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INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL AND FOOD ECONOMICS
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Spatial and social mobility of the rural population

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COMPETITIVENESS OF THE POLISH FOOD ECONOMY UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF GLOBALIZATION AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

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The publication was prepared within the topic **Changes in the socio-economic structure of rural areas as a competitive factor of rural areas** in the task *Human capital in the structural transformation process of rural areas and agriculture*

The purpose of this study is to define the changes taking place within the rural structures as a result of spatial and social mobility of population in the rural areas.

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Introduction

The demographic situation of individual European societies is very different. After a period of decline in the pace of fertility, in the 1990s this trend was reversed in the Nordic countries, the UK, Ireland and France. Narrowed reproduction, in turn, characterized the inhabitants of the Mediterranean. Unfavourable demographic changes in the form of falling birth rates and migration were noticed particularly in the Central and Eastern parts of the continent. Their intensity was observed there since the early 1990s and the first decade of the new century. System transformation in the countries of the region and European integration weakened the barriers to the movement of the population. Intense economic transformation, accompanied by the modernization of life and development of the welfare state, influenced the reduction in fertility[1].

A common phenomenon in Europe is the increasing life expectancy. Systematic improvement of its level, economic growth and progressive political integration increased population flows. Well-off countries of the Continent became the destination for migrants from the outermost regions and from third countries which are not members of the European Union (EU).

Aging and severity of population outflow primarily affect many rural regions in Europe. This is accompanied by various activities on the part of public authorities, both at the EU and at the Member States level. In this context, the Union recommends changing the existing and the introduction of new instruments at the supranational and domestic level, which are designed to: facilitate the reconciliation of work and family life, increase employment and investment in education and research, enable the reception and integration of immigrants and ensure sustainable public finances to guarantee adequate pensions, healthcare and long-term care[2]. In addition to migration policy, which is characterized by a significant degree and extent of harmonization[3], the demographic situation in rural areas in the EU can be affected by the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). One of the objectives of the second pillar of this policy in the period 2014-2020 will be contributing to the sustainable development of the rural

[1] J. Jóźwiak, I.E. Kotowska, *Decreasing birth rates in Europe: reasons and remedies*, European View 7(2008), Centre for European Studies, Springer 2008, p. 227, 230.
[2] Cf. Commission Communication, The demographic future of Europe – from challenge to opportunity, Brussels 2010.
[3] M. Pacek, M. Bonikowska, *Unijna droga do wspólnej polityki migracyjnej w kontekście debaty o przyszłości Wspólnot*, Studia Europejskie 1 (2007), Centre for Europe University of Warsaw, Warsaw 2007, p. 50-60.

areas, which also includes the social aspect[4]. Regardless of the action taken at the level of international organizations, it should be noted that the "top-down" effect on the demographic phenomena remains limited, as these processes are conditioned by many factors[5]. In addition, population policy is primarily the domain of national states, which differ in approach to issues of natural change and migration of the population.

Today, the demographic changes in the European countries are often described from the viewpoint of several phenomena. The first is the decline in fertility. For every woman of childbearing age there are on average fewer and fewer children. The second phenomenon is the increasing life expectancy. The result of both processes is aging, i.e. the increase in the share of elderly in the total population. This fact causes many important economic effects. One of the most important is the shrinking tax base. There are fewer and fewer people of working age and paying various taxes and fees in relation to the steadily growing group of retirement age population, not working and using social benefits. In this context, the increasing demand for these instruments, in particular the pensions, with a significant share in total public expenditure, may be a long-term threat to fiscal stability of many countries. Due to the increasing incidence of diseases in the late stages of life, together with the increase of the oldest age groups in the population, it is also expected to increase demand for health services, care, recreation and nursing. Another effect of aging is the reduction of potential sources of financing the public health system, which is accompanied by the growing scale of the use of the services offered in its framework[6].

At the micro level, the aging of the population means the necessity to work longer, save or invest to make up for potentially lower pension benefits in the future. It is also considered that the tensions may arise as a result of intergenerational

[4] *Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council on support for rural development by the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD)*, SEC (2011) 1153 Final, European Commission, Proposal, Brussels 2012.

[5] Most often, demographic changes result from bio-social characteristics of the population (e.g. genetic characteristics, gender, age), long-term and short-term economic processes, the environment, cultural phenomena (e.g. norms and values of family, parenting, changes in lifestyles of societies) and institutional factors (social policy, healthcare, economic, educational, housing policies), see J. Holzer, *Demografia*, Polskie Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne, Warsaw 2003, p. 24-40.

[6] It is forecasted that by 2060 public spending related to the aging of the population will increase across the EU by 4.5 p.p. of GDP. This increase will be mainly related to spending on pensions, health and long-term care, see *The 2012 ageing report: economic and budgetary projections for the EU-27 member states (2010-2060)*, Joint report prepared by European Commission (DG ECFIN) and the Economic Policy Committee (AWG) Brussels 2012, p. 34-39.

obligations of young people towards the elderly, associated with the need to reconcile work and family life by the former (informal care for elderly relatives)[7].

It should be emphasized that another important phenomenon influencing the demographic situation of European societies are the changes regarding the directions, intensity and patterns of **migration**. Migration can be associated with both positive and negative socio-economic effects. In host countries, migrants contribute to the rejuvenation of the population since they are usually young people that are in the early stages of life, in which the family is formed. In many countries, the influx of people from abroad also produces positive economic effects in the form of supplying local labour resources and improving the competitiveness of businesses. Regardless of these benefits, increased waves of immigration are sometimes associated with the social integration problems of immigrants, which is a challenge for many countries in migration policy. A different situation than the one in the destination countries takes place in areas of population outflow, where the demographic imbalance and aging of societies is often observed. One of the effects of increased immigration is the impoverishment of the human capital of the country of origin (e.g., so-called brain drain), the deterioration of the competitiveness of enterprises (e.g. by increasing labour costs), but also increasing public finance obligations.

Migratory movements of the population in our country play a significant role in the demographic processes.

Polish accession to the European Union and the opening up of new labour markets for Poles[8], meant that already in 2007 there were almost 2.3 million people (about 7% of the population) temporarily outside the borders of our country, of which nearly 1.5 million left Poland after the accession to the EU. The increase in the influx of Polish immigrants affected most European countries, but was particularly strong in relation to the so-called countries of the old EU. In a relatively short period of time, the Poles turned out to be one of the most mobile nations in Europe with regard to international migration. Migration from Poland has been clearly differentiated regionally. Polish accession into EU structures and thus more migration opportunities noticeably affected the scale of regional diversity of migration. But still in some parts of the country – especially in the south-eastern Poland – the outflow of people abroad is higher than in other parts of Poland.

[7] P. Błędowski, *Polityka wobec osób starych – cele i zasady*, Studia Biura Analiz Sejmowych Kancelarii Sejmu, no. 2(30), Warsaw 2012, p. 204-206.

[8] In May 2011 the transition period expired and the Poles can now work without work permits in the European Union member states.

Although rural areas in Poland are characterized by excess labour in agriculture and relatively low availability of non-agricultural jobs, for a few years we have seen a growing number of residents in these areas, mainly due to the influx of people from cities, which is also reflected in the social processes in both communities.

The IAFE-NRI has conducted for many years the detailed field studies on the socio-economic transformations taking place in rural areas and agriculture. Among the many issues associated with this process, we also analyzed the issues related to spatial and socio-occupational mobility of rural population. We analyze not only the scale of these phenomena and their spatial intensity, but also the conditions of the process and the changes it produces in rural communities. Such knowledge is important in the diagnosis of conditions and the direction of transformations in the socio-economic structure of the countryside, as well as in the agricultural sector. The observed trends are a weighty premise in determining the circumstances of the changes taking place in the Polish countryside and in agriculture in the functioning within the EU economic structures. This issue is of particular importance because of the need to accelerate development of rural areas and agriculture. The factors limiting the rate of the desired structural changes in agriculture and improvement in the incomes of people employed in this sector, include mainly the excess of human resources in agriculture[9]. Acceleration of the processes to reduce the number of people employed in agriculture is hindered by a large scale of registered and hidden unemployment in rural areas[10] and disadvantage of the rural population in the labour market, resulting mainly from a lower level of education[11].

In this context, an important issue related to the development of rural areas and agriculture in recent years, and also the main subject of analyses of the task "Human capital in the structural transformation process of rural areas and agriculture" (carried out under the topics "Changes in the socio-economic structure of rural areas as a competitive factor of rural areas" – Multi-Annual Programme of IAFE-NRI 2011-2014) is to determine the transformations taking place within the basic rural structures under the influence spatial and social mobility of the rural population.

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[9] W. M. Orłowski, *Nihil Novi Sub Sole: Perspektywy modernizacji polskiego rolnictwa*, [in:] Wieś i rolnictwo. Perspektywy rozwoju, IAFE, IRAD PAS, Warsaw School of Economics, Warsaw 2001, p. 95.

[10] F. Tomczak, *Gospodarka rodzinna w rolnictwie. Uwarunkowania i mechanizmy rozwoju*, IRAD PAS, Warsaw 2005, p. 156.

[11] Ł. Zwoliński, *Wybrane cechy demograficzne ludności wiejskiej w latach 2000-2005*, Multi-Annual Programme 2005-2009, Report no. 58, IAFE-NRI, Warsaw 2007, p. 17-18, 38.

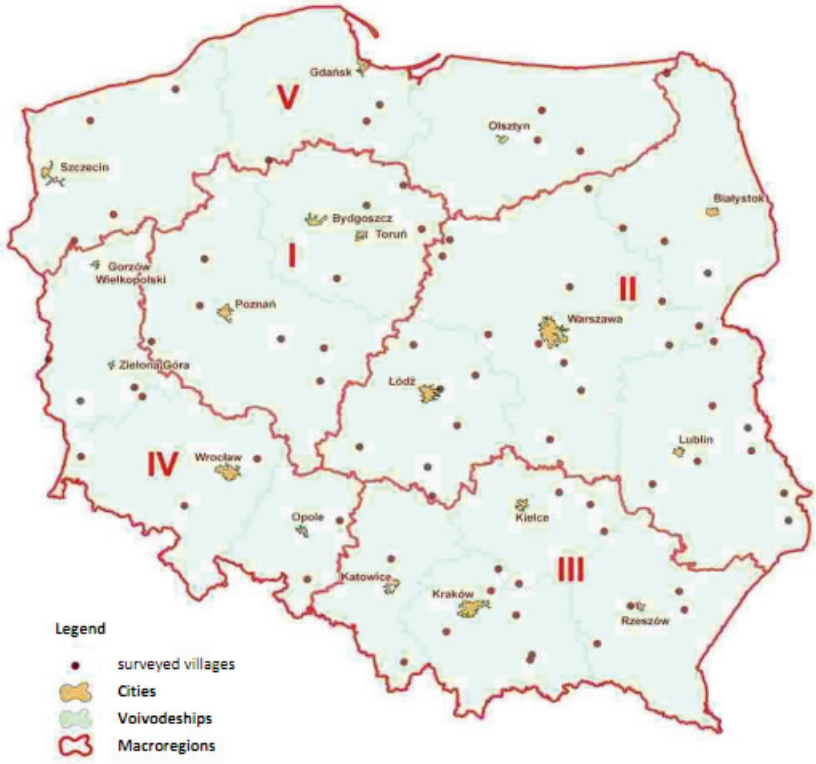
This study collected and analyzed aspects of the EU's migration policy (Chapter 1). It characterized selected demographic changes in the EU and individual Member States. It focuses on the changes in the size and structure of the population by age and gender, caused by the natural change and migration. Particular attention was given to a population living in rural areas of the Union and the countries belonging to it (Chapter 2). We also analyzed the spatial mobility of the rural population in Poland in the light of official statistics (Chapter 3), as well as the mobility of rural families in the light of the survey carried out in 2011 (Chapter 4).

General demographic characteristics were drawn up for the period 1990-2010. In the case of rural areas, the issues were considered in 2007-2010. In both cases, the source of information was the data collected by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the European Statistical Office (Eurostat). The study used the source data from mass statistics of the CSO from 2005-2011, and survey data of IAFE-NRI 2011 and previous years.

The issues presented in the study have been characterized not only as a whole, but also in spatial terms. We established five macro-regions for the analysis of the territorial diversity of rural areas in terms of determinants of migration processes (see map 1). The applied spatial distribution reflects the historically formed similarities and differences in the economic characteristics of agriculture and socio-economic characteristics of the rural population[12].

[12] More on the subject of rules for isolating macroregions in A. Sikorska, *Ogólne informacje o badanych jednostkach osadniczych*, [in:] *Charakterystyka wsi objętych badaniem w 1996 roku* (survey results by IAFE) IAFE, Warsaw 1997, p.7-13, A. Sikorska, *Zmiany strukturalne na wsi i w rolnictwie w latach 1996-2000 a wielofunkcyjny rozwój obszarów wiejskich*. Synteza, IAFE, Warsaw 2000, p. 5-10 and A. Szemberg, *Społeczno-ekonomiczne regiony rolnictwa i obszarów wiejskich*, Komunikaty, Raporty, Ekspertyzy, no. 453, IAFE, Warsaw 1999, p. 5-20.

Map 1. Location of villages and the size of the IAFE research sample in 2011, in macroregional distribution*



* *The individual macroregions correspond to the following descriptions and voivodeships:* ***Central-Western (I)*** *- Kujawsko-Pomorskie and Wielkopolskie,* ***Central-Eastern (II)*** *- Mazowieckie, Lubelskie, Łódzkie and Podlaskie,* ***South-Eastern (III)*** *- Małopolskie, Podkarpackie, Śląskie and Świętokrzyskie,* ***South-Western (IV)*** *- Dolnośląskie, Lubuskie and Opolskie,* ***Northern (V)*** *- Pomorskie, Warmińsko-Mazurskie and Zachodniopomorskie.*

Chapter 1
European Union migration policy

1.1. Phenomenon of migration and integration

Since the end of the twentieth century, the EU Member States have become increasingly attractive region for immigrants. The research at the national level of EU countries shows that migration plays more important role in demographic transformations than birth rates and death rates. The enlargement of the EU with the new members has led to the growth of population flows, mainly from new Member States.

Migrations are mostly driven by problems with finding employment generating satisfactory income in the territory of a given country. A special category are school-leavers and university graduates who encounter difficulties entering the labour market. In general, it can be stated that the main motivation for migration is the economic factor (the movement of persons with the aim of improving the quality of life, preventing unemployment, enhancing qualifications). Other reasons for migration include political, religious and ideological factors.

Another important cause is the phenomenon of family reunification, i.e. the migration of the spouses and the children of those permanently residing away from the territory of the country of origin. The phenomenon in question has been noticed and incorporated into migration policy as it contributes to the creation of socio-cultural stability, social integration and inclusion, particularly at the local level. On the one hand, it is favourable for migrants since it helps eliminate the psychological stress resulting from long-term separation (particularly affecting the children). On the other hand, it is beneficial for the economy as such households increase their consumption expenditure.

Migration is also driven by the willingness to improve one's qualifications, which is the case for pupils and students as well as for workers. It comprises trips whose motivations include taking up studies, the posting of workers abroad or changing jobs.

Motivations for migration underlie theories developed in the context of economics and sociology. Those allowing to understand the specific features of migration in Poland and in EU Member States include the following: the neoclassical theo-

ry of migration, the new economics of migration, the dual labour market theory, the world systems theory as well as the theory of migration networks[13].

According to the neoclassical theory of migration, focussed on differentials in labour demand and supply as the drivers of migration, its direction is determined by the levels of wages in a given region. As a result of workforce flows, labour demand and demand supply move towards an equilibrium, wage differentials go down and consequently migration itself also fades out.

The issue open to discussion in the neoclassical theory is the fact that it fails to take into account of non-wage motivations for migration, e.g. differences in legal and institutional regulations, social and climate differences in the countries concerned or various educational systems resulting in gaps in labour skills (qualifications) in different countries. It is also open to question whether wage differentials actually decline since as a matter of fact they often widen. It is addressed by the dual labour market theory which explains that in advanced economies there is supply for low-paid, low-status or dangerous jobs. In such a case, the immigration of unskilled workers bridges the gap in the labour market rather than increase the unemployment rate (is neutral for the market).

The issue of migration flows is also raised by the world systems theory, describing the movement of capital, material and labour flows, draining small economies by the expansion of capitalism[14]. In that context, the reasons for migration are seen not directly in wage differentials, but in the need for further growth of developed countries seeking new sources to satisfy rising labour demand.

A theory focussing on households, the entities to decide on migration, is the new economic theory of migration. In accordance with the theory in question, decisions whether or not to migrate are made by a group of interdependent individuals rather than by a single person. The main unit in that approach is the household whose members take decision aimed at the diversification of income sources and thus the minimisation of economic risk. One effect of such actions is making a decision on the migration of one or more family members. According to that theory, the decision to diversify livelihoods (e.g. to migrate) is determined by the economic and social situation of the family in comparison with other households in the local community. Therefore, migrations may result from the willingness to raise the social status of the family as compared to

[13] Cf. W. Janicki, *Przegląd teorii migracji ludności*, Annales Universitas Mariae Curie-Skłodowska, Vol. LXII, 2007, p. 285–299; and E. Meyers, Theories of International Immigration Policy – A Comparative Analysis, International Migration Review, vol. 34/2000.

[14] M. Mijal, *Migracje stałe i czasowe a rynek pracy w Polsce*, Studia i materiały – Wydział Zarządzania UW No. 1/2005, p. 64.

the neighbours. It follows from the above that populations with diversified socio-economic structures are characterised by a greater propensity to migrate. The theory in question largely explains the causes of the job migration of members of rural families, which is confirmed by a growing percentage share of families diversifying their income source in Poland, including on the basis of working abroad.

Theories developed in the economic context are universally criticised for their one-sided approach, taking no account of non-economic motivations for migration, thus insufficiently explaining trends in migration flows.

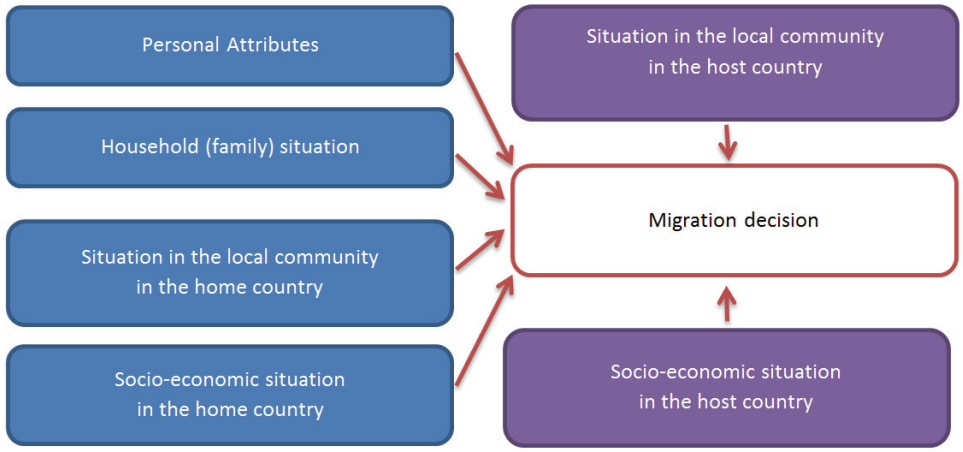
The theory of migration networks explains the mechanism of migration as a series of related events based on interpersonal interactions and information flow. In local communities in their country of origin emigrants are a source of knowledge about job opportunities, conditions and possible problems connected with taking up employment in a given labour market, thus affecting decisions of other individuals whether or not to migrate. Therefore, migration networks are formed, shaping migration trends for members of communities of origin. A crucial element here is the quality of interpersonal bonds and the level of trust, determining the level of mental and economic support of emigrants/re-emigrants for those planning to migrate. Such migrations are local in nature, both in the country of origin (an increase in the number of those leaving) and in the host country (a rise in the number of nationals of the same country in a given place). The theory is also corroborated by analyses of local migrations[15].

Motivations for migration are explained depending on their character, whether internal (domestic) or external (international) migrations are examined and whether analysis concerns the local community concerned or the national level. Nevertheless, determinants of migration decisions may be divided into those working in the country of origin (push factors) and in the target country (pull factors)[16]. They affect households, local communities, regions or countries (Figure 1.1). Apart from motivations, individual traits of a person deciding to migrate and cultural conditions (the so-called migration traditions or culture) are also important[17].

[15] See D. Osipowicz, *Rola sieci i kapitału społecznego w migracjach zarobkowych. Przykład Moniek*, Instytut Studiów Społecznych UW, series „Prace migracyjne", No. 46/2002.
[16] E. Jaźwińska, *Metody ilościowe w badaniach nad migracjami międzynarodowymi*, Instytut Studiów Społecznych UW, series Prace migracyjne, No. 36/2000, p. 12.
[17] See *Powrót do domu – psychospołeczne mechanizmy adaptacyjne migrantów powrotnych z terenu województwa warmińsko-mazurskiego*, Warsaw 2010, p. 9-13.

In all countries, the fundamental reason of migration is the economic factor (movement of persons in order to improve the quality of life, prevent unemployment, improve skills).

Figure 1.1. Factors influencing the migration decision



Source: based on: E. Jaźwińska, Metody ilościowe.., op. cit., p. 12.

Migration is accompanied by the integration process, which can be defined as the gradual incorporation in the social and institutional structures of the country of migration.

Integration of migration can be divided into 3 types[18]:

- socio-economic integration, which refers to the acquisition of rights to participate in the education system and the labour market;
- cultural integration – integration into the system of cultural norms prevailing in the country;
- civic and political integration – obtaining full citizenship with the activity towards the full enjoyment of these rights. This is connected with the knowledge of the political and economic situation as well as a sense of responsibility manifested in active participation in social and political life of the country (the main result is active participation in general election).

Because of the fact that only full integration including all three aspects allows achieving benefits for the host country due to a new employee, more and

[18] Cf. A. Geddes. *Ethnic Minorities in the Labour Market: Comparative Policy Approaches (Western Europe)*. Report commissioned by the Ethnic Minorities Labour Market Project of the Performance and Innovation Unit Cabinet Office. London 2001.

more countries when creating migration policy go beyond managing the flow of people and create a comprehensive integration policy.

Short-term economic migration only allows socio-economic integration, other forms usually accompany decisions to settle in the new country and are not often found until the second or third generation of immigrants. The role of the state in this regard is to organise legal immigration, taking account of the priorities, needs and abilities (e.g. from the point of view of the labour market), and to foster socio-economic, cultural and civic integration of immigrants.

Migratory movements of the population are not a new phenomenon and does not necessarily relate to the potential social conflict. Historical (and quite forgotten) example of a successful and full integration of migration is the great emigration from Scotland to Poland. It was caused by economic and demographic collapse in Scotland after the so-called Black Death (bubonic plague) in Europe in 1347-1352, which killed about one-third of the population of the continent. In Scotland, population migrations were caused by persistent poverty in rural areas, especially in the north-eastern part of the country. In Poland, which experienced its "golden age" between the fifteenth and seventeenth century, trade developed rapidly along the Vistula river, representing an opportunity to improve dramatic living conditions of the new settlers. As a result, almost 5% of the Scottish population (it is estimated at about 50 thousand people) decided to emigrate to Poland and fully assimilated with the local community, adopting the language, customs and identity of the host country[19]. This example of full integration (cultural, socio-economic and civil) in the first generation of migrants was possible in the past, when the sense of nationality was much weaker. Currently, full integration rarely occurs in the first generation of immigrants and more through the participation of children in the education system of the country. Migration policy is long-term and includes activities to involve families in local communities.

The experience of individual countries in developing national migration policies as well as the structures and sources of migration in their territories underlie the common migration policy. Specific countries vary in attractiveness in terms of social system and labour market organisation, which affects decisions on EU policy making[20].

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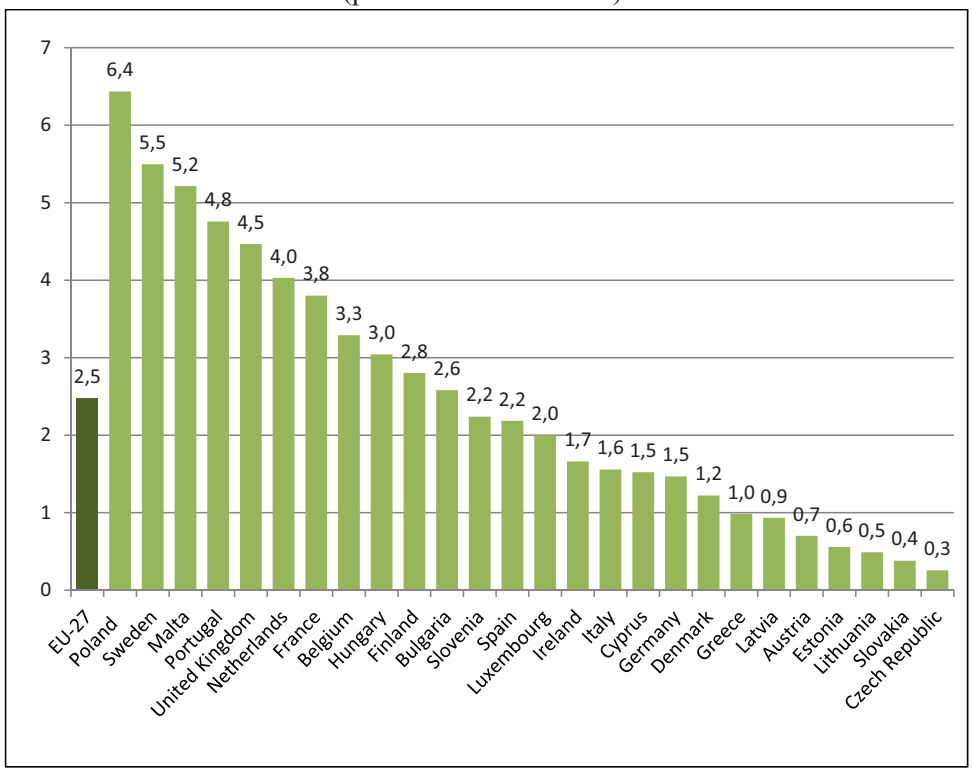
[19] S. Seliga, L. Koczy, *Scotland and Poland: A Chapter of Forgotten History*. Sikorski Historical Institute, Glasgow 1969.

[20] European Communities, *Handbook on integration for policy-makers and practitioners*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/justice_home/.

Among the countries of the European Union, Poland has a relatively high proportion of naturalization. According to Eurostat, in 2010, 6,7% of foreigners living in our country received Polish citizenship, which was more than twice the average rate for the entire EU (Figure 1.1). This puts our country at the forefront of the naturalization processes in Europe.

It is accepted that the rate of naturalization shows the effects of the citizenship policy applied in the country, but it should be borne in mind that Poland is relatively little ethnically diverse, as indicated by both the number of people who received citizenship, as well as their share in the population.

Figure 1.1. Naturalization rate – number of persons who have been granted citizenship in Member States of the European Union in 2010 (per 100 non-nationals)*

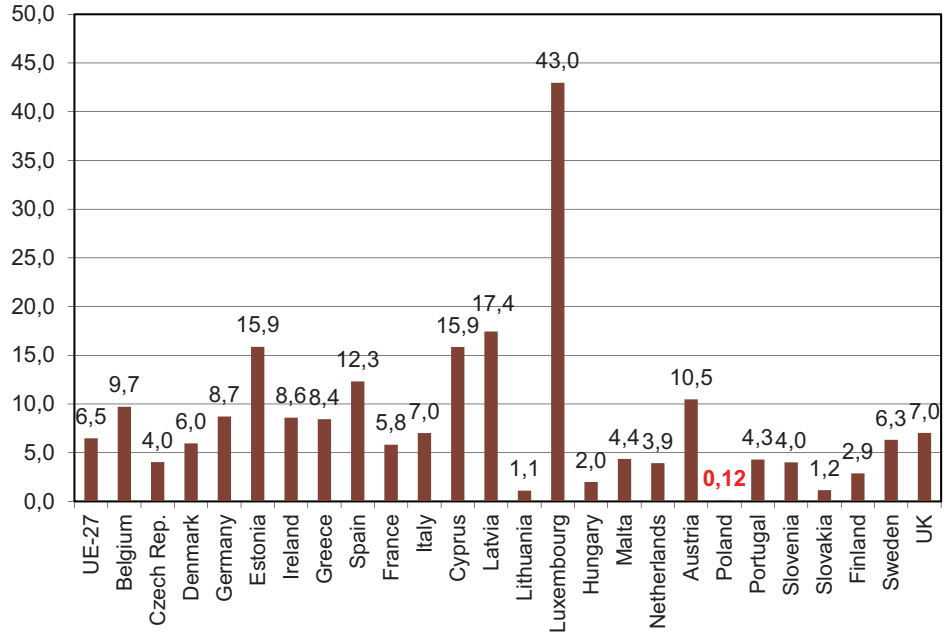


* Number of inhabitans refers to 1 January 2010; Romania, not available, as foreign population stocks are not fully comparable.
Source: study based on Eurostat data.

