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THE CONCEPT OF HABITUS IN MIGRATION STUDIES. A SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW

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THE CONCEPT OF HABITUS IN MIGRATION STUDIES. A SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW

Rosa Maria RADOGNA¹

Abstract

The concept of habitus has been used to investigate a wide range of social phenomena. Pierre Bourdieu himself applied it to different fields, such as the analysis of taste and lifestyle (Bourdieu, 2000), gender relations (Bourdieu, 2001), the field of literature production (Bourdieu, 1996), the educational system and the reproduction of inequalities (Bourdieu, & Passeron, 1979), to mention a few. However, the concept of *habitus* has only recently been applied to investigate migration phenomena.

This systematic literature review aims to investigate the use of the concept of habitus in migration theory through the analysis of 38 studies selected in two scientific databases. In the first part, after the presentation of the concept of habitus and the description of methodological selection procedure, I will make a short overview of the use of the aforementioned concept applied to migration phenomena, using the following criteria: the year of publication, national contexts, categories of migrants. Then, I will proceed to the analysis following the meta-ethnography methodology.

Keywords: habitus, transnational habitus, migration habitus, Pierre Bourdieu.

Introduction

Migration is a complex social phenomenon. It implies demographic changes, it shapes spaces, it allows cultural hybridization or conflict, it impacts the economy, it overall changes societies. All these implications have a double effect as they have an “here” (the hosting society) and a “there” (the origin societies). Also, *migrant* is a generic word. A migrant can be a student, an entrepreneur, a worker, a refugee. He or she can have a low or high status, different goals and different paths, depending on the origin and the destination country.

Because of this variety, different disciplines have studied migration, each with its peculiar approach and methods (Brettel, & Hollifield, 2008). However, in recent years it is growing the claim for more multidisciplinary and comparative approach

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(Brettel, & Hollifield, 2008), as the object itself has many facets and implications. As a matter of fact, Levy et al. (2020) found that interdisciplinarity is increasing in migration studies, although there is still work to do in this direction. From a sociological perspective, the literature on migration has been over influenced by United States authors and experiences because of two main factors: the centrality of US academy in sociology, and the volume of migration which interested this country (FitzGerald, 2014). Starting from 1990s, authors as Bourdieu and Foucault are increasingly cited in the literature on migration topic, in the frame of a cultural shift to a qualitative approach to the study of migration (Levy, Pisarevskaya, & Scholten, 2020).

The concept of habitus

The concept of *habitus* in Bourdieu's intellectual and scientific activity is a flexible tool that allowed him to investigate different fields from a sociological perspective, such as the analysis of taste and lifestyle (Bourdieu, 2000), gender relations (Bourdieu, 2001), the field of literature production (Bourdieu, 1996), the educational system and the reproduction of inequalities (Bourdieu, & Passeron, 1979). These are just a few examples of how the French sociologist used the habitus as a kind of microscope through which he observed different aspects of social life, and captured certain dynamics, each time adapting the concept to the characteristics of that context.

In "*The Distinction*", Bourdieu introduced a formula which synthetizes in a graphic way his theory of practice, and the connections between its constituent elements. The formula is as follows: $[(Habitus) (Capitals)] + field = practices$. Therefore, the action (practices) of social actors is the result of the dispositions (habitus) of the actors and the resources (capitals) they have at their disposal in a certain context (field) (Bourdieu, 2000).

In more details, habitus is a durable system of principles that generates practices, that is, our actions and choices as social beings. It is the result of the material conditions of existence of a social actor, and therefore we can find regularities in actors who are part of the same area of social space. The habitus is durable, and it tends to last over time, but being the product of social conditions of existence, it is adaptable to changes. The practices and the habitus are neither the result of the concrete situation in which the actor is, nor the result of the structure that determines his actions. This concept is the one that makes the connection between structure and action, between a social actor completely determined by the structure, and a social actor whose action is the product of the context.

