

## **IV. DYNAMICS AND PROCESSES OF POPULATION MIGRATION IN THE POLISH TOWNS**

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### **THE SCALE OF IMPACT EXERTED BY BYDGOSZCZ AND TORUŃ IN THE SCOPE OF PERMANENT MIGRATION AND ITS ROLE IN THE SUBURBANIZATION PROCESS**

#### **Abstract**

The article discusses outflow and inflow of population from and to the towns of Bydgoszcz and Toruń, respectively, and the extent of their impact. The analysis of permanent movement to and from Bydgoszcz as well as to and from Toruń focused mainly on the 1990s; however, wherever possible we tried to include also some earlier years into the study. Because of the absence of data only intensity, directions and scope of spatial impacts were identified, assuming at the same time that migration was only one element testifying to the links between a given town and its close and more distant surrounding. The links result from both real socio-economic connections and from the history of the existing spatial relations in Bydgoszcz and Toruń.

#### **Comments to the results of the empirical study**

Examination of the town-region relationships reveals a clear feedback. On the one hand, the extent of impacts and the force with which a region is attracted by a town largely depends on its size, economic potential and attractiveness, but, on the other hand, the size of the impacted area and the attraction force of a town result from the expansion of the transportation system, the density of settlements, mobility of population in its surrounding, as well as the level of its urbanization and industrialization. Relations between a town and its region are usually identified by analyzing relationships occurring within transportation, demography, food supply, trade and finance, administration, health care, culture, politics and religion, as well as recreation. In the case of Bydgoszcz and Toruń relationships between the towns and their surrounding that were found and the extent of their impact were examined using discernible relationships within the movements of population (permanent internal migrations).

Under the transformed socio-economic and geopolitical circumstances of Poland a new stage in the evolution of migration commenced; it is characterized by a general growth in the complexity of the migration process, partial reorientation of international and internal movements and a set of qualitatively new phenomena and side-effects (the recognition of which requires many systematic analyses).

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In the span of the recent years the scale, directions and complexity of the triggered territorial movements of population have changed. This is expressed through:

1. A building-up downward trend within the geographical mobility of population, both regional and inter-voivodship, that started at the end of the 1970s;
2. Large reduction in the size of permanent international migration, accompanied by a higher than before scale of foreigners' inflow.

We have been able to observe a downward trend in the growth of urban population, being due to smaller numerous cohorts of the demographic trough of the 1960s entering the procreation age, declining parity of women, lower intensity of migration and the overall socio-economic crisis at the beginning of the 1990s, being the cost of the socio-economic and political transition of the country.

One of the major factors shaping the size of inflow and outflow caused by the transition from a central command economy to a market economy is labor market comprising three elements: the number of job offers, the level of wages and available housing. An important factor affecting the size of the internal inflow is the pauperization process in the society, that limits its mobility because of the high costs of changing residence.

The numbers of persons changing their area of residence have been declining every year (1960 – 1 256 200; 1970 – 881 900; 1980 – 895 300; 1985 – 650 600; 1990 – 529 900; 1995 – 419 700; 1997 – 417 000; 1998 - 425 900 persons). As a consequence, the spatial mobility of population declined in 1998 to 10-11 persons, (1995 - 11 persons per 1000 of population), whereas in the year 1960 residence was changed by over 42 persons per 1000, in 1970 – 27 persons, and in 1980 – 25 persons.

Migration effects, that is the net internal migration, vary depending on the size of a town and the distance from a town. Since the end of the 1980s, however, we have been able to observe a declining amplitude of migration.

