

PART II

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MIGRATIONS OF ELDERLY PEOPLE IN THE WORLD AND IN POLAND

Abstract. Migrations of seniors in the 21st century accurately reflect the socio-demographic changes in developed countries. Their intensity increases in various parts of the world. In Europe, pensioners from the north move to the region of the Mediterranean Sea. Seniors from the United States and Canada are attracted to the countries of Central and South America. The goal of this study is to identify the trends in foreign migrations of seniors in selected countries of the world, with special regard to the migration of Polish pensioners. The study shows that contemporary seniors can afford to purchase property abroad and the driving forces for the migration movement include: warm climate, beautiful landscape, and a healthier and slower pace of living at the final destination. However, when it comes to Polish pensioners, the main reason for their migrations is their attempt to improve their economic conditions.

Key words: pensioners, migrations of seniors, directions of migrations of seniors, causes of migration of seniors.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Migrations of elderly people have become one of the most significant socio-demographic changes in developed countries. A significant increase in these migrations began in the final decade of the 20th century and it has often been difficult to separate them from tourism. They may be observed in different regions of the world. Pensioners from the north of Europe migrate to the Mediterranean region, especially to such countries like Portugal, Italy, Greece, Turkey, and Spain. Pensioners from the USA and Canada prefer the countries of Central and South America, i.e. Mexico, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Colombia, Brazil, and Argentina. The migrations also apply to the generation born after the Second World War in the period of 1946–1964, which currently represents two thirds of the world population (Ptak, 2012).

Therefore, the goal of the study is to identify the trends in foreign migrations of pensioners in selected countries of the world, with particular regard to Polish pensioners. Basically, the time span of the analysis refers to the period of 1995–2018. The phenomena in question have been identified and discussed by combining the quantitative method – an analysis of statistical data from Statistics Poland – and the literature related to selected examples of researches on migrations of seniors around the world.

This question has not been the subject of any comprehensive studies as yet. The most important works include the ones by Warnes (1994), who used secondary data to demonstrate the growing significance of Southern Europe as a destination of residential migrations of pensioners from Northern Europe. Moreover, Jurado and Sánchez (1990) presented in their studies the economic consequences of the immigration of residents from Northern Europe to Mijas (Costa del Sol), one of the most densely populated municipalities in Spain. The attractiveness of Spain has also been underlined by Cribier (1982), Myklebost (1989) and Valenzuela (1991). According to the authors, seasonal migration might be the first step towards permanent migration and that applied to a significant number of the British and Germans. Studies of all types of British purchasers of property in France, conducted by Buller and Hoggart (1992, 1994, 1995), have shown a sharp increase in the purchases made by the British from 2,000 (1980) to 14,000 (1989). Property agencies played a key role in attracting buyers' attention to particular regions and locations (Williams *et al.*, 1997). This subject is gradually gaining popularity in Poland as well. Currently, migrations of Polish pensioners are primarily analysed by: Potrykowska (2003), Kałuża (2006, 2007, 2008), Kałuża-Kopias (2011, 2013), Jankowski and Pytel (2013), Pytel and Szkup (2013), Pytel (2014a, 2014b, 2017), and Pytel and Ociepka (2016).

2. RESEARCH CONCEPTS

Due to a large diversity and a multi-faceted nature of migration, new concepts aiming to explain this phenomenon are emerging constantly. Various scientific disciplines, such as geography, sociology, economics, demography, etc. are studying the topic. Their theoretical concepts differ in ways of explaining the causes and effects of migration, but they share a common subject of research, leading to the recognition of the phenomenon of human movements.

Selected theories concerning the migration of pensioners were presented by Kałuza (2008). Drawing on the key work of Longino and Bradley (2001), *Geographical distribution and migration*, she has stated that the most important concepts related to pensioners concern:

- life cycle,
- decision process on moving,
- loss of housing balance, and
- self-identification with the place of residence.

Kałuza (2008) has indicated that life cycle models refer to events occurring in specific periods of human life, as well as to the probability of their occurrence. She invoked the research of Litwak and Longino (1987) who had identified three types of senior migrations:

1. migrations of the youngest seniors as a consequence of their retirement,
2. migrations of slightly disabled pensioners, and
3. migrations to social welfare homes.

