# WORK MIGRATION OUT OF MARGINAL VILLAGES IN HORNÉ KYSUCE REGION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES AT SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HOUSEHOLD'S SITUATION

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**Abstract:** The contribution is aimed at the work migration of one or more members of household in Horné Kysuce region. The main aspiration is to sketch conditions in regional labour-market, to point out motivation for work migration and long-term impacts of family segregation at social and economic situation of households. The contribution goes behind the official statistical data and through model marginal villages Klokočov and Olešná illustrates life experiences and opinions their inhabitants living in households.

**Keywords:** work migration, marginal region, regional labour market, households

#### I. Data and methods

The contribution operates with dual base datas. Some analyses, mainly targeted in charakterization of situation in whole Čadca district, or in model villages are based on "hard" statistical data comes from database of the Statistical Office of Slovak Republic and from the Labour, Social Affairs and Family Office. This are complemented with qualitative data from an field survey. The field survey is based on behavioral methods through questionnaire, interview with inhabitants and method of participant observation. The survey was realized during months April and May 2009 in villages Klokočov and Olešná. Completly was enquired 9 households through semi-standardized questionares and depth intervew. Four households were realized in Olešná and 5 in village Klokočov. Other 8 households were enquired through informal interview. This method was used because of unwillingness of people to participate in depth interview and anxiety about improper use their personal information about household. The participants of the depth interview agreed only in case of preservation their anonymity. Because of this were changed their real names in the contribution.

# II. Location and general characteristics of region

The research is set in the farme of traditional rural environment of the Horné Kysuce region, that is situated in peripheral position near Czech and Polish border, not very good traffic location, and conservative value attitude of inhabitants. The region Horné Kysuce

is now identical with the Čadca district in Žilina selfgoverning region (NUTS II), it has its own history and identity, till the administrative district Čadca was changing its area in time. It consists from 23 villages, three of them are towns: Čadca, Krásno nad Kysucou, Turzovka. The main centre is the town Čadca, lies in the middle of region. Lower regional centres are Turzovka in west part of region and Krásno nad Kysucou in the south.

Rural villages are situated mainly in the valley of river Kysuca, or along its feeders. The altitude range of villages range between 400 and 1200 metres above sea level. Tributary rivers usually have only narrow valleys. Because of this it creates here an dispersed settlement during colonisation, but it lasts until now. The traffic net prevents along the rivers and their feeders into the settlements, so its structure is quite complicated. Rural villages consist from quite compact central part along the river and dispersed settlement. (Figure 1)

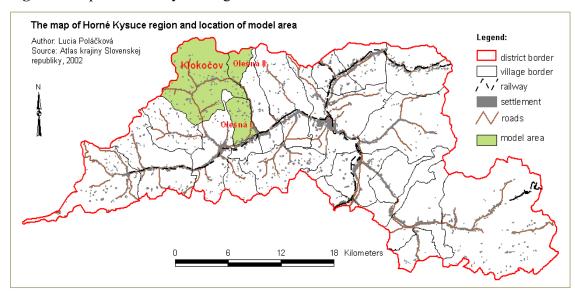


Figure 1 Map of Horné Kysuce region and location of the model area

Source: Atlas krajiny Slovenskej republiky, 2002<sup>353</sup>

The district has prolonged east-west shape, that cause traffic problems, poor intrusion of villages to the main roads and bad accessibility of regional centrum Čadca. The distance between town Čadca and Bratislava is about 240 km (3,5 hours), between towns Čadca and Žilina is 35 km (55min). Behind the border with the Czech Republik lies other city

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>353</sup> Ministerstvo životného prostredia SR, *Atlas Krajiny Slovenskej republiky*, (Banská Štiavnica: Esprit, spol. s.r.o., 2002) 1.st edition, ISBN 80-88833-27-2

centres in daily attendance distance: Ostrava (82 km from Čadca, 1,5 hour), Karviná (55 km from Čadca, 1,5 hour) and Třinec (32 km, 1 hour), Frýdek - Místek (62 km from Čadca, 70 min). The towns in Horné Kysuce region and in hinterland are the centres of services, part of job offers and the main traffic junctions. The main road of first class: E 75, and raliway No. 128 runs in north-south direction Žilina-Čadca-Czech Republic. Other road of first class I/18 runs just in the most western part of region between Žilina and Czech republic. The second class roads runs in west-east direction, mainly II/487 and II/520. (Figure 2)

