

## Wenceslau de Morães: acculturation between ideals and life experiences

*Wenceslau de Morães: fusão cultural entre manutenção e mudança*

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### ABSTRACT

Acculturation is often a complex and contradictory phenomenon. The Morães's work and life reported it. At individual level, Morães reported a fusionist life during nationalist and colonial times. However, at social level he preferred a reduced cultural relationship among Japan and Westerns, in order to maintain the Japanese culture. The Morães's attitude also reported the current limits of the multicultural model, because contact led to changes, and not only to cultural maintenance. It unveiled also the limits of assimilation, because Japan imitated, but maintained its culture. The contradictions reported that the dilemma about cultural contact and change was unsolved, and the current article did not provide a major solution for aggressive relationships. However, the article stated that Europeans should be reported on the position of who is learning a second culture in order to build a common Global History.

*Key words: acculturation, fusion, multicultural, Wenceslau de Morães, assimilation.*

### RESUMO

A aculturação é usualmente um fenómeno complexo e contraditório. O trabalho e a vida de Morães reportaram essas características. A nível individual Morães revelou uma vida de misturas num tempo nacionalista e colonial. No entanto, a nível social Morães preferiu uma relação mínima entre o Japão e os ocidentais, a fim de preservar a cultura japonesa. A atitude de Morães também reportou os limites do modelo multicultural, pois o contato conduziu a mudanças, e não apenas à manutenção cultural. Ele também revelou os limites da assimilação, porque o Japão imitou outras culturas, mas manteve a sua. As contradições reportam que o dilema entre o contato e a mudança cultural não foi resolvido, sendo que este artigo não forneceu uma solução para as relações agressivas. No entanto, o artigo afirmou que os europeus devem ser reportados na posição de quem aprende uma segunda cultura, a fim de construir uma História Global.

*Palavras-chave: aculturação, fusão, multicultural, Wenceslau de Morães, assimilação.*

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## Introduction

It is acknowledged that culture is done by acculturation, innovation, and cultural diffusion. In the current article, acculturation was approached as learning a second culture (Powell, 1880; Rudmin, 2009). Acculturation was considered as a dynamic process of cultural creation, because cultural maintenance and changes are occurring at the same time. In the current article, acculturation was also approached as a two-way process of cultural exchanges and changes (Kramer, 2000; Simons, 1901). Acculturation may be considered as a cause and as an effect, because it is a complex phenomenon (Morin, 1990, 2003), and because it is surrounded by culture.

In 1938, Herskovits wrote that was necessary to describe both cultures in order to approach the acculturation phenomenon. Afterward, Mason (1955) complained that the North-American culture was doing a great effort to define ruled cultures, regardless that the pervasive Anglo-Saxon culture was portrayed without a precise cultural content. In 1957, Hallowell wrote that ‘Despite the fact that in the well-known memorandum of Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936), acculturation was conceived as potentially a two-way process, in practice, American anthropologists have investigated it as a one-way process.’ (1957, p. 204). However, in the anthropological literature, there were exceptions, for instance, Freyre (1986/1933) described Brazil as a two-way and shared culture. The current article states that it is significant to report Westerns and Europeans learning second cultures, and the work of Morães matches on that aim.

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According to Matsumoto (2002), Japan is often employed to establish cross-cultural comparisons (Benedict, 1946; Matsumoto, 2006; Nitobé, 1914/1904). However, Japan had and it has cultural diversity (Matsumoto, 2002; Matsumoto & Yoo, 2006). The idea for the current article appeared from life experiences and from previous works (Castro, 2008, 2011, 2014a, b, 2015, 2016a, b, c, d, e). Traveling and reading books reported the continuation of the Portuguese observations about Japan that were enduring for more than four centuries, regardless that Japan adapted and imitated other cultures.

The Portuguese (and the Jesuit) cultures were the first Europeans on intercultural contact with Japan (Gunn, 2003; Lidin, 2002). Luis de Fróis (1976, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984/1594, 1993/1585, 2001/1564), Fernão Mendes Pinto (1989/1614), Jorge Álvares (1960/1547) and afterwards Wenceslau de Morães (1897, 1904, 1905a, 1905b, 1906,

1916, 1925) described Japan as very well-educated (by socialization), well-educated on manners (by enculturation), and developed (often by acculturative imitation). There was a gap of 300 years among the Álvares, the Fróis, the Fernão Mendes Pinto and the Wenceslau de Morães narratives. However, their descriptions of the Japanese culture were similar. Consequently, it is possible to conclude that those Japanese cultural features lingered.

