Titulo / Title :

« *Tupi or not Tupi* » : Implicações da cultura brasileira no processo de adaptação da identidade cultural dos expatriados brasileiros

"*Tupi or Not Tupi*": Strategic Identity Development of Brazilian Expatriates

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Resumo:

Observa-se nas últimas décadas, uma preocupação tenaz de vários pesquisadores a respeito dos obstáculos enfrentados pelos expatriados que se encontram face a uma nova cultura. (Bonache, Brewster, Suutari 2007; van der Bank, Rothmann 2006; e Pierre 2003). O presente artigo identifica, através da análise de narrativas, a tendência predominante no caso dos expatriados brasileiros que trabalham e vivem na França. Nossa estrutura analítica se baseia no modelo proposto por Pierre (2003), que apresenta cinco tipos de estratégias de adaptação da identidade cultural adotadas pelos indivíduos face à cultura estrangeira do país onde vivem e trabalham. Nossa pesquisa nos permitiu identificar um sexto tipo de estratégia de adaptação da identidade cultural, que se situa entre quatro dos cinco tipos propostos inicialmente por

Pierre (2003) e é caracterizado por elementos idiossincráticos à herança cultural dos indígenas e dos africanos presentes na cultura brasileira.

Abstract

Over the past few decades, studies have been conducted concerning the hurdles expatriates face when entering a new culture (Bonache, Brewster, and Suutari, 2007; van der Bank and Rothmann, 2006; and Pierre, 2003). This paper identifies, through narrative analysis, the hurdles encountered by Brazilian expatriates living in France. Our grid analysis is based upon Pierre's (2003) analysis of expatriates' identity adaptation strategies within the foreign environment in which they work and live. Pierre (2003) identified five potential types premised on their willingness to adapt to different cultures. Within our analysis, a sixth pattern has been discovered that bridges four of Pierre's (2003) types and adds a third unique element that is specifically based in the African and indigenous heritage of the Brazilian culture.

Résumé

Tout au long de dernières décennies, plusieurs travaux sur les obstacles interculturels auxquels font face les expatriés ont été développés (Bonache, Brewster, Suutari 2007; van der Bank, Rothmann 2006; et Pierre 2003). Cet article a pour but d'identifier, à travers l'analyse des récits de vie, le modèle suivi par les expatriés brésiliens lors de leur séjour en France. Notre analyse se base sur le modèle proposé par Pierre (2003) qui présente une typologie de stratégies d'adaptation identitaire au sein d'une culture étrangère, où les individus sont amenés à vivre et à travailler. Pierre (2003) a identifié cinq types potentiels d'expatriés selon leur tendance à adopter une stratégie. Notre analyse nous a permis de trouver un sixième type de stratégie identitaire, qui se retrouve au carrefour de quatre parmi cinq types proposés par Pierre (2003) et offre en même temps, un élément d'analyse idiosyncrasique à des aspects

propres à l'héritage culturel des Indigènes et des Africains dans le cadre de la culture brésilienne.

"*Tupi or Not Tupi*": Strategic Identify Development of Brazilian Expatriates

Expatriation studies have developed and expanded throughout the last decades primarily due to the challenges of corporate globalization. This expansion has resulted in diversification of the sub-topics studied, the methodology of study, and the conceptualization of emerging trends and fields.

The classical concerns of expatriates' successful adjustment have received considerable attention, including the incorporation of modeling. For example: Mendenhall and Oddou's (1985) article presenting a three-dimension capability model for adaptation to a new environment; and, Black and Mendenhall's (1990) article broadening the focus to include the organizational level of analysis as researchers reflect on how companies can learn from the experiences of expatriates. This discussion has prompted an exploration of social capital and knowledge sharing through interpersonal relationships between expatriates and repatriates (Mäkela, 2004), knowledge transfer through the expatriate's interactions (Brewster and Bonache, 2001), and the coherency between corporate and national expatriation policies and strategic issues (Bonache, Brewster, and Suutari, 2001). Incorporating these discussions, the field has evolved towards searching for organizational outcomes that are related to individuals' experience. However, the opposite yet equally central issue of the identification of personal abilities and competencies that are related to successful expatriating experiences have remained far from being totally explored.

