

An Occupational Perspective on Enculturation and Habitus - a Scoping Review

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Abstract. Increasingly, scientific interest has been focused on the meaningfulness of engaging in occupations of daily life in individual ways, and especially so for people with migration backgrounds. This is because people who migrate to a new country will likely find themselves in a position in which they notice that some occupations are done differently from how they were used to prior to moving. Enculturation, a process in which cultural elements are recognized and internalized, informs the way immigrants engage in occupations. This study aimed to scope the occupational science and occupational therapy literature on the phenomenon in which enculturation leads to adjustments of habitus among immigrants. Descriptions of the phenomenon and its impact on daily occupations were qualitatively synthesized. The included studies entail documentations on how people who migrated enculturate and adjust their habitus regarding social etiquette, social expectations, women and gender perception, feeling of acceptance and belonging, disclosure of values and beliefs, work moral and sense of competency, and occupations involving meals. Despite the findings on the impact of occupations in migration contexts, further rigorous research is needed to investigate the way in which enculturation informs habitus adjustments and strengthen the evidence base on cultural sensitivity in occupational science.

Keywords: *occupational therapy; occupational science; enculturation; habitus; immigration*

Introduction

People encounter cultural differences in the way occupations of daily life are performed when they find themselves outside of their familiar context and in a position in which they familiarize with different ways of engaging in those. It seems worthwhile contemplating the ways in which the engagement in occupations is adjusted post migration. This is especially the case when the stay is long-term or even permanent, given the increase in human migration all around the globe for voluntary or involuntary reasons.

Occupational therapy originates around the paradigm of occupations (Dickie 2009) because the engagement and participation in occupations is crucial for

peoples' health and well-being. Occupations are seen as "groups of activities and tasks of everyday life, named, organized, and given value and meaning by individuals and culture; occupation is everything people do to occupy themselves including self-care, productivity, and leisure" (CAOT 2007); p. 369). Looking at occupations from an occupational science perspective allows to focus on the context of the culture of daily lives and all activities that contribute to human health which is important in post-migration contexts because migrating to a new context results in a process that is defined by the migrants' adaptation from their heritage to their new cultural context (Berry 1997). Life disruptions that result from immigration are inescapable and have consequences on peoples' capacity to pursue the occupations they were used to prior to migrating (Huot et al. 2013, Meleis et al. 2000) and can result in occupational interruption, deprivation, disruption or alienation impacting the migrants' quality of life (Steindl, Winding, and Runge 2008, Whiteford 2005).

Because occupations are significant on post-migration experiences and integration processes (Martins and Reid 2007), and given the current global increase in migration, this creates a growing area of practice for occupational therapists working with those who wish to integrate beyond economic integration and who reflect upon their occupational pattern in order to adjust the way they engage in occupations. Occupational scientists have begun to investigate the impact of immigration on occupations, but in order to understand what causes migrants to adjust the way they go about occupations and their habitus, one must consider the impact of a hosting context's culture(s). Understanding how people engage in occupations post migration appears to be of increasing interest within occupational science and occupational therapy. However, regarding enculturation, there is a gap in the profession's knowledge base and research has yet to investigate the impact of foreign socio-cultural contexts on the way migrants change the way they engage in occupations.

Scanning the occupational science and occupational therapy literature for examples of the phenomenon of enculturation leading to adjustments of habitus can be helpful for occupational therapists and professionals from other disciplines working with individuals from diverse backgrounds. Exploring the state of the literature on the topic from an occupational perspective may enrich the understanding of migrants' experiences with enculturation and its impact. This scoping review might also contribute to scientific progress regarding migration and integration by raising awareness of culturally embedded differences in behavioral



patterns; and by contributing to efforts at better understanding the way immigrants engage in occupations in new cultural contexts. By adding an occupational perspective to the knowledge base around migration and integration, a more critical and reflexive stance can be taken which acknowledges that the way people engage in occupations is embedded in unwritten rules which immigrants must familiarize themselves with. This understanding can in turn contribute to societal reform as it raises the awareness of the learning progress that immigrants undergo when they find themselves in an unfamiliar culture. This awareness might create dialogue and be an incentive for societies to rethink prejudices, stigma and intolerance against immigrants and their behavioral patterns.

