Intercultural Relations Among Cape Verdean Immigrants Living in Portugal

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Abstract

This study examines intercultural relations among Cape Verdean immigrants living in Portugal. Seven specific predictions based on three general hypotheses (multiculturalism hypothesis, contact hypothesis and integration hypothesis) were tested. The sample of this research consisted of 283 Cape Verdean migrants (51% females) with an average of 35 years. The average duration of residence in Portugal was 18 years. In line with the multiculturalism hypothesis, cultural security was positively related to integration, tolerance and cultural identity. The contact hypothesis was also supported, as intercultural contact was related to positive intergroup attitudes. Regarding the integration hypothesis, psychological adaptation and intercultural adaptation were predicted by integration, whilst sociocultural adaptation was only predicted by marginalisation. Thus, the integration hypothesis was partially supported for Cape Verdean immigrants living in Portugal. Findings are discussed considering the existing literature.

Keywords Acculturation strategies · Adaptation · Cape Verdean migrants · Tolerance · Portugal

The purpose of this study is to test a specific number of predictions based on the multiculturalism hypothesis, the contact hypothesis, and the integration hypothesis, derived from theoretical propositions on interethnic relations in plural societies (Berry 2013) among Cape Verdean immigrants living in Portugal.

All modern societies are multicultural, and Portugal is no exception. Multiculturalism concerns this demographic fact, that is, most societies around the world are now culturally diverse, as well as an ideology (Berry and Ward 2016). Multiculturalism as an ideology refers to general attitudes about their acceptance or rejection of this diversity. In this line, according to Berry (2013), a core element of multiculturalism is that of equitable

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participation. "A view of multiculturalism that only considers the existence of cultural diversity may lead to the emergence of separate cultural groups within a diverse society" (Berry and Ward 2016, p. 441). The achievement of a successful multicultural society requires not only to take into consideration the cultural diversity, but also social equity and inclusion. Following this view, multiculturalism stresses both presence of culturally diverse populations as well as equality and inclusion of this people.

Context of Intercultural Relations in Portugal

Several international surveys have called our attention to policies and practices of multiculturalism (Banting and Kymlicka 2013; MIPEX 2015; Vigdor 2011). These three surveys include information about Portugal.

The Multiculturalism Policy Index (MPI) tracks the evolution of the multiculturalism policies (MCPs) across 21 OECD countries (Banting and Kymlicka 2013). The authors of this index point out that "the Multiculturalism Policy Index is distinctive in focusing exclusively on MCPs designed to recognize, accommodate and support the cultural differences of minority groups in a large number (21) of Western democracies" (Banting and Kymlicka 2013, p. 583). The MPI score for Portugal rose from 1 in 1980 to 2 in 1990, and 3.5 in 2010. These scores outline two aspects: (a) Portugal has supported some level of multiculturalism policies across the last three decades; and (b) last decade has seen a strengthening of multiculturalism policies in Portugal.

The "Migrant Integration Policy Index" (MIPEX 2015) includes indicators of migrant integration in a number of domains: labour mobility, family reunion, education, political participation, long-term residence, access to nationality and anti-discrimination laws; it also presents an overall score. The overall ranking places Sweden in first place and Portugal in second place among 38 countries.

The "Immigrant Assimilation in North America and Europe" (Vigdor 2011) assesses immigrant involvement in civic, cultural and economic domains of the large society. The overall immigrant incorporation ranking places Canada in first place and Portugal in the second place. Then, the ranking of Portugal on the three surveys seems consonant, showing a country where multiculturalism and pluralism are greatly valued. These indices reflect the evolution of integration policies "from a *laissez-faire* policy in the 1980s to reluctant assimilationist policies in the early 1990s and to a more pluralist approach from the late 1990s to the present" (Malheiros and Horta 2008, p. 108, p. 108). Currently Portugal seems to provide a positive context for diverse cultural communities (Berry 2017).

Cape Verdeans Living in Portugal

Whilst there are issues common to all immigrants, some issues may differ according to their historical background and familiarity with the society of settlement (Wilks and Neto 2016). Cape Verde is an archipelago lying off the coast of West Africa and was discovered by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century. It became a centre for the transatlantic slave trade and remained a Portuguese colony for five centuries until its independence in 1975 (Arenas 2015).

