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DEAR READERS,

A century of regaining independence happens once in a hundred years — not a trifling matter! Whatever one would like to say in this respect, there is no doubt that building — or rebuilding — the political foundations of Polish independence was connected with creating the foundations of institutional order in the area of social security and, more broadly, social policy. It may be worth recalling, for example, that this is also the centenary of achievements that include women's electoral rights — rights that were attained much earlier than in many other countries. In short, the effort to build political order was also accompanied by an effort to shape social order. It is good to warn readers that this issue of *Social Policy* includes a selection of texts published in *One Hundred Years of Polish Social Policy 1918–2018* [in Polish], reprinted with the consent of the publishers of that book. The editorial staff made a selection and asked the authors to make the appropriate abridgements. However, it was clear that a *Social Policy* issue containing their translations into the English language was worth publishing, including for those who, for various reasons, would not reach for a fat book of nearly 700 pages. Please bear in mind, however, that the content of this monthly cannot replace a systematic understanding into the volume on which it is based.

Editorial Staff

Introduction

In the social awareness of Poles, 2018 stands out due to the celebration of the 100th anniversary of Poland's regaining of its independence.¹ November 11th, Independence Day, was particularly festive. It was a unique moment in which Poles enjoyed the fact that they belonged to a great civic community. Polish society, like all modern societies, is characterized by considerable complexity, an element of which is functional diversity.² Thus, 2018 was an opportunity for celebration for many groups and institutions that constituted themselves within the framework of the Polish State a hundred years ago, including the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, the Ministry of Family, Labor, and Social Policy, and the Central Statistical Office.

Each of these areas of social life is an aspect of consolidation over the 100 years of independence. Inscribing itself into the anniversary events, each one deserves special attention. Without making any claims to evaluate or compare the various pillars of social life, I would like to point out selected circumstances accompanying the birth of social policy in Poland. Their importance seems understandable when one looks at the past through the lens of great social processes.

The legislation of Poland, reborn after 123 years of the Partitions, was very modern. The granting voting rights to women, establishing an eight-hour working day, guaranteeing children free and universal education, and overseeing the working conditions juveniles, were all introduced in Poland much earlier than in many Western countries. Such regulations remained in stark contrast to the realities in which Poles had lived until then.³ Decades of exploitation of the inhabitants of Polish land and the lack of undertakings aimed at the development of the occupied territories led to a situation in which the splendor of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth remained alive only in the collective memory. Additionally, society suffered from the effects of the First World War, prolonged by the fight for the eastern borders with the Soviet Union. Poverty, hunger, illiteracy, and the fate of children orphaned by civilians and soldiers who died between 1914 and 1918 were very serious challenges.

The fathers of the reborn state, headed by Józef Piłsudski, attached great importance to social issues. Before starting activities leading to the formation of the Polish army, Marshal Piłsudski was for years involved in the work of the Polish Socialist Party. Among other things, its activities involved the publishing the *Robotnik* [Worker] magazine.⁴ Industrialization and its associated urbanization resulted in such profound changes in the social structure of many countries over the course of the 19th century that, under their influence the political order of Europe began to rupture in the early 20th century. Representatives of colonial powers, future new states becoming the political organisms of many European nations formed from out of the post–Versailles behemoths, and the Bolsheviks seeking to spread the revolutionary flame across the continent⁵ played a role in establishing the new borders. Piłsudski rebuilt Poland as a national community based on culture, common history, and heritage. At the same time, he was able to effectively resist the threat from the east. This was thanks to not only his military genius, but also the trust he enjoyed due to his sensitivity to the problems of the lower social strata.

Implementation of the idea of social solidarity in the Second Polish Republic encountered serious obstacles that were the result of the economic reality as well as the objectively difficult situation involving the uniting three extremely different post–Partition realities. This is all the more reason for the merits of the fathers of the first Polish solutions in the field of social policy deserve recognition. Social issues also played a significant role in later years as raised by the opposition, especially during the birth of the Solidarity Free Trade Union, in the times of the Polish People's Republic. This sensitivity to social issues remains key even today, as exemplified by the “Family 500 Plus” program. Let us hope that, thanks to such experiences and traditions, attachment to the idea of social solidarity will also characterize future generations of Poles.

