

The Role and Functionality of Regional Migration Networks over the 20th Century. The Case Study of the Strzyżów District

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The aim of the paper is to analyse migration networks from the mezzo- and microsocial perspective on the example of the Strzyżów district in the Podkarpackie Voivodeship. The research focuses on the ties between migrants and people who do not actively participate in international movements. Migration networks from the Strzyżów district are analysed in a comparative framework from the following perspectives: 1) diachronic, in relation to contemporary migration flows, as well as those of the early 20th century, 2) synchronous, taking into account internal and external networks of the studied villages and towns.

Comparative analysis is based on both primary and secondary sources. The data describing migration flows at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries originate mainly from the Ellis Island Archives. Based on the analysis of passenger lists, which is also available on the Archive's website, I managed to reach more than 4000 immigrants from the examined localities of the Strzyżów district, who left for the United States between 1873 and 1924. As far as modern migrants are concerned, data was collected using various methods: ethnosurvey, participant observations and in-depth interviews. The research was conducted from both perspectives: country of origin (Poland) and country of destination (United States).

Keywords: Migration network, transatlantic migrations, migration from rural areas, migration time trends

The migration network connecting the inhabitants of the Strzyżów district with the United States began to develop in the 1880s. With an intensive increase in the number of emigrants from this area at the beginning of the 20th century, the system of con-

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nections between those who migrated and those who stayed in their home town became very dense. There were both sentimental and practical reasons for this. An expedition to an “unknown land” has always been a source of anxiety. Having some contact person at your destination who will give you valuable tips on how to organize the trip and help you get to your new place of settlement, obviously reduces the risk of the whole undertaking.

Before I start the analysis of migration networks formed in the area of the Strzyżów district over the course of the 20th century, I will present the background to the research on which this article was written. The author’s interest in migration from this region of Poland began with one of the villages located within the borders of the district – Babica, and the well-known publication prepared by Krystyna Duda-Dziewierz² on transatlantic emigration from this village, written in the interwar period. During the research process, the studies were further extended to other towns and villages in the region in order to collect comparative material for the exploration of local migration trends over the last century. The aspects presented in this article have been more widely described in the author’s doctoral dissertation.

The aim of the article is to analyze migration networks from both the mezzo and micro perspective on the example of the Strzyżów district in Podkarpackie Voivodeship. The study focuses on the ties connecting migrants and persons who do not actively participate in international movements. Migration networks of the Strzyżów district are analyzed in a comparative approach from the following perspectives: 1) diachronous, in relation to contemporary migrations and those from the beginning of the 20th century, 2) synchronous, taking into account the networks formed within particular localities, as well as those crossing their borders.

The comparative analysis is based on both primary and secondary sources. Data related to the migrations from the turn of the 20th century were collected mainly on the basis of the Ellis Island Archive. By analyzing the list of ship passengers, which are also available online on the Archive website,³ I was able to retrieve data on more than 4,000 immigrants from the Strzyżów district who left for the United States between 1873 and 1924 (Table 1.). With regard to contemporary migrants, data were gathered using various methods: ethno-survey, participant observation and in-depth interviews.

The research was conducted from both perspectives: country of origin (Poland) and destination (USA). In Poland, the research was conducted in the years 2009–2013 in selected villages and towns of the Strzyżów district. 39 women and 15 men aged 20 to 75 took part in the study. In addition, surveys were conducted among

² K. Duda-Dziewierz, *Wieś małopolska a emigracja amerykańska. Studium wsi Babica powiatu rzeszowskiego*, Warszawa-Poznań 1938.

³ American Family Immigration History Center in Passenger Record Archive <https://www.libertyellis-foundation.org/passenger>; Stephen Morse’s catalog: *Searching the New York (Ellis Island Gold) Database in One Step* <http://stevemorse.org/ellis2/ellisgold.html>

Table 1

Number of immigrants from the Strzyzow district to the United States (1873–1924).

Place of origin	Number of immigrants
Babica	284
Blizianka	102
Bonarówka	30
Cieszyna	127
Czudec	358
Dobrzechów	199
Fryszak	234
Godowa	799
Gwoździanka	48
Lubenia	294
Niebylec	87
Oparówka	76
Pstrągowa	482
Różanka	121
Strzyżów	434
Szufnarowa	114
Wyżne	165
Żarnowa	175
Żyznów	216
Total	4345

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of Ellis Island Archives.

