THE PORTUGUESE MASS MIGRATION TO FRANCE

Acculturation and Identity Formation Processes Among Second-Generation Portuguese Immigrants

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UTRECHT UNIVERSITY
JUNE 2024

"*It was a France that promised jobs, that promised pay, that promised being able to go to the supermarket and buy things, being able to think about having children, being able to think about going back to Portugal and building a house there*"

- *Catarina, a participant in this study*

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Abstract

This study explores the experiences of second-generation Portuguese immigrants in France, who were part of a significant migration wave during the 1960s—70s. During this period, nearly one million Portuguese settled in France, making it the largest foreign community in France at that time. The research focuses on how the community constructs their cultural identities, balancing their Portuguese heritage with the influences of French society. Through in-depth semi-structured interviews, the research examines how family dynamics, educational experiences, and societal interactions shape cultural adaptation and identity formation. Applying the framework of acculturation theory by Ward and Geeraert (2016) and the tactics of intersubjectivity by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) to analyse the data, the findings revealed a complex interplay between maintaining heritage culture and integrating into French society. The findings underscore the dynamic and fluid nature of cultural identity among these immigrants, shaped significantly by familial pressures and positive support from local French institutions. This study contributes to the field of Intercultural Communication by providing a deep understanding of how second-generation immigrants negotiate dual cultural identities within a Western European context.

Acknowledgments:

I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to the participants of this study, who generously shared their personal stories and experiences with me. Their openness and honesty have been invaluable to this research. I also wish to thank my family, who were part of the migration process and inspired my interest in this topic. Their support and encouragement have been a constant source of motivation. Lastly, I would like to express my appreciation to my supervisor, Wafa Al-Alawi, for her valuable feedback during this project.

1. Introduction

In the 1960s and 1970s, Portugal experienced a significant wave of migration to France driven by political oppression, economic challenges, and the turmoil of colonial conflict. This period marked a pivotal moment in history, with approximately one million Portuguese nationals settling in France, becoming the largest foreign community in the country at that time. This mass migration profoundly shaped the lives and identities of these immigrants and their descendants. Central to this narrative are second-generation Portuguese immigrants, that is, individuals raised in France by Portuguese parents, who grew up navigating their Portuguese heritage within French society.

This study explores the narratives and perspectives of second-generation Portuguese immigrants. It aims to understand how various contextual factors, such as family dynamics, educational experiences, and broader societal interactions influence the acculturation processes and the construction of identities of second-generation Portuguese immigrants. Acculturation, which refers to the cultural change and adaptation resulting from continuous contact between different cultural groups, serves as the focal point for understanding how these individuals manage their dual cultural backgrounds amidst the influences of their surrounding contexts (Berry et al., 2006).

To explore these dynamics, this study follows the following research question and subsequent sub-questions.

Research Question: How do personal and contextual factors influence the acculturation processes and identity construction of second-generation Portuguese immigrants in France?

Sub-questions:

1. How do environmental factors such as family dynamics, educational experiences, and interactions with a broader French society shape the acculturation process of second-generation Portuguese immigrants?

2. How do second-generation Portuguese immigrants navigate and construct their identities, balancing influences from their Portuguese heritage with their experiences within French society?

To answer these questions, this study employs two theoretical lenses as part of its framework. First, Ward and Geeraert's (2016) ecological framework on acculturation helps us understand immigrants' adaptation processes within a multifaceted cultural context, emphasising how environmental factors—particularly familial, societal, and institutional contexts—affect integration and cultural identity. Second, Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) tactics of intersubjectivity offer insights into how these immigrants actively construct and negotiate their identities by employing strategies to align or distance themselves from different social groups.

Through in-depth semi-structured interviews with second-generation Portuguese immigrants, this research captures firsthand accounts of the challenges and complexities they face during their acculturation process. These narratives provide insights into their personal journeys and the broader social, historical, and familial contexts that have shaped their experiences.

From an Intercultural Communication perspective, this study contributes to the field by offering a deeper understanding of how second-generation immigrants negotiate their dual cultural identities within a host society. It explores the importance of communicative practices and intercultural contact in shaping the experiences of second-generation immigrants, focusing on how these individuals navigate cross-cultural interactions within a Western European context.

The subsequent sections of this paper will explore the historical background of Portuguese migration to France, elaborate on the theoretical frameworks and methodology used, present detailed findings from the interviews, and discuss the implications of these findings in the field of Intercultural Communication. Through this exploration, I aim to contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex experiences of second-generation immigrants, which can enrich our understandings of cultural contact within Intercultural Communication studies.

2. Contextual Background

Portugal has a long history of migration. For many years, the number of people leaving the country was far larger than those entering it (Anástasio, 2019). Over the period from 1900 to 1988, approximately 3.5 million people left Portugal, with two prominent migration cycles emerging. The first notable cycle, known as the Transatlantic Cycle, persisted until the 1950s. During this cycle, most of the departures were to the Americas, with Brazil as the most popular destination (Baganha,1994). This cycle ended seemingly due to the restrictive stances adopted by countries such as Brazil and the United States, influenced by the Great Depression, which led to tighter immigration policies (Esteves, 2022). The end of this cycle, marked by the post-World War II European reconstruction, led to a new cycle of migration, known as the Intra-European cycle, lasting from the 1960s to the end of the 1970s (Baganha, 1994). During this period, more specifically, between 1960 and 1974, one million, one hundred thousand Portuguese people migrated within the European continent (Esteves, 2022). The majority of this migration flow was directed to France, where approximately 870,000 Portuguese individuals entered the country. Over this timeframe, the Portuguese population in France grew from 50,000 to 759,000, making it the largest foreign community in France. Remarkably, this migration wave accounted for nearly 10% of Portugal's total population emigrating to France at the time (Esteves, 2022). This surge in

migration reflects the significant impact of this period on both Portuguese and French societies. In this research, I will delve into this particular period of time, and examine its influence on the lives of those involved.

Understanding why the Portuguese opted to leave their homeland during this period is essential. There were several reasons behind this mass emigration. Essentially, they were fleeing war, dictatorship, and poverty. In the early 1960s, Portugal was becoming increasingly isolated from the rest of the world (Esteves, 2022). At the time, Portugal was under the Salazarist dictatorial regime, known as the "Estado Novo" (New State), that maintained strict control over the nation. This regime, mainly based on Mussolini's Italian fascism, was characterised by nationalist, authoritarian, and anti-democratic policies (Barata, 2021). It was known for persecuting political ideologies that opposed its own and creating a censorship system for the press, books and other information that was passed on to society (Barata, 2021). This fostered a climate of fear and political repression across the country. This regime idolised a simple, rural lifestyle and feared the advancement of modern economics (Goulart, 2011). It aimed for self-sufficiency, with investments mainly directed towards agriculture and industries characterised by artisanal production reliant on low-skilled labour (Goulart, 2011). This economic stance was shared by few, if any, European colonial powers, exposing Portugal's economic vulnerabilities and the unsustainability of Salazar's conservative model (Esteves, 2022).

