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Student Spatial Practices and the Transformation of Private Space in Relation to Remote University Education

ABSTRACT

The article presents an analysis of the transformations in private space and spatial practices manifested by students in connection with long-term online university education during the COVID-19 pandemic. The text includes a presentation of the results of a series of four focus group interviews carried out in 2021 *via* Zoom platform with students drawn from a few Polish colleges. The research sample was diversified in terms of gender, field of study, type of college, and mode of study. The research suggests key dimensions shaping the experience of remote university study: the spatial dimension, technological dimension and the organisational-educational dimension. Four basic kinds of student experiences are presented as well. The analyses also include a description of spatial practices such as: changing or adapting space for remote university education, negotiating spatial boundaries and attempts to ameliorate conflicts resulting from the interaction of diverse social roles and institutional orders in the same domestic space.

Keywords:

students, university, remote education, private space, spatial practices.

INTRODUCTION

Remote education – as a supplementary element in academic didactic practice, with the use of Internet tools – is certainly not an entirely new thing. Universities

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across the world and in Europe have made use of it to a greater or lesser extent ever since the birth of the Internet. With the passing of time, remote education expanded its scope, becoming more professional and involving more advanced technology. This does not, of course, mean that these changes came along without problems but, as the literature reveals, the passing years have provided the opportunity to develop standards of good practices for remote higher education (Roddy et al., 2017; Sztompka & Matuszek, 2015).

Over a decade ago, many Polish universities launched their first e-learning platforms for trained lecturers to run academic courses remotely. However, until 2020, e-learning was usually just a supplementary medium supporting the main process of offline education (see: Karwińska & Karwiński, 2019). The form usually taken was the passive transmission of lectures without any face-to-face contact of the lecturer and students in real time.

The global COVID-19 pandemic brought about deep changes in online higher education. The restrictions that subsequent countries introduced, from 2020 on, limited and sometimes prohibited normal classroom university education. A natural consequence was the development of e-learning. We should remember, however, that this transformation also took place in exceedingly unfavourable circumstances (pandemic fear, social isolation, the growing number of sick and the rising death toll). This all meant that we have lived through a social change whose extent we still cannot define today, which in turn means that we are faced with a social change whose impact we are still not fully aware of. Though there have already appeared several publications on this subject (see: Zalat, Hamed, & Bolbol, 2021), these have necessarily had an ongoing, descriptive character. A deeper, empirical understanding of the repercussions of remote higher education will only become possible in the coming years.

In many countries, including Poland, the pandemic led to the long-term establishment of remote university education. Following the decision of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education (today the Ministry of Education and Science), students and academics had to leave the universities for almost the entire academic year 2020/2021 and move the educational process “into virtual space”. Organising the year’s teaching in this way produced numerous well-known problems and complications – from organisational issues to the challenges of social isolation. We would like to emphasize that this article focuses on a rather narrow range of issues here. We analyse the transformation of space with remote teaching and the spatial practices forced on students as a result. We do not address issues such as the efficiency of remote learning, the various specific ways remote education has been organised in particular colleges or other, important, aspects of this phenom-

enon. The broader problems mentioned, though they are closely tied to the issues of spatial practices, remain on the margins of our considerations. Our central focus is a descriptive account of the transformation of private space which, due to online learning, had to be adapted by students to function differently than before. We also describe spatial practices much directly impacted by long-term remote education.

PRIVATE SPACE, COHABITATION AND SPATIAL BOUNDARIES

To analyse the changes that have taken place in the private sphere with remote learning, we should take a closer look at home as a location for the realisation of intimate needs or, as Marta Skowrońska (2012) puts it, as a space for “being *chez soi*”/“being at your own place”. This kind of understanding of **home/dwelling** developed as the result of separating the private (family) sphere from the public space, it is also a consequence of the development of the idea of privacy as signifying the social recognition of the need to possess one’s own “cubby hole” in the form of a flat or house, i.e., a privacy that is shared with one’s cohabitants. As Marta Skowrońska puts it, “the popular contemporary discourse of ‘being yourself’ is closely related to domestic space, where we expect to be able to regain control, subjectivity and freedom – things that are disturbed once we leave our home” (2012, p. 150). Subjectivity and exerting control in one’s domestic space is expressed, for instance, in the personalisation of one’s home as well as deciding who can be there and when.