Thus, habitus is the missing link in the sociological dichotomy structure/action. As highlighted by Wacquant (2016) the habitus is not written in our nature but is a social product, and – although it is characterized by some degree of inertia – it is not eternal, it changes, and when this happens there could be a lag. This lag

is explained by Bourdieu through the concept of *hysteresis*, which represents the incongruence the social actors experience when the field where they act changes abruptly (Bourdieu, 1977; Hardy, 2010). This is very relevant to stress, because one of the main critics to the concept of habitus is its alleged rigidity and determinism failing for that reason its original intention to overcome the structure/action dichotomy, and unable to explain social changes (Jenkins, 1982).

The first mention of the concept

When I started to collect information about the use of the concept of habitus in migration studies, I proceeded in an unstructured way, and found out that the first article which mentions the concept is Guarnizo's article about return migration of Dominican citizens from USA (Guarnizo, 1997). The concept is mentioned in the conclusions, in order to explain the multiple identity and the apparent contradiction in the behavior of returnees from United States.

What Guarnizo's definition underline is the fact that transnational habitus develops in a field that comprehends the origin and the destination country, and it is related to the social position the migrants have when they leave the native country, and the path they have in the host one. After this mention, the concept does not seem to be further developed by the author, but he deserves the credit to have it introduced in the transnational framework.

Although the concept of transnationalism has been defined in many ways, the key aspect in the literature remains the reference to both spaces in which migration occurs. As Vertovec (2009) specifies, transnationalism refers to those practices and activities that take place "*among non-state actors based across national borders*", and the processes related to those activities and their consequences.

In the frame of transnationalism, changes in the habitus are particularly evident through the concept of *hysteresis*, which I already mentioned. Nowicka (2015) resuming the concept believes that it is particularly useful regarding migration phenomena because it can help to investigate if through migration "*migrants simply juggle «cleft habitus» and navigate the dissonance between the norms and practices acquired prior to and post migration, or whether their habitus transforms to the extent that it loses its past qualities.*"

On the same line of argument, Carlson and Schneickert (2021) identify three different ways in which habitus could be affected by transnational migration. It can transform into a completely new form of habitus; it can become a divided habitus resulting from a different set of dispositions; it can gradually modify. Through this literature review then, I will try to understand how the habitus of social actors is affected through transnational migration. Also, what is the contribution of the concept to the migration theory.

Literature selection

The research to identify the articles for this literature review was done between November and December 2020. The chosen databases were Scopus and Proquest. I chose Scopus because it is one of the most comprehensive databases for scientific purposes, while I chose Proquest because it is a big, aggregated database, and it has a good coverage on social sciences. In order to select the articles, I have searched in the mentioned databases using the following keywords: “transnational habitus”, “migration habitus”, “Bourdieu migration studies”. I decided to limit the search to those keywords in order to have a reasonable number of studies. Usually, the number of studies for a meta-ethnography seems to be limited. Noblit and Hare (1988) suggested between two and six, while Soundy and Hennegan (2022) in their review identifies a range between 8 and 39. I chose those keywords then, without using the other keywords related (theory of practice, cultural capital and others), in order to include in the sample, the articles that explicitly refer to habitus.

I found 93 results in Scopus and 65 in Proquest. In the next step, I proceeded to read the abstracts in order to check if the articles were appropriate according to my objectives. After this procedure, I had 51 articles left, as I eliminated the ones in languages other than English and book reviews. Also, 12 articles were listed in both Scopus and Proquest. After all these preliminary procedures, I started to read one by one the articles, and I eliminated from the selection theoretical articles, and the articles on internal migration from rural to urban areas, also the one article with a quantitative approach which I decided to be eliminated based on the lack of comparability with the rest. At the end of the selection procedure, I had 38 articles left (see Annex I).

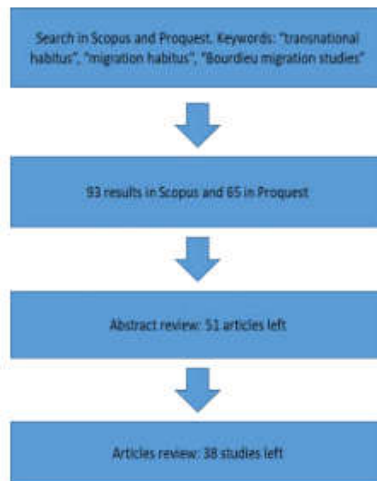


Figure 1. Selection methodology

As a first step I will make a brief overview of the use of the concept of habitus applied to migration phenomena using the following criteria: the year of publication, national contexts, categories of migrants. Then, I proceed to the analysis following a meta-ethnography methodology. The aim of this methodology is not just to synthesize the results of the studies, but to add a second layer of interpretation. As Noblit states “[...] *meta-ethnography sees synthesis as involving translation – the translation of the whole interpretations (we like to think of these as storylines) of each study (not the individual themes, concepts, or elements) into one another*” (Noblit, 2018).

