Evidence of Spiritual Capital in the Schooling of Second-Generation Ghanaians in Amsterdam

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This study investigates how spiritual capital accrued from religiosity influences the educational mobility of second-generation migrants in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. We propose that inherently, religiosity possesses resources that have consequences for the socio-economic and cultural life of the adherents. The study adopts ethnographic research methods including in-depth interviews, participant observation and informal interviews in the religious field of African Initiated Christian Churches (AICCs) in Amsterdam. Fifty second-generation migrants participated in the research out of which thirty-five were women and fifteen were men. Nine representatives of AICCs were interviewed. All the research participants were purposively selected. The study found that although educational attainment is not a driving force for the creation of AICCs, religiosity has consequential effects on the schooling of second-generation Ghanaians. The study also found that spiritual capital accumulated through prayers, reading of Holy Scriptures, participation in religious services and church commitment may facilitate or deter progress in the schooling of second-generation Ghanaians. The paper concludes that religiosity and schooling are not incompatible; rather, they are complementary in the integration of second-generation migrants in the Dutch society.

Keywords: spiritual capital, schooling, second-generation migrants, religiosity, African Initiated Christian Churches (AICCs)

INTRODUCTION

Studies on ethnic religious organizations (Alba, 2005; Alba et al., 2009) identify religion as a stepping stone in the process of immigrant integration. As a result, the long-term contribution of ethnic religious organizations to immigrants' lives in the host country is questioned (Warner, 2007; Ambrosini and Caneva, 2009; Baffoe, 2013). The premature forecast of secularization theorists a century ago on the demise of religion in public discourse influenced migration scholars to lessen the importance of religion (Berger, 1999; Bramadat, 2011) in the public sphere. The world has, however, witnessed religious revival in the 21st century and religion continues to be active in both the public and private spheres (Casanova, 1994; Kyei and Smoczynski, 2016; Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). This work aims at contributing to the understanding of how the inherent resources in religiosity influence the schooling of second-generation Ghanaians in Amsterdam.

Immigrant churches have been identified as retarding immigrant integration into mainstream society of the host nation (Chang, 2006). Studies further argue that members of immigrant religious groups are less interested in integrating into the host nation, as members are offered a more familiar and comfortable environment (see for example, Chang, 2006; Tsang, 2015). This research, however, proposes that immigrant churches provide services that enhance immigrant integration in the host nation, which are often overlooked (Stepick et al., 2009). Several studies have established that ethnic religious organizations provide psychological and socio-cultural comfort to their members (Ebaugh and Chafetz, 2000; Hirschman, 2004; Edgell and Docka, 2007). This function of immigrant religious organizations can lead to latent conflict in secular nations like the Netherlands. Arguably, social capital obtained through religious involvement is a resource that generates networks, trust and norms facilitating the attainment of individual and collective goals (Kyei et al., 2019; Putnam, 2000). The religious social capital acquired in the religious field may enhance the skills and know-how of the members (Kyei and Smoczynski, 2016).

Following this line of inquiry, the study conceptualizes the resources inherent in religiosity as spiritual capital. Religiosity provides meaning to the day-to-day academic and cultural lifestyle of communities in spite of the disenchantment that is bred in contemporary European societies, especially in the Netherlands (Bernts et al., 2007). This research investigates the various religiously-oriented strategies that Ghanaian second-generation migrants in Amsterdam employ in schooling. The paper also questions how African Initiated Christian Churches (AICCs) influence the schooling of second-generation Ghanaians in Amsterdam.

BACKGROUND: GHANAIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Ghanaian immigrants settled primarily in the Bijlmer district of Amsterdam and to a lesser extent in The Hague in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Dietz et al., 2011). Ghanaians are visible in the Netherlands through their churches, shops (food,

clothing), media (television and radio broadcasting) and magazines (Ter Haar, 1998). In spite of the relatively medium education level of Ghanaians in the Netherlands, they are employed in mainly semi-skilled and unskilled jobs due to low proficiency in the Dutch language, discrimination in the labor market, and the cumbersome process of foreign diploma recognition by the Dutch government (Choenni, 2002).