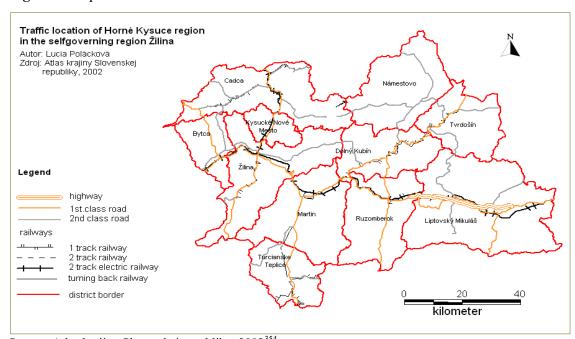


Figure 2 Map of administrative location and traffic situation

Source: Atlas krajiny Slovenskej republiky, 2002<sup>354</sup>

Both model villages are in the peripheral position, near the border wih Czech republic. The village Klokočov presents villages situated along Kysuca feeders in the narrow valleys in mountains. They are without direct connection to some of main roads and have very dispersed character of settlement. The village Olešná presents villages with the direct connection to main roads. But the cadastral unit isn't compact. It consists from two cadastral territories, that are separated by part of Klokočov territory. Residental build-up area is deconcentrated and is situated in higher elevation about sea level, in Olešná above 500 metres about sea level and in Klokočov about 600 metres about sea level. It causes

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>354</sup> Ministerstvo životného prostredia SR, *Atlas Krajiny Slovenskej republiky*, (Banská Štiavnica: Esprit, spol. s.r.o., 2002) 1.st edition, ISBN 80-88833-27-2

problems not only in local selfgovernment, but in complicated transport for inhabitants inside the villages. (Figure 1)

#### **III.** Characteristics of households

The Čadca district is typical quite balanced share of households according the count of persons per household. The majority keeps households with 4 members (21, 45%), the share of households with 1, 3, or 5 members is about 15% in each group, and households with two members counts 16, 27% from whole households. The minimum share of households has 6, 7 or more members (about 8% in each category). The district average is 2,85 persons per household. The model villages Klokočov and Olešná show signs of ageing process in population, that we can see in high share of households with one member. In Klokočov counts 23,37% of households and in Olešná 18,92% of households. The share of households with 3,4 and 5 members range from 13 to 16% and the minimum of households is in the category with 6, 7 and more members. An average number of members per household is lower, than in Čadca district, in Klokočov lives 2,59 people per household and in Olešná 2,66 people.

Table 1 Households according to number of persons per one household in 2001 (in %)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+
Village	person	persons	persons	persons	persons	persons	persons
Klokočov	23,37	20,17	14,00	16,37	12,93	7,95	5,22
Olešná	18,92	15,68	14,77	16,04	14,41	10,27	9,91
District							
CA	15,82	16,27	15,29	21,45	15,48	8,25	7,45

Source: ŠÚ SR, 2002<sup>355</sup>

In Čadca district 72,06% households are family households and 41,49% are households with dependent children. The number of children per household decrease because of bad economic situation and modern life trends. It prevails the model of one ore two-children family, that is visible in 78,42% households with dependent children. It is 16% households with three children and just 5,58% households with four and more dependent

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>355</sup> Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky, *Výsledky sčítania obyvateľov, domov a bytov v roku 2001*, (2002), digital form of data for region and villages

children. In Klokočov and Olešná is the share of family households lower, that again suggests the ageing process.