25 migrants going to European countries (15 women and 10 men aged 25 to 58), as well as 13 non-migrant workers, in order to obtain a broader social context and comparative material.

Studies in the United States were conducted in the main destinations of migrants from the district: New Jersey (Elizabeth, Linden, Parlin, New Bridge), Michigan (Detroit, Ann Arbor) and Chicago (Table 2). It should be emphasized that these main contemporary directions coincide with the destinations chosen by those leaving at the beginning of the 20th century. The study involved 20 women and 13 men aged 29 to 65 years. The analysis carried out from both perspectives – origin and host country – resulted in a full picture of migration from this region.

Table 2

Number of respondents by particular destinations in the United States.

	Elizabeth	Linden	Parlin	New Bridge	Detroit	Ann Arbor	Chicago	Łącznie
Number of respondents	1	10	5	4	2	2	9	33

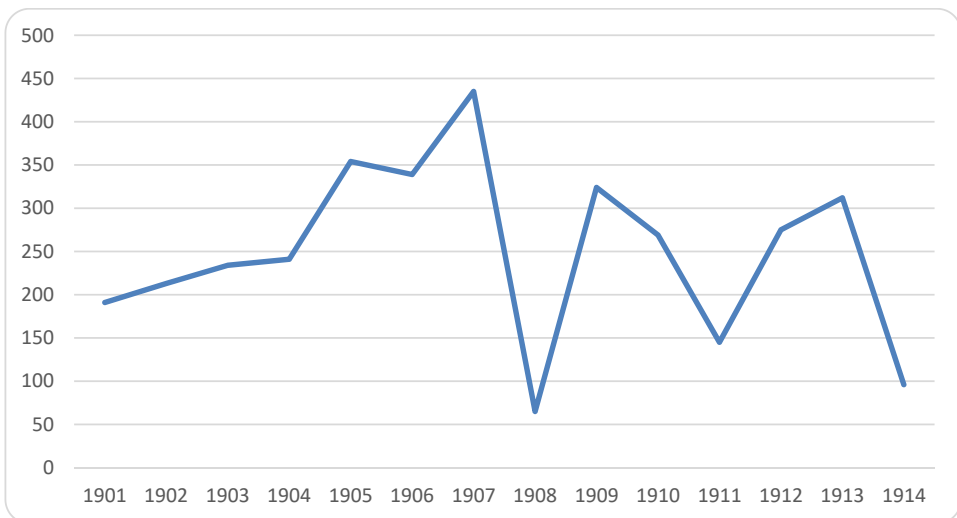
Source: Own elaboration on the basis of conducted research.

Local migration network on the threshold of mass migration to the United States

Due to the size of mobility from the territory of the district in the first decade of the previous century, access to social networks was relatively common (Chart 1). At that time, mainly family ties were activated (91%), whereas trips to friends or acquaintances were rarer. Migrants from the district left most frequently to a brother-in-law (23%) or cousin (12%), as well as to their closest relatives such as a brother (19%) or father (10%).⁴

Chart 1

Total number of immigrants from the researched localities in the United States (1901–1914).



Source: Own elaboration on the basis of Ellis Island Archive.

⁴ Own elaboration based on the passenger lists from Ellis Island Archive.

Therefore, in the first years of migrations from the region, i.e. at the end of the 19th century, family ties were mainly used. With the development of transatlantic flows from this area in the first decade of the 20th century, contacts in the country of settlement went beyond the family circle. At that time, inhabitants of this region also left to friends or acquaintances. During World War I and shortly afterwards, only relations between close relatives were used, such as father or brother in the case of men, or husband in the case of women. This was associated with immigration restrictions introduced in the 1920s in the United States. Migrations took place then mainly for the purpose of family reunification.

Some people were very actively involved in the organization of the departures of family members or neighbors. Agnieszka Papciak (she brought 7 persons to the United States), Anna Bartula from Żyznów (7), Augustyn Wilk from Lubenia (11), Jan Szela from Czudec (11), Franciszek Kluska from Żarnowa (10) and Jan Gorczyca from Godowa (13) are the record holders in the number of district residents brought to the USA. They supported both their relatives and friends at the initial stage of migration. Despite the fact that more and more people were constantly coming to the United States, often the pioneer of migration from a particular network was still the one who was mainly responsible for helping newcomers, mostly because of his or her experience and stable position in the new place. An example is Stanisław Barlik from Pstrągowa, who first brought his brother-in-law to the USA in 1905, then in 1906 his niece, in 1908 his cousin, and in 1910 his sister. There are, of course, many such cases.

