Intergroup Relations & Power

An ethnographic case study observing the multicultural staff of Cambambe, through the lenses of Psychology & International Relations Theories

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Abstract

This is an ethnographic case study, based in participant observation, which investigates and analyzes how the everyday relationships between Europeans, South Americans expatriates & Angolan nationals, are structured in a common transnational labor community in Angola, named Cambambe. This study investigates if there are any features of post-colonial power relations that affect and shape the interactions between those three communities. Thus, if the contemporary forms of relationship, as expressed by this community, can still be compared to that old hard power stereotype namely labor relations from the colonial past, or if those have changed with modernity. In doing so, this study equally analyzes not only how the interactions between the three communities is expressed in terms of identity, culture and ethnic belonging, but also how such expressions bring about tangible consequences for the groups relating to their social and institutional positions inside the working community. Furthermore, this study examines if the three group populations are able to go beyond their ethnic and cultural boundaries in order to create common zones of togetherness and empowerment, and if so, how these zones are shaped. To do so, the analysis observes how the intergroup perceives power into their relational context, focusing in four dimensions, namely; rationality, perceived justice, material resources and identity. Moreover, this is a multidisciplinary analysis which makes use of the theoretical lenses provided by the post-colonial theory, psychology of intergroup relations and power theories in international relations, to shed light into the understanding of contemporary labor communities and in the position of the post-colonial subjects in society in a North to South perspective.

Keywords:

Labor migration, post colonialism, psychology, power, intergroup relations, cross-cultural relations, ethnography

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26,950.
Aknowledgement

I have put a lot of work into my attempt in expressing all the particular aspects and perceptions noted while I lived in the Cambambe community in Angola, intending to bring to academia a multidisciplinary contribution; observations from the eyes of a psychologist with the help of the new lenses provided by the Master Program in Political Sciences and International Relations. This could not have been possible without the kind assistance of some people to whom I would like to express my gratitude; Professor Khalid Khayati, MIER, for believing in me giving me good advice and a great support during my supervision sections. Professor Per Jansson, MIER, for believing in my idea and for approving my research project. Further I would like to thank my husband, Johan Ivan Majic for all the incentive and support when I told to him that I was moving to Africa for a while. Thank you all!

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1. Introduction

The lack of studies investigating the relational context of transnational labor communities, and the impacts they might cause in the local societies receiving of transnational labor, often leads societies to misconceptions.\(^1\) One of its major problems is that since people don’t know the real implications of the cross-cultural interactions brought by these communities, they might fear that their presence could harm the local communities in many ways. The first and most common way is the perception that the expatriate labor force, is occupying work places that could be giving to nationals/locals and thus adding to the unemployment rates in local communities. The second is that, the lack of knowledge regarding foreign labor force impact, lead to discriminatory discourses and hate towards labor migrants.\(^2\) And the third and perhaps most commonly heard from nationalist currents, is that migrant presence it to alter local community identities. But, what actually happens when enterprises (institutions, organizations, etc) bring foreign labor force to local communities? Well, one could argue that the answer to this question would certainly be very broad and it would depend on the context in which these societies and organizations in question are positioned. Answers could also depend on the level of competition which the labor migrants bring about, since this could pose a threat to locals in terms of employment, for instance. Nonetheless, the lack of research in the field is problematic and brings about insecurity since misconceptions in this field could have severe consequences. In this specific case study, the analysis investigates a transnational labor community, in a North to South perspective. This is to say that, it investigates a labor community located in Africa which receives skilled labor force from Europe. Furthermore, this community also receives labor migrants from other states worldwide. In this case, it’s necessary to keep in mind that the stereotypes constructed by Europe and Africa, throughout their common history, weren’t the ‘most’ positive ones.\(^3\) That is to say, Europe, which retained colonizer characteristics, has been framed as oppressive towards Africa and as dictating the rules and westernizing the ways in which African colonies were supposed to operate.\(^4\) Moreover, beyond the forced labor practices common to the colonial times, the

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Europeans always took advantage over the nationals, assuming leadership positions and controlling the ways in which the African economy and labor markets were handled. More specifically in Angola, the focus point of this study, the former European colonizer, Portugal, held extreme control over the labor market, giving nationals the worst kind of tasks and under the worst conditions. This relationship created a historical separation between the “blacks” and the “whites” in society, where the whites dictated the rules. Thus, it serves as an example which demonstrates how power has a significant influence in how labor practices and placement are perceived and distributed in society. All of the European pressure and control over Angola has leaded the state to claim independence. However, even after that, the commercial relations between Africa and Europe keep strengthening its bounds. Foreign European labor force are still migrating to Angola, thus intergroup encounters in between these continent’ people are relevant. This leads one to think, how is the post-colonial subjects position in the contemporary “Europe x Africa” labor context? What do transnational labor communities in Africa have to tell about the relationship among Africans and Europeans in the present? Are racist practices and discourses still dominating work environments in their contemporary scene? The answers to these questions are extremely important since they could highlight important changes in the labor history between the two states. Beyond that, it would bring new information into the realms of the states, institutions, and enterprises in Angola and to those investing in Angola. It should be noted that, the lack of knowledge and research regarding the subject also affects those organizations. Since not being “fully aware” of the possible impacts they might be causing, via labor expatriation or even if perpetrating continued discriminatory practices, they might be unable, for example, to see the need of investing in diversity management programs. Hence – strategic tools to reduce prejudicial practices stimulate inclusion and make the adaptation of foreigners in society more “smooth”. Since the lack of research in this area affects these companies, it will certainly affect the societies interdependent of how those influence

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6 Peixoto, ‘Por uma perspectiva histórica pós-colonial-um estudo de caso’, p. 10.
structuration inside their communities. That is why transnational labor communities’ studies and the effects brought in by the intergroup encounters between migrants and locals is such an important subject to be researched. Knowledge brings discernment, and for the good or to the evil, it is necessary to know what the relationship between migrants and local societies bring about. The information is also extremely important for the states managing foreign policy, once those are able to legislate and to adopt measures to improve enterprises practices inside their territories. Finally, one can argue that studies regarding intergroup relational aspects, observed in transnational labor communities, bring to the realm of international relations, interesting theoretical contributions via the placement of the post-colonial subjects in contemporary society. In this case study, specially, from a North to South perspective.

The specific community observed in this case study is located in the intermediasions of a business enterprise that has been operational more recently for the last 10 years. It’s located in an isolated riverside community in the surroundings of Kwanza River in Angola. This small community is called Cambambe, and therefore so was the enterprise named. Nevertheless the first foreign interferences brought by this enterprise to this region date from 1962. That happened when the first hydro power plant was built in the region. The power plant was named after the community: “Cambambe 1(one)”. More recently this community experienced the rehabilitation of Cambambe 1, from 2008 to 2015. From 2011 to the present moment the community is experiencing the construction of a second hydropower plant named Cambambe 2 (two). Both plants are parts of the same hydropower complex. The complex is owned by the same contractor which is a national Angolan state energy firm. Nevertheless much of its installation, construction, service, and technical works are supplied by a compound of several foreign firms. Among this Foreign Service providers, are several from different national backgrounds. Between those firms, some are from, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Germany, Brazil, Switzerland, Italy, among others. All of those firms export expatriate labor force to this small community. The location meanwhile received a “boom” of information in terms of stimuli: different people, languages, cultures and arrangements. A huge part of the local community and some neighborhood villages are also providing local labor force to the business enterprise. (For more specific information about the community see chapter 4.2) Being so, “locals” – (Angolan

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nationals), and foreign workers (the expatriate community) have been subjected to interaction with each others people, behaviors, firms, standards and norms. This cultural clash in this region leads one to wonder: how is this relationship between the foreign community and the locals being perceived by both sides? This means, what do foreigners and Angolans have to say about how they perceive the effects of labor migration into this community. According to John Berry, it is not only the local societies, but also the immigrants whom may undergo transformations from this sort of contact. Thus, this cross-cultural contact implicates by default a state of “acculturation” on both sides of the spectrum. That is to say, that the first hand contact, includes subsequent changes in the original cultural aspects from both groups; migrants and locals. This leads one to think that arguments stating that labor migrant’s impacts only local societies, are to be revised in the contemporary world, which is one more reason to believe that examining intergroup relations is relevant. The context of this encounters are addressed here as “transnational” since contemporary models of migration are more fluent than in the past. This means that, labor migrants and others which currently move abroad, usually maintain contact via technology, or often traveling back and forth from their home countries. Thus their “societal” environment became somewhat dispersed, living across national borders. (Transnationalism in this aspect doesn’t put emphasis only on the physical presence of the migrants in local societies. It rather extends multiculturalism and ethnic loyalties cross-borders from the receiving society).

With all of that said, one could argue that more research is necessary to understand how these communities work and if they really impact society, and how does it happens? Despite of political debates more are concerned with the rights of resident cultures than with their acculturation within receiving societies. Multiculturalism has become an inescapable reality to which states and societies have had to adapt in disregard of the nature in which societies are, or want to be organized. However there were many questions which motivate this investigation, it will not be possible to answer them all due to the research limitations (see page 6). There are many aspects in behavior that could be observed in order to try to answer these questions;

13 Berry and Sam, Handbook of cross-cultural psychology, p. 294.
16 Ibid, p. 852.
nonetheless, this could make this study rather too broad. Being so, the present study will give
focus to a single aspect of relationship which could entails how Cambambe community
intergroup (foreign x locals) relates to each other; The chosen aspect was Power and more
specifically, how power inside their relational context influences their relationship, considering
the social, ethnic and cultural boundaries among the groups, and its expressions. Following
Stuart Hall’s argument that, identity is constructed among power discourses, and that those
emerge from inside of the power games present in relationships.\textsuperscript{17} And in Albert Hunter
statement that the ethnographic dimensions of communities can just be understood if their power
relations are considered.\textsuperscript{18} The first dimension to be investigated in this research is: if any
hierarchy aspect and decision making discourses could reveal how the power interplay among
the different nationalities influences this community. Secondly, if the contemporary relationship
between Europeans and Africans in this community still resembles or perpetrates any aspects
from their colonial past. Likely to believe in Nicholas Tomas argument that post-colonial
behavior in contemporary societies might be also influenced by their colonial past.\textsuperscript{19} And in
Edward Said’s vision where the world is clearly divided in a “west” and “the rest” perspective,
where the west defines the rest.\textsuperscript{20} Last but not least, taking into account the relevant theoretical
contribution of contemporary political psychologists, such as Fathali Moghaddan, Leonny
Huddy, David Sears and Jack Levy, stating that multiculturalism suggests that intergroup
relations are more based on mediation and assumed to lead towards to more positive group
identity and “accepting intergroup attitude”.\textsuperscript{21} And that acculturation is a phenomenon that
happens when groups of people with different cultural backgrounds encounter in continuous
firsthand contact, which subsequently change patterns from each group.\textsuperscript{22} The third and final
dimension is; if the intergroup relations brought by multiculturalism into the observed
community reveals any aspects of “acculturation”. This could prove that transnational labor
communities’ presence in local societies does have an effect in the local society’s identity. All

\textsuperscript{17} T. T. Silva, (Org), S. Hall, K. Woodward, \textit{Identidade e Diferença: A perspectiva dos estudos culturais},
\textsuperscript{18} A. Hunter, ‘Local Knowledge and Local Power Notes on the Ethnography of Local Community Elites’,
\textit{Journal of Contemporary Ethnography}, vol. 22, nº 1, 1993, pp. 36-58.
\textsuperscript{19} N. Thomas, \textit{Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel And Government}. Cambridge, Polity Press,
1994, pp.11-32.
\textsuperscript{21} F. Moghaddam, \textit{Multiculturalism and intergroup relations: Psychological implications for democracy
\textsuperscript{22} L. Huddy, D. O. Sears, J. S. Levy, \textit{The Oxford handbook of political psychology}, p. 859.
of these concerns are micro dimensions present in transnational intergroup relationships which may evidence important aspects to be brought into macro a political analysis. In order to access this dimensions, this research observes Cambambe community from an inside perspective. Thus, this study is carried out by the researcher while living inside of this labor community in Angola. Notes from conversations with locals and expatriates were taken by the researcher during the period of contact with the community. Additionally a survey was handled to complement this data. This survey intended to grasp people’s own perceptions about the research matters.

1.1 Aim and questions

The aim of this study is firstly, via a post-colonial theoretical perspective, to investigate Cambambe community and its intergroup relations in order to grasp its main relational aspects and how power is perceived by its members. In doing so it investigates how boundaries are maintained among the three groups investigated in this community, those being; Europeans, South Americans expats & Angolans nationals vis-à-vis each other. More specifically, by observing factors as such as ethnicity, cultural relations, social positioning, housing areas and how those are sustained and structured by the intergroup. Secondly, this research aims to investigate if these aspects and the way they are disposed in this community, can be explained, as being an expression of this specific communities past and colonial experiences. This is investigated through an analysis considering the ways in which aspects of power are perceived in the community today, (by the sample interviewed), and through the ways power were perceived in the colonial times (via theory). In this analysis it is investigated if there are any actual hard power aspects expressed in the community relationship between the European and African sample; (as hard power was perceived as the most commonly used option by colonizers, to enforce colonies in the colonial past). And also if the positions of the three groups (Europeans, South Americans expats and Angolan Nationals) in terms of power, have shifted somehow in the contemporary scene altering their relational bounds stereotypes. In doing so, power theories in international relations are considered as theoretical frames for this research. Last but not least this study aims, using from the psychological lenses of intergroup relations theory, to categorize the objects of this research explained above (ethnicity, cultural relations, social positioning, housing areas and how those are sustained and structured by the intergroup) reducing those into four single categories, namely: identity, rationality, perceived justice and material resources; to
investigate if any aspects of superiority, exclusion, discrimination are resembled from the colonial times inside this community’s contemporary relationships. Those categories also simplify the analysis making it easier to perceive aspects of approximation and acculturation between the samples. Theory and methods will be explained in the subsequent chapters (see chapter 2 and 3). Considering all explained above the central concern of this case study is then to clarify:

To what extent can the social, ethnic and cultural boundaries among the group observed (The European- and South American/ expatriates & Angolan locals) be explained by their common colonial pasts in terms of latent and asymmetrical power relations? And to answer to this question in a more efficient way, this question was narrowed to the 3 sub-questions bellow:

- Are there any aspects in the contemporary intergroup relations which resemble the colonial past?
- How are power relations perceived by the transnational labor community?
- Do differences in perception appear as a constraint to or driver for acculturation?

The answers to these case study questions are relevant because they might shed light into the understanding of contemporary transnational labor communities. In addition, significantly contribute to understand how power perceptions inside intergroup relations in transnational business communities, is a relevant subject to migration studies. Furthermore it could lead to better understanding of how the contemporary relationships between Europe, Africa and the world might have changed old relational stereotypes. Moreover to how business contributes significantly to approximate nations dissolving cultural borders. Last but not least, give to International Relations a North to South perspective in a case study framing power in intergroup relations. Hence the multidisciplinary approach to this study, itself, could be considered a significant contribution to academia.

1.2 Limitations

This study is mostly focused on analyzing the relationship among European expatriates and Angolan nationals. However the significance of the South American expatriate community presence at the studied location cannot be ignored. Their presence has a lot of influence on the relational context of the transnational work community. With that said, this research is limited to
analyze the context of power and perceptions in between: European expatriates, Angolan Nationals, and South American expatriates, with emphasis on the relationship among the first two. However the introduction wonders about many pertinent questions regarding the research topic, this study will not access job and unemployment rates in the community, it will rather focus in how the people already employed in the community, facing advantages and constraints due to the power structure of the business compound and how its structure may affect the community. Thus, the questions redirect to the samples interviewed were rather more interested in power and with how power and placement might lead some nationals groups to feel more or less advantages working multicultural teams. As identity is as a subject has several possibilities for investigation, this study is limited to analyze how power shapes interrelation identities creating “empowerment zones”; based in common language and shared history. Identity formation has several other aspects that are not being here considered, it would rather make this research too broad. Furthermore, this study doesn’t focus specifically its investigation into biological/racial forms of prejudice. However the “black” and the “white” dilemma inevitably appear in between the topics. The aspects of “discrimination” in this study, are more related to national backgrounds and power position than properly to “color”. Gender and inequality among men and woman in transnational work environments will not be addressed in this study, however during the research it was noted as being extremely relevant. Thus, it remains a suggested topic for future studies. Furthermore, as this study focus mainly on power and how power shapes identities and relationships, the main target of the research were the local “elite” or high scaled employees in the community. According to Hunter, many of the problems which affect the masses are defined by the decisions of elite groups and academia lacks of elite studies.23 Moreover in ethnographic research it is essential to be aware that the presence of the researcher engaging in fieldwork becomes an independent variable in the research itself.24 Thus, this can be considered a limitation.