The International Human Resource Management the Human Resource Division of the Academy of Management (IHRM) has assisted in the better selection and preparation of expatriates, resulting in fewer numbers but a stronger pre-defined list of available individuals. These individuals have traditionally had certain technical and linguistic abilities that enable them to work worldwide. Today, in addition to these abilities, they have new roles within the organizational structure, including: they must convey and manage values and purposes; they must be able to recognize emerging

opportunities; they must be able to locate and utilize resources within the local environments; and they must be sufficiently knowledgeable to quickly decide on adaptation or standardization of products, services, and communication.

Additionally, those with intercultural competencies are better equipped to effectively communicate with people who are from different national, organizational, functional, and professional cultures (Schneider and Barsoux, 1998). Thus, the choices of appropriate organizational structure (strategic centralization or decentralization) and the levels of hierarchy are reflective of the organization's coherencies and are intimately related to specific human competency.

In response to both the previous organizational emphasis and the increasing globalization of commerce, a new field of research has emerged specializing not only in expatriates' adjustment process but in the profile, identification, and development of cross-cultural assets that enhance the expatriation experience of the global manager (Earley and Ang, 2003). The rising awareness of cultural intelligence was one of the multiple intelligences (Gardner, 1999) indicates this interest has expanded beyond business. Project SUMIT (2000) extended Gardner's work in identifying the role of multiple intelligences in learning the necessary cultural attributes to work in or be assimilated into a culture.

This work is expanded by French sociologist, Philippe Pierre (2003), who studies the adjustment process experienced by expatriates, culminating in the identification of specific characteristics of successful expatriates. Through qualitative research in a multinational corporation based in France, Pierre conducted semi-structured interviews of 110 expatriates from divergent countries such as Nigeria, Gabon, Norway, and Scotland. Characteristics identified in these interviews were compared to characteristics found in similar interviews of French employees. Pierre (2003) utilizes Camilleri (1992) in analyzing the responses in order to determine how immigrants and other foreigners, such as expatriates develop strategies to adapt their identities to new cultural sets. This resulted in a typology of five identity adaptation strategies used by expatriates within a foreign cultural environment. These five categories include the Conservative, the Defensive, the Converted, the Transnational, and the Opportunistic and are discussed in the Literature Review section of this paper.

This work has been utilized to specifically examine Brazilians' identity adaptability given the cultural specificities experienced in organizations in Brazil (Borges de Freitas, 1997; Caldas, 1997; Tanure de Barros and Spyer Prates, 2000), but there is little research specifically on the adaptability of the Brazilian's identity in expatriate and foreign situations.

Thus, this paper applies Pierre's (2003) typology to determine its appropriateness for Brazilian expatriates. The researchers use narratives of Brazilians living in France. A narrative analysis methodology (Riessman, 1993) was used in analyzing ethnographic interviews (Spradley, 1976) of fourteen Brazilians living in France during a fourteen-month period (2002-2003). The previous work of the researchers was used to identify adaptation strategies that are unique to Brazilians' choice of adaptation strategy.

Literature Review

Pierre (2003) conducted participant-observer research in a multinational French company over a sixteen-month period. He specifically concentrated on specific aspects of professional socialization. Pierre's work utilized Camilleri (1992), Dubar (2000, 1991), and Sansaulieu (1991) and further develops the thesis of corporate socialization through collective relationships among different professional communities. The patterns of identification within companies and institutions are permanent, despite being fragile. These patterns offer individuals status through organized professional situations, which in turn grant social acknowledgement.

This social acknowledgement acquired via professional situations allows organizations to not merely be reservoirs of different external cultural sets; they transform culture into a unique entity of its own. The culture and sub-cultures created within an organization are separate and distinct from those established in schools or from other socialization processes. Rather, the organizational culture supersedes the pure economic transaction providing a path to social recognition within the institution's unique culture.

