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ABSTRACT. The article aims at the presentation of spatial distribution of migration of the elderly in Polish districts (poviats) in the years 1991 and 2001. The changes between those years were also shown. Two groups of elderly migrants were taken into account – the older productive aged 50-64 and post-productive aged 65 and over. Three measures of migration were used – the immigration rate, emigration rate and net migration rate. The analysis of spatial distribution of elderly migration showed that the tendencies among people aged 50-64 and over 65 are generally similar to the trends in migration of total population.

KEY WORDS: The elderly, population ageing, migration, spatial distribution.

Age strongly affects the likelihood that a person will move. Rates of moving usually peak between the ages of 18 and 30 and generally decrease until very late in life, perhaps because failing health forces some people to change their living arrangements. Migration of older people interests researchers, government, public agencies, the media, and other organizations because of its potential effects on the economic, social, and demographic composition of local areas (He, Schachter, 2003).

There are some differences between migration causes of different subgroups of the elderly. Whilst many of the young-old engage in numerous activities and travel widely, health related problems and disablements grow with further ageing and make the old-old more dependent on social infrastructure (Kemper, 1993). At the oldest ages, many older people who initially moved away at retirement may have returned to their states of origin, perhaps to be closer to fami-

ly or simply to return home. At advanced ages, health concerns may force some people to move closer to or in with their children, to assisted care facilities, or to nursing homes in search for support.

The importance of climate (i.e., warmer weather) is often mentioned regarding elderly migration. In America Florida absorbs a large number of older movers from the colder Northeast and Midwest regions, who may have moved in search of a milder climate in which to retire (sun cities). The relatively newly-recognised phenomenon is international retirement migration including settlement along the shores of the Mediterranean by retired northern Europeans and North Americans (King, Warnes and Williams, 1998, Warnes and Patterson 1998, Williams and Patterson 1998, King and Patterson 1998, Rodriguez, Fernandez-Mayoralos and Rojo, 1998). Other aspects of the local area, especially the availability of health care services and facilities (including the ability to pay for these services), become increasingly important. Studies have also found an increase in elderly migration from urban to rural areas. In fact, the migration of the elderly from metropolitan areas contributed substantially to the growth of nonmetropolitan areas. The result is the redistribution of the aged to areas that are more suitable environmentally, a shift that calls attention to emerging needs for new amenities and services (Demography of Ageing, 1994).

The article aims at the presentation of spatial distribution of migration of the elderly in Polish districts (powiats) in the years 1991 and 2001. The changes between those years were also shown. Two groups of elderly migrants were taken into account – the older productive aged 50-64 and post-productive aged 65 and over. Three measures of migration were used – the immigration rate, emigration rate and net migration rate.

The pace of migrations of the elderly in Poland is connected with the increase of older persons (Potrykowska, 2003). In the years 1991-2001 the number of population aged 65 and over increase from 3.957 to 4.832 thousand (by 22%) whilst the total population rose only by 0.8%. Also the number of near old population (aged 50-64) increased from 5.673 to 6.121 thousand (by 7.9%). Territorially the old population aged over 65 concentrated in central and eastern Poland while the northern and western lands were demographically younger, however the dynamics of ageing was there the highest (Kurek 2003). The spatial distribution of population aged 50-64 was similar in 1991 but 10 years later the highest percentage of this group occurred in central and western Poland. The number of total migration in the period under study fell from 505.3 to 369.3 thousand (by 16.9%) while the number of migration of population aged 65 and over decreased by 10.9% (from 23.6 to 21.1 thousand). However, the magnitude of migration at the age 50-64 recorded a considerable increase from 22.5 to 26.3 thousand (by 17%). The percentage of migration of persons aged over 65 in the total number of migration increased from 4.7 to 5.7 and in the case of age group 50-64 from 4.5 to 7.1. This indicates the growing role of

migration of the elderly in the total moves. In 1991 in towns the net migration was positive for both age groups while in 2001 it was negative in the case of population aged 50-64.