Only 38 immigrants in this sample at the turn of the 20th century declared no contact in the United States. There were only 4 women and 34 men in this group. Two women from Pstrągowa went together to Adams Massachusetts, another one left with her compatriots from Żyznów, while Marianna Wieszczyk from Żarnowa went alone. Fourteen men had an experience of previous migrations to the USA, so this was probably the main reason why they did not need care in the host country. Nine people, on the other hand, travelled together in two- or three-person groups of immigrants who were in the same situation (i.e. without indicating the person they were heading for). Group departures were supposed to be an additional source of protection in the case of not having any relatives or friends at their destination. The majority of these emigrants left in the years 1898–1902, so in the period when there was a gradual increase in transatlantic travel from the researched area. The largest number of such migrants came from the villages most intensively affected by the mobility, i.e. Pstrągowa and Godowa. The dense networks functioning among the inhabitants of these localities made the migrants quite confident that sooner or later they will meet some soul mate in the host country.

Migration networks and gender at the turn of the 20th century

The analysis of the links within migrant networks should highlight a certain variation in terms of their use depending on the sex of migrants. Unmarried women from the district usually went to someone from the close family, such as a brother or father, while married women most often followed their partners. With regard to the latter, there are also some cases of married women from the district who travelled without their spouses, declaring that they are heading for siblings or friends. This was the case of Zofia Bobek from Cieszyna, who made her first trip to the United States in 1895, setting out for her brother-in-law to Chicopee in Massachusetts. In 1898 she returned for a year to her family, probably in order to visit her husband who had been left behind in the country. In 1899 she left again, and she declared that she was going to join her daughter. Further examples are Zofia Czaja, who also set off in 1912 to her brother in Fall River in Massachusetts, while her family stayed in Czudec, or Antonina Dobrowolska from Gwoździanka, whose single trip to Elizabeth Port in New Jersey was sponsored by her sister, with whom she planned to stay. It is therefore necessary to indicate a certain independence of women.

In a few cases, however, despite the fact that the husbands stayed in the United States and these women were probably heading to their spouses, they provided the migration officer in Ellis Island with the data of friends or relatives instead of their

Table 3

The type of relations between migrants and their contact persons
in the United States (1901–1914).

Women		Men	
brother/ sister in law	17%	brother/ sister in law	28%
Husband	15%	brother	25%
Brother	14%	cousin	13%
Father	13%	father	8%
Cousin	12%	friend	7%
Uncle	11%	sister	6%
Sister	11%	uncle	6%
Acquaintance	3%	acquaintance	5%
Friend	3%	wife	1%
Aunt	2%	son	1%
Mother	1%	mother	1%
Niece	1%	stepbrother	1%

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of Ellis Island Archive.

husbands. This was likely due to the fact that their spouses lived with the indicated persons, therefore the data of the “main tenant” or owner of the flat were provided. Male migrants, on the other hand, were more eager to use their contacts with their distant relatives or friends in the USA than immigrant women (Table 3).

The persons who were reported to be the ones to take care of the newcomers were mainly men, although women were the main beneficiaries of “female connections” in their host country. The situation was similar in all studied towns and villages. In Żytnów, women were most intensively involved in helping their families and neighbours in organising the whole migration process, which included a large percentage of women-migrants leaving this village. There was also a comparatively high number of connections between the women leaving the country and the immigrant women remaining in the USA in the case of Babica, although women were less involved in the migration flows in this village.

In many cases, however, the formation of networks consisting of people of one sex can be easily observed. These situations were more often among men, which was to a large extent associated with their more frequent participation in trips. However, women also tried to be more proactively involved in supporting newcomers. A group of female residents from Żytnów may serve as an example. First, in May 1902, Marianna Skóra went to New Brunswick, New Jersey, to her aunt Katarzyna Pęczak. In November the latter brought another three women from the village: Marianna Korab (her friend), Maria Mnich (cousin) and Tekla Ziobro (niece). Then in 1904, Katarzyna brought her aunt and in 1910 her sister Maria joined.

Interlocal migration networks

Isolation, as one of the characteristic features of the traditional rural local community, influenced the formation of social and migration networks, mainly constraining them within their boundaries. Nevertheless, the close geographical proximity or marriage with representatives of another group stimulated the establishment of new contacts which extended beyond the local community. Most often, therefore, these kinds of ties were created among relatives.

