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THE CIRCULATION OF NON-ECONOMIC CAPITAL IN THE MIGRATION CYCLE

EMPIRICAL PERSPECTIVE

ABSTRACT

In the context of post-accession migration from Poland it is important to analyze not only its economic but social and cultural implications for receiving and home country as well as for migrants themselves. Recent migration takes place in a new context of inter-European mobility and as such can be treated as a part of 'life project', career strategy and a new form of migration. The paper focus is on the theoretical and empirical frame of social and cultural capital accumulated by migrants abroad and transferred into home country. The theoretical framework is supposed to provide a base for empirical research on the social and cultural capital transfer possibilities in the case of return migration. The question such a research would try to answer is: can the return migrants be an active actors of innovation and social change?

KEY WORDS

migration, social capital, cultural capital, social remittances

1. WHY SHALL WE STUDY NON-ECONOMIC CAPITAL OF MIGRANTS?

One of the most often discussed aspects of migration flows and their impact on the home country are economic remittances understood as migrant's money transferred to their households, investments and financial support to local initiative in a home country. Many authors quote World Bank reports concerning the scale of migrants econom-

ic contribution to home countries' economies¹. The sharp increase in remittances from migration can be observed since 1970s. In some sending countries remittances make up a tenth of entire gross national product (Lesotho, Jordan, Albania, Moldova, El Salvador). What is more, it has been estimated that in case of some particular countries without migrants' remittances national economies will simply collapse².

Economic capital, however easy to be tracked down in the form of bank transfers or investments, is not the only form of capital migrants accumulate and transfer to their home countries. Many social researchers, such as Peggy Levitt, Deepak Lamba Nieves, point out to ideas, know-how, practices, skills, norms and values that migrants bring back to their country of origin.³ Some authors use the term social remittances, the other use quite popular concepts of cultural, social or human capital to describe these non-economic aspects of capital accumulated by migrants. However, unclear and blurred all these concepts are, they are quite useful in empirical research. The research problem though lies in the precise conceptualization of the non-economic capitals and then finding adequate measures.

Why shall we study these non-economic aspects of migration in the context of economic development, innovation and social change? There are at least three incentives which should be taken into consideration:

- 1) inseparable migration-development nexus,
- 2) transnational turn in migration studies,
- 3) individual migrant's strategy of identity construction ('life project').

The first incentive to study non-economic capitals is migration – development nexus. Even economic models of growth since late 50s could not fully address the classical Smith's question of the wealth differences between nations without considering non-economic factors. Accumulation of physical capital, the growth of labour and technology do not fully explain the economic differences between nations. Economists had to introduce non-economic factors such as human capital (understood as a process of education, investments in individuals skills and aptitudes' development) and social capital (understood as social networks, norms of reciprocity and trust) to their complex mathematical models of economic growth.⁴

In the field of social science non-economic capitals in a form of social and cultural capital have been analysed in the context of social and economic development

¹ P. Levitt, N. Nyberg-Sørensen, 'The Transnational Turn in Migration Studies', *Global Migration Perspectives*, No. 6 (2004), at <<http://www.gcim.org/gmp/Global%20Migration%20Perspectives%20No%206.pdf>>, 20 December 2010; N. Deepak-Lamba, 'It's Not Just About the Economy Stupid. Social Remittances Revisited', *Migration Information Source*, 2010, at <<http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=783>>, 20 December 2010; L. Pries, 'Transnational Migration. New Challenges for Nation States and New Opportunities for Regional and Global Development' in K. Iglicka (ed.), *Transnational Migration. Dilemmas*, Warszawa 2006, *Transatlantic Security Challenges and Dilemmas for the European Migration Policy Project*, 2.

² P. Levitt, N. Nyberg-Sørensen, 'The Transnational Turn...'

³ P. Levitt, *The Transnational Villagers*, Berkeley 2001.

⁴ The concise presentation of models of economic growth since late 50s can be found in: M. Herbst (ed.), *Kapitał ludzki i kapitał społeczny a rozwój regionalny*, Warszawa 2007.