In 1991 the immigration rate among population aged 50-64 ranged from 1.2‰ in włoszczowski district to 16.2‰ in Suwałki. High population inflow was recorded mainly in small peripheral districts (lęborski 10.3‰, lidzbarski 9.9‰, kamieński 9.1‰), smaller urban district (Leszno 10.3‰, Zamość 9.7‰, Chełm 8.5‰) and also in districts located around large towns (poznański 9.3‰, piaseczyński and bydgoski 8.6‰, koszaliński 8.5‰). Few people aged 50-64 migrated into large centers (Łódź 1.5‰, Toruń 1.7‰,Warsaw 1.8‰, Szczecin 2.2‰). What is symptomatic, territorially the highest values of immigration rate of immobile productive age occurred in demographically young areas of northern and western Poland. In 2001 the situation among this age group was much clearer. The highest immigration rates were observed in suburban area of large cities (piaseczyński district 17.7‰, poznański 15.5‰, policki 14.9‰, warszawski zachodni 14.5‰) while lowest rates occurred in urban districts (Bytom 1.0‰, Łódź 1.6‰, Jaworzno and Zabrze 1.8‰) of different population size. Low values were also recorded in small, peripheral located districts of central and eastern Poland (sejneński 1.3‰, łosicki 2.1‰). In the period under study those suburban districts recorded the most significant increase of the immigration rate (warszawski zachodni by 10.0 ‰ points) while towns recorded decline of the values of the rate (Suwałki by 9.5‰ points). More units (211 out of 373) observed increase of the measure, while decrease concerned districts of northern and western Poland.

The emigration rates of population aged 50-64 were also differentiated and ranged from 1.4‰ (łosicki district in mazowieckie province) to 16.2 ‰ (grudziądzki district). In spatial distribution, the areas of population outflow of this age group occurred in northern, western and eastern border area of Poland (especially warmińsko-mazurskie, podlaskie and zachodnio-pomorskie provinces). People in the older productive age seldom left their place of living in southern and central Poland (especially in małopolskie and podkarpackie provinces). In 2001 people aged 50-64 emigrated mostly from towns with large share of services (Sopot 11.8‰, Ostrołęka 8.3‰, Świnoujście 7.4‰) and from towns with restructuring of mining industry (Jastrzębie-Zdrój 10.3‰, Żory 9.1‰, Tarnobrzeg 7.6‰). The spatial distribution of emigration rate did not change and the lowest value were observed in myślenicki district (1.3‰). In the years 1991-2001 significant increase of the rate was generally observed in towns and the highest in Żory (5.9‰ points) with 180 units of positive change, located mainly in southern, south-western and central part of the country. Decrease of this rate occurred in northern and western Poland with the lowest value in grudziądzki district (-8.5‰).

In 1991 nearly half districts (182 units) were characterised by positive net migration rate of population aged 50-64. The highest values were recorded in

medium-sized urban districts (Suwałki 11.5‰, Zamość 5.6‰, Leszno 5.1‰, Grudziądz 4.2‰) and units located around largest cities (poznański 3.7‰, piaseczyński 3.4‰). The lowest rates were noted in peripheral districts especially in eastern, north-eastern and western Poland but the lowest value occurred in grudziądzki district (-7.6‰). In 2001 the number of units with positive net migration rate of this age group rose to 232 (62% of total) and the record value occurred in poznański district (37.4‰). High values were also observed in other suburban districts (piaseczyński 11.6‰, warszawski 9.8‰, gdański 8.9‰, olsztyński 8.4‰, koszaliński 8.0‰, wielicki 7.1‰, toruński 6.8‰ and bydgoski 6.7‰). The lowest negative net migration rates of population aged 50-64 occurred in urban districts (Poznań -15.2‰, Jastrzębie-Zdrój -8.3‰, Żory -6.0‰, Sopot -5.4‰, Kalisz -4.7‰, Świnoujście -4.4‰).