The EU in 2010 was inhabited by more than 500 million people, of which a total of more than 6% were non-citizens of individual countries. The highest

percentage of foreigners in the population was observed in Luxembourg (43% of the population), Latvia (17%), Cyprus and Estonia (16%). At the opposite extreme were Poland, Lithuania and Slovakia (Figure 1.2.).

Figure 1.2. The share of foreigners in the total population in the EU countries in 2010*



*excluding Bulgaria and Romania.
Source: study based on Eurostat data.

By analyzing the size of the country, expressed by population, and the proportion of foreigners, one can get a full picture of diversity of the EU countries in terms of scale and direction of migration.

In Germany in 2010 there were over seven million foreigners representing almost 9% of the population. Similar situation was in Spain (5 million, 12%), the UK and Italy (both at 4 million and 7% of the population) and France (less than 4 million, and close to 6%). In Poland, there are only 45,000 foreigners, which represents about 0.1% of the population (Table 1.1). This is the lowest share among the new Member States (excluding Romania and Bulgaria, for which reliable data are not available), and generally among all EU countries. The structure of foreigners in terms to nationals of other EU coun-

tries and those outside the Community gives some information about the nature of immigration.

Table 1.1. Total population and proportion of foreigners in EU countries by citizenship, in 2010

Specification	Population (in thousands)	Non-nationals		
		Total	Citizens of other EU countries	Citizens of the countries outside the EU
		per cent		
UE-27	**501 100,0**	**6,5**	**2,5**	**4,0**
Belgium	10 839,9	9,7	6,6	3,1
Bulgaria*	-	-	-	-
Czech Rep.	10 506,8	4,0	1,3	2,7
Denmark	5534,7	6,0	2,1	3,9
Germany	81 802,3	8,7	3,1	5,6
Estonia	1340,1	15,9	0,8	15,1
Ireland	4467,9	8,6	6,9	1,7
Greece	11305,1	8,4	1,4	7,0
Spain	45 989,0	12,3	5,1	7,3
France	64 716,3	5,8	2,0	3,8
Italy	60 340,3	7,0	2,1	5,0
Cyprus	803,1	15,9	10,4	5,5
Latvia	2 248,4	17,4	0,4	17,0
Lithuania	3 329,0	1,1	0,1	1,0
Luxembourg	502,1	43,0	37,1	5,9
Hungary	10 014,3	2,0	1,2	0,8
Malta	414,4	4,4	1,8	2,6
Netherlands	16 575,0	3,9	1,9	2,1
Austria	8 367,7	10,5	3,9	6,5
Poland	**38 167,3**	**0,12**	**0,04**	**0,08**
Portugal	10 637,7	4,3	0,9	3,4
Romania*	-	-	-	-
Slovenia	2 047,0	4,0	0,2	3,8
Slovakia	5 424,9	1,2	0,7	0,4
Finland	5 351,4	2,9	1,0	1,8
Sweden	9 340,7	6,3	2,8	3,5
UK	62 027,0	7,0	3,1	3,9

* Lack of data as a basis for comparison.

Source: Eurostat.

In 2010, across the EU the share of nationals of EU Member States residing in another Member State was a mere 2.5%, whereas foreigners from third

countries accounted for 4%. Naturally, Member States characterised by higher living standards are more attractive from the point of view of migration, except for those where the issues of nationality of citizens have not been effectively solved as yet. Owing to historical changes of borders, in some countries there is a constant population having a different citizenship than that of the country of residence or stateless. For instance, in Latvia one-fourth of the population speak Russian and declare to be Russian. The introduction of mandatory examinations in Latvian as a condition for granting citizenship excluded that community.

Over the decade, the Polish citizenship was given to just over 17 thousand foreigners, while at the same time the citizenship of France, Germany and the UK was given by each country to nearly 1.5 million foreigners. Especially the latter has the highest growth rate of the number of naturalized citizens. In 1999, 55,000 foreigners were given British citizenship, while in 2009 it was over 200,000 (Table 1.2). The weakening dynamics of naturalization is observed in Germany, which as a result of naturalization at the end of the twentieth century increased population by 143 thousand people and nearly a decade later by about 50,000 less.

The discussion shows that the European Union migration policy is a challenge in the face of diversity of the Member States, not only in terms of population, but also in terms of the directions of internal migration, as well as migration from outside the EU.

In comparison with other EU Member States, the Polish ethnic structure is very uniform, as evidenced by the very low percentage of foreigners, but the relatively stable economic situation and good economic results suggest that in the future, Poland will become more attractive not only for immigrants from non-EU countries, but also from the Member States.

The most common causes of migration include differences in the organization of the labour market in the home country and the destination country. Economic emigration is based on market principles. The factor of a great importance is also the quality of the policy and the law in both countries. Also benefits gained from differences in taxes and institutional costs (e.g. of government) and other factors that affect the quality of life and work, from the worldview of the home country, through to climate influence the decision of imigrants.

Table 1.2. Number of people who received citizenship of the country in 1999-2009 (in thousand)

Specification	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
UE-27	579,7	693,9	663,3	662,5	651,9	719,1	723,6	735,9	707,1	698,7	776,1
Belgium	24,2	62,0	62,2	46,4	33,7	34,8	31,5	31,9	36,1	37,7	32,8
Bulgaria	-	-	4,4	3,5	4,4	5,8	5,9	6,7	6,0	7,1	9,2
Czech Rep.	7,3	6,4	6,3	3,3	2,2	5,0	2,6	2,3	2,4	1,2	1,1
Denmark	12,4	18,8	11,9	17,3	6,6	15,0	10,2	8,0	3,6	6,0	6,9
Germany	143,1	186,7	180,3	154,5	140,7	127,2	117,2	124,6	113,0	94,5	96,1
Estonia	4,5	3,4	3,1	4,1	3,7	6,5	7,1	4,8	4,2	2,1	1,7
Ireland	1,4	1,1	2,8	3,4	4,0	3,8	4,1	5,8	4,6	3,2	4,5
Greece	-	-	1,5	1,7	1,9	1,4	1,7	2,0	3,9	16,9	17,0
Spain	16,4	16,7	16,7	21,8	26,5	38,2	42,9	62,4	71,9	84,2	79,6
France	147,5	150,0	127,5	128,1	144,6	168,8	154,8	147,9	132,0	137,5	135,8
Italy	11,3	9,6	10,4	10,7	13,4	19,1	28,7	35,3	45,5	53,7	59,4
Cyprus	0,1	0,3	0,2	0,1	0,2	4,5	4,0	2,9	2,8	3,2	4,1
Latvia	12,9	13,5	9,9	9,4	10,0	17,2	20,1	19,0	8,3	4,2	3,2
Lithuania	0,6	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,6	0,4	0,5	0,4	0,3	0,2
Luxembourg	0,5	0,7	0,5	0,8	0,8	0,8	1,0	1,1	1,2	1,2	4,0
Hungary	6,1	5,4	8,6	3,4	5,3	5,4	9,9	6,1	8,4	8,1	5,8
Malta	0,1	0,6	1,2	0,8	0,6	0,6	0,6	0,5	0,6	0,6	0,8
Netherlands	62,1	50,0	46,7	45,3	28,8	26,2	28,5	29,1	30,7	28,2	29,8
Austria	-	24,3	31,7	36,0	44,7	41,6	34,9	25,7	14,0	10,3	8,0
Poland	-	1,4	1,1	1,2	1,7	1,9	2,9	1,1	1,5	1,8	2,5
Portugal	1,2	1,6	2,2	2,7	2,4	2,9	3,0	4,4	9,8	22,4	25,6
Romania	0,2	-	0,4	0,2	0,1	0,3	0,8	0,0	0,0	5,6	9,4
Slovenia	2,3	2,1	1,3	2,8	3,3	3,3	2,7	3,2	1,6	1,7	1,8
Slovakia	1,3	4,5	2,9	3,5	3,5	4,0	1,4	1,1	1,5	0,5	0,3
Finland	4,7	3,0	2,7	3,0	4,5	6,9	5,7	4,4	4,8	6,7	3,4
Sweden	37,8	43,5	36,4	37,8	33,2	28,9	39,6	51,2	33,6	30,5	29,5
UK	54,9	82,2	89,8	120,1	130,5	148,3	161,8	154,0	164,5	129,3	203,6

Source: Eurostat.

1.2. European Union legislation on migration and integration of immigrants

The development of cooperation in the field of migration regulations was driven by new challenges faced by labour markets and the movement of persons accompanying subsequent enlargements of the European Union. The implementation of the principle of free movement of persons between Member States called for cooperation and joint development of a uniform system regulating the rules on entry, residence and employment of third-country nationals. At the same time, there was a need for establishing detailed regulations on the migration of EU nationals within the Community.

The European Union forms the migration policy in relation to the requirements of the labour markets of the Member States, promoting the migration of people with specific skills that are rare in the given country. This policy aims to mitigate the shortage of workers with specific skills, work experience, language proficiency, age, or education.

In addition, migration policy often deals with two areas: prevention of illegal migration and illegal employment of migrants without work permits and promoting the integration of immigrants into society[21]. Integration processes are in fact tied to the issue of labour market, social welfare, education, health, and the social acceptance of foreigners (associated with multiculturalism, a different system of values, religious tolerance, etc.)[22].

Migration continues to be regulated by local legislation of particular European Union Member States, whereas differences in approach to issues, such as asylum and granting refugee status to immigrants posed a problem in the context of free movement of persons within the EU. Asylum seekers could be granted asylum in one Member State and turned down in another, which led to paradoxes due to the lack of internal borders.

Migration of Member States' nationals in the EU is considered internal migration and does not fall within the scope of the migration policy. It is addressed to citizens of third countries. Legislation that regulates the movement of people within the Community is governed by the principle of freedom of movement and residence of people in the European Union and forms the basis of citizenship of the Union established by the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992. The Treaty established the European Union citizenship for all citizens of the Member

[21] European Communities, *Handbook on integration for policy-makers and practitioners*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/justice_home/.

[22] *Polityka migracyjna Polski – stan obecny i postulowane działania*, the document adopted by the Council of Ministers on 31 July 2012, the Team for Migration, Ministry of the Interior, Department of Migration Policy, Warsaw 2012, p. 128.

States. One of the rights of citizenship of the Union is the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States.

In accordance with the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), citizens of the Union shall enjoy the rights and be subject to the duties provided for in the Treaties. They shall have, *inter alia*[23]:

- the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States;
- the right to vote and to stand as candidates in elections to the European Parliament and in municipal elections in their Member State of residence, under the same conditions as nationals of that State;
- the right to enjoy, in the territory of a third country in which the Member State of which they are nationals is not represented, the protection of the diplomatic and consular authorities of any Member State on the same conditions as the nationals of that State;
- the right to petition the European Parliament, to lodge a complaint to the European Ombudsman, and to address the institutions and advisory bodies of the Union in any of the Treaty languages and to obtain a reply in the same language.

On the way to the creation of internal market without obstacles to the free movement of persons was the conclusion of two Schengen agreements: Schengen Agreement of 14 June 1985 and the Implementation Convention for the Schengen Agreement of 19 June 1990, which entered into force on 26 March 1995, Currently, 25 countries are full members of the Schengen area (Monaco is considered as part of France): 22 Member States plus Norway, Iceland and Switzerland (which have the status of associate states)[24].

Ireland and the United Kingdom are not parties to the Convention, but have the ability to selectively use some elements of the Schengen acquis; Denmark is subject to special regulations. Bulgaria, Romania and Cyprus have signed the Convention but have not yet ratified it.

The Schengen Agreement settled and introduced the following principles:

- abolition of controls at internal borders;
- measures to improve and harmonize external border controls, which means that all EU citizens may enter the Schengen area upon presentation of identity card or passport;

[23] Article 20 of the *Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU)*, published in the Official Journal of the EU 2008 C 115, taking into account the changes introduced by the Protocol of rectification to the Treaty of Lisbon (OJ EU 2009 C 290).
[24] C. Castagnoli, *Free movement of persons*, European Commission, January 2012, p. 2.

- regulating the common visa policy for short-term stays. Citizens of third countries on a common list of countries which are not EU members (listed in Annex II of the Council Regulation No. 539/2001), who must have an entry visa, are entitled to receive a single visa valid for the entire Schengen area. Member States may, however, require a visa in the case of any other third country;
- Principles of police cooperation. Police authorities cooperate in the detection of crime and its prevention, and are entitled to prosecute criminals who fled to the territory of neighbouring countries belonging to the Schengen area, it involves also faster extradition system and transfer of enforcement of judgments;
- appoints and develops the Schengen Information System. The system provides information on the entry of third country nationals, visas and police cooperation. Access to the SIS is essentially only for the police and the authorities responsible for border control.

Poland's strategic document addressing the implementation of cooperation instruments established in the Schengen acquis is 'Plan Działania w zakresie wdrażania dorobku prawnego Schengen w Polsce (Poland – Schengen Action Plan)', adopted on 15 August 2001. The document defined both the priorities and instruments for the implementation of Schengen governance in Poland, also setting time limits for the completion of specific measures. The Plan was complemented by the 'Integrated Border Management Strategy' (Strategia Zintegrowanego Zarządzania Granicą), regulating institutional rules for implementing the protection of new external borders of the EU.

On account of high costs of the implementation of the external border protection system, the European Union created a new financial assistance instrument, referred to as the Schengen Facility. Poland, responsible for securing one of the longest sections of the common external border since its accession to the EU on 1 May 2004, has received a total of over EUR 311 million within the framework of that Facility[25]. The funds were allocated to the development of ICT infrastructure and its adaptation for the purposes of cooperation with the SIS, the purchase of equipment for the border authorities, the construction and modernisation of road and railway border crossings with Russia, Belarus and Ukraine and of airport border crossings as well as the extension of facilities for refugees.

[25] *Polska i Unia Europejska: sześć lat po rozszerzeniu. Bilans kosztów i korzyści*, B. T. Rezowicz (ed.), Annals of the European Foundation of Freedom, Brussels 2010.

The main implications concerning crossing borders by Polish nationals are related to lifting formal requirements applying to entry into another Member State and withdrawal from border control. The sole document necessary for movement within the territory of the EU has remained the national identification card. Having a passport continues to be indispensable to crossing the external border, whereas certain third countries may require a visa.

On account of the security of citizens and with a view to combating cross-border crime, it is still possible to carry out controls of persons travelling in the territory of a given Member State, e.g. in the internal border region, but it is not a border control.

However, the elimination of EU internal border controls resulted in an increased number of checks of the legal status of foreign nationals. Within the framework of the so-called mobile controls, authorities confirm the fulfilment of the requirements for entry into and residence in the territory of the Member States forming the Schengen area, including the necessary documents.

In order to adapt the new external borders of the Community to the requirements of the Schengen Agreement, separate lanes were created at EU external border crossing points for citizens of the EU Member States, the citizen of countries of the European Economic Area and of Switzerland.

EU citizens travelling to other countries of the Community are subject to specific obligations. For stays of less than three months the only requirement for EU citizens is to have a valid identity card or passport. The host Member State may require the registration of such persons' stay within a reasonable and non-discriminatory time. For stays longer than three months: the right of residence is subject to certain conditions – an EU citizen and his family members must have sufficient resources and health insurance to ensure that they do not become a burden on the social welfare system of the host country. Residence permits for EU citizens were abolished; however, the Member States may require registration with the competent authorities.

Under the Directive, EU citizens after five-year period of uninterrupted legal residence in the host country acquired a new right of permanent residence, provided that no decision was made to expel them. The right of permanent residence is not subject to any conditions. The same rules apply to family members who are not nationals of the Member States, who lived with the Union citizen for five years. Citizens of the Union and their family members can be expelled from a Member State on the grounds of public order, public security or public health.

Upon the membership of the EU of 12 new countries and the introduction of regulations eliminating internal borders, for most of them the movement of

persons within the Community is perceived as internal migration from the point of view of a system of countries. Separate legislation governs the rules on entry into and residence in the territory of the EU by third-country nationals. Considering that migration policy, rules on entry, residence, the rights and obligations of third-country nationals vary between Member States, the UE is working on the harmonisation of regulations to exclude unequal treatment of foreigners depending on Member State. Furthermore, the lack of internal borders calls for developing uniform procedures for the whole territory of the EU.

Pursuant to Article 67.2 of the TFEU, the Union ensures the absence of checks of persons at internal borders and develops a common policy on asylum, immigration and external border control, based on solidarity between Member States and fair towards third-country nationals. Articles 77-79 of the TFEU set out the objectives of the common policy undertaken in the above areas[26]. In the scope of border control – ensuring the absence of any controls of persons, whatever their nationality, when crossing internal borders, carrying out checks of persons and efficient supervision when crossing external borders and the gradual introduction of an integrated management system for external borders. In the scope of policy on asylum, they set subsidiary and temporary protection, which means granting appropriate status to any third-country national requiring international protection and ensuring compliance with the principle of *non-refoulement*. It was noted that this policy must be in accordance with the Geneva Convention of 1951 and the Protocol of 1967 relating to the status of refugees, and with other relevant treaties. In the scope of immigration policy TFEU ensures at every stage the effective management of migration flows, fair treatment of third-country nationals residing legally in Member States, and the prevention of illegal immigration and human trafficking, and enhanced measures to combat it. However, the Treaty confirmed the right of Member States to determine volumes of admission of third-country citizens coming into their territory in search of employment or self-employment, and excluded the possibility of harmonization at the EU level of the rules on in-integration of third country nationals[27].

Moreover, the right of residence to persons other than employees is provided in directives[28]:

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[26] *Consolidationed version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union*, COM 2012/C 326/01.

[27] Polityka migracyjna Polski…, op. cit., p. 128

[28] Eurostat, *Statistics on migration and migrant populations*, October 2011, http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu.

- directive 2003/86/EC on the right to family reunification; The right to family reunification may be exercised by a third-country national holding a residence permit issued by a Member State for a period of validity of at least one year. The spouse and the children acquire access to education, employment as well as to vocational guidance and training;
- directive 2003/109/EC concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents; Member States are obliged to grant an autonomous residence permit after five years of legal and uninterrupted residence. It gives the right to equal treatment with nationals of a given country with regard to access to employment, education, welfare benefits, etc.;
- directive 2004/114/EC on the conditions of admission of third-country nationals for the purposes of studies, pupil exchange, unremunerated training or voluntary service; It regulates the rights of third-country university students to reside in the territory of the EU, acquired on the basis of a document of admission;
- directive 2005/71/EC on a specific procedure for admitting third-country nationals for the purposes of scientific research;
- directive 2008/115/EC on common standards and procedures in Member States for returning illegally staying third-country nationals; The Directive lays down the rules on the removal of illegal immigrants: a Member State must issue a return decision providing for an appropriate period for voluntary departure of the person concerned of between seven and thirty days. If the obligation to return is not complied with within the period for voluntary departure granted, under the Directive the Member States must use coercive measures, proportional and not exceeding reasonable force, to carry out the removal;
- directive 2009/50/EC on the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals for the purposes of highly qualified employment. The Directive aims to ensure such rules on receiving educated and talented third-country immigrants as to encourage such persons to engage in job migration within the territory of the Community, thus enabling the European Union to compete more effectively 'for talent' with other advanced economies of the world.

EU migration policy is also reflected in the key programs of the Community. The most important of these include programs of Tampere, Hague, the Pact on Immigration and Asylum, Stockholm and Schengen pacts.

Table 1.3. Selected regulations and communications providing a framework for EU migration policy

Name of the programme (year)	Regulations
The Tampere Programme (1999)	Priorities for the future of the area of freedom, security and justice: Develop a common European asylum policy, Develop an integrated integration policy for immigrants, Improve the protection of persons in the exercise of their fundamental rights.
The Hague Programme (2004)	Sets out 10 priorities for the Union with a view to strengthening the area of freedom, security and justice in the five years (2005-2010), i.e.: - defining a balanced approach to migration, - maximising the positive impact of immigration for the society and economy, - developing integrated management of the Union's external borders, - setting up a common asylum procedure.
Green paper on an EU approach to managing economic migration (2005)	Develops an EU approach to labour migration: proposes, among other things, to adopt common criteria throughout the Union for the admission of third-country nationals, to simplify entry procedures (individual assessment, "green card") and to clarify the rights and legal status of the different types of migrants. It also emphasizes the importance of accompanying measures for ensuring the sound management of immigration.
European Pact on Immigration and Asylum (2008)	Forms the basis for immigration and asylum policies common to the EU and its countries: - organising legal immigration, - controlling irregular immigration, - improving border controls, - creating a Europe of asylum, - collaborating with countries of origin and transit. The overall aim was to manage migration in a manner that takes account of Europe's reception capacity in terms of its labour market, housing and health, education and social services, while protecting migrants against possible exploitation by criminal networks. Also stated the need to continue the work for the creation of a common immigration and asylum policy.
A Common Immigration Policy for Europe (2008)	The Commission proposed 10 principles and measures, accompanied by a new strategy on immigration governance, on which to base the further development of the common immigration

Name of the programme (year)	Regulations
	policy over the next few years, based of areas of: prosperity and immigration, solidarity and immigration, security and immigration.
The Stockholm Programme (2009)	Provides a roadmap for European Union (EU) work in the area of justice, freedom and security for the period 2010-14. In order to provide a secure Europe where the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens are respected, the Stockholm Programme focuses on the following priorities: Europe of rights, justice, security and solidarity. It shows the need to confer on EU nationals the fundamental rights and freedoms set out in the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights and the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. It recommends the development of an internal security strategy improving the protection of citizens and the fight against organised crime and further development of EU integrated border management and visa system to make legal access to Europe efficient for non-EU nationals.
Communication on migration (2011)	the Commission Communication covers various aspects of migration such as completion of the Common European Asylum System by 2012, strengthened border control and Schengen governance to address irregular migration, sharing of best practices in Member States' approaches to the integration of legal immigrants in the EU or the migration situation in the Mediterranean.

Source: study based on Polityka migracyjna Polski.. op. cit., p. 110, and various European Commisssion Communications.

Table 1.3 presents a brief overview of postulates contained in those programmes as well as of arrangements for EU migration policy. The issues raised show a wide range of problems facing the common area of the EU after entry into force of the Schengen Agreement. The process of replacing national migration policies by Community policy involves taking account of specific problems facing individual Member States, but also a response to the political and economic situation of third countries. Therefore, apart from legislation concerning job migration, it was central to create policy regulations regarding the rules on granting asylum and building foundations for establishing partnerships with countries of origin.

The first EU document to attempt to create a global immigration strategy for the Community was the European Pact on Immigration and Asylum. On the

one hand, it contained regulations on legal immigration, creating a European asylum policy based on the harmonisation of rules governing the rights and protection of asylum seekers and grating refugee status to them. On the other hand, it envisaged combating illegal immigration very strictly, by removal. The Pact imposed on the Member States an obligation to mandatorily remove persons without valid visas.

When sending away illegal immigrants, the European Union would establish closer cooperation with their countries of origin in order to foster capabilities of those countries to receive back such returning illegal immigrants. At the same time, the Pact envisaged increased external border controls to detect unauthorised migration.

European Commission Communication on the integration of immigrants from 2003[29] indicates the positive economic aspects of migration, emphasizing their positive impact on maintaining the competitiveness of the country and stimulating economic growth. In the Communication, the Commission points to the need for a comprehensive approach to the issue of integration of immigrants, which would allow them to enjoy the full rights of citizens of the country.

The key elements of integration policy include[30]:

- integration into the labour market by preventing discrimination in the workplace, recognition of qualifications of immigrants,
- access to education, especially learning the language on courses, as well as increasing access to education for migrant children (which has a positive impact on the integration of the older generation),
- flexible housing policy and spatial policy, which prevent the formation of ethnic ghettos in cities,
- adaptation of health policy and the social welfare system in the direction of equal rights for citizens and immigrants,
- integration of immigrants into society and promoting their participation in public life, to activate foreigners and increase the level of tolerance among the local population.

The European Commission document also refers to the liberalization of naturalization policy (particularly towards immigrants in the second generation),

[29] European Communities, *Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on immigration, integration and employment*, COM (2003) 336 final.

[30] A. Kicinger, *Unia Europejska wobec zagadnień integracji imigrantów*, Central European Forum for Migration Research Working Paper 2/2005, p. 15-16.

as well as to the issue of integration of foreigners in the process of building civil society by giving them the right to vote, especially in local referendums.

1.3. Future challenges of EU migration policy

The process of developing European Union migration policy is largely related to the process of implementing the principle of the free movement of persons and workers. The opening-up of labour markets and the elimination of borders across the EU is still in progress. Although the Schengen Agreement was signed in 1985, it has been implemented with much caution, in the course of talks and negotiations between an ever-increasing number of the Member States of the Community (including the enlargements which took place afterwards). The inclusion of Central and Eastern European countries in the EU structures was accompanied by concerns over uncontrolled flows of cheap labour from the new Member States, with significant impacts on labour markets of the EU-15 countries. It was feared that unemployment would rise in the Western countries on the one hand and that areas in eastern border regions of the system of countries would depopulate on the other hand.

Implementing the principle of the free movement of persons stimulated national economies which acquired new labour resources, even if the economic crisis prevented full appreciation of that phenomenon. The very presence of representatives of the new Member States in the European markets is estimated to have accelerated the economic growth of the European Union by 0.3 percentage point of GDP[31]. Presumably, as European societies age the future immigration policy will have to become more open to third-country workers.

Undoubtedly, migration policy is based on two conflicting pillars: interests of particular EU Member States on the one hand and European values on the other hand. As a result of enlargements and the opening-up of labour market to citizens of the new Member States (which may be seen as a victory of values), it is in the interest of the most advanced Member States to regulate migration towards reducing population inflow from third countries. However, it will be necessary to open up the EU job market in the long term.

In international terms, there are three vital borders of Europe: between China and Russia, between Mexico and the US and around the Mediterranean Sea. Those are borders of contact between societies with different cultural and civilisational characteristics. Owing to the rising economic and political im-

[31] See *Współczesne migracje: dylematy Europy i Polski*. M. Duszczyk, M. Lesińska (ed.), Central European Forum for Migration Research, Warsaw University, Warsaw 2009, p. 224.

portance of China, the future foreign policy of the European Union, also in the field of migration, will have incorporate, to a greater degree, cooperation with the United States and all non-EU European countries (including Russia)[32].

The European Union will need to face the pressure of the internationalisation of economies and enterprises, with the resulting dynamic changes in career models and mobility becoming an integral part of working life. In addition to EU policy, in the future individual Member States, including Poland, must carry out separate policies based on labour market needs.

Poland's future migration policy will also be faced with increasing migration pressure from its neighbours in the East, particularly from Ukraine, Belarus and Russia. Moreover, Poland is becoming the host country for immigrants from Asia (especially from China and Vietnam). It poses a challenge to the implemented strategy for the integration of migrants with different cultural backgrounds into local communities where they will reside. At present, we witness successful integration of second-generation immigrants from China and Vietnam, primarily due to the inclusion of the youth in the educational system. As the number of new immigrants is likely to rise, the development of institutional solutions to the issue of integration will gain in importance.

Another problem concerning migration policy is the dilemma of those returning from emigration. A considerable share of current job migrants abroad come from small towns and from rural areas. A great majority of them migrate seasonally, have families and dwellings in which they invest. Due to the difficult situation in the labour market for relatively young people, school-leavers and graduates from small towns and rural areas, many of them have chosen or will choose long-term job migration. Upon returning, they will face a dilemma whether to settle in previous places of residence or to choose larger towns or cities where the opportunities for using their work experience and investing their savings are greater. Therefore, today's dilemmas of migration policy are connected with other policies, such as local labour market policies or the policy for rural areas. For that reason, in the nearest future any changes in migration policy will have to take into consideration the labour market and its needs.

[32] Ibid., p. 223.

Chapter 2
Socio-demographic changes in rural areas in the European Union

2.1. General demographic changes in the EU in 1990-2010

According to the FAO, in 2010, the EU population was 501 million people (Figure 2.1). In the period from 1990 to 2010 the population increased by 12%, i.e. almost 55 million inhabitants. However, people living in all member states of this organization accounted for a decreasing proportion of the population on a global scale. In the analyzed period, their share of the world's population has fallen from 8.4 to 7.3%. In other areas, population growth was relatively larger and more dynamic[33]. Particularly this was the case in countries such as China (in 1990-2010 population growth of 201 million), India (351 million), the United States (57 million) and Indonesia (56 million). The increase in population in less developed countries resulted primarily from a decrease in mortality and a positive birth rate, caused by e.g. improvement in living conditions, nutrition, health and relative political stability. The demographic potential of the EU, i.e. the economically developed area, where population growth was relatively slow, could be increased if new members are accepted. If account is taken of the citizens of all the countries that were mentioned among the candidates for accession to the organization[34], in 2010 its population would increase from 501 to over 598 million (by 19%). At the same time the share of EU citizens in the world's population would be nearly 9%.