(Robert Putnam, Francis Fukuyama)⁵ as well as the element of social stratification (Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron)⁶. Traditionally, in the analysis of social capital measured in terms of the level of 'generalized trust', this form of capital correlates with better cooperation and exchange – the basis for the economic development (Putnam). However, this correlation is not clear enough and fully explored in empirical research, it has quite significant implications in Polish society. According to *European Social Survey 2006/2007*, the level of 'generalised trust' in Poland is one of the lowest in Europe: around 17,9% (comparing to 67,3% in Denmark, 61,9 in Norway and 32% average in Europe)⁷. Polish society with the very low level of participation in voluntary organizations (2008: 13%)⁸, associations (2009: 13,2%)⁹, activities for a local community (2009: 19,2)¹⁰ and participation in local elections (2007: 66%)¹¹ can be described as a society with the very low social capital. In the diagnosis of Janusz Czapinski, stable economic growth in Poland in recent years going along with low social capital is possible due to individuals with high cultural capital and European Union funds that contribute to national budget. The experiences of well-developed countries prove that at certain level of development, investments in cultural capital are not enough to sustain the growth. Without building social capital Polish economic growth will stop in 10-years-time.¹² This diagnosis is a solid argument to study social capital transferred by return Polish migrants.

The second incentive to study non-economic capital of migrants comes from the transnational turn in migration studies. The transnational theorizing began in 1990s with American anthropologists such as Juan Bosch, Nina Glick-Schiller, Cristina Szanton-Blanc who criticized conventional migration theories as not adequate¹³. Conventional theories treated migrants as individuals who either departed (emigrants) or arrived (immigrants). The transnational approach treats migrant as a forming part of two or more dynamically intertwined worlds. It means that sending and receiving societies are constituting one single field of analysis¹⁴. Therefore, migrants must be studied within the transnational social fields in which they may or may not be embedded. The social field is understood though as a set of multiple interlocking networks of so-

⁵ R. Putnam, *Bowling Alone. The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York 2000; F. Fukuyama, *Trust. The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*, New York 1995.

⁶ P. Bourdieu, J.-C. Passeron, *Reprodukcja. Elementy teorii systemu nauczania*, Warszawa 1990.

⁷ J. Czapinski, T. Panek (eds.), *Diagnoza Społeczna 2009. Warunki i jakość życia Polaków. Raport*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 272, 277.

⁸ Ibid., p. 277.

⁹ Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 267.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 268.

¹² Ibid., p. 279.

¹³ N.H. Glick-Schiller, L.G. Basch, C. Szanton-Blanc (eds.), *Towards Transnational Perspective on Migration. Race, Class, Ethnicity and Nationalism Reconsidered*, New York 1992.

¹⁴ P. Levitt, N. Nyberg-Sørensen, 'The Transnational Turn...'

cial relations through which ideas, practices and resources are unequally exchanged, organized and transformed. The non-economic capitals of migrant are accumulated and transferred within such a social field. Non-economic capital alike economic one can be transferred from one country to another in various forms: ideas, values, norms, practices, know how, social relations. The transfers of non-economic capital alike economic one can have significant impact on economic growth, social and cultural change.

The third incentive to study non-economic capital of migrants comes from the poststructural theories of identity. Individual identity is understood as a project of a reflexive ego.¹⁵ The project has its direction and consists of various experiences from various cultural and social contexts that are the elements of the ego narration. In the theoretical framework individual migrant's identity is being constructed in the process we can call the 'migration cycle'. The ego narration in the cycle beginning in the moment of leaving the country of origin can have few potential directions:

- 1) integration/assimilation/acculturation or ethnic ghetto in a host country,
- 2) resettlement in the third country,
- 3) return to home country.

The last direction seems to be the most 'natural' option. It has its strong empirical evidence in case of recent postaccession emigration flow from Poland. Most of the migrants declare they want to return to Poland, only a relatively small proportion of them declare they will never return home.¹⁶ Each time we think about migrants who decide to return home we have to consider non-economic capital they bring back home and the way they would or would not be able to make use of it in home country. The question that arises at this stage is: what may be the impact of return migrants' non-economic capital on the society, culture, economy; to what extend will it contribute to innovation in social, cultural and economic life?

