



# Acculturation, Adaptation and Saudade Among Portuguese Migrants

Félix Neto

To cite this article: Félix Neto (2019) Acculturation, Adaptation and Saudade Among Portuguese Migrants, The Journal of Psychology, 153:7, 667-679, DOI: [10.1080/00223980.2019.1590298](https://doi.org/10.1080/00223980.2019.1590298)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00223980.2019.1590298>



Published online: 29 Mar 2019.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 130



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Citing articles: 1 View citing articles [↗](#)



# Acculturation, Adaptation and Saudade Among Portuguese Migrants

Félix Neto

Porto University

## ABSTRACT

Saudade is a psychological reaction to the absence of significant others and familiar places. This investigation examined differences in saudade in a sample of 227 Portuguese adults without migratory experience, and 202 Portuguese migrants living in Switzerland. Within the migrant group, the relation between saudade and acculturation and adaptation factors was also examined. Results indicate that migrants experienced higher levels of saudade than did non-migrants. Length of residence abroad influenced the level of saudade: the longer the time spent abroad the less saudade was felt. Acculturation and adaptation factors accounted for 44% of the explained variance in saudade. Among acculturation factors, higher Portuguese proficiency and separation, and lower assimilation predicted more saudade. Among the adaptation factors, higher sociocultural adaptation problems and lower migration satisfaction also predicted higher saudade. It is hoped that investigation on saudade continues, and suggestions are made for further research.

## ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 21 December 2018  
Accepted 24 February 2019

## KEYWORDS

Acculturation; migration; psychological adaptation; saudade; sociocultural adaptation

We live in an increasingly multicultural world, partly as result of migration. This study deals with saudade that can be experienced by migrants. The study of migration and the experiences of migrant workers can provide important information for our understanding of saudade. Therefore, the present study extends previous findings to other situations, such as travel across different cultures (Neto & Mullet, *in press*).

The term saudade is considered to be one of the most common emotional expressions among Portuguese people (Farrell, 2006). The concept of saudade has also been a source of inspiration for authors from the medieval times to the present day (Vasconcelos, 1996). In 2004, *Today Translations* reported a study which classified the Portuguese word saudade, as being the seventh most difficult word to translate. In English, saudade is usually translated by expressions such as longing, yearning, missing, homesickness, and nostalgia (Silva, 2012). None of these terms, however, seems to convey the exact meaning of saudade as Portuguese people usually understand it.

Social psychologists have recently explored this concept using prototype analysis (Neto & Mullet, 2014; Rosch, 1978). In order to make an inventory of all features of *saudade*, first they asked university students to list all the terms they spontaneously associated with this expression. A total of 67 different features were mentioned by more

than one participant, and 11 of them were mentioned more frequently: memories (recordações), sadness (tristeza), missing someone (sentir falta de alguém), missing something (sentir falta de algo), thinking (pensar), sensation of loss (sensação de perda), nostalgia (nostalgia), distance (distância), crying (chorar), feeling (sentimento), and pain (dor). While many feelings associated with saudade might be considered negative, there are positive feelings associated with it too (e.g., joy, love). Secondly, these features were presented to a different sample of students who were asked to assess both the level of centrality of each feature and their affective valence. All participants were able to rate each feature as more or less prototypical of the concept. Also, the range of their affective valence ratings oscillated from very negative to very positive; in other words, participants were undoubtedly aware of the complexity of the concept. Two complementary studies showed that the centrality of the features was related with their recognition, and also with story writing about past experiences of *saudade*.

The goal of this study is two-fold. The first objective is to analyze the relationship between acculturation and saudade. The process of intercultural contact has been conceptualized under the field of acculturation (Sam & Berry, 2016). Acculturation concerns the cultural and psychological changes that occur following the contact between groups and individuals from different cultural backgrounds (Berry, 2017). Acculturation is multifaceted. Duration of residence, language proficiency, acculturation strategies, cultural identity, and perceived discrimination constituent key features of acculturation and are linked to well-being (Berry, 2017; Neto & Barros, 2007; Phinney, 2003). Duration of sojourn impacts the psychological well-being of migrants (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). For instance, Angolan migrants living in Portugal with a shorter duration of sojourn reported higher levels of mental health problems than those with a longer duration of sojourn (Neto & Guse, 2018). So it is expected that a longer length of residence would be associated negatively with saudade.

Proficiency in the language of the society of settlement and of the society of origin are important indicators of the acculturation process. Namely, proficiency in the language of the society of settlement represents a key to participate successfully in this society (Phinney, 2003).