Acculturation is sometimes responsible for standardize cultures. However, Japan offers a different point of view (Matsumoto, 2002, 2006), because it maintains its cultural features, regardless cultural adaptation. The Japanese cultural maintenance reports the breakdown of the assimilation model. It is important to state that, regardless the Japanese adaptation and cultural maintenance, it does not mean that all cultures are under the same acculturation pattern. It is also important to state that many cultures disappeared and hundreds are disappearing.

Besides to be a complex phenomenon, acculturation is often contradictory. Navas et al. (2005) approached acculturation among its ideals and real behaviors. Earlier, Myrdal (1944) described the American dilemma, which was already present on the DeTocqueville (2002/1835) description of the American democratic system. The egalitarian ideals were contradicted, due to the discriminatory behavior.

Cultural contact leads to change, and reactions to changes may be aggressive and grounded on social dominance attitudes and behaviors. The current article is not providing a single remedy for aggressive intercultural relationships. It is stating that often acculturation leads to fuse cultures, regardless that sometimes individuals are idealizing different attitudes regarding acculturative changes. Wenceslau de Morães's life and books are reporting the contradiction between ideals and real behaviors.

Social dominance should be placed outside intercultural relationships, promoting a shared and Global History and a culture of peace. It is important to remember that the Western colonial power led to brutal cultural changes on colonized cultures. Furthermore, the current globalization process is causing quick changes everywhere, and recent Western demographic changes (Case & Deaton, 2015) are leading to racism and to intercultural violence (Richeson & Sommers, 2016). In the USA the white majority will be a minority and the white middle-class has often worse health (Case & Deaton, 2015) than the first

generation of immigrants, reinforcing the immigrant paradox (Marrakides & Coreil, 1986; Rudmin, 2003b). The current multicultural model praises cultural maintenance. However, this article states that it encompasses a main contradiction, because contact drives to change, and not only to cultural maintenance. Morães's work is useful to remind readers that culture is done by fusion at individual and collective levels. Morães, regardless his contradictions connected to social dominance, reported to learn a second culture. This article combined different realities, i.e., the evolution of the acculturation concept and the Morães's work and life. However, both realities are pointing out to a shared and common culture that is done by acculturation, and to the need of tolerance and peace on a globalized planet.

### 1. Brief description of Wenceslau de Morães life

Wenceslau José de Sousa de Morães (1854-1929) born in Lisbon, Portugal, and died in Tokushima, Japan. He was a soldier, Portuguese Consul in Kobe and Osaka, and a writer who lived in Mozambique, Macau (China) and mainly in Japan. Wenceslau de Morães was often compared with Lafcadio (1892), because both writers lived and described Japan for long, during the Meiji Period. Wenceslau de Morães can be described as an orientalist, but not in the sense provided by Said (1978). In Macau, Morães married a Chinese female called Atchan. In 1912, he resigned from his position as Portuguese Consul in Kobe and moved to Tokushima, home city of his Japanese first wife, Fukumoto Yone. In Tokushima, he lived with Yone niece. Gradually, he reduced the relationships with the Portuguese culture (Janeira, 1966, 1970), and converted to Buddhism. Today, there is a small museum in Tokushima dedicated to him. In Portugal Wenceslau de Morães was considered as an exotic writer, maybe because of his sexual life with two Japanese females from the same family. Sexuality played a role in what was considered exotic (Hall, 1992; Said, 1978). It is important to state that Wenceslau de Morães was also considered exotic, because of his ambiguous ethnic identity (Janeira, 1966, 1970).

### 2. The definition of the acculturation concept

The acculturation phenomenon is defined by its main dimensions: intercultural contact, mutual interactions among different cultures (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senécal, 1997; Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936), by learning a second culture (Powell, 1880; Rud-

min, 2009), and by cultural changes at individual (Graves, 1967) and collective levels (Malinowski, 1958; Redfield, et al., 1936). On the definition of the acculturation concept, it is important to take into account that cultural change may drive to reformulate the cultural legacy (Barth, 1969), because acculturation is a dynamic process of cultural creation (Boas, 1982/1940; Malinowski, 1958). It is also important to take into account that acculturation is regulated by motivations and that they are often antagonistic and asymmetric.

### ***2.1 The main models to approach the acculturation phenomenon***

Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2006) stated that the acculturation approach has three models; assimilation, multicultural and fusion. Castro (2012, 2014a, b, 2015) added the intercultural model, and it is supposed to be related to the Francophone cultural legacy (Meer & Modood, 2012; Taylor, 2012). According to Castro (2014a, b, 2015), on the assimilation model, the minority culture is expected to disappear. The mutual learning will not be reported on the expected outcome, because the minority will be completely assimilated. The European assimilation policies, during the 19th century, the Chicago School conceptualization (Park, 1928), and the theory of (Gordon, 1964) are examples of the assimilation model.

