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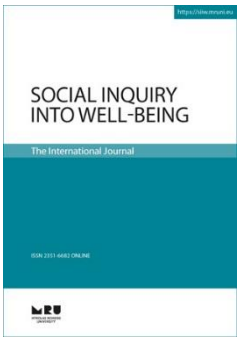

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Future Plans and the Regulation of Well-Being of Older Portuguese Immigrants in Luxembourg

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Abstract

Ageing and migration have become key issues in many European countries, as an unprecedented number of first generation immigrants are currently approaching retirement age. A permanent return to the country of origin seems to be enacted more seldom after retirement than initially envisaged, a phenomenon referred to as "myth of return". Instead, a third alternative seems to gain interest for ageing migrants, namely commuting between host country and country of origin. The present paper addresses future plans regarding preferred country of residence after retirement and the regulation of well-being of middle-aged and older first generation immigrants. The sample included N = 109 Portuguese first generation immigrants (49.5% female; average age: M = 55.35, SD = 7.42) who had been living in Luxembourg for about M = 30.69 (SD = 8.55) years. Analyses show that only one-fifth of participants plan to return to Portugal, whereas almost one-half prefer to stay in Luxembourg, one-quarter choose to commute, the remainder still being undecided. No differences in life-satisfaction were found, but those who plan to return used fewer self-regulatory strategies compared to those who want to stay or commute; in the STAY group, positive reappraisal strategies were related most strongly to their life-satisfaction, whereas for those who plan to commute both primary and secondary control were beneficial. Interestingly, lowering aspirations was positively related with life-satisfaction for those who plan to return to their country of origin after retirement. Results are discussed taking into consideration aspects of integration and migration experiences over the life-span.

Keywords: ageing, migration, first generation, Luxembourg, Portuguese

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Ageing and migration have become key topics in many European societies today, as an unprecedented number of first generation immigrants of the big immigration waves of the 1960s and 1970s are currently approaching retirement age. This holds especially for Luxembourg, which–due to one of the highest shares of foreigners in its population in Europe and worldwide–will have to deal with an increasing number of immigrants ageing in place in the next years.

Although policy makers and practitioners are aware of the new challenges these developments might bring for society, research evidence regarding future plans and well-being of older immigrants after retirement is still scant, in particular as far as psychological processes are concerned.

Future Plans of Ageing Migrants

Initially, receiving societies as well as migrants themselves regarded migration mostly as temporarily (see e.g. Ruspini, 2009). It was expected that migrants−who came often for economic reasons to receiving countries with higher economic growth and better job opportunities−would return to their countries of origin after some years of hard work, once they had earned enough money to restart their lives in the country of origin. However, these expectations turned out to adhere rather to a so-called "myth of return" (see e.g., Bolognani, 2007). In fact, several European studies have demonstrated that only a part of ageing immigrants return permanently to their countries of origin, although the ideal of going back might never be really given up. In this context, a third alternative seems to be of increasing interest, namely to commute between the country of origin and the host country (e.g., Attias-Donfut, Tessier, & Wolff, 2005). For instance, De Coulon and Wolff (2005) have analyzed data from the PRI (Passage à la Retraite des Immigrés) survey, including n = 4336 international immigrants living in France who were older than 45 years and not yet retired. Focusing on intentions for future location, they found that a proportion of 24.0% stated they would like to commute between both countries after retirement, whereas only few would like to return definitely to their country of origin (7.2%); actually, a large proportion planned to stay in France (59.1%), the remainder (9.7%) was still undecided. Bolzmann, Fibbi and Viol (2006) have reported similar numbers for their sample of Italians (n = 268) and Spaniards (n = 174) aged 55 to 64 years, living in Switzerland. Whereas 30% of their sample had the intention to stay permanently in the host country, only 26% planned to go back after retirement, and 34% reported to envisage commuting between their country of origin and Switzerland, the remainder being undecided (6%) or indicating a different choice (4%). Finally, Baykara-Krumme (2013) focused on a sample of Turkish first generation labour migrants (n = 495) over the age of 65 who had been working in several European countries and were already retired. She found similar numbers regarding commuting namely, a third (35.4%) of her sample was shuttling between both countries on a regular basis. However, about 54% had returned to Turkey permanently in later life, whereas only 10.6% stayed permanently in the host country after retirement. Notably, in this study not only future intentions of those migrants who were still living in the host country were assessed but ancient immigrants were also traced back to their country of origin if they had returned in the meantime.

