A LITERATURE REVIEW IN THE EARLY THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY

UMA REVISÃO DA LITERATURA AOS INÍCIOS DO THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY

Joaquim Filipe Peres de Castro[1]

ABSTRACT

This exploratory aimed to know the main trends, evolution, and historical background of the acculturation concept. The word acculturation did not appear, but cross-cultural comparisons were basic. The American Journal of Psychology was characterized by physiological topics. However, evolution, progress, competition and the social domain of social Darwinism were salient features. Power positions and scientific production were connected, and they were naturalized and vindicated. This relationship was reported on the importance ascribed to cultural maintenance. It was prepared due to the endeavor to find out the origin of the human culture. The contemporary research may retain old ideas related to social Darwinism, and social dominance between cultures, especially when it employs cross-cultural comparisons regarding oppressed minorities.

Keywords: Acculturation; fusion; multicultural; American Journal of Psychology

8

RESUMO

Nesta revisão da literatura pretendeu conhecer as principais tendências, evolução e o fundo histórico do conceito da aculturação. A palavra aculturação não apareceu, mas as comparações entre culturas eram fundamentais. O American Journal of Psychology caracterizou-se pelos temas fisiológicos. No entanto, a evolução, o progresso, a competição e o domínio social do darwinismo social foram características salientes. As posições de poder e a produção científica estavam interligadas, sendo naturalizadas e justificadas. Esta relação era visível na importância atribuída à manutenção cultural, feita no esforço para compreender a origem da cultura humana. A investigação contemporânea poderá reter ideias antigas relacionadas com o darwinismo social e com o domínio social entre culturas, especialmente quando emprega comparações face às minorias oprimidas.

Palavras-chave: *aculturação; fusão; multicultural; American Journal of Psychology.*

---

[1] Doutorado em Ciências Sociais pela Universidade Fernando Pessoa. E-mail: titodecastro@hotmail.com

1 INTRODUCTION

This research aimed to do a literature review about the acculturation concept in the earlier American Journal of Psychology. The initiative appeared due to previous reviews prepared in The American Anthropologist (CASTRO, 2017a), and in The American Journal of Sociology (CASTRO, 2017b, c). The current review approached the acculturation phenomenon, and it was extended to related topics, mainly to cross-cultural comparisons.

The American Journal of Psychology was edited in 1887 by Granville Stanley Hall (GREENWOOD, 2015). It was the first journal of psychology in the USA "[...] to record the progress of scientific psychology, for which no organ now exists in English." (HALL, G. S., 1887, p. 4). The British journal Mind was its precursor. In 1892, Hall created also the currently pervasive American Psychological Association (APA) (PICKREN, & RUTHERFORD, 2010). The American Journal of Psychology is still an APA's flagship *journal*.

According to Buchner (1903), in the AJP, the comparative method was one of the main research techniques, in addition to the experimental, and the use of questionnaires. Consequently, cross-cultural topics were important. The comparative psychology stressed comparisons regarding animals, cultures, genders, and children. Probably, Spencer's (1876) article '*The comparative Psychology of man*' was the first work of comparative psychology.

Spencer's Social Darwinism placed the Anglo-Saxon culture on the top of the linear evolution (LEUBA, 1896). Competition and confidence in progress were also naturalized,

> [...] this was taken to mean that competition, among individuals or corporations or among nations, was the way the real world worked ... Thus, the status quo was the order of nature and reflected the operation of the laws of nature. Those who were wealthy or successful were so because they were the most fit. Their success and wealth was natural. (PICKREN, & RUTHERFORD, 2010, p. 161)

The study of the so-called primitive cultures and children were useful, because they were considered as simplistic forms of Western culture "[...] the life of civilized man [...] which have become traceable in primitive men and children of civilized races." (BUCHNER, 1903, p. 407). Religion had great influence (BUCHNER 1903), for instance, Hall G. S. had religious education (GREENWOOD, 2015; PICKREN, & RUTHERFORD, 2010). Another

main influence was pedagogy (BUCHNER, 1903), and often psychology was integrated into educational departments.

The current literature review approached the journal from 1887 to 1922. However, the quantitative analysis only reached the year of 1903. Psychology already established some of its main topics, theories, and methodological techniques. The study of the nervous system and experimental studies may be considered as precursors of the dominant cognitive approach. The comparative psychology was the precursor of cross-cultural, and of cultural psychologies (BOAS, 1910). In 1910, psychoanalysis made its appearance in the journal (FREUD, 1910), and the psychometric knowledge was under development (SPEARMAN, 1904).

The journal was connected to the Progressive Era (PICKREN, & RUTHERFORD, 2010). Psychology was considered to have civic and pedagogical roles in order to promote human evolution. The belief in progress (HALL, S. 1992) had its root on Henry Saint Simon (1760-1825) (MUSSO, 2017).

At the methodological level, Wundt stated that the role of psychology was equivalent to the Natural Sciences, "[...] development of the physical organism aims to understand not merely the genesis of the particular organs [...] An analogous purpose should underlie an account of the mental development of any human community and, finally, of mankind itself. (WUNDT, 1916, p. XII)". Wundt's quote encompassed a comparison, and a hierarchy of cultures. In fact, the supposed superior cultures imposed their powers, and the scientific narratives should be included on those powers, because they vindicated the asymmetric power relationships.

In the AJP, the acculturation topic rarely appeared. However, related topics appeared frequently, e.g., cross-cultural comparisons, and ethnic identity. Acculturation encompassed intercultural contact, and learning between different cultures. Yet, the word acculturation got an ambiguous meaning (RUDMIN, WANG, & CASTRO, 2017). Probably, Powell (1880) coined the word acculturation (RUDMIN, 2009), and it was connected to learning a second culture. However, after that, Powell (1895) stated that the American Indigenous needed to be

socialized to the Western culture. It acknowledged an asymmetrical power relationship, and a cultural imposition.

