Cultural capital and internal migration trajectories of recently enrolled students at the Universidad Veracruzana

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Abstract. In this article, we investigated the migratory profiles of recently enrolled university students. Migration studies have recently taken an interest in student migration due to the presence of students in highly centralized regions. Here, the objective is to analyze the form of migration of newly enrolled students who changed their place of residence to study at the Universidad Veracruzana in Mexico. Applying Bourdieu's theory and a mixed methodology, we identify two groups of students according to the cultural capital which shapes their academic and migratory trajectories, and defines the value they assign to university studies.

Keywords: capital incorporated, students, migration, university, trajectories

Introduction

This study investigates the migratory profiles of recently enrolled students at the Univesidad Veracruzana (UV) by reviewing their academic trajectories. UV is the main institution of higher education in the state of Veracruz in Mexico, with 25% of total higher education enrollment in the state. Xalapa is Veracruz's capital, as well as its region (out of a total of five) with the highest student enrollment. Every year, a large number of students move to the city to start their university studies. We consider this an emerging migratory phenomenon that is articulated with other similar processes in the areas of employment, politics, citizen insecurity, and others.

While this article analyzes a case study, its implications may be broader if we take into account the recent recognition of intermunicipal travel for the purpose of higher education as a type of migration, given that it has the characteristics of the phenomenon in question. In this sense, we think that Pierre Bourdieu's theory provides a different approach for examining the trajectories of such students and their interactions with the sociocultural context in which universities are positioned on the list of "poles of migrant attraction" together with jobs, welfare, and social security.

This article has two objectives of different magnitudes. The first is to describe the relationship between the cultural capital of students and the construction of school trajectories, from basic schooling to enrollment at UV, emphasizing the transition between educational levels. The Mexican school system includes nine years of basic education—six years of elementary school and three of secondary school—as well as three years of intermediate education leading to a baccalaureate degree. Furthermore, universities are the primary public institutions on the state and federal level.

The second objective is to identify the articulation between internal migration for the purpose of university studies with other migratory and social processes in the different transitions experienced by students. This broader and more complex objective requires the exploration of the con-figuration of cultural capital and student expectations in order to explain their displacements.

We prepared two generic questions to guide the analysis: what aspects of the profiles of students and their families incentivize the construction of expectations of studying at UV (and the beginning of the migratory process)? And, how do students transition between educational levels during their schooling, linking their displacements with other processes that influence their decision to study at UV?

1. Migration as an object of study

Migration is a complex object of study: it is a process of change of residence by subjects who cross a geographical border that generally marks a political–administrative division (Ruiz, 2002). International migration involves a change of residence from one country to another while internal migration is displacement between municipalities or states within a country. In general, it is a phenomenon that influences social, economic, and political structures in both the places of origin and the destinations (Gregory & Urry, 1985; Franco, 2012). Some of the social sciences, including sociology, anthropology, political science, and economics, have contributed to the study of national and international migration, starting with the question: Why does migration occur? (Pérez & Santos, 2013; Partida, 2018).

Ravenstein's studies (1885) influenced the expulsion–attraction model, a direct antecedent of the neoclassical theory of migration (Massey et al., 2000; Arango, 2003; Durand & Massey, 2003). This theory combines the rational choice perspective with neoclassical economic theory, centered on the wage rate, to uncover the structural conditions of rational decision-making as a way of explaining migratory phenomena (Massey et al., 2000; Arango, 2003).

Neoclassical theory created different ideas about migration. Stark and Bloom (1985) argue for the existence of a "new economy": families do not seek to maximize their utilities but to diversify their sources of income, and migration is one way to achieve this, especially when inequalities exist in the place of origin (Arango, 2003; Massey et al., 2000).

Theories on migration introduced new analytical factors. Dual market theory focuses on economic conditions in places of destination. Piore (1979), one of this theory's main exponents, notes that two different markets exist in industrialized societies (Arango, 2003). The first consists of well-paid jobs, generally held by residents who are educated. The second is characterized by precarious jobs and few opportunities for advancement (thus, education is irrelevant), conditions that favor the incorporation of migrants (García, 2017). In this way, dual market theory incorporates a relational perspective: labor demand and high levels of structural unemployment (Arango, 2013). Despite this, economic rationality prevails in evaluating migration.

Traditional theories approach migration from a macro perspective; nevertheless, the complexity of this objective required the use of an intermediate level as a basis for explanation. For example, migration network theory (Veiga, 2000) focuses on the interpersonal relations that "link immigrants to returning emigrants or to candidates for emigration with relatives, friends,

co-nationals, whether in the country of origin or destination"[1] (Arango, 2013, p. 19). These networks provide information, economic assistance, and lodging that contribute to diminishing costs and uncertainties (Massey et al., 2000). At the same time, migration netwok theory incorporates the concept of social capital, which explains migrations on the basis of its dynamism and continuity (Arango, 2013).