According to Kunuroglu, Van de Vijver and Yagmur (2016) a strong sense of belonging and attachment to the home country might play a decisive role for the choice to return. However, when both countries have gained personal significance in immigrants' lives in the meantime, permanent return becomes less likely and commuting might be chosen as an alternative (Bolzmann et al., 2006; see also Attias-Donfut et al., 2005). In particular, the location of own offspring (more than the place where other family members live) seems to have a significant impact on future plans. Also, structural aspects such as health and economic status might influence future intentions. Bolzmann and colleagues (2006) report that poor health was related to the intention to stay in Switzerland, whereas those with better health preferred more often to commute between both countries. As far as economic status is concerned, those who rated their financial situation as satisfactory had a lower intention to return and a higher preference for commuting, compared to those who reported to have financial problems (see also Yahirun, 2014). Also, opportunity structures such as property in the country of origin seemed to play a role here.

The implications of such different future plans and strategies for subjective well-being of ageing migrants have not yet been studied to our knowledge.

Self-Regulatory Strategies and Subjective Well-Being

Keeping in mind the "myth of return", one could ask if differences in well-being of ageing migrants can be found related to their future plans, or−if this is not the case−how a high level of subjective well-being can be maintained even if initial plans of return have been abandoned in the meantime.

Applying a life-span developmental perspective, we can draw on several theoretical approaches regarding the regulation of subjective well-being that principally differ between regulatory maneuvers aiming at "changing the world" or "changing the self" thus serving problem-focused or emotion-focused coping and adaptation (Lazarus, 1993; Rothbaum, Weisz, & Snyder, 1982). Especially the latter strategies are used when problems can no longer be changed by direct actions and the impact of events seems to be permanent; emotional self-regulation thus becomes the central motive and instigating force of specific strategies. Two models take up the notion of changing the world versus changing the self by differing between assimilative and accommodative coping processes (Brandtstädter & Greve, 1994), as well as between primary and secondary control (Heckhausen & Schulz, 1995). The latter life-span theory of control inspired by Rothbaum and colleagues (1982) differentiates primary control (i.e. trying to change circumstances and conditions in line with own personal goals, needs, and desires, thus rather problem-focused coping strategies) and secondary control strategies (i.e. the accommodation of cognitive, motivational and affective aspects when one cannot change the situation, by changing one's goals or by changing the evaluation of the situation, thus rather emotion-focused strategies). Heckhausen and Schulz (1995) assume that primary control strategies might be preferred by younger individuals, given that problems encountered at this age span might allow for problem-centered strategies changing the problem itself; the latter strategies should become more important in old age, when one has to compensate for failure or losses that do not allow to re-establish a former state of functioning (e.g., in the case of loss events). The use of control strategies is, thus, differentially associated with changing opportunities and

constraints across the life span and primary and secondary control strategies might exert a different impact on well-being depending on age (Wrosch, Heckhausen and Lachman, 2000).

Focusing on younger, middle-aged and older adults, Wrosch et al. (2000) found that primary control was most beneficial for SWB in the youngest group, followed by the middle aged persons; the link between primary control and SWB was not significant, however, in the oldest group. Positive reappraisal as a form of secondary control was beneficial for all age groups, but lowering one's aspirations—as another secondary control strategy—had a negative effect on subjective well-being in all three age groups[1]. The authors explain this finding by the different types of events or experiences initiating the strategies: persistence and positive reappraisal should be positively related to the experience of mastery, whereas lowering one's aspirations could be linked to the experience of failure and loss. In this, strategies and the experienced type of event interact to explain differences in the effect of the strategies.