The issue placed on the Wundt quote was also connected to the endeavor of anthropology. Anthropology aimed to record, to save and to study cultures in order to know the origin of the human culture. Cultural maintenance is a decent behavior. However, it was a scientific project embedded in a teleological aim, because the so-called primitive cultures were considered as simpler forms of the socialized (written) Western culture. Furthermore, it presumed intercultural relationships under asymmetric power positions, and the so-called primitive cultures would (or should) disappear, due to the Western industrial and military development. Hence, the Western culture and its scientific production acknowledged social dominance, and even genocides. In addition, the saved cultural content was done according to the Western point of view. Later, the scientific production would be taught by socialization, and diffused by enculturation (GOODY, 2006), and acculturated to additional cultures, including to the decimated cultures. Therefore, some cultural content was maintained, but the dominated cultures changed completely. Psychology participated in its universalistic and Western endeavor.

The author has no intention at the present article to provide an extended and detailed history of acculturation in cross-cultural psychology. He only put together some observations on certain topics which seemed significant for the acculturation topic.

2 ACCULTURATION'S DEFINITION

The acculturation phenomenon may be defined by its main dimensions, i.e., intercultural contact, mutual interactions between different cultures (REDFIELD, LINTON, & HERSKOVITS, 1936), by learning a second culture (POWELL, 1880; RUDMIN, 2009), and by cultural changes at individual (GRAVES, 1967) and collective levels (MALINOWSKI, 1958; REDFIELD, ET AL., 1936).

3 ACCULTURATION MODELS

The acculturation topic is often approached by four models, i.e., assimilation, multicultural, fusion, and intercultural (CASTRO, 2012, 2014a, b, 2015, 2016a, b, c, d, e, e, 2018; CASTRO, & RUDMIN, 2016). According to Castro (2015), in the assimilation model, the minority culture is expected to disappear. The mutual learning will not be reported on the expected outcome, because the minority will be completely assimilated. The European policies in the 19th century, and the Chicago School (PARK, 1928) were examples of the assimilation model. Today, the assimilation model is applied in sociology (CASTRO, & RUDMIN, 2017).

In the multicultural model, the minority culture is expected to adapt and, at the same time, to maintain its culture. In the multicultural model, only the minority is learning, and both cultures are interacting only at the larger society. The WASP culture (White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant), and the Berry Model (2001) are examples of the multicultural approach. The multicultural model is pervasive in psychology.

12

Castro (2017) tried to explore the roots of the multicultural model. Usually, multicultural model's roots are ascribed to Kallen's article (1915, Feb 18). However, he prescribed to the USA a political federation, and the European ethnic identities would be separated by those borders. In the American Journal of Sociology, Park (1914) pointed out to multiculturalism as a future outcome, because "[...] a bi-racial organization of society, in which the Negro is gradually gaining a limited autonomy" (p. 623). Later, Bateson (1935) also pointed out to multiculturalism as an outcome, and it was "[...] the persistence of both groups in dynamic equilibrium within one major community." (p. 74). In the American Anthropologist, multiculturalism was described by Tax (1941), Vogt (1955), and Polgar (1960). According to them, the mutual recognition resulted in different cultures living in the same territory with no further cultural changes, regardless continuous contact. The multicultural model had a good feature, i.e., cultural maintenance. It was a respectable feature in comparison to the forced assimilation and fusion. However, it may maintain asymmetric power positions between cultural groups, and may establish durable cultural differentiations. According to Polgar (1960), Tax, (1941), and Vogt (1955), the recognition of cultural

differences gave place to different cultures living in the same territory. The relationship between or among different cultures was expected to be only functional and economic. Consequently, the relationship was reduced to the minimum, and the permanent intercultural contact was not expected to trigger further cultural changes. In the 19th century, Herbert Spencer also praised minimal interactions among different cultures in order to achieve cultural maintenance and diversity (CASTRO, 2017b).

In the fusion model, there is interaction, mutual learning between different cultures, and there are cultural mixtures (HERSKOVITS, 1938; RUDMIN, 2003c; SIMONS, 1901). Cultural mixtures are expected to produce a new culture with internal diversity (BASTIDE, 1973; CASTRO, 2012, 2014a, b, 2015, 2016a, b, d). The Freyre theory (1986/1933; RUDMIN, WANG, & CASTRO, 2016), and Alexander the Great (SIMONS, 1901) were examples of the fusion model.

In the intercultural model, at the private and the individual levels the minority may change or maintain its cultural legacy, due to the laissez-faire. However, the minority at the public level is expected to adopt the majority culture, for instance, at the labor and the educational domains. At the institutional level, the interaction between different cultures is reduced. The universalistic values of the French Republic may be an example of the model, because its institutional values are not expected to change, due to the minority agency. According to Taylor (2012), the intercultural model entailed interaction, but the multicultural did not.

4 AJP'S CULTURAL BACKGROUND REGARDING OTHER JOURNALS

At the end of the 19th-century and at the beginning of the 20th-century, social sciences were not well differentiated, for instance, Spencer (1855) mixed them. Furthermore, Hall G. S. (1913) also wrote in the American Journal of Sociology, and he wrote that psychology and sociology were connected due to the intercultural relationships.

Castro (2017a) did a literature review in the earlier American Anthropologist, and psychology was a main research field with 17.8% of the articles. In the American Journal of

13

Sociology, Castro (2017b) reported that psychology got 4%. It was one of the largest outcomes, and anthropology only got 0.5%. Consequently, psychology was the main social science to anthropology and sociology. In the current review, it was possible to state that The AJP was more connected to anthropology than to sociology. The journal had one section ascribed to anthropological psychology, and Boas (1910) contributed to the journal. Furthermore, Boas and Hall G. S. studied with Wundt. Later, psychological concepts were applied to anthropology, and it was fostered by Boas. The origin of the human culture, and mainly how it was transmitted and affected behavior were common topics between psychology and anthropology. Another main contribution was prepared by Chamberlain.

