

TRANSFORMATION OF THE MIGRATIONAL PROCESSES IN POLAND (1988-1994)

TOMASZ KOMORNICKI

The years 1988-1994 were a period of significant slowdown of the internal migrational processes in Poland. This was initially the derivative of the situation in the labour market and in the housing market. The increase of unemployment in the small and medium-sized urban centres effectively discouraged a significant number of potential migrants. Then, on the other hand, in large agglomerations, where unemployment is much lower, the barrier to migrational decisions lay with the difficulties in getting an apartment (the collapse of the housing sector and the high rents). I will present here a short characterisation of the scale of the afore-mentioned decrease of permanent migrations and its regional differentiation. Then, I will show the results of the study of migrational attractiveness of particular voivodships, carried out in 1996 by the Institute of Labour and Social Affairs.

However, let us note at this point that Polish statistics concerning migrations account for the persons who changed their residence and subsequently fulfilled the registration duty elsewhere. Thus, the statistics encompass the persons who register when they move to their new permanent residence (permanent migrations) and to a temporary one (temporary migrations), providing that they moved to another administrative unit of the basic level (commune – *gmina*). The data obtained in this manner bear a high degree of error due to the following factors:

- lack of data on significant mobility within large towns;
- lack of data on the significant number of persons who, due to various reasons, have not registered (e.g. in order to retain the right to the communal apartment);
- lack of data on the several thousand Poles who have been abroad for a number of years already, and who left the country with just a tourist passport;
- inclusion in the official data of the persons registering fictitiously (e.g. in order to secure payment of lower taxes and other dues, which are regionally differentiated).

During the last five years the importance of the error mentioned has certainly increased. Until 1989, namely, registration was subject to a much more rigorous state control. It can therefore be expected that the decrease of migrational flow was in reality somewhat smaller than is reflected in the official statistical data.

During the period analysed both the intensity of inter-voivodship and intra-voivodship migrations was on the decrease. The rural-to-urban migrations have been system-

atically decreasing each year from 234,000 persons in 1988 to a mere 130,000 in 1994. The positive net migration to towns diminished in this period from 144,000 persons to 40,000. Likewise, the intensity of migrations among towns systematically decreased, though the scale of this phenomenon was here smaller (a decrease from 171,000 persons in 1988 down to 130,000 in 1994). The downward tendency did not only affect the urban-to-rural migration flow. Consequently, the role played by the rural-to-urban migrations, which have been dominant among all the migration directions since World War II, diminished gradually. In 1994 for the first time the total number of persons migrating between towns was greater than those migrating from the countryside to towns.

Until 1992 there had also been a systematic increase of the share of intra-voivodship migrations, which brought a reduction in the average distance of permanent movements. This was the opposite tendency to that observed in the majority of highly developed countries. The greatest drop of mobility occurred among the young (15-29 years of age), traditionally those most often migrating. The socio-economic situation was more advantageous for older persons to make migrational decisions, especially for those with higher professional skills and greater financial options (the housing problem).

THE INTER-VOIVODSHIP AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATIONS

In the category of inter-voivodship migrations the greatest decrease of intensity of movements concerned the traditional rural-to-urban direction. It is characteristic that the decrease in this category continues. Migrations within the countryside decreased quickly in the period 1988-1990, while urban-to-rural migrations were decreasing only until 1989, after which a slow increase occurred.

The greatest inflow of migrants from other voivodships (per 1,000 inhabitants) persisted until the beginning of the 1990s in the mining and industrial basins (Katowice and, especially, Legnica voivodships). In 1994 the highest inflow was observed first of all in the large polifunctional urban agglomerations (Warsaw, Poznań, Gdańsk, Cracow and Wrocław), and in some submountainous areas (Jelenia Góra and Bielsko-Biała provinces). The greatest outflow, on the other hand, have been observed from Northern Poland (from Słupsk, Koszalin and Elbląg voivodships), from Northern Mazovia (from Łomża, Ostrołęka) and from the Sudetes Mountains.