This translation should account for different contexts, as different societies use different concepts to analyze practices. For this reason, it is necessary to create a new concept or framework, in order to allow comparisons. The translation can be “*reciprocal (studies are directly translatable into one another), refutational (studies contradict one another), and line of argument (studies have overlap, but when compared reveal the studies are addressing different aspects of a larger explanation than any one study posits)*” (Noblit, 2018). Also, this study followed the seven steps proposed by Noblit and Hare (1988): getting started, deciding what is relevant to the initial interest, reading the studies, determining how the studies are related, translating the studies into one another, synthesizing translations, expressing the synthesis. After the selection procedure, I read the studies and decided to group them by subjects, in order to identify the findings based on these criteria. Findings of the studies are what Noblit and Hare (1988) call second order constructs, while first order constructs are represented by the participants’ perspective on the phenomenon. Then, I proceeded to elaborate third order constructs, and expressing the synthesis, which means to generate a theory based on the studies analyzed in the sample (Soundy, & Heneghan, 2022).

Years of publication

Looking at the distribution per year of the selected articles, 30 out of 38 have been published between 2015 and 2020, the rest of 8 studies being published between 2000 and 2014. This indicates a growing attention from scholars toward Bourdieu’s concepts and framework. Also, this is in line with what was reported by Levy *et al.* (2020) in their research on the status of migration field. Since the ’90s, they assessed a growing number of citations of Bourdieu’s work, coinciding with a growing number of qualitative studies. Those citations are mostly concentrated on the cluster identified by the authors as Ethnic/Race relations.

National contexts

Looking at the geographical context taken in consideration by the selected studies, it is useful to separate between origin areas and destination areas. Focusing

on the data about origin areas, Asian countries are the most represented in the sample.

Regarding the destination areas, there is a prevalence of Anglophone states which have a long tradition as immigration countries. In a global economy they play a central economic role and they are highly valued. Also, those countries have a long tradition of studies on migration (Yalaz, & Zapata-Barrero, 2018).

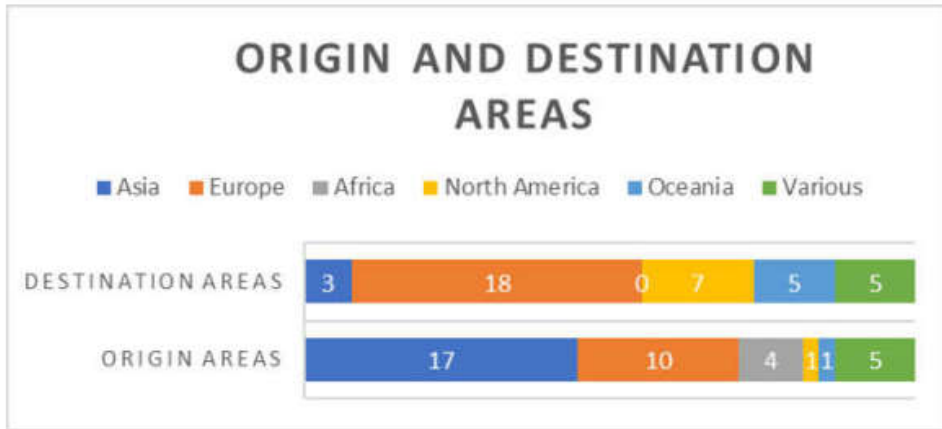


Figure 2. Articles on habitus, by origin and destination areas

Categories of migrants

As already stated above, *migrant* is a label which comprehends different kinds of people, with different purposes and projects, in the context of geographical mobility. In the sample of articles in this literature review, the categories of migrants considered are especially the ones with a higher status, either economic or professional and social. As shown in Table 1, the first two categories by number of articles are *Professionals/skilled* and *Middle-class migrants*.