The fact of the matter is that, until now, Western interpreters as well as African analysts have been using categories and conceptual systems which depend on a Western epistemological order. It is necessary to point then that this study is done by a researcher integrated in a European community, enterprise and university, surrounded by a westernized environment, thus limited to these lenses. Last but not least, this analysis is also limited to a north to south perspective in terms of labor migration. There are more limitations to this study in regards to methodology; those will rather be better explained in subsequent chapters. (See chapter 2)

1.3 Previous researches

1.3.1 Angolan national identity and the influence of western society

There are many researches pointing to the effects left by Portuguese colonization over Angolan’ National identity. Furthermore, to how representation and power relations affected the relationship between migrants and receiving society. According to Schmidt, the legacy of colonization was violently demarcated by the European power supremacy in Angola. To some authors this would still produce inequalities in the relationship among the postcolonial subjects. In a recent research towards labor and aid effects, using a post-colonial perspective to understand new labor development scenarios and strategy; it was found that power and representation issues, reflected the contextualization of partnership in between incoming agents and recipient societies. Thus, that the relationship between former colonizers and formerly colonized still features colonial traces on behavior and perceptions expressed by identity. According to Loomba, both metropolis and the colonies undergone profound changes through colonial process, although this does not mean that they experienced it in the same way. According to Mudimbe, however generalizations might appear as dangerous paths, colonialism and colonization, could be reduced to be understood as basically meaning organization, arrangements. These two words would derive from the Latin word *colère*, which signify

designing or cultivating. With this the author means that the natives and as well as their colonizers have all together tended to transform, or accept transformation, to organize or accept organization of non-European areas into Europeanized constructs. In the Angolan case, Portuguese colonizers searched for incorporate natives in society by reserving to them a space in lowest valuable positions and imposing European culture. This type of power relation can still be framed as a reason for present discrimination and exclusion scenarios. According to Hall these type of structuration (division by culture, gender, class and nationality) brings unsureness to the individuals and have transformed societies in the XX century. Furthermore According to Said, there is a clear division between the west and the rest; a perception of “we and them” that has demarked identities and relational aspects between individuals from metropolis and colonies.

According to a research done in a hospital located at St. Mary’s Lacor’ Hospital in the Gulu district, of northern Uganda in Africa. It was noted that there were a consistent asymmetry between the voices of Western and Ugandan employees. They had different opinions in what the hospital was supposed to be delivering as service. According to the interviewed, fundamental aspects of the organizational and cultural context in which the Hospital is situated were more westernized. This factor was a concern because the community and its values were kept in disregard while to raise the quality standards of the hospital, lead by the western voices, were prioritized. The voices heard in this labor community expressed what the author called a “sustainable colonization” of the care system. Furthermore this research was compared with results obtained in other communities in developing nations, leading to the conclusion that standardized exportable aid programs assume this “sustainable colonization” western mode. This means that the “we” mode to think (westernized), defines how “they” get assisted. This research also shows that hearing the voices of multicultural communities can enlighten the understanding of post-colonial relations and their effects on labor/institutions, thus, why this is important to society.

Looking back in to history, it can be said that the colonial period left marks which created barriers in between the foreigner and the native identities and to their space in society. Nevertheless one could argue that colonization also brought these two dimensions to a proximity creating new identities beyond these barriers. According to Peixoto, many Angolans from mixed families, this means: European accultur ate blacks or descendants from the relationship between Portuguese and Angolans, searched for shelter back in Portugal during the Angolan independency process. They recognized themselves as being “more Portuguese” than as Angolans. Peixoto’s research indicates that there is an undeniable assimilationist aspect in the relation among foreign and natives in this sense. Although the intentions bragged out by European colonization were multiculturalist, the plan apparently backfired when Europe had to receive back Angolans in Portugal after the independency. Peixoto’s research shown that when arriving in Portugal many of those citizens found problems to allocate. In the contrary of what happened with the European “whites” moving to colonize Angola; since those got the best jobs and dominated economy. The African assimilated “blacks” in Europe were left at the suburbs and faced exclusion. One could argue that the multiculturalism works for Europe as long as the “multicultural environment” stays outside its borders.

Furthermore in the contemporary world it is not difficult to find nations bragging out loud their support for multicultural policies and political correctness. Simultaneously the same states have problems on accepting migrants complaining that they don’t “integrate” properly in society. A good example is given by Khayati in “from victim diaspora to trans-border citizenship”. The author emphasize that; despite of the positive reputation that Sweden has in popular belief, immigrant and refugee populations largely suffer from social exclusion and other discriminatory practices in the state. This is a great example of how the “we and them” concept works. One could even argue that there is a political/ideological war in between the wish of having “functional and assimilated” migrants versus a dream of having a perfect “accepting multicultural society”. Further in “the Paradoxes of multiculturalism” Ålund, and Schierup also expose the dichotomy of the multiculturalism concept:

The tendency shown by the new racism and the political right to regard cultures as fixed and exclusive entities with impermeable boundaries between them has blended with the obsession of left-wing multiculturalism with 'ethnic identity' to such an extent that what was once a broad anti-racist 'movement' is now completely fragmented.  

All previous research illustrates a common point; namely that the political attempt of multiculturalism could fail in the present just as it did in the past. However, when looking at intergroup relations from an inside perspective, letting politics aside, the situation can be opposed. According to a study considering the native population of Turkish people living in Netherlands, it was found that; when the majority part of groups endorsed multiculturalism, they seemed less identified with their own ethnical group, showing a more positive attitude towards other groups. In other hand, when the majority endorsed assimilation they were more identified with their ethnical background and showing a negative attitude towards other groups. This research shows, to some extent, that it is important to listening to intergroup voices. Their perceptions put in perspective enlightened the understanding of how multiculturalism and acculturation can be understood in contemporary society.

The previous research leads one to think; what is the position of the postcolonial subjects in Angola? How do they perceive international labor migrants in their contemporary society? Is there more integration in between foreigners and locals or are their relations still stigmatized by colonial ghosts and framed into discourses of power? The present research will then, try to shed some light on these aspects. Nevertheless as these intergroup relational aspects are observed in a transnational labor community, it is necessary to also understand how business has been affecting this narrative.

1.3.2 Angolan business partnership with the Western world.

Previous research has shown that, to a certain extent, Angolan civilians benefited from the economic progress brought forth by colonization. Angola was seen as a precious jewel by Portugal. Despite of all the process of independency which culminated in a civil war, the

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39 F. Moghaddam, *Multiculturalism and intergroup relations: Psychological implications for democracy in global context*, p. 156.
economy in Angola has had remarkable periods of economic growth since colonization.\textsuperscript{41} According to Peixoto, the Angolan economic growth did not stagnate during the 13 years of the national liberation war (1961-1974). On the contrary as a response to the beginning of the conflict, the Portuguese government opened the overseas economies to foreign capital, which contributed greatly to the high growth rates reached by these economies in the following years. The extension of the war to Guinea (1963) and Mozambique (1964) also favored the evolution of the economies of the colonial territories due to the enlargement of the internal market provided by the large military contingents and the increase of the public expenses.\textsuperscript{42} Social differences were and are still preponderant in the country. Nevertheless the potential for growth and the present market economy left no doubts that foreign presence can also be seeing in a positive way by the nationals. According to David Sogge in “Angola: The Successful "failed state"\textsuperscript{43} the widespread idea that Western interests have guided the rules and economic incentives for more than 500 years in Angola, does not have great explanatory power. These views would be too essentialist to explain the case without looking at Angola as a whole. The idea that the fragility of African states is mainly due to the nature of their elites is not sufficient.\textsuperscript{44} The elites have been accused of greed, corruption and disdain for good policies, being driven primarily by ethnic and primitive rivalries. Nevertheless the political identity and organization of Angola must be understood through the analysis many other factors.\textsuperscript{45} According to Ekeh, European rulers in colonial Africa and their post-colonial African successors do not fit easily into the same system of social stratification. The African working class does not have a "high class".\textsuperscript{46} On the contrary, the bases of power of its present aristocracy were weakened by the importation of foreign techniques of governance.

The contemporary scenario in the state is of a single nature. According to Rocha, the present economic model in Angola has a degree of foreign exposure of 163\%, which became one of the highest in the world. This fact turns the Angolan national economy completely dependent on the

\textsuperscript{41} Peixoto, ‘Por uma perspectiva histórica pós-colonial-um estudo de caso: A “descolonização” de Angola e o retorno dos “nacionais”, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{42} C. Peixoto, ‘Por uma perspectiva histórica pós-colonial-um estudo de caso: A “descolonização” de Angola e o retorno dos “nacionais”, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{43} D. Sogge, Angola: “Estado fracassado” bem-sucedido, Fride, 2009, pp.1-27
\textsuperscript{44} Sogge, Angola: “Estado fracassado” bem-sucedido, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Ibid}, pp. 1-8.
\textsuperscript{46} P. P. Ekeh, ‘Colonialism and the two publics in Africa: A theoretical statement’, \textit{Comparative studies in society and history}, vol. 17, nº 1, 1975, pp. 91-112.
mechanisms of world economy. It could be argued that all of this economical dependency may affect national perspectives of independent growth. Thus this over-dependency may also affect the ways in which nationals perceives their relations with foreigners and their institutions inside of their communities. All of this leads one to ask who are the major foreign actors in the contemporary labor communities in Angola? What the nationals has to say about them? It is necessary then, to introduce some previous research about those contemporary work communities in Angola as well.

1.3.3 The Contemporary Foreign Labor communities in Angola

According to a research carried out by the National Statistics Institute (INE) in 2014, The Angolan population currently consists of 25 million 789 thousand and 24 inhabitants; Six million 945 thousand and 386 live in Luanda, the Capital. The census counted the presence of 586,480 foreigners living in Angola, representing 2.3% of the total population. According to the 2014 Emigration Report handled by the Office of the Secretary of State for Portuguese Communities: in 2013, 38,994 people born in Portugal were registered in the Portuguese consulates in Angola. In 2014 the number of Portuguese entries in Angola was underestimated by the Angolan Consulate in Faro by 5,098. Currently, Angola is the sixth country in the world to where most Portuguese emigrate.

Nevertheless the actual variety of multinational enterprises and conglomerates operating in Angola is diverse, and so is the foreign back ground of its labor migrants. Those are not only from Europe, but investors from all nationalities. A research done by Tang to the Journal of Africa and Asia studies for example, investigated the impact of Chinese enterprises in the local employment in Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). This research demonstrates that “China’s economic engagement with Africa has been increasing significantly. Trade between China and Africa is projected to reach $100 billion before 2010, 10 times the 2000 figures.” Thus the numbers of Chinese operations and the number of Chinese labor

expatriates in Angola has increased. South American enterprises are also not far behind. According to Vicentine,51 Brazilian diplomacy has given a lot of privileges to Africa in commercial relations, which become called “south-south” cooperation. Those relations have represented a remarkable development for both states especially in the areas of trade, investments, oil, mining, infrastructure, health, science and technology, diplomacy and security. Being so the number of Brazilian labor migrants and companies operating in Angola has also increased.

In regards to national workforce inside the expatriate labor communities; according to Tang, the hiring of qualified technicians is an obstacle if the foreign enterprises have to count on the locals. This happens because the two sectors most dependent on people with knowledge are the technology sectors; Power generation (as the case of Cambambe) and telecommunications. These sectors have the lowest hiring rate of the local labor force. Historically this has an explanation; Twenty-seven years of civil war in Angola have greatly affected the education and industrial systems in the country. With this, the majority of the local workforce does not have the knowledge or the previous experience necessary to perform excessively technical tasks.52 All of this previous research made it clear that Angola has scars from its colonial past and from its former relations with Europe. Nevertheless, the development of the economy has furthered their relationship. The state is now open to the world, thus Angola depends on international economy. The country receives a lot of foreign investment and with that an influx of expatriate labor force from a huge variety of ethnical backgrounds. Thus, this previous research made the impression that there is a double sentiment brought to Angolan nationals: whether conserving their relationship with foreigners may signify achieving technological progress, economical benefits and maximal exploration of their natural resources capacity, or to live with the presence of a colonial ghost, that controls their natural treasures trough exploitation. What the previous research does not shown is how this situation is perceived by people. Are Angolan nationals still perceiving foreigners as the villains “whom steel jobs and the best living conditions?” How is cooperation inside the contemporary transnational enterprises established in Angola? Is there a clear division between foreigners and locals in terms of power at the workplace, which would

resemble the colonial period? That is to say, does racial segregation and intergroup tensions bear the same symmetry as during Angola’s colonial past? If those tensions still arise inside their contemporary discourses, do intergroup relations have more tendencies to establish separation or grounds for acculturation in between the samples? Or either have these contemporary relations overcome these concepts? Many of those questions motivated the present study. With all of that said, analyzing Cambambe community in Angola from an inside perspective, the following research is to shed new light on to theory and to the understanding of intergroup relations in transnational labor communities.
2. Methodological considerations

This chapter will explain the main methods used in this study, how they are related and what are the advantages and disadvantages are of using these methods. Further it will supply some practical examples of how the methods were used and what motivated the choice for this approach. First of all, it’s necessary to point that this study combines different methods. Those methods are namely; survey method & ethnographic research/participant observation method. Firstly this chapter will present why surveys has proved to be the ideal model to investigate the context proposed in this case study. This means, how and why the researcher has chosen this method and for how long and in which ways this study was carried on. Further the chapter explains how participant observation/ethnographic research was also chosen as a method and in which ways this choice complements the survey method. Following this chapter gives a small grasp of how the theories chosen to support this research claims interacts with these methods. However, the theories are to be just in depth explained further in the chapter 3, only dedicated to theory. Last but not least the research design chapter presents how data was collected and how it was analyzed and disposed in the analysis chapter.

2.1 Survey

The researcher worked with Cambambe during the past for 4 years. This period comprehended several travels to visit the business facility in Angola and participate in its meetings and local events. In each one of these travels the researcher stayed at the location from 1 up to 2 weeks. However, from October to December of 2016, about 3 months, she lived and worked inside the observed community. At the end of the research project the researcher accounted 16 travels to the facility in 4 years, plus 3 months of residence in Cambambe. During the visits and residence period the researcher was allowed to participate in some meetings from the business compound. These meetings were done in order so the business community could reach agreements, and make decisions related to the Cambambe’s development. In these meetings there were representatives from all national companies. To participate on these meetings allowed the researcher to have an insider view of how decisions were made in between the parts. Thus how particular aspects of the intergroup “power games” could be seen in practice. This was one of the reasons that motivated this research. Despite of what all the observant possibilities as being an insider in the community guaranteed to the researcher. It was noted that in order access the
people’s perception of the investigated matters, it was necessary to ask them what they thought about it. Thus, it was decided that this study should be complemented by the use of a survey method. According to Della Porta, there are many different methods which may allow exploring beliefs, attitude and behaviors and surveys are one of them.\textsuperscript{53} Surveys are instruments which are typically design to conceptualize aspects locating those chosen by individual levels, assuming the logic of cause and explanation, understanding culture as independent variable dimension.\textsuperscript{54} However, there are claims that to understand the complexity of culture, surveys may not be sufficient if not combined with other methods. That’s why in this study the survey is combined with ethnographic research. According to Della porta, in this kind of combination surveys can be very useful to enlighten concepts of popular attitudes, while the ethnographic research simultaneously explores their meanings.