Additionally, the Estado Novo maintained tight control over education. The public system underwent "purification" to exclude dissenting ideologies, and the access to higher education was mainly limited to privileged elites, while lower classes couldn't afford to sacrifice their children's work or salary (Goulart, 2011). Education was not seen as a priority and was characterised as

providing only a basic education in overcrowded classrooms with poor quality instruction (Goulart, 2011).

Furthermore, while other countries were starting to let go of their colonies in Africa, Portugal was holding on tightly to theirs (Esteves, 2022). The government didn't want to give up control over these colonies, which led to a long and difficult conflict known as the Colonial War, spanning from 1961 to 1974 (Esteves, 2022). With the war, young men over the age of 16 were banned from leaving the country, so they began leaving the country illegally, facilitated by smugglers crossing the Spanish border en route to France (Rosa, 2016). Illegal departures accelerated rapidly, not only for young men fleeing the war but also for families fleeing the poor living conditions at home. These clandestine departures were indirectly encouraged by the French authorities, who made it increasingly easier to regularise immigrants without papers (Rosa, 2016). In 1969, there were 300,000 registered Portuguese in France and by the early 1970s, there were more than 700,000 (Rosa, 2016).

This encouragement given by the French authorities in regularising immigrants prompts the question: What were the conditions in France that made it so favourable to welcome the Portuguese?

At the start of the 1960s, France was undergoing major economic growth due to the reconstruction process following World War II (Esteves, 2022). To meet the labour demand for economic reconstruction, especially in heavy industry and public works, France began importing foreign workers in large numbers, driven partly by the reluctance of the French to undertake hard and underpaid work (Esteves, 2022). Concurrently, the Algerian War between France and Algeria (1954-1962), caused social and political instability in France, which contributed to a negative perception of immigrants from former colonies (Esteves, 2022). In this context, the Portuguese

population began to be seen as a favourable option for rebuilding the country, due to their European and Catholic roots and their perceived ability to integrate more easily compared to North African immigrants (Esteves, 2022).

All in all, Portugal's economic and political challenges, along with their provision of low-wage manual labour, as well as France's demand for such labour, created the perfect storm for the Portuguese mass diaspora to France during this time.

3. Immigration and Cultural Identity

When entering a new country and leaving behind all familiar surroundings, people inevitably encounter individuals from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. This exposes them to less familiar values, norms, beliefs, languages, and behaviours (Jackson, 2020). The complex process of adjusting to a new environment and culture is a central aspect of immigration. Immigration can be described as "the process of going from one country, region or place of residence to settle in another" (Bhugra & Becker, 2005). This thesis specifically focuses on individuals who relocate to another country, rather than to another region or place. These individuals, known as immigrants, are described by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) as non-national people who move into a country for the purpose of settlement (Gimeno-Feliu et al., 2019).

3.1 Challenges and dynamics of immigration

Immigrants encounter various challenges when establishing themselves in a new country. They struggle with navigating the values, ideals, and behaviours of the host country's culture while maintaining those of their heritage culture (Schwartz et al., 2006). This challenge is particularly prominent for second-generation immigrants, who often struggle with forming a cohesive identity

as they balance their parents' cultural heritage with the norms and values of the host society (Sabatier, 2007).

Second-generation immigrants, i.e. individuals who were raised in the host country by parents who immigrated from another country, navigate the complex interplay of dual cultural influences throughout their formative years. While adopting both heritage and host culture values is considered an adaptive strategy, the need to balance these cultures can cause significant stress, especially when the cultural expectations of the host society differ greatly from those of the immigrant's heritage (Berry et al., 2006). A lack of cultural congruity between their original culture and the new environment can also increase mental distress as it can affect their sense of belonging or separation within broader society (Bhugra & Becker, 2005).

Overall, the process of navigating two cultures and managing a dual cultural identity presents significant challenges for immigrants as they adapt to new environments. To understand these dynamics, it's important to explore the concepts of culture and identity, as I will do below.

3.2 Culture and identity

The word "culture" is notoriously hard to define, with several definitions emerging over the years. Originating from the Latin word *cultura,* which literally meant to cultivate, its significance gradually expanded over time, gaining broader value in the fields of education and anthropology. In 1871, anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor defined culture as a complex whole that includes a wide range of elements such as knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other skills and habits acquired by people as members of society (Jackson, 2020). Later, Hofstede, in his study on Culture and Organizations (1980), provided a widely recognized definition of this term. He defined culture as "the programming of the human mind by which one group of people

distinguishes itself from another group" (1980). This definition provides an essentialist view of culture, defining it as inherent and programmed in humans.

However, by the late 1990's, more dynamic concepts of culture gained relevance. Linguist Claire Kramsh, for instance, moved away from the notion of culture as something merely inherited and described it as something that is co-constructed by society (1998). According to her, while culture is influenced by historical context and linked to a specific community, it is not geographically bound. This perspective views culture as dynamic and shared, emphasising that it is not static but rather continuously shaped through interactions (Kramsch, 2014). In this research, this is the perspective of culture that will be adopted, as it better captures the fluid and constructivist nature of culture as experienced by immigrants.

Similarly, the term identity is approached in a number of different ways and interpreted differently by various authors. Many authors, such as Schwartz et al. (2006) and Schaetti (2015), following Erikson's (1950) widely used definition, regard identity as "the organisation of self-understandings that define one's place in the world" (Schwartz et al., 2006, p.6). They view identity as a combination of personal, social, and cultural self-conceptions (Schwartz et al., 2006).

However, in response to the complexities of interaction across borders introduced by globalisation and immigration, some scholars, such as Blommaert (2010) and Bucholtz and Hall (2004), have challenged the notion of identity as fixed. Blommaert (2010) defines identity as dynamic, context-dependent, and influenced by global processes, such as immigration. Similarly, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) push away the idea of identity as an inherent trait within individuals. They suggest that it is not about finding sameness and differences, but an active, non-static production of these qualities through social interaction and discourse (Fitts, 2006; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). They further stress that "Identity is not simply the source of culture but the outcome

of culture (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p.382)". Bucholtz and Hall (2005) propose five fundamental principles to define identity: emergence, positionality, indexicality, relationality, and partialness. They view identity as emergent, meaning it is not preexisting but instead continuously created through interactions and discourse. Within these interactions, identity is positional, shaped by the temporary roles we assume when interacting. Furthermore, identity is indexical, constructed through linguistic forms that depend on the interactional context for their meaning. For instance, second-generation immigrants use Portuguese and French in different contexts, constructing their identity differently depending on the broader social setting. Additionally, identity is relational, always defined in relation to other identities and never autonomous or independent. Because it is relational, identity is also partial, meaning it is always contextually situated. For the purposes of this study on the complex theme of immigration, these dynamic definitions of identity will be considered.

