

A META-ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF PIERRE BOURDIEU'S
FORMS OF CAPITAL WITH THE SCHOLASTIC AND INTEGRATIVE
ACHIEVEMENT AMONG CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS

by

Emily Maloof

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Project Approved:

Carol Thompson, Ph.D.
Department of Sociology
(Supervising Professor)

Michael Katovich, Ph.D.
Department of Sociology

Darren Middleton, Ph.D.
Department of Religion

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INTRODUCTION

There are many theories that attempt to explain the success or failure of ethnic and minority groups that migrate to the United States. The melting pot theory is among the most popular. This theory suggests that over time new residents to the United States culturally assimilate—as in melting into the receiving culture. Critics of this perspective argue that this is a rather utopian theory of immigration that at best explains the experience of some ethnic and racial groups, but certainly not others. The metaphor of the melting pot has been part of the rhetoric of immigration since the late 1700's. Certainly, the description of the melting pot has been equated with Americanization of peoples who enter U.S. culture. Academic research on the study of immigration has found that the melting pot phenomenon is not the rule for new residents of the United States. In fact, there is quite a bit of disparity in the way some groups have been viewed and treated, which has a profound impact on assimilation. Some groups have been welcomed with open arms and have acquired access to mechanisms of social integration, while other racial and ethnic groups have been rejected and continue to be treated in hostile ways. Another popular theory of immigration, perhaps one that is more accurate in terms of social reality is that of *cultural pluralism*. This theory of immigration first emerged in the early 1900's as a result of the intellectual debates over immigration and national identity. Studies based on cultural pluralism (a.k.a multiculturalism) claim that beyond being an overly optimistic view of the reality of immigration, assimilation itself isn't always in the best interest of minority cultures because it can strip away distinctive features that give those cultures their meaning. Moreover, historically there have been

harmful assimilation projects where the U.S. and state governments have initiated programs that forced assimilation and integration of minority cultures (e.g., English only language in laws). Both the assimilation and multicultural perspectives have obvious merit and therefore many politicians and policy analysts have worked toward creating social policies that take a middle position on reconciling some of the differences between multiculturalists and assimilationists. Many propose that immigration policy can respect diverse cultures and traditions while also providing social support that encourages new residents to consider the U.S. their first nation and the nation of their birth second. Theoretically, the end result will be new residents do assimilate, but do not do so at the expense of losing their traditions and ways of maintaining familial and social connections that are essential to their success in the receiving culture.

The United States now houses millions of people from a vast range of places who have in at least some aspects relocated in search of a better life. These individuals now live in large cities, suburbs, farmlands, and every area in between. They work in every industry and hold positions ranging from farm workers to CEO's, to computer technicians. Regardless of whether the United States is a melting pot, a multicultural mosaic or both, there is no doubt that policies that are informed by various perspectives on immigration regulate the lives of the newly immigrated and to a great extent determine the success or failure of these individuals and their families.

As a third generation immigrant from the Middle East, I have watched my Lebanese/Syrian grandparents struggle with job opportunities, economic hardship, and racism. While they kept various aspects of their birth country—such as food traditions, and clothing styles—other parts of their lives changed profoundly as they found new

jobs, raised a family and took on responsibilities, such as home ownership and civic participation. They were driven to learn new trades. My grandmother became a schoolteacher, teaching in inner city Miami for 39 years. Her children, my father and his three siblings, all grew up to be educated professionals in their respective fields. My father earned his *juris* doctorate in addition to being a commercial airline pilot: by all means a success story of immigration. While my grandparents were successful at their new life and raising their children, many are not as fortunate. Many children of those who immigrate end up receiving inadequate education, live in poverty, are introduced to gang-life or grow up only expecting to work in low-paying, low-status jobs. Sociologists and policy makers are interested in knowing what factors are important in predicting the well-being and life outcomes of children of immigrants, and finding ways to measure or predict how successful a second or third generation will be. Most research in this area has approached these questions by focusing on and analyzing academic achievement (Stevens), because it is widely believed that the key to success lies in educational attainment. Also, importantly, most social scientists take the view that education involves more than simply earning a degree or learning a particular set of skills. Education is a larger process of imparting or acquiring cultural knowledge and understandings that make the difference between struggling or succeeding in life.

In this study, I will examine research on the educational success of second-generation immigrants, with a specific focus on scholastic achievement. Because this work is sociological in nature, I begin with the understanding that education in the broadest sense means acquiring accumulated cultural knowledge that confers upon its possessor, to the extent that it is possessed, power and status. Consequently, I am using

the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu to critically evaluate the research on the educational achievement of immigrant children. I will analyze extant research on the scholastic achievement of children of immigrants to test the relevance of Bourdieu's theory of intergenerational movement as specified in his now famous work, *Distinction* (191). The overall goal of this study is to make policy recommendations in light of findings from previous research and the applicability and relevance of Bourdieu's theories for educational programming for children of immigrants.

REVIEW OF THEORY AND LITERATURE

I am first going to describe Bourdieu's theory of intergenerational movement and critical concepts in relation to the individual, society, and community. Following this discussion, I will review other relevant theories of immigration, integration, education, and assimilation.

Bourdieu's Key Concepts and Applications to Immigration Theory and Educational Policy

Bourdieu's theory of intergenerational movement suggests that over a period of time and generations, individuals can move up or down in society based on the gain or decrease of social capital, cultural capital, and economic capital. These forms of capital act as sources of power according to Bourdieu and create opportunities to better one's life financially and socially. I will expand on the key concepts of his theory to show how exactly this intergenerational movement occurs.

Bourdieu (*Distinction*) argues that social life is made up in three interrelated elements, *habitus*, *field*, and *capital*. His first key concept is *habitus*, which he views as "a property of social agents that comprises a structured and structuring structure" or

habitus. The social agents to which he refers includes individuals, groups, and institutions. The concept also includes the understanding that habitus becomes embodied in individuals—that is, it becomes habitual or modal in terms of the way that individual inhabits the social world. *Habitus* is acquired through and “structured by one’s past and present circumstances, such as family upbringing and educational experiences (Fell 51). In easier terms, it is a “system of dispositions [categories of perception] incorporated by social agents” (Ernste 7). *Habitus* forms the foundation for a person’s thinking and is influenced by their individual history and influences expression.

A second key concept for Bourdieu is that of a *field*: social spaces in which agents or structures move around (Ernste 7). Social fields are the spaces in which people operate. Sociologically speaking, a field is a form of social organization. Fields include positions, prescriptions for behavior and configurations in which they fit. Moreover, fields are pre-existing social structure and therefore are historically entrenched and occupied. Fields have boundaries, limits to what can be done and by whom. Actions are shaped by the field itself (Fell 69). For example, many occupations require certifications and specialized training to practice. There are also class-based exclusions to resources within fields (e.g. study abroad, standardized testing preparatory courses etc.). In this study, I will be examining the field of education, how it is structured and coincides with other fields, such as the family or home environment.