This unique culture requires distinct behaviors for valuation or acknowledgement of individuals in the work environment. Individuals must be prepared to re-negotiate the presentation of their personalities and patterns of identification from that presented in

their personal lives. For immigrants and expatriates, it is essential that the management of their personality include negotiation to comply with the community they are in at the time; thus requiring them to potentially have two different sets of behaviors or reject one community. In complying, immigrants and expatriates have multiple assistants from both the work environment and their family or community to assist their acculturation attempts (Pierre, 1996). Once successfully acculturated, the immigrant or expatriate becomes increasingly agile in negotiating new cultures. For example, the possibilities of successful adaptation become increasingly easy for a global manager who was born in India, educated in England, married to an Indonesian wife, and working in France within a multinational corporation.

However, successful enculturation is difficult for many reasons. For example, the expatriate or immigrant's awareness of potential partners or facilitators is not easily accomplished because the individual faces linguistic barriers. Further, specifically for expatriates, potential exposure to the foreign culture is time limited, engendering reliance upon groups who offer optimal career and/or salary enhancement. Expatriates also become aware of the requirements to achieve the minimum levels of enculturation to obtain the maximum career and/or salary optimization. These two factors engender a new type of stable and long-lasting identification for the individual that may not include enculturation or integration.

Regardless of this, both expatriates and immigrants minimally adopt those behaviors and mannerism that are necessary for survival in the new culture using various adaptation strategies, enabling them to better manage their identifies within the cultural and ethnic milieu presented by the new and unfamiliar environment of the foreign country. Enculturation becomes easier if the company provides space for unique cultural identification of its employees, better enabling individuals to succeed in their positions abroad.

In studying the adaptation of individuals to their environment, Pierre (2003) accepted the differences in adaptation and acculturation. He sought to identify the tools used both consciously and unconsciously within the scope of the user's individual ethnic origin. This encompasses language, religion, common history, social rites, and a host of behaviors that are particular to their place of origin. These provide tools that enable

individuals to survive and adapt within a continuously evolving culture. The expatriate or immigrant uses the tools learned within their originating environment as well as past experiences to facilitate their adaptation within the company and the environment during their tenure in the foreign country.

This adaptation was found amongst international managers (Pierre, 2003). In choosing among a number of different international identity strategies the particular strategy chosen to reach their objectives depends upon the manager's unique ethnic identity within globalized companies. This is most noticeable when the professional or social transaction requires rules beyond primary socialization. When confronted with a situation where the international manager must choose, they manipulate the various cultural codes available to them, including manipulation of their own ethnic traits, until a positive response is achieved.

The manipulation depends upon the positive responses the individual obtained from the environment. That is, either others react positively to the interaction encouraging the expatriate to accelerate the process of destruction of their previous personal identity and construction of a new personal identity in order to attain a point of stability that will be efficient, or a hostile reaction from others leading the expatriate to become extremely attached to what they would call "a private" rebellion, akin to Shakespeare's *Henry IV*. This corresponds to what Camilleri (1992) has called "saturated socialization" in which culture is more of a resource than a structure and individuals manipulate aspects of their cultural identities that are useful to them. This particular behavior is conceptualized by Camilleri (1992) as an "identity pattern."

An "identity pattern" is a group of characteristics that are shared by individuals. These characteristics are within the affective or cognitive dimension (behaviors), the symbolic dimension (representations), and personal historical dimension (historical background). The five types of "identity patterns" identified by Pierre (2003) were developed through the analysis of the interviews. Each pattern elucidates unique ways individuals deal with work, their employer, their private life, and their historical background.

