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Phenomenological exploration of emigration and acculturation: War and peace between the individual position and States

On behalf of my maternal great-grandfather and grandfather, because both were soldiers in the World War I

Abstract

This exploratory and qualitative study describes the author's personal experiences of emigration. A first part of the article focuses on the relationship between the individual rights and the State violence. Colonization, wars, and discrimination increases the Portuguese forced emigration flows. In the second part, this exploratory work applies the method of phenomenological reduction, and thus attempts to be descriptive, rather than normative and prescriptive. The focus is on ethnic identity and on the emigration experience, in comparative reflection to the main acculturation models. Labeling is often perceived as intrusive, and causes discord with the individual's self-categorization. The author, from Portugal, experiences social pressure for self-categorization in France, as well as in Portugal. The ordinary categorizing words "immigrant" and "emigrant" are labels. Each label carries attributes related to otherness, and low socioeconomic status. The personal experience is close to fusion acculturation.

Keywords: acculturation, ethnic identity, migration, State violence, saudade.

Resumo

Este estudo exploratório e qualitativo descreve as experiências pessoais do autor acerca da emigração. Na primeira parte do artigo aborda-se a relação entre os direitos individuais e a violência de Estado. As colonizações, as guerras e a discriminação aumentaram os fluxos da emigração portuguesa forçada. Na segunda parte, este trabalho exploratório aplica o método de redução fenomenológica e, portanto, tenta ser descritivo, em vez de normativo e prescritivo. Aborda-se a identidade étnica e a experiência emigratória, em reflexão comparativa face aos principais modelos da aculturação. A rotulagem étnica é frequentemente percebida como intrusiva e causa dissonância face à auto-categorização individual. O autor, o qual é português, experimenta pressão social para se auto-categorizar, em França, assim como em Portugal. As palavras, usualmente, aplicadas na hetero-categorização, i.e., "imigrante" e "emigrante" são etiquetas. Cada etiqueta contém atributos relacionados com a alteridade e com o baixo nível socioeconómico. A experiência pessoal encontra-se próxima da aculturação de fusão.

Palavras-chave: aculturação, identidade étnica, migração, violência do Estado, saudade.

1. Introduction

Migration may be disruptive at national and international levels. It may be also disruptive at individual and collective levels. Migration is an international topic (Knepper, 2010), for instance, between France and the United Kingdom. Migration is also a politicized topic (Pecoud, 2015), because it is often manipulated by the left–right political spectrum.

Migrations are a constant in the Human evolution (Coppens, 2012). Today, due to migrations, almost all cultures are changing (Wihtol, 2013). Culture is made by innovation, diffusion, and acculturation. Innovation takes place in a particular cultural group. Diffusion does not need direct contact between cultures, but acculturation requires enduring direct contact. Migration and acculturation encompass contact between cultures, and both transform, and often improve cultures and individuals.

Acculturation concept appears in anthropology in the European colonization of North America (Powell, 1880). Acculturation focuses on the dominated North American minorities, mainly on the Indigenous (Castro, 2017a). At the beginning of the 20th century, sociology focuses on immigrants (Castro, 2017b). Hence, acculturation appears in colonial times (Rudmin, Wang, & Castro, 2017), and it has attached a past of violence.

Acculturation research is nearly dismissed in the anthropological literature (Castro, 2017a, 2018a, b; Winthrop, 1991), and it is replaced by social movements, and by the cultural change topic. The latter is, in fact, a main dimension of the acculturation concept, and it was employed earlier by the British anthropologists (Malinowski, 1958/1945). German anthropologists have taken a similar position (Westphal-Hellbusch, 1959). According to Bastide (1968), in France is employed the expression interpenetration of civilizations (*interpénétration des civilisations*), and in the Spanish (Castilian) language is also applied the word transculturation due to Ortiz's work (1995/1940).

