118.

Hay, I. (red.) (2016). *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography.* 4th ed. Canada: Oxford University Press.

Heidegger, M. (1951). Building dwelling thinking. *Visual Culture: Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies*, *3*, 66-76.

Hilti, N. (2016). Multi-local lifeworlds: between movement and mooring. *Cultural Studies*, 30:3. (pp.467-482) DOI: 10.1080/09502386.2015.1113635

House Be. (2022). *Om oss.* https://www.housebe.com/om-oss/ (Retrieved 2022-11-01)

Jansson Boström, E. (2020). *Max Weber och idealtypernas nödvändighet.* Doctoral dissertation. Filosofiska institutionen, Uppsala universitet. urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-406845

Klingberg, G. & Hallberg, U. (red.) (2021). *Kvalitativa metoder helt enkelt!*. 1st ed. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Larsen, J., Axhausen, K. W., & Urry, J. (2006) Geographies of Social Networks: Meetings, Travel and Communications, Mobilities, 1:2, (pp.261-283). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/17450100600726654

Marjavaara, R., Müller, D. K., & Back, A. (2019). Från sommarnöje till Airbnb: En översikt av svensk fritidshusforskning. *Turismen och resandets utmaningar, Stockholm: Svenska sällskapet för antropologi och geografi*. (pp. 53–77).

Müller, D., Nordin, U., & Marjavaara, R. (2010). *Fritidsboendes relationer till den svenska landsbygden: Resultat av en enkät bland svenska fritidshusägare 2009*. Kulturgeografiska institutionen, Umeå universitet.

Nadler, R. (2016). Plug&Play places: Subjective standardization of places in multilocal lifeworlds. In *Understanding mobilities for designing contemporary cities* (pp. 109-128). Springer, Cham.

Nilsson, M. (2021). Fortsatt stark efterfrågan på fritidshus under pandemin. *Sveriges television, SVT. https://www.svt.se/nyheter/inrikes/stark-efterfragan-pa-fritidshus-under-pandemin* 23 february. (Retrieved 2022-05-01).

Nordin, U., & Marjavaara, R. (2012). The local non-locals: Second home owners associational engagement in Sweden. *Tourism: An International Interdisciplinary Journal*, *60*(3), (pp. 293-305).

Nyström, M. (2021). Hermeneutik. In Klingberg, G. & Hallberg, U. (red.) *Kvalitativa metoder helt enkelt!*. 1st ed. Lund: Studentlitteratur. (pp. 231–256)

Perlik, M. (2011). Alpine gentrification: The mountain village as a metropolitan neighbourhood. New inhabitants between landscape adulation and positional good. *Journal of Alpine Research/ Revue de géographie alpine*, (99-1).

Randall, L., Jensen, T., & Vasilevskaya, A. (2022). Local and regional experiences of remote work and multilocality. Nordregio report 2022:4 https://doi.org/10.6027/R2022:4.1403-2503

Rodenstedt, A. (2014). Living in the calm and safe part of the city: The socio-spatial reproduction of upper-middle class neighbourhoods in Malmö. PhD dissertation. Department of Social and Economic Geography, Uppsala University, Uppsala

Rodman, M. C. (1992). Empowering place: Multilocality and multivocality. *American anthropologist*, *94*(3), (pp. 640-656).

Rye, J. (2015). Moving to the countryside? The case of second home users in Norway. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography,* 69:3. (pp. 166-177) DOI: 10.1080/00291951.2015.1040832

Sassen S, (2002). Introduction: locating cities on global circuits'. in Global Networks, Linked Cities Ed. S Sassen (Routledge, New York) (pp. 1-38).

Statistiska Centralbyrån, SCB. (2022). *Kommun i siffror.* https://kommunsiffror.scb.se/?id1=2321&id2=null (Retrieved 2022-10-10)

Statistiska Centralbyrån, SCB. (2021) Statistiska tätorter 2020, befolkning, landareal, befolkningstäthet www.scb.se/MI0810 24 November. (Retrieved 2022-10-30)

Statistiska Centralbyrån SCB. (2022) Statistiska småorter 2020, befolkning, landareal, befolkningstäthet. www.scb.se/MI0811 31 March. (Retrieved 2022-10-30).