As future plans might be related to different opportunities in attaining life goals, one could ask if differences in the use of control strategies by ageing migrants might also be found, depending on their future plans of returning, staying or commuting, in analogy and beyond mere age effects.

Portuguese Immigrants in Luxembourg

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg provides a very special acculturation context for immigrants due to several peculiarities, such as its high rate of foreigners (45% of the 563.500 inhabitants), multilingualism (the three official languages are Luxembourgish, French and German), and a high presence of cross-border commuters on the job market (about 150.000; 40% of domestic employment). Portuguese immigrants make up the biggest share of the foreign population (with 92.100 inhabitants with Portuguese nationality, i.e. about 16% of the population and almost 35% of all foreigners). Portuguese immigration started in the late 1960s with a first peak in the early 1970s in line with a high need for work force in the industrial sector. A special agreement between the governments of Luxembourg and Portugal allowed workers to bring their immediate families, thus setting the basis for permanent immigration. This is reflected also in the high marriage rate with partners of Portuguese origin (Alieva & Hartung, 2010; Leduc & Villeret, 2009) especially in the first generation. 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 (see also Beirão, 2010). Questions about their future life situations−including their expectations and plans for the future− are becoming increasingly important in the next years.

Research in Europe has shown that Portuguese immigrants often prefer an acculturation strategy of integration (cf. Berry, 2001). However, the ideal of return migration seems to be rather common among Portuguese first generation immigrants as was demonstrated in studies carried out in Switzerland as well as for Portuguese immigrants in France (see Afonso, 2010, for Switzerland; Attias-Donfut et al., 2005 for France; see also Baganha, 2003). If this is the case also for Portuguese immigrants in Luxembourg still has to be found out. Structural as well as family issues might have an impact on choices regarding future residence.

A look at intergenerational relations within Portuguese immigrant families seems of utmost importance here, as several studies indicate a rather high family orientation combined with a high contact frequency between parents and adult children and a high amount of intergenerational support (Fleury, 2010; Hauret, 2011; Tourbeaux, 2012). Interestingly, second generation Portuguese in Luxembourg have in general obtained a higher socio-economic status compared to their parents: whereas first generation migrants were mostly occupied in the lower skilled industrial or construction (for men) and service (for women) sectors, their children have often obtained a higher educational status and their occupations are more diversified (Berger, 2008; Tourbeaux, 2012).

Finally, differences between Luxembourg and Portugal as countries of residence after retirement may refer to a more favorable health care system in Luxembourg compared to Portugal, for instance concerning accessibility to health care (e.g., Viberg, Forsberg, Borowitz, & Molin, 2013) as well as generous long-term care insurance system in Luxembourg.

Aims of the Present Study

In line with the above-mentioned theoretical assumptions, we ask and try to answer three research questions. Firstly, we investigate the future plans of first generation middle-aged and older Portuguese immigrants in Luxembourg and analyze if participants with different future plans differ on socio-demographic characteristics and aspects of integration. Secondly, we study if general life-satisfaction and the use of self-regulatory strategies differ depending on future plans regarding residence after retirement. Thirdly and linked to this, we test a moderator hypothesis asking if depending on the future plans, different self-regulatory strategies might be more or less beneficial for life satisfaction.[2]

Methods

Procedure

The current study is part of a larger project, IRMA (Intergenerational Relations in the light of Migration and Ageing; PI: Dr Isabelle Albert) funded by the Fonds

[1] Certainly, rather than mere age effects, also generation differences might play a role here.

[2] We are well-aware that the cross-sectional study design does not allow to imply a causal relationship. For instance, it could be assumed that – the other way round due to higher or lower life satisfaction, future plans might differ, too.