In sociology, acculturation is studied mainly regarding immigrants, and it applies the assimilation model (Castro, 2017b; Portes, Fernández-Kelly, & Haller, 2005). In psychology, acculturation research appears generally after the 60s of the 20th century, and the multicultural model is pervasive (Berry, 2001). Nowadays, acculturation research is

under a deadlock (Rudmin, 2009; Rudmin, et al., 2017). The deadlock is due to historical, political, and methodological reasons.

Psychology works with intrapsychological data, for instance, emotional, and cognitive data. However, data comes, and it is applied in social context. In anthropology, the violent past of acculturation is acknowledged. However, in psychology, it is rarely acknowledged. The current and dominant research is grounded on attitudes (cultural preferences) concerning minorities, and immigrants. However, according to the current article, it is necessary to report the immigrant personal experiences.

This article aimed to be a contribution to solve that deadlock. It applied personal experiences in a phenomenological way. It was more emic than etic, because it barely compared cultures, and it described personal experiences.

2. Acculturation definition

The acculturation phenomenon may be defined by its main dimensions, i.e., intercultural contact, mutual interactions between different cultures (Castro, & Rudmin, 2017; Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936), to learn a second culture (Powell, 1880; Rudmin, 2009), and by individual and collective cultural changes (Boas, 1982/1940).

2.1 Acculturation models

The acculturation topic has four models, i.e., assimilation, multicultural, fusion, and intercultural (Castro, 2012, 2014a, b, 2015, 2016a, b, c, d; Taylor, 2012). According to Castro (2015), in the assimilation model, the minority culture is expected to disappear. The mutual learning will not be reported, because the minority will be completely assimilated. The European policies in the 19th century and the Chicago School (Park, 1928) are examples of the assimilation model.

In the multicultural model, the minority culture is expected to adapt and, at the same time, to maintain its culture (Berry, 2001). In the model only the minority is described as learning, and both cultures interact with the larger society. The Berry Model (2001) is an example of the multicultural approach.

In the fusion model, there are interactions, mixtures, and mutual learning between different cultures. Cultural mixtures are expected to produce a new culture with internal diversity (Castro, 2012, 2014a, b, 2015, 2016a, b). The works of Freyre (1986/1933), Ortiz (1995/1940), and Alexander the Great (Simons, 1901) were examples of the fusion model.

In the intercultural model, at the private level, the minority may change or maintain its cultural legacy, because of the *laissez-faire*. However, the minority at the public level is expected to adapt to the majority culture, for instance, at labor and educational domains. At the institutional level, the interaction between different cultures is reduced. The universal values of the French Republic may be an example of the model. The intercultural model is also connected to the Francophone culture of Quebec (Taylor, 2012).

3. Categories of migration

In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the article 13 stated that free displacement is a Universal Human Right (United Nations, 2015/1948). However, human migrations encountered legal limits placed on State borders (Scott, 2009). They also encountered limits on natural barriers, e.g., seas or mountains. Besides the legal and the natural borders, there are also cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, economic, lifestyle, and membership borders.

Migrations may be collective, individual, forced and voluntary. Wars and colonization are collective and forced migrations. The history of Portugal started with the Reconquest (1139–1249), which resulted in the crusades, and conquest of territories in the North of Africa, e.g., Ceuta in 1415. Later, it drove to colonization (Dupront, 1997) and Portuguese Empire (1415–1999).

The emigration flow that occurred in the 19th century to Brazil was often individual. The Independence of Brazil, in 1822, transformed the Portuguese settlers in immigrants. The Portuguese emigration to Europe in the mid-twentieth century was also individual.

However, it may be hardly called voluntary. It was done to escape from the Colonial War (1961-1974), and political oppression.

Voluntary emigration encompasses free will, and the absence of social constraints. Transnational and cosmopolitan entrepreneurs correspond to the voluntary category. However, the Portuguese emigrant flows were rarely voluntary.

