FAMILY CULTURES IN THE CONTEXT OF MIGRATION AND AGEING

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Abstract

Intergenerational family relations are embedded in family cultures which influence how families regulate their relations over the whole life span with regard to key issues, such as autonomy and relatedness, or support exchange and reciprocity, and which may vary inter- and intraculturally. Migrant families undoubtedly face a special situation as values and expectations from the culture of origin and from the host cultural context might differ. Not much is known yet about how migrant families adapt their family cultures to the host cultural context. The present article will focus on aspects of intergenerational family regulation by taking into account family cultures of migrant compared to non-migrant families in a life span perspective. We will illustrate our theoretical outline by presenting first results from the IRMA-study comparing Luxembourgish and Portuguese immigrant families living in Luxembourg. We focus on issues of family cohesion, enmeshment and normative expectations regarding adult children's support for their ageing parents, by drawing both on quantitative questionnaire as well as qualitative interview data. Implications for the experience of ambivalence and conflicts as well as well-being of family members from both generations will be discussed.

Keywords: migration, family cultures, relationship regulation, life span, quantitative, qualitative, value transmission, ambivalence

Family Cultures in the Context of Migration and Ageing

Migration constitutes a key issue in many societies today as people from all over the world move to foreign countries in search for work or better economic conditions, seeking shelter as refugees, or for many other reasons. Family and migration are closely related issues: even if travelling alone, migrants should not be regarded as completely unconnected single individuals but as part of a family system, be it as members of their family of origin or as co-founders of a family of their own (in fact, they might already have started a family or do so in the future). Migration is thus an issue that in many cases does not only regard individuals migrating from one place to another, but that concerns also other persons connected with them by family bonds (see also Glick, 2010).

While intergenerational family relations in the context of migration have increasingly been a topic in research over the last years, most of these studies have focused on first generation parents and their second generation children in childhood, adolescence or young adulthood (e.g., Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Sam & Berry, 2010). Families with migrant background at later stages in the life cycle have been more seldom in the focus of attention (as an exception, see e.g. the pioneering work of Claudine Attias-Donfut and colleagues, e.g. Attias-Donfut, Wolff, & Tessier, 2005). Notwithstanding, in the light of an ageing first generation close to retirement in many European countries, intergenerational family relations gain prime importance concerning acculturation over the whole life span. In fact, several studies suggest that intergenerational relations have a special meaning for ageing migrants who are parents: when entering retirement age and being confronted with the question if to go back to the country of origin or to stay in the host country, the location of the offspring seems to be most decisive. In fact, if adult children stay in the host country, this makes parents' permanent return to the country of origin more improbable and rather sets the stage for alternative choices such as commuting (e.g., Bolzmann, Fibbi, & Vial, 2006; see

also Albert, Barros Coimbra, & Ferring, 2016). Without any doubt, different choices might entail specific (explicit or implicit) mutual expectations of parents and their adult children regarding intergenerational contact and support. On the one hand, older migrants (first generation) and their adult children (second generation) might face similar challenges compared to families without migration background in that old age care is still to a large extent provided by family members (see e.g., Ferring, 2010). On the other hand, family relations in the acculturation situation might be even more demanding: if parents have a smaller social network in the host country and fewer sociocultural resources such as lacking language competencies, they might rely even more on intergenerational support from their (adult) children (for instance as language brokers) compared to native families (see also Glick, 2010). Yet, an acculturation gap between first generation parents and their second generation children can also lead to dissimilar identity constructions, value orientations, norms and expectations with regard to intergenerational solidarity and support, and this might in turn create intergenerational strain and foster the experience of ambivalence, or even result in diminished well-being of family members (see e.g. Albert, Ferring, & Michels, 2013; Birman, 2006; Leyendecker, Schölmerich, & Citlak, 2006; Sam & Berry, 2010; Ward, 2001).

So, what does all this mean for intergenerational relations of adult children and their parents in the context of migration? How are different expectations negotiated in line with particular needs and preferences? Do parents retain value orientations from the culture of origin or adapt to the host cultural context, and what are the implications for children who have grown up to adult age in the host context? How do adult children respond to the needs and wishes of their parents? In other words, how do migrant families regulate their intergenerational relations?

In the present paper, we will argue that a life course view is needed when studying intergenerational relations in the context of migration, which should take into account the

specific needs, goals and resources of individual family members depending on their position in the life span, their position in the family system and related roles within the family, as well as taking into account the relationship history, critical family life events and the socio-historical context. We will outline a heuristic model that depicts individuals in the context of their intergenerational family relations, being embedded in family cultures that might differ within and between cultures, considering also the time perspective. We will thereby address specifics of migrant family cultures which may be more or less fitting within the cultural context of the host country, and we will illustrate our theoretical outline by drawing on results from a recent study. Namely, the IRMA study (Intergenerational Relations in the light of Migration and Ageing) compares Portuguese immigrant and Luxembourgish native families (with adult children) by use of quantitative and qualitative methods.