Migration links were thus not limited only to the area of particular villages. Of course, it was most popular to go to a person coming from the same place. However, there were cases where newcomers joined a friend or relative from a neighbouring village or town. This was the case of Józef Antosz from Czudec, who in 1905 left for Yorkville to Jan Obuch from nearby Wyżne; Marianna Golesz from Czudec, who in 1906 went to Adams in Massachusetts to her friend Jan Pytko from the neighbouring Pstrągowa; or Michał Nycz from Żytnów, who in 1905 joined his friend Józef Moskał. In 1907, Jan Rokosz from Strzyżów brought his friend and nephew from Żarnowa, his brother from Godowa, and in 1910, two more brothers from his hometown.

Migration networks also connected inhabitants of more distant places. In 1904, five residents of Cieszyna and Pstrągowa set off on a joint journey. For all of them the destination was Adams in Massachusetts, where they were supposed to stay at the home of Andrzej Pytko. Assuming that they said the truth to an immigration officer, he was a relative for the above-mentioned immigrants from Pstrągowa, and a friend of Franciszek Stasiowski from Cieszyna. Other examples include Jan Janas, who came from Wyzne and was joined by his friend from Strzyżów in 1902; or Ignacy Filip, who left for Greenfield in Massachusetts in 1912 to his friend Jan Rożek from Lubenia. Józef Włodyka from Różanka helped to organise a trip to his relatives and friends from his home village, as well as to two of his brothers-in-law: one from Pstrągowa and the other one from Wyzne.

Joint journeys from different parts of the district

Social networks help to overcome the hardships of travel. The expedition in a group significantly reduces the risk of the whole process, and guarantees the safety of travellers. At the beginning of the 20th century, joint trips were undertaken mainly by the inhabitants of the same locality. In many cases, however, residents of different villages or towns of the district were on board the same ship. This could, of course, only be a coincidence, but it could also be a deliberately planned action in a situation where no one else was leaving the locality of a particular migrant.

There are many examples of joint journeys of residents from different parts of the area in question. Group trips were mainly characteristic for women. They organised themselves together both within one village and among the various places in the region. Usually, such a group of immigrant women was accompanied by a man, which was probably meant to strengthen their safety. An example is the case of Piotr Godek from Cieszyna, who in 1897 took part in a joint trip with Apolonia Koniszewska from Godowa and Antonina Samolewicz from Strzyżów. The same was true for Józef Jarosz from Żyznów, who travelled with a friend from the same village and Katarzyna Ziobro from the neighbouring Godowa.

Relatively often, however, there were joint journeys of groups formed exclusively by women. For example, on October 2, 1913, five migrant women from Czudec left for the United States together. In the following month, six female residents of Żyznów, aged between 17 and 26, set off on a journey to this country. Less than three weeks later, three migrants from Czudec, Wyzne and Frysztak were on board the same ship. In January 1914, four residents of Godowa and one of Pstrągowa undertook a shared expedition.

With a growing interest in transatlantic migrations, the district inhabitants were leaving and merging into larger groups. A fascinating case is an expedition of nine residents of the district in 1904: two sisters from Blizianka, a marriage with two children from Czudec, and three women from Godowa, Niebylec and Wyzne. Looking

at the map (Map 1.) it is possible to recreate a specific chain of connections that has been established between these emigrants: starting from Czudec, passing through the neighboring villages to Godowa. In these cases, the person who was supposed to take care of them upon arrival was a woman: sister, aunt or cousin. If we assume that these joint journeys were intentional and not coincidental, the efficient circulation of information between individual localities of the district reflects the existence of systematic relations between the particular villages of this region.

Map 1

The expedition of nine residents of Strzyzow district to the United States in 1904.



Source: Own elaboration on the basis of Ellis Island Archive.

Not all villages had an equally well-developed network of connections which linked their inhabitants with migrants from neighboring villages. Babica was relatively isolated, both in terms of trips to family and friends from other localities, as well as joint trips with other emigrants. This village differed in terms of migration trends from the rest of the studied region. This situation may indicate a high level of social capital and dense networks operating within the community, or more specifically, within the inhabitants of particular parts of the village. A large number of emigrants associated with a relatively small number of inhabitants made Babica essentially self-sufficient in terms of the organisation of transatlantic trips. Therefore, extensive internal migration networks reduced the need to search for links outside the village borders.