2. EMPIRICAL PERSPECTIVES IN THE STUDY OF MIGRANTS' NON-ECONOMIC CAPITAL

We can point out at least three levels at which one can track down the circulation of non-economic capital within migrant's social field:

- 1) macro level which can be measured in terms of migrants' capital impact on:
 - a) sending society (return migration, diaspora),
 - b) receiving society (flows of immigration),
- 2) mezzo level which can be measured in terms of migrants' capital impact on:
 - a) local community in the sending country,
 - b) local community in the receiving country,

¹⁵ A. Giddens, *Nowoczesność i tożsamość. 'Ja' i społeczeństwo w epoce późnej nowoczesności*, przeł. A. Szulżycka, Warszawa 2007, *Biblioteka Socjologiczna*.

¹⁶ According to *Diagnoza Społeczna 2009* in 2009 there were 3,7% respondents who declared they would like to leave the country for good. J. Czapiński, T. Panek (eds.), *Diagnoza Społeczna 2009...*, p. 126.

- 3) micro level which can be measured in terms of impact of capitals circulation on:
 - a) migrant's career trajectory,
 - b) migrant's socio-economic status,
 - c) migrant's identity.

The research project conducted at macro level has to focus on inflows/outflows of significant number of migrants in a specific period of time. Such a perspective can be adequate to analyze the implications of postaccession (after 2004) exodus of around 1,1 million Polish migrants¹⁷ to European countries which have opened their labour markets for Poles¹⁸ The implications of the inflow of around 300 thousand Poles to Ireland since 2004 are significant and easily recognizable. Such a huge number of newcomers contributes to a cultural diversity of Irish society. Ireland, traditionally being the homogenous¹⁹ society, has become the country with multicultural diversity within two decades with around 10% of immigrants from all other the world.²⁰ Macro-level implications of the circulation of migrants' non-economic capital for the receiving country include structural changes in labour market, new social and cultural patterns within the whole society.

On the other hand analyses of implications for a sending country at macro-level has to focus on a big-scale outflow of migrants from the country. In case of recent postaccession migration from Poland, the wave of migration can be described in terms of 'crowding out' process that facilitates the modernization of the country.²¹ In both cases (receiving and sending country) the implications can be positive (cultural diversity and diffusion) or negative (organized crime, norms of individualism, consumerism).

At the mezzo level of analysis the main focus is on the circulation of migrant's non-economic capital between receiving and sending local communities. The impact of migrant's non-economic capital on the local community within which they stay in a host country depends strongly on the type of inter-relations. The model typology of the inter-relations can be constructed on the basis of scale in which the opposite points are: ghetto migrant and naturalized/assimilated migrant. The scale describes different possible 'products' of integration process. In recent research among Polish young educated migrants to Ireland²², who stayed in the country more than 2 years, it

¹⁷ The estimates are not precise due to lack of official statistics. The number is based on data provided by Polish Central Statistics Office: *Population's Economic Activity* (BAEL); M. Okólski, I. Grabowska-Lusińska, *Emigracja ostatnia?*, Warszawa 2009.

¹⁸ UK, Ireland, Sweden were the first countries that opened their internal labour markets for immigrants from Poland.

¹⁹ Before late 90-s the only minority ethnic group in Ireland was *Travellers Community*, which for a long time has not been considered as an ethnic minority by the government authorities.

²⁰ Central Statistics Office (CSO) (2009), 'Population and Migration Estimates' in *Addressing the Current and Future Reality of Ireland's Multi-Cultural Status*, Dublin 2010, p. 3.

²¹ M. Okólski, I. Grabowska-Lusińska, *Emigracja ostatnia?*

²² M. Dziegielewska, 'Tradycyjne i ponowoczesne elementy tożsamości polskich emigrantów w Irlandii' in R. Szwed, L. Dyczewski, J. Szulich-Kałuża (eds.), *Odmiany tożsamości*, Lublin 2010, pp. 17-32, *Tożsamość Osób, Zbiorowość, Instytucji*, 3.

has been revealed that migrants have no real relations with the members of their host local communities. Migrants do not know their neighbours, have no idea of the everyday problems of local community they live within. They do not participate in any activities (parish, local associations) or initiatives undertaken by members of local community.²³ Only a small percentage of Polish immigrants, mainly those who have Irish spouse, were involved in everyday life of local community. The impact of migrants on local community might have quite a few forms e.g. sharing a child care between families, which allows children of different cultural origin learning more about one another, or organizing local family festivals at which some aspects of original culture are accessible to local community.