The overwhelming majority of the Cape Verdean population is *mestizo* or Creole, and Cape Verdean culture is thus a mixture of Portuguese and African influences, and although the official language is Portuguese, Creole is the mother tongue of nearly all Cape Verdeans. The Catholic religion is predominant. Recurrent drought and famine pushed many Cape Verdeans to leave the islands and the population of the Cape Verdean diaspora exceeds the national population. Portugal has been a main destination for Cape Verdean emigrants (Batalha 2004a, b; Resende-Santos 2015).

Portugal itself has a long tradition of emigration, and it has become a country of mixed migratory patterns. Immigration from Cape Verde started in the 1960s (França 1992). At that time this influx was significant, as "Portugal had not experienced a migration influx for a long time, with the exception of the movement of transitory Jewish refugees escaping Nazism during the Second War World" (Batalha 2008, p. 68).

Diverse ethnocultural groups comprise the immigrant population in Portugal. According to the 2011 Census (INE 2012), 394,496 foreign citizens lived in Portugal, corresponding to 3.7% of the total population of 10,562,178. Brazilian immigrants (109,787) were the most numerous, followed by Cape Verdeans (38,895). However, this figure only counts Cape Verdean nationals, "while the number of those who consider themselves Cape Verdeans is much higher" (Batalha 2008, p. 69). Cape Verdean immigrants had a mean age of 34 years, 52% were women, 77% were single and 57% were economically active. Cape Verdean immigrants stood out for their low level of education. The Cape Verdean community lived and worked mainly in Lisbon, Setúbal and Faro areas. Men mainly worked in construction and public works and "the situation of Cape Verdean women is even worse because of the uncertainty and low pay of their work, whether as housemaids or selling goods in the street" (Ferreira 1997, p. 65). Fikes (2009) calls also our attention for the difficulties experienced by Cape Verdean women.

There are three main categories of Cape Verdeans in Portugal: (1) an elite minority, born and educated during the last decades of colonial rule. "These educated Cape Verdeans assimilated easily within mainstream Portuguese society (Batalha 2008, p. 63). (2) Students who left their home country to attend tertiary education under aegis of bilateral agreements with Portugal (Challinor 2008; Wilks and Neto 2016). (3) Immigrant workers who began to migrate to Portugal in the 1960s and their descendants (França 1992; Fikes 2009). They constitute the major part of the so-called Cape Verdean community. Our field study will approach this last category.

The Present Study

The main aim of this research is to analyse seven specific predictions based on three general hypotheses: the multiculturalism hypothesis, the contact hypothesis and the integration hypothesis.

The multiculturalism hypothesis (Berry et al. 1977) proposes that confidence in one's identity underlies the possibility of accepting "others". This confidence involves a sense of security with one's person or ethnocultural group which represents a psychological precondition to accepting "others" who are culturally different. People who feel personally and collectively insecure are less likely to be favourably oriented towards ethnic diversity and less likely to be accepting of immigrants.

Three kinds of security have been conceptualised (Berry et al. 1977): cultural; economic and personal. In the present study, we will regard cultural security as a sense that one's place (such as ethnic identity and language) has a secure status in the society. In Canada, Berry et al. (1977) found that cultural security was negatively associated with ethnocentrism, and positively to multicultural ideology and to perceived consequences of multiculturalism. In New Zealand, security was found positively associated with multicultural ideology and to attitudes towards immigrants (Ward and Masgoret 2008). Berry and Ward (2016) have also reported that dominant group members who are more accepting of a multicultural ideology have higher levels of self-esteem and life satisfaction. In Portugal, a study showed support for the multiculturalism hypothesis: when adolescents felt that their place was secure in their own plural society, they were tolerant of and more welcoming to immigrants (Neto 2009b). However, support for multiculturalism has rarely been analysed from the immigrants' view (Hui et al. 2015).