One aspect that is central to intercultural relations is the way in which individuals seek to relate each other, called acculturation strategies. Assimilation and separation constitute two acculturation strategies, the others being integration and marginalization (Berry, 2017). When migrants do not try to maintain their cultural identity and they seek daily interactions with other cultures, then assimilation is their acculturation strategy. In contrast, when migrants value holding on to their original culture and at the same time wish to avoid interacting with the dominant culture, this is a separation option.

Cultural identity focuses on migrants' sense of self, including both ethnic identity and national identity. Ethnic identity refers to the sense of self as a member of the migrant ethnic group and national identity concerns the sense of self as member of the new society of settlement (Phinney, 2003).

Included among the features of saudade evidenced in a prototype analysis are: missing someone, missing something, sensation of loss, absence, separation, motherland and native land. Globally, these features denote a link involving separation from familiar

and loved people and places. Given these features of saudade, it may be expected that migrants feel more saudade than people without migratory experience and that the level of saudade is linked to acculturation. Specifically, acculturation indicators denoting higher links with the home society and lower links with the society of settlement may be expected to be associated with higher levels of saudade experience.

Besides cultural barriers, during the process of acculturation, migrants may face social hardships such as stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. Perceived discrimination reflects how an individual has experienced discrimination. A number of works have shown strong relations between perceived discrimination and migrants' well-being (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Neto, 2010). For instance, Phinney, Madden, and Santos (1998) found that lower self-esteem, and greater anxiety and depression were associated with perceived discrimination. An ensuing psychological consequence of this adversity may be experienced as saudade. Along this line it is expected that migrants who perceive more discrimination would experience more saudade.

The second objective of the current research is to analyze the relationships between adaptation and saudade. Adaptation concerns the outcome of the acculturation process including relatively stable changes people have to make in response to external demands (Berry, 1997). Two domains of adaptation can be distinguished: psychological adaptation and sociocultural adaptation (Ward et al., 2001).

Psychological adaptation concerns emotional well-being or mental health and satisfaction in the recipient country. This study will examine three indicators of psychological adaptation: satisfaction with life, satisfaction with migration life, and loneliness. Satisfaction with life is a global evaluation of a person's quality of life based on his or her own chosen criteria (Shin & Johnson, 1978). Previous research with Portuguese migrants in Switzerland showed that lower levels of mental health problems (such as anxiety, depression, and psychosomatic symptoms) were the strongest predictors of life satisfaction (Neto & Barros, 2007).

The concept of satisfaction with migrant life was introduced by Neto and Fonseca (2016). It differed from the classical concept of satisfaction with life in that it was specifically devised to assess migrants' satisfaction with their present condition. Satisfaction with migrant life was closely associated with satisfaction with life in general, but it was distinguishable from it: the common part of variance was estimated at 42%. This strong association reflects that satisfaction with life and satisfaction with migrant life "share a good deal of common variance, but certainly are not equivalent constructs" (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985, p. 74).

Loneliness may be conceptualized as a perceived discrepancy between a person's desired social relations and those that he or she currently inhabits (Peplau & Perlaman, 1982; Rokach, 2012; Russell, Cutrona, McRae, & Gomez, 2012). As such, it is a subjective rather objective experience of isolation. There is no consensus on the etymology of the word "saudade" (Neto & Mullet, 2014). However, most scholars suggest that *saudade* derives from the Latin *solitudo*, which means loneliness, via intermediate forms as *soidade* and *suidade* (Vasconcelos, 1996). According to King Dom Duarte (15<sup>th</sup> century), "Suydade is precisely the feeling that the heart fails because it is apart from the presence of someone(s) whom it loves very much" (Botelho, 1990, p. 36). It was found that lonely individuals consistently experience a lower quality of life (Ben-Zur, 2012; Furnham, 2007; Neto, 1995).

Sociocultural adaptation concerns “intercultural competence with emphasis on behavioural domains” (Ward & Kennedy, 1999, p. 662). It refers to “doing well” in the activities of daily intercultural living. Former research suggests that higher adaptation difficulties are linked to lower psychological adaptation (Ward & Kennedy, 1999).

The most relevant finding of a recent study (Neto & Mullet, *in press*) was that *saudade* appeared linked to negative emotionality/affect. Regarding subjective well-being, negative affect predicted significantly *saudade*. As regards personality traits neuroticism also predicted *saudade*, and loneliness predicted *saudade* beyond personality traits. So, the general finding of that study pointed out to the feeling of *saudade* was predicted by a negative affective context. In this vein, it can be expected that *saudade* will be related to migrants’ maladjustment.

Based upon the review of the relevant literature presented above, seven hypotheses related to *saudade* were formulated:

**H<sub>1</sub>:** It was expected that migrants would report higher levels of *saudade* than native Portuguese people who are non-migrants.