The theories on internal migration are sometimes derived from theories designed to explain international migration. The rural–urban model maintains that the secondary or tertiary sector is the catalyst for internal migration from rural to urban areas (Franco, 2012; Pérez & Santos, 2013; Varela, Ocegueda, & Castillo, 2017). The second model—urban to urban—notes a change in the pattern of internal migration. Emerging metropolitan areas are seen as possible destinations, both by people from rural areas and those from consolidated metropolitan areas (Rodríguez, 2017; Pérez & Santos, 2013). This model has demonstrated explanatory power regarding changes in patterns of internal migration both in Latin America in general (Rodríguez, 2017) and Mexico in particular (Varela et al., 2017; Pérez & Santos, 2013).

In some Latin American countries, rural-urban migration continues to take place although to an ever lesser degree. At the same time, urban-urban migration has dissimilar impacts on population structure by sex, age, and educational level (Rodríguez, 2017). Urban–urban migration indicates differentiated opportunity structures between large and medium-sized cites, with the latter considered as the best destination. In Mexico, this migratory phenomenon is referred to as metropolitan–metropolitan (Pérez & Santos, 2013), urban–urban or urban–regional (Varela et al., 2017).

The assimilation of internal migrants does not always take place in the formal labor market. Gámez, Wilson and Ivanova (2010) report on the effect of incorporating women into the informal sector in Baja California Sur. Insertion in this sector empowers women while informal agricultural labor reproduces the quality of life in the place of origin.

General theories on migration do not explain emerging migratory processes, including their political, citizen security, and ecological effects, as well as the construction of meaning and its assignation by agents to the act of migrating (Lacomba, 2001), which is also influenced by sociocultural factors. Investigation into migration networks provide a better understanding of the agent and his/her motivations, as well as the configuration of a culture of emigration (Lacomba, 2001). Nevertheless,

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1   All translations from Spanish are by *Apuntes*.

the utilitarian use of networks to minimize the costs or risks of this social experience continues.

In this article, we focus on migration for higher education, an area that has not been studied in detail. The scarce literature on the subject reveals that categories are still being constructed and that there is debate on how to research this social phenomenon. Nevertheless, we will discuss some of the previous studies related to Latin America and outline Bourdieu's theory as it relates to them.

1.1 Student migration in the region and in Mexico

Migration by youth to enroll in a university has barely been investigated, either internationally or nationally. Various authors agree about the distinctive characteristic of this object of study: that these are migrants for educational reasons (Vielle, 1977; Salas, De San Jorge, Beverido, & Carmona, 2007; Ramos, Cabrera, & Echegoyen, 2019).

In Latin America, Santiviago and Maceiras (2019) compiled studies on student migration in Uruguay. Their work contributes to the relevance of considering students as internal migrants, as we do in this study. The authors note that student migration is a phenomenon in which the primary protagonists are youth who have a capacity for agency, defined as the development of a series of strategies that involve logical practices.

These strategies are the product of intergenerational and peer transmission to consolidate processes of inclusion, to which these youth aspire (Santiviago & Maceiras, 2019). Young migrants face a dual process of adaptation: to the university and to the city. For this reason, the family constitutes affective support in confronting the challenges they face. In addition, the education–social advancement relationship is emphasized as: "a situation that inevitably links the representations, values and motivations that the actors apply to appropriate cultural capital or in seeking an improved class status" (Maceiras & Pereyra, 2019, p. 57); that is, higher education is a strategy to improve or maintain a socioeconomic position.

Ramos et al. (2019) document the heterogeneity and continuity of migrants. While they come from a particular place of origin, a successive trajectory of destinations can be constructed: students who migrated for a previous level of education. There are also differences among migrants in terms of their previous educational experience: some represent the first generation to go to university while others represent the second or third generation to do so.

The study that is most similar to ours is Ramos (2019). This author incorporates the voices of his protagonists and provides useful information for certain analytical categories. Access to networks of friends or relatives—

whether they are residents in the destination city or migrants who arrived for work or education—positively influences the decision to migrate. The author shows that the family has an influence, as do peers who have migrated previously and can provide confidence. Rivera (2008) calls these subjects university migrants and stresses the influence on the decision to migrate of personal expectations of a better life. The university is conceived of as an indispensable requisite for this purpose. At the same time, the author points to the preexistence of social, economic, and cultural conditions that limit youth's opportunities to develop their expectations. Thus, culture influences not only migration but also the decision to remain at the destination.

For Mexico, Vielle (1977) carried out a macro analysis of student migration. Under the category of "internal higher education migration," the author found that there is a correspondence between the level of socioeconomic development of an urban center and the level of higher education it provides; for this reason, education holds an appeal for students who emigrate in search of a higher education (1977, p. 90). In recent years, displacement of indigenous people has been interpreted as a benchmark for migration for educational reasons. The decision by *Teének* youth to emigrate to the city of Monterrey is related to pairing study and work, an opportunity that is not available in their communities of origin. This migration is accepted and anticipated by communal leaders and families, since work is seen as the best option; at the same time, the perception of studying at a university is gradually constructed and valued (Martínez, 2016).

For Salas et al. (2007), student migration indicates a regional disequilibrium between educational offer: the quality and prestige of institutions of higher education. The change of residence is undertaken to receive professional training, which distinguishes this migration from labor migration (Salas et al., 2007).