It may also lead to a debate about current efforts towards integration and to challenge existing policies. Ultimately, habitus cannot be changed easily or at will because habitus is part of the very same social structures in accordance to which people identify themselves (Thibodaux 2005) and the willingness and motivation to let cultural aspects impact the habitus is personal. But habitus “also serves to organize people's practices in a tacit manner and its contextual nature influences the way people from the same group commonly act, which may be distinct from the habitus of a different group” (Huot et al. 2013); p. 9). Attention to this in occupational science might help migrants feel less excluded because they are unfamiliar with the mechanisms in which the (re)production of certain rules and norms becomes the decisive factor of whether one will be integrated.

Enculturation and habitus

The concept of enculturation draws back to Berry's concept of acculturation (1980, 1997, 2003). Weinreich (2009) explains the differences between enculturation and acculturation as follows: “the term enculturation is used to emphasize the agentic individual incorporating cultural elements during socialization, whereas acculturation typically references migrants' movement towards and adoption of the mainstream ‘receiving culture’” (p. 125). The concept of enculturation challenges acculturation and the idea of a monolithic and uniform mainstream culture. Instead, it emphasizes that cultural elements of any available culture within a given place, of the majority of people or of minority groups, are continuously incorporated if a person considers them significant. Enculturated elements and selected features of alternatively available cultural manifestations in multi-cultural contexts can thus be seen as the migrants' interpretations of ethnicity.

Moreover, Weinreich (2009) highlights that biographical developmental experiences drive the agentic selection of elements to be incorporated whereby enculturation accommodates autonomy and innovative life styles.

Combining the concept of enculturation with the concept of habitus (Bourdieu 1977, 1990/2004) is helpful in gaining a better understanding of the complex way in which enculturation is closely linked to and informs habitus. Since migrants' occupations and habitus are in part shaped and impacted by the host context, this approach emphasizes that changes made to migrants' cultural context triggers enculturation and, subsequently, adjustments in terms of habitus.

There is no consensus to this day how the concept of "habit" differs from the concept of "habitus". The concept of habit fell out of favor of sociologists and philosophers in the latter half of the 20th century (Crossley 2013), and so an alternative in form of the concept of habitus was offered by Bourdieu (1977, 1990/2004), Husserl (1973, 1990) and Weber (2004), among others. In this study the concept of habitus was preferred because of its stronger representation in the literature and because of its suitability to review the complex ways in which socio-cultural contexts impact adjustments in the way people engage in occupations post-migration.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus emphasizes the dynamic nature of the transformations of the values, orientations, beliefs and behaviors of social actors in relation to the context individuals find themselves in. The habitus of people, which is described by Bourdieu as the dispositions that people eventually adopt in particular places and contexts, develops because they are conditioned by the organizing principles (Thomson 2008). Habitus consists of structures and internalized dispositions that people learn from childhood. It allows people, and the societies they live in, to create interests, form action strategies and rules for conventional norms. Bourdieu (1977) explains how people fulfill self-fulfilling prophecies by acting according to societal expectations. Habitus as a concept therefore tries to establish the link between individual agency and cultural determination within a society. In the hosting context, migrants face and try to understand the complex process in which the way people engage in occupations in specific environments create structures to act upon, and thus peoples' habitus.

Aim



The aim of this scoping review was to map the occupational science and occupational therapy literature on demonstrations of the phenomenon of enculturation-related habitus adjustments.

Study Design

Methodology

In order to explore the state of the literature on enculturation and the adjustments in habitus it leads to, a scoping review consisting of a qualitative synthesis was conducted to allow a rigorous and methodological exploration of existing studies that met the inclusion criteria, and to build upon what is documented thus far on the phenomenon of enculturation-related habitus adjustment.