**H<sub>2</sub>:** It was expected that migrants with a shorter duration of stay would show higher levels of *saudade* than those with a longer duration of stay.

**H<sub>3</sub>:** It was expected that the more the process of acculturation showed a connection with the host society (French language proficiency, Swiss identity, assimilation), the less *saudade* would be experienced.

**H<sub>4</sub>:** It was expected that the more the process of acculturation showed a connection with the society of origin (Portuguese language proficiency, Portuguese identity, separation), the more *saudade* would be experienced.

**H<sub>5</sub>:** It was expected that level of perceived discrimination would be positively related to *saudade*.

**H<sub>6</sub>:** It was hypothesized that the poorer the adjustment (psychological adaptation and sociocultural adaptation) the higher that *saudade* would be experienced.

**H<sub>7</sub>:** It was expected that both acculturation and adaptation factors would predict *saudade*.

## Method

### Participants

The sample comprised 202 Portuguese migrants. Fifth-three percent were women and 47% were men. The age range of migrants was between 19 and 60 ( $M = 38.64$ ;  $SD = 8.58$ ). Their average duration of stay in Switzerland was 16 years ( $SD = 10.20$ ). Most of the participants were married (83%). Fifty-one percent had not completed secondary education, and 49% had completed secondary education or attended tertiary education. Some 60.9% were blue-collar workers, 13.9% white collar workers, 16.3% were professionals and 8.9% did not work.

### Measures

Beyond the demographic questions (age, sex, place of birth, duration of stay, level of education, marital status, and professional occupation), the questionnaire of the current

study comprised the following materials which have been previously adapted to the Portuguese context, except the self-reported *saudade*. For each scale the authors who made the translation and the adaptation are provided below:

*Self-reported saudade.* *Saudade* was operationalized by asking migrants two questions directly: (1) how often they had experienced *saudade* in the past 4 weeks, with responses ranged from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*); and (2) how often they have experienced *saudade* in comparison with other people, with responses ranging from 1 (*much less often*) to 5 (*much more often*). Cronbach's  $\alpha$  was .85 and Spearman-Brown reliability was .72 (see recommendations by Eisinga, Grotenhuis, and Pelzer (2013) regarding two-item scales).

*Language proficiency.* Four items measured the migrants' self-assessed proficiency in speaking, reading, writing and understanding the French language, and the Portuguese language (Berry et al., 2006; Neto, 2002). The focus is on French language as the data have been collected in the canton of Geneva, the French-speaking part of Switzerland. A sample question is: "How well do you speak the Portuguese language?" Responses options ranged from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very well). Cronbach's coefficients were .93 and .89, respectively.

*Acculturation strategies.* Two acculturation strategies (assimilation and separation) were measured. Each acculturation strategy included five items (Berry, 2017; Neto, 2002). Sample items are: "I prefer to have only Swiss friends" (assimilation); "I prefer social activities which involve Portuguese members only" (separation). Responses options ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Cronbach's alpha of assimilation, and separation in this investigation were .70, and .77, respectively.

*Cultural identity.* This was assessed with a scale originally developed by Phinney (1992; Neto & Barros 2007). Portuguese identity as well as Swiss identity was measured with four items each for one. Sample question is: "I feel that I am part of the Portuguese culture" (Portuguese identity); and "I am happy that I am Swiss" (Swiss identity). Responses options ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Cronbach's alpha of Portuguese identity and of Swiss identity in the current research were .81, and .92, respectively.

*Perceived discrimination.* This was measured with five items about the direct experience of discrimination (e.g., "I have been teased or insulted because of my Portuguese background") (Neto, 2006). Responses options ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). In this sample, Cronbach  $\alpha$  was .79.

*Sociocultural adaptation.* This was measured with the Sociocultural Adaptation Scale (SCAS, Ward & Kennedy 1999; Sequeira Neto 2014). Participants indicated the degree of difficulty (ranging from 1, *no difficulty* to 5, *extremely difficulty*) experienced in 20 social situations in the recipient society (e.g., obtaining accommodation, dealing with public transportation). Higher scores denoted a higher amount of difficulty (Cronbach  $\alpha$ , .94).

*Satisfaction with life scale.* This measure includes five statements to assess overall cognitive judgments about an individual's own life (Diener et al., 1985). A sample question is: "The conditions of my life are excellent". The response options ranged from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*). The Portuguese version has evidenced

adequate psychometric characteristics (Munoz Sastre, Vainsonneau, Neto, Girard, & Mullet, 2003; Neto, 1993; Neto, Barros, & Barros, 1990). In the present study, Cronbach's  $\alpha$  was .91.