In the multicultural model, the minority culture is expected to get cultural adaptation, maintaining at the same time its own culture (Berry, 2001). On the multicultural approach, just the minority is described as learning, and both cultures are only interacting with the larger society. The WASP culture (White, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant) and the Berry Model (2001) are examples of the multicultural approach.

On the fusion model, there is interaction, mutual learning among different cultures, and there are still cultural mixtures (Herskovits, 1938; LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1998; Simons, 1901), which will produce a new culture with internal diversity (Bastide, 1971, 1973; Castro, 2012, 2014a, b, 2015, 2016a). The Freyre (1986/1933; Rudmin, et al., 2016) and the Ortiz (1995/1940) theories and the policies of Alexander the Great (Simons, 1901) are examples of the fusion model.

On the intercultural model at private and individual levels, the minority may change or maintain its cultural legacy, because of the *laissez-faire* point of view. However, the minority at the public level is ex-

pected to get adaptation regarding the majority culture, for instance, at labor and educational domains. At the institutional level, the interaction among different cultures is reduced. The universalistic values of the French Republic can be an example of the model, because those institutional values are not expected to change, due to the minority agency. According to Taylor (2012), the intercultural model entails interaction, and the multicultural does not. The concept of acculturation is under evolution. Now, it is still necessary to contextualize the concept, and how it was approached on the current article.

## ***2.2 Acculturation as a two-way learning process of cultural exchanges and changes***

Acculturation may be conceived as an effect of human migrations, exchanges (McGee, 1898), colonization and wars, due to intercultural contact among different cultures. It may be also conceived as a cause, because it creates cultures, which are transmitted over generations. In addition, culture and historical backgrounds are shaping the reactions (attitudes, behaviors) regarding acculturative changes, in a similar way that national policies (Taft, 2007) are shaping the reactions regarding immigration (Bourhis, et al, 1997; Coenders, Lubbers, Scheepers & Verkuyten, 2008).

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Since the Palaeolithic and the Neolithic that cultural interaction among different cultural groups leads to acculturation, and it creates cultural and ethnic diversities (Coppens, 2012; D'Errico, et al., 1998; Gronenborn, 2003; Pääbo, 2013). The word and the acculturation approach were coined on the Western culture by Powell (1880). However, the phenomenon is universal and tolerance is not exclusive of the Western liberal thought. For example, the Syrian Umayyad Caliphate in Iberian Peninsula reported the three main monotheist religions living on the same territory (Christie, 2006; Glick & Pi-Sunyer, 1969).

Anthropology started concerned with the origin of culture. The first explanation was the evolutionist. Later, it appeared the concept of cultural diffusion (Barnard, 2004; Eriksen & Nielsen, 2013; Deliège, 2013). The concept of acculturation appeared later, and it was connected with learning a second culture (Powell, 1880). The concept of acculturation was concerned about intercultural contact and changes in unfamiliar cultures, so it is concerned with acculturation as an effect. Evolutionist and diffusion approaches were connected with acculturation as a cause of culture.

Some anthropologists were concerned with minority cultural maintenance, non-violence and discrimination (Chamberlin, 1905). Yet, other researchers did not and sometimes they were working for colonial administrations (Bateson, 1935). Consequently, the acculturation concept gained an ambiguous meaning connected to Western colonization (Grenon, 1992; Rudmin, Wang & Castro, 2016). On the French literature, for instance, the concept was almost dismissed, because of its colonialist origin (Brégent, Mokoukolo & Pasquier, 2008; Sabatier & Boutry, 2006). According to Westphal-Hellbusch (1959), Germans anthropologists took a similar position.

Another consideration about intercultural relationship is connected with the reaction regarding contact. Perhaps, on the Western culture, the first written reaction belonged to Plato (Rudmin, 2003a). Besides to be a two-way learning process of cultural exchanges and changes, acculturation is complex, and it is not possible to find out a single pattern. The Western European colonialism (Hobsbawm, 1977) praised assimilation or separation regarding the ruled cultures, and rarely praised fusion (Detocqueville, 2002/1835; Castro, 2015, 2016c, d, e; Freyre, 1986/1933; Myrdal, 1944; Simons, 1901). Later, the civil rights movement drove to the preference for the multicultural model (Glazer, 1997). So, different cultures living in the same territory (diversity), relative tolerance, and the majority concern about the minority integration. On the multicultural approach, integration means that the minority is learning the majority culture and at the same time is maintaining its culture (Berry, 2001). For this reason, the multicultural approach entails a main contradiction, because it presumes cultural maintenance, regardless the minority adaptation. It is possible to find out different patterns of acculturation in the literature and over time and space. However, the common characteristic is that culture and acculturation are done by fusion of cultural features.