Portugal is a unitary semi-presidential representative democratic republic, and it is considered a developed country. However, the Portuguese recent migrants are often coerced, due to social constraints. Hence, forced migration is produced by social discrimination, and it is understood as deprivation of liberty, and access to opportunities, and services (Allport, 1954).

The Portuguese State is in a difficult situation regarding emigration. It may stop it, for instance, through repression, like in the 1960s, but it would be in opposition to a universal human right. However, on the contrary, the Portuguese ordoliberal government (2011-2015) encouraged it, and it failed as a State, because it did not keep the population stable. Historically, the Portuguese migrations gain collective and forced characteristics. State, institutions, and upper classes are responsible for emigration. Wars often increase migrations, for instance, during the First World War the Portuguese emigration to Brazil increased (Ferreira & Rocha, 2013), and later it started the first emigration flow to France (Alves, 1988; Pereira, 2013), which boosted during the Colonial War (1961-1974).

4. Historical events

4. 1 Agriculture, territory, ownership, and culture

The Paleoanthropologists stated that human groups started to be sedentary in the Levant and the Middle East, circa 12 000 years ago. Agriculture boosted the creation of culture, and changed completely nature. The current fauna and flora were the outcomes of the Anthropocene (Latour, 2015). Today, archaeological evidence reported that sedentary groups were surrounded by their deaths. The worship of the ancestors was a way to justified the collective ownership of territory, besides its religious function (Coppens, 2012).

The sedentary lifestyle enhanced the emergence of cities, and networks among them. It created the first empires. The limits of the empire were its borders, which were sometimes blurred. The current notion of borders is grounded in the Western culture (Hobsbawm, 1995), and it is dominant in the planet, including the Arctic, and the Amazon rainforest (Clastres, 1974). Hence, the migrant individual is labeled mainly by its nationality. A sovereign State has sovereignty over a territory and population (Scott, 2009), and the individual rights may be banned under the State power.

4.2 Collective and historical narratives

The State creates a collective narrative, and often a characteristic culture. In Ancient Greece, the collective memory started to be written by Homer. In the Portuguese culture, Camões (1524 or 1525–1580) wrote the epic work *Os Lusíadas* (The Lusiads).

In Ancient Greece the representation of the planet was very different than the current representation. Currently, it is considered that the sailors under the Portuguese Crown, and Ferdinand Magellan (1480–1521) started the globalization process. All cultural groups were potentially in contact, and the isolation of the earlier Homo sapiens groups ended.

The Portuguese Empire is ambiguous, because one part is pointing out to an epic narrative, and another part is pointing out to colonial rule. Sedentary life was not the norm, and the Portuguese outbreak in other territories caused tragic changes.

4.3 Violence as a founder of culture

According to Freud (1919/1913, 1936), the founding act of culture was the symbolic killing of the father. The children were united by the guilt of father's death. Similarly, according to René Girard (1972), culture emerged associated with violence. The mimetic desire implied to get what was owned by the other person. Another form of cultural creation emerged by collective violence against a scapegoat. The mimetic desire, described by René Girard, was analogous to the projective identification described by Mélanie Klein (1964). In the projective identification an individual projected, and located in another person feeling and thoughts that were intolerable. It worked to blame the other, and it was also similar to Girard's scapegoat. Furthermore, it aimed to assimilate the other. For instance, in the

Progressive Era (1890s–1920s), to blame the natives or the African Americans for the delay in the North American progress was current (Castro 2017c, 2018a, b), and the same happened in the Portuguese colonies.

Klein's theory provides a clue to understand violence. One typical and very common emotion connected to projective identification is envy. Like projective identification it aims what other person has or is, and his or her destruction. Veblen explained how envy was important to explain the conspicuous consumption. Most of colonial empires and wars can be explained by the economic envy, e.g., Europeans were chasing El Dorado.

4.4 Colonialism and the First World War

It is acknowledged that that Portuguese Republic engaged in the First World War (1914 to 1918) to safeguard its colonies. Germans were in the South of Africa, and it endangered the Portuguese Empire. Hence, the Portuguese Republic supported the allied powers. The First World War increased the emigration flow to Brazil, and it started the emigration flow to Europe (Alves, 1988; Mendes, 1988; Muñoz, 1991).