A detailed description of social policy changes in Poland over the last hundred years as well as an analysis of selected aspects of social policy can be found in the articles collected in this issue. An extensive 700–page monograph entitled *Stulecie polskiej polityki społecznej 1918–2018* [One hundred years of Polish social policy 1918–2018], edited by E. Bojanowska, M. Grewiński, M. Rymśza, and G. Uścińska, and published by the National Center for Culture and the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy (Warsaw, 2018) served as the basis for this choice. If you are interested in a more in–depth examination of the topics signaled in this issue, I encourage you to consult this informative publication, which provides additional comments and analyses of various aspects of social policy over the past 100 years.

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¹ This is confirmed by the results of a survey carried out for the National Centre of Culture by the Social Research Laboratory (PBS) on a representative sample of Poles from November 30 to December 2, 2018. The publication of the research report is planned by the Center in 2019.

² Compare with T. Parsons, *The System of Modern Societies*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1971.

³ W. Roszkowski, *Historia Polski 1914–2001* [The history of Poland 1914–2001], PWN Scientific Publishers, Warsaw, 2002, p. 33.

⁴ A. Garlicki, *Józef Piłsudski. 1867–1935* [Józef Piłsudski: 1867–1935], Czytelnik, Warsaw, 1989, pp. 35–73.

⁵ N. Davies, *Europa. Rozprawa historyka z historią* [Europe: A history], translated into Polish by E. Tabakowska, ZNAK Publishing House, Cracow, 2003, pp. 981–992.

From the time when Poland regained independence until now, Polish social policy has undergone significant transformations. These changes depended on the political and economic system of the state, the condition of the national economy, and on the objectives that public authorities set for social policy at that time.

On the eve of the regaining of independence by Poland, social policy had already become one of the most important spheres of activity of public authorities. The Regency Council, the supreme state body, appointed a Minister of Social Welfare and Labor Protection on January 3, 1918. The responsibilities of this Minister were clearly defined at the same. They included issues of public charity, state care for the victims of war, worker relations, oversight for worker emigration, factory inspection, and preparing labor protection and social security legislation. The Minister took over the Temporary Labor Department of the Council of State and renamed it the Ministry of Social Welfare and Labor Protection. Over the following months and years, this Ministry underwent an organizational evolution. Among other things, it took over public health care matters that had previously belonged to the Ministry of the Internal Affairs. Apart from these and subsequent transformations, the basic tasks of the Ministry included the shaping of principles of social policy and their implementation.

One of the successes of the reborn state in the social sphere was the introduction of regulations on national social policy. They were introduced by the decrees of Józef Piłsudski: an eight-hour working day, protection of the population against the consequences of war usury, conditions for the eviction of the unemployed, creation of a state office for the return of prisoners of war, refugees, and workers as well as associations and a labor inspectorate subordinate to the Minister of Labor.

The outbreak of World War II interrupted the work of the Ministry of Social Welfare. It should be stressed, however, that in the interwar period it prepared and implemented many guidelines in the field of Polish social policy. This achievement made certain activities possible following the Second World War and subsequently in the free Poland after 1989.

Over the years 1987–1999, the Ministry of Labor and Civic Policy carried out tasks related to employment, benefits, and social security. After the introduction of government administration departments, it was replaced by the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy. This office was served by the minister in charge of the labor and social security departments. The office was later merged with the Ministry of Economy. After some time, the Ministry of Economy, Labor, and Social Policy was divided into the Ministry of Economy and Labor and the Ministry of Social Policy. It was only the previous government of the Law and Justice Party that restored the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy.

In 2015, the Law and Justice government changed the name of the Ministry. Pursuant to the Directive of the Council of Ministers of December 3, 2015, it was renamed the Ministry of Family, Labor, and Social Policy. This designation fully reflects the scope of tasks of the ministry. At the same time, it reaffirms the fact that shaping conditions for family development is a priority for the government.