The migrants' impact on sending local community has been explored by American anthropologists. Peggy Levitt in her book *Transnational Villagers* provides an example of collective social remittances in the form of Hometown Associations (HTAs).²⁴ HTAs include migrants from the same village/town who maintain ties with and materially support their places of origin. In case of migrants from The Dominican Republic to USA, their HTAs run several projects in the village of origin. The projects includes: setting up the fire station, building sport facilities, purchasing an ambulance and organizing AIDS awareness/sexual health campaign. All the projects were based on the migrants' experiences in the US. Material support is not the only capital migrants transfer to their village. Along with material support comes new norms of cooperation with local authorities, *know how* knowledge, changes with villagers' lifestyle patterns and values.

Both macro and mezzo levels of analysis treats migrant as an actor or collective actor of a cultural and social change.²⁵ At the micro-level of analysis the individual migrant should be considered as an actor of his own 'life project'. Therefore, the capitals accumulated in a 'migration cycle' are understood as the elements of migrant's potential or real position in a social structure, socio-economic status and identity. In case of well-educated young Polish migrants to Ireland, the willingness to acquire non-economic capital in the form of post-grad education, second language, *know how* knowledge has been an important part of the migration decision process.²⁶ This attitude explains spectacular (U-shape) upward social mobility in the host country in times of economic prosperity. The career trajectory begins at the downward mobility (low skilled, bad paid jobs) and brings unexpected turns in few-months-time in the form of spectacular upward mobility (white collar jobs). The post-grad diploma, proficiency in English, network of social relations as well as acquired norms of work culture had the significant impact on migrants' career trajectory in the host country. These elements of non-

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ P. Levitt, *The Transnational Villagers*.

²⁵ The individual social actor is understood as an agent whose actions provide a change into social and cultural life. The collective actor is understood as a group in the form of association, party, trade union, social movement which undertake collective actions to make a change in social life. E. Wnuk-Lipiński, *Sociologia życia publicznego*, Warszawa 2008, p. 88, *Wykłady z Socjologii*, t. 3.

²⁶ M. Dzięglewski, 'Tradycyjne i ponowoczesne elementy...'

-economic capital may or may not be important in the future career development in case of migrants' return to host country. The real impact depends on 'transferability' of the non-economic capitals, in other words, it depends on the conditions which enable reproduction of the acquired capitals at home.

3. CONCEPTUALISATION AND MEASURES OF NON-ECONOMIC CAPITALS

To analyse the link between non-economic capitals of return migrants and innovation we have to provide a precise definition of non-economic capital, single out its forms and measures which could be applied into empirical research. The most often discussed concepts of non-economic capitals are:

- 1) social networks,
- 2) human capital,
- 3) social remittances,
- 4) cultural capital,
- 5) social capital.

All these concepts differ a lot in terms of their:

- a) scope: broad or narrow definitions (e.g. social remittances in Peggy Levitt's conceptualization involve social capital as one of its elements);
- b) ability of application into study of non-economic capital circulation in 'migration cycle';
- c) precision in definition and measures (e.g. definitions of social capital and its measures vary significantly).

It is therefore necessary to view critically all these concepts and choose the ones, that can be adequate theoretical tools to analyse non-economic capital circulation in the migration cycle. The adequate theoretical tool should match the following criteria:

- 1) it has to precisely refer to its domain (not too broad, not too narrow),
- 2) it has to be precise enough so that one could introduce precise measures,
- 3) it has to be applicable to the study of non-economic capital circulation.

Some authors use the concept of social networks as a main indicator of migrants' non-economic capital. In his fundamental work on social ties, Mark Granovetter (1973) does not mention the word 'capital', however different sort of social ties that facilitate access to various resources can be understood as such.²⁷ Social network in Granovetter's view is the net of relations between individuals. The ties between individuals can have two different characteristics. Strong ties are bonds between individual characterized by high amount of time, emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding) and reciprocal services (family, friends). Weak ties are bonds which are not characterized by such a high emotional intensity or intimacy, typical for colleagues or

²⁷ M. Granovetter, 'The Strength of Weak Ties', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 78, No. 6 (1973), pp. 1360-1380.

acquaintances. In the social network one can find a 'bridge' – the line that provides the only path between two points. Whereas strong ties are breeding local cohesion and lead to overall fragmentation, weak ties have a capability to function as a bridge between two social environments and therefore are more useful to access the available resources. Granovetter's theory can be useful in measuring the strength of migrant's network relations. The measures of the strength of ties are: amount of time spent with one another, emotional intensity, the intimacy, level of reciprocal services. However, Granovetter's work has limited capabilities in the study of non-economic capital circulation as it does not include the value of resources potentially or really available to migrant. Treating social network as the only form of non-economic capital seems to be too narrow approach in our study.