A third, central idea in Bourdieu’s theory is *capital*. Social agents use capital as a tool to exercise power and influence (Ernste 7). Main types of *capital* included here are social capital, economic capital, and cultural capital. As Bourdieu describes, *capital* contains certain traits: it can be objectified or embodied, acquired over time and bring

value to a social agent (Fell 114). Social capital is created through an individual's status in society, societal knowledge, their past and present societies, and their parent's ability to integrate in to the new culture. Economic capital is how financially rich or poor an individual is. Cultural capital is made up of multiple influences, largely literary and scholastic capital. Literary capital is how well read a person is with the literature in their society. This form of capital is a portion of cultural capital because cultural capital relates to how well versed an individual in cultural norms and cultural knowledge (literature, theater, art). Lastly, scholastic capital is one's academic achievement and knowledge. Scholastic capital can be cultural capital acquired in the home (from parents, family, etc.) that is converted to academic achievement at school.

In his original work, Bourdieu distinguishes the forms of capital (*Distinction* 34). Pierre Bourdieu distinguishes between three forms of capital: economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. He defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition"(35). His treatment of the concept is instrumental, focusing on the advantages to possessors of social capital and the "deliberate construction of sociability for the purpose of creating this resource" (Wikipedia).

A fourth and final important term Bourdieu defines is the idea of *social space* as social differentiation in a society based on provision of social resources (Ernst 9), commonly equated to social class and lifestyle—it is social distinction (*Distinction*). Social agents may embody the markers of social position—that is, they may come to reflect the social space they inhabit (e.g. type of car driven, clothes worn, vernacular

used). Two key aspects of *social space* (class and lifestyle) are volume and composition of capital. Many forms of capital, including scholastic, economic, and cultural, determine social space, but also social space in turn determines capital. Social space and capital are reinforcing. Individuals who share similar social spaces also share many similar conditions in work and life. These conditions form the likelihood of group formations and those who live in similar social spaces are more likely to live and socialize in similar places (Fell 93). All of these components of social space in turn form a kind of class-consciousness for individuals. Overall, individuals who occupy similar social spaces will have similar dispositions and positions, creating similar ‘habits of mind’ (Hanks). Bourdieu argues that forms of social contact occur because of the similar *habitus*, and that that *habitus* is shaped by social contact and interaction. His theory emphasizes process and the mutual reinforcements of all of the elements of society.

Bourdieu’s theory and concepts can be used to understand the achievement of children of immigrants. That is, the key concepts of *habitus*, *field*, *capital*, and *social space* can be used to understand how societies produce academically successful (or unsuccessful) children of immigrants. The field of education gives rise to forms of capital, which in turn creates social positions, that in turn give rise to embodied dispositions (*habitus*).

Major Theories of Immigration and Assimilation

Linear assimilation theory suggests that there is a steady, positive economic, cultural and social integration into the dominant society. This form of assimilation ultimately leads to a completely assimilated immigrant population, typically by the third generation, although there are certainly exceptions. More recently, researchers have indicated that *segmented assimilation* is a more realistic model for explaining the

integration of immigrants into the dominant culture. In this theory, a pluralist view is offered within this perspective suggesting that more positive adaptation outcomes will result from the long term preservation of social and cultural ethnic identity than from complete assimilation. This theory goes on to suggest:

“ethnic communities would be an important source of social capital for immigrant families, helping them to support the adaptation of their children, who face the risks of racial discrimination and assimilation into the oppositional cultures of the downtrodden domestic minorities” (Kroneberg 139).”

Ethnic communities tend to have different modes of incorporation, the character and strength of ethnic communities and the manners in which certain immigrant groups are accepted in to the United States (Kroneberg 139). Thus, many factors play a significant role in the success of integration of an immigrant population.

Upon close examination of previous literature, I have derived three main forms of capital that contribute to the segmented fashion in which immigrants assimilate in to their new found society. Ethnic groups are segmented by social, human, and communal capital. These three forms of capital combine to create an individual's *habitus*, Bourdieu's phrasing for a person's dispositions and beliefs. All three types of capital determine the success of second-generation immigrant assimilation in to the mainstream culture and society as a whole. Overall, how well immigrants assimilate determines educational and ultimately integrational success, achieving high success in their new society. Now I will further expand these three main points in terms of Bourdieu and segmented assimilation theory.

Bourdieu and Educational Studies

Bourdieu's applicability to educational policy has been noticed by both qualitative and quantitative immigration researchers. Bourdieu is credited with the ability to understand the education field from a multidimensional global standpoint. As Lingard and Rawolle (*Journal of Education Policy*) state, Bourdieu's ideas of *habitus*, *field*, and *capital* can be used to globalize educational policies. These authors view education as a prominent social field and suggest specific national policy ideas based on the effectiveness of certain teaching and socializing strategies in the home and at school.

Also using the concept of *field*, Kloot explains that one can disaggregate forms of power and analyze power relationships in the higher educational field (471). What he means by this is that in the field of education power facilitates itself through the reproduction of social status via academic and intellectual capital. He pulls these points together by describing the evolution of the power individuals hold relative to the amount of capital they possess (472). Also, Blackmore ("Bureaucratic, Corporate/market and Network Governance...") describes the importance of gender in the education field, relating gender with patterns of governance. The education field contains its own gendered (biased) methods of language and systems and forms gendered dispositions. Thus, gender leads to different needs and interests in regard to the educational system.

However, the education *field* loses its boundaries as political agendas and media speculations enter the *field* (454). In more practical terms, as modern issues come in to play such as equality for women and minorities in society, the educational system loses previous boundaries in which these numerical and social minorities were excluded.

Political agendas and media coverage highlight shortcomings in the education system where minorities are discriminated against, and due to this focus the educational system is forced to break down boundaries that excluded such individuals. Politics and media can serve as a liberating force for inequality within education.

All three studies mentioned above relate directly to the struggle of children of immigrants because they address social structures and processes that not only influence capital, but the construction of educational policies that to a great extent reproduce forms of capital. The success rates of children of immigrants in the education *field* is largely defined by the amount of capital they are privy to and come to possess.

Bourdieu in a Larger Sense

While Bourdieu's concept of *capital* (intellectual, academic, economic, etc.) has been widely used in educational research, his entire theory, and its related concepts, as relates to the larger system of cultural exchange is rarely considered. Many researchers focus on the idea of *capital* without considering *habitus*. Lareau describes in her work, "Cultural Capital" that the school system transforms inherited cultural capital in to scholastic cultural capital (2). While this is a well-placed argument, she does not include the influence of *habitus* in achieving scholastic success, focusing instead only on inherited knowledge. Examining *habitus*, mental habits and generative schemes (cognitive aspects) is critical for understanding how the *field* of education enables or constrains achievement through, such factors as choice, will to succeed, confidence and other much talked about indicators of cognitive advantage. Furthermore, Deb Burman describes in her book, *Immigrant Education*, how job skills of one generation are shaped by their parents' skills and those of their ethnic group (7). Thus, leading to little job

mobility for children of immigrants. However, she does not examine the meritocratic aspects of modern institutions in a broader sense. Bourdieu's theory accounts for *capital* in a variety of forms that lead to even higher levels of social and institutional *capital*: allowing children to be socially mobile, in essence having the fare (e.g. language, style, credentials) to move through the *social spaces* of many fields.