The first identity pattern identified by Pierre (2003) has been named "The Conservative." These expatriates are identified by their intense defense of their own

traditional cultural references. The expatriation is perceived as a risk; a unique experience happening once and usually at the end of their career. During the expatriation, they are unable to form an affective attachment in the new cultural environment. Their common complaints include their sense of social isolation. This social isolation is factual because their perceptions of people as cold and distant stop them from engaging with others. These individuals exhibit detachment from affective issues and avoid the requisite renegotiation that would lead to a new identification pattern. They discuss only objective topics such as the "cost of living" or the "weather." Despite a strong concern about avoiding stereotyping and clichés, their judgment of colleagues from the new country indicates clear stereotyping, which then diminishes the opportunities available to adapt. This is compounded by the goal of termination of their expatriation experience, utilized as a reason to avoid interaction within the environment. The Conservative's colleagues fear them because they are perceived as very strict and not open-minded, further distancing them. Although not necessarily a great patriot at home, the Conservative indulges the role of diplomat and advocate of their country abroad as if there was no better place on earth to be. This behavior is the product of a melding of diffuse anxiety, discrimination towards the foreign country, and previous life experiences. In professional interactions, they internalize any negative images of their original culture. Hence, comments about the "incompetence," "strictness," "weirdness," or "laziness" of people working in branches in their original country progressively cause them to develop an aggressive attitude, a feeling of inferiority, and other non-displayed forms of cultural resistance. Thus, their defense is to deny identity depreciation rather than fight the dominant culture. Having a well-developed and accurate conscience of their own cultural specificities, they adopt a strategy of defense that hides the divergence between their experiences and their expectations. Despite their frustration, they fake an attitude of contentment or even satisfaction. In their private life, Conservatives exert great pressure on their spouses and children to preserve their "cultural specificities" by all means. Far from being an environment for new social transformation, the private environment becomes a controlled space within which the Conservative struggles to continue their previous culture without change.

The second identity pattern identified by Pierre (2003) is the Defensive group. This group does not feel they belong to the country in which they are living. Unlike the Conservative, they do not resist adopting some elements from the host culture. These individuals fulfill identity assignments within the host culture, appropriating characteristics as a claim for acknowledgement. When confronted with the same discussion as the Conservative concerning adoption, the Defensive remains silent but tries to redefine themselves, stressing the similarities that unite the host culture to their culture of origin. The Defensive's claim of identification with a certain cultural, social, national, regional, religious, ethnic, and cultural community is designed to change their own negative self-image. Thus, they will decorate their professional environment with symbols including flags, furniture, and posters from their original culture, in order to recreate their own private space and to gain recognition as an individual within the organization. These individuals fight against all depreciation of their original culture, whether originating in the host culture or not. Sacralization of the original culture presents as an inherent danger to the Defensives and may become a reality for the individual if the expatriation experience is extended. Due to this sacralization and the accompanying loss of reality, the Defensives develop ambiguous relations towards the host country. That is, while admiring some aspects of their host culture, such as technology, they criticize other aspects, such as the social organization. Occasionally, the Defensives succeed in balancing the dualism between the present cultural milieu and their original methods, practices, and beliefs, making them heirs of their cultural heritage and cultural interpreters within the global mainstreams of the company. Unlike Conservatives who abhor contacts with the locals, Defensives love to feel different and claim foreign status with pride. The Defensive expatriates are usually good-humored people, accepting and even enjoying indulgences in an archetypical role. They establish and guard the frontiers between the company and the host society and between professional and private lives. When reintegrating into their originating culture, Defensives are faced with re-socialization because they have indulged roles that do not belong to their culture.

The third typology of Pierre (2003) is the Opportunistic, who manipulates the culture by adopting elements of the culture that are immediately relevant to the situation.

The relevancy does not have a long-term impact on either their behaviors or psychology. That is, the Opportunistic uses the trait or characteristic that is most pertinent or relevant at the time; abandoning it when out of the situation and moving on to another. Similar to a chameleon, the Opportunistic takes the color of the environment at any individual point of time, and is totally capable of changing when the environment changes again. Culture for the Opportunistic is a tool to be utilized to enrich or enhance their lives, even in intimate situations. In employment situations, Opportunistics use their chameleon skills to enter positions of value and credibility. However, the ability to change can become negative for Opportunistics in that the constant change is wearing and the excitement of exploring new cultures is lost; resulting in them objectifying cultures strictly as tools.