*Satisfaction with migration life.* This measure was developed to assess a global and subjective assessment of the quality of migration life (Neto & Fonseca, 2016). A sample question is: "In most ways my migration life is close to my ideal". The scale consists of five items, each rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly disagree* and 5 = *Strongly agree*). In the present study, Cronbach  $\alpha$  was .91.

*Loneliness.* The brief six-item (ULS-6) Portuguese version of the Revised UCLA Loneliness Scale was used (Neto, 1992, 2014; Russell, Peplau, & Cutrona, 1980). One sample item reads: "People are around me but not with me". Ratings ranged from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*often*). The  $\alpha$  value was .77.

## Procedure

Participants were recruited by an assistant Portuguese researcher in Geneva, Switzerland. The sample was of convenience, recruited through snowball sampling using personal contacts (family members or friends of the participants). Other participants were contacted through associations. The response rate was 82%. Migrants were informed on the purpose of the research, consent was obtained, and anonymity was guaranteed. The completion of the survey took approximately 25 minutes. After completion of the questionnaire, all participants' questions were addressed. Respondents were not paid.

## Results

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics of the scales utilized. The average score of saudade obtained was 3.12. Next it will be examined whether there were differences in the level of saudade between migrants and people without migratory experience living in their country of origin. A comparison with findings obtained in a previous study (Neto & Mullet, *in press*) among 227 Portuguese participants of both genders, aged between 20 and 65 years living in Portugal, and data from the present study showed that saudade was significantly lower among adults living in Portugal ( $M = 2.67$ ;  $SD = .94$ ) than

**Table 1.** Descriptives and Reliabilities of the Multi-item Scales.

	Means	SD	Range	Cronbach's $\alpha$
Saudade	3.12	1.04	1–5	.85
French proficiency	4.06	.93	1–5	.93
Portuguese proficiency	4.80	.44	1–5	.89
Swiss identity	2.89	1.25	1–5	.92
Portuguese identity	4.52	.70	1–5	.81
Assimilation	1.64	.69	1–5	.70
Separation	2.45	1.04	1–5	.77
Perceived discrimination	2.01	.82	1–5	.79
Sociocultural adaptation	1.90	.84	1–5	.94
Satisfaction with migration life	3.50	1.09	1–5	.91
Loneliness	1.78	.59	1–4	.77
Satisfaction with life	3.79	1.10	1–5	.93

**Table 2.** Correlations Between Saudade and Acculturation Variables.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Saudade	–						
2. Length of residence	–.30***	–					
3. French proficiency	–.17**	.38***	–				
4. Portuguese proficiency	.21**	–.25***	.06	–			
5. Swiss identity	–.31***	.30***	.47***	–.14*	–		
6. Portuguese identity	.32***	–.16*	–.04	.33***	–.07	–	
7. Assimilation	–.26***	.07	.03	–.10	.17*	–.24**	–
8. Separation	.44***	–.24**	–.34***	–.03	–.30***	.28***	.01
9. Perceived discrimination	.17*	–.14*	–.12	.01	.35***	.03	.02

\* $p < .05$ .\*\* $p < .01$ .\*\*\* $p < .001$ .**Table 3.** Correlations Between Saudade and Adaptation Variables.

	1	2	3	4
1. Saudade	–			
2. Sociocultural adaptation	.47***	–		
3. Satisfaction with migration life	–.48***	–.60***	–	
4. Loneliness	.35***	.52***	–.52***	–
5. Satisfaction with life	–.39***	–.61***	.65***	–.53***

\* $p < .05$ .\*\* $p < .01$ .\*\*\* $p < .001$ .

among migrant workers ( $M = 3.12$ ;  $SD = 1.04$ ),  $F(1, 427) = 9.48$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .022$ . This result supports the first hypothesis.

When we measured whether saudade is related to the amount of time spent in Switzerland significant results were found,  $F(1, 195) = 16.08$ ;  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .077$ , indicating that those migrants who have spent a shorter time ( $M = 3.44$ ;  $SD = 1.04$ ) felt more saudade than those who have lived a longer time ( $M = 2.87$ ;  $SD = .96$ ). This result supports our second hypothesis. Saudade was not significantly related to gender, age, education, or marital status.

Correlational analysis was carried out to investigate the associations between acculturation and saudade (Table 2). Saudade correlated negatively and significantly with length of residence ( $r = -.30$ ,  $p < .001$ ), French language proficiency ( $r = -.17$ ,  $p < .01$ ), Swiss identity ( $r = -.31$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and assimilation ( $r = -.26$ ,  $p < .001$ ). These findings support the third hypothesis. Furthermore, saudade correlated positively and significantly with Portuguese language proficiency ( $r = .21$ ,  $p < .01$ ), Portuguese identity ( $r = .32$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and separation ( $r = .44$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Therefore, the fourth hypothesis was also supported.