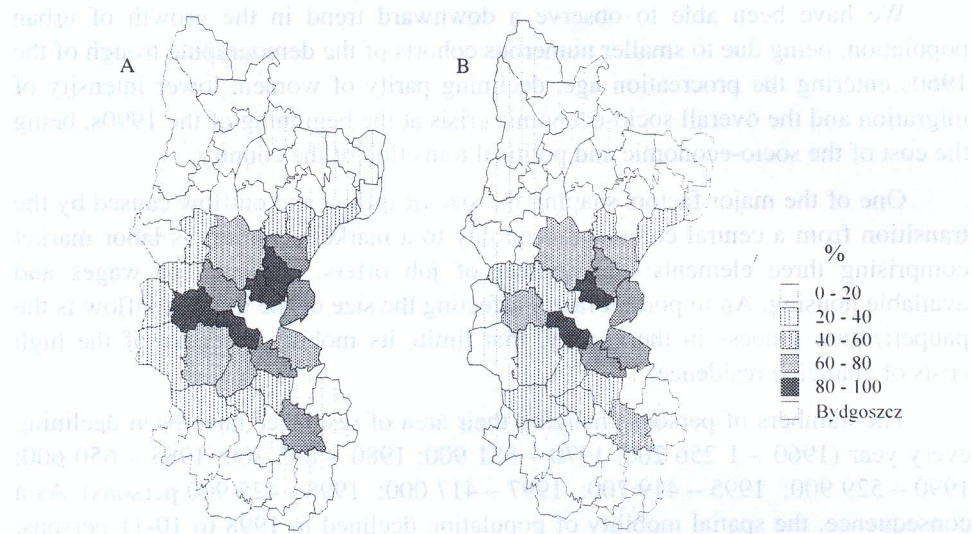
The smallest towns, to 5 000 of population, generally have net out-migration; in this sense they feed demographic development of the larger urban areas. On the other hand, the small towns themselves have been growing due to the natural growth that has been steadily dropping. In towns with population from 5 000 to 10 000 the migration balance is positive, but it is still relatively much below the all-town average.

Regarding large cities (Bydgoszcz, Toruń, etc.) we have been generally able to observe two contradicting trends. On the one hand, we can find quite large interest in seeking residence in cities (even though the inflow has been steadily declining), but on the other residents of these urban areas resettle permanently to the peripheries of towns and to urban areas of the adjacent communes.

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Since the beginning of the 1990s we have been able to observe larger movement of urban population from Bydgoszcz to the rural areas. The main waves of migrants have been received by the adjacent communes: Dąbrowa Chełmińska, Dobrcz, Osielsko, Sicienko, Białe Błota, Nowa Wieś Wielka and Solec Kujawski (see graphs 1 and 2).

**Graph 1. Concentration of regional inflow (A) and outflow (B) of population to and from Bydgoszcz in 1990-1996**



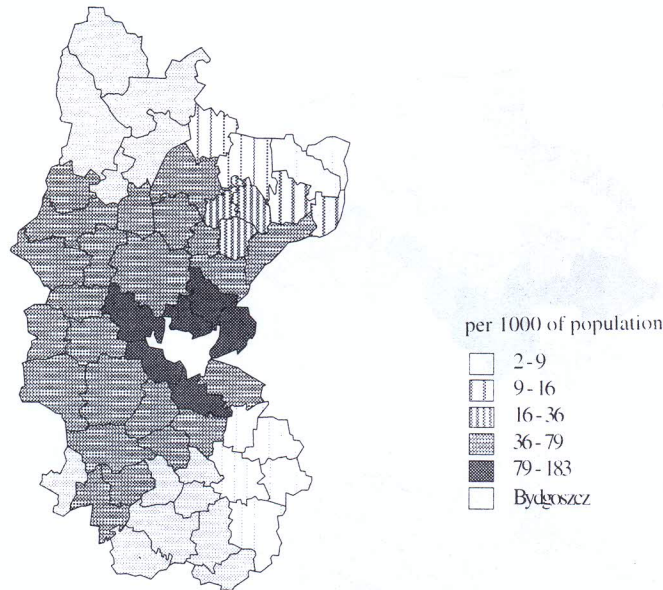
In the years 1990 – 1997 in the total inflow to Bydgoszcz migrants who came from outside the voivodship of Bydgoszcz accounted for 58.6%; from within the region (i.e. from the former voivodship of Bydgoszcz) 28%; and from the immediate suburban area (adjacent communes) 13.4%.

Within the outflow, however, 58% of migrants moved outside the voivodship of Bydgoszcz, 23% moved from Bydgoszcz to the former voivodship of Bydgoszcz and as much as 19% of all migrants chose the adjacent areas. Therefore, Bydgoszcz received 13.4% of all migrants from the adjacent areas, and as much 19% of all outflow going from the city to suburban areas. In the migratory turnover in Bydgoszcz the national turnover accounted for 58.1%, regional (the voivodship) 25.9% and local (adjacent communes) as much as 16%.

Regarding both Bydgoszcz and Toruń we need to note that even though the migratory inflow remained at the same level in the period in question (1990–1997), the outflow was steadily growing. It seems that due to the continually increasing out-migration of population to the adjacent communes the size of the regional outflow from Bydgoszcz will be going up every year. This is further reflected in the growing number of population in the adjacent communes and a young demographic structure of these areas.