In the current study, we analyse the relation between cultural security and integration, tolerance and cultural identity among immigrants. Integration concerns the maintenance of original traits, whilst at the same time participating in the larger social networks (Berry 2017). According to Berry's (2017) model, immigrants may choose three other acculturation strategies: assimilation (only participation in the society of settlement is important), separation (only maintenance of original traits is important) and marginalisation (neither outcome is of importance).

Tolerance is a critical issue in all societies (Rapp and Freitag 2015). The concept of tolerance has acquired different meanings. In this research, it is assumed Berry's (2006) definition of tolerance as an attitude toward social equality, including two aspects: ethnic tolerance and social egalitarianism. Ethnic tolerance is opposite to ethnocentrism which tends to favour one's in group than outgroups, whereas social egalitarianism is an intolerance for social dominance orientation, supporting equal opportunities and rights (Berry 2017). Both integration and tolerance are involved in the accepting of other people in the larger society. Cultural identity is a core domain of acculturation that focuses on migrants' sense of self. It includes both ethnic and national identity (Phinney 2003). Most of the research about migration has only examined ethnic identity. However, ethnic identity and national identity are important for migrants. Both identities provide a sense of emotional stability and personal security for migrant people (Phinney et al. 2001).

The contact hypothesis (Allport 1954; Zhou et al. 2019) proposes that intercultural contacts often lead to more positive intercultural relations. This link has been evidenced in different settings (schools, work, lab experiments), usually under certain conditions (e.g. equal status of the groups in the situation, cooperation rather than competition, common goals and authority support). Intergroup friendships are likely to meet several of these conditions (Gieling et al. 2014). Research has shown that contact in neighbourhood and social settings leads to more positive attitudes towards minority members (Voci and Hewstone 2003; Ward and Masgoret 2008). A meta-analysis provides support for the contact hypothesis: intergroup contact in general relates negatively to prejudice in both majority and minority members (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006).

Past research has found reciprocal effects between contact and intergroup attitudes. For example, contacts predict prejudice negatively, whilst negative intergroup attitudes lead to fewer contacts (Pettigrew 2008). In the current study, we explore whether

positive intergroup attitudes among immigrants predict intercultural contact. As indicators of intergroup attitudes, we will consider perceived discrimination, tolerance and attitudes toward the national group.

The integration hypothesis (Berry 1997) argues that the integration strategy (when immigrants have a desire for both cultural contact and cultural maintenance) is more beneficial for adaptation than assimilation, separation and especially marginalisation strategies. Two forms of adaptation have been outlined (Ward et al. 2001): psychological adaptation and sociocultural adaptation. Psychological adaptation refers to good mental health and satisfaction in the society of settlement. Sometimes it is called "feeling well". Sociocultural adaptation concerns the competence in daily intercultural living, sometimes called "doing well". This hypothesis has been supported by many studies for both kinds of adaptation (e.g. Berry et al. 2006; Brown et al. 2013; Nguyen and Benet-Martinez 2013; Abu-Rayya and Sam 2016; Ward and Geeraert 2016; Haeni Hoti et al. 2017). For example, Berry and Sabatier (2010) studied young immigrants in Canada and France. They showed that integration was linked to better adaptation and marginalisation to poorer adaptation in both countries. In Portugal, Neto (2010) found that integration was significantly and positively related to psychological adaptation and sociocultural adaptation among immigrant youth from Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, India, Mozambique, São-Tomé and East Timor.

Intercultural adaptation has more recently been identified as a third form of adaptation, in addition to psychological adaptation and sociocultural adaptation (Berry 2015). Intercultural adaptation concerns the degree to which people are able to establish harmonious intercultural relations with others, including low levels of prejudice and discrimination. It can be called "relating well". We will consider tolerance as an indicator of intercultural adaptation. In the present study, we examine whether integration has more benefits for the three forms of adaptation of immigrants than the other intercultural strategies.

Research Hypotheses

According to the aforementioned research, seven specific hypotheses were tested:

1. The multiculturalism hypothesis: the higher immigrants' security, the higher is their propensity to accept those who are culturally different. Specifically:

   H_{1a} Higher cultural security would predict higher integration acculturation strategy.
   H_{1b} Higher cultural security would predict higher tolerance.
   H_{1c} Higher cultural security would predict higher both kinds of cultural identity (ethnic identity and national identity).