Intergenerational Family Relations in the Context of Migration

Family is in general considered as the primary socialization agent in which social learning occurs when members of different generations interact with each other (Padilla-Walker, 2008; Trommsdorff, 2006). In the family, the developing individual is continuously immersed into practices, routines and paradigms which together build a certain family culture. In the long run, these might translate into individual preferences and habits, or—in the words of Bourdieu (1984)—into a certain habitus which determines a person's behavioral tendencies, dispositions, attitudes and life style. Family cultures are embedded in a larger cultural and societal context; however, they might not only vary between cultures but also intraculturally. Having said this, specific family cultures might fit more or less well in the surrounding socio-cultural context.

Family cultures are complex buildings, which combine internalized cultural and societal values and norms, personal preferences, situational circumstances and the interaction

of different family members into something new. They are based on a mixture of the preferences of different family members and are thereby more than the pure sum of—say—father's and mother's family cultural heritage. In fact, parents might bring in their own experiences, biography and history as well as personal preferences when starting a family of their own; however, their interaction will build a somewhat new picture, depending also on the circumstances and the socio-cultural context they are living in (including societal norms and values), relative power within the couple, children's characteristics, impact from the larger family (which in some cases might be regarded as "intrusion"), and so on[1]. This is similar to—but goes beyond—what Super and Harkness (1986) have coined as the developmental niche, which consists of the physical and social settings in which children grow up, the customs of child care and child rearing, as well as the psychology of the caretakers.

Intergenerational Value Transmission

In general, families have a certain interest in transmitting family loyalty and traditional family values to their children as these values serve the community in providing rules and guidelines for living together, and they constitute an essential part of family identity (Cigoli & Scabini, 2006). Now, the issue of intergenerational value transmission might be more complicated in the context of migration, which is—by the way—somewhat similar to what happens in times of rapid social change: those values that the parent generation grew up with do not hold anymore in another societal context, as they are substituted by a new zeitgeist. In fact, offspring of migrant families are often confronted with divergent values and expectations of different socialization agents—notably, in their families characterized by the culture of origin, and in school, among peers or friends who adhere to the host culture background

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[1] Certainly, we should keep in mind that family cultures might even be perceived differently by individual family members.

(Nauck, 2001; Schönpflug & Bilz, 2009). While immigrant parents might be insecure if they should still educate children in line with their "traditional" values or if they should adapt their ideas about family to the host culture context (if at all making such a rational choice), their value messages toward their children might become less clear and inconsistent (Birman, 2006; Merz, Özeke-Kocabas, Oort, & Schuengel, 2009; Phinney & Vedder, 2006). Nevertheless, a transmission without any adaptation can also become an obstacle for self-actualization and thriving of the younger generation in migrant families, and certain parental expectations that do not fit the host culture context can end up in a difficult acculturation process and even cause some trouble for the offspring, not to mention the potential intergenerational strain implied here (Trommsdorff, 2006). We might borrow here from family therapy which refers to parental "delegations" that comprise parental expectations internalized by their children— as interpreted by the children—, and that can constitute a continuous burden and weigh heavily on children's further lives (see e.g. Stierlin, 1978). As said above, this holds equally for the migrant situation as well as for times of social change. Take as an example the difficulties of today's young adults in finding a permanent job. Their parents—who have entered the job market about 30 years ago—might have encountered a very different situation when looking for their first jobs. Maybe in their socio-historical context permanent jobs were more common and the typical life course was characterized by getting a permanent position, building a house and starting a family. As we know from many European countries, there has been a pluralization of the life course and situations of economic crisis make it more difficult for young adults to enter these roles that generally mark adulthood (Albert & Ferring, 2009). Now, do the parents expect from their grown-up children to get a secure job at any cost—even if less prestigious—, and how do they react if offspring have difficulties to meet these expectations? Or do they tolerate longer educational periods entailing insecurity (as for instance, engaging in doctoral studies) and some risk taking of their children, so they might

however fulfill their full potential? If parents are perceived by their children as retaining expectations they cannot (or do not want to) meet, this might create difficulties both on personal and relational level, as it might lead to the experience of ambivalence, create tensions and not least hamper (adult) children's goal striving and attainment. Intergenerational value transmission seems thus to be a double-edged sword—on the one hand, it is essential to preserve knowledge and values between generations and to facilitate mutual understanding of members from different generations, on the other hand a strict sticking to "old" values might become an obstacle for innovation in a changed cultural or societal context.

