# Culture Contact: Cognitive and Psychodynamic Aspects.

## Transcultural Understanding in Art History, Religion, Music and Animation.

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**Abstract**

The article examins recent trends in the study of culture contact, developments in terminology and their refinement, and theoretical issues such as the concept of *individual cultural profiles* (G. Kubik) and the idea of *multiple identities* (Julia Ha). This vast area of research is split into (I) the *cognitive level* and (II) the *psychodynamic level*. Factors of language, reinterpretation (Melville J. Herskovits) and the phenomenon of a cognitive bridge (G. Kubik) are examined as well as minimal areas of understanding in art. The psychodynamic level is discussed in terms of psychoanalitic concepts, with reference to transference, culture shock and the so-called apartheid reaction.

***Contatto culturale: aspetti cognitivi e psicodinamici. La comprensione transculturale nella storia dell'arte, nella religione, nella musica e nell'animazione.*** *Il saggio esamina alcune recenti tendenze nello studio del contatto culturale, lo sviluppo e il perfezionamento della terminologia relativa e alcune questioni teoriche come il concetto di* profili culturali individuali *(G. Kubik) e l'idea di* identità multiple *(Julia Ha). Questa vasta area di ricerca è divisa in due livelli: (I) il* livello cognitivo *e (II) il* livello psicodinamico*. Vengono presi in esame fattori linguistici, il concetto di reinterpretazione (Melville J. Herskovits) e il fenomeno del ponte culturale (G. Kubik), così come le aree minime di comprensione nell'arte. Il livello psicodinamico è discusso nei termini dei concetti psicanalitici, con riferimenti al transfert, allo skock culturale e alla cosiddetta reazione apartheid.*

Culture contact is something very complex. What actually happens cannot be schematized and reduced to abstracts such as speaking of "a dialogue of cultures" or "African cultures meeting European cultures" and so on. Abstracts cannot meet or enter into a dialogue; it is only people who can do so and interact and talk to each other; and here again they can meet as individuals or group associates, in large or small groups whose composition is culturally and socially diversified.

It is paramount to point to a fallacy of the human intellect, that we tend to manipulate meanings by substituting complex phenomena with abstract designations which are then used as if they were agents, almost "persons" capable of acting. "Black holes do seem to destroy information…". So "black holes" can act? More than in theoretical physics, it is in the social sciences that we are swamped with catchy neologisms, the use of pseudo-abstracts, "quantitative and qualitative"[1] methods, and ultimately jargon.

What happens to a holder of an American passport meeting the holder of a Hungarian passport? Nothing spectacular; but often they slot each other into categories tainted by vague ideas about "culture". Is that to be qualified as culture contact? No. If one was born in New York, the other in Budapest, and they decide to exhibit their art jointly, have the two cities become engaged in a "dialogue of cultures"?

Popular stereotypes tend towards the affirmative, but nothing like that actually takes place. The fact that two people meet, interact, cooperate, while having different languages shared with millions of others, cannot be taken as an argument that each of them *represents* a culture or that they display each a "cultural identity". Even if national boundaries reflected cultural boundaries, no one could have absorbed an entire culture; for the simple reason that the cultural resources surrounding an individual are too vast to be assimilated within a lifetime. And there are also veiled cross-cultural channels of diffusion.

Can we, therefore consider Frédéric Chopin's experiments with chromatism and diminished chords in his short life (1810-1849), as an expression of a Polish "cultural identity"? I don't think so. Obviously they were the result of transcultural learning in the environment of Paris.

## Enculturation

We probably all agree that culture is something learned. No one is born with a culture, even if Maurice Halbwachs used a term such as "la mémoire collective" to describe a transpersonal sociological phenomenon, and Sigmund Freud following Jean Baptiste Lamarck (1744-

[1] Researchers who do not like to work with questionnaires and statistics often call their methods "qualitative" as opposed to "quantitative". But this is a word game. Replacing the letters /nt/ in one word with /1/ to form another word, does not create an opposite category. The hoax originated with someone who was poor in Latin. *Quantitas* and *qualitas* are not opposites. Their adjectives, therefore, should not be used to characterize different research methods.