As the second group of concepts, Kałuza (2008) indicated the theories for deciding about moving and while making reference to Wiseman (1980), she has stated that migration is a consequence of the occurrence of push and pull factors. Wiseman (1980) has listed the reasons that imply the decision to migrate, namely: climate, living and family conditions, the costs of living, and social infrastructure. This concept was developed by Haas and Serow (1993) who transferred it to the field of pensioners' migration.

A model of loss of housing balance by pensioners is the third of the significant concepts. It implies that the main reason for pensioners' migration is their will to decrease their residential costs. Kałuza (2008) indicated that the research of Steinnes and Hogan (1993) had confirmed this hypothesis. They argued that pensioners migrated based on the differences in property prices in various regions of the United States.

This research is based on the approach proposed by Wolpert (1965) which assumed that the basic importance for the behaviour of migrants, including pensioners, are: the usefulness of a given place, the level of aspiration of an individual, the space of action and the phase of a person's life cycle. The usefulness of a given place is the sum of the benefits that a migrant – who is defined as a person seeking

to achieve an appropriate level of satisfaction – may obtain. If such a migrant falls below the level of needs, they will seek to find a new place of action. This search process varies with age and life cycle phase (Wolpert, 1965).

A review of numerous migration theories has indicated that the phenomenon of migratory movement is a multi-faceted process and should be considered broadly, with the use of scientific theories of various disciplines.

3. SOURCE DATA AND RESEARCH METHODS

The basis for studying migration and determining the main directions of displacement of Polish seniors were the figures purchased from Statistics Poland and concerning the years 2000–2010. Broader analyses of these migrations were possible on the basis of the data obtained from the website of Statistics Poland and covering the years 1995–2018. Only the migrants who moved permanently were included.

In the present work, a pensioner was defined as a person over 60 years of age for women and as a person over 65 years of age for men. Due to linguistic reasons this group of population is also referred to as: seniors, pensioners or elderly people.

The following research methods were applied: observational, analysis and criticism of the literature, and statistical. The observational method played a significant role. Observation is one of the oldest analytical methods that enables the formation of hypotheses, collection of data, verification and selection of material, clarification of issues, formulation of a thesis, and establishing contacts with the study group. Its characteristic feature is recurrence.

The second method was the method of analysis and criticism of literature. It can be used to determine what is known and what is unknown, what exists in literature and what is not yet available. This method makes it possible to determine whether a problem is original and different from the previously known discoveries. It enables one to indicate differences, similarities, relationships, dependencies, and significant features in existing theories.

The statistical method, which is inherent to this type of research, enables one to collect and organise scientific facts (data) regarding a given structure, system or process. It consists in drawing conclusions based on the distinguished features of sets of statistical elements. Its application makes it possible to identify irregularities in the characteristics (properties) of an entire community, based on the characteristics of a particular sample.

The empirical study was conducted using a set of indicators. These were primarily measures of the intensity of migratory traffic, i.e. the coefficients of migration inflow and outflow:

$$(1) \text{ Gross migration inflow rate: } m_N(t) = \frac{N(t)}{L(t)} C;$$

$$(2) \text{ Gross migration outflow rate: } m_O(t) = \frac{O(t)}{L(t)} C.$$

$O(t)$ – number of people who departed to the region concerned in the period “t”

$N(t)$ – number of people who arrived in the region concerned in the period “t”

$L(t)$ – average number of people in the post-working age in the period “t”

C – constant 1,000.

The third measure was the migration balance coefficient, also called the net migration coefficient. It is a quotient of the migration balance in a given territory in the period “t” and the average number of people in the post-working age of this territory in the period “t”. It was calculated following the formula:

$$(3) \text{ Net migration rate (migration balance): } Sm(t) = \frac{N(t) - O(t)}{L(t)} C.$$

The next indicator was the migration efficiency indicator which shows what proportion of a migrating population settles in a given area in the period “t”. The coefficient is interpreted in such a way that the closer the value is to zero, the less effective the migration flows are, because with a large “turnover” the balance is relatively small. It is calculated following the formula:

$$(4) \text{ Migration efficiency ratio: } Em(t) = \frac{N(t) - O(t)}{N(t) + O(t)} C.$$

Constant “C” was assumed to be equal to 1.0. This indicator may reach values from -1.0 to 1.0.