### *2.3 Complexity and diverse patterns*

The word acculturation was coined, in the 19th century, possibly by Powell (1880). However, the appraisals about additional cultures, about intercultural relationships and their cultural changes are inner to intercultural contact (Barth, 1969). On the Western culture Herodotus (Redfield, 1985), Posidonius and later Strabo wrote about barbarians, e.g., Celts and Jews (Bloch, 2004; Buchsenschutz, 2004; Webster, 1996). The Roman Empire had the military power (Roux, 2004), although it was under the Hellenic influence. The Helleni-

zation of Rome was closer to fusion than to assimilation (Simons, 1901). Castro (2014a, b, 2016a) provided also a different point of view, because the Portuguese, during the 16th century, were a minority who tried to change the Japanese majority.

In the anthropological literature, it is possible to find out fusion. Tax (1941), Vogt (1955) and Polgar (1960) described the multicultural model. However, the common element among their descriptions is that fusion was previous to the multicultural outcome. In turn, Lesser (1933) and Spicer (1954, 1958) reported two-way of intercultural influences. Herskovits (1967) and Bastide (1971) reported how the Afro-Americans were not in a passive attitude regarding European rulers. Therefore, in the past, researchers accomplished robust studies and those works deserve attention (Leal, 2011).

The complex and contradictory nature of the acculturation outcomes can be reported by the American dilemma, which was described by Myrdal (1944). On the WASP culture, assimilation was the main ideal, and in a lesser degree fusion (DeTocqueville, 2002/1835). However, Myrdal (1944) reported a clear separation among cultures. In fact, the Afro-Americans and the Indigenous minorities were discriminated. Afro-Americans were acculturated to the WASP culture, yet their new ethnic identity was not validated by the dominant group. Therefore, no model described accurately the reality, because assimilation did not occur, but the multicultural cultural maintenance also did not occur, because Afro-Americans changed their original cultural features. The outcome was fusion, even because the majority also changed, for instance, by jazz (Merriam, 1955).

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### **3. Methodology: an emic approach**

The complexity of the acculturation patterns guided the current research to the etic and the emic topics. Cross-cultural Psychology aims often to universalize its theories and its empirical works, doing an etic approach (Pike, 1954). However, in turn, the emic approach does not aim to generalize (Brislin, 1976). The current research did an emic approach, because acculturation was considered as a very complex phenomenon.

In a broader context than Cross-Cultural Psychology (Osgood, 1967), it is possible to state that to accomplish universality, it is necessary that all cultures should have agency, participation, and debate about what is universal in order to develop a common public sphere (Haber-

mas, 1991). The postmodernist thought goes further than Habermas, because it puts the emphasis on the impossibility to translate cultural content among cultures (Bhabha, 1994). In turn, Spivak (1988) speaks about the necessity of learning with subaltern (discriminated) people.

### ***3.1 Reasons to apply the work of Wenceslaus de Morães***

The current research employed the work of Wenceslaus de Morães as a primary source (Ember & Ember, 2009). The Wenceslaus's works (1897, 1904, 1905a, 1905b, 1906, 1916, 1925) have more than one century, Hence they make possible to understand the intercultural relationships beyond the current concerns (Fukuyama, 1992; Huntington, 1996), and at the same time the research will be rooted in them. The author of the present article came from Psychology. However, he considered that History and Anthropology can provide a distant point of view regarding the present topic without dismissing social dominance (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), ethic concerns and a culture of peace (Christie, 2006).

Psychological research (Finkel, Eastwick & Reis, 2015; Makel, 2014; McGuire, 1973; Simmons, Nelson & Simonsohn, 2011) and particularly acculturation research are facing many problems, and the past can provide partial solutions to the present (Bowskill, et al., 2007; Burman 2007; Cresswell, 2009; Ozer, 2013; Rudmin, 2003a, b, 2009; Rudmin, et al., 2016; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008).

Another reason to employ the work of Morães is placed on his lesser ethnocentric point of view. Morães learned more and more the Japanese mindset. He reported two main features of the anthropologic work. The first one is to be alone in a strange cultural environment. The second one is to participate, to observe and to describe it as an outsider (Bernard, 2006; Malinowski, 1958; Mauss, 1926). The point of view of Wenceslau de Morães is close to Montaigne (n/d/1595), because both praised who were different.