In terms of second-generation immigrants, there is constant interaction with diverse cultural groups—both their host culture and their heritage culture. Their identity evolves through these interactions, where they shift between languages and cultural practices based on their surroundings, continuously shaping their sense of self. By exploring the challenges and dynamics of immigration, as well as different perspectives on culture and identity, particularly those that view them as fluid and constructed through social interactions, this section has thus provided a foundation for analysing how second-generation Portuguese immigrants in France navigate their dual cultural identity within the broader societal context.

4. Theoretical Framework

In the previous section, the challenges and dynamics of immigration, as well as the complexities of the terms culture and identity, were discussed. Building on this foundation, this section will explore the theoretical tools that will be used in this research to analyse how second-generation Portuguese immigrants in France were affected by personal and environmental factors when adjusting to a new setting.

I will be looking at this phenomenon through the lens of acculturation theory, defined as the process of cultural change and adaptation resulting from continuous contact between different cultural groups (Berry et al., 2006). Specifically, I will be using Ward and Geeraert's (2016) framework on "The acculturation process and its ecological context". This framework provides a structured approach to comprehending immigrants' adaptation processes within a multifaceted cultural context, focusing on how environmental factors shape their experiences and identities.

Additionally, I will incorporate Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) "Tactics of Intersubjectivity" from their work on "Language and Identity" to explore the strategies these individuals use to construct their identities and navigate their dual cultural influences in relation to their experiences of integrating into the French context.

Combining these two lenses will provide a more holistic view of the interplay between individual tactics and environmental factors in the acculturation process. This approach will allow for a deeper understanding of how second-generation Portuguese immigrants manage their dual cultural identities while being influenced by their surrounding context. Below, I will elaborate more on these theoretical tools.

4.1 The acculturation process and its ecological context

Acculturation refers to the process of change and adjustment that individuals undergo when they come in contact with a culture different from 'their own', such as when relocating to a new country (Jackson, 2020). This can include changes in habits and beliefs, as well as shifts in cultural identities and social behaviours (Fox et al., 2017; Berry et al., 2006). In cross-cultural studies, the concepts acculturation and enculturation are often discussed as contrasting social phenomena (Karim & Hue, 2022). While enculturation refers to the primary socialisation process, i.e., acquiring first culture or heritage culture; acculturation involves learning about host or mainstream culture (Karim & Hue, 2022). However, an increasing amount of literature characterises acculturation as "a dual and multidimensional process of acquiring knowledge and skills about social identities, behaviours, and values related to both the heritage culture and that of the mainstream society" (Karim & Hue, 2022, p.2). Significantly, Berry et al. (2006) in their study on immigrant youth and Fox et al. (2017) in their research on acculturation and health support this view by characterising acculturation as a multifaceted process that entails acquiring knowledge and values related to both heritage and mainstream culture (Fox et al., 2017; Berry et al., 2006). This perspective suggests that the process of acculturation incorporates enculturation, implying that immigrants adopt cultural values, identities, and practices from both their heritage culture and their host culture when integrating into host societies (Karim & Hue, 2022).

In line with the above perspective, Ward and Geeraert's (2016) framework on the acculturation process characterises acculturation as a dynamic process that encompasses the changes in an individual's cultural patterns from both heritage and host cultures, due to sustained intercultural contact. This framework provides insights into the process of acculturation, its psychological and socio-cultural consequences, and the effect of the ecological context on the acculturation- adaptation link, as seen in Figure 1. They argue that, despite intrapersonal resources,

such as emotional stability, open-mindedness, social initiative, playing a significant role in shaping the process of acculturation; contextual factors should not be overlooked. These "individual-level factors operate within the broader ecological context of intercultural contact" (Ward & Geeraert, 2016, p.3). Many researchers tend to disregard smaller-scale contextual factors, however there is an emerging body of research examining how various contextual elements impact acculturation (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). Notably, Chimed-Ochir (2017) explored the cultural adaptation of international students by applying the acculturation and ecological frameworks developed by Ward and Geeraert. They found that international students who experienced a stable family life and perceived their host institution as inclusive adapted more successfully. Similarly, Karim & Hue (2022) applied this framework to analyse the various social contexts that influence the adaptation of Pakistani students in Hong Kong, concluding that supportive school environments and positive societal attitudes led to better acculturation outcomes for these students.

Within the ecology of culture learning, Ward and Geeraert distinguish three primary contexts: familial, societal, and institutional or organisational contexts.

The familial context

Despite acculturation being primarily an individual psychological experience, it frequently occurs within a familial context, especially when discussing the case of immigrants who typically migrate as a family unit (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). Family dynamics play an important role in the acculturation process. Studies have shown that parenting practices and the relationship between parent and child highly impact how individuals adapt to a new culture (Karim & Hue, 2022). Researchers have observed that when there is cohesion, i.e., closeness within the family it leads to positive outcomes by providing emotional support, which helps in managing the stress and anxiety associated with adapting to a new environment (Karim & Hue, 2022; Ward & Geeraert, 2016). In

contrast, family conflict can lead to negative consequences, such as increased distress, reduced well-being, and difficulties in social functioning, potentially hindering the adaptation process (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). Apart from family dynamics and parenting practices, studies have indicated that parental expectations, language usage at home and the importance of religion within the family, are the strong predictors of heritage and host-country orientations among young immigrants. Both cultural orientations, in turn, can predict adaptive outcomes (Ward & Geeraert, 2016).

Furthermore, acculturation gaps, i.e., discrepancies in the level of acculturation between parents and their children are highly significant in the familial context. Most commonly, when young individuals have stronger orientation towards the host country and weaker connections to their heritage culture in comparison to their parents, it is referred to as a standard acculturation gap. A "reversed" acculturation gap, however, can also occur when children retain a stronger connection to their heritage culture compared to their parents. Both acculturation gaps, depending on the domain of these discrepancies, can lead to distress for the individuals involved (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). This underscores the need for positive family practices and a supportive family environment, which can buffer the negative effects of an acculturation gap and facilitate the adaptation process (Ward & Geeraert, 2016).

The institutional or organisational context

Outside of the family setting, institutions and organisations such as schools and workplaces are significant contexts in the acculturation process of immigrants. Schools are the primary setting of intercultural contact for young immigrants. They are seen as the gateway to acculturation, as it is where they are first exposed to their host culture and where they develop the abilities and knowledge to thrive in the host society (Karim & Hue, 2022). In a school setting, an immigrant's

adaptation is largely influenced by strong assimilation expectations, as well as the support from teachers and peers (Karim & Hue, 2022). While the perception of social support from colleagues and teachers can create more favourable attitudes towards the host country and subsequently result in integration; the presence of strong pressures for assimilation, on the other hand, can generate tensions and potentially result in separation (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). As for adults, the work setting can likewise impact their acculturation and adaptation process. Organisations that are culturally diverse and foster multicultural practices and policies promote inclusivity and increase engagement from minority groups. Additionally, an expatriate's psychological, social, and work-related adjustment will equally be facilitated, if there is organisational support from both their home and host cultures (Ward & Geeraert, 2016).