Among population aged 65 and over, the highest immigration rates in 1991 were recorded in medium-sized urban districts (Suwałki 23‰, Tarnobrzeg 15.8‰, Leszno 15.0‰) and in units located in northern and western Poland (elbląski district 17.8‰, białogardzki 17.2‰, olsztyński 16.0‰) as well as on its eastern border. Low old population inflow was characteristic in the areas of central and southern part of the country (skierniewicki district 1.5‰, tyski 2.3‰, suski i brzozowski 2.4‰) and also in large towns (Łódź 2.4‰, Katowice and Toruń 3.3‰, Cracow 3.4‰). In 2001 similarly, the highest values were observed in districts of northern and western Poland (międzychodzki 21.3‰, kołobrzeski 13.1‰, szczecinecki 12.6‰) and in units located around large centres (piaseczyński 14.7‰, koszaliński 12.1‰, toruński 11.9‰, poznański 11.4‰). People aged over 65 moved unwillingly to central and southern Poland, both to urban and rural districts (Bytom 1.4‰, Łódź 1.7‰, Warsaw 1.9‰, garwoliński 1.4‰, przeworski 1.5‰, strzelecki 1.6‰). In the period 1991-2001 increase of immigration rate was observed only in 75 units and they concentrated in central Poland (around Warsaw and Łódź), southern Poland (districts located in the Carpathians) and in the coast. The decrease of immigration rate occurred in medium-sized urban districts and peripheral units located in north-eastern Poland.

The highest emigration rates of the old population occurred in 1991 in northern and western Poland and also along eastern border (lidzbarski district 20.2‰, elbląski 16.9‰, bartoszycki 16.1‰). Low emigration of the old was observed in central and southern Poland both from rural and largest urban districts (tyski 1.9‰, żywiecki 2.3‰ and Łódź 2.3‰, Warsaw 2.6‰). In 2001 the spatial distribution of emigration rates of population aged over 65 did not change. The highest values were observed in olsztyński (11.3‰), szczecinecki (9.9‰) and elbląski (9.7‰) and the lowest ones in myślenicki (1.8‰), leżajski (1.9‰) and suski (2.0‰). In 1991-2001 only 41 districts the emigration rates recorded an increase and they did not show spatial concentration. The largest decrease occurred in north-eastern and western Poland (in lidzbarski district by 11.8‰ points).

In 1991 the positive migration net rate among people aged 65 and over was observed in nearly half districts (177 units) and the highest values were recorded in medium-sized towns (Suwałki 16.7‰, Leszno 9.5‰, Łomża 6.8‰, Tarnów 5.4‰, Grudziądz 5.7‰) and also in other districts (janowski and białogardzki 7.0‰, raciborski 5.8‰, pucki 5.7‰, gryfiński 5.6‰). The lowest values occurred in some smaller units with small towns (lidzbarski -7.9‰, sławieński -5.8‰, suwalski -5.6‰, choszczeński -5.4%). The spatial layout of net migration rate of the elderly was very complex. In 2001 positive net migration rate of this age group occurred in more than half analysed units (191) and the highest value was recorded in poznański district (18.6‰). High positive migration balance occurred in medium urban districts (Suwałki 9.6‰, Siedlce 7.7‰, Żory 6.0‰, Ostrołęka 5.0‰). The lowest value occurred in Poznań (-9.2‰) which indicates migration flow from Poznań to its surroundings. In spatial layout the areas with positive net migration balance of the elderly were located around some large towns (Gdańsk, Koszalin, Poznań, Bydgoszcz-Toruń) while negative rate was observed in western part of the country, close to the German border and also in north-eastern areas. In the years under investigation the net migration rate increased in 200 units and the highest increase occurred in poznański district (by 18.9‰ points) while the decrease was characterised for urban districts.