The Law and Justice government places strong emphasis on family welfare, which is in performance of the provision found in Article 71(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, which states that:

In its social and economic policy, the state takes into account the welfare of the family. Families facing difficult material and social situations, especially families with many children and single-parent families, have the right to special assistance from public authorities.

This provision corresponds to the principle behind the economic system as expressed in Article 20 of the Constitution that, subject to Polish conditions, is based on a social market economy — i.e. based on freedom of economic activity, private property and solidarity, dialogue and cooperation of social partners. Although this is a programmatic norm, the concept of social market economy appears to be blurred, despite many attempts to define it. The social market economy is considered a third way. On the one hand it is different from the liberal concept of a free market, while on the other from a planned economy characteristic of totalitarian regimes.

It is impossible not to agree with the opinion expressed on the following pages of this publication that it is difficult to predict the direction in which social policy will evolve over the next few or few dozen years. This will depend on many variables. There is no doubt, however, that it should constantly respond to the needs of a changing world.

Today, specific challenges encompass trends involving demography, globalization, automation of production processes, investment in human capital, and the knowledge-based economy. This necessitates the application of new, previously unknown instruments, both in social policy and in economic policy, which are, after all, a system of interconnected vessels. This monograph provides a reliable diagnosis as well as many interesting predictions and guidelines. Its editors and the authors of individual chapters present numerous, often very complex, issues in areas of interest to social policy with great expertise and in a very accessible way.

One Hundred Years of Polish Social Policy [in Polish] is an extremely valuable book in terms of its selection of comprehensive topics — the work of eminent experts in the field. It will inspire and contribute to further research on social policies. This publication is an expression of appreciation for those who have contributed to the development of social policy theory and practice.

The content of the book, to which I have the honor and pleasure of adding a few words of introduction, should be read by all those who have an impact on the shaping of social and economic policy in Poland. It will surely also prove interesting reading for scientists and social policy practitioners as well as students of the social sciences, including political science, social policy, the family sciences, and sociology. I would like to express my appreciation to the editors and co-authors for producing this publication.

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POPULATION POLICY: BETWEEN SHAPING DEMOGRAPHIC PROCESSES AND REACTING TO THEM*

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INTRODUCTION

Population policy may be understood in two ways — broadly and narrowly. Population policy in the broad sense is any action by the public authorities aimed at increasing the degree of satisfaction of social needs arising from demographic changes. Therefore, in the event of increased childbirth, the number and distribution of nurseries and kindergartens should be adapted to the growing number of potential users, while awareness of the progressive ageing of the population requires measures to safeguard against a crisis in public finance (e.g., reform of the retirement pension system from pay-as-you-go to capital-based) and the expansion of the geriatric care network. In simple terms, it can be said that the bulk of social policy and a large part of economic policy (especially labor market administration) are manifestations of population policy in the broad

* Abbreviated and translated version of the text entitled "Polityka ludnościowa: pomiędzy kształtowaniem procesów ludnościowych i reagowaniem na nie" included in the publication "Stulecie polskiej polityki społecznej 1918–2018" ["One hundred years of Polish social policy 1918–2018"], published by the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Policy and the National Centre for Culture, Warsaw 2018. Reprinting with the consent of publishers and authors.

sense of the term. Such policy can be called passive or reactive, because its task is only to respond to the demographic changes that are emerging.

In turn, population policy in the strict sense (i.e. narrowly defined) encompasses public authority activities aimed at shaping the course of population processes. Therefore, in this case, the aim of the policy is to influence the type and timing of an individual's demographic behavior. An example of this policy could be an attempt to influence the willingness to marry, decisions as to the number of offspring, and choice of residence. Thus, in contrast to population policy in the sense of the *largo*, the approach presented today is an example of an active and shaping policy.

The aim of this paper is to look at the demographic conditions defining the thinking on population policy seen over the past 100 years and to focus on the most important manifestations of population policy implemented in the last two decades. The structure of this chapter is subordinate to this objective. In the first point, the key demographic problems of the past century are presented, while in the next, the role of the Government Population Council as a body conceived to coordinate population policy. The last point focuses on the most important elements of population policy of the last two decades.