1829) took it for granted that acquired behaviour could be passed on for generations, e.g. the "memory chip" of a primordial crime in which exiled sons killed their father.

On an individual level, culture is everything that we have learned, internalized and processed up to this moment in our personal histories, i.e. all our insights, skills, social agreements and patterns of thought up to now. The way how we become shareholders of a culture is called *enculturation*. It begins in early childhood as part of the necessary socialization of our behaviour (learning to live in cooperation with others) and continues into adolescence and adulthood. However, enculturation is focussed, and it depends on the resources of knowledge that are available. It is also a selective process. One cannot absorb everything that people in one's social environment may know, for example about birds. Even ornithologists have their limits and probably will not know about Charlie Parker's "Ornithology" and how it was composed (Parker 1998). There are also limits of capacity. We humans don't have enough bytes to store all historically accumulated information.

(a) We can only learn what our cultural environment keeps for us from the bulk of universal resources of knowledge, skills, beliefs, conventions etc.

(b) In the process of learning, we become biased, develop stereotypes, follow what our societies and key persons in it (to whom we are attached) value highly. We learn to avoid what they do not appreciate.

(c) At puberty, many of us turn to the opposite. We respond to social pressure by peers imposing their values upon us, their tastes, fashions etc., and we also identify with models propagated by the mass media.

(d) Eventually some of us resolve the arising conflicts by developing forms of social resistance, dissidence. We then cling to personal intellectual interests and values.

## Individual cultural profiles

The result of such processes is myriads of possible configurations in the resources of knowledge at the command of an individual. Each configuration is unique like our biometric data, only that all the information resides in the brain. Personally *and* culturally we develop *profiles* that integrate what we have assimilated consciously and unconsciously from the environment in which we have lived so far. This may be compared to a network of morphemes, kinemes, tonemes, phonemes etc. I call it the *individual cultural profile*, contrasting it with collective descriptions of people in terms of "cultural identity", as if we were all streamlined and life-long captives of a "culture".

It is not only one's allegiances to an apparent "home culture", but specifically an individual's cultural profile that determines the nature of our reactions in a culture contact situation. Individual cultural profiles are complex in content, creatively integrated, and they change as a result of learning. They are transient and malleable. Their contents are

in part conscious, in part unconscious, embracing drives and functions we are not aware of, i.e. from our motivations (occasionally revealing themselves in parapraxis) to certain learned motor behaviour that works automatically, as in patterns of walking, cycling, typing and the fingerings of a pianist or Braille reader.

In contact with others, the cultural profile of an individual is not expressed *in toto* (how could it!) but always in bits of response to specific expectations by the person to be addressed. This has been studied by sociologists who have postulated that we, as individuals, have *multiple identities*. A splendid example was given recently by Vietnam-born psychologist Julia Ha, talking about a trip to the country of her parents, how she responded to the challenge by displaying different identities there and in Europe (Ha 2010: 203ff.). C.G. Jung stated that we all carry a personality *façade* in contact with others, which he called the *persona*. And George Devereux (1967) distinguished between an idiosyncratic and an ethnic unconscious, the latter shared with others.

Thus, in contact with other people we assume roles and postures in part reflecting stereotypes, e.g. how one would talk (in a certain society) to children, to very old people, to foreign workers etc. We have learned this role play from personal observation or through instruction by those to whom we are close.

Our cultural profiles change, sometimes slowly, sometimes rapidly; and so do our ideas about culturally acceptable behaviour. A scale of values can thus be reversed within a generation, and we may switch from wearing a tuxedo to adopting worn-out jeans as the appropriate attire for a reception. Changes on the cognitive level, however, are usually brought about radically if one learns a new language. One's momentary cultural profile changes in step with progress in the acquisition of the other language.