Pierre's (2003) fourth typology, the Transnational, has characteristics that include a high level of education, often outside of their own cultures. This creates an alternative sphere wherein the Transnational finds comfort. That is, the role adopted within their professional life is carried throughout other relationships. Thus, the corporate culture plays an important role in providing a familiar place from which to operate. Unlike Opportunistics, the Transnational cannot use different traits and characteristics from culture at-will, but they do try to incorporate what they perceive as optimal characteristics from each culture into their own, creating a truly trans-national identity.

The final category in Pierre's (2003) work is the Converted. This group has assimilated into the host culture, despite being identified by their country-of-origin. Reminders of differences are quickly diminished, with considerable energy being expended to dress, behave, speak, and express mannerism that are typically of the host culture. Because this group is not typical of Brazilians, they are not explored further.

Recognizing the first four different types of adaptation, the authors conducted an ethnographic study of fourteen Brazilians living and working in France to determine the category of primary use. These Brazilians come from a variety of different backgrounds and are employed in different positions in different companies.

Hypothesis

Because many Brazilians are multi-ethnic within a strong historical background of Portuguese colonialism, it is postulated that Brazilians who go abroad would have the

characteristics of Transnationals. Historically, Brazilians have adopted characteristics from other cultures that are viewed as "better" or "more useful" within everyday life. Thus, the hypothesis examined is:

> H1: Brazilians are Transnational in their acceptance and adoption of
> different cultural sets.

This is best examined in those Brazilians who are abroad, thus more exposed to other cultures and cultural sets.

Methodology

In researching this article, fourteen people were interviewed individually for an average of five hours. All of these individuals were university graduates and originate from urban areas in Brazil. Individuals were from the Northeast (Rio Grande do Norte) and the Southeast (Minas Gerais and Sao Paulo).

	Females	Males
Expatriates	3	6
Immigrants	2	3

Table 1: Characteristics of Participants

Participants were interviewed privately either at home or a work. The interview was based on each individual's life story. Each interview was initiated with questions as to how they came to live in France. Beyond the initial question, the interview was entirely non-scripted, using the Narrative Method. This methodology encourages further development of their story when the interviewer uses the last few words of the last sentence to prompt further discussion and narration. The conversations were recorded, transcribed, and manually analyzed.

The analysis resulted in categorization of the topics into Communication and Management of Relations including interpersonal relationships, relationships with authority, inter-racial relationships, inter-gender relationships, and relationships with foreigners.

Findings

In discussing the adaptation of the Brazilians, it became clear that the philosophy and mindset between expatriates and immigrants is different and must be noted. The expatriates' tenure in a host country is time-limited. They arrive in the country with employment in a familiar company and the potential of a social network. Immigrants' tenure in a host country is potentially life-long and often does not include a social or work-based network. Instead, the immigrant arrives with the intention of establishing a new life in a new country. The expatriate's mind-set is very different from the immigrants' in that the expatriate must focus on work-related issues to succeed, decreasing socialization time outside the company. The immigrant's focus is on establishing a social network and integrating into the country. The expatriate may choose to go to the country for multiple reasons, including using the experience as a stepping stone on a life-career plan, potentially formulating the experience as one to be tolerated until the expatriate is reassigned. The immigrant however chooses to become part of the new country.

The interviews with the Brazilians indicated clear boundary spanning amongst the adaptation typology. For example, when examining the relationship of the Brazilians to the French host culture, it was found that Brazilians would be typified as Conservative in their criticism of the French. In furtherance of the Conservative typology, the Brazilians noted that the French do not easily allow foreigners into their circle of friends unlike the openness of Brazilian culture. Also, the Brazilians state the French are cruel in their humor and if there is something they like, it becomes a target for their humor. Another large difference noted in the Conservative typology is the willingness of the Brazilians to help at any time as stated by one interviewee who spoke of the lack of curiosity by and help from the French when they first arrived. This was noted as a difference, clearly placing the Brazilian in the Conservative camp. Many of the Brazilians interviewed also fit the Conservative role in establishing their homes as Brazilian sanctuaries and their friends as Brazilian compatriots.