2. Outline of a structural constructivist perspective applied to internal migration for higher education: design of a model of analysis

The studies described briefly in the previous section examine migration for university education. The analyses demonstrate the student's capacity for agency, which translates into the formulation of strategies that originate in the family unit, in which expectations of initiating university studies, and with them migrations, are constructed. These elements are related to Bourdieu's structural constructivist theory: the capacity for agency is the result of an incorporated *habitus* that is acquired over time based on a feeling of familial belonging and through primary socialization.

In this way, the geographical distance between the place of origin and the city where the university is located, the formation of young people's expectations in relation to university studies, family economic support, and the influence of these considerations on the decision to migrate become analytical categories. The sociological theory of Bourdieu is part of a group of approaches that focus on studies of internal migration for university enrollment, in that it takes into account the basic elements in this field of study: the family, networks, socialization, trajectories, social and professional aspirations, as well as the social construction of the value assigned to these institutions.

For the purposes of this study, we take into account the contributions of two of the above-mentioned analyses. The first is Santiviago and Maceiras (2019) and their understanding of Uruguayan student migration as an intergenerational and peer strategy, which we translate into the pursuit of family cultural capital by families and the search for an improvement or continuation of certain class conditions. In this sense, migration is the result of employing the economic capital and the social capital of agents.

The second study is Ramos et al. (2019), from which we take the emphasis on migrants' notions of heterogeneity and continuity. Both are articulated with Bourdieu's conception of trajectory in which the voices of the actors, characterized in our analysis as students who are beginning an internal migration process, are foregrounded and become the main input for the reconstruction of the context of arrival in a new city and the possible link between university studies and the world of labor.

The theories and studies on Latin America and Mexico are our empirical points of reference for the analysis of the relationship between migration and university studies at UV. In Xalapa, three types of students were identified according to where they were from: those who live in Xalapa constitute 38.6% of the student population; those who come from the periphery, no more than 30 km from the city, constitute 11.3%; and those who come from communities more than 30km away or from other states constitute 49.6% (Suárez & Alarcón, 2015).

The theoretical–analytic model that we used to study student migration consisted of a two-phase scheme: the point of origin of the students and the transitions experienced. In the first phase, we recognized family con-figuration as a factor that influenced the creation of *habitus*, a system of dispositions acquired over time through socialization of agents in specific social spaces (Bourdieu, 2007).

The education, professions, habits, and cultural consumption practices of parents, among other factors, configure the family household and are

condensed in the notion of cultural capital, understood as a set of accumulated resources that suppose incorporation to be a result of the inculcation of practices whose investment in time produces *habitus*. The agents understand, value, and act; that is, they produce a practical sense on the basis of the economic, social, and cultural capitals they possess, and it is the latter that are recognized in educational institutions (Bourdieu, 2007).

Families with a higher education and university degrees are the most likely to value and promote university studies among their members. In contrast, in families with a different configuration, such studies are valued more as manner of achieving social mobility: improving working conditions and seeking changes in the conditions of life. This appraisal is subject to the disposition of the economic resources (economic capital), social resources (social capital), and cultural resources (cultural capital) that are available to begin a trajectory. In this way, displacements are an expression of the family's practical sense to produce conditions that will put their children in a position (both geographic and educational) to study at a university.

The second phase—transition—is linked to the first. We emphasize the concept of trajectory, the manner in which an individual or a group navigates the social space: "Individuals do not move about in social space in a random way, partly because they are subject to the forces which structure this space (e.g., through the objective mechanisms of elimination and channelling), and partly because they resist the forces of the field with their specific inertia, that is, their properties, which may exist in embodied form, as dispositions, or in objectified form, in goods, qualifications etc. To a given volume of inherited capital there corresponds a band of more or less equally probable trajectories leading to more or less equivalent positions" (Bourdieu, 2010, Routledge, p. 139).

In the area of education, the stages through which students transit represent the socially valid positions to which Bourdieu refers (such as obtaining a certificate that permits them to enter the next level or the labor market). For some agents, going from the intermediate level (baccalaureate) to higher education means a spatial transition that depends on the set of capitals they possess. The displacement of students to the city of Xalapa represents various routes that they and their families must follow in order to be in the position to undertake university studies. These routes are marked by the transitions that form part of the definition of the history of social agents; for example, the change of residence is temporary or definitive, and can imply a change in activity (Oberai, 1989; Pezo, 2005; Varela et al., 2017; Partida, 2018). The students who come to Xalapa fulfill these conditions and stay for at

least four years in the city while studying for their degree. They will likely find a job to help finance their studies or to acquire professional experience. At the same time, they form networks, among other processes articulated with migration for higher education.

3. Characteristics of the study and methodology

In 2008, we started research on young agents—university students in the first year of their degree program—using a mixed methodology. We explored three dimensions of analysis. The first was the place of origin (city and state), and the students' displacement during their studies at different educational levels. The second focuses on certain characteristics needed to prepare a cultural capital index based on Bourdieu's theory. The third is related to students who work and focuses on the relationship between school and work during their school trajectories. We use these dimensions to reconstruct the educational trajectories of migrant students.