2. The intercultural contact hypothesis: the higher intercultural contact (under certain conditions, namely that of equality), the higher mutual acceptance. Specifically:

   H2 Higher positive intergroup attitudes would predict higher intercultural contact.

3. The integration hypothesis: immigrants who prefer the integration strategy have higher psychological, sociocultural and intercultural adaptation. Specifically:

H$_{3a}$ Higher integration strategy would predict higher psychological adaptation.
H$_{3b}$ Higher integration strategy would predict higher sociocultural adaptation.
H$_{3c}$ Higher integration strategy would predict higher intercultural adaptation.

Method

Participants

The participants were 283 Cape Verdean migrants whose ages ranged from 19 to 65 years ($M = 35.33$; $SD = 11.27$). All the participants were of Cape Verdean nationality. Participants described themselves as Cape Verdeans and had two Cape Verdean parents. Fifty-one percent were female. They had lived in Portugal for an average of 18 years ($SD = 9.71$) at the time of the study. Migrants who were married constituted 51.9% of the sample, single 47% and 1.1% declined to answer. As regards employment, the modal category was unskilled work (31.4%). Regarding education, 41% had not concluded secondary education, 30.4% had concluded secondary education and 26.1% attended tertiary education. In terms of religious affiliation, 65% were Roman Catholics, as reflected in Table 1.

Measures

This research employed some scales from the "Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies" (MIRIPS) project (Berry 2017). These scales have been translated into Portuguese and adapted for use in Portugal in former international projects (International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth -ICSEY- Berry et al. 2006; Neto 2006; and International Study of Attitudes Towards Immigration and Settlement -ISATIS- Berry and Kalin 1995; Neto 2009b). In this study, we employed the following responses on a 5-point scale: 1, strongly disagree; 2, disagree; 3, not sure/neutral; 4, agree; 5, strongly agree.

Acculturation Strategies Based on the Acculturation Attitudes Scale (Berry et al. 1989; see also Neto 2002), we measured acculturation strategies with a 20-item scale. The scale assesses four acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation. Each acculturation strategy was measured with five items assessing five domains of life: culture traditions, languages, social activities, friends and music. A sample item includes "I prefer social activities which involve Portuguese only". Internal consistencies of assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation were .75, .60, .61 and .70, respectively.

Cultural Identity Cultural identity was measured with a scale originally developed by (Phinney 1992; Neto and Wilks 2017). The scale assessed Cape Verdean identity with 4 items (e.g. "I feel that I am part of Cape Verdean culture") ($\alpha = .89$). The

Table 1 Sociodemographic characteristics of the Cape Verdean immigrants

	Cape Verdeans (N = 283)
Mean age (SD)	35.33 (11.27)
Gender	
Male	139 (49.1%)
Female	144 (50.9%)
Mean years in Portugal (SD)	17.96 (9.71)
Marital status	
Married	147 (51.9%)
Not Married	133 (47%)
Not answered	3 (1.1%)
Level of education	
Less than secondary school	116 (41%)
Secondary school	86 (30.4%)
Tertiary education	74 (26.1%)
Not answered	7 (2.5%)
Work	
Unskilled work	89 (31.4%)
Skilled work	87 (30.7%)
Managerial work	24 (8.5%)
Professional work	9 (3.2%)
Without work	71 (25.1%)
Not answered	3 (1.1%)
Religion	
No religion	44 (15.5%)
Roman Catholic	184 (65%)
Protestant	29 (10.2%)
Other	20 (7.1%)
Not answered	6 (2.1%)

other scale (4 items) assessed Portuguese identity (e.g. "I am happy that I am Portuguese") ($\alpha = .94$).

Tolerance This scale is a 11-item self-report (Berry 2006; Berry and Kalin 1995; Neto 2009b) measuring both one's ethnic tolerance (6 items; e.g. "It is good to have people from different ethnic groups living in the same country"), and social egalitarianism (5 items; e.g. "If people were treated more equally we would have fewer problems in this country") ($\alpha = .62$).