Migration turnover (migratory mobility) was also applied, i.e. the sum of the outflow and inflow of population to a given territory in the period “t”:

$$\text{Migration turnover rate (migration mobility): } Om(t) = N(t) + O(t).$$

4. MIGRATIONS OF PENSIONERS IN EUROPE. SELECTED EXAMPLES

To properly discuss the migration of Polish pensioners, it is necessary to first identify this phenomenon in Europe. Senior migration is most widespread in Western Europe, therefore five countries from this region were selected as the background to illustrate the migration of Polish pensioners. All of them are characterised by the longest history of senior migration and by an important role it plays. Both in Poland and in other Central and Eastern European countries, the phenomenon of retiree migration is in its initial phase, which is why they cannot be used for comparison.

4.1. Italy

King and Patterson (1998), researchers who studied seniors migrating from the United Kingdom, have shown that the largest group is concentrated in Italy, in two Tuscan provinces, i.e. Florence and Siena. The migration of the British to these provinces has a long tradition, conditioned by history and tourist experiences. They choose Tuscany not only due to its climate or coastal attractions, but mainly for its landscape, high culture and 'the Italian lifestyle'. Migrations of the British are often complex. Moreover, firstly they settled in the region of Florence and Chianti, and the regions of southern Tuscany, i.e. Umbria and Marche, drew their attention much later. Changes in the population of the municipalities of Tuscany in the period of 1951–1991 were examined by Telleschi (1994). He concluded that the visible population increase in the area occurred in the years 1951–1971, and from the 1960s onwards the British became the most numerous group among the migrants coming to the region. However, the property market is presently dominated by German migrants. The houses they purchase are often their second homes.

4.2. France

About 71.0% of retired migrants had never lived in France before purchasing their property, and over 53.0% had not even had friends or relatives who lived in France for any period of time (Buller and Hoggart, 1994; Hoggart and Buller, 1995). The authors also indicated a surprisingly low level of leisure activity before purchasing a house. These differences could be partially explained by the fact that the emigration to France is linked to the house prices' boom that occurred in the United Kingdom in the 1980s. After that period, the British were more interested in purchasing homes in rural areas of France. Within the group who purchased property in France, 46.0% declared that their French houses were their main places of residence (53.0% of them were at the pre-pension age). The main reason for the purchase were the property prices which were lower than in the United Kingdom. Unfortunately, the next few years would presumably introduce some decrease in residential migration of elderly people to France. Real estate prices have been rising since 2000. This increase is much quicker than the gross income in households. In the period of 2000–2011, the prices of existing houses in France increased by more than 120.0%, while within the same time the disposable gross income in households increased by only 20.0%.

4.3. Spain

The largest and most important region of Europe where pensioners from other countries come voluntarily is Costa del Sol (Rodríguez *et al.*, 1998). Its particular and favourable configuration of its environmental, the social and econom-

ic conditions in southern Spain, and its accessibility from northern European countries have turned this beautiful tourist region into one of the most popular destinations for such migrations. Similar conditions may be found on other Mediterranean coasts of Spain, i.e. Costa Brava, Alicante, Murcia, the Balearic Islands, and the Canary Islands (Paunero, 1988; Myklebost, 1989; Montiel, 1990; Serrano, 1991).

Despite the growing awareness of the importance of pensioner migrations, the lack of adequate records remains the major problem in understanding them and implementing related suitable policies and planning. Official sources or studies have not produced convincing estimates of population sizes of pensioners in the area. According to the National Census of 1991, Spain had over 44,000 people aged 55 or more, who came from Northern European countries. It has been estimated that there were 50,000 people aged at least 65, and 15,000 from this group lived on Costa del Sol. Other estimates show that Spain is a country where over 100,000 British people aged over 60 have settled.