Table 1. Articles on habitus, by categories of migrants

Categories of migrants	Nr.
Professionals and skilled	10
Middle class migrants	7
Lower economic migrants	6
Refugees	6
Various	4
Students	3
Second generation	2

In the categories *Various* I grouped the articles that refer to multiple categories of migrants. In these studies, the main aspect for selecting the cases is their nationality so, as a result, between participants there are people with different economic and/or social status.

Articles' topics

In order to facilitate the identification of the results of the studies in the sample, I tried to identify within the articles the main subjects.

Table 2. Articles on habitus, by subjects

Subject	Nr.
Education	12
Cultural identity and cultural encounters	7
Family	5
Work/Professional	5
Gender	3
Return migration	3
Social stratification	1
Transition to later life	1
Transition to adulthood	1

I identified nine main subjects as reported in *Table 2*. Of course, each of them can intersect with other topics within the articles.

Education

A large part of the selected studies – 12 out of 38 – brings up the subject of education. There is a prevalence of Asian migrants in these studies (Chinese above all, then Japanese and Indian), and Anglophone countries as host countries. It is possible to identify two main groups of practices. I identify personal practices and familial practices in the education section.

An example of personal practice is the case of Nepali women studying abroad and challenging some traditional practices related to gender once back in Nepal (Dhungel, 2019). Also, the mobility is an educational practice used by families, in order to give their children a cosmopolitan education to better navigate the global world (Nukaga, 2013; Waters, 2007). Of course, cultural capital is the main resource put into play, both the one already possessed and the one to be acquired. As the actors involved in the abovementioned practices are already provided with a high cultural capital in the origin country, this guides them to acquire a more

global and valuable cultural capital, as in the case of the migration of Chinese families in Anglophone countries. English literacy is highly valued in Chinese society (Chao, & Ma, 2019). Of course, this high cultural capital is related to high economic and social capital.

But, for some categories of migrants their cultural capital – especially institutional cultural capital – is not valued in the host country, making difficult their path in the host societies and causing them a disqualification (Akua-Sakyiwah, 2016). As a result, it is possible to observe in some studies (Dhungel, 2019; Dai, Lingard, & Musofer, 2020) of this group, that the habitus related to education topic can be a *cleft habitus* as Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 2007) calls it. It is the habitus that results from experiences that challenge the original habitus and change dispositions. Also, the habitus can be considered from a gendered viewpoint when it involves, for example, being a good mother, according to the standard of both sending and receiving countries (Nukaga, 2013), or challengeing the tradition related to gender (Dhungel, 2019).

Cultural identity and cultural encounters

In studies with the topic *cultural identity and cultural encounters*, migrants are from different origins. From European countries moving to other European countries, or from Sri Lanka, North Korea, and Africa to Anglophone countries. One study is about migration from Newfoundland to Grand Manan. Therefore, related to this topic, there are some papers in which there is proximity in cultures, while in others there is an outstanding difference that generates what Bourdieu calls *hysteresis effect* (Bourdieu, 1977). That happens, for example, in the case of Nigerian migrants that report as the over-organized life of Europeans is considered by them a limitation to freedom and social relations (Lunaček, 2020).

Almost all the studies mention distinction cultural practices used in the new context by the migrants as a sign of their belonging to a different culture, or sometimes to other social groups from the same origin country. These practices reproduce traditions, rituals, habits from the origin countries, in some cases using and displaying objects invested with feelings of belonging.

In this cluster the cultural capital is central, especially in its objective and embodied form. In some studies, there is the attempt by the migrants to reproduce, in the new context, the habitus from the origin countries, through practices and objects, in order to “feel at home”, and producing in that way a new habitus. However, as in the case of North Korean migrants in South Korea, migrants try to get rid of their original habitus, in order to achieve what they consider a more cosmopolitan – and therefore, more valuable – habitus (Jung, Dalton, & Willis, 2017). Also, there can be a tension between the habitus in the encounter between two communities, as in the case of Gran Manan migrants in Newfoundland, where the resources possessed by the two groups are similar (Marshall, & Foster, 2002).