As expected, a significant association was found between perceived discrimination and saudade ( $r = .17$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Migrants who perceived higher levels of discrimination reported higher levels of saudade. This result is consonant with the fifth hypothesis.

Correlational analysis was also carried out to investigate the associations between adaptation and saudade (Table 3). Saudade correlated negatively and significantly with satisfaction with migration life ( $r = -.48$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and satisfaction with life

**Table 4.** Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Examining the Prediction of Saudade by Demographic Factors (Step 1), Acculturation Factors (Step 2) and Adaptation Factors.

Predictor variables	Saudade	
	Block 1	Block 2
Acculturation factors		
Length of residence	-.15*	-.09
French proficiency	.07	.12
Portuguese proficiency	.06	.06
Swiss identity	-.13	-.05
Portuguese identity	.08	.14*
Assimilation	-.20**	-.16**
Separation	.38***	.25**
Perceived discrimination	-.02	-.13
Adaptation factors		
Sociocultural adaptation		.19*
Satisfaction with life		-.05
Satisfaction with migration life		-.24**
Loneliness		.04
Multiple $R^2$	.32	.44
$R^2$ change and significance	.32***	.12***

<sup>a</sup>Beta standardized coefficients are reported.

\* $p < 0.05$ .

\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

\*\*\* $< 0.001$ .

( $r = -.39$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Furthermore, saudade correlated positively and significantly with sociocultural adaptation ( $r = .47$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and loneliness ( $r = .35$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Therefore, the sixth hypothesis was supported.

To test hypothesis 7 and given that various variables appeared to be interrelated, hierarchical multiple regression was carried out with self-reported saudade as the dependent variable and acculturation and adaptation measures as independent predictors. As bivariate correlations between saudade and demographic variables (sex, age, level of education, and marital status) were not statistically significant they were not entered in the model. The variance inflation factor (VIF) values were all below 10 and the tolerance statistics all above .20, suggesting no problems with multicollinearity (Field, 2000). Also, the largest correlation predictor was less than .70, the heuristic number suggesting possible collinearity (Field, 2000).

The acculturation variables were entered in the first block. On step two the adaptation variables were added. In the first block, length of residence, assimilation, and separation emerged as significant predictors, accounting for 32% of the total variance in saudade,  $R^2 = .32$ , ( $F_{8,191} = 10.92$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Lower length of residence time ( $\beta = -.15$ ,  $p < .05$ ), lower assimilation ( $\beta = -.20$ ,  $p < .01$ ), and higher separation ( $\beta = .38$ ,  $p < .001$ ) predicted significantly saudade.

In the second block, Portuguese identity, assimilation, separation, sociocultural adaptation, and satisfaction with migration life emerged as significant predictors, accounting for 44% of the total variance in saudade,  $R^2 = .44$ , ( $F_{12, 191} = 11.67$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Higher Portuguese identity ( $\beta = .14$ ,  $p < .05$ ), lower assimilation ( $\beta = -.16$ ,  $p < .05$ ), higher separation ( $\beta = .25$ ,  $p < .01$ ), higher sociocultural adaptation difficulties ( $\beta = .19$ ,  $p < .05$ ), and lower satisfaction with migration life ( $\beta = -.24$ ,  $p < .01$ ) predicted significantly saudade. So as expected in the final step, saudade was predicted by acculturation factors as well as adaptation factors (Table 4).

## Discussion

Although the term *saudade* appeared in the fourteenth century in a song (*trova*), attributed to Prince Pedro of Portugal celebrating his love for Dona Inês de Castro, his official mistress, it is surprising that *saudade* has long been neglected in psychological research. Indeed, *saudade* is very common in the Portuguese culture, but there is little empirical research on this emotional experience (Neto & Mullet, 2014; Silva, 2012). To find our bearings in this territory, we sought to extend the investigation of *saudade* to situations where there is intercultural contact, and all the formulated hypotheses were supported. For a majority of participants in this study, *saudade* was a common experience: about two-thirds reported they experienced *saudade* at least once a week, and close to half indicated they experienced *saudade* three or four times a week. This finding shows that *saudade* is not an esoteric phenomenon, but rather a component of Portuguese migrants' psychological daily life. As expected, *saudade* was more salient among migrants than among people without migratory experience. As migration involves separation from close persons and places, it makes sense that migration might exacerbate this feeling.