Culture contact, therefore, cannot be defined as an encounter between people who "represent" a culture, the culture of their geographical or social origins; but as an encounter between individuals displaying each their composite cultural profiles, sets of personal experiences in learning which they have carried on to this very moment. These sets may sometimes be similar in a hundred people, but not necessarily so. Neither passports nor places of birth can be taken as conclusive for anything cultural, let alone a person's physical appearance. Each protagonist enters the arena with his or her own special background. Elsewhere I have suggested to visualize such encounters with so-called Venn diagrams, as used in *set theory*, to show in which areas the cognitive and behavioural patterns of two or more people converge, coalesce, and where they diverge (cf. Kubik 2010: 61-64).

In the psychological study of culture contact we proceed from two parallel levels of inquiry: (a) the cognitive level, (b) the psychodynamic level.

## I. The cognitive level

It was Melville J. Herskovits who expanded culture contact studies to include the cognitive realm, drawing particularly on situations in North America, the Caribbean and South America. He coined several key terms for such studies, each with its definition: *retention*,

*selection*, *survival*, *reinterpretation*, *syncretism* and *cultural focus* (Herskovits 1941, Evans 1990, 1999). Herskovits was focussing on large groups of people, ethnicities, not on individual adaptations.

The one Herskovits concept that touches the cognitive realm directly is *reinterpretation*. It implies that we understand anything new and unfamiliar we observe in terms of the cognitive system, verbal and non-verbal, from which our thinking operates and which we have grown up with. The new experience is placed within categories formulated in our languages.

Language-based differences in human thought have long been acknowledged, as in the works of Benjamin Lee Whorf and Edward Sapir. Recently, the subject was intensively researched in Australia, China and the Middle East by Lera Boroditsky of Stanford University, California (Boroditsky 2011).

*Reinterpretation* is a regular response in a cross-cultural encounter. It means that each side in the encounter interprets things of the other party in its own ways, although in some realms, including the fine arts and cinematographic animation, there may be what I have called a *cognitive bridge*. A case in point is the international appeal of the films of Japanese filmmaker Hayao Miyazaki, particularly his film *Chihiro* about a little girl who had to take up work in the strange empire of a witch to liberate her parents (Miyazaki 2001). A cognitive bridge already forms during the first shots showing the reckless driving of Chihiro's father. Chihiro in the back seat of the car is scared. The symbolism of the next episode, with the consumer-happy parents transformed into pigs, is perfectly understood across cultures because of analogies in our thinking, and questions worldwide about the ultimate value of consumerism.

A tricky problem of reinterpretation is encased in the current reception of some world-renowned works of art, such as Pablo Picasso's *Garçon à la pipe* painted in 1905. Did anyone among those people who 99 years later were flocking into Sotheby's auction hall, where the painting was sold for US-Dollar 104.1 million, really understand this picture? It probably needs a thousand parallel attempts at interpretation, by art historians, traders and casual observers across time and space to arrive at an approximation of the artist's own intent and understanding. This is hinted at in Souren Melikian's analysis: «The portrait is perhaps the artist's ultimate achievement. Constantly hailed as the giant of modern art, Picasso was probably at his greatest when working under the spell of Old Masters. The rigorous composition, the colour balance and the profound psychological probe of the young sitter place the likeness in a category that begins with Italian Renaissance portraitists and continues right through the 19th century with Corot and Degas.» (Melikian 2004).

Channels of understanding, in all their subjectivity, can lead to a merger of symbols, if the cultural encounter is more than casual. Herskovits has called such a merger *syncretism*. The most prominent example was discovered by him in religion, how in late 19th century Bahia, concepts of the West African Yoruba *òrìṣà* religion and catholicism had merged.