**Table 2** Types of households according to family and dependent children in 2001 (in %)

Village	Without dependent children	With dependent children	Non-family households	single
Klokočov	33,81	32,58	2,75	30,87
Olešná	31,37	35,60	1,28	31,75
District CA	30,46	41,59	1,92	26,02

Source: ŠÚ SR, 2002

**Table 3** Family households according to number of dependent children per household in 2001 (in%)

Village	1	2	3	4+
Klokočov	44,77	38,08	13,95	3,20
Olešná	38,49	39,21	16,91	5,40
Okres CA	39,73	38,69	16,00	5,58

Source: ŠÚ SR, 2002

The survey in households was focused at households with three and more members. The main respondents were women, and one man. It is characteristic for rural villages of Horné Kysuce region, that women stays at home, they care about children and household, so they are able to talk better about problems and impacts at whole household. The first category represent "young families" with dependent children, whose live in a spouse parent's house with siblings and grandparents (Mrs. Daniela – 7 members household), or they live in a new building near the spouse parent's house (Mrs. Lenka – 4 members household). The second category of household is represented by mixed families without dependent children. There live young married couple without dependent children, and parents and siblings of one of them together (Mrs. Erika, Mrs. Vierka, Mrs. Iveta, Mr. Ján). There live 4 or 5 members in one household. In the third category are "long-standing" families with dependent children living together in one familiy with grandparents (parents of one of spouse) – Mrs. Zuzana and Mrs. Mária, or with other

relatives (Mrs. Eva). These represents 5-7 member families. The last 4th category are the "old" families, whose live old parents in retirement and one adult children (Mrs. Anna, Mrs. Jana). The households with dependent children displays weak economic situation, they had declared their household income like at living wages line, or below it. Only households without dependent children had declared household income above living wages.

## IV. Situation at regional labour market

The regional labour market had been dependent at base industrial fatories before 1989. Overemployement, one-sided producing orientation has caused that it hasn't been able to competete in new market economy. The result was bankrot or strong restrictions and painful transformation of production. The regional labour market has not overcome it till today.

In Čadca district lived 92424 inhabitants in 2008 (31.12.2008), the women share was 50,29%. The share of economic active inhabitants counted 46,13 % of the absolut number inhabitants. Very important is the structure of people looking for job against job offer. The employment rate is effected by many factors, one of them is the level of education. In Horné Kysuce region inhabitants dispose dominantly by vocational school education, or by secondary education without graduation. 31,07 % of inhabitants dispose only by primary education. In the model villages the level of education of population inclines into primary education. In the village Klokočov 50,77 % inhabitants has completed the primary education, 32,09 % vocational or secondary education without graduation. In the village Olešná is the share more balanced.

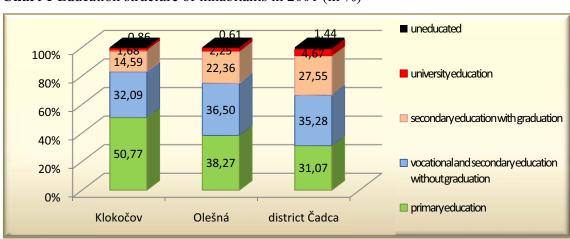


Chart 1 Education structure of inhabitants in 2001 (in %)

Source: ŠÚ SR, 2002

It si not perspective to locate sofisticated production in diversified branches here because of a low education level. The higher educated young people don't have enough opportunities to find a job in their qualification, very well paid, so they departure. The result has been the native decrease since 2004 and the total decrease since 2005. The Labour, Social Affairs and Family Office<sup>356</sup>, branch in Čadca in the annual report claims: "in the comparsion of districts of the Žilina region by common indicator, it is obvious to see, that in Čadca district is the worst situation in demographic progress of all."

The situation is getting worse by low wage onto performed work and still increasing difference between average nominal wage in Čadca district (NUTS III region) and in Žilina region (NUTS II region) or in Slovakia (NUTS I region). The level of average nominal wage in the Čadca district per month reach only 62,93 % of average nominal wage per month in Slovakia and 64,83 % in Žilina region in 2008. Low wage push the inhabitants, mostly men like bread-winners, to departure for work to other regions in Slovakia and to foreign countries (very often to the Czech republic).