2.1.1 Survey material
The survey handled was composed by qualitative semi-structured questions. According to Bryman this model of interview is more flexible and emphasizes how the interviewees understand issues and events.\textsuperscript{55} This is of great importance for this study once given voice to all subjects interviewed, and avoids the possibility of having only a single perception of the matter. The questionnaires for the survey were constructed intending to investigate how power was perceived by the intergroup studied. In this moment, Joseph Nye’s theory of power was used to elaborate the survey questions. This was done since Nye’s three dimensional categorization of power (smart, soft and hard power) could facilitate the researcher to understand the community power structuration. Furthermore the questions investigated the intergroup perceptions of relative and absolute gains, inside the studied community context. This understanding would allow the researcher to build up strong connections between the survey findings and the theories chosen to analyze those, to be presented in the analysis chapter. (See theory in page 26). The questionaries’ used for the survey joined open ended and closed questions. This model allowed obtaining “hard data” from the closed questions and at the same time, it allows participants to express their own feelings towards the subject in the open questions. According to Bray, it’s this kind of flexibility

\textsuperscript{53} D. Della Porta, M. Keating, \textit{Approaches and methodologies in the social sciences: A pluralist perspective}, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2008,pp. 316-322
\textsuperscript{54} Della Porta and Keating, \textit{Approaches and methodologies in the social sciences}, p. 316.
in interviews that makes those attractive. The survey contained a total of 13 questions from those 5 were objective and 8 were open questions. (The original questionnaire used can be found in the ANNEX 2 to this thesis.) The model was done in two versions. One version in Portuguese and other in English, both contains the same questions. The model was produced in two languages in order to facilitate the contact with the interviewed population. Further a more accurate level of answers. Furthermore the subjects were free to choose the questionaries’ with the language they felt more comfortable to answer. The analysis of the survey gives focus to 5 of the objective questions, and to 4 of the open ended ones. The other 4 questions weren’t analyzed due to the specificity and objective limitations of this research. Nevertheless the data from these questions can still be used in the future. The considered questions for this study are specified in the ANNEX 2. The surveys analysis was done dividing the answers in groups, based on nationality. The groups being: “South Americans”, “Europeans” and Angolan nationals”. Furthermore to acquire an even more accurate level of answers regarding specific national backgrounds, the subjects were dived per nationality. Ex: Brazilians, Swedish, Spanish and etc… The survey results were accounted for manually and are illustrated in a excel file which can be found in the ANNEX 1 of this research. The hard data was accounted for in numbers, while the open questions were analyzed taking into consideration the frequency in which concepts and words appeared at the subjects discursive answers. The interviewed were able to make questions and interact with the researcher about the questions. Each encounter with the researcher had approximately 30 minutes. The researcher used the time to explain the questions and to make others regarding to the interviewee work and life in the community. The formulary was left with the subject and 2 (two) days after the researcher would come back and pick it up. In some cases it was possible to talk to the subjects about their answers. Nevertheless many preferred a second option; to drop the formulary of inside of an anonymous delivery box located in a central building. As the survey was collected inside of business premises, many of the respondents didn’t want to be identified. Furthermore, this study was conducted from October 2016 to December 2016, period in which the researcher was living in the community. All the data from the questionnaires was manually accounted for and interpreted around April 2017.

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2.1.2 Interviewed sample
The public chosen to answer the survey questions to this study were employees upscale, or line managers and/or workers in supervision positions, thus the “elite group of the business compound”. The decision to use this specific interview sample was taken due to the central inquire of this study which presumes “power” as shaping intergroup relations and identity. Moreover it was noted that the majority of the Angolan nationals were employed in lower positions inside the expatriate firms and in the local complex. Simultaneously all the expatriates seemed to assume more important decision making roles. Thus the people interviewed for this study were therefore mainly placed in managerial and technical-managerial roles. (Including the Africans and all nationalities interviewed). According to Hunter, many ethnographic studies are done considering the perception of the masses which are generally constituted by the poor and the powerless, than with elites. However many of the problems which affects the masses is defined by the decisions of elite groups. Thus this research is limited to the analysis of this sample. Due to the fact that the researcher hasn’t found many woman’s in coordination/supervision roles, the sample is mostly limited to male gender respondents. (The total sample is also specified in ANNEX 1) The woman’s found, were subordinated to field service supervisors and located in even more down scaled positions. Hence, many women were employed in sub-functions as cleaning, cooking, assembling, and there was a great difficulty in communication especially with the African women which couldn’t read or write well. Gender and inequality in transnational communities and migration studies remain here, as in the limitation chapter, recommended to future researches.

2.2 Ethnography – Participant observation
According to Della Porta, ethnography is the heart of the qualitative research methods used in social sciences. The method is widely chosen by researches when they want to address a descriptive or a more interpretative approach. In the contrary of quantitative methods which are more concerned with “what, where and when”, qualitative research focus in enlightening the

contexts of “why and how” in society. According to Mahler, ethnographers from diverse disciplines as anthropology, sociology and others have used the method to studies related to international relations and migration. This method aims to understand how people give meaning to their own experiences, regarding the characteristics of their culture, society and politics. To Bray, this method presumes the analysis of data in a more flexible way, which is helpful once it allows perceiving the dynamics of the human social world while the researcher carries out the investigation. Further ethnography is a method largely used by anthropologists and social researchers which want to observe aspects, characteristics, behavior while participative engaging in specific communities. According to Marcus, in the research “The emergence of multi-sited ethnography”; the contemporary use of ethnography emerges to be used in a more contextualized way. The method can even be used when the researcher wants to investigate questions such as the effects of capitalist world system brought to society, or to multiple sites of observation. The method also shed some light on the problematics and 'dichotomies such as the "local" and the "global," being capable of addressing the contexts of the "lifeworld" and the "system." Many of these aspects which are possible to investigate by ethnography, are embedded in the context of the present study; as it investigates the aspects of the relationship between foreigners and locals in Cambambe analyzing their perceptions. And further as the primary objective of this study is to clarify how power relations are perceived in this community and how the nationals in this community and expatriates perceive their intergroup interactions. According to Hunter, studies about local communities must by definition be concerned with power. Since power defines the distribution of knowledge and the position of their elites. The context in which these communities are embedded, considering its institutional relationships, ecology, cultural, symbolic systems are all influenced by the local

62 Ibid, p. 301.)
64 Marcus, Annual review of anthropology, pp. 95-117.
elites and by power. Thus Hunter argues that the ethnography of these communities and its power relations must be explored in order to understand its dimensions.

Furthermore, some author’s argue that discourse analysis as a method is often embedded. in contemporary ethnographic research. Ethnography is often interested in linguistics, especially when discourses appear in interactions that appear as fundamental to understand the ethnographic contexts studied. This is to say that field notes taken during research and participant observation, might require from the researcher an interpretation of the discourses in context. Given the importance of hearing the voices of the local and expatriate community in the present study, and it’s focus on the understanding of intergroup interactions in Cambambe, the discourses present in field notes taken during participant observation will be analyzed and take into consideration. This is to say that, to some extent, this research includes discourse analysis as a complement to the survey and ethnographic method. However, the survey and the ethnographic method were the main research tools used in this research. Future studies may use from the field notes for more in-depth discursive analysis studies. Furthermore, According to Nicholas Thomas in the book “Colonialism's culture: anthropology, travel and government.” Ethnography is the best approach to investigate the continued effects of the colonial experience in society and it is a great model to understand society contexts. As the modern world brings up new lights to the colonial experience, the subject is still an ongoing cultural process. In many communities the marks left by colonization are continued and still dominates the ways in which these populations are represented and understand reality, legitimizing cultural differences. Considering it all ethnography proves to be a suitable method to be used in the present research. Since it allow investigating the dimensions of multiculturalism, assimilation, power influence and colonial aspects in intergroup relations. All these dimensions are present in the core of Cambambe’s ethnography and in its contemporary social context. However the use of any method implicates in some specific limitations. According to Bray in ethnographic field research the researcher

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71 Thomas, Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel And Government, pp. 11-32.
“cannot escape being subjected to identification with the cultural, social and historical contexts of the groups to which he belongs, any more than the individuals that he is studying can separate themselves from their groups”.\textsuperscript{72} As a source of criticism, it is necessary to understand the position of the researcher in this context. During the research time, the researcher was acting as an international relations intern of for a European company inside Cambambe. This factor made this research possible. However, at times the presence of the researcher could be perceived as attached to a Western bias. Furthermore, the researcher is born in Brazil and has Portuguese as her mother language. The language factor facilitated approximation with the Portuguese speaking subjects. Moreover, the fact that the researcher has also has lived in Europe and speaks fluently, English, Spanish and Swedish, enabled approximation with other parts from the expatriate group. Nevertheless, it’s important to point that there were difficulties to approach German subjects. The researcher can’t speak German. Although it isn’t clear if the approximation difficulties were a language or a cultural issue. Many subjects from the German sample didn’t want to answer survey questions and presented themselves difficult to approach.

2.3 Research Design

This chapter will demonstrate how the data collected in this study via survey was disposed and presented in the analysis chapter. The intent is to make easier for the reader not only to access the research findings orderly, but to perceive how and where the findings were triangulated with theory, leading to important interpretive conclusions. Furthermore to how the research information was duly accounted, transformed in graphics, interpreted and disposed.

2.3.1 Analysis chapter disposition

To achieve accurate categorization of the findings, this research will be commented in 4 different dimensions in the analysis chapter. Those 4 dimensions were extracted from the intergroup relations theory, and those are; Rationality, perceived justice, material resources and identity. The first chapter then is named: “Identity, intergroup aspects and perceptions.” The fact that identity should be the first chapter is rather a question of development of the analysis concepts as they follow. This is to say that, during ethnographic research the first thing the researcher

observes in the field is how the environment where she is studying looks alike. Thus the context of identity and group formations comes first to attention, than the particular aspects of how groups interact. Those are later aspects which appear more clearly as the more the researcher goes engaging in the society she is to observe. Nonetheless the conclusion chapter addresses Identity on its end, that happens also as the concepts of identity and power develop trough the research, aiming to achieve an answer to the third research question of this study “Do differences in perception appear as a constraint to or driver for acculturation?” which is rather just possible after observing the totality of aspects investigated in the 4 categories observed. That’s why the analysis chapter starts investigating identity and then part to the other research dimensions. As identity is being influenced by power, it is the broadest subject investigated in this research; this chapter was further divided in two sub chapters, namely; “Empowerment zones and group identity” & “Language as a boundary maintaining”. Those two subchapters represents how far this study goes in relation the study of “identity”, as this topic could be analyzed in several different ways. The following chapter is named; “Rationality, intergroup aspects and perceptions”; This section demonstrates directly how power is perceived in Cambambe as affecting the ways decisions are made, how the community perceives gains and how this is responsible for affecting the ways in which this community is structured. The third chapter is named; “Perceived justice, intergroup aspects and perceptions”. The chapter demonstrates how power collaborates to the physical divisions of spaces, framing discourses of superiority and how those further affect the community perceptions. The fourth chapter is named; “Material Resources, intergroup aspects and perceptions”; It demonstrates how shared material resources and disputes for the same, framed by power, affect the community structuration. Last but not least, all of these 4 categories will be commented back and forth trough the lenses of Post-colonial theory, intergroup relations theory and Power Theories in International Relations. More about theory will be explained in the subsequent chapters. (See chapter 3).

Furthermore, regarding how the survey data is presented in the analysis chapter. The community interviewed under this investigation was observed by groups: Group 1 = Europeans, Group 2 = Angolan Nationals (“Locals”) and Group 3 = South Americans. In doing so, all the questionnaires were divided and manually accounted considering the national back ground of the respondents. The answers from open questions were accounted by the frequency in which words and concepts appeared in the sentences. The results from these answers are thus interpretive.
From the answers obtained in the closed questions, it was possible to achieve percentage rates, creating graphic expressions of this information. These graphics are disposed along the analysis chapter, in relation to the topics to which each part of the analysis chapter is about. For example, in the sub chapter; “Rationality” there is a graph which demonstrates differences in perceptions in between the samples towards concepts, such as “relative” and “absolute gains”, and another where each national group expressed their feelings towards specific types of power “soft, hard, smart power”. Relating the research findings to the specific 4 categories of observation chosen for this research was fundamental not only to describe the study findings, but also to interpret those according to theory. Being so, after each graphic there is an explanation of how the information was found and a cross section with theory leading to the interpretation of the research findings. Another data that appear in the analysis chapter are field notes, from conversations with managers in the community. Those were collected using ethnographic method and participant observation. Those notes are clearly marked in the analysis chapter and help the interpretation of the research finds with an addition of the own community eyes and perceptions. Those are also interpreted and discussed by the researcher along the chapter.

2.4 Ethical considerations

For reasons of discretion, all the names of the commercial parts, business entities, companies, inside the multinational complex of Cambambe will be not mentioned in this research. Instead, only the national origin of each foreign enterprise will be mentioned. Firstly this measure was taken in order to keep in secrecy the identity of the workers interviewed; secondly, to protect the identities from the firms inside the business compound. The only name to be mentioned is the name of the power plant complex “Cambambe”. Thus it’s implied that all the foreign firms, and people interviewed operated for some company inside of the complex. Preserving this secrecy turned easier to access the research subjects inside their firms, as they felt freer to answer the questions without being afraid of jeopardizing their jobs in anyway by being identified. Being so, the questionnaires are anonymous. Each questionnaire only mentions the subject gender, age, how long they have worked in the community and if they were positioned coordination roles. All the people that contributed to this research were either participating in answering the survey or worked in the community observed by the researcher. All research subjects that answered the survey did so by their own free will and they were informed that the collected information would
be used in academic research. All the interviewed people were also informed that the researcher presence in the premises was based in participant observation. Thus, that this included taking notes for this study during the time in which the researcher lived in the community, participated in business meetings, and proceeded with the survey.
3. Theoretical perspectives and approaches

This chapter will show which theories were used in the analysis of this study, why these theories were chosen and how they are connected to the main subject of the research. This research was based on three theories, namely: the psychology of intergroup relations, post-colonial theory and the theories of power in international relations. Those three theories were proven to be a good complement to each other, since this study aim of investigation targets common aspects discussed by these theories. Intergroup relations theory is commonly used in cross-cultural related studies,\textsuperscript{73} The intergroup relations theory allows one to look inside of Cambambe intergroup dynamics, perceiving their conflicts, power struggle and identity aspects. In the other hand, post-colonial theory, commonly used to provide historical nuances of perception to how the post-colonial subjects are placed in society, helps this research specifically on explaining how the colonial past of the studied community may presently affect their perceptions of foreign presence. Furthermore as this study is also focused in how power relations permeates intergroup relationship and how it may affect the studied society; this study also uses from different perspectives of authors which give importance to how power interfere in perceived group identity. For instance, Nye’s power theory which sees power in a three dimension spectrum, (Hard, soft and smart power) is considered relevant. Finding out which one of this powers were the most often used in the community is important why it illustrates if the contemporary choices of power are the same or if they are different from the ones in colonial times. This is to say, as hard power was most often used by colonizers in order to “tame” the colonized, is this still the language used in contemporary business communities as Cambambe? Thus the context of power as implicating in the formation of communities is found fundamental to complement not only the post-colonial theory, but to complement the analysis of the findings from the dimensions of intergroup relation theory as well. With that said this research is interdisciplinary once it joins a theory of political psychology with two theories from international relations. According to Moghaddam, researches like the present one, which set aside disciplinary boundaries, are profitable since they lead to important practical results.\textsuperscript{74}

\textsuperscript{73} F. Moghaddam, Multiculturalism and intergroup relations: Psychological implications for democracy in global context, 2008, p. 17.