The scoping review methodology is most appropriate to the aim of this study which is to explore a broad phenomenon and gain a deeper understanding of it. As opposed to systematic reviews, this scoping review's research aim is less concise but imbedded in a broad conceptual range. The scoping review methodology enables a descriptive overview of a diverse body of literature that consists of varying methodologies and designs on a broad topic (Arksey and O'Malley 2005) which is not necessarily achievable in traditional reviews. By synthesizing the data obtained, the authors developed demonstrations of the phenomenon of enculturation-related habitus adjustments in occupational therapy and occupational science literature.

Data Collection

Seven relevant electronic databases were systematically searched (CINAHL, Scopus, NHS Knowledge Network, Medline, PsycInfo, ProQuest Nursing and Allied Health Source, ProQuest Psychology Database) and work by key authors in the field were searched, indexes of different publications hand searched, non-electronic sources manually searched, reference lists from selected articles explored and journals of occupational therapy and science searched to identify additional literature.

Selection

The literature was selected based on the following criteria: scholarly journals; participants of all ages were relevant to the research question; to collect relevant information on populations with an immigration background studies focusing on both 'refugees' and 'migrants' were included; the studies had to be

published after 2000 and before May 2018 and written in German, English or Finnish language.

Because the results of the literature search on habitus and enculturation from an occupational perspective were limited, additional search terms such as “acculturation”, “migration”, “refugees” “migrants” and “occupational adjustment” were used to gain access to articles that entail the phenomenon of enculturation-related habitus adjustment from different angles. The scope was widened to include acculturation which is linked to the concept of enculturation because such studies can give examples enculturation strategies if they are described in enough detail.

Processing and analysis

To prepare the data for synthesis, the process recommended by Khan et al. (2011) was followed to identify the most relevant publications. The identification of potentially relevant citations of the literature search produced 53 hits. 13 articles remained after the exclusion of irrelevant citations through screening of titles and abstracts. Four articles (n=4) were included in the meta-synthesis after the retrieval of hardcopies of potentially relevant citations identified through the search strategy and by sifting through reference lists; the exclusion of irrelevant citations; and after detailed appraisal.

Databases, keywords and hits for each search and database were tabulated. To familiarize with the range and diversity of the material reviewed for this meta-synthesis, the literature that met the inclusion criteria was critically appraised using an adapted version of the McMaster Critical Review Form (Letts et al. 2007). A detailed description of each study was then created.

Because a less methodological interpretive descriptive design was used in this scoping review, attention was paid to maintaining transparency throughout the work. The deductive process of analysis of the data, which could either be demonstrations of the phenomenon in the form of findings or raw data presented as if they were findings, compiled from the primary resources took place in a meta-data-analysis. Every study included in the review was tabulated in detail and links to each grouping were established. During this process of tabulating, the demonstrations of the phenomenon were systematically lifted from their original context and rearranged according to the thematic groups and categories that emerged. The data and the categories were then tabulated which visually aided to illuminate the dynamics of enculturation-related habitus adjustments; and the



research context in which demonstrations of it were found. The categories that emerged were then compared to one another in a process of grouping and regrouping the data in as many ways as possible. This then allowed the authors to develop the categories using an adapted version of Thorne et al.'s (2004) interpretative descriptive method.

Groups that emerged during the analysis were linked e.g. to country migrated from and to; type of migrant; study methodology; concepts or theoretical orientation of the studies; or the kind of habitus adjustment described. In the next stage, the key concepts and interpretations that emerged after grouping, regrouping and comparing process were developed.

Results

All four studies included are of qualitative design and used interviews to collect data. The studies by Nayar (2014), Nayar and Sterling (2013), Connor Schisler and Polatajko (2002) and Gupta and Sullivan (2008) do not study enculturation and habitus per se, but elements of their work meets the inclusion criteria because they demonstrate how enculturated elements of the host culture impacted habitus adjustments in the participants.

The phenomenon was discovered in articles published between 2002 and 2014. The results were drawn from studies that used an occupational science perspective to understand either acculturation (Nayar and Sterling 2013); "models of acculturation as a measure of successful settlement" (Nayar 2014); the process of cross-cultural adjustment in terms of changes in occupations and the role of occupations in immigrant populations (Gupta and Sullivan 2008); or the environment and occupational changes that occurred in daily occupations post migration (Connor Schisler and Polatajko 2002). Furthermore, the phenomenon occurred in studies that used grounded theory (Nayar 2014; Nayar and Sterling 2013), descriptive interpretive (Gupta and Sullivan 2008) or ethnographic methodology (Connor Schisler and Polatajko 2002).