Table 4 Growth of an average wage per month (AWM) in the Čadca district 2002-2008 (in %)

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Share AWM in Čadca district to Slovakia	76,37	74,75	74,11	74,31	74,31	74,04	62,93
Share AWM in Čadca district to Žilina region	84,89	70,15	83,39	66,19	65,22	65,14	64,83

Source: UPSVAR, 2009

The other opportunity is to start business. The Statistic Office register that 13,13 % of self-employed in Žilina region in 2008, comes from Čadca district. But so high rate of self-employed doesn't locate its business in district Čadca, but they commute or departure for work to other regions, and so it decreases sale in region. A labour lead to bigger cities like Bratislava, Žilina, Čadca, Ostrava, Karviná, Frýdek-Místek, where is more job opporunities. The traffic connection is often complicated for many people from villages to these cities, also it increases travel costs and in connection with low wage creates difficulties to inhabitants. "The registered unemployed rate slowly decrease in the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>356</sup> ÚPSVAR v Čadci, *Regionálna analýza trhu práce, sociálnych vecí a rodiny v okrese Čadca*, (2009), [3.5.2009], <a href="http://www.upsvarcadca.sk/?abc=2">http://www.upsvarcadca.sk/?abc=2</a>

Čadca region, but an employment doesn't increase, that indices getting employed in other districts or in foreign countries". 4

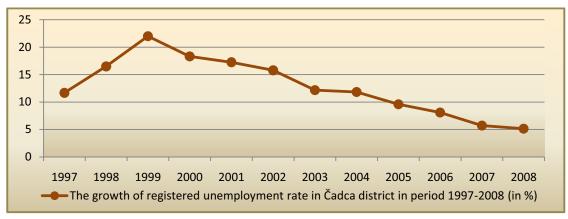


Chart 2 Growth of registered unemployment rate in Čadca district 1997-2008(in %)

Source: UPSVAR, 1997-2008<sup>357</sup>

High percentage of inhabitants is low educated, so the highest share of applicants for a job are low qualified workers and secondary educated people with graduation. High share of applicants for a job are women, whose belongs to risk group for getting a job. They have made 57 % of applicants for a job in 2008. Because of not very good traffic connections they are not allowed to synchronize commuting to work and child care with household activities. Distance between Klokočov and Čadca is 27 km, but it takes 70 min., to Žilina it is 52 km, but it takes 1,5 hour. Mrs. Eva form Olešná had finished secondary school without graduation like needlewoman, but then she has married and became pregnant. She has 4 children and now they are both with husband unemployed. After maternity leave she wanted to work in the village, or somewhere very near, to be with children during afternoon: "I worked daily as an housekeeper 4 hours in late afternoon, it wasn't much money, but it helped us a little in household budget. I liked it, because I could stay with children during day. Last year they reduced staff in the company, because of world crisis, and they said that they are going to clean by themselves. I'm still unemployed since then..." Other risk groups are the people in the age 35 - 49 years (36 % of applicants) and people above 50 years old (30 % of applicants). If we compare this situation with the data in Table 5, we can see relation this groups with the groups of active people leaving to foreign counties to work. In the same household with Mrs. Eva lives her brother-in-law (52), who is now unemployed too: "I have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>357</sup> UPSVAR v Čadci, Prehľad počtu evidovaných nezamestnaných v obciach okresu Čadca v rokoch 1997 – 2008, stav k 31.12. , (1997-2008), digital data

worked at road constructions for 23 years, then they have fired me, because had no work for me. I started to work in Karvina, but now it is a crisis, I'm old and nobody wants to employ me. If I will be 20 or 30, so yes, then they will employ me, but in this manner no."

## V. Work migration

In the past, region Horné Kysuce belonged between the poorest regions in Slovakia<sup>358</sup>, when many men migrate for work to the foreign countries (USA, Germany, Östrreich). During 19. and 20. Century in the Moravian-silesian region were opened a few metalworks and coal-mines, that become a new migration destination. In the minds of people in Horné Kysuce region, thanks the generation of workers working in Czech Republic, has created some work tradition or pattern to mirate for work. If they can't find a job in regional labour market, they usually don't have any inhibition to migrate for work to other regions in Slovakia, or to foreign countries. Now this region belongs into regions in Slovakia with the highest work migration to foreign countries. In 2001 it worked 41, 37 % inhabitants in other regions or in foreign country and 28, 24 % of them worked in foreign country. In Klokočov is the work migration rate 54, 20 % and in Olešná 59, 42 % of active population. "Everything is getting closed, it is imposible to find a job here, you have to go out to foreign country." (Mrs. Mária, Olešná II)

In age structure it dominate age groups 35-44 and 45-59 years old ingabitants, whose very often work in Czech republic, or belongs into risk group in pre-retirement age, when they can't find job in a region.