The process of concentration of migrational flows in the towns of only some voivodships deepened still further. This found its expression in further decrease of the number of voivodships featuring positive net inter-voivodship migration for towns. In 1988 there were 39 such voivodships (out of the total of 49); in 1992, 25; and by 1994 only 18. In 1988 the highest positive net migrations characterised the towns in Katowice and Legnica provinces. Currently, it is the towns of Warsaw, Gdańsk, Cracow, Poznań and Wrocław voivodships that are at the forefront.

At the same time, the number of voivodships with positive net migrations to rural areas increases. In 1988 there were 6 such voivodships, while already by 1994 there were 10. Until 1993 a distinctly positive net migration to rural areas was displayed only by three voivodships (Katowice, Warsaw and Łódź). In 1994 the positive net migration in Katowice province drastically dropped, while, simultaneously, the positive net migration to rural areas increased in Cracow, Poznań and Jelenia Góra voivodships.

Legal foreign migration, meaning here emigration, concerns mainly persons acquiring German citizenship on the basis of having been born within the territory of the pre-war Germany, and of a declaration of belonging to the German ethnic minority. Over many years the highest negative net foreign migration was observed in Opole voivodship, for precisely the reason above. In 1994, however, the level of emigration was higher in Katowice voivodship. This may have resulted also from the worsening of the previously privileged position of the inhabitants of the Upper Silesian industrial region in terms of their standard of living. A new phenomenon appeared in the shape of legal immigration from abroad, encompassing primarily persons who return to Poland after several years of residing abroad and from the process of family re-unification. The inflow of legal immigrants from abroad concentrates mainly in the agglomeration-centred voivodships (especially in Warsaw and Gdańsk provinces).

Thus, the spatial distribution of voivodships with the highest positive total net inter-voivodship and international migrations underwent a significant transformation. In 1988 the highest positive net migrations were observed in the mining and industrial basins (Katowice, Legnica), as well as in Warsaw, Łódź and Poznań voivodships. (*Figure 1*) In 1994 the polifunctional urban agglomerations (Warsaw, Poznań, Cracow, Gdańsk and Wrocław) and Bielsko-Biała voivodship dominated. (*Figure 2*) These are the voivodships which simultaneously feature the highest dynamics of development of the private sector of economy and host the biggest foreign investments (e.g. Fiat Auto Poland in Bielsko-Biała voivodship).

THE INTRA-VOIVODSHIP MIGRATIONS

In the category of intra-voivodship migrations the dominating role is played consistently by the inter-town migrations. The dominating role of this type of migrations intensifies, because the decrease of their intensity in the period 1988-1994 was distinctly lower than along the rural-to-urban direction. The intra-voivodship migrations among villages and from towns to villages have remained at a level unchanged since 1990.

During the whole period analysed the northern and western parts of Poland featured higher intensity of intra-voivodship migrations. This especially applies to the so-called Regained Territories, where there was a complete exchange of population after World War II (increased propensity to migrate) and where agriculture had been until 1989 dominated by the state sector (lack of attachment to own land). During the 1990s this spatial distinction started to slowly diminish, since the drop of mobility within the