It is as though educational researchers strip-mined Bourdieu's theory for 'convenient' application, rather than considering the full importance of his overall theory as pertains to understanding the nexus of power and individuality in post-industrial social systems and institutions. Within larger social systems, various *fields* operate and while many authors focus on the specific *fields*, few describe how these *social spaces* reinforce the logics of fields or how various fields intersect (intersections of gender and ethnicity for example).

Since fields are connected within the greater the educational *field* is connected to other related fields, the children of immigrants must not only access and/or achieve capital they must learn the practical aspects and skills to inhabit various fields simultaneously. *Habitus*, as a system of dispositions, can be more or less valued by those in positions of power. Thus, *habitus* itself (e.g. ways of thinking or behaving) can become a form of capital. Thus, for the children of immigrants learning the social grammar necessary to navigate the social spaces of various fields can itself become an important form of capital that can be exchanged for goods (Bourdieu 189) — be it a job or a favor.

Immigration and Assimilation Considering Bourdieu

Pierre Bourdieu's societal analysis gives immigration researchers four key ideas to help explain the intergenerational mobility of the children of immigrants. First, *capital*

describes an individual's power and influence in social situations—forms of social currency. *Field* refers to the place where all human actions take place. These are the physical and social spaces in which people act out social life. Bourdieu suggests fields are the spaces of life where individuals groups and institutions struggle over resources as they try to distinguish themselves from others, and acquire capital. Finally, *habitus*, as previously discussed, is a person's mental disposition, patterns of action and beliefs, which are derived from and reproduce *fields*, *capital*, and *social space*.

CONCEPTUALIZATION

I will now discuss further how Bourdieu's individual concepts relate to the success of second-generation children.

Forms of Field

Expanding on the notion of *field*, in the study of second-generation immigrants four main fields exist. They are community, home, school, and country. The community in which one lives is a place with social patterns, class distinctions, and various positions of meaning that shapes an individual's life chances. For example, if the community is characterized by high levels of inequality, and is crime-ridden and dangerous, a person must live within these material conditions and consequently will adjust behavior and attitudes to these surroundings (e.g. not going out late at night alone, staying at school as much as possible, carrying a weapon, and so on). Home, the second field of importance, is the source of the transmission of a family's or group's culture and also a place where the patterns and dynamics of culture are enacted / embodied (this is especially complicated for second generation children if home culture varies greatly from the larger/broader cultural field). Once again, as in any field, a person's behaviors, attitudes,

and expectations are negotiated within and influenced by the environment. For example, in homes where there are strong ties to patriarchal aspects of culture, a young girl might be expected to spend much of her time caring for male siblings or doing domestic work, such as cooking and cleaning, clearly diminishing the time she would have available for reading or playing. Fields impose expectations and have embedded within them reward structures which translate to capital. Back to the example of patriarchy in the home, the types of or amount of social currency available for young women to earn might differ greatly from that of young men.

Perhaps the most important field for second-generation children is education. School is where young second generation immigrant will spend considerable time. As with all fields, behavior is shaped by (or not with consequence) the dynamics and established patterns of life in that field. In the field of education some of the prominent influences are language spoken, teacher/student role expectations, dress codes, degree of racial and ethnic equality, resources available for enrichment, and the nature of the physical surroundings. Finally, nation or country is a field that can have a dramatic impact on children of immigrants. The established laws and norms, openness to mobility, language, political stability, ethnic divisions and other characteristics have profound impacts on the success of the recently immigrated and their children.

Social Space

Social space is social differentiation. Social space frames interaction and then is reproduced through interaction. For immigrated families and their children social space can often be exclusionary and prejudicial. Social spaces also reproduce positions of power and influence. For example, children of immigrants are often bi-lingual which can

influence their ability to move through social space more easily than their parents. They may also understand two contrasting versions of social space—that of their parent's culture and U.S. culture.

Social Capital

In sociology, social capital is most often referred to as the expected benefits derived from the cooperation between individuals and groups. Importantly, social capital is not equally available to all, in much the same way that other forms of capital are differently available. Social capital involves networking and community or civic engagement and attachment. Social capital can be used to produce or reproduce inequality. For example, a person can gain access to resources, positions, and relationships directly and indirectly through engagement in social networks. This form of capital is influenced by such things as an individual's talents, status in society, societal knowledge, their past and present cultural knowledge, and their parent's ability to integrate in to the new culture. An individual's status translates to power, or lack of power, in their community. If one belongs to an elite class, their actions and opinions are more likely to be viewed as authoritative. In contrast, if a person belongs to a lower class, they are not as highly respected and may have less influence on others in their community or society in general.

Societal knowledge of culture and social norms also plays a large role in an individual's *social capital*. The more knowledgeable someone is about art, technology, television, books, plays, etc., the more adaptable or connected they appear to be to their peers or others with whom they interact. Being able to relate to many types of others contributes to social power. Furthermore, norm awareness contributes to *social capital*

because it allows for the more astute negotiation of power and position within social groups. Also, for second-generation children having access to networks from both parents' cultures and the new culture in which they live impacts social capital, negatively or positively. As a matter of fact, Portes ("Social capital: its origins and applications in modern sociology") has identified negative consequences of social capital that show that for many social capital can be problematic in achieving success. His work specifically shows that exclusion of outsiders, excess demands on group members, limits to individual autonomy, and downward leveling norms negatively impact achievement, especially academic achievement. Family attributes can also influence social capital (e.g., parents with high status jobs, language ability, and high standing in the community).

Communal Capital

Community capital is a type of social capital that specifically relates to one's community. Integration into a community creates *communal capital*. This form of capital includes ties to community and represents the relationships and networks in the community as a *field*, and poses the question of differences between affluent and regressive communities. As previously discussed, ties to a community can be key for success or failure. Varshney's work on Indian communities distinguished between social capital as it relates to interethnic networks (bridging) versus intra-ethnic networks (bonding) ("Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society India and Beyond, in World Politics"). His work suggests that those who build interethnic networks are more likely to build communal capital by allowing the development of networks across ethnic lines that make it possible for communities to keep the peace, facilitate economic development and

facilitate information dissemination (“Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society India and Beyond, in World Politics”).