Multiple networks in one location

The most intensively developed “inter-village” contacts existed in places with the most numerous migratory flows and the largest number of inhabitants, i.e. Pstrągowa and Godowa. The extremely dense and extensive migration networks which functioned

in these localities helped relatives and acquaintances from other parts of the district to organise their journeys.

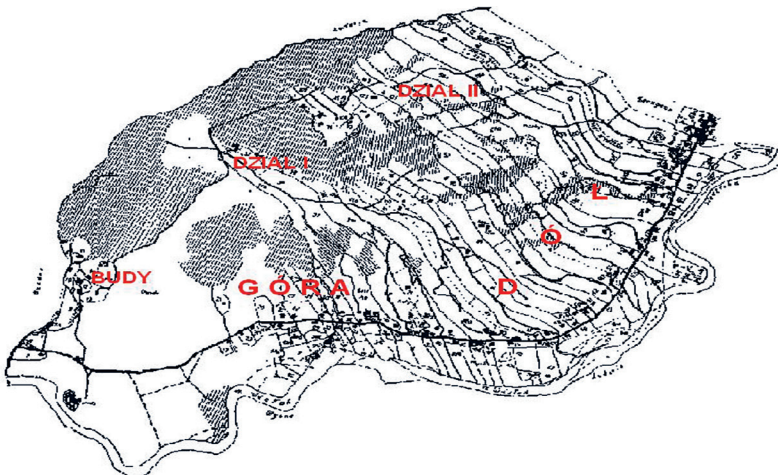
The densest networks were, of course, formed inside particular localities. Nevertheless, within one village or town, there was not just one common network of connections which linked all the inhabitants, but rather a few networks.

The existence of different systems of connections within a village may be evidenced, for example, by the multiplicity of migration streams flowing out of it. As was already emphasized, the contact person in the United States was an important factor in the decision-making process of migration. Migrants headed to places where their relatives or neighbors were located. The choice of direction, therefore, depended on the network in which a particular individual operated, which in turn could be linked specifically to the part of the village inhabited by that person.

We can use Babica as an example. This village is divided into five parts: the centre (Góra and Dół) and three hamlets located in the peripheral parts of the village (both in terms of geographical location and structure of social organization) – Budy, Dział I and Dział II (Map 2).⁵

Map 2

Division of Babica into hamlets.



Source: Own elaboration on the basis of Duda-Dziewierz K., *Wieś małopolska a emigracja amerykańska. Studium wsi Babica powiatu rzeszowskiego*, Warszawa-Poznań 1938, s. 14.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the central district were in dispute over the domination of Babica. The symbol of power was the village leader chosen from a particular part of the village. Peripheral hamlets, mainly due to their location, were

⁵ This subject matter is discussed in more detail in: Kulpińska J., *Emigration and the Social Topography of a Village – an Analysis of Overseas Migration from Babica*, "Studia Migracyjne – Przegląd Polonijny", z. 1/2014, s. 131–141.

isolated from issues related to the social organization of the village. Due to their location on the outskirts, they were also a place for stigmatized people, in order to isolate them from the righteous inhabitants of the central part of Babica, such as women with illegitimate children, or disobedient sons.⁶

In accordance with the aforesaid, it should be stressed that each of the above-mentioned hamlets constituted a separate whole, with a different character from the others. Therefore, social networks and capital were formed to a large extent mainly within the boundaries of each of the hamlets. This is evidenced by the words of the interwar Duda-Dziewierz interlocutors: "I have been there twice all my life, I have not lived with those from Budy at all.> <Totally different names in Budy", said again Z. P., an elderly representative of one of the Babica's families".⁷ The words of Babica's contemporary inhabitants sound similar: *I can only say how it is here. I only know people from here [from Góra – J.K.]. I do not know anyone from Dół. I've never cared what's going on in the Dół, because what for?* [K.43.NM].⁸

Social ties crossed the borders of neighbouring hamlets mainly through family ties. Migration networks were, however, usually created separately for the eastern and western part of the village. An example is the wife of the first emigrant from Babica, Aniela Dudek, who brought to the United States persons living in the neighborhood of her native hamlet Budy, but who were from the Góra and Dział hamlets. The Sołtys family, who also left Budy, helped several people from the neighbouring Góra to organise their travels.⁹

Dół, inhabited mainly by families of landlords, were last to join the migration process from this area. The main reason for this situation was the perception of emigration by the inhabitants of this hamlet as an occupation that was inappropriate for their social position in the village. With the collapse of the farms of landlords, which resulted in an increase in the number of very small homesteads, there was a need to find additional income.¹⁰ Following the inhabitants of the other parts of Babica, they began to travel to the United States, initiating a new migration stream towards New Jersey (mainly to Elizabeth Port), while the eastern side of the village was dominated by trips to Detroit in Michigan.