The analysis of spatial distribution of elderly migration showed that the tendencies among people aged 50-64 and over 65 are generally similar to the trends in migration of total population. People of analysed ages migrate from urban to suburban areas, however this direction was more pronounced in the case of old productive group (aged 50-64). It was confirmed by the correlation coefficient of net migration rate between total population and elderly population. The migrations of population aged 50-64 are in better correlation with migration of total population (the value of coefficient 0.663) than in the case of old persons aged over 65 (0.499). It could be this because oldest people move from towns to the country as return migration, coming back to their place of birth. The spatial distribution of elderly migration rates indicated that larger mobility occurred in western and northern Poland, although the share of old population on these areas is smaller than in central and eastern Poland. But on the other hand the dynamics of ageing is higher in northern and western part of Poland. Nevertheless, the decrease of immigration and emigration rates in those areas can lead to disappear of the differences between west and east and north and south.

Migration of the elderly population in Poland do not follow trends of high-developed countries where retired persons move to attractive places with beautiful landscape and surroundings (i.e. seashore, mountainous areas). These trends are not yet so popular among the elderly in Poland and the difference may result from lower incomes of Polish retirees.

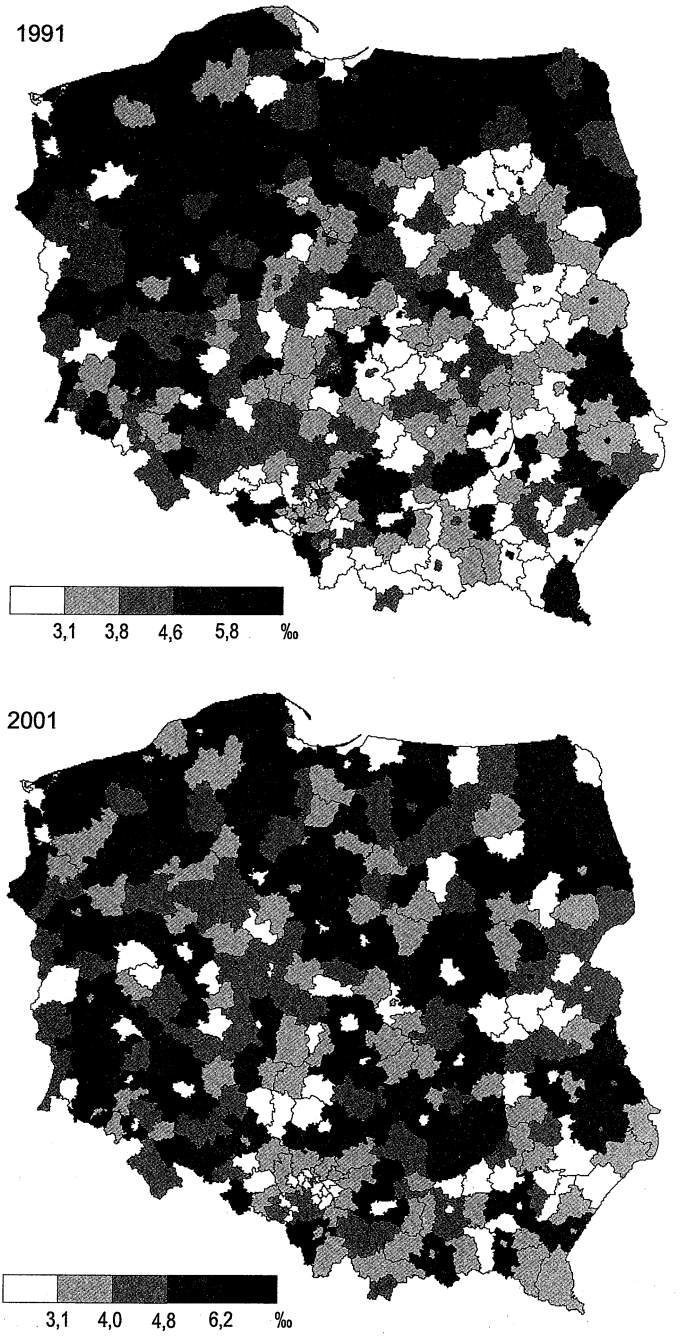

Fig. 1. Immigration rate of population aged 50-64
Source: author's own elaboration based on the data from Statistical Office, Warsaw