National de la Recherche Luxembourg. This project was envisaged in two stages over three years (2013-2016). It has a special interest for the intergenerational family relations between adult children and their elderly parents, comparing Luxembourgish native families to Portuguese migrant families, all living in the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg, making use of mixed methods. For the quantitative part of the study a standardized questionnaire was used including family triads (both parents and one adult child) from Luxembourgish and Portuguese families. Participants were recruited via different interest groups (e.g., social offices, Club seniors, and cultural associations), the distribution of project flyers, several radio interventions / newspaper articles, a lecture series for Portuguese elder persons, as well as word-of-mouth advertising and private networks. Search criteria for participants included parents to be older than 50 years and both had to be born in Portugal, whereas their children were supposed to be born in Luxembourg or having come to Luxembourg prior to the age of 12. In order not to lose volunteers, also family dyads were accepted for participation. Portuguese participants of the first generation could choose between the Portuguese (PT) and the French version of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was first developed in German and then translated to French and Portuguese–following all standards required here–in order to construct equivalent questionnaire versions. Translations were prepared and cross-checked by a team of multilingual psychologists. Already existing translations of well-known instruments were searched for and taken into consideration. About 78% of the Portuguese middle-aged and older participants chose the PT language version of the questionnaire. Participation in the study was voluntary and informed consent by the participants was obtained. Each family member received 10 Euro as a reward for participation. The study was approved by the Ethics Review Panel (ERP) of the University of Luxembourg.

Sample

Only the data of the Portuguese older generation are used for the current analyses. This subsample comprises $N = 109$ Portuguese older participants with an average age of $M = 55.35$ ($SD = 7.42$; range: 41-79) of which half were females. All participants were born in Portugal and had been living in Luxembourg for an average of M = 30.69 (SD = 8.55) years, ranging from 11 to 50 years. They had come to Luxembourg at an average age of $M = 24.66$ (SD = 6.85) years[3]. Most participants (93.4%) were married (to a Portuguese partner) and all were parents of at least one adult child grown up in and still living in Luxembourg, too. As already mentioned, the spouse and the adult child took likewise part in the study where possible. Most of Portuguese participants were still gainfully employed (64.8%), the remainder were mostly retired (31.4%). Educational status was quite low with 74.1% having attained only elementary school. Self-perceived health status was rated as moderate (51.9%) or rather good (38.9%) by most participants. Overall, socio-demographic characteristics of our sample reflect the typical profile of Portuguese immigrants of these first immigration waves in Luxembourg; they were mostly labor migrants employed in lower skilled jobs in the industrial and service sector. Socio-demographic characteristics are thus in line with the general official statistics for this group of the population (see e.g., Zahlen, 2016).

Measures

As previously mentioned, various information was gathered through a standardized questionnaire. A first part of the questionnaire garnered data on socio-demographic characteristics such as **self-rated socio-economic** status and **health status** (both on a 5-point Likert scale; resp. from 1 = much lower than LU average to 5 = much higher than LU average; from 1 = very bad to 5 = very good). **Future intentions and preference for the country of residence** were inquired with respect to three alternatives: (1) a possible return to the country of birth, Portugal, (2) a definite stay in Luxembourg or (3) a commuting life between both countries. Furthermore, family network was examined in both the host country as well as the country of origin.

The second part of the questionnaire included several scales assessing various psychological indicators. **Life satisfaction** was assessed by the scale developed by Diener and colleagues (1985). Participants had to rate their life satisfaction on a 7-point Likert scale (e.g., "I am satisfied with my life"; from 1 = do not agree at all to 7 = fully agree) resulting in a total score with Cronbach's alpha = .82. How participants deal with everyday life obstacles and challenges was inquired by the extent that they agreed to the use of **primary and secondary control strategies** on a 6-point Likert-scale (from 1 = do not agree at all to 6 = fully agree; see Wrosch et al., 2000). Three dimensions are considered here: namely (a) Persistence (primary control; 5 items, e.g., "When things don't go according to my plans, my motto is Where there's a will there's a way") with $\alpha = .74$, (b) Positive Reappraisal (secondary control; 4 items, e.g. "When I'm faced with a bad situation, it helps to find a different way of looking at things") with $\alpha = .81$, and (c) Lowering Aspirations (secondary control; 5 items, e.g. "To avoid disappointments, I don't set my goals too high") with $\alpha = .78$. Participants' **cultural attachment** to both, host country as well as country of origin was assessed through a newly developed scale containing pictures of PT and LU national/cultural symbols (Marinho Ribeiro, 2014). Participants had to rate their attachment to the different symbols (14 items in total, 7 for each culture) on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = not attached at all to 5 = very attached (cultural attachment to PT $\alpha = .81$; to LU $\alpha = .83$). Finally, participants evaluated the **stress caused by the acculturation situation** by the Riverside Acculturation Stress Inventory (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005); the scale comprises seven items to be rated on a 6-point Likert scale (going from 1 = do not agree at all to 6 = fully agree; 7 items, e.g. "I have been mistreated because of my Portuguese origin") resulting in a total score with $\alpha = .74$.