The phenomenon was found in studies which used various concepts and theoretical orientations. For example, the concept of "shaping self" was reported to enable the participants to engage in occupations that engendered a sense of belonging and acceptance as an immigrant in the receiving society (Nayar and Sterling 2013). Nayar's (2014) study presented examples of the phenomenon of

enculturation-related habitus adjustments by “complexities of acculturation and the lack of agency afforded to immigrants in their choice of acculturative strategy, when situated within the bicultural context of New Zealand society” (p. 1141). The phenomenon occurred in research that focused on physical, psychological, cultural, social, spiritual, political, and occupational demands of the environment in post migration occupational science (Connor Schisler and Polatajko 2002). The phenomenon also appears in a study that aimed to enhance the understanding of cross-cultural adaptation in terms of changes in occupations, the way changes were handled, and the role occupation played in cross-cultural adaptation (Gupta and Sullivan 2008).

Examples of enculturation-related adjustments to habitus were seen in studies whose participants moved from India, Burundi, Eritrea, Somalia, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Sudan, Peru, Burma, Bosnia, Uruguay, Ecuador and Mexico to New Zealand, Canada and USA. In terms of the length of stay in the host country, participants immigrated between 1987 and 2005. A total of 50 migrants between the age of 18 and 65 years were studied. Overall, 8 males and 42 females participated in the studies that demonstrated the phenomenon of whom the majority received tertiary education. However, not all studies specified whether this took place in either their heritage country or the receiving country.

In most cases the samples were not described in terms of professions. But in one instance students and people employed in health, education, public service, and technical fields were studied. Enculturation-caused adjustments to habitus were seen in studies that studied migrants who chose to immigrate voluntarily to increase prospects of employment, refugees, and mixed samples of voluntary and involuntary backgrounds. Even though one of the samples consisted of refugees, information described only that the participants had applied for refugee status prior to immigration but not whether they were granted it at the start of the study.

Enculturation appears to be a transactional process that is deeply embedded within habitus and across occupational contexts. Habitus adjustments occur when aspects of the hosting culture are acknowledged and revealed. The descriptions of enculturation-related habitus adjustments found in the literature occur when socio-cultural traditions no longer solely influence aspects such as time management, daily occupational patterning and anticipations of individuals and the society. Moreover, the adjustments of habitus were triggered by cultural elements that were either of collective or personal nature. The results exhibit that the phenomenon occurs in a



wide spectrum of categories.

Conventional norms

The phenomenon occurred in contexts in which migrants had to grow accustomed to the code of norms that delineate the etiquette and expectations for habitus according to the hosting societies' norms. The following two categories "etiquette" and "social expectations" go therefore hand in hand with one another in terms of the impact that conventional norms in the receiving culture have on enculturation and the adjustment of habitus. However, the demonstrations of the phenomenon illustrated separately both habitus adjustments in terms of etiquette and expectations.

Etiquette

Regarding enculturation-related habitus adjustments in leisure occupations, social invitations entail a process of adjustment of habitus and migrants might find themselves in a position where the etiquette to act upon must be established before one can engage in occupations with others from and within the new context. The documentation of an acculturation strategy presented in one of the studies (Nayar 2014) is detailed and states why and how a specific cultural aspect informed a change in habitus from an occupational perspective. Namely, the documentation describes how one participant adjusted her habitus as she enculturates the element of being asked to bring food to a dinner party, even though that was not the norm in her heritage culture which is based on collectivism and being a good host means providing the meal for the guests. The participant adjusts her habitus due to the cultural difference and now brings food when she is invited, even though she sees more value in her own culture.