Along with the increase in the intensity of trips, migration networks began to cross the borders of individual hamlets. This situation was influenced, among others, by returning migrants, who after their return often bought land in a different part of the village than they had previously lived in (mainly in central hamlets),

⁶ Own translation of the Author: "<Budy to odrębne od wsi> – mówiła – <przez całe moje życie byłam tam dwa razy, wcale się z Budami nie żyje.> <Całkiem inne nazwiska na Budach> – mówiła znów Z. P., starsza przedstawicielka jednego z zasiedziałych rodów babickich." K. Duda-Dziewierz, *op. cit.*, s. 8–21.

⁷ *Ibidem*, s. 12.

⁸ Own translation of the Author: "Mogę tylko powiedzieć jak to jest tu. Znam tylko ludzi stąd [z Góry – J.K.]. Z Dołu nikogo nie znam. Nigdy mnie nie obchodziło co się dzieje na Dole, bo po co?" [K.43.NM]

⁹ K. Duda-Dziewierz, *op. cit.*, s. 25–26.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, s. 47–48.

establishing new neighbourhood contacts, perhaps also sharing links belonging to particular networks.

An interesting case that stands out from the rest of the region is Godowa. The village consists of 19 hamlets, which together at the turn of the 20th century generated 9 migration streams. Unlike other villages and towns in the area, however, there is one stream that dominates over the rest, which heads towards Elizabeth Port in New Jersey. Other directions of migration constituted a small percentage of outflow from this community. Therefore, the residents of Godowa created a very extensive network of connections, going mostly to one destination in the United States, which covered the whole village. Starting from the end of the 19th century, they joined the process of migration from this area in large numbers, organising themselves during transatlantic expeditions into neighbourhood groups of several people. Successive migrants, at the same time, were active in attracting relatives or friends to migrate from their homeland.

Contemporary migration networks as a reflection of the continuity of migration from the region

At the turn of the 20th century, the foundation for the construction of migration networks was the place of origin. Each town or village had a separate network of connections, which was independent of other parts of the district. Nevertheless, within the boundaries of individual villages or towns, several smaller networks were formed, which were based on the following principles: family ties, neighbourhood connections (depending on the inhabited part of the village), and ethnic origin, or, to a much lesser extent, gender. The structure of the network was more complicated in local towns than in villages, largely due to their ethnic diversity, greater social stratification and weaker social organisation.

The networks formed at the roots of the transatlantic migration flows from the Strzyżów district have largely secured the continuity of this process. Not only have the migration directions survived, but the way the links have been formed have also been maintained, although currently they do not form such a dense system as at the beginning of the 20th century. They are still based primarily on family ties and largely cover the borders of individual localities. Since the first decade of the 21st century, new migration networks to European countries have been built.

The majority of respondents heading for the United States from the late 1970s onwards have been leaving to join a family member. Usually, this person lived in the same locality as a relative who joined him/her before leaving. As in the case of migration from the turn of the twentieth century, one person in the USA often brought to the country several people from their homeland, helping them at the beginning of their stay in the new place. An example of this is the marriage of Anna and Robert,

who left for Linden, New Jersey, in 1996. This American city is currently one of the most popular migration destinations of district residents. Anna and Robert have been very active in helping newcomers throughout their stay in Linden, often providing them with accommodation in their own home. As they said:

I won't even count the number of people who stayed here. Because Robert is just such a person that he always wants to help. And when someone comes, we will always accept them, because what else we can do. [K.42]¹¹