From our perspective in this article, the definition of private space suggested by Lyn H. Lofland (2009) is particularly useful. She distinguishes three basic kinds of social relation: the *private realm*, the *parochial realm*, and the *public realm*, each marked out by its own dominating, characteristic kind of social relation. The character of a space is not determined by the ownership status of that space, but by the manner of its utilisation and the meaning given to it by people and the social relations exhibited there. According to Lofland, the private realm is “characterized by ties of intimacy among primary group members who are located within households and personal networks” (2009, p. 14). The dominating form of relation is *communal* for the parochial realm and *stranger* or *categorical* for the public realm. Piotr Sztompka (2020, pp. 242–243) draws attention to similar elements in his definition of private (personal) space.

Understanding private space in relational terms allows us to clarify the **phenomenon of cohabitation**. People usually share their house or flat with a partner, a family, with friends or flatmates. Thus, the realisation of the aforementioned need

for privacy is connected with the need to mark out and negotiate one's boundaries, both internal boundaries (socio-spatial relations with one's cohabitants) as well as external boundaries (separating the private sphere from the parochial and public realms).

The division into private and public space always remains blurred in view of the overlapping of the two domains. Private space is never completely free from public influences, and in turn parochial and public space are subject to attempts of "appropriation" – giving these spaces features of the private domain. In the context of domestic space, we may invoke Marta Skowrońska again:

First of all, it would be naïve to think that home represents a space in which, for a moment, all the usual rules of the game are suspended. [...] Secondly, the boundaries of home are never hermetically sealed. What is going on outside the home seeps inside in many, many ways, the most obvious being the physical presence of another person in home – a guest, neighbour, an intruder – but it might also be someone's mediated presence or the merely potential presence of another – or the mere imagination of a situation like that (2012, p. 153).

The fuzziness of the categories of private and public space is also evident in spatial practices, understood as a form of social practice in which the individual and the social order interact and intertwine on micro- and macro-social levels (see: Smagacz-Poziemska, 2018). Spatial practices are dynamic. The behaviour of social actors is shaped by the spatial framework they appear in and the relevant governing norms and values; on the other hand, that same behaviour may redefine various kinds of space by giving the latter new meanings and functions.

There is a growing interest in the subject of educational spaces mostly undertaken from pedagogical perspective (i.e., within pedagogy of space). It can be exemplified by the works of Justyna Nowotniak, especially her comparative research on secondary schools in France and Poland (2006). The study analyzes the relevance (often neglected by school administration) of spatial conditions for student privacy and social ties within school community. Remote education creates new challenges related to the interpenetration of the public and the private and the **negotiation of the boundaries** between cohabitants.

Research on teleworkers (Nippert-Eng, 1996; Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000; Gądecki & Żadkowska, 2016; Gądecki, Jewdokimow, & Żadkowska, 2017) reveals the effects and possible problems of combining these diverse spheres and kinds of activity in the domestic space. The existing literature usually distinguishes four basic kinds of boundary: spatial, temporal, social, and behavioural. Spatial boundaries are related to attempts to mark our various kinds of activity with their own space at home (e.g., a room or a part of a room dedicated to work

as a study or the temporary separation of spaces by closing a door). Temporal boundaries are related to the diverse use of the same space in the course of the day (e.g., a time for work and a time for rest). Social boundaries represent the attempt to separate various social roles and ameliorate potential conflicts between diverse roles. Behavioural boundaries are expressed in rituals and behaviours which keep various kinds of boundary in place (Gądecki & Żadkowska, 2016, pp. 76–81). Remote study is similar to telework in that it infringes these rules on freedom and privacy and on exerting control over private space.

