

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

*The case of Latin American
High skilled migrants in Groningen*



Juana Covaleda Herrera, s1995227

jucovaleda@gmail.com

Supervisor: Dr. Ajay Bailey

Master in Population Studies

University of Groningen, Faculty of Spatial Sciences

Population Research Center

Landleven 1, 9747 AD Groningen

Groningen, September 2013

Acknowledgement

This thesis is the product of one hard work and amazing year. I am very proud to have had the opportunity to conduct this research in such a high academic standards environment. It was my dream to do research in migration, and specifically, in integration of migrants in the receiving countries. It was a great experience to have known more about Latin American migration in Groningen and to have conducted such an interesting fieldwork. I enjoyed it very much and I hope I can continue doing research in this field. Thanks to Ajay, my great supervisor who guided me during the whole process, it was not an easy task but you always gave me the courage and the direction to overcome the limitation in the qualitative research. Thanks to Fanny, who gave me the direction to come until that part of the process. To Stiny, who was always willing to help.

Thanks to my friends who support me during difficult times, without your support this would not be possible. To Simone, who even if was busy always found a place to read some lines and orient me in the research process. To Bibiana, a friend from my childhood in Colombia who I meet after long time in Groningen and who always gave me the motivation to continue with this process. To my mum, who with her love and company through skype made me stronger to go ahead.

Juana Covaleda H.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	2
1. Introduction	3
1.1 Background.....	3
1.1.1 Latin Americans in the Netherlands.....	3
1.1.2 High skilled migration policies in the Netherlands.....	4
1.1.3 Cultural Capital and Migration Sequences.....	5
1.1.4 Specific aim of this study	6
1.2 Objective and research questions.....	7
1.2.1 Objective	7
1.2.2 Main research question	7
1.2.3 Specific research questions	7
2. Theoretical framework	8
2.1 Theory.....	8
2.1.1 Cultural Capital	8
2.1.2 Migration sequences.....	11
2.2 Literature review	13
2.2.1 Trends in migration studies	13
2.3 Conceptual model	15
3. Data and Methods.....	17
3.1 Study design.....	17
3.2 Methods of data collection.....	17
3.3 Definition and operationalization of the concepts	18
3.4 Study population	23
3.4.1 Participant Recruitment.....	23
3.5 Data analysis	24
3.6 Ethical considerations	25
4. Results	26
4. 1 National Capital Trend.....	26
4. 1.1 Embodied state	26
4. 1.2 Institutionalized state	38
4. 1.3 Being from Latin America	44

4.2 Migration Sequences.....	49
5. Conclusions	57
References	63
Appendix 1	65
Appendix 2	68

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Table of Figures

Figure 1 Migrants between 20 and 65 years old from Latin America in the Netherlands, The Netherlands, 2012.....	4
Figure 2 Immigration; males and females; Groningen (municipality)	6
Figure 3 Conceptual model.....	16

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Table of Tables

Table 1 Interviewee's profile.....	24
Table 2 Possible next moves	53

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Abstract

As a result of economic and demographic factors such as decline in fertility and population ageing, developed countries such as Canada, Australia, United States, New Zealand, Germany, United Kingdom, France, Ireland and the Netherlands, have experienced a lack of individuals with tertiary education levels. During the last decade the Netherlands has developed a special program to attract high-skilled migrants from other countries. Furthermore, the achievement in attracting them is perceived as a central element in generating economic prosperity and innovation. High skilled migrants from Latin America have been increasing in number from 2009 on. This study intends to integrate two concepts from migration theory; cultural capital and migration sequences, to explore how high skilled migrants from Latin America make use of their skills in the context of Groningen and how they plan to use them in a future move.

With this objective, qualitative research was conducted among Latin American skilled migrants. During the ethnographic cycle, twelve in depth interviews with high skilled migrants from different countries in Latin America were conducted and one participant observation was undertaken in a gathering place for Latin Americans in Groningen.

The results show that the position they acquired in the receiving place depends on the extent to which they negotiate their cultural capital within the national capital context of Groningen and that it varies according to the field where the cultural capital is used and to the sequences of previous moves that the migrant has undertaken. Furthermore, this study suggests that the next moves of this group of migrants are based on their location specific capital and the amount of time they have stayed in the new place.

Keywords: Cultural capital, migration sequences, high skilled migrants, integration, Latin America, migration

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

1. Introduction

The following section describes the context in which this thesis is developed and presents the specific objective and research questions that will orient each of the research cycles of this study.

1.1 Background

In order to give an overview of the main core of this study, the next four sections have been displayed, i.e., Latin Americans in Groningen, high skilled migrants policies in the Netherlands, cultural capital and migration sequences, and the specific aim of this study.

1.1.1 Latin Americans in the Netherlands

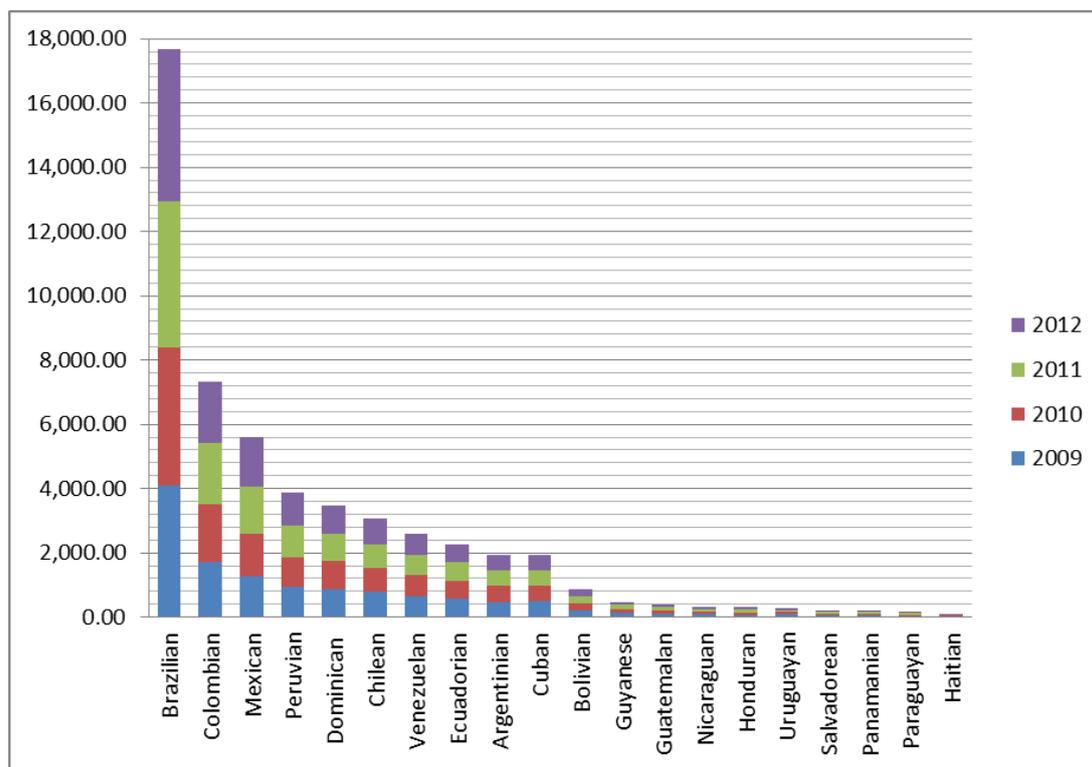
Latin American migration at different skill levels to Europe has augmented continually since the early eighties. Current instability and weak economic performance in Latin America suggest that this trend may continue for years to come (Solimano & Pollack, 2004).

Typically, some Latin American nationalities have been migrating towards specific European countries; for instance, Ecuadorians to Spain, Brazilians to Portugal, Haitians to France, Cubans to Germany and Colombians and Argentinies to Spain (Poulain, 2005). In the case of North European countries, such as the Netherlands, the increase in the flows has taken more time and just within the last few years it has become significant. (Poulain, 2005)

As a matter of fact, according to CBS (2010), the number of adult immigrants from Latin American in the Netherlands has been increasing during the last decades. The following figure shows that the Latin Americans between ages 20 and 65 years who migrated the most between 2009 and 2012 were Brazilians, followed by Colombians, Mexicans and Peruvians.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Figure 1 Migrants between 20 and 65 years from Latin America in the Netherlands, The Netherlands, 2012



Source. Statistics Netherlands, 2012.

Studies before 2002 about the reasons of the first flows of Latin American people towards the Netherlands, argue that most of them were coming as refugees and others were involved in drugs and prostitution business. However, recent studies show that the features of these flows have been changing during the last decades and now Latin American skilled migrants are the ones who have been attracted to the Netherlands and to other European countries (Barajas, 2007). As reported by the website of the International Conference on Latin American Migration (p, 57), it is due to not only the proliferation of scholarships for Latin American students, but also the change in international migration policies orientated to attract high skilled migrants to work in developed countries.

1.1.2 High skilled migration policies in the Netherlands

As a result of economic and demographic factors in developed countries such as Canada, Australia, United States, New Zealand, Germany, United Kingdom, France, Ireland and the Netherlands, these countries have experienced a decline in fertility and population ageing and subsequently a lack of individuals with tertiary education levels (Doomernik et al, 2009, p, 3). Due to the necessity for innovation and productivity within a country and taking into account that the economic crisis has enlarged the necessity of qualified, flexible and temporary workers, these above mentioned developed countries have developed special programs and visas to attract high-skilled engineers, scientists, medical professionals, computer programmers, and information

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

technology professionals from developing countries. Moreover, the accomplishment of these countries in attracting these migrants is perceived as a central element in generating economic innovation and prosperity (Nohl et al, 2006).

In the particular case of this study, the Netherlands, it was predicted that from 2010 onwards the number of jobs for those with a higher level of education would grow more than the size of the available workforce (EMN, 2007). According to this prediction, this gap will impede the development toward the Dutch knowledge economy and its levels of innovation. As part of the solution, the Dutch government has developed programs of admission of knowledge migrants, thus, from the 1st of October 2004, the Dutch international Migration law has devised a visa program called *knowledge migrant visa* or *kennismigrant* for high skilled migrants (IND, 2008). Moreover, confirming to SEO Economic Research, for 2010 the Netherlands was third in the ranking of countries that attracted a higher number of high skilled migrants after USA and Switzerland (Berhout, Smid, & Volkerink, 2010).

In line with the Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND, 2013), this visa can be given to three different groups: the first one called also as the visa program, *kennismigrant* visa, is based on a point system for high skilled professionals and labour migrants in the Netherlands, in essence those graduates must have completed a degree at a university listed in the top 150 of two internationally recognized rankings, who have previous experience and who meet the certain salary criterion. The second one is called *search year* and it is for students from outside of the EU who have graduated from Dutch universities or universities of applied sciences and who want to have a job in the Netherlands. And the third one, recently included, it is for those foreign employed in the Netherlands who have come to conduct academic research and for a small group of physicians training to be specialists. This kind of visa is called *research visa* and its holders are mostly PhD students and Post doc researchers who are not obligated to meet any salary criterion.

1.1.3 Cultural Capital and Migration Sequences

Looking into the arena of knowledge migrants and its effects in the receiving country, it has been found that the achievement of economic innovation and prosperity from the high skilled migration depends on the extent to which they are able to make use of their cultural capital (Nohl et al, 2006) in the new place. *Cultural capital* is understood for the purposes of this study as: professional qualification, work experience, language knowledge, lifestyle and networks (Bourdieu, 1986, p, 49) and chiefly, how each one and the sum of all of them can be used effectively within the receiving society (Erel, 2010, p, 651).

Besides, the neoclassical concept of human capital argued that the migrants invest in migration when they are positive that their wages or educational profile would improve with migration (Castle & Miller, 2009). Thus, conforming to DaVanzo & Morrison (1982), migration is not an isolated event, it is part of repeat moves that depend on the location specific capital of the migrant, defined by the authors as “*the sum of all factors that tie a person to a particular place*” (p, 4); Furthermore, this location specific capital leads the migrant to make a decision to stay or to move to another location. These

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

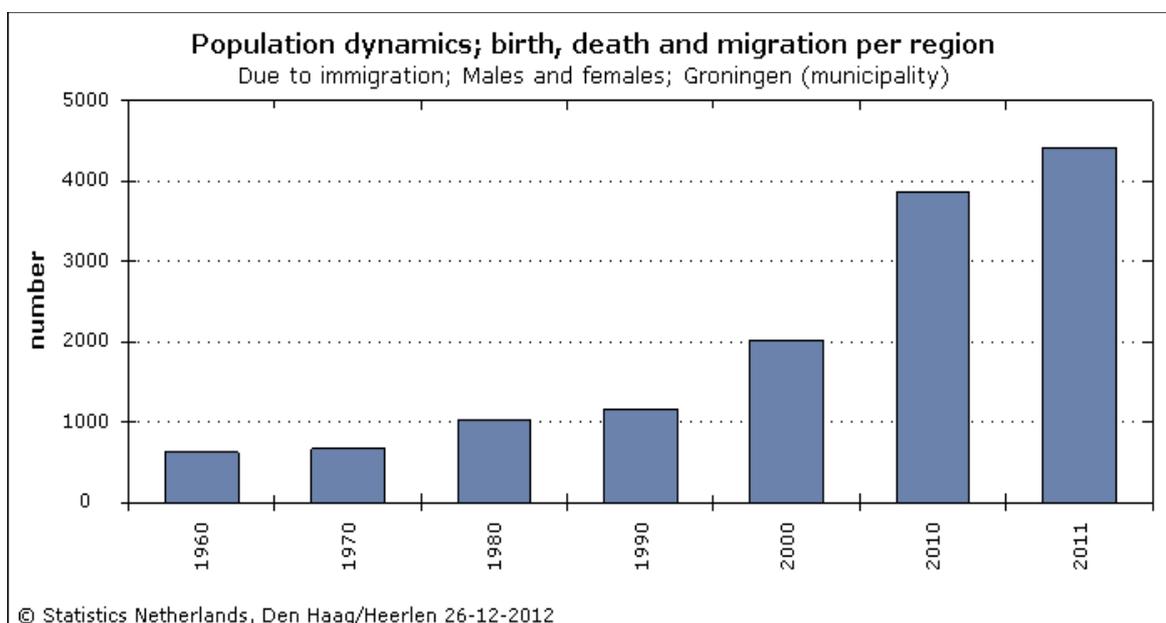
sequences of movements form what is called *migration sequences* (p, 1). As an illustration, a high skilled migrant from Brazil who comes to the Netherlands and later decides to return to his or her country because his or her wage is better there.

This study proposes to integrate these two perspectives in a qualitative analysis: Nohl (2006) and Davanzo & Morrison's (1982) perspectives and thus, to explore how high skill migrants make use of their cultural capital in migration and how they plan to use it to stay in the receiving country, to move to a previous area or to move somewhere else.

1.1.4 Specific aim of this study

Considering that Latin American migration keeps growing in the Netherlands and that the knowledge migrant visa has succeeded in attracting thousands of them, the specific aim of this study is to explore from the structure functional paradigm, to what extent these groups of high skilled migrants make use of their cultural capital to migrate in the receiving country, the Netherlands, and how they plan to use the cultural capital acquired in their future move. Particularly in Groningen, where the figure 2 shows, the migration dynamics in the last few years have had an important effect on the faster growth of the population.

Figure 2 Immigration; males and females; Groningen (municipality)



Source. Statistics Netherlands, 2012

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

1.2 Objective and research questions

1.2.1 Objective

To explore to what extent Latin American high skilled migrants make use of their cultural capital in migration and how they plan to use it in a future move.

1.2.2 Main research question

1. How do high qualified migrants from Latin America make use of their cultural capital in Groningen and how do they plan to use it in a future move?

1.2.3 Specific research questions

1. What are the main features of the lifestyle of high skilled migrants from Latin America during migration and how do they make use of these to validate their position in Groningen?
2. What are their new professional and social networks and how do they make use of them within their migration process in Groningen?
3. How do they make use of their language knowledge, professional qualification and credentials, and work experiences in Groningen?
4. What is the most important knowledge they have acquired in Groningen and how do they plan to make use of it to move again?

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter displays the core concepts and theories to be considered in the design cycle of this thesis and which will be interlinked along the ethnographic and analytic cycles of this research. The following sections are displayed: theory, literature review and conceptual model.

2.1 Theory

The next lines will embed this research within the theoretical framework that is necessary for understanding of the concepts of Cultural Capital and Migration Sequences.

2.1.1 Cultural Capital

The term cultural capital was first introduced by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron in the book "*Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction*" (1973). This term was used by these authors in order to better understand the patterns of inequality in French schools between students who were taking the same courses but who were judged as better students by their teachers, while other students who were not judged as that (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1973).

According to this study, schools are not socially neutral institutions but reflect the experiences of the dominant class and they conclude that groups that fall under this concept have numerous types of cultural attitudes, preferences, behaviors and goods (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1973).

This concept changed slightly in their subsequent literature. For instance in "*Reproduction in education, society and culture*" in 1977, the constitutive items are narrowed and some are described in more detail. Furthermore, cultural capital includes only linguistic aptitudes, previous academic culture, formal knowledge and general culture (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977).