\textsuperscript{74} Moghaddam, Multiculturalism and intergroup relations: Psychological implications for democracy in global context, p. 17.
3.1 The Psychology of intergroup relations:

The major theories of intergroup relations have direct implications to democracy and diversity management studies. They have being largely used due to the need for understanding intergroup contact and the challenge of managing diversity in global cultural communities born across national borders. Among other aspects Psychology of intergroup relations analyzes what each group understands to be in-group or out-group duties and rights. The theory frames intergroup relations by analyzing it in 4 (four) different dimensions, those being; Rationality, Perceived Justice Material Resources and Identity. Rationality helps to interpret how power relations function inside groups. This category frames the importance of analyzing authority aspects in relationships. In an operational way this means that; the dimension of rationality helps this research in accessing how the multicultural work team observed in Cambambe perceives leadership and the power relations present in their group. Moreover, Perceived Justice investigates how social comparisons create feelings of exclusion and deprivation. This category frames the importance of analyzing if there are social rights being violated in any case. Thus, operationally the dimension of perceived justice will access if there are traces of racism, inequality in relational intergroup behavior that may reassemble aspects from labor communities in the colonial past. The dimension of Material Resources considers asymmetric relations and intergroup conflicts. This category frames the importance of analyzing how material conditions and interests drive intergroup relations. Thus, the dimension of material resources will allow for understanding if some nationalities feel more or less provided with resources than do others, and if this may be a reason for conflicts. Last but not least, The Identity dimension assists in investigating questions such as; “To which kind of group do I belong?” This category frames the importance of analyzing the role of the individual, majorities and minorities in the groups. Furthermore the context of being in a group and remaining individual. Thus operationally, the dimension of identity allows one to observe if there are divisions of identification or exclusion in the group, and if it results in feelings which could affects their business relations. Furthermore, it

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75 F. Moghaddam, Multiculturalism and intergroup relations: Psychological implications for democracy in global context, 2008, p. 20.
76 Moghaddam, Multiculturalism and intergroup relations: Psychological implications for democracy in global context, p. 16.
77 Ibid, p. 20.
lets us know if this group has a single- or multiple identities. Does this group identity tend to be more in line with a multicultural theory or with acculturation?

Thus psychology in intergroup relations consists in a multidisciplinary approach itself, since each one of the categories it investigates can be correlated to other theoretical studies.\textsuperscript{79} According to Moghaddan, the themes investigated by psychology of intergroup relations are implicitly and explicitly underling theories not only in psychology but also in international relations.\textsuperscript{80} Researchers interested in the aspects of rationality, can access a huge amount of Freudian literature or also literature in social sciences, for example in Marx and Angels literature.\textsuperscript{81} Perceived justice, is often a research category for studies related to theories as such the “deprivation theory”, or to psychology and human rights. As those two first categories, material resources and Identity are also investigated by other multidisciplinary theories.\textsuperscript{82} Moreover all of these categories were found essential to investigate the intergroup relation observed in this case study. However as the focus of the study is the power interplay in-between the multinational group, this will be the main focus to be analyzed inside each one of these theoretical categories. Furthermore psychology in intergroup relations is often part of Political Psychology and Cross-Cultural oriented studies.\textsuperscript{83} Intergroup studies in Political psychology may present different approaches, sometimes they are more inclined to find arguments based in other theories such as “Realistic group conflict theories” or others as “Social identity theories”.\textsuperscript{84} The basic difference in between those approaches to intergroup relations theory is that the realistic approach addresses intergroup conflicts as caused by incompatibility of goals between individuals sharing material resources.\textsuperscript{85} While the social identity approach understands that a blend of history, social identity, policies and commemorations might be able to create a foundation to understand intergroup behavior.\textsuperscript{86} Both approaches converge in a singular notion

\textsuperscript{79} F. Moghaddam, \textit{Multiculturalism and intergroup relations: Psychological implications for democracy in global context}, 2008, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{80} Moghaddam, \textit{Multiculturalism and intergroup relations: Psychological implications for democracy in global context}, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{81} \textit{Ibid}, p. 18.
\textsuperscript{82} \textit{Ibid}, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{84} Liu, \textit{Online readings in psychology and culture}, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{85} \textit{Ibid}, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{86} \textit{Ibid}, p. 10.
that interpersonal behavior is different than intergroup behavior.\textsuperscript{87} As this case study is an ethnographic research done by means of participant observation, this theory complements perfectly the method. The analysis occurs since the 4 dimensions of intergroup relations theory facilitates the categorization of the observed data collected in participant observation. Thus giving a more clear vision of the research findings and allowing this study to be replicated in the future. In addition this theory can give more life to the people’s voices since it brings their perceptions forth to be translated into scientific discourses. Nevertheless, it wouldn’t be enough to use only a psychological theory to describe the group relations investigated in this research without given some voice to the historical context in which these relations were taken place. This is why the use of this theory is complemented by the use of post-colonial theory. While intergroup relations theory helps to observe these relations from inside out, post-colonial theory puts those observations into context. The use of psychology theory in intergroup relations is also important once part of the participant observation required the researcher presence in business meetings to understand intergroup dynamics the approach to this theory was relevant. For this theoretical frame the opinion of contemporary author’s as such Moggahadan Fathali\textsuperscript{88}, Leone Huddy, David Sears, Jack Levy\textsuperscript{89} and some of the classical psychology theorists such as Sigmund Freud\textsuperscript{90}, and Wilhelm Reich\textsuperscript{91} were found relevant to this study and appear in interpretive sections in the analysis chapter.

3.2 Post -colonialism

Post-colonialism is as a theory which tries to explain how the colonial period has left marks in the dimensions of politics, philosophy, arts, culture and in others dimensions in former colonies.\textsuperscript{92} Thus to better understand the perspective of the Angolan nationals and their relations with the expatriate community, it is necessary to consider the marks left by the colonization period in their national identity. Angola is a former colony of Portugal and the historic


\textsuperscript{88} F. Moghaddam, Multiculturalism and intergroup relations: Psychological implications for democracy in global context, 2008, pp. 1-164.

\textsuperscript{89} L. Huddy, D. O. Sears, J. S. Levy, The Oxford handbook of political psychology, p. 859.


\textsuperscript{91} W. Reich, Character analysis, Macmillan, 1980, pp. 1-41.

relationship of Angolans with European foreigners, “whites”, is not of an easy understanding. The occupational Portuguese colonists brought not only benefits such as economic progress to Angola in the past, but also a clear division in society where the place of the “whites” – foreigners, was clearly different than the place reserved for the natives – “blacks”, in their own society. According to Hall, identity is constructed through discourses. That is to say also, in-between the powers games present in relationships which are more marked by factors such as differences and exclusion, than by identification.

Thus Europe has multiplied divisions and opposing groups, has fashioned classes and sometimes even racial prejudices, and has endeavored by every means to bring about and intensify the stratification of colonized societies.

Being so, power could never be shared multi-racially, since the real assimilation between settlers and the colonized would end the privileges of the settlers. Thus Portugal's power over Angola depended on preserving the differences, hierarchies, and inequalities in its colonial relationship. Having said this, the limits imposed by the assimilationist and exterminatory policies of the colonial period are clear. However, as the prevailing discourse would have it "multiracial assimilation" was the main civilizing mission of the colonizers and this allowed the proximity between the two groups (Europeans and Nationals). Thus, some awareness was eventually strengthened among a few blacks and “mestizo natives” who gained access to the European molds of education. These people were called "assimilated" or "Westerly acculturated" which were thought to be caring a multiple identity. These same ones would further become intellectuals, militants or leaders of the modern Angolan nationalism, once they came to idealize new possible contexts in the social, cultural and political sphere. This context is of vital importance to understanding perceptual aspects in the relationship among foreigners and nationals inside of Cambambe context. Thus, this study uses post-colonial as a theoretical frame to analyze the collected data and the historical background of the community studied to verify if

93 C. Peixoto, ‘Por uma perspectiva histórica pós-colonial-um estudo de caso: A “descolonização” de Angola e o retorno dos “nacionais”, in 7º Congresso Ibérico de Estudos Africanos, 2011, p. 3.
96 F. Fanon, Jean-Paul Sartre, The wretched of the earth, p. 11.
97 Peixoto, ‘Por uma perspectiva histórica pós-colonial-um estudo de caso: A “descolonização” de Angola e o retorno dos “nacionais”, p. 3.
98 Ibid, p. 3.
there were any significant changes in history from the colonial times. The theoretical contributions of author’s such as Stuart Hall\textsuperscript{99} Franz Fanon,\textsuperscript{100} Vumbi Mundimbe\textsuperscript{102} and Zigmund Baumman\textsuperscript{103} among others were used as lenses to guide the analysis of the research findings. However, only using the Post-colonial theory in solitude could lack in perspective to look on the investigated group from inside out. That is why the use of post-colonial theory together with the psychology of intergroup relations proves to be a good “multidisciplinary blend” to analyze these research findings. Last but not least both accompanied by the perspectives of analysis offered by the theories of power in international relations target directly the research aim of this study; which is to find out; to what extent can the social, ethnic and cultural boundaries among the groups, be explained by their common colonial pasts in terms of latent and asymmetrical power relations.

3.3 Theories of power in international relations

According to the famous psychologist Wilhelm Reich, (author of significant contributions to theory in psychology and power studies as such the mass psychology of fascism and character analysis) since society is divided between people whom possess power and the ones whom don’t, from the social order established by the former, will depend the minds of the latter. For this Author the structuration of power would be a reproduction of a “psychic structure” itself. This structure will then affect all members of a group reproducing itself in people. Michel Foucault has also argued:

\begin{equation}
(\ldots) \text{It's my hypothesis that the individual is not a pre-given entity which is seized on by the exercise of power. The individual, with his identity and characteristics, is the product of a relation of power exercised over bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires, forces.}(\ldots)\textsuperscript{104}
\end{equation}

This statements might lead one to conclude that the ways in which power is structured inside of significant institutions (such as the Cambambe business compound), might be influential to the perception of identity of the community on its surroundings. However, it would then be

necessary to understand which kind of power is structuring this relation. Or either, if differences in the use of power might signify any changes in the relation from those whom possesses power, to those whom don’t. Joseph Nye’s power Theory and its three dimensional understanding of power (Hard, Soft, and Smart power)\textsuperscript{105} then became essential to define it. Although it might be argued that the use of Nye’s theory is often used as a foundation to studies framing to understanding relation in between states, the author of this study proposes a new use of this theory. This is to say, applying Nye’s power categorization to the understanding of human intergroup relations in the context of this case study. This theory becomes fundamental since analyzing intergroup relations inside of a transnational business community such as Cambambe, requires from the researcher to understand how power relationships were formally perceived among the sample group observed in order to check how it could be affecting the community as a whole. This is to say, if decision making discourse among Europeans and African nationals still resembles hard power as the main language, or even if in their contemporary relationship power has shifted its forms. Back to Reich theory where power does influence the character of individuals and relationships, this discovery could prove how contemporary forms of power in labor communities are to affect local societies. According Nye and Keoannae, in their work \textit{power and interdependence},\textsuperscript{106} modernists has constantly failed in ignoring \textit{how power holders could wield power in order to shape and influence patterns of interdependency across national boundaries}.\textsuperscript{107} Using Nye’s theory of power this case study intends to shed some light in this subject, bringing it from Cambambe intergroup relations to an international relation context. Joseph Nye makes it perfectly clear that: “Culture, values, and policies are not the only resources that produce soft power… economic resources can also produce soft as well as hard power behaviour.”\textsuperscript{108} Culture is a power resource that affects patterns in behaviour of groups, changing how they transmit values & knowledge. This pattern exists on multiple levels, Nye argues.\textsuperscript{109} Human culture is divided in those universal, and those proponents of human culture which stems from more narrow subcategories such as national cultures, social classes, smaller group affiliations etc. Culture, as Nye puts it, is not static.\textsuperscript{110} Rather different cultures tend to

\textsuperscript{107} Keoahn and Nye, \textit{Survival}, p. 82.
\textsuperscript{108} Nye, \textit{The future of power}, p. 81.
\textsuperscript{109} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 84.
\textsuperscript{110} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 84.
interact with each other in different ways. Nye continues by saying that the connection between culture and power behaviour needs to be investigated more. This work does that by applying the categories of Hard, Soft & Smart power to intergroup relations and investigating how they perceive their interactions. Nye states that “Soft power can be used for both zero-sum and positive-sum interactions. As we have seen, it is a mistake to think of power—the ability to affect others to obtain preferred outcomes—simply as “power over" rather than “power with" others.”\(^\text{111}\) The distinction goes at Perceiving that the interaction is strained, meaning that power over is the preferred way would suggest that there is a reason for it. Since power in intergroup relations needs to be investigated, the combination with psychology on the subject will elaborate on the connection between power, history & culture. Soft power is a function of shared values and identity, Nye argues, however to understand the triggers, it needs to be put into context, thus Orientalism\(^\text{112}\) will be used to provide just that. The effect will be that perceived power will be elaborated on with perceived reasons and the two will therefore explain each other. This happens as the case study might serve as an example of how contemporary labor communities represented by Western and Non-western actors perceive power in the present. Furthermore the perception may also approximate some groups to others creating in-group alliances. Those are important since they may define empowered zones which will define how groups behave and look alike.

According to Hunter, many of the problems which affect the masses are defined by the decisions of empowered groups, which at times are monitors.\(^\text{113}\) “Local elites arise from within a local system, operate through a local system, and wield their power on the local system.”\(^\text{114}\) In such statement he refers to elite groups, this is to say, people responsible for decision making in large scale; the same as Reich and Nye’s, to some extent. Since this study interviews and hears what might be called the “elite group” of decision makers inside Cambambe community. Thus the sample interviewed matches also this theoretical description. From the moment in which the perceptions of the impacts of interference of an expatriate community in a local society are being measured, to some extent, minorities and its power of interference in mass-society should be considered. Expat groups and decision making groups are surely minor groups if compared to local societies, however with great influence. Thus, the use of power relations and Nye’s three

\(^{114}\) Hunter, *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, p 55.
dimensional power models as theoretical frame becomes fundamental in this research. Further, other authors and their significant contributions to power studies in international relations were used back and forth in the analysis chapter, connecting the survey findings back to theory in order to explain the relevance of this study and its practical findings to the reader.
4. Angola

4.1 From colony to independent state

The settlement-colonialism of the African continent in the twentieth century was based on a definitive occupational context, that is to say: The colonizers (Europeans) having political and legal domain over the native populations and over the exploitation of their local labor force and resources. This model emphasized the constitution of “multiracial societies” through European penetration in all the economic and social activities of the colonized localities. In contrast, while idealizing the construction of multiracial societies, the model fed social segregation. This happened due to the economic model of local labor exploitation and to the social structure itself, which was built upon strong racial barriers. Those barriers protected the Europeans settlers guaranteeing them an unquestionable state of prestige in front of the natives. Citizenship and laws were made valid, on the benefit of the "whites" in contrast to the "native". The native problems were handled by separate institutions, divided in tribal units, and those had no voice to reinforce the native customs, traditions or rights in confrontation to the European regulations. Thus, European law was imposed and the natives were forced to be in compliance with it. Around 1974 around 330.000 foreigners, “whites” were living in Angola, which was considered one of the states with the largest population of white people in Africa, second only to South Africa.

In the colonies the truth stood naked, but the citizens of the mother country preferred it with clothes on: the native had to love them, something in the way mothers are loved. The European elite undertook to manufacture a native elite. They picked out promising adolescents; they branded them, as with a red-hot iron, with the principles of Western culture…

The whites dominated the administration of important business sectors such as; transport, agriculture and others. Luanda, the capital of Angola, at this time was seen as more modern than Lisbon, the capital of Portugal. This civilizing character of the colonization ended up dividing

117 Ibid., p. 9.
119 Ibid., p. 9.
Angola between the Portuguese “civilized”, the Angolan “natives” generating a clear racial hierarchy in this context.