Despite the slow rate of change, the EU has long been characterized by a growing population. In the period from 1990 to 2010, the positive values of the EU population growth was primarily due to positive net migration. The EU was an attractive place to live for people from many regions of the world (e.g. North Africa, East Asia and South America), who moved due to the unfavourable economic, political or social situation in the country of origin. In turn, the natural

[33] In 1990-2010 the population of India increased by 40%, in Indonesia by 30%, in USA 23%, and in China by 17%.

[34] Currently, 9 countries seek to become members of the EU. On 1 June 2013 Croatia will formally join the EU (accession treaty was signed on 9 December 2011). Other countries can be divided due to advancement of the integration process into two groups: candidate countries (Former Yugoslavia's Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Iceland, Serbia and Turkey) and potential candidate countries (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo). In the current situation, accession of the most populous of these countries, that is Turkey, is unlikely. Although Turkey applied for association with the EEC in 1959 (signed in 1963) and began accession negotiations in 2005, the progress in the enlargement process has been hindered primarily by the Cyprus conflict, as well as opposition to the adoption of certain Member States.

change of population had a relatively smaller impact on population growth. Despite the fact that during the analyzed period, in all years there was a surplus of births over deaths, the decline in the value of the difference has long been apparent, mainly due to a decrease in fertility.

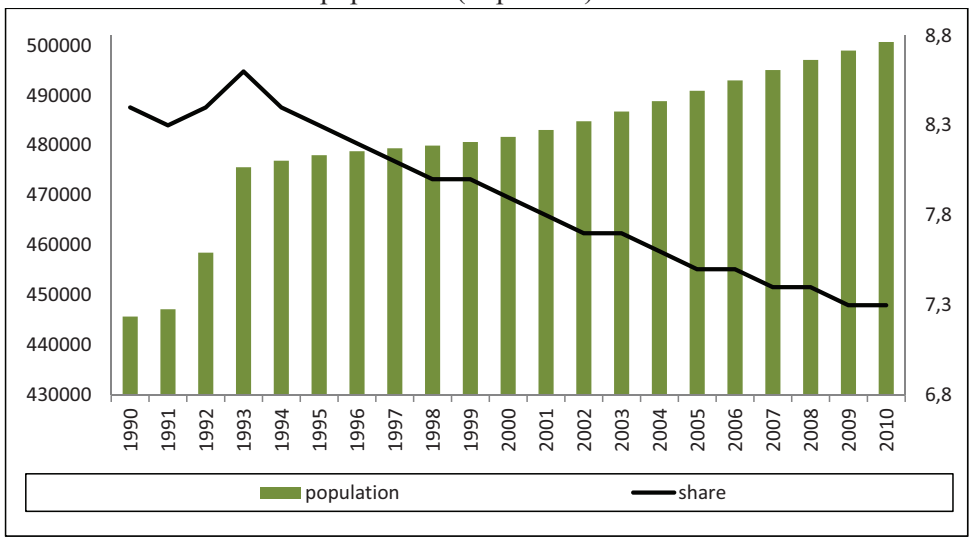
The largest demographic potential in the EU was in Germany. In 2011, the country had a population of nearly 82 million people, representing 16% of EU citizens. In terms of the number of people the next places were as follows: France – 65 million (13% of the EU population), United Kingdom – 63 million (12%) and Italy – 60 million (12%). Altogether, the four most populous countries of the Continent were inhabited by 269 million people, or more than every other citizen of the Union. It should be noted that the process of reproduction of the population in these countries have had a varied nature. Germany, where immigrant flow was intensive (mostly from Poland, Romania and Turkey), reported at the same time a significant advantage in the number of deaths over births, which was associated with very low fertility. As a result, the country's population decreased (e.g. in 2010, a decrease by 51 thousand people). Negative population growth is also characteristic of Italy, but in the case of this country, this phenomenon was offset by large-scale immigration (of jobseekers, mainly workers from Romania, Albania and Morocco and their families). The influx of people to Italy also increased in part due to favourable changes in the migration law for EU citizens and the expansion of the Community to include Bulgaria and Romania in 2007[35]. Other populous states of the Union, namely France and the United Kingdom, were characterized by a high population growth rate (in absolute and relative terms) and positive net migration[36]. Considering the criterion of the number of inhabitants, Poland with nearly 38 million people was the sixth largest EU country (nearly 8% of its population). Least residents lived in Malta (414 thousand), Luxembourg (502 thousand), Cyprus (819 thousand) and

[35] *Demographic outlook. National reports on the demographic developments in 2007*, Eurostat, Luxemburg 2009, p. 22.

[36] The main cause of high and stable birth rate in France was high fertility rate among women aged 30-40 years who have managed to reconcile family life with a career (most of them after the break caused by the birth of a child returned to professional activity). It is emphasized that this process was supported by active and multidirectional family policy of the government, implemented in the second half of the twentieth century, as a result of a consensus among different actors in socio-political life. This policy combines pronatal tools and solutions to promote the balance between family life and work, see L. Toulemon, A. Pailhe, C. Rossier, *France: high and stable fertility*, Demographic Research No. 19/2008, Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research, Rostock 2008, p. 545, 554-555. The increase in the population of France and Great Britain in the twentieth century was also due to positive balance of migration, D. Coleman, *The demographic effects of international migration in Europe*, Oxford Review of Economic Policy, vol. 24, No. 3, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2008, p. 458.

Estonia (1,340 thousand). The total population of these three countries accounted for less than 1% of the EU population.

Figure 2.1. Population in the EU (in million) and the proportion of the EU in world population (in percent) in 1990-2010



Source: own study based on FAOSTAT 2011, 01.12.2012.

In 2010, the population density of the EU area was 117 persons per km^2. Of all the countries of this organization, the most densely populated state was the one occupying the smallest space, i.e. Malta (1316 persons per km^2). A significant number of people per square kilometre also characterized two Benelux countries: Netherlands (492 persons/km^2) and Belgium (359 persons/km^2), and the countries with a large area: Great Britain (254 persons/km^2) and Germany (229 persons/km^2). These countries were the areas with significant concentration of population, historically conditioned by socio-economic factors (economic, technical development), natural and climatic conditions (climate, land surface, natural resources), and demographic conditions. Population density reached its lowest level for the countries of Northern Europe: Finland (18 persons/km^2), Sweden (23 persons/km^2) and Estonia (31 persons/km^2). There was a significant share of uninhabited regions, characterized by dispersed settlement network.

Basic demographic information about the population is provided by the structure of the population by age and gender. Its shape affects the process of reproduction of the population, the consequences of which are usually considered in the socio-economic dimension. Age pyramid of the EU population takes

the form with a narrow base and a narrow apex, which is characteristic of the population with a stagnant age structure (Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2. EU population by gender and age in 1990 and 2010

Source: own study based on the Eurostat data 1990-2010.

In 2010, the proportion of young people was similar to the proportion of the oldest. The proportion of the category of persons aged 0 to 15 years was 16% and the proportion of people aged 65 and over reached 17%. However, if these proportions are referred to the earlier period, one can see the slow transformation of the described structure in the regressive direction. In 1990, relatively more numerous were the youngest categories of the population, which translates into a slightly different form of the age structure of the EU population. The share of people below 15 years of age in the general population was 19%, while the proportion of population over 65 years of age was 14%.

In 2010, in the EU there were 100 men per 105 women. Compared to 1990, the value of the feminization coefficient decreased slightly, only by 1. The structure of the population of all Member States by gender, as in the case of most numerous population, was characterized by a predominance of men over women in the youngest age groups, and a predominance of women over men in the oldest age groups. This was due to more births of boys than girls, and the relatively longer life expectancy for women. In 2010, the rate of masculinisation for the youngest of the EU population, i.e. those aged less than 5 years, from 5 to 9, and from 9 to 14 years was 105. This advantage has steadily decreased in

the following age categories and gender proportions equalized in the group 45-49 years. In the older and oldest age categories, in terms of age, the predominance of women was decisive. In groups of 75 to 79, 80 to 84 and 85 years of age or more, the rate of feminization was at the level of 139, 168 and as much as 235 respectively. In women, a relatively higher value of this index resulted, as mentioned, from their relatively lower mortality.

The reduction of the proportion of EU population, made mainly by the affluent societies, in the total population of the world, was largely decided by birth depression. The observed fertility rate did not provide for a simple replacement of generations[37]. According to Eurostat data, in 2005-2010 the average value of the total fertility rate for the EU-27 was 1.60, which indicated a phenomenon of narrow reproduction[38]. Extended reproduction is possible when the rate exceeds the value of 2.10-2.15. The average total fertility rate for the period 2005-2010 for the whole Union was thus significantly lower than the average in the world, where it reached the value of 2.58. The countries with relatively high fertility rates were: Saudi Arabia (3.0) India (2.7), South Africa (2.6) and the U.S. (2.1). As in most cases in Europe, narrowed reproduction was characteristic of Japan (1.3), Russia (1.4) and China (1.6). In 2010, the fertility rate of the level similar to the simple reproduction was recorded only in few countries of the Union: Ireland (2.07), France (2.03), Sweden (1.98) and the UK (1.98). The relatively lowest values, in turn, were in Latvia (1.31), Hungary (1.32) and Portugal (1.32)[39]. In Poland in 2010, there were on average 1.38 children per woman of childbearing age. The fertility rate was, therefore, one of the lowest in Europe.

Low number of births in the Continent, as in many other economically developed regions of the world, should be connected with the processes of modernization of societies beginning in the twentieth century, and consisting in the transition from traditional reproduction, with high fertility and mortality, to modern reproduction, with a very low fertility and mortality[40]. Currently, most of the population living in European countries is in the process of controlled reproduction[41], which is associated with specific reproductive motivations and attitudes (changing patterns of fertility). First, the moment of child birth is delayed. As a result, the average age of women giving birth is increasing. In 2003-2009 for the EU, this rate rose from 29.3 to 29.8 years. In other parts of the world, the average age of child bearing mothers was generally relatively lower.

[37] In 2002-2009 the fertility rate for the EU-27 stood at 1.46-1.60.
[38] *The EU in the World. A statistical portrait*, Eurostat, Luxembourg, 2012, p. 36.
[39] Data for 2010.
[40] T. Panek, *Statystyka społeczna*, PWE, Warsaw 2007, p. 68.
[41] J. Holzer, op.cit., p. 20.

In affluent societies, birth is usually preceded by the following educational and career aspirations, which is also related to the desire to provide the best material conditions for the child development. Delayed birth also favours increased future income of the family by extending the period to invest in oneself and professional position during the most productive period, and thus can increase future intergenerational transfers[42]. However, as shown by the example of many European countries, a relatively higher average age of a woman giving birth is not translated into a decrease in the fertility rate[43]. It is assumed that in modern societies the usefulness is declining and the costs associated with having each additional child are rising[44]. Thus the number of couples with two, three, four or more children is decreasing, and the number of couples with one child or no children is increasing[45]. However, it must be emphasized that in the light of the analyses, the pursuit of economic rationalization of the family does not have to directly translate into a reduction of procreation. On the contrary, a sufficiently high standard of living can contribute to increased fertility. The research is clear that on international scale, the socio-economic development was accompanied by a decrease in fertility, but this relationship was maintained up to a certain threshold. In countries characterized by a sufficiently high stage of development fertility rate generally increased and was relatively high[46]. It is emphasized that in some European countries, characterized by narrow reproduction, fertility rates could be increased by improving the situation of women in the labour market, and an active demographic and social policy[47]. In the context of the phenomenon of population reproduction one often examines the process of the formation and

[42] A. Giza-Poleszczuk, *Rodzina a system społeczny. Reprodukcja i kooperacja w perspektywie interdyscyplinarnej*, Wydawnictwo UW, Warsaw 2008, p. 191-197.

[43] *Demography report 2010. Older, more numerous and diverse Europeans*, European Commission, DG for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion, Luxembourg 2011, p. 69.

[44] Parents usefulness associated with having a baby relates to personal satisfaction, the availability of financial support at the beginning of the child's activity and ability to provide for security in old age. The costs associated with having a child relate to expenditure on their maintenance (direct) and lost financial, professional and time opportunities (indirect), in: J. Holzer, op.cit., p. 27.

[45] In 2007-2011 in the EU-27 the share of households with two, three, four and more children fell respectively by 0.4 (from 38.7 to 38.3%), 0,6 (from 9.2 to 8,6%), 0.5 pp (from 2.8 to 2.3%) and the percentage of households with one child increased by 1.4 pp (from 49.4 to 50.8%).

[46] M. Myrskylä, H-P. Kohler, F. C. Billari, *Advances in development reverse fertility declines*, Nature 460 (2009), 741-743.

[47] This concerns *inter alia,* active treatment of infertility, support to mothers raising children and providing institutional care for children, see A. Titkow, D. Duch-Krzystoszek, *Intencje i decyzje prokreacyjne a polityka przyjazna prokreacji*, Studia Demograficzne 1/155 (2009), Komitet Nauk Demograficznych PAN, p. 90-94.

dissolution of marriages (families). In 2010, the EU marriage rate[48] was 4.5 and the rate of divorces[49] was 2.0. The greatest number of marriages per thousand inhabitants was in Cyprus (7.9), Malta (6.2) and Poland (6.0), and the lowest in Luxembourg (3.5), Bulgaria (3.5) and Slovenia (3.2). The highest number of divorces per thousand people was in Lithuania (3.0), Belgium (3.0) and the Czech Republic (2.9), and the lowest in Ireland (0.7), Italy (0.9), Greece (1.2) and Slovenia (1.2)[50]. At the EU level, as compared to 1990, in 2010 the marriage rate fell from 6.3 to 4.5[51], and divorce rate increased from 1.6 to 2.0. These data may indicate aging of the analyzed societies. This is because the number of young people who set up new families is decreasing. The increase in the divorce rate and the decline in marriage rate also mean changing attitudes to life regarding the formalization of relationships between women and men and the weakening stability of that institution. Informal relationships are more and more common, including relationship of living-apart-together. It should be emphasized, however, that since the 1990s, this trend has no negative impact on fertility, as it was even twenty years ago[52]. Currently in affluent communities with low fertility, which include European societies, decision about having children is often not related to the formalization of relationships. On the contrary, in many countries with a high rate of births outside marriage, there is a relatively higher average number of children per woman of childbearing age[53].

In the age structure of the population in the EU there was an increase in the proportion of the oldest age groups in relation to the rest of the population. In 1990, for every one hundred persons aged 15-64 years, there were 21 people aged 65 and over, and in 2010 it was already 26 people. Of all the countries of the Union the highest age dependency ratio was characteristic of Germany and Italy. In these countries, for every one hundred persons aged 15-64 years, there were 31 people aged 65 and over. The relatively smallest proportion of the oldest age category in relation to the rest of the population has been observed in Ireland. The demographic dependency ratio reached a value of 17 there. The increase in the share of elderly people in the general population is translated natu-

[48] The marriage rate means the number of marriages concluded in the given year per one thousand inhabitants.
[49] The divorce rate means the number of divorces concluded in the given year per one thousand inhabitants.
[50] The data do not include divorces in Malta, where divorce is illegal.
[51] In the period 1990-2010, the marriage rate increased only for two of the EU countries: Finland and Sweden.
[52] F.C. Billari H-P. Kohler, *Patterns of lowest low fertility in Europe*, MPIDR Working Paper 2002-040, Rostock 2002, p. 16.
[53] *Demography report 2010*, op. cit., p. 70.

rally to the fact that EU people on average are getting older. This phenomenon reflects the increase in the median age. In 2010, the median age of the EU population was 41 years. Compared to 1990, the ratio rose by 6 years (i.e. from 35 to 41 years)[54]. The EU-wide process of aging population was characterized by a non-uniform intensity. It was relatively most visible in residents of Slovenia. In the period 1990-2010 the median age of the population there increased by 7 years (i.e. from 34 to 41 years). The relatively lowest increase of this ratio was in Sweden (i.e. an increase of 2 from 39 to 41 years). It should be noted that on the background of all the inhabitants of EU, Poles were relatively young. Both the value of the old-age dependency ratio and the median age were relatively low in the EU in their case. In 2011, in Poland, for every one hundred persons aged 15-64 years, there were 19 people aged 65 and older, and half of their population did not exceed 38 years of age. This does not change the fact that Polish society was becoming more advanced in age. In the period from 1990 to 2010 the median age has increased by 6 years (from 32 to 38 years old), i.e. by the number close to the average level observed for the EU.

Population aging in European societies was mainly due to decline in fertility rates and lengthening of life expectancy. As mentioned earlier, decreasing intensity of fertility was characteristic of the majority of European countries. However, the lengthening of life expectancy was a common phenomenon. At its base lay the socio-economic development and a significant improvement in living conditions, which was accompanied by progress of medicine and improving standards of health care. Positive changes resulted primarily from a decrease in mortality among sexagenarians and septuagenarians and women over sixty years of age[55]. In 2009, life expectancy[56] of EU citizens was on average 79 years. Residents of individual countries differed significantly in this regard. On average, Italians and Spaniards had the longest life expectancy (81 years), and Lithuanians and Latvians the shortest (73 years). Life expectancy below the European average also was characteristic of Poles (75 years). It is worth to note the regularity that in all analyzed countries women live longer than men[57]. However, these values were significantly different. The largest gap in life expectancy be-

[54] In 2010, the median age reached the highest level for Germany. Half the population of this country was at the age of 44 and more. The high value of the rate has also been noted in Italy (43 years) and Finland (42 years). In turn, the relatively young European societies could include Irish, Cypriots and Slovaks. In 2010, the median age for the population reached respectively 34, 36 and 37 years.

[55] *Demography report 2010*, op. cit., p. 36.

[56] This takes into account the average number of years to live by person who is one year old.

[57] In 2009, in EU-27 women lived an average 82 years and men 76 years.

tween the sexes related to Baltic societies – Lithuanians (11 years), Estonians and Latvians (10 years), and the shortest to inhabitants of Scandinavia (Swedes and Danes), and the British and Dutch – 4 years.

In addition to the decline in fertility rates and lengthening of life expectancy, the aging of EU population was influenced by the phenomenon of demographic waving and international migration. The structure of the population by age reflected the echo of post-war baby boomers (people born in the late 1940s and 1950s) and the echo of baby boom of the late 1970s and 1980s. In some countries, such as Lithuania, Bulgaria and Latvia the scale of immigration was significant, mainly of young people, which was not without negative impact on the demographic situation[58].

2.2. Selected issues concerning the European Union's rural areas

2.2.1. Changes in the definition of rural areas

Rural areas are not usually defined in a uniform way. There is at least a few ways of defining them. One of the popular approaches is a socio-cultural approach. Distinguishing criteria are *inter alia,* specific and close social relations, traditional values, norms, attitudes and habits, characteristic of a homogeneous community. The economic approaches to the definition of rural areas mainly emphasize the economic role of agriculture. In this context, the rural areas are areas where this sector is important from the point of view of production, or the functioning of the labour market. Other attributes ascribed to rural areas, such as scattered buildings, scattered settlements, the nature of the landscape, low population density, are subject of attention in the geographical approach. Relatively least problematic is to recognize rural areas for administrative division. Such areas are the areas lying outside the administrative boundaries of cities. It should be emphasized, however, that there is an equally widespread approach which includes both categories as a kind of continuum[59]. In this perspective, certain areas cannot be clearly defined. Urbanity and rurality are in fact gradual characteristics. Examples, for which it is difficult to assign one of these terms, are intermediate areas or suburban areas. Administratively, they belong to

[58] For example, in Lithuania, 41% of the migrants who left the country in 2010 were from the age group of 20 to 29 years. Their trips, mainly to the UK, Ireland, Norway and Germany were motivated by economic reasons, see Demographic outlook. National reports on the demographic developments in 2010, Eurostat, Luxemburg 2012, p. 34.

[59] R.E. Pahl, *Rural-urban continuum*, Sociologia Ruralis, vol. 6, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford 1966, p. 322.

rural areas, but often their economic, social and landscape properties testify to a high level of urbanization. In addition, in the context of the ongoing development of infrastructure and means of transport, the increasing prevalence of information and communication technologies, as well as increase in intensity of temporary or seasonal population movements, the relationship between city and countryside is even more intense and clear administrative or symbolic boundaries between urban centres and rural areas disappear[60]. This does not change the fact that generally one does not question the existence of areas of low population density, with specific buildings and unique in cultural terms, located far from communication routes, where environmental resources play an important economic and symbolic role. They are said to be rural or peripheral. In many countries the peripheral location of these areas is accompanied by specific problems (such as above-average unemployment, poverty, social exclusion), which arise due to low level of development of the technical, social and economic infrastructure[61].

No single method of isolating them and difficulties of definition translate to a number of restrictions on the conduct of research and international comparisons of socio-economic transformations taking place in rural areas. Such analyses are made possible with methodologies and databases compiled for the activities of various state organizations, such as the UN, the OECD and the EU[62]. In 2010, the European Commission has proposed a new territorial classification of the area of the EU at NUTS level 3. The reason for changing the current scheme, which was based on the OECD methodology, was the difficulty in conducting statistical reporting on a transnational scale[63]. These restrictions resulted

[60] C. Tacoli, *Rural-urban interactions: a guide to the literature*, Environment and Urbanisation, vol. 10, no. 1, International Institute for Environment and Development, Sage Publications 1998, p. 147.

[61] J. Wilkin, *Obszary wiejskie w warunkach dynamizacji zmian strukturalnych*, Polska Wschodnia, (in:) Ekspertyzy do Strategii Rozwoju Społeczno-gospodarczego Polski Wschodniej do roku 2020, vol. 1, Ministry of Regional Development, Warsaw, p. 595.

[62] More information on the methodology of isolating rural areas by the UN, the OECD and the EU in: Ł. Zwoliński, *Zmiany społeczno-demograficzne na terenach wiejskich w państwach Unii Europejskiej*, Multi-Annual Programme 2005-2009, Report no. 167, IAFE-NRI, Warsaw 2009, p. 15-17.

[63] According to OECD methodology, classification of the regions consisted of a two-step process: defining rural local administrative unit at LAU level 2 (population density less than 150 persons per km^2) and the criterion of the proportion of region's population living in these units. The region predominantly urban referred to areas with the percentage of the population living in those units not exceeding 15%. For intermediate region this ratio ranged from 15 to 50%. For a region predominantly rural, the share of the population living in rural areas of the LAU 2 was more than 50%. The classification also considered the size of the urban centres in the region. In addition, the region predominantly rural became: a) intermediate – if within it was a city inhabited by 200 thousand persons representing at least 25% of the population, b)

from a significant diversity in the size of the areas that are the basis for categorization, i.e. the local administrative units (LAU2) and size of NUTS 3 regions and the practice (in some countries) to separate urban centres from the surrounding area. According to the new typology, EU regions can be divided as before into three types: predominantly urban (PU), intermediate (IR) and predominantly rural (PR). Identification of the urban region takes place in two stages. The first one takes into account two criteria on a local scale: the threshold of population density of at least 300 inhabitants per km^2 for a single geographical grid cell, and the threshold of the number (size) of 5000 inhabitants for cell groups of this grid (satisfying the first condition). Rural areas are all areas that do not meet the above conditions. In the second stage, at the level of NUTS 3, the territories where more than 50% of the population lives in rural grid cells are classified as predominantly rural[64]. If this proportion is in the range of 20 to 50%, the region becomes an intermediate region, and for less than 20% – a predominantly urban region[65]. The new proposal also modifies the assignment of the regions due to the presence in rural and intermediate areas of significant urban centres according to the methodology adopted in the traditional OECD methodology[66]. It is emphasized that one of the advantages of the new method of isolating rural areas is the relatively more balanced distribution of the population in isolated areas in the Member States[67].

2.2.2. Rural areas and the rural population in the EU and in individual Member States

According to the new typology, 56% of the EU in 2010 was rural areas (Map 2.1). The relatively smaller were intermediate areas – 35%, and the smallest were the urban areas – 9%. In relation to the OECD methodology, there were no major changes here. The boundaries of rural areas increased by 1.6 pp. How-

predominantly urban – if within it was a city inhabited by 500 thousand persons representing at least 25% of the population.

[64] The new methodology combines small NUTS 3 regions (with an area of less than 500 km^2) with neighbouring regions. Of the 1303 NUTS 3 regions in the EU, the area of 247 did not exceed the above size. 142 of them were joined with other regions. Other regions, for different reasons (islands, proximity to regions of the same classification), were not subject to grouping.

[65] For simplicity, hereinafter the areas predominantly rural are defined as rural areas, and areas predominantly urban as urban areas.

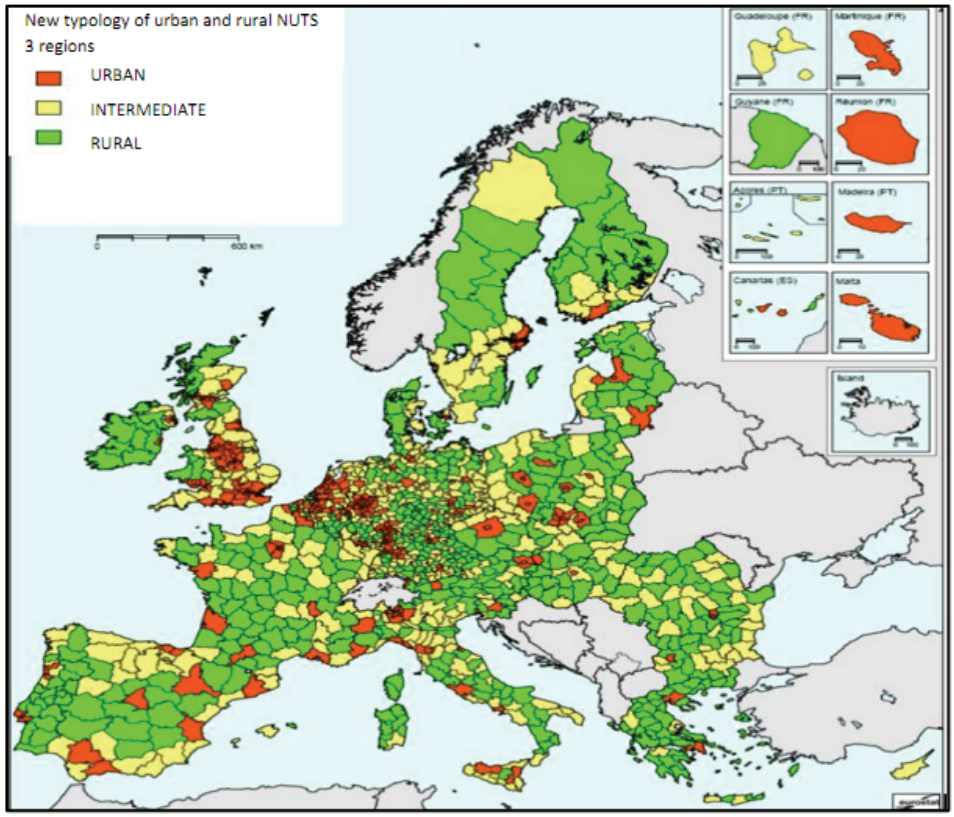
[66] On this basis, 23 regions changed categories.

[67] http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Urban-rural_typology, 02.09.2012.

ever, the surface of intermediate and urban areas relatively decreased (by 1.3 and 0.3 pp respectively). Like the OECD typology, the highest share of rural areas was characteristic of Ireland. These areas occupy more than 98% of the country. From the point of view of the surface area, the above-average proportion of rural territory was in Portugal (87%), Finland (83%), Greece and Estonia (82%). Lack of that type of land was characteristic of Cyprus, Luxembourg and Malta. In the case of the first two countries, the whole territory comprised of intermediate regions. In turn, Malta has been classified in its entirety as an urban area. According to the new typology, the majority (56%) of the Polish territory was in rural areas. Intermediate regions comprised 35% of the country and urban regions 9%. Distribution was therefore identical with the structure appropriate for the whole Community. It should be noted that Poland was in a small group of countries for which in relation to OECD classification, there has been a loss of the rural territory (down by as much as 16 pp)[68]. The relatively largest increase in rural areas was in Estonia (increase by 62 pp) and Czech Republic (40 pp).

[68] The share of rural areas is also relatively decreased in Sweden (by 37 pp), Finland (by 10 pp), Slovenia (by 9 pp), Austria (6 pp), Romania (by 5 pp) and the Netherlands (1 pp).

Map 2.1. New typology of EU urban and rural areas for NUTS 3 regions



Source: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Urbanrural_typology.

According to the typology of the European Commission, in 2010 the majority of the EU population lived in highly urbanized areas (Table 2.1). Almost 41% of the EU population lived in urban areas. The population of intermediate regions accounted for 35% and rural areas for 24% of the total population of the Union. In comparison to the OECD classification, the EU population structure, drawn up according to the new approach with regard to the place of residence, differed slightly more from the territorial distribution. In the typology of the European Commission the proportion of the inhabitants of rural areas increased by 4 percentage points at the expense of urban population (increase from 20 to 24%). No change occurred in the proportion of the intermediate areas (35%). Relatively many rural dwellers lived in Ireland – their share in the total population was 71%, in Slovakia – 50% and in Estonia – 49%. As mentioned earlier, due to the lack of rural areas, there were no rural dwellers in Cyprus, Luxembourg and Malta. The relatively low prevalence of the rural population was also

observed in the Netherlands (1%) and the UK (3%). The rural population accounted for 38% of the total Polish population. It was a relatively largest category, as residents of intermediate and urban areas made up respectively 34 and 28% of total population. In relation to the OECD typology, relatively greatest changes in the population structure in terms of the place of residence were recorded in Sweden, Finland, where there was an increase in the share of the population of the intermediate territories (at the expense of the rural population), and in Estonia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Lithuania, which involved significant increase in the percentage of rural population (mainly or exclusively at the expense of the population of the intermediate areas).