The societal context

Within society, the acceptance of diversity, along with acculturation expectations and the presence of multicultural policies, whether real or perceived, significantly influence the preservation and/or change of cultural orientations (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). In more assimilationist environments, the relationship between heritage and host cultures tends to be more challenging, while in settings that are more open to multiculturalism, a positive association between the two cultures is typically observed (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). Studies show that prejudice towards immigrants is associated with a greater desire for cultural preservation within immigrant communities. However, maintaining heritage culture within an environment where there is pressure for cultural assimilation, can lead to lower levels of life satisfaction for immigrants. Overall, a more positive and accepting acculturation climate encourages immigrants to adopt an orientation toward the host culture. Whereas, in assimilationist environments, heritage culture orientation remains stronger (Ward & Geeraert, 2016).
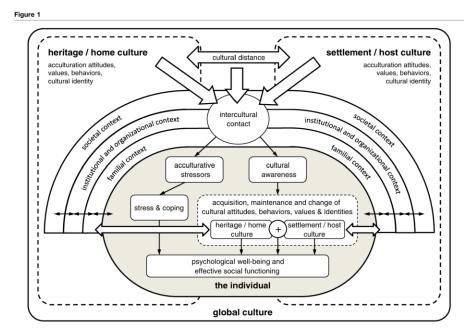
Figure 1

Figure 1: *Acculturation process and context: framework for studying immigrants and sojourners;* Graph from Ward, C., & Geeraert, N. (2016, p.99)

4.2 Tactics of intersubjectivity in identity construction

In their exploration of identity construction, Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall (2004) explore how individuals build their identities through the use of tactics of intersubjectivity. These tactics are essentially strategies that individuals use when negotiating and constructing their identities, to either affiliate or separate themselves from particular social groups (Fitts, 2006; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). They serve as tools for furthering research and understanding the process of identity (Fitts, 2006) and the framework has been used in several studies relating to immigration and dual identity. For example, in the research conducted by Weldeyesus (2007), the tactics were applied to analyse the narratives of Ethiopian immigrants integrating into their American host culture. This framework allowed Weldeyesus (2007) to explore the specific tactics used by these immigrants to construct their identities, revealing their adaptation process from feeling linguistically and culturally insecure to becoming confident and integrated members of their host society. Similarly, Fitts (2006) used this framework to examine how children use these tactics to construct their

bilingual identities and practices in a dual-language school setting, demonstrating the ways children balance their linguistic abilities in different social settings.

Bucholtz and Hall (2004, 2005) introduce these tactics in three pairs: *adequation and distinction*; *authentication and denaturalization*; and *authorization and illegitimation*. I will briefly describe each pair below.

The first pair, *adequation and distinction*, generally refers to the notions of similarity and difference. While in *adequation* individuals emphasise their similarities while suppressing their differences in order to position themselves in a certain group; *distinction* works in the opposite manner by suppressing similarities to create a sense of social distance from a particular group (Fitts, 2006; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, 2005).

The second pair involves *authentication and denaturalization*. *Authentication* refers to the construction of an identity that appears to be credible and genuine to ourselves and others. Whereas *denaturalization* ruptures the perception of identity as seamless, highlighting the artificiality and non-essentialism of identity (Fitts, 2006; Bucholtz & Hall, 2004,2005).

Lastly, *authorization and illegitimation* deal with validation or rejection of identities by institutions. *Authorization* involves seeking the affirmation of an identity through an institutional or authoritarian power, while *illegitimation* refers to the way identities are overlooked and dismissed by these institutions (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004,2005).

In my analysis, I will explore the ways in which second-generation Portuguese immigrants use these tactics to either align or distance themselves from French society, as well as how they choose to validate their Portuguese and French identities.

5. Method

5.1 Data collection format

For this research, I have opted for a qualitative approach, specifically conducting in-depth semi-structured interviews to explore the complexities surrounding the migration experiences of second-generation immigrants. This interview format allows for a deep exploration of the issues being discussed while following a set of guiding questions and prompts (Dörnyei, 2007). It equally offers the flexibility to spontaneously ask questions that were not in the initial guiding set, in doing so possibly uncovering new interesting dimensions to my project (Καρατσαρέας, 2022).

Each interview began with the following introductory question: - *"Could you tell me a bit about the history of your family's migration?"* - serving as a foundation for the interviewees to elaborate upon. The guiding questions were categorised into six subsections: Growing Up Abroad, Return to Portugal, Cultural Identity, Language and Communication, Education and Career, and Reflection on Migration. Given the semi-structured format, these topics were not addressed in a fixed order. Instead, I adapted to the flow of the conversation*,* while also ensuring all the needed information was being addressed. Throughout this process, I incorporated additional relevant questions based on the participants' responses. This structure encouraged the interviewees to develop their thoughts and ideas in depth and express their views based on personal experiences, using their own words (Καρατσαρέας, 2022).

The interviews were conducted both online and in-person contingent upon location availability. All in-person interviews were conducted in the participants' own homes to create a comfortable environment for discussing deeply personal topics. The duration of the interviews ranged from thirty minutes to an hour. While the majority of the interviews were one-on-one, two group sessions involving families were also conducted to gain a familial perspective on the topic.

The table below provides an overview of the type of interview, setting, length, and the city of relocation in France for the participants.

Number of Participants	Type of Interview	Setting	Length	City of Relocation in France
3	Family group interview	Participant's House	1h10min	Saint-Étienne
1	One-on-one	Participant's House	52min	Clermont-Ferrand
1	One-on-one	Participant's House	36min	Clermont-Ferrand
1	One-on-one	Participant's House	26min	Paris
3	Family group interview	Participant's House	40min	Saint-Étienne
1	One-on-one	Online (Video-call)	13min (1st session) 25min (2nd session)	Strasbourg
1	One-on-one	Online (Phone-call)	20min	Nancy
1	One-on-one	Online (Video-call)	44min	Clermont-Ferrand

5.2 Participants

The focus of this research is on second-generation Portuguese immigrants, specifically descendants of those who relocated to France in the 1970s. This particular focus group was selected because their perspectives offer intriguing and valuable insights into the experiences of second-generation immigrants, their dual identity, and the acculturation process.

Participants were chosen based on their ability to provide important information on the topic and their availability to participate in the project. The criteria required that all participants be second-generation immigrants whose parents moved to France in the 1970s, and that the participants themselves later "returned" to Portugal at some point in their lives.

Many participants live in the same city in Portugal, making it more accessible to conduct in-person interviews in the comfort of their own homes, which was also facilitated by existing

personal connections in the area. However, the online interviews offered the possibility of including participants from different cities across Portugal.