With regard to traditional family values, several studies comprising families who migrated from more collectivistic, family-oriented cultures to different Western, individualistic ones (Merz et al., 2009; Phinney & Vedder, 2006) have, indeed, demonstrated generational differences between immigrant parents and their children: for instance, in a study on immigrants from Turkey, Morocco, Suriname, and The Dutch Antilles who were living in the Netherlands, first generation placed higher values on family solidarity compared to the second generation (Merz et al., 2009). However, other studies found that both first and second generations' adherence to family obligations was still higher compared to host nationals', as for instance shown for young adult second generation immigrants from Italy and Spain living in Switzerland who had higher norms and expectations of intergenerational exchange compared to Swiss peers (Bolzmann, Fibbi, & Vial, 2003).

These results may indicate a relative (instead of an absolute) transmission of values (cf. Albert & Trommsdorff, 2014; see also Vermulst, De Brock, & Van Zutphen, 1991). If now the sharing of similar values between parents and children is in general closely related to emotional relationship quality and to exchanged support (Albert & Ferring, 2012; Albert et al., 2013), the question arises how relations can thus be regulated and continue to be close in light of a generational gap in values? Will a gradual shift of immigrant offspring from the

high expectations of their parents lead to tensions or ambivalences in their relationship? Or will parents from migrant families adapt their expectations to the host cultural context, and will this reduce the generational gap?

Intergenerational Relationship Regulation

As outlined above, earlier research on migrant families provides a picture of close intergenerational relations with a high potential for intergenerational solidarity. Migrant families stemming from cultures that are characterized by high norms of familism seem to keep their high expectations regarding mutual obligations and a high amount of support also when living in a rather individualistic host culture. But the referred studies identify also potentials for intergenerational conflicts that may arise due to differences in identity constructions, intergenerational differences in value orientations and different mutual expectations (see e.g., Attias-Donfut et al., 2005; Berry et al., 2006; Nauck, 2001). In the light of these findings, one could assume that intergenerational relations in migrant families need special regulation efforts concerning the particular needs and expectations of different family members.

We draw here on the concept of intergenerational relationship regulation in order to identify dynamics within families that might occur when needs and expectations of family members from different generations have to be reconciled. Relationship regulation refers to strategies that individuals use to regulate their relationships to significant others – either by self-regulation strategies or by trying to change behaviors of social partners (Lang, Wagner, & Neyer, 2009).

Themes in the parent-child relation that might be at the core of such regulation processes are the negotiation between autonomy and relatedness (see e.g., Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, & Maynard, 2003; Kagitcibasi, 2007), a major developmental task in adolescence and

emerging adulthood that remains important over the whole life span, and—linked to this—the regulation of support exchange and reciprocity that might gain special importance, somewhat later, between adult children and their ageing parents (see e.g. Lang et al., 2009). On the one hand, regulatory efforts of individuals depend on their identity constructions and personality aspects, such as their independent or interdependent self-construals (Singelis, 1994) or their preferences for primary or secondary control strategies, i.e. changing the world or changing the self (Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, 2007; see also Albert, Trommsdorff, & Sabatier, 2011). On the other hand, relationship regulation depends also on transactional aspects and is as such embedded in a family context with specific rules and routines. As mentioned above, these "family cultures" may differ between and within cultural groups (Greenfield et al., 2003; Kagitcibasi, 2007; Lang et al., 2009; Manzi, Vignoles, Regalia, & Scabini, 2006; Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, 2007).

An Integrative Model on Intergenerational Family Relations in the light of Migration and Ageing

In order to locate family cultures with respect to their smaller constituting units as well as the larger context in which they are embedded, we propose an integrative model on intergenerational family relations in the light of migration and ageing (see figure 1; see also Albert, 2012). This model integrates Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (see e.g., Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998), Berry's model of acculturation and transmission (e.g., Berry, 2001; Berry & Georgas, 2009), the culture-informed model of intergenerational relationships (Trommsdorff, 2006) and ideas on family cultures as introduced by Manzi and colleagues (2006; see also Albert et al., 2011) with a life span approach (e.g., Baltes, Reese, & Lipsett, 1980). More precisely, we assume here that individuals and their intergenerational family relations are embedded in specific family cultures which may differ between and within cultures. Furthermore, families are part of a larger cultural context that may be