Intercultural Contacts To assess intercultural contacts of immigrants with native Portuguese, we asked participants about the number of close friends and frequency of contact with them (e.g. "How often do you meet with Portuguese people?") (Neto and Fonseca 2016) ($\alpha = .74$).

Perceived Discrimination This scale consists of 5 items (Berry et al. 2006; Neto 2006; Neto and Wilks 2017) assessing the direct experience of discrimination—negative or unfair treatment from others (e.g. "I have been teased or insulted because of my (ethnic/ national) background"). The internal consistency of this scale was .88.

Attitudes Towards Nationals The "feeling thermometer" was used to assess attitudes towards nationals. It is a 100-point scale used to indicate the favourability toward Portuguese (0 = extremely unfavourable, 100 = extremely favourable).

Sociocultural Adaptation Sociocultural adaptation was assessed with a 20-item scale (Ward and Kennedy 1999; Sequeira Neto 2014). Migrants indicated how much difficulty (from no difficulty, 1 to many difficulties, 5) they experienced whilst living in the society of settlement (e.g. "The pace of life" and "Going to social gatherings"). Items were recoded positively. Cronbach's alpha was .91.

Psychological Adaptation This was assessed with three indicators: Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS, Diener et al. 1985; Neto 1993, 1995), Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg 1965; Neto 1996) and Psychological Problems Scale (PPS, Berry et al. 2006; Neto 2009a). The SWLS consists of 5 items which assess global life satisfaction (e.g. "The conditions of my life are excellent."). The RSES is a 10-item inventory assessing feelings of self-worth (e.g. "I take a positive attitude to myself"). The PPS includes 15 items assessing depression, anxiety and psychosomatic symptoms with a 5-point scale ranging from never (1) to all the time (5) (e.g. "My thoughts are confused").

Cultural Security This scale has been used previously in the Portuguese cultural context (Neto 2009a, b). It includes 5 items (e.g. "There is room for a variety of languages and cultures in this country"). (α = .75).

Demographic Information In addition, respondents were requested to indicate their age, gender, place of birth, both parents place of birth, age at arrival (if born abroad), level of education and current occupation.

Procedure

The data were collected by two research assistants in the Lisbon Metropolitan area. It was used a convenience sample, recruited through snowball sampling using personal contacts as well as community groups. Drawing a convenience sample is suitable in cross-cultural research when the researcher does not have access to an accurate list of entire population, as is the case of migrants (Lonner and Berry 1986). The response rate was 85%. Participants were informed about the purpose of the research, the voluntariness of participation and the anonymity of responses. All procedures performed in studies involving human participants were in accordance with the national ethical standards and of the 1864 Helsinki declaration and its amendments or comparable ethical standards. Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants in the study and they were informed that they were free to withdraw participation at every

moment without any kind of retaliation. The questionnaires were administered in Portuguese. The average length of time needed to complete the study was approximately 30 min.

Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics of each scale used were calculated. Reliability analyses were conducted for all scales used in this research to make sure of their adequate internal reliability. The exploratory factor analysis was conducted to examine whether life satisfaction, self-esteem and psychological problems could be aggregated as indictors of psychological adaptation (Neto 2012; Hui et al. 2015). One sample t tests were performed with the acculturation strategies. Hierarchical multiple regressions were used to test whether cultural security predicted integration, tolerance and cultural identity. Hierarchical multiple regressions were also performed to predict intercultural contact, and the three kinds of adaptation. IBM SPSS statistical software (version 24.0) and a significant level (p) of less than 0.05 were used for all the statistical analyses.

Results

Prior to testing the hypotheses, preliminary analyses were conducted in order to examine the psychometric properties of the scales. Descriptive statistics and reliability coefficients of the measures used in this research are presented in Table 2. Cronbach alphas were estimated to check scalar reliability of the scales containing multiple items. The Cronbach alpha reliability coefficients for the scales showed acceptable internal consistency in this sample of immigrants.