4.4. Malta

The settlement process in Malta has a very complex history which has run for longer than the one on Costa del Sol, in Algarve or in Tuscany. As a former British colony, Malta has close relations with the United Kingdom. Socially, that is reflected in the existence of numerous marriages between Maltese and British citizens. Currently, the attractiveness of the island for pensioners has decreased due to high population density and urbanisation, which have also affected housing developments and controlling policies for their stock. The domination of British citizens in immigration of pensioners was also limited as they started choosing other European countries, including Eastern Europe ones.

4.5. Portugal

Migrations of pensioners to Portugal are a relatively old form of spatial mobility, but a change in their scale in recent years has attracted the attention of both scientists and politicians. This is especially visible in Algarve where small centres of British communities have existed at least since 1930. However, the highest intensity of migrations of pensioners began in 1980s. As the studies of Williams and Patterson (1998) have shown, up to three quarters of pensioners arrived there after 1984. It was a result of the demographic changes in Northern Europe, increased number of early retirements, and gains from the house boom. It was also a result of cumulating experiences in the field of mobility in commuting or international tourism. As the direct research showed, the most significant reasons for migration to Algarve were its climate and the quality of the environment (approximately 58.0%

of respondents). The second was the dislike of the United Kingdom (15.0%), and the third – the Portuguese lifestyle (13.0%). Financial considerations were important to approximately 10.0% of the respondents (Williams and Patterson, 1998).

5. FOREIGN MIGRATIONS OF POLISH PENSIONERS

5.1. Migration destinations of pensioners

In the years 2000–2010, the largest migration turnover occurred in Germany and amounted to 11,296 people (Table 1). The reasons for this were the proximity of both countries and the ease of finding a job. It is equally easy to find a job in the United States or Canada, but it is much more difficult to migrate there. This has been reflected in the values of migration turnover, i.e. 3,464 people for the United States, and 884 people for Canada.

In order to detail the course of pensioners' migration, its analysis was carried out for two periods: 2000–2005 and 2006–2010.

Table 1. Total amounts and destinations of permanent migration of Polish seniors in the years 2000–2010 (in persons)

No.	Country	Number of immigrants	Number of emigrants	Migration balance	Migration turnover	Migration efficiency
		Total in the years 2000–2010				
1	Germany	2,535	8,761	-6,226	11,296	-0.55
2	United States of America	2,424	1,040	1,384	3,464	0.40
3	Canada	471	413	58	884	0.07
4	United Kingdom	390	150	240	540	0.44
5	France	315	130	185	445	0.42
6	Australia	239	159	80	398	0.20
7	Sweden	170	128	42	298	0.14
8	Ukraine	235	15	220	250	0.88
9	Austria	125	86	39	211	0.18
10	Kazakhstan	193	3	190	196	0.97
11	Italy	132	53	79	185	0.43
12	Russia	87	26	61	113	0.54
13	Belgium	71	26	45	97	0.46
14	Israel	51	8	43	59	0.73
15	Belarus	48	2	46	50	0.92

Source: own work based on data from Statistics Poland.

5.2. Immigration

In the period of 2000–2005, Polish pensioners came back mainly from the United States (1,200) and Germany (1,100). More than 200 people returned from the United Kingdom and Canada. A significant number of seniors returned from Kazakhstan and Ukraine (100 respectively). Returns have been mainly the consequence of previous migrations for economic reasons. The Poles migrated to the United States and Germany in order to improve their financial situations, and having reached their retirement age they came back to Poland with foreign pensions.