***Pulse-lines and referential beat***

Transcultural understanding is always a process of coming to terms with another expressive system. This was underlined by the results of our CCCT (Cross-Cultural Comprehension Test) developed in Brazil in 1974. Our CCCT works a bit in the manner of Henry Murray's *Thematic Apperception Test* (TAT) which is one of the so-called projective tests, besides Rorschach and others. The aim of the CCCT however, is not to obtain a personality profile of the test person, and there is no medical or psychotherapeutic intent; it's aim is to help the test person find out by himself or herself, how much in the data presented from another culture, he or she understands at that particular moment. The usual procedure is that we play to the test persons a short DVD or film, some 3 to 5 minutes long, from a culture they have never been in touch with, and let them write down all their observations. This is then compared with factual information from inside that culture. One thing we observed when we applied the test in the 1970s and 80s on lecture tours to Brazil, West Africa, Europe etc., was that in culture contact there is always at least a *minimal area of understanding across cultural barriers*, and that the degree of understanding rises, if the same person is shown more materials from the same culture after a week or two. Thereby it became evident that we are able to "grow into" another culture. It may take time, but if an individual's efforts are persistent, the results improve.

This applies particularly to music, because here, the cultural barriers are tough. Contrary to popular opinion that music is a "universal language", our research results underline that music is only a *universal phenomenon*, shared by all cultures, but it is not a "language" understood universally. Cross-culturally, it is usually "misunderstood", i.e. confidently and joyfully reinterpreted by everyone in their own ways. This touches even on the basic realm of auditory perception including the perception of a reference beat, auditory streaming and the i.p. effect (cf. Kubik 2010a, vol. 2, chapter VI-VII)

A demonstration example is my own early misunderstanding of twelve-year old Azande harpist Samuel Ouzana's composition *Ngbadule o*, recorded from him in May 1964 in the Central African Republic. For a long time I was believing that my transcription reflected his perception and intent. In 2012, however, Moya A. Malamusi who had learned several *kundi* (harp) songs from my recordings, tried his hands on *Ngbadule o*. Watching him rehearse, I began to realize that Ouzana's instrumental theme was actually based on a common 12-pulse asymmetric timeline: 12 [ x . x . x . | . x . x . . ]. Although the timeline is not played as such, it lingers on behind the structure of his theme and his variations. I now place my barlines accordingly. Moya who knows this timeline pattern intimately from his home area in southeast Africa seems to be comfortable with my revised interpretation.

"World Music" proponents may be surprised to hear that someone would need 48 years to understand a little boy's music. They believe in shortcuts, as is shown in this story of eminent text poet and guitarist Gides Chalamanda from Malawi who upon Moya A. Malamusi's recommendation was invited in 2010 to Germany to perform at a World Music

Guitar Festival. He ended up on stage together with a Russian guitarist and an audience expecting the two to engage in a "musical dialogue of cultures". They had never met before and even the tunings of their guitars were disparate. Gides played something politely, with the Russian guitarist trying to pick up the beat. After the show Gides was happy to get away quickly with the small fee he was paid saying that it was "wonderful", and return to the beer gardens in Limbe, Malawi, where he normally recites his social commentaries with guitar.

***Subverted meanings***

It would be an error to believe that Melville J. Herskovits' concept of reinterpretation only involves the conscious, intellectual faculties of the mind. Reinterpretation is not only influenced by the observers' culture-specific ideas and symbol understanding, but also by their cherished values, stereotypes and affective-emotional investments. An example is what happened to the practice of "Umbanda"[2] in Brazil. I first studied *umbanda* in south-western Angola in 1965, where I made acquaintance with a prominent *kimbanda* (healer, prophet), Emilia Kakinda, and recorded her extensively. In 1974/75 I compared my Angolan research results with Brazilian expressions I saw around São Paulo, and read the Brazilian popular literature about "Umbanda".

*Umbanda* is a word found in several Angolan languages. It simply means medical practice, the techniques of healing, particularly addressing psychological problems of a client. The medical practitioner or "indigenous doctor" is called *kimbanda* in the Kimbundu language, *ocimbanda* in Umbundu. In opposition to the machinations of a *nganga* (sorcerer, wizard/witch), the work of a *kimbanda* is to help patients, and to neutralize sorcery. Thereby he or she enjoys high regard in the society. Among the duties of a *kimbanda* is communication with spirits, for which purpose a professional medium is sometimes hired, as I documented in a *mahamba* session in eastern Angola in 1965 (cf. Kubik 2003: 140-152).