Table 5 Number of participants in labour migration in Čadca district in 2001

Direction of migration/age	15-	25-	30-	35-	45-	60	
group	24	29	34	44	59	+	sum
Departing inside the district	1 384	1 458	1 334	2 742	2 475	48	9 441
Departing to other districts in							
SR	768	953	663	1 031	855	24	4294
Departing to foreign countries	951	866	750	1495	1308	36	5406
sum	3103	3277	2747	5268	4638	108	19141

Source: ŠÚ SR, 2002

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>358</sup> More about history look in Hromádka Ján, *Všeobecný zemepis Slovenska* (Bratislava: Slovenská akademia vied a umení, 1943), p.256.

Young people and young couples need money for their own independent housing and they need also money for every day life costs. The solution is then man's departure for work to a bigger cities or to some foreign country, because there he can get higher wage for performed work. "It is no job opportunities in region, you have only one possibility to go out for work to foreign country. " (barmaid in a local pub, Olešná II) Men migrating for work to Czech republic usually work in building industries (occupy possitions as waller, carpenter, bluecollar worker), or in wood industry in timber harvesting and forest cleaning, they find a job also in industrial factories (automobile factory Hyundai Motor Manufacturing, s.r.o. in Nošovice near Frýdek-Místek and its suppliers). Many people from Horné Kysuce region commute to Žilina, where has started industrial park Kia Motors Slovakia, s.r.o and its suppliers and logistic companies in 2006. One third (38,75 %) of work migrants to other regions in Slovakia, migrates to Žilina.

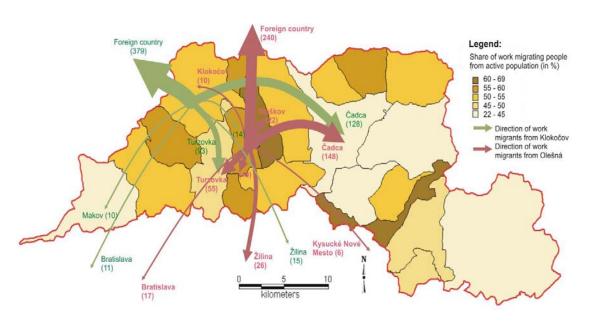
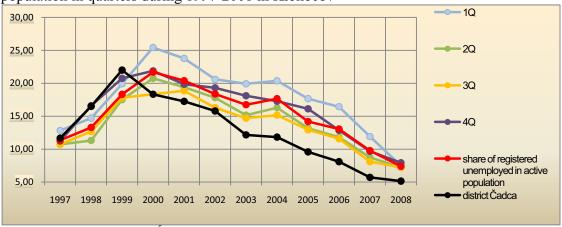


Figure 3 Labour migration in Čadca district in 2001

Many unemployed inhabitants (men and women), who can't find permanent employment, work in Czech republic seasonal. "Many women form village work in Czechia in forests, they clean the forest. They commute daily by car and they come back in the evening. They work only seasonal from spring to end of autumn, until the first snow." (Mrs. Jana, Klokočov). Seasonal work is observable at variation of share of register unemployment people from economic active population in quarters.

**Chart 3** Trend of average share of registered unemployed people in economic active population in quarters during 1997-2008 in Klokočov



Source: UPSVAR, 1997-2008<sup>5</sup>

For most women with dependent children is impossible to migrate for work to foreign country, or to care about children only during late evenings. These women were disposed to migrate for work only in urgent case. More willingly for work migration were children without dependent children, or with adult children. "I have improved my qualification and I have done an requalification course as day care nurse. When the children will put away childish things, I will go to Austria to take care of seniors." (Mrs. Zuzana, Olešná I). After the Velvet revolution was closed or decrease many uneconomic companies, and many of them were the main employers for women in region Čadca (Pratex, Okrasa). Some of this women went out to find a job to foreign countries after the borders were opened. "My friend outmigrate to Austria for work after the state frontiers opening. She took care of seniors. Then she found other job and offered me her job in this family. I became unemployed after revolution too, so I agreed. Now I come home one per month and I managed to reconstruct a house with this money." (women in Klokočov) Some young girls after nurse secondary school education departure to Austria to earn money. They also take care of seniors: "Some girls have left from Hlavice (local part of Klokočov, author notice) to Austria to take care of seniors and earn some money. They left after finishing the school. "(Mrs. Jana, Klokočov)

A society in region is still rather conservative and patterns used in every day life are changing only very slowly. Despite of difficulties with finding a job, just a few inhabitants are disposed to emigrate from home village due to work. In many cases it depends on situation: "It depends on situation, just in the case of a big profit, but still I think, that I will never emigrate. I will go out just for a timeand then I will return back."