However, Brazilians also fit clearly into the Defensive mode in trying to indulge the role as indicated by one interviewee who stated that because the French think Brazilians are "always happy," the interviewee tried to fit that categorization. The Brazilians are also very defensive of their country (thus changing the negative perceptions) by stating they explain to the French their country is not as violent,

corrupted, or lazy as the French opinion, instead stating it is a good place to live. Similar discussions with other interviewees demonstrated other Defensive attributes, such as forgetting the negative aspects of the country, such as the harsh working conditions, the urban violence, and the need to work long hours to earn a living. These attributes and characteristics among the interviews placed the Brazilians in the Defensive typology.

Other aspects placed the Brazilians into the Opportunistic typology. Brazilians quickly slide into the French habit of air-kissing women beside both cheeks in greeting, not a Brazilian habit. Further, Brazilians work within the cultural norms, quickly adapting to the 35-hour workweek and the enormous amount of paper-work drudgery necessary to accomplish every task. There are not as many opportunistic characteristics exhibited by Brazilians in their adaptation to France, but the existing of even two indicates the crossing of typology boundaries.

The grouping originally thought to best apply to Brazilians is the Transnational, and as thought, the Brazilians interviewed demonstrated numerous characteristics of the Transnational typology. All Brazilians interviewed had received degrees and had previous expatriation experiences. This may not be surprising given the criteria for immigration and the need for degrees for the higher-level positions of expatriates. However, the rapid adoption of traits from the French culture as demonstrated by one interviewee who stated an admiration for the French rationality because the French say "no" whereas the Brazilians hesitate to do so, indicates a Transnational trait that is not mandated by status or position. Other traits include the willingness of Brazilians to "improve" themselves by fulfilling French job training is also noted as being a Transnational trait, leading the researchers to conclude the Brazilians were indeed Transnational.

Brazilians demonstrate characteristics of the Converted in trying to gain French friends. To accomplish this, the Brazilians adopt French habits, such as French cuisine, French meal hours, learning the French language, and enjoying French activities. Although within this typology they will socialize with other Brazilians, their focus is upon the French culture and people, unlike the Conservative Brazilian. Some of the Brazilians interviewed had applied for French citizenship, further documenting their Converted
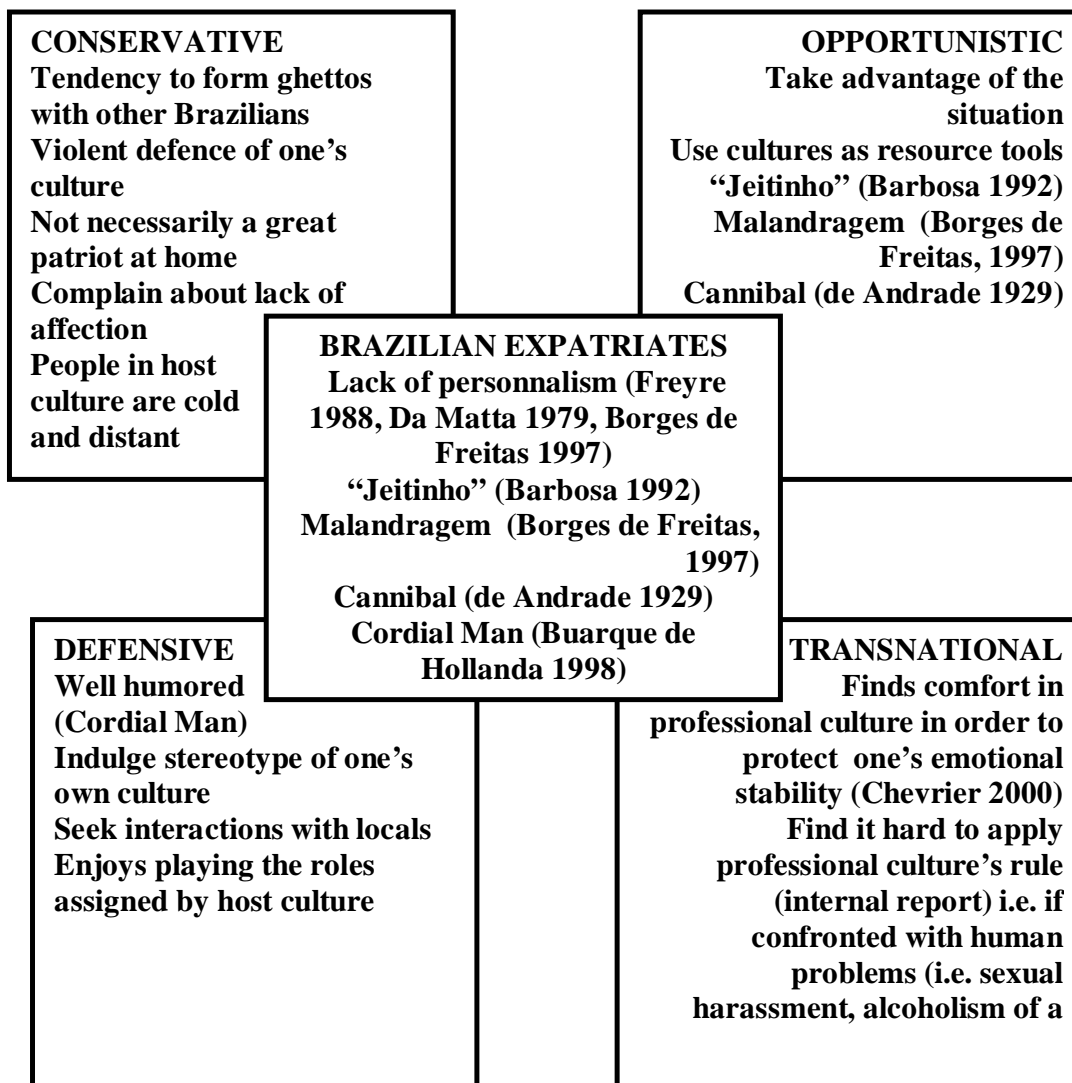
typology. These characteristics are acknowledged but are not distinctly Brazilian traits and therefore are not relevant within this research.