Knowledge and practice of *umbanda* was exported to Brazil in the 18th and 19th centuries with the slave trade from Angola. While the terminology has survived, written in Portuguese orthography, both practice and terminology were heavily reinterpreted. Brazilians of European descent were attracted to the healing practice in Angolan traditions in southern Brazil. But they began to mistake *umbanda* for a kind of alternative religion, similar to "Candomblé" in Bahia, whose core idea was thought to be communication with spirits through a medium. The word "umbanda" was soon equated with "magia branca" (white magic) or healing power.

It is sad for us Africanists to learn what happened to the other term: *kimbanda*. Written "quimbanda" in Brazilian Portuguese, the concept was depersonalized, the human being extracted from the term. It was given the meaning "magia negra" (black, evil magic) for sorcery that kills and annihilates.

[2] To avoid confusion we print African terms in italics, but render the same terms when written in Brazilian orthography under quotation marks (with normal letters).

A dichotomy was thereby created using the two Angolan terms with changed meanings. Visible behind it is a deeply entrenched racist worldview equating "white" with good and "black" with evil forces, witchcraft etc. The African healer was replaced in Brazil by that of the Christianized priest in the figure of the "pai-de-santo" (for a full analysis see Kubik 2013: 138-150).

## II. The psychodynamic level

The second terrain of inquiry into the psychology of culture contact involves us with the study of unconscious processes. Here our most important discovery was that another culture always exerts a pull on the unconscious of the individual (cf. Kubik 1971, 1994, 2002). An encounter with another culture stimulates repressed tendencies in the visiting individual, wishes and ideas given up long ago in his or her life.

*Why* does culture contact stimulate repressed tendencies in the protagonists? It is because another culture always represents an alternative. Conventions and rules one is used to, prohibitions one has internalized since childhood are suddenly called into question. They seem to be no longer universally valid. The other culture shows that different modes of behaviour are possible and one may even get away with them. What kind of tendencies are stimulated in a person's unconscious, varies however greatly from individual to individual. It depends on what lingers on in the mind without resolve. It also depends on the nature of the contact culture itself, its social structure, its taboos, the extent to which it is different from the visitor's "home culture".

The first response then is a *defense reaction.* The individual has to raise the level of his or her endopsychic defenses to keep certain tendencies in him or her in check. Among the nine "defense mechanisms" summarized by Anna Freud (1936) one that is frequently activated is tightening up one's repression; another is projection, i.e. ascribing negatively charged personal tendencies to the "others". It also often happens, especially to lonely travelers in strange lands, that they stubbornly dream only scenes from home, never anything from the places where they are. This indicates a certain measure of rejection of the other culture by EGO which perceives it as a danger to its integrity.

The amount of energy then to be invested in defenses is proportional to the intensity with which the other culture stimulates the repressed. But not only repressed tendencies are stimulated; the other culture also stimulates what has been *neglected* by the person in his or her life, functions that have shrunk, remained underdeveloped, for example certain creative, artistic inclinations. C.G. Jung used to speak of the neglected "Fourth" in a quaternity set of functions (Jung 1961: 416).

What exactly the other culture stimulates in an individual, and under which circumstances the stimulus becomes effective, cannot be predicted, unless the person undergoes some kind of training analysis before setting out. The results also depend on *which* culture the individual will come into contact with. It is not the same if someone decides

to travel to Tibet to learn about buddhism, or to a South American country as a female journalist for documenting a guerilla movement. There are countless variables also along the scale of time. In 1920 circumstances in an oasis in Tunisia were decisively different for a traveler as compared to now; and so they were in 1966 in the rain forests of the Upper Sangha river, Central African Republic when I traveled together with Maurice Djenda to study the *jenge* secret society of the Bangombe pygmies on the trail of my good friend Gilbert Rouget (cf. Djenda 1968, Rouget 2002). Our reactions depend on our momentary individual cultural profiles, and most significantly also on whether we travel alone or in company, and if so, with whom. C.G. Jung has painted a vivid self-portrait of his reactions to North Africa in 1920, and to Kenya and Uganda in 1925 (cf. Jung 1961; and comments on Jung's travels by Hill 1997).