The concept of human capital has been introduced by economists who have addressed the Smithonian question of the wealth differences between nations in reference to non-economic factors.²⁸ The concept of human capital has been applied to social science. In James Coleman's work²⁹ human capital is described as a capital created by changes in persons that bring about skills and capabilities that make them able to act in a new ways, facilitate productivity. New skills and capabilities may be acquired by training and education. In Coleman's work social capital is a platform for the creation of human capital. In his analyses of the effects of the social capital on pupils' success at school Coleman introduces such measures as: family background, parents' socioeconomic status (education, income, occupation, household possession) which can be understood as both social and human capital transferred by parents to their children. Thus, in Coleman's view social and human capital are interrelated. Some value of human capital (inherited by children) is essential to develop social capital. On the other hand social capital facilitates the creation of human capital. In Pierre Bourdieu's work³⁰ its author argues that definitions of the human capital ignore the fact that educational action depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family. If so, Coleman's conceptualization is an attempt to address the issue. However, the concept of human capital as such does not match the criteria for adequate tool in the context of the circulation of non-economic capital. It does not allow to differentiate measures of the capital inherited/invested in the family from those which are acquired through migration experiences. So, the concept seems to be too narrow, not precise enough to be applied in the study of non-economic capital circulation.

Quite popular concept already applied in migration studies to measure non-economic capital is the concept of social remittances. In the work of Peggy Levitt³¹ social remittances are defined as the ideas, behaviour, identities and social capital that

²⁸ M. Herbst (ed.), *Kapitał ludzki i kapitał społeczny...*, p. 18.

²⁹ J. Coleman, 'Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital', *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 94 (1988), pp. 95-120, at <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/228943>>.

³⁰ P. Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital' in J.G. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, New York 1986, pp. 117-142.

³¹ P. Levitt, *The Transnational Villagers*; P. Levitt, N. Nyberg-Sørensen, 'The Transnational Turn...'

migrants export to their home communities. Levitt operationalisation of social remittances includes norms, practices (*know how*), identities and social capital. All these elements can be exported collectively and individually and can have positive or negative impact on home society/local community. The concept of social remittances refer to non-economic capitals brought back by migrants to their country of origin but does not allow to single out capitals acquired by migrants in receiving country and capitals inherited/invested in the family or acquired before migration. The concept of social remittances include a mixture of social (social capital) and cultural (norms) elements of various complexity (*know how* versus social capital). Therefore it is too broad and does not allow to introduce precise measures. The advantage of the concept is its focus on circulation of non-economic capital in various forms: return migration, HTAs (Hometown Associations), diaspora, mutual visits to and from the country of origins.

Next, quite often discussed concept of non-economic capital is the concept of cultural capital. The most detailed conceptualization of cultural capital comes from the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Cultural capital in Bourdieu's view is a form of individual capital institutionalized in educational qualifications which on certain conditions is convertible into economic capital. Besides institutionalised form of cultural capital (e.g. academic qualification) the cultural capital can be observed in two other forms: embodied state (the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body) and objectified state (in material objects and media: writings, paintings, instrument). Each form of cultural capital can be measured as follows:

- 1) embodied cultural capital:
 - the length of acquisition of the capital (education) including domestic education,
- 2) objectified cultural capital:
 - the number of books,
 - access to media,
- 3) institutionalised cultural capital:
 - sort and number of formal qualifications (degree award, diploma, certificate).

In Bourdieu's theory the value of non-economic capitals is the element of 'positioning' of an individual in a social structure. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital can be easily applied to study of non-economic capital circulation. It allows to draw a line between the cultural capital acquired before migration (embodied, objectified or institutionalized) and the one acquired in a receiving country. However, the concept does not include such a crucial cultural elements as: values, norms and behavioral patterns (included in the concept of social remittances) that migrants acquire along with the university degree.