Male and female migration networks

When analysing contemporary trips to the United States, it is important to underline the gender of migrants as a factor that determines, to a large extent, the possibility of belonging to the particular network. 68% of women and 84% of men indicated that the person they were joining was of the same sex as them. In addition to many other subjective reasons, economic issues were at the root of the decision to leave for most respondents. The use of their international ties is therefore based on the possibility of finding a job abroad. Due to the fact that, for example, a household had a woman as a contact person in the place of destination, it was associated with easier access to the “female” labour market, and therefore a woman was also delegated to migrate. An example of such a situation is Jola, who was brought to the United States by her friend Zofia. The latter organized Jola’s work before her arrival, in the same sector where she was employed herself, i.e. as a caregiver for elderly people. The reason for Jola’s departure was the need to pay for her daughter’s studies, which was not possible in her homeland due to her and her husband’s low earnings. Therefore, they decided that one of them would migrate, because there were still two younger children in the country who had to be looked after. The possibility of getting a job in the United States decided which one of them would go, and it was easier to find work for Jola due to the connection with Zofia. During her several years spent in the USA, Zofia helped her cousin and her neighbor from her home village to find a similar job.

Other examples are Kasia, the wife and mother of three children, who went to the U.S. to her sister to clean houses; or Jerzy, who left his wife with their four children to work with, his colleague.

The networks dominated by either women or men were thus formed. Through these ties, women have remained mainly in the domestic services sector, while men belong to the “construction” sector. A specific feature of functioning within

¹¹ Own translation of the Author: Tyle osób co tu się przewinęło to nawet nie zliczę. No bo Robert właśnie taki jest, że on zawsze chce pomóc. No i jak ktoś przyjeżdża no to my zawsze przyjmemy, no bo co zrobić. [K.42]

the women's networks was substitute work. Women brought their relatives or acquaintances to work in their place, for example, when they wanted to visit her home country.¹² Bogusia, among others, found herself in such a situation. She was persuaded to go to the United States by her mother-in-law, who wanted to visit her home country. Bogusia left her husband and three children in Babica, took a six-month unpaid leave at work and went to Linden, New Jersey, to take care of an elderly woman in place of her husband's mother. After half a year, her mother-in-law returned to work in the USA, and Bogusia went home.

An interesting case is the story of two sisters: Małgorzata and Anna, who have repeatedly switched in the position of caregiver. The former worked in Poland as a nurse. Anna, on the other hand, lives permanently in the United States in Linden, taking care of an elderly woman. However, from time to time in the summer she goes to Florida, where she cleans houses, because in this way she can earn more money as well as benefit from the attractions of the south. In her place, her sister arrives for 3–4 months in the position of caregiver, taking unpaid leave at the hospital and appreciating the opportunity to earn extra money. Małgorzata has already made four such trips on the basis of a tourist visa granted to her for ten years.

Substitute work functions only among women who share close ties. In most cases, therefore, a temporary change in a job takes place among family members and close friends. Under this type of arrangement, the level of social capital must be very high. In such situations, it is particularly important to have confidence that a person will honor the agreement, perform his or her duties reliably and finish work within the agreed period. The use of the link was therefore covered by the form of an unwritten contract, based on trust and the principle of reciprocity. It can be seen that in these cases social capital was converted into economic capital, through access to jobs, as well as into cultural capital through contact with patterns of behavior and values.¹³

In the case of men, temporary replacements have not been noted. The newcomers usually work in the same company or industry as the person he joined in the USA, working in parallel with his host.

Migration networks – tradition vs. change

Analysing the mechanisms of migration in the studied area over the course of the century, it can be seen that the ways of functioning within the migration network have taken the form of a certain pattern of action, passed down in a specific tradi-

¹² Aleksandra Grzymała-Kazłowska, among others, described the phenomenon of replacement work on the example of Polish women immigrants in Belgium: Grzymała-Kazłowska A., *Polscy nielegalni pracownicy w Belgii. Raport z badań*, CMR Working Papers, Grudzień 2001, nr 41.

¹³ D. Praszalowicz, *Teoretyczne koncepcje procesu migracji*, "Przegląd Polonijny", 2002, z. 4, s. 33.

tion from generation to generation. The role played by this system of connections in the migration process is still very important.

Still, selection to the network takes place mainly on the basis of family ties, most often within the same locality. This situation is caused mainly by a significant decrease in the number of connections in comparison with migrations from this area at the beginning of the 20th century. The social changes that took place over the course of the centuries, which abolished the isolation and self-sufficiency of villages, did not affect the modification of this trend; on the contrary, it should be stressed that today's migration networks are even more closed within particular villages than it was at the turn of the 20th century.