In 1979 in the book "*Distinction*", Bourdieu argued that cultural capital is an indicator of class position and attitudes, preferences and behaviors are conceptualized as tastes (Bourdieu, 1979).

In the early 1980's this concept was imported to the US and used to account for phenomena regarding a range of political attitudes of the new middle class. As reported by Lamont and Lareau (p,153, 2007), the most representative authors who discuss this concept are Gouldner, Lamont, Martin and Szelenyi, Callons, Apple and Weis, Carnoy, Cookson and Persell, Giroux, DiMaggio and Mohr, Ganzeboom and Lareau

Some concepts about cultural capital

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

The term *cultural capital* was introduced in order to better understand the patterns of inequality in French schools. It was argued that the “educational inheritance” was the main reason why the descendants of educated parents are judged as better students in educational outcomes by their teachers. (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1973)

According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) the acquisition of these tacit competences in culturally privileged households lead to an unconscious, indirect but ultimately systematic development of an organized set of expectations, concepts, styles of appreciation, and systems of practical action in the world. Moreover, they call this set *habitus*.

Thereby, in terms of Bourdieu (1984), *habitus* is defined as an enduring cognitive structure that produces thoughts, reactions (aesthetic, cognitive and moral) and choices (what to buy, what to major in, who to marry), that are in tune with and attempt to recreate the environment in which it developed by making “choices” that are in line with its conditions of development. In the case of French schools, students with *habitus* of upper class are considered better students for teachers of the same class.

Similarly, in contemporary terms this theory has been used to describe the process through which the social stratification system is maintained within a social space structured by economic, cultural and social inequality; whose everyday actions and networks are structured or defined by its relative *position* in the society (Nohl et al. 2006).

Bourdieu’s two states within migration

As the concept of *cultural capital* became more popular, it has also come to assume a large number of meanings. For instance, it was considered as knowledge of high culture by Di-Maggio in 1978, as educational attainment by Robinson and Garnier in 1985, as the curriculum of elite schools by Cookson and Persell in 1985, as symbols in accordance with specific class interests by Dublin in 1986, as symbolic mastery of practices by Martin and Szelenyi in 1987 etc. (Lamont & Lareau, 2007)

This proliferation of definitions, clearly a sign of intellectual relevance, demands of this study to explore, particularly in the migration field, the concept and the ways in which other researches have operationalized cultural capital within it. Although, it is necessary to keep some basic notions of Bourdieu’s theory as the guiding thread of the discussion.

To begin, migration theories (Erel, 2010) take from Bourdieu’s theory two of the three of what is called “states”. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital appears in three distinct states (1986). Firstly, in the *embodied state*, where cultural capital is a competence or skill that cannot be separated from its bearer and which includes bodily comportment and speaking as markers of distinction, best expressed in the concept of *habitus* (1984). As such, the acquisition of cultural capital necessarily presupposes the investment of time devoted to learning and/or training.

Bourdieu clarifies that the relative ability to draw implicit aesthetic experiences into explicit language differed according to the mode of acquisition of cultural capital. A

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

case in point, those who have acquired the bulk of their cultural capital in the informal family environment in contrast to those whose main source of cultural capital is the formal educational system (Bourdieu, 1979).

In terms of Bourdieu, in his book *The Distinction* (1979), this state is shown as language skills and knowledge about *lifestyle*. Moreover, Bourdieu deals with the issue of lifestyle by using survey data to identify it in stratified occupational levels; he is concerned with signals pertaining to cultural consumption such as books, arts and movies; to vital consumption such as clothes, food, furniture; ways of entertaining, personal qualities valued, and ethical preferences.

Contemporary cultural capital researches (Nohl et al, 2006) also illustrate this state in networks and self-organization of highly qualified migrants at the new place of residence. Thus, this concept will be considered for this study.

Secondly, in the *institutionalized state*, which refers to the possession on the part of the bearer of concrete markers of cultural distinction and status rank, which are known in contemporary societies as professional qualification, credentials (Bourdieu, 1979) and work experiences (Erel, 2010).

This is to say that when the school certifies individuals' competencies and skills by issuing credentials, their embodied cultural capital takes on an objective value. Thus, for example, since persons with the same credentials have a roughly equivalent worth on the labor market, educational degrees can be seen to be a distinct form of cultural capital. Because they render individuals interchangeable in this fashion, Bourdieu suggests that institutionalization performs a function for cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

In particular, he noted that the legitimation of inequality in cultural capital occurs in the following manner: "*Despite the fact that cultural capital is acquired in the home and the school via exposure to a given set of cultural practices and therefore has a social origin, it is liable to be perceived as inborn talent, and its holder gifted, as a result of the fact that it is embodied in particular individuals*" (Bourdieu, 1984, p.47).

Moreover, because the school system transforms *inherited* cultural capital into *scholastic* cultural capital, the latter is predisposed to appear as an individual achievement. For example, scholars have demonstrated that middleclass parents typically talk more to infants and young children than do working-class or poor parents. As a result, middle-class children often have larger vocabularies when they enter school, and subsequently achieve higher scores on standardized tests measuring verbal skills (Hart and Risley, 1999).

In the case of contemporary ways in which the migration theory is utilized to study this state, according to Nohl et al (2006), even if in this state the recognition of cultural capital can be formalized, sometimes foreign-gained educational titles are not equal to national titles or are not at all recognized, in others words the cultural capital of the high skilled migrant is not recognized in the receiving country.

Thirdly, the state which is not considered in migration studies (Erel, 2010), and that will not be considered in this study, the *objectified state* which appears as a possession or an

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

appropriation of institutionally defined “art objects”. Rather, as reported by Bourdieu, while the direct appropriation of cultural goods can be a signal of cultural capital, in late-modern societies, pure possession of objectified cultural capital had come to be devaluated (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2007).

2.1.2 Migration sequences

The Neoclassical human capital theory added to migration theory the notion that a migrant is a person who decides to invest in migration. That is to say, the migrant decides to move to another place after analyzing all the benefits and costs of staying or migrating and conclude that investing in migration will lead him to better wage conditions (Castle & Miller, 2009).

By the same token, conforming to the neoclassical researcher Chiswick (Castle & Miller, 2009) the migrants are self-selected according to their skills. More accurately in Chiswick’s words: “*the more highly skilled are more likely to move because they obtain a higher return on their human capital investment in mobility*” (Cited by Castle & Miller, 2009. p. 23).

In the middle of the 20th century the idea that migrants do not just migrate once but migrate often emerged in migration theory. To that, researches such as Goldstein (1958), Van Arsdol, Sabagh & Butler (1967), Lansing & Mueller (1967), demonstrated the relation between past migration and the propensity to migrate again. i.e., the consequences of a move may become the causes of a next one.

Coupled with these findings, in the 1980’s DaVanzo and Morrison (1982) conducted research at the University of Michigan with the aim to look at the particular link between one migration move and the one thereafter. Concretely, these authors conducted a study base on a longitudinal Panel Study of Income Dynamics in the USA where the authors described return migration and other sequences of migration. Furthermore, the results of this study constituted the main input for the concept of *Migration sequences* that will be used as part of the framework of this study.

Some concepts about migration sequences

According to DaVanzo and Morrison “*the act of migration is not typically and isolated once-and for all event*” (DaVanzo & Morrison, 1982, p.5), mostly of the moves individuals undertake are not the only but repeat moves. These moves vary depending on different socio economic groups, sex, ages, education and employment status. Furthermore, their mobility depends on the kind of information they have, the way they acquired it and how they plan to make use of it in the destination place or when moving back to the sending country (DaVanzo & Morrison, 1982).

Two main concepts explain their theorization, the first one imperfect information and the second one location specific capital:

Concerning the first of these, *imperfect information*, the authors clustered the cases where the moves do not turn out to be a sage investment in human capital. Namely, the

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

migrant overestimates the benefits that the move brings to his human capital and it leads him to take one of two different decisions: to reinvest in migration and move back again or to invest in a future move, as he has obtained more experience and he could make more informed choices. To understand these decisions the authors propose two explanations: 1) Remigration is considered as a corrective act since he is guided by his information about an area already known. 2) the migrant obtains experiences from his first move and when contemplating another move he tends to be more informed.

Related to the second, *location specific capital*, the migrant is tied to a particular place because of his location specific capital; this is to say assets and features that are more valuables to the person, i.e., an established clientele, a specific job, a partner, a study etc. As reported by the authors, the migrant choose depending on the quantity of location specific capital that he has and can decide to stay in the new place or to go back to a previous area of residence. Furthermore, the authors propose to explain his decision according to three propositions: 1) the more location specific capital in the current location the less likely the migrant would decide to leave. 2) a repeat migrant could consider to move to a previous area of residence the more location specific capital he has there. 3) the longer the migrant is in the current location, the less likely he decides to move to a previous area of residence because there is a depreciation of the location specific capital left behind.

Some of the basic notions of the concept of *migration sequences* explained before will not be used to analyze the main findings related to this subject. Particularly, this study will not include in its framework the concept of *imperfect information* as the group of high skill migrants from Latin America is already investing in their human capital in Groningen and is currently living in this place. Contrary, the concept of *location specific capital* will be central in the ethnographic and analytic cycles of this thesis, specifically, to explain the reasons why the migrants decide to stay in the new place or to go back to a previous area of residence, and how they plan to use the knowledge acquired in Groningen in this next move.

In the case of the concept of cultural capital, the basic notions explained before are not sufficient as it is necessary to understand how this concept has been studied from the different migration theory perspectives. The following lines will be dedicated to it.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

2.2 Literature review

This literature review will be focus on *cultural capital* and the different trends in migration studies which have studied this concept.

2.2.1 Trends in migration studies

In the case of specific migration theories of cultural capital, three trends have been found; two of them which seek to study this concept through the Bourdieu's states. The first one considers that cultural capital can be studied in terms of *status passage* or the change of status within migration. The second one, the Human and Ethnic Capital approach argues that cultural capital is a rucksack of cultural resources that may or not fit with the culture of the country of residence. And finally, the third one suggests that migrants exercise agency by creating new forms of migration specific cultural capital which attempt to fit into the *national capital* of the new country.

Status passage trend

In this trend, the improvement of cultural capital is considered an important issue that can bring prosperity for knowledge societies and which aims to integrate high qualified migrants, particularly into the labor market. (Nohl et al, 2006).

Within this research, the sociological concept of status passage is described in words of Nohl et al (p, 5, 2006) as the way *to appreciate the re-distribution and new distribution of status position during a life course as well as the process of migrants' transition into the labour market*. Hence, it suggests that it is important to take into account not only the socialization and development experiences of the high skilled migrant before and after their arrival to the receiving country, but also the professional changes.

Likewise, according to Nohl's study (2006), a comparative analysis of the process of the status passage between education and profession reveals the conditions for ascending and descending dynamic of the professional utilization of migrants' cultural capital into the labour market. Moreover, he says that the building of migrants' networks and self-organization can be seen as negotiation about the potential value of cultural capital.

To operationalize this concept, this group of researchers, inspired by Bourdieu's states (1986), found in the qualitative approach the perspective to interpret these changes in time and place through analyzing education titles and biographically gained knowledge and skills of migrants.

Even if this research gives useful ideas to inspire this study, especially, in analyzing the position of the high skilled migrants according to his individual status change, in emphasizing the necessity of biographical gained knowledge into the social field of migration and in highlighting the concept of networks in the discussion. This research is restricted to study the transition in status of high qualified migrants into the labor

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

market and not in how they make use of their cultural capital during this transition. For this reason, this study does not take into account this trend.

Ethnic Capital trend

In the literature on the economic integration of immigrants in host societies, human capital theory constitutes an important explanation of immigrants' performance on the labour market (Chiswick & Miller, 2001).

The basic assumption of human capital theory is that individual skills determine labour market success. Chiswick and Miller (2001) state that these skills are created through an investment to acquire them. A distinction is made between the skills that immigrants have acquired before and after migration.

In the arena of cultural capital studies within migration, as reported by Erel (2010), the human capital approaches assume that different ethnic groups possess identifiable characteristics, encompassing cultural values, practices, and social networks, which conforming to Zhou & Lin (2005) "*were formed in the homeland and transplanted with minor modifications by immigrants in the new land and there transmitted and perpetuated from generation to generation*".

Furthermore, this concept of *ethnic capital*, as Zhou & Lin (2005) called it, was created in order to explain the causes and consequences of community development and transformation. It affirms that it has the potential to develop a distinct structure of economic opportunities as an effective alternative path to social mobility.

However, this approach has received a lot of critics, because despite the fact that it considers all the elements of the Bourdieu's states, in consonant with Erel (2010), "*it takes the cultural stuff of an ethnic group to constitute capital without exploring the process through which resources are made convertible*", which is how Bourdieusian approaches view the constitution of cultural capital.

Keeping in view that this thesis follows the structural functionalist paradigm which digs for functions between elements of society and does not study isolate elements, and that its methods of operationalizing are not succinct; this study decides to take distance of the ethnic capital trend.

National Capital trend

The national capital trend considers that cultural capital is the *position* gained product of differentiations of gender, ethnicity and class within the migrant group (Erel, 2010). It says that migrants actively constitute their cultural capital to fit in with the ethnically dominant culture of the society of residence and that the validation of this cultural capital depends on the negotiation that newcomers do within the receiving country. For example, resources and assets such as language knowledge or accent can be converted into the *national capital* (Erel, 2010). Moreover, it argues that cultural capital in migration is one way to elaborate systems of value alternative or oppositional to the national capital validated by the nation-states of residence and origin (Hage, 1998).

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Similarly, it explores the differences between being from one place or another, for instances migrants coming from Germany constitute a different cultural capital than the ones coming from China. Erel (2010) called these differences as *migration-specific cultural capital*.

Moreover, it affirms that the social valuation of population categories e.g. women, migrants, both within a minority ethnic context and within the wider society, can affect the value of their resources as well as their ability to use them (Erel, 2010). In terms of methodology, it keeps the Bourdieu's states as guide of its research and as methods of data collection, it uses in-depth interviews and life stories.

After a short overview of Cultural Capital concepts and trends, this study proposes to use the National Capital Trend as it provides more elements to explore the use of cultural capital from a specific place, in this case migration specific cultural capital from Latin America, and its validation into a National Capital, Groningen.

Furthermore, in selecting this trend, this study finds the way to keep Bourdieu's concept within migration and to include the new challenges that concerning to this study about how high skilled migrants make use of their cultural capital to validate it into the national capital of the receiving place, in this case, in Groningen.

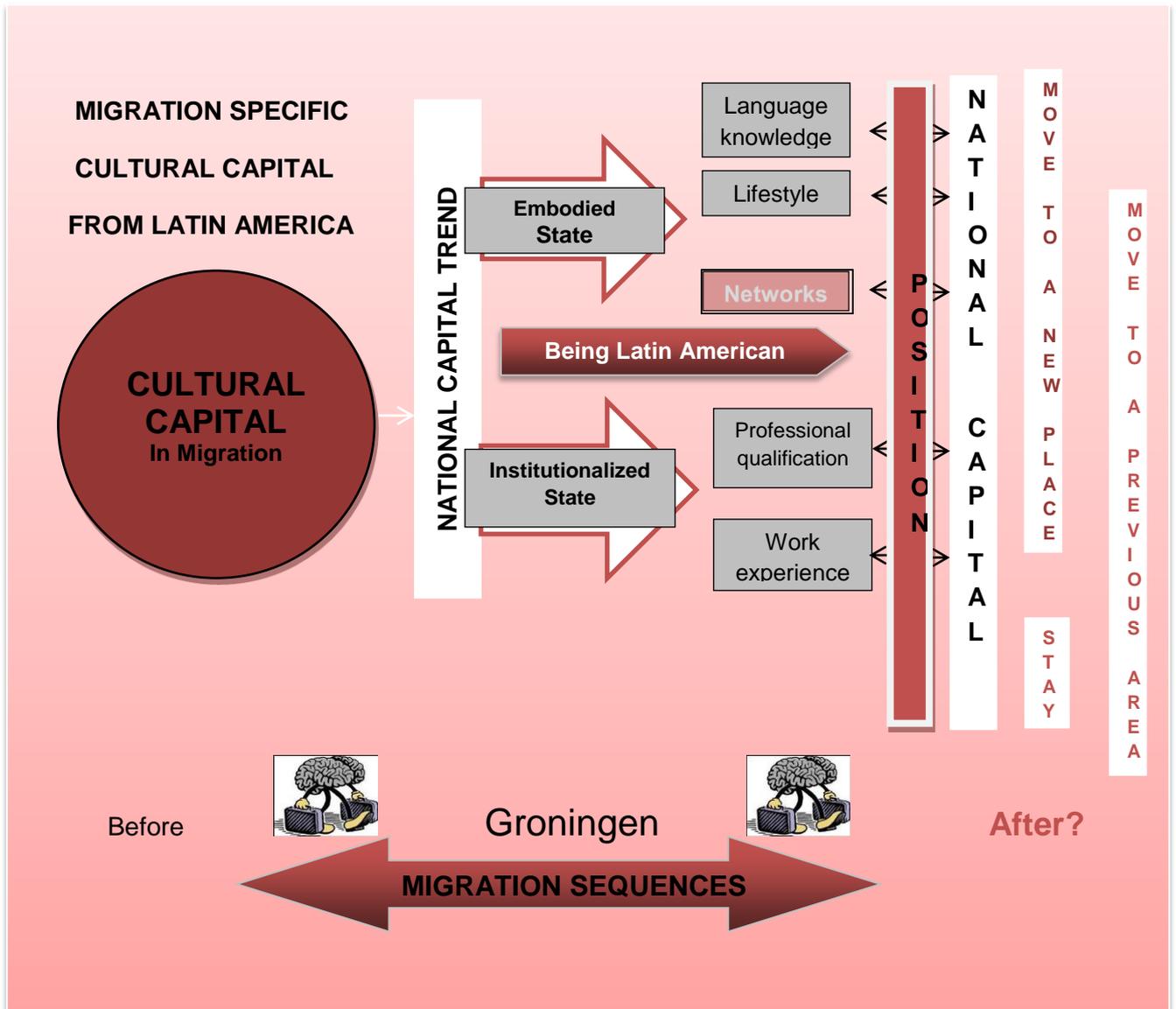
With this purpose, to operationalize the use of cultural capital of high skilled migrants from Latin America, this research proposes the two Bourdieu's states which performance as their educational level, their professional experience, their language knowledge, their lifestyle (Bourdieu, 1986) and as reported by Nohl et al (2006) as their networks. In addition, as definition of the concept of cultural capital, how the sum of all these concepts and also each one separately can be used effectively within the receiving society (Erel, 2010).