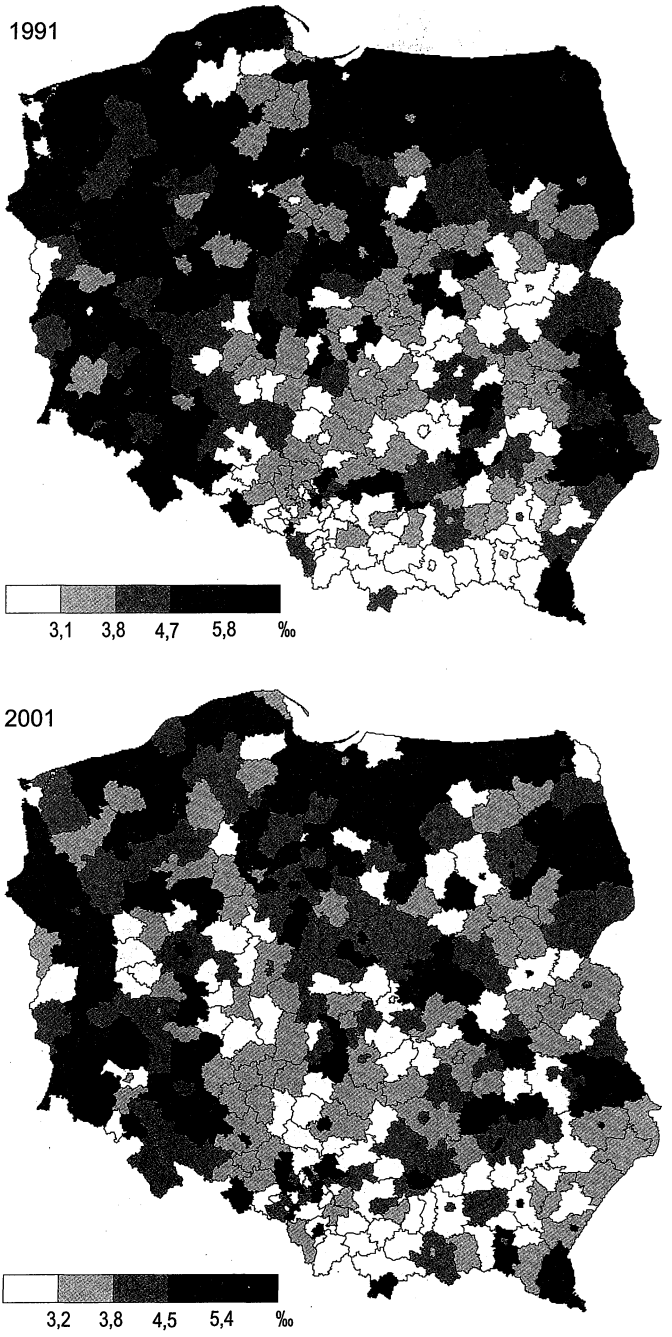

Fig. 2. Emigration rate of population aged 50-64
Source: author's own elaboration based on the data from Statistical Office, Warsaw