The concept which have become one of the most popular in social science for last 2 decades is the concept of social capital. Its application in migration studies is obvious and does not need any explanation although the concept itself is not precisely defined and various authors refer to it in a different context. The main conceptualisations of social capital are presented in the Table 1:

Table 1: Conceptualisations and measures of social capital

Author	Definition of social capital	Forms of social capital	Application in empirical research	Chosen measures
Pierre Bourdieu (1986)	The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationship	1.non-institutionalised social capital 2. institutiona-lised social capi-tal (e.g. title of nobility)	The value of social capital as the element of individual posi-tioning in a social structure	1. size of network connections one can mobilize 2. volume of the capital (economic, symbolic, cultural) possessed by those to whom agent is connected 3. volume of invest-ment to produce/ reproduce social net-work (time, energy 4. titles of nobility
James Coleman (1988)	Particular resource available to an actor inherent in the structure of relations between/among actors Two aspects: 1. some aspects of social structure 2. certain actions of the actor	1. Obligations, expectations, trustworthiness 2. Information channels (social relations) 3. Norms and ef-fective sanctions	Effects of social capital on the success at school	1. socioeconomic status of the family 2. race, ethnicity 3. number of siblings in the family 4. frequency of discussion with pa-rents on personal matters 5. presence of both parents in the household
Nan Lin (1999)	1. Resources em-bedded in a social structure which are accessed in purposi-ve actions 2. investment in a social relations by individual through which they gain access to embedded resources to enhance expected returns of instrumental or expressive ations	Ad. 1 1. resources em-bedded in a social structure 2. accessibility to such resources by individual 3. use/mobili-zation of such resources by indi-vidual in purpo-sive actions Ad 2. 1 investment in social relation 2. access to/mobi-lization of social capital 3. returns		1. location of indi-vidual in a network (strength of ties, density, size, close-ness, betweenes) 2. embedded re-sources: wealth, sta-tus, power 3. network resour-ces: embedded in one's ego naturally/ accessible 4. contacts resour-ces: wealth, status, power (occupa-tional, authority position, industrial sector, income

Author	Definition of social capital	Forms of social capital	Application in empirical research	Chosen measures
Robert Putnam (2000)	Social networks and norms of reciprocity inherent in them	1. Bridging social capital – social networks directed outwards, include persons with all levels in social structure (inclusive) 2. Bonding social capital – social networks directed inwards, has a tendency to exclude others and bond the identity and homogeneity of the group	Macro-level of civic society	1. political participation 2. social activity 3. religious activity 4. social relation in a workplace 5. informal social relations 6. altruism, volunteering, philanthropy 7. norms of reciprocity, fairness and trust 8. social movements 9. internet activities

The definitions of social capital, their applications and measures shortlisted above differ greatly. In Bourdieu's definition³² social capital is understood as the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of relationship. Thus, the measures of a capital include: number of network connections one can mobilize, volume of the capital possessed by the contacts to which the agent can get an access and volume of investment (time, energy) the agent has to invest to maintain the network. This view is being continued in Nan Lin's work³³. In his theory social capital refers to resources embedded in a social structure. These resources can be accessible and mobilized/used by the agent thanks to his position in a given social network. Thus, the measures of the capital will include: location of the individual in the network (strength of ties, size, density); embedded resources (wealth, status, power); network resources and contacts' resources (wealth, power, status).

Both conceptualizations does not refer to norms linked (inherent in) social networks, that is significant element of James Coleman's and Robert Putnam's understanding of social capital. For Coleman³⁴ besides net of 'information channels' (social relations) social capital should be referred to:

- a) obligations, expectations and trustworthiness,
- b) norms and effective sanctions.

³² P. Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital'.

³³ N. Lin, 'Building a Network Theory of Social Capital', *Connections*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1999), pp. 28-51, at <<http://citesecrx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?.doc=10.1.1.96.3792&rep=rep1&type=pdf>>, 20 December 2010.

³⁴ J. Coleman, 'Social Capital...'

In Robert Putnam's analysis of the decline of social capital in the US social networks are linked to norm of reciprocity which is the basis to maintain the social relations.

Michael Woolcock and Deepa Narayan³⁵ provide us with a kind of typology of various views on the concept of social capital:

- 1) communitarian view – focuses on local level organisations, associations,
- 2) network view – focuses on vertical and horizontal associations between people and relations among other community groups,
- 3) institutional view – treats social capital as a dependent variable, focuses on the capacity of social groups in their collective interests and quality of formal institutions,
- 4) synergy view – focuses on dynamic professional alliances and relationships between and within state bureaucracies and civic society actors.