On the beginning of the 20th century, Morães worked as a key-informant for the Portuguese culture, because his intercultural contact and learning a second culture (acculturation) enlarged the Portuguese knowledge about the humankind. He was placed on a middle point, being bicultural in the sense of fusion, which gave a sense of ambiguity in a time of nationalistic identities. Morães was not a unique case in the Portuguese culture, for instance, Lévi-Strauss (1998) wrote that

the small book of Luis de Fróis (2001) was the best example of the Proto-Anthropology. Morães had the so-called Portuguese plasticity to learn second cultures (Almeida, 2004; Castro, 2014a, b). According to Gilberto Freyre (1954, 1961, 1986/1933), Fernão Mendes Pinto was the paradigm of the Portuguese plasticity (Souza, 2000). Morães also had cultural empathy, because the book *O culto do chá* (Morães, 1905) was written one year before the classic of Okakura (1906). The book of Okakura (1906) established a cross-cultural comparison regarding the Western culture, and it became a classic of the Japanese thought.

The analyzed works of Morães were *Dai-Nippon, O grande Japão* (1897), *Cartas do Japão I: Antes da guerra - 1902-1904* (1904), *O culto do chá* (1905a), *Cartas do Japão II, Um ano de guerra - 1904-1905* (1905b), *Paisagens da China e do Japão* (1906), *O bon-odori em Tokushima, caderno de impressões íntimas* (1916), *Relance da alma japonesa* (1925). The Morães works were ranging from 1897 to 1925, covering 28 years. So, he wrote about Japan for longer than Lafcadio (1892), and longer than the brief voyage of Loti (1888). The books of Morães were written in a journalistic style, and they were descriptive, but they were written in an intimate way (Morães, 1897).

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### 3.2 Applied techniques

The empirical work was qualitative (Bernard, 2006), and it employed content analysis (Allport, 1942; Krippendorff, 2004). On Cross-Cultural Psychology, according to Ward (2001), the main topics on the acculturation research were attitudes, ethnic identity and coping (distress versus eustress). On the current paper attitudes (regarding intercultural relationships and acculturative changes) and ethnic identity were analytical codes employed in the content analysis. Other codes were immigration, imitation, and colonial relationships.

The first sampling started with literature review. When content analysis works with documents, they have to be chosen, doing samples. The researcher chose books of Morães which were available on PDF files. Firstly, the works of Morães were under one first analytical reading. Afterward, the researcher came back to documental sampling, rewriting data by the codes, and reading another time the books by the year of publication. The analyzed data were reduced to manageable and to representative transcriptions until it reached saturation (Krippendorff, 2004). Transcriptions were not translated and added to the current

article. Afterward, it was checked out the different content from each code. Later, it was checked out the associations among codes (Neuendorf, 2002; Smith, 2000), and their implications for the acculturation concept (Goulding, 2002). The works of Morães have more than one more century; hence it is necessary to contextualize them.

### ***3.3 Historical contexts from today and from the time of Wenceslau de Morães***

It was necessary to contextualize the research in order to establish diachronic comparisons and to understand the work of Morães, according to the current days. Nowadays, the world is facing climate changes (Lovelock, 1972), it is threatened by nuclear war, and economic exhaustion (Cohen, 2015; Passet, 1979). The economic production is accomplished more and more by robots and by computers (Stiegler, 2015).

The world is interdependent, and it has several major cultural centers. Nowadays, there is a burst of information (Serres, 2012; Stiegler, 2015), and there are easier communications (Hobsbawm, 1995). At the time of Morães newspapers were the main source of information, and television and internet were absent. The geographic knowledge about the planet was completed at the Wenceslau de Morães time, and it started to be globalized. However, time was slower. For instance, letters from Kobe were passing from Vancouver, and they took 30 days to reach Lisbon (Morães, 1904). The perception of space also changed, today the current point of view about the planet includes the regard from outside, and it is observed as an ecosystem (Morin, 2003).

At the time of Morães, Portugal was a monarchy, and a fragile empire (Morães, 1904). The Portuguese industrial development was scarce and Portugal would not dispute with other empires. Morães described some of the Portuguese Asian colonies; East-Timor as wild, and Macau as abandoned and under the influence of Hong Kong. At the time of Morães, industrial and technological changes were perceived aside from the current ecological exhaustion. There was a real belief in progress (Hall, 1992). The colonial relationships should be regarded under that reality. Europeans and Westerns were dominating the course of development. Today, the planet is full of non-places (Augé, 1995), so places without significance and mere locals of passage. Yet, on the Wenceslau de Morães's time, it was populated by nationalistic spaces and identities. Today, the ethnic identity is intertwined (Serres,

2012) and it is formulated beyond the tribe, the family and the State (Bauman, 2004; Lyotard, 1988; Maffesoli, 2014).