People create relationships, gain or lose various forms of capital in the process, and their communal environment contributes to the construction of *habitus*—or ways of life. As Kroneberg states in her findings, communal aspirations regarding academic success and an overall culture of achievement contribute directly to an individual’s personal performance in the community and at school. For example, in what Kroneberg calls affluent environments there are strong communal relations, high education rates, high job placement and retention, and support the development of individuals. This overall environment exhibited higher test scores for students (“Ethnic Communities and School Performance...”). On the other hand, a regressive community is less consolidated, people are more scattered with both their daily lives and live less predictable lives. These communities are characterized by physical and mental stress and the educational systems tend to be weak contributing to downward assimilation. Regressive communities can be close knit, but still not contribute to positive upward assimilation, as Portes research has found (“Social capital: its origins and applications in modern sociology”). Negative social capital, including communal capital, has a dampening impact on other forms of capital (physical, economic, etc). An example of this would be the impact of joining a gang, which technically would increase communal capital in its strengthening of intra-group networks—however, these networks would be stigmatizing, make excess demands on members and likely be exclusionary groups. Therefore, this form of increased capital is negative and is likely to decrease academic achievement (Bolin et al.114).

Cultural Capital

The term cultural capital refers to non-financial social assets that promote social mobility beyond economic means. For example, type of education (private versus public), style of speech (mid-western versus southern accent), dress (designer versus non-designer clothing), and even differences in physical appearance denote cultural capital. Cultural capital was specified by Bourdieu in "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction." In this work he explained differences in the outcomes of children in France during the period of the 1960s. The concept of cultural capital is fundamentally linked to the concepts of fields and *habitus* as this form of capital is context driven and embodied.

Human Capital

Moving to the micro or individual scale, human capital refers to individual attributes that increase one's ability to gain or produce other forms of capital, especially economic capital. Perhaps Adam Smith is the best representative for how human capital comes to be fixed in individuals. He said,

“The acquisition of such talents, by the maintenance of the acquirer during his education, study, or apprenticeship, always costs a real expense, which is a capital fixed and realized, as it were, in his person. Those talents, as they make a part of his fortune, so do they likewise that of the society to which he belongs. The improved dexterity of a workman may be considered in the same light as a machine or instrument of trade which facilitates and abridges labor, and which, though it costs a certain expense, repays that expense with a profit.” (Smith 11).

Human capital includes such things as talent, creativity, intellectual and technical competencies, stocks of knowledge, and social and personality attributes. It is a rather

economically deterministic, but useful view of the human being acting within fields—especially regarding the operation of individuals within the sphere of field of education.

This form of *capital* is mainly found in two delineations: achieved and associative. Achieved *human capital* is a person's earned qualities that give them higher status in groups, at home and in a community either through earned access to social networks, economic factors, job placement, or a combination of all three. Associative *human capital* results from multiple sources and relations, but is the result of having associations that result in the cultivation of human capital that would not occur otherwise. The classic example is gaining capital from parents who provide an enriched environment for that child's development. This 'inherited' human capital is often referred to as *cultural capital* and easily translates to scholastic capital because when these children go to school they possess stocks of knowledge and have developed talents that other children may not have. If a child is raised to be culturally active, such as learning about history, going to plays, reading books, etc., then the child translates this cultural knowledge to the classroom and thus turns it into scholastic capital.

Language fluency and literacy also contribute to *human capital* because a person's ability to communicate in their social environment increases their social reputation and power and their ability to navigate social space. Human capital can be seen as very important when considering gender and ethnicity. Gender and ethnicity can translate into negative or positive capital—therefore becoming aware of gender and/or ethnicity can be a useful tool for navigating difficult or challenging situations. If a young Hispanic woman is raised in a traditional patriarchal family she might be less likely to go to college. However, if that same young woman were to join the Hispanic Women's

Network and came to understand the benefit of a college education she might be more likely to go to college and to understand that she will need to negotiate her roles within her own family and community environment. Her new found knowledge about gender and ethnicity gives her increased human capital.

***Habitus* and Academic Achievement**

As Kroneberg states in her work, “Ethnic Communities and School Performance Among the New Second Generation in the US,” an individual’s social and community background contribute to their success or failure, as seen in the example of Hispanic women. Family and community feelings and ideas help form one’s *habitus*, or mental beliefs and approaches. If a child is surrounded by parents and community members that hold achievement, both socially and academically in high regard, then the child imitates these beliefs and transfers them in to personal achievement. However, if a child does not come from an environment that regards achievement as a necessity, their *habitus* often does not create the drive for success. One’s social background largely dictates *habitus* and consequently, achievement levels.

ANALYTICAL APPROACH AND METHODS

Qualitative meta-analysis is the methodological approach I took in this research. I compared and contrasted the theory and findings from individual studies in order to discover existing patterns and examine diverse characteristics of a larger body of research. While this method is used primarily to analyze qualitative studies, my analytical approach adapts this method for use on quantitative research as well. In essence, my analytical approach has two stages. First, I qualitatively analyzed the content of extant research, both qualitative and quantitative studies, to determine the extent to which

Bourdieu's key concepts are present and/or discernable and supported in these studies. Second, I discussed the value and applicability of Bourdieu's theory for informing educational policy as it pertains to children of immigrants. This study will conclude with a discussion of the effectiveness of educational programs and possible policy recommendations based on the findings of my research.

Qualitative meta-analysis is useful for making policy recommendations because it is a coherent assessment of a body of heterogeneous studies that would otherwise present as inchoate information. One of the most important aspects of meta-analysis is the selection of articles to analyze. I chose research to review based on its credibility (peer-reviewed publications), focus (educational achievement and/or social integration), and population and population characteristics studied (children of immigrants, refugees in the United States). As mentioned above, both qualitative and quantitative research articles will be included. Qualitative studies add greater validity to the findings as they are more likely to examine more holistically the lived experiences of immigrant families and their children

To a great extent qualitative meta-analysis is interpretive because it involves the translation of the findings from previous studies and fitting that information into a priori operationalization of concepts ("Meta Analysis of Qualitative Studies..."). The goal of this study is to then aggregate the findings into a coherent conceptual scheme in order to further interpret research within a broader theoretical and use the findings or informing policy.

This study includes peer reviewed research articles published between 2000 and 2013. Major library databases were used to search for articles by using key word

combinations, such as immigration and education, second-generation immigrants and education policy, and immigration and academic achievement. Eleven articles were obtained this way and constitute the sample for the analysis.

The major analytic goal of this research is to examine research on immigration and educational attainment to see how well these studies map onto Bourdieu's framework of cultural capital. Another important goal of this research is to examine specific factors that determine integrative success and ultimately, make policy recommendations that would work to enhance factors that lead to higher rates of integrative success among immigrants. The next section contains the results from the qualitative meta-analysis and the following section discusses the policy implications from this analysis.