4. THE THEORETICAL MODEL OF NON-ECONOMIC CAPITAL CIRCULATION

The model presented below (Figure 1) has been constructed to address the general research question: under what conditions can the return migrant become an agent of social change? The general question leads to other more specific ones:

- 1) what is the 'balance' of gains and losses in the migration cycle?
 - a) what is the difference between capitals acquired in the receiving country and alternative capitals potentially acquired in a home country if the agent had not migrated?
- 2) how does the non-economic capital circulate?
 - a) what are the forms of circulation (transfers)?
 - b) what are the barriers to reproduce/make use of the capitals in a home country?
- 3) what is the overall impact (positive, negative, none) of migrant's capitals on:
 - a) their career trajectory,
 - b) local community,
 - c) the society?
- 4) to what extent return migrant's non-economic capital can bring an innovation in:
 - a) his own career,
 - b) local community,
 - c) the society?

In our model we understand return migrant as an individual who left their country for another one, has stayed there for at least 3 years and returned to their country of origin. In the moment of research return migrant should be staying at his home country for at least 6 months. The term 'social change' we understand quite broad as any dif-

³⁵ M. Woolcock, N. Deepa, 'Social Capital. Implications for Development Theory, Research, and Policy', *The World Bank Research Observer*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (2000), at <<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doc=10.1.1.132.1873&rep=rep1&type=pdf>>, 20 December 2010.

ference in the state of social system (global, local group, organization) in one moment in time and its state in another moment in time. Such a broad definition brings about any changes in local community and global society.³⁶ The non-economic capitals can be tracked down in a form of cultural and social capital. The cultural capital is defined as a form of individual capital that is observable in 4 forms:

- 1) embodied state: the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body,
- 2) the objectified state: in material objects and medium,
- 3) the institutionalized state: academic qualifications,
- 4) values, norms and behavioral patterns.

The definition of cultural capital is therefore the modification of Bourdieu's conceptualization. The definition of social capital used in our model refer to Nan Lin and Robert Putnam's conceptualization. We understand social capital as a resource embedded in a social structure which are accessed and/or mobilized thanks to social networks and norm of reciprocity linked to them. This definition includes such forms of social capital as:

- 1) the social network,
- 2) norm of reciprocity linked to network (credits),
- 3) the location of the migrant within social network,
- 4) the resources embedded in network (wealth, status, power) one can mobilize (contacts' resources),
- 5) the resources embedded in social structure which can be potentially/really mobilized by migrant.

The extra variable introduced in the model is the variable of time. The variable of time enables to draw a line between capitals inherited in a family, acquired before emigration and the ones which have been acquired abroad in a migration cycle. Migration cycle is understood as a long-lasting period in migrant's lifetime in which there are 4 stages: the period before migration, the stay in a receiving country, return to the country of origin and the stay in the home country for at least 6 months.

The model structure is based on several thesis:

1. Before leaving a country of origin the migrant already possess a certain level of social and cultural capital (inherited, acquired in a home country) which can be measurable.
2. Leaving the country of origin and settling down for a stay in a receiving country the migrant's capitals may have a positive or negative impact on:
 - a) local community,
 - b) the receiving society.
3. During his stay in a receiving country the migrant can gain or loose some of his social and cultural capital
4. It is possible to calculate alternative capital's gain which the individual would be able to acquire in a home country if he had not left the country. The balance can be positive, negative or none.

³⁶ P. Sztompka, *Socjologia*, Kraków 2007, p. 453.

5. The balance in the level of social and cultural capital the migrant achieves returning home can be measured as the difference between the level of the capital acquired in a receiving country and the level of alternative capitals which migrant would be able to acquire in a home country if he had not left the country.
6. Returning home migrants bring back the social and cultural capital calculated as indicated in point 4.
7. The capitals brought back by return migrant can have positive/negative or none impact on:
 - a) migrants' careers at home,
 - b) local communities,
 - c) the global society.
8. In the migration cycle non-economic capitals circulate/are transferred in the country of origin in 3 various ways:
 - a) through return migration,
 - b) through mutual visits to/from the country of origin,
 - c) through the influence of diaspora.
9. Transfers of non-economic capital from one country to another depends strongly on certain conditions (barriers):
 - a) structural barriers,
 - b) cultural barriers,
 - c) personal barriers.
10. Innovation and social change is possible under certain conditions:
 - a) the balance of capitals in migration cycle is positive,
 - b) there are no transfer barriers,
 - c) the impact of migrant's capitals is positive.