The situation in Ukraine and Kazakhstan is different. Immigration procedures particularly from Kazakhstan have always been difficult, and the waiting time for the return may even reach 10 years. The reason for that dates back to the times of the Polish-Russian war of 1920 when there were approximately 1.3 million Poles in the Soviet Union. They lived in the vicinity of Minsk, in Podole and Volhynia. In places where the Polish population dominated, two autonomous districts were established. When Stalin came into power, the Soviet Union commenced the so-called Polish Operation. As a result, 111,000 Poles were executed in the Soviet Union and over 60,000 were exiled far to forced labour camps. The Poles residing in Ukraine before the executions of 1937–1938, as well as at that time, were relocated to Kazakhstan during the “clearing” of the border zone along the river Zbrucz. After the war, only the exiles deported to Kazakhstan from the outskirts of Poland which had been occupied by Russia in the period of 1940–1941, and having Polish citizenship, returned to their homeland. The Poles deported from the Soviet Ukraine did not have the right to the so-called repatriation. Before the First World War they were Russian citizens and after the truce with Bolsheviks they were registered as Soviet citizens. For that reason they were not allowed to come back to Poland as repatriates after the war. Therefore, according to the present Polish law, they are foreigners who have to undergo the whole procedure of applying for visas to enter Poland.

In the second sub-period, i.e. 2006–2010, there was an increase in the number of migrants returning from Germany, which totalled 1400 in total. The number of migrants returning from the United States dropped slightly – to just over 1,100 people. There occurred a significantly lower inflow of people from Canada (300), France (200), or the United Kingdom (100).

5.3. Emigration

Having retired, Polish seniors mostly preferred Germany. In the period of 2000–2005, Germany was the destination of migrations for up to 4,700 pensioners. This country significantly dominated over other destinations: the United States was chosen by slightly more than 300 people, and Canada by less than 200 Polish citizens.

In the period of 2006–2010 as in the first 5 years of the new millennium, emigration to Germany was the highest and it totalled almost 4,100 migrants. Em-

igration to the United States increased significantly (700). The number of Poles moving to Canada exceeded 200 people. As far as the selection of North American countries is concerned, it is easier for pensioners to obtain visas and their command of English has continued to improve.

It should be emphasised that the outflow of pensioners from Poland to Germany was above the average throughout the whole studied period. It was conditioned by numerous reasons, especially close proximity and high standards of living. The availability of work was also important. The opportunity to receive a German pension – especially for very young pensioners – was an additional advantage. Having worked in Germany for five years and having reached the retirement age, one could apply for a basic pension. Miners were the group which frequently used this benefit. The emigration of pensioners to Germany in the period of 2006–2010 dominated in gminas of Śląskie and Opolskie Voivodeships (NUTS2 level of regions). According to Pytel (2017), people migrated mainly from such cities as: Ruda Śląska, Zabrze, Bytom, Piekary Śląskie, Katowice, and Gliwice. Miners migrating to Germany after their retirement, after finishing their work and reaching pension age received both Polish and German retirement pensions.

As for the migration balance, in the years 2000–2010 its highest values resulted from the migration of seniors to and from Germany (-6,200 people in total). However, cyclically, more pensioners have continued to leave for Germany than come to Poland. It is conditioned by the possibility of young pensioners to work in Germany as caregivers for children or elderly people.

The remaining countries listed in Table 1 recorded positive total values of the migration balance. The leader is the United States – 1,400 people, with migration turnover over 3 times lower than in Germany (3,500). Over 2,400 seniors returned to Poland after reaching the retirement age.

Other countries with high values of the migration balance and with a very low outflow are Ukraine and Kazakhstan. Such an outflow is a consequence of difficult living conditions in these countries.

The migration efficiency ratio for Germany (-0.55) indicates that migration flows are efficient and the surplus outflow from Poland dominates over the inflow. Very effective migration movements of pensioners were observed in Kazakhstan (0.97), Belarus (0.92) and Ukraine (0.88). For these countries, an excess inflow over the outflow constitutes a significant part of all migration flows. The least effective migration movements were observed for Canada (0.07), Sweden (0.14), and Austria (0.18).

5.4. Intensity of pensioners' migration

Research on external migration conducted over a longer period of time (1995–2018) enables one to notice that the inflow of migrant pensioners to Poland in 1995–2000 remained at a steady level (0.15 per 1,000 people in the post-working

age) – (Fig. 1). Since 2000, immigration slowed down to reach the lowest level in the whole period in 2016 (0.08 per 1,000 people in the post-working age). Then, an increase of this indicator was observed to 0.11 per 1,000 people in the post-working age in 2018. The situation was due to the fact that living conditions in Poland had become good and stable enough and hence seniors began to return to the country after having achieved an adequate material status.