2.3 Conceptual model

The conceptual model arising from the design cycle of this thesis is displayed in the figure 3 below. This model integrates the two main concepts used in this research, i.e., *cultural capital* and *migration sequences*. Cultural capital as studied by the national trend within the two Bourdieu's states and migration sequences in terms of the possible future moves. The definition of each of these concept is presented in section 3.3

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Figure 3 Conceptual model



3. Data and Methods

This chapter presents the methods and research instrument used during the ethnographic cycle of this qualitative study. It describes the study design of this thesis, the definition and operationalization of each of the concepts explained in the design cycle in chapter two, the study population, the data analysis and the ethical considerations.

3.1 Study design

The aim of this study is to explore to what extent Latin American high skilled migrants make use of their cultural capital in Groningen and how they plan to make use of it in a future move. In order to achieve this, the study implements the qualitative research approach to explore insight the experiences and the context of the social system of the high skilled migrants from Latin America in Groningen. Furthermore, it adopts the structural functionalist paradigm to understand the function that the concept of cultural capital has in the position the Latin American high skilled migrants acquired in Groningen and in their decision to move again.

This thesis is considered as an exploratory study as it intends to integrate two different concepts, that is, cultural capital and migration sequences, to understand the social system of high skilled migrants from Latin America in Groningen. Furthermore, this study proposed to go from a deductive reasoning based on the two concepts defined in the design cycle, to an inductive reasoning based on the data collected in the ethnographic cycle.

In terms of time dimensions, this study proposes to look at this phenomenon at a specific point of time in Groningen, that is to say, this research falls under a cross-sectional time-dimension. Finally, concerning the fieldwork approach, this study proposes to combine two qualitative research instruments: participant observation and in-depth interviews. Their practices are explained in the following section.

3.2 Methods of data collection

In order to collect the information necessary for the analytic cycle of this study, a mixing (qualitative) methods approach was implemented during the ethnographic cycle of this research. Namely, in-depth interview and participant observation.

The in-depth interviews were conducted with the aim to collect information about the experiences of the high skilled migrants from Latin America in Groningen, particularly, in terms of their language knowledge, lifestyle, networks, professional qualification, work experiences, being Latin American in Groningen, knowledge acquired in Groningen and plans for the next move, as it is showed in the interview guide in

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

appendix 1. Thereby, twelve in-depth interviews were conducted until data saturation, eleven with holders of one of the three kinds of visas that certified their status as high skilled migrants in Groningen, and one with the Coordinator for Latin America at the office for international relations in the University of Groningen. Each of these interviews lasted 40 minutes in duration and except for one of them that was conducted in Spanish, all were conducted in English as the interviewees were fluent in this language. Details about the recruitment process and the places where the interviews were conducted are described in the section 3.4 regarding the study population.

In terms of the participant observation, it was conducted with the purpose of collecting extra information about the Latin American identity in the national context of Groningen, specifically, aiming to complement the concept of migration specific cultural capital of Latin Americans in Groningen described in the framework of this study. This participant observation was conducted during a weekly meeting on Friday night at one of the main gathering points of Latin Americans in Groningen called “Hemingway’s”. This place was selected as it was mentioned several times during the interviews by the participants. The result of this participant observation is presented as a case study in the results section 4.1.3.

3.3 Definition and operationalization of the concepts

According to Babbie (2010) operationalization is the process of specifying the way in which the concept will be measured. Coupled with this process, this section presents the definitions of each of the concepts explained in chapter two and that will be grounded in the analytic cycle of this study. Furthermore, it presents the operationalization that has been conducted in order to measure each of these concepts. In the particular case of this study, the operationalization of the concepts corresponds to the questions included in the interview guide. That is to say, each concept is operationalized in a set of questions that ask the participants about the information required to explain each concept and to answer each of the research questions of this study. Below a list of the concepts presented in the conceptual model (See figure 3) adopted in this thesis their definitions and the process of their operationalization in questions.

Migration-specific cultural capital from Latin America: the concept of migration-specific cultural capital explores the difference between the cultural capital of those who come from one place or other (Erel, 2010, p, 650). This study is focused on the cultural capital of those who come from Latin America. The operationalization of this concept is replicated in all the operations of the concept of cultural capital. In addition, details about their identity are given under the concept of being Latin American.

Cultural capital in migration: professional qualification, work experience, language knowledge, lifestyle and networks (Bourdieu, 1984, p, 49) and chiefly, how each one and the sum of all of them can be used effectively within the national capital in the

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

receiving society (Erel, 2010, p, 649). The operationalization of this definition is done under each of the Bourdieu's states.

National Capital trend: this trend asserts that migrants actively constitute their cultural capital to fit in with the ethnically dominant culture of the society of residence and that the validation of this cultural capital depends on the negotiation that newcomers undertake within the receiving country. For example, resources and assets such as language knowledge or accent can be converted into the *national capital* (Erel, 2010, p, 650).

Furthermore, this trend consider the two Bourdieu' states (1984) as the manner in which cultural capital appears. As explained in the theoretical framework of this study in chapter two, they are embodied state and institutionalized state. The operationalization of this trend is given in terms of these two states and the concepts that derive from them.

Embodied state: where cultural capital is a competence or skill that cannot be separated from its bearer and which includes bodily comportment and speaking as markers of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984, p, 45). As such, the acquisition of cultural capital necessarily presupposes the investment of time devoted to learning and/or training. Concretely, as reported by Bourdieu (1984), this state appears as languages knowledge and lifestyle and as reported by Nohl et al (2006, p, 4) as networks. Bellow the definition and operationalization of each of these performances of cultural capital is given.

Language knowledge: language skills and the mode of its acquisition (Bourdieu, 1979, p, 46).

Operationalization:

For the operationalization of this concept, the participants are asked not just about their language skills and the mode of acquisitions, but also about how they make use of them and their experiences with the language of the national capital context.

- ✓ What languages do you speak?
- ✓ Where and how do you make use of them?
- ✓ What is your experience with the Dutch language?

Lifestyle: a mark of distinction that is in tune with the environment where it was developed and that produces in its bearer specific reactions or choices (Bourdieu, 1979, p, 27). According to Bourdieu (ibid), it appears as signals pertaining to cultural consumption such as books, arts and movies; to vital consumption such as clothes, food, furniture; ways of entertaining, personal qualities valued, and ethical preferences. For this study, these signals are restricted to vital consumption such as clothes and food and the ways of entertaining as it is explained below.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Operationalization:

During the pilot testing of this interview guide, the questions about cultural consumption, furniture, personal qualities valued, and ethical preferences were ruled out. The questions about cultural consumption, as their answers did not correspond to the receiving country or the receiving one, were also removed. In the case of their furniture, the participants claimed to have bought most of it from other Latin friends in Groningen and not at any shop. Regarding personal qualities and ethical preferences, often the participants did not know what to answer and when asked about their perception of the questions, they reported to feel confused as these questions seemed to be out of line with the rest of the questions.

In order to operationalize the signals included in the concept of lifestyle of this thesis, i.e., vital consumption such as clothes and food and the ways of entertaining. This study incorporates these signals as topical probes in three questions, the first about their lifestyle before migrating, the second concerning their lifestyle after migrating and the third asks the participant to compare their lifestyle before and after migrating. In addition, two ideas that often emerged during the interviews, are also included as topical probes in the third question and they are, quality of life and income.

- ✓ What was your life style before coming to the Netherlands?
- ✓ What is your life style now in the Netherlands
- ✓ How has your life style changed here?

Networks: virtual and local groups that join the migrant in the new place of residence (Nohl et al, 2006, p, 5).

Operationalization:

To operationalize this concept, two questions are asked, one about the virtual or local groups the participants join in Groningen, and the other concerning how they make use of them in terms of the support they obtain.

- ✓ Are you a member of any virtual or local group in Groningen? (if not why?)
- ✓ Do these networks give you support in Groningen?

Being Latin American: the concept of migration-specific cultural capital explores the difference between the cultural capital of those who come from one place or other (Erel, 2010, p, 650). To operationalize this concept, this study looks at Latin American identity in the national capital context of Groningen.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Operationalization:

This concept is operationalized across two questions, one that asks the participants about the cultural objects that they have access to in Groningen, and other that asks them about the way to recreate their culture in the national capital of Groningen.

- ✓ What objects concerning your culture did you bring from your country?
- ✓ What parts of Latin culture do you recreate here in Groningen?

Institutionalized state: refers to the possession on the part of the bearer of concrete markers of cultural distinction and status rank, which are known in contemporary societies as professional qualification, credentials (Bourdieu, 1979, p, 47) and work experience (Erel, 2010, p, 648). These three concepts are defined and operationalized as follows.

Professional qualification, credentials: school certifies, individuals' competencies and skills by issuing credentials (Bourdieu, 1986, p, 47). Chiefly, bachelor studies, master studies, PhD studies and Post-Doc studies.

Operationalization:

With the purpose of operationalizing this concept, two questions are asked, one concerning their educational background and the other about the recognition of their degrees by the national capital context of Groningen. An extra question about how they make use of them in Groningen is included in the last question regarding work experience.

- ✓ Where did you study before coming here?
- ✓ Which of your studies have recognition in the Netherlands and which do not?

Work experience: professional background and its value in the country of immigration (Erel, 2010, p, 648).

Operationalization:

To operationalize the concept of work experience, the participants are asked about their work experience and how they make use of it in their current position. It should be noted that the second question of this operationalization also includes the concept of professional qualification and credentials.

- ✓ Can you tell me about your work experience?
- ✓ How do you make use of your educational and professional experience here?

Position: The validation of this cultural capital depends on the negotiation that newcomers undertake within the national capital of the receiving country (Erel, 2010, p, 649). This concept is operationalized in this study as occupation of the high skilled

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

migrant in Groningen. Moreover, the participants are asked about how they make use of their cultural capital to obtain their current position into the national capital in Groningen.

National Capital: the ethnically dominant culture of the society of residence (Erel, 2010, p, 650). This thesis does not include a specific section in the in-depth interviews to ask the participants about it, however, this concept is operationalized each time the participants are asked about how they make use of their cultural capital into the national capital of Groningen.

Migration sequences: According to DaVanzo and Morrison “*the act of migration is not typically an isolated once-and-for-all event*” (DaVanzo & Morrison, 1982, p.5), most of the moves individuals undertake are not the only but repeat moves. These moves vary depending on different socio economic groups, sex, age, education and employment status. Furthermore, their mobility depends on the kind of information they have, the way they acquired it and how they plan to make use of it to stay, move to a previous area or move to a new one (1982). Two main concepts explain their theorization, the first one imperfect information and the second one location specific capital. As explained in chapter two, this study is restricted to the concept of location specific capital, which says that the migrant is tied to a particular place because of his location specific capital, that is to say, because of the assets and features that are more valuable to the person.

Operationalization:

To operationalize these sequences, it is necessary to ask the participants about the location specific capital they have acquired in Groningen, as they have already been asked about their previous location specific capital with the questions about institutionalized state. Furthermore, it is necessary to ask them about the knowledge acquired in Groningen, their future plans and how they plan to use the knowledge acquired in Groningen to achieve them.

- ✓ Can you tell me why did you immigrate to the Netherlands, particularly, to Groningen?
- ✓ What is your main activity in Groningen?
- ✓ Where and how long for have you been doing this activity?
- ✓ What are the most useful skills you have learned during your time in Groningen?
- ✓ How do you plan to make use of this knowledge after Groningen?
- ✓ What are your plans after Groningen?
- ✓ How are you going to make use of the knowledge acquired in your new plans?
- ✓ Where do you see yourself in 5 years?

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

3.4 Study population

The information about the number of high skilled migrants from Latin America in the Netherlands is limited, it is possible to find information about the number of migrants from Latin America in the Netherlands but not specifically about the number of high skilled migrants from these nationalities. As part of the background of this study, this information has been included in chapter one, figure 1.

As this research is conducted among high skilled migrants in the Netherlands, it is necessary to describe the features of their status to identify the eligibility criteria for the population selected during the ethnographic cycle of this thesis. The visa program called *knowledge migrant visa or kennismigrant* for high skilled migrants in the Netherlands (IND, 2008) has devised three groups of holders as was explained in the background section (1.1.2) of this study: *kennismigrant* holders, research visa holders and search visa holders. In order to have an overview of their social system in the Netherlands, this research proposed to interview at least one holder of each of these groups from different Latin American countries.

Considering this objective, eleven in depth interviews were conducted, three with research visa holders, seven with *kennismigrant* visa holders and one with a search year visa holder. In addition, with the aim of collecting extra information about their performance at the University of Groningen, one interview was conducted with the Coordinator for Latin America at the office for international relations in the University of Groningen. The following section explains how these participants were recruited and gives basic information about their profiles.

3.4.1 Participant Recruitment

To recruit these participants, this study used three qualitative research recruitment strategies. The first of these strategies implemented is called formal networks and services. Through this strategy, this study contacted the group ALAS-Association of Latin American Students in Groningen and they provided a list of 10 people with their contacts. Unfortunately, as it is a network of Latin American Students in Groningen, after contacting them, it was found that most of them were student visa holders and just two were research visa holders. This study decided to start the interviews with these two research visa holders and with them the implementation of the second of the recruitment strategies.

The second of these strategies is called snowball. This strategy consists of asking each of the study participants for someone he or she knows in the same circumstances in Groningen. This strategy provided better results, as through it, it was possible to recruit two *kennismigrant* holders and five research visa holders.

The third of these strategies, gatekeepers, that consists of contacting community gatekeepers or recognized people of the Latin American community in Groningen. With

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

this purpose the Coordinator for Latin America at the office for international relations in the University of Groningen was contacted. An interview was conducted with this coordinator and some more contacts were obtained. When contacting them, it was possible to recruit one more *kennismigrant* visa holder and through the implementation of the strategy of snowball it was possible to contact a search year visa holder.

The interviews were conducted according to the availability of the participants in different locations such as the UMCG, the Biology and Life Sciences & Technology's building, the library and the academic building. Bellow a table with information about the high skilled migrants interviewed in terms of their age, sending country, kind of visa, current activity in Groningen and the date of their arrival in Groningen.

Table 1 Interviewee's profile

	Name	Age	Country	Visa	Activity	Arrival
1	Andrea	42	Honduras	Research	PHD	Sep-10
2	Claudia	37	Chili	Research	Assistant professor	Oct-11
3	Erika	21	Uruguay	Research	PHD	Aug-12
4	Ignacio	38	Mexico	Search	Working in Groningen	Sep-06
5	Jerónimo	38	Mexico	Kennismigrant	Postdoctoral	Sep-05
6	Jorge	41	Salvador	Kennismigrant	Working in Groningen	Aug-10
7	Julio	33	Venezuela	Research	Postdoctoral	Feb-13
8	María	28	Mexico	Research	PHD	Aug-10
9	Micaela	33	Brazil	Research	PHD	Sep-08
10	Oscar	31	Mexico	Research	PHD	Sep-12
11	Paola	33	Colombia	Kennismigrant	PHD	Aug-09

3.5 Data analysis

In order to complete the circularity of the research cycle, the link between the concepts and the data collected during the design and ethnographic cycles is made in a grounded approach. The following steps of the project-specific plan of this analytic cycle approach are described in this section: developing codes, describing and comparing, categorizing and conceptualizing, and developing theory (Hennink et al., 2011).

Considering these steps, the verbatim transcript of each of the twelve interviews conducted was done and a new project in the computer software ATLAS-ti (version 5.2) was created. During the first of these steps, a codebook with 46 codes was developed (see appendix 2), i.e., 32 deductive codes which came from the design cycle of this thesis, 12 inductive codes which came from topics raised by the participants themselves

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

in the interviews, and two in vivo codes that came from specific phrases used by the participants.