KEY POPULATION-RELATED PROBLEMS AND RESEARCH INTO THEM

Population problems are regarded to be crucial when they are perceived as having worrying long-term effects. Public authorities then undertake a variety of available actions aimed at reducing their scale. Usually such actions — apart from specific conditions related to counteracting social crises of a political nature (wars and revolutions) requiring immediate action — are preceded by a diagnosis carried out by scientific or governmental expert institutions (e.g., GUS – Central Statistical Office).

Demographic issues constituted a significant part of the scientific and expert work carried out in the Second Polish Republic, both in government institutions (GUS) and in social institutions (e.g., the Institute of Social Economy). Not infrequently, these studies were related to each other with regard to issues and the composition of their research teams. It was stressed that “individual societies are very diverse in terms of their characteristics and structure, and [...] there are constant shifts in one and the same society” (Szulc, 1938: 559). Therefore, these issues require systematic research and taking into account their diversity.

Emigration became one of the most important research issues starting with the 1870s¹ — with focus on its demographic, economic, social, and political importance. Migration losses of Polish territories (excluding seasonal migrations) in the years 1871–1913 were estimated at 3.5 million people, i.e. 13.7% of the population (13% of which emigrated from the Austrian Partition, 20% from the Prussian Partition, and 10.8% from the Russian Partition). Similar losses were caused by forced or voluntary exile during the First World War. After taking into account repatriation (1.3 million people up to the year 1924), migration losses from Polish territories within the 1922 borders were estimated at two million people. The interest in migrations in the Second Polish Republic was very high, as evidenced by numerous publications and studies (143 publications in the years 1919–1938).

Numerous state and social, professional, and national institutions carrying out research and activities in this field were also established. The Emigration Office was established at the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare in 1920. Until 1922 it dealt with matters of repatriation.² In 1932, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs became the coordinator of migration policy and publicized slogans of colonial expansion in South America and Africa. Polish aspirations for an overseas colony were revealed in 1918. These aspirations led to the establishment of the Polish Colonial Society (transformed in 1921 into the Polish Emigration Society). The Scientific Institute for Emigration and Colonization Research³ was a section of Polish Emigration Society. These ideas were supported by the Maritime and Colonial League created in 1930.⁴ The Institute for Nationalities Research operated within the Presidium of the Council of Ministers.⁵

In the years 1918–1938 about two million people emigrated from Poland (half of them permanently). Emigration (remigration), work, and the fate of emigrants in South America, Canada, the United States, France, and Czechoslovakia were among the central issues of research by the Institute of Social Economy. Biographical documents — the diary method — were used in the study of emigration (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1976). The problems of Poles returning from emigration (Niemyska, 1938) were studied in the Białystok and Poznań voivodeships. A huge amount of research material on Polish livelihood-based emigration was collected thanks to the memoirs of emigrants (Hryniewicz, 2010: 210–222).⁶

Displacements of the Polish population after the Second World War are estimated at about 14 million people. This number does not include the resettlement of 520,000 Ukrainians to the Soviet Union or 138,000 resulting from the Vistula Operation, and resettlement in the lands incorporated into Poland — i.e. settlers from central Poland (three million), repatriates from Lithuania, Belarus, and the

Ukraine (1,250,000), those returning from distant areas of the Soviet Union (270,000), and remigrants from other countries (150,000). After the Second World War, Poland became an area of great migrations of Poles, Germans, Jews, Ukrainians, and Belarusians. The Polish government entered into agreements with Lithuania, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia that defined the timeframe, conditions, and terms of resettlement of the population. In August 1945, the Office of the General Plenipotentiary of the Government for Repatriation was established, separating into the Office for Repatriation of Polish Citizens from the Soviet Union and the Office for Repatriation of Polish Citizens from the West. The General Plenipotentiary was responsible for the evacuation of the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and Belarusian populations, and as of 1946 also the delegate for the repatriation of the German population. The organization of resettlement and difficulties created by the local authorities for the Polish population, especially in Lithuania and Belarus, significantly reduced the number of resettled persons (Ciesielski, Editor, 1999).