Family

Family is the topic in five of the selected articles. Three studies recount about Italian migrants, one about Romanians in Canada, and one about Iranian migrants grown up in Sweden, and later moving to UK. The practices highlighted are oriented to create or keep the link with the family living in another place. That is particularly clear in the case of the second generations, as in this case, the dispositions toward the family back in the origin country are part of the habitus which they are socialized to.

Practicing the language of the origin country plays a central role in creating the emotional bonding with the family back there, and a feeling of belonging (Zontini, & Reynolds, 2018; Nedelcu, 2012). Also, the cooking practices shared with the family in the origin country, and the food have the same emotional function (Marino, 2019). The practice of onward migration, in the case of the Iranian second-generation migrants is a strategy to value their own family habitus (Kelly, 2017).

Crucial is also how communication happens, that is through Internet. The use of Internet for communication between members of family in different countries allows for sharing different practices, and it also allows the people participating to access their mutual social world (Nedelcu, 2012).

In the case of the second-generation migrants, they received through their family a cultural capital related to their country of origin, where the language is an important asset, especially when it's a matter of a language valued in an international perspective (Zontini, & Reynolds, 2018). Also, it is an instrument to create social capital into the family, together with the culinary practices. Of course, the economic capital is fundamental in sustaining the bonding within family members in different countries, because it allows people to travel and visit and take contact with the family abroad (Zontini, & Reynolds, 2018).

The family habitus of migrants is then oriented toward a broader definition of family which transcends borders and has an emotional connotation reinforced by everyday practices that connect the two worlds. For this reason, the habitus related to family topic intersects with cultural identity (Marino, 2019; Nedelcu, 2012), but also with social stratification in the receiving society (Zontini, & Reynolds, 2018).

Work

In this cluster I included four articles. Migrants are from South Asia, Zimbabwe, Southern East Europe and in one study, they are from different origin countries. The host countries are Singapore, Austria, Australia, and UK. Practices are oriented to secure career paths in the context migrants are settling or through migration. They can use strategies coming from their previous habitus, such as scientists from western societies in Singapore. They use their western *hexis* and cultural norms,

as they are highly valued in Singapore, and demonstrate in such a way, they know how to play the rules of the game (Sidhu, Yeoh, & Chang, 2015).

Also, the main topic can intersect with the theme of education. For this reason, retraining in the host country is a practice tried by migrants to secure their carrier path when their institutional cultural capital is not directly convertible (Thondhlana, Madziva, & McGrath, 2016).

In this cluster, the main resource is represented by cultural capital, in its institutional form. Institutional cultural capital can be a resource that the migrants have since the origin country, that can be valued in the host country. Sometimes, in the receiving country, institutional capital is not convertible, and this requires a new acquisition in the host country or, as alternative, the migrants can experience the devaluation of their professional position. Other migrants move to the host country with the intention to acquire here the cultural capital necessary to invest here in the professional field.

Also, the social capital is relevant, meaning that the ethnic network is an important resource at arrival in the host country. Later, the local social capital can enable migrants to have access the wider labor market (Mohyuddin, & Pick, 2016). The attempt to secure their career path, the strategies they use and the new resources acquired are engaged to adjust to the new context, and therefore to generate new dispositions toward work and career.

Gender

The articles with this topic are three. Two of them have as host country Hong Kong. Two articles are concerned with women's practices. As highlighted by McKay (2001), the practices and the body *hexis* acquired abroad are introduced back in the origin country, and the distinction from women who never migrated is underlined. The migration experience is inscribed in the bodies of women who appear different from the traditional way to understand femininity. Also, these new practices and body *hexis* inspire and change what is desirable for new generations of women.

In gender relations and gender roles, through migration, a central role is determined by the orientation the migrants have towards one or the other social space (Erdal, & Pawlak, 2018). The articles focus on gendered cultural capital or capital acquired through gendered activities and resources associated with gender. Therefore, from a gendered perspective, research on the topic stresses the changing in body *hexis* of migrants' habitus (McKay, 2001) or the strategic use of female features to succeed in the new context (Gu & Lee, 2020).

Return migration

The three studies in this cluster have as a main topic return migration or periodical coming back of Romanians, Philippino women and Burundian migrants.