To test the multiculturalism hypothesis, we examine the relationships between cultural security and the integration strategy, tolerance, ethnic and cultural identity. Accordingly, to test whether cultural security predicted integration, tolerance and cultural identity, hierarchical multiple regressions were conducted. Before conducting the regression analyses, collinearity diagnostics was examined to ensure that the variance inflation factor did not exceed 10. This will be done in all multiple regressions which will next be conducted. To control for the possible confounding effects of age and gender, these variables were entered in the first blocks and the other independent variables in the second blocks. Regarding integration, the regression demonstrated that 7% of the total variance could be explained by independent variables, $F(3, 279) = 6.81$, $p < .001$. Cultural security was predicted by integration ($\beta = .20$, $p < .001$).

As regards tolerance, the regression demonstrated that 10% of the total variance could be explained by independent variables, $F(3, 277) = 10.30$, $p < .001$. Cultural security was predicted by tolerance ($\beta = .27$, $p < .001$). Regarding ethnic identity, the regression demonstrated that 22% of the total variance could be explained by independent variables, $F(3, 278) = 25.42$, $p < .001$. Cultural security was predicted by ethnic identity ($\beta = .43$, $p < .001$). Finally, as regards national identity, the regression demonstrated that 11% of the total variance could be explained by independent variables, $F(3, 278) = 11.27$, $p < .001$. Cultural security was predicted by gender ($\beta = .12$, $p < .05$) and national identity ($\beta = .28$, $p < .001$). So H_{1a}, H_{1b}, and H_{1c} are supported by the data.

Table 2 Means, standard deviations and reliability coefficients of the measures for the Cape Verdeans immigrants

	M	SD	Number of items	Cronbach's α
Integration	3.67	.77	5	.60
Assimilation	2.35	.81	5	.75
Separation	2.52	.77	5	.61
Marginalisation	1.95	.72	5	.70
Ethnic identity	4.49	.76	4	.89
National identity	2.74	1.39	4	.94
Intercultural contacts with Portuguese	3.67	.75	2	.74
Attitudes towards Portuguese	80.8	26.1	1	–
Perceived discrimination	2.04	.99	5	.88
Tolerance	3.73	.54	11	.62
Sociocultural adaptation	3.56	.78	20	.91
Self-esteem	3.76	.69	10	.77
Satisfaction with life	3.30	.91	5	.86
Psychological problems	2.66	.80	15	.91
Cultural security	3.65	.64	5	.75

Hierarchical multiple regressions were also performed to predict *intercultural contact*. Perceived discrimination, tolerance and attitudes toward Portuguese were entered in the second block. The regression displayed that 8% of the total variance in intercultural contact could be explained by independent variables, $F(5, 275) = 4.62$, $p < .001$. The effects of gender, perceived discrimination, tolerance and attitudes toward Portuguese were significant. Intercultural contact was positively predicted by gender ($\beta = .14$, $p < .05$), tolerance ($\beta = .22$, $p < .001$) and positive attitudes towards Portuguese ($\beta = .22$, $p < .001$), and negatively predicted by perceived discrimination ($\beta = -.22$, $p < .001$). These results confirm our hypothesis 2.

To evaluate the integration hypothesis, we first examined whether the constructs of satisfaction with life, self-esteem and psychological problems could be aggregated as indicators of psychological adaptation. Principal component analyses were performed. For the Cape Verdean immigrants, one factor was found (eigenvalue greater than 1 as criteria) to account for 50.53% of the variance. Factor scores for self-esteem, satisfaction with life and psychological problems (reversed) were used as indicators of psychological adaptation.

One sample *t* tests displayed that the mean score of the integration strategy ($M = 3.67$) was significantly greater than the midpoint (3) of the scale ($p < .001$). Also, mean scores of assimilation, separation and marginalisation were significantly smaller than the midpoint of the scales (all $ps < .001$). An inspection of these average scores showed two groupings among Cape Verdean immigrants: the integration strategy was clearly on the preferred side; the other three acculturation strategies were not preferred.