Overall, 12 individuals participated in the research. Their ages ranged between 40 and 60. Additionally, the two family group interviews included first-generation immigrants, with ages from 70 to 80. Initially, participants were contacted through personal connections, followed by a snowball sampling method wherein I asked the participants for contacts of other possible participants to be interviewed. This meant that many of the participants had pre-existing connections, whether through family ties, friendships, or shared communities.

5.3 Procedure and data analysis

Each interview began with a request for voice-recording, to later facilitate the data analysis. I later proceeded with transcribing the essential information from each session, a process aided by both manual note-taking and the assistance of TurboScribe, an AI transcribing tool.

Following the transcription, I began analysing the data by identifying common themes across interviews and categorising them into sections such as "life in France" and "identity". Subsequently, I implemented colour-coding based on the chosen framework, namely Ward and Geereaert's (2016) ecological contexts and Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) tactics of intersubjectivity. This involved colour-coding the data into the three ecological contexts (familial, institutional, societal) and identifying tactics (adequation, distinction, authorization, denaturalization and authentication). Given that all the interviews were conducted entirely in Portuguese, with occasional French words popping up, I translated the selected quotes into English (keeping the French words as they were) after choosing the ones to present in the findings section.

In the findings and analysis section, consistent with the theoretical framework, I will analyse the data collected in these interviews within the three ecological contexts (familial,

institutional, societal), and within these contexts, I will analyse the narratives using the tactics of intersubjectivity. In this section, to ensure clarity, I chose to distinguish between standalone quotations and dialogues. With standalone quotes being presented in italics, while the dialogue excerpts are numbered, with the interlocutors clearly identified.

5.4 Ethical considerations

Throughout the interviewing process ethical protocols were taken into account. Prior to each interview, participants were informed on the objective of the research and were assured of the confidentiality of their identities. They provided informed consent for voice-recordings and agreed to their subsequent use in the analysis. To guarantee anonymity during data handling, I assigned pseudonyms to all participants, ensuring their identities remained protected throughout the study.

6. Findings and analysis

In this section, consistent with the theoretical framework by Ward and Geereaert (2016), I will categorise the interview findings into three ecological contexts: Familial, Institutional, and Societal. Within these contexts, I will analyse the narratives of the interviewees using the Tactics of Intersubjectivity by Bucholtz and Hall (2005). This analysis aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of how second-generation immigrants were affected by their surrounding environment, with a particular focus on how this environment shapes their identity construction.

6.1 Familial Context

In this subsection, I will examine the impact of the familial environment on the identity construction and cultural adaptation of these individuals. The data will be categorised into the most pertinent themes that emerged during the interviews, namely the concept of the "Portuguese

Illusion", language maintenance, and the familial acculturation gap. I will discuss the "Portuguese Illusion" in relation to cultural maintenance and parental influences, and further explore the dynamics of language preservation and the gaps in familial acculturation.

6.1.1 The Portuguese Illusion: cultural maintenance and parental influences

Cultural orientation begins at birth and one's household is considered to be the first place of socialisation. It is where we learn about the ins and outs of our culture, such as social rules of behaviour, values, food, etc. (Jackson 2020; Karim & Hue, 2022). In the context of immigration, parents and elders play a significant role in shaping the acculturation process of their children's lives. As mentioned above, parental expectations within families are strong predictors of heritage and host-country orientations among young immigrants. This means that the standards set by parents are a key factor in determining how second-generation immigrants connect and balance both cultures.

When faced with another culture, parental figures often place importance on cultural maintenance, which involves making efforts to preserve their heritage culture, including its core values, traditions, ways of life, etc. (Berry, 2006; Jackson, 2020). The interviewees' testimonies showcased these attempts in their familial context, where efforts were made to maintain Portuguese cultural practices while living in France. For instance, many interviewees described continuing traditions like Sunday family gatherings and regularly enjoying Portuguese cuisine at home:

> *"On weekends, all the Portuguese friends would picnic, we were a big community." - Ema*

> *"There was a lot of that weekend, Sunday ritual. There was the big meal that we all had as a family and the cleaning in the morning, I remember. And there was always dessert in the*

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afternoon. And then, eventually, on Sunday afternoon, we'd go to see our Portuguese

friends, too. So, there was all this socialising, this kind of ritual." - Catarina

As we can see in Ema and Catarina's descriptions, family gatherings and shared meals highlight the significance of culinary traditions in reinforcing their cultural ties. Moreover, another way of cultural maintenance observed among all the interviewees was their frequent visits to Portugal. Daure et al (2010) state that "contact with the family of origin through trips to the home country or family visits to the host country plays an important role in the sense of belonging that is part of intergenerational transmission" (p.100). Forming a relationship with the family of origin allows second-generation immigrants to see a representation of a part of themselves, which is important in constructing identity, particularly a dual identity. Maintaining constant contact with the family of origin equally creates a bond with the host country. All the interviewees mentioned their travels to Portugal, particularly their travels during the summer holidays. They portrayed this time in Portugal as magical and amazing, but many also referred to it (without prompting by the interviewer) as an "illusion"- an illusion of a place that was significantly underdeveloped compared to France, but yet evoked a sense of home and happiness. The following statements from Ema, Gabriela, and Mariana illustrate this perceived illusion from their holiday experiences in Portugal (bold added for emphasis):

"So, we wanted to come back. And then we missed the life we had here so much. Because…

It's an illusion too. *When we arrived here [Portugal] for our holidays, it was wonderful.*

We just played games, it was lunches, it was dinners, it was a full month." - Ema

"So, I came when I was 16. [...] I liked it. At the time I said I wanted to come, I wanted to,

*I wanted to. Of course **I had that idea of holidays**, didn't I?" - Gabriela*

"I returned to Portugal without my parents, when I was 17, because [...] **I associated it with holidays***." - Mariana*

In the above statements, the interviewees demonstrate how the holidays spent in Portugal created an illusion for them. The expressions in bold showcase their perception of Portugal as a place associated with fun, family gatherings, and holidays. Despite now recognizing that this perception did not fully capture the everyday reality of living in Portugal, their holiday experiences evoked a strong sense of home and happiness at the time.

The maintenance of heritage-culture was also interestingly mixed with a showcase of appreciation from the parents towards the host-culture. The interviewees pointed out that their parents had a deep appreciation for France, perceiving it as a land of freedom and opportunities. This is clearly showcased in the following quotes, where Catarina and Camille evoke this idea that was left by their parents in their household growing up:

"It was a France that promised jobs, that promised pay, that promised being able to go to the supermarket and buy things, being able to think about having children, being able to think about going back to Portugal and building a house there." - Catarina

"As my father says, the 70s and 80s [in France] were the best years because people weren't rich but there was work, there was money, there was health, people felt good and were good." - Camille

This idea of France as a place to achieve countless goals however didn't seem to leave the interviewees with a sense that France would be their forever home. This was mainly due to the fact that their parents' perception of France was linked with their efforts to maintain cultural heritage,

as seen above, as well as a constant reminder that their time in France was temporary and that they would eventually be returning to Portugal. The excerpts below illustrate how this perception affected the interviewees:

Excerpt 1: C: Camille; I: Interviewer

I: And did your parents always know they wanted to come back?