ANALYSIS

Throughout the previous literature, various themes appear that contribute to an overall understanding of how second generation immigrants are received, prosper, integrate, and assimilate in to their new surroundings. I will now summarize key elements of research in light of the Bourdieu's established forms of *capital: communal, social, cultural* and *human*. For Bourdieu each individual is located in social space, which is multidimensional—defined by such things as social class, gender, race, ethnicity and more. In social space individuals gain or lose capital of all kinds through social relations. Capital can include such things as the social networks (communal capital a form of social capital), high SAT scores (a form of human capital) or which Bourdieu showed could be used to produce or reproduce inequality.

Social Capital

Research shows that *social capital* is one of the most powerful influences on how an individual assimilates to a new culture and society. Knowledge surrounding norms and culture is key when trying to adapt. However, past cultural expectations can help or hinder integration. As Feliciano and Rumbaut show in their article, “Gendered Paths,” immigrant parents often have stricter control over daughters. In their study over Hispanic, Vietnamese, and Caribbean peoples, they found many families do not allow their daughters to attend schools far from the home or family environment because they view this as undisciplined and they cannot maintain traditional female roles in the household. Also, they show occupational preferences are often these cultural groups are often gendered by past and present cultural ideas. The longer immigrants stay in the United States, the more cultured individuals become to gendered paths of the United States and thus second generation immigrants and their offspring will be less traditionally cultured the longer they remain in the United States. Individuals, both female and male, begin to take advantage of new opportunities for education and work the longer they are in the United States and traditional beliefs of patriarchal families fall by the wayside.

In the work by Zhou, Lee et. al, *Success Attained*, it is shown that gender expectations can hinder attainment for daughters of the second generation because of the stricter parental controls and traditional ideas in certain cultures. They look specifically at Chinese, Vietnamese, and Mexicans and report that while families do maintain certain beliefs and traditional values, interactions with structural circumstances (group reception, association to society at large, moral support systems) all influence projected roles within the family and educational attainment. The more assimilated a family becomes to the

more egalitarian culture of the United States, the less likely traditional patriarchal beliefs remain.

Parental integration success is another factor that actively affect *social capital* and success of the second generation. Kroneberg discusses in her article, “Ethnic Communities and School Performance Among the New Second Generation in the US,” that when parents are integrated into society, then their children tend to score higher on standardized tests. She also argues access to *social capital* affects school performance overall and the more *capital* one has in this area, the higher education level they achieve.

Beyond parental integration, socioeconomic status in general is shown to facilitate success. As Zhou and Xiong exhibit in their work, “The Multifaceted American Experiences,” a group’s high socioeconomic status facilitates success. Kroneberg also supports this claim, but insists personal aspirations affect an individual more than socioeconomic resources because a person must still be driven to achieve (“Ethnic Communities...”). In her study of a Cuban community in Miami, she saw how the Cubans instilled high achievement values in their families and because of this, children and second-generation immigrants tended to have high educational achievement levels. This exemplifies the power of *habitus* over an individual’s achievement. The family projects their views and support (or lack of support) on their children and these views shape a child’s belief system regarding education and overall societal attainment.

Communal Capital

Expanding on the idea of community impacts on achievement, the importance of *communal capital* arises. A significant portion of a person’s success in their new community is determined by how the individual and their families were received, both by

the specific community and the government. Zhou, Lee, et. al describes legal status upon migration is powerfully mental for immigrants. If a person arrives illegally, they tend to have more distractions (legal and mental) in their communities and less time to focus on children and their individual needs. Also, children are less outgoing and successful in school because children are worried about official finding about their legal status. People feel marginalized if there are illegal immigrants and this marginalization transfers to all aspects of their lives. Furthermore, community reception in general upon migration significantly affects individuals. Zhou, Lee, et. al states that public reception is a key factor to whether immigrants experience upward or downward assimilation. In Kroneberg's study, she finds solidarity in the community strongest among Cubans and this has been a main cause for Cuban integrative success both for immigrants and their children. Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, and Haller explain in their work, "Segmented Assimilation on the Ground," well-received families in communities receive high *social* and *communal capital*, which ultimately leads to individuals prospering. They also support Kroneberg in that Cubans are high successes with income and education in their new environments. Some of the lower integrative successes are among West Indians and Haitians. They believe this is due to low communal ties and little emphasis on education.

Another important aspect to assess when discussing *communal capital* is the specific community's affluent or regressive nature. Kroneberg states that communities with high levels of achievement and self-employment lead to greater commitments to education by children. In Roug and Grant's work, "Ethnicity, Generation, School Attainment of Asians, Hispanics, Non-White Hispanics," they show how successive Hispanic immigrant generations continue to increase their education and social

attainment levels and this is largely due to the Hispanic community's emphasis on high achievement and acculturation. However, regressive communities can lead to downward assimilation among its immigrant population. Kenzal and Haller show in their article, "Fit to Miss, but Matched to Hatch," communities can be comfort zones that keep people from leaving and achieving. The typical regressive community would not emphasize high educational attainment and has low acculturation rates, a "mobility trap" rather than a "vehicle for achievement". Often these communities have low socioeconomic statuses and individuals choose to accept this permanent poverty and subordination as a price to pay for belonging, also known as downward leveling. While these societies can be detrimental to a person's maturation and achievement, tragedies affecting individuals have been shown to promote the rejection of one's surroundings and downward assimilation.

In Kenzal and Haller's study, they interviewed individuals who had been motivated by violent acts close to them to achieve beyond their regressive community status quo. An important factor to this rejection of downward leveling is the presence of a significant other. This person can be a counselor, advisor, teacher, etc. They are a person in the community who supports the individual in their upward plight and studies have shown that significant others increase the probability that disadvantaged students will reach goals ("Fit to Miss, but Matched to Hatch").

A final aspect in an immigrant and second-generation immigrant's *communal capital* is the school *field*. Often minorities are forced to attend schools that have large minority populations due to location, convenience, or availability. Unfortunately, studies have shown that attending minority schools lower income later by \$250 per year per

person (“Segmented Assimilation on the Ground”). Racial discrimination in these environments is prevalent and often teachers are not trained in minority cultures and traditions so they cannot affectively engage the students in the classroom.

Human Capital

The final key factor of integration and ultimate assimilation in to a new environment is *human capital*. Associative *cultural capital* is largely discussed in the work by Sullivan, “Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment.” There is a positive relation between parental *cultural capital* and a child’s educational attainment. Often this inherited *capital* is received in the home environment through discussions and passing of cultural knowledge. Passage of knowledge from parent to child leads to directly to *scholastic capital*. Further, in Zhou, Lee, et. al’s article, high parental *human capital* leads to high second generational *human capital*, leading to positive entry in to the US. The same is true for the opposite, negative *human capital* from the parent leads to negative *human capital* on behalf of the child, which creates a downward assimilation pattern. Van Ours and Veenmen’s work also contribute to the argument for parental *human capital*. They support that the most fundamental factor describing children’s educational attainment is parent’s *human capital*, which directly relates to educational attainment in children. In part, education is part of a parental *cultural capital* and the lower the education of the parent, the lower school attendance record by the child because parents often do not stress the importance of schooling due to their own past (“The Education Attainment of Second-Generation Immigrants in the Netherlands”).