Given its mixed character, the quantitative portion began with the design and application of a survey administered to 1,033 students recently enrolled in 10 ten degree programs at UV (Philosophy, Sociology, Spanish Letters, History, French Language, English Language, Education, nthropology, Nursing, Nutrition, Bioanalysis, Medicine, Physics). The survey, in the style of a census, was administered after the students had spent only three months in Xalapa.

For the qualitative analysis, we designed a semi-structured interview with 12 questions to explore the views of 20 students selected intentionally from a much larger universe, as shown in Table 1. These students fulfilled two criteria for inclusion. The first was a change of residence to the city of Xalapa from municipalities located more than 30 kilometers away; the second was belonging to a family group that had one of the following characteristics: i) father and/or mother without a higher education; ii) father/mother with a higher education and at least one with a university degree.

The collection of empirical information started with the survey and, with the results in hand, we adjusted the order and the questions in the first version of the interview script. The data show the distribution of students from Xalapa and from elsewhere. It indicates that there are a high number of immigrant students: 42% of those surveyed come from 165 municipalities outside the Xalapa metropolitan area.

Table 1
Place of origin of recently enrolled students by degree program

		Xalapa (51 %)	Metro Area (7 %)	From outside metro area (42 %)	Total
Career paths	Philosophy	23	0	28	51
	Sociology	33	4	15	52
	Spanish Letters	20	3	18	41
	History	22	6	11	39
	French Language	18	2	20	40
	English Language	67	7	81	155
	Education	61	16	50	127
	Anthropology	37	2	35	74
	Nursing	59	5	42	106
	Nutrition	65	10	32	107
	Bioanalysis	39	7	34	80
	Medicine	47	6	44	97
	Physics	24	5	23	52
Total		515	73	433	1021*

*12 cases did not provide this information.
Source: compiled by authors.

This data provided guidance for structuring the theoretical approach and the methodology, and for the formulation of a working hypothesis for analysis: that student migration is primarily municipal and is articulated with other broader socio-migratory processes; in addition, migrating students are not a homogeneous group in terms of their social, economic, and cultural characteristics. Nevertheless, the entirety of their trajectories can be divided into two or more groups according to the level of cultural capital they possess.

4. Analysis of results

We employ the analytical approach described in the theoretical section for the presentation of the results. These are divided into two sections: social origins and transitions, both of which include the constructs and the working hypothesis discussed above.

Cultural capital and displacements to initiate university studies

In Table 1, the initial universe included 1,033 students, of whom 433 originated from municipalities more than 30 kilometers from Xalapa. The latter

are the subjects of this study. The empirical construction of the students' cultural capital, consisting of their social origin and socioeconomic status, started with a review of their family configuration according to the education index[2] and the occupational index of both parents.[3] This construction made more sense when the qualitative information was retrieved, consisting of the voices of students and the discourse in the home about initiating their displacement to the city of Xalapa.

Table 2
Level of education of the parents of the student migrants

Education	At least one parent				Total
	With education				
Migrant students	No education	Basic	Baccalaureate	Higher	
	4	97	114	212	427*
	(1 %)	(23 %)	(27 %)	(49 %)	(100 %)

*Six cases were lost during the construction.
Source: compiled by authors.

In the first index, we begin to discern a bimodal population. Half of the migrant students come from homes where "at least one parent has a higher education." The other half do not have this educational point of reference at home. In this construction, it can be seen that a university education plays a role in defining cultural capital. Professions complement this profile. The occupation of both parents, present in the decision to begin displacements, produced the following result.

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2   Index maximization was carried out using SPSS. The variables "father's education" and "mother's education" each have four values: i. no education; ii. basic education; iii. intermediate education (baccalaureate); higher education. The index maximization adds the two values together and adds four new values that we classify as "at least one parent": i. no education; ii. basic education; iii. intermediate education (baccalaureate); iv. higher education.

3   The classification was: i. works solely at home; ii. semi-skilled or self-employed worker on a small scale (bricklayer, worker, causal worker, etc.); iii. office worker or self-employed on a medium level (employee or owner on an intermediate level, specialized technician); large-scale property owner; v. professional with university degree. Index maximization was applied and the resulting combination was obtained.

Table 3
Profession of parents of student migrants

Profession of at least one parent	Works only in the home	Semi-skilled worker	Employee or self-employed at an intermediate level	Large-scale property owner	Professional With University degrees	Total
Migrant students	30 (7 %)	149 (38 %)	54 (13 %)	2 (1 %)	161 (41 %)	396* (100%)

*37 cases were lost in the construction of the index.
Source: compiled by authors.

We have a population of students whose change of residence is related to family configuration: those who have family members with university degrees constitute 41% of the total while the rest of the population is divided among occupations without university degrees. In sum, the higher educational institution was a point of reference for identifying the cultural capital of the students in their homes.