Schier, M., Hilti, N., Schad, H., Tippel, C., Dittrich-Wesbuer, A. and Monz, A. (2015). Residential Multi-Locality Studies – The Added Value for Research on Families and Second Homes. *Tijdschr Econ Soc Geogr, 106*: (pp. 439-452). https://doi.org/10.1111/tesg.12155

Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006). The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and planning A*, *38*(2), (pp. 207-226).

Sjöberg, J. (Red.). (2021). Andelsboende – ett nytt sätt att upptäcka fjällen. *Hemnet AB.* https://www.hemnet.se/artiklar/bostadsmarknaden/2021/06/16/andelsboende-ett-nytt-satt-att-upptacka-fjallen?layout=plain (Retrieved 2022-05-30)

Skålén, M. (2011). Plats och entreprenörskap: fallet Åre. Doctoral dissertation, Kulturgeografiska institutionen, Uppsala universitet.

Svenska skidanläggningars organization, SLAO. (2022). Branschrapport 2021/2022. (Retrieved 2022-10-30).

Stratford, E., Bradshaw, M. (2016). Qualitative Research Design and rigour. In Hay, I. (red.) (2016). *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography.* 4th ed. Canada: Oxford University Press. (pp. 117-129).

Swedbank Fastighetsbyrå AB. (2022). Vinnare och förlorare på fritidshusmarknaden i Jämtlands län: Jämtland etta på listan över störst prisökningar. https://www.fastighetsbyran.com/sv/sverige/artiklar/fritidshusmarknad-jamtland/ (Retrieved 2022-10-01)

TT Nyhetsbyrån. (2020). Hemmajobbare flyr till landet. *Aftonbladet.* 18 March. *https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/4q8ewq/hemmajobbare-flyr-till-landet* Published 2020-03-18) (Retrieved 2022-05-01).

Valentine, G. (2013). Tell me about… using interviews as a research methodology. In Flowerdew, R., & Martin, D. M. Methods in Human Geography. Taylor and Francis. (pp. 110-127)

Vilhelmsson, B. (2002). Rörlighet och förankring – Geografiska aspekter på människors välfärd. Kulturgeografiska institutionen. Göteborgs Universitet. ISSN 0347-8521.

Vittersø, G. (2007). Norwegian cabin life in transition. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, *7*(3), (pp. 266-280).

Warf, B (2011). Teaching Time–Space Compression, Journal of Geography in Higher Education, 35:2, 143-161, DOI: 10.1080/03098265.2010.523681

Wide, U., Hakeberg, M. (2021). In Klingberg, G. & Hallberg, U. (red.) (2021). *Kvalitativa metoder helt enkelt!.* 1st ed. Lund: Studentlitteratur. (pp. 77-94).

Willberg E, Järv O, Väisänen T, Toivonen T. (2021) Escaping from Cities during the COVID-19 Crisis: Using Mobile Phone Data to Trace Mobility in Finland. *ISPRS International Journal of Geo-Information*. 10(2):103. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijgi10020103

Xue, J., Næss, P., Stefansdottir, H., Steffansen, R., & Richardson, T. (2020). The hidden side of Norwegian cabin fairytale: Climate implications of multi-dwelling lifestyle. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, *20*(5), (pp. 459-484).

Åre kommun. (2022). Befolkningsstatistik. https://are.se/kommunpolitik/dinkommun/befolkningsstatistik (Retrieved 2022-11-01)

Åre kommun. (2017). Kommuntäckande översiktsplan. Dnr. KS.2012.765/212. https://are.se/byggabo/samhallsplanering/oversiktsplan (Retrieved 2022-10-20)

Ödman, P-J. (2004). Hermeneutik och forskningspraktik. In Gustavsson, B. (red.) 2004. *Kunskapande metoder inom samhällsvetenskapen.* 3rd ed. Lund: Studentlitteratur (pp. 71–94).

Appendix 1. The distributed leaflet

Bor du i Åre under delar av året?

Jag söker personer som i vardagen fördelar sin tid mellan att bo och verka i Åre och en eller flera andra platser. Du förflyttar dig vant mellan fjällmiljön och andra miljöer, till stad eller landsbygd, inom Sverige eller utomlands. Hur länge och hur ofta du i regel befinner dig i Åre spelar mindre roll, huvudsaken är du lever ditt liv med utgångspunkt från flera olika geografiska platser.