Another portion of this form of *capital* is incarceration and premature childbearing. Rumbaut’s study on these issues in “Turning Points in the Transition to

Adulthood” shows low levels of education lead to high rates of childbearing prematurely and incarceration. These two features lead to diminished occupational and thus economic success. Little successes with in these areas are principal causes for downward mobility and assimilation. While incarceration rates among immigrants are low, rates among second-generation immigrants are high, also leading to downward assimilation. Rumbaut goes on to state that determination of educational, occupational, and social trajectories depends on factors and events early on in a child’s adolescent years. Therefore, it is necessary for a parent to instill educational and occupational values early on in a child’s life to help drive later success.

Regarding human capital, language is the concluding issue that dictates acculturation and assimilation. Zhou and Xiong show lack of English proficiency lowers academic success. This is largely due to schools being monolingual, English, and not having the desire nor resources to touch children in different languages. Their study goes on to explain that proficiency in English is linked to higher rates of college attendance. They describe language is a “tool” for success and assimilation in to mainstream American life. Roug and Grant argue second generation immigrants born in the US already have increased attainment rates by simply being born on American soil. This is connected to a broader interaction with the English language since this is the language individuals typically encounter in their new society. The study also suggests those who speak English fluently have more socioeconomic mobility.

Global Findings

Overall, as my qualitative meta-analysis shows, none of the studies in the sample examined the problem of educational attainment in children of immigrants by using

Bourdieu's theory in full. The majority of studies either directly used a select concept or two from the theory or employed variables in the analysis that could be interpreted as proxies for Bourdieu's concepts (e.g., Portes and Rumbaugh's study that tests two assimilation theories looks at resources for overcoming barriers to assimilation, which in essence examines aspects that capital—especially cultural capital). Furthermore, it is difficult for researchers to employ Bourdieu's theory comprehensively because of dataset limitations. Most studies utilize secondary data—collected by others—for their analysis. The limitations of secondary data are widely understood in social sciences and includes the fact that the original data are collected for purposes of the original researchers and thus do not correspond to the theory being utilized or tested in the secondary use. This lack of flexibility prevents researchers from fully testing Bourdieu's theory.

Also, when looking at the overall picture of scholastic achievement from the results of the analysis it is clear that Bourdieu's perspective has permeated the literature on immigration. Even when it is not explicitly acknowledged, the vocabulary of capital is used to talk about how children of immigrants negotiate their social realities. As elaborated earlier in this section, capital in its various forms are found in every study to be important predictors of academic success.

DISCUSSION

Immigrants to the United States and their offspring face many trials. They are confronted with social, educational, and personal challenges as they leave familiar home and national environments in search of better opportunities or more fruitful lives. The second generation specifically is placed in a marginal position. They must live with their extended or immediate families who often keep tradition and customs of the old country,

while transitioning into an American culture and society. Key factors to this generation's success are: the integration of their parents to mainstream American culture, understanding new cultural norms, public reception, relationships, education, and language.

As the studies have portrayed, the majority of a child's support and drive for success comes from the environment they live in, specifically their communities and family. Communities must be positive environments that encourage educational achievement as well as occupational achievement. Families also must encourage growth and high aspirations from an early age so children can grow up thirsting for knowledge and success. High *communal capital* and parental *cultural capital* is necessary then for a child to develop into a successful and contributing member to their society. As the Suarez-Orozco duo state in their in-depth study in to children of immigrants, "the main function of the family is the transfer of skills, values, and worldviews to the next generation (*Children of Immigrants*, vii). Families are a critical link in a child's ability to succeed. They go on to state, "a critical role of parents is to act as guides for their children." Children look up to their parents as role models and thus the role of parent is central in embedding off-spring in a capital rich environment. It is through family socialization that *habitus* understands and/or seizes opportunities for achievement is largely influenced by family, especially parents.

Policy Implications

In order to ensure children are getting the necessary support from their communities and families, programs must be put in to place promoting what research suggests works for the benefit of children—language acquisition, decoupling from

traditional gender expectations—especially for girls, continuing networks with family and community.

Language

Research confirms, and this is controversial, that learning English is a ticket to scholastic achievement, and aids in the overall integration of newly immigrated citizens and their children. Americans. Gaining cultural capital, that is, education and English proficiency is the way to greater understanding of the new culture, even though it might be a threat to original traditions (*Children of Immigrants*, 79). Language acquisition can also strengthen communal capital—by allowing children of immigrants to better communicate with fellow students and teachers. Individuals must be able to communicate with their peers and in a school and work environment in order to transition into a new, dominant culture. Moreover, as previously discussed; education opens the door to higher learning and occupational opportunities as well as economic achievement. The question that many in the field of policy have asked is, "how can schools emphasize learning English without diminishing in the minds of children the importance of their families first language and culture?". Perhaps the approach to helping children of immigrants needs to move beyond the educational field—social policy that sees language acquisition as needing to be supported across fields—home, school, work etc.

Gender Decoupling

A large percentage of studies on children of immigrants speak to the way that gender influences achievement in children. Given what research suggests policies that want to see improvements, especially for girls, must seriously address ways of helping

young women and their families to understand the importance of education as a form of capital.

Family Ties

Research suggests that family is important—and in many cases in a downward trajectory for achievement. That is, traditional families do not transmit cultural and social knowledge that enhances achievement in their children. However, it is important to note that only focusing on educational attainment, as the factor in success is short sighted. Family is important—lots of research shows this in other fields such a criminal justice, mental health etc. In Sennet and Cobb’s famous work “The Hidden Injuries of Class,” they find that in the US capitalism accentuates the individual and individualism, along with the idea that a lack of success is a personal failing. Richard Sennett, a child of immigrants himself, grew up in the Cabrini Green housing project in Chicago, coming from a family of Russian immigrants. As a child he trained in music, studying the cello, with Claus Adam of the Juilliard String Quartet and the conductor Pierre Monteux. He later turned to sociology and drew from his life experience in his work to show the world the importance of habitus, cultural, human and social (although he did not use Bourdieu specifically). It is clear that for children of immigrants, and for those who are upwardly mobile in general, parents are likely to hold lower social status. This can be a source of internal conflict that results in ‘injuries’ or ‘shame’ for children of immigrants. As Sennet’s work implies a societal system does not do a child any favors by suggesting or cultivating a sense of shame for one’s origins, one’s parents, one’s language or culture. Therefore, it is necessary to emphasize, not only multiculturalism in social life, but also to de-emphasize the notion that success is only measured by wealth or income.