In that period the regional outflow showed an upward trend. In 1990 exactly 661 persons emigrated from Bydgoszcz, 964 persons in 1992, 1 150 in 1996, and as many as 1 215 in 1997. It seems that the upward trend in the regional outflow from Bydgoszcz will continue in the following years. Most of the regional outflow is and will be received by the neighboring communes, where on one hand we can observe a growth in the number of population due to the inflow of young migrants and a higher procreation of population on the other (these are young persons at procreation age). Therefore, some demographic rejuvenation occurs in the adjacent communes.

**Graph 2. Regional migration turnover in the city of Bydgoszcz in 1990-1996**

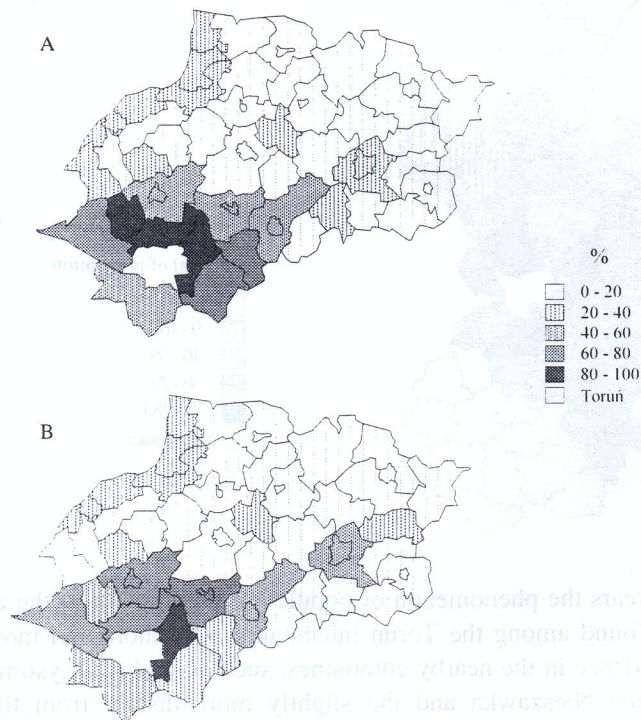


In the recent years the phenomenon of population flowing out to the adjacent communes can be found among the Toruń inhabitants, who more and more often seek permanent residence in the nearby communes, such as: Lubicz, Łysomice, Zła Wieś Wielka, Wielka Nieszawka and the slightly more distant from the town communes of: Chełmża, Kowalewo and Golub Dobrzyń.

Almost 40% of the migratory inflow to Toruń is produced by the adjacent voivodships— 35%; 40% from the former voivodship of Toruń and 24.9% from the rest of the country. The contribution of adjacent communes surrounding Toruń to the inflow was 37.8% in the period 1990-1997, and as much as 43.8% in the outflow. Similar amounts were observed in the outflow from Toruń; as much as 30.3% of it directed to the area of the adjacent voivodships, 38.9% to the voivodship of Toruń and 30.8% to other areas in Poland.

Generally, the local inflow of migrants to Toruń was characterized by only slightly higher values than the outflow. In the years 1990-1997 Toruń received 2 068 persons from the adjacent communes and lost 1 673 persons. The net migration at that time was still positive and amounted to 395 persons. However, our study shows a steady upward trend in the outflow of population to adjacent communes, particularly that the difference between the standard of living in towns and in suburban areas is increasingly blurred. The neighboring communes develop, apart from their agricultural and industrial-warehousing functions, (as shown by our research in the communes of: Wielka Nieszawka, Lubicz and Łysomice) also housing, recreational and other functions.

**Graph 3. Concentration of regional inflow (A) and outflow (B) of population to and from Toruń, years 1990-1997**

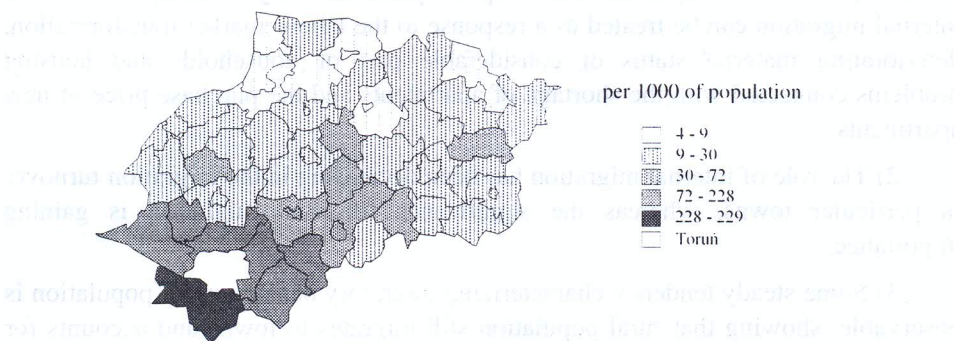


It is also worth adding that the cities of: Bydgoszcz, Toruń, Włocławek, Chełmno, and even Inowrocław, have retained or slightly increased their numbers of population because of the still positive net internal migration (declining every year), that compensates for the losses caused by the dropping natural growth. And even though the years 1990-1997 were characterized by a steadily declining positive balance of internal migration (in Bydgoszcz from 1 400 in 1990 to 300