Current statistical reporting on demography was introduced by the Central Statistical Office (GUS) in the middle of 1949. On its basis, it is known that 38.6 million people changed their permanent place of residence in Poland over the years 1951–1990 (Stpiczyński, 1993: 35–47; Latuch, 1993: 103–132; Gawryszewski, 1997: 5 et seq.). In the years 1945–1947, the Office for Settlement and Resettlement Studies, in collaboration with the Scientific Council for Recovered Territories, was established in Cracow. As of 1944, the Western Institute in Poznań and the Silesian Institute in Opole has been issuing publications on the demographic situation of the incorporated western territories.

The National Atlas of Poland, containing broadly defined population issues such as population density, structure, and changes, natural movements and migration, livelihoods, employment, commuting, education, and urbanization can testify to a broader interest in population issues (Leszczyki, Editor, 1970). The interest in Poland's demographic situation after 1970 was reflected in long-term research carried out within the framework of government research programs under the direction of Professor Kazimierz Dziewoński and Professor Jerzy Zdzisław Holzer.⁷

No demographic questions made their appearance in the Third Polish Republic in such major research projects. It was only in the 21st century that interest in demographic phenomena reemerged, primarily as relating to post-accession migration (e.g., work by the Centre for Migration Research of the University of Warsaw), followed by population ageing (PolSenior and SHARE), changes to the model of family formation and functioning (Fertility and Families Survey and Generations and Gender Survey), and depopulation (e.g., work by Institute of Geography and Spatial Organization of the Polish Academy of Sciences). In recent years, migration to Poland is an area of growing interest due to its large influx, mainly from the Ukraine.

Research conducted and publications make it possible to broaden knowledge about demographic processes and phenomena, pointing to their connections with social and economic development.

THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT POPULATION COUNCIL

The interest of government and state authorities in the demographic situation was reflected in the establishment of the Government Commission for the Coordination of Inter-Ministerial Activities in the Field of Population Policy as an advisory body to the Prime Minister on matters of population policy in 1974. In 1999, this commission changed its name to the Government Population Council. Each year the Council presents the government with a report on the demographic situation in Poland. During the first years of the

Commission's operation, its work was intended for internal use by state authorities. That situation has changed as of 1990, when the Council's work became publicly available. The work of the Council focuses on providing state authorities and international organizations with important information and analyses relating to Poland's demographic situation. The Council organizes seminars and conferences on important demographic issues and publishes analyses and studies to raise awareness of demographic events and processes.

In 2002 and 2012 the Council organized demographic congresses devoted to the situation of the Polish population and its effects on the social and economic development of the country. The Declaration of the First Congress drew attention to the low birth rate, difficulties in establishing and developing families, high mortality rate and shorter life expectancy, health deficits, the decline in real population prospects, and intergenerational imbalances. Particularly important problems were pointed out in the Declaration of the Second Demographic Congress: support for value systems raising the ethos of family and marriage, strengthening family policy and state aid in bringing up children, responsibilities of the state, its citizens, and organizations for the demographic future of Poland, taking into account demographic issues in state policy at all levels of government and in all areas of development, strengthening intergenerational responsibility for elderly people, improving the quality of human capital, improving health condition and reducing mortality, developing and implementing a long-term migration policy, and improving the security of citizens.

Over forty years of the Council's activities have significantly influenced the popularization of demographic issues in Polish society and in activities undertaken by the government in social and economic policy, especially in programs for young families bringing up children, the elderly, and the disabled. Work was initiated in the Government Population Council in 2007 on the "Assumptions of the Population Policy of Poland," which included the processes of family formation and functioning, improvement of their state, migration processes, and conditions conducive to active and dignified old age. The scope and objectives of population policy are included in the new definition. Population policy is a deliberate, long-term influence of state and other public and non-public entities on the course of natural and migratory movements of the population aimed at shaping the desired state and structure of the population by creating social, economic, and political conditions favorable to demographic processes ensuring the biological survival of the nation and sustainable social and economic development ("Recommendations of the Government Population Council..." 2014: 13).