Communal Ties

As seen with familial importance, one's community is invaluable both on an individual's *habitus* and social construction. Affluent communities encourage children to grow and prosper in society and to attain high levels of educational, social, and occupational achievement. The structure a society maintains is also important to closely support and better individuals through contact, encouraging values, and communication. Immigrants that find themselves in strong, close networks tend to achieve more socially and educationally than those in loose, separated groups as research shows.

Sullivan (2001) *Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment*

Sample Data	Theoretical Perspective	Conceptualization/ Operationalization	Findings	Limitations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pupils in final year of compulsory schooling • 16 years, grade 11 • 4 schools • 2 co-ed, 2 single-sex • filled out a questionnaire • social class representation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bourdieu's <i>cultural capital</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parental <i>cultural capital</i> • Parental <i>social capital</i> • Pupils' <i>cultural capital</i> as measured by: • TV shows with <i>cultural capital</i> content • Famous figure recognition • Book types and amounts read • Activity (music/public culture) • Vocabulary scores 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive relation between parental <i>cultural capital</i> and pupil's education attainment • Shows effect of <i>social capital</i> on educational attainment • Reading gives higher cultural knowledge than public activities • Gender is not a significant difference 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only 4 schools • Not clearly defined social class • Gender plays a role in different cultural ideas (ex. Hispanics attitudes towards women)

Portes and Rumbaut (2005) *Intro: The 2nd Generation and Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study*

Sample Data	Theoretical Perspective	Conceptualization/ Operationalization	Findings	Limitations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CILS • 3 surveys, 1992, 1995, 2001-03 • Longitudinal causal data • Asian and Latin American immigrants in Miami and San Diego • 49 schools total sampled • Retention rates, 1st= 81.5%, 2nd= 68.9% • Mailed in surveys and phone interviews in final study • Retrieved info from families of those dead or in prison 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Test linear vs. segmented assimilation • Segmented assimilation: different among nationalities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dissonant, consonant, selective acculturation • Segmented theory measured by: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. History of first generation 2. Acculturation pace of parents and children 3. Normative integration 4. Cultural and educational barriers of 2nd generation 5. Resources for confronting barriers 	(later discussed)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First generation family information obtained indirectly from young teenagers • Parental surveys done in groups

Zhou and Xiong (2005) *The Multifaceted American Experiences of the Child of Asian Immigrants: Lessons for Segmented Assimilation*

Sample Data	Theoretical Perspective	Conceptualization/ Operationalization	Findings	Limitations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • San Diego portion of CILS • 35% attrition rate over 3 surveys (as previously discussed) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Segmented assimilation=interaction between race, class, groups, larger social structures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Upward assimilation • Horizontal assimilation • Downward assimilation • Forever foreigner 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language preferences differ among sub-groups (gender insignificant) • Lack of English proficiency lowers academic success • Proficiency in English=more likely to go to college, especially among Filipinos • High level of self-expectations for educational achievement • Females are more likely to get a Bachelor's degree and achieve graduate degrees (especially among Filipinos) • High number of second generation immigrants will eventually attain college degrees • Group's high socioeconomic status facilitates success • Language is a "tool" for success, leads to mainstream American life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, Haller (2005) *Segmented Assimilation on the Ground: The New Second-Generation in Early Adulthood*

Sample Data	Theoretical Perspective	Conceptualization/ Operationalization	Findings	Flaws
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3rd wave of CILS in 2001-03 • average age, 24 years • intensive study of 55 individuals with diverse ethnic/cultural backgrounds • 2000 Census for principle nationalities in South Florida for generalizability of CILS conclusions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mobility paths • Bourdieu's forms of <i>capital</i> • Against uniform assimilation (linear assimilation) • Downward assimilation theory • Segmented assimilation hypothesis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Societal capital</i> • <i>Community capital (communal capital)</i> • Segmented assimilation=set of strategic outcomes for young 2nd generation immigrants <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Educational attainment 2. Employment/income/occupation • Downward assimilation: dropping out, premature pregnancies, arrested/incarcerated • Language use to show assimilation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Well-received families in communities receive high <i>social capital, communal capital</i>, and ultimately prosper • 2nd generation immigrants are universally fluent in English • South Florida 2nd generation=progressing well and leading educated lives • Variation of success by nationality <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cubans are high successes with income and education 2. Low success among West Indians and Haitians • Rich get richer and poor get children • Young females achieved better occupations than males, but males still have an economic advantage • Attending minority schools lower income later by \$250 per year <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Racial discrimination and low parental <i>human capital</i> with parents contributes to lower child occupations • Interacting families reduce premature childbearing by 35% 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • South Florida doesn't contain all ethnic groups to compare achievement rates with • Not 100% retention rate

Rumbaut (2005) *Turning Points in the transition to adulthood: Determinants of educational attainment, incarceration, and early childbearing among children of immigrants*

Sample Data	Theoretical Perspective	Conceptualization/ Operationalization	Findings	Flaws
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CILS in San Diego • Large populations from Mexico, Philipines, China, Vietnam, Laos • Public Use Microdata Sample of the 2000 Census • 1502 cases with most complete data • In-depth with 134 sub-sample • Over-representation of youth with GPA and high social status 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Segmented assimilation theory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Studied educational attainments, incarceration rates, childbearing ages • Foreign born immigrants vs. US born population • Downward vs. upward assimilation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Upward mobility among Latin Americans and Asians <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Group differences among specific nationalities • Females outperform males • Low levels of education lead to high rates of childbearing prematurely and incarceration <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Diminished occupational and economic success leads to downward mobility • Incarceration rates decrease among immigrant men but increase with 2nd generation, leading to downward assimilation • Determination of educational, occupational and social trajectories depends on factors/events in early to mid-adolescence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

Feliciano and Rumbaut (2005) *Gendered Paths: Educational and occupational expectations and outcomes among adult children of immigrants*

Sample Data	Theoretical Perspective	Conceptualization/ Operationalization	Findings	Limitations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CILS, San Diego • In-depth interviews with sub-sample in 2002-03 • 134 individuals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Segmented assimilation theory • Immigrant optimism hypothesis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational expectations: achievement ambitions, need to decide further schooling • Educational expectations calculate realistic prospectus of future education • Feminine: “to be good”, generally higher attainment • Different jobs are gender appropriate • Motivated achievers • Optimistic strivers • Wishful thinkers • Defeatist drifters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Early educational expectations are important • 2nd generation base educational and occupational choices off U.S. gendered paths • Girls get higher grades and finish more years of schooling • Parents want children to take advantage of opportunities in the U.S., not just rejecting tradition • Men are prone to “manliness” by defying school rules • Women are more realistic with goals • Mexican men and women have average educational achievement • Vietnamese and Filipinos and women have high educational attainment • Having 2 parents increases success rates in education • Immigrant parents have stricter control over daughters (traditional) • Behavior problems early in school lead to less educational attainment for men and similar for women and early child bearing • Occupational preferences are gendered • Single women have high educational attainment (personal stories discussed later) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