DATA, METHODS, SAMPLE SELECTION

The issues of social space (including educational space) can be analyzed from different perspectives and with the use of different research methods and techniques. The research described in this article is focused on the transformation of private space and spatial practices accompanying remote education, carried out using a qualitative method and focus group interviews. Both qualitative convention of conducting the research as well as interpretive paradigm related to it seemed to be accurate to get the nature of “taming” personal space.

A series of focus group interviews (FGIs) provided us with our initial research, serving to familiarise ourselves with a new empirical domain. The main research problem to be confronted with the material gathered was a characterisation of the transformations of private space and the spatial practices adopted by students in the long-term process of remote education. Three research questions were posed in this context:

- 1) How has the student’s home changed in the course of remote education and how is it adapted to participation in online courses?
- 2) How are the boundaries of private space determined and negotiated in relation to the long-term process of remote education?
- 3) What social norms concerning space and body emerge in the course of remote education?

The focus group interviews are reminiscent of an uninhibited discussion of 6 to 12 persons on a selected subject and are led by a moderator on the basis of a script that has been prepared earlier. This kind of interview allows the participants to freely reveal their various ways of thinking, confronting their positions and experiences – it facilitates a free exchange of opinions among the participants who, it should be

stressed, have been selected for the focus groups on the basis of previously agreed criteria (Bloor et al., 2001; Marvasti, 2004).

The focus group research³ was carried out at the end of April and the beginning of May 2021 with a targeted sample. We invited I and II-year students to participate as well as students of long-cycle MA programs [programs leading towards an MA from year one], both residential students and extra-mural, and in 6 cities⁴ in Poland. The sample was also varied in terms of gender, type of college attended⁵, its main location and the student's year and subject⁶. In a series of focus group interviews (4 interviews), a total of 27 people took part (16 women and 11 men). All four focus groups were diversified in terms of the aforementioned criteria; however, one group only contained first year students. In addition, all participants were asked to fill in an initial questionnaire before beginning – on architectural aspects of learning spaces, available equipment and accommodation practices.

The research was carried out *via* Zoom⁷; interviews were recorded and transcribed; data was made anonymous and numbered.

THE STUDENT AT HOME AND ON THE MOVE: NEGOTIATING BOUNDARIES

The research material permits an analysis of the changes in private space in the period of remote research and an analysis of spatial practices undertaken – both of those connected to negotiating spatial boundaries in the subject's home and those related to the spatial mobility of students.

As the interviews reveal, a decisive majority of participants share their homes with others – family members or other students. Some had even moved several times in the period of remote education. Students moved from rented accommoda-

3 The research described in the article was financed from the resources of the Institute of Sociology, University of Białystok.

4 Participants were recruited from among students in Białystok, Warsaw, Katowice, Gdańsk, Wrocław, and Lublin.

5 The following three kinds of college were taken into consideration: university, economic university, medical university, polytechnic, theatre academy, academy of music, non-public technical-artistic college.

6 The following disciplines were considered in the sample: psychology, sociology, philosophy, construction, finance and accounting, quantitative methods in economics and IT systems, medicine, analytical medicine, cognitive science and communication, history, acting, direction, architecture, pedagogy, social work, instrumentation.

7 Due to some specific issues put in the script of our FGIs (i.e., video camera use during classes, the sense of privacy, etc.) the visual materials were not analyzed. The analysis of visual materials is associated with some specific research and ethical challenges (see: Banks, 2009).

tion to their family homes and back again, or they moved out of their family home to a student flat. In this way, they experienced changes in their milieu of cohabitants, a fact which is always, as mentioned, connected to (re)negotiating boundaries and establishing rules governing the inhabited space.