subdivided in a proximal and a distal context. Especially in times of rapid social change or in the situation of migration, children might develop identity constructions that differ from the cultural context of their family of origin, and thus purportedly also from their family culture. In turn, family cultures may as well differ from the larger cultural context in which they are embedded. Further, the chronosystem covering historical and life time indicates the different needs, tasks and resources of the individual and family due to historical time as well as due to the point in the (individual and family) life-span.
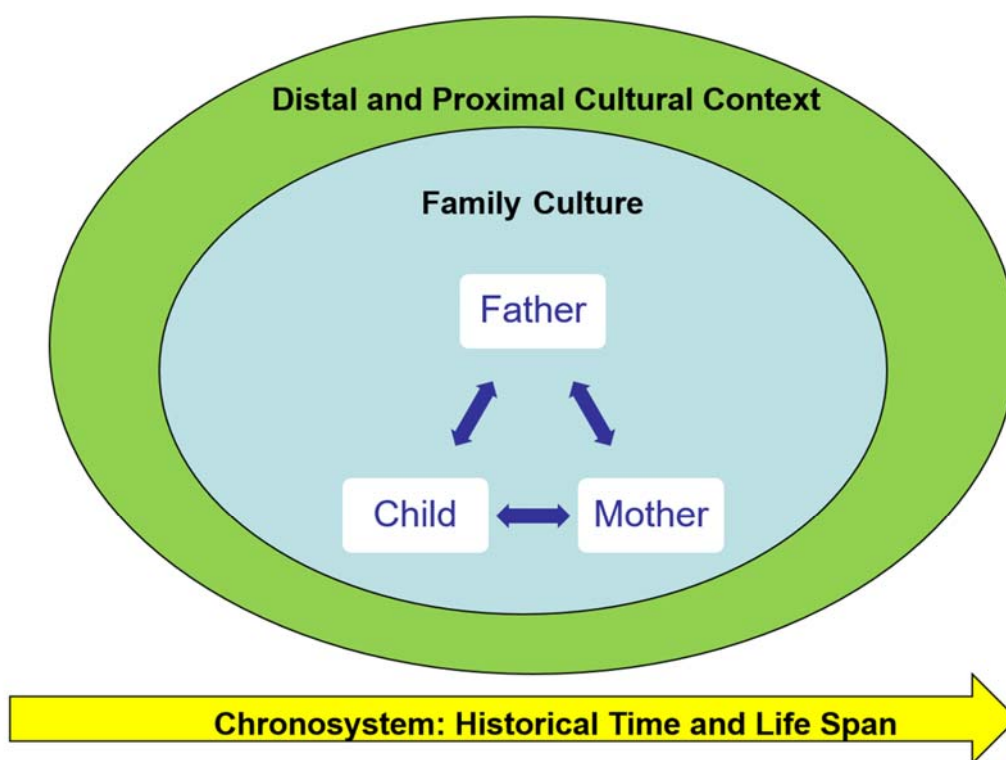

Figure 1. Integrative model on intergenerational family relations in the light of migration and ageing.

As individuals and families may differ in how they integrate different cultural aspects in their identity constructions (Valsiner, 2003, 2007), we might use the present model as a heuristic to get deeper insight into how families regulate their relations and mutual responsibilities on the background of their cultural value orientations and in line with their

needs, expectations and resources (Albert et al., 2011; Lang et al., 2009; Trommsdorff, 2006; Trommsdorff & Albert, 2009).

Last not least, a missing fit of a person and its environment might be a source of stress and reduce subjective well-being (see e.g., Edwards, Caplan, & Harrison, 1998), and this risk could be heightened either if migrants adapt personal wishes and expectations to the host cultural context which does not fit their proximal family environment and family culture, or if family and personal preferences are aligned but not in accordance with the larger socio-cultural context.

Empirical Evidence – The IRMA-Project

In the following, we will draw on recent results from the FNR-funded project „Intergenerational Relations in the light of Migration and Ageing (IRMA, 2013-2016)" which focuses on a cross-cultural comparison between Portuguese and Luxembourgish triads of older parents (mothers and fathers) and their adult children, all living in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. Our aim is to illustrate our theoretical outline by focusing on the following leading questions: What are similarities and differences between the descriptions of family cultures of Portuguese immigrant compared to Luxembourgish families? How can we explain differences in the regulation of autonomy, relatedness and mutual support between families of both cultural groups? We will draw special attention to the emergence of intergenerational ambivalence. In order to tackle these questions, both quantitative methods (study 1) as well as qualitative methods (study 2) are applied.

The Case of Portuguese Immigrants in Luxembourg

To start, some words should be said about Luxembourg as the specific acculturation context of the present study. With its 563.500 inhabitants of whom 45% are foreigners, Luxembourg constitutes a very special acculturation context (Statec, 2011). The multilingual

context of Luxembourg with three official languages—Luxembourgish, French and German—adds further to the particularity of this acculturation context. Moreover, a high number of commuters from the neighboring countries (France, Germany, and Belgium) are present on the labour market every day. Altogether 87% of foreigners living in Luxembourg come from other EU countries—among these are permanent residents as well as expatriates working for international enterprises and a large share of officials working for the EU institutions. A large number have Portuguese nationality (about 16% of the whole population). As far as Portuguese immigration history is concerned, large-scale immigration of Portuguese immigrants to Luxembourg started in the late 1960s/early 1970s due to the increased demand for workers in the industrial sector (Beirão, 2010; Willems & Milmeister, 2008). A special agreement between the governments of Luxembourg and Portugal allowed workers to bring their immediate families, thus setting the basis for permanent immigration. Considering that Portuguese immigrants of the first waves arrived at a median age of about 23/24 to Luxembourg (see Berger, 2008), these Portuguese first generation immigrants are now close to retirement age.