The literature is not clear on the definition of 'second generation' but the migrants' age at the time of arrival is crucial in the process of integration of immigrant children (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Alba and Nee, 1997). This article takes into account the migrants' age at the time of arrival in the definition of second-generation migrants. A second-generation Ghanaian is therefore defined here as anyone born in the Netherlands or who entered the Netherlands at or before the age of six, with at least one parent of Ghanaian origin (Agyeman and Kyei, 2019). According to data from Statistics Netherlands (2019), out of the 24,460 Ghanaians in the Netherlands, 10,120 were of second-generation descent.

Since the Dutch system of pillarization dwindled in the late 1960s (Maussen, 2014), the infiltration of religion in all spheres of public life has reduced drastically. The Dutch 'depillarization' model also changed the religious affiliation criteria of school enrolment. Pressure from social forces pushed for the advancement of secularization and neutralization of public life (Hertogh, 2009; Maussen, 2014: 47). At the beginning of the 20th century, about 95% of Dutch people were affiliated to a church (Meijering, 2007). Christianity among native Dutch citizens continues to dwindle as affiliation to traditional churches fell from 76% in 1958 to 35% in 2004 (Becker and de Hart, 2006: 38). Secularization in the Netherlands at the micro and macro levels is on the ascendency, as shown by the 'God in Nederland' survey. According to the survey, more than 82% of Dutch people hardly attend any church and only 17% believe in the existence of God (Bernts and Berghuijs, 2016). Moreover, from the survey, more than 25% of Dutch people claim to be atheist (Bernts and Berghuijs, 2016). The secularization thesis envisages the decline of religiosity as society becomes modernized. Religion is therefore perceived as a hindrance to immigrant integration (Foner and Alba, 2008). In this work, we delve into how the complex fields of religiosity and secularization in the Netherlands contribute to the schooling of second-generation Ghanaians.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: SPIRITUAL CAPITAL IN IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

Immigrant integration is understood here as the process through which immigrants enter into the social, economic, political and cultural life of the host society. Scholars of immigrant integration generally agree that the success or failure of the integration of immigrants in the host society is determined by the course followed by second-generation migrants (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Crul and Doomernik, 2003; Kyei et al., 2017). Unsuccessful integration of second-generation migrants has adverse

impacts on immigrants themselves as well as on the host society as a whole.

One of the important factors that influence the integration of immigrants in the host society is immigrants' religion and this is widely established in the literature (Kyei and Smoczynski, 2016; Agyeman, 2017). Immigrant integration studies, however, identified religion as a stepping stone in the process of immigrant integration. Hence, the long-term contribution of ethnic religious organizations in the socio-economic and cultural integration of second-generation migrants in the host country was questioned (Alba and Nee, 1997; Alba, 2005; Alba et al., 2009). It has been argued that through socialization in the host society, second-generation migrants are likely to abandon the religion of their parents and associate with the religion of the host nation (Van der Bracht et al., 2013). There have been inconsistent results on the religiosity of second-generation migrants. In the United States of America, studies have noted the rise in the religiosity of second-generation migrants (Min and Kim, 2002; Alanezi and Sherkat, 2008). Diehl et al. (2009) identified the stagnation in Germany whereas Phalet and Ter Wal (2004) noted a fall in religiosity in the Netherlands.

Empirical literature on the effect of ethnic religious organizations in the socio-cultural and socio-economic life on second-generation immigrants of sub-Saharan African descent in Europe, is marginal (Tonah, 2007; Ekué, 2009). The few available studies on West African immigrants' church participation and integration have established that first-generation immigrants look for faith communities in the host society and this encourages the establishment of ethnic religious organizations (Sonn, 2002; Adogame, 2003; Mensah, 2009). Research findings on Ghanaians in the Netherlands and Germany have shown that Ghanaian religious organizations are the first point of contact for newly-arrived migrants where they share their experiences in the migratory trajectories (Tonah, 2007; Kyei et al., 2017). Membership of ethnic religious organizations enables immigrants to face the challenges of loneliness, trauma and discrimination in the new environment, as they are able to socialize and associate with people from their own country with little or no language barriers (Ekué, 2009; Baffoe, 2013). AICCs, unlike the Dutch churches, communicate in the language that immigrants are conversant with and can understand (Nieswand, 2003). Immigrants build their identity within ethnic religious organizations which shape their way of life as they personalize the values of religion (Peschke, 2009).