A closed door is the primary symbol of spatial boundaries for respondents; it is the physical separation of a study area and it is also a message to flatmates. The possibility of separating and “closing off” space to be able to study remotely is the most comfortable situation. However, even a separate room does not usually enable severing contact from others or from the noise of daily routines and sounds from the external environment. Students worry that their flatmates will be heard or visible during classes and the background noises can disturb concentration or make students feel embarrassed about the level of their domestic environment. This leads to additional control on cohabitants and limiting their informality – they are stopped from doing some activities at the same time as classes are taking place. This solution is a source of potential conflict between those sharing a home, as one of the participants remarked:

At my place, each one causes problems – we are all working remotely, and my brother is also studying [...] once the dog is finally under control, it’s the turn of the others – who unfortunately cannot be disciplined so easily [W2_M_U].

Marking out spatial boundaries is especially difficult for students of the arts. They have specific requirements for the space they work in and how it is used – like the light, appropriate background for recording studies, etc. In practice, this means the need to use common areas in the house:

It is one thing to be in the classroom, another at home with a large family which is talking the whole time, wanting to do something and disturbing you – and simply not understanding that you now need 30 minutes quiet to focus at home [W3_M_AT].

Well, it’s difficult to reconcile [everyone’s needs], but I also know that [...] it was a big challenge for my family, someone is coming into their space, which they had been previously able to use freely, and suddenly it is strangely limited for them [W3_K_AT].

The tasks the students have to do may require complete silence or they may themselves make noise during classes that can then be heard not only by their flatmates but by neighbours (dance classes, long hours of instrument practice). Those sharing the home space become involuntary participants in the same courses, sometimes even becoming active partners – accompanying or helping them to complete their tasks.

Temporal boundaries are most of all defined by the college's timetable, but also to some extent by the daily rhythm set by the flatmates. Some participants did have the option to use the entire flat – because the professional life of their flatmates kept them out of home for most of the day. Students who were living with their families most often said their families adapted to their college timetable, waiting with specific domestic chores. However, it turned out that these negotiations were on the whole easier in student flats – because of the similar timetable and easier mutual understanding about the challenges of remote learning. One challenge for temporal boundaries mentioned by the participants was when lecturers changed the timings of sessions.

Participation in remote learning at home leads to changes in the perception of private space and a transformation of its previous functions. A place that was previously associated with rest, becomes a working space. This can lead to a redefinition of the space and changes in the perception, e.g., of domestic appliances, as illustrated by these statements:

[...] at my college there are such uncomfortable, wooden chairs. And I always used to complain that I didn't want to go back there, to those chairs, thinking about how uncomfortable they are. Now I have the same associations with the chair in the kitchen and my bed – they represent lessons for me, college, lectures. And my bed... once when I was somewhere else, at college, I would think, 'How nice it would be to return to my bed...' Now, it's just the opposite. I don't dream about getting back into bed. I prefer to go for a walk, anything not to sit on that bed, because... *classes* [W1_M_U].

[...] this desk means being in class for me, that I may be asked a question or may need to do some work, make some effort [W3_M_AT].

Some respondents had attempted to separate their study and rest time by developing their routine and marking the beginning or the end of lessons, e.g., with daily walks after classes or a ritual closing of the computer – symbolising the beginning of free time. A similar role can be played by separating areas in the domestic space:

[...] separating [...] the space for work and for life, so I know that if I sit at my desk then I am in a creative process [...] and this was my space [...], where I knew that I am now switching on the lamp and working, and if I sit down on the couch next to the desk, then I am, let's say, back in my room [W3_M1_AT].

[...] I felt such an inner need to make my own corner, the only place where my lessons take place, and I think that that helps to some extent, so the classes do not take over my personal space – they are only in this specific and tiny space in my home [...]. And as soon as the lessons are over and I switch off my laptop and move away from my desk, although I'm still in the same space, I have the feeling that I have finished my classes and now it is my free time [W4_K2_U].