Social expectations

What used to be culturally expected in the heritage context may not necessarily be so in the host culture. By enculturating certain cultural elements regarding expectations or the dismissal of such, one can engage in occupations that enhance well-being and enable a more fulfilling life. In another demonstration of the phenomenon (Connor Schisler and Polatajko 2002), a participant would go out to drink with friends in the heritage country because it is a culturally expected leisure habitus, even though he argued with his family and himself about doing so. The receiving culture does not expect the same leisure habitus of socializing with other

men in bars and the participant happily enculturated that element, modified his habitus and stays home with his family.

Feeling of acceptance and belonging

Enculturation and its impact on habitus enable engagement in occupations and a sense of belonging and acceptance. Despite the participants' attempts to maintain their cultural practices, Nayar & Sterling (2013) demonstrate that participants choose how, when and to what extent to engage in occupation due to cultural aspects of the receiving culture. This then led the participants to engage in occupations that made them feel accepted as immigrants and gave them a sense of belonging.

Disclosure of values and beliefs

In terms of productivity, enculturation within the home and work place entails a selectiveness in revealing heritage culture. Nayar & Sterling (2013) describe how the participants' enculturation-related habitus adjustments entailed a limitation of personal values and beliefs in order to simplify social connections with members of the host context, to enable engagement in occupations, as well as well-being in the long run. Moreover, proactivity in enculturation and modification of habitus to cope with dualism of heritage and host context can be regardful in terms of occupational opportunities (Nayar 2014).

Work moral and sense of occupational competency

In terms of reconstruction of life post migration, enculturating elements of the host culture can impact experiences of space, time, roles and meaning of occupations which can impact both identity and competency. The way one perceives the form of compensation for work in terms of wages or salaries can result in enculturation and adjustments of habitus relating to work moral and occupational competency. Gupta & Sullivan (2008) describe how when a new concept of time was enculturated, it caused changes in a participant's occupational behavior at work. Because the hosting culture pays an hourly wage, a participant worked harder because she felt she had to achieve more.

Occupations involving meals

After immigrating to a new host context, enculturation leads to adjustments of habitus in terms of the engagement in occupations that involve food. Participants



found themselves in a position where they must rethink and adjust the way in which they plan and have meals according to the customs of the hosting contexts. Connor Schisler & Polatajko (2002) describe that participants used to go home for lunch and a nap, because in their heritage culture one does not eat in public. After arriving in the receiving culture, participants adjusted their habitus and adjusted their eating habits, now take lunch with them and stopped napping as they enculturated these aspects of the receiving culture.

Enculturating elements of the hosting culture impacts the way one engages in occupations, such as meal preparation. Adjustments may have to be made to accommodate potential issues such as annoyance with cooking smells which may be unacceptable in the host context. Gupta & Sullivan (2008) describe how one participant adjusted her habitus and started cooking using less spices than she normally would because her neighbors in the hosting environment complained.

Women and gender norms

Enculturation in terms of occupational habitus is relevant to women and gender perception. Through enculturation, women are shown to face their apprehension, redefine their heritage context's expectations and adjust the way they engage in occupations. Participants noted that they enjoyed the freedom in dress codes and adjusted their habitus of dressing. They started wearing more revealing clothes than they would have because it is acceptable in the host culture. They also faced their apprehension, redefined female expectations from their heritage culture and got a driver's license (Gupta and Sullivan 2008).

Discussion

The findings indicate that migrants and refugees mediate and adjust their habitus, in terms of occupational engagement, by enculturating elements that may be contradictory to their heritage culture but are mostly congruent with their personal values and the socio-cultural factors of the new culture. The demonstrations of how participants' enculturation of specific elements led them to adjust their habitus are informative but highlighted that there is little primary data available.

Enculturation and its impact on habitus enable engagement in occupations even though participants have been shown to make attempts to maintain their cultural practices (Nayar and Sterling 2013). Cultural aspects of the receiving culture

impact the choices migrants make in terms of *how*, *when* and to *what extent* they engage in occupations that make them feel accepted and give them a sense of belonging. This requires individuals to position themselves in relation to others based on their values and beliefs. Even so, participants engaged in occupations resiliently in their new environment even though returning to their heritage context may have been easier.