The professions provide status in various senses: they are point of departure for construction of social and professional expectations within the family. In addition, professionals create networks and social capital, information that reduces uncertainty (Massey et al., 2000) and contributes to the decision to begin university studies by situating migratory displacement as a strategy.

Below we provide excerpts from the interviews that illustrate the differences in the configuration of cultural capital among the two groups we identified. For descriptive ends, the "first group" are those students whose families have university degrees and are professionals; and the "second group" are students from families without these characteristics. Here are three excerpts from the first group:

> My father is an anthropologist […]; I am studying here because my parents studied at UV and made friends […]. My father received a Master's degree from UV. As a child I always went to artistic performances, music recitals, book presentations. My uncles are photographers; I saw photography exhibits. (Student from San Andrés Tuxtla, personal communication, 2018).

> More than anything, it was a family decision, because my father is a teacher. I went to his workplace many times and I saw how he worked with elementary school children. He encouraged in me this sense of how it felt to be in front of a group, to have ideas and transmit them to other people. My sister was

> also involved. She is ten years older than me. She studied administration at Mendoza UV. She told me: "if you are going to study at any university, I recommend UV because they have very good teaching methods; you will graduate well-prepared." In some way, she inspired me to go to this university. (Student from Tezonapa, personal communication, 2018).

> My father is an engineer; he works in metallurgy. My mother is a housewife; she always wanted to study history but in the area where she grew up there was nothing like that. She studied accounting for a few semesters but she didn't feel motivated to study it; so, I think that what she told me helped me to say: I will study what I want to study or what my father tells me. (Student from San Rafael, personal communication, 2018).

In these three excerpts, family orientation was part of the construction of expectations of studying at UV. The migratory process to Xalapa is presented as a legitimate assumption. In this social phenomenon protagonized by youth, migration denotes the capacity of agency translated into strategies that appeal to practical logics as an expression of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1997; Santiviago & Maceiras, 2019). For this reason, there is a tacit agreement among the members of the family about going on to university which excludes discussion about the socioeconomic, cultural, and professional conditions that this implies.

Here are three excepts from students in the second group:

> My mother didn't even go to primary school; she didn't want me to study medicine. She wanted [me to do] a shorter degree program, that I go to Cunduacan Tabasco, because my sister lives there and it is closer to Las Choapas. I came with my then-girlfriend to Xalapa in 2018, to work; I wanted to be independent. I got my baccalaureate in 2016; I took the UV Medicine entrance exam but I didn't get in. I took it again in 2017 and again didn't get in; so I started to work and stayed in Xalapa. I thought: I will work in whatever, even just to pay the cost [of a new exam]. Then in 2019, I took the exam for Clinical Chemistry for the third time in Xalapa and in BUAP.[4] I got into both but thought: better in Xalapa. Of my friends, there were those who already had a girlfriend; others were already married. There were those who said they were going to

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4 Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla. A public institution in the neighboring state of Puebla.

the United States to get a job there if the opportunity arose (Student from Las Choapas, personal communication, 2018).

My father is a peasant; he belongs to the Antorcha Campesina organization, which has a student organization. Here in Xalapa they have student hostels. Economic disadvantages and expenses stopped me from coming. I got to Xalapa and jointed this organization; they didn't tell me that I had to contribute to the organization while I was studying. But even so I continued studying. This hostel had a political purpose, but to stay there you have to be a student. My parents told me: "if you are going to study at the university you have to work, get enough to register and for the quotas." (Student from Tantoyuca, personal communication, 2018).

[My family] was fundamental because in the beginning it was: are you sure? […] Are you going to finish? Do you like it? These were always the questions. I knew that it was a good change and that this move was going to be a good accomplishment. [In Coatzacoalcos], there were other options, not many because there are schools where there is teacher training, but there are classes with five students; so, I don't think the mixing with other students would be good because, like, we are in humanities and we have to relate; I think it wouldn't be very motivational to be there. (Student from Coatzacoalcos, personal communication, 2018).

To start with, these excerpts allow us to analyze the context of the displacements. While the first group demonstrates a practical, strategic approach, which includes an objective of greater legitimacy (study at the university), in the second, moving is much more conditioned, more uncertain. Displacements are articulated with other processes that differentiate them from the first group: work, romantic relationships, and the possibility of migrating to the US. All of these are documented in general theories on migration, but are rarely touched upon in the context of higher education.

Both groups underline the heterogeneity of students as migrants (Ramos et al., 2019). The trajectories are linked to previous educational levels in terms not only of the school experiences of the actors, but also of their probability of becoming the first generation in their family to go to university.

4.1 The trajectories of migrant students according to their cultural capital

In the second part of our analytical design, we use the concept of trajectory and explore student life along three lines of inquiry. The first is schooling:

the transition through the educational levels prior to university. The second addresses work situations in order to identify the profile of each group according to the cultural capital described in the first section. The third deals with social capital and the networks that families use in the migratory process.

Tracking schooling is an indicator that shows the migratory movements constructed by the families of students through the years. In these contexts, situations related to pairing off, work, permanent settlement, among others, are structured with the displacements.