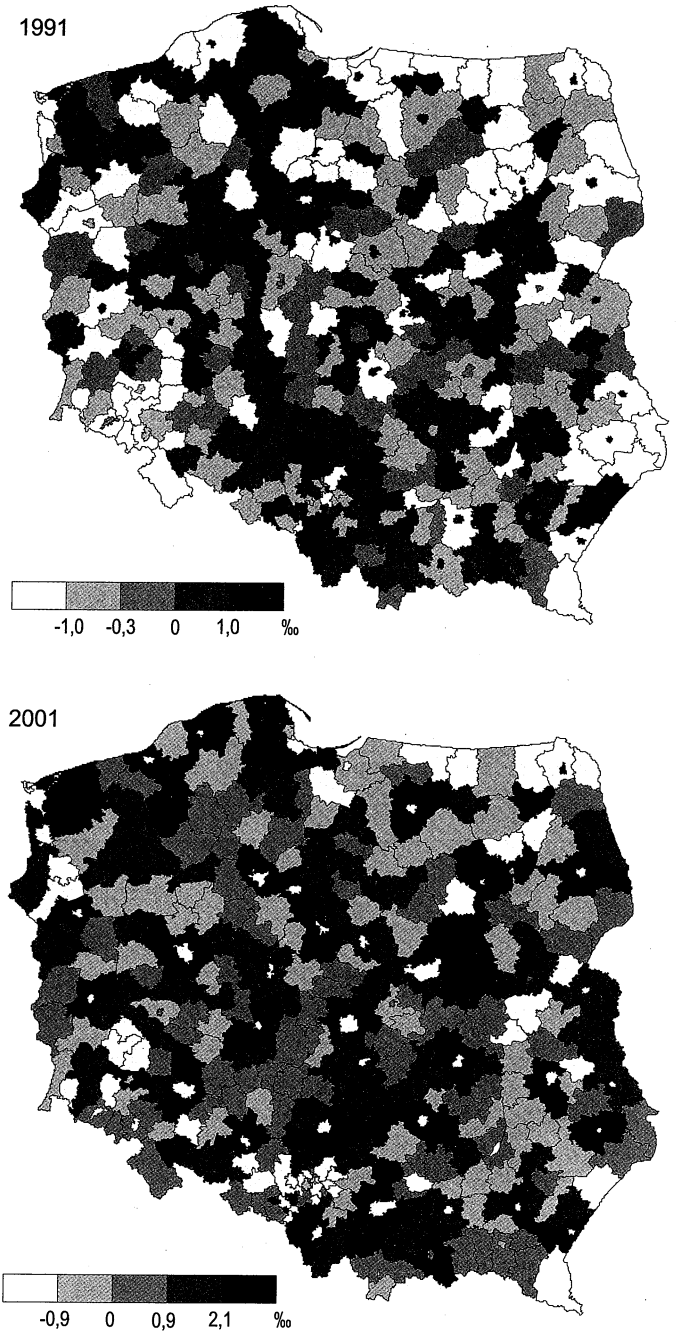

Fig. 3. Net migration rate of population aged 50-64
Source: author's own elaboration based on the data from Statistical Office, Warsaw