Table 2.1. Typology comparison of urban and rural areas according to the OECD and the European Commission methodologies

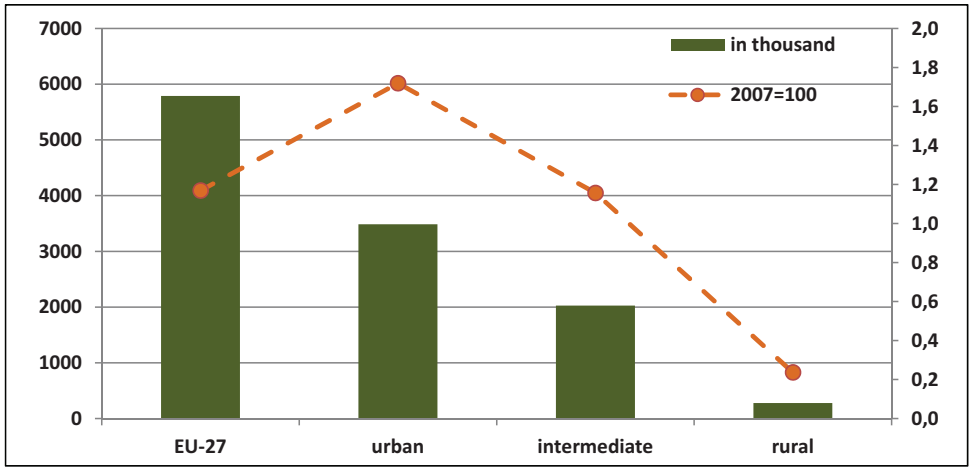
Specification	% of area						% of population					
	OECD methodology			methodology of the European Commission			OECD methodology			methodology of the European Commission		
	urban	intermediate	rural	urban	intermediate	rural	urban	intermediate	rural	urban	intermediate	rural
UE-27	**9,5**	**36,1**	**54,4**	**9,1**	**34,8**	**56,1**	**44,5**	**35,4**	**20,1**	**40,4**	**35,4**	**24,2**
Belgium	54,9	18,5	26,6	34,7	31,8	33,5	84,7	10,1	5,2	67,5	23,9	8,6
Bulgaria	1,1	65,5	33,4	1,1	45,1	53,8	14,9	61,4	23,7	14,9	44,7	40,4
Czech Rep.	0,6	90,8	8,6	14,6	37,0	48,4	11,4	83,6	5,0	22,4	44,0	33,6
Denmark	4,5	23,6	71,9	1,2	26,9	71,9	29,3	27,7	43,0	21,0	36,0	43,0
Germany	19,4	44,1	36,5	11,8	48,4	39,8	57,4	29,3	13,3	42,1	40,3	17,6
Estonia	7,6	71,5	20,9	0,0	17,7	82,3	13,1	76,3	10,6	0,0	51,5	48,5
Ireland	1,3	0,0	98,7	1,3	0,0	98,7	29,5	0,0	70,5	29,5	0,0	70,5
Greece	2,9	23,2	73,9	5,6	12,1	82,3	35,7	26,9	37,4	45,5	10,3	44,2
Spain	14,4	40,2	45,4	14,4	39,5	46,1	48,3	37,8	13,9	48,2	38,1	13,7
France	8,7	50,5	40,8	8,7	31,4	59,9	34,5	48,5	17,0	34,6	36,2	29,2
Italy	24,0	49,2	26,8	12,1	42,4	45,5	52,1	38,5	9,4	35,4	43,7	20,9
Cyprus	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	100,0	0,0
Latvia	0,5	43,6	55,9	16,1	21,1	62,8	32,0	29,7	38,3	47,2	13,5	39,3
Lithuania	15,0	51,9	33,1	15,0	19,8	65,2	24,3	55,7	20,0	24,4	31,2	44,4
Luxembourg	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	100,0	0,0
Hungary	0,6	41,4	58,0	0,6	33,3	66,1	17,4	41,0	41,6	17,4	34,7	47,9
Malta	100,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	100,0	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0	100,0	0,0	0,0
Netherlands	61,8	34,9	3,3	46,5	51,4	2,1	83,1	15,6	1,3	71,1	28,3	0,6
Austria	1,3	20,2	78,5	8,8	19,0	72,2	21,2	31,6	47,2	33,0	26,5	40,5
Poland	**2,5**	**25,4**	**72,1**	**9,3**	**34,4**	**56,3**	**22,7**	**31,1**	**46,2**	**28,3**	**33,6**	**38,1**
Portugal	7,9	19,9	72,2	6,5	6,4	87,1	51,7	25,5	22,8	47,7	13,5	38,8
Romania	0,1	34,9	65,0	0,8	39,4	59,8	8,5	39,2	52,3	9,9	43,9	46,2
Slovenia	0,0	29,6	70,4	12,6	26,4	61,0	0,0	42,4	57,6	24,9	31,0	44,1
Slovakia	4,2	63,6	32,2	4,2	36,8	59,0	11,4	63,1	25,5	11,4	38,3	50,3
Finland	2,1	5,0	92,9	2,1	14,9	83,0	25,4	12,2	62,4	25,4	30,7	43,9
Sweden	1,5	8,3	90,2	1,5	45,6	52,9	20,9	29,7	49,4	20,9	56,1	23,0
UK	21,5	54,1	24,4	25,5	46,8	27,7	69,6	28,4	2,0	71,3	25,8	2,9

Source: own compilation based on http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Urban-rural_typology.

2.3. Changes in the rural population in the EU in 2007-2010

According to the Eurostat data, there were nearly 118 million people living in the rural areas in the EU, i.e. 75% less than in the urban areas (206 million people) and 51% less than the average (177 million). The disproportions in the population number between the individual area categories are related to the historically shaped trend for the population to concentrate within urban zones, which are usually more developed in socio-economic terms[69].

Figure 2.3. Changes in the population size within the EU regions in 2007-2010



Source: own study on the basis of Eurostat data, 01.12.2012.

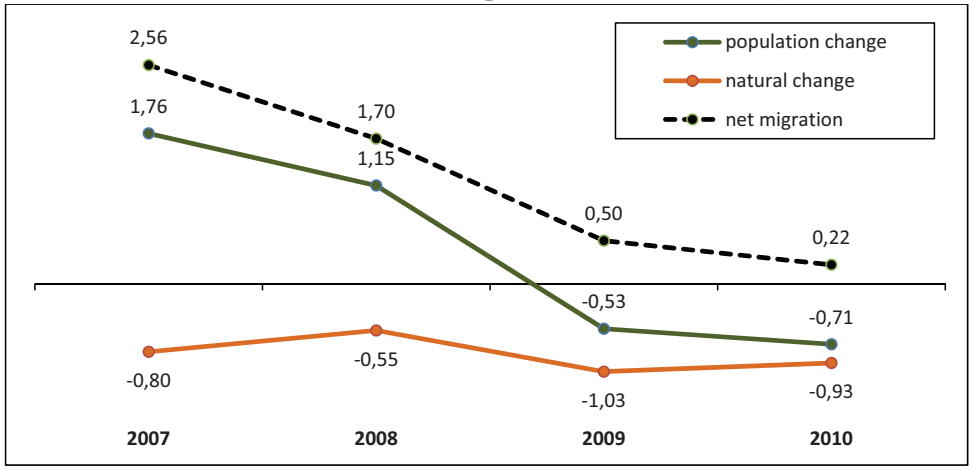
In comparison with 2007, the rural population of the EU remained at a similar level as in 2010 (Figure 2.3). This number increased by 0.24 million people, that is by nearly 0.2%. Within the indicated period, the urban population number was increasing at a relatively higher rate – growth from 3.5 million people (by 1.7%) – as well as for the intermediate regions – growth by 2 million people (by 1.2%).

[69] The main mechanism that drives the urbanisation process (i.e. the integration of population in the cities) was constituted so far by migrations. It is recognised that the generation of a significant number of people who are redundant and employed in the agriculture was accompanied by a dynamic technological and organizational progress in the cities. In consequence, the new earning opportunities emerged, which were used by the people coming from rural areas. L.F. Schnore, *Population theories and social change*, Center for Demography and Ecology, Working paper 72-13, University of Wisconsin, Wisconsin 1972.

Irrespective of the increase in the population number in 2007-2010, the EU's rural areas featured more deaths than births and a declining intensity of population inflow. The population growth in the entire period in question was negative, and the positive net migration was decreasing. In consequence, negative population growths were recorded in 2009 and 2010 (Figure 2.4).

In 2007-2010 on the scale of the EU, contrary to the rural, the urban and intermediate areas had a surplus of births over the deaths and a positive net migration. The population change was relatively the highest within the urban areas. It was on a constant level in the years in question (the population growth oscillated between 2.5 and 2.7‰). The population change was the lowest, yet equally stable as in the urban regions, within the intermediate areas (the population change there ranged from 0.4 to 0.7‰). However, the intensity of population inflow decreased for both indicated types of territories.

Figure 2.4. Changes in the population's reproduction in rural areas in the EU in 2007-2010 (per thousand inhabitants)



Source: own study on the basis of Eurostat data, 01.12.2012.

The demographic changes in 2007-2010 within the EU's rural areas were of diverse nature. It should be pointed out that the population that inhabits the discussed type of area increased for the group of states that belong to the EU-12. In the analysed period, its population increased there by 0.8%, i.e. by 619 thousand people (i.e. from 75,194 thousand to 75,813 thousand). Positive changes in the rural population's reproduction in the former EU-12 Member States resulted mainly from a considerable inflow of population that compensated for the negative natural change. The migration per thousand people for rural areas from the discussed group of states amounted to 7.9 in 2007 and 2.1 in

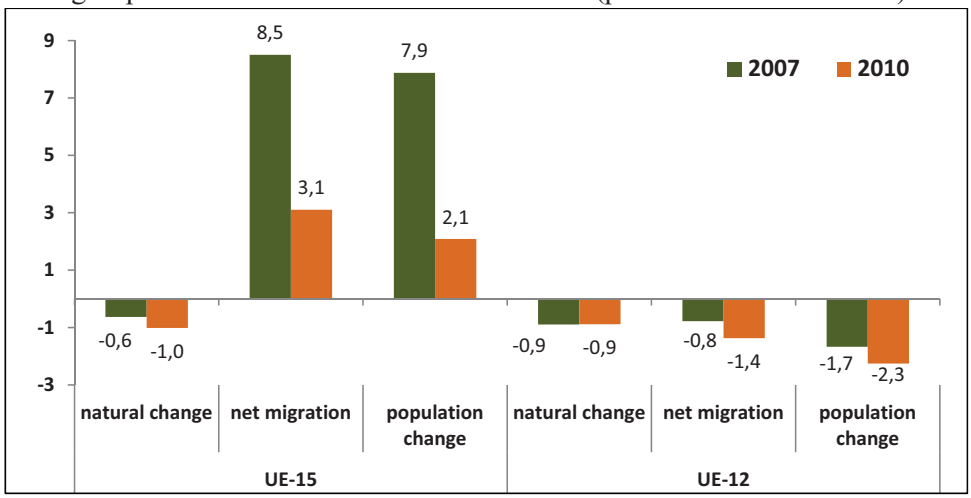
2010 whereas the population growth equalled –0.6‰ and –1.0‰ respectively (Figure 2.5). The decline of a positive migration balance within the Old EU regions is connected both with the reduced inflow of migrants from abroad (e.g. Spain, Italy, Ireland, Great Britain) and increase in the rate of internal migrations towards urbanised centres and migrations abroad (e.g. Spain). It should be judged that it was the economic crisis that underlay that phenomenon, and it had a negative impact on the situation on the rural labour market. It affected in particular rural families employed in the enterprises from the industrial and construction sector that were located in the aforementioned regions. On the other hand, the higher number of deaths over the number of births in the rural areas of EU-12 resulted from the negative natural change recorded in the populous countries of that group of countries, such as Germany, Spain, Italy.

The population number of rural areas in 2007-2010 increased at a relatively highest rate in Ireland – by 4.8%, and in Spain and Belgium – by 2.4%. The rural areas in Ireland featured first of all a high population growth. A positive net migration was recorded in the first two years of the time range in question. They should be associated with a substantial immigration of persons from the Eastern Europe (mainly Poland, Lithuania and Latvia), who were encouraged by a good economic situation of that country[70]. An increase in the rural population of Belgium resulted first of all from a considerable inflow of population from the EU Member States (Poles, Romanians) and persons from third countries (Moroccans, Turks or citizens of the Democratic Republic of the Congo)[71]. At the same time, a small advantage of the number of births over deaths was recorded there. The rural population in Spain increased in 2007-2010 primarily as a result of migrations. Traditionally, the relatively largest concentration of inflow of immigrants took place in the southern and north-eastern regions of that country[72]. Yet, it should be pointed out that this trend has weakened since 2009, and it happened irrespectively of the region type. The directions of migrations in the country in question were gradually reversing, which should be un-doubtedly associated with increasing economic crisis. Deterioration of living conditions and increase in unemployment affected the rural areas there. Therefore, the outflow of population increased there in comparison to the inflow. The Eurostat data indicate, that in 2007-2009, the unemployment rate increased considerably

[70] A considerable number of immigrants that settled in Ireland came also from Great Britain, France, Spain and the USA. Cf. *This is Ireland. Highlights from census 2011*, part 1, Central Statistics Office, Dublin 2012, p. 31.
[71] Demographic outlook, op. cit., p. 7.
[72] M. Goll, *Ageing in the European Union: where exactly?*, Eurostat, Statistic in Focus 26/2010, p. 4.

in all the rural areas of Spain. This indicator increased for the total of rural areas of Spain on average by 8 pp (i.e. from 6 to 14%).

Figure 2.5. Changes in the population's reproduction in rural areasin the selected groups of EU Member States in 2007-2010 (per thousand inhabitants)



Source: own study on the basis of Eurostat data, 01.12.2012.

A decrease in fertility rate together with an increase in migrations had a negative impact on the changes in the population's reproduction in the Central--Eastern European states. It should be pointed out that the intensity of both of those processes was relatively higher there than within the rural areas. Disadvantageous demographic trends often had its background in the previous decades. The socio-economic transformation was accompanied there by a rapid decline in the fertility rate. The depopulation of rural areas in the EU-12 Member States aggravated as a result of a clear economic downturn at the end of the second millennium. In consequence, there was a substantial outflow of population from rural areas. An increase in foreign migrations was possible also due to the EU's enlargements towards the east. The freedom of movement and the freedom to take up employment in most well-off EU Member States have become an opportunity for many Central-Eastern European citizens for an improvement of the economic situation. In 2007-2010, the loss of rural population had the relatively largest impact on Lithuania and Latvia – a decrease by 3.0% – and Bulgaria – a decrease by 2.9%. It resulted both from a high negative population change and a negative migration balance. In comparison with the mentioned countries, the population number of rural areas in Poland decreased slightly: by 0.2%. This decrease should be associated with increased migrations of the population from

the areas in question towards urban and intermediate areas, as well as abroad[73]. For the entire discussed period, a positive, yet insignificant population change was recorded for the rural population in Poland. However, its scale did not compensate for the loss of population resulting from internal and external migrations.

Table 2.2. Factors determining the population's reproduction within rural areas in the EU in 2010

Demographic factors	EU Member States
Increase in population due to:	
Only natural change	Czech Rep., Ireland
Mostly natural change	Slovakia, Finland
Mostly net migration (and adjustment)	France, Great Britain
Only net migration (and adjustment)	Belgium, Spain, Italy, Sweden
Decrease in population due to:	
Only natural change	Estonia, Greece, Netherlands, Portugal
Mostly natural change	Germany, Latvia, Hungary, Austria, Romania
Mostly net migration (and adjustment)	Bulgaria, Denmark, Lithuania
Only net migration (and adjustment)	Poland. Slovenia

Source own elaboration on the basis of Eurostat data, 01.12.2012.

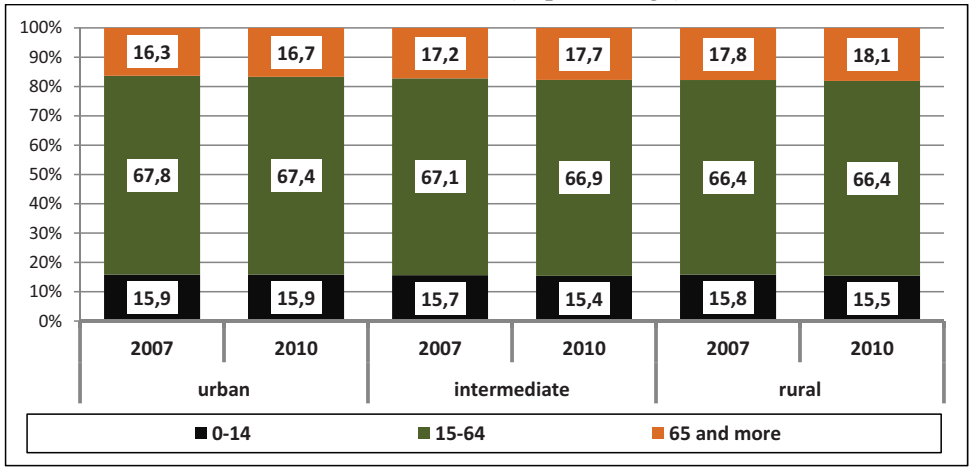
[73] The results of the research conducted on the basis of the CSO data document the fact that rural areas in Poland have featured a positive population migration balance uninterruptedly since 2000. However, the process of inflow of new inhabitants to rural areas applied mainly to the areas located in the vicinity of urban centres that were classified as rural ones in administrative terms, and it resulted mainly from the changes in the life styles of a substantial number of families. Cf. J. Szymańczak, Mieszkańcy wsi – charakterystyka demograficzna, [in:] B. Kłos, D. Stankiewicz, Rozwój obszarów wiejskich w Polsce, Studia Biura Analiz Sejmowych Kancelarii Sejmu nr 4 (24) 2010, Warszawa 2010, p. 42-44. The disparities in the indicator values for the migrations in Poland included in this study and the results of other analyses result from a different methodology for the categorization of rural and urban areas that were adopted by Eurostat and OECD (based on population density) and the one adopted by CSO (based on the country's administrative division).

2.4. Basic demographic structures of the rural population in the EU

2.4.1. Age structure

Irrespective of the region type, the EU's population age structure was quite equal (Figure 2.6). In 2010, the percentage of people up to 14 years of age in rural areas in the EU amounted to 16%. On the other hand, the group of people aged 15-64 represented 66% of the total rural population in the EU, and the category of persons aged 65 and more – 18%. Irrespective of insignificant disparities in the age structure of inhabitants of individual region types, the symptoms of the process of aging were noted in all each of them. In 2007-2010, the percentage of people from the oldest age group increased both in the urban and the intermediate and rural areas. Relatively larger differences in the age structure became apparent in the analysis of the population of states broken down by the order of their accession into the Community and in the situation of examining individual societies. As regards the rural areas alone, in 2010 in the countries that joined the EU after 2004 in comparison to the other EU Member States, a smaller percentage of the population from the oldest age group (15% against 20% respectively) and a higher percentage of the population aged 15-64 (70% against 65% respectively) were recorded. In comparison with 2007, there were no major changes in this respect.

Figure 2.6. Age structure of the population number within the EU regions in 2007 and 2010 (in percentage)



Source: own study on the basis of Eurostat data, 01.12.2012.

In 2010, within the rural areas, the relatively most advantageous age structure was featured by the population of Ireland, where more than every fifth person was aged below 15, and nearly every ninth person was 65 years old or older. The inhabitants of rural areas in Belgium and Denmark were also relatively young[74]. Portugal was on the opposite pole in these terms. Every third inhabitant of rural areas belonged to the oldest age category there. In addition, in the latter country, only every seventh inhabitant of rural areas came from the age category encompassing people aged below fifteen. Similar low popularity of children and teenagers in rural areas was recorded in Italy, Germany and Latvia[75].

The population's age structure in rural areas in Poland differed from the EU's average. In 2010, the percentage of people aged 15-64 amounted to 71%, and it was higher by 5 pp than for the EU-27. The percentage of people aged 65+ was also relatively lower among the total inhabitants of rural areas in Poland (13% in comparison to 17%). The relatively most advantageous age structure of the rural population in Poland does not mean that the demographic changes occurred there towards the desired direction. In the 2007-2010 period in question, the percentage of people aged below 15 decreased by 1 pp (i.e. from 17 to 16%), and for the 15-64 age group it increased by 1 pp (from 70 to 71%). The decrease in the percentage of the former of the above-mentioned categories indicated the process of aging of the rural population[76].

2.4.2. Sex structure

Just like the age structure, the sex structure of inhabitants of individual EU regions was not different. Both in 2007 and in 2010, more women than men were registered in the population of urban, intermediate and rural areas – 51.2 against 48.8%. Beside the probable inaccuracies of statistical estimations, the reasons for the larger number of women when compared to men on the European scale include historical determinants (the impact of migrations and world wars, which

[74] In 2010, the percentage of people up to 14 years of age and 65 and more in the total population of rural areas in Belgium amounted to 17.9 and 16.6% respectively, in Denmark it was 18.2 and 17.5%.

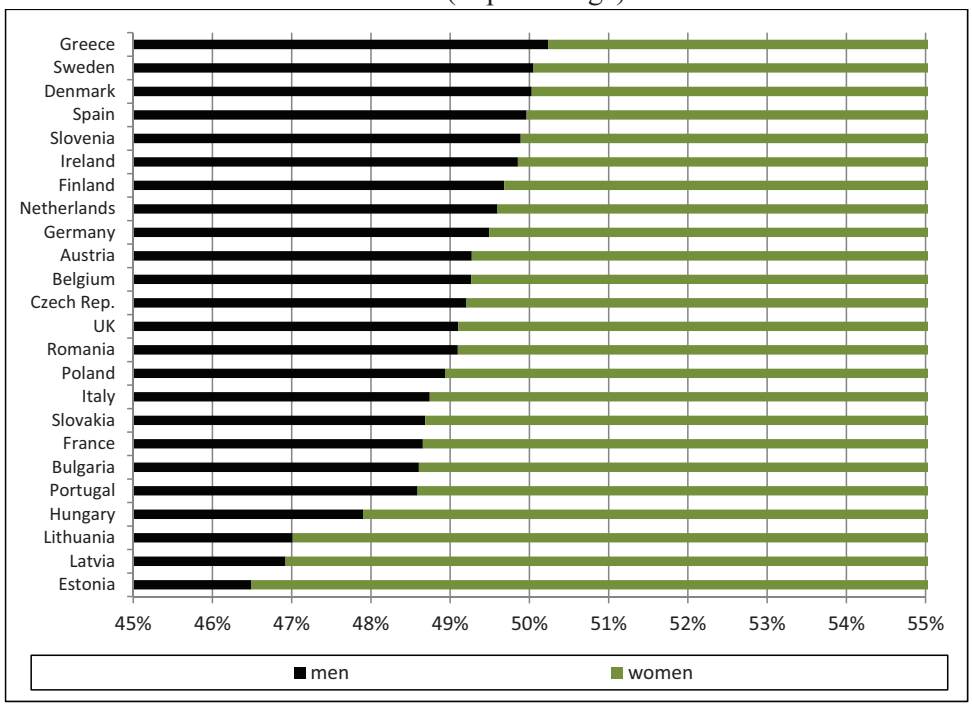
[75] In 2010, the percentage of people aged up to 14 in the total population of rural areas in Italy amounted to 13.2%, in Germany to 13.8% and in Latvia to 13.6%.

[76] M. Stanny, *Demograficzne uwarunkowania rynku pracy na wsi*, Opinie i Ekspertyzy OE-147, Kancelaria Senatu, Biuro Analiz i Dokumentacji, Dział Analiz i Opracowań Tematycznych, Warszawa 2010, p. 6.

caused a relatively higher loss of men), different migration patterns and the difference in the average life expectancy between the genders[77].

In 2010, there were some disparities in the rural population structure by sex that pertained to the situation in individual Member States (Figure 2.7). A slightly higher percentage of men than women in the rural population was recorded in Greece (50.2 against 49.8%) and in Sweden (50.1 against 49.9%). Equal percentages for both genders in the population of rural areas referred on the other hand to Denmark and Spain. A balanced or nearly proportional population structure by gender in the above-mentioned countries (apart from Spain) is connected with the occurrence of relatively small disparities there in the anticipated life expectancy between women and men, in particular with reference to relatively older age groups, where the advantage of women is greater.

Figure 2.7. Population structure by sex in rural areas of the EU Member States in 2010 (in percentage)



Source: own elaboration on the basis of Eurostat data, 01.12.2012.

Furthermore, the Eurostat analysis indicates that there was a relatively considerable advantage of women among the inhabitants of rural areas in some

[77] J. Holzer, op. cit., p. 132.

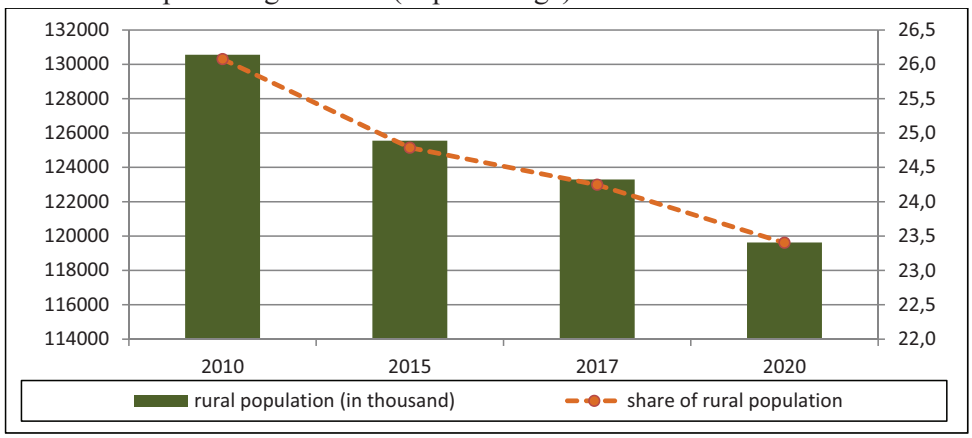
states in the year in question. Such a situation took place in the Baltic states: in Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. In the first of the above-mentioned states, the percentage of women in the total population of rural areas amounted to 53.5% while in the two other ones it was 53.0%. Significant differences in the described type of population structure in the Baltic states should be associated with major discrepancies in the anticipated life expectancy between the sex. For example, this indicator in 2009 in the above-mentioned countries amounted to nine and more years in favour of women[78].

2.5. Projections of the EU rural population change by 2020

According to the data collected by FAO, it is forecast that in 2020 the EU's population number will increase by 10.5 million people (that is slightly above 2%). In other parts of the world, the population growth is supposed to increase on a greater scale. Therefore, the expected percentage of the EU's population in the total global population number will decrease by 0.6 pp (i.e. from 7.3% to 6.7%).

It is also expected that by 2020 the rural population number in the EU will decrease by 11 million people, i.e. 8% (Figure 2.8). The decrease of this value in that group will be accompanied by a decrease of its percentage in the total population number of the EU by 3 pp (i.e. from 26% to 23%). Therefore, the percentage of persons from urban areas will increase in all the studied societies.

Figure 2.8. Projections of the changes in the rural population (in thousand) and percentage thereof (in percentage) in the EU in 2010-2020



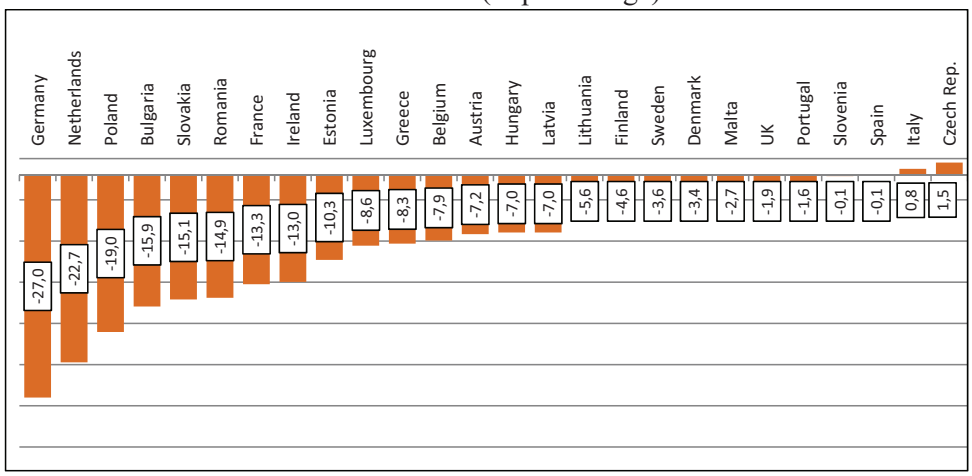
Source: own study on the basis of FAOSTAT 2011 data, 01.12.2012.