As stated above, the Portuguese expansion was, at the same time, epic and violent. The British historian Charles Boxer (1959) opposed to Portuguese dictatorship (Estado Novo, 1933-1974). Boxer's academic work was outstanding. However, it gave the impression that the Portuguese Empire was worse than the British and Dutch Protestant Empires. It drove to projective identification and splitting, because violence was pervasive, and there was no good object, and the common violent past prevented to plan the future.

Today, globalization, nuclear weapons, and ecologic (economic) exhaustion (Cohen, 20159) drove humanity to a deadlock. It is necessary to act and change, but, at the same time, current days are perceived as a dreadful period, and it includes science and culture (Latour, 2015). The situation is similar to the cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1962), and to Klein's splitting, and to a lack of psychological consistency, because action and new information contradict ideals.

4.5 How to solve the ambivalence of violence

According to Norbert Elias (2012), one of the founding questions of sociology proposed by Auguste Comte (1798-1857) was how individuals gathered to form social groups, and societies. The question was connected to violence. The question was, in fact, a phenomenological experience, because it suspended the knowledge of the world, and took to consciousness the most basic that existed in minds.

Gregory Bateson (1935) accused anthropologists, and other social scientists of participating in colonial administration. The same Bateson provided a clue on how to solve the impairment represented by cognitive dissonance and splitting. Bateson said that only the introduction of new information was capable of leading to learning, and change. The splitting behavior tends to be dichotomous, and to annihilate the difference.

Projecting intolerable objects into the other individual may be a very short-term a functional strategy. However, in order to reach a higher stage of mental and interpersonal functioning, the individual also needs to put intolerable objects within. Hence, an individual may be good and bad at the same time.

A similar solution was provided by Arendt (1958). Extreme collective violence may be accomplished by ordinary people. It avoids group essentialism, because it is a rationalization. Similarly, but in the opposite direction, it is necessary to think that tolerance is not exclusive to the Western liberal thought.

Other defense mechanisms that may trigger strong elaboration are; mindfulness (curiosity, openness, and acceptance); sublimation; tolerance regarding what is different; and rationalization with a permanent critic point of view. So, it implies to change the narrative, in an inclusive manner, and in different directions, which is, in fact, a defining dimension of science.

5. Methodology

5.1 Phenomenology

The current article is grounded in a phenomenological description of personal experiences about the own immigration. Edmund Husserl (1859–1938) introduces phenomenology in

philosophy. Literally, phenomenology means to study what appears (from Greek *phainómenon* "that which appears" and *lógos* "study"). It is the study of the structures of experience, and consciousness. In the current article, it is applied the phenomenological reduction. Therefore, it focuses on an analysis of experience, and the article is done taken into account what appeared in mind, and intentions.

5.2 Personal data

Cultural reality is increasingly complex, and social sciences are also part of that complexity (Morin, 2005). Knowledge about the own culture is very partial. Some elements of cultural legacies are stored in oral and written devices. Written systems are recent regarding the human evolution, because they appeared, for instance, in Sumer only circa 5,000 years ago (3,000 BC).

Westerns and other cultures, for instance, Polynesians, Mongols, and Arab Muslims conquered and colonized the planet. National narratives and identities are often celebrated in writing devices. Today, the global history is pervasively a Western construction, due to the Western social dominance for circa 500 years (Goody, 2006). Those narratives are also collective descriptions, and they are descriptions of dominant social classes. However, people stories were often dismissed (Zinn, 1994), and also the individual descriptions.

Immigration is often approached by the majority side, because the main question is how to incorporate immigrants (Brettel, & Hollifield, 2015). The emigrant and the individual points of view are often dismissed.