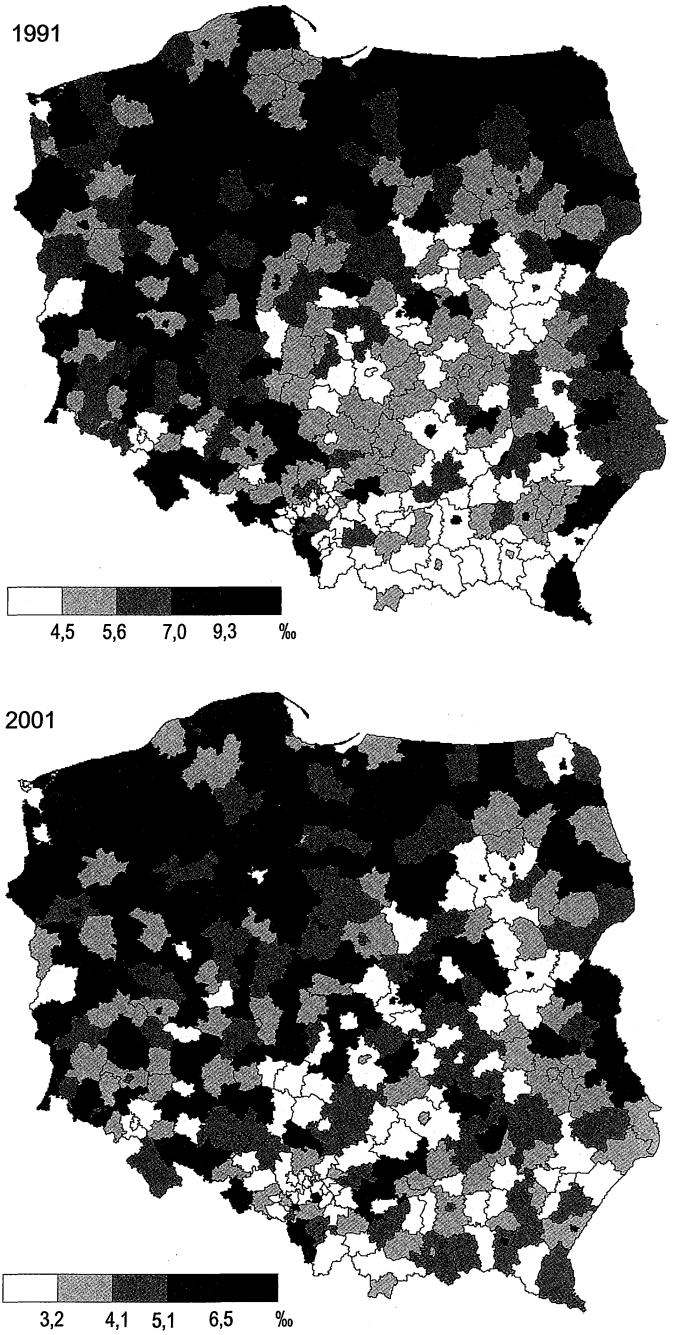

Fig. 4. Immigration rate of population aged over 65
Source: author's own elaboration based on the data from Statistical Office, Warsaw