The second of these steps, *describing and comparing*, was made for each of these codes with the purpose of becoming familiar with the data collected. First, the information grounded was described by codes, and second, the codes were compared with each other. After *comparing*, the third step concerning *categorizing* took place and 10 different categories emerged when codes were clustered by similar characteristics. During this third step, these categories were also compared and linked inductively back to the theory, during the process called *conceptualizing*. Finally, during the step about *developing theory*, deductive and inductive results were all put together with the aim of finding a conceptual understanding and a possible prediction to the phenomenon studied in this research.

3.6 Ethical considerations

A consent for recording and using the information was asked to all the participants of this study (see appendix 1). The anonymity of their identities has been kept through the use of fake names and no identifiable information.

The results of this study will be used to reflect the real situation of high skilled migrants from Latin America in Groningen and at any point it will be used to detriment or to put at risk to any of them.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

4. Results

This chapter presents the results based on the design and ethnographic cycles of this research, namely, the main theories explained in chapter two and the fieldwork conducted in Groningen. The first part follows the National Capital Trend and illustrates the results obtained regarding the concept of *Cultural Capital* in terms of the two states proposed by Bourdieu and the particularity of being Latin American in the national context of Groningen. The second section presents the outcomes with regards to the concept of *Migration Sequences* of Latin American high skilled migrants in Groningen.

4.1 National Capital Trend

As explained in chapter two of this thesis, according to the *national capital trend* the position that the migrant gained in the receiving country is a product of the negotiation that the newcomer undertakes with his cultural capital into the *national capital*. (Erel, 2010).

In order to explain how the cultural capital performs into the national capital, this trend includes Bourdieu's two states (1984), the first, called *embodied state* where the cultural capital appears as language knowledge, lifestyle and as reported by Nohl et al (2006) as networks. The second, called *institutionalized state*, which refers to professional qualification, credentials and work experiences. The following section discusses the results concerning each of these states and the way in which the high skilled migrants from Latin America make use of them into the national capital of Groningen. Furthermore, in the framework of *migration-specific cultural capital* (Erel, 2010), it explores the main features of being a Latin American in the national capital context of Groningen

4.1.1 Embodied state

As explained in section 2.1.2, this state includes the skills which can not be separated from its bearer (Bourdieu, 1984), i.e., language knowledge, lifestyle and networks. The following lines describe the main data's findings concerning each of them.

Language knowledge

Language knowledge is considered one of the cultural capital's skills that can not be separated of its bearer and its use in the receiving country allows the migrant to validate his position there (Erel, 2010). This section presents the main findings in terms of language knowledge of the high skilled migrants from Latin America and how they

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

make use of it in Groningen. Moreover, the structure of this section is oriented by the three operationalizations proposed in the section 3.3 of this thesis.

When examining the language knowledge of high skilled migrants from Latin America it was found that the majority speak at least two languages fluently, this is, Spanish or Portuguese and English. A small group also speaks French, and a few of them were learning Dutch or German at the moment of the interview.

In relation to the mode of learning English, several participants reported to have learnt basic English at school, and to improve it later when living in an English speaking country. A case in point, Oscar who studied a two years master in Delft.

“I learned in Mexico in the school but I have to say I improved it (his English) living abroad because I did my two whole years in an English atmosphere” (Oscar, 33 years old, Research visa, Mexico).

Concerning the English speaking country of choice, participants often said to have traveled to the USA for some months with the purpose of improving their English. Moreover, some reported to have requested a student loan in order to study English there.

“I learned English in, well, that goes back a little bit in time. I learned English in The States (laughs). I stopped my career in Javeriana, bachelor for six months and I went, through Colfuturo¹ improve my English skills in The States for five months”. (Paola, 33 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Colombia).

When it comes to the level of official recognition, in general, the participants discussed the need to certify their level of English to get a position in the Netherlands. Instead, some research visa holders in engineering sciences reported that they were not required to provide proof of language competency:

“Usually when you come from Brazil, they ask you to do some tests, when it’s from some agents in Brazil. But because I was going to be hired from the university here so I just needed some papers from my supervisor saying that I wouldn’t have any problems, my English was fine to communicate, and that was fine”. (Micaela. 33 years old, Research visa, Brazil).

Furthermore, when asking other research visa holders in the same field if their English level was tested to get into their area, they explained what is important for sciences is to show proficiency to write in English and specifically, in writing scientific articles. Additionally, they reported that speaking proficiency is not the most relevant criteria upon which they are selected.

The high skilled migrants mainly used English to communicate in their current position, with friends, in the street, and in general to talk with other people in Groningen.

¹ Colfuturo is a Colombian institute that grants loans and scholarships to a selected group of students that wish to study abroad.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Moreover, interviewees from Mexico said that they even make use of English when they are back in their country because of their proximity to the United States:

“In the company where I was or in the places where I had to work. In all of them I had to speak English. It is pretty common because Mexico and US have a lot of business. So is pretty common that you have a boss or a colleague from US and mostly of the time they do not speak Spanish. (Oscar, 33 years old, Research visa, Mexico)”.

Regarding the way to learn other languages besides English and Dutch, the participants discussed having learnt them at bilingual schools, in private courses in their native countries and in countries where they used to live before coming to the Netherlands. In addition, they revealed that Spanish is often used in Groningen:

“Most people of my job are Latin so I speak to them in Spanish actually so it works out”. (Erika, 21 years old, Research visa, Uruguay).

Furthermore, the participants explained that sometimes they use Spanish to contact people at work:

“My current job is mostly English but sometimes when I do some projects I have to contact clients in English and Spanish... so, either way it works for me”. (Jorge, 41 years old, Kennismigrant visa, El Salvador).

And to talk with friends:

“Spanish I use it with my friends. I have a lot of Latin American friends here” (Maria, 28 years old, Research visa, Mexico)

In the case of the use of other languages such as French and Portuguese, some of them reported to use them to keep in contact with friends and to work in countries where they have networks or where they used to live. This is the case of Claudia who used to live in France, who likes scientific literature from France and who keeps in touch with her contacts there.

“I speak French, with all my friends and colleagues in France. I am always doing works for them, trying to do references for journals. There is some people with whom I work, with whom I relate with in French. So I do it. Also, I like a lot the scientific literature from France, so I am always looking to the journals they do. I did my PhD about France, so I am always updating my research and things that I brought from there”. (Claudia, 37 years old, Research Visa, Chile).

Regarding their experiences with Dutch language, it has been found that high skilled migrants who have been living in Groningen for more than one year have already taken at least one course corresponding to a first level of Dutch or are able to understand basic sentences. On the contrary, the ones who have recently arrived prefer to improve their English and consider learning Dutch only after they have improved their English.

When it comes to comparing levels in the Dutch language, it was found that the participants who tend to have the best levels are those who are holders of a

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

“kennismigrant” visa. For example, Jeronimo who does his Post-doc in Utrecht and who often has to teach in Dutch says:

“I don’t know what my Dutch level is now but I think a good one because sometimes I have to give a lecture in Dutch to bachelor students”. (Jeronimo, 38 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Mexico).

When looking at the reasons why this group decided to improve their Dutch, it was revealed that this is connected to their need to access information like journals, news, politics, information about products, Queen’s public addresses, TV, taxes, etc. In the case of the group of migrants who have recently started learning Dutch, they stated to be motivated because Dutch people will feel more comfortable to talk to them, to become more integrated in the Dutch society, to know more about the Dutch history, and to meet new people. However, even if they have attempted to learn the language, they said to have experienced limitations at the moment of practicing it:

“I took some basic courses. But since people rather answer to me in English, then I don’t practice it. As soon as they find I am having difficulties to express myself in Dutch, then they switch to English”. (Maria, 28 years old, Research visa, Mexico)

Besides, some of the participants who are already able to converse in Dutch, experience constraints with writing:

“When you have to write things down in Dutch then it becomes a problem. But when you are dealing with the person face to face, it’s not a problem, you know. You know that if the person doesn’t understand Dutch then you must speak English and then it’s fine. But when you need to write letters or fill things in the system in Dutch then it is a problem”. (Ignacio, 38 years old, Search visa, Mexico).

In relation to when they make use of Dutch, most of the high skilled migrants who speak or learn it, informed that they use it to communicate with friends, to go shopping, and sometimes but not always, at work, as Claudia argues:

“Dutch apologize themselves because sometimes the meeting is in Dutch, they say, ‘Oh excuse me’. I say, ‘It’s me that should be excusing’, because it’s been one year and a half and I am not able to speak it. But they don’t care and they switch to English”. (Claudia, 37 years old, Research Visa, Chili).

Nonetheless, some other participants who are already able to speak Dutch, mentioned its value in their current positions and also in their personal life. As an illustration, Paola who married a Dutch man and who needs Dutch to communicate with her marital family:

“I got married to a Dutch person. So now I have a lot more contact with Dutch culture, I would say. His family, every time we go to his family, which lives somewhere else, not in Groningen, but in The Hague, I really have to try to use my Dutch. Even though they

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

“speak English to me, as well, sometimes, I think I have to do an effort to communicate”. (Paola, 33 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Colombia).

Finally, concerning the places where Dutch is often used, some participants expressed that this language is not needed everywhere in the Netherlands but at some specific cities, as it is the case in Groningen:

“In Amsterdam you don’t even need to talk Dutch it is such an international city that everyone speaks in English to you and that’s how business are done... here in Groningen is more that you have to know Dutch perhaps” (Jorge, 41 years old, Kennismigrant visa, El Salvador).

This section shows how high skilled migrants from Latin America make use of their language knowledge skills in order to obtain their position in Groningen, to that, the participants say to have invested in learning English before coming to Groningen as it was one of the requirements. Furthermore, some participant said to use English all the time in their current position and others to use it just for writing up reports, as it is the case for some of the scientific researchers who said to use Spanish to communicate in their position. With regards to other languages such as French and Portuguese, they reported to use them to keep in contact with their families, friends and professional networks in other countries. Finally, in relation to the national capital’s language, most of them seem to be interested in learning it because they consider it a way to get integrated into the national capital context of Groningen. However, they claimed to experience difficulties to write it and to practice it, as Dutch people often switch to English.

Lifestyle

Considering lifestyle as a mark of distinction that is in tune with the environment where it was developed and that make the migrant takes choices in the receiving country and subsequently, validate his position in it. This section focuses on the main findings regarding the lifestyle of high skilled migrants before and after coming to Groningen. On the one hand, in terms of *vital consumption* (Bourdieu, 1979), that is their choices regarding to clothes and food; and on the other hand, concerning their choices in terms of entertainment (ibid). Moreover, it presents how they reported their main changes in terms of lifestyle and some new findings that emerged during this study.

With reference to the lifestyle of high skilled migrants before coming to the Netherlands, it has been found that the majority of them were working or studying in a different foreign country, a few of them were working and living on their own in their home country after living abroad for some months, and others were working and living with their parents or at least close to them.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

When asked about what participant ate before coming to the Netherlands, those who were living abroad reported to be accustomed to international food or what they called “normal” food. This is the case of Ignacio, who was working in Germany and in Dubai:

“Just the normal food that you can get in the world, you know. Of course, sometimes it’s.. I ate Pakistani food or Indian food, maybe Chinese food, but usually most of the time it’s the normal food, pasta, chicken, meat”. (Ignacio, 38 years old, Search visa, Mexico).

Regarding the participants who were still living in their home country, they said there was more variety of food and easier access to it in their home countries:

“I used to eat much better in terms of more variety of things of course because the food in my home country is much cheaper. I did not have to cook but in here I have to cook every day”. Oscar, 33 years old, Research visa, Mexico.

In terms of entertainment, the participants who were living abroad already, reported particular types of entertainment which tended to be very different depending on the size and the location of the cities where they were living in. On the contrary, most of the participants who were living in their home countries mentioned that their life was more family oriented, that they had to work very hard and that they did not have time to go out or to do sports:

“I was not doing sports, I was just working working working, from six in the morning until sometimes seven, eight at night. It was a very heavy job. That’s why I quit (laughs)”. (Paola, 33 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Colombia).

However, some interviewees said they also had time for their social life:

“I also like to spend time outside talking with people... going to parties and celebrating while holidays... or I just enjoy being around people... so that is basically my lifestyle there”. (Andrea, 42 years old, Research visa, Honduras)

When it comes to the features of their lifestyle now, it was found that these high skilled migrants often share accommodation with one or more students and just a small group has their own accommodation. In relation to food consumption, they said the time to eat and the kind of food is very different to what is eaten in Latin America. In general, they explained that they used to have three meals per day and that they ate more homemade food back home.

They noted that it is possible to find some Latin American products in Groningen but not all, this is, at a supermarket called “*Toko*”. Nevertheless, they stated that they just cook their traditional food when they have free time or guests because it takes longer. As an illustration, Paola said:

“It’s quite laborious to cook Colombian food. It takes time to cook rice for instance, it takes more than half an hour. We do easy things, like salad with fried meat, yes, dessert, so it’s quite easy. In 15 minutes it’s ready”. (Paola, 33 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Colombia).

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

A particular finding about their diet choice that emerged from the research was that some high skilled migrants who were living in Uruguay and Argentina have reduced the consumption of meat when they emigrated from Latin America, some said to have stopped eating meat completely and others said that nowadays they try to replace it with fish:

“When I moved out of Uruguay I stop eating meat” (Erika, 21 years old, Research visa, Uruguay).

When asking about the places where they buy their clothes some participants reported to have brought some clothes from their home country and to have bought some winter clothes here. Other participants reported wearing the clothes that they brought with them because it is enough or because they have problems to find the style they prefer or the right size, in the case of girls, especially the pants’ size:

“Usually here the problem is that I cannot find the size (laughs). The right size for pants for example. And also what I don’t like is that, if you buy a dress then you see that all girls are wearing the same one. So, there is not more variation in the clothes” (Maria, 28 years old, Research visa, Mexico).

When it comes to entertainment in Groningen, except for one, all of the participants considered having enough activities to do in their free time. They reported to go out with friends during the weekend, to go to the main market on Saturday, to walk around the city center, to go to the cinema and to do more sports. Some participants also mentioned that the most popular places to go to dance traditional dances from Latin American countries in Groningen are *“Hemingway”* (see case study in section 4.1.3) and *“Plaza danza”*. In addition, they mentioned that the most popular dances are salsa, merengue and bachata.

In contrast, some of the participants reported not having free time to visit Groningen yet, that is the case of Ignacio who has been living in Groningen for 7 years now and still has not visited main places.

“I always want to go to the museums here, but still I don’t manage to go. I also want to go to the top of the Martini Tower and still I cannot do it but one of these days when I have free time I will do it”. (Ignacio, 38 years old, Search visa, Mexico).

With regards to how they describe their changes in life style, some stated that they were used to bigger spaces, which they prefer:

“It is not that I feel more comfortable here... but there are more space back home than here that in Europe in general because here in the Netherlands because of the land you have a very small space, living quarters and it is not how it is in Latin American countries where the houses are bigger, cars are bigger everything is bigger”. Jorge, 41 years old, Kennismigrant visa, El salvador.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Some women reported the changes in lifestyle in terms of change in food, and they consider the food to be healthier in Groningen.

“Here I think I eat better than what I used to eat there. I think it’s healthier”. Micaela, 33 years old, Research visa, Brazil.

In terms of entertainment just a few participants claimed that their new life was very lonely, a case in point Andrea:

“Well my life is quite different from my life style at home. Here it is very solitary, I have a very solitary current job. I’m doing most of the time research and I work in my office by myself. I don’t have many friends but a few friends only”. Andrea, 42 years old, Research visa, Honduras.

For some participants there is more free time in Groningen:

“I have much more free time because I am not studying anymore and basically what I used to do after school is now what I have 9 hours to do every day so it is kind of nice... yeah just more free time”. (Erika, 21 years old, Research visa, Uruguay).

When asked for more information about changes in lifestyle, several participants highlighted the idea of *“quality of life”*. When inquiring about its meaning they talked about safety, easier mobility and better environment. For instances Jeronimo who used to live in Groningen and now lives in Amsterdam:

“Well, I can tell you two things... when I was in Groningen it was a big change because Groningen is a small city. You can go from south to north in 35 min with bike and if you compare it with Sao Paulo in Brazil or Mexico city it is a huge difference... in Mexico it took me every day from my place to my job two hours within the city so it was crazy... so my lifestyle because here it was more relax it was nicer and I find it very peaceful I would say... so another big change was that in Groningen there is not thieves so it is a really safe city... you can walk at two or three in the morning and there is nothing” (Jeronimo, 38 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Mexico) .

Other issue that the participants raised when asking about change in life style was the issue of *“income change”*. Concerning this issue, it was found that most of the research visa holders consider their incomes in their home countries to be higher. This is due to their change in job status, i.e., they changed from working in a company in their home country to doing research at the University in Groningen. Instead, the kennismigrant visa holders often said that their incomes are better here and that as a result they can also send money back to their home countries:

“My salary is a lot better, and even though it’s in euros, and I spend in euros here, yes, I earn enough to live and to have fun. Fun in terms of travel a little bit around. And I also send money to Colombia every month, to support my family a little bit”. Paola, 33 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Colombia.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Finally, according to some of the women who were interviewed, most of the Latin women, particularly Brazilian, who come to study or to work in Groningen, end up getting married with a Dutch man:

“I know some Brazilian women that came here, or to work or to study also and sometimes we meet, once a month, or at least we try to go to have dinner and I’m the only one that’s single. All of them are married with a Dutch man already”. Micaela. 33 years old, Research visa, Brazil.