The religious field of AICCs in Amsterdam serves as a marriage market for second-generation Ghanaians (Kyei and Smoczynski, 2016). Kyei et al. (2019) reiterate how religious social capital generated within AICCs facilitates the political integration of second-generation Ghanaians in Amsterdam. Moreover, second-generation Ghanaians in Amsterdam create religious identities in the religious field of AICCs as they engage in transnational religious practices (Agyeman and Kyei, 2019). AICCs in Amsterdam have been identified as a field of expressing gender values that conflict with the secular Dutch perspective (Kyei and Smoczynski, 2019).

Studies on religiosity have mostly employed the concept of social capital to

understand how the relationships and networks within the religious field generate resources that contribute to immigrant integration (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2000; Kyei et al., 2019). We propose that the concept of spiritual capital is a form of accrued investment in the practice of religiosity. Spiritual capital is related to social capital inasmuch as institutionalized religiosity persists and resources are accrued from belongingness to a religious organization. Spiritual capital is, however, independent from social capital insofar as the individual is capable of mobilizing resources from the simple fact of being religious. This paper departs from the resources obtained through social networking in the religious field and explores the inherent resources that reside in the practice of religiosity and conceptualizes it as spiritual capital. The focus on spiritual capital is on how the content in individualized and institutionalized forms of religiosity generates resources that contribute to the well-being of the individual and the society. The Metanexus Spiritual Capital Research Project funded by the Templeton Foundation defines spiritual capital as "the effects of spiritual and religious practices, beliefs, networks and institutions that have a measurable impact on individuals, communities and societies" (Hansell, 2006: 5). Woodberry (2005) describes spiritual capital as the resources that are created or that people have access to when they invest in religion as religion. This study conceptualizes spiritual capital as the resources accrued in spiritual and religious practices that contribute to the well-being of the adherent.

We argue that spiritual capital is obtained through individualized and institutionalized religiosity. The individualized form of religiosity is operationalized as spiritual commitment, and religious behavior (Cornwall et al., 1998). Spiritual commitment is defined as the personal relationship that a person has with a supernatural being. Religious behavior refers to those religious acts which are expected of religious people without any reference to their belongingness to a religious organization and it is operationalized as frequency of private prayers and reading of the Holy Scriptures. An institutionalized mode of religiosity is characterized by church commitment and religious participation (Cornwall et al., 1998). Church commitment is the attachment and dedication that a person has towards a religious organization and it is operationalized as frequency of church-related activities. Religious participation is referred to as ritual involvement. These typologies are distinct but interactive because for one to be committed to God, one must first believe in God.

METHODOLOGY

The study adopted an ethnographic research methodology of in-depth interviews, participant observation (Flick, 2009; Suryani, 2013) and informal interviews in African Initiated Christian Churches in Amsterdam in 2015, which were followed up in 2017. The study adopted a purposive sampling technique, which is a type of non-probability sampling that permits the selection of the units to be observed on the basis of the judgment about which units will be the most useful or representative (Babbie,

2007: 184). Two types of purposive samples were selected in this study, namely second-generation Ghanaians who attend AICCs in Amsterdam, and representatives of AICCs in Amsterdam. The snowball sampling technique was used to recruit sixty second-generation Ghanaians within AICCs in Amsterdam to participate in life-history interviews, but after fifty interviews, no new themes were emerging, as the process had reached saturation. The in-depth interviews brought out the nuances in religiosity and how it related to schooling. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were also conducted with nine representatives of AICCs in Amsterdam and they were also recruited through the purposive sampling technique, based on the dominant churches attended by the second-generation Ghanaians interviewed.