Intergenerational family relations of both Luxembourgish (LU) and Portuguese (PT) families in Luxembourg have been described by a relatively high contact frequency between parents and adult children—maybe in part due to the small country size and thus small residential distances. Although LU families are characterized in general by a high intergenerational solidarity, the adherence to norms of unconditional family support seems to be significantly higher in PT families (83% PT vs. 59% LU participants in the EVS, see Fleury, 2010). This might be explained by the cultural heritage of the PT families, as a high traditional and collectivist value orientation of PT has been described in comparison to other Europeans (Hofstede, 2001; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Interestingly, in LU families, downward normative obligations towards children appear to be higher than upward

obligations towards parents. Also, it seems that support patterns in PT families differ from those in LU families: in our pilot study, we found higher social support provided by PT young adult daughters to their mothers, whereas support provided by mothers to daughters was equally high in both national groups (Albert et al., 2013). Research in several European countries has shown that PT immigrants often prefer an acculturation strategy of integration, retaining many characteristics of and links to their country of origin and preferring a multicultural society (cf. Berry, 2001).

Second generation Portuguese in Luxembourg have in general obtained a higher socio-economic status and their occupations are more diversified compared to their parents who were mostly occupied in the lower skilled industrial or construction (for men) and service (for women) sectors—indicating a certain convergence of the second generation to the socio-economic status of the host country population (Berger, 2008; Tourbeaux, 2012). Notably, a higher socio-economic status attained by the child generation in adulthood could lead to differences in living conditions and these have presumably an impact on value preferences (Glass, Bengtson, & Dunham, 1986).

Description of Study 1

Regarding the quantitative part, a standardized questionnaire was developed in three equivalent language versions—German, French and Portuguese—by a team of multilingual psychologists, provided in a version for parents as well as a version for adult children.

For the present analyses, we take into account only the reports of the second generation, namely $n = 87$ LU adult children (69.8% female) with an average age of $M = 28.74$ ($SD = 9.69$), and $n = 67$ PT adult children (58.2% female) with an average age of $M =$

27.39 (SD = 7.45). Regarding PT adult children[2], the majority (62.1%) were born in Luxembourg, whereas the remainder had arrived to Luxembourg at an average age of M = 4.8 years (SD = 4.14).

In the following, we will draw on some preliminary results concerning our assessment of *Family Cultures* from the adult children's point of view (e.g., Manzi et al., 2006; Schneewind et al., 1985), including the following dimensions that refer to different practices and paradigms as perceived in the family of origin: *cohesion* with 4 items (e.g., "In our family, there's a strong feeling of togetherness"), *enmeshment* with 6 items (e.g., "In our family, it's difficult for us to be separated"), *independence* with 4 items (e.g., "In our family, everyone is responsible for himself"), *support received from parents* with 2 items (e.g., "In our family, parents help children financially if needed"), and *support provided for parents* with 4 items (e.g., "In our family, it is expected that adult children keep close contact to their parents"). All Items had to be rated on a 6-point likert-scale (1 = do not agree at all to 6 = fully agree), reliabilities were satisfactory.

Preliminary results of study 1. First, we compared how different dimensions of family cultures were perceived by PT vs. LU adult children (see table 1).

Table 1. *Mean values on key variables of family cultures from the perspectives of Portuguese origin and Luxembourgish adult children*

	Cohesion	Enmeshment	Independence	Support received from parents	Support provided for parents
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*
LU adult children	4.68 (0.88)	2.83 (0.80)	3.70 (0.74)	4.18 (1.08)	4.35 (0.82)
PT adult children	4.62 (0.91)	3.55 (0.72)	4.26 (0.77)	4.22 (1.11)	4.87 (0.64)

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[2] All PT parents were born in Portugal and had on average spent about 31 years in Luxembourg.

Results of the mean comparisons (t-tests for independent samples) indicated rather high levels of *family cohesion* and of *support received from parents*, which was perceived similarly by PT and LU adult children (t (152) = 0.35, n.s., and t (151) = 0.23, n.s.). However, both *enmeshment* and *support provided for parents* were rated higher by PT compared to LU adult children (t (152) = 5.77, p < .01, and t (152) = 4.28, p < .01). Interestingly, PT adult children also characterized their family cultures as higher on independence (t (152) = 4.71, p <. 01).