According to Castro (2017a), in the American Anthropologist studies barely considered the main dimensions of the acculturation concept, as they were defined in the current research. According to Castro (2017a), assimilation and, in a lesser degree, fusion were the preferred models. The American Indigenous was the main researched cultural group. The multicultural model appeared in the earlier literature, yet it was related to fusion (POLGAR, 1960; TAX, 1941; VOGT, 1955). In the American Journal of Sociology (CASTRO, 2017b), the pervasive model was the multicultural. Some features of the multicultural model were grounded in the 19th century, and in the liberal WASP culture. In the American Journal of Sociology integration of differentiated categories of thought, races, genders, and migrants were organized mainly by the ideas of progress, competition, and social dominance (CASTRO, 2017b), and it impaired the culture of the separated but equal (MYRDAL, 1944).

4.1 Colonial background

The ideas of progress, competition, and social dominance were also pervasive in the AJP. For the current review, the main problem was not connected to cultural maintenance (multiculturalism), assimilation, and fusion. The problem was grounded in asymmetric power relationships, and social dominance (CASTRO, 2016e). The main problem with the multicultural model was that maintenance was achieved without an egalitarian relationship, but rather the opposite. In fact, the WASP dominant majority changed completely the Indigenous, and the African American minorities.

In the AJP, social dominance and competitive narratives were important features, and they were grounded in Spencer's Social Darwinism, because "[…] no greater intellectual infusion into psychology" (BUCHNER, 1903, p. 406).

The acculturation concept appeared in colonial and imperial times (RUDMIN, WANG, & CASTRO, 2016; CASTRO, 2016b). The concept gained an ambiguous meaning since Powell (CASTRO, 2016b). In sociology and psychology researchers were not often aware of this historical background. Another problem was that the assimilation, the multicultural, and the fusion models were expected outcomes in the future, and it led to a normative and prescriptive research, instead of descriptive (MILLER, 1924).

Acculturation (learning a second culture) was a complex reality. However, it was often approached under ideologies (RUDMIN, WANG, & CASTRO, 2016). Another bias may be grounded in social classes and professional classes (BOURDIEU, 2001), because researchers were often cosmopolitans (RUDMIN, ET AL., 2016).

According to the current review, ideologies should be under constant control (MORIN, 2005). The 20th century was shaped by deathly ideological fights. Furthermore, Gilberto Freyre (1986/1933) devised a remarkable description of the Brazilian culture, but he will remain ambiguous regarding the later Portuguese Empire (CASTRO, 2014a), and gender discrimination. As Steiner (1992) reported, culture and violence may be connected. In the current review, culture was considered under a process of fusion (CASTRO, 2016b), but it was not considered as an expected outcome in the future.

5 METHODOLOGY

The current article employed the mixed method (CLARK, & CRESWELL, 2011). Thus, qualitative and quantitative techniques were mixed, and they had not hierarchical and chronological orders. It employed secondary sources, and the theoretical rationale was grounded in the Rudmin Model (2009), and in the work of Castro (2016b, 2017c, d, e). The research started in February 2017, and it ended in December 2017.

The AJP started to be published quarterly in 1887. The articles were placed in the website Journal Storage (*JSTOR*), which is owned by Ithaka Harbors. The database covered the journal publications from 1887 to 2016. The articles with free access and in public domain were available from 1887 to 1922. The current review only downloaded articles.

The earlier publications had a small number of articles, and plenty of book reviews (HALL, & TITCHENER, 1921). The reviews reported the influence of the European production, mainly from Germany, and France, "The early debt to French and German psychologists" (BUCHNER, 1903, p. 416). The inclusion of international literature was due to pedagogic reasons, and also because the earlier production was limited. The book reviews were often divided by topics, e.g., nervous system, and anthropological psychology.

5.1 Goals

Acculturation is rooted in the anthropological literature, and those roots are presumed to influence the current psychological and sociological approaches. Cross-cultural psychology is under a deadlock in the acculturation research (BOWSKILL, LYONS, & COYLE, 2007; CRESSWELL, 2009; RUDMIN, 2003a, b, 2009; RUDMIN, ET AL., 2016). Thus, the review aimed to get a better understanding of the main trends, evolution, and historical background of the acculturation concept. The current review was divided into several phases and tasks.

5.2 Qualitative approach and the search for key topics

The observation technique (ALTMANN, 1974) employed field notes. The goal was to know the main cross-cultural topics. It was an introductory phase. The tables of content were copied to one Word file to count the works. The article references were written individually in Word files, and later they were gathered into a single Word file.

The second research phase was called of content analysis. The research explored the articles according to the words race, Negro, primitives, Indians, Indigenous, colonization, acculturation, assimilation, multicultural, immigrant, sociology, and anthropology. Initially, it was accomplished an exploratory search on 46 articles from 1887 to 1892. When a word appeared, it was necessary to check out the meaning, because sometimes they were not related to cross-cultural topics. It encompassed a fast reading. Later, the research added more works,

from the first edition in 1887 to the Vol. 56 in 1903. It totalized 216 full articles. Later, those articles that got searched words were separated and highlighted in order to read them, and to take quotes.

The word primitives appeared in 16.2% of the articles. The word race appeared in 14.8% of cases. The word race often appeared extended to species, groups, cultures, and even countries. The word Indians came out in 7.9% of the cases. The word Indigenous came out only in 0.9% of cases. The word Negro appeared in 7.4% of cases. The word anthropology came out in 4.6% of the articles, and the word sociology came into view in 3.2% of the cases. Additional words did not appear, i.e., colonization, acculturation, multicultural, and immigrant. The word assimilation appeared, but those cases were connected to physiological topics, perception, and cognition.

In October 2017, it was added more words to reinforce the outcomes. The word evolution got 28.7%. It is important to bear in mind that the word evolution was employed more by Spencer than Darwin. A word related to evolution was progress, and it came out in 23.1% of the articles. The influence of religion was confirmed, because it appeared in 19% of the articles. The word Spencer came into sight in 18.1% of the articles, and the word Darwin in fewer articles, i.e., 13.9%.

5.3 Quantitative analysis

The current research employed the same codes than in the American Anthropologist review. The aim was to stress a comparison. However, some codes did not work in the current review. The current research added one code called number of authors by article, which was absent in the American Anthropologist literature review (CASTRO, 2017a). Furthermore, it was added also another variable to encompass the psychological topics.