In all the practices reported in the three articles, there is a sense of displacement experienced by the migrants while back to their origin country, which is the result of the incongruence between the new habitus and the traditional one. Also, it is a sign of the changing of dispositions (McKay, 2005; Sagmo, 2015; Vlase, & Croitoru, 2019).

Economic capital is an important asset because it allows frequent visits and it gives the opportunity to start a business back in the country. So are the skills and values acquired during staying abroad. The capitals acquired abroad, and the overall symbolic capital acquired abroad can be an important source of upward mobility back in the country.

Social stratification

One article on Indian diaspora in the USA focuses on this topic. Migration *per se* is a strategy for Indians from an upper caste. Also, another strategy is represented by marriage endogamous practices in order to anticipate the migration project. Capital and resources are related to caste, especially social capital within the caste and symbolic capital. In this habitus, migration is a sort of a rite of passage, so the families prepare their children to this moment, while caste and kinship are a bridge between the origin and the host country (Roohi, 2017).

Transition to later life

This topic is addressed in one article on Finns who have lived abroad and North Americans who lives or have lived in Finland. Mobility and multi-locality are practices that persist in later life of highly skilled migrants. They have a significant economic capital which is relevant for care needs related to their age, although it can also lose value in the mobility. Also, social capital represented by family and friends is an important component to guarantee care assistance. Cultural capital consists of familiarity with services and their access. Overall, their citizenship is a valuable symbolic capital. Their habitus is cosmopolitan, based more on lifestyle than social class, and is characterized by mobility, physical and psychological (Zechner, 2017).

Transition to adulthood

This topic is the main subject of one article about young unaccompanied refugees in Sweden. Their practices and actions are strongly influenced by their previous life and family habitus. So once again, this topic intersects with the family one. Also, the hosting family in Sweden contributes by providing resources to adapt to the new context, and allowing young refugees to realize their life plan. The stability – in the form of continuity with their habitus or the stability

acquired once arrived in Sweden – is the key to pursuit their life plan in the new environment (Lalander, & Herz, 2020).

Discussion

Starting from the second order constructs discussed above, I will then try to define the third order constructs which are the main object of this literature review.

In the sample, migration per se is a practice which occurs in a field which is not just made up by the origin and the destination countries. It seems that the field is the bigger one, of globalization, in which some receiving countries are in a dominant position not just from an economic viewpoint but also from a cultural perspective, and, of course, also social. Having or acquiring the corresponding capitals gives the persons many advantages and an overall symbolic capital, which allow them to acquire a good position in a global world.

In this global field, some migrants, even from disadvantaged countries, can have good economic, cultural and social resources, so through migration they further develop those aspects in the host country. Migrants who possess those capitals, have a smoother path in the host society, as most of the migrants in the clusters *Education* and *Professionals*. On the other hand, those migrants from disadvantage countries with a small number of capitals or with resources not convertible (such as their institutional cultural capital) in the host country have a more difficult path, and they can experience hysteresis and more probably they will develop a cleft habitus.

So, based on the sample, there are some migrants whose habitus at the departure is already oriented to the habitus of the host countries. In those cases, the changes are not radical, they do not imply a rupture with the previous habitus, but instead there is continuity, and for this reason, habitus changes gradually. More radical changes are rare in the sample, as in the case of the North Koreans mentioned above. They completely dismiss their original habitus, looking for a more cosmopolitan one (Jung, Dalton, & Willis, 2017). Once again, the landmark is represented by the habitus of the well-positioned countries in the global field. Those countries influence the migration flows not just from an economic point of view but also cultural, social and in general of the lifestyle. Moreover, this influence act also back in the home countries through all the practices of connection of the social spaces (online communications, frequent travels), as in the case of Philippino women back in their village and promoting between the new generations of women a body hexis acquired in Hong Kong (McKay, 2001).

Then, can be concluded that changes in the original habitus through transnational migration can be either gradual or disruptive, depending on the dispositions of the habitus before the migration, and on the situation if those resources related to that habitus can be valued or not in the context where migration occurs.