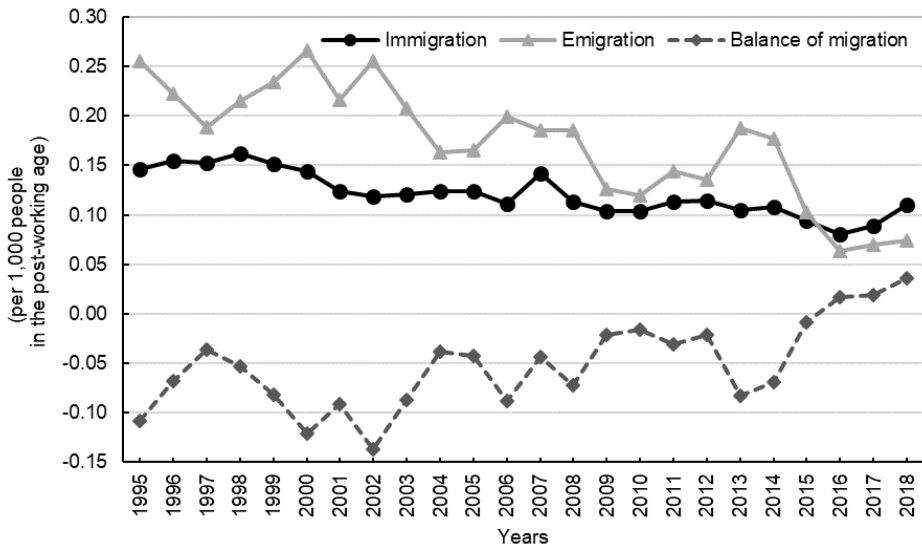


Fig. 1. The inflow, outflow and balance of migration of Polish pensioners per 1,000 people in the post-working age in the years 1995–2018

Source: own work based on data from Statistics Poland.

The process of foreign migration of Polish seniors had a varied course, but showed a visible downward trend. It reached its highest value (0.27 per 1,000 people in the post-working age) in 2000. A very similar level was recorded in 2002. In turn, the years 2016–2018 were the time when the migration outflow became lower than the inflow, amounting on average to 0.07 per 1,000 people in the post-working age.

In Poland, traveling abroad was significantly hindered until the early 1990s. It concerned not only emigration for work, but also tourist movements. When the situation changed and travelling opportunities appeared, young Poles as well as a large group of seniors went abroad in order to search for better sources of income. Pensioners – similarly to young people – engaged in work abroad, especially those who retired at the age of 50 or more, working in professions that enabled such a transition.

For 20 years, from 1995 to 2015 to be more precise, the balance of foreign migration was negative. Its maximum negative level occurred in 2002 and amount-

ed to -0.13 per 1,000 people in the post-working age. This indicates that Polish pensioners eagerly chose to live abroad. However, this was not dictated by the intention to improve health or climate conditions, as in other Western European countries, but to a large extent by a desire to improve economic status. Yet the activity on foreign labour markets was not the only reason for leaving. Seniors often joined their children, who had emigrated earlier, to look after their grandchildren. It is worth adding that in the years 2016–2018 the figures of migration balance were positive and even increasing, with the peak reached in the final year. This may be a sign of an improving standard of living in Poland, which encourages seniors to return to their homeland.

Scale plays an important role in the phenomenon of migration. Compared to other age groups, the pensioners seem not to play a large part in it. From 1995 to 2003, the share of seniors' immigration in the total immigration in Poland was on 11.8% average, not falling below 11.0% in particular years (Table 2). At that time, the highest percentage of pensioners arriving in the country was recorded, i.e. 12.8% in 1999 and it remained at a similar level until 2001. Since 2004, the share of people at the post-working age in the total number of immigrants decreased from a share of 8.6% and in 2009 it reached its lowest value within the entire 24-year period (4.4%). In the next sub-period the analysed value fluctuated between 5.1% (2010) and 7.5% (2014), and in 2018 it reached 6.8%. As far as emigration was concerned, the situation was completely different. In the years 1995–2018, the share of senior emigration in the total emigration in Poland averaged at 5.4%, and its peak (6.9%) was observed – similarly to that of immigration – in the final year of the 20th century. The stage of pensioners' emigration being close to the peak scale (at least 6.0% of the total) existed until 2003 and was observed again only in 2018. In 2006, the lowest level of this migration parameter was recorded (2.8%).