In line with earlier findings, both PT immigrant and LU families were thus in general perceived by (young) adult children as high on intergenerational solidarity with much support flowing from the older to the younger generation; however, although highly rated also by LU adult children, upward support was perceived even higher by PT adult children, and—in contrast to LU families—here, also enmeshment was higher. One result deserves a closer inspection: namely, independence was also rated higher by PT compared to LU adult children. This might allow for several readings: either PT families are successful in granting autonomy to offspring in spite of high mutual involvement; or these families value independence higher due to their migration history (e.g., first generation parents left their families of origin behind when migrating to the host country; second generation might have to accomplish certain tasks on their own if parents cannot help them); otherwise, the result might also point to some ambivalence: for PT adult children independence could be particularly salient as kind of a counter-reaction to high cohesion/enmeshment, too much of which could thus lead to a higher desire for independence; or high ratings of independence in the second generation could be an effect of acculturation and a more independent way of living in Luxembourg.

These interpretations call for a closer look into what actually happens within the dyads during the process of intergenerational relationship regulation. Thus, our next question was if we can find different patterns of family cultures also in qualitative interviews?

Description of Study 2

Regarding the qualitative part, a number of $n = 10$ PT dyads and $n = 10$ LU dyads of one parent and one adult child each participated in semi-structured interviews that were video- and audiotaped[3]. An interview guideline was prepared beforehand that tackled several issues (e.g., migration history for PT immigrants; opinions about multiculturalism and cultural aspects of Luxembourg; value transmission and family relations). The interviews were carried out either in Luxembourgish or in Portuguese language (depending on the family's culture of origin) and lasted between 60 and 120 minutes (sometimes even more). Registrations of the interviews were transcribed later on.

Preliminary results of study 2. In order to get a deeper insight into the mechanisms and dynamics of negotiation of autonomy and relatedness as well as solidarity and reciprocity, we selected one interview section that focusses on the issue of moving out of the parental

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[3] The PT sample of study 2 included six mothers and four fathers who were between 45 and 66 years old. They had spent between 12 and 40 years in Luxembourg. Regarding the PT children, nine daughters and one son participated; they were between 22 and 45 years old; six were born in LU; four were born in PT and had arrived to LU between the ages of 5 and 12. The LU sample of study 2 included eight mothers and two fathers between the ages of 54-86; the LU adult children were 22 and 54 years old and the sample included seven daughters and three sons.

home as one of the topics covered by our interview guideline. Applying thematic content analysis, the regulation of family relations revolved around several themes, namely *the need for autonomy and relatedness, contact frequency after moving out, the importance of geographical proximity vs. distance,* as well as *cohesion of the family.*

Regarding the *need for autonomy and relatedness*, parental vacillation between letting go and holding back could recurrently be identified in PT families, and this was often seconded with reassurance granted by the young adult child as can be illustrated by the following dialogue. The mother's difficulties in granting autonomy in spite of her acknowledging its necessity on the one hand and the daughter's reassurance of relatedness on the other hand become even more clear, when talking more concretely about the issue of moving out:

> Mother: I face it quite well, I like it when they are independent (…) / Daughter: (…) we are a family that gets along well with one another (…) Yes, we do value family very much (…) / Mother: I like very much seeing them independent, I am fulfilled when I see my girls independent (...) sometimes I say "save some money, you won't leave from one day to another but… / Daughter: Oh mother, but I'm so well here / Mother: …but it rips out my heart, I like seeing them fulfilled (...) it's difficult yes, but not to hinder them and they know, it's true, hinder them to follow their path...
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> [*PT Mother (57) - Daughter (24) Dyad*]

The complementarity in the dyadic regulation of autonomy and relatedness becomes clear as PT young adult children seem to adapt to their parents' need for assurance in confirming their loyalty and the continuity of their relatedness:

> Daughter: (…) I know I would like to *(leave the parental home)*, but first it's like that, I save some money, I go, I go but calmly, it's not like "I have to leave", I'm not that in a hurry (...) Of course a person wants her own life and tries to live alone and so, it's natural isn't it, (...), for now I'm good at home / Mother: well, yes it's annoying, now the house already seems empty, isn't it…
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> [*PT Mother (51) - Daughter (24) Dyad*]

After the transitional phase of moving out, the *negotiation of contact* gains primary importance. Again, the need for mutual reassurance of relatedness was a recurrent issue in PT parent-child dyads, as also shown in the following quote:

> Father: And when she's not here, we call / Daughter: I call, I go there / Father: every day we have to talk with each other, isn't it, it's not good *(not to talk)*, no I don't like to be like that, without having, without knowing how she is, how they are… / Daughter: Yes / Father: to speak is enough, then at the end of the week we see them, at least *(daughter nods)*
>
> [*PT Father (57) - Daughter (28) Dyad*]