Economically the colonization brought benefits; Angola experienced an accelerated economic development after World War II because it had raw materials which were well valued in the international market, such as: coffee, oil, diamonds and iron ore. Angola benefited from having increased their export infrastructure, while it was industrialized and received investments to produce consumer goods. Yet, the colonized were oppressed by injustice, including forced labor, unequal treatment and the limitations of political rights among others. This scenario would eventually increase a feeling of “needing freedom” among natives and culminate in the national claim. According to some theorists the Angolan process of independency was indeed brought by a need of establishing an Angolan freedom, but also of reestablishing an Angolan national identity. African national identities were often misunderstood and contested as they suffered a great amount of influence from their colonizers identity. With the Angolan identity this would be no different, especially when the colonization brought such a great amount of multiethnic, multi-religious and language diverse universe into their state. Thus, by the empowerment of nationalist Angolan parties, such as the MFA – movement of the armed forces, UNITA-National Union for the Angolan Total Independency and the FNLA- National front of Angolan freedom. Those parties wished to see Angola liberated from the Portuguese control.

The independency process was achieved under agreements, but also marked by episodes of violence and civil war. Due to the insecurity, violence and the distinction among foreigners and nationals, the exit of Portuguese citizens and of their descendants from Angolan soil, back to Europe at that time proved to be unavoidable. Furthermore one could argue that ignoring Angola’s past, which is that of a Portuguese colony, and the marks it left on the natives, especially through the process of independency, would make for a poor investigation. In other words any research intended to clarify any aspects of Angolan identity or, even the aspects of their relationship with members of the European community, must consider what the process of colonization and independence means to the Angolan people. With that said it’s possible to

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121 Peixoto, ‘Por uma perspectiva histórica pós-colonial-um estudo de caso: A “descolonização” de Angola e o retorno dos “nacionais”, p. 9.
122 Ibid, p. 10.
understand why post-colonialism is being considered as a theoretical lens to help the interpretation of this case study results.

4.2 Cambambe’ community history

The region of Cambambe and the small neighboring village called “Dondo”, which was the object of this study, were also affected by colonization. The region was dominated by Portugal. Around 1771, the first fabric of iron foundation in Africa was assembled in this region. A century later, in 1870, the small community was recognized as a village. The history of the region has a lot to tell about its people; According to Dias, in a research on the impacts and the patterns of power from the colonization over Angolan natives, describes that the region of Cambambe was demarked by the slavery traffic. According to the author, people living at the margins of the kwanza river suffered from starvation. Visual marks of the colonization period can still be seen in the middle of the premises of Cambambe 2 power dam. Ruins of what formerly were a fortress and a prison, for outlaws, keep the memories of colonization alive in the village. The fortress of Cambambe, served as one of the great Angolan prisons: Before Portuguese definitive domain over Angola the Dutch dominated the coast in the seventeenth century. Equipped with military garrisons, they administrated the territory, being headed by masters appointed by the Crown or by regents, designated by the Governor-General. From this period on the commercial, religious and political penetration in the territory was developed; they set off the military expeditions and the settlers sought refuge in case of greater danger. Until the mid-nineteenth century the prison were ruled by a Captain-General. The Cambambe prison ruins were classified as a National Monument by Provincial Decree No. 67, dated May 30, 1925. Nowadays it is in ruins, in the power of the State, under the Ministry of Culture. Around 1941, the first train arrived at the village marking a period of development & industrialization. In 1958, the start of the Cambambe dam, a few kilometers away, brought with it new development possibilities to the community. Until this period the location was not recognized as a city. The title of city, was not given until May 29, 1973, when the Dondo, Cambambe was already on the verge of becoming the fourth largest industrial pole of Angola, a title that was sown until the

All this history of colonization & foreign intervention, both good and bad, has become the fate of the Cambambe village and of its people. At the moment the community faces the final development stage of the second power plant construction in Cambambe 2 hydro power complex.

4.3 Cambambe’ Business enterprise specifics

According to the African Dam Briefing report released in 2015 by the International Rivers Africa organization; Since May 2008, Angolan government has given emphasis to increasing the state capacity for electrical production. The plan was to increase the capacity by 1,250 Mw by 2016. And in 2014 the government decided to increase the capacity up to 7000Mw, without a planned deadline for implementation. All of these development plans were considering the potential of generation from the waters of Kwanza river. The total investment in the process is calculated to be around $750 million dollars just around the kwanza river. The total amount of investment in the sector envisioned to export energy to South Africa came to an amount of $7.3 billion, in addition of a 5,000 Mw plan. The main plan includes in the context 6 main hydro dams. Cambambe and other’s such as Lomaum, Biopo, Matala, Mabubas and Gove. All of those plants suffer great damage during the civil war in Angola and are under rehabilitation or expansion.

This research specifically analyzes the transnational labor community living in the surrounds of the Cambambe power plant, in the margins of Kwanza River. Cambambe 1 is the first hydro plant of the Cambambe complex. Its more recent rehabilitation works started in 2006, aimed to increase productivity from 90 MW to 180 MW. This project included the rehabilitation of four 72MVA generators units, the implementation of new digital protection and control systems. The rehabilitation of the enterprise also included lifting and hydro--mechanical equipment. The “pharaonic” construction aimed also to heighten the dam wall adding a additional 20 meters of concrete on top of it, in order to improve power generation. All the works were to be complete in 2010, but some parts were not done until 2016, thus delaying the works. The project is so big that it was divided in different phases. The government also decided to invest in a construction of a second power plant, called Cambambe 2 to be installed in the same complex. The 2nd power

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plant is part of the Southern Africa Power Pool (SAPP) 2008 work plan. The project includes the construction of a power house with four additional turbines generators with capacity of 175 MW each. A contract to supply and install the four generators and turbines was entrusted to a German multinational company as well as the control and associated systems. The civil construction was undertaken by a South American civil contractor. Other arrangements and electrical planning were given to a Brazilian firm specialized in electrical engineering. Many other smaller international supplying companies were involved as well. The project began in 2011 and its first machine became operational in July 2016.

In regards to labor in the premises, according to Tang Xiaoyang, The quantity of Angolan work force in the private sector is known to be bigger than in governmental sectors. In part this happens because all of the private enterprises must be registered by the ANIP “National Agency for Private Investment”. All of those companies are required to respect a law agreement which requires that 70 % of the labor in these enterprises should be Angolan Nationals. But the paragraph doesn’t specify if the nationals should be included as managers and or technicians, but only refers to the non-skilled workers. Nevertheless companies working for governmental projects are not subjected to the ANIP. Instead they are supervised by the Ministry of Finance and other corresponding ministries. Thus the details for these projects are not disclosed. This is said to be because projects which are of “urgent need” for the state and to the Angolan people just can’t wait. Thus water power plants for example are required to have a large number of skilled technicians, which Angola cannot provide for the time being.\(^\text{127}\)

\(^{127}\) X. Tang, ‘Bulldozer or locomotive? The Impact of Chinese Enterprises on the Local Employment in Angola and the DRC’, p. 18.
5. Analysis

5.1 Identity, aspects and perceptions

According to Suski and Manucello, identity is a compound consisted in the characteristics and aspects of a given people, influenced by physical and geographical space where they live considering its bases in past and present culture. It should also be considered that the concept of identity in a contemporary context is influenced by the social and economic environment of which the individual is part of. Furthermore, that the postcolonial subject’s identity formation is also influenced by other cultures. Thus many theorists claim that there is no longer a single identity in the contemporary world, but hybrid identities instead. In this sense identity is understood as being adjustable, changeable and always influenced by the external environment. Moreover, identity has been redefined by the means of constant migratory flows in the context of modern societies. This happens since the multicultural influences through the composite of individual diversity, and cultures clashing in intergroup encounters. Further one could argue that to define the context of identity is a contemporary challenge to sociology, politics, philosophy, and other areas of knowledge. In this context of the modern world groups are redefined; local cultures undergo influences from other cultures which are forming new identities. Thus the encounter provoked by the clash of different cultures and identities can cause diverse phenomenon; there are cases where people of different cultures find themselves in the same physical space, but even presenting different thoughts and behaviors they conserve more tolerance towards the “different”. In these cases are more often related to the concept of "multiculturalism" and “diversity acceptance”. However, this mixture of culture can also create disagreements between different groups. As an example one could refer to the explicit differences between the Western population and the eastern population emphasized in Said's “Orientalism”. In these cases, there is a division between different nationalities in a search for individualism. According to HALL, "the modern age has given rise to a new and decisive form of individualism, at the center of which a new conception of individual subject and its identity

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129 Z. Bauman, Ensaios sobre o conceito de cultura, p. 6.
arises." One might argue that individualism arose with the capitalist society as a preponderant characteristic of the postmodern subjects. That it sprouts from individual and collective construction and its cultural expressions. Furthermore some migration studies claims that encounters among different cultures might produce “acculturation”. According to Green and Staerklé, acculturation is a phenomenon that happens when groups of people from different cultural backgrounds encounter each other in continuous firsthand contact, which subsequently induces a change of patterns in each group”132. Taking this theoretical disposition above into consideration, and trying to understand how this works inside of the observed group, subjects were interviewed in Cambambe community and required to answer some questions such as: if in their opinion, the culture of an international organization located outside of their country of origin does get affected in any ways by the local culture; the new country where it is established? The survey results shown that: 43% of the Africans agree that foreign culture is affected by local societies, followed by 50% of the European sample, and 80% of the South American sample believing in the same statement.

![Figure 1. Foreign organizational culture is affected by receiving society](image)

The same question required them to explain why they think this happens in case they have answered yes. The discursive answers were accounted by the frequency in which words and concepts appeared in sentences. Thus the survey revealed that: To Angolan nationals, in some extent, acculturation happens once both parts need to adapt to their different of habits, different standards, culture, and their internal laws. The interpretation of the finds leads one to think that


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for Angolan Nationals, the companies and expats acculturation has had to be an influencing force which enabled them to operate in Angola. To the European sample it seemed necessary to adapt to the local working ways and to adopt the new rules of the market, and their different way (the local way) of acting towards business. Further to understand and engage in different holidays, parties and celebrations are also important. To this sample, all of those aspects had to be incorporated into their foreign standards to keep them functional in Angola. The South American sample mentioned that the foreign organizations has to change in order to satisfy the local culture & needs and that cultural adaptation is fundamental in order to assimilate to the “good things of local culture”. As an example the sample mentioned having to adapt to long meetings with many people involved in decision making. With that said it is possible to understand that this multicultural environment requires that members with foreign culture adapt to the local society in order to proceed with business. These adaptions require integrating special characteristics of the local culture and society in to the foreign company standards. Amongst some of the changes are; the integration of new local holidays in foreign business calendars, modify the ways to participate in business meetings, to respect and incorporate local dress codes to firms uniforms and etc.

A deeper interpretation of these findings leads the researcher to think that proximity in between different nations might be dissolving the barriers of the “we” and “them” posed by Said to some extent. In the Cambambe special case, the West (represented here by western firms) are investing/serving/ providing to the “rest” Africa (more specifically Angola). Thus Angola poses the rules of the game. The same “rules” or conveniences apply to workers inside foreign enterprises. This means that Angola dictates the ways in which foreign firms are supposed to “behave” and operate inside of their territory and if this modifies the standards of foreign firms one could argue that this change of mind in western service providers is deconstructing old patterns of corporate behavior. The colonial perception in which Africans were there to serve and not to be served is one of those. Further, if efforts are being taking into consideration by foreign enterprises in order to adapt to the Angolan ways, this already represents a contrary movement to the past. This is to say that in the colonial period westerns and their organizations dominated the scene and Africans needed to adapt to their foreign rules being placed in lower ranks and discriminated as showed in the previous research to this study. And what the Cambambe community demonstrates in this first moment is that perhaps this movement is changing.
According to political psychology studies the dissolution of the “we” and “them”, as a separation concept, happens by the means of prolonged contact between individuals from different groups. The contact dimension portrays a need to re-conceptualize the way the social world is categorized. Furthermore research in this field even assumes that as more increased and prolonged is the time of contact between different national groups the tendency is to lead into a more harmonious intergroup relations. With that being said, one could argue that international business could be seeing as an interesting way to build up empowerment zones approximating people and dissolving past inequalities, especially in the case between Europe and Angola. The colonial Angola was more as a supplier to Europe, while the post-colonial Angola became a buyer. This change of power may lead to a change to the old relationship symmetry, perception of identity and formation of stereotypes from the past into new forms. However this is an early point of analysis and it is necessary to move forward with in-depth research, considering other aspects of these intergroup relations.

To continue with analysis and trying to access the situation in the other way around, this means, how the impact of foreign presence is perceived in Angola, the sample was asked if they agreed or disagreed with the following alternatives:

a) The free trade liberalization movement is positive, since in some sense it approximates different nations, promoting business and facilitating a multicultural interference in isolated communities, promoting a better understanding among People and cultures, where every part involved has to gain with acquaintance and cross-cultural exchange.

b) The free trade liberalization movement is negative in some sense, because in despite of bringing new business to isolated communities, the interference of foreign companies in these places dissolves the local cultures altering people local behavior, affecting their original identities.

c) I don’t have a defined opinion in which regards free trade liberalization has a effect.

The research results have shown that the community perceives integration in between different cultural backgrounds with positive eyes. The survey results shown that the majority of the interviewed sample, this means 70% of Angolans, 70% of Europeans and 100% of the South American population agreed with alternative A. Only a minority constituted by 20% of Angolans

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133 F. Moghaddam, Multiculturalism and intergroup relations: Psychological implications for democracy in global context, 2008, p. 135.
134 Moghaddam, Multiculturalism and intergroup relations: Psychological implications for democracy in global context, p. 135.
and 20% of the Europeans have chosen the alternative B. The remaining 20% of the total sample chose alternative C.

**Figure 2.** Free trade is positive- Multicultural interference in local communities promote a better understanding among People and cultures

![Pie Chart](image1.png)

**Figure 3.** Free-trade is negative- Multicultural interference in local communities modifies people’s local behavior in the way to affect their original identities

![Pie Chart](image2.png)

The results have shown that the majority of the interviewed see the connection in between free-trade and cross cultural exchange with positive eyes. This leads one to think that the perception of foreign interference by the sample employed in transnational compounds is more associated with benefits than with loses both by foreigners and locals. This turns us back to theory and to the statement of Zygmunt Bauman, regarding cultural clashes and how those are perceived in modernity.

"Culture" no longer needs to mask its own human frailty and apologize for the contingency of its choices. The naturalization of culture was part and parcel of the modern unleashing of
the world. It is understood that culture is the result of a particular history, and this also includes its relations with other People.135

Summarizing, the cultural fragmentation caused by the phenomenon of globalization has great influence in the formation of the identity in the postmodern subjects.136 In the contrary to the past, where diversity was looked with discriminatory eyes, there is a tendency in modernity leading to more acceptances in between national different backgrounds. This tendency can be observed in Cambambe case to this point.

5.1.1 Empowerment zones and group identity
According to Berry, however, identity dimensions can also be analyzed by observing aspects such as separation, integration, assimilation and or marginalization among intergroup members in observed societies.137 That is to say that observing these dimensions in their cross-cultural relationship might reveal in which extent some communities seem more or less integrated to others. This was considered to observe specific aspects of identity in the relational context of the Cambambe community and its trans-border citizens. Thus analyzing how close and how distant memberships are positioned in the observed business community it was possible to understand some of its singular aspects. Thus the survey handled locally investigated the perceptions of the locals as expatriates in this regard.

The subjects were then asked to answer:

a) Which is the major challenge of adaptation for a foreign worker to Angolan behavior/norms?

b) Which is the major challenge of adaptation for an Angolan worker to foreign behavior/norms?

Regarding the answers to the question A, the results of the survey showed that the challenges for foreigners to adapt in Angola are diverse. From the perspective of the Africans interviewed, it was told that its difficulty for the expatriates to adapt in the community since they need to understand local costumes, culture, how to communicate to be humble and further to understand specific factors such as “corruption”. Thus, the major challenge for a foreign, according to the African sample, was the lack of understanding of Angolan culture. However the European sample

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understand their difficulty to adapt locally as being due to the lack of organization of the Angolan nationals, their lack of knowledge, and their lack of understanding of foreign culture. They also mentioned that it’s difficult to adapt due to bureaucracy and due to Angolans “don’t respect rules”. Nevertheless they also mentioned having difficulty in understanding Angolan culture agreeing with the African sample. South Americans pointed to have difficult in understanding local rules, standards and resources limitations. Beyond they also agreed it’s difficult to understand Angolan culture. Being so “Cultural adaptation” was the concept witch was majorly pointed out by the 3 samples as being a factor which makes adaptation a challenge. Their discourses made it clear that there are difficulties faced in relationship among the group, especially when the subject is culture.