För närvarande arbetar jag med ett uppsatsprojekt där jag undersöker rörlighetsintensiva livs- och boendemönster inom Åre kommun. Syftet är att kartlägga förändringar och trendbrott i spåren av COVID-19-pandemin.

- *Kanske har just du spenderat mer tid än vanligt i Jämtland under pandemin?*

- *Kanske har du varit här mer sällan p.g.a restriktioner?*

- *Kanske bestämde du dig för att flytta och köpte hus eller lägenhet i Åre under just denna period?*

Om beskrivningarna ovan stämmer in på dig vill jag väldigt gärna komma i kontakt för en kortare intervju. Jag tar också tacksamt emot tips på personer att kontakta, samt fler sätt att nå ut med information om studien. Sprid gärna vidare!

Är du intresserad av att delta eller har du frågor om projektet?

Kontakta mig på:
Mail: nicolaiekecrantz@hotmail.com

Telefon: 0735207500

Vänliga hälsningar,
Nicolai Ekecrantz
Master i Kulturgeografi vid Göteborgs Universitet

Appendix 2: Interview guide – multilocal living arrangements

Inledande frågor och bakgrund:

Hur länge har du bott här i området?

Vad ägnar du dig åt till vardags? (Arbetar, studerar, pensionerad etc)

Kan du berätta lite om bakgrunden till varför du valde att bosätta dig på deltid i Åreområdet (Järpen, Undersåker, etc)?

Finns det släktkopplingar till platsen eller har du varit här i rollen som turist tidigare?

Bor du även på andra platser? I så fall, hur ser förhållandet mellan platserna ut?

Bor du i en större stad annars?

När och hur på ett år brukar du vara på de olika platserna?

Vad fick dig att bo här i perioder?

Ser du tiden du spenderar här som "semester" eller "vardag" eller någonstans mittemellan? Utveckla gärna.

Att bo deltid i Åreområdet:

Vad är anledningen till att ni bor på flera platser? Är det självvalt?

Kan du beskriva (kort) hur vardagen och ert liv i stort ser ut här?

Åre i relation till andra platser: Hur lever ni på den andra platsen? Är livet och vardagen annorlunda från hur det ser ut på andra platser? I så fall, på vilket sätt?

Om du jämför ditt liv här i Åre jämfört med i XXX, finns det saker och sysslor som du gör där som du inte gör här?

Är fördelningen mellan arbete och fritid annorlunda här än i den andra miljön?

Är det en plats för högtider och fester, en plats att vara på med familj och vänner etc?

Har du övervägt att flytta hit permanent?

Är ditt boende här att betrakta mer som en vinterstuga/sommarstuga, eller är det mer ett av flera boenden där du lever ditt liv?

Känsla av hemma - fokus på boendet: Känner du dig lika hemma här som i ditt andra boende? Är det en liknande känsla? Eller är det andra saker som skapar en känsla av hemma?

Känner du dig förankrad på båda platser? I båda miljöerna?

Att bo på olika platser: Vad är fördelarna med att leva på flera olika platser? Alltså att ha ett

vardagsliv med utgångspunkt på flera olika platser

Om vi vänder på frågan, vad är nackdelarna och problemen med att bo så?

Hur ser du på resandet fram och tillbaka mellan platserna? Ett nödvändigt ont eller en skön paus från vardagen? Hur tar du dig fram och tillbaka?

Jag antar att ni känner en hel del personer som har sin vardag med utgångspunkt från **en** och samma plats, kanske människor både här i Åreområdet eller där ni annars bor. Vad har de kommenterat/uttryckt kring ert sätt att leva på olika platser?

Covid-19 och förändrade boendemönster:

Vi har ju precis tagit oss ur en pandemi som inneburit stora begränsningar i vårt resande, både när det gäller långa distanser för utlandsresor såväl som ett minskat pendlande till och från arbetsplatser. Hur har du påverkats av detta?

Har pandemin inneburit förändrade boendemönster här i Åreområdet? Har ni varit här mer ofta, ungefär lika mycket eller kanske mindre än vanligt?