Table 4
Change of residence during the educational levels traversed by students (first group)

Levels	Entry to elementary school	Elementary to high school	Secondary to baccalaureate	Baccalaureate to university
No change of residence	97 (63 %)	105 (68 %)	107 (70 %)	24 (16 %)
No change of residence, with daily municipal displacement	27 (17 %)	35 (22 %)	37 (23 %)	10 (7 %)
Change of residence to a different municipality	31 (20 %)	15 (10 %)	11 (7 %)	121 (77 %)
Total*	155 (100 %)	155 (100 %)	155 (100 %)	155 (100 %)

*20 were lost in the index.
Source: compiled by authors.

The data show that schooling is related to change of residence when students leave the baccalaureate program. Before this transition, around a fifth of students engaged in daily municipal displacement to educational institutions on different levels. Here is the distribution in the second group:

Table 5
Change of residence during the educational levels traversed by students (second group)

Levels	Entry to elementary school	Elementary to high school	Secondary to baccalaureate	Baccalaureate to university
No change of residence	141 (61 %)	152 (66 %)	165 (80 %)	34 (15 %)
No change of residence, with daily municipal displacement	47 (20 %)	54 (23 %)	55 (23 %)	29 (13 %)
Change of residence to a different municipality	45 (19 %)	27 (11 %)	13 (6 %)	170 (72 %)
Total*	233 (100 %)	233 (100 %)	233 (100 %)	233 (100 %)

*25 cases were lost in the index.
Source: compiled by author.

The trend evident in the first group also appeared in the second; that is, a change of residence occurred between baccalaureate and university studies. The category "change of residence to a new municipality" gradually declined with the transition from the elementary to high school levels, until the aforementioned transition.

Both groups experienced these displacements. A preliminary conclusion is that migratory movements intensify in the transition from baccalaureate to university as a result of fewer options near the students' places of origin and as part of the gradual valuation of university studies within the family unit. This context leads to new research questions.

The configuration of cultural capital in the families of origin defines the object of study. Thus, migration for higher education increases in the transition noted above, which indicates the use of different types of capital within families. In this sense, the school trajectories of students include a decisive stage for the initiation of migration. This new formulation led us to explore the institutions where students study for their baccalaureate, as a migratory precedent.

In Mexico, High-School Second-Level Education (Educación Media Superior, EMS) offers three types of baccalaureates: general, technological, and professional technical. The general type is designed to prepare students for higher education; the technological provides technical training in areas of production (industry, fishing, agriculture); and professional technical studies prepare students for direct entry to the production sector (Gobierno del Estado de Veracruz, 2018).

Within the general area, there are general baccalaureates and "telebacca-laureates"; the latter have some disadvantages in terms of infrastructure and teaching styles when compared with the general ones. Geographically, they exist further from urban areas and are socially and culturally differentiated. There are also private baccalaureate programs attracting students through a cost-benefit analysis.

Table 6
Baccalaureate programs completely by students recently enrolled at UV

Migrant students	Type of baccalaureate				
	General	Technological	"Telebaccalaureate"	Private	Total
First group	110 (63 %)	44 (25 %)	2 (1 %)	19 (11 %)	175 (100 %)
Second group	145 (56 %)	54 (21 %)	35 (14 %)	24 (9 %)	258 (100 %)

Source: compiled by authors.

There are differences between the two groups of students according to their previous schooling: displacements are related to the choice of a type of baccalaureate. In the first group, almost two-thirds had general baccalau-reates, and a small number had technological baccalaureates. In the second group, more than half had general baccalaureates, 21% had technological baccalaureates, and 14% had telebaccalaureates, which are often the only option in municipalities that are very far from urban areas.

These variations in students' trajectories are reflected in admissions to UV. General baccalaureate programs place the majority of their students at UV; telebaccalaureate programs have the least placement success. This said, choosing one of these contributes to plans to migrate that take into account the probability of being admitted to UV. The various meanings assigned to the baccalaureate (Guerra & Guerrero, 2012), include the social uses of educational institutions and strategies of social reproduction (Bourdieu, 2011; Santiviago & Maceiras, 2019).

The following table provides information on displacement and labor activity. The census indicates that 40% of the students have previous labor experience. When beginning their studies, 26% had recently alternated between studies and work. At the same time, 13% had a job. The most revealing data was the age when they entered the labor market.

Table 7
Cultural capital and labor profile of newly enrolled students

Age when they got their first job	First group	Second group	Total
12 years old	7 (30 %)	16 (70 %)	23 (100%)
Between 13 and 16 years old	29 (38 %)	47 (62 %)	76 (100%)
Between 17 and 24 years old	22 (31 %)	49 (69 %)	71 (100%)
Total	58	112	170

Source: compiled by authors.