Figure 1
Total net inter-voivodship and international migrations, 1988

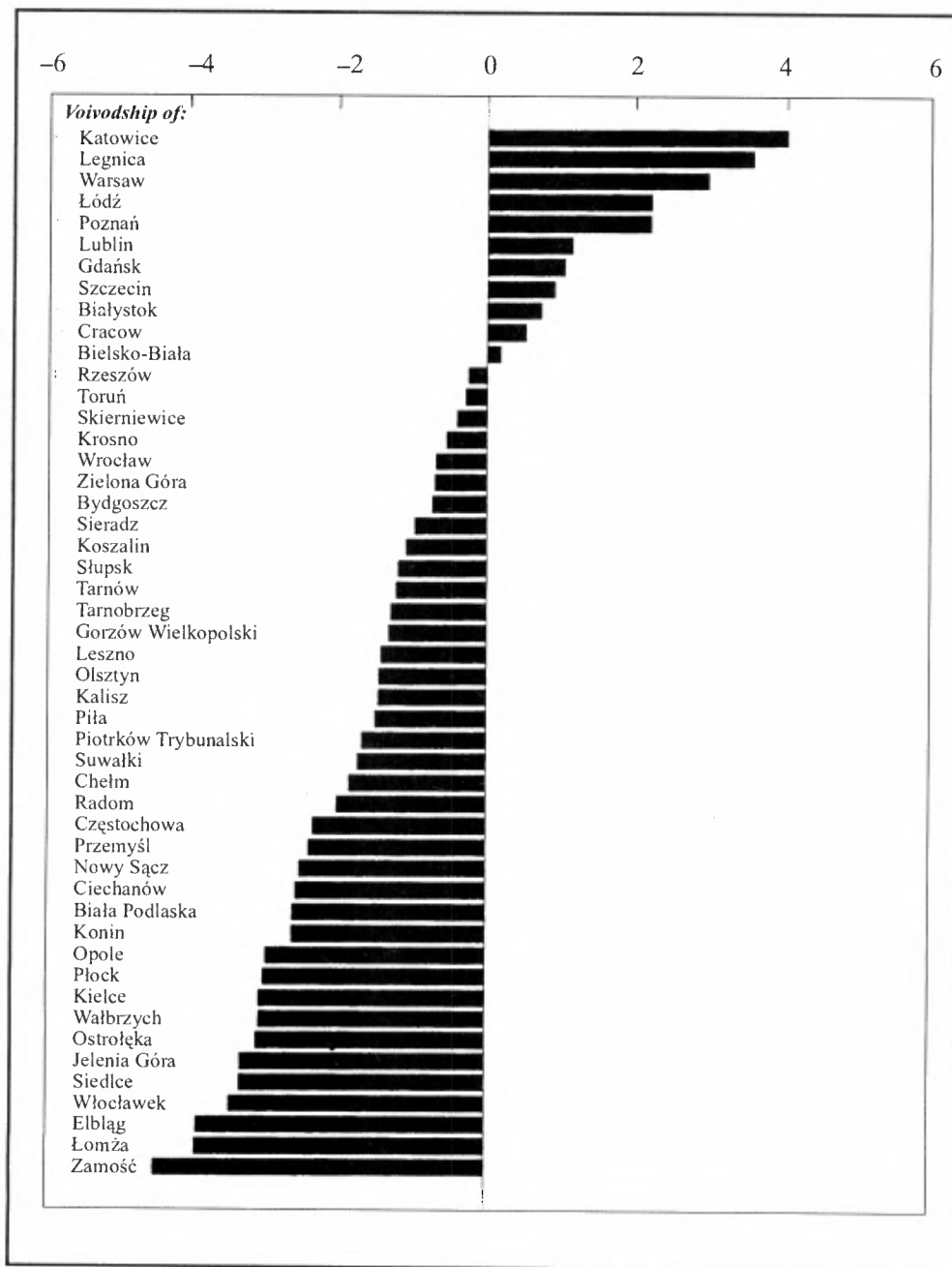


Figure 2
 Total net inter-voivodship and international migrations, 1994

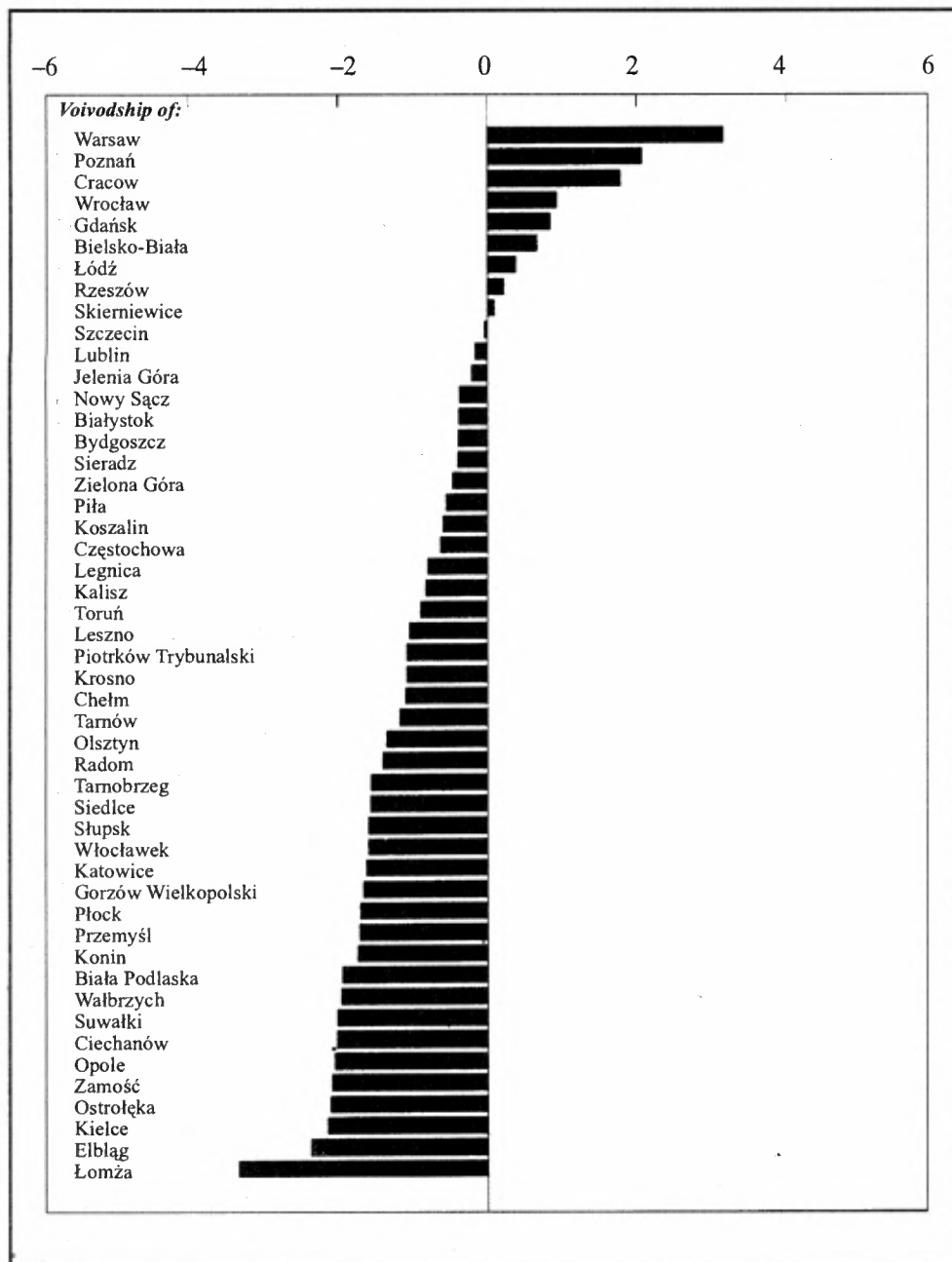


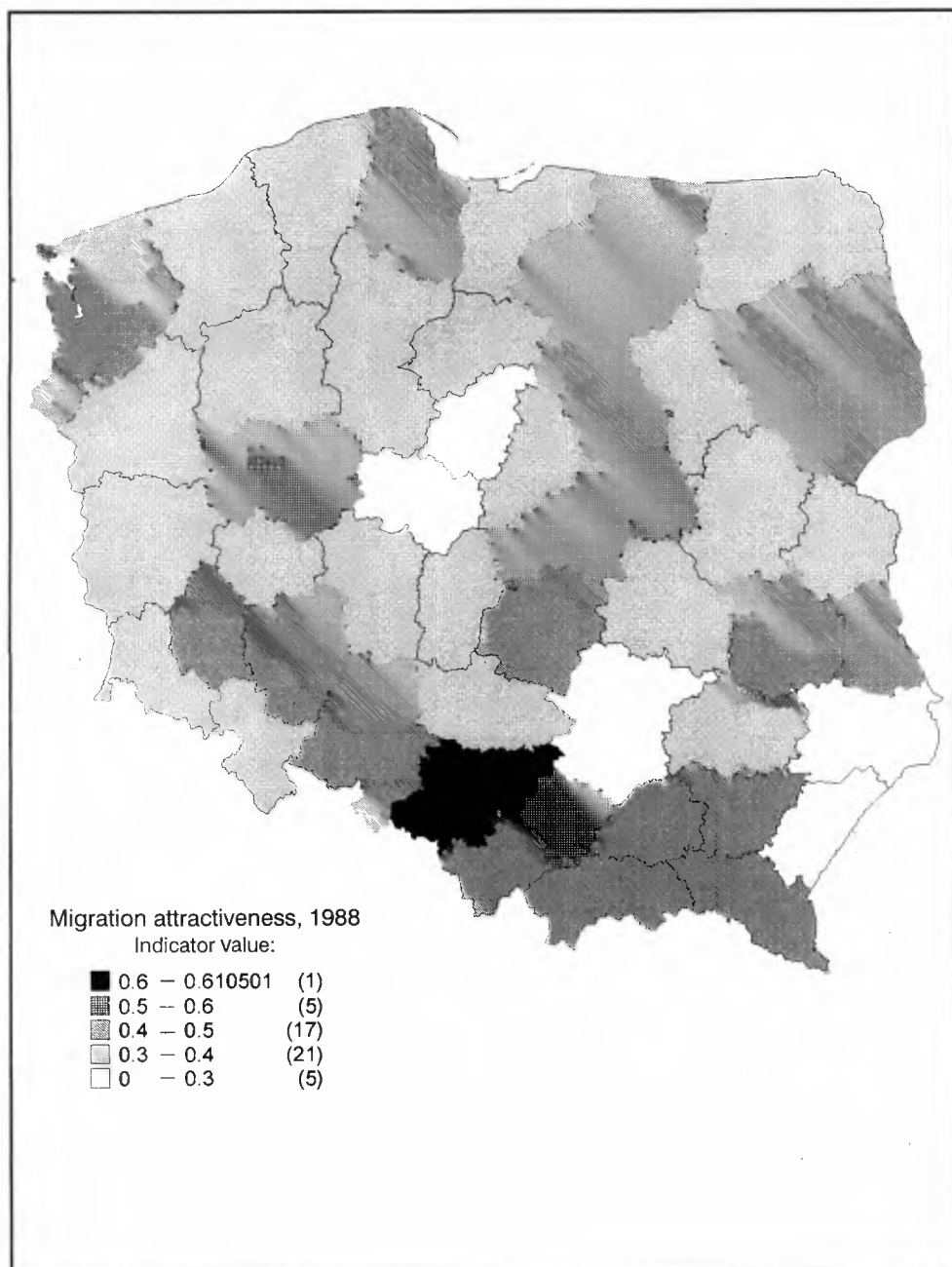
Table 1
Migration attractiveness, 1988

Rank	Voivodship of:	Indicator value
1	Katowice	0.6105
2	Łódź	0.5932
3	Cracow	0.5713
4	Warsaw	0.5583
5	Skierniewice	0.5144
6	Poznań	0.5075
7	Legnica	0.4979
8	Bielsko-Biała	0.4793
9	Opole	0.4737
10	Rzeszów	0.4708
11	Lublin	0.4655
12	Wrocław	0.4654
13	Chełm	0.4601
14	Gdańsk	0.4577
15	Białystok	0.4482
16	Szczecin	0.4378
17	Piotrków Trybunalski	0.4360
18	Ciechanów	0.4274
19	Łomża	0.4200
20	Olsztyn	0.4173
21	Tarnów	0.4149