Therefore, these changes have influenced the transformation of the social relations among the contemporary inhabitants of rural areas. Babica still remains a relatively closed community, not only in relation to the neighbouring villages, but also in relation to its internal organisation. Comparing the results of the work of Duda-Dziewierz, this village now seems to be even more inaccessible than in the first decades of the 20th century. Attempts to reach the respondents were extremely difficult and repeatedly failed. A symbolic image showing the closure and isolation of the village inhabitants are, for example, houses separated from the main road by high fences, bushes, where courtyards are very difficult to see. Inhabitants also emphasise that they are isolated from each other:

Now it is difficult to meet anyone here at all. Because everyone drives only cars. You can meet someone here only in church. There is no other way because nobody walks around the village, just everyone drives, there is no way to talk. [K.42.NM].¹⁴

Due to social atomisation, access to the network is already more limited, largely restricted to family connections. At the same time, these connections are an additional factor strengthening the role of the gender variable in the migration process (in the case of some respondents). As an example, men living in the USA accommodate men, and women come to women. This is one of the characteristic features of modern migration networks from this area.

Selectivity of migration networks

Access to networks was used equally by men and women, regardless of their level of education. On the other hand, a certain selectivity in this area can be seen in terms of age. Migrants over 40 years old used mainly family ties. Friends and acquaintanc-

¹⁴ Own translation of the Author: "Teraz to w ogóle ciężko jest tu kogoś spotkać. Bo wszyscy tylko samochodami jeżdżą. Tak to tylko w kościele można tam kogoś spotkać. A tak to nie, bo nikt po wsi nie chodzi, tylko wszyscy jeżdżą, to ani porozmawiać nie ma jak." [K.42.NM]

es were the main contact persons for younger people (20–30 years olds). This diversity may result from greater openness and readiness of young people to take the risk, standing on the threshold of their lives. Older people, who in most cases were responsible for the financial situation of the family and did not want to experience a migration failure, secured themselves by going to their relatives in the destination country. These migrants, unlike younger ones, did not have the necessary language skills at the time of departure to cope independently in the host society, which additionally favored their choice of country where they would receive appropriate assistance.

It should be noted that international connections are not enough to have the motivation to leave. Some of those interviewed, despite having ties in different countries, did not decide to leave (Table 4). The above-mentioned lack of ties in a particular destination and fear of “going blind” are the reasons given by some people who do not participate in migration: *If only I had someone there I would go.* [M.48.NM].¹⁵ Other reasons indicated by the respondents were the lack of the need to leave, and the fear of not being able to cope in an unknown place without knowledge of the language, while doing hard work, often below their qualifications.

Table 4

Number of international connections between non-migrants and migrants from the Strzyżów district to the United States and European countries before undertaking the first migration.

Number of connections	Number of migrants to the U.S. possessing connections in the destination country	Number of non-migrants possessing connections in the U.S and European countries
1	8	8
2	27	2
3	24	–
4	15	1
5 and more	13	–

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of the conducted research.

Summary

In the case of migration to the United States, migration networks play a very important role. They are the basis for the decision to leave, which in many cases dominate the economic factors. Having close friends or acquaintances abroad certainly facilitates the decision for departure, but the functioning within the migration network is not, as we have seen, enough to initiate the migration.

¹⁵ Own translation of the Author: “Jakbym tylko miał tam do kogo to bym pojechał.” [M.48.NM]

It is also important to stress the specific selectivity in terms of the use of existing links by migrants. Usually, the ties located in a particular locality determine the choice of destination (they constitute the basis for the choice of the USA by the residents of the district). A lack of connections in a specific location was the reason behind the resignation from choosing such a direction.

Due to the multitude of connections which were at the respondents' disposal, individual preferences of migrant may influence the selection of the contacts actually used. Family ties, as the strongest ones, are of course the most frequently used. As Douglas Massey's research has shown, having a family abroad is often an impulse to undertake migration.¹⁶ They were used by persons of different ages, both genders, regardless of their education level. They were a necessary condition for the decision to leave, especially among the elderly.

The analysis presented in this article, which compares migration streams from the turn of the 20th century and contemporary flows, indicates the unchangeability of the functioning of the basic mechanisms driving migration. Both the migration chains and the importance of the network could, therefore, be described as a constant in the process of change.

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¹⁶ D. S. Massey, J. Arango, G. Hugo, A. Kouaouci, A. Pellegrino, *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*, Clarendon Press 1999, s. 117–118.