In fact one of the interviewees from Colombia experienced the same case:

“I was very focused on my professional career, I have to say. Yes, and I met this guy, we were just dating, nothing that I would think, it’s going to go further way, you know, so... But it became like that, yes”. Paola, 33 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Colombia.

As main findings of this section, it was found that the high skilled migrants who have already lived in a country outside of Latin America, tend to choose international food easier, while the ones who left their country just before coming to Groningen, still miss the food of their country and try to find similar products in the shops in Groningen. In terms of clothes, the majority informed to still wear the clothes they brought from their countries and to have problems to find the correct size and style in Groningen. Concerning entertainment, the ones who were living outside of Latin America reported to be accustomed to choose between several kind of entertainment, and the ones who were living in their country said to do more activities in Groningen. A particular finding was that all the participants claimed to have visited the main gathering place for Latin Americans in Groningen called Hemingway’s.

As additional findings about their lifestyle, they reported to validate their position in Groningen as their quality of life in this city is better, i.e., they say to do more sports, to eat healthier, and some of them reported to earn better wage. In addition, some of the girls informed to be open to choose a Dutch men as husband and to know more Latin women who have already got married with a Dutch men in Groningen.

Networks

As mentioned in chapter two, the networks that the migrants had and acquired in the new place within their *embodied state*, determined the *position* that they obtain in the receiving country. Namely, virtual and local groups to which high skilled migrants from Latin America joined before and at the moment of their arrival in Groningen, both in terms of professional and social contacts. Furthermore, the following section explores the participants virtual and local networks with Groningen.

To begin, when comparing the kind of networks between the three different kinds of visa holders, similarities were found between the networks they were affiliated with and the kind of visa they hold. i.e., *Kennismigrant*, research and search visas.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

With regard to the *kennismigrant* visa holders, most of them reported not belonging to any professional virtual and local groups in Groningen but to professional networks in other countries. They also claimed to be affiliated with some locals associations, such as Amnesty International and ALAS, because of social purposes.

On the subject of the research visa holders, they noted to have joined virtual networks related to their professional interests and to have joined PhD associations in their different schools. Besides, only a few of them said to have joined associations out of their professional fields, i.e. Green Associations, sport groups and the local association for Latin American students ALAS. Few participants claimed not to belong to any association and when asked about their reasons, they said it was mainly due to a lack of time:

“I think during the four years I was so focused on doing the research and I was working like from Monday to Monday, every day, so I kind of didn’t pay attention to that part. So I just wanted to work and finish my work and now I think I’m starting to think about all those things and now I have more time to do everything that I couldn’t do before”. (Micaela, 33 years old, Research visa, Brazil).

In the case of the search visa holder, the participant mentioned that since his arrival in Groningen he has joined one local professional association in his field. He said he spends most of his time in a Dutch environment and he stated not to have any contact with groups of Latin Americans in Groningen:

“No. Sadly I don’t know any Latin-Americans here (laughs). It’s not because I don’t want to be with them, I just can’t, I don’t have the time to look for them. I am always working or I am always with the Dutch kids or with my Dutch friends”. (Ignacio, 38 years old, Search visa, Mexico).

Regarding the local Latin groups, the interviewees often mentioned ALAS, Association of Latin American Students in Groningen. According to one of its former presidents, this initiative started in 2007-2008, when several master students from Argentina, Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela and Mexico who used to have regular meetings in a restaurant close to the Grote Markt decided to formalize the group. The aim of the group was to give information to new students from Latin America about life in Groningen, as well as to present the Latin culture to the people from other nationalities who were interested in it:

“ALAS started because some people... some students... mostly of them master students who were in Groningen they felt the need to communicate with each other in terms of where to find a house, where to have party, where to eat, what to do if I get sick so it is this kind of things that sometimes you don’t know and they started gathering in a restaurant close here to the Grote Markt... that was in 2007-2008 around that and from that point well someone came with the idea why they did not formalized that...” (Jeronimo, 38 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Mexico).

With this purpose, in October 2010, ALAS became a non-profit organization that is a candidate to receive an annual contribution from the University of Groningen. Today, it

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

organizes a weekly dinner every Thursday at Pacific Bar and other activities such as trips, workshops with groups from other nationalities, parties and films throughout the year.

Furthermore, a particular finding that emerged during the interviews in relation to local groups was “tandem courses”. These courses were defined by one of the participants as an arrangement between two or more people with the purpose of helping each other to do something. That is to say, with the aim of interchanging their cultural capital. Namely, he said that he had contacted other students and friends with the aim of interchanging languages and culture:

“Tandem course with some friends that want to learn Spanish and I would like to learn Dutch... so we see each other once a week... it is a couple of hours and we try to speak just in Dutch and in Spanish... I think we do this...they give something in Dutch and I give something in Spanish... It doesn't have to be from Mexico... and of course I want to share something that I like and of course something that is easy... grammar and everything” (Oscar, 33 years old, Research visa, Mexico).

When it comes to the support that participants get from the different identified networks, the following was identified: first, they claimed that the virtual networks allow them to keep updated about professional issues of their interests and particular fields:

“I used it because I could be interested in some topics and journals... maybe I see that there is a congress somewhere and that is the way that I find out. Even if I haven't been in any until now”. Oscar, 33 years old, Research visa, Mexico.

Secondly, concerning the support that professional local groups give, there are mixed opinions. Some said that they were very helpful for their integration in Groningen as is the case of Ignacio who works mainly with Dutch people:

“Yes, of course. It's been a fundamental part of knowing or meeting Dutch people and to integrate into the society. That really helped me a lot and I think that's very important that you try to socialize with Dutch people, otherwise, you will be always just outside” (Ignacio, 38 years old, Search visa, Mexico).

Similarly, most of the participants who do research in engineering sciences stressed the importance of these professional groups. Particularly, because there were already networks existing between the PhD professional local groups and some Latin American countries, thus, interviewees of engineering sciences fields could come to Groningen and get their current position:

“I think because there is a network going on (laughs), in this group. So our boss did his PhD in Brazil, during eight years, I don't know how long he was there, and so he knows a lot of institutes there and they make connections, and they know each other's work and stuff. So they make inter-changes of personnel, like this person goes six months there, so this one goes six months there, and inter-changing knowledge like that. So I think that is the main reason, yes”. (Paola, 33 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Colombia).

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

As a matter of fact, the Coordinator for Latin America at the office of international relation in the University of Groningen said that particularly Brazil support a lot of students through a program called Sciences Without Borders.

However, other participants considered that the information they get through these professional groups is not accessible, as it is the case of Andrea from Honduras:

“Sometimes they send information about legal issues but I don’t find that information very accessible to most of the international PhD student. Sometimes I find very difficult to access information through the association here in the Netherlands”. (Andrea, 42 years old, Research visa, Honduras).

Thirdly, in terms of the support from social groups, they often reported to find the information they provide useful. That is the case of Maria who attended an ALAS meeting some weeks before the interview, and she said to have learnt about Dutch culture during this meeting:

“Two weeks ago we had workshops together with the Dutch associations. So we have the chance to spend some time with Dutch guys, and learn a little bit about the Dutch culture”. (Maria, 28 years old, Research visa, Mexico).

Furthermore, one of the participants said that social networks in Groningen helped him to find his current job:

“The project that I have I got it because of someone that I knew on a student’s network and I got the project... it was bounded to me because they saw my work so it was basically that... I would say social network are very important”. (Jorge, 41 years old, Kennismigrant visa, El Salvador).

According to the Coordinator for Latin America at the office for international relations in the University of Groningen, the main gain that the students receive from student’s associations is in terms of social support in a new environment:

“I think, maybe not even the support that they can in practice offer you but the idea already that there is someone that you can turn to, is to many students comforting”. (Coordinator for Latin America at the office for international relation in the University of Groningen)

A final finding regarding networks was that several participants reported that their current positions depend not just on their local networks, but also on their networks from other places. This is the case of Claudia, who stated that her networks in Latin American countries have facilitated her in obtaining her current position:

“Yes, that’s why they hired me. They hired me, yes, actually I’m very pragmatic, they hired me because I am Latin American, because I have an international profile, so I could eventually build a cooperation with Latin America, and these universities are mainly oriented towards Asia for example. I have a very specific and precise profile and

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

I think that's why they liked it. So, I am good in what I do, in the research, in teaching, I have the experience, and all that. But I think that there is also something to do with the networks that I can have and things that I can do". (Claudia, 37 years old, Research Visa, Chili).

To sum up the main findings of this section, it was revealed that the *kennismigrant* visa holders tend to belong to professional networks in other countries and through them they validate their current positions in Groningen. The research visa holders, particularly, the ones who currently work in the scientific field, have obtained their current position as they contacted their PhD association before coming to Groningen. Furthermore, according to the Coordinator for Latin America at the office of international relation in Groningen, there is a program called Sciences Without Borders that sponsor Brazilian students of the scientific field to come to Groningen. In terms of social groups, it was found that most of the participants make use of these groups with the aim of obtaining social support in a new environment, find a job, interchange their cultural capital, and know more about the national capital.

4. 1.2 Institutionalized state

As shown in section two, according to Bourdieu (1986), one of the states through which the *cultural capital* reveals itself is called the *institutionalized state*. Namely, what is known in contemporary societies by Bourdieu (1979) as professional qualification and credentials, and according to migration researchers in the previous decade as work experience (Erel, 2010).

Within this framework, the following two sections present the main findings, firstly, in terms of professional qualification and credentials of the high skilled migrants from Latin America, and secondly, related to their work experience before migrating and in the local context of Groningen. Furthermore, each section discusses how the high skilled migrants from Latin America make use of the *institutionalized state* in the northern city of Groningen.

Professional qualification and credentials

The position of the migrant in the national capital depends also of the professional qualification and credentials he holds. This section includes the findings in professional qualification and credentials or all the certificates on tertiary education or post-secondary education that high skilled migrants from Latin America have obtained. This includes; bachelor studies, master studies, PhD studies and Post-Doc studies. This section also describes how participants make use of these credentials in Groningen.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

It was found that all the high skilled migrants from Latin America who were interviewed, had already obtained at least one certificate at university level and most of them are still improving their academic profiles.

Concerning the bachelor studies of the participants, it was found that half of them obtained their bachelor certification in their native countries, few of them studied half of their bachelors in their home country and half abroad, and the rest obtained their certification abroad, particularly, in the USA and in the Netherlands.

Regarding their Master studies, it was revealed that some of the participants have not taken any master course yet. Some of them who belong to the engineering sciences field said to have used their professional experience and bachelor studies to apply to the PhD program directly without obtaining a master's degree, and some of them explained they wanted to pursue a master program at the University of Groningen in the next year. The rest of the participants reported to have finished a master degree and highlighted the fact that to get admission to their Master's, they had to undergo several exams and interviews. That is to say, their credentials were not enough and their knowledge was also tested.

When it comes to the place where participants pursued their Master studies, most of them reported to have obtained their master diplomas outside Latin America, particularly, in European countries. Specifically, several *kennismigrant* visa holders got their diploma in Groningen. Moreover, many of the participants explained that they have obtained funding or asked for a loan in order to undertake the master program of their choice.

Regarding PhD and Post-Doc studies, most of the participants were following a PhD program at the moment of the interview, few of them were pursuing their Post-Doc and others were finishing their PhD and simultaneously applying for a Post-Doc position. A particular finding was that except for a few of them, all the participants were holders of a scholarship, either from their home country, from Erasmus Mundus programs or from the University of Groningen. This precise finding shows that high skilled migrants depend on economics opportunities. In fact, the Coordinator for Latin America at the office for international relations in the University of Groningen noted that the non-European students go to programs where scholarships are available because of the high tuition fees:

“Studying in The Netherlands for non-European students is very expensive because of the high tuition fees so you will see that they mainly tend to go to programs where there are scholarships available. Those scholarships are mainly available in the top programs, so the programs that have some financing of their own to finance students, so those are Erasmus Mundus master's for example” (Coordinator for Latin America at the office for international relations in the University of Groningen)

With regards to the recognition of degrees, the high skilled migrants from Latin America who applied to their current position holding a degree from Latin American

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

countries, reported to have had to wait a long time to obtain their admission in their current positions. What is more, it reveals the inequality in terms of recognition of cultural capital of high skilled migrants from Latin America in the national capital context of Groningen, mainly due to the difference between educational systems.

“All the papers that I had in Mexico had to be translated into English.. and that’s what I did. But all the process of getting in to the university was quite long. It was very very long. Well, we are talking, probably six, seven months at least. (Ignacio, 38 years old, Search visa, Mexico).

They also said to have had to pay extra expenses for an official translation of their degree to English and sometimes to Dutch, and for obtaining the official apostille from the Hague Convention at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that certifies the diplomas issued by most of the Latin American countries. That is to say, they have to pay in order to validate their cultural capital in Groningen:

“When I applied for my position I had to make the official translation of all my diplomas, with all the stamps by the Ministry. That costs you a fortune (laughs)”. (Claudia, 37 years old, Research Visa, Chili).

On the contrary, some of those who were holders of a degree from countries such as the USA, UK, France and the Netherlands, reported not to have had any problem to get the recognition of their diploma at their current position in Groningen.

When it comes to how the participants made use of their degrees and credentials in Groningen, some participants reported to have used them to get their current positions. This is, they used their master degree to obtain admission to their PhD position and their bachelor title to obtain admission to their master. Similarly, others reported to have kept using not just the degrees but the knowledge they acquired to get them. This is the case of Erika, who said that she is still using the knowledge she acquired in the USA every day. Furthermore, she informed that this knowledge is required to do what she has to do in her current PhD position in Groningen:

“I use it every day for research. I don’t have much more education from here right now. It is mostly questions and answers so everything that I learned before is just what help me to do what I am doing now... so basically it is quite important”. (Erika, 21 years old, Research visa, Uruguay).

In addition, few participants claimed to have already made use of the knowledge acquired within their last title study program and to be currently improving it in Groningen:

“I already made use of it because my master is in computer education and I am also into computer education here... so I applied a lot of computer techniques... so my master was important in terms of improving because I used to see teaching as more operational but now because of my research I have a better understanding of why I should applied and why and what are the theories behind a certain methodology, behind certain application... so I think that I combine theory and practice now in a more

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

knowledgeable of what I'm doing in class.” (Andrea, 42 years old, Research visa, Honduras).

Moreover, other participants highlighted the importance of the knowledge they acquired in Latin America:

“I use everything, and the knowledge, yes, I received a very good higher education in Chile, it's really excellent quality, I'm always saying that, you really had to work a lot. And then, when I went to France also, I mean I learnt French, I learnt to teach. But I would say that my research skills, my really good good research skills, I learnt them in Chile”. (Claudia, 37 years old, Research Visa, Chili).

Finally, other participants added to have had to learn new things they did not expect:

“I had to learn a lot of new things here. I thought I knew many things, but this field evolves really fast. And I had things from university, and when I came here I saw machines, then I was like, that's doing what I learnt in university, and also in Colombia we have some other technique that is a little bit more... artisanal...how do you say that? Yes, like more, not so automatized. So here I was like, 'Oh, OK, so that's how it is'. And techniques as well that I didn't use before, so I had to re-learn and to learn new things”. (Paola, 33 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Colombia).

In brief, it was found that all the high skilled migrants have already obtained degrees of post-secondary education and most of them also of tertiary education. In fact, they said to have made use of their last degree in order to apply to their current position. In the case of the holders of degrees from other countries outside Latin America, they said not to have any inconvenient at the moment of having their diplomas recognized by the University of Groningen. Contrarily, the holders of a Latin America's degree said to have had to wait long time to obtain the recognition of their degree at the University of Groningen and also they claimed to have had to pay for it. This shows that the differences in educational systems make difficult to recognize a particular diploma in several places, what is more, the Latin Americans degree holders are in unequal conditions with respect to some other high skill migrants who want to come to Groningen.

Furthermore, the high skilled migrants who have come to study in Groningen have been sponsored by the Latin American governments or by the Dutch government, this shows that high skilled migrants depend also on economic opportunities. Finally, in terms of how they make use of their degrees in Groningen, they reported to be using the knowledge learnt in their current positions and to be improving it day by day.

Work experience

The work experience is other possession of the migrant which determine his position in the receiving country. The following section will describe the work experience of the

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

high skilled migrants from Latin America in terms of working either within their professional field or not and how they make use of each of these experiences in their current positions in Groningen.

Participants reported that they had already worked at an international company or at a national university before coming to Groningen. In addition, three main groups were identified in relation to the field of their working experience; the first group who said to have worked in the same field of their current position, the second who claimed to have worked in a different area, and the third group that said to have had experience in both of them.