Personal documents are employed in the acculturation research connected to immigrants since the seminal work of Thomas and Znaniecki (1918). The pervasive research is grounded in cultural attitudes, consequently in predispositions for action. However, the current article argues that it requires personal descriptions.

5.3 Ethical issues

Migration is a politicized issue (Pecoud, 2015). Consequently, political manipulation and even personal and professional benefits have to be under vigilance. As stated at the outset,

migrations are considered potentially disruptive at many stages. However, the current research does not provide a single solution for likely disruptions.

Frequently, attitudes are different than historical and personal experiences (Castro, 2017c; Navas, García, Sánchez, Rojas, Pumares, and Fernández 2005). For instance, Herbert Spencer, in the 19th century, preferred a minimal interaction between Japan and the Western cultures. However, Herbert Spencer himself learned the Japanese culture. Consequently, he did fusion.

Another ethical issue is that the research should display its cultural background, and sociopolitical goals. This research prefers the fusion model. However, it does not state that it must be prescribed. It aims to be descriptive, and the goal is not to be normative and prescriptive (Miller, 1924). In the current article, fusion is approached as dynamic, and it is not studied as an expected outcome. Furthermore, fusion is considered a way of cultural creation with no particular content, and outcome.

6. Ethnic identity

Ethnic identity is dynamic (Barth, 1969; Phinney, & Ong, 2007), and it is a construction over the entire life span. Ethnic identity is also a multidimensional construct that refers to individual identity as a member of an ethnic group. The concept of ethnic identity has three main dimensions. The first dimension is the self-categorization. It may be the "I" and the "We". It may be endorsed by other persons or cultural groups. The second dimension is the subjective sense of belonging to an ethnic group. The third dimension is its development by the exploratory behavior (Phinney, & Ong, 2007). The current article focuses the self-categorization and the subjective sense of belonging.

6.1 Self-categorization

Elias and Scotson (1994/1965) reported that it was the mere social relationship that produced a culture near Leicester in the United Kingdom. According to Barth (1969), it was the mere intercultural contact that produced ethnic identities, sometimes in the same culture. In the Western culture, many ethnic labels were ascribed in Ancient Greece, and in the Roman Empire, for instance, Germans. Today, ethnic groups are also labeled according to

the States, for instance, the Russians. Often, religion is also a factor to create ethnic labels. Another frequent factor is the phenotype.

As stated above, the ethnic identity may be a self-categorization or may be ascribed by other individuals or cultural groups. The latter may be perceived as intrusive. Furthermore, the self-categorization, and the ascribed label may be discordant or concordant.

Labels change according to context, for instance, in Japan the author would be labeled as White and European, but, in the European Union, he would be considered as Portuguese. Furthermore, a person who experiences migration is often labeled in the second culture, but also in his or her departure country.

The immigrant person experiences a social pressure to define oneself regarding other persons, and cultural groups. It happens especially when differences are manifest, for instance, due to the poor use of the second language. In the current article, the ethnic identity topic was described taking into account both spaces, i.e., the departure and the receiving States.

6.1.1 Labeling in the second culture (France)

In the second culture, he experiences regular demands for self-categorization. It is often experienced as intrusive. However, it is normal to categorize persons (Barth, 1969), even at cognitive level, and everybody does it (Allport, 1954). In France, the label "Portuguese" has stereotypes attached. Stereotypes were connected to the Portuguese first generation of immigrants, and also to the Portuguese culture. Like many stereotypes, it has a part of reality, for instance, the dried and salted cod is a typical Portuguese food, but it is fished thousands of miles away from Portugal. It reminds the so-called Portuguese discoveries, which are also a component of the Portuguese auto stereotypes.

In the Schengen Area, there are free human movements between countries. However, the emigrant person will be considered as an immigrant. Additionally, the word "immigrant" is by itself a label. In the departure culture, occurs the same, and he or she will be labeled as "emigrant".