[78] *Demography report 2010*, op. cit., p. 34-35.

In 2020, the EU's urban population size is expected to equal nearly 392 million. With reference to 2010, it would be an increase by 6% (i.e. over 21 million). On the scale of all Member States, the downward trend for the rural population should be associated with the expected continuation of the process of population's migrations to urban areas, with low positive or negative population growth rate.

The FAO data indicate that the scale of loss of rural population in individual Member States will be diverse (Figure 2.9). The discussed group is expected to decrease to the relatively largest extent in Germany (a decrease by 27%), in the Netherlands (23%) and in Poland (19%).

Figure 2.9. Projection of changes in the rural population number in the EU in 2010-2020 (in percentage)



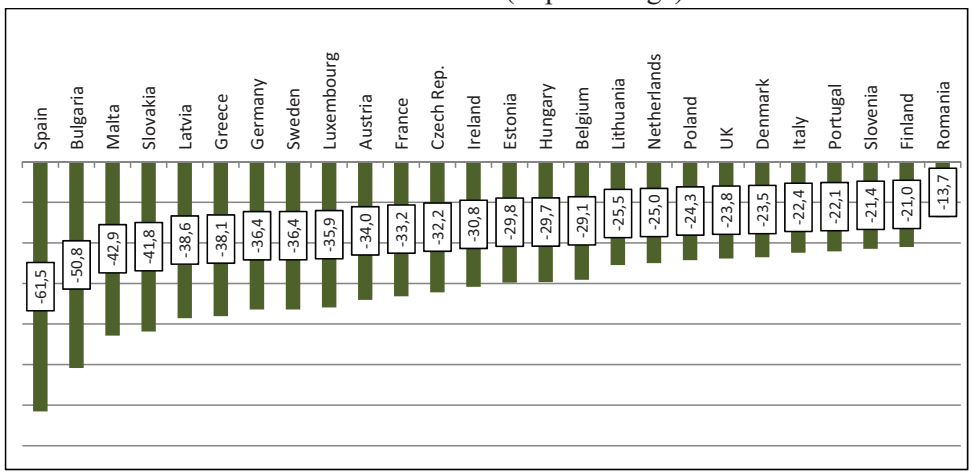
Source: own study on the basis of FAOSTAT 2011 data, 01.12.2012.

In the case of Germany, the main reason for that phenomenon will be a negative natural change, and in the case of Poland, it will be considerable internal and external migrations. Unlike the Netherlands, the expected decrease in the population number of the German and Polish rural areas in the absolute numbers will substantial (by 2.5 and 0.5 million people respectively). Irrespective of the trend prevailing on the European scale, the rural population number will increase in two EU Member States. Such a situation is forecast for Italy (increase by 1%) and the Czech Republic (by 2%). In the former case, the increase in the rural population will be most probably related to immigration, and in the latter one, with the higher number of births than the number of deaths.

FAO projection also indicates that in 2020 the agricultural population number will decrease considerably in all EU Member States (Figure 2.10).

Those changes should be associated with the hitherto dynamic rate of loss of this category in individual states. It is determined by a number of factors connected with the continuation of the technological progress (introduction of labour-saving technologies), economic growth and job creation outside the first sector, as well as the restructuring of agriculture, in particular in the countries where it featured low labour efficiency as a result of excessive employment.

Figure 2.10. Projection of changes in the agricultural population number in the EU in 2010-2020 (in percentage)



Source: own study on the basis of FAOSTAT 2011 data, 01.12.2012.

Relatively the highest loss in this population active in agriculture is supposed to concern Spain (a decrease by 62%) and Bulgaria (by 51%) while the lowest one – Romania (a decrease by 14%).

Chapter 3
Spatial mobility of the rural population in Poland

3.1. Rural areas in Poland – differentiation and characteristics

Rural areas in Poland occupy the area of 291,200 km^2, which represents approximately 90.3% of the total area of Poland. In 2010, nearly 15 million people lived in those areas (39.1% of the inhabitants of Poland). Since 2005, the rural population number has increased by 238,500 people. The increase in the population that lives in rural areas has been observed since 2003. Further, according to the national statistics there was a decrease in the population number and percentage of inhabitants of urban areas in the total population number. That increase has been observed within the entire territory of the country. In 2005-2010, the percentage of rural population increased slightly in each of the distinguished macroregions. The highest percentage of rural population is featured by the Central-Western and South-Eastern macroregions, as well as the Central-Eastern one, where the percentage equals approximately 40% (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Population living in rural areas in Poland in 2005-2011 by macroregion

Macroregions	2005		2010	
	in thousand	in percentage of the total population	in thousand	in percentage of the total population
Total	**14,697.2**	**38.5**	**14,935.7**	**39.1**
Central-Western	2,228.8	41.0	2,325.3	42.4
Central-Eastern	4,385.5	39.4	4,389.3	39.5
South--Eastern	4,587.8	40.4	4,633.7	41.0
South--Western	1,692.7	34.2	1,721.4	35.0
Northern	1,802.4	33.9	1,865.8	34.8

Source: own study based on the Central Statistical Office data.

According to the administrative division, the territory of Poland is divided into 2,479 gminas, 2,173 of which are rural ones, including 1,576 typically rural and 597 rural-urban gminas. In total, on the nationwide scale, most gminas have a population below 5 thousand people (788 such entities). The highest percentage of rural and rural-urban gminas with a population below 5 thousand among all gminas in a macroregion was in the following macroregions: Central-Eastern,

Northern and South-Western. On the other hand, the highest percentage gminas with a population above 10 thousand among all gminas in a macroregion was in the South-Eastern macroregion (Table 3.2 and Table 3.3).

Table 3.2. The number of rural gminas in Poland by number of inhabitants

Macroregions	Number of rural gminas				
	total	with a population number			
		below 5 000	5,000-6,999	7,000-9,999	above 10,000
Total	**2,173**	**788**	**578**	**450**	**357**
Central-Western	334	99	110	77	48
Central-Eastern	736	344	197	122	73
South--Eastern	527	98	122	140	167
South--Western	275	110	75	58	32
Northern	301	137	74	53	37

Source: own study based on the Central Statistical Office data.

Table 3.3. Rural areas in Poland in 2010

Macroregions	Number of gminas	Rural localities	Area in thousand km^2	Population		
				in thousand	per km^2	in one locality
Total	**2,173**	**53,812**	**291.2**	**14,935.7**	**51**	**278**
Central-Western	334	9,119	45.5	2,325.3	51	255
Central-Eastern	736	21,885	93.9	4,389.4	47	201
South--Eastern	527	7,839	49.8	4,633.7	93	591
South--Western	275	5,105	39.7	1,721.4	43	337
Northern	301	9,864	62.3	1,865.8	30	189

Source: own study based on the Central Statistical Office data.

Table 3.4. Percentage of gminas by the rural population in individual macroregions in 2004-2010

Macroregions	Rural population number in the gmina			
	below 5,000	5,000-6,999	7,000-9,999	above 10,000
	Figures in columns add up to 100			
2004				
Total	**35.2**	**27.9**	**22.1**	**14.8**
Central-Western	29.3	34.7	24.6	11.4
Central-Eastern	44.3	28.3	19.2	8.2
South--Eastern	18.1	23.6	27.4	30.9
South--Western	40.0	28.0	21.5	10.5
Northern	44.9	26.6	17.9	10.6
2010				
Total	36.3	26.6	20.7	16.4
Central-Western	29.6	32.9	23.1	14.4
Central-Eastern	46.7	26.8	16.6	9.9
South--Eastern	18.6	23.1	26.6	31.7
South--Western	40.0	27.3	21.1	11.6
Northern	45.5	24.6	17.6	12.3

Source: own study based on the Central Statistical Office data.

In 2010 there were over 53.8 thousand rural localities. In total, there were 278 people per rural locality in 2010. This indicator was at the same level as in 2005. The rural localities with the largest populations were concentrated in the southern regions of Poland (the South-Eastern and South-Western macroregions) whereas the ones with the smallest populations were located within the territory of the Northern macroregion, where this indicator equalled 189, and within the territory of the Central-Eastern macroregion (the average of 201 people in one rural locality).

A general increase in the population number of Poland has been observed since 2008. Such a situation results first of all from the natural increase, as a result of which the population of Poland at the end of 2010 amounted to 38,200 thousand people, increasing in relation to the previous year by 32.7 thousand people, i.e. by 0.09%. As a result of external migrations, the population of Poland decreased by 2.1 thousand people. It should be pointed out that the population growth took place solely within rural areas, where the population increased by 46.5 thousand in 2010 (in relation to 2009, the rural population increased by 0.31%) and equalled 14,935.6 thousand inhabitants. On the other hand, a decrease in the population of the cities has been observed for several years. The

population within those areas in 2010 decreased by 13.8 thousand, i.e. –0.06%. Therefore, in 2010 they were inhabited by 23,264.4 thousand people, which represented 60.9% of the total population.

As already mentioned before, the rural areas are inhabited by a large percentage of Poland's population. In 2010, 63.2% of the total rural population has reached the working age. This percentage has increased since 2005 by 3.2 percentage points, and hence the percentage of children and teenagers in the age structure of the rural population has decreased to 21.2% while the population of post-working age remained at a similar level. The age structure of the inhabitants of rural areas was similar in each of the mentioned macroregions (Table 3.5).

Table 3.5. Population of working and non-working age in rural areas in 2005-2010 by macroregions

Macroregions	Total population	Including the population		
		of pre-working age	of working age	of post-working age
	in thousand	in percentage of the total		
Total 2005	14697.2	24.5	60.0	15.5
2010	**14935.7**	**21.2**	**63.2**	**15.6**
Central-Western	2228.8	22.2	64.1	13.6
Central-Eastern	4385.5	20.6	61.6	17.9
South--Eastern	4587.8	21.0	62.9	16.1
South--Western	1692.7	19.6	65.5	14.9
Northern	1802.4	23.1	64.4	12.5

Source: own study based on the Central Statistical Office data.

Disadvantageous changes pertaining to the age dependency ratio were also recorded within those areas. In 2010, there were 100 people of working age per 58 people of non-working age. This value decreased from 65 people in 2005. The situation is more advantageous in the cities since in 2010 this ratio equalled 55 people and thus slightly decreased from the level of 56 people in 2005.

No major changes were observed as regards the relation in terms of numbers between the group of women and men. In 2010, a disadvantageous population structure by gender prevailed in cities (the feminisation ratio amounted to 111.2 within those areas). There were comparable relations in terms of numbers for men and women within rural areas (the feminisation ratio amounted to 101.0). There are noticeable differences in terms of feminisation ratio in the distinguished population age groups between the two concentrations (between the urban and rural areas). A relatively high surplus of men in relation to the number of women within rural areas prevails in the age group below 60, and women have an advantage over the group of men in terms of numbers as late as in the older (senior) age groups. On the other hand, the advantage in terms of numbers in the urban environment can be observed in the population group covering people aged 25-29, where there are 99.6 women per 100 men. A clearly higher number of women when compared to the number of men can be seen in the 45-49 age group and the next five-year age groups.

According to the data of the general agricultural census PSR 2010, there were 2,305.4 thousand people (including 1,111.4 thousand women) who worked solely or mainly in agricultural holdings in 2010. A clear lack of opportunities (or insignificant opportunities) for non-agricultural employment is outlined within rural areas. It is also of major importance that a considerable improvement in the educational attainment of the rural population has been observed in Poland in the last decade. Hence, the percentage of women with higher and postgraduate education within rural areas increases noticeably as well. The use of that potential is essential, particularly because, as already mentioned before, there are no opportunities for non-agricultural employment (or such opportunities are limited). Not only in Poland, this situation translates into a substantial percentage of the unemployed in all age groups (Table 3.6) and also a high level of latent unemployment, in particular in the case of women in rural areas. Such a situation often leads to employment on positions that are not compliant with the qualifications.

It is also typical for the rural population of working age that they commute to work beyond the place of residence, which is frequently the only way to find a job. Thus, rural areas feature a surplus of labour force in agriculture and a deficiency of jobs outside agriculture. However, a successive increase in the population number of rural areas translates into a reversal of the outward migration trends of the population from rural areas. A positive net migration for the rural areas occurred in the recent years, but it should be emphasised that the positive balance applies to internal migrations (Table 3.7).

Table 3.6. The unemployed in rural areas in 2010 by macroregions and sex

Macroregions	Poland in thousand	Including the unemployed in rural areas					
		% of total	age (in thousand)				
			24 and below	25-34	35-44	45-54	55 and over
Total	1,954.7	**43.8**	232.2	247.3	155.4	153.7	68
Central-Western	274.6	**46.0**	35.9	36.7	23.4	21.5	8.8
Central-Eastern	553.4	**42.5**	65.8	69.8	40.6	39.8	19.3
South--Eastern	547.8	**45.8**	71.8	74.0	46.2	42.5	16.2
South--Western	258.3	**38.4**	22.9	27.1	17.5	20.6	11
Northern	320.6	**45.3**	35.5	39.8	27.7	29.4	12.6
Including women in %							
Total	51.9	**52.0**	54.3	58.0	55.0	47.0	26.5
Central-Western	55.1	**55.9**	58.2	61.3	58.1	50.7	29.5
Central-Eastern	49.0	**48.5**	51.1	54.9	50.2	43.2	23.8
South--Eastern	52.6	**52.0**	52.6	57.7	55.8	46.6	25.3
South--Western	52.3	**52.6**	59.0	60.1	55.4	47.1	27.3
Northern	52.7	**53.8**	56.9	59.5	57.4	50.0	29.4

Source: own study based on the Central Statistical Office data.

Table 3.7. Migrations for permanent residence and natural change in rural areas in 2005-2010 (per 1000 inhabitants)

Specification	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Natural change	0.3	0.6	0.8	1.5	1.2	1.4
Net internal migration	2.2	2.4	3.2	2.6	2.8	3.1
Net international migration	-0.2	-0.7	-0.4	-0.3	0.0	0.0
Total net migration	2.0	1.7	2.8	2.3	2.8	3.1

Source: own study based on the Central Statistical Office data.

On the other hand, the outflow of population from rural areas abroad is higher. According to the CSO forecast, those trends will prevail in the coming years as well[79].

3.2. International migrations

In total in Poland in the period in question (2005-2010), according to the CSO data[80], there were approximately 30 thousand emigrants from Poland (they de-registered their permanent stay) on average per year. There were much fewer immigrants to Poland (who registered for permanent residence) – on average 12 thousand people per year within the period in question (Table 3.8).

Table 3.8. Migration for permanent residence in Poland in 2005-2010 (in thousands)

Specification	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
	International migrations					
Poland						
Immigration	**9.4**	**10.8**	**15.0**	**15.3**	**17.4**	**15.3**
Emigration	**22.2**	**46.9**	**35.5**	**30.1**	**18.6**	**17.4**
Net international migration	-12.8	-36.1	-20.5	-14.8	-1.2	-2.1
Rural areas						
Immigration	**2.7**	**2.9**	**4.4**	**4.4**	**5.1**	**4.28**
Emigration	**5. 2**	**12.9**	**10.7**	**9.1**	**4.8**	**4.2**
Net international migration	-2.4	-10.0	-6.3	-4.8	+0.3	+0.1

Source: own study based on the Central Statistical Office data.

[79] Cf. *Stan i struktura rejestrowanego bezrobocia na wsi w 2011 roku*, Ministerstwo Pracy i Polityki Społecznej, Departament Rynku Pracy, Wydział Analiz i Statystyki, Warsaw, May 2012, www.stat.gov.pl.

[80] One of the data source on the basis of which CSO informs about two migration streams, i.e. emigration and immigration from/to Poland, is represented by the data from the register of acts of changing the address for a permanent residence (i.e. registration for a permanent residence means that a given person acquires the rights of a permanent citizen of a country). An emigrant is defined in that base as a person that changes their address for a permanent residence in order to permanently leave for another state, and an immigrant is a person that has registered with Poland for a permanent residence. According to the adopted definition, immigration covers both the citizens of Poland who come back from emigration and foreigners who settled in Poland. Quoted from: *Sytuacja demograficzna Polski*, Raport 2010-2011, Rządowa Rada Ludnościowa, Warsaw 2011, p. 159.

In 2005-2010 approximately 7.8 thousand emigrated from rural areas (de-registered their permanent residence) while the opposite migration applied to 3.9 thousand people. The decreasing number of migrations abroad after 2006 should be associated with the deteriorating economic situation worldwide. However, it should be stressed that in the two last decades that were covered by the analysis, the number of emigrants and immigrants was at a similar level, hence the migration balance was at such a low level.

The highest negative migration balance was featured in 2006, when the total migration balance amounted to 36 thousand persons and 10 thousand in rural areas.

The inflow of workers[81] from abroad to Poland takes place simultaneously with the outflow of Poles. At the end of 2010, 97 thousand foreigners had valid residence cards in Poland, 28.4 thousand of whom were the citizens of Ukraine, 12.5 thousand Russians, 8.9 thousand Belarussians and 8.5 thousand Vietnamese. Over 37,000 work permits were issued in 2010. This means there were 7,700 more permit than in 2009. Most work permits were issued to the Ukrainians – 13.1 thousand, citizens of China – 6.3 thousand, Vietnam – 2.2 thousand, Belarus – 1.9 thousand, but also to Turks – 1.5 thousand. However, most foreigners received their work permit from the Voivode of the Mazowieckie Voivodeship, and hence they were employed mainly in the Warsaw agglomeration[82].

It should be pointed out that the immigration of workers brings benefits with it both for the host country for the incoming people as they constitute a supplementation of the deficiencies present on the labour market and for the country of origin, where the situation improves due to the "transfer of unemployment" or the funds received by their family members who stayed in their country.

The emigrants from rural areas in the analysed period, just like on the scale of the entire country, most often preferred to leave for one of the three countries: two from the Old EU, i.e. Germany and Great Britain and the United States of America. 2005 was an exception as the prevailing destination for permanent settlement was Norway (Table 3.9).

[81] The foreigners may be employed in Poland on the basis of residence cards or visas, but they have to legalise their residence within the territory of Poland (apart from a travel visa, transit visa, a visa issued because of temporary protection, humanitarian visa or a visa issued in the interest of the state or as an international obligation). At the same time, the foreign employees to be have to have a work permit or an opportunity to carry out the work without the necessity to obtain a work permit. Quoted from: www.forummigracyjne.org.

[82] *Sytuacja demograficzna Polski*, Report 2010-2011, Rządowa Rada Ludnościowa, Warsaw 2011, p. 174-175.

Table 3.9. Interantional migrations for permanent residence of the population by continents and countries in 2005-2010 (emigration)

Specification	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total 2005--2010
Poland							
Total	**22242**	**46936**	**35480**	**30140**	**18620**	**17360**	170778
Europe	18416	41221	31163	25710	15726	14651	146887
EU (15)	18047	40446	30229	24706	15137	13997	142562
Including rural areas							
Total	**5162**	**12855**	**10701**	**9088**	**4754**	**4175**	**46735**
Europe	**4626**	**11832**	**9706**	**8074**	**4152**	**3754**	**42144**
Austria	72	340	321	220	117	115	1185
Belgium	20	86	105	98	67	87	463
France	31	107	126	140	85	52	541
Spain	15	170	146	113	68	66	578
Ireland	42	598	505	312	97	71	1625
Netherlands	54	334	324	324	183	178	1397
Germany	108	4890	5284	4605	2600	2352	19839
Norway	3656	57	82	111	42	40	3988
Sweden	34	123	109	108	78	65	517
UK	441	4656	2194	1451	522	479	9743
Italy	69	216	236	277	147	139	1084
Asia	**3**	**31**	**11**	**7**	**1**	**7**	**60**
Africa	**3**	**21**	**9**	**4**	**7**	**3**	**47**
Northern and Middle America	**510**	**912**	**945**	**961**	**558**	**391**	**4277**
Canada	135	198	160	185	107	108	893
USA	372	710	781	773	451	277	3364
South America	**2**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**8**
Australia and Oceania	**18**	**58**	**29**	**41**	**34**	**18**	**198**
Australia	17	50	27	38	31	17	180

Source: own study based on the Central Statistical Office data.

Table 3.10. International migrations of the population for permanent residence by continents and countries in 2005-2010 (immigration)

Specification	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total 2005--2010
Poland							
Total	**9364**	**10802**	**14995**	**15275**	**17424**	**15246**	83106
Europe	6906	8270	12040	12324	14369	12463	66372
EU (15)	4710	6415	10463	10692	12751	10928	55959
Including rural areas							
Total	**2740**	**2902**	**4394**	**4339**	**5046**	**4234**	**23655**
Europe	**2089**	**2258**	**3609**	**3487**	**4262**	**3510**	**19215**
Austria	50	64	91	114	121	107	547
Belarus	86	45	46	42	29	39	287
France	90	97	100	80	83	114	564
Spain	25	44	51	65	105	107	397
Ireland	58	54	152	214	437	388	1303
Netherlands	1074	81	106	136	213	140	1750
Germany	57	1038	1389	1106	1172	946	5708
Norway	0	24	23	24	71	53	195
Sweden	12	15	44	34	48	48	201
Ukraine	312	164	174	184	126	141	1101
UK	94	421	1118	1089	1395	1003	5120
Italy	93	87	113	140	150	172	755
Asia	**122**	**48**	**47**	**87**	**69**	**52**	**425**
Armenia	0	9	6	18	10	10	53
Kazakhstan	61	20	18	22	18	12	151
Vietnam	9	3	6	14	20	5	57
Africa	**14**	**21**	**19**	**19**	**20**	**20**	**113**
Northern and Middle America	**472**	**536**	**680**	**710**	**656**	**616**	**3670**
Canada	68	59	119	91	73	70	480
USA	403	475	555	617	578	546	3174
South America	**12**	**6**	**6**	**8**	**2**	**8**	**42**
Australia and Oceania	**31**	**32**	**31**	**28**	**37**	**26**	**185**
Australia	31	28	27	26	34	24	170

Source: own study based on the Central Statistical Office data.

A study of the Public Opinion Research Center (CBOS)[83] indicates that labour migrations to Germany are usually short and seasonal in their nature. Over a half of the people who worked in the last ten years in Germany (58%) declared that during their last labour migration they were employed for three months or for a shorter period. The situation concerning labour migrations to the Great Britain was slightly different. Those migrations are longer – from over three months to one year. Over one third (37%) of the respondents indicates so. A similar group in terms of numbers worked there for over a year (34%), and nearly 29% of the surveyed people worked there for three months or a shorter period.

The Netherlands and Italy were important destinations for labour migration for the population from Poland as well. A similar situation was observed as regards the immigrants. The largest group of settlers both on the national scale and in rural areas in the entire period in question was constituted by the immigrants from Germany and Great Britain, as well as North America (Table 3.10). It could be stated that a considerable percentage of migrants primarily from the areas in Great Britain is constituted by newborn children of Polish emigrants living there on a permanent basis[84].

There are also migrations of spatial nature. For instance in 2010, over one of third emigrants left the territory of the South-Eastern macroregion, over one fourth came from the South-Western macroregion (Table 3.11). The former macroregion features high agrarian fragmentation and unfavourable condition for agricultural production, which translates, among other things, into high labour-intensity and low labour efficiency. Locally, there is also high level of unemployment in this territory[85]. On the other hand, the location of the South-Western

[83] Cf. *Praca Polaków za granicą*, Komunikat BS/138/2011, CBOS, Warsaw, November 2011, p. 5.

[84] The children that are born in Polish families living abroad on a permanent basis are registered in the Warsaw poviat. In Great Britain, just like in Poland, *ius sanguinis* is in force, which means that a child of a Polish couple born in Great Britain is granted the Polish citizenship and a PESEL number (personal ID), on the basis of which it is registered. In a situation when it is a child of persons who de-registered their permanent stay in Poland, it is recognised in the statistics as an immigrant. According to the British Office for National Statistics, after the accession into the EU, Polish women gave birth in that country to 77,000 children. Cf. *Sytuacja demograficzna Polski*, Report 2010-2011, Rządowa Rada Ludnościowa, Warszawa 2011, p. 160, 161.

[85] Particularly high unemployment level, measured on the basis of the unemployment rate, was featured in the Podkarpackie and Świętokrzyskie Voivodeships, where the unemployment rate largely exceeds the national average. In 2011 it equaled 19.1% in rural areas and 16.5% in towns and cities (Świętokrzyskie) and 18.0% in rural areas and 16.4% in towns and cities (Podkarpackie Voivodeship), with the national average at 12.4%.

macroregion translates into a relatively better accessibility of the labour market in Germany (where 55% of all emigrants from the macroregion moved in 2010).

Table 3.11. International migrations by macroregions, continents and countries in 2010 (emigration) in percentages (vertical structure)

Specification	Total	Macroregions				
		Central-Western	Central-Eastern	South--Eastern	South--Western	Northern
Poland total	17360	1860	2028	6359	4412	2701
Including Poland total = 100						
Europe	**84.4**	**88.6**	**71.0**	**81.7**	**90.4**	**88.0**
Austria	1.9	1.1	1.7	2.9	1.5	1.1
Belgium	1.7	1.7	3.9	1.3	1.1	2.0
France	2.0	3.7	2.6	1.8	1.6	1.2
Spain	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.9	1.2	1.0
Ireland	3.3	3.8	3.5	3.4	2.4	3.7
Netherlands	3.9	5.6	3.6	3.1	4.9	3.3
Germany	39.3	32.1	12.0	39.2	55.2	38.9
Norway	1.7	1.5	2.3	0.9	1.3	4.1
Sweden	2.3	4.4	4.0	1.4	0.9	3.9
UK	20.0	27.5	26.3	18.4	14.8	22.4
Italy	3.1	0.9	4.1	3.8	2.9	2.3
Northern and Middle America	**13.8**	**8.8**	**24.7**	**17.2**	**8.2**	**10.1**
Canada	3.5	2.4	5.7	3.5	3.1	3.4
USA	10.2	6.3	18.5	13.7	5.1	6.7

Source: own study based on the Central Statistical Office data.

The migration destinations in individual macroregions are similar as on the national scale. The predominant one is Germany (it is a particularly popular destination for emigrants from the above-mentioned bordering South-Western macroregion) and Great Britain (Table 3.12).

Nearly 4.2 thousand people emigrated from rural areas in 2010. They represented one fourth of the total number of emigrants. The sex is not the main factor that affects the decision to leave the country. It is of major importance that the unemployment rate for women in Poland is higher than in many European countries. Irrespective of the place of residence, women emigrated slightly more often than men, and men predominated the group of immigrants. The higher percentage of women in the migration stream may be affected by the in-

creased scale of family emigrations[86]. Women were more willing to emigrate to Italy, Austria and Belgium while men mainly to Ireland and Africa (Table 3.13). A conclusion could be drawn that it resulted first of all from the nature of offered or probable jobs in a given country.

Table 3.12. International migrations by macroregions, continents and countries in 2010 (emigration) in percentages (horizontal structure)

Specification	Total	Macroregions				
		Central-Western	Central-Eastern	South--Eastern	South--Western	Northern
Poland total	100.0	**10.7**	**11.7**	**36.6**	**25.4**	**15.6**
Europe	100.0	**11.2**	**9.8**	**35.5**	**27.2**	**16.2**
Austria	100.0	5.9	10.1	55.3	19.8	8.9
Belgium	100.0	10.5	26.7	28.7	15.9	18.2
France	100.0	20.1	15.6	34.2	20.4	9.7
Spain	100.0	11.8	13.6	45.2	19.1	10.3
Ireland	100.0	12.6	12.6	37.9	19.1	17.9
Netherlands	100.0	15.4	10.7	28.8	31.9	13.1
Germany	100.0	8.8	3.6	36.6	35.7	15.4
Norway	100.0	9.2	15.2	19.5	19.1	37.0
Sweden	100.0	20.3	20.5	23.0	10.3	26.0
UK	100.0	14.7	15.4	33.7	18.8	17.5
Italy	100.0	3.2	15.7	45.6	23.9	11.6
Asia	**100.0**	**6.4**	**37.2**	**19.1**	**17.0**	**20.2**
Africa	**100.0**	**18.8**	**25.0**	**9.4**	**18.8**	**28.1**
Northern and Middle America	**100.0**	**6.9**	**20.9**	**45.6**	**15.1**	**11.5**
Canada	100.0	7.4	19.1	36.2	22.2	15.0
USA	100.0	6.6	21.3	49.2	12.7	10.2
South America	**100.0**	**0.0**	**40.0**	**26.7**	**6.7**	**20.0**
Australia and Oceania	**100.0**	**20.0**	**21.7**	**25.7**	**22.3**	**10.3**
Australia	100.0	20.9	21.5	27.6	22.7	7.4

Source: own study based on the Central Statistical Office data.

[86] Cf. *Sytuacja demograficzna Polski*, Report 2010-2011, Rządowa Rada Ludnościowa, Warsaw 2011, p. 160.