5.3.1 Psychological topics

In 1903, the Journal celebrated twenty-five years old, and Buchner did a review. According to Buchner (1903), the main topics were general (20%), sensation (19%), genetic, social and individual (14%), higher manifestations of mind (14%), cognition (12%), conation and movement (6%), characters of consciousness (4%), mental tests (4%), sleep, trance

17

pathology (3%), anatomy, nervous system (3%), and affection (1%). Later, Hall and Titchener (1921) wrote that the main topics were experimental and philosophy, logic, aesthetics, religious, educational, pathological, and comparative psychology.

In the current review, the options and outcomes were theoretical (13.7%), perception (13.7%), not defined (13.7%), experimental (7.5%), pathology (6.1%), neurology (5.7%), comparative (5.2%), memory (4.7%), ethology (4.2%), religion (3.8%), methods (3.8%), language (3.3%), motor (2.8%), literature review (2.4%), attention (1.9%), sensations (1.9%), dreams (1.4%), emotions (.9%), development (.9%), genetic (.9%), intelligence (.5%), cognition (.5%), and gender (.5%).

5.3.2 Year of publication

The variable year of publication got the same options than the review done in the American Anthropologist. Hence, the year of publication was codified by decade from 1880 to 1980. However, it was not robust, because the review was done only between 1887 and 1903. The first year, i.e., 1887 only had four articles, so 1.9%. Yet, they increased afterward, because were published 9.9%, and 17% in 1903. Later, the code year inserted data each two years, and the scientific production was growing, as it is visible 1887-1889 (12.7%), 1890-1892 (14.6%), 1893-1895 (10.4%), 1896-1898 (17.5%), 1899-1901 (17.9%), and 1902-1904 (26.9%).

5.3.3 Original language

In the celebrations of its 25 years old, the journal had one article written in German, and another in French. Motora (1903), who was Japanese, also published, but his work was written in English. He also published in the first edition (HALL, & MOTORA, 1887). Later, the Japanese Kakise (1911), and Yokoyama (1921) also published. Hence, articles were written mostly in English.

Later, the research considered all works from 1887 to 1903 (Vol. 14, No. 3/4). It took into account articles, books, and literature reviews. Hence, all works in the tables of content. It inserted 1270 works, and the main written language was the German with 510 cases (40.2%). Consequently, German had more written works than English. The latter language

had 489 cases, and 38.5%. French was the next language with 18.0%. Italian got 3.1%, and finally Spanish had 0.2% with only 2 cases.

5.3.4 Who wrote the article?

The majority of authors were from North America or they were working there. There were 2.4% of European articles (Edgell, 1903). As mentioned above, one author was from Japan (MOTORA, 1903), and another article had a coauthor from Japan (HALL, & MOTORA, 1887).

5.3.5 Author gender

Authors were mostly males (86.3%). Females were only 8.0% (CALKINS, 1892; CARMAN, 1899; CARTER, 1898; EDGELL, 1903; GAMBLE, 1898; HAMLIN, 1896; HILL, 1898; JACOBI, 1888; LADD-FRANKLIN, 1889; SHARP, 1899; SMITH, 1896; WASHBURN, 1903). There were two cases with both genders (.9%), consequently two or more authors with both genders. The variable also included the not found option with 4.7%.

5.3.6 Number of authors

The majority of articles had a single author (94.3%), and the articles with two authors were only 5.7%. Therefore, the scientific production was an individualistic activity.

5.3.7 Country where the research took place

The majority of articles were written in North America (98.6%), and only one was written in Central America, and two articles were not written in North American or have more than one place or no place.

5.3.8 Research field

According to Buchner (1903), education and religion were main research fields, "Psychology taught […] not by psychologists, but by pastors" (BUCHNER, 1903, p. 403). Some females were also educators, e.g., Theodate Smith. In the current review, 94.3% of articles were connected to psychology, 3.3% to education, 1.4% to medicine, and 1% to anthropology.

6 CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISONS AND SOCIAL DARWINISM

Carter (1898) tried to explain Spencer's social Darwinism employing the work of Darwin, because, according to her, Darwin encompassed "[…] explanation of the peculiarities of mind" (CARTER, 1898, p. 534). However, according to her, Darwin wrote in *Life and Letters, Vol. II*, p. 371, "[…] I did not even understand Spencer's general doctrine"

Scientific narrative and power were connected. Comparisons were stressed among races, ages, genders, and cultures sometimes to vindicated asymmetric power positions. Furthermore, comparisons displayed author's values and practices, for instance, Leuba (1896) placed the supposed Anglo-Saxon race in the highest position, because they were considered the most practical group. Hence, the presumed practical culture vindicated the Anglo-Saxon power position. Leuba reported what he praised, and also what he experienced.

Another Spencer's social Darwinism feature was competition. The minority extermination was explained by social Darwinism, "But after they became […] self-supporting members of a free society, the race instinct of carelessness and improvidence asserted itself […] But the great majority of them have not been able to do so" (DAWSON, 1900, p. 193). However, the author did not remind the readers that the new conditions were, in fact, the outcome of the Western violent intervention and domination.

6.1 Degeneration and acculturation models

Progress was perceived under a teleological and linear conception of time, but some races were considered degenerated types. Consequently, it encompassed a differentiation among humans. Furthermore, the degenerated types deserved to disappear and even to be eliminated.

The radical differentiation encompassed the impossibility of assimilation. The enduring differentiation had another outcome, i.e., it was the plural or multicultural society. Thus, multicultural society implies different cultures living in the same territory, with limited contact, and with no further cultural change. As stated above, the multicultural model had a good trait, i.e., to stop violent assimilation or fusion. However, the North American society

reported that the minority cultures changed, e.g., the African Americans and the Indigenous. On the contrary, the asymmetric power position remained.

The assimilation model may gain a good connotation, in the case of non-violence. The preference for assimilation means that the majority perceives the other cultural group as equal. Currently, in the USA, the multicultural and assimilation models are reinforcing each other. Historically, the liberal thought rarely wanted assimilation, and maybe it was grounded in racialist appraisals. However, as the relationship and the asymmetric power position remained, the African American culture changed completely, regardless that some of its features were maintained (HERSKOVITS, 1938). Hence, cultural assimilation occurred, but not the social assimilation (Frazier, 1949). The culture of the separate but equal failed, as Myrdal (1944) described.