6.1.2 Labeling in the departure culture (Portugal)

In the original culture, society, and State the migrant status also changes due to the mere absence regarding the social interactions. Abroad is perceived as farther than the internal migrants, and it is perceived as culturally different, and it makes that the immigrant individual gains a new ascribed label, i.e., "emigrant". The reaction regarding the absence encompasses curiosity about the new culture, but also a pressure for conformity regarding the original culture.

According to the own experience, the emigrant person must be absent from the daily relationships at least one year. After that, he returns, and his or her status changes. The immigrant starts to be treated as an outsider, and mainly as an emigrant. In Portugal, Portuguese citizens who are living in France are labeled as "French". Another endorsed label is the French word "avec" (with), and it encompasses a prejudice. In the Portuguese literature, the character of the emigrant appeared largely in the 19th century. For instance, the Portuguese novelist Eça de Queirós (1845–1900) wrote about Portuguese who returned from Brazil (Alves, 2004), and he despised them.

The intrusive demand to self-categorization is experienced as more intrusive in the departure than in the second culture. This social pressure occurs in regular social relationships. In the departure culture, natives are curious about the receiving culture. It encompasses acculturation, because they are getting information from an emigrant. It also encompasses intercultural comparisons, and sometimes it triggers conflicts.

The comparison works to choose what is considered the best culture. Hence, it works by exclusion, because the thinking is binary. It happens, maybe, due to the lack of liberal background in Portugal, and also because the North of Portugal has an individualistic and competitive culture (Todd, 1994). All cultural groups are sharing hetero and auto stereotypes (Vassiliou, Triandis, Vassiliou, & McGuire, 1972). Maybe, emigrants report new information that may disconfirm the auto stereotypes.

The current phenomenological approach has a consequence for the self-categorization topic. It argues that there are the self-categorization, i.e., "I" and/or "we", and the ascribed labels in the departure, and in the receiving cultures. The combination of the three kinds of categorization provides several possible ethnic identities. All of them may appear isolated or at the same time (Goffman, 1959). However, for the migrant person, all of them coexist at the same time in her or his personal experience. The hetero categorization may be discordant, and it is often intrusive. Furthermore, conflicts may occur in the departure, and in the new culture. The disagreement reinforces his individualistic engagement, because the self-categorization is now more "I" than "we".

6.2 Subjective sense of belonging

This section is also divided into the subjective sense of belonging regarding the departure culture, and regarding the second culture.

6.2.1 Subjective sense of belonging to the second culture

The second culture, society, and nation-state changed due to migration. Phenotypic traits changed also a little. Other experienced changes were the emotional expression, architecture, landscape (humanized territory), food, and etiquette. However, the main change was connected to language.

Today, due to globalization, English is the lingua Franca, and the author often employs it. It does not help him to an immersion into the second language. He is from the northwest of Portugal, and that region is known to mix the spelling of the B and of the V letters. It is a barrier to a proper communication. The immigrant is well-educated by socialization, however, he does not manage the second language, mainly its written form. So, his incorporation into the second space is not easy.

Allport (1954) in his seminal work establishes several levels of prejudice. Antilocution is the first stage, and it encompasses negative verbal remarks against a person. The next stage is avoidance, and it occurs when members of the in-group actively avoid members of the out-group. Discrimination is the next level, and the out-group members are deprived of opportunities, and services. Physical attack and extermination are the additional stages.

The experienced discrimination in the departure culture is low, and acculturative distress is also low. However, it does not mean that he experiences a feeling of belonging to the second culture. He perceives himself mainly as an individual. Furthermore, the French intercultural model allows cultural maintenance at private level, and there is no social pressure to adhere to the French nationality, and to the supposed French ethnic identity.

6.2.2 Subjective sense of belonging to the departure culture

The migrant person experiences a feeling of rejection. However, that emotion, and cognition is connected to the original culture, essentially to the original State. A fundamental State's function is to maintain its population under its borders (Scott, 2009), because it needs manpower and taxpayers to keep the upper classes in their places. Hence, the State fails for emigrants. The emigrant person experiences rejection, and an increasing individualism. Hence, social discrimination occurs in the original culture.