Students in both groups started working at a very young age. However, there were twice as many such students in the second group as in the first. As happens in the social sciences, there are two subpopulations that have some characteristics that are not mutually exclusive. This led us to inquire into the relationship between work and studies. If the youth in both groups engaged in both activities, did they integrate them into the migratory process in the same way? The following excerpts from the first group are illustrative:

> I thought I would work; I talked about it with my parents. They told me that if they were investing in my degree program, I would have to study. To stop messing around. And I thought: yes, it would take time away from my main activity. (Student from San Cristóbal, personal communication, 2018)

> A friend said that he wasn't going to university, he was going to become a driver; it made me feel strange because I was studying […] other friends, after the baccalaureate, wanted to go on studying; [but] they couldn't, they left and went to work. Several weren't able to pay for university studies because they had other responsibilities: they had to take care of their siblings or things like that. It wasn't so easy to study and work […] the majority of those who are not studying, are working. They got into a workshop, like a carpentry workshop, or a little better, of some bus company, things like that. Other friends are working in shoe stores, and of those who studied, many went into Mechanical or Industrial Engineering; two are studying other things like Chemistry; one friend, Communications. Even if you want to study, if your parents don't support you, forget it, to work; my life has been easier. My parents told me: "study what you want." (Student from Orizaba, personal communication, 2018)

> An important factor in Tezonapa is the economy. If you don't have enough money to go to university, you know that for a year or for your whole life you are going to stop studying and you will have to work. I am fortunate: I am getting economic support; one of my friends from the baccalaureate who has few economic resources continued studying thanks to scholarships and or the technological institutes established in the area. Still, most of my friends, got stuck. Some say "I don't like school; I only wanted to get my baccalaureate and look for work." (Student from Tezonapa, personal communication, 2018)

These excerpts reinforce our argument. The second set are much stronger because they refer to personal trajectories and to those peers who, at the time, experienced the same transition. At the same time, work has a crucial presence in processes of migration when the cultural capital reference point is not present. Here are excerpts from the second group:

> I didn't get in [to university] immediately; I got in via the waiting list since I was something like six places behind, more or less […] my father works in the fields and my mother, well, she is a housewife, and well, now comes to work in Xalapa. With some [friends] I keep exchanging messages. When we can, we get together. Sometimes not everyone comes, because some are working; others continue studying. Some went somewhere else; others are in Monterrey. (Student from Cetlalpan, personal communication, 2018)

> No. In fact, my father works in the fields and my mother is a housewife. I am the first in the family [to go to university]. I took the entrance exam at the Benemérita [Escuela Normal Veracruzana], but I didn't end up there and, well, Education was easy for me. Of my friends [from before enrollment at UV], one studied in Acayucan; others are in Coatza. Others when to work to Playa [Vincente] and others, well, they are getting their papers together to go elsewhere [the United States]. (Student from Achotal de Moreno, personal communication, 2018)

> My parents *se sacaban de onda* [were surprised]: what is physics, what is this, and the typical question: do they earn much or not so much? How do they get on with jobs? Do they get jobs or not? I tell them: I am going to be realistic; this degree program isn't for making that much money. I could but that's not the point. More than anything, at least for me, it is a way of understanding things better; so, I want to dedicate myself

to better understanding things and explaining them. (Student from Tuxpam, personal communication, 2018)

The discourses of the students from the second group are structured by a set of factors: they allude to the phenomenon of migration as a distinct experience. Work was part of the panorama from the beginning of their displacements to Xalapa. In the first except, relatives were even involved in the displacement that was part of their children's process of getting a higher education.

In this group, we again see the possibility of international migration. The prospect of displacement to the US appears as an option for their peers who are initiating their working life. Thus, migration for university studies is primarily municipal but there is a narrow margin between this and international migration for work.

In the third dimension of analysis we employ the concept of social capital. Networks are part of the phenomenon of student migration to the extent that they help bring about displacements. In our first group, we identified the following arguments:

Though I was always in touch with people from the world of anthropology, I was interested in chemistry. A friend of my father's told him that there was a course of study in Clinical Chemistry; my father told me to investigate the pros and cons. They told me: "look for a specialized career where you apply and they hire you." Xalapa had advantages because that's where my parents had lived: they had friends from when he was getting his Master's; we asked them about how things were there [in terms of security]. Some aunts and uncles live here. I started living with one of them; it was my first contact with the city. They gave me information about how to get around; I didn't understand why there were so many different colored buses, lines. The same with the neighborhoods: don't go to this one or that one, don't walk in that area. (Student from San Andrés Tuxtla, personal communication, 2018)

When I found out that I got it, I told my aunt and uncle. They visited us often. I asked them if they could help me by letting me live with them. They said yes; I moved in with them. They talked to me about security: if you are going out, be very careful. It was a warm relationship. I lived with my aunt and uncle and a cousin, because they were living here in Xalapa. It wasn't so difficult because it was family; I got along with them. (Student from Tezonapa, personal communication, 2018)

We determined that the use of social capital in the form of social, family, friendship, and other networks were crucial reference points for undertaking the migratory process. In the first group, this type of capital went from guidance about a possible course of study to the role that the family played in creating the conditions for sending their children to university: circulation of information, economic assistance, and lodging, which together reduce costs and uncertainty (Massey et al., 2000; Ramos et al., 2019). Now, let us look at the excerpts from the second group:

> I had some acquaintances, friends, not so close, to whom I said: who do you live with or how are things there? They said: "now I have some friends [here]; you can't stay." It was complicated. And so I started looking on Facebook, because you see things like rooms or places to rent there. I got in touch with one and we went to see it; we liked it and it wasn't far from the faculty. I haven't left there for fear of where am I going live. What a bother to move! You have all your stuff there and to move again […] I live in a room in a building; there are various [students] and I get along with those on my floor, like with two of them it's: What's up? How are you? And that's it. (Student from Coatzacoalcos, personal communication, 2018)

> I arrived at my aunt's; she lives with two daughters, her granddaughter, and two sons-in-law. Each one has their own room and, well, I sleep with my aunt. What I do there is, I get there, they feed me, I wash the dishes; it's no big deal, because, well, I get there late from school. I get along very well with her daughters because they are like me, two or three years older. So, we get along well as a family. (Student from La Gloria, personal communication, 2018).

In these excerpts, less-structured networks are mentioned. Although the family has a presence, it is not the same as in the first group, because neither the same amount of information nor the same type of support is available. Even when there is a network, there is no *habitus* like that produced by the cultural capital in the family configuration of the first group, without even taking into account lodging conditions and space.

Conclusions

We examined the relationship between the school trajectories of migrant university students and the cultural capital of the family unit, and thereby gained a greater knowledge of the migratory displacements that students from various municipalities undertake in order to start their university studies in the city of Xalapa. Using a two-phase analytic approach (social

origin and transition) we confirmed our hypothesis. We employed theoretical categories from Bourdieu's sociology, linked to research on internal migration between municipalities for university studies. On the basis of this we prepared our final results.

Our first conclusion is that the configuration of the cultural capital of the family unit conditions student trajectories and defines the context for the initiation of migration. This is one of the principal contributions of Bourdieu's theory to this field of study since although the family forms part of the analysis of this terrain, the alignment to cultural capital configures different types of migration. Two groups were discerned—those with family antecedents in university degrees and corresponding professions, and those who do not have this point of reference in their home. The two groups allowed us to pursue three lines of analysis.

The first was the trajectory of the displacements occurring in each school transition. In both groups, these displacements increased after completion of the baccalaureate and, to all intents and purposes, this began the migratory process. Consequently the choice of universities on this level became relevant. The first group included more students with general baccalaureates and, to a lesser degree, technological baccalaureates. The second group include fewer students with general baccalaureates and although there were students with technological baccalaureates, some had studied in the telebaccalaureate program. This indicates not only the importance of the choice per se, but also the objective opportunity conditions understood as the options available to students at the time.

The results of the first line of analysis leads us to focus on the institutional policies of universities. While some universities in Mexico include baccalaureate studies (which UV does not) there is insufficient literature that demonstrates that student diversity and educational background are part of the university agenda. The displacements of students have not been typified as migratory processes even when they were part of the history of the institution.

In regard to the second line of analysis, the relationship between migration and work, we found relevant data. The migratory process is correlated with labor activities. This relationship is stronger in the second group (which has less cultural capital), in which work is present in the three scenarios. First, a job is the initial reason for the displacement and enrollment at UV is more peripheral; second, work is valued and carried out in parallel with university studies, even with the variant of involving other family members in the migratory process, also for the purpose of working. Third, some students work and study at the same time in order to avoid a more complex

migratory process such as going to the United States, where the option of university studies disappears. The relationship between work and studying is well documented in the national and international literature, but most of the research concludes that this relationship is not on the radar of university authorities. Some universities have started a policy of job banks, but this in itself is insufficient because it is not only a question of getting a job but also of having the backing of a family structure. At the same time, a job can have different ends: as a source of sustenance or as a way of acquiring knowledge, understanding, and developing the preliminary abilities that are the basis for some professions. Perhaps university scholarship and job programs could include some subjects that go beyond mere entry to the labor market by allowing students to obtain experience given the investment of time required. In any case, the first task is to recognize these actors and these profiles among the other characteristics of the trajectories of student migration.

The final line of analysis dealt with knowledge of social capital. The first group revealed a structure of networks that influenced the decision to migrate. In fact, the decision itself was not under discussion, which is a strategy that merges with the objective of achieving professional training to maintain the cultural capital of the family unit. Various actors appeared in this scenario: they provided information and resources that reduced uncertainty and costs. The second group faced other conditions: the decision to migrate was more uncertain and qualified by other factors, which allows us to clearly say that this phenomenon is associated with broader processes, some of which are documented in the literature on international migration.

It is necessary to gain a better understanding of the socioeconomic and cultural conditions in the municipalities of origin of the students who enroll at UV. In order to follow up on school trajectories it would useful to know how families and students employ a strategic sense to gradually get closer to the city; this is linked with situations that are part of the history of the whole family unit: its creation, work, education, and uncertainty.

Finally, we conclude that Bourdieu's theory together with some theoretical and methodological elements applied in previous studies in Mexico and the region are useful resources for analyzing migration for the purpose of university studies. This theoretical approach does not displace preexisting theories in the sociocultural field but rather complements them, perhaps together with discussions and viewpoints from the sociological tradition that have been applied in the complex field of migration.

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