Table 3.13. International migrations of the population for permanent residence by sex, continents and countries in 2010 (emigration)

Specification	Poland total	Rural areas			Percentage of women among the migrants	
		% of the total	men	women	in rural areas	in urban areas
Total	**17360**	**24.0**	**1918**	**2257**	**54.1**	**54.1**
Europe	**14651**	**25.6**	**1709**	**2045**	**54.5**	**54.0**
Austria	338	34.0	48	67	58.3	56.1
Belgium	296	29.4	36	51	58.6	59.3
France	339	15.3	22	30	57.7	53.3
Spain	272	24.3	26	40	60.6	49.5
Ireland	565	12.6	42	29	40.8	47.0
Netherlands	680	26.2	93	85	47.8	48.6
Germany	6818	34.5	1074	1278	54.3	57.6
Norway	303	13.2	22	18	45.0	46.8
Sweden	400	16.3	28	37	56.9	54.6
UK	3472	13.8	235	244	50.9	48.6
Italy	535	26.0	43	96	69.1	72.0
Asia	**94**	**7.4**	**3**	**4**	**57.1**	**52.9**
Africa	**32**	**9.4**	**2**	**1**	**33.3**	**44.8**
Northern and Middle America	**2392**	**16.3**	**194**	**197**	**50.4**	**54.8**
Canada	607	17.8	55	53	49.1	54.3
USA	1767	15.7	139	138	49.8	55.2
South America	**15**	**13.3**	**2**	**-**	**-**	**30.8**
Australia and Oceania	**175**	**10.3**	**8**	**10**	**55.6**	**51.6**
Australia	163	10.4	7	10	58.8	52.1

Source: own study based on the Central Statistical Office data.

The most essential factor that determines the decision on migration abroad is represented by the migrants' age. The highest percentage in the group of migrants in 2010 was constituted by persons aged 25-34, in rural areas it was 23.8% and in urban areas 29.5% of the total number of migrants moving abroad. The persons that were still of mobile working age were clearly more mobile than the persons of non-mobile working age – older than 45 (Table 3.14). The migrants moving abroad in 2010 who were aged 25-44 represented in total 47.4% of the total number of emigrants. Nearly 1.8 thousand people in that age group left rural areas. Women were 60% of that group. The age structure of the emigrants by sex and place of residence (Table 3.15) is similar in both groups, both in urban and in rural areas.

Table 3.14. International migrations of the population for permanent residence in 2010 by the place of residence, age and sex of the migrants (emigration)

Emigrants' age	Poland total		Urban areas		Rural areas	
	total	in %	total	Including women in %	total	Including women in %
Total	17360	100.0	13185	54.1	4175	54.1
0-14	2303	13.3	1731	46.5	572	55.6
15-19	1035	6.0	768	36.7	267	32.2
20-24	1385	8.0	987	54.8	398	49.0
25-44	8235	47.4	6444	58.4	1791	60.0
45-64	3745	21.6	2786	51.8	959	48.1
over 65	657	3.8	469	63.1	188	64.9
Including:						
20-44	9620	55.4	7431	57.9	2189	58.0
20-64	14750	85.0	11204	56.1	3546	54.3

Source: own study based on the Central Statistical Office data.

Table 3.15. International migrations of the population for permanent residence in 2010 by the place of residence, age and sex of the migrants (emigration)

Emigrants' age	Urban areas			Rural areas		
	total	men	women	total	men	women
	in %					
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
0-14	13.1	15.3	11.3	13.7	13.2	14.1
15-19	5.8	8.0	4.0	6.4	9.4	3.8
20-24	7.5	7.4	7.6	9.5	10.6	8.6
25-44	48.9	44.3	52.8	42.9	37.3	47.6
45-64	21.1	22.2	20.2	23.0	26.0	20.4
over 65	3.6	2.9	4.2	4.5	3.4	5.4
Including:						
20-44	56.4	51.7	60.4	52.4	47.9	56.3
20-64	85.0	81.2	88.2	84.9	84.5	85.3

Source: own study based on the Central Statistical Office data.

The educational attainment of emigrants also affects to a considerable extent the work experience abroad. The survey by CBOS[87] indicates that several years ago, paid employment outside Poland was still usually taken up by persons with higher education. Currently, the experience of temporary labour migration

[87] Cf. *Praca Polaków za granicą*, Komunikat BS/138/2011, CBOS, Warsaw, listopad 2011, p. 3.

is becoming more popular also for the persons with lower educational attainment since the persons with better education declare a job abroad comparably frequently as the respondents with secondary education or basic vocational education. The percentage of emigrants with higher education among the survey respondents amounted to 16%, with secondary education – to 13% and with basic vocational education to 15%. The barrier that limits labour migrations abroad is constituted by basic education. Barely 5% of the people working abroad were people with basic education.

Foreign migrations are mainly labour migrations. It is affected first of all by increased opportunities of finding a job and attractiveness of salaries in other countries when compared with Poland. A decision for labour migration is taken not only by the unemployed, but also the ones who combine professional activity in the country with a temporary stay abroad[88]. Some want to accumulate the funds to establish or develop an operated business while some emigrants are aimed at one's own professional development, enhancement of qualifications (e.g. in the professional groups such as physicians or scientists). Typical educational migrations can be distinguished, including the commencement of studies or, which is more frequent, studies for several semesters at foreign universities. It was possible due to numerous educational programmes, which became more easily available after Poland's accession into the EU. However, such migrations are marginal. As indicated by the Social Diagnosis, in 2005-2007 and 2007-2011, 0.4% and 0.5% household members respectively left the country for educational purposes. Clearly most of those persons were aged 18-34 (from 74% in 2005-2009 to 67.3% in 2007-2011, which translates into 1.2% and 0.8% respectively of the population aged 18-34). In both discussed periods, women represented a clear majority of the emigrants (62.0%). Those emigrations pertain mainly to the inhabitants of major cities (83-85% of emigrants). Education abroad was taken up first of all by students and graduates of universities, less frequently by persons with secondary education. Relatively frequently, education abroad was combined with commencement of work. It is hard to unambigu-

[88] In the first years after Poland's accession into the EU, labour migrations of Polish workers abroad represented a serious problem for the development of many enterprises. The employers signalled even deficiencies or difficulties associated with recruitment of employees they needed. This problem is nowadays marginal, which is confirmed by the results of the surveys conducted by the National Bank of Poland in November 2009 and in May and November 2010. In the editions to come such signal were reported only by 1.6%, 1.3% and 1.2% surveyed enterprises, as compared with 16.4% in May 2007. Cf. *Sytuacja demograficzna Polski*, Report 2010-2011, Rządowa Rada Ludnościowa, Warsaw 2011, p. 162.

ously determine whether a job was taken up due to high maintenance costs in a given country (insufficient grant awarded) or as a purely gainful activity[89].

As mentioned before, foreign migrations are most temporary. It is of major importance that young citizens of Poland more and more often treat mobility as an opportunity to relocate and to take advantage of the opportunities provided by the EU labour market. And this in turn might translate into new acquired experience and skills, which can be transposed after coming back to the country. Owing to that, the scale of internal migrations might increase, and the effectiveness of allocation of labour resources and the flexibility of the domestic labour market might improve too. In a broader perspective, it provides a opportunity to develop a "circulating" scheme, which assumes readiness to relocate, high adaptability and active response to the needs and opportunities provided by the labour market both in the domestic and international dimension[90].

Nonetheless, as indicated by the Social Diagnosis, the percentage of persons declaring short-term emigration (below 1 year and below 2 years) decreased to a large extent in the survey for 2009 in comparison with 2007. However, the percentage of people declaring a permanent stay abroad increased; currently, an increasingly high percentage of people start to treat emigration as a long-term decision[91].

3.3. Internal migrations

As already mentioned before, the balance of internal migrations in rural areas in the entire period in question (2005-2010) was positive and increased from 32.6 thousand in 2005 to 46 thousand people in 2010 (Table 3.16). Internal migrations were spatially diverse (Table 3.17). The highest migration balance was featured by the Central-Eastern and South-Eastern macroregions (the net migration amounted to 11.6 thousand and 12.3 thousand people respectively).

Out of 422.6 thousand people in total in 2010 nationwide, most relocated from urban to rural areas (139.7 thousand people) and from urban areas to other urban areas (126.5 thousand people) – Table 3.17 and Table 3.18. There were slightly fewer migrants who headed in the other directions: from rural to urban areas and from rural areas to other rural areas.

[89] Cf. *Diagnoza Społeczna 2011, Warunki i jakość życia Polaków*. Report, eds. J. Czapiński, T. Panek, Rada Monitoringu Społecznego, Warsaw 2011, p. 99-100.
[90] Cf. *Polska 2030. Wyzwania rozwojowe*, ed. M. Boni, Kancelaria Prezesa Rady Ministrów, Warsaw, 17 November 2011, p. 80.
[91] Cf. *Diagnoza Społeczna 2011, Warunki i jakość życia Polaków*. Report, eds. J. Czapiński, T. Panek, Rada Monitoringu Społecznego, Warsaw 2011, p. 143.

Table 3.16. Migrations of the population for permanent residence and in rural areas in 2005-2010
(in thousand)

Specification	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
	Internal migrations between urban and rural areas					
Inflow	130.2	146.2	164.5	192.6	194.2	202.3
Outflow	97.6	111.1	116.6	153.7	153.1	156.4
Net internal migrations	32.6	35.1	47.9	38.9	41.1	46.0

Source: own study based the Central Statistical Office data.

Table 3.17. Migrations for permanent residence in 2010 in macroregions and previous place of residence

Macroregions	Total	Migration directions				Net migration in macroregions in urban areas
		from rural to urban areas	from urban to rural areas	from urban to urban areas	from rural to rural areas	
Total	**322090**	**73379**	**120166**	**77382**	**51163**	**-46787**
Central-Western	52442	12820	22028	8244	9350	-9208
Central-Eastern	91804	21234	33550	21645	15375	-12316
South--Eastern	81652	14869	27220	25454	14109	-12351
South--Western	44369	11167	17863	9895	5444	-6696
Northern	51823	13289	19505	12144	6885	-6216

Source: own study based the Central Statistical Office data.

A similar trend of internal migrations of the population in the country took place in the territorial view. Most people migrated from urban to rural areas in each of the distinguished macroregions as a result of internal migrations, and hence the net migration in the cities was negative. Over a half of the migrants in each of the distinguished groups were women. The highest percentage of women moved from rural to rural areas and from rural to urban areas. In total, the migration balance in the urban areas for men amounted to -26.2 thousand people and in case of women it was -19.8 thousand. Women made up over a half of the migrants in each of the distinguished macroregions (Table 3.18, Table 3.19 and Table 3.21). People were most willing to migrate from urban areas with a popu-

lation number ranging from 20 thousand to 49.9 thousand and from 100 thousand to 199.9 thousand (Table 3.20).

Table 3.18. International migrations of the rural population for permanent residence in 2010 by the previous place of residence

Macroregions	Total	Migration directions				Net migration in urban areas
		from rural to urban areas	from urban to rural areas	from urban to urban areas	from rural to rural areas	
Men	194,036	41,185	67,339	58,329	27,183	-26,154
Women	228,585	52,600	72,397	68,199	35,389	-19,797
Women in %	54.1	56.1	51.8	53.9	56.6	x
Total	**422,621**	**93,785**	**139,736**	**126,528**	**62,572**	**-45,951**

Source: own study based the Central Statistical Office data.

Table 3.19. Internal migrations for permanent residence in 2010 by the migrants' sex and macroregions (Poland total)

Macroregions	Inflow		Outflow		Net migration		
	Total	Including women (%)	Total	Including women (%)	Total	Men	Women
Total	**422,621**	**54.1**	**422,621**	**54.1**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Central-Western	65,292	54.1	65,029	53.9	263	3	260
Central-Eastern	124,568	55.2	120,121	55.1	4,447	1,973	2,474
South--Eastern	105,649	53.7	109,710	53.6	-4,061	-1,985	-2,076
South--Western	59,057	53.6	58,623	53.8	434	311	123
Northern	68,055	53.1	69,138	53.4	-1,083	-302	-781

Source: own study based the Central Statistical Office data.

Table 3.20. Internal migrations of the rural population to urban areas for permanent residence in 2010 by the town/city size and migrants' sex

Total	Including the migrations to towns/cities with a population number							
	below 2000	2000--4999	5000--9999	10000--19999	20000--49999	50000--99999	100000--199999	200000 and more
in numbers								
Total								
93785	529	5886	7572	14071	21216	14854	15698	13959
Men								
41185	237	2655	3409	6231	9389	6512	6756	5996
Women								
52600	292	3231	4163	7840	11827	8342	8942	7963
in percentages								
Total								
100,0	0.6	6.3	8.1	15.0	22.6	15.8	16.7	14.9
Men								
100,0	0.6	6.4	8.3	15.1	22.8	15.8	16.4	14.6
Women								
100,0	0.6	6.1	7.9	14.9	22.5	15.9	17.0	15.1

Source: own study based the Central Statistical Office data.

From among the distinguished migration directions and age groups, the highest percentage of both women and men concerned the population of mobile working age. 142.7 thousand women and 109.3 thousand men of mobile working age in total changed their place of residence in 2010, which corresponded to 62.4% migrants in the case of women and 56.3% of migrating men. Women aged 18-24 were also relatively mobile: -15.5% of women, which might be associated with the commencement of education at universities. 8.8% of migrating men were in that age group (Table 3.21 and Table 3.22). The net migration in urban areas was negative in each of the distinguished age groups.

Table 3.21. Internal migrations of women for permanent residence in 2010 by directions and distinguished age groups

Women aged	Total	Inflow to urban areas			Inflow to rural areas			Net migration in urban areas
		Total	from urban areas	from rural areas	Total	from urban areas	from rural areas	
Total	**228585**	**120799**	**68199**	**52600**	**107786**	**72397**	**35389**	**-19797**
0-14	44066	20659	10813	9846	23407	15925	7482	-6079
15-17	4651	1966	1023	943	2685	1994	691	-1051
0-17	48717	22625	11836	10789	26092	17919	8173	-7130
18-24	35487	16954	8101	8853	18533	8886	9647	-33
25-44	107181	61853	35777	26076	45328	30844	14484	-4768
18-44	142668	78807	43878	34929	63861	39730	24131	-4801
45-60	21013	9620	6238	3382	11393	9758	1635	-6376
above 60	16187	9747	6247	3500	6440	4990	1450	-1490
In percentages:								
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
0-14	19.3	17.1	15.9	18.7	21.7	22.0	21.1	
15-17	2.0	1.6	1.5	1.8	2.5	2.8	2.0	
0-17	21.3	18.7	17.4	20.5	24.2	24.8	23.1	
18-24	15.5	14.0	11.9	16.8	17.2	12.3	27.3	
25-44	46.9	51.2	52.5	49.6	42.1	42.6	40.9	
18-44	62.4	65.2	64.3	66.4	59.2	54.9	68.2	
45-60	9.2	8.0	9.1	6.4	10.6	13.5	4.6	
above 60	7.1	8.1	9.2	6.7	6.0	6.9	4.1	

Source: own study based the Central Statistical Office data.

Table 3.22. Internal migrations of men for permanent residence in 2010 by directions and distinguished age groups

Men aged	Total	Inflow to urban areas			Inflow to rural areas			Net migration in urban areas
		Total	from urban areas	from rural areas	Total	from urban areas	from rural areas	
Total	**194036**	**99514**	**58329**	**41185**	**94522**	**67339**	**27183**	**-26154**
0-14	46340	21735	11530	10205	24605	16842	7763	-6637
15-17	4529	1796	973	823	2733	2081	652	-1258
0-17	50869	23531	12503	11028	27338	18923	8415	-7895
18-24	17134	8446	4500	3946	8688	5487	3201	-1541
25-44	92167	51333	30823	20510	40834	28306	12528	-7796
18-44	109301	59779	35323	24456	49522	33793	15729	-9337
45-64	27318	12381	8084	4297	14937	12528	2409	-8231
above 65	6548	3823	2419	1404	2725	2095	630	-691
19-24	15011	7530	4022	3508	7481	4576	2905	-1068
In percentages:								
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
0-14	23.9	21.8	19.8	24.8	26.0	25.0	28.6	
15-17	2.3	1.8	1.7	2.0	2.9	3.1	2.4	
0-17	26.2	23.6	21.4	26.8	28.9	28.1	31.0	
18-24	8.8	8.5	7.7	9.6	9.2	8.1	11.8	
25-44	47.5	51.6	52.8	49.8	43.2	42.0	46.1	
18-44	56.3	60.1	60.6	59.4	52.4	50.2	57.9	
45-64	14.1	12.4	13.9	10.4	15.8	18.6	8.9	
above 65	3.4	3.8	4.1	3.4	2.9	3.1	2.3	

Source: own study based the Central Statistical Office data.

Chapter 4
Mobility of rural families

In 2011, again the field research covered 76 villages from different regions of the country, which constituted 0.18 % of total settlements. Places to be researched was selected purposely to reflect the actual socio-economic features of the countryside, especially the area structure of total individual agricultural holdings. In total the research covered about 8.5 thousand rural families[92], including about 3.3 thousand families with a person maintaining agricultural holding with the area of above 1 ha of agricultural land[93].

Therefore, similar to previous years, there were all the households in the selected village. In general terms they constituted 0.18% of all the rural households. There were several, but relatively small spatial differences (Map 1) that have no significant impact on the credibility of collected information.

The principle of sampling for optimal adjustment to agricultural structure within selected macroregions with simultaneous norm of research of all the families from the selected villages meant that the selected villages show mainly processes of agricultural nature in rural areas. However, due to its range, the collected material allows for presentation of transformations in rural areas, tendencies and mechanisms of changes.

Information was gathered from the respondents by means of a questionnaire[94] with participation of interviewer, whose role is to question in the closest possible way and to collect the answers. It means that the interviewers are in fact a highly sensitive and precise research instrument.

The study is aimed at initial analysis of research on rural population mobility. At the same time the study not only provides the information about the scale of the phenomenon, but also shows the main directions and reasons of spatial and socio-occupational migration in 2005-2011 and socio-demographic features of emigrants.

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[92] According to the CSO a household is a group of people living together and maintaining themselves jointly (not necessarily related or in formal relationship). Alone people or living with other people, but maintaining by themselves create separate, one-person households. *Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Poland*, 2010, CSO, Warsaw, p. 190. Such definition was also used in the field research of IAFE-NRI and it is equated with term "family".

[93] A natural person's agricultural holding from 1 ha of agricultural land is called an individual agricultural holding – see J. St. Zegar, *Struktura polskiego rolnictwa rodzinnego pod koniec pierwszej dekady XXI wieku*, IAFE-NRI, Warsaw 2009, p. 26.

[94] In the field research separate survey forms were used: for families with person maintaining individual agricultural holding (Family and farm) and for others, i.e. without land or with land smaller than 1 ha of agricultural land (Non-farming family).

It should be noted that this is not an overall analysis of the material gathered during the field research. The focus of this study was on population from the so called eliminated questionnaires, i.e. people from the households surveyed in 2005, which could not be surveyed in 2011. This group amounted to 1,211 families and constituted above 14% of total households covered by the research in 2005. It should be added that in this population there were mostly families without agricultural holding (non-farming) and they constituted above 57% of all the rural households, which left the research in 2005-2011.

When establishing mechanisms indicating "a drop" of rural families, a group of those, which ceased to exist as a result of death of all people of the farm, was excluded. It was relatively large group, because it covered above 38% of decreased families[95]. It concerned mainly one-person families. Moreover, in almost 31% of cases such elimination was conditioned by emigration of the whole family and the same number of cases was related to change of socio--occupational status (change for non-farming family or the opposite). Thus, inference concern only this group of people, whose emigration contributed to the elimination of the previous family status or to the emigration from the studied village. Migrants from existing households and newcomers are not covered by the research. However, it does not depreciate the cognitive value concerning migration processes in rural areas. The gathered information concerning socio--demographic features of mobile people, their work place before migration and current and main reasons of change of socio-professional status or place of living sufficiently show basic mechanisms of this phenomenon. Moreover, due to the specific nature of the research on mobility of population, this segment covers only 15 years old people and older. It means that detailed record on socio--demographic features, direction, reasons and character of migration concern whole families and each member of the family, who is 15 years old or older.

In total the research covered population from 744 households, i.e. almost 9% of total families surveyed in 2005. In this population farming families[96] constituted 59%. The sample covered 1,941 people, which means that the average

[95] Data shows that with regard to the families not maintaining the agricultural holding it was significantly larger group, because in 2005-2011 57% of non-farming families ceased to exist naturally. In case of families connected with the agricultural holding the similar factor amounted almost to 11%. These differences were determined by relatively large share of older people in group of non-farming families. That results from the fact that farmers after the end of their professional activity provided their workplace to the successor and created a separate household.

[96] In the paper two names of family are used interchangeably: farming family, maintaining the agricultural holding and with a person maintaining the agricultural holding.

number of family members was 2.6 person and 8% of the analysed population were at least 15 years old people covered by the previous research.

4.1. Mobility of farming families

In 2005-2011 the research was left (as a result of change of status or migration) by 438 families maintaining agricultural holdings in 2005. They constituted less than 12% of all the farming families surveyed in 2005. These families included 1,250 people, i.e. 10% of farming population of 15 years old or people older covered by the survey in 2005.

The research shows that migrations of families with a person maintaining agricultural holding were common, because they appeared in most of the studied villages[97] and covered families with different sizes of farms. As before, the most mobile families were those maintaining relatively small units[98] (up to 5 ha of agricultural land), especially the smallest ones (1-2 ha of agricultural land). Over the analysed period the group lost 17% of farms, while among relatively large spatial units, i.e. above 30 ha of agricultural land, the similar share amounted to less than 7%. These differences should be considered as positive from the perspective of agrarian changes in the Polish agriculture.

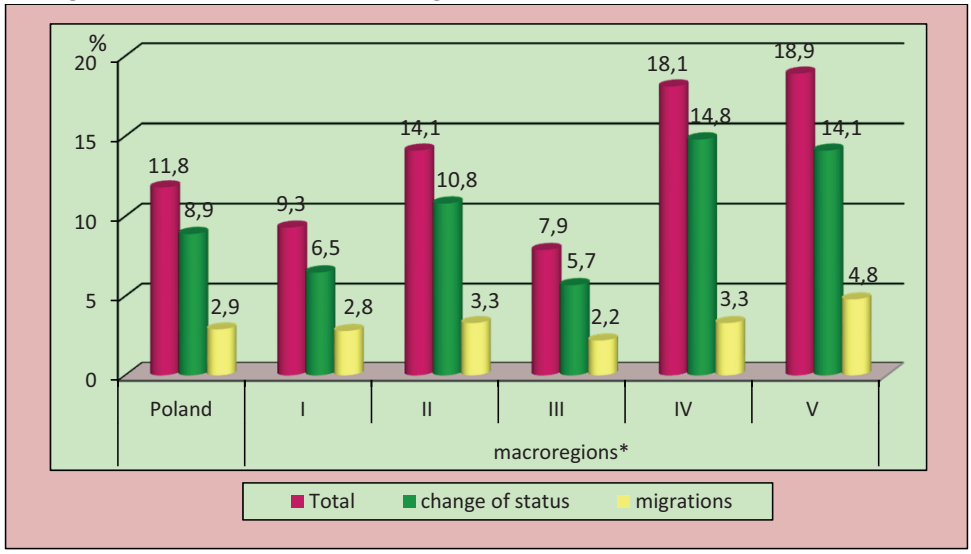
Data about the decrease of farming families by macroregions reported that during the analysed period families characterized with the largest spatial and socio-occupational mobility were those maintaining the agricultural holding in South-West and North macroregions. This phenomenon concerned about 18-19% of families with a person maintaining the agricultural holding in 2005. The smallest mobility of farming families was in South-East macroregion, because this process covered almost 8% of farming families existing in this region in 2005.

Information concerning mobility of families maintaining an agricultural holding divided in social and spatial mobility clearly indicate that the intensity of these processes varied considerably. Moreover, the tendency to leave agriculture without change of place of living prevailed (Figure 4.1).

[97] The survey shows that in 2005-2011 only in 6.6% of studied villages no farming family registered in 2005 emigrated or changed social status.

[98] See A. Sikorska, *Przemiany w strukturze agrarnej gospodarstw chłopskich*, IAFE-NRI, Warsaw 2006, p.16.

Figure 4.1. A decrease of farming families from the research in 2005-2011



*Designations of macroregions and voivodeships, as map 1.
Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2005 and 2011.

In 2005-2011 the scope of spatial mobility of farming population in the studied villages was relatively small, because almost 3% of farming families surveyed in 2005 left the villages. Moreover, the intensity of this process was relatively territorially little-diversified. Nevertheless, there were more migrations among farming families in the North macroregion than in other parts of the country, where the intensity of emigration fluctuated around the average of the country (Figure 4.1).

Contrary to spatial mobility of families with a person maintaining the agricultural holding, their socio-occupational mobility was significantly higher. About 9% of farming families surveyed in 2005 joined the group of non-farming households during the last research. They constituted about 39% of total new non-farming families[99]. On the basis of the results of the field research conducted earlier and in 2011, it should be stated that the intensity of change of social status of families with a person maintaining the agricultural holding raised. In 1996-2000 on average 1.2% of farming families decreased yearly as a result of social mobility. During the next studied period, i.e. in 2000-2005 the pace of transformation of farming families into non-farming households decreased to almost 1.1% and in 2005-2011 it increased to 1.5%.

[99] A new family was a household created in the period between the subsequent researches.

However, the aforementioned phenomenon of social mobility of farming families appeared in the whole country, only its intensity significantly varied in macroregions. It should be attributed to territorial differences on general level of economic development and regional differences in agricultural and rural structures. The process of change of family status due to the elimination of agricultural holding was the most intense in South-West and North region, where 14-15% of families, which had individual agricultural holdings in 2005, transferred the land and joined the group of non-farming families. This situation should be connected with the transformation process in the economic situation of the individual agriculture in this area. In North and South-West macro-region the development processes in agricultural sector were taking place mainly due to creation of large and specialised agricultural holdings[100]. The owners of units, which were economically sidelined more often than in other areas were likely to dispose a land (sale or mainly lease) and change status for non-farming (or leave the village). Simultaneously, economically strong agricultural holdings were taken over by the successors and previous users, when they retired, created a non-farming family. This factor was noticeable especially in North macroregion, where almost a half of new non-farming families previously maintained agricultural households. They were mainly farmers, who ended their professional activity in agriculture.

In 2005-2011 the social mobility of farming population was less marked in South-East macroregion, where previous transformations in agricultural and rural structures contributed to consolidation of agrarian fragmentation[101] and resulted in limitation of function of an agricultural holding to self-supply in agricultural articles or family settlements[102].

The process of migration of farming families to the group of non-farming households is one of the significant features of socio-economic structure transformation of rural households. It should be attributed to start work other than agriculture (without leaving the place of living) and to the inflow of people whose income is rent and pension. It is difficult to clearly state, what were the main reasons of social mobility of the studied farming families. To what extent they were connected with diversification of professional activity of farming population and changes in

[100] See: B. Karwat-Woźniak, *Gospodarstwa wysokotowarowe w rolnictwie chłopskim*. Synteza wyników badań 2005-2009, Report of the Multi-Annual Programme 2005-2009, Report no 151, IAFE-NRI, Warsaw 2009, p. 23.
[101] See: A. Sikorska, *Przemiany w strukturze* … op. cit. p. 10, 14.
[102] See: B. Karwat-Woźniak, *Przeobrażenia w strukturach społeczno-produkcyjnych wsi i rolnictwa w warunkach integracji z UE w świetle badań terenowych*, paper presented on 17th of October 2012 in Kraków on the IVth Cracow Agricultural Economists Seminar.

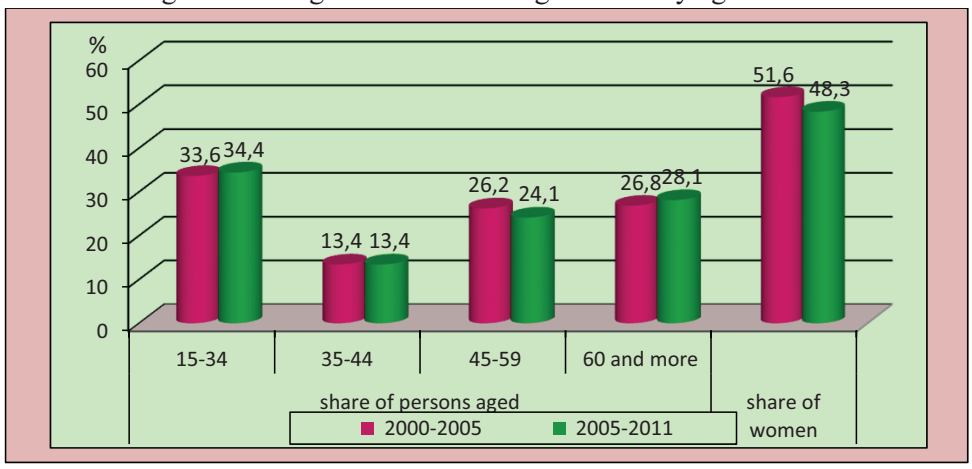
employment allocation or completion of agricultural activity and retirement, because often these factors were related and, moreover, their impact depended not only on the situation on the labour market, features and professional aspirations of migrants, but also on the development level of agriculture.