Further, regarding the answers to the question B. 20% of the African sample refused to answer this question. The ones who did answered said that is difficult to communicate with the expatriates and that is necessary to be humble and have respect to deal with people from other cultures. The idea of difficulties in “cultural adaptation” frequently appeared among the national answers. The European sample interviewed addressed the questions pointing that Angolans have difficult to adapt to foreign norms because of their lack of discipline, labor culture, non- respect to hierarchy and ethics. Words such as financial problems and bureaucracy were also cited by the European sample. Difficulties in “cultural adaptation” were a repetitive answer, once more. Then the South American sample pointed out that locals don’t adapt quiet easy to foreign rules due to their lack of labor discipline, intensive work routines, and the lack of integration and dynamism between work teams. All of this leads one to think that the relationships in the sample group observed are more inclined towards national groups’ separation than towards approximation. However part of the sample doesn’t deny that living together indeed promotes certain assimilation levels in both sides. This statement is aligned with Freud’s assumption that; any of the individuals whom compose a group are surrounded by a “psychological mass”, this is to say, for more similar or different that this individuals could be, under the circumstances brought by a phenomena such a group transformation, this individuals will tend to think, acts, and behave in an entirely different way than they would as singular individuals.  

138 This leads one to argue that either for separation

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or approximation, group contact transforms. It is necessary to go further into identity, analyzing other aspects of this intergroup relation to verify it.

**5.1.2 Language as a boundary maintaining**

According to Moghaddam considerable evidence was accumulated in researches to shown that people are more positively disposed towards others that they find as similar to them. This is to say that one of the strongest claims to human behavior and society relies upon similarity and attraction among people. One of the points that were observed by the researcher during the time living in the community and participating in business meetings was that the migrants from South America seemed to have an easier understanding of the Angolan business culture, and more proximity to the nationals than the migrants from Europe. In the same way the locals also seemed to feel more comfortable to share work ideas with those workers, having a certain reservation towards the Europeans. At the beginning of the study this seemed to be a language issue. This means: some sides had an easier adaptation with each other because of the similarities among their languages (Spanish and Portuguese) allowed them to understand each other needs easier. Although during the study it was perceived that even talking the same language “Portuguese” the contact between Angolans and Portuguese workers from Portugal presented more tension than the contact with the Brazilians. In the same way, regarding the Spanish speaking people, it was possible to notice that the nationals were more flexible in accepting business critics and advises from Venezuelans, Bolivians, and others from South America, than from the expatriates from Madrid- Spain, which were told to be “strict and inflexible” by the nationals. As locals demonstrated more resistance in the contact with the Europeans even if they were Spanish and Portuguese speakers, one could argue that this might be more referred to business, behavior and cultural issues than to language issues.

Further regarding language, the interviewed sample was asked to rank from Lowest (1) to highest (4): a) Local language domain, b) International affairs expertize. c) Knowledge of local culture/historical. d) Knowing Political contacts/“key players” first hand. This would illustrate what is considered to be the most valued perceived trait which would enable one to make business in Angola. The results from the survey show that knowing the local language was pointed out as

a priority by the African and the European samples. Thus, it is seen an important factor for engaging in Angolan community business wise. Nevertheless a huge part of the European group believe that to know influent people and having political contacts is also of great importance, thus pointing to political contacts as their first option instead of language. Furthermore The South American sample most frequent pointed to knowledge of culture and local history as more essential. Nevertheless it should be considered that this group is already fluent in the local language.

![Figure 4. Local language importance.](image)

Thus it can be noted that having common language is an important factor to interact in this community and to operate business wise. However when it’s about the sample perceptions of “what is more important” there are some differences among the group. Some of those discourses will be investigated in the next chapter, under “rationality“.

To this point this chapter has discussed some factors which could approximate or divide group’s identities creating specific empowerment zones. That means stronger bounds between some nationalities as opposed to others. Thus it showed how the social environment may reveal important components which defined aspects of distance and or proximity in the observed group. It revealed that the levels of proximity and distance might be related to the post-colonial level of identification in the context in which the subjects are being observed, but also by how similarities and differences may affect their perceptions and behaviors. All of these aspects are embedded in the intergroup identity of the observed community. It’s clear that some parts are more acquainted with others but also that there is an unavoidable multicultural business context
that brings them all together. One could argue that the identity of the sample observed in this study is as singular as the aspects present behind their discourses. In this sense their “identity” doesn’t refer to any of the specific nationalities contained in the group, but rather to the characteristics of the discourses that defines this transnational group as a whole. With that said, one could argue that the multicultural relationships within the social context of Cambambe’s people do not escape these perspectives of the contemporary world. Thus the observed relationships in this business community can be understood as a reflection of this social context, which understands the formation of hybrid and unique group identities. It was well defined by Stuart Hall in the context of hybrid identities and diasporic communities.\textsuperscript{141} Since there is a correlation in-between the way in which people behave and the way in which power are perceived as defining people's memberships in society.\textsuperscript{142} A deeper interpretation of the research findings to this point leads the researcher to think that the proximity in between national memberships in intergroup relation might affect the local community. This is to say that; the position in which one feel allocated in a group will directly influence the ways in which this one will behave towards this group. Thus, if power define the positions and how nationals groups relate to each other, (as for instance affecting decision making ) this might have influence over the destiny of societies in which these groups exists. Furthermore, how power is structured inside of a transnational labor compound (which employs a significant parcel of the total local population from a specific region as Cambambe), might be an influential factor to the local community. Moreover it is possible to note that in Cambambe group memberships are represented by bounds among nationalities creating empowerment zones. Groups with more members form majorities and according to Mogahadan majorities will tend to direct decisions.\textsuperscript{143} Moreover it was noted that the Cambambe case demonstrates that expatriate presence is perceived as having a great influence on this business community. However this impact is not of a single direction. This is to say that, at the same time, the local norms were also perceived to be affecting the foreigners’ standards.

\textsuperscript{143} F. Moghaddam, Multiculturalism and intergroup relations: Psychological implications for democracy in global context, 2008, p. 135.
5.2 Rationality, aspects and perceptions

The survey showed a remarkable difference in perception from the European sample. For 42% of Europeans, interest or benefits drives decisions and the direction of choices. While 28% of the same group believes that some parts are more benefited than other parts, this is to say that those whom have more power will drive decisions. Only 14% of the European group agrees with the Latin and Angolan Nationals. Thus analyzing the survey might lead one to think that there is a difference between the perceptions of business by the means of relative or absolute gains.\(^\text{144}\)

![Figure 5. Results benefiting all parts drive decisions.](image)

![Figure 6. Interest drive decisions, some parts are to be more benefited than others.](image)

According to Powell, if more states are to care about relative gains, the tendency will be that more gains to one state will represent or be perceived as a loss by another, turning cooperation

into a difficult issue. One could argue that the same affirmation influences national groups inside corporations, and that to envision results as “absolute gains” would facilitate cooperation. In the other hand the pursuit of relative gains could entails conflicts among group parts. This may explain why fewer tensions were perceived between South Americans and Angolans when the issue was related to results, than in between nationals and the European community, which showed to be more inclined towards believing in relative gains. Donald Campbell has argued; “How can one explain the pervasive human willingness ‘to fight and die for the ingroup ... which makes lethal war possible’”? However rationally for ethnic groups, nations, and other groups, to fight and participate in intergroup conflict for self-interest, non-considering “means” for “ends”, apparently makes sense.147 Thus, to Hallevy et al, just considering self-interested as equivocal to rationality is not an sufficient explanation. One could argue that in enterprises such as Cambambe, the battle interplay between multinational groups towards gains at times is led by the same feelings. Furthermore these authors believe that, groups that fail in mobilizing sufficient members to engage in conflicts for gains will most often not survive aggression from other groups. One could argue that the situation can become even more complicated if the groups in the interplay have different views on how “gains” are perceived. This might bring the reader back to the previous chapter (page 46) where the value of intergroup membership and the formation of majority groups were discussed.

To this point of this study, the survey results make it clear that there is a difference between the European and the National mindset when gains are at stake. Furthermore it was noted that there is a similarity in perception vis-a-vie gains, between the African and South Americans. Which leads to the question: Could these similarities and differences in perception be somehow correlated to the post-colonial group’s backgrounds? South American countries are also former European colonies. Thus, could this fact approximate their People more and their ways of perceiving gains? Looking back into history, South America and Africa are closely related. In the 16th century Europeans colonized both sides of the South Atlantic Ocean. The first group of

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slaves from Africa arrived on South American shores around 1538. Since then their cultures started to cross-relate creating strong cultural bounds and miscegenation. Slave trafficking from one shore to the other was a reality until nearly the 1850s. Thus the relation between the states can also be seen as important to the global arena. Since the South Atlantic region signified a precious fount which watered the world economy during the 17th century. This fount sustained a massive part of the European Atlantic Empire. With that said it’s clear that the historical bounds originated by the proximity and position guaranteed to African and South American Nations might have given them similar identity traits in this regard. According to Moghadded, increased contact over a long time in between groups is assumed to lead to more harmonious intergroup relations, the longer the contact, the more people grow alike.148 This could explain a feeling of approximation in culture and behavior in a south-south perspective. Although one could even go further and argue that both groups were in an oppressed position under Europeans, and that is also a common bound which they share, that could affect their present perception towards Europeans.

Regarding how the level of suffered oppression may affect proximity or even create separations, Felix states:

A Ghetto is a Ghetto anywhere and it’s clear that the children of Angola are also the children of Brazil or from any other nation which has an excluding system perpetrated after colonization.149

This statement was made by Felix when revising the book "Filhos da Pátria" (the children of the nation) from João Melo. João Melo is an Angolan author, the work tries to represent the unique experience of the Angolans and their perceptions after independence, and experienced through the political-economic circumstances.150 One could argue that their colonial past’s influence how they interpret their position in the contemporary society, and it may affect their way to perceive absolute and relative gains and their proximity to each other. Furthermore political psychology studies, analyzing groups, have also suggested that this kind of

operationalization reflects different levels of closeness and involvement among migrants and receiving societies.\textsuperscript{151} In this sense migrant groups which are more able to negotiate and understand the demands of the receiving society would have a closer level of approximation to it. Thus if South Americans and Africans perceive gains in a similar fashion, as a means of driving decision, it could facilitate more approximation among those groups of people. All of the discussion regarding relative gains brings this study to the dimensions of power. This leads one to think in terms such as: how is power perceived to be affecting group interactions in general? Furthermore, to which kind of power do these national groups in Cambambe conform, due to their beliefs? According to Nye, hard power means to achieve things via coercion and force, while Soft power would mean being capable of persuading and attracting others to your own ideas, and, in the end, Smart Power would be a combination of the use of both soft and hard power.\textsuperscript{152} To discover to which kind of power the national groups where more inclined, they were asked which the best way to persuade international teams in business decisions was. The results show that 45% of the Angolan population believes that soft power is the best way to persuade international teams in business decisions. While nearly 30% of the same group believes that Smart power is a better alternative. 42% of the Europeans believe that smart power is the best way to go. Nevertheless, group opinions are divided with nearly 30% pointing to soft power as a solution. For 70% of the Latino community, smart power is the way to go about persuading international teams in business decisions. Only a small parcel of the global population interviewed thinks that hard power is the best option when it comes to persuasion in decisions.

\textbf{Figure 7.} Choice among soft, smart or hard power. A) Africans, B) Europeans, C) South Americans

\textsuperscript{151} L. Huddy, D. O. Sears, J. S. Levy, \textit{The Oxford handbook of political psychology}, p. 861. 
By the means of participant observation during some business meetings the researcher has noticed that the Angolan sample shown a certain aversion in accepting enforced decisions. The survey results might confirm it since no one of the Nationals interviewed has chosen the hard power alternative. Further it was noted during the meetings that the European sample could use their technical knowledge and expertise to enforce Angolans in accepting their solutions, although they felt better if the samples stand hours in several meetings explaining how and why they should accept their technical advises. The European sample at many times preferred more “efficient” and “quick” approach to decisions. The researcher heard, on many occasions, complaints that these several hours long meetings weren’t so productive in their opinion. One could argue that the Angolan preference for soft power also resembles a need to be convinced in order to take decisions. However it’s necessary to point out that this business enterprise, as it was mentioned in the chapter 4.3 (Cambambe business specific), the part of the African sample represents the firm which is buying service from the foreign counterparts. Being so it’s expected that the “client” (buyer) so per say, do not expect hard orders from the sellers (service providers). This is quite different from what happened in colonial times where Europeans dictated what should be done as explained in the previous research chapter. Further the European sample showed an inter-group division in their opinions regarding power. However the majority chose smart power as the best solution to persuade decisions. Regarding South Americans, only 10% agreed that hard power could be a solution to persuade decisions in multicultural business teams the majority pointed to smart power as a solution. It’s important to note that this question investigated what the sample thought to be the best way to persuade decisions. This means, the option which pleases them best. Thus, this does not mean that this is a reflection of reality. As showed above, effective gains, interests and relational aspects of proximity may change the group’s opinion at times. Thus one could argue that how they rationalize decision and power might also variate.

This chapter has illustrated the complexities of intergroup relations. The relations are complex for a number of reasons. The first, being the impact which colonization has had on the South American specimen and on the Angolan. Since they share a similar historical outlook on their past, the groups have demonstrated a mutual understanding of power dynamics. In other words they are inclined towards similar outlooks on gains. Furthermore shared historical experiences of oppression, it has been argued, could be a factor for approximation between these two groups.
This has moreover been illustrated in a comparison with the European sample which was historically responsible for the colonization of the other two groups. This investigation gets interesting because the Europeans are now employed by their former colony, thus the asymmetrical perception on power illustrated by the groups is exacerbated by this interesting twist of history. In other word the former colonizers must conform to the formerly colonized in regards to perceived power and gains. The way decisions are made in a multicultural environment consisting of several groups, will depend on how power relations structures the group dynamics. In the case of Cambambe, there is a whole community employed by the same enterprise which serves as a venue for this study of power dynamics. This whole community is to some extent affected by the power structure hailing from within the enterprise. The question then becomes: are the studied aspects of power dynamics, the meetings & the survey data, enough to explain how power is structured inside of this elaborate multicultural environment? The meetings serve as venues in which one can observe the different perceptions on gains and power. It is therefore sufficient for drawing conclusions, however it tells us nothing about how the community is structured and how discourses are formed. This will be investigated in the following chapters to build upon this foundation.