Concerning the first group, some of the participants reported to have worked for several years in different countries, and to have obtained a lot of useful experience for their current position in Groningen. That is the case of Ignacio, a holder of a search visa, who obtained his degree in physiotherapy at the University of Groningen, who has been working as a tennis coach for thirteen years in different countries, and uses all the experiences acquired in his current work position as a tennis coach:

“I have been working as a tennis coach and sparring partner before I worked in Germany, I worked in France and in Spain as well, in America... I have been a lot of years in tennis, I have met a lot of people, I have been in good places and in bad places and I think the experience which I have in tennis and that I can offer to the best kids or even players now, I think it’s a lot. I’ve been in the professional tennis probably for thirteen years so I think that’s quite a lot”. (Ignacio, 38 years old, Search visa, Mexico).

Likewise, some of the research visa holders who joined also this first group, said that the research that they conduct in Groningen has been oriented by their working experience in the same field. For instance, Andrea, a PhD student from Honduras, used her background experience for her research proposal for the University of Groningen:

“I have a lot experience teaching English at university level. The experience that I had on teaching English has helped me to identify some of the most common problems that students have learned when English as a second language and I used this experience to make a proposal... to propose my research projects to apply for the scholarship at the University of Groningen”. (Andrea, 42 years old, Research visa, Honduras).

In the case of the second group, some of the participants stated that they worked in student jobs during their studies, and for this reason they did not have time to apply for a professional work. Furthermore, some participants from the same group who had done their master in a foreign country and wanted to find a job in their countries reported that they did not find work related to their field. They claimed that when working in different fields the bad conditions made them decide to continue with their studies abroad. e.g., Paola from Colombia said:

“I studied a master in England. But that was in 2005. I finished there, and then I went to Colombia. I looked for a job there. I was working for two years and half in a company.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Unfortunately, the conditions were not so easy in this company, not a good company I would say, and it was not my field. And I decided to quit my job and look for a PhD because I noticed that research was my interest". (Paola, 33 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Colombia).

Furthermore, one participant of this group said that although he did not work in the same field of his profession, he developed other skills that helped him to perform easier in his current work as PhD student at the UMCG Hospital:

"I found a job in a company where I was programing... I think I developed very good programing skills. So now I can get a lot of advantages of it because I can have my work done easier". (Oscar, 33 years old, Research visa, Mexico)

In relation to the third group, that has had experience in both of the fields, it was found that their work experience outside of their field was often shorter than the one they had in their field. Furthermore, they had to work in these positions in order to adapt their cultural capital to the offers of the moment. Particularly, some of the scientists explained that they worked for short periods of time in different sectors of the industry because they did not find a job in academia. Nevertheless, they reported to have worked most of the time in their fields, that is to say, researching in the laboratory and writing up scientific papers:

"I have a lot of experience in the laboratory, basically in my doctoral I did five years... and really they were four years in the laboratory and one years studying (laughs). Then I did my postdoc and it was two years working in the lab only". (Julio, 33 years old, Research visa, Venezuela)

Concerning the *kennismigrant* visa holders, who also belong to the third group with experience in both of the fields, it was found that they first started working professionally in Groningen through the university itself and this professional experience inside the University, helped them to obtain further degrees:

"At the end of my master one of my teachers offered me a job in a company and then I went to work for six months and that job required someone else to do a PhD research and they did not find the other researcher... I don't know what happened but my team was just me in the practical side, and someone else from the University... and when they did not find anyone they asked me if I wanted to do a PhD for the same price let's say... and then I say yes and I stayed another four years for my PhD". (Jeronimo, 38 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Mexico).

When it comes to how they made use of their work experience for obtaining their current job, some of them reported that their experience was very important at the moment they applied for their job, particularly because of the recommendation letters. A case in point is Ignacio who said:

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

“Yes, of course, that helped me a lot, because the school also wanted two or three letters from people that knew me as a tennis player and yeah, so, I have asked them” (Ignacio, 38 years old, Search visa, Mexico).

On the contrary, few participants said that they did not make use of their work experience, as their background experiences were not in the same field or their degrees were more important to obtain it. An example, Micaela, a scientific researcher who mentioned that the most important factor in obtaining her PhD position was her master’s degree:

“I already have some experience, not only like teaching or in an academic university but outside. But to get my PhD position here I don’t think it was important. My master’s was more important than that” (Micaela, 33 years old, Research visa, Brazil).

Complementary to that, other participants said to have made use of both in order to obtain their current position, that is not only the degrees were important, but also the work experience. Considering this, Jeronimo argued:

“At the university they said one of the important aspects it was my experience because they wanted to do a mix in the master with people who were starting and people who had already experience so it was an important point... but I think that at the end the fact that weight the most it was my qualification as student, my grades... I think it was about 70% and then 30% it was ok... this guy has working experience... and still it was important for them be sure about my knowledge in chemistry and mathematics”. (Jeronimo, 38 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Mexico).

In summary, most of the high skilled migrants from Latin America, who worked in the same field of their current position before coming to Groningen, made use of these experiences to obtain their position or to lead their current researches. Concerning the ones who did not have work experience in the same area, they had to adapt their cultural capital to the offers of the moment. However, some of them said to have acquired knowledge that is useful in their current position. In the particular case of the *kennismigrant* visa holders, they reported to have stayed longer in Groningen after they finished their studies since they obtained a job at the University of Groningen. They claimed that having worked at the University of Groningen helped them to obtain their current position.

4. 1.3 Being from Latin America

As determined by the national capital trend, the cultural capital in migration is also mediated by the condition of being from one place or another, moreover, this is called by Erel (2010) *migration specific Cultural Capital*. This study used this concept as part of its theoretical framework and proposed to describe the main features of being Latin American into the national capital of Groningen.

The structure of this section follows the way in which the data was collected. Firstly, the findings in terms of the answers given by the participants, regarding the traditional

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

objects they brought from their country; this is, the objects concerning their culture, and about how they recreate the Latin culture in Groningen. Secondly, with respect to the participant observation conducted at a gathering place for Latin Americans in Groningen called “Hemingway”.

Concerning the first question, it was found that all the participants mentioned bringing at least one traditional object from their country and when comparing these objects with each other, it was revealed they correspond to different cultural contexts of the Latin American countries. For instance, the migrants from Mexico described bringing traditional food and alcohol called, “chili”, “mole” and “tequila”, the participant from Uruguay said to have brought a traditional drink called “mate” and the “porongo” the special cup to drink it, the participant from Chili reported to have brought the traditional alcoholic drink called “pisco” and the one from Colombia to have brought an indigenous bag or “mochila”.

Some other participants reported to have brought objects concerning their religion, as an example Micaela from Brazil:

“Actually my whole family is Catholic, I’m not.. actually it’s been a while since I went to the church last time but I’m also catholic so I brought some images of saints and these kind of things that I keep in my bedroom”. (Micaela, 33 years old, Research visa, Brazil).

Other participants also said to have brought not just objects but cultural traditions. This is the case of Erika, who explained to have brought the way to approach others:

“Openness and warm that is lacking here and yeah just like cultural thing you know... like gathering (laugh) talking to people... getting together, talking, sharing food” (Erika, 21 years old, Research visa, Uruguay).

In addition, one of the *kennismigrant* visa holders claimed to have brought knowledge from Latin America. What reveals that they have brought not just material but non material information about their culture:

“ Some knowledge... some books of sciences that they were not known here... and they were interested in my studies... so people said... oh you were doing this in Mexico please tell us more” (Jeronimo, 38 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Mexico).

When it comes to the second question about the way in which participants recreate the Latin culture in Groningen, they described doing this through the food, the Latin parties and gatherings in Groningen.

Firstly, in terms of food some participants claimed that they try to cook Latin meals to recreate their culture in Groningen. However, they said they experience difficulties to find all the products they need reproduce it:

“I find difficult to find Latin products... sometimes I find some products at “Xenos” store... they have some flour and tortillas or nachos which is more Mexican... also avocados, a kind of dips but I don't find so much Latin ingredients in here”. (Andrea, 42 years old, Research visa, Honduras).

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Others participants also said to have found Latin restaurants in Groningen. However, they described the food in these restaurants as not being the same as the food cooked in Latin American countries:

“There’s not many things that could be similar to Mexican, or Mexican things or Mexico, there are a couple of restaurants that are Mexican restaurants, but the food is totally different, it’s a nice food though but it’s just different” (Ignacio, 38 years old, Search visa, Mexico).

Secondly, concerning the Latin parties, the majority of participants reported to go often to “Plaza Danza” and “Hemingway”, according to them the most popular places to go dancing salsa, merengue and bachata in Groningen. In fact, some said to go more often to Latin parties in Groningen than in their origin country:

“I have to say that I go dancing a lot Latin music...more much that I used to do in Mexico... and it is not because I like it more here... I like it but it is also because you have to get involved in something so you don’t get in your room all the time... so I think it is a good activity... besides that I like when I heard about a dinner or something... about food with Mexico or something related to Latin America... ok I would like to participate... and besides that... mmm I think that’s it”. (Oscar, 33 years old, Research visa, Mexico)

Others stated that when their friends from different countries organized parties, these parties turn into Latin parties when there are Latinos there:

“Even if they started with being Greek or from any other nationality, at the end we play Latin music and everyone is having fun”. (Maria, 28 years old, Research visa, Mexico).

Thirdly, in terms of gatherings of Latin Americans in Groningen, the participants claimed to organize meetings in the same way they do in their home countries in order to share their culture with others colleges or classmates:

“We usually do that. We cook for our other friends, we serve them with joy. So we want them to try our dishes. And they embrace them and they like them”. (Maria, 28 years old, Research visa, Mexico).

According to the Coordinator for Latin America at the office for international relations in the University of Groningen, the Latin Americans like to have social activities outside of their studies:

“Latin-American people are very sociable; they like to hang out with different people, to talk, to do things outside of their studies” (Coordinator for Latin America at the office for international relations in the University of Groningen)

Similarly, they reported to meet other students from ALAS to share their free time surrounded by Latin culture:

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

“I contact with students from ALAS so they have dinners on Thursday or sometimes we go to salsa parties at Plaza Danza”. (Andrea, 42 years old, Research visa, Honduras).

Finally, a particular finding that came out of these two questions was about the negotiation Latin Americans utilize within the national capital in Groningen. This is to say, the assets Latin American identity has to convert into the national capital to validate its position in the new environment. Particularly, they reported to have to do so when working. Concerning this, Jorge who obtained a master program in the Netherlands and who currently works in Groningen said:

“Here you are obligated to work as a team... here everything is... the organization of skills are oriented for you to work in a team group in a group and being part of the team and everything calling together as a team.” (Jorge, 41 years old, Kennismigrant visa, El Salvador).

In addition, when asked of the Coordinator for Latin America at the office for international relations in the University of Groningen about the characteristics of the working environment in the national capital, she said:

“In general it’s small scale, you have to work in groups, you have to work a lot together and also work in close collaboration with the teachers and be very critical. I think that is appreciated generally speaking in The Netherlands that you speak your mind instead of keeping things to yourself, it’s less hierarchical. Of course, not always but I think that’s one of the characteristics of the Dutch and I think some people are not used to that. They, yeah, maybe also the Dutch are very, yeah, peculiar in many aspects I think, they like to be on time, they like to.. if you do not tell them that you disagree with something they will assume that you don’t, so you have to speak your mind and not be afraid of saying what you want because if not.. and that can cause some misunderstanding or miscommunication, I think that is the biggest cultural difference that I have seen”. (Coordinator for Latin America at the office for international relations in the University of Groningen).

In order to learn more about the main features of the identity of high skilled migrants in the national capital context of Groningen, a participant observation was conducted at a gathering place for Latin Americans in Groningen called “Hemingway” (see case study 1). This place was selected because it was highlighted as a gathering place of Latin Americans by the participants in the interviews.

Case study 1

Heminwgay’s Latin party

Hemingway’s is a Cuban restaurant located close to the city center of Groningen. Its name is inspired by Hemingway’s trip to Cuba and it is possible to find a collection of pictures of the author and his books along the walls of the place. Normally, it offers some Cuban and Mexican dishes from 5 pm until 10 pm every weekday, but on Friday

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

evenings it changes completely. The grand floor that regularly offers dinners for no more than 15 tables is cleared to receive a Cuban band that plays all kind of Cuban rhythms from 8 pm until 10 pm. As I was already informed by the participants of my study about this schedule, I arrived around 9 pm to start the observation. Simultaneously with me, groups of people from Latin American and Caribbean countries started arriving at Hemingway's.

As I arrived while the band was playing, the people were all at the end of the venue and I had enough space and time to observe the decoration at the front of the venue. Concerning the decoration, I found that in addition to the Hemingway's pictures, there were some photographs of salsa and bolero singers such as Ismael



Rivera and Celia Cruz, as well as several walls covered with visitor's messages in all colors, languages and shapes. I tried to read some of the quotes which were in Spanish and they were mostly love quotes from 2011, 2012 and 2013 and names of visitors from Mexico, Spain, Peru and Colombia, others messages without any country reference and messages in Portuguese and in other languages. After exploring the walls I walked to try to find a place to sit but I realized most of the people were standing or dancing and that there were only a few chairs located close to the entrance. I decided then to continue walking in the direction of the band. I found the bar to the left of Hemingway's and I noticed several people were buying the Cuban cocktail called "*mojito*", which is made of rum, lemon and mint. On my way to the bar I also saw people buying "*cuba libre*", another Cuban cocktail which is a mix of coke and rum. As I had to wait some minutes until I could order my soda I was able to observe that people were drinking more cocktails and sodas than beer. After I left the bar, on the left side I found the band, they were playing an old Cuban song called "*carretero*". At the front of the band a dance floor made of wood was placed where a few people were dancing in couples and some by themselves. At the end of the venue, a curtain covering some stairs that lead to another floor was hung. I asked a staff member, who was close if it was possible to go up, he said that it was closed. He explained that it is opened on weekdays for the restaurant but not for the Friday night salsa party. The venue was fairly small and I

found a place to stand up next to the curtain. I decided to stay there to listen to the band and to observe the people.



When looking at the people I could recognize that some of them were speaking Spanish and others English. Most of the people were between 20 and 40 years old and seemed to very much enjoy the music. I also realized some of them knew each other as they were interchanging between groups. After two more songs the band stopped playing and a DJ played a famous salsa song called "*Las tumbas*". Immediately, several couples went to the dance floor and together with some people who went alone, started

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

dancing in a very professional way. Some of the people who were dancing alone started inviting other people to dance with them in a couple. I was impressed as several couples that looked Dutch were dancing salsa without any problem. I have to say I did not expect to find professional salsa dancers from the Netherlands. Other couples looked Latin or Spanish and they were also dancing in a professional way. After some minutes, one boy came to invite me to dance. I accepted to dance with him and then we were talking, he told me he came from Curacao but he has been living in Groningen since he was a child, he also told me that he was at Hemingway's with some other friends from Curacao and Surinam and that the Friday salsa parties were very famous between the Latin Americans and Caribbeans in Groningen. In fact he tries to go every Friday until 3 am, he also explained to me that usually there are people who are learning salsa in other places and go to practice on Fridays there, he also said that if you do not know how to dance salsa you can ask someone to teach you there.

The song finished and I went back to the bar to buy another soda. It was almost 10:30, the venue was becoming more crowded and it was very warm inside. I talked for a couple of minutes more with the bar man who told me that the Friday night parties started two years ago and that the rest of the days the place is a normal restaurant. He also explained that the owner is from the Netherlands and he does not have any relation with Latin America. It was almost 11 pm, the place was very warm and I decided to leave.

After visiting Hemingway's it was found that the Latin American culture in this place in Groningen, is recreated since two years ago every Friday night, through music, dance and gathering with other Latinos and Caribbeans. Evidences about their culture around the music were found in the pictures on the walls of Hemingway's, the lack of chairs, the material of the dance floor², the Cuban band, the people dancing in couples, and the music that was played during the observation process. In addition, it was found that the Latin culture in Groningen came from the Caribbean immigrants from Dutch Antilles and Surinam, and not just from the Latin American students who live in Groningen. An important finding was that the Latin culture in Groningen seems to be accepted and appreciated by the national capital culture and also by other nationalities.

4.2 Migration Sequences

In chapter two the concept of migration sequences and the main notions to be used in the analysis of the results of this study was discussed. Concretely, a main concept was taken from DaVanzo and Morrison (1982) in their study on *migration sequences*. Namely, location-specific capital.

This section will begin by describing the main results in terms of each of the operationalizations of this concept given in chapter three. Following this, it will discuss

² Wood is considered by professional salsa dancers as the ideal material to dance on.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

the main findings in terms of the concept of *location-specific capital* and its propositions for explaining how the migrant makes decisions.

Concerning the main reasons that high skilled migrants from Latin America had to come to Groningen, all of them claimed to have decided to migrate first with the purpose of studying at the University of Groningen because of its high level of education in each of their specific fields. In addition, they stated to be attracted by the high investment in research. For instance Maria, a scientist from Mexico reported to have been motivated to come to the Netherlands because she had been informed about the potential to conduct high-level research at the UMCG:

“I have been told that I would have a lot of opportunities in research here in the Netherlands, that I would get a lot of opportunities, and also that there was money for high level research”. (Maria, 28 years old, Research visa, Mexico).