22	Krosno	0.4123
23	Nowy Sącz	0.4010
24	Toruń	0.3959
25	Koszalin	0.3826
26	Zielona Góra	0.3789
27	Słupsk	0.3716
28	Tarnobrzeg	0.3707
29	Piła	0.3682
30	Bydgoszcz	0.3669
31	Sieradz	0.3610
32	Elbląg	0.3596
33	Gorzów Wielkopolski	0.3558
34	Leszno	0.3518
35	Kalisz	0.3504
36	Częstochowa	0.3490
37	Radom	0.3465
38	Jelenia Góra	0.3369
39	Ostrołęka	0.3361
40	Siedlce	0.3328
41	Biała Podlaska	0.3297
42	Płock	0.3230
43	Suwałki	0.3208
44	Wałbrzych	0.3136
45	Konin	0.2989
46	Włocławek	0.2946
47	Przemyśl	0.2938
48	Kielce	0.2829
49	Zamość	0.2616

Table 2
Migration attractiveness, 1994

Rank	Voivodship of:	Indicator value
1	Warsaw	0.7045
2	Cracow	0.7031
3	Gdańsk	0.6267
4	Wrocław	0.6230
5	Poznań	0.6138
6	Łódź	0.6130
7	Katowice	0.5591
8	Rzeszów	0.5312