Also, the concept can make an important contribution to the theory of migration. As Arango (2018) observes, migration is an extremely diversified phenomenon (with reference to the typology of migrants, reasons, contexts), and this feature makes it difficult to investigate it. Theories and paradigms about migration over time have focused more on the causes of departure, but have not shown much interest for those who do not leave. In the author's opinion, more attention should be paid to families, kinship systems, social systems. More attention should also be paid to cultural issues and contexts in which migration takes place, including political issues. What the author demands is the shift of focus and of theoretical interest from causes to other aspects: processes, consequences, the relationship between migration and social change (Arango, 2018). On their side, Brettel and Hollifield, put the stress on the need for more studies to highlight the action of agents in economic and structural dynamics (Brettel, & Hollifield, 2008). The concept of *habitus* can provide an interesting perspective according to what these authors say about the theoretical shortcomings in migration theory.

Conclusions

From the analysis conducted on the selected sample, it emerges that between 2015 and 2020 the number of studies about migration – using Bourdieu concepts – grew significantly. A large part of these studies refers, as origin countries, to Asian countries (China, India and Philippines are the most represented), and as destination countries, to Anglophone countries. Although this is in line with the global trend of migration flows, it can be interesting to apply the concept to many other migration flows, including the one from Eastern to Western Europe, as it is one of the most important internal migration flows of the last thirty years in Europe.

In the sample, Polish and Romanian migrants are the subject of two studies each. It would be interesting to see more studies looking at the phenomenon through the lens of *habitus*, as for a long time the two areas of Europe mentioned above have represented two worlds completely apart from political, economic, cultural, social and symbolic viewpoint. The use of the *habitus* concept would bring light on the resources and strategies adopted by the actors socialized to an Eastern European *habitus* while navigating western societies, and on the practices which they bring back to the origin countries.

The studies in the sample focus mainly on migrants with a higher social status (professional or economic). We need more studies focusing on lower economic migrants, on their path and position in the host society, and eventually, on the effect the migration has on their position and status in their native country. This can help to understand the strategies and resources at disposal of migrants who work in positions under their qualification in the host society, which inevitably influence their path and experience in the host country.

Using the concept of habitus – and other related concepts – require considering both the departure and the host countries. In all the studies mentioned above the migrants show that they inhabit the two social spaces, and that this makes them to adapt their habitus according to this condition. Also, their experience has an impact on non-migrants in the communities left behind. This is not new as in migration studies is something assumed. What is important is that from this perspective, the stress is on the practices from below, which impact the everyday life, and then societies. That impact is not just merely economic but also cultural and social. This is another aspect that can be investigated through the concept of habitus and that will connect structure and agency.

For sure there is much work to do using this approach in migration studies. For example, in the selected articles, there is a large focus given to cultural capital. Although there are some mentions to the relation with the other forms of capital – explicit or implicit – this aspect should be more developed. As Kelly and Lusi (Kell, & Lusi, 2006) underline, in Bourdieu's theory, capitals and resources are convertible into one another. As shown by the two authors in their paper, the economic resources accumulated by Philippino migrants in Canada, are invested in the origin country in the education of the younger member of the family who attend prestigious schools where they develop a social network among the higher status part of the society.

The concept of habitus can be applied to investigate a wide range of phenomena. Looking at the migration studies – according to the studies in the sample – it can be concluded that the concept is not applied at its full potential. The number of studies using Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* is certainly growing, but is still limited. Still, most of these studies consider privileged categories of migrants. Only a few studies address the disadvantaged categories of migrants. That can seem odd, as in Bourdieu scientific production there is a constant attention to those less advantaged social actors that experience social exclusion. One example above all in his production is represented by *The Weight of the world* (Bourdieu, 1999). Also, studies on education are overrepresented in the sample, confirming a tradition started with *The Inheritors* (Bourdieu, & Passeron, 1979) and *The Reproduction* (Bourdieu *et al.*, 1978) which impacted this domain. Then, as a conclusive remark, more work is to be done in order to cover more facets of migration phenomena which are still neglected in the transnational habitus approach.