Knowledge about demographic phenomena and processes — thanks to systematic measurements, registration work, and research — is becoming more and more abundant. It facilitates learning about the conditions and effects of processes and phenomena. However, there remains a question which is difficult to answer in a comprehensive and unambiguous way: Have the results of measurements, analyses, studies, and research had a significant impact on not only the increased interest of state authorities and Polish society in demographic issues, but also on a coordinated, long-term population policy?

There is no evidence that Poland pursued a pro-natal or anti-natal policy. However, there are many government activities aimed at creating more favorable conditions for the development of the population that may be pointed to, e.g., in health care,⁸ maternal and child care, social security, and housing construction in the 1970s. These efforts were neither consistent nor sufficient. The first comprehensive population policy program was presented by the government in 2015. It is still difficult to assess its effects. Financial benefits for families bringing up children were introduced in 2016 as the "Family 500 Plus" program. However, important

aspects of population policy — housing conditions, regulation of employment conditions, and universally available care services — are in their initial stage of implementation.

CONTEMPORARY POPULATION POLICY

Demographic issues in the initial years of the 21st century were not perceived as an important social or economic problem. After a period of interest in the second half of the 1990s (during discussions on retirement pension system reform) on the long-term consequences of population ageing, there was more than ten years of silence. Also, the demographic issue, although mentioned, was clearly marginalized by economic matters in 2012, i.e. during the period of discussion preceding the increase in the retirement age. Previously, neither the persistence of the fertility rate at a very low level over many years⁹ nor the emergence of mass post-accession migration had in itself led to the recognition of demographic change as worthy of considered action.¹⁰

What is more, looking at the infrastructural development supporting migratory traffic (especially visible in the development of regional airports serving low-cost airlines), the impression is that the first decade of the 21st century was subordinated to counteracting unemployment by facilitating economically oriented trips for young people, for example. This was most probably not meant as acceptance of the permanent loss of young people, but rather a testimony to the conviction that these young people, through remittances, will stimulate consumption in various regions and, when they return after a few years, they will contribute to the development of local economies thanks to their knowledge of the language and organizational culture of other societies. A peculiar illustration of this lack of interest was the long-term, repeatedly interrupted, and basically unfinished work of the Government Population Council on population policy, concluded with a draft of "Assumptions of Population Policy..." (2013). The only exception was the work on migration policy. It resulted in the amendment of the regulations to only a limited extent — the principle of employer notification of an intention to entrust work to a foreigner from one of six post-Soviet states was introduced 2007, this became possible in the case of foreign full-time students residing in Poland on the basis of a temporary residence permit and students of Polish origin, holders of the Pole Card as of 2009, and foreigners — graduates of Polish universities — automatically obtain a temporary residence permit for a year in order to seek employment starting with the year 2014. Recent years have seen efforts aimed at encouraging emigrants from Poland to return ("Do You Have a Plan for Returning?" as of 2017). For the time being however, these efforts are announcements rather than anything specific.

The beginning of changes in the perception of demographic transformations can be seen at the local level. An excellent example of this is the survey of *gmina* [borough] local governments in the Łódź Voivodeship conducted by employees of the Department of Applied Sociology and Social Work of the University of Lodz. In the year 2000 unemployment was named as the main problem facing local governments. Ten years later many community leaders (mainly rural ones) indicated the flight of young people from their area as being number one (Kruszyński, 2015). This local perception of demographic problems as being of key importance has been reflected at the regional level in the form of special programs, developed mainly as a way to acquire additional European and national funds (programs from the Opole region¹¹ and the Łódź region¹²). Today, demographic problems on a regional or at least sub-regional scale are seen as a key challenge for the future in virtually every region.

This initiation of interest in demographic problems at the local level and its subsequent spread to the regional and national level is evident in the case of the Big Family Card, for example. First, it was

an initiative of individual boroughs appearing as of 2005. This was followed by associations of boroughs and voivodships to ultimately garner the support of President Komorowski when work began on a nationwide card (2015), which is now administered by Ministry of Family, Labor, and Social Policy.