Hierarchical multiple regressions were performed to predict the three kinds of adaptation (see Table 3). To control for the possible confounding effects of age and

Table 3 The results of the hierarchical regression analyses (β) on the predictors of adaptation outcomes

Variables	Psychological adaptation		Sociocultural adaptation		Intercultural adaptation	
	Block 1, β	Block 2, β	Block 1, β	Block 2, β	Block 1, β	Block 2, β
Age	− .18***	− .10	− .16**	− .19*	− .14*	− .04
Gender	− .01	− .02	.02	.03	.01	.01
Integration		.16**		− .01		.24***
Assimilation		− .28***		− .10		− .16*
Separation		− .07		− .03		− .13*
Marginalisation		− .03		− .26**		− .26***
R^2	.03	.15	.03	.12	.02	.28
Adjusted R^2	.03	.14	.02	.10	.01	.26
F change	4.60*	9.94***	3.81	6.49***	2.89	24.31***

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

gender, they were entered in the first block. The four intercultural strategies were entered in the second block. For these immigrants, the regression showed that 15% of the total variance in psychological adaptation could be explained by independent variables, $F(6, 276) = 8.36$, $p < .001$. Psychological adaptation was positively predicted by integration ($\beta = .16$, $p < .01$), and negatively predicted by assimilation ($\beta = −.28$, $p < .001$). These results support hypothesis 3a.

Regarding sociocultural adaptation, the regression demonstrated that 12% of the total variance could be explained by independent variables, $F(6, 276) = 5.70$, $p < .001$. Sociocultural adaptation was negatively predicted by age ($\beta = −.19$, $p < .05$) and marginalisation ($\beta = −.26$, $p < .001$). These results do not support hypothesis 3b.

Finally, we have considered tolerance, as indicator of intercultural adaptation. The regression showed that 28% of the total variance in tolerance could be explained by independent variables, $F(6, 274) = 17.49$, $p < .001$. Intercultural adaptation was positively predicted by integration ($\beta = .22$, $p < .001$), and negatively predicted by assimilation ($\beta = −.16$, $p < .05$), separation ($\beta = −13$, $p < .05$) and marginalisation ($\beta = −.26***$, $p < .001$). These results support hypothesis 3c.

Discussion

In the current study, we tested specific predictions based on three general hypotheses (multiculturalism, contact and integration) among Cape Verdean immigrants living in Portugal. In order to test the multiculturalism hypothesis, we analysed the relationship between cultural security and the integration strategy, tolerance and cultural identity. The multiculturalism hypothesis found support in the current study. On the one hand, cultural security was related to higher integration (H_{1a}) and tolerance (H_{1b}); on the other hand, cultural security was related to stronger ethnic identity and national identity (H_{1c}).

The strength of ethnic and national identities provides evidence on the extent to which immigrants retain their sense of belonging to their original ethnocultural group and their sense of becoming member of the society of settlement. A strong cultural identity is predicted by security, not only at the personal level as shown by Phinney et al. (2001), but also at the cultural level as evidenced in the current study. Past research has found support for the multiculturalism hypothesis among the native population in the Portuguese cultural context (Neto 2009a), and the present study found support for this hypothesis among an immigrant group.

Regarding the contact hypothesis, we examined the relation between intercultural contact and intergroup attitudes. Current findings showed support for this hypothesis, as positive intergroup attitudes predicted intercultural contact. Lower perceived discrimination, higher tolerance and positive attitudes towards the Portuguese were significantly related to more intensity of contacts. These results are consonant with prior investigation which showed that intergroup contact was positively related to positive intergroup attitudes among minority groups (Pettigrew 2008).

In the current study, we also tested the integration hypothesis, whether preference for an integration strategy had more benefit for three kinds of immigrant adaptation than for other intercultural strategies (H_{3a}, H_{3b} and H_{3c}). We found partial confirmation of the expectations that integration will predict adaptation of immigrants: a preference for the integration among Cape Verdean immigrants predicted their psychological and intercultural adaptation, but not their sociocultural adaptation.