The majority of the participants also claimed to have obtained funding from their countries or from the Netherlands to come to study at the University of Groningen. In this regard, a participant from Mexico added that the number of scholarships to come to the Netherlands has been increasing in the last decade in the case of Mexico. As a matter of fact, the Coordinator for Latin America at the office for international relations in the University of Groningen explained that during the last six or seven years the University has focused on the internationalization of the program with Latin American countries:

“From Latin-America, in western-Europe at least, has been (well maybe not any longer) but for a long time universities here have focused a lot on North America, excluding Mexico then, so Canada and the United States, and also they have increasingly focused on Asia over the past two decades. And Latin-America, the internationalization, so the institutional bonds with that continent have only started (at least if I speak for the University of Groningen) I think we started maybe six or seven years ago” (Coordinator for Latin America at the office for international relations in the University of Groningen)

Regarding their current main activities in Groningen, the entire group of research visa holders expressed to be currently working as temporary researchers at the University of Groningen, few of the *kennismigrant* visa holders said to be working on a private short project and simultaneously to be working on a temporary university project, and the rest claimed to be working as temporary researchers. In the case of the search year visa holder he stated to have private clientele as a physiotherapist and to have a permanent job as a tennis coach:

“I work a little bit as a physiotherapist and I work as well as a tennis coach with the best talented junior players in the north of Holland” (Ignacio, 38 years old, Search visa, Mexico).

When it comes to the most useful skills learnt in Groningen, the participants reported to have learnt how to conduct rigorous research and different techniques to do so, new

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

equipment and how to use it, working with systems and computers, and to write and speak in English and some of them in Dutch as well.

Moreover, they explained to have learnt how to work in a team and how to orient their work towards obtaining results:

“There it’s a different scientific philosophy I think. They are more focused on kind of the techniques that we use to get to some results and here they have a different mentality. They think more about, actually what do you want to... first what do you want to answer; what is your main question and then you try to find a way to get your results”. (Micaela. 33 years old, Research visa, Brazil).

Several of the research visa holders mentioned having learnt how to be more independent in their research, as an example, Paola a scientist from Colombia who said:

“Skills... I think to be independent researcher, I think. Before I was always knocking the door of my boss, or knocking the door of my professor; How do I do this? How do I do that?. And I think here I found the opportunity to be independent, which I find nice, I think. Because to my mind, that’s one of the ideas of being a PhD, to be an independent researcher; to have your own opinion to decide by your own what is the next step in what you’re doing”. (Paola, 33 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Colombia).

Some of the *kennismigrant* visa holders also stated to have learnt how to be more relaxed in their work but at the same time more efficient:

“I have learned to work more efficient... no harder but more efficient... in Mexico I used to work harder but not in an efficient way... in Mexico for example we have what is called “hora nalga” because you are sitting there just because your boss is there... and you are waiting to him to leave so then you leave after him... but here it is not like that... if you want to get free the whole afternoon you can leave. It is really flexible and I think it is because they are efficient... and I think these are the most important skills”. (Jeronimo, 38 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Mexico).

Several of the participants also mentioned to have learnt not just professional skills but also social skills such as to be more tolerant and open-minded. They said it was due to sharing and collaborating with people from different cultures, religions and nationalities. This is the case of Oscar who did his master in Delft, he went back to Mexico for two years and is currently in the second year of his PhD in Groningen:

“I think that I also learned a social skill or something like that... also always been surrounded by at atmosphere so heterogeneous... different people... open your mind. I realized this one when I went back to Mexico the way you think changes... I think it changes in a good way. You are not so limited by your previous concepts. You know the things can be different... no only there but also here... some things that you know... You become more tolerant with people... you get to understand more”. (Oscar, 33 years old, Research visa, Mexico)

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Concerning how the high skilled migrants from Latin America plan to make use of the knowledge acquired within Groningen in the future, it was found that most of them plan to continue their profession in academia and only a few consider the idea to use the knowledge outside academia. Namely, some of the research visa holders plan to use the knowledge acquired during their PhD studies for teaching at the university level. For instance, Andrea who plans to go back at the university of Honduras to work on her research, as she was working there before migrating to Groningen:

“It is very easy because my research is about second language teaching and my thesis is connected to what I do in my University” (Andrea, 42 years old, Research visa, Honduras).

Others holders of the research visa plan to use the knowledge acquired to keep working in the research field even though some claimed it is difficult to find permanent work as a researcher:

“I think I will look for a job, related to research. I think that... because I have observed from previous colleagues, it's difficult to continue as researcher in terms of stability. Because if I want to continue... I have to apply for a post-doc, a post-doctorate position. And these post-doc positions are normally two years contract, or one year contract. So it's just again a temporal (temporary) position. And I would like to have something more stable, so my ideal situation will be to apply my knowledge in a place where I can stay longer, and be a researcher”. (Paola, 33 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Colombia).

Some of the *kennismigrant* visa holders said to have already used the knowledge acquired in Groningen and to keep using it every day. A case in point, Jeronimo a post-doc, who studied his master and PhD in Groningen and who recently has moved to Amsterdam to work in his current position:

“I think I used it in Groningen and I use it now... the theoretical knowledge... I use the “systemic approach” that I mentioned before... I use it every day in my work in order to analyze different problems. I also try to transmit this to the students I supervise. I also try to speak Dutch in my daily activities”. (Jeronimo, 38 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Mexico).

Other participants also mentioned to be currently using the knowledge acquired in Groningen. Furthermore, they felt certain to be able to use it in another place if they decide to move again:

“I think, if I am happy and I feel like I am staying, I am staying. But if not, I will use all this knowledge to move elsewhere, either back in Latin America, or to another country. I am very happy here, but I cannot think myself, as if I am going to stay forever here or elsewhere”. (Claudia, 37 years old, Research Visa, Chili).

When it comes to their plans after Groningen and how they plan to make use of the knowledge acquired in the future, four different kinds of sequences was found between the participants. Three of them which match the concept regarding the propositions of

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

location specific capital, and the other one which does not fit into this theory, as the participants have not decided their next move yet. Details about the plans for the next move of each of the participants in the table 2.

Table 2 Possible next moves

Name	Country of origin	Arrival to the Netherlands	Country of last study	Current Activity	Location Specific Capital	Possible next move
Andrea	Honduras	sep-10	USA	PHD	Permanent work in Honduras	Move back
Claudia	Chili	okt-11	Luxemburg	Assistant professor		Don't know yet
Erika	Uruguay	aug-12	USA	PHD		Don't know yet
Ignacio	Mexico	sep-06	The Netherlands	Working in Groningen	work and clientele	Stay
Jerónimo	Mexico	sep-05	The Netherlands	Postdoctoral	Where the work takes him (No Mexico)	Stay
Jorge	Salvador	aug-10	The Netherlands	Working in Groningen	Work in Groningen	Stay
Julio	Venezuela	feb-13	Argentina	Postdoctoral	Permanent work in Argentina	Move to a previous area
María	Mexico	aug-10	Mexico	PHD	Brother in EEUU	Move back to a previous area
Micaela	Brazil	sep-08	Brazil	PHD	Family in Brazil	Move back
Oscar	Mexico	sep-12	The Netherlands	PHD	Work as a teacher in his country	Move back
Paola	Colombia	aug-09	England	PHD	Married with a Dutch man	Stay

The first of these groups corresponds to the participants who plan to stay longer because they expressed having more location specific capital in Groningen, a point in case Ignacio. Ignacio has lived in Groningen for 7 years, pursued his bachelor degree in physiotherapy at the University of Groningen, currently has a permanent job as a tennis coach of talented tennis junior players and sometimes works as a private physiotherapist. Ignacio claimed he would like to stay in Groningen because he would like to use his knowledge as a physiotherapist in a clinic in Groningen, gain more experience in his field and study a master at the University of Groningen:

“I want to stay here and work for some years in a clinic in Groningen so I can gain more experience and as well that gives me the time to study a master in this country”. (Ignacio, 38 years old, Search visa, Mexico).

Ignacio has assets that are valuable for him in Groningen such as his job, his students, an established clientele, and he thinks he can continue with his professional life in Groningen. Furthermore when asking where he sees himself in ten years he answered:

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

“I see myself in this country having my own clinic with several physios and working also with talented junior players and professional players”. (Ignacio, 38 years old, Search visa, Mexico).

In the case of Ignacio, the valuable assets of his location specific capital in Groningen have led him to choose to stay longer in Groningen, as has been theorized by DaVanzo and Morrison (1982) within the concept of *migration sequences*.

Another case in this group it is that of Paola. Paola has been living in Groningen for four years, is currently undertaking her last year of her PhD and she got married with a Dutch man six months before the interview. She said she would like to stay in Groningen because her husband has obtained a permanent position in Groningen, also, she said she would like to find a job to apply what she is learning as a researcher:

“Yes, we will like to stay here, with my husband, because he just got a permanent contract in here in Groningen. So he just got it. And to get a permanent contract in The Netherlands, I don't know if you know, but it's very difficult, so at least we can stay here for a while. I will look for a job in a company or somewhere that allows me to be a little bit stable” (Paola, 33 years old, *Kennismigrant* visa, Colombia).

Paola and Ignacio have assets which are more valuable in Groningen, particularly, for Ignacio, his job, his students, an established clientele and for Paola, her Dutch husband which is her main reason to plan to stay longer.

The second group is of those who consider moving to a previous area of residence because they have more location specific capital there. Two cases are presented, one of a participant who wants to go back to her home country and another participant who wants to return to a country where he used to live.

The first of these cases regards Andrea who has been living in Groningen for 3 years, she used to work as a teacher at the University in Honduras and she can go back to the position she used to have there. She stated she wants to go back to her country because she wants to work in this position there. Moreover, she claimed she will apply what she is learning in Groningen as it is part of the research she currently conducts in the University of Groningen:

“I go back to work in my job because I have a permanent position in my country so I finished and I will go back to teach in again. Which I am very happy”. (Andrea, 42 years old, Research visa, Honduras).

In this case, Andrea has made the choice to go back to her home country as she has more location specific capital there. Above all, her position at the University.

The second case of this group regards Julio, a Venezuelan scientist who arrived in Groningen three months before the interview. Julio used to live in Argentina for 5 years just before coming to Groningen where he pursued his PhD. Nowadays, he undertakes his post-doc at the University of Groningen. He said he would like to go back to Argentina as he has already applied for a position there and he thinks it is the best

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

option to go further in his professional career:

“I would like to move back to Argentina. I asked to become a researcher in the same place where I was working... but if I had to choose I will change some of my colleagues (laughs). Anyway if I put things in a balance, it is the best option that I have for my professional life”. (Julio, 33 years old, Research visa, Venezuela)

He also said that in five years he sees himself in Argentina as in Venezuela we will not be able to apply the knowledge acquired:

“I think in South America, in Argentina. I don’t see my future in Europe... you never know. And to return to Venezuela in five years... what happens is that in Venezuela we are far behind in my profession and I feel that if I go back there I will cut my career. Instead in Argentina I feel that I can do something and contribute with the society as well as use back what I am learning here”. (Julio, 33 years old, Research visa, Venezuela)

These two cases follow what is explained by DaVanzo and Morrison (1982). That is, a repeat migrant may consider moving to a previous area of residence the more location specific capital he has there. Andrea and Julio plan to go back to a previous area of residence as both of them consider they have better opportunities for their professional career there. In addition, they think they can apply the knowledge acquired in Groningen to move further in that specific area.

The third group clustered the participants that decided to stay or to move to another place because of the third of DaVanzo and Morrison’s propositions (1982). That is, the longer the migrant is in the current location, the less likely he is to decide to move to a previous area of residence because there is a depreciation of the location specific capital left behind.

To begin, it is relevant to say that in the case of this study there are not a lot of participants who belong to this group. The case presented next regards Jerónimo one of the *kennismigrant* holders. Jerónimo has been living in the Netherlands for eight years, he pursued his master and his PhD in environmental and sustainability in Groningen and currently he is undertaking his post-doc in Amsterdam. He explained he would like to go where he can make use of the knowledge he acquired in sustainability:

“My future plans are to continue working in sustainability...in general... they are to go where an interesting project regarding sustainability is. No matter where If it is in the Netherlands, is ok. If it is in ‘Timbuktu’ is ok as well. I have the idea that this situation could be better than is now. So wherever there are these issues I think I have the possibility to work there... although one of my dreams is to live in Asia...I would like to go to China, to Asia, because I think if someone... China is the factory of the world so if someone consumes energy and pollutes it is China and I think that if someone needs my knowledge it is China”

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

However when he was asked about the possibility to go back to his country to work in his field he said:

“A lot of people have told me that if I go back to Mexico I will be a nice person, with a nice degree, with a lot of knowledge but priority in Mexico are others... poverty, drugs and sustainability is not exist there” (Jeronimo, 38 years old, Kennismigrant visa, Mexico).

As Jeronimo has been living for eight years out of his home country and has improved his profile in a field that is not relevant in the policies of his country, he said to choose to migrate somewhere else where he can make use of his academic assets. That is to say, because he has living overseas, improving his profile in sustainability, for many years there is a depreciation of the location specific capital that Mexico offers him in terms of his field of expertise.

Finally, the last group includes some participants that are yet certain where to go after Groningen, who have been living in Groningen for one or two years and that consider they still have time to decide what to do next. This group also has been living in different countries before coming to Groningen and they say they would like to keep traveling. As an example, Erika a young scientific who has been living in Groningen for one year, who studied her bachelor in the USA and who currently undertakes her first year of PhD. When asking Erika about her plans after Groningen she answered:

“I have no idea... actually I am taking a year off to travel... I am planning to take that Trans-siberian railway to China and then visiting parts of Asia I should have visited a lot of Europe by the time I graduate so then I want to go to do a road trip across the United states and then across South America and then I can work” . (Erika, 21 years old, Research visa, Uruguay).

Furthermore, when asking her where she sees herself in five years she said:

“I have no idea.. if you ask me in two years maybe I will have an answer but now I am not interested at all. Because I was thinking about the future before in order to get here if right now I'm thinking about the future then it means that I never enjoy the present”. (Erika, 21 years old, Research visa, Uruguay).

5. Conclusions and recommendations

This last chapter presents the main findings in terms of each of the specific research questions and the main question presented in section 1.2 and the conceptual model shown in figure 3 of this thesis. It develops theory about how high skilled migrants from Latin America make use of their cultural capital in Groningen and how they plan to use it for a future move. Furthermore, It gives some recommendations for future researches, for policy makers and for the municipality of Groningen.

5.1 Conclusions

The first of these specific research questions is:

What are the main features of the lifestyle of high skilled migrants from Latin America during migration and how do they make use of these to validate their position in Groningen?

Considering that the theory states that the migrant validates his position in the receiving country by making choices in his lifestyle regarding vital consumption and entertainment, it was found that the high skilled migrants who had lived in other countries before coming to Groningen tend to be more open in choosing food in the receiving country. That is to say, they tend to adapt more easily. On the contrary, the high skilled migrants who had only lived in their home-country tend to miss their traditional food more and try to find places where they can buy traditional products. In other words, because they have more difficulties in adapting to the new environment, they consume Latin American imported products or the ones which they have brought with them to try to validate their position in Groningen.

In the case of clothing choices, all the participants explained they still wear the clothes they brought from their countries and have problems finding the correct size or style in Groningen. This finding shows that most of the Latin Americans still experience inconveniences to validate their position in Groningen, as the clothes options in the national capital do not fit with their preferences or with the distinction mark of their Latin American vital consumption.

Regarding entertainment, it was found that the participant's choices have changed during migration, as in their new lifestyle they undertake more entertainment activities. In addition, they have found places that allow them to keep their marks of Latin American distinction in the national capital context of Groningen. That is the case of *Hemingway's* and *Plaza Danza*, places that helped them to preserve their identity during migration and thus, to elaborate systems of value alternative to the national capital one that support them to validate their position in Groningen.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

The participants also expressed that they had a better quality of life in Groningen, as they can choose to do more sports, eat healthier, earn higher wages, and in the case of some participants, to choose a husband from the national capital context.

The second of these specific research questions is:

What are their new professional and social networks and how do they make use of them within their migration process in Groningen?

The main findings in terms of professional networks of the high skilled migrants from Latin America in Groningen correspond to what was predicted by the theory. That is to say, the professional networks that the high skilled migrants from Latin America have acquired before and during their time in Groningen, have determined their entry into the labor market. Furthermore, this position acquired helps them to transfer their cultural capital into the national capital. Cases in point; the high skilled migrants from engineering sciences were attracted by the program Sciences Without Borders before coming to Groningen. Regarding the social networks, different cases were revealed; some in which the high skilled migrants from Latin America have made use of social networks to find a job, which is what the theory states. However, there are also cases where these migrants have made use of these social networks with the only aim of obtaining social support in the new environment and not with the purpose of obtaining their current position in Groningen.

The third of these specific research questions is:

How do they make use of their language knowledge, professional qualification and credentials, and work experiences in Groningen?