Another noteworthy aspect that occurred only in the PT parent-child dyads was the *geographical proximity vs. distance* between family members. The particular salience of this issue in the PT migrant families might have its roots in their family history, as first generation migrants are geographically speaking distanced from their family left behind in the country of origin (e.g., parents, siblings, etc.):

> Mother: Now they are still here, but a person knows that later on,…, but after having a house of their own... it's life, it's like that... But here at least *(in Luxembourg compared to Portugal)* it's not far away, the country is small...
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> [*PT Mother (51) - Daughter (24) Dyad*]

In fact, it seems that the now ageing first generation of migrants do not want their children to repeat the experience of starting a family of their own far away from their family of origin, as they had done themselves:

> Mother: I know that when they come to age, when their time comes, they have to do their lives too…we are never too far away (…) / Son: another advantage, the country is small *(laughs)* / Mother: I didn't have family around to look after them *(her children)*, to give them to family. Tomorrow my grandchildren will have the chance to have a grandmother who will be able to look after them, something, my children didn't have that luck (...)
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> [*PT Mother (49) - Son (25) Dyad*]

In sum, in the PT families, it seems that needs for autonomy and relatedness are co-regulated by the family members, by trying to mutually influence each other in a proactive dyadic way. Parents and adult children thereby complement each other, responding to their mutual specific needs of autonomy and relatedness. These relationships are characterized by a high cohesion and reciprocal social support provided equally upward and downward the generational ladder. We could also detect a need for assurance which might be typical for interdependent cultural contexts as suggested by Rothbaum and Trommsdorff (2007). These relations might also be prone to the occurrence of intergenerational ambivalence (Lüscher et al., 2010), especially when living in the Luxembourgish context and confronted with alternative family models (such as through contact with Luxembourgish peers).

Also LU parents appeared to recognize own difficulties in seeing their children become independent. However, in contrast to the dyadic strategies in Portuguese families, they seemed to use rather self-focused regulation strategies such as cognitive reappraisal in order to cope with increasing autonomy needs of their young adult children. As suggested by Rothbaum and Trommsdorff (2007), their relations might be rather based on trust, allowing for the coexistence of *autonomy and relatedness*.

> Father: It's always difficult for a parent when a child (…) goes away, either in another country or when it finds a nice job, but parents have the responsibility to let the child go. It's for his *(the son's)* best, it's his life because when we are not there anymore, then he must live anyway and he has to have a good existence whatever work he has (…) but he has to go his way (...) There are days where I go with my wife to have a coffee and my wife says "He hasn't yet given any news, do you think he's alright?" That's normal for parents, like that, but we cannot go there and call all the time (...) but if there is something important, then we are there, that's right, that are all parents in principle
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> [*LU Father (62) - Son (24) Dyad*]

In the LU families, the negotiation between *autonomy and relatedness* seemed even more an issue for the young adult children, and assurance was at best granted by parents:

> Mother: Yes, she has to leave at some point *(emphasizes)* / Interviewer: Is it going to be difficult for you? / Mother: No, no she is of age I think, she has to take off as you say right / Daughter: you say that, I know that too, that when I'll leave it won't be difficult for you but I think that when I won't be there like that (…) it's not difficult because I absolutely depend on my mother or on my father, (…) but (…) because I will be alone, (…) we are a family that is all the time together (...) I study less well than with noise (…) / Mother: you feel more secure, yes (...)
>
> [*LU Mother (54) - Daughter (28) Dyad*]

A generally high *cohesion* was documented both for PT and LU families as the following quotes show:

> Mother: me and my children are very attached, we are very open, parents are not there just for the good, they are there for the good and the bad (...) if tomorrow he has a serious problem, he knows he can come and count on
>
> [*Portuguese Mother (49) - Son (25) Dyad*]

> Mother: Yes, stick together we do but living together every day (...)? I find it important that someone is always there if needed, but I don't necessarily need to hang out every day
>
> [*LU Mother (58) - Daughter (35) Dyad*]

Interestingly, whereas the need for high contact frequency was mentioned repeatedly by PT family dyads, LU dyads were rather referring to a general availability in case of need, which might again point to the underlying principles of assurance vs. trust in intergenerational family relations depending on rather interdependent or independent family contexts.

Discussion

Our results from the quantitative and the qualitative studies complement each other well—we found similarities and differences between Portuguese immigrant and Luxembourgish families regarding their family cultures both on mean levels of key variables in the quantitative part as well as when looking more closely into the underlying dynamics as part of our qualitative interviews. Our studies show thus the primacy of mixed methods, i.e.

combining both quantitative and qualitative approaches, over the use of just one of them. The compatibility of findings from both sub-studies, in fact, granted validity to each of them and allowed for deeper insights.