Another topic connected with acculturation (learning) and with nationalism was mass education or socialization. In the 19th century, mass education was needed to create national identities. Mass education reduced national diversities and Western colonies were also acculturated by socialization.

History was produced by the point of view of the winners (Goody, 2006). However, today it is necessary to add the point of view of the losers (Goody, 2006; Castro, 2016b). Today, there are more and more persons with double and even with several cultural backgrounds. It may drive to a global historical narrative. Global History (Gruzinski, 1999, 2004; Maalouf, 1999; Subrahmanyam, 2004, 2012) can provide a shared narrative, because it can work as a symbolic artifact (Hughes, 1987; Vygotsky, 1978/1930), and it can still offer a lesser ethnocentric point of view.

#### 4. Empirical outcomes

##### *4.1 Morães's attitudes regarding acculturative changes and intercultural relationships*

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In the current article, it is important to state that violence and discrimination are approached taking into account the work of Elias and Scotson (1994). Violence and discrimination may change according to who is the 'established' and according to who is the 'outsider' at a certain moment and territory. Moreover, it is possible that there are several social actors, and their power positions may change (Foucault, 1966, 1980). Postcolonial and postmodern studies displayed the relationship between power and culture (Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1992, 1996; Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988). However, Japan was never colonized or dominated by Europeans.

According to Ward (2001), in Cross-Cultural Psychology attitudes are one of the three main topics on the acculturation research. According to Morães (1897, 1905a, 1925), Japan would be separated from the rest of the world. According to him, buy and sell was the best way (and unique) to establish an intercultural contact. Taking into account the pervasive Berry Model (2001), Morães preferred the separation attitude. However, the Berry Model (2001) is assigned for minorities, and the Japanese were a dominant cultural group.

According to Morães (1904, 1905a, b), cultural diversity would be maintained by trading, because it entailed a reduced intercultural relationship. He thought that each culture and civilization should maintain their cultural traits untouched. The Morães attitude seems to be alike the Bhabha (1994) point of view, because, according to the latter, the essential difference should be maintained. However, both authors did not answer to the contradiction. The contradiction appeared due to the increasing intercultural contact. Furthermore, in fact, trading shaped the Japanese cultural changes, and it drove to an aggressive nationalistic reaction. The pervasive multicultural Berry Model (2001) is also contradictory, because it presumes the minority cultural adaptation, but at the same time, it presumes the minority cultural maintenance.

#### ***4.2 Imitation as cultural creation***

Rudmin (2009) stated that imitation is a main way to learn a second culture, besides getting information, mentoring and instruction. Castro (2014a; b) added rational disputation or arguing, curiosity, observation, listening, reading, traveling and the use of information technologies (Castro, 2016b) as ways to learn a second culture.

219 Morães (1905b) called the Japanese imitation of nationalization, because the Japanese adapted outsider cultural features and sometimes they improved them. The Japanese imitation was a cultural feature already present on the books of Fernão Mendes Pinto and Fróis. Morães (1905a) perceived the Japanese imitation was as a positive feature and almost genetic determined. Yet, imitation was often perceived with prejudice, because who was imitating was not considered as culturally active and creative. However, Tarde (1903) stated that imitation was the main mechanism to explain the origin and innovation of culture, ‘. . . imitations are modified in passing from one race or nation to another. . . ’ (p. 22). According to Tarde (1902, 1903), imitation drives to difference, and not only to repetition. He influenced the works of Bandura and Deleuze. Deleuze wrote that imitation is a, ‘. . . process of repetition understood as the passage from a state of general differences to singular difference . . . ’ (Deleuze, 1994, p. 76). Imitation is maybe the main mechanism that explains the Japanese adaptation and at the same time cultural maintenance. Imitation worked by fusion, and it drove to cultural maintenance, changes and also to diversity.

#### ***4.3 Ethnic identity***

The end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century

were nationalistic times. Globalization was increasing by imperial and industrial interventions (Clastres, 1974; Hobsbawm, 1977, 1995; Scott, 2009). Race was still a concept and a discursive apparatus, and afterward, it was replaced by the notion of ethnic identity (Lévi-Strauss, 1952).

The ethnic identity is dynamic (Barth, 1969; Phinney & Ong, 2007), and it is a construction over the entire lifespan, and it is also a multidimensional construct that refers to the individual identity or sense of self as a member of an ethnic group. The concept of ethnic identity has three main dimensions. The first dimension is the self-categorization. However, it can be ascribed by other persons or groups. The second dimension is a subjective sense of belonging to the ethnic group, and it is measured by positive or negative direction towards it. The third and main dimension is its development by the exploratory behavior (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

As was mentioned previously, Morães reported as ambiguous ethnic identity. He was taking more and more the Japanese ethnic identity. He married outsiders, converted to Buddhism, learned extensively the Japanese culture by exploratory behavior. Furthermore, he was working as a kind of key-informant for the Portuguese culture.