In terms of women and gender norms, occupational science literature describes gender as a product that is constantly created through occupations (Beagan and Saunders 2005; Goodman, Knotts, and Jackson 2007; Jackson 1998). As part of the findings of this study, women learn how to drive in order to gain occupational opportunities and adjusted their habitus in terms of dressing as they enculturate the way women tend to dress in the hosting context. Gender appears to be deeply embedded in any given socio-cultural context. But it seems to be a social construct that can be adjusted and modified over time rather than being an unchangeable entity or naturally occurring difference. That women enculturated a new perspective on appropriate dressing or getting licensed to drive reveals how the new context can impact their decision to adjust their habitus. Dressing and driving as occupations are no longer solely the act of putting on clothes or steering a car from one place to another, but they entail an informed decision to allow elements of the hosting culture to impact their habitus. More so, their habitus adjustments occur in multiple related occupations that are adjusted as a result (e.g. shopping, putting together outfits, getting around freely without depending on anyone, taking up activities that are otherwise inaccessible).

Beliefs and values triggered adjustments of habitus both directly and indirectly. Both concepts appear to impact migrants' habitus and formed their attitude towards occupational engagement. Beliefs are convictions that individuals generally believe to be true without proof or evidence and are assumptions one derives from personal values and judgements about oneself and the world around one (Openstax 2015). Beliefs are impacted by the things one sees, hears, experiences, reads and thinks about and impact an individual's habitus and occupational engagement. However, the findings have shown that the participants' beliefs may differ over time in the host context. When previously held beliefs are challenged, migrants proactively adjusted their habitus and made a choice about whether or not, and how much, of their beliefs and values they disclosed in order to enable occupational engagement (Nayar 2014; Nayar and Sterling 2013).



Values are often abstract and represent aims, desires, causes and goals valuable to an individual. Values also reflect the individual's or the society's beliefs on the desirability of certain occupations. According to Schwartz (1992), a value is "a desirable transsituational goal varying in importance, which serves as a guiding principle in the life of a person or other social entity" (p. 21). The individual value of engagement in occupations is linked to the person's meaning in life (Persson et al. 2001). Values can thus be a set of guiding principles for selective adjustments of habitus which is congruent with the finding that when migrants face different competing values within ways of engaging in occupations, their choices are likely to be based on the values that are more relevant in creating occupational engagement.

Personal sensory meaning in occupations has shown to connect migrants with the values, beliefs and norms of the context they find themselves in. The example of the participant cooking with less spices, so her neighbors wouldn't complain, illustrates how habitus adjustments occur in mundane occupations such as cooking which are rife with meaning and highly relational to people from any social-context (Beagan and D'Sylva 2011). But the meaning it holds to migrants may not be in line with the socio-cultural meaning in the hosting context. Adjusting the occupation has a larger implication than just spicing the meal less. It implies that the occupational experience is limited. This can result in a sense of loss and compromised well-being because replicating the multisensory meanings of occupations that migrants are accustomed to prior to their move is part of their identity. They are, as Bailliard (2013) puts it "pre-cognitive or unconscious elements of occupation and their impact on the lived experience of occupation" (p.120). This illuminates how enculturation-related adjustments of habitus do not always have a positive outcome for migrants. It can instead lead to occupational interruption, deprivation, disruption and alienation.

The findings of this study highlight how cultural norms trigger adjustments in migrants' occupational engagement. Much of the occupational knowledge base is on the norms and ideologies of western societies because that is where the profession finds its origin and where a large majority of research has been conducted. Voices of practitioners call increasingly for more culturally sensitive occupational therapy and science approaches (Hammell 2009; Iwama 2003).

The results of this scoping review do not only uncover that we do not know much about what triggers adjustments of habitus and its larger implications on occupational engagement. Rather it points to two issues colliding: occupational

therapy's and science's assumption do not necessarily reflect perspectives that suit those outside of the sociocultural contexts it has been dominantly studied in; and global migration brings people from those from contexts that the profession is insensitive to into the socio-cultural contexts that occupational therapy's assumptions were first constructed around.

This mingling creates a scenario where the profession needs to contemplate over how pre-existing practice can be constructively challenged in a way that encourages practitioners as well as scientists to notice their implicit biases and create a profession that is aware of the respective socio-cultures' norms but at the same time is flexible to respond to those who immigrated from a different socio-cultural background.