Bilden av Åreområdet - Påverkad av pandemin? Hur har dessa förändringar och pandemin i stort påverkat ert förhållande till Åreområdet och det lokala samhället här? Uppfattar ni miljön på ett annat sätt idag?

Om ni bodde här delvis även innan pandemin, hur såg ert liv ut här då? Hände det att ni arbetade på distans redan då?

Har pandemin inneburit att fler olika vardagssysslor utgått från Åreområdet? Har ni exempelvis arbetat på distans?

Om tidigare enbart varit semesterrelaterat:
Hur har det varit att arbeta i en miljö som tidigare förknippats med ledighet och avkoppling?

Har det känts märkligt? Eller har det snarare varit ett skönt avbräck från vardagen och det som man vanligtvis förknippar med sitt arbete?

Har bilden av Åreområdet som en plats för avkoppling och rekreation "förstörts" eller förändrats under pandemin? Förknippar ni platsen mer med arbete och vardag idag?

Om arbetat på platsen tidigare:
Har pandemin inneburit att ni varit här i Åreområdet för att arbeta på distans under längre perioder än vad som varit vanligt tidigare?

Har pandemin och ökat boende på plats här i Åreområdet förändrat dina vardagsrutiner och fritidssysselsättningar?

Har ni börjat fundera på att bo här under längre perioder nu, med tanke på förändringarna genom pandemin? Eller har ni faktiskt gjort det?

Har känslan av "hemma" förändrats under pandemin?

Sociala aspekter och relationer:

Har du kontakt med den andra platsen på distans genom internet etc. när du är här eller på den andra orten?

Kände ni någon som bor permanent eller deltid i området sedan tidigare?

Om personen i fråga varit där som turist tidigare - har synen av platsen förändrats när du flyttat hit? I så fall, hur?

Har ni någon kontakt med personer som lever här året om? I vilket sammanhang interagerar ni? Hur?

Relation med lokalbefolkning: Kan du beskriva hur relationen med andra boende i området ser ut?

Hur är relationen med lokalbefolkningen? Känner ni er välkomnade här av lokalbefolkningen?

Hur är det sociala livet på orten jämfört med på andra platser där ni bor? Om du tänker på de olika platserna där du bor, var skulle du säga att ditt sociala liv är som rikast/mest intensivt?

Har ni någon kontakt med personer som lever i området utefter liknande mönster, som också pendlar eller bor deltid? Har ni diskuterat varför ni väljer att bo och leva så som ni gör?

Upplever du att er livsstil skiljer sig från de som bor här året om? Eller kan ni identifiera er med människor med olika bakgrunder i området?

Betraktar du dig som en XXX-bo (Järpenbo, Årebo etc)?
Varför? Varför inte? Tror du att du hade gjort det om du bodde här permanent?

Hur har pandemin påverkat relationerna till andra människor här i bygden?

Vilken typ av liv/livsstil: Skulle du säga att ni lever ett mer lantligt liv här jämfört med livet i staden?

Turisttät miljö: Åre är ju en turistort, central i området. Har det uppstått några meningsskiljaktigheter eller konflikter med andra i miljön?

(Beskrivning: Jag tänker då framförallt på lokalbefolkningen som bor här åretrunt eller på turister som är här kortvariga perioder och inte äger en bostad här.)

Områdesutveckling och lokalt engagemang:

Engagerar ni er i lokala samhälls- och utvecklingsfrågor?

Hur vill ni att orten utvecklas? Vad kan bli bättre i XXX?

Vad har ni för tankar om Åre by och skidturismen i området? Har bilden förändrats i takt med att ni har varit här oftare?

Upplever ni att det finns en samsyn mellan lokalbefolkningen och er i hur orten ska utvecklas på bästa sätt?

Vad tror du om framtiden för den här boendestilen? Är det hållbart och gynnar det Åre? Kommer det

att växa i framtiden?

Skulle du säga att XXX/Åreområdet är en turistmiljö eller en landsbygdsmiljö?

Om du skulle beskriva Åreområdet /XXX i en mening, vad är det för dig?

TIPS:
Har du tips på personer som lever på ett liknande sätt i Åreområdet som jag kan kontakta för studien?