Defense reactions are one noticeable scenario; the other is *massive transference*. It begins as soon as we *engage* with people in the other culture, forge relationships, friendships, professional bonds etc. (cf. Kubik 2002). Like the initial defense reaction, transference is an unconscious process, which means that the traveler or visitor or migrant, unless forewarned by a psychoanalyst, is not aware of what is going on in him or her. We only register our momentary feelings and their outcome, that we love, hate or admire someone, but we do not know that the plots and our affective involvements are *replicas* of something from our own past. Sometimes we feel deeply attached to a person in the other culture, as if he or she represented someone whom we knew before, whom we lost or who abandoned us. C.G Jung had such an experience in relation to a young man in Tunisia in 1920. The young Arab then appeared in his dreams which Jung tried to analyze without discovering the homosexual theme in it. Earlier he had *projected* it on men he saw walking hand in hand (cf. Jung 1961: 270ff.). C.G. Jung was perhaps the first who at least indirectly pointed to the phenomenon of transference in culture contact, simply by studying his own reactions. To the best of my knowledge, however, he never dealt with the subject in theoretical terms. In his book on transference (Jung 1945) he concentrated on *clinical* manifestations and alchemistic symbolism, not culture contact. Sometimes Jung equated the concept with "projection", as in his book on the UFO (Unidentified Flying Objects) phenomenon of the 1950s (cf. Jung 1958).

So, what is *transference*? Psychologically, the term refers to the «displacement of patterns of feelings, thoughts, and behaviour, originally experienced in relation to significant figures during childhood, onto a person involved in a current interpersonal relationship… Parents are usually the original figures from whom such emotional patterns are displaced, but siblings, grandparents, teachers, physicians, and childhood heroes are also frequent sources» (Moore & Fine 1990: 196; compare also Laplanche & Pontalis' definition 1998: 492-499). In short, the term stands for transference of an earlier relationship upon a new object, an individual's attempt to recreate a former, long forgotten liaison with the help of a new person. When we make someone's acquaintance

we unconsciously place the new person into a chronological line-up of similar, earlier relations. It works like a mould, a templet (Freud 1912).

Accordingly, we delegate certain tasks to the new person from a "script" that is engraved in our mind, a role to be played that was played before by someone in our life, by a relative, a peer, a friend, etc. These earlier relationships may be largely forgotten. They no longer carry intensive libidinous investment, but their memory lingers on. We then restage them, involving new "actors". Without knowing it, we expect those new people to replay scenes from our past, as if it were a drama under EGO's production. The result, of course, depends on the extent to which the other side is ready to perform those assigned roles.

Transference was discovered in clinical contexts, painfully, by Sigmund Freud (1912). Freud soon realized that the reaction was not limited to the doctor/patient relationship in a psychotherapeutic setting, but that it was a fact of everyday life. Now we can even say that all intimate relationships between two people are fueled by transference patterns. And not only between people. The object may be a pet (dog in particular, cf. Hammer 2012), or even a person of phantasy, a spirit, someone dead for hundred years, an "extra-terrestrial", an image.

In an episode of Akira Kurosawa's film *Dreams* (1990) in which he reconstructed eight dreams from his own life, transference and its disappointments are beautifully shown. Akira Kurosawa, one of the most important film makers of the 20th century attempted to visualize personal dreams he had in his life. In one of them we see a Japanese art student with his equipment under his arm visiting an exhibition of Van Gogh's famous paintings. The art student looks at the pictures of his idol in meditation, until in front of the painting of the bridge of Arles he begins a day dream, a time journey back a hundred years, to make acquaintance with his hero, Vincent Van Gogh (1853-1890). As the dream gets started, he talks to the women who are washing clothes under the bridge, asking them how to find his idol. The women, answering in French, tell him that Van Gogh was not far away, just painting up there in a field, but the visitor should be careful, because he had become insane. The young Japanese student hurries over the bridge and after a short walk he discovers Van Gogh standing alone in the middle of a field. He approaches him. But the artist is not very receptive. He has spent the last few years of his life in a state of distress, with feelings of persecution, until eventually he would commit suicide.