The results show that adjusting one's habitus can impact the sense of competence. Competence has been addressed in the literature (Christiansen 1999; Gage and Polatajko 1994; Phelan and Kinsella 2009). But there is no consensus on how and why competence matters (Holahan 2014). This implies that as practitioners we practice according to what we hold true and to how we interpret its relevance in the socio-cultural context that we practice in. People that move into that context from outside may adjust their habitus and gain a different sense of competence. But on a wider picture, does this suggest that consensus (on competence but also on other relevant assumptions) within the discipline can only be proposed when Western-based theories of occupation are assumed to be universal, or when the those outside of the Western context conform to it? Hammell (2011) emphasizes that "knowledge is partial and situated, and that theories prevail due not to their intrinsic superiority but to superior power" (p. 27).

While this synthesis does not hold the answers to the complexities it reveals, it does illustrate the importance for occupational therapists and scientists to draw from culturally diverse assumptions and perspectives in order to make the profession not only more inclusive but to also enhance it. Occupational science and therapy in multicultural settings may have a lot offer to bridge the dimensions of cultural contexts and the ways migrants adjust their ways of engaging in occupations. That means observing and reflecting upon habitus and occupational norms of the local context and being able to explain the ways of engaging in occupations to those unfamiliar with them. Ultimately, it means to address one's own cultural biases, whether implicit or not, continually in order to be able to perceive the impact of cultural differences.



This review assessed the current state of the literature on the phenomenon of enculturation and its impact in terms of occupational engagement. From an occupational science perspective, enculturating the habitus is a complex process involving socio-cultural components and purposeful adjustments. Yet, there is little information in the literature on the underlying adjustments of habitus in accordance with enculturation and the implications of it in terms of occupational science and therapy remain underexplored.

Limitations

The majority of the articles generated in the search had to be excluded because they aimed to investigate occupations migrants engage in to transition into their new contexts, whether migrants adjusted occupations or adopted new ones after immigration in general terms, and the challenges that arise in participation in occupations post migration but did not present any descriptions of how enculturated elements of the hosting culture informed a particular change in habitus.

Even though there are examples of enculturation-related habitus adjustments in the occupational science and therapy literature, none of the studies included in this meta-synthesis focused on the concept of enculturation or habitus as such. Instead they aimed to enhance our understanding of immigration within the occupational science scope utilizing different concepts. Nonetheless, only literature was included when it presented detailed information on how cultural elements were enculturated and led to adjustments in habitus. In all included studies attempts were made to maintain trustworthiness and thorough information on their objectives, strategies and methods used were given. However, given the limited wordage in journal articles, one might suspect that on instances information on study designs and decision trails had to be cut short.

The phenomenon of enculturation-related adjustments to habitus was described in studies that used interviews in English to generate data. None of the participants were native English speakers and language issues may have prevented the participants from expressing themselves nuanced and concisely. Depending on the timeframe of data collection, changes in political climate and legislation could have impacted the focus of the participants' narrative.

It must also be noted that all studies included are in English. Limitations of the search strategy may exist even though best efforts were made to scan for studies in which the phenomenon occurs. However, the resulting number of included studies

are based on the search method and inclusion criteria. Because the nature of this study is interpretive, it must be stated that the synthesis emerging is the authors' interpretation (Noblit and Hare 1988) and that replication may not lead to the same outcome.

Conclusions

The need for future research investigating enculturation and habitus in occupational science and therapy cannot be overstated. To fully understand human occupation, one must consider both the culture and the person engaged in occupations. Empirical studies have only begun to investigate how cultural elements impact migrants' identity, but how cultural elements influence their habitus and occupational engagement remains neglected in the literature. Migrants enculturate and adjust their habitus in a variety of categories, such as conventional norms, women and gender perception, feeling of acceptance and belonging, disclosure of values and beliefs, work moral and sense of occupational competency and occupations involving meals. Yet, more knowledge on this might answer the calls for more culturally sensitive occupational therapy practice.

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