C: Yes. Yes, yes, yes. From the beginning. They always knew.

[...]
C: **It was always their wish. To leave one day.** They had built the house here [Portugal]. So they would send the money here to build it.

Excerpt 2: J: João; I: Interviewer

I: And did your father always know that he wanted to go back?

J: He did. **I think that in that generation, the big goal was to go there, save money to buy a house and come back. Then you could live more or less.** I think that most of the Portuguese who emigrated at that time, I think that was their goal. To be able to save money, have a house, come back here and so on. And then live here normally.

In both excerpts it is clear that the ultimate goal was to return to Portugal. Camille's repetition of the word yes, ("Yes. Yes, yes, yes.") and João's notion of returning even under less-than-perfect conditions ("more or less") shows how this goal was deeply ingrained in their familial environment. All of the interviewees expressed that their parents' ultimate goal was to be able to return home, which was also supported by the act of sending money back to build a house in Portugal, reflecting a reluctance to fully assimilate into French society. The combined efforts of cultural maintenance within the household, frequent visits to Portugal, and the impression that the ultimate goal was to return to Portugal seemed to leave the interviewees, this second generation of

immigrants, with a view of Portugal as their home, even for those born in France. This further explains the recurrence of the "illusion" of Portugal in their discourse, as it was always invoked even when they were in France, that returning was the ultimate goal. In the excerpt below, I will delve deeper into João's perspective. While the previous excerpt focused on his family's emphasis on returning to Portugal, this analysis will focus on how this emphasis influenced João's perspective and the tactics he employed to convey it.

Excerpt 3: J: João; I: Interviewer

J: I was born there in France, I lived there until I went to secondary school. And then, when I became more aware and had more power to decide, I got fed up with it and **decided to go back to Portugal.**

I: But you had never lived in Portugal?

J: No, I'd never lived here [Portugal]. We just came here on holiday. Like all immigrants, almost all of them. To see family and stuff. So, we always spent a season here, a month, two, during the school holidays. And we liked the atmosphere here the best.

[...]

J: My mum stayed in France, and **I came back** here. My dad was here, I stayed here with him.

I: But did you want to stay in France?

J: It was really my decision to come here. **I couldn't imagine living there** [France]**.** Maybe a small part of it is because of the fact that it felt like **I didn't belong anywhere.** So, the fact that I came back here, **I was Portuguese and that's it,** there's no more confusion.

In Excerpt 3, João, born in France, clearly creates a sense that his home is Portugal. He curiously uses the expressions "decided to go back" and "come back", despite having never lived in Portugal. He also uses the expression "couldn't imagine living there" when speaking about France despite

having lived there his entire life. This wording creates a sense of social distance from French culture and creates an alignment with the Portuguese community. Consistent with Bucholtz and Hall's discussion on the tactics of intersubjectivity, João employs the tactic of distinction by using language to separate himself from French society and align with his Portuguese identity. By using the tactic of distinction, the speaker "may erase other axes of difference" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, p.385), which is evident when he says that "going back" to Portugal resolved his identity confusion. Ultimately, there is clear adequation being employed as well in focusing on his Portugueseness by saying "I was Portuguese and that's it" aligning with Portugueseness as a shared unified quality instead of focusing on any differences, including linguistic ones, that are also present in Portuguese societies. Furthermore, when expressing that he didn't belong anywhere, and that in going back to Portugal he was "Portuguese and that's it", we can see denaturalization coming into play. By expressing that he didn't belong anywhere, João is challenging the seamless connection between identity and place of birth, thereby employing denaturalization.

In these findings, it is clear that parental influences play a big role in fostering a sense of belonging to heritage-cultures. Their efforts in cultural maintenance and the emphasis on returning to Portugal significantly shape the identity and cultural adaptation of second-generation immigrants.

6.1.2 Language maintenance

Within the family setting, the preservation of language equally plays a critical role in reinforcing a sense of heritage and cultural identity. A common theme among all interviewees when discussing their language acquisition was the strict requirement to speak Portuguese at home. Speaking Portuguese at home served as a language maintenance technique, aimed at preserving the heritage language in a context where there is significant pressure for speakers to adopt the language that is

perceived as more prestigious or politically dominant (Swann et al. 2004; Jackson, 2020). In this instance, with French being the dominant language, maintaining a strict Portuguese-only household guaranteed that the language was preserved and maintained a connection with the parents and the host culture. Camille's statement, reiterated by all other interviewees, emphasised the household rule of speaking only Portuguese:

> *"My father always said: from the moment you pass that door [the front door]*
> *French is no longer spoken, only Portuguese.''* - Camille

Additionally, another method by which these second-generation interviewees were encouraged to preserve Portuguese was through attending Portuguese lessons in France. This was only the case for some of the interviewees, whose parents chose to enrol them in extracurricular Portuguese classes to ensure the preservation of their language.

The commitment to language maintenance not only preserved the heritage language but also strengthened familial bonds and cultural identity. By ensuring that Portuguese remained a vital part of their familial environment, parents instilled an important connection to their cultural roots.

6.1.3 Familial acculturation gap

While language and cultural practices play a vital role in preserving heritage, differences in how parents and children adapt to the host culture often create a generational gap. During the acculturation process, it is common for parents to have a different experience than their children. When reflecting on their experiences, the interviewees showcased that there was a seemingly standard acculturation gap within the familial context, where young individuals exhibited a stronger orientation towards the host country and weaker connections to their heritage culture in

comparison to their parents (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). In the following excerpts, I will analyse the way Ema and Catarina illustrate this perceived distance.

Excerpt 4: E: Ema

E: When you're young, you adapt. But, the people who went, like my parents, later. My mum could never speak French properly. My father couldn't either. He managed. But their friends were from more Portuguese communities.

Excerpt 5: C: Catarina I: Interviewer

I: Did you feel that it created some separation between you and your parents, having adapted more quickly?

C: Hmm, yes, I think there's a difference from the moment you're born in a different country to theirs, and you have access to other things that they never dreamed of having access to.

In both excerpts, the interviewees employ the tactic of distinction to distinguish their adaptation experiences from those of their parents (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). In Excerpt 4, Ema highlights her parents' difficulties in learning French and integrating into the French community, emphasising how younger people adapt more easily. This creates a clear distinction between generations in terms of acculturation. Similarly, in Excerpt 5, Catarina underscores the generational gap by noting the difference in access to opportunities, thereby distinguishing herself from the older generation.

6.2 Institutional Context

Beyond the family setting, institutions such as schools and workplaces significantly influence the integration and adaptation of immigrants. This subsection explores how the school setting, in particular, shapes the acculturation experiences of second-generation immigrants.