Llano (1900) wrote what may be considered an earlier example of an individualistic point of view about the ethnic identity topic. He wrote "... race is a matter of supreme indifference to the individual, whose affections are confined within a circle of small radius, when compared with the entire field of human life... the race is the individual's greatest enemy no need to preservation. (Llano, 1900, p. 504).

However, the individualistic point of view has limits. Contact leads to categorize the ethnic identity, and then it triggers comparisons (Barth, 1969), and social differentiation. The current individualism and/or cosmopolitanism does not avoid categorization of the ethnic identity. It is important to state that social differentiation is not discrimination by itself. The self-categorization encompasses the "I" and the "we", and the subjective sense of belonging to the "we" decreased.

6.2.2.1 Phenomenology of saudade

In the American Psychologist, perhaps, the first article to relate migrations and emotions was written by Kline (1898), and it provided a positive meaning to nostalgia. Therefore, nostalgia was more connected to eustress than to distress. Nostalgia enhanced continuity

between spaces, social adaptation, group cohesion, and strong mental health (Sedikides, Wildschut, Gaertner, Routledge, & Arndt, 2008).

In the Portuguese culture, nostalgia gained a peculiar meaning, and it is designated as *saudade*. *Saudade* protects mental health at individual level. However, at collective level, it may work as a power device. *Saudade* may be promoted by the State, institutions, commercial business, and it also works on interpersonal relationships (Foucault, 1980).

In the Portuguese literature, *saudade* appeared in Fernão Mendes Pinto (1580/1614). He lamented the intercultural violence, and decided to return to Portugal. In the Portuguese historical narrative, *saudade* is related to emigration and colonization. The latter took place to outside, and increased territory, and cultural influence. It provided a sense of superiority (Adler, 1925). The emigration to Europe did not increase the territory, but it displaced population, and changed culture. Hence, it provided a sense of inferiority.

In the Portuguese historical narrative, *saudade* did the connection between emigration and colonization. In the 19th century, Brazil was already another State, but it was possible to maintain, and to enlarge the Portuguese culture by emigration. Another reason is that colonization and emigration occurred at the same time, because the colonial empire generally only ended in 1974. The connection between both was clear in New England (Taft, 1969/1923), because Portuguese and Cape Verdean immigrants were living together.

The Portuguese accession to the European Union in 1986, and its transnational scope ascribed a positive meaning to the Portuguese emigration. Hence, *saudade* established the link between the supposed Portuguese communities, and it established a temporal and symbolic link between empire and emigration. However, the symbolic cohesion does not solve the social differentiations within the Portuguese State, and it does not promote the democratic participation. For instance, emigrants are barely included in the political participation within the Portuguese unitary semi-presidential representative democratic republic. The symbolic cohesion operated by *saudade* benefits the upper social classes, for instance, due to remittances.

Rocha-Trindade (1987) argued that often the relationship between emigrants and Portugal was limited to the village. Similarly, when the author thinks about Portugal and saudade, what comes to mind is his personal relationships, and it are not the State, a territory or an abstract population.

7. Personal experience regarding the acculturation models

Acculturation models are described above. However, it is important to draw additional commentaries, because they are useful to understand the personal experience.

7.1 Marginalization may be an individual choice

In the Berry Model (2001), the cultural preference that implies, at the same time, to give up both cultures is called marginalization. It is likely at the ethnic identity level, but it is not possible at cognitive level, because to be under complete deculturation is not possible. For the current article, marginalization corresponds to the individualistic position (Bourhis, et al., 1997).

Marginalization is previously conceptualized in the literature. Park (1928) conceptualizes the marginal man as not belonging to any culture. The marginal man is in a diaspora, because he is without territory, and is rejected by both cultures. Therefore, the marginal man concept is connected to discrimination.