In the works of Morães, the ethnic identity appeared, because of phenotypes features. Europeans were described and caricatured as blond and red (Barth, 1969; Morães, 1904). He preferred the Japanese ethnic identity. He especially praised the Japanese female in comparison to the European, regardless that he felt discriminated and even racism (Morães, 1897). For instance, he wrote that he was more discriminated than the Chinese persons living in Japan after the First Sino-Japanese War (Morães, 1897).

On the books of Morães, ethnic identity and race were connected with the world competition, and, according to Morães, whites (Western Europeans, North-Americans, and Russians) would recognize that another race performed better than them, i.e., the Japanese. He approved the opinion of Herbert Spencer (Morães, 1905b; Spencer, 1855, 1873), and recommended a separation or segregation attitude regarding Westerns. The English author considered the biological mixtures among Japanese and Westerns as dangerous, and Morães shared that point of view. Therefore, Morães was not sharing the fusion theory of Freyre (1986/1933). It is important to notice that historically the social Darwinism of Herbert Spencer was employed by

Shigetake Sugiura to justify the Japanese superiority.

Morães (1905a) offers a lesser ethnocentric point of view than most of orientalist writers. However, there are contradictions in his narrative, and most of them are related to the social dominance position in the World competition. Portugal had colonies in Asia, i.e., Macau (China), Goa (India), and East-Timor. However, Morães did not declare that the Portuguese colonies should be decolonized. Furthermore, Morães did not provide attention to the Japanese minorities, e.g., the Ainus. Wenceslau de Morães stated that they would disappear (Morães, 1905b). Morães also mentioned another minority; Burakumin (Morães, 1897). However, in fact, Burakumin were not an ethnic minority, because they were discriminated due to their socioeconomic status (Rudmin, 2009). Hafu, i.e., biracial persons were not also praised by Morães. Finally, people from Okinawa were described under the Japanese nationalistic values and power. Therefore, Morães replaced the European by the Japanese power, and he did not offer a valid decolonization. Morães justified the Japanese invasion of Korea and Manchuria by the social dominance position on the humankind competition. He perceived inferior and superior races, maybe because of the humankind competition, and because industrial development and social evolutionist were connected.

Morães praised cultural diversity, as today the multicultural approach preferred it. However, both attitudes are favored reduced intercultural relationships. The multicultural Berry Model (2001) entailed a major contradiction, because contact and learning a second culture were presumed that they did not change the minority culture. A similar contradiction was present on Morães. The question about cultural contact and changes is unsolved. According to Morães, peace would be reached just by trading. However, trading was an important part of the imperial competition. Theories should be adapted to reality and not the opposite, as Touraine wrote, 'The absolute multiculturalist hypothesis is as absurd as that of the cultural homogeneity of a city or country. Intercultural relations are the only reality - and they are what need to be studied, from trampling over the Other to cultural mixing.' (Touraine, 2007, p. 153). The intercultural conflict appeared due to contact. Intercultural conflict may be independent of learning a second culture. For instance, Afro-Americans were assimilated at many domains; however, they are still separated and discriminated. Morães reported a contradiction between his ideals and life, because his own ethnic identity was fused. However, he preferred and praised

minimal intercultural contact for the Japanese culture.

#### **4.4 Colonial relationships**

At the time of Morães, the Western empires gained their maximum extension, and Japan was the first non-Western country in the globalized competition. Wenceslau de Morães perceived strategic topics. He understood the importance of war connected with political and economic issues (Clausewitz, 1943/1832). Morães justified the modernization and the militarization of Japan (Morães, 1897) in order to avoid the Western powers. According to Moisi (2009), fear and humiliation are some of the main emotions that are driven foreign policies. In the Japanese case, and according to Morães, fear shaped the Japanese modernization and sense of ethnic and cultural superiorities. However, as Adler (1925) wrote, often the complex of superiority hides a complex of inferiority, and both are connected and overlapped. Therefore, Japan was under a quick modernization, yet it drove to a psychological regression. As Okakura (1906), Morães (1905a, b) thought that the Japanese acculturation and modernization were Western faults. The escalating Japanese social dominance was described as prone to drive to decolonization. According to Morães (1897, 1904, 1905a), the occupation of Taiwan and later of Korea and Manchuria (against Russia) was justified by the Japanese decolonization mission (Morães, 1897). Today, it seems a contradiction. However, Morães did not perceive it, maybe because humankind was in a permanent social dominance competition. The Morães attitude (and the Japanese victimization and blaming other cultures) drove to splitting and projecting. Therefore, to maladaptive defense mechanisms (Freud, 1936) of the paranoid-schizoid position (Klein, 1946). Peace, in the words of Morães, would arrive by limiting the intercultural relationships (just trading). However, as Morães himself reported, the modernization of Japan drove to intense cultural changes, and Morães did not perceive the contradiction.