The results presented in this study paint a clear pattern among Cape Verdean immigrants. They tend to endorse a preference for integration. As expected, psychological adaptation was predicted by a preference for integration (H_{3a}). This result is in accordance with a meta-analysis which showed that integration ("biculturalism" in their terms) was significantly and positively related to psychological adaptation (e.g. life satisfaction, positive affect and self-esteem) (Nguyen and Benet-Martinez 2013). However, our findings are not in accord with this meta-analysis, which also showed a significant and positive relationship with sociocultural adaptation (e.g. academic achievement, career success, social skills, lack of behavioural problems). Current findings were less clear-cut when we examined the connection between integration and sociocultural adaptation. On the one hand, the evidence demonstrated that integration was linked with enhanced sociocultural adaptation among adolescents (Neto 2010). On the other hand, studies examining immigrants suggest that this effect can be observed in the short-term following emigration, but not later (Jasinskaja-Lahati et al. 2011). In fact, the mean length of residence of our simple in the society of settlement was 18 years. Thus, the integration hypothesis does not hold true with regard to sociocultural adaptation among those immigrants with long lengths of residence.

However, the integration hypothesis was supported with regard to the recently proposed (H_{3c}) third kind of adaptation. Intercultural adaptation was significantly associated with higher integration, and lower assimilation, separation and marginalisation. Therefore, the current study expanded the integration hypothesis to intercultural adaptation.

Our findings should be considered in light of the research limitations. Firstly, the recruitment of the immigrant sample was through the snowball technique, which limits their representativeness. Secondly, we used self-reported measures, and common method variance is a potential source of inflated relations, as well. Thirdly, the design of the study was cross-sectional, which precludes the causal inferences of the associations evidenced. In addition, considering the uniqueness of the sample, we do not know whether the present results are likely to be generalised to other ethnocultural groups, and further research will be needed to know this.

Notwithstanding these limitations, some strengths with theoretical and practical implications should be outlined. Firstly, this study indicated that there is some support for the multiculturalism hypothesis, the contact hypothesis and the integration hypothesis. This general picture lends support for the apparent universality of the three psychological principles of intercultural relations (of providing a secure environment, of opportunities of equitable intercultural contact and participation and of ways to be engaged in more than one culture) (Berry 2017). These principles on intercultural relations suggest how to move towards achieving a more harmonious multicultural society.

Current findings also provide insights to design social policies and programs to enhance intercultural relations among Cape Verdean immigrants living in Portugal. Firstly, intercultural education programs should attempt to enhance the sense of perceived security among Cape Verdeans in the larger society. Secondly, programs should reduce perceived discrimination of Cape Verdean immigrants since its effects can be harmful for their well-being. Thirdly, the preference for integration was positively associated with greater psychological adaptation and intercultural adaptation; and the preference for marginalisation was negatively associated with sociocultural adaptation. Hence, programs should promote the integration of Cape Verdeans by providing opportunities to maintain their culture of origin and, simultaneously, to participate in the society of settlement and to contact with Portuguese people.

Finally, on the one hand, the three general hypotheses "have usually been kept distinct conceptually, and been examined empirically separately" (Lebedeva et al. 2016, p. 35). Current findings showed that they may be interrelated. Cultural security was found to be associated with higher integration and tolerance, if used as indicator of intercultural adaptation. Tolerance was associated with more intensity of contacts and higher integration. Thus, there is empirical evidence to examine the three general hypotheses together. Future research should deepen the interrelations among the three general hypotheses.

On the other hand, tolerance appeared as a significant construct within the three general hypotheses. Practitioners should promote tolerance by providing interactions between immigrants and native population in a cooperative setting. Tolerance may be a way of coping with conflicting views, as people engaged in "heterogeneous associations are more likely to be tolerant towards other groups" (Rapp and Freitag 2015, p. 1046). Nowadays, there is empirical evidence that a cross-cultural musical programme among native people using Cape Verdean songs can improve tolerance (Neto et al. 2016, 2019). Therefore, the contribution of this study is not only theoretical, but also practical. We believe that the core conditions for positive intercultural relations among Cape Verdeans in Portugal are the presence of cultural security, friendly intercultural contacts and the promotion of integration strategy.

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