Rong and Grant (1992) *Ethnicity, Generation, School Attainment of Asians, Hispanics, Non-White Hispanics*

Sample Data	Theoretical Perspective	Conceptualization/ Operationalization	Findings	Limitations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Measures grammar school, high school, 4 year colleges • CPS: multistage probability sample of civilian, non-institutionalized US population in households • 76,700 households with 160, 255 14 years and up in CPS • 22,695 individuals: 14-24 years old <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 91% white 2. 1.7% Asian 3. 7.4% Hispanic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural discontinuity model: language, cultural, social interactional conflicts between home and school disadvantage youth, educational attainment will increase the longer amount of time in US and with acculturation (although ethnic attainment varies with acculturation) • Cultural-ecological model: motivation to integrate, conditions of immigration to US, labor market payoff for attainment and perceptions of opportunity affect educational attainment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigrant <i>cultural capital</i> • Attainment: highest grade completed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hispanics have low educational attainment, but each successive generation increases attainment • Asians achieve slightly less schooling overall than whites • Children of immigrants attain significantly more schooling than immigrants • Asians and Hispanics have greatest attainment increases • Whites: increase attainment with children of immigrants than decline • Asians: increase attainment in children of immigrants then level off • Hispanics: increase attainment in children of immigrants than continue to increase • High attainment leads to high acculturation • US birth increases attainment (can speak English better and have more socioeconomic mobility) • Asians: lower attainment because already have many resources prior to the US 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did not focus on gender roles and ethnicity • Did not look at social factors from home environments

Konezal and Haller (2008) *Fit to Miss, but Matched to Hatch: Success Factors among the 2nd generation's disadvantaged in South Florida*

Sample Data	Theoretical Perspective	Conceptualization/ Operationalization	Findings	Flaws
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CILS fourth study: qualitative interviews with college graduates • Interviews in South Florida • 50 met criteria out of original 5, 262 in 1992-93 • Miami focuses: Hialeah and Little Haiti 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rational choice: reproduce order and structural stability: ability to make sound decisions is predicted on knowledge about the effects and consequences of alternative choices, sometimes known barriers stop people • Wisconsin model: sequencing behaviors to establish pre-requisites for valued outcomes, typically need a significant other for support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focused on four criteria <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Parents with low levels of education 2. Modest household earnings 3. One parent household 4. Group received negatively in the US • Triple minority: are black, immigrants, Creoles (Haitians) • Lakou: a tight Haitian community • Significant other: supporter 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Occupational choices motivated by tragedy, violence causes upward course • Physical separation from family/environment can be beneficial • Poor, minority schools are “mobility traps”, not “vehicles for achievement” • Having significant others increase probability disadvantaged students will achieve goals • Communities can be comfort zones that keep people from leaving and achieving <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Accept permanent poverty 2. Subordination as price to pay for belonging, also known as downward leveling • Strong traumatic events can promote rejection of one's surroundings and downward assimilation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only focus on two ethnic groups • Never look beyond Miami • Established criteria only allows for 50 subjects: small amount leads to small generalizability

Van Ours and Veenman (2003) *The Education Attainment of Second-Generation Immigrants in the Netherlands*

Sample Data	Theoretical Perspective	Conceptualization/ Operationalization	Findings	Flaws
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 15 to 29 years old • Nationwide survey SPVA-1998, Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, Antillans, Dutch populations surveyed • 13 largest cities studied in the Netherlands • 2 age categories: 15-20 and 21-29 years old 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human capital model, considering parental attainment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2nd generation qualifications: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Born in the Netherlands from at least one immigrant parent 2. Arrived at Netherlands before six years old 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Previous finding of Haveman and Wolfe (1995) conclude most fundamental factor describing children's educational attainment is parent's human capital, this directly relates to educational attainment in children • 2nd generation immigrants achieve higher education than parents but less than Dutch natives • Lower education of parents contribute to a lower school attendance record by children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus only on certain ethnicities • Qualifying young immigrants as 2nd generation immigrants

Kroneberg (2008) *Ethnic Communities and School Performance Among the New Second Generation in the United States: Testing the Theory of Segmented Assimilation*

Sample Data	Theoretical Perspective	Conceptualization/ Operationalization	Findings	Limitations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CILS • Miami and San Diego concentration • Standardized test scores • In-depth interviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Segmented assimilation, focusing on the extent to which immigrant families' insertion into ethnic communities can support the school performance of children, depends on the communities' socioeconomic profile and level of aspirations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Social capital</i>, social power, influence over others • Downward assimilation • Nationality groups/ethnic communities focus 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Landed solidarity/communal capital) highest in Cubans • If parents are integrated into society then students tend to score higher on tests • Aspirations matter more than socioeconomic resources • Access to social capital, way received the the US government, contact with marginalized domestic minorities all affect school performance • Communities with high levels of achievement, self-employment, etc. lead to greater commitments to education by children (cultural values and beliefs surrounding education also play a pivotal role) • “Working-class incorporation” need 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

Zhou, Lee, et. al (2008) *Success Attained, Deterred, and Denied: Divergent Pathways to Social Mobility in the Los Angeles's New Second Generation*

Sample Data	Theoretical Perspective	Conceptualization/ Operationalization	Findings	Limitations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subject centered approach: analyze perceptions of progress and success • In-depth interviews and individual studies of 75 life histories 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigrant incorporation • Segmented assimilation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Downward mobility • Socioeconomic status • Intergenerational progress • “Dual frame of reference”: comparing life in Mexico (social mobility) to that of the US 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High parental human capital leads to high 2nd generational human capital, leading to positive entry to the US • Negative human capital and entry leads to downward assimilation for 2nd generation immigrants • Legal status upon migration is powerful mentally for immigrants • Family can keep away distractions and teach focus and education in the household • Strong family ties can hinder attainment for children if ties are negative • Gender ideas can hinder attainment of 2nd generation • Parental occupational failure affects child • 3 keys to success or failure: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Human capital 2. Family situation 3. Public reception • Factors affected attainment: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Legal status 2. Family educational expectations 3. Cultural expectations 4. Public resources • Must examine how people define success differently 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •

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ABSTRACT

This study is a meta-analysis focused on education of the second-generation immigrant population. Using Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital as a framework, I compared and analyzed extant research on the scholastic achievement of children of immigrants to test the relevance of his theory of intergenerational movement as specified in his now famous work, *Distinction*. The overall goal of this study was to make policy recommendations in light of both the positive findings from previous research and the applicability and relevance of Bourdieu's theories for educational programming for children of immigrants. I discovered family and communal ties are key in supporting a child's academic and social integration. I also found traditional gender roles must be decreased and families should become cultured in the gender roles of their new societies so all members can succeed in their new environments. Ultimately, I realized language is a large determining factor in whether an individual assimilates in to their new society and is able to achieve success in this society.