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#### **4.5 Immigration**

Wenceslau de Morães perceived immigration as a dreadful phenomenon, his position may be perceived as conservative, and far-away from the current humanistic thought (Eco, 2000). However, at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, the immigration topic was connected with international crime and socioeconomic inequality. In Europe maybe one of the first efforts to control immigration was the Aliens Act of 1905, and it was connected

to international crime (Knepper, 2010). Moreover, in Asia, the traffic of coolies was compared with slavery, because often coolies were illegal and forced (Morães, 1897, 1905a, 1916), and it encompassed persons with low education and low socioeconomic status.

According to Morães (1905b), immigration was an economic problem at two levels. Firstly, it was a consequence of social and economic inequalities at national level (Castro, 2008, 2011). Secondly, at international level countries were engaged in human traffic (Morães, 1897, 1905a, b). Macau and mainly Hong Kong were engaged in immigration traffic and Hong Kong on the opium traffic.

Immigration was also connected to the ethnic identity topic, mainly because Morães praised Spencer and both preferred the separation attitude regarding Westerns, and both disliked the biological mixtures. Morães took the Lamarck ideas about adaptation, he stated that each folk had the own natural environment, thus to live in another natural environment would be dangerous. The opinions of Morães are the advantage to remember readers that immigration may be tricky at national and international levels, aside from the current binary speech (good or bad phenomenon) about the topic.

## 5. Conclusions and suggestions

Morães provided a lesser ethnocentric point of view than most of orientalist writers, and he reported to learn a second culture. The works that were approaching Westerns and Europeans learning second cultures were uncommon (Castro, 2014a, b, 2015; Geschke, Mummendey, Kessler & Funke, 2010; Rudmin, Villemo & Olsen, 2007; Rudmin, et al., 2016). Willems (1944) and Hallowell (1957) were some of the exceptions on the American Anthropologist.

Richeson and Sommers (2016) reported recent demographic changes in the USA; the white majority is expected to be a minority. After the civil rights movement, the assimilation model was almost dismissed and was replaced by the multicultural model (Glazer, 1997). The multicultural model praises the minority cultural maintenance. However, it implies the existence of the larger society and also encompasses reduced intercultural interactions, which were already present in the North American culture (DeTocqueville, 2002/1835; Myrdal, 1944). In Europe, the demographic changes are also taking place. The European or white majority reaction should be understood as a customary reaction regarding cultural changes and outsider cultures. However, Western responsibilities on colonization should be remembered.

Power positions may change (Foucault, 1980) among cultural groups. Yet, violence and discrimination should be absent in intercultural relationships. The limits of the current liberal tolerance should be placed on discrimination, violence, and asymmetric power relationships. At the United Nations, Lévi-Strauss (1952) stated that the race topic encompassed a deeper problem, i.e., the difficulty to live together.

As was stated at the outset, acculturation is often a complex and contradictory phenomenon. The Morães's work and life are reporting it. At the individual level, Morães reported a bicultural and fusionist life during nationalistic and colonialist times. However, at the social level and on his books, he preferred a reduced cultural relationship among Japan and Westerns, in order to maintain the Japanese culture and global diversity. The current article reported several contradictions placed on the Morães books, mainly on attitudes regarding changes, ethnic identity, and colonial relationships. Morães's contradictions are connected to social dominance, even because the reduced Japanese behavior regarding other cultures drove in fact to violent relationships. The Morães's attitude revealed the current limits of the multicultural model, because contact led to changes, and not only to cultural maintenance. It also revealed the limits of assimilation, because Japan imitated other cultures, but maintained its culture. Furthermore, the current article did not provide a single and final solution for intercultural conflicts and for conflicts driven by acculturative changes, contact, and cultural distance. Acculturation is a dynamic process of cultural creation, and concerns about the own cultural changes are usual and reasonable (if one culture is not aggressing another culture).

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Perhaps, another effect of globalization, besides the Western demographic changes, will be Global History, a global narrative, because today there are more and more people with several socialization processes. Global History would work as a common framework with respect to diversity and by cultural differences. It is also important to approach Westerns and Europeans learning second cultures, as Morães did. Finally, it is important to state that there is no single pattern of acculturation and that there is no better or worse acculturative preference.

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