6.2 Physiological studies

The emphasis on physiological topics differentiated psychology from anthropology and mainly from sociology. However, the social Darwinism was common. The physiological studies predominance increased the determinism of heredity. It differentiated humans into races, "[…] neurology will bring to light the differences between races" (LEUBA, 1897, p. 557). The presumed Western higher evolution was supposedly visible at neurologic level (LEUBA, 1897). However, Burk (1898) wrote that race was an important factor, although "[…] nutrition, freedom from accidental disease and social environment are also essential factors" (BURK, 1898, p. 312). Bentley ascribed differentiations connected to learning. He found out that the visual imaging power was greater in young children "[…] and remarks that language and book-learning certainly tend to dull it" (BENTLEY, 1899, p. 24). However, the Bentley point of view was rare.

6.3 Discrimination

The discrimination topic seemed to be absent. However, Sheldon (1898), who was an American educator and historian, reported discrimination, because "[…] I have seen children teasing each other because of race and wealth in numerous cases." (p. 436). Discrimination, according to Sheldon, was learned, because "[…] before they go to school, we see them

playing with almost any child, whether of different nationality or race, rich or poor." (SHELDON, 1898, p. 436). He reported the existence of discrimination, but his research goal was not supposed to approach discrimination.

6.4 Migrations

A curious and ambiguous article was written by Kline (1898). According to him, migration was universal and healthy, but nostalgia was unhealthy,

> The greater the unfamiliarity the severer will be the nervous shock and stress in trying to make a new adjustment ... As we have seen, many do not try to make a "'fusion" at all, do not seek a new "plane of reference," do not attempt to build new brain paths, but rather yield passively (KLINE, 1898, p. 80).

Kline's article was ethnocentric, because he favored the WASP background as the healthiest culture, "English and Germans leave their country with less reluctance than the citizens of other countries." (KLINE, 1898, p. 77). English individuals were described as superior at the intercultural exchanges, but exchanges were only money-making. It is curious to notice that Tax (1941), Vogt (1955), and Polgar (1960) reported similar cases in the American Anthropologist, because the intercultural exchanges were mainly economic. English individuals were reported also as maintaining their culture, regardless migration and adaptation.

7- DISCUSSION, SUGGESTIONS, AND CONCLUSION

Acculturation research came from anthropology to sociology, and later to psychology (CASTRO, 2017a, b). Today, acculturation is almost dismissed in anthropology, and in sociology the assimilation model is applied. Similarly to previous literature reviews, acculturation got only one-way of cultural influences, regardless that the main definitions highlighted it as two-way (BARNETT, ET AL., 1954; REDFIELD, ET AL., 1936).

The assimilation, the multicultural and the fusion models were approached often as expected outcomes in the future, and the research became prescriptive and normative. The sociological approach was collective, and it often stressed generalizations about how cultural groups would integrate minorities. In psychology the main attitude is the multicultural

preference (BERRY, 2001). It is considered the healthier attitude, and it is prescribed in order to devise policies. In psychology, the study of acculturation may be divided in three topics, i.e., attitudes, coping, and learning. The latter was rarely approached (RUDMIN, 2009; CASTRO, 2017c, d, e), and it was often submitted to the coping approach, for instance, in the cultural shock topic. The psychological approach is still collective, like the sociological, and it is prescriptive and normative. It does not focus on learning, thus in a cognitive function. The approach has also political implications, because it has only one-way. It presumes that some cultures are contributing more to the common culture than other cultures. Hence, it is grounded in asymmetric power positions.

The first topic, i.e., attitudes was also ruled by the coping approach. For instance, the multicultural preference (BERRY, 2001) was considered the healthier attitude, regardless the immigration paradox (CASE, & DEATON, 2015). In fact, the immigration paradox was already present in the Durkheim (1897) study about suicide. Furthermore, the multicultural preference presumed that learning a second culture led to assimilation. The Berry Model (2001) also encompassed a cultural separation between cultures, which was grounded on the Anglo-Saxon culture. Cultures were designed as not sharing cultural content, regardless continuous direct contact. In addition, Berry Model (2001) was not realistic, because adaptation changed minority cultures. Bourhis, Moïese, Perrault, and Senécal (1997) tried to devise an interactive model. However, the model was still one-way. Later, Rudmin (2009) refocused the acculturation phenomenon on learning.

In the current review, the word acculturation did not appear on the earlier editions. However, comparative psychology was a main methodological technique, and it implied intercultural relationships, and cultural change. Thus, it implied acculturation.

Wundt (1916) tried to devise a psychological history. Hence, history would be written according to the Western point of view. The inclusion of additional cultures, and social classes would be neglected (GOODY, 2006; ZINN, 1994/1980). History and other social sciences had the mission to record, and to save the legacy of the Western cultural background, and of additional cultures. However, today, the global history (GRUZINSKI, 2004) must be a two-way project, and must be under constant adjustment.

Cross-cultural comparisons reported a trouble since Galton's problem. It was related to correlations, and it reported that was not significant to compare cultural groups from the same cultural background, because the samples were not independent (EMBER, & EMBER, 2009). In addiction to Wundt's universalistic endeavor (1916), in the AJP, Boas (1910) provided a partial solution for the emic and etic problem. But, he was misunderstood. According to Boas (1910), cultures were different, thus they were not comparable. Boas was open to psychology, because he was concerned with the transmission of cultures (learning), more than with the origin of the human culture. According to Boas, what was universal was learning, but the cultural content was not universal. He was, in fact, pointing out to a universalistic and egalitarian view, because all humans were able to learn any culture. It is interesting to notice that in the statistical (correlation) studies only what is different can be comparable, and, on the contrary, in the qualitative work only what is similar is comparable.