Table 2. Migrations of the pensioners and of the people of all ages in Poland in the years 1995–2018

Years	People in total			People in the post-working age		
	Immigration	Emigration	Balance of migration	Immigration	Emigration	Balance of migration
1995	8,121	26,344	-18,223	897	1,563	-666
1996	8,186	21,297	-13,111	959	1,380	-421
1997	8,426	20,222	-11,796	954	1,180	-226
1998	8,916	22,177	-13,261	1,025	1,359	-334
1999	7,525	21,536	-14,011	965	1,487	-522
2000	7,331	26,999	-19,668	927	1,706	-779
2001	6,625	23,368	-16,743	802	1,394	-592
2002	6,587	24,532	-17,945	769	1,653	-884

Years	People in total			People in the post-working age		
	Immigration	Emigration	Balance of migration	Immigration	Emigration	Balance of migration
2003	7,048	20,813	-13,765	785	1,348	-563
2004	9,495	18,877	-9,382	812	1,062	-250
2005	9,364	22,242	-12,878	810	1,087	-277
2006	10,802	46,936	-36,134	747	1,336	-589
2007	14,995	35,480	-20,485	976	1,273	-297
2008	15,275	30,140	-14,865	804	1,315	-511
2009	17,424	18,620	-1,196	759	917	-158
2010	15,246	17,360	-2,114	783	902	-119
2011	15,524	19,858	-4,334	882	1,124	-242
2012	14,583	21,200	-6,617	918	1,088	-170
2013	12,199	32,103	-19,904	868	1,553	-685
2014	12,330	28,080	-15,750	921	1,515	-594
2015	12,903	20,025	-7,123	826	902	-76
2016	13,475	11,970	1,505	732	576	156
2017	13,324	11,888	1,436	825	648	177
2018	15,461	11,849	3,612	1,044	707	337
Total	271,165	553,916	-282,752	20,790	29,075	-8,285

Source: own work based on data from Statistics Poland.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Migrations of pensioners exist in all regions of the world. Research shows that during the first years after retirement migrations are mainly affected by a search for a better standard of living, and then deterioration of health and the death of a spouse. Migrations of pensioners are also influenced by other conditions, i.e. environmental, health or even marital considerations. Interestingly, seniors migrate to benefit from better tax systems abroad. As the analyses have shown, the special advantage for immigrant/pensioners is the climate of a location. Moreover, seniors are attracted by appropriate infrastructure and relatively low costs of living and accommodation. The migrations of pensioners to foreign enclaves are triggered by tourism which, in turn, is supported by international transport opportunities. Most pensioners from Northern Europe move to the south of Europe (Costa del Sol, Tuscany, Algarve) initially treating the region as a place to spend their holidays. Similarly, in other regions of the world, i.e. in North America or South-East Asia,

the climate, low costs of living and well-developed infrastructure attract migrants from different – also highly-developed – countries. Migrations are facilitated by the fact that these societies can afford to purchase property abroad.

The migrations of a vast majority of Polish pensioners have been caused by economic reasons and a search for new jobs, and the main destination countries have included Germany, the United States, and Canada. Migrations of Polish seniors differ considerably from migrations of the retired people from other countries with similar levels of socio-economic development. Still many seniors living in Poland do not decide to live abroad as often as their counterparts from other nations due to economic conditions or inability to speak foreign languages. It is also affected by the Polish model of a multi-generation extended family in which seniors help their children in raising their children. Psychological barriers also constitute an obstacle due to the fact that for elderly people moving abroad is considered as a beginning of a completely new phase of life. Based on the studies of migrations of seniors in Western Europe, Polish pensioners should also be expected to migrate abroad in greater numbers in the future to find better living conditions.

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