5.3 Perceived justice, aspects and perceptions

According to Mundimbe “discourses have not only sociohistorical origins but also epistemological contexts”. Are European superiority discourses, as those from the colonial past, still arising amongst the expatriates, in other words do the expatriates feel or behave as if though the perceive themselves as more privileged in contemporary Angolan society? To the researcher, the aspects of power interplay in between the samples observed in Cambambe, made it clear that a parcel of the European population among the expatriate group believes that, to a certain degree, they are somehow “superior” to the receiving society. According to Mommsen, there is an understanding of an inherent superiority of Europe thus of “the white race” over others, which was made explicit in Hegel's work “Philosophy of Right” and it is clear that Europeans have used it to enforce their ways to approach economies and structures in their ways of expansion to “virgin areas” throughout the times. The researcher heard on several work

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related occasions, the Portuguese sample referring to the nationals as “these people”. – “These people don’t know what rules means”. – “these people can’t understand organization”. During a conversation with a Portuguese expatriate, he stated that nothing worked properly in the business enterprise because Angolan nationals had no understanding of what the word “organization” means. And that to work with - “these people”- was extremely difficult. The discourses from this part of the community made clear that the notion of “we and them” (the west and the rest) is still present and clearly evident in their discourses. Thus the sample discourses made it transparent that Europeans ideas of superiority are still soaked in their vision of Angolan Nationals. According to Stein post colonialism critics to the west historical domination are based in the assumption of its cultural superiority to other nations. 155 Thus, due to the special character of their discourses embedded in labels regarding the third world. To the author, Westerns are far from innocent when imposing their narratives to the third world nations and People. According to Green and Staerklé, perceived discrimination increases group identification.156 This means that differentiation among subjects would make the marginalized ones feel more engaged. Getting to the nationals perceptions of the matter in a conversation with a national it was told that: - “while some managers give us orders, (referring to a German manager) others care about really working “with us”.(referring to a Brazilian manager). According to Riccoer, the European processes, means and understanding of facts had for long dictated universal civilization ways, thus there is an illusion that they domain a certain universal culture and this would perpetuate a sense of superiority. 157 In a similar conversation with a national from Venezuela the researcher heard that the lack of organization is due to confusion generated from the fact that many people thinking differently, but that this stimulated their work towards more creative solutions to the problems. Hearing a Brazilian Manager it was told that the nationals were kind people, and good listeners with whom the work exchange experience was always very profitable. Their discourses framed Angolans nationals in a much more soft and comprehensive way than did their European counterparts. Thus one could argue that considering a perceived justice dimension South Americans has more closeness to the African Nationals than the European population.

Beyond the discourses other aspects that could frame feelings of exclusion and injustice among the group members were noted by the researcher; those aspects were related to the division of work physical spaces. According to Ballard, our sense of space and sense of identity are simultaneously constructed. This means that as we try to shape our world “to fit in”, the environments in which we live and how they are divided also shape our identities.\textsuperscript{158} An interesting aspect in this sense noted during the research was that the cantina which served food for the people in the construction field. There were two separated cantinas. One which served supervisors and managers, and another which served food to low rank workers. In the cantina for the supervisors and managers there were several tables. It could be clearly seem that during lunch time European groups preferred to sit together. South Americans and Angolans were mixed in other tables. In the second cantina, for lower ranked workers there were almost no foreign expatriates. The majority of the lowest positioned workers in Cambambe were Angolan nationals. This scenario demonstrates that divisions in between races and groups perpetrate even inside the enterprise physical spaces. According to Mudimbe, in the colonial time policies to manage ancient enterprises and implement those was to “domesticate natives”. That was achieved by the means of physical space domination, by conditioning the natives' mind’s, this would often lead to the integration of the local dimensions into a Western perspective.\textsuperscript{159}

Furthermore, regarding housing and division of living spaces, there were also interesting factors observed by the researcher. The company responsible for settling houses in the locality has built diverse houses with the same structure. Those houses had several rooms; all furnished with a single bed, a closet and at times one TV. These accommodations had shared bathrooms, a common TV lounge and a common kitchen. The way in which the houses were divided seemed to produce the same conditions of living for the workers which lived in the premises. However it was noted by the researcher that accommodations, made to attend managerial people, had their own private toilets in each room. Further in these quarters the common kitchen had a maid which would cook dinner for managers if they were not to eat in the common Cantina. Without the possibility to share those managerial houses it was noted that some foreign companies considered the common living spaces not sufficient to provide proper accommodation to their employees. Then those enterprises rented entire houses in a nearby village to accommodate its people. In the

nearby village it was possible to see that there were clear differences between the houses occupied by foreigners and the houses where Angolan people lived. The houses rented by international firms had air conditioning and more comfort than the national common settlements. All of this leads one to think that since Angola has so many other transnational work sites like this one, it could be that these divisions may scape the private enterprise boundaries to be feed into society. Moreover one notices that this special division still resembles colonial features. According to Ballard, in the past the so called “comfort zones” were created by white South Africans through formal segregation. Those zones intended to make interacting and preserving westernized concepts of values, behaviors, and language easier. Although after the 1970s the segregation created by these spaces, in combination with other factors, had made it unbearable. The government started promoting that the “black middle class” should be able to share these spaces. In exchange the black middle class payed for the space with private market and property. This allowed, to a certain extent, for a filter to exist which kept differentiating “desirable people” which could enter those zones from those whom were “undesirable”. This can be seen as an example of how spaces define the position of people in society and vice versa. Thus on could argue that segregation and space division may marginalize people and affect the perception of perceived justice. Further in some cases the way in which spaces are divided can even point out racist practices. To this point this chapter observed perceived justice aspects inside of the work place. So the question becomes: are spatial divisions reproducing any colonial aspects within the society, outside of the workplace.

As noted this is a labor community where people live at the same place they work. Thus their free time is spent inside of their work premises or in the nearby villages. The researcher found that to observe people during leisure time was an interesting way of going about investigating aspects of perceived justice. As people are not obliged to engage in leisure activities it was easier to understand which groups were more easily interacting when they choose to do so by their free will. In this sense it was noted that some part of the European people were at times not invited for events promoted by the South American and the Nationals community. Although, remarkable differences could be noted once dividing the European group into several national groups. For example, Swedish people were present and invited to almost all the festivities and their presence

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seemed to be celebrated by the nationals and South Americans. One could even say that level of engagement with the labor community was one of a “brotherhood”. However it was noted that after alcohol consumption the level of communication in between the samples could increase some tensions. The researcher became aware and participated of a program operated by the Swedish involved enterprise which envisioned by offering cross-cultural coaching to their employees to prepare to engaging with the African community. A specialist was hired by the enterprise to teach basic language, costumes and norms. It seems by noting their positive engagement that this effort has paid off. German people were at the most not invited or many times, when invited, didn’t “show up” to the locals festivities. Portuguese people were often present and seemed to engage well with the locals in their free time. Moreover it was noted that there was a friendly relation in between the nationals and the expatriate community as a whole, regardless the clearly differences which appeared when their business relationship was in context. As far as noted by the researcher, only the Swedish company has invested in a specific diversity management program, before sending their expatriates to Africa.

Furthermore regarding space, Cambambe Location counts with the presence of two different Cristian churches, one catholic and another one protestant both are frequented by members of the Angolan community and expatriates from Europe and from South America. Both churches are engaged in activities within the business complex and with local festivities. There are some interesting aspects in these celebrations; these churches allow the locals to sing the Christian music in their local dialect – “Kimbundo”. The researcher had the opportunity to observe some of the expatriates that usually goes to these churches singing the local songs in the old local dialect what was a very interesting moment to think about acculturation. The lack of religious conflicts among the groups can perhaps be framed as a ground for it. Thus one could argue that another aspect that’s brings the whole group to a similar dimension of identification can be found in religion. The majority of the group, irrespective of nationality, was Christians or those that didn’t have any religious preference. Further the presence of other religions, or of radical religious groups from any sort were not identified in the premises.

This chapter showed how ideas of superiority and the division in between physical spaces may affect how multicultural groups perceive justice and exclusion. Thus explaining why people might feel less entitled or segregated. The perceived position of identity in a social context is given by a reconfirmation process. Namely social position is based on the entitled understanding his position
in the social context, and those under him confirming his entitlement or superiority. 161. Psychology theories assume that identities are a product of both the “other definition” of it and the “self-definition”.162 What this study has illustrated so far is that power dynamics and perception on gains is dependent on intergroup relations which in turn are affected by identity. The problem is somewhat deeper since it tangents a colonial past which upsets both the interaction within the intergroup relations, but also how identity is formed and maintained within a structure where decisions have to be made. The former colonizer and the formerly colonized, working together in a new context, where at least formally, the formerly colonized now hold the rains. However superiority survives within Cambambe in terms of perception, which validates orientalism to some extent. Namely identity is forged and the maintained on basis of power dynamics, which in and of themselves sometimes serve as self-fulfilling prophecies. In other words even though Angola is employing the services of the West, the West perceives it as lending “them” a hand.

Further the chapter showed how community spaces may illustrate how people from different national backgrounds engage. In this case emphasized how the Europeans/expatriate community is privileged towards the nationals working in the lowest raked positions. Since the position guaranteed to Europeans by their knowledge entitles them to better living conditions than the nationals. The researcher tends to believe that this type of space division may lead the nationals to understand themselves unjustly less provided than the expatriate community. According to Huddy and Sears the perception of justice is extremely important since it determines how people perceive injustice and how they respond to it.163 This might have effects on perceived identity since of one’s” self- definition” may also be a reflection of assigned inferior social positions by “other” dominant groups.164 Furthermore, this chapter has also noted that in their free-time the whole sample seemed to have a positive relationship, however this happen when there were no power disputes at stake. - Reconfirming that power does matter in intergroup relations. Last but not least the chapter addresses the inexistence of religious ideological conflicts at the premises; noting that the existence of those could generate conflicts between the samples. All of these aspects are embedded in the intergroup relational identity of the observed community.

164 Huddy, Sears and Levy, The Oxford handbook of political psychology, p. 856.
5.4 Material Resources, aspects and perceptions

For many theorists control over material resources means power.\textsuperscript{165} They rely upon a view in which power is constituted by the attributes or things that can be used to persuade and or enforce decisions by one actor to another. Materially this means having money, savings, income, more resources and etc... Immaterially to have personal skills, prestige, technical expertise, or any means to control opportunities and etc.\textsuperscript{166} Despite of the group differences, multicultural background and aspirations, at Cambambe all are committed to a single goal that have to be achieved together: To complete the construction works and to make the enterprise run. The group subjects seem to consider this to be their major concern. The completion of the construction as a single goal to the whole group may facilitate integration, however it also generates competitive discussions regarding material resources. According to Mohaggdan competition for material resources may generate intergroup conflicts.\textsuperscript{167} At Cambambe premises all workers depend of the same logistic resources to survive. It was observed that despite of which company national origin, all the firms had to use the same roads to transport their loads. Thus, of being subjected to the same transport, costumes ‘clearance and storage systems. Furthermore being exposed to the same weather conditions, lack of basic resources common to the region and etc. During a conversation with a national he said that Europeans have a lack of patience and difficulty to understand the lack local resources and bureaucracy in Angolan systems. - “Angolan logistic and regulations processes can take a long time; I think Europe works faster that’s why Europeans have no patience”. (Angolan National) –Another national said: - “Europeans have clocks, we have the time”. This discourses demonstrated that there is a clear difference among how westerners and nationals faced material resource problems. In other hand Latin American expatriates look to have an easier understand of the lack of resources. It was heard from a South American manager that- “Europeans lose time blaming the system, the bad road conditions, looking for scape goats to justify material delays, while we are more concerned with finding solutions which would help the processes work easier for everybody.” This leads the researcher to think: Does a similar experience with the lack of material resources (as third world nations) help Latin American and Angolans understand it better?

\textsuperscript{165} F. Moghaddam, \textit{Multiculturalism and intergroup relations: Psychological implications for democracy in global context}, 2008, p. 132.
The survey in this sense revealed that: Europeans understand their difficult to adapt locally as being due to the lack of organization of the Angolan nationals, their lack of knowledge and resources, and their lack of understand of foreign culture. They also mentioned that it is difficult to adapt due to bureaucracy and to because Angolans “don’t respect rules”. They also mentioned having difficulty in understanding Angolan culture. South Americans pointed having difficult to understand rules and standards and but also difficult to deal with the technological and resource limitations. Beyond that they also agreed it’s difficult to understand Angolan culture. Problems in between this group happen eventually, when some don’t understand the lack of resources or want to appropriate of the resources available imposing power. As noted in the relationship of some of the Europeans posted in coordination roles with the locals positioned in ordinary existing work positions. Nevertheless as the lack of resources is a problem of all, the need to overcome these problems prevail over the national groups interests. A great effort of cooperation, was noted by the researcher, in between all national groups to overcome problems related to material resources. When the problem is a mutual one the entire group seems more engaged. It’s possible to say that in this sense, this group is more directed towards unification and to reach strength in their own diversity, than to fragmentation and independence in this sense.\textsuperscript{168} However there are other dimensions of problems with material resources when those don’t affect all the parts with the same weight. It was observed by researcher during some meetings between the parts that the national backgrounds strive against each other trying to impose responsibilities at many times instead of sharing those. In these battles knowledge became the resource and the tool mostly used to claim privileges. Considering that knowledge is power, there is an interesting asymmetric relation to be observed in this group. In this cases the Nationals are to be benefited when the business results depends on accessing their internal systems, and documentation processes. However it works in the same way for the expatriate community if the knowledge in question regards business results which depend of technological implementation or advice.

Nevertheless, the overall situation is that in terms of business one thing depends of the other. For instance, there can be no “technical material installed” in the construction site, if the administration processes does not allow it, and vice versa. In this sense conflicts were noted by the researcher to be present in routines of hierarchy and authorization. Technical procedures

\textsuperscript{168} F. Moghaddam, \textit{Multiculturalism and intergroup relations: Psychological implications for democracy in global context}, 2008, p. 11.
must be approved and so they depend on an administrative local system that has power over the procedures. National people involved in the administration were not often willing to approve and or collaborate in this sense. While sometimes when they were willing, the technical foreign firms were not. In corporative meetings followed by the researcher to deal with this problems many times its seemed that the questions wasn’t entirely business driven, but that there was a “ego parcel” present in this discussions in all the national groups which had difficulties agreeing.

The survey results shown that the European population looks divided with 35% believing that in cross-cultural business interfaces; generally decisions need to be constructed under the agreement of all involved parts, being product of interaction”. Although 28% of their core still believe in a more realistic approach where one part involved becomes stronger by getting more support from the other parts, and so having more power over the decisions” Thus that power drives the direction of choices. The survey shows that South Americans are strong believers in constructed relations with 65% voting that cross-cultural relations decisions might be a product of interaction 60%. In the contrary of all above, 60% of the Angolan respondents preferred to assume that their interactions with the expatriate community wouldn’t be even necessary if it was not by the means of interests.

Figure 8. Cross cultural relations.

Thus one could argue that this asymmetric understanding of power, could result in conflicts over material resources. On the practical side it was observed by the researcher during attendance in some business meetings among the parts that Angolans seemed reluctant in accepting advice, which many times were required by them. While the European group was divided in between members; some wishing to proceed with decisions counting on their expertise in their own way and others believes that all parts should be heard. South Americans at times
seemed to play a mediation role in between the parts. However the survey results demonstrate that the 3 groups holding the necessary knowledge to take decisions had opposite ways of thinking in this regard.