Culture and acculturation are learning phenomena, as Boas stated. Culture and acculturation are, at the same time, effect and cause, because they are learned (CASTRO, 2016a, b). They have recursive causality (MORIN, 2005). Often, acculturation is complex to study, because humans are surrounded, and inserted in culture. On the one hand, acculturation may be conceived as an effect of human migrations, exchanges, colonization, and wars. It may be also conceived as a cause, because it created cultures, which were transmitted, and learned. On the other hand, culture is created by diffusion, acculturation, and innovation. The transmission of culture occurs by enculturation, socialization, and acculturation. Acculturation is a cognitive phenomenon, because it encompasses learning. However, learning a second culture is always a social phenomenon, because it is mediated by other individuals, cultural legacies (VYGOTSKY, & LURIA, 1996), and additional cultures due to intercultural contact. Furthermore, behavior is shaped by cultural content, and by what and how is transmitted. For instance, there are egalitarian or not egalitarian cultures, and liberal or authoritarian cultures (TODD, 1994).

In the Age of Enlightenment, culture and learning were supposed to lead to liberation, autonomy, and agency (LATOUR, 1993). Later, however, it promoted additional problems, and the Anthropocene was one of them. The Age of Enlightenment aimed to set cultures in

contact, and to compare them under the Western universal point of view, but comparisons were lacking equivalence (TRIANDIS, 2002), and relationships were accomplished under strong asymmetric power positions. Today, the notion of progress is under a serious deadlock (LATOUR, 1993). Furthermore, currently, the risk society (BECK, 1992) does not manage itself. In the AJP, learning was sometimes approached as universal. However, the human differentiations and genetic determinist were so strong that learning was secondary.

Rudmin, Wang, and Castro (2017) reported the violent background of the acculturation concept. The multicultural approach took from anthropology and mainly from sociology the preference for cultural maintenance. Yet, it forgot that Westerns contacted violently other cultures, oppressing them, and changing them forever. A look at the world map can display that it is the outcome of the Western intervention, even because the Western conception of nation-state is pervasive (SCOTT, 2009). The contemporary research might retain old ideas related to teleological progress, evolution, competition, and social dominance between cultures. It happens especially when research employs cross-cultural comparisons regarding minorities oppressed in the past. Those cultures have a legacy of oppression attached. Today, new differentiations are occurring, and they will increase due to biotechnologies (HABERMAS, 2002).

Researchers should be modest. They should consider cultural backgrounds, and they should care about the effects of comparisons. Modesty should be in the center of scientific production, because the current society praises simplistic innovations, and to dare instead of security, but, at the same time, it states that humans cannot understand society (HAYEK, 2013). Acculturation may have political, historical and cognitive guidelines, besides to be a scientific production. The political and historical directions are important. However, it is necessary to highlight the cognitive direction. Therefore, what and how is learned are important questions at individual, cognitive, and collective levels. Research must be less normative and prescriptive, and it must focus on sociocultural practices in order to describe them.

REFERENCES

ALTMANN, Jeanne. Observational study of behavior: sampling methods. **Behaviour**, 49, 227-265, 1974.

BARNETT, Homer., ET AL. J. Acculturation: An exploratory formulation. **American Anthropologist**, 56, 973-1000, 1954.

BASTIDE, Roger. Les relations raciales en Amérique anglo-saxonne et en Amérique latine. **Académie des sciences d'outre-mer**, 33, 215-229, 1973.

BATESON, Gregory. **Culture contact and schizmogenesis. In Steps to an ecology of mind; Collected essays in Anthropology, Psychiatry, evolution, and epistemology**. London: Jason Aronson, 71-82, 1935.

BECK, Ulrich. **Risk Society: Towards a new modernity**. London: Sag, 1992.

BENTLEY, Madison. The memory image and its qualitative fidelity. **American Journal of Psychology**, 11, 1-48, 1899.

BERRY, John. A psychology of immigration. **Journal of Social Issues**, 57, 615-631, 2001.

BOAS, Franz. Psychological problems in Anthropology. **American Journal of Psychology**, 21, 3, 371-384, 1910.

BOURDIEU, Pierre. **O que fala quer dizer: As estruturas sociais da economia**. Álges: Difel Editora, 2001.

BOURHIS, Richard., ET AL. Towards an interactive acculturation model: Social psychological approach. International Journal of Psychology, 32, 369-386, 1997.

BOWSKILL, Matt.; LYONS, Evanthia.; & COYLE, Adrian. The rhetoric of acculturation: When integration means assimilation. **British Journal of Social Psychology**, 46, 793-813, 2007.

BUCHNER, Edward. Franklin. A quarter century of Psychology in America: 1878-1903. **American Journal of Psychology**, 14, 402-416, 1903.

BURK, Frederic. Growth of children in height and weight. **American Journal of Psychology**, 9, 3, 253-326, 1898.

CALKINS, Mary. Whiton. Experimental Psychology at Wellesley college. **American Journal of Psychology**, 5, 260-271, 1892.

CARMAN, Ada. Pain and strength measurements of 1,507 school children in Saginaw, Michigan. **American Journal of Psychology**, 10, 392-398, 1899.

CARTER, Marion. Hamilton. Darwin's idea of mental development. **American Journal of Psychology**, 9, 534-559, 1898.