Spatial and temporal separation of the domains of learning and rest is connected to the attempt to separate the social roles played by our respondents – i.e., to **negotiate social boundaries**. Students who live with their families experience a kind of conflict between their family roles and their student roles, for instance, when they should perform some household chores during their online study time. One (female) student who had moved during the academic year expressed it this way:

When I was at my family home [...] some of my family somewhat failed to understand that I can't fully participate in the housework [...], that I have a lot of classes, and, well, there was some frustration felt towards me, [...] now it's easier for me being alone; I only have flatmates and no family members [...] [W3_K2_U].

Our participants also pointed to difficulties in adopting the role of a student when studying at home, surrounded by family. This was a problem above all for those who were just starting their studies.

Behavioural borders relate to steps taken to mark out and sustain the divisions we have described above. They are expressed in two ways. First of all, they are actions directed at oneself and one's immediate surrounding. It is a kind of self-discipline, emphasizing participation in courses, e.g., by a change of clothes or by properly preparing one's space. Secondly, this can be a form of communication which serves to discipline one's cohabitants – requests to keep quiet, reminding them about classes, a key presentation, or an exam:

Please Mum, don't beat those cutlets now – in half an hour [W2_M_U].

When I really want to say something, and it's getting to the point that I'm really going to tell them, then I shout: 'Be quiet!'. And they get the message that they should be quiet, only then I switch on my microphone, say something and then, afterwards, I shout: "Done!"..., and they can safely go back to whatever they were doing [W2_K_U].

In this context of behavioural boundaries, we should also recall some technical aspects of remote learning. A common experience is participation in classes without a camera on. Even when colleges introduce a rule against this, it is anyway rarely enforced by the lecturers or respected by the students. So, the behavioural boundaries expressed by a "smart" appearance or preparation of one's space are limited in scope. In practice, it is students who decide when and how much of their private space they "share" with lecturers and other course participants.

These attempts at negotiating and marking out social-spatial boundaries appeared among our participants to a varying degree and in varying configurations, dependent, for instance, on the kind of situation they live in (with family

versus student flats), the way their university organises remote learning, specific features of their department and their year of study. Some of the students try to keep separate activities related to studies from other activities and social roles. Others, out of choice or out of necessity, experience an overlapping of diverse spheres of their life⁸.

An expression of the diversity of approaches and experiences is the preference for a fixed place for remote study. Some participants had a special place like that at their disposal and tried to always study there. Others move around their homes or combine their study with other activities (e.g., cooking, cleaning, physical exercise). Finally, some were keen on participating in activities outside the home⁹. The following excerpts illustrate various forms of student mobility:

[...] I shared one room with my flatmate and, well, to be frank, it was a tough experience, because we had to suddenly divide this space between two people, both studying. So at one time one had the room, the other the kitchen, and so on, in shifts [W3_K1_U].

I actually adapted my space at home so I could practically in every place be in class. I can cook at the same time, clean, do a great variety of things and participate in those courses at the same time [W2_M_U].

When it comes to lectures, I'm a supporter of this way: telephone and, simply – shopping in Lidl. You can then listen to the lectures like podcasts. It works... [W1_K_U].

The kind of mobility described here is to a considerable degree limited. Exercises and laboratory requirements limit the possibilities of moving around “in session” and they also require more planning for study time and breaks. Multitasking is mainly for lectures – which demand less input from the students. A change of surroundings can reduce physical or psychological discomfort and allow for more efficient use of time, as well as being necessary because of weaker Internet connection or the nature of the tasks performed. Mobility is also sometimes related to the professional activity of the students and the necessity of moving between home and work.

The material gathered on negotiating the boundaries of private space and the mobility of students reveals the dynamic and diverse nature of spatial practices.

8 Research conducted among teleworkers suggests a diversity of preferences in the scope of integration or separation of various social roles and forms of activity (see: Ashforth et al., 2000).

9 The most frequently mentioned places and activities undertaken during classes were: shopping, going for walks, travel by bus or tram. The participants also recalled less typical places for participating in courses and tests, for example: a test completed in a coach, a lecture audited in the mountains, participation in classes while abroad or in a tattoo salon.