(Mrs. Eva, Olešná I). "I will never emigrate due to work, neither with my family. Here we have a house, ground and in a new habitat is very difficult to find a quality housing. I will always feel as an newcomer, there will be a disaffection and I never will be home there. But my daughter, she is other generation, she will go immediately if she find a job. She will move there too. (Mrs. Jana, Klokočov, 57 years)

#### VI. Economic and social impact of work migration at household

The rural society in Slovakia is typical by its lashing on land, property and social nets and people see very difficult to surrender them. In Horné Kysuce region is still this sign marked very well. Majority of rural inhabitants is disposed to surmount and stay in the rural village, despite of disadvantageous condition for financial securing of households and higher quality of life. They are longing for harmonic life, that connects mainly with material securing like large house, ground, car, well paid job, enough money for care for children. Nonmaterial values mention respondents in interviews after material. The reason is mostly its lack, or threatened option of their lost. That brings about lost of the level of their quality of life fear, phobia of threatened possibility of poverty, that brings not only material, but also social deprivation. "The salary is minimal, I want to have better monetary conditions and so job opporunities in region, to be togeter with family. Everywhere around us lives many unemployed people, who were fired. There on the hill is almost everybody unemployed, I know them, I work there in Jednota. (retail chain, author notice) " (Mrs. Zuzana, shopassistant in local grocery, Olešná I) "I want only to have job, because of children care. I am very unsatisfied with very veak social support and children's allowance. They don't support families and multi-path family has problem to survive. From 6000 SK (200 EUR, author notice)per month is impossible to survive with 4 children. If it will continue this way, I don't know what to do. " (Mrs. Eva, unemployed, Olešná I)

In nonmaterial values dominates mostly necessity of complete family community in everyday life ("to be together with family"), to have satisfiing job and personal growth. "I want to find a job, that match with my education and will be well paid" (Mrs. with university education, Klokočov)

Young families with children living in autonomous household, match to disjunction difficult. They need money to build house together with money for everyday life in household. The solution is usually men's departure to bigger cities in other region or to foreign country. Women in maternity leave have to take care about children and to carry out all acitvities around household and garden alone. They don't share responsibilities and work

for household, that can effect tiredness and exhaustion between both of them. After longer time it can lead to spouse crisis. Mrs. Lenka form Olešná II. is in maternity leave with two children long time. Her husband works a long time as an self-employed in Žilina. To solve their financial problems, he has started doing business, because he has had no other oportunity to work. But it has its negatives too. "My husband departure very early every morning and comes home very late, when we both are tired. Because of business we are not together during weekends everytime. I miss him in household activities and in the garden. I'm still lucky that I have here my people in law, who help me. I regret that he is not with children."

Second kind of households represent households with 4 or 5 members without dependent children. Income of this households is above living wages level, they don't need to solve housing question or children's care. Lack of job opportunities in home region and low wage cause, that one or more household members commute or longterm migrate to work. Mrs. Iveta lives in common household with her husband, adult daughter and son in law in Olešná. Iveta's husband and her son in law works in Czech republic, because they couldn't find well paid job. Men are masons, they migrated to work in the past and worked for seasons. Now her husband commute daily. To change this her daughter with husband has decided to start business with building material. Mrs. Iveta was in those time unemployed. "Like unemployed I have passed regualification course, because I had finished only primary school. When my daughter with husband had decided to start business, I have started to work with her in the store. I hope in business growth, because than we can live together and nobody needs to work outside. "Economic sitation in household oscilates around living wages, because the opening investments to business brought high financial pressure. Mrs. Vierka lives with husband, his parents and brother in one family house. Both have university degree, so husband couldn't find a job in his specialization in region. Her husband and his brother daily commute to Czech republic, where "is quite enough jobs,they can work in their specialization and so better utilize their qualification and abilities. They feel not only higher financial effect in higher wage as in Slovakia, but an internal satisfaction too". She responds to the question about negatives for her household: "The distance to work place is long and some discrimination at workplace causes the feelings of tiredness at the weekend, that is transfering to our household too. An contact with family members is restricted. "Finaly is the view of young couples without dependent children at work migrating positive. It is despite of the restricted contact between partners, only during weekends.