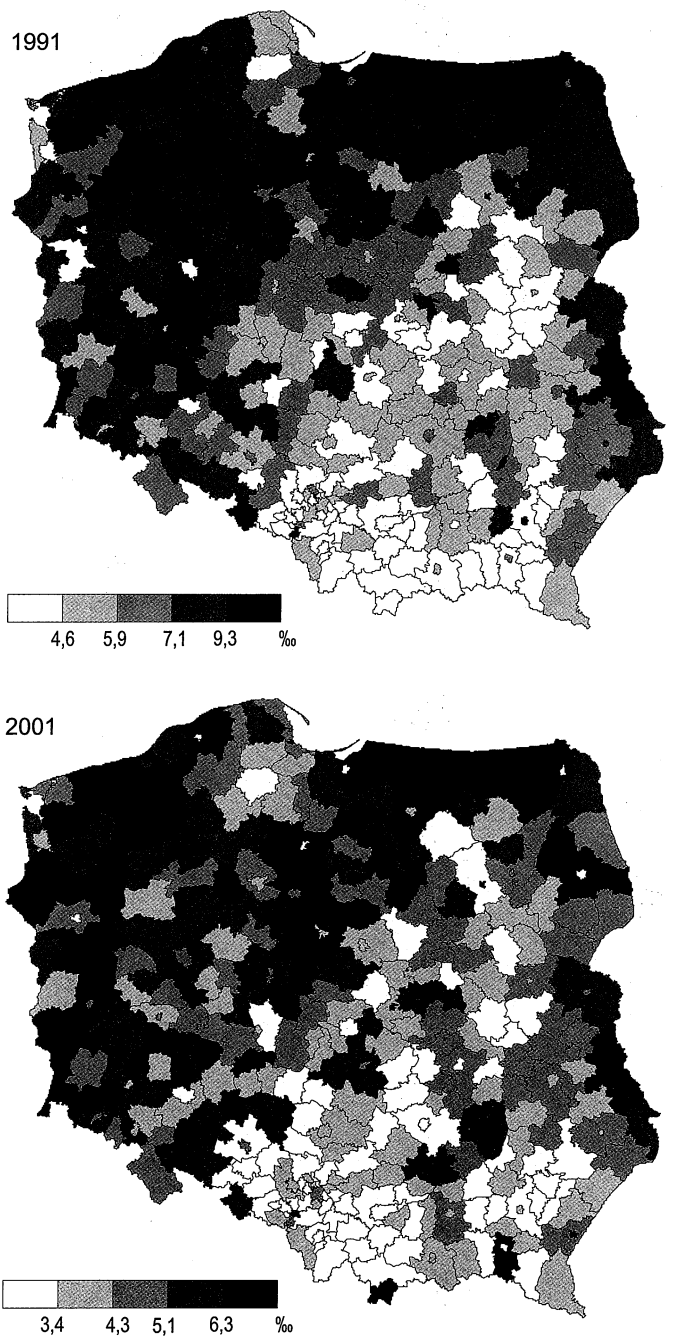

Fig. 5. Emigration rate of population aged over 65
Source: author's own elaboration based on the data from Statistical Office, Warsaw

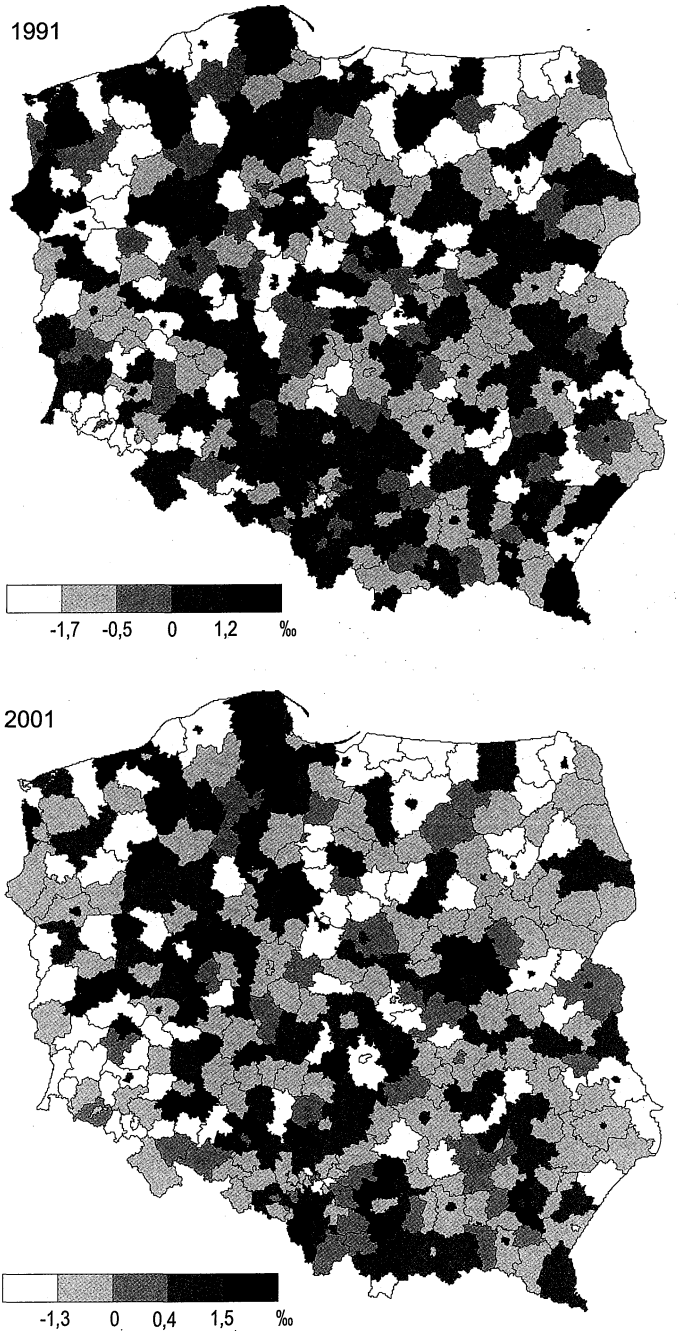

Fig. 6. Net migration rate of population aged over 65
Source: author's own elaboration based on the data from Statistical Office, Warsaw

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