9	Szczecin	0.5254
10	Bielsko-Biała	0.5183
11	Skierniewice	0.5005
12	Opole	0.4989
13	Lublin	0.4978
14	Jelenia Góra	0.4954
15	Sieradz	0.4854
16	Ciechanów	0.4832
17	Zielona Góra	0.4765
18	Chełm	0.4761
19	Toruń	0.4721
20	Białystok	0.4691
21	Legnica	0.4654
22	Olsztyn	0.4602
23	Częstochowa	0.4438
24	Nowy Sącz	0.4431
25	Piła	0.4421
26	Tarnów	0.4417
27	Słupsk	0.4398
28	Koszalin	0.4386
29	Siedlce	0.4380
30	Bydgoszcz	0.4373
31	Leszno	0.4237
32	Gorzów Wielkopolski	0.4147
33	Ostrołęka	0.4147
34	Kalisz	0.4130
35	Piotrków Trybunalski	0.4117
36	Łomża	0.4067
37	Tarnobrzeg	0.4038
38	Biała Podlaska	0.4029
39	Płock	0.3992
40	Wałbrzych	0.3916
41	Krosno	0.3914
42	Radom	0.3870
43	Przemyśl	0.3777
44	Włocławek	0.3739
45	Elbląg	0.3703
46	Zamość	0.3647
47	Suwałki	0.3643
48	Konin	0.3600
49	Kielce	0.3600

Figure 3
Migration attractiveness of Polish voivodships, 1988



western and northern Regained Territories was greater than in Central and Eastern Poland (in particular because of the collapse of the former state farms).

Since 1992 there has been a systematic increase in the role of intra-voivodship migrations from towns to villages in the agglomeration-centred voivodships (Warsaw, Gdańsk and Wrocław), in Legnica province and in some other voivodships of Western Poland. In the case of the former this is related to the flight of the wealthier towards suburban villas, in the case of the latter voivodships, to the return to the countryside of those having lost their jobs in industry.