It was noted that the observed group do encountered problems but also advantages in their relationships. It was noted that the major problem lies in understanding each other needs and ways to approach work subjects. However the major advantage was in the range of multidisciplinary approach and relative solutions to solve practical problems. This means, distinct national backgrounds might have relational difficulties, although their different cultural background brings conditions to achieve different and creative solutions to problems. Similarities present in behavior may approach more some nationalities to others, as explained in the case among South American expats having more in common with Angolan nationals. Although this may occur once the similarity in behavior makes easier the comprehension of each other needs, in order to achieving solutions. Nevertheless to solve business problems expertize become the main need.
6. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis is to study to what extent the social, ethnic and cultural boundaries among The European- and South American/ expatriates & Angolan locals can be explained by their common colonial pasts in terms of latent and asymmetrical power relations? Thus, if there are any aspects in the contemporary intergroup relations which resemble the colonial past. How those power relations are perceived and if differences in perception appear as a constraint to or driver for acculturation? Firstly the results of the study demonstrate that contemporary intergroup relations still resemble relational traits from the colonial past. However there is a change taking place in this spectrum, due to the African new position of power and the control over European ways of delivery. This change is to deconstruct old labor stereotypes between Europe and Africa. Hence, those ways where Europe solely decided African destines in terms of labor. Secondly that power as it is perceived is shaping the relationships and the place of the post-colonial subjects in society and also the way in which they gather in membership and in-group- alliances. Power also is to affect physical space separation, which to some extent shapes how societies recognize their own identity. Thirdly, the proximity in between the samples indeed shapes and influences both sides of the relationship. Since, it drives efforts for adaption, the intergroup builds common cooperation zones overcoming ethnical bounds. The results of this study demonstrate that discourses of superiority are still common trait to a parcel of the European community in relation to the locals. Furthermore, that physical space’ divisions also represent differentiation among locals and foreigners placing foreigners in more advantageous positions. This aspect can be perceived as negative since it resembles a relationship similar to that between Africa and Europe in the colonial past. But the study results also have shown that there is an interesting shift in history; Africa has moved from a position of supplier to a position of buyer and Europe the other way around. This change represents significant changes in the power discourses connected to decision making, observed by the researcher when participating in business meetings inside of the business compound. This is to say, that the colonial aspects might be still present in relationship, but those are rather isolated in discriminatory discourses of only a parcel from the European sample. However the power to define and set the rules has now passed to the hands of the Angolans, those define not only the destinies of this business compound but how the Westerns must adapt to keep suppling to it. Inside of in-group discourses difficulties of adaptation was constantly mentioned by both samples showing that, to the contrary
of the colonization period, there is a contemporary effort of adaption from “the foreign” to “the local”; as it was showed through the example of the Swedish company, which invested in diversity management/cultural training for its expatriates. The majority of the Europeans assume that *smart power* and *soft power* alternatives work the best to reach an agreement. This leads one to think that this shift in mindset represents a significant post-colonial change. Since just a small parcel of the European sample thinks that *hard power* is an alternative to deal with their African partners. However this minority present is within leadership, what might induce negative implications to the “others” (Angolans) perceived identity. One could say that trade in Between Europe and Angola, which in this case is represented by Cambambe, has remarkably contributed to positive changes in perception by both communities. This can be confirmed by their own opinions which notably perceive the approximation brought by business with positive eyes. This also de-characterizes the past colonial relationship between Africa and Europe, where the national sentiment towards Europeans were more of exploitation than cooperation. This is to say that business, and the ways power is perceived as shifting inside of this business community, is approximating people and dissolving stereotyped borders. Like for example the colonizers and colonized stereotyped relationship between Europe and Africa emphasized by Hall in his work “*the spectacle of the other*”. Furthermore, it was possible to note that the three samples interviewed (European, South Americans and Angolan Nationals) have a different ideas of power. There is a more symmetrical relationship in between the Angolan and South American positions towards absolute gains. It was argued that this similarity could be due to their similar colonial past experiences. Although internally analyzing both samples it was noticed that they achieved a major level of in-group approximation if compared to the African and European sample. There is still a parcel of the European sample tending to believe in relative gains. This minority still affect intergroup relations and the way power seemed to be perceived by the in-group. Power does have a significant implication in how post-colonial subjects perceive their places in society. However since power seems to be shifting, their own understanding of placement also does so. Letting the colonial power narratives isolated in discriminatory discourses of a small parcel. Europeans at times have more advantage than Angolans nationals in technological decisions, although as those are dependent of administrative processes Angolans assume power advantages redirecting those same decisions. Thus, how power is perceived as

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directing decisions may variate among the samples. This leads one to conclude that there is a power asymmetrical relation. Nevertheless the flowy aspects of asymmetry tend to a power balance. This is to say, even if Africa does not have the technological knowledge necessary to empower decisions they have a power position to control business ways and consider other’s opinions, “advise”. And on the other side even if a small parcel of the European community still believes in hard power, their position has changed. They can’t enforce Angolans anymore to accept their ways, but instead have to adapt their ways to attend African demands. Thus, how power is perceived in Cambambe doesn’t seem to reflect the ways in which it was perceived in colonial times. The contemporary relationship observed brings power to a more flowy and liberal spectrum, mostly dependent of where interests and memberships relays. Furthermore, the single objective of completing the construction of an enterprise together made all the samples to turn in their power efforts to do so. The conscience brought in by trade was that “we” (the whole group) are dependent of the same resources, to achieve gains. If one part doesn’t deliver the other can’t win and vice versa. These brings the overall group relationship to and Absolute gain at ends despite selfish-narratives. Thus a notion of “we” and “them” based in national positions seems to be slightly dismantled by the power of approximation in the new era. This shows clearly that contemporary labor communities are nationality interdependent in order to achieve success. Thus, even if their multicultural outlooks are to influence the societies at times in positive or negative ways, there is an undeniable hybridization of power witch permeates these intergroup relations. Moreover there are differences in perceptions natural to each of the national backgrounds that are may be grounded in their colonial history; however there is a contemporary change brought by the need to cooperate on development as a single goal. Moreover to the researcher, there is a clear identity hybridization represented in Cambambe intergroup relationships, which makes the intergroup unit become as singular as their discourses. The multicultural context in which the subjects are involved allow them to approximate and interfere in each-others business standards and norms to some extent. Thus the prolonged contact modified the ways of working for both samples. It required a mood for adaptation, not only to the local, but also to the foreign. What was imposed in the past now is discussed in order to be, or not be, accepted. To the contrary of what was observed in the previous research example: Where it was noted that the Europeans were bringing in to Africa, western standards via a contemporary “colonization of the care system”, the Cambambe case demonstrates otherwise
what this researcher would call a transitional movement towards new ways of partnership between Europe, Africa and the world. In the previous research example, the need to maintain western standards were proven to be more important than providing to Africa what Africa needs. The Cambambe case, illustrates that even if a small parcel of Europeans believe in enforcing western standards, Angolans have the power to say no to it. Thus, cooperation has forced both sides to adapt and make concessions. One can think that this happens since power is shifting from the hands of the west to the hands of the rest. This movement brings both sides of the spectrum to a certain degree of acculturation. This happens when they try to find a middle ground where cooperation is possible. The adaptation is necessary for the survival of all the sides. If this movement is more negative or positive it’s difficult to say. This would require further research, perhaps one more focused in discovering the material advantages and disadvantages of European and African contemporary partnerships; focusing on for instance poverty and unemployment. Moreover intergroup relations inside significant business conglomerates, this is to say that enterprises with employs a huge parcel of the local societies as Cambambe, and the ways in which power is structured inside this business compounds, might influence contemporary identities in these communities. Hence, the way in which intergroup, inside of these business compounds, perceive aspects of power, justice, distribution of material resources and rationality will define how business communities are structured. If there is an asymmetric power relationship among foreigners and locals inside of the business compound, the tendency outside its doors should be the same. If the relationship tends to achieve balance, then it will promote balance. The investment in diversity management programs could be seen as a solution to manage any tangible impacts that those relations could bring about.
7. References


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<td></td>
<td>bureaucracy, market adjustment, local influence, honesty, professionalism, adaptation to local rules</td>
<td>Culture, rhythm, lack of resources, risk attention, cultural adaptation, environmental factors, adaptation and coexistence, culture and customs, bureaucracies, political support.</td>
<td>flexibility, patience, diseases and risks, difference of patterns, communication, financial problems, local market needs, policy, costs, understanding</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Considering the most frequency of concepts/words appearing per sentence

### QUESTION 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AFRICANS</th>
<th>SOUTH AMERICANS</th>
<th>EUROPEANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traffic of influence, 1 answered yes but not explained, do not acculturate, 4 not answered.</td>
<td>5 answered no, they responded yes, cited: corruption, access and respect and preservation of culture</td>
<td>curiosity, lack of punctuality, lack of experience, hierarchical system, financial problems, bureaucracy, protectionism, 2 did no answered</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Considering the most frequency of concepts/words appearing per sentence

### QUESTION 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>NO ASWER</th>
<th>WHY IT MODIFIES?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFRICANS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>difference of habits, difference of standards, cultural disrespect, internal laws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH AMERICANS</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>culture of the department, satisfying local culture, cultural adaptation, assimilation of good things of culture, long meetings with many people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUROPEANS</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>cultural difference, cultural adaptation, opening to different alternatives, cultural differences in holidays, adaptation to new rules of the market, working way and local culture, difference of fountain acts (party)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DATA ANALYSIS - OPEN QUESTIONS:

**Question 5**

RESULT: The African and the European sample seems to be in agreement pointing more frequently that knowing the local language is the most important factor to be considered to make business in Angola. Nevertheless a huge part of the European group believe that to know influent people and having political contacts is also of great importance. The South American group seems to have many different opinions. Culture and local history was the most frequent pointed but it should be considered that this group is already fluent in the local language.

**Question 8A**

RESULT: The major challenge for a foreign to adapt in Angola are diverse. From the perspective of the Africans interviewed its difficulty for the expatriates to adapt once they need to understand local costumes to be more humble and to understand corruption. One of the African interviewed even mentioned the understanding of “sexual abuse”. They mentioned that the major challenge for a foreign might be to understand Angolan culture. Europeans understand their difficult to adapt locally as being due to the lack of organization of the Angolan nationals, their lack of knowledge, and their lack of understand of foreign culture. They also mentioned that it’s difficult to adapt due to bureaucracy and to because Angolans “don’t respect rules”. They also mentioned having difficulty in understanding Angolan culture. South Americans pointed having difficult to understand rules and standards and technological/resources limitations. Beyond they also agreed it’s difficult to understand Angolan culture.

**Question 8B**

RESULT: This question addressed major challenges for Angolan adapt to foreign behaviors and norms. 20% of the African sample didn’t answer these questions. The ones who did answered said that is difficult to communicate with the expatriates and that is necessary to be humble and have respect to deal with people from other cultures. The idea of difficulties in “cultural adaptation” frequently appeared among the national answers. The European sample interviewed thinks Angolans have difficult to adapt to foreign norms because of their lack of discipline, labor culture, respect to hierarchy and ethics. Words such as financial problems and bureaucracy were also cited. Difficulties in “cultural adaptation” were a repetitive answer, once more. Then south
American sample pointed that locals don’t adapt quiet easy to foreign rules due to their lack of labor discipline, intensive work routine, and the lack of integration and dynamism between work teams.

**Question 9**

**RESULT:** This question addressed what is the most important factor to make business in Angola. The nationals answered that bureaucracy, market adjustment, local influence, honesty, professionalism, but **adaptation to local rules** are decisive factors to make business succeed in Angola. The European sample mentioned that being flexible, having patience, knowledge of the local diseases and risks, difference of culture, communication local market needs, policy, costs, as being the main factors to be considered by anyone whom wants to make business in Angola. Further the South American sample stated that Culture lack of resources, risk attention, **cultural adaptation**, environmental factors, adaptation and coexistence, culture and customs, bureaucracies, political support as the main factors for doing business in the state.

**Question 10**

**RESULT:** This question wondered if there were some significant characteristic of the Angolan local culture that could compromise the success of foreign enterprises in Angola?. The majority of the national sample didn’t answer this question; the ones whom did answer only YES to the question, but not explained what and why. The ones whom answered mentioned Traffic of influence; “corruption” and that foreigner don’t acculturate in Angola as factors that could hinder business. The European sample answered yes several times and mentioned several factors as: curiosity, lack of punctuality, lack of experience, hierarchical system, financial problems, bureaucracy, protectionism, and only 5% did no answer. The majority of the South American community said NO, to this question without any further explanation. The parcel that answered YES, cited that corruption, access, respect and preservation of cultural factors could hinder business.
ANEX 2
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE – MODEL USED ON THE RESEARCH
1. Does your present work position includes:
   c) Managing people in Angola? YES ( ) NO ( ).
   d) Managing business and affairs in Angola? YES ( ) NO ( ).
   a) Working with local companies in Angola? YES ( ) NO ( ).
   b) Working with foreign companies established in Angola? YES ( ) NO ( ).

2. Mark below, the nationalities people/firms you work with in your daily routine in Angola:
   SWEDISH ( ) BRAZILIAN ( ) GERMAN ( ) PORTUGUESE ( )
   SPANISH ( ) SWISS ( ) ANGOLAN ( ) POLISH ( ) OTHERS ( )

3. In your opinion, what is the most important aspect to consider when working in multi-cultural business teams? ____________________________________________________________________________
   a) Deal with cross-cultural teams requires from you some personal characteristic in special?
      YES ( ) NO ( ).
   b) If you answered yes, which characteristic and why? Could you give an example? ____________________________________________________________________________

4. Does your job include external political-corporate relations? (This means: do you work in some contact or interface with local ministries, politicians, foreign officers, or any other governmental institutions/agencies, by any means?) YES ( ) NO ( )
   a) If you answered yes to the question above, do you think that this type of contact requires any special personal characteristic from you in terms of affairs/negotiation? YES ( ) NO ( )
   b) If you answered yes, which characteristic and why? Could you give an example? ____________________________________________________________________________

5. About commercial relations with Angola: In which order from the most important aspect (1) to the less important (4), how do you consider the importance of being aware the specific areas of knowledge mentioned bellow:
   ( ) Local language domain
   ( ) International affairs expertise
   ( ) Local culture/historical knowledge
   ( ) Political contacts/“key players” knowledge
   ( ) Other: ____________________________________________________________________________

6. Do you judge that the theoretical knowledge that you have in your branch is:
   ( ) More important than the knowledge you acquired with practice.
   ( ) Equal important to the knowledge you acquired in practice.
   ( ) Less important than the knowledge you acquired in practice.
   ( ) Other: ____________________________________________________________________________
7. In your opinion, to be able to work in a position like yours today:
   a) What is the main **personal characteristic** a person should have? __________________________
   
   b) What is the main **ability** a person should have? __________________________

8. In your opinion:
   a) Which is the **major challenge** of adaptation for a **foreign worker** to **Angolan behaviors/norms**?
      __________________________
   
   b) Which is the **major challenge** of adaptation for an **Angolan** to **foreign behaviors/norms**?
      __________________________

9. What is the most important factor to be considered from a foreign supplier that wants to make business with Angola? __________________________

10. Is there some significant characteristic of the Angolan local culture that could compromise the success of foreign enterprises in Angola? __________________________

11. In your opinion, the culture of an international organization placed outside their country of origin became somehow affected by the local culture in the location where it is placed?
    YES ( ) NO ( ) If yes, how? Could you give me an example? __________________________

12. In your opinion, what is the best way to persuade international teams in business decisions?
    ( ) Some way that allows you to access people having them to change their own behaviors/minds convincing them they want the same thing as you.
    ( ) To be somehow placed in a strong hierarchical position that gives you the means to make people accept your ideas and do what you think it should be done.
    ( ) have the means to handle the both ways to access people described above having the means to choose when to use one or another.

13. In your opinion:
    A) __________________________
     ( ) In cross cultural business relations, most often results that represent gains to all the involved parts have the tendency to drive decisions.
     ( ) In cross cultural business relations, interest drives decisions, interest or benefits decide the direction of choices.
     ( ) In cross cultural business relations, some parts are more benefited than other parts, most often those benefited parts drives the decisions.
     ( ) I have a different opinion in this regard. __________________________
13. B) In cross-cultural business interfaces, generally the decisions need to be constructed under the agreement of all involved parts, being product of interaction.

(   ) In cross-cultural business relations, generally one part involved became more stronger by getting more support from the other parts, and so having more power over the decisions.

(   ) Cross cultural business relations are interest driven, cross cultural interactions would be unnecessary without interest.

(   ) I have a different opinion in this regard: ________________________________

14. Do you agree “A” or disagree “D” from the affirmatives below:

(   ) The free trade liberalization movement is positive, once in some sense it approximate different nations, promoting business and facilitating a multicultural interference in isolated communities, promoting a better understanding among peoples and cultures, where every part involved has to gain with acquaintance and cross-cultural exchange.

(   ) The free trade liberalization movement is negative in some sense, because in despite of bringing new business to isolated communities, the interference of foreign companies in this places dissolve the local cultures altering peoples local behavior, affecting their original identities.

(   ) I don’t have a defined opinion in which regards free trade liberalization in this sense.

This research is handled by the master student Karla Santa Ritta Pietsch Majic, with the academic finality of attending the practical internship training in social sciences and international relations. The data is collected for academic purposes. The Internship supervisor is Mr. Per Janson, Senior Lecturer Program Director, MSSc International and European Relations. Department of Management and Engineering Political Science SE-581 83 Linköping Phone: +46 (0)13-28 10 41 Visiting address: Building A, 3D:B31, Campus Valla
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