4.1.1. Socio-demographic characteristics of migrants from farming families

The analysis of the age structure of people who left agricultural holdings in years 2005-11 shows that both in the discussed period and earlier the most mobile persons were the relatively young ones[103].

Similarly to the earlier research, the largest group (approximately 34%) of the total number of migrants from farming families in years 2005-11 was composed of persons aged under 34 (Figure 4.2.). Such a large share of relatively young persons in the number of migrants from farming families should be associated with the fact that such decisions are usually made by persons who start their professional activity. Moreover, a relatively large group was also composed of people aged over 60, whose share accounted for approximately 28%. This results from the fact that mobile population includes persons who did not relocate but ended their agricultural activity and thus their previous social and professional status changed. Such persons did not leave the analysed village but became a new non-farming family or "joined" the families of their children or other relatives.

Figure 4.2. Migrants from farming families by age and sex

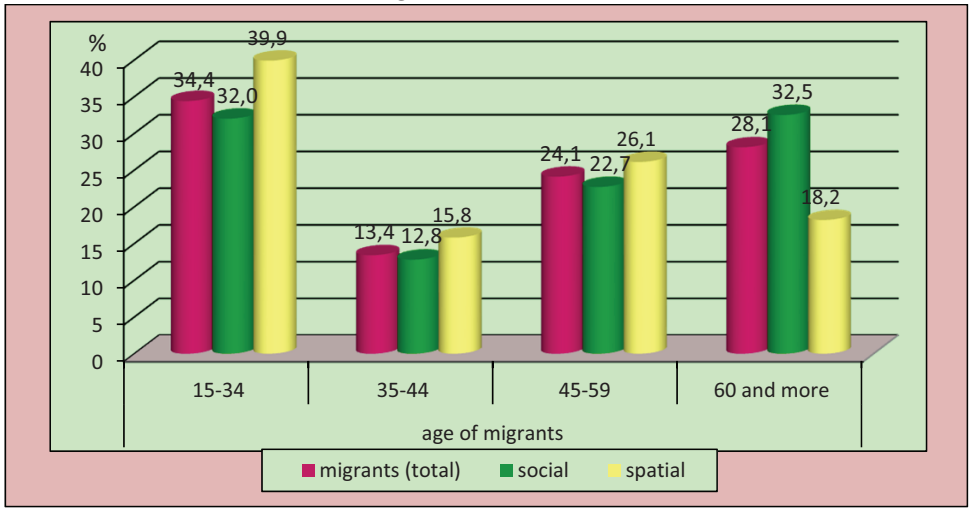


Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2005 and 2011.

[103] see A. Szemberg, *Przestrzenna mobilność ludności w latach 1996-2000*, Warsaw 2003, p. 6.

Certain differences in the age structure of migrants appeared in their distribution by pattern of their mobility (Figure 4.3.). However, it should be pointed out that general differences in the demographic structure of the population which left the analysed locations and social migrants were relatively small. This does not change the fact that in general emigrants were relatively younger than persons who liquidated their agricultural holdings and who are at present considered non-farming families. Such differences mostly related to the lower share of persons aged over 60 (18% against 33%) and higher share of persons aged under 34 (40% against 32%). With regard to persons from other age groups distinguished for research purposes, the differences between the compared migrant groups were relatively small, accounting for approximately 3 percentage points.

Figure 4.3. Migrants from farming families by age and pattern of migration in 2005-2011



Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2005 and 2011.

According to the analysis of demographic structure of migrants from agricultural families, it was spatially diversified (Table 4.1.).

In relative terms, the greatest differences were observed with regard to persons aged under 34. In this age group, the extreme values are 32-33% in the Central-Western, Central-Eastern and South-Western macroregions and 42% in the Northern macroregion. Smaller differences regarded the share of persons aged 59+ and between 35 and 44 years old. The lowest share of persons aged 35-44 was reported in the group of migrants from agricultural families in the Northern macroregion (10%), and the highest share was observed in the Central-Eastern macroregion (15%.) At the same time, the former macroregion was

characterised by the lowest share of persons aged 60+ (24%). The highest number of old-age persons was reported in the Central-Western macroregion, where persons aged 60+ accounted for approximately 31% of the total number of migrants from farming families.

Table 4.1. Spatial differences in the demographic structure of migrants from farming families in years 2005-2011

Macroregions	The share of persons aged				The share of women in the total number of migrants
	under 34	35-44	45-56	over 60	
	total=100				
Total	34.4	13.4	24.1	28.1	48.3
Central-Western	32.3	13.1	23.4	30.6	45.2
Central-Eastern	32.7	14.6	23.8	28.9	48.7
South-Eastern	36.4	12.4	24.4	26.8	48.5
South-Western	32.9	13.2	25.0	28.9	51.3
Northern	42.0	10.0	24.0	24.0	45.0

Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2011.

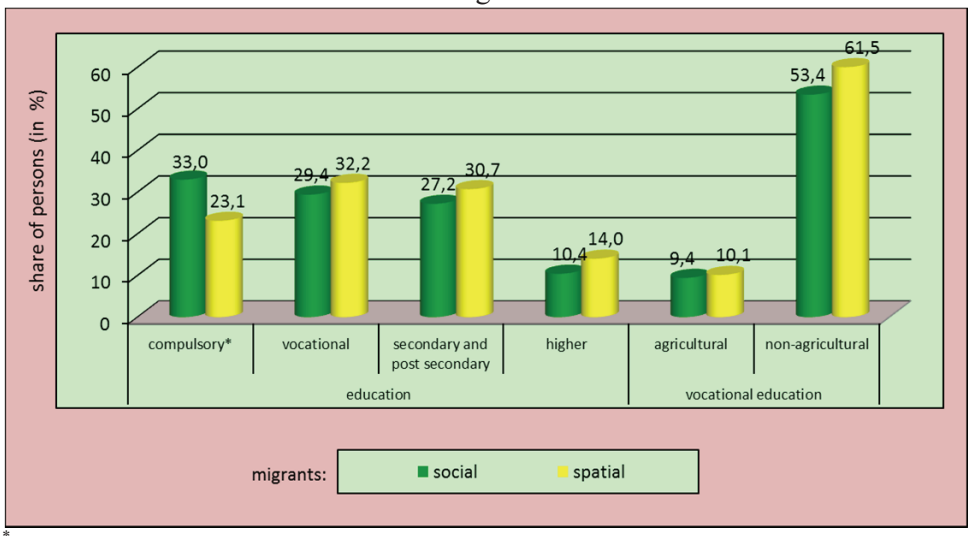
The analysis of migrants by sex revealed that the ratios between the number of women and men were similar (Figure 4.2.), whereas in years 2005-2011 the slightly higher share of men was observed. Such ratios occurred regardless of the pattern of migration processes, whereas the share of women in the group of persons who changed their social and occupational status was slightly higher than in the group of persons who left the analysed locations (49% against 45%). With regard to the earlier research, the proportions of respective shares of women and men in the group of migrants were reversed. Both in years 1996-2000 and in years 2000-2005 the share of women in the number of migrants from farming families was slightly higher (by approximately 3 percentage points)[104].

In years 2005-2011 the higher share of men in the total number of migrants from farming families was noted in most of the country (Table 4.1.). At the same time, compared to the previous years, those proportions also changed for most of the macroregions. Data from the research carried out in 2011 shows that only in the South-Western macroregion women prevailed over men in the group of migrants. The analysis of similar information from the 2005 survey reveals that the higher share of women than men among migrants outside

[104] see Ł. Zwoliński, *Mobilność przestrzenna i społeczno-zawodowa ludności wiejskiej w latach 2000-2005*, Multi-Annual Programme 2005-2009, Report No. 29, IAFE-NRI, Warsaw 2005, p. 33.

the South-Western macroregion was also reported in the Central-Western and South-Eastern macroregions[105].

Figure 4.4. Migrants from agricultural families by education** and pattern of migration



*Including primary and lower-secondary education.
**The compilation includes completed and non-completed education.
Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2011.

The relatively young age of migrants is correlated with their relatively high education. This includes general education and vocational training (Table 4.2.).

Socio-occupational migrants had relatively lower education level than persons who left the analysed locations (Figure 4.4.). With regard to general education, the relatively greatest differences between the level of education of socio-occupational and spatial migrants concerned the share of persons with compulsory education. The share of persons who became members of non-farming families was significantly higher than the rest of migrants from agricultural families (33% against 23%). With regard to other levels of education it should be pointed out that in general education above the compulsory level was reported more often in the case of spatial migrants than in the case of socio-occupational migrants. Such lack of proportion was particularly visible in the case of higher education (10% against 14%).

[105] *Ibidem*, p. 33-34.

Table 4.2. Spatial differences in education* of migrants from farming families in 2005-2011

Education	**Total**	in macroregions**				
		I	II	III	IV	V
the share of persons by general education (%)						
- compulsory***	**31.1**	33.9	39.3	24.1	16.4	36.0
- basic vocational	**30.0**	42.0	21.6	30.6	34.9	41.0
- upper secondary and post-secondary	**27.8**	17.7	28.5	36.3	27.6	13.0
- higher	**11.1**	6.4	10.6	9.0	21.1	10.0
the share of persons with school vocational education (%)						
- agricultural	**9.5**	23.4	6.4	5.5	17.1	6.0
- non-agricultural	**54.9**	48.0	42.7	63.2	66.3	54.0

*The compilation includes completed and non-completed education.
** Designations of macroregions and voivodeships, as map 1.
***Including primary and lower-secondary education.
Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2011.

The differences in education level of the described groups of migrants from agricultural families were also revealed with regard to vocational education. In the group of spatial migrants, 62% had non-agricultural school education and 10% has agricultural school education. Among the population who became members of non-farming families, those figures were 53% and 9% respectively.

On the basis of data on the level of general education and vocational education of migrants from farming families by respective macroregions, significant differences were reported in this respect. Considering the level of general education of migrants from respective macroregions it should be pointed out that the relatively highest (39%) share of persons with statutory education was reported in the Central-Eastern macroregion and the lowest (16%) in the South-Western macroregion. It should be emphasised that in the latter macroregion the highest share of persons with higher education was reported (21%). Moreover, migrants from farming families residing in the South-Western and South-Eastern macroregions were better prepared for work outside agriculture. This is confirmed by the relatively high (63-66%) share of persons with non-agricultural vocational school education. The entirely different situation was reported in the Central-Eastern macroregion, where only about 43% of mobile persons had non-agricultural school vocational education.

4.1.2. Reasons and place of migration

On the basis of the results of research conducted in 2005 and 2011, it should be concluded that the main reasons for migration from agricultural holdings did not change, although certain differences in the number of persons with specific motivation were reported. Both in years 2005-2011 and earlier, one of the most often reported reasons for abandoning agricultural population was liquidation of an agricultural holding (Table 4.3). Such a reason of migration was reported by 62% migrants from agricultural families in years 2005-2011 (compared to 51% in years 2000-2005). This does not mean, however, that it solely involved a change in social status, from farming to non-farming, and remaining in a given village. It should be noted that liquidation of an agricultural holding can also imply a change of place of residence. This is supported by the fact that 17% of persons who reported liquidation of a holding as the main reason for their migration left the analysed locations, mostly to the urban areas.

Table 4.3. Migrants from farming families by the main reason of migration in analysed periods

Macroregions		Main reason for migration (persons in %)						
		family	liquidation of an agricultural holding	work	housing	education	taking over an agricultural holding	other*
Total	**2000-2005**	**39.3**	**50.8**	**4.8**	**2.9**	**0.2**	**0.5**	**1.2**
	2005-2011	**26.0**	**61.7**	**4.3**	**4.7**	**1.0**	**0.5**	**1.8**
Central-Western		25.8	64.5	6.5	-	-	2.4	0.8
Central-Eastern		23.3	63.5	4.2	6.4	0.5	-	2.1
South-Eastern		29.6	60.8	3.4	3.1	1.7	-	1.4
South-Western		25.0	60.5	5.8	7.5	1.1	-	-
Northern		29.5	55.0	1.5	4.0	2.0	-	8.0

*Related to accidental events (stay in a borstal, penal institution, healthcare institution, or reasons unknown).

Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2005 and 2011.

In terms of age, liquidation of an agricultural holding was most often declared by persons aged 60+ (39%). This group was mostly composed of men (54%) with vocational education (33%).

Among the main reasons for migration from farming families, also family matters were often mentioned. This motivation was reported by 26% of migrants in years 2005-2011 (compared to 39% in years 2000-2005). Women more often reported this reason than men (56% against 44%). They were mostly persons

aged under 34 (66%), with at least upper-secondary education (40%) and school non-agricultural education (55%).

The reasons for migration from agricultural families that have an impact on mobile conditions of farming population include housing and work-related motivation. Housing was the main reason for almost 5% of persons, which was slightly higher (by nearly 2 percentage points) than in the earlier research. This reason was equally declared by men and women. This group included persons aged 35-44, with at least vocational, non-agricultural education.

4% of migrants reported job opportunities as the main reason for migration in years 2005-2011, similarly to the level reported in years 2000-2005. In terms of demographic structure, this group was mainly composed of men (69%) aged under 44 (75%), with school non-agricultural education (68%), at least vocational (62%). It should be also pointed out that the change of a place of residence could be connected with career plans. This can be supported by the fact that although 35% of migrants had worked before they left the agricultural holdings, the share of working persons grew to 66% after relocation.

Only 1% of the analysed population declared that the main reason for their migration was education. This reason was definitely more often declared by young women (60%) than men. In this group, virtually all persons were aged under 34.

Both in years 2005-2011 and earlier, taking over another agricultural holding was incidentally reported as the reason for migration. This was reported by 0.5% of the analysed group of migrants. The figures for populations analysed in years 2000-2005 and in years 2005-2011 were also similar in terms of this criterion. In both analysed periods, taking over agricultural holdings was definitely more often declared by men aged 34, with upper-secondary, agricultural education (over 60%). Those holdings were usually located in a neighbouring village.

Similar patterns regarding the reasons for migration from agricultural families were also reported in territorial distribution, although certain dissimilarities can be observed due to e.g. differences in the level of agricultural development, situation on local labour markets and advancement of the multifunctional rural development. For instance, in the Central-Western macroregion, liquidation (65%) or taking over of agricultural holdings (over 2%) were most often reported, with practically no indication of reasons related to housing or education. Among the reasons declared by migrants from agricultural holdings situated in the South-Eastern and Northern macroregions, a relatively large share of family (30%) and learning (2%) motivation was reported. Moreover, in the first

of the abovementioned macroregions, more often than in any other macroregion the decision about migration was related to housing (8%).

The analysis of mobility of agricultural families should also take into account the destination of migration, i.e. the current place of stay of migrants. This is particularly important with regard to transformations in the rural settlement network.

Table 4.4. Migrants from farming families by their current place of stay

Macroregions		Destination of migration (% of migrants)				
		the same village	another village	urban areas	another country	n/d
Total	**2000-2005**	**76.8**	**7.1**	**9.8**	**5.1**	**1,2**
	2005-2011	**71.0**	**10.0**	**13.7**	**4.3**	**0.4**
Central-Western		76,6	12.9	8.1	2.4	-
Central-Eastern		68.7	11.5	15.3	3.8	0.7
South-Eastern		72.5	12.4	13.7	1.0	0.3
South-Western		75.0	1.3	9.9	13.8	-
Northern		63.0	13.0	20.0	4.0	-

Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2005 and 2011.

Data on the current place of stay of migrants from farming families reveals that the majority of respondents (71%) did not change their place of residence, which was due to the domination of social and professional mobility in migration processes from farming families. However, compared to the previous analysis, spatial mobility in this group increased, which is supported by a drop (by almost 6 percentage points) of the share of migrants who stayed in the same village. This resulted from an increased migration to urban areas (from 10 to 14%) and surrounding villages (from 7 to 10%). Migration to another country, which was relatively rare, further decreased and in the 2011 research was reported by 0.4% of migrants (compared to 1.2% in the previous analysis).

4.1.3. Economic activity of migrants

The problem concerning agriculture that is mentioned in many publications is the surplus of labour force and high imbalances on local labour markets. Reduced employment in agricultural production and limitation of the scale of registered and hidden unemployment in agriculture is due, *inter alia*, to migration from agricultural holdings.

The comparison of data on economic activity of migrants from farming families[106] before and after liquidation of agricultural holdings indicated that migration not only resulted in the decrease in the number of persons working in the individual farming sector (from 41 to 6%), but also the increase in the number of economically active people in other sectors (from 29 to 59%).

Table 4.5. Migrants from farming families by educational activity in 2005-2011

Period	Employed		unemployed	students	economically inactive
	outside agriculture	in agricultural holdings			
- before migration	29.0	40.6	5.8	9.1	15.5
- after migration	58.9	6.0	11.3	7.0	16.8

Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2011.

The positive trends resulting from migration with regard to locating economic activity were accompanied by negative effects, such as the extension (from 6% to 11%) of registered unemployment. Such an increase can be to some extent related to the legal provisions in force, according to which an unemployment status can only be granted to the owner of an agricultural holding, the area of which does not exceed 2 reference hectares. It should be pointed out that the level of economic inactivity is still relatively high, although they should be active, considering their age. Such a situation was reported by every sixth person in the analysed population.

4.2. Mobility of non-farming families

In 2005-2011, the number of families in the research decreased by 306 (as a result of changes in the status or migration) families (just over 6%) that did not have a family farm in 2005. The families consisted in total of 691 people, representing almost 6% of the non-farming population covered by the previous survey. At the same time it was a scale almost twice smaller than that of the farming population, where, as mentioned earlier, the corresponding rate was approximately 12%. However, just as in the case of farming families, spatial and social migrations of non-farming families were universal and present in most surveyed villages[107].

[106] The comparison involves the group of economically active persons, i.e. working age population.
[107] The research shows that in 2005-2011, only 3.9% of the surveyed villages had non-farming families registered in 2005 that had not emigrated, nor changed their social status.

The analysis of the data on the decrease in the number of non-farming families by macroregions shows that in the analyzed period, the relatively highest spatial and socio-occupational mobility was characteristic of non-farming families in the South-Western and Central-Eastern macroregions. This phenomenon is related to almost 8% of the non-farming families, who were interviewed in 2005. Mobility of non-farming families was the lowest in the South-Eastern macroregion, as the process involved less than 4% of the non-farming families living in the area in 2005. It should also be noted that in 2005-2011, the farming families from the South-Eastern macroregion were also characterized by the lowest mobility.

The reasons for the relatively lowest mobility of farming families of the South-Eastern macroregion should be seen in the specificity of these areas. This specificity is composed primarily of a high level of development of infrastructure and relatively absorptive non-agricultural labour market and characteristics of agriculture and environmental values (hilly terrain).

The survey data from 2005 shows that already at that time, rural villages located in the South-Eastern macroregion were characterized by above-average development of the technical infrastructure. This level is due to availability of water supply (more than 87% of villages were connected to the water supply, all of them had street hydrants), sanitary facilities (more than 33% of villages benefited from sewage treatment plants, and 69% from dumping ground) and road network (94% of villages had asphalt access roads)[108].

According to the same survey, the South-Eastern macro-region is characterized by a relatively high prevalence of earning among the rural population. In 2005, more than 39% of people of working age in the area were employed outside agriculture (more than 34% from farming families and nearly 48% from the non-farming families) with the national average of about 35% (nearly 29% from farming families and 43% from non-farming families)[109].

The collected data shows that in contrast to farming families, the non--farming population was characterized by a relatively high spatial mobility. In 2005-2011 more than 5% of these families covered by the survey in 2005 have left the surveyed villages (in farming families the corresponding rate was less than 3%). They accounted for almost 60% of all rural families that have left the studied villages.

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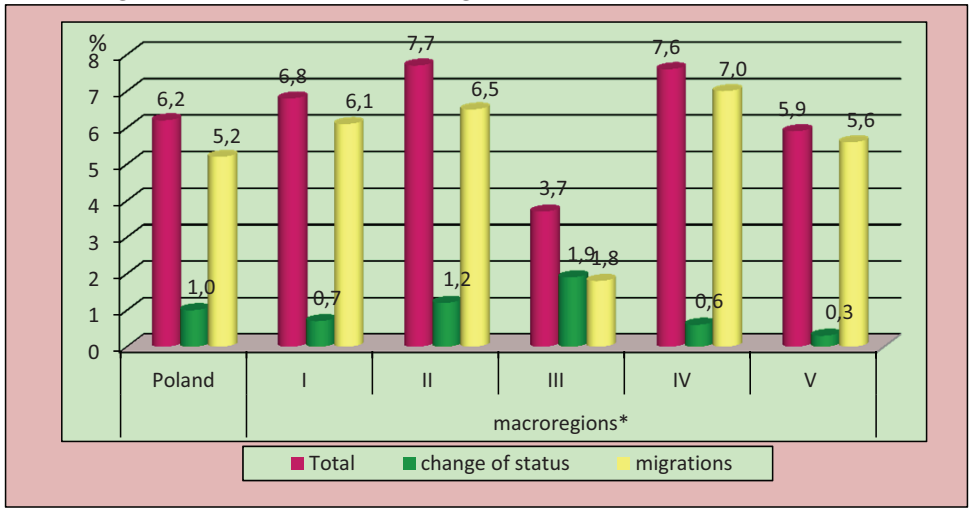
[108] See A. Wasilewski, *Stan oraz zmiany w infrastrukturze technicznej*, [in:] Przeobrażenia w strukturze społeczno-ekonomicznej wsi objętych badaniem IERiGŻ-PIB w latach 2000-2005, collective work edited by A. Sikorska, IAFE-NRI, Warsaw 2006, p. 21-38.

[109] See D. Kołodziejczyk, *Rynek pracy na wsi*, IAFE-NRI, Warsaw 2007, p. 16.

In addition, the intensity of the process was relatively significantly diversified in macroregions. As with all processes of migration of rural families without farms, spatial mobility of this population was relatively the highest in Central-Eastern and Northern macroregions (Figure 4.5). In 2005-2011, around 7% of non-farming families living there in 2005 left these areas. This situation is mainly associated with difficulties in the local market. The chance of finding a relatively long-term employment was associated with migration in the vicinity of the workplace. These conditions were found in the receptive labour market in large urban areas. This factor was the strongest stimulus in the Central-Eastern macroregion.

Figure 4.5. Loss of non-farming families in research in 2005-2011



* Designations of macroregions and voivodeships, as map 1.

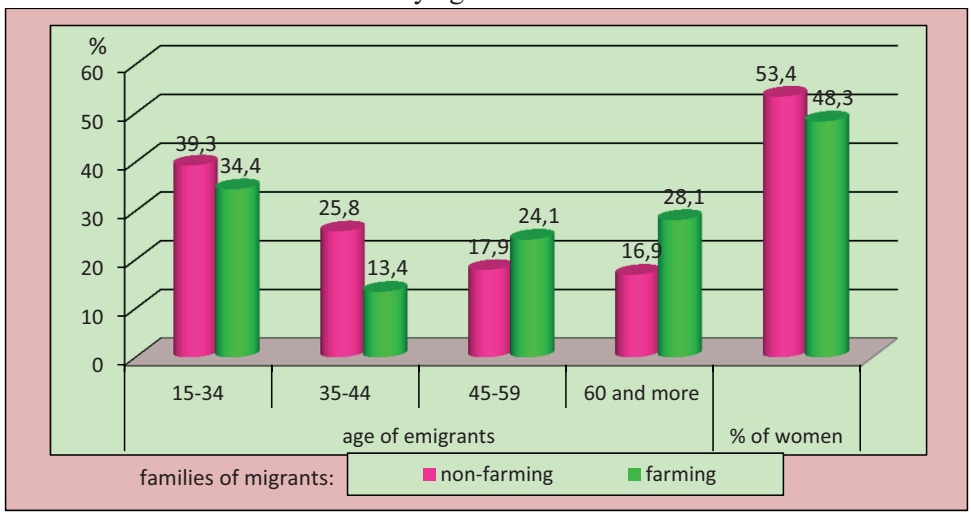
Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2011.

In this area, nearly 60% of the non-farming families who left the surveyed villages settled in relatively large towns. With regard to the Northern macroregion, also the opportunity to work abroad had a substantial role in shaping a relatively high propensity to leave the current place of residence. This is evidenced by many international migrations of whole families in this area. The survey data shows that among all families, which in 2005-2011 had left the surveyed villages in the Northern macroregion, about one-third emigrated from the country. Most were families without farms. The lowest spatial mobility, as well as in other rural populations, was characteristic of the non-farming inhabitants of the South-Eastern macroregions. In this area, only less than 2% of the non-farming families, who were interviewed in 2005, had left the surveyed villages by 2011.

The reasons for this situation should be seen in the already discussed specifics of these areas.

The research shows that in contrast to the spatial mobility of the non-farming population, their social mobility was incidental. Only 1% of non-farming families that were surveyed in 2005 were included in a recent study in the set of families with a user of individual farm. These households accounted for about one-fourth of the relatively few new farming families[110].

Figure 4.6. Emigrants in 2005-20011 from non-farming and farming families by age and sex



Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2011.

The phenomenon of social mobility of non-farming families described above, although it occurred throughout the country in low intensity, varied according to each macroregion. It should be linked with the territorial differences in the conditions of economic nature and their impact on the characteristics of agricultural structures. Spatial mobility of non-farming population was relatively the highest in the South-Eastern macroregion. In 2005-2011 in this area 2% of non-farming households changed their social status, i.e. such occurrences were twice more likely than on average throughout the surveyed set. Moreover, in this part of the country more than 53% of all new farming families originated from non-farming families. Such a situation was found more often in Northern macroregion, where about 60% of the newly established families with a user of a farm

[110] The research shows that 5.8% of all farming families of the last survey were established in the years 2005-2011.

originated from non-farming families. It should be noted that the increased social mobility of non-farming families in the Northern macroregion was the lowest in the scale of all macroregions in the survey (see Figure 4.5).

4.2.1. Socio-demographic characteristics of migrants from non-farming families

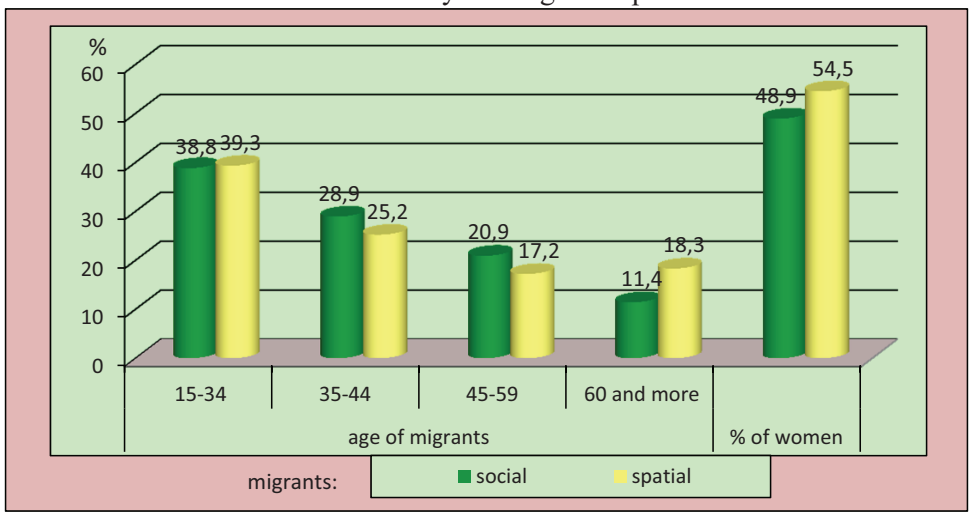
The analysis of the age structure of people who in 2005-2011 left non-farming families shows that consistently the relatively young people were the most mobile. But the migrants from non-farming families were relatively younger than emigrants from farming families (Figure 4.6).

Differences in the demographic structure of mobile persons in selected groups of rural households should be associated with the fact that spatial migrants dominated among the non-farming emigrants (over 80%), while among the population leaving the farms this kind of mobility was more than four times smaller. The decision to change the location is usually taken by relatively young people, and farms are liquidated more often by older people. This is reflected in a higher share of people aged up to 44 years among the emigrants from non-farming families than from farming families (85% vs. 58%) and in lower proportion of older people (17% vs. 28%). However, both emigrants from farming families and non-farming families were populations relatively younger than the general rural population[111].

A comparison of the age structure of migrants from non-farming families in 2000-2005 and 2005-2011 shows that the population leaving the villages was getting younger. Of the total migrants from non-farming families in 2005-2011, the largest group were the people under 34 years of age. They accounted for over 39% of the discussed population, while in 2000-2005 the analogous population accounted for less than 24%. Research carried out earlier, i.e. in 2000 and 2005, shows that previously people a little older, i.e. at the age of 35-44[112] were characterized by the highest mobility, and their share in total emigrants stood at about 40%. The relatively high proportion of relatively young people among the migrants from non-farming families is connected with the fact that such decisions are usually taken by people starting their professional activity, or establishing a family.