The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. The data were manually categorized into analytic units under descriptive words or category names. The information was organized into themes and sub-themes (Rossman and Rallis, 1998). The themes and sub-themes were analyzed for each participant and they were also connected to other interviewees with quotations. Descriptive and inferential analyses of data were employed in this work (Guba and Lincoln, 1982; Hammersley, 1992). The study disaggregated the data into manageable patterns, themes and relationships (Merriam, 1998). Ethical approval was obtained from the Ethics Committee in the Graduate School for Social Research, Warsaw. The informed consent of the respondents was obtained and the details of the research were communicated to the research participants. The respondents were also informed that they could withdraw their consent and participation at any time without being required to explain and without prejudice. The research participants were assured of the confidentiality of the information gathered during the fieldwork and the privacy of their identity throughout the research process.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Educational performance is complex and a multiplicity of factors account for its fulfillment. As such, it is impossible for any individual attribute to claim sole responsibility for educational progress. The attention here is to investigate how spiritual capital accumulated through religiosity serves as a contributory factor to the schooling of second-generation Ghanaians in Amsterdam. This section begins with a demographic description of the respondents. We then categorize the interventions in religiosity that translates spiritual capital into direct and indirect interventions. In the subsequent two sub-themes, we establish the intricacies and nuances in the interplay between spiritual capital and schooling by discussing the direct and indirect interventions. Finally, we elucidate the challenges that religiosity poses to schooling.

Demographic characteristics of the respondents

Fifty second-generation migrants participated in life-history interviews, of whom 35 were women and 15 were men. Thirty-seven of the respondents were born in

Amsterdam and interestingly, thirty-five of the research participants were born in the Municipality of Amsterdam Southeast, which hosts the majority of Ghanaian immigrants in Amsterdam (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2015). The ages of the second-generation respondents ranged between 19 and 34 years and that provided the opportunity to understand different patterns of educational trajectories and their interaction in the AICCs.

Based on the data, twenty of the respondents were university graduates, eight of whom attended research universities (WO or wetenschappelijk onderwijs – research-oriented education in research universities) and twelve attended vocational and technical universities (HBO or hoger beroepsonderwijs – higher professional education in universities of applied sciences) (EP-Nuffic, 2015). Twenty-four were undergraduate students, of whom five were in WO and nineteen were in HBO. Four of the respondents were in various levels of secondary school education. All the respondents, except three, went through the step-by-step Dutch system of education. Two of the respondents had entered the job market with a Secondary Vocational Diploma (MBO or middelbaar beroepsonderwijs – senior secondary vocational education and training) (EP-Nuffic, 2015). Nine representatives of AICCs in Amsterdam were interviewed. Six out of the nine representatives were head pastors and the other three were part of the executive committees of the AICCs.

Categorizing educational interventions of religiosity

The contribution of religiosity in the education of the studied second-generation migrants is categorized into indirect and direct interventions. Direct intervention is understood here as those activities or programs of the AICCs that have the goal of improving upon the academic performance of second-generation migrants. Indirect intervention is conceived, however, as those activities and programs of AICCs that are not purposely geared towards educational progress but have consequential effects on academic performance. The indirect interventions are operationalized as Sunday school programs, youth meetings, and recreational activities in the church, as demonstrated in Table 1.

Table 1: Educational interventions in AICCs

Educational Interventions	
Direct	Indirect
• Educational programmes • Praying for successful schooling (exams) • Attendance of night vigil • Sermon Admonishment on schooling • Enforcement of discipline in schooling	• Sunday School Programmes[1] • Youth meetings • Recreational activities • Role Modelling

Source: Authors' own study

Direct interventions are categorized as offering educational programs, praying for exams, attending night vigils, enforcement of discipline, and after-school classes, as shown in Table 1. From these interventions we draw out sub-themes to explain the enhancement and/or challenges to the schooling of second-generation migrants.

Direct interventions of religiosity in schooling

In this section we explore the direct interventions of religiosity in the schooling of second-generation Ghanaians in Amsterdam by elucidating some of the activities raised in Table 1, without necessarily being exhaustive. Thirty-eight of the respondents related how possession of spiritual and church commitment served as tools in the fight against downward mobility in the process of economic integration. Respondent SG17 recounted the step-by-step improvement in her academic performance that enabled her to rise from pre-vocational education to pre-university education:

> The results of my final exams (cito toets) and my teacher's advice were VMBO. I started secondary school with VMBO but after a year I performed well and moved to HAVO. At HAVO I also did well in the first year and got promoted to VWO. My secondary education took long because I began the secondary school with a lower grade and in each new school, I had to stay a year longer. I drew my educational strength from the enforcement of discipline in schooling and the spirit of perseverance that I acquired from my church teachings.