The way in which the acculturation process proceeds is related to the experience of *saudade*. Results showed that the amount of time spent in Switzerland influenced the level of *saudade*: the longer the time spent abroad, the less *saudade* was felt. Furthermore, as expected, three key indicators of acculturation (language proficiency, cultural identity, and acculturation strategies) were related to *saudade*. The level of French proficiency skills was significantly related to *saudade*. This finding suggests that higher proficiency in the language of the recipient society may be an opportunity for migrants in the new society to elevate their likelihood of developing relationships with local people (Phinney, 2003). As result, they may feel less *saudade*. In contrast, higher proficiency in the language of the home country denotes a stronger link with the society of origin and in this case, migrants experienced more *saudade*.

Similar relationships were also found relative to cultural identity. The higher the sense of belonging to the host society, the lower the migrants felt *saudade*. Considering oneself as member of the society of settlement, that is, to identify as Swiss, is probably related to the way migrants plan their own and their family's future. In contrast, a higher sense of belonging to the society of origin denotes a stronger link with the home country (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013), and in this case, migrants also felt more *saudade*.

There are broad variations in how individuals seek to engage in intercultural relations (Berry, 2017). We have taken into account two acculturation strategies, assimilation and separation. Both were related to *saudade* in expected ways. The more the assimilation strategy was preferred, the less the migrants experienced *saudade*. Those migrants who did not seek to maintain their original identity but sought daily interactions in the new society had attenuated links with their home culture and were less likely to feel *saudade*. In contrast, those migrants who preferred higher separation as they held on to their original cultural identity experienced more *saudade*. In sum, hypotheses 3 and 4 were supported, as the indicators of acculturation which denote stronger links with the society of settlement were related to less feelings of *saudade*, and those indicators of acculturation

which denote stronger links with the home culture were related to higher feelings of saudade.

The level of perceived discrimination correlated with saudade score. This finding indicates that migrants who were likely to perceive more discrimination also felt more saudade. This result is consonant with investigation pointing out that perceived discrimination involves negative psychological outcomes for well-being (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014; Ward et al., 2001).

As regards the relationship between adaptation and saudade, the expectations were confirmed. Sociocultural adaptation emphasizes the acquisition of culturally appropriate skills in the host country (Ward & Kennedy, 1999; Wilson, Ward, & Fischer, 2013). As hypothesized, saudade was positively related to higher sociocultural adaptation problems.

The global evaluation of an individual's quality of life was also negatively related to saudade. This research used a new instrument to assess psychological adaptation, satisfaction with migration life which was negatively associated with the saudade score. This finding is consonant with previous research showing a negative relation between migration satisfaction and ill-being (Neto & Fonseca, 2016). Loneliness constitutes a key indicator of poor quality of life (Furnham, 2007; Rokach, 2012). Saudade was expected to be positively related to loneliness, given that previous research showed that loneliness was related to poor quality of life. The lonelier the migrants, the more saudade they felt.

This investigation evidenced multiple predictors of saudade. Demographic factors were largely unrelated to saudade score. Significant predictors emerged within two sets of variables, with acculturation and adaptation variables accounting for 44% of the explained variance in saudade. Among acculturation factors, higher Portuguese proficiency and separation, and lower assimilation predicted more saudade. Among the adaptation factors, higher sociocultural adaptation problems, and lower migration satisfaction also predicted higher saudade. In sum, the strongest predictors of saudade suggest that antecedents or maintaining factors of saudade are not related only to personal factors or situational factors. Both factors seem to be relevant in the development or maintenance of saudade.

The level of analysis in this study evidenced a "maladaptation" view of saudade. Research is needed to explore the benefits of employing saudade when suffering from maladjustment. Is saudade a successful coping mechanism for maladjustment? Zhou, Sedikides, Wildschut, and Gao (2008, p. 1028) showed that "nostalgia magnifies perceptions of social support, and in so doing thwarts the effect of loneliness". Future research might explore whether a similar mechanism could be found relative to saudade. If this mechanism was evidenced, then saudade could be one means of reducing acculturative stress.

The findings of this study should be interpreted with caution as it has a number of limitations. First, the cross-sectional design of this research precludes any causal inference. Second, this study used a direct operationalization of saudade on the basis of two items of the experience of saudade. This means of operationalizing saudade is adequate to denote group differences in perceived saudade. However, it presupposes that saudade is unidimensional. Further prototypic analysis of this emotional experience suggests a

more complex reaction is intertwined (Neto & Mullet, 2014). Future research should assess the experience of saudade using a more elaborated scale including direct and indirect measurement of saudade. Third, this study only used self-reporting measures, which are important in investigating saudade. However, by means of multiple methods it could be possible to enhance our understanding of saudade experience. Fourthly, the present research was performed using a convenience sample of moderate size. Future studies should examine the validity of the current findings with more representative samples of migrants. Despite these limitations, our findings represent a step within a framework, including both personal and situational factors, to explore saudade among migrants. More research is needed to expand the cross-cultural study of saudade in Portugal as well as in the ten countries where the Portuguese is the official language.