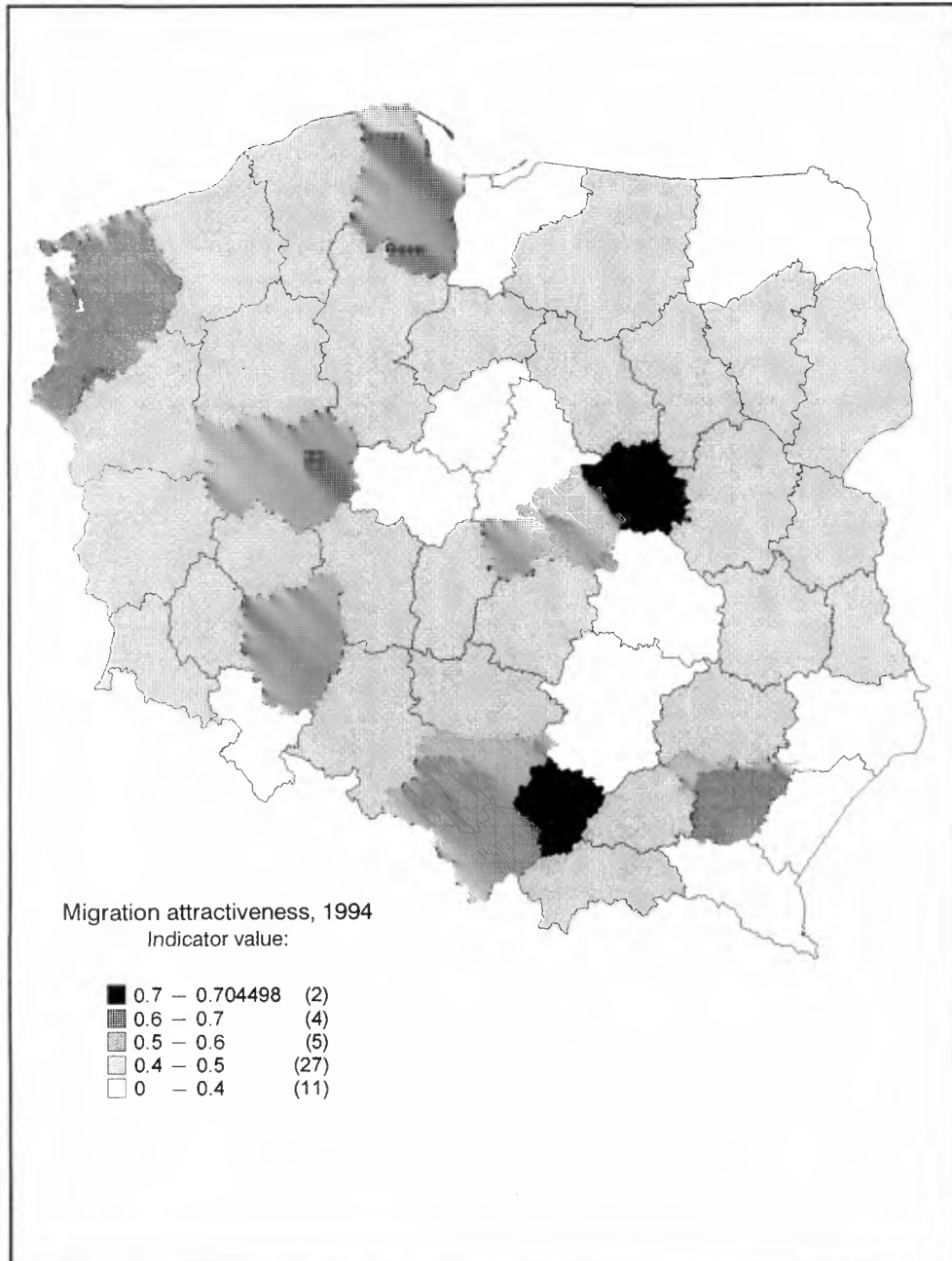
THE LEVEL OF MIGRATIONAL ATTRACTIVENESS OF VOIVODSHIPS

The analysis previously commented upon found its confirmation in the study of migrational attractiveness of voivodships, conducted by the Institute of Labour and Social Affairs. In this study nine variables were used to calculate the synthetic indicator of migrational attractiveness. Out of these nine variables six were describing in a direct manner the intensity of migration flow from and to a given voivodship, and two represented the structure of these flows. All the nine variables were ascribed the same weight. The indicator obtained is a statistical measure. Its values are comparable within one year. The changes in the period 1988-1994 can only be assessed in terms of the comparison of rankings.