AICCs are endowed with spiritual and social resources that participants accumulate due to their engagement. Drawing strength is an act of seeking refuge and resources (Hirschman, 2004) in God, with the expectation of addressing the specific problem in academic performance. Spiritual capital inherent in religiosity served as an arsenal during challenging moments in education. Spiritual capital is accumulated through prayers, reading of the Bible and belief in God, that are peculiar to members of

[1] Sunday school refers to Christian services organized to meet the needs of children in the religious field

religious organizations. Individualized religiosity contributes to the bridging of the academic gap between autochthones and second-generation migrants in secularized Dutch society. Respondent SG27 also narrated that:

> The church prepared me spiritually and mentally for the challenges ahead in my education. When I started my bachelor in nursing [degree], I was the only black person in the class and I went through a whole year of discrimination and bullying, not from my classmates, but from my teachers […] At the end of the second year, I dropped out of school. I prayed continuously and read my Bible to enrich my faith and through that I gained the strength to register in a new school for the same course. It was difficult to concentrate initially because psychologically the voices of my teachers re-echoed but by the grace of God and the support of my church, I am now in my final year.

The religious behavior of a sizeable number of the respondents corresponded with Weber's (1930/1992) notion of 'calling'. Weber's perspective of calling refers "basically to the idea that the highest form of moral obligation of the individual is to fulfill his duty in worldly affairs" (Weber, 1930/1992: 12). Dedication to schooling is identified as a moral obligation through which respondents secure a place with God in the life after death. The pursuance of educational prowess was identified as 'good work' that was a mark of being part of the chosen children of God. The acquisition of higher education was noted as evidence of God's favor. Respondent SG21 also narrated that:

> I believe it was during the course in statistics in the university when I started to look for God and the reason was that I was not good in statistics. In the first year I had statistics I could not pass and in the second year still I could not pass. I passed everything except statistics and that was when I felt I needed God most. All this while I knew Him (God) but I did not have trials which made me depend on Him so I went to church and prayed. I really saw that God was a prayer-answering God although I am living in a society that sidelines God. So yes, it helped me to be more disciplined and I worked even harder and finally passed. I pursue my education as a vocation to glorify God and secure a place in His Kingdom.

Most of the participants jumped the hurdles in the Dutch education system step-by-step before achieving the highest level of education. The step-by-step movement took a lot of time and it needed much patience and enthusiasm and they were motivated by religious behavior and church commitment to aim high in schooling. We found that spiritual and moral behavior, motivated by 'other-worldly' attitudes of escaping the encumbrances of the material world (Weber, 1930/1992: 9) contributed to the accumulation of spiritual capital that enhanced academic achievement among most of the second-generation respondents. Respondent SG35 recounted that:

> We prayed as a family together once every week and we did fast once every month. All these spiritual exercises instilled the sense of discipline in me that guided my schooling. I persevered irrespective of the academic challenges and I am now a medical doctor.

Self-discipline and inner-world asceticism (Weber, 1930/1992) are practices that mold the schooling of second-generation migrants in the host nation. Research participant SG23 noted:

> As a Catholic, I prayed at the beginning of each lecture by making the sign of the cross. I was mocked by some of my colleagues because they described the act as archaic but I was resilient and never succumbed to their pressure.

The data showed the resilience of second-generation Ghanaians in resisting the secularized Dutch education system and the Dutch society (Bernts et al., 2007; Bernts and Berghuijs, 2016) through engagement in the religious field of AICCs.