Today, marginalization is similar to the cosmopolitan position. Cosmopolitan position supposedly is not connected to any specific territory, and it says that the urban and diverse environments are its preference. However, it is hard to be cosmopolitan without any reference to culture and territory.

7.2 Phenomenological experience regarding models

The personal experience does not match in any model. Social assimilation does not take place, because he does not identify himself with the French State, and because it needs the majority acceptance. The multicultural model does not match also, because he is changing, and the multicultural model requires cultural maintenance. Furthermore, his ethnic identity also changed, but the major changes were at cognitive and individual stages. The changes

on the ethnic identity have to include his relationship regarding the departure culture. At the cognitive level, his current situation may be considered a fusion. However, fusion must be considered as dynamic. The intercultural model matches, but not completely, because at the public level his adaptation is inclusive.

8. Discussion and conclusion

Cross-cultural differences are a source of information, and they may disconfirm the auto stereotypes, and the stereotypes about other cultures. Migratory contact implies to rethink the departure culture, and it may have repercussions over the personal worldview.

At the ethnic identity level, it is not possible to fuse two cultural elements that are excluding each other, for instance, two monotheistic religions. However, at individual and cognitive level, it is possible to fuse two cultural elements that are excluding each other. It is possible to learn a second culture, to manage it, and to keep the individual identity. However, the mindset and the worldview may change.

Today, modern States act similar to enterprises, because they also try to sell a commodity. In the last decades, the same happens to the ethnic identities (Comaroff, & Comaroff, 2009). Ethnic identities are important in the case of colonial oppression and discrimination. However, the author belongs to a previous colonial empire, and he does not belong to a dominated culture.

It is possible to conclude that there is a pressure for self-categorization in the second, and also in the original culture. The ethnic identity may be ascribed by other persons or cultural group. The ascribed ethnic identity occurs at the same time than the self-categorization. It occurs even when the individual does not identify himself or herself with an ethnic identity, and it is often experienced as intrusive. Besides, to be intrusive, the ascribed label may be discordant regarding the personal self-categorization. The words "immigrant" and "emigrant" are labels. They have attributes attached, and they are related to the relationship with otherness, and low socioeconomic status. The experienced intercultural conflict due to immigration is acuter regarding the departure culture than the second culture. The "I", the

"We", and the "You" or the "They" are often in conflict, and it reminds that often individuals are under social pressures to define themselves as belonging to a cultural group.

The social pressures to categorize are especially strong in stressful social conditions, i.e., colonization, civil wars, and wars. Today, the Portuguese culture and mainly the Western European culture are pervasive. However, the dominance was achieved by violence. The prevalence of violence leads to cognitive dissonance and splitting. Currently, to think the past in order to plan the future is a hard task.

Intercultural relationships tended to fusion, to assimilation and to multiculturalism. The latter apparently had humanistic attributes. However, all the preferences and historical policies encompassed asymmetric power relationships, and violence. The main problem seems to be grounded in the difficulty to live with otherness. Psychology does not solve the problem at social level, because its realm is intrapsychological. However, Psychology provides some clues to solve the problem. Hence, otherness must be included and respected, and healthier defense mechanisms should be stressed, e.g., rationalization.

Barth (1969) wrote that ethnic identities are independent of culture, because the same culture may have different ethnic identities. In the future are expected new social differentiations due to biotechnologies, so due to human intervention and science (Habermas, 2002). In the 19th and 20th centuries there were strong differentiations among humans. Race was an obsession, and differentiation operated also amongst Europeans. Often, social differentiations operate within cultural groups, and it endangered individual differentiation and rights.

Jane Addams (1907) lived in the Progressive Era and during the First World War. She was a feminist, and helped to create a network of international pacifists. However, it did not avoid the First World War. Jane Addams (1907) connected immigrants to peace, and otherness. Current times are the consequence of the Progressive Era. However, today pacifism seems to be weaker than in Jane Addams's times. Hence, individuals have to stress agency in order to enhance pacifist societies, and intercultural relationships.

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