To answer this question, it is important to note that language knowledge has been included as part of the performances of the institutionalized state, i.e., professional qualification and work experiences. This is because during this study it was revealed that the high skilled migrants from Latin America often needed to certify their level of English in order to apply for a position in the Netherlands. That is to say, in terms of the framework of this study, their cultural capital concerning language knowledge takes on an objective value in the national capital of Groningen and it appears in the institutionalized state.

Together with this theoretical finding, it was identified that the high skilled migrants from Latin America have mainly made use of their English knowledge in Groningen to obtain their current position. Precisely, some of them said to use it for writing and for communicating with their colleagues, teachers and classmates, and some others who work in the engineering sciences field reported just to use it for the writing of results. In addition, some of the participants explained to have had to test their level in the four competences and others stated not to have been required to do so.

With respect to other languages such as French and Portuguese, the participants claim to make use of them to keep in contact with their networks in other places but not to make use of them for their position in Groningen. Contrarily, some scientists described

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

making use of their Spanish with their colleagues and classmates in their current position. Concerning the national capital's language, Dutch, participants reported not to have needed the Dutch language to obtain their current position. Nevertheless, they said to be interested in learning it with the purpose of accessing information about the national capital and to become integrated in the Dutch society. Moreover, they said to experience constraints to learn it, as when they want to practice the Dutch they are learning, native speakers usually switch to English.

In terms of their professional qualification and credentials, all of them have undertaken degrees of post-secondary education and most of them also of tertiary education. In fact, all the participants explained the necessity of having these degrees at the moment of applying to their current position. Concerning the recognition of their degrees from Latin America in the national capital of Groningen, as indicated in the framework of this thesis, the foreign-gained educational degrees are not all recognized in the receiving country (Nohl et al, 2006, p, 5). That is to say, the high skilled migrants from Latin American who hold a Latin American degree are not in equal conditions with high skilled migrants from some other countries. In addition, it was found that high skilled migrants from Latin America were attracted to Groningen by economic opportunities, as their studies in Groningen have been sponsored by their native government or by the Dutch government.

Regarding work experience before coming to Groningen, participants of this study claimed to have made use of their work experience in their current position, particularly, when the work experience they had was in the same field of what they first came to pursue in Groningen. In the case of previous work experience in different fields, some of the participants explained not to have used it in their current position but to have acquired some useful knowledge that helped them in their current activities. A particular finding about their work experience in Groningen was that the *kennismigrant* visa holders who have been living here for more than four years, informed that when they just finished their studies in Groningen they were recruited immediately by the University of Groningen and that this experience at the University facilitated the attainment of their current position in the Netherlands.

The last of these specific research questions is:

What is the most important knowledge they have acquired in Groningen and how do they plan to make use of it to move again?

To begin, it was found that most of the high skilled migrants from Latin America have migrated to Groningen with the aim of improving their academic skills and they plan to continue working within academia and the research fields. Regarding the most important knowledge they have acquired in Groningen, they reported to have learnt how to conduct rigorous research, how to use new equipment and how to write and to speak fluently in English and some of them also in Dutch. They also informed to have developed skills to work in teams, to be more independent in their work, and to be more efficient. In addition, they claimed to have learnt social skills such as to be more tolerant and open-minded.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Regarding how they plan to use this new knowledge acquired in Groningen in the future, most of the participants stated to have the intention to continue working in the research field and put their knowledge in practice there, others said to have already used it back in Groningen and others reported to be sure of being able to use it in another place if they decide to move.

With respect to how they plan to use this new knowledge, specifically, after Groningen, four different groups of participants were found, three of them which fit with the theory about *migration sequences* (DaVanzo & Morrison, 1982) and its concept of location specific capital, and one which does not fit. The first of these groups proved the proposition that the more location specific capital in the receiving country, the less likely the migrant will decide to leave. In this frame, participants who plan to stay in Groningen because they have clients or they got married in this city. The second group supported the second proposition that says that a repeat migrant could consider going back to a previous area, the more location specific capital he has there. It is reflected in the cases of some participants who claimed to plan to go back to their country as they have a permanent job there, and others who used to live in a country different to their country of origin and who plan to go back there to work in a permanent position. The third group clustered the participants who have lived for several years in Groningen and who support the third proposition that says the longer the migrant is in the current location, the less likely he is to decide to move to a previous area because there is a depreciation of the location specific capital left there. This is the case of one participant who has been living in the Netherlands for more than eight years and who plans to stay longer in the Netherlands or to move to other countries with the aim of making use of the knowledge acquired in Groningen and in other cities in the Netherlands. Furthermore, he does not consider going back to his country because he considers that he cannot make use of the knowledge acquired in Groningen. Or what is reported by the theory, there is a depreciation of the place, in this case, because it seems in his country, there are not opportunities to go further with the skills he has acquired during his time in Groningen.

And finally the main question:

How do high qualified migrants from Latin America make use of their cultural capital in Groningen and how do they plan to use it in a future move?

It was found that, the high skilled migrants from Latin America make use of their cultural capital in order to gain a position in the national capital of Groningen. This position depends on how the high skilled migrant negotiates his cultural capital with the national capital and it differs according to the field where the cultural capital is used and to the sequences of previous moves that the migrant has undertaken.

The cultural capital of high skilled migrants from Latin America in Groningen appears in two states, i.e., the embodied state and the institutionalized state. Within the first, the

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

embodied state, it performs as lifestyle and networks. Concerning their lifestyle, it was revealed that it varies between those who have lived in several countries, as they tend to be accustomed to international food, and the ones who were living in their home country, as they tend to miss more their traditional food, and thus to have problems to validate their vital consumption in Groningen. In the case of clothes, they seem not to find in the style and the size of the clothes the national capital offers the way to validate their identity. Contrary, in terms of entertainment, there are places that facilitated the preservation of their identity during migration and to elaborate their Latin American systems of value alternative to the national capital system and to validate their position in Groningen. Regarding networks, the previous contact with professional networks seems to have helped them to obtain their position, a case in point, the engineering sciences field. The social networks, more than support them to obtain their position, but also give them social support in the new environment.

In terms of the institutionalized state, it appears as language knowledge, professional qualification and credentials, and work experience. Regarding language knowledge, it revealed that it is necessary to certify the level of English in the University of Groningen; nevertheless, it varies by field. Regarding the national capital's language, the participant claimed to be interested to learn Dutch to get integrated into the national capital but they stated to experience constrains to learn as when they try to practice with the native speakers, they switch to English. Respecting professional qualification and credentials, the high skilled migrants have been attracted by economic opportunities and education to Groningen, however, their Latin American degrees are not recognized in the national context and they have to follow some procedures before being able to make use of their degrees in the University of Groningen. Finally, concerning work experience, it was found that they make use of it when the experience is in the same field of the current position. Furthermore, there are several cases where the migrants have stayed longer in Groningen as they have obtained a position at the University of Groningen that has given them the necessary experience to apply for jobs in others places of the city.

In terms of how they plan to make use of their cultural capital to move again, it was found that the high skilled migrants from Latin America make plans about where to go next, depending on where they can make better use of the knowledge acquired in Groningen. Furthermore, it was found that it varies depending on the location specific capital of the migrant and the amount of time that they have lived in Groningen.

5.2 Recommendations

From the results and conclusions of this study, several recommendations could be done. Firstly, for research, this study has demonstrated that the integration of the concepts of cultural capital and migration sequences could be used to explore how the high skilled migrants get integrated in a receiving country. Furthermore, how the use of their

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

cultural capital validates their position in the receiving country and could be used to predict their future moves.

Secondly, regarding policy makers, as Latin American migration seems to be an increasing source of high skilled migrants in the Netherlands. It is necessary to establish mechanism to utilize their cultural capital in the national capital. In the form of, equal conditions that allow them to transfer their knowledge and skills into the national capital.

Thirdly, in terms of the municipality, This study recommend to create spaces where the Latin American culture could be recreated, specially, in terms of places to listen music, dance and gathering with other fans of the Latin culture in Groningen. By this, Latin American migrant can feel a sense of home in Groningen.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

References

- Anson, C. M. & Robert A. (2000). *The Longman Handbook for Writers and Readers*. Second edition. New York: Longman.
- Annual Report of Integration (2010). *Statistics Netherlands* www.ind.nl
- Babbie, E. (2010). *The practice of social research*. International Edition. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 6, 11 and 13.
- Barajas, C. (2006). *Estado del arte de las investigaciones sobre inmigrantes de origen latinoamericano en Los Países Bajos*. Bélgica: Conferencia Internacional "Las migraciones América Latina - Europa: desafíos para el análisis y las políticas.
- Barajas, C. (2008). *Latin American Youth in The Netherlands: a first approach*. Best practices for integration, EUNET Integration Network.
- Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J. (1973). *Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction*. In Richard K. Brown (Ed.), *Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change*. London: Tavistock.
- Bourdieu, P. (1979). *La Distinction: critique social de jugement*. Edition de Minuit. Chapters 1 and 2.
- Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J. (1984, 1986, 2000). *Reproduction in education, society and culture*.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). *The forms of capital*. New York: handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education.
- Bourdieu, P. (1996). *The State Nobility*, Translated by Lauretta C. Clough Foreword by Loic J. D. Wacquant.
- Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L. (2007). *An invitation of Reflexive Sociology*. Cambridge: polity.
- Castles, S. & Miller, M. (2009). *The age of migration*. 4th edition. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6.
- CBS. Statline. The Netherlands. www.cbs.nl
- Chiswick, B. & Miller, P. (2001). *A Model of Destination-Language Acquisition: Application to Male Immigrants in Canada*. *Demography*. Volume 38. Number 3. (pp.397)
- Doomernik, J., Koslowski, R. & Thrandhardt, D. (2009). *The Battle for the Brains: why immigration policy is not enough to attract the high skilled*. Brussels Forum. Paper Series. (pp.4-20)
- Erel, U. (2009). *Migrating Cultural Capital: Bourdieu in Migration Studies*. *Sociology*. SAGE. (pp. 642-660)
- Hage, G. (1998). *White Nation: Fantasies of white supremacy in multicultural society*. NSW: Pluto press.
- Hart, B., & Risley, T. R. (1995). *Meaningful differences in the everyday experiences of young American children*. Brookes Publishing, Baltimore.
- IND (Immigration and Naturalisation service, Ministry of Security and Justice). www.ind.nl. 2012.
- Hennink, M., Hutter, I. & Bailey, A. (2011). *Qualitative research methods*. SAGE. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6.
- Kazempur, A. (2009). *Social Capital and diversity: some lessons from Canada*. Bern: Peter Lang AG.
- Kearns, G. & Philo, C. (1993). *The city as Cultural Capital, past and present*. USA: University of Madison-Wisconsin.
- Lamont, M. & Lareau, A. (1988). *Cultural Capital: allusions, gaps and glissandos in recent theoretical developments*. *Sociological theory*. Vol , Nº 2. (pp. 153-168).

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

- Leo, J. & Boelhower, W. (2004). Working sites. *Texts, territoires and Cultural Capital in American cultures*. Amsterdam: University Press.
- Newman, K. (2007). *Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Nohl, A. M., Schittenhelm, K., Schmidtke, O., & Weiß, A. (2006, May). Cultural Capital during Migration—A Multi-level Approach for the Empirical Analysis of the Labor Market Integration of Highly Skilled Migrants. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (Vol. 7, No. 3).
- Solimano, A. & Pollack, M. (2004). *International Mobility of the High Skilleded: The case between Europe and Latin America*. Working papers N° 1. (pp. 1-30)
- OECD, 2002: Annex 2; Eligibility criteria for recruitment and residence of skilleded foreign workers in some OECD countries.
- del Castillo, I. Y., & Herrera, G. (Eds.). (2007). *Nuevas migraciones latinoamericanas a Europa: balances y desafíos*. Flacso-Sede Ecuador (pp. 30-550).
- Zhou, M. & Lin, M. (2005). Community transformation and the formation of ethnic capital: immigrant Chinese communities in the United State. *Journal of Chinese overseas*.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Appendix 1

In-depth interview guide

Guide in-depth interview:

Introduction:

This research is being conducted to get to know how the high skilled migrants from Latin America who immigrate to Groningen make use of their cultural capital during migration.

Cultural Capital of high skilled migrants from Latin America is understood in this research as *your professional qualification, your work experience, your language competences, your networks, your lifestyle, and how these experiences can be utilized effectively in your immigration into Groningen and in a future move.*

I am conducting this research for my Master's course in Population Studies at The University of Groningen and I would like to know how you make use of your cultural capital from Latin America in Groningen.

I would like to remind you that participation is voluntary, so if at any time you do not feel comfortable we can stop the interview at that point. Your identity will remain anonymous of course and the results will only be used for the purpose of this research. Also, I am going to record this interview in order to avoid missing any point or mishearing, is it fine for you? Are there any questions at this point?

Please feel free to ask any questions before we start with the interview.

Basic information

No. of interview:

Date of interview:

Age:

Sex:

Nationality:

Date of arrival in Groningen:

Kind of visa:

Questions about educational level, language knowledge and professional experience and next move

1. Can you tell me why did you immigrate to the Netherlands, particularly, to Groningen?

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

- Probe: did you come because of the HSM program, to study, agreements between universities?
2. What is your main activity in Groningen?
Probe: do you have a job, how did you get it, are you looking for a job, what are you studying.
 3. Where and how long for have you been doing this activity?
Probe: where do you work, where are you studying, are you looking for a job.
 4. Where did you study before coming here?
Probe: master, PhD, field of specialization
 5. Which of your studies have recognition in the Netherlands and which do not?
Probe: what did you do to validate them, why did you validate some of them and others you did not.
 6. Can you tell me about your work experience?
Probe: Probes: where did you work before, were you working in your field, how long for, is this experience important for your current job.
 7. How do you make use of your educational and professional experience here?
Probes: what specific knowledge, are you still working with your old networks.
 8. What languages do you speak?
Probe: how did you learn them, which level do you have.
 9. Where and how do you make use of them?
Probe: job, friends, family
 10. What is your experience with the Dutch language?
Probe: do you take any Dutch courses, why, Dutch as a problem to have communication in your job or in your daily life, when do you make use of your Dutch.

Questions about networks

11. Are you a member of any network in the Netherlands? (if not why?)
Probes: professional, social, religious, artistic group, virtual group, international students groups, ALAS, when did you join it, why.
12. Do these networks give you support with your professional integration in the Netherlands, particularly in Groningen?
Probes: Dutch courses, how to find a job, management of time, workshops.

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Questions about lifestyle

13. What was your life style before coming to the Netherlands?
Probes: where did you use to live, what kind of food did you use to eat, where did you use to buy your clothes, ways of entertaining.
14. What is your life style now in the Netherlands
Probes: where do you live, who do you live with, what do you eat, where do you buy your food and your clothes, ways of entertaining, incomes.
15. How has your life style changed here?
Probes: house, food, clothes, ways of entertaining
16. What objects concerning your culture did you bring from your country?
Probes: why did you bring them, can you find them here, what is the meaning they have for you.
17. What parts of Latin culture do you recreate here in Groningen?
Probes: religion, food, music, ways of entertaining, networks.

Questions about knowledge acquired

18. What are the most useful skills you have learned during your time in Groningen?
Probes: knowledge, techniques research, languages, specific information.
19. How do you plan to make use of this knowledge after Groningen?
Probes: in your old job, in your native country, in other country, where.

Questions about next move

20. What are your plans after Groningen?
Probes: moves back, moves on, which place.
21. How are you going to make use of the knowledge acquired in your new plans?
Probes: how useful, new networks, what specific knowledge, language.

Closing question

22. Where do you see yourself in 5 years?
Probes: how are you going to make use in that moment of the knowledge acquired in your stay in the Netherlands?

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

Appendix 2

Codebook

CODE	DEDUCTIVE	INDUCTIVE	INVIVO
1 Agreement universities (reason to come)		X	
2 Bachelor studies	X		
3 Changes in lifestyle	X		
4 Cultural consumption (clothes, food, furniture)	X		
5 Cultural objects brought	X		
6 Dutch system			X
7 Experiences abroad		X	
8 Experience with dutch	X		
9 Funding		X	
10 Income changes		X	
11 Language knowledge	X		
12 Latin culture in Groningen	X		
13 Learning english	X		
14 Learning other languages	X		
15 Lifestyle before	X		
16 Lifestyle now	X		
17 Main activity	X		
18 Master studies	X		
19 Migration and marriage		X	
20 Networks	X		
21 Networks support	X		
22 Next move	X		
23 Place bachelor studies	X		
24 Place main activity	X		

CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MIGRATION

25	Place master studies	X	
26	Place professional experience	X	
27	Professional experience	X	
28	Professional experience company in groningen		X
29	Quality of life		X
30	Reason to come	X	
31	Recognition title process	X	
32	Remittances		X
33	Tandem courses		X
34	The most useful skill learned in groningen	X	
35	The most usefull social skill learned		X
36	Time main activity	X	
37	Time professional experience	X	
38	Time professional experience company in groningen		X
39	Titles with recognition	X	
40	Use of education background in groningen	X	
41	Use of education background in other places		X
42	Use of English	X	
43	Use of new knowledge in the future	X	
44	Use of other languages	X	
45	Use of professional experience in groningen	X	
46	Yourself in 3,5 and 10 years	X	X