Assimilation theorists (Park, 1930; Alba and Nee, 1997; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006) emphasized the necessity of education in the process of integration of second-generation migrants in the host country. This study found that AICCs in Amsterdam, such as the Pentecost Revival Church International, are primary agents in the socialization process of the studied second-generation migrants. AICCs admonish and exhort second-generation migrants to be disciplined in life and to take their studies seriously. A pastor implored in a sermon, "My children, you are the future of this church, so I urge you to achieve greater heights in education so that you can position the church well in the Dutch society." Another pastor also emphasized, "discipline, discipline, self-discipline and denial of self are the basis of academic and life success." Our findings reveal how AICCs live beyond the initial stages of settlement of first-generation immigrants in the host country, which yields intergenerational transfer of individualized and institutionalized religiosity from first-generation Ghanaians to their children.

Indirect interventions of religiosity in schooling

The study classified the indirect intervention in the religious field as extra-curricular school activities in line with studies that acknowledged the effect of extra-curricular activities on educational performance (Marsh and Kleitman, 2002; Fredricks and Eccles, 2006). Extra-curricular activities complement the events and skills acquired in the more formal part of the school day (Marsh and Kleitman, 2002; Eccles et al., 2003). The head pastor of Redemption Faith International Ministries explained how the Sunday school is structured in his church:

> The Sunday school is organized by the education department of the church

> and the children are taught in English and Dutch. Children between the ages of 4 and 8 are taught Bible stories with pictures and they are also taught to memorize Bible quotations. Children between the ages of 8-12 are assigned more difficult tasks like writing, reading and Bible studies. Children are grouped according to their ages in order to help develop their cognitive and intellectual capacities from infancy. The programs supplement the classroom teaching and learning scheme.

The Sunday school system provides a pseudo-school environment that offered most of the respondents the opportunity to go through similar exercises that exist in the Dutch educational sector. It is widely acknowledged that the acquisition of human capital opens avenues for upward mobility in the Dutch society (Crul and Doomernik, 2003; Crul, 2005). Institutionalized religious commitment is entwined with educational programs that have the tendency of enhancing the educational achievement of the studied second-generation Ghanaians. Five of the AICCs identified themselves as partners in the intellectual formation of second-generation Ghanaians as they strive for upward mobility in the Dutch society. A head pastor in one of the participating churches also buttressed the importance of Sunday school and youth meetings in the educational formation of second-generation migrants in his church:

> Children in the Sunday school who are between the ages of 4-12 are taught Bible stories, drawing, poems, prayers, quiz competition and drama. When they begin the youth meetings from 13 years upward, they are engaged with drama, Bible teaching, sex education, homework and leadership roles. These interactive activities are extra-curricular school activities which do not contradict but complement the intellectual formation of the youth in the church. Through the Sunday school system of education and youth meetings, the church intervenes directly in developing the interest of second-generation migrants in schooling.

The data showed that in a quasi-school environment, two-thirds of the respondents learned how to read, write, draw and memorize Bible quotations similar to the ordinary school setting. In the case of forty of the research participants, Sunday school programs inculcated religious education in second-generation migrants through which they develop religious beliefs, knowledge or conviction about morality. The spiritual capital in the practice of institutionalized and personalized forms of religiosity blend the dichotomy between religion as private and education as public in the secularization discourse as they all seek to contribute to the schooling of the research participants.

Some of the studied AICCs in Amsterdam, such as the Church of Pentecost and Emmanuel Presbyterian Church of Ghana, reward second-generation migrants who

complete different levels of their education, with spiritual blessings and physical gifts. The Ghana Seventh Day Adventist Church in Amsterdam has set aside a day called Students Recognition Day to reward second-generation migrants who complete the different cycles of education. On the church's online bulletin, it was written:

> The Amsterdam Ghana S.D.A. Church has set the Sabbath, 7th of November 2015 as a special day in recognition of our youth who by the grace of God have successfully completed their MBO, Bachelor or Master degrees. The church wants to express their gratitude to God for bringing the youth this far and also to encourage the other children to follow in their steps. Come and support your Christian students and celebrate this day together with them (Amsterdam Ghana SDA Church, 2018).

The public acknowledgement and the gifts served two main purposes: first, it was a sign of recognition by institutionalized religiosity that aimed at boosting the morale of the recipients to advance their education; secondly, it stimulated other second-generation migrants to stay focused on their education and motivated them to seek academic success. The sanctions in the form of rewards for conforming to the informal norms in the religious field of AICCs in Amsterdam were practical steps taken to promote the education of second-generation migrants.