## Author Note

*Félix Neto*, PhD, is a full professor of Psychology in the Department of Psychology at the University of Porto, Portugal. His research interests include social psychology and cross-cultural psychology (especially, migration, mental health, love, loneliness, and forgiveness).

## References

- Ben-Zur, H. (2012). Loneliness, optimism, and well-being among married, divorced, and widowed individuals. *The Journal of Psychology, 146*, 23–36. doi:10.1080/00223980.2010.548414
- Berry, J. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 46*, 5–34. doi:10.1111/j.1464-0597.1997.tb01087.x
- Berry, J. (2017). *Mutual intercultural relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781316875032
- Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (2006). *Immigrant youth in cultural transition: Acculturation identity and adaptation across national contexts*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum. doi:10.4324/9780415963619
- Botelho, A. (1990). *Saudosismo como movimento: Da saudade ao saudosismo* [From saudade to saudosismo]. Lisboa, Portugal: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa.
- Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Harvey, R. D. (1999). Perceiving pervasive discrimination among African Americans: Implications for group identification and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 77*, 135–149. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.77.1.135
- Diener, E. R., Emmons, R., Larsen, R., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 49*, 71–75. doi:10.1207/s15327752jpa4901\_13
- Eisinga, R., Grotenhuis, M. T., & Pelzer, B. (2013). The reliability of a two-item scale: Pearson, Cronbach or Spearman-Brown? *International Journal of Public Health, 58*, 637–642. doi:10.1007/s00038-012-0416-3
- Farrell, P. (2006). Portuguese *saudade* and other emotions of absence and longing. In B. Peeters (Ed.), *Semantic primes and universal grammar: Empirical evidence from the Romance languages* (pp. 235–258). Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamin.
- Field, A. (2000). *Discovering statistics: Using SPSS for windows*. London, UK: Sage.
- Furnham, A. (2007). General health mediates the relations between loneliness, life satisfaction and depression. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, 42*, 161–166. doi:10.1007/s00127-006-0140-5
- Lourenço E. (1978). *O labirinto da saudade: Psicanálise mítica do destino português* [The labyrinth of saudade: Mythic psychoanalysis of the Portuguese fate]. Lisboa, Portugal: Publicações Dom Quixote.
- Munoz Sastre, M. T., Vainsonneau, G., Neto, F., Girard, M., & Mullet, E. (2003). Forgiveness and satisfaction with life. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 4*, 323–335. doi:10.1023/A:1026251630478