Discussion

Pierre (2003) notes each typology as unique. However, the Brazilians interviewed do not neatly fit into one typology or another. Instead, they span the gamut forcing the researchers to add a sixth typology, one that overlaps but does not encompass all. Within the interviews, it became clear that Brazilians similarly have characteristics that would normally deny them categorization into one of the categories. For example, the Brazilians interviewed could not separate their affective dimension from their professional dimensions, the opposite of Transnationals. Similarly, the Brazilians interviewed were relation oriented not task oriented and could not separate their private from their professional lives, once again disallowing them the typology of Transnational.

Thus, Brazilians are unique in their attributes as demonstrated by the following diagram.

Figure 1:

CONSERVATIVE
Tendency to form ghettos with other Brazilians
Violent defence of one's culture
Not necessarily a great patriot at home
Complain about lack of affection
People in host culture are cold and distant

OPPORTUNISTIC
Take advantage of the situation
Use cultures as resource tools
"Jeitinho" (Barbosa 1992)
Malandragem (Borges de Freitas, 1997)
Cannibal (de Andrade 1929)

BRAZILIAN EXPATRIATES
Lack of personnalism (Freyre 1988, Da Matta 1979, Borges de Freitas 1997)
"Jeitinho" (Barbosa 1992)
Malandragem (Borges de Freitas, 1997)
Cannibal (de Andrade 1929)
Cordial Man (Buarque de Hollanda 1998)

DEFENSIVE
Well humored (Cordial Man)
Indulge stereotype of one's own culture
Seek interactions with locals
Enjoys playing the roles assigned by host culture

TRANSNATIONAL
Finds comfort in professional culture in order to protect one's emotional stability (Chevrier 2000)
Find it hard to apply professional culture's rule (internal report) i.e. if confronted with human problems (i.e. sexual harassment, alcoholism of a

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The research completed indicates that Brazilians both fit and do not fit each of the typologies, that is, the Brazilians' characteristics are idiosyncratic. Brazilians are capable of playing the role that is expected by the host culture or are needed to survive. Thus, the individual characteristics will emerge depending upon the needs exhibited by the social environment. Brazilians indulge those roles that are necessary at the time, in order to facilitate their transactions with their interlocutors within the interactional process.