Religiosity posing challenges to schooling

Spiritual capital obtained through institutionalized and individualized religiosity does not always enhance educational advancement but they sometimes disrupt it. There are situations when spiritual capital generates reverse effects in the schooling of second-generation migrants. Respondent SG32 narrated that:

> As a teenager I dedicated most of my time to church activities. Apart from Sunday, I attended evening prayers, mid-week prayer meetings on Wednesday and on Saturday I went for youth meetings. Sometimes I had exams the next day but I had to be at the witness movement or the men's ministry to listen to the discussion and gather information for my sermon. The church activities were in conflict with my education and my social life. My school performance deteriorated due to the dedication of most of my time to church activities and spiritual activities.

From the research, the time invested in individualized and institutionalized religiosity by a few of the respondents was unfavorable to their educational progress. The Christian religion is learned through a process to produce a religious good but the process requires time, which has to be shared proportionately with other competing engagements like schooling. In economic terms, the opportunity cost of disproportionately investing time in the formation of religiosity by some of the

studied participants was the forgone time that could have been invested in schooling. Disproportionate investment of time to church-related activities to the quasi neglect of education hampered performance in the schooling of second-generation Ghanaians.

Respondent SG9 also noted that, "every Wednesday, I attended All Night service in church and it closed at dawn, which tremendously affected my school performance because I was inactive in class and sometime, I was late for school." Strauss (2006) has shown that little sleep at night has serious health consequences like depression, heart disease and weight gain. Sleep deprivation affects the correct functioning of students in school as it causes behavioral problems, inability to pay attention and learn in class.

CONCLUSION

This study set out to understand the relationships that exist between religiosity and schooling of second-generation migrants with the case of AICCs in Amsterdam. The concept of spiritual capital facilitated the discussion on how the inherent resources accumulated in religiosity contribute to the schooling of their members. Second-generation migrants invest time, energy and resources in the religious field and in the process, they accumulate spiritual capital. The article has primarily argued that inherently, religiosity possesses resources that are expressed in the lived experiences of second-generation migrants with the propensity of shaping their schooling path. Spiritual capital which includes, among others, the awareness that God is in control or that others are praying for them in their educational efforts, examination and career choice are unique to the adherents of the belief system. Although the paper sought not to quantify the extent to which spiritual capital contributes to the schooling of second-generation Ghanaians, it revealed through thick and rich information, the varied way in which spiritual capital contributes to schooling.

Higher level of education is an indicator of upward mobility in immigrant integration studies but the process of attaining higher education is embedded with difficulties and challenges. The study found that in difficult and challenging moments of their schooling, thirty-eight of the respondents relied on spiritual capital through praying, reading of the Bible and church participation in order to persevere in schooling. Through religious practices, individuals and ethnic groups express their problems, joys, hopes, aspirations, fears and anxieties (Riesebrodt, 2014). Second-generation migrants relied on spiritual capital in times of deprivation to draw inspiration and encouragement in order to achieve academic excellence.

Studies have shown that immigrant churches retard immigrant integration into mainstream society of the host nation (Chang, 2006; Tsang, 2015). This study, however, identified a multiplicity of effects of religiosity on the schooling of second-generation migrants. Religiosity may assist second-generation migrants to overcome structural integration problems of schooling. Conversely, the paper found that religiosity under certain conditions has reverse effects that are detrimental

to the educational growth of second-generation migrants. Six of the respondents experienced downward educational paths that were attributed to disproportionate engagement in the religious field.

The acquisition of higher education does not automatically lead to a decline in religious belief systems and church participation, as anticipated by the secularization thesis (Johnson, 1997; Schwadel, 2011). Contrary to the secularization argument that higher education was antithetical to institutionalized and individualized religiosity (Ruiter and van Tubergen, 2009; Wilson, 1982), this study revealed that religiosity and education are not incompatible; on the contrary, they coexist in the process of integration of second-generation migrants.

We recommend the implementation of more robust and systematic religious programs that directly engage second-generation migrants at each stage of their education. Randomized religiosity may not produce sufficient spiritual capital to yield effective outcomes in the schooling of second-generation migrants.

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