persons in 1996, in Toruń the balance was 4 191 persons (years 1990–1997), the balance played the primary role in the real growth in population in the above cities.

The final conclusion is that in the migration - turnover to and from large cities - the role of the regional turnover (adjacent communes and the voivodship) has been growing, whereas the country's share in this phenomenon - has been declining.

**Graph 4. Regional migration turnover in Toruń in 1990-1997**



Repeat migration (commuting to work, schools, etc.), permanent migration and social changes reflect intensive migration processes taking place also in the suburban areas (communes adjacent to large cities). They are attractive enough to pull towards both permanent migrants and investors.

As we have already mentioned the local outflow of population from large cities to their suburban area has been growing – it is steady and, as it seems, permanent in nature. So, today a trend to leave large cities and to settle in suburban areas seems to be formed.

The reason for this is more attractive development land prices in rural areas located in the sphere of influence of large cities compared with urban prices. In addition, the growing number of means of transport, especially the higher number of automobiles, causes that cheaper suburban areas become more accessible, that the time needed to travel from suburbs to the workplace (usually located in the town) is frequently similar to the commuting time between a residential area and a workplace within the city limits (Kotowska, 1998).

Besides, the development of telecommunications makes living in rural areas much less onerous (development of telephone network, digital telephone technology, access to Internet). An additional factor attracting potential migrants is environmental values, such as pollution in the natural environment lower than in urban areas, availability of the so-called natural food, lower noise, lower crime rates, etc.

The circumstances, both economic and related to the quality of life, may cause that in the next years the trend to leave towns and seek residence in suburban areas will largely intensify.

The analysis seems to acknowledge certain trends in migratory behaviours, namely:

1) The overall geographical mobility of population has been declining, which affects towns and cities of all sizes. The increase in urban population supported by the still positive net migration. The drop in spatial mobility resulting from lower internal migration can be treated as a response to the labour market transformation, deteriorating material status of considerable part of households and housing problems connected with the shortage of apartments and the purchase price of new apartments;

2) The role of internal migration has been decreasing in the migration turnover in particular towns, whereas the significance of local migration is gaining importance;

3) Some steady tendency characterizing migratory behaviours of population is observable, showing that rural population still migrates to towns and accounts for over 60% of the migratory turnover. At the same time some patterns can be noted: small towns receive mainly population from rural areas, medium-sized towns (Inowrocław, Chełmno, Działdowo etc.) from rural areas and small towns. On the other hand, medium-sized towns are left by people mainly in favour of large cities and sometimes adjacent communes. Conversely, the majority of large city emigrants leave for suburban areas and for towns in the same size category.

It is also worth stressing at this point that permanent migration can be used to measure the impact of towns and to delimit their range of impact. The latter has been shrinking, whereas the intensity of migratory processes in the immediate surrounding of towns (adjacent areas) is going up.

The above shows that within large cities and urban agglomerations of the Kujawy-Pomerania voivodship (Bydgoszcz, Toruń, Włocławek) the evolution of suburbia has been observed since the beginning of the 1990s in their adjacent areas; grounds for this conclusion is provided by the intensive movement of their residents (urban population) to the towns' outskirts, which may testify to the suburbanization and growth in the towns' suburban areas. It is worth recalling that for instance the commune of Białe Błota, immediately adjacent to Bydgoszcz, has been experiencing since the end of the 1980s an intense inflow of population, a revival of residential and commercial building, as well as creation of new businesses offering jobs not only to local population but also emigrants from Bydgoszcz and Inowrocław. Since the beginning of the 1990s we have been able to observe a similar process in communes located in the immediate neighbourhood of Toruń (Wielka Nieszawka, Lubicz, etc.).

The observed tendency goes back to Zelinsky's fourth stage of spatial mobility transition (Zelinsky, 1971, pp. 230-231; Jerczyński, 1998, pp. 36-38), which stage

records intensified mobility (relating to both permanent and temporary migration), intensive movements of migrants between towns and within the limits of individual urban agglomerations.

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