- Neto, F. (1992). Loneliness among Portuguese adolescents. *Social Behavior and Personality: An International Journal*, 20(1), 15–22. doi:10.2224/sbp.1992.20.1.15
- Neto, F. (1993). Satisfaction with life scale: Psychometric properties in an adolescent sample. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 22(2), 125–134. doi:10.1007/BF01536648
- Neto, F. (1995). Predictors of satisfaction with life among second generation immigrants. *Social Indicators Research*, 35(1), 93–116. doi:10.1007/BF01079240
- Neto, F. (2002). Acculturation strategies among adolescents from immigrant families in Portugal. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 26(1), 17–38. doi:10.1016/S0147-1767(01)00036-0
- Neto, F. (2006). Psycho-social predictors of perceived discrimination among adolescents of immigrant background: A Portuguese study. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 32(1), 89–109. doi:10.1080/13691830500335507
- Neto, F. (2010). Mental health among adolescents from returned immigrant families. *Swiss Journal of Psychology*, 69(3), 131–139. doi:10.1024/1421-0185/a000015
- Neto, F. (2014). Psychometric analysis of the short-form UCLA Loneliness Scale (ULS-6) in older adults. *European Journal of Ageing*, 11(4), 313–319. doi:10.1007/s10433-014-0312-1
- Neto, F., & Barros, J. (2007). Satisfaction with life among adolescents from Portuguese immigrant families in Switzerland. *Swiss Journal of Psychology*, 66(4), 215–223. doi:10.1024/1421-0185.66.4.215
- Neto, F., Barros, J., & Barros, A. (1990). Satisfação com a vida. In L. Almeida, R. Santiago, P. Silva, L. Oliveira, O. Caetano, & J. Marques (Eds.), *A acção educativa: Análise psico-social* (pp. 91–100). Leiria, Portugal: ESEL./APPORT.
- Neto, F., & Fonseca, A. C. (2016). The satisfaction with migration life scale. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 54, 47–54. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2016.07.004
- Neto, F., & Guse, T. (2018). Predictors of mental health among Angolan migrants living in Portugal. *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care*, 14(2), 146–159. doi:10.1108/IJMHSC-03-2017-0006
- Neto, F., & Mullet, E. (2014). A prototype analysis of the Portuguese concept of saudade. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 45(4), 660–670. doi:10.1177/0022022113518370
- Neto, F., & Mullet, E. (in press). The correlates of saudade: Negative affect, neuroticism, gender, and loneliness.
- Nguyen, A. D., & Benet-Martinez, V. (2013). Biculturalism and adjustment: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 44(1), 122–159. doi:10.1177/0022022111435097
- Pascoe, E. A., & Richman, L. (2009). Perceived discrimination and health: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 135(4), 531–554. doi:10.1037/a0016059
- Peplau, L. A., & Perlman, D. (1982). Perspectives on loneliness. In L. Peplau & D. Perlman (Eds.), *Loneliness: A sourcebook of current theory, research, and therapy* (pp. 1–20). New York, NY: Wiley-Interscience.
- Phinney, J. S. (1992). The multigroup ethnic identity measure. A new scale for use with adolescents and young adults from diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 7, 156–176. doi:10.1177/074355489272003
- Phinney, J. (2003). Ethnic identity and acculturation. In K. M. Chun, P. B. Organista, & G. Marín (Eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in theory, measurement, and applied research* (pp. 63–81). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Phinney, J. S., Madden, T., & Santos, L. J. (1998). Psychological variables as predictors of perceived discrimination among minorities and immigrant adolescents. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 28, 937–953. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.1998.tb01661.x
- Rosch, E. (1978). Principles of categorization. In E. Rosch & B. B. Loyd (Eds.), *Cognition and categorization* (pp. 27–71). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Rokach, A. (2012). Loneliness updated: An introduction. *The Journal of Psychology*, 146, 1–6. doi:10.1080/00223980.2012.629501
- Russell, D. W., Cutrona, C. E., McRae, C., & Gomez, M. (2012). Is loneliness the same as being alone?. *The Journal of Psychology*, 146, 7–22. doi:10.1080/00223980.2011.589414

- Russell, D., Peplau, L., & Cutrona, C. (1980). The revised UCLA Loneliness scale: Concurrent and discriminant validity evidence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 39(3), 472–480. doi:[10.1037/0022-3514.39.3.472](https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.39.3.472)
- Sam, D. L., & Berry, J. W. (2016). *The Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:[10.1017/CBO9781316219218](https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316219218)
- Schmitt, M. T., Branscombe, N. R., Postmes, T., & Garcia, A. (2014). The consequences of perceived discrimination for psychological well-being: A meta-analytic review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 140(4), 921–948. doi:[10.1037/a0035754](https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035754)
- Sequeira Neto, J. (2014). *Cultural competence among Ukrainian economic immigrants living in Portugal* (Unpublished master dissertation). Faculdade de Economia: Universidade do Porto.
- Shin, D. C., & Johnson, D. M. (1978). Avowed happiness as an overall assessment of the quality of life. *Social Indicators Research*, 5(1–4), 475–492. doi:[10.1007/BF00352944](https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00352944)
- Silva, S. (2012). Saudade: A key Portuguese emotion. *Emotion Review*, 4, 203–211. doi:[10.1177/1754073911430727](https://doi.org/10.1177/1754073911430727)
- Vasconcelos, M. C. (1996). *A saudade portuguesa* [Portuguese saudade]. Lisboa, Portugal: Guimarães Editors.
- Ward, C., Bochner, S., & Furnham, A. (2001). *The psychology of culture shock* (2nd ed.). Hove, UK: Routledge. doi:[10.4324/9780203992258](https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203992258)
- Ward, C., & Kennedy, A. (1999). The measurement of sociocultural adaptation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 23, 659–677. doi:[10.1016/S0147-1767\(99\)00014-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0147-1767(99)00014-0)
- Wilson, J., Ward, C., & Fischer, R. (2013). Beyond culture learning theory: What can personality tell us about. *Cultural Competence? Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 44, 900–927. doi:[10.1177/0022022113492889](https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022113492889)
- Zhou, X., Sedikides, C., Wildschut, T., & Gao, D. G. (2008). Countering loneliness: On the restorative function of nostalgia. *Psychological Science*, 19, 1023–1029. doi:[10.1111/j.1467-9280.2008.02194.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2008.02194.x)