The idiosyncratic traits that cross typologies include the "Jeitinho," which is a social mechanism similar to the implicit agreements found in Guanxi and embeds all interactions including commercial interactions into social frameworks. Thus, the Brazilians indulge different roles in host cultures in order to benefit or gain, expecting a reciprocal benefit from the host culture. Accompanying the "Jeitinho" is the behavior of the "Malandro" (Malandragem) that allows Brazilians to thrive based on their wits and their manipulation of the situation. This behavior, regardless of its legality, is admired; accounting for the acceptance of graft, corruption, and crime in the Brazilian culture.

Another aspect of the "Jeitinho" is the capacity for Brazilians to adapt to their situation, thus adopting the role of Brazilian as is perceived by the French. However, the Brazilians interviewed discussed the creation of a private space or personal environment in which they are at ease. This reluctance to self-accept the affective nature of the Brazilian culture places Brazilians into the Opportunistic typology.

Other idiosyncratic traits include the attention to the individual as a person, which is based on their relationship-oriented culture wherein warm and caring relationships are more important than rules. Not finding this warmth within the French culture and because of their culturally accepted need for interpersonal relationships, the Brazilian

often complains the French culture is cold and distant. Thus, they build and preserve warm and caring relationships within communities of other Brazilians. These relationships are founded in their interpretation of the Brazilian culture, a culture that is hierarchical and unwilling to change. The perceived lack of affection is sufficiently mitigated for the Brazilian through the reliance on their originating culture.

This culture includes a cannibal aspect in that it consumes other cultures and traits. This intake of the culture results in new behaviors and aspects that include modifications and alterations of the host culture that are combined to result in new and unique traits and behaviors (de Andrade, 1929). Thus, the Brazilians within our study took and transformed elements within the French culture into unique traits that are individualistic; "Brazilianizing" some elements and discarding other elements. This accompanied the desire to be acknowledged as a unique person, not connected with others.

The hypothesis developed for this study is thereby disproven. Few Brazilians reach the stage of Transnational because the individual must have experienced multiple international exposures to attain this stage. Transnationals use their previous intercultural experiences to mitigate and minimize cultural differences. Also utilized by Brazilians in their assimilation into their place of work is the professional culture. But the professional culture does not impact on their individual culture and the intrinsic attributes of the individual. Thus, any human problems experienced in the work place will be resolved using their human values, which are deeply rooted in the core of their Brazilian culture (Hofstede. 1997). The fourteen Brazilians living outside of Brazil in France exhibited an amalgam of the different typologies, exhibiting individual traits from each together with a unique adaptation strategy typology that is distinct from that proposed by Pierre (2003) but contains elements of each of his typologies.

Limitation

The French do not easily accept people who are not born in France (McGuire and McDermott, 1988; Berry, 1980), sometimes taking this back more than one generation to the parents or grand-parents. This can be observed in identification of the current

President of the French Republic as Hungarian despite the fact he was born in France. This rejection may make the findings of this study peculiar to France.

Another limitation is the number of individuals interviewed for this study; only fourteen and not sufficiently large to be able to draw conclusions beyond the sample. With only fourteen, the sampling is not reflective of all Brazilians living abroad or in France. However, the similarity of the findings among those interviewed may suggest the traits are beyond these few individuals.

Conclusion

When the Brazilians attempt to assimilate within the French culture, the French respond with hostility to any breach of the social rules. However, the French habitually do not elaborate or explain the rules so breaches are numerous giving ample opportunities for the French to demonstrate their superiority while teaching others. This superiority depicts an ethnocentric attitude. When confronted with the attitude of the French, the Brazilians often perceive their lives within a social and cultural exile that further embeds them into their own culture, recognizing the need to "fake it to make it." In faking their assimilation, the Brazilians have developed a sixth typology of identity adaptation strategy. Future research needs to examine this further in order to elaborate and clarify the identity negotiation process of the Brazilians abroad.

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