In 1988 the highest attractiveness, both within the area under study and in the whole of Poland, was displayed by the most industrialised Katowice voivodship. (*Table 1, Figure 3*) The consecutive ranks were taken by the agglomeration-centred voivodships, with an interesting fact being the attractiveness of Łódź voivodship (featuring the biggest domination of industrial functions in this group of provinces) being higher than that of Cracow, Warsaw and Poznań voivodships. The remaining large agglomerations (Gdańsk, Wrocław and Szczecin) ranked far lower (in 14th, 12th and 16th respectively). A relatively high attractiveness was displayed, on the other hand, by almost all voivodships of the strongly industrialised southern parts of Poland, especially Legnica, Opole, Bielsko-Biała and Rzeszów, as well as Olsztyn, Białystok and Lublin provinces (where the biggest centres within the so-called Eastern Wall are located), and Piotrków voivodship (industrial development linked with the lignite mining in Bełchatów). The least attractive were the remaining eastern voivodships and the area of the Sudetes Mountains.

In 1994 the highest attractiveness indicator moved towards the units surrounding large agglomerations of polifunctional character, with Warsaw and Cracow voivodships being clear leaders. (*Table 2, Figure 4*) Of particular interest is the advance of Gdańsk (from 14th to 3rd position), Wrocław (from 12th to 4th position) and Szczecin (from 16th to 9th place). There was, on the other hand, a relative worsening of the position of Łódź voivodship. The typically industrial provinces dropped out of the top ten. Katowice fell from 1st to 7th position, and Legnica from 7th to 21st. The voivodships surrounding medium-sized centres in Southern and South-Eastern Poland (like

Figure 4
Migration attractiveness of Polish voivodships, 1994



Bielsko-Biała, Rzeszów, Lublin, Opole) retained their positions around 10th place. There was a downward move of the spatial units whose previous high attractiveness had been linked with the mining industry developing in the 1970s (Piotrków – lignite – from 17th to 35th position, Tarnobrzeg – sulphur – from 28th to 37th place).

The least attractive voivodships are still concentrated along the eastern border, in Małopolska (especially Kielce province) and in Kujawy. A very specific situation arose in the traditionally unattractive Sudetes Mountains. Wałbrzych voivodship remained in the bottom ten of the ranking, while Jelenia Góra advanced from 38th to 14th position. Similarly, the rank of the neighbouring Zielona Góra province improved from 26th to 17th position. In both cases this may be related to the peri-boundary prosperity of the 1990s. It is characteristic that all the four voivodships located along the western border of Poland improved their positions in the ranking (three of them to a very important degree). At the same time, out of the nine eastern border provinces seven moved down the ranking.

These voivodships rankings find their confirmation in the analysis of net inter-voivodship and international migrations for individual spatial units. (Figures 1, 2) Still, it must be noted that some voivodships retained their high relative attractiveness while having decidedly negative net migrations (like Katowice in 1994: 7th position in the ranking of attractiveness and 35th in the ranking of net migrations). This is connected with the persisting high absolute migrational inflow, high share of young people in the inflow and the positive net temporary migration (based on temporary residence registration).

SUMMARY

To sum up, let us state that the continuing decrease of internal mobility is by no means conducive to an equalisation of the living standards of Poles, whose differentiation has been on the increase during the systemic transformation period. On the one hand this makes it more difficult to fight unemployment, by deepening its concentration in the regions of the most pronounced economic collapse, and on the other hand – although this phenomenon is not that acute – it is one of the causes of persistent labour shortage, with the highest skills migrating to the most dynamically developing centres. In such a context it is possible to venture a proposition that the situation on the labour market is not only the cause, but to some extent also the effect of the slow-down of migrational movements. It appears that the factors limiting the mobility of Poles are as follows: firstly, the housing market situation; followed by a reluctance to make migrational decisions, caused by the shrinking of the protective role of the state; and only in the third place the situation in the labour market. Given this assumption, and the persisting crisis of the housing construction sector, it can hardly be expected that the tendency of decreasing migration flows will undergo an essential reversal in next few years.