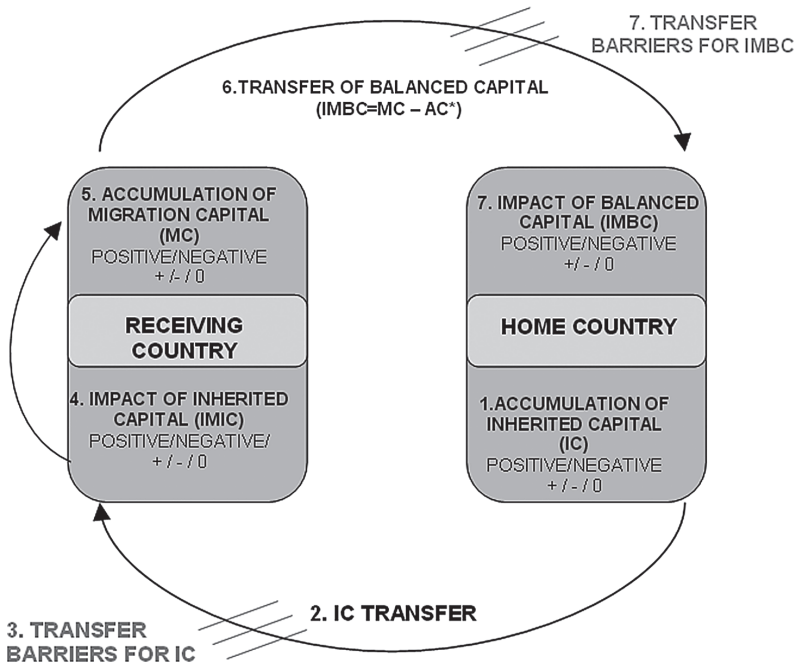
The model is presented in the graphical form in Figure 1.

Every 'moment' in a migration cycle needs to be described in terms of measures that can be applied in empirical work:

1. Accumulation of social and cultural capital before migration (IC)
 - a) the level of social capital inherited/acquired: +/-/0,
 - b) the level of cultural capital inherited/acquired,
 - c) the nature of acquired/inherited capitals: positive, negative.
- 2-3. 'Transferability' of capitals to receiving country:
 - a) the level of structural barriers,
 - b) the level of cultural barriers,
 - c) the level of personal barriers.
4. The impact of IC on local community, global society:
 - a) the nature of impact: positive, negative,
 - b) the strength of impact.
5. The accumulation of social and cultural capitals in a receiving country (MC):
 - a) the level of acquired social capital: +/-/0,
 - b) the level of acquired cultural capital: +/-/0,
 - c) the nature of acquired capitals: positive, negative, none.

6. The balance of capitals transferred to home country (IMBC):
 - a) the difference between the level of capitals acquired in a receiving country (MC) and the level of alternative capital (AL).
7. 'Transferability' of capitals to the country of origin:
 - a) the level of structural barriers,
 - b) the level of cultural barriers,
 - c) the level of personal barriers.
8. The impact of IMBC on the country of origin on (innovation/social change):
 - a) local community,
 - b) global society,
 - c) migrant's carrier.

Figure 1: The model of circulation of non-economic capitals in the migration cycle



*AC – Alternative Capital – capital, the migrant could potentially acquire if he had not left the country of origin

6. CONCLUSIONS

Presented model of non-economic capitals circulation has its advantages and disadvantages. It can be easily applied to conduct a cohort of migrants who left the country of origin for the first time and return back after few years spent in another country. It

can be applied to panel study of migrants in various points of time (before migration, after few years spent abroad and after returning home) The model has its constraints. It is not adequate to study migrants with multitude of migration experiences and those who transfer their acquired capitals into the third country or those who do not intend to return to their homeland. The problem of precise measures of non-economic capitals has been only suggested and need to be the field of more extensive study yet to be undertaken.

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