6.2.1 Educational Context

In our formative years, our primary cultural orientation is shaped by our family, community, and school, which directly or indirectly influence our beliefs, values, traditions and norms (Jackson,

2020). For immigrants, while family serves as the primary place to learn about their heritage culture, schools are the place where they are first exposed to their host culture. It's where they develop the skills and knowledge to succeed in the host society (Karim & Hue, 2022).

This educational context raises questions about how one identifies with certain groups, how outsiders recognize individuals as part of these groups, and how various groups interact with each other (Baldwin et al. 2006 / Jackson, 2020). As mentioned above, perceiving social support from colleagues and teachers can foster positive attitudes towards the host country and lead to integration. However, strong pressures to assimilate can create tensions and may result in separation. Among these interviewees, while some experienced pressure to assimilate and faced discrimination in their school environment, others felt entirely at ease at school with minimal discrimination. In the statements below, Vânia and Catarina, both born in France, discuss the discrimination they felt by colleagues and teachers. Catarina recalls a teacher who targeted her for being Portuguese, and classmates who made jokes about her heritage. Vânia also remembers being constantly reminded that she was different, often called "La petite Portugaise". Ema, born in Portugal and initially struggling with French at school, describes the difficulty of understanding instructions and communication in a new language environment at school. Her experience highlights the pressure to quickly assimilate to the French language, emphasising the lack of support or leniency for non-native speakers.

> *"It's very difficult to hear the teacher shouting and you don't know if it's for you, 20-something children and you don't understand anything they're saying." - Ema*

"Look, La Petite Portugaise, La Petite Portugaise. That's what we were called. So no-one would let us forget." - Vânia

"I was bullied by a xenophobic teacher in fourth grade. [...] It traumatised me a lot at the time. Every time I went to class I was very apprehensive, I was very scared. I had a Portuguese name, there were those little jokes. The Portuguese girl has a moustache."- Catarina

These testimonies alone, however, are not sufficient to conclude that there was widespread pressure for assimilation and discrimination at school for all second-generation immigrants during this period. While these three interviewees reported these experiences, others did not mention any issues in their educational environment. Nevertheless, while they do not represent the entirety of experiences among second-generation immigrants in French schools, the specificity and personal impact of the remarks, such as the hurtful comments directed at Catarina about her Portuguese "moustache", showcase the existence of discriminatory attitudes within certain educational environments and the challenges faced by some second-generation immigrants in navigating integration in French schools.

6.3 Societal Context

Apart from school and family, host-society plays a crucial role in the integration process of immigrants. In this subsection, I will explore the interviewees' perspectives on their integration into the broader French society. The first subsection will focus on how policies and the societal mindset at the time in France influenced their integration, while the second subsection will explore how they constructed their sense of identity and belonging within society.

6.3.1 Integration in society

Integration into French society was expressed differently among the interviewees, yet there was a prevalent sense that both them and their parents felt well-accepted into broader society.

Wenden (1995) explains how during the period from 1974 to 1981, significant changes occurred in the status and perception of immigrants in France. Initially, immigrants were mainly seen as labourers, isolated from French society and minimally involved in social and political aspects. However, the rise of second-generation immigrants, who were born and raised in France, created a shift in the perception of immigrants (Wenden, 1995). This change in perspective is particularly pertinent to the analysis, as it directly impacts the experiences of the interviewees, who were born or arrived in France during the 1970s.

Escafré-Dublet (2007), further explains how in the early 1980's, young adults who had been raised in France and sought to express their experience of living in France with foreign parents began emerging on the public scene. This coincided with a change in governmental attitudes, particularly with the new minister of culture Jack Lang, who allowed immigrants to bring elements of their culture to French society.

Throughout the interview process, interviewees mentioned the presence of Portuguese cultural activities within their villages and cities, which were notably supported and facilitated by their respective local town halls, as evidenced in the following excerpts:

Excerpt 6: C: Catarina I: Interviewer

I: And since there were these Portuguese communities, were there any kind of activities, celebrations, Portuguese holidays, for example, that took place within the community?
C: Yes, there were. There were. I can remember. For example, St John's [São João] There was a square there, which was Praça de 1º de Maio, where **they held São João every year**.

[...]

C: At first there was a consulate, then there wasn't a consulate anymore, there was a Chamber of Commerce. And so it was the Chambers of Commerce that took care of that, at the time. So they were Portuguese immigrants, together with the local authorities, town halls, organising these Portuguese gatherings.

I: And were there French people and everything taking part in these gatherings?

C: There were some. But they weren't the vast majority.

Excerpt 7: J: João I: Interviewer

J: Ah, and then one of the things that happens a lot too, to be able to bond, probably, to have that feeling of belonging to a group, is the folk groups, **there are a lot of and recreational groups. In France** there was a lot of that too.

I: In Paris too?

J: Yes, there were various groups there. And people got together there at the weekend and so on. And, yes, you end up "killing the longing"[1] and having people there with whom you identify more.

In these excerpts, Catarina and João both discuss Portuguese cultural events in their towns in France. In Excerpt 6, Catarina mentions São João, a festival of Popular Saints celebrated in Portugal. Her narrative highlights the involvement and support of French local institutions in these events. This reflects a tactic of authorization sought after by an authority or institution; in this case, the Chamber of Commerce validates Catarina's sense of Portuguese cultural identity within the host society. In Excerpt 7, João discusses the presence of folk and recreational groups in Paris, a typical activity involving singing and dancing in Portugal on Sunday afternoons. He emphasises the importance of these groups in creating a sense of belonging and "having people there with whom you identify more." This narrative illustrates the tactic of adequation, where these cultural events help Portuguese immigrants emphasise their shared cultural identity (Bucholtz & Hall,

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[1] *matar saudades*- Portuguese expression for making up for missing something

2005). By participating in these activities, immigrants find common ground with others from their homeland, which aids in their integration into French society while maintaining their cultural heritage.

These narratives showcase the validation of immigrant cultural identity by French institutions and underscore the importance of such events in fostering a sense of belonging in French society while preserving cultural heritage.

6.3.2 Identity and belonging

Within the broader host society, when constructing their identity, the interviewees demonstrated a strong orientation towards their heritage country, evidenced by their "return" to Portugal. However, they also actively shaped their identities within the context of their host society. Throughout the interviews, their attitudes towards their host country appeared to be independent of their attitudes towards their heritage culture. In constructing their identities in France, some of the interviewees emphasised their similarities to the French while minimising their differences, a strategy to validate their French identity. This was predominantly done based on physical attributes (e.g., race) where a typically imagined Portuguese person is not different from a typically imagined French person in terms of physical features. Another discussed feature at times was the similarity in some of the regionally used names in both Portugal and France. Camille, Gabriela, Mariana, and João exemplify this tactic in the following excerpts:

Excerpt 8: C: Camille I: Interviewer

I: And growing up in France, did you also feel Portuguese?