The young student tries to talk to him. Van Gogh answers in English, explaining that he was working like a steam engine, because little time was left. Asked by the student about what had happened to his ear, where only a bandage could be seen, Van Gogh replies that he had cut it off, because he had failed to portray it properly. So he had decided that it was "of no use".

That moment a swarm of crows rises up, as in one of Van Gogh's pictures, a symbol of threat and evil in Japanese culture, also perhaps because Japanese crows are over-sized and a menace, occasionally even attacking small children (cf. Fackler 2008: 2).

Van Gogh does not respond to the Japanese student's offer of friendship and a pos-

itive relationship. The latter then returns through a labyrinth of Van Gogh landscapes and eventually finds himself back in the exhibition hall.

Transference, of course, only works if the other party is willing to play the game. Inevitably the answer is counter-transference. In fortunate cases, it works both ways, creating a complementary scenario. But it may also be that the other side finds the insinuations of the visitor bizarre and refuses to play the game and enter a deeper relationship with him or her. For Van Gogh the visiting Japanese student – as portrayed in Kurosawa's film – was just like a tourist. Accordingly, he addressed him in English, trying to get rid of him as soon as possible.

We can now summarize the psychodynamic realm. Four prominent reactions can be isolated, according to the manner an individual is able to handle the stimuli brought about in culture contact.

***Precautionary approximation***

This is the most common reaction in culture contact involving visitors who are relatively balanced, and local 'people' without a previous history of negative experiences with foreigners. One can also describe it as a tentatively positive approach. Both parties cling to some stereotypes and projections which are, however, positively charged, and they seek to find in the other party what he or she has been missing in their own culture. For visitors from industrialized nations it may be certain imagined freedoms, more helpfulness, more community spirit, sense of leisure, whatsoever.

After staying some months or a year in the area, the visiting person tends to become more realistic, also more individuum-focussed, acknowledging that in every culture there are people of different abilities and character. A working relationship develops, in an overall positive light, while the visitor maintains a modest amount of reservations, sufficient to keep him or her going, without risk of a serious conflict.

***Apartheid reaction***

If the stimuli from the other culture are perceived as threatening by the visitor, the level of endopsychic defenses is raised very high. I have called it the *apartheid reaction* (Kubik 1971). The visitor then seeks exclusively the company of people from his own ethnic group or nation and keeps relations with the "others" to a minimum. The reaction may be accompanied by reinforcement of stereotypes, adoption of a racist or ethnicist ideology, and unwillingness to learn something from the other side. If the apartheid reaction is shared by many, it can become politically institutionalized, as it happened in many places, e.g. segregation in U.S. history, and in South Africa where it was called by that name in the Afrikaans language.

Apartheid reactions can also be started by local people rejecting visitors due to a historical trauma (as we learned in Namibia among the Herero, whose forebears had experienced a near-genocide in 1904 by the German military), or feelings of threat to

the integrity of their life-styles. If this is institutionalized, it may lead to excessive visa restrictions against nationals from certain countries as is the case of present-day policy in the E.U., in Japan and many other countries tightening up on immigration.

***Culture shock***

When inner defenses are too weak to allow the person to respond adequately to the other culture's stimuli, the defense can break down. The result is a relatively rare condition called culture shock, aptly described by Philip Bock (1970) in his book. In such a case, the input from the other culture has become so overwhelming that inner defenses against one's own repressed tendencies (inherited from the "home" culture) are swept away. The result is a serious crisis. The person is flooded by unacceptable wishes, and begins to show psychotic symptoms of disorientation, delirium etc. There was one such case I knew in the Congo, who had to be flown back to Europe and undergo psychiatric treatment. It is interesting that later the same person flew again to Africa, not to the Congo, but to Angola and he married there. It is obvious that the cause of his culture schock was something in Congo urban culture stimulating tendencies in him which at that time he was unable to accept.