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Author(s)	Year	Journal	Origin area	Destination area	Migrants	Subtype
McKay D.	2001	Geography Research Forum	Philippines	Hong Kong	Lower economic migrants	Gender
Marshall J., Foster N.	2002	The Canadian Geographer / Le Geographe canadien	Newfoundland	Gran Malina	Lower economic migrants	Cultural identity and cultural encounters
McKay D.	2005	Journal of Intercultural Studies	Philippines	Various	Lower economic migrants	Return migration
Waters J.L.	2007	Global Networks	Hong Kong	Canada	Students	Education
Lopez Rodriguez M.	2010	Social Identities	Poland	UK	Lower economic migrants	Education
Oliwer C., O'Reilly K.	2010	Sociology	UK	Spain	Middle class migrants	Cultural identity and cultural encounters
Nedelou, M.	2012	Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies	Romania	Canada	Professionals and skilled	Family
Nakaga M.	2013	International Sociology	Japan	USA	Middle class migrants	Education
Sgomo T.H.	2015	Mobilities	Burundi	Norway and UK	Refugees	Return migration
Suhri R., Teoh B., Chang S.	2015	Higher Education	Various	Singapore	Professionals and skilled	Work/professional
De Costa P.J., Tighehar M., Cui, Y.	2016	AIJA Review	China	USA	Students	Education
Duchêne-Jacoux C., Koukoutsaki-Monnier A.	2016	Identities	France	Germany	Students	Cultural identity and cultural encounters
Akua-Sakyiah B.	2016	Journal of International Migration and Integration	Somalia	UK	Refugees	Education
Muhyuddin S.M., Plick D.	2016	The Journal of Developing Areas	South Asian countries	Australia	Professionals and skilled	Work/professional
Thondhavan J., Madziva R., McGrath S.	2016	The Sociological Review	Zimbabwe	UK	Professionals and skilled	Work/professional
Sala E., Baldassar L.	2017	Ethos	Australia	Italy	Second generation	Family
Aris S.	2017	Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies	India	Australia	Middle class migrants	Education
Rothi S.	2017	Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies	India	USA	Professionals and skilled	Social stratification
Kelly M.	2017	Migration Letters	Iran	Sweden - UK	Refugees	Family
Jamal Al-deen T., Windle J.	2017	Journal of Sociology	Iraq	Australia	Refugees	Education
Jung K., Dalton B., Willis J.	2017	Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal	North Korea	South Korea- Australia	Refugees	Cultural identity and cultural encounters
Wintermiller J., Hirt C.	2017	Personal Review	Southeast Europe	Austria	Professionals and skilled	Work/professional
Zehner M.	2017	Identities	Various	Various	Middle class migrants	Transition to later life
Zontini E., Reynolds T.	2018	Global Networks	Caribbean and Italy	UK	Second generation	Family
Frital M.B., Pawlak M.	2018	Gender, Place & Culture	Poland	Norway	Lower economic migrants	Gender
Soong H., Stahl G., Shan H.	2018	Globalisation, Societies and Education	Various	Canada and Australia	Middle class migrants	Education
Chao X., Ma X.	2019	Journal of Early Childhood Literacy	China	USA	Middle class migrants	Education
Marino S.	2019	International Journal of Cultural Studies	Italy	UK	Various	Family
Thunget L.	2019	Journal of International Women's Studies	Nepal	Various	Middle class migrants	Education
Kokkilainen S.	2019	Social Inclusion	Nordic European countries	UK	Various	Work/professional
Vlase L., Croitoru A.	2019	Current Sociology	Romania	European countries	Lower economic migrants	Return migration
Băgici E.E.	2019	Adult Education Quarterly	Turkey	Germany	Various	Education
Christou A., Janta H.	2019	The Sociological Review	European countries	Switzerland	Professionals and skilled	Cultural identity and cultural encounters
Das K., Lingard B., Musofer R.P.	2020	Educational Philosophy and Theory	China	Australia	Students	Education
Lumarek S.	2020	Anthropological Notebooks	Niger	Europe	Professionals and skilled	Cultural identity and cultural encounters
Casson S., Stolte D., Hodggets D.	2020	Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology	Sri Lanka	New Zealand	Professionals and skilled	Cultural identity and cultural encounters
Lalander P., Herz M.	2020	Young	Various	Sweden	Refugees	Transition to adulthood
Gu M.M., Lee J.C.-K.	2020	Ethnic and Racial Studies	Various	Hong Kong	Professionals and skilled	Gender