C: Not so much. [...] And deep down, I was French. **My name** has nothing to do with Portuguese either, does it? **The way I look** has nothing to do with Portuguese either. So,

deep down, nobody thought I was Portuguese, did they? They looked at me... like I was French.

Excerpt 9: G: Gabriela I: Interviewer

G: I lived in a tiny village and there were lots of immigrants there too. I never heard anyone say, look at that Portuguese girl, nothing. [...] Usually Portuguese girls are short, aren't they? I was tall, **I've always been tall, so people thought I was really French.**

[...]

I: And now you feel totally Portuguese?

G: Ah, yes, Portuguese. But when Portugal plays France [in football] I cry every time I hear the French anthem [...] Tears come to my eyes, every, every, every single time.

In these excerpts, Camille and Gabriela use the tactic of adequation to downplay their differences with the French community, emphasising their similarities by noting their physical attributes and name (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Camille mentions that her name and appearance do not align with typical Portuguese characteristics, leading others to perceive her as French. Gabriela highlights her height, a trait she associates with French identity, to illustrate how she blended in. Gabriela further authenticates her French identity by describing her emotional reaction to the French national anthem. Her tears symbolise a genuine emotional connection to her French identity, reinforcing her sense of belonging in the host society.

Excerpt 10: J: João I: Interviewer

I: So, it's easier to adapt as a Portuguese person in France?

J: Yes. [...] Even if it's just because of the type of person they are physically. It gets past you more, doesn't it? **You blend in with the crowd more**. So you don't suffer as much.

[...]

J: But we, the Portuguese people in general, ... in terms of culture, we're not that different [from the French] either. I mean, maybe now the difference is greater. But in my parents' time when they went there, in cultural terms there weren't very significant differences. So, in that respect, they adapted well.

Excerpt 11: M: Mariana I: Interviewer

I: When you were growing up in France, didn't you feel that you were Portuguese?

M: No. Well, no. Not when I was a child. That reality came much later.

[...]

M: And in France, too, right? As you probably know. There were lots of different nationalities, weren't there? So, from Moroccans to different races. And so **skin tone makes a person fit in a different way**.

Similarly, Mariana and João emphasise their ease of integration by highlighting their cultural and perceived racial similarities to the French. João notes that the Portuguese blend in more easily due to physical similarities and cultural proximity, which facilitated their adaptation. Mariana reflects on the diversity in France and implies that her physical appearance allowed her to fit in more seamlessly compared to others with more distinct ethnic backgrounds. Both narratives illustrate the use of adequation to downplay differences and emphasise shared attributes, facilitating a smoother integration into French society (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005).

7. Discussion and conclusion

In the 1960s and 1970s, 10% of the population of Portugal migrated to France. These nearly one million Portuguese immigrants constituted the largest foreign demographic in France. They went seeking work; they settled down and had children. These children grew up in France, but many of them returned to their parents' homeland, settling permanently in Portugal as adults. By interviewing many of these second-generation "repatriated" immigrants, this thesis draws

conclusions about the influence of personal and contextual factors on their acculturation processes, as well as how they construct their identities within the discourse of their immigration.

Combining frameworks by Ward and Geeraert (2016) on the acculturation process and Bucholtz and Hall (2005) on the tactics of intersubjectivity allowed for a deeper understanding of how second-generation Portuguese immigrants manage their dual cultural identities while being influenced by their surrounding context.

The findings revealed the complex interplay between the maintenance of heritage culture and integration into the host society. Familial and societal contexts emerged as significant influences to these second-generation immigrants, while institutional factors provided less conclusive results. Within the familial setting, the findings reveal the critical role of strong parental pressures for cultural maintenance in shaping the cultural identity and acculturation of second-generation immigrants. Family gatherings, traditional cuisine and strict language policies at home, as well as the frequent visits to Portugal ensured the preservation of heritage culture and language, fostering a sense of cultural belonging to the heritage country.

While maintaining a close connection to their heritage culture, second-generation immigrants also developed strong ties to the country in which they were being raised. In the broader societal context, the findings revealed the positive impact of French local institutions and new policies developed in the mid-1970s on their integration. Heritage-cultural activities supported by local authorities fostered a sense of belonging within broader society and validated the immigrants' cultural identity while facilitating their integration into the host society.

The interviews revealed that the attitudes of immigrants towards their host country were independent of their attitudes towards their heritage culture. The concept of the "Portuguese Illusion" portrayed their connection to their heritage country, describing it as a nostalgic yet

underdeveloped sense of home. While constructing their identities within their heritage culture, they simultaneously employed strategies to integrate into French society by emphasising similarities and minimising differences, thereby validating their French identity and sense of belonging. These findings thus demonstrate that their connection to their heritage country does not diminish their connection to the host country, forming a dual, yet separate affiliation to both. This further reveals the complexity of cultural identity within the context of second-generation immigrants. It shows that cultural identity is not a static entity but emerges dynamically in different contexts, continuously shaped by the surrounding environment.

In the field of Intercultural Communication, this research provides a less explored perspective in second-generation immigration studies. Much of the existing research focuses on the challenges of prejudice and discrimination faced by immigrants in host societies. Discussions on identity construction frequently emphasise the pressures of assimilation into the broader society, where there is a tendency for heritage cultures to erode gradually as individuals seek to gain acceptance and mitigate alienation (Tartakovsky, 2008; Schwartz et al., 2006; Sabatier, 2007). Moreover, much of the existing literature tends to focus on non-Western immigrants settling in Western societies. However, this study sheds light on a different facet of migration: from one Western country to another. In this context, the host country encouraged the influx of immigrants; the Portuguese population were viewed as a favourable option for rebuilding the country compared to North African immigrants due to their European and Catholic roots and their perceived ability to integrate more easily (Esteves, 2022). This study reveals that the challenges of integration for second-generation Portuguese immigrants in France during the 1970s were not primarily rooted in societal discrimination. Instead, the focal point shifts to familial contexts, where parental influences held significant influence over their children's identities and sense of belonging. By

shifting the focus from societal discrimination to familial influences, this research underscores the pivotal role of family dynamics in shaping cultural identities and integration outcomes among second-generation immigrants.

7.1 Limitations and suggestions for further research

It is important to acknowledge the limitations of the present study. The main constraints were the limited timeframe for conducting the research, as well as the restrictive word-count defined by the master's thesis programme. These limitations restricted the number of interviews conducted and consequently the amount of data collected. While the selected group of interviewees offered an in-depth analysis within their specific context, the findings are limited to this particular group of participants. To gain a broader understanding of the societal context in France during that period, future research could benefit from comparative analyses involving non-Western immigrants. A comparative approach could indicate how perspectives and experiences may vary across different immigrant groups in France, providing a more holistic view of integration dynamics and identity construction in multicultural societies.

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