[111] See *Obszary wiejskie w Polsce*, CSO, Olsztyn 2011, p. 135.
[112] See Ł. Zwoliński, *Mobilność przestrzenna i społeczno-zawodowa* ….op. cit. p. 40.

Figure 4.7. Demographic structure of emigrants from non-farming families in 2005-2011 by the migration pattern



Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2011.

Some differences in the age structure of emigrants from non-farming families were visible in the breakdown by the nature of mobility. It should be noted, however, that overall differences in the demographic structure of the population who left the studied villages and social migrants were relatively small (Figure 4.7). This does not change the fact that in general, people who took over a farm and are currently farming families were relatively younger than spatial migrants. These differences are mainly related to the lower proportion of people aged 60 years and more (11% vs. 18%). With regard to persons in other age groups, the differences between compared sets of migrants were relatively small (Figure 4.7).

The analysis of the age structure of emigrants from non-farming families shows that is was territorially differentiated (Table 4.6). The persons up to 34 years of age accounted for the largest population in each area. Moreover, in this age group, although there were territorial differences, they were relatively the smallest. The lowest (37%) share of migrants under the age of 34 was recorded in the South-Eastern macroregion, while the highest (over 43%) of the Northern macroregion. In the other age groups the differences were relatively larger, and the largest related to people up to 60 years of age and more. Relatively the least people in the age group of 35-44 years was observed in the group of emigrants from non-farming families in the Central-Western macroregion (22%), while the most in the South-Western macroregion (29%). At the same time, the first of these macroregions was characterized by the lowest (12%) share of the population aged 45-59 and the highest (26%) proportion of people aged 60 and over.

The opposite situation was found in the South-Western macroregion, which was characterized by the highest (20%) share of persons aged 45-59 years and the lowest (13%) of those over 60.

Table 4.6. Emigrants from non-farming families by age and sex

Macroregions		Proportion of people aged				Share of women among migrants
		up to 34	35-44	45-59	60 and over	
		total=100				
Total	**2000-2005**	**23.6**	**40.0**	**21.6**	**14.8**	**51.7**
	2005-2011	**39.3**	**25.9**	**17.9**	**16.9**	**53.4**
Central-Western		40,7	22.1	11.6	25.6	54.7
Central-Eastern		37,8	27.8	16.7	17.7	56.0
South-Eastern		37,0	25.8	18.6	18.6	49.1
South-Western		38,4	28.5	20.3	12.8	45.0
Northern		43,3	22.8	19.7	14.2	57.5

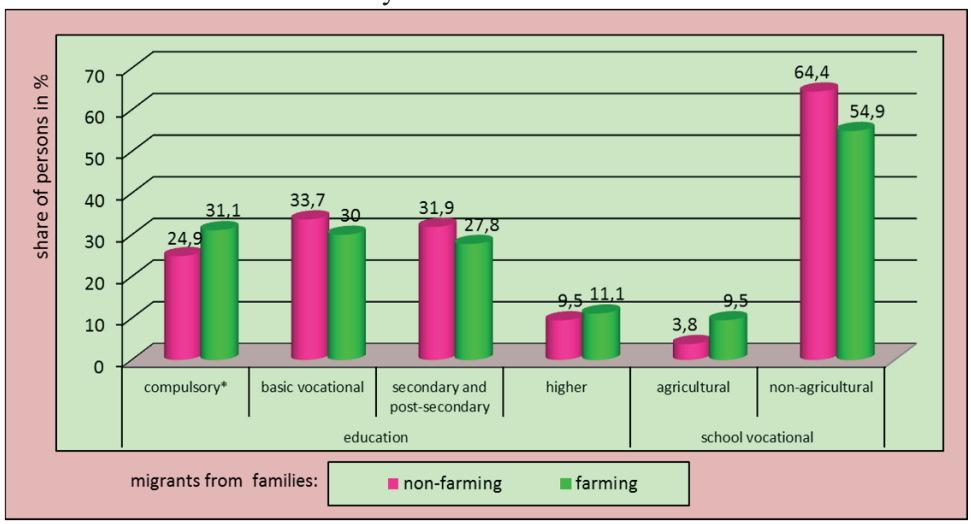
Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2005 and 2011.

When analyzing emigrants by sex, it was found that the relationship between the number of men and women were similar. However, in 2005-2011 as well as earlier, the regularity was the slightly larger proportion of women than men (53% vs. 47%). In relation to earlier studies, the proportion of women among the emigrants slightly increased (Table 4.6). It should also be noted that the population of migrants from non-farming families was characterized by greater feminization than the emigrants from farming families. The predominance of women was particularly visible among spatial migrants from non-farming families; they accounted for 55% of all people leaving surveyed villages. In the case of social emigrants, the proportion of women was lower and amounted to less than 49%.

In the reported period, a similar relationship between the proportion of women and men in total emigrants from non-farming families was found in most parts of the country (Table 4.6). At the same time, as compared to previous years, these proportions also changed in most macroregions. The data from the survey conducted in 2011 shows that only in the southern Poland there was a predominance of men over women. The analysis of the same information from the 2005 survey shows that the higher proportion of men than women among the migrants outside the South-Eastern macroregion was also found in the macroregions: Central-Western and Northern[113].

[113] See Ł. Zwoliński, *Mobilność przestrzenna i społeczno-zawodowa* ….op. cit. p. 41.

Figure 4.8. Emigrants in 2005-2011 from non-farming and farming families by education level**

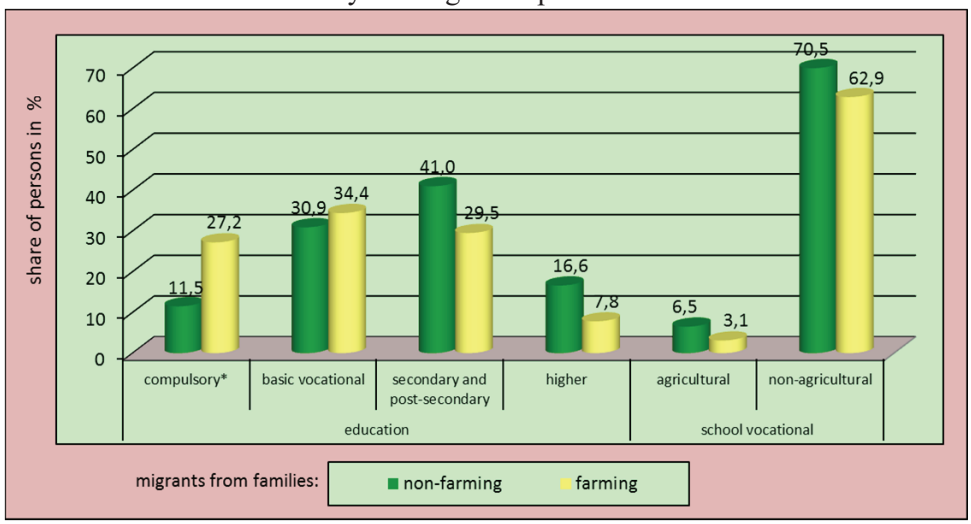


*Including primary and lower-secondary education.
** Summary includes complete and incomplete education.
Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2011.

The relatively younger age of the migrants from non-farming families than from farming families is associated with their relatively higher level of education. This was true for both general education and professional qualifications (Figure 4.8). With regard to general education, relatively the greatest differences in the education of compared populations were related to the proportion of the group of people with compulsory education. The percentage of such persons from non-farming families was significantly lower than among other emigrants from farming families (25% vs. 31%). With regard to other levels of education, these differences were relatively smaller. At the same time it should be noted that in general there were more non-farming migrants with at least secondary education than emigrants from farms. However, both groups of emigrants had a higher level of education than the general population living in rural areas[114].

[114] See *Wyniki Narodowego Spisu Powszechnego Ludności i Mieszkań 2011*, Podstawowe informacje o sytuacji demograficzno-społecznej ludności Polski oraz zasobach mieszkaniowych, opracowanie przygotowane na Kongres Demograficzny w dniach 22-23 marca 2012, Warsaw, March 2012, p. 13.

Figure 4.9. Level of education of non-farming emigrants in 2005-2011 by the migration pattern**



*Including primary and lower-secondary education.
**Summary includes complete and incomplete education.
Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2011.

The differences in the level of education in the groups of emigrants were also reflected in the rate of spread of professional qualifications. Among the non-farming migrants over 64% had non-agricultural school education, and an additional 4% of them had agricultural qualifications. Among the people who left farming families, the analogous indicators accounted for 55 and 10% respectively.

A comparison of the level of education of the mobile people by nature of their mobility shows that the socio-occupational migrants from non-farming families were characterized by a relatively higher level of education than those who had left the studied villages (Figure 4.9). With regard to general education, the relatively greatest differences in the education of social and occupational migrants and spatial migrants related to the share of the group of people with education at the compulsory level. The percentage of such persons who were included in the farming families was significantly higher than among the rest of emigrants from non-farming families (12% vs. 27%). With regard to other levels of education, it should be noted that, in general, the socio-occupational migrants more often than spatial migrants had at least secondary education. These disparities were particularly pronounced in the case of higher education (17% vs. 8%).

On the basis of data on the level of general education and professional qualifications of emigrants from non-farming families by macroregions, it was found that there are significant differences in this respect (Table 4.7).

Table 4.7. Spatial differences in education* of emigrants from non-farming families in 2005-2011

Level of education	**Total**	in macroregions**				
		I	II	III	IV	V
percentage of people by general education						
- compulsory***	**24.9**	22.1	25.8	17.4	22.7	33.9
- basic vocational	**33.7**	41.8	25.4	19.7	37.7	47.2
- secondary and post-secondary	**31.9**	29.1	34.0	48.4	32.6	16.5
- higher	**9.5**	7.0	14.8	14.5	7.0	2.4
percentage of people with vocational education						
- agricultural	**3.8**	7.0	3.3	2.1	4.7	2.4
- non-agricultural	**64.4**	61.6	62.7	72.2	67.4	59.1

*Summary includes complete and incomplete education.
**Designations of macroregions and the voivodeships they include, as in map 1.
***Including primary and lower-secondary education.
Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2011.

Considering the level of general education of migrants from different macroregions, it should be noted that the relatively high (34%) proportion of those with statutory education was in the Northern macroregion, and the lowest (17%) in the South-Eastern macroregion. It should be noted that in the latter and in the Central-Eastern macroregion there was the highest percentage (15%) of those with higher education. In addition, emigrants from non-farming families living in the South-Western and South-Eastern macroregions were characterized by the best preparation for work outside agriculture. This is evidenced by the relatively high (67-72%) share of people with the non-agricultural school vocational education. The radically different situation was found in the Northern macroregion, where only 59% of the mobile people had non-agricultural skills.

4.2.2. Reasons and place of migration

Based on the results of research conducted in 2005 and 2011, it should be noted that there was no substantial change in reasons for emigration of non--farming families, although there was some variation in the number of people driven by the individual reasons. In 2005-2011, the most frequently mentioned motivation to leave rural communities of non-farming families were housing issues (Table 4.8). This reason for migration was reported by 34% of emigrants from non-farming families in 2005-2011, and this was 10 percentage points lower than the corresponding rate recorded during 2000-2005, which was 24%. It should also be noted that the change of residence may have also been associated with work plans. This is shown by the fact that while 44% of migrants from

non-farming families were employed prior to leaving the surveyed villages, after the change of residence their share increased to 51%.

Table 4.8. Emigrants from non-farming families by main reason for migration in subsequent periods

Macroregions		Main reason for migration (persons in %)					
		family	work	housing	education	taking over a farm	other*
Total	**2000-2005**	**39.8**	**7.7**	**23.8**	**0.5**	**24.7**	**3,5**
	2005-2011	**30.7**	**17.2**	**33.6**	**0.5**	**12.3**	**5,7**
Central-Western		35,9	9.3	32.6	-	12.8	9.5
Central-Eastern		33,0	6.7	40.7	1.0	11.5	7.2
South-Eastern		29,9	2.1	27.8	-	34.0	6.2
South-Western		33,7	22.1	32.6	0.6	7.6	3.5
Northern		20,5	44.9	28.3	-	3.1	3.1

*Related to the accidental events (stay in a borstal, penal institution, healthcare institution, or reasons unknown).

Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2005 and 2011.

Taking into account the socio-demographic characteristics, the housing motives, as in the case of emigrants from farming families, guided relatively young people. The largest group were those aged 35-44 years (39%), with secondary education (33%). Moreover, this reason more often determined the mobility of men (51%) than women (49%).

People also quite frequently mentioned family matters among the crucial reasons for emigration from the group of non-farming families. This reason was reported by 31% of migrants in 2005-2011 (40% – in 2000-2005). At the same time a little more often it guided women (56%) than men (44%). These were mainly people up to 34 years of age (35%), having at least secondary education (29%) and non-agricultural school qualifications (59%).

This means that during the analyzed period, the desire to improve the housing conditions was a priority theme in non-farming population migration, while in 2000-2005 it was family matters.

One should mention commercial considerations among the reasons, which have gained importance in making the decision to migrate. Taking up employment was a reason for more than 17% of migrants in 2005-2011 and it was more than twice the corresponding share recorded in 2000-2005. In contrast to migrants from farming families, among the emigrants from non-farming families who were guided by these reasons, women constituted a somewhat larger group (51%) than men (49%). As in the case of housing-related reasons, these were people in the group of 35-44 (44%), with secondary education (34%) and school vocational qualifications (62%).

The research shows that the professional and social mobility is decreasing in importance among the determinants of mobility of non-farming families. Taking over a farm was the main reason reported by 12% of those who left non-farming families in 2005-2011, and it was two times lower than the share reported in the previous study. In 2000-2005, this reason drove about 25% of the emigrants from the discussed population of rural families. But the socio-demographic characteristics of people starting to run a farm have not changed. In 2005-2011, like previously, taking over a farm was a reason driving more often men (60%), aged 35-44 years (34%), educated at a basic vocational level (41%), having non-agricultural education (58%). This population, compared to those from farming families taking over farms was relatively old, and was characterized by a lower level of education. It should be also noted that acquired farms were generally located in surveyed villages. Close to 96% of people which took over farms and became part of a group of farming families did not change a place of residence.

Both in 2005-2011 and earlier, the continuation of education was an incidentally reported reason for migration. In the described population only 0.5% of people declared that the main reason for emigration was education. This reason drove more often (60%) young women than men. Virtually all the people in this group were under 34 years of age.

Similar patterns in the reasons for migration from non-farming families have also been reported in territorial scope, although some differences can be observed (Table 4.8). This is associated, among other things, with differences in the situation on the local labour markets and multifunctional advancement of rural development. For example, in the Central-Western macroregion, the reasons for migration involved particularly the themes related to family issues (36%) and lack of causes related to education. The themes related to education did not condition the mobility of the discussed population in the macroregions: South-Eastern and Northern. The reasons which guided the emigrants from non-farming families in the first of these areas draw attention to the relatively large scale of the start of agricultural activities (34%) and particularly low (2%) share of profit motivation. The situation was radically different in the Northern macroregion, where the decision to migrate was least often (3%) determined by taking over a farm, and most often (45%) by economic reasons. With regard to the reasons which guided the emigrants from non-farming families in the central-eastern macroregion, there is a relatively high proportion of housing-related reasons (41%).

Regarding the issues related to the mobility of non-farming families, both in taking account of changes from the spatial perspective (migration) as well as from the point of view of socio-economic transformation (social mobility), it

seems that the present place of residence of emigrants is important. Especially from the point of view of the transformation in rural settlement network, and especially the advancement of their multifunctional development.

The data on the current place of residence of migrants from non-farming families shows that in 2005-2011 the biggest (over 34%) group of surveyed people left for the nearby villages (Table 4.9). However, in comparison to the previous study, there was an increase in the popularity of this direction of mobility, as evidenced by an increase of 12 percentage points in the share of migrants, who currently reside in another village. There was also a dynamic increase in the number of departures for other countries. In the compared studies, the share of migrants from non-farming families who currently reside abroad increased almost fourfold (from just under 3% to over 11%).

Table 4.9. Migrants from non-farming families according to current place of residence

Macroregions		Destination of migration (% of migrants)				
		the same village	another village	urban areas	other country	n/d
Total	**2000-2005**	**41.3**	**21.6**	**32.1**	**2.9**	**2,1**
	2005-2011	**22.6**	**34.2**	**27.9**	**11.4**	**3,9**
Central-Western		29,1	50.0	14.0	1.2	5.8
Central-Eastern		18,7	41.1	34.4	3.3	2.4
South-Eastern		61,9	30.9	5.2	2.1	-
South-Western		13,4	31.4	32.6	19.2	3.5
Northern		7,1	18.1	37.8	28.3	8.7

Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2005 and 2011.

Different trends were observed regarding departures for the urban areas. In 2005-2011 almost 28% of migrants from rural non-farming families settled in urban areas and it was more than 4 percentage points lower proportion than the corresponding rate recorded in 2000-2005, which amounted to more than 32%.

The population which had not changed its place of residence, but only became the agricultural population has been reduced. In 2005-2011, there remained 23% of the described population in the same village, while in 2000-2005, the corresponding rate was over 41%. It must therefore be concluded that spatial mobility of non-farming families has been significantly increased. This trend was also observed in the group of families with the user of a farm. But their intensification was relatively small, because in the comparable periods (2000-2005 and 2005-2011) the proportion of emigrants who had not changed the place residence decreased only from 77 to 71%.

According to the data of the selected macroregions, in 2005-2011, just as before, the relatively highest spatial mobility was characteristic of the emigrants from non-farming families in the Northern macroregion. The intensification of this phenomenon in 2005-2011, as compared with the period 2000-2005, has been strengthened, as evidenced by a three-fold decrease (from 21 to 7%) in the share of people who have not changed their place of residence. This macroregion still had relatively the highest share of migration to the city, although in comparison with the previous study, there was a further decline[115].

Migration processes in 2005-2011 in the non-farming population of the Northern macroregion were also characterized by a high volume of departures for other countries. This direction of migration was chosen by over 28% of emigrants during this period. This means that, compared to the previous study, this phenomenon was strengthened almost thirteen-fold.

The emigrants from non-farming families in the South-Eastern macroregion left their villages least often. Such a situation concerned as much as 62% of people from the analyzed population. In addition, another 31% settled in the surrounding villages. These trends have also confirmed the attractiveness of these areas as a place of residence.

4.2.3. Economic activity of migrants

The problem raised in a number of studies and affecting the rural population is the more unfavourable situation on the labour market, which is reflected in the scale of economic inactivity and the size of unemployment, which is also of permanent nature. In addition, the study emphasizes more difficult situation of the non-farming people than the farming population, from the perspective of economic activity[116].

Table 4.10. Migrants in 2005-2011 from non-farming families by economic activity

Period	Share of persons			
	working	unemployed	students	economically inactive
- before migration	56,8	13,0	13,0	17,2
- after migration	69,7	4,4	6,1	19,8

Source: study based on IAFE-NRI surveys 2011.

[115] Cf. Ł. Zwoliński: Mobilność przestrzenna i społeczno-zawodowa ….op. cit. p. 44.
[116] Stan i struktura rejestrowanego bezrobocia na wsi w 2011 roku, Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, Department of Labour Market, p. 1,3, 4-5.

A comparison of data on activity of emigrants from non-farming families[117] before and after migration shows that the result of this process was primarily reduced unemployment (Table 4.10). In the studied population, the share of unemployed persons decreased by more than double. At the same time the number of employed people increased (from 57 to 70%). This positive trend was also accompanied by a negative phenomenon, which was a slight increase in inactivity among mobile people. Before the migration, this situation was characteristic of a little more than 17% of people, while after leaving the community of non-farming families the corresponding rate was nearly 20%.

[117] The analysis refers to the group of people in the period of professional activity, i.e. the so-called working age.

Summary and conclusions

The European Union forms the migration policy in relation to the requirements of the labour markets of the Member States, promoting the migration of people with specific skills that are rare in the given country. This policy aims to mitigate the shortage of workers with specific skills, work experience, language proficiency, age, or education. In addition, migration policy often deals with two areas: prevention of illegal migration and illegal employment of migrants without work permits and promoting the integration of immigrants into society.

On the way to the creation of internal market without obstacles to the free movement of persons was the conclusion of two Schengen agreements: Schengen Agreement of 14 June 1985 and the Implementation Convention for the Schengen Agreement of 19 June 1990, which entered into force on 26 March 1995. Currently, 25 countries are full members of the Schengen area (Monaco is considered as part of France): 22 Member States plus Norway, Iceland and Switzerland (which have the status of associate states).

It was found on the basis of the characteristics of the socio-demographic changes in the EU, that in 1990-2010 the population of all Member States grew more slowly than in other, generally less economically developed countries of the world. For this reason, there was a decrease in the proportion of affluent societies of the EU among the general population of the world.

One reason for the relatively slower pace of expansion of the EU population was a **low birth rate**. In most of the analyzed countries, the fertility rate was low or very low. The scale of this phenomenon, in addition to the historical, long-term trends in fertility (the second demographic transition), was affected by contemporary social and economic conditions, especially those related to difficulties in balancing family life with work. These affected predominantly women. Regardless of the declared desire to have two children, a significant part of European families decided not to have more than one child[118]. This was due to both, the poor situation on the labour market, but also the lack of adequate support from the instruments of social policy. It should be emphasized that currently in European societies, the narrowed reproduction is not positively associated with a tendency to postpone having children or the decrease in the prevalence of marriage. On the contrary, the relatively higher fertility rates are observed in countries where women opt for late birth, and in countries with a high rate of

[118] M.R. Testa, *Family sizes in Europe: evidence from the 2012 Eurobarometer survey*, European Demographic Research Papers 3, Vienna Institute of Demography of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna 2012, p. 9.

extramarital births. In addition, the generally increased fertility in Europe was positively correlated with the activity of mothers and active family policies (financial and non-financial support to families with young children, providing high-quality institutional care for children up to 3 years of age, a suitable length of maternity leave, incentives for relatively higher involvement of fathers in the education of children).

The low level of fertility in Europe occurred together with a tendency to lengthen lifetime. As a result the trend of aging in EU societies continued. Analyses show that in the EU in 2010, for every one hundred persons aged 15-64, there were 26 people aged 65 and over, whereas twenty years ago it was 21 people. Increased life expectancy, common in European countries, should be associated with the socio-economic development, improvement of living conditions of many people, as well as the progress of medicine and improving standards of health care.

In some EU countries, in particular the relatively less affluent (Central--Eastern Europe), the increase in the proportion of the oldest age group in the population was due to migration of population. Typically, young citizens of these countries moved to the rich Western Europe to improve their economic situation. The latter region was also the destination for working and living for immigrants from third countries. It should be noted that the increase in population across the EU, in particular in the case of the EU-12, was mainly due to spatial mobility. The analysis of Eurostat data shows that in 2010 more than two thirds of the population growth in all the Member States was related to the positive balance of migration.

The research documents the fact that changes in the number and structure of the population observed at EU level were also characteristic of the rural areas. At the same time it should be noted that **rural regions**, which constitute more than half of EU territory with a population of nearly a quarter of EU population, compared to urban and intermediate areas, were characterised by unfavourable phenomena in the scope of natural change and migration of the population. In 2007-2010, the population change in these areas was negative and positive net migration declined. As a result, in 2009 and 2010, there have been negative values in real growth. In urban and intermediate areas of the EU there was an excess of births over deaths and a positive net migration. Positive changes in the reproduction of the rural population have taken place in the countries of the former EU-12 and resulted mainly from a significant inflow of people, which compensated for the negative population growth.

Regardless of regions, age structure of the EU population was quite balanced. In 2010, the share of people aged up to 14 in EU rural areas was 16%.

The population of people aged 15-64 accounted for 66% of the total rural population of the EU, and those aged 65 and more – 18%. Notwithstanding the presence of small differences in the age structure of the residents of the various types of territories, each of them had symptoms of aging. In 2007-2010, in urban, rural and intermediate areas, there was an increase in the proportion of people in the oldest age group.

Structure of the population by gender in specific regions of the EU was not diverse. Both in 2007 and in 2010, the populations of urban, rural and intermediate areas had a larger share of women than men.

Projections prepared by the FAO indicate that adverse changes in the EU's rural population will be maintained. With regard to all the Member States, the trend of decreasing rural population in the EU should be associated with the expected continuation of the process of population displacement to urban areas and with low positive or negative population growth.

Overall, Poland also maintains the negative trend in the age structure of the population, which is expressed by a decrease in the relative share of working age population in the total population, which at the end of 2010 stood at 18.7%. In rural areas, it reached 21.2% (against 24.5% in 2005). Particularly unfavourable situation was in rural areas in South-Western and Central-Eastern macroregions, where the figures reached 19.6 and 20.6% respectively.

In 2005-2010, Poland saw almost all forms (at different scales) of contemporary migration processes: emigration for employment and settlement to the developed countries, the inflow of people looking for work in Poland, as well as the possibility of settlement, the inflow of refugees; Poles returning under the repatriation act, etc.The main directions of emigration of Poles who plan to stay abroad remain unchanged for years.

The study shows that at the end of 2010, there were around 1990 thousand Poles staying outside Polish borders, i.e. 120 thousand more than in 2009 (about 1870 thousand). In 2010, in the countries of Europe, there were 1,690 thousand people (1635 thousand in 2009). It should be emphasized that the relatively largest group of these people lived in the countries of the European Union. Perhaps the effects of the economic crisis affected the decision to return to the country, but some people after losing their jobs only changed the country of emigration.

Of the total 422.6 thousand persons moving in 2010 within the country, most had moved from the urban areas to the countryside (139.7 thousand people) and from town to town (126.5 thousand people). Slightly fewer migrants have followed in other directions: rural-urban and rural-rural. Total net migration in the cities for men was 26.2 thousand people, and for women – 19.8 thousand.

Based on the analysis of mobility of rural population conducted on the basis of empirical material from the so-called liquidated questionnaires, i.e. the population of the families, who were interviewed in 2005, and in 2011 this situation was no longer possible, it was determined that in 2005-2011, as compared to earlier years, there was an increase of mobility of this population. This was true for both farming families and non-farming families. These trends were slightly stronger among farming families, and this was mainly a consequence of increased socio-occupational migration in this category of rural households. In the same way as before, the most mobile were the families with relatively small farms. These trends should be considered as positive from the perspective of agrarian changes in our agriculture.

Studies have shown that an important feature of the mobility of rural families is the change of their social and occupational status which was connected mainly with the change in the status of the possession of a farm. This meant that among emigrants from farming families nearly two-thirds of people mentioned the liquidation of a farm as the main reason for migration. More than a quarter of the population pointed to family reasons. Housing issues were the most important reason for mobility of non-farming families and more than a third of all emigrants from these households were guided by these reasons. Nearly the same population was guided by family reasons when deciding on migration, two times smaller population – by economic reasons. In the set of people changing the status from non-farming to farming, the main reason for more than 12% people was taking over a farm.

The importance of social mobility in determining the population flows is also documented by the fact that 71% of emigrants from rural families, and almost 23% from non-farming households did not change the place of residence, but only their social status. This process involved over six-fold greater population of farming families than non-farming families. As a result, there was a rise in the number of non-farming households, and loss of farming families. These trends point to the ongoing process of rural disagrarisation.

Research shows that among all spatial migrants, the same number (about 40%) of people moved to neighbouring villages and went to the cities. Urban areas were the main direction of migration for people leaving the farms, and for emigrants from non-farming families – other villages.

Data on the economic activity of people before and after the migration confirms that the effect of emigration was not only the reduced number of people working in agriculture and reduced scale of unused labour resources (hidden unemployment), but above all, increase in wage-earners. In the case of migrants from farming families there was also a two-fold decline in registered unem-

ployment. This positive change was accompanied by large scale of economic inactivity, which in the case of emigrants from non-farming families even slightly increased.

A characteristic feature of migration processes was their selective nature, because emigrants were characterized by a relatively young age and high level of education compared to the total rural population. At the same time the social migrants were relatively older and less educated than those who left the surveyed villages.

In spatial terms, the emigrants from rural families of the Northern macroregion were relatively the youngest, and the highest level of education was characteristic of migrants from southern territories of Poland, especially from the South-Western macroregion. A different situation was noted in the group of emigrants from the villages located in typical agricultural macroregions: Central-Western and Central-Eastern. Migrants from these areas were characterized by a relatively low level of education and were relatively older. This situation was found particularly in the first of these macroregions.

The work documented the thesis that rural areas in relation to migration and social mobility have significant macroregional differentiation. The highest mobility was characteristic of rural communities in the South-Western macroregion. Radically different situation was found in the villages located in the South-Eastern macroregion. Migration processes have been subject to many factors, often of a supra-local nature.

The most important factors determining the mobility of rural families include advancement in multifunctional development in rural areas, the situation on the local labour markets, distance from major cities, the level of agricultural development (particularly the agrarian structure of farms). The socio-demographic characteristics of migrants are also important, i.e. the level of education, age and gender.

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