An important event at the national level was the publication of the “Polska 2030. Wyzwania rozwojowe” [Poland 2030: Development challenges] report (Boni, Editor, 2009). It was prepared by a team of advisors to the Prime Minister led by Michał Boni. In it the demographic situation was defined as one of the key challenges of the future. However, the recommendations concluding the chapter on demography in that report, in their bulk, referred to the labor market and economic activation of various groups. Activities aimed at increasing fertility as well as in the area of migration (in this case also demonstrating thinking in terms of the labor market) were treated in a secondary way as well as very cautiously.

This way of thinking — subordinating family policy or, more broadly, population policy to the labor market — should be seen as the form of family policy pursued during the PO–PSL coalition governments (Szczepaniak–Sienniak, 2015). Changes introduced at that time with regard to parental leave and its flexibility, parental benefits, and the “złoty per złoty” mechanism most certainly favored working families first and foremost. A significant increase in expenditure supporting local government in creating nurseries¹³ and kindergartens¹⁴ should also be rated similarly.

Less attention was paid to the social segment of family policy. This is best witnessed by the fact that the level of family benefits remained unchanged for many years (2006–2009), as did the income criterion (2004–2012). In 2006, what is known as “becikowe” (“swaddling clothes” – measures partially compensating for extraordinary expenses relating to childbirth) was introduced. Tax relief was reduced in 2013, limiting it to parents from families with many children. Generally speaking, there was little generosity in material provisions to families. The situation in this respect changed enormously with the implementation of the “Family 500 Plus” program.

The expansion of the depopulation process to encompass small- and medium-sized towns has led to the strong inclusion of the demographic thread in the “National Urban Policy” (2015). A number of objectives have been formulated in relation to the construction of urban space friendly to senior citizens and families by emphasizing that this policy must not focus on the quantitative factors of depopulation and population ageing, but on the qualitative factors. This policy perceived depopulation as a process that is difficult, if not impossible to reverse. Hence, it requires local and state authorities to optimize the functioning of services and existing infrastructure and to redefine the development path of smaller towns. However, this element of the population policy has not yet seen any real government action, although it is an important challenge in practically all regional development strategies. It has also been included in the “Strategy for Responsible Development.”

Population policy is not only a policy aimed at influencing population size, but also its quality. From this perspective, it is worth pointing out that, in the discussed period, senior citizen policies have been rediscovered. For a long time, actions aimed at the elderly were relatively underdeveloped and left to local government. A new chapter was opened in 2011 with preparations for the “European Year of Active Ageing and Solidarity between Generations,” when the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy first established the Senior Citizen Policy Department (2012), considering it to be a separate area of activity requiring a comprehensive examination. Subsequently, the Department prepared the “Assumptions of the Long-Term Senior Citizenship Policy in Poland for the Years 2014–2020,” adopted by the Council of Ministers in

2013, and in the same year appointed the Council for Senior Citizen Policy.

A law on the elderly was passed in 2015. For the first time it defined the *elderly* (with the age limit set at sixty years) and introduced the obligation to monitor the situation of senior citizens on an annual basis. What distinguishes these activities from previous ones is the central development of special programs aimed at senior citizens (ASOS and Seniors–Vigor) and the broader inclusion of the opinions of the elderly in work carried out. These activities are now continuing, i.e. beyond 2015, at both strategic level (new senior citizen policy up to 2030) and operational level (ASOS, Senior+ replacing Senior Vigor, and Care 75+).

CONCLUSION

Demographic problems in the contemporary world are becoming more and more a subject of politicization. The process of more frequent discussion on various peri-urban issues (migration, population ageing, and lack of substitutability of generations) observed in recent years in public discourse will probably also lead to their politicization in Poland (Duszczyk and Lesińska, 2016). A manifestation of such an approach is the very clear indication of demographic problems in the “Strategy for Responsible Development” (2017), which in the areas of social cohesion and territorially balanced development places a very strong emphasis on the need for public influence over population processes, where depopulation and uneven population spatial changes, population concentration in selected areas, low fertility, and population ageing are seen as the main demographic challenges of the future.