CASE, Anne.; & DEATON, Angus. Rising morbidity and mortality in midlife among white non-Hispanic Americans in the 21st century. **PNAS**, 112, 15078-15083, 2015.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P. **Os efeitos da aculturação no vaivém da emigração continental: Um estudo de caso em Melgaço**. Master Dissertation. Porto: Universidade Fernando Pessoa, 2008.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P. Os efeitos da aculturação no vaivém da emigração continental: Um estudo de caso em Melgaço. **Revista Portuguesa de Estudos Regionais**, 25/26, 67-76, 2011.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P. **The Portuguese tile in the Rudmin Acculturation Learning Model: A fusion case**. In Gaiser L. and Čurčić, D. (Eds.), EMUNI, bridging gaps in the Mediterranean research space. Conference proceedings of the 4th EMUNI Research Souk, 17-18 April. El. Knjiga/Portorož: EMUNI University, 618-6252012.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P. **O contexto da aculturação português através do modelo de Rudmin: do encontro intercultural com o Japão até ao Luso-Tropicalismo**. Dissertação de doutoramento não publicada, Universidade Fernando Pessoa, Porto, Portugal, 2014a.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P. **O contexto da aculturação português através do modelo de Rudmin: do encontro intercultural com o Japão até ao Luso-Tropicalismo**. Actas dos Dias da Investigação na Universidade Fernando Pessoa. Porto: GADI, 2014b.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P. **Towards a Psychology of fusion in the acculturation pheno**menon. Actas dos Dias da Investigação na Universidade Fernando Pessoa. Porto: GADI, 2015.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P. Acculturation in the Portuguese overseas experience with Japan: A Rudmin Model application. **Daxiyangguo: Revista Portuguesa de Estudos Asiáticos**, 20, 89-120, 2016a.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P. A aprendizagem duma segunda cultura e a identidade étnica dos indígenas brasileiros através duma rede social: Estudo exploratório. **Religacion, Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades**, 2, 75-94, 2016b.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P. **A literature review on the Portuguese emigration literature and acculturation**. Actas dos Dias da Investigação na Universidade Fernando Pessoa. Porto: GADI, 2016c.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P. The contributions of Gilberto Freyre for the acculturation research. **The Portuguese Studies Review**, 24, 247-257, 2016d.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P. Acculturation on the Portuguese historical narrative: Gilberto Freyre contributions and limitations. **Religacion, Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades**, 3, 76-102, 2016e.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P. A literature review about acculturation on the American Anthropologist: reduced version. **Revista Fluxos e Riscos**, 2, 145-153, 2017a.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P. **A review on the earlier The American Journal of Sociology: reduced version**. In Gabinete de Relações Internacionais e Apoio ao Desenvolvimento Institucional (Coord.). Atas dos Dias da Investigação na UFP Research Days Proceedings. Porto: Gabinete de Relações Internacionais e Apoio ao Desenvolvimento Institucional, 2017b.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P. A review on the early The American Journal of Sociology. **Revista Latina de Sociología**, 7, 16-37, 2017c.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P. (2017d). Education on Portuguese emigrants and their acculturation. **E- Methodology**, 4, 55-74, 2017d.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P. (2016e). Wenceslau de Morães: Acculturation between ideals and life experiences. **Religacion. Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Humanida**des, 5, 207-235, 2016e.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P. Portuguese emigrants, digital learning, and acculturation. **Sisyphus – Journal of Education, 6**, 97-119, 2018.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P.; & MARQUES, A. **Emigração e contrabando**. Melgaço: Centro Desportivo e Cultural de São Paio, 2003.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P.; & RUDMIN, F. W. **What can contemporary USA learn from the history of Portuguese imperial power in Japan and in Brazil?** Paper presented at 39th Annual Conference of the International Psychohistorical Association, New York University, 2016.

CASTRO, Joaquim. F. P.; & RUDMIN, F. W. Acculturation, Acculturative Change, and Assimilation: A Research Bibliography With URL Links. **Online Readings in Psychology and Culture**, 8(1), 2017.

CLARK, Vicki.; & CRESWELL, J. **Designing and conducting mixed methods research**. London: Sage Publications, 2011.

CRESSWELL, James. Towards a post-critical praxis: Intentional states and recommendations for change in acculturation psychology. **International Journal of Intercultural Relations**, 33, 162-172, 2009.

DAWSON, George. **Psychic rudiments and morality**. The American Journal of Psychology, 11, 181-224, 1900.

DURKHEIM, Émile. **Le Suicide: Étude de sociologie**. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1897.

EDGELL, Beatrice. On time judgment. **American Journal of Psychology**, 14, 3/4, 154-174, 1903.

EMBER, Carol.; & EMBER, Melvin. **Cross-cultural research methods**. Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2009.

FRAZIER, Edward Franklin. Race contacts and the social structure. **American Sociological Review**, 14, 1-11, 1949.

FREUD, Sigmund. The origin and development of psychoanalysis. **American Journal of Psychology**, 21, 181-218, 1910.

FREYRE, Gilberto. **The masters and the slaves: A study in the development of Brazilian civilization**. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986. Originally Published in 1933.

GAMBLE, Eleanor. The applicability of Weber's law to smell. **American Journal of Psychology**, 10, 82-142, 1898.

GOODY, Jack. **The theft of History**. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

GRAVES, Theodore. Acculturation, access, and alcohol in a tri-ethnic community. **American Anthropologist**, 69, 306-321, 1967.

GREENWOOD, John. **A conceptual history of psychology**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

GRUZINSKI, Serge. **Les quatre parties du monde - Histoire d'une mondialisation**. Paris: La Martinière, 2004.

HABERMAS, Jürgen. **L'avenir de la nature humaine Vers un eugénisme libéral?** Paris: Gallimard, 2002.

HALL, Granville. Stanley. Editorial note. **American Journal of Psychology**, 1, 3-4, 1887.

HALL, Granville. Stanley. Social phases of Psychology. **American Journal of Sociology**, 18, 613-621, 1913.

HALL, Granville. Stanley.; & MOTORA, Yuzero. Dermal sensitiveness to gradual pressure changes. **American Journal of Psychology**, 1, 1, 72-98, 1887.

HALL, Granville. Stanley.; & TITCHNER, Edward Bradford. **American Journal of Psychology**, 32, 1, 1-4, 1921.

HALL, Stuart. The west and the rest: Discourse and power. In Stuart. Hall & Bram. Gieben (Eds.), **Formations of modernity** (pp. 275-330). Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992.

HAMLIN, Alice. Attention and distraction. **American Journal of Psychology**, 8, 3-66, 1896.

HAYEK, Friedrich. **Droit, législation et liberté**. Paris: PUF, 2013.

HERSKOVITS, Melville. **Acculturation: The study of culture contact**. New York: J. J. Augustin Publisher, 1938.

HILL, Caroline. On choice. **American Journal of Psychology**, 9, 587-590, 1898.

JACOBI, Putnam. The place for the study of language in a curriculum of education. **American Journal of Psychology**, 2, 91-140, 1888.