There is also what is called *reverse culture shock*. That may happen at the return of a person to his or her former home after living a long time abroad. A good example is what happened to a 30-year old Senegalese woman, who had long become a successful business enterpriser in Paris. When after ten years she returned to visit her parents in Dakar she found herself under extreme pressure by relatives to marry someone they had selected for her. A day before her scheduled marriage she broke down with conversion symptoms, in a stupor. Unfortunately, the local psychiatrist did not, in my opinion, understand the nature of this case and prescribed something I would call "forced reintegration" into a culture that was no longer hers (cf. Ba *et al.* 1998-99, Kubik 2003).

***Transference and counter-transference***

As already outlined, transference (and counter-transference as a response) manifests itself when the visitor or migrant begins to engage with persons in the local culture. Here, we keep in mind, that any close relationship between two adolescent or adult persons is in part a transference relationship. In contrast to clinical transference, in a therapeutic setting, we call this form *extra-clinical transference* (Kubik 2002). Earlier scenarios in the protagonists' lives are replayed. Sometimes, the new relationships become permanent, e.g. in lifelong friendships, partnership or marriage; sometimes they break apart, following earlier patterns of break-up. In their lives, human beings normally engage in repeated transference relationships. Each is an attempt "to do better this time". In other words, the individual learns something from the experience of earlier relationships, and next time tries not to repeat the same mistakes. For this reason, except in cases of severe *repetition compulsion* (cf. Anna Freud 1936), a new transference relationship is never an exact copy of a former.

Very often people *seek* transference opportunities elsewhere i.e. they begin to travel seeking a relationship with someone from another culture, because it promises to be a way out of "repetition compulsion" e.g. in cases where all former relationships in the "home" country were going wrong. Then the person wants to try something different. From our transcultural research data we have isolated two types of transference. Both may operate within a culture or in a culture contact situation. In the first type, *linear transference* as I call it, EGO plays its former self again and expects the chosen partner to play roles that are analogous to those played by earlier friends, acquaintances, relatives. In the second type which I call *transference with role reversal*, EGO does not play itself again, but (through introjective identification) assumes the role of a powerful authority in his or her own past, perhaps father, mother, elder brother, sister etc. EGO then expects the object of transference – characteristically an often considerably younger person – to play his or her former childhood EGO. Examples from the field are abundant, e.g. the young woman from Europe, as a social worker in an African country who feels particularly attracted to a young girl there. Without being aware of it, she acts in the way her own mother (or elder sister) once acted towards her. She now takes care of the young girl much in the same manner, a bit authoritarian perhaps, as she had experienced it in her own childhood.

In Europe, around 1909, Sigmund Freud from Vienna and C.G. Jung from Zürich (with his background as a pastor's son) also developed what essentially was a transference relationship. Freud who identified with his father, began to expect from the younger C.G Jung to behave like a son, actually like little Freud in front of his father who once told him that nothing good would ever come out of him. Understandably, Jung did not go along with this role play which Freud had bestowed on him. He rebelled, displaced the conflict to scientific discussions, and the relationship broke up. It did not break however, because of scientific disagreements, which could have been sorted out and resolved. In some of his later writings (e.g. the introduction to his book on transference, Jung 1945) Jung actually returned with giant steps to some of Freud's insights, for example about incest. The deeper story behind the Freud/Jung antagonism is a negatively charged transference relationship, instigated by Freud, and complicated through Jung's counter-transference.

## Summary and conclusion

For a long time I have felt a need for working out systematically what happens when people meet, speaking different languages, displaying different patterns of behaviour, life-styles and worldviews. The present paper is the result of more than half a century of research and travels as a cultural anthropologist in no less than 33 countries of the world. It is an attempt to condense my field experiences and case studies into a theoretical framework, a *transculturally valid theory of culture contact* and its psychological underpinnings.

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