Thus, population policy has changed a great deal in the past 100 years. It is now being implemented under completely different conditions of data availability, has different purposes, and has a much more extensive range of instruments at its disposal. It is taking place in a completely different demographic context. Unlike in the interwar period (Rakowski, 1939: 35), there is no need to worry about overcrowding and a very rapid increase in the number of young people entering the labor market. The main problems are now a lack of simple replacement of generations (stemming from low fertility), resulting in changes in the age structure of the population and depopulation. Population policy is also currently being pursued in a different international context in which the actions of other countries and in particular of international organizations should be given much greater consideration. While recent years have provided guidance on the emergence of a more comprehensive and tailored population policy aimed at addressing the problems of low fertility, population ageing, and depopulation in some areas, there is still a lack of bold visions, ideas, and applications for migration policy.

¹ By 1914, 3.5 million people had permanently left Polish territory, of which 2.2 million emigrated to the United States.

² The Emigration Office published its *Biuletyn Emigracyjny* [Emigration Bulletin], which in 1927 was transformed into the *Przegląd Emigracyjny* [Emigration Review].

³ The *Kwartalnik Naukowego Instytutu Emigracyjnego* [Scientific Institute of Emigration Quarterly] was published, followed by the *Przegląd Emigracyjny* [Emigration Review].

⁴ Published the *Sprawy Morskie i Kolonialne* [Maritime and Colonial Affairs] magazine.

⁵ Published *Sprawy Narodowościowe* [National Affairs].

⁶ Research by Polish sociologists, including Leopold Caro, Ludwik Krzywicki, and Florian Znaniecki. Polish sociological research on migration remains an important contribution to the achievements of world sociology in terms of methodology, diversity of research materials used, and the breadth of research—despite the passage of time (Łodziński, 2010: 187–216).

- ⁷ In 1971–1975, the Institute of Geography of the Polish Academy of Sciences implemented the “Fundamentals of National Spatial Development in the Years 1976–1980” and “Optimization of Demographic Structures and Processes in the Polish People’s Republic” programs. In 1981–1985, the Main School of Planning and Statistics (currently the Warsaw School of Economics), implemented a research program entitled “Shaping Demographic Processes and Poland’s Economic Development” under the direction of Prof. J. Z. Holzer.
- ⁸ Such measures included, for example, public health protection of the population living on individual farms in 1973 or social insurance for individual farmers in 1990.
- ⁹ Since 1998, the fertility rate has fallen below 1.5, while in 2001–2006 and 2012–2015 it was below 1.3.
- ¹⁰ According to the estimates of the Central Statistical Office (GUS), at the end of 2016 there were about 2,515,000 people living abroad temporarily, with about 80% of these emigrants staying abroad for at least twelve months, *de facto* being permanent residents of the countries in which they settled (“Information on the Size and Directions of Emigration...,” 2017).
- ¹¹ “Program Specjalnej Strefy Demograficznej...” [Special demographic zone program...], 2013; 2014; Rauziński and Szczygielski, 2014: 161–173.
- ¹² “Plan przeciwdziałania depopulacji...” [Depopulation prevention plan...], 2015.
- ¹³ In this case, there was a significant increase in the proportion of children using nurseries (from 2.1% in 2005 and 2.6% in 2010 to 7.8% in 2016).
- ¹⁴ This increase is clearly visible when observing the indicator showing how many children aged 3–5 years use kindergartens per 1,000 children of this age group. In 2005 the value was 409, in 2010 it was 626, and in 2016 it amounted to 811.
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ABSTRACT

The paper is aimed at presentation of how Polish population policy was affected by socio-political context in the last 100 years and how is implemented in the 21st century. The paper starts with presentation of what is the importance of demographic data for good state governance. Later sections are dealing with history of population censuses, changes in perception of the most important demographic issues over the studied period and a role played by the Governmental Council for Population Policy. The last section is focused on the most important elements of the population policy implemented in the last 20 years.

Key words: population policy, family policy, migration policy, senior citizen policy, 20th century, 21st century Poland

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