Concerning the description of different family cultures along our heuristic model, we were able to identify similarities and differences in family cultures and to trace back the roles of culture of origin and family history in shaping certain practices and paradigms in the family.

Both Luxembourgish and Portuguese immigrant adult children described their families as highly cohesive. But in spite of similar levels of intergenerational solidarity on the surface, a closer look revealed cultural differences with regard to how such solidarity is enacted. In line with earlier findings, much support seems to flow both up and down the generational ladder in the case of Luxembourgish families but support of adult children for their parents was even higher in the case of Portuguese families. In particular, the high parental expectations for frequent contact and geographic proximity and the need for assurance which characterized especially the PT dyads could have their roots in a rather collectivist, family-oriented cultural heritage, but it seems probable that their specific migration history adds significantly to this. The results demonstrate also nicely the importance of the specific acculturation context— Luxembourg as rather small host country allows for an anticipated future in which first and second generation will continue to live close by as a matter of fact. Instead, the general conviction to stand together and help each other in case of need, based on trust and typical for LU families, pointed to a rather individualistically oriented cultural background. Given that LU parents were probably used to more geographical steadiness, geographical distance was not a salient issue for them and they seemed more open to the idea of their adult children exploring new areas.

We could also identify some potential for ambivalences as was demonstrated by the high individual importance of independence coexisting with high enmeshment in case of the PT adult children. One could speculate that the high importance that PT adult children attributed to independence is in line with the rather individualistic host cultural context in which they grew up but would call for specific regulatory efforts in the relations with parents given the high enmeshment and high expectations characterizing their family cultures of origin[4]. Interestingly, while PT young adults expressed a high salience of independence in the quantitative questionnaires that were administered individually, they seemed well aware of the need for assurance of their parents and ready to accommodate their parents' desire for relatedness, as was nicely demonstrated in the qualitative interviews being carried out in the presence of mother or father. In fact, the negotiation of autonomy and relatedness seemed to be a permanent issue in the PT parent-child dyads. This could be a way how PT families establish continuity in spite of generational value change (see Barni, Rosnati, & Ranieri, 2013). Instead, LU young adults might have to fight less for independence as their parents grant it anyway to a higher extent, as occurred in the qualitative interviews. Indeed, for the Luxembourgish dyads of young adult children and their parents, the moving out was marked by a rather clear-cut belief that independence is important and therefore must be accepted.

Through the interviews, we were able to have a closer look into the dynamics that might underlie intergenerational relationship regulation in different family cultures, here focusing on the transitional phase of leaving the parental home. Two different modes of negotiation between the needs of relatedness and autonomy could be identified: a) a dyadic mode, including other-focused regulation in the PT case, which was based on continuous assurance and reciprocity, whereby parent and adult child were complementing each other, and b) a

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[4] Certainly, PT adult children's experiences specific to migration (such as their parents relying on them regarding help with administrative issues or being language brokers in the family), might have contributed to their higher salience of independence and self-reliance.

more individualistic mode based on trust and including more self-focused regulation strategies such as cognitive reappraisal in LU families (see Rothbaum & Trommsdorff, 2007). Nonetheless, variability in relationship regulation was also found within each cultural group, and this underlines once more the complexity of family cultures that do not simply reflect shared cultural values and norms but—to a certain extent—follow their own rules.

Conclusions

In sum, both Portuguese and Luxembourgish families turned out to be characterized by a high cohesion and solidarity between the generations but under the surface the mechanisms how relatedness is preserved in light of growing autonomy of young adult children seem to differ. Thus, our study makes clear how a universal developmental task such as the negotiation of relatedness and autonomy can be tackled differently depending on cultural pathways of independence or interdependence (cf. Greenfield et al., 2003). Moreover, apart from cultural factors that might underlie different modes of relationship regulation, also the migrant history of PT families seems to play a crucial role as it might even reinforce their need for assurance, high contact frequency and small residential distances. These results underline the importance of individual biographies and family history which make up each and every family culture, with shared memories being at the core of family identity.

Our heuristic model of intergenerational relations in the light of migration and ageing proved to be a good starting point for getting deeper into the dynamics of relationship regulation of migrant compared to non-migrant families taking into account specific family cultures. As our studies showed, the migrant context does indeed have an important impact on familial relationship regulation and family cultures, influencing in the future possible intergenerational support in our fast "greying" societies.

Compliance with Ethical Standards

Conflict of Interest: The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

Ethical approval: The study is in accordance with the ethical standards of the University of Luxembourg and received approval by the Ethics Review Panel of the University of Luxembourg (ERP-15-001 IRMA). Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study.

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