Oposite statement is in "long-standing" families with dependent children in schoolyears, whose live in one household with grandparents. They feel strongly the separation, but they don't see any other opportunity. Mrs. Mária owns retail grocery in Olešná II. She has 3 dependent children and they live in one household with husbands parents in retirement. Husband had worked in Czech republic as an truck driver to earn enough money for family. He was with family just sparsely, because it was complicated to cross a border due to many controls. He got an heavy illness, so he become unemployed, but this badly influence his mental condition and family fell into financial crisis. Now he works in Czech republik again, because it was no other opportunity, but now he commutes daily. Mrs. Mária has too much activities, except her business, from child care to care about husbands parents, whose are getting older and lost a power. "I miss my husbands help in household very much. It is hard to care about everything alone, but we have no other opportunity. My husband has got a job and he doesn't sit at home as unemployed. He brings more money, than he could get in a weak paid job here. The budget plan is cheaper in Czechia too. We can survive." Mrs Zuzana lives with husband, 2 children and mother in Olešná I. She occupies a position as shop assistant in a local grocery. Her husband has worked in Czech republic, because he couldn't find a job in his profession. Their household income increase, but "he was not at home, when he was needed by house works, that I managed only very hard. The children missed him very much." After firing in his work, he found a job in a local saw, but the wage i minimal. They are now together, but the household is in financial problems.

The last category are represented by "old families", where live parents in retirement and one adult child. This couples very often lived their life separately, when man has worked in foreign country and women has stayed at home. The spouses often grow away from one's family. It can cause some problems in retirement. Mrs. Jana from Klokočov lives in one household with husband and adult daughter. "My husband worked whole life in Czech republik with other men from family (his father, brothers and causins), it was easier, they were close and they could help them together. He come home only one per month, but the wage difference between Czechia and Slovakia was huge." Long term absence caused many problems in family. "It was hard that we couldn't be together, he didn't see how children grow up, I cared about them alone. It was problems

in family, with children and between us too. "Now are both of them in retirement, their daughter after finishing university studies stayed in Bratislava, because she couldn't find a job in her specialization in region Horné Kysuce. Mrs. Jana become ill, she is loosing power and life energy to care about household, she is nervous because of it, what escalate in relation with husband or daughter.

Also a part of young population in economic active age, without children, or with a small children, leave rural villages and move to cities in region, other regions in Slovakia and foreign countries for work and better conditions. In the source rural villages stays people in higher age, or seniors. Decrease of young people and mixed multigeneral households is becomeing a problem in a rural especially peripheral villages. Young people visit parents only occasionally. The seniors fall into material deprivation on the one hand, because they are not able to care about household, house or themselves and they have not enough money from low retired pay to finance the whole household (usually high prices for energy and medicine). On the other hand they fall into social deprivation, because ageing they lost social contacts with friends, whose die, they don't create new contacts due to long distance, they lost life motivation. The rural villages usually don't have enough money to build social infrastructure and daily care about seniors. This problem became more and more intensive.

#### **Conclusion**

Region Horné Kysuce is still one of the regions in Slovakia with the high labour migration. It is maybe some kind of tradition together with no other opportunity to work. Because it is a border region, there is an international labour migration high. The work migration has many sides. We can observe moving and emigrating for work, or just seasonal work migrations, or daily commuting, but for a whole day. All of them influence the situation in households, that reflects in regional problems. In the region at household level is observable fight of financial effect of work migration and material securing of household against social separation in household, weak contact between members, problems inside the families. Inhabitants want to harmonize them, but in this period of economy crisis, it is difficult to achieve it.

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