The experience of studying, though always far from uniform, in a pandemic becomes even more diversified because of the varied circumstances of the students who participate. The creation of suitable conditions for study is also imperfectly realised in offline situations, but with remote education it additionally mainly becomes the responsibility of the students.

REMOTE EDUCATION: AREAS OF STUDENT EXPERIENCE

The data gathered also encouraged us to give a more detailed description of the variety of student experiences connected with university education realised online. In this context, we were interested in factors which, from the perspective of our respondents, were crucial for their experience of online university education. To achieve this, we suggest a closer look at the kinds of experience of remote education which we have reconstructed based on the attitudes and opinions as expressed by participants in the interviews.

The data shows that the experience of remote learning was most of all shaped by two factors or dimensions. The first was the technological dimension. This allows us to define whether the student in long-term online study has the equipment and abilities to satisfy the requirements of the college. The second dimension is the spatial dimension. It enables us to describe whether the student has the right space (in their own assessment) to participate in their online courses. Figure 1 illustrates the intersection of the two and reveals four basic kinds of experience.

In attempting to provide a basic characterisation of student experiences, we need to examine each of the four combinations in the graph, as well as taking into consideration the strength of both factors (marked with a plus and a minus in the figure).

Let's begin with the quadrant with two pluses: proper space and the required equipment and abilities. The experience of students is here associated above all with greater stability and regularity of remote lessons, leading to a greater sense of security of the students. Of course, students encounter challenges here as well, but they nevertheless have managed to create a good routine, a regular rhythm of sessions. The experience of all the students in this quadrant were of course not uniform, especially in detail. But they were united by this sense of stability. A significant portion of our participants can be placed in this quadrant. However, it is worth noting that the spread of experiences for all Polish students across Poland would probably be somewhat different.

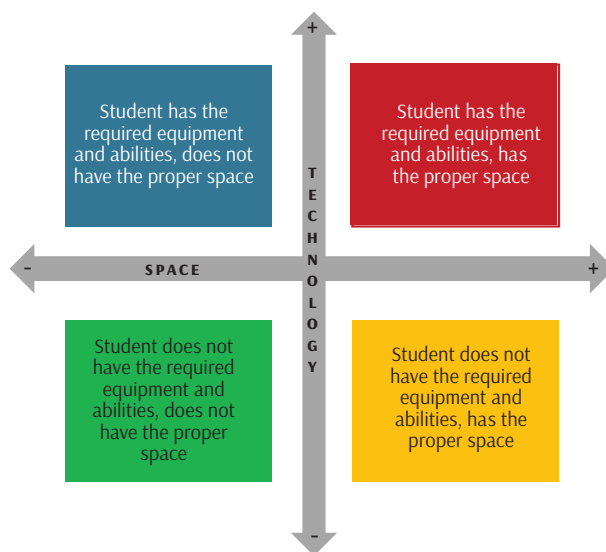


Figure 1. Fields Representing the Experience on Remote Education

Source: Authors' conception based on the results of the focus group interviews.

“On the other side” we find the quadrant representing two minuses. This is the field where lack predominates, so naturally we find the highest level of frustration related to the impossibility of overcoming daily impediments to learning. Here we find, above all, students of art schools for whom remote learning is a particular challenge, if for no other reason than the requirements of actor studios, director’s studios or music rooms are completely different. It is enough to think of the division into a stage, backstage, auditorium, light, sound or even the sheer size of the room required. These are conditions which students, even with the best of intentions, cannot find at home. The situation is similar when it comes to professional equipment which cannot be simply bought in these cases. Of course young artists are inventive: compulsory dance classes take place in the kitchen; recording of theatrical exercises involve family members; instrument practice takes place in a corner of a tiny flat. But in the long term, it is hard to deal with the rising frustration, which they pointed to in the interviews. Things were not made easier by the fact that the artistic students were perhaps the only ones who had to at least partially stick to offline courses. But this too was perceived rather as a complication (breaking their routine, chaos, financial difficulties, interpersonal conflicts) than a facilitation.