KAKISE, Hikozo. A preliminary experimental study of the conscious concomitants of understanding. **American Journal of Psychology**, 22, 1, 14-64, 1911.

KALLEN, Horace. Democracy versus the melting-Pot: A study of American nationality I. **The Nation**, 100, 190-194, 1915.

KLINE, Linus. The migratory impulse vs. love of home. **American Journal of Psychology**, 10, 1-81, 1898.

LADD-FRANKLIN, Christine. On some characteristics of symbolic logic. **American Journal of Psychology**, 2, 543-567, 1889.

LATOUR, Bruno. **We have never been modern**. Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1993.

LEUBA, James. A study in the Psychology of religious phenomena. **American Journal of Psychology**, 7, 309-385, 1896.

LEUBA, James. The Psycho-Physiology of the moral imperative. **American Journal of Psychology**, 8, 528-559, 1897.

MALINOWSKI, Bronisław. **The dynamics of cultural change: An inquiry into race relations in Africa**. New Haven: Yale University Press. Originally published in 1945, 1958.

MILLER, Herbert. Adolphus. **Races, nations and classes: The psychology of domination and freedom**. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1924.

MORIN, Edgar. **Introduction à la pensée complexe**. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2005.

MOTORA, Yuzero. A study on the conductivity of the nervous system. **American Journal of Psychology**, 14, 329-350, 1903.

MUSSO, Pierre. **La religion industrielle. Monastère, manufacture, usine. Une généalogie de l'entreprise** [Industrial religion. Monastery, manufacture, factory. A genealogy of the company]. Paris: Fayard, 2017.

MYRDAL, Gunnar. **An American dilemma: The Negro problem and modern democracy**. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1944.

PARK, Robert. Racial assimilation in secondary groups. **American Journal of Sociology**, 19, 606-623, 1914.

PARK, Robert. Human migration and the marginal man. **American Journal of Sociology**, 33, 881-893, 1928.

PICKREN, Wade.; & RUTHERFORD, Alexandra. **A History of modern Psychology in context**. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2010.

POLGAR, Steven. Biculturation of Mesquakie teenage boys. **American Anthropologist**, 62, 217-235, 1960.

POWELL, John Wesley. **Introduction to the study of Indian languages: With words phrases and sentences to be collected**. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880.

POWELL, John Wesley. Proper training and the future of the Indians. **Forum**, 18, 622-629, 1895.

REDFIELD, Robert.; Linton, Ralph.; & Herskovits, Melville. Memorandum for the study of acculturation. **American Anthropologist**, 38, 149-152, 1936.

RUDMIN, Floyd. Catalogue of acculturation constructs: Descriptions of 126 taxonomies, 1918-2003. In W. J. Lonner, D. L. Dinnel, S. A. Hayes., & D. N. Sattler (Eds.), **Online Readings in Psychology and Culture** (Unit 8, Chapter 8).

RUDMIN, Floyd. Critical history of the acculturation psychology of assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization. **Review of General Psychology**, 7, 3-37, 2003b.

RUDMIN, Floyd. Another mystery in our history: Who was Sarah Emma Simmons? **Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin**, 37, 26, 2003c.

RUDMIN, Floyd. Constructs, measurements and models of acculturation and acculturative stress. **International Journal of Intercultural Relations**, 33, 106-123, 2009.

RUDMIN, Floyd.; Wang, Bo.; & Castro, Joaquim. F. P. Acculturation research critiques and alternative research designs. In S. J. Schwartz & J. B. Unger, (Eds.), **Handbook of acculturation and health** (pp. 75-95). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

SHARP, Stella Emily. Individual Psychology: A study in psychological method. **American Journal of Psychology**, 10, 329-391, 1899.

SHELDON, Henry. The Institutional activities of American children. **American Journal of Psychology**, 9, 425-448, 1898.

SCOTT, James. **The art of not being governed: An anarchist history of upland Southeast Asia**. New Haven and London: Yale University press, 2009.

SIMONS, Sarah. Social assimilation, I. **American Journal of Sociology**, 6, 790-822, 1901.

SMITH, Theodate. On muscular memory. **American Journal of Psychology**, 7, 453-490, 1896.

SPEARMAN, Charles. "General intelligence," objectively determined and measured. The **American Journal of Psychology**, 15, 201-292, 1904.

SPENCER, Herbert. **Principles of Psychology**. London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1855.

SPENCER, Herbert. The comparative Psychology of man. **Mind,** 1, 7-20, 1876.

STEINER, George. **No castelo do barba azul: Algumas notas para a redefinição de cultura**. Lisboa: Relógio D'Água, 1992.

TAX, Sol. World view and social relations in Guatemala. **American Anthropologist, 43**, 27-42, 1941.

TAYLOR, Charles. Interculturalism or multiculturalism? **Philosophy & Social Criticism**, 38, 413-423, 2012.

TODD, Emmanuel. **Le destin des immigres assimilation et ségrégation: Dans les démocraties occidentales**. Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1994.

TRIANDIS, Harry. Odysseus wandered for 10, I wondered for 50 years. In W. J. Lonner., D. L. Dinnel., S. A. Hayes., & D. N. Sattler (Eds.), **Online Readings in Psychology and Culture** (Unit 2, Chapter 1), 2002.

VOGT, Evon. A study of the southwestern fiesta system as exemplified by the Laguna Fiesta. **American Anthropologist**, 57, 820-839, 1955.

VYGOTSKY, Lev., & LURIA, **Alexander. Estudos sobre a história do comportamento: Símios, homem primitivo e criança**. Porto Alegre: Artes Médicas, 1996.

31

WASHBURN, Margaret Floy. The genetic function of movement and organic sensations for social consciousness. **The American Journal of Psychology**, 14, 3/4, 7, 1903.

WUNDT, Wilhelm. **Elements of folk psychology: Outlines of a psychological history of the development of mankind**. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1916.

YOKOYAMA, M. The nature of the affective judgment in the method of paired comparisons. **The American Journal of Psychology**, 32, 357-369, 1921.

ZINN, Howard. **A people's history of the United States**. New York: Longman, 1994.