The left upper corner defines the situation where the technological equipment and abilities are to hand, but without a convenient space for studying. The students who found themselves in this zone operated in a space of constant interruption,

struggling against the spatial disadvantages. It was these students who logged on to courses from inadequate places, preventing them from being natural and relaxed. It was hard for them to create a structured timetable for their classes, so their level of engagement was inhibited. The participants from this quadrant constantly negotiate the conditions of their study with their families, their flatmates or sometimes co-workers. In the long term, the need to constantly be “at the ready” was just too tiring, leading to their withdrawal from active participation in classes. This was the group that exhibited the greatest losses (in a broad sense – cognitive and financial) coming out of remote education.

The bottom right corner is for those who have at their disposal adequate space but not technology. The main feature of the experiences from this group is their focus on the temporary nature of remote education – they just want to survive these (hopefully temporary) challenges. They do not proactively intervene in the situation, do not upgrade their technological competencies, do not invest in new equipment, firm in the conviction that remote education is only a temporary solution which will not in the end compete with offline education. Some answers from this quadrant also suggest that they count on more understanding or lenience from lecturers – who also often find themselves in similar difficulties. This hypothesis, however, require further research.

The research material gathered convinces us that the right technological and spatial conditions have a decisive influence on the student’s sense of stability and security during the process of remote education. So it is unsurprising to find a portion of our respondents actively looking to place themselves in the quadrant with “two pluses”. We talked in detail about the winter semester, which was a time when several students changed their dwellings or flatmates or invested in new equipment – precisely to be able to place themselves in the “two-plus” quadrant. We should emphasize that this move was not possible for all, especially in view of the socio-economic status of students.

SUMMARY

Regardless of the long-term effects of remote education, there is no doubt that it has succeeded in becoming a fixture of university education and its role in contemporary teaching will increase. As we have tried to show, among the many varied changes to the system of higher education, remote education also caused a transformation of private space – it has led to specific new spatial practices, undertaken both by the students themselves and by their cohabitants.

The research results we have described allow us to formulate the following conclusions concerning changes to students' private space and spatial practices in the 2020/2021 academic year. The experiences connected to remote study were differentiated according to the criteria assumed in the sample selection. Organisational and educational conditions had particular significance here. The experience of remote study and whether the predominant feeling was one of stability or of frustration was decided both by the decisions and actions implemented by particular colleges, as well as by the nature of the academic subject in question and finally by the year of the student's study. The material analysed does not, on the other hand, reveal significant differences in the study experience of women and men.

The experience of remote study was differentiated markedly by access to an adequate (in the student's assessment) space for learning. A sense of relative stability was often related to the possibility of marking out a separate, properly equipped and furnished space – a situation that does not require constant (re)negotiation with flatmates. The experience of remote study, more particularly a sense of freedom and security, was essentially determined by the possession of adequate electronic equipment and Internet connections, as well as the digital competence possessed by the student.

The research also allows us to differentiate among kinds of action taken by students to adapt their space for remote classes. These kinds of action include: (1) action aimed at changing the spatial conditions and preparing a so-called "adequate" space (moving home, preparing a new or additional place for study), (2) investment in essential equipment for participation in courses and/or improving the comfort of participation, and (3) attempts to solve or lessen conflicts resulting from diverse social roles and institutional orders "running into each other" in the domestic space.

The interviews carried out allow us to point to a diversity of student attitudes towards mobility and "multitasking" during remote classes. The scope of attitudes here is also determined by the diverse preferences of the participants, as well as the aforementioned organisational-educational, spatial and technological conditions.

There were also a variety of clear attempts to maintain conditions of privacy – by controlling background noise in the home and what is visible and audible during classes with cameras. In this context, the respondents attempted at least one of two strategies: limiting the time cameras and microphones are on during remote lessons and/or negotiating the use of domestic space by one's flatmates or family members. For some, this problem was also addressed by separating the space for study from the space for other activities.

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