[3] We excluded $n = 14$ participants from our original parents' sample who had come to Luxembourg prior to the age of 14 as well as $n = 2$ participants who indicated to live in Portugal.

Results

Future plans and their socio-demographic and psychosocial correlates.

First of all, we asked participants about their future plans regarding their preferred country of residence after retirement. Almost half of the sample reported that they wanted to stay in Luxemburg permanently (43.0%; STAY), whereas a fourth replied that they would prefer to commute between Luxembourg and Portugal (25.2%; COMMUTE). Only a fifth answered that they would like to go back to Portugal permanently (21.5%; RETURN). The remainder reported to be undecided or gave multiple answers (10.3%); these respondents were excluded from the following analyses. Further, a proportion of 73% indicated that they had been willing to return to Portugal in the beginning of their stay in Luxembourg.

Table 1. *Mean differences (ANOVAs) between groups with different future plans regarding socio-demographic aspects, indicators of integration, as well as self-regulatory strategies and general life-satisfaction*

	Return to PT (*n* = 23)	**Stay in LU (*n* = 46)**	**Commute (*n* = 27)**	
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*F (df1, df2)*
Mean age	51.04 (5.01)	57.07 (8.21)	56.85 (7.31)	5.78 (2, 95)**
Time spent in LU	25.39 (5.39)	32.33 (8.88)	32.30 (9.47)	5.98 (2, 95)**
Health status	3.30 (0.82)	3.31 (0.63)	3.22 (0.64)	0.16 (2, 94)
Socioeconomic status	2.26 (0.75)	2. 43 (0.66)	2.50 (0.65)	0.80 (2, 92)
Connectedness to PT culture	4.15 (0.52)	4.01 (0.73)	4.10 (0.89)	0.34 (2, 95)
Connectedness to LU culture	2.94 (1.02)	3.20 (0.75)	3.58 (0.81)	3.71 (2, 95)*
Acculturation stress	3.30 (0.96)	2.95 (0.99)	2.87 (0.82)	1.44 (2, 94)
Persistence	4.34 (0.85)	4.84 (0.68)	4.82 (0.64)	4.18 (2, 95)*
Positive Reappraisal	3.95 (1.09)	4.63 (0.67)	4.41 (1.01)	4.56 (2, 94)*
Lowering Aspirations	3.87 (0.84)	4.21 (0.85)	4.19 (1.00)	1.21 (2, 95)
Life-Satisfaction	4.83 (1.21)	5.11 (1.01)	5.07 (1.18)	0.49 (2, 95)

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

Second, we analyzed how participants in each group can be described in terms of socio-demographic characteristics (see table 1). Table 1 shows that respondents who wanted to go back to PT were younger compared to those who declared they would like to stay or commute. Also, the RETURN group had spent fewer years in Luxembourg compared to the other two groups. Further, most of the participants in the RETURN group were still gainfully employed (87%), whereas the proportion was lower among those who preferred to commute (66.7%), and still lower in the group who had decided to stay in Luxembourg (48.9%; $\chi2(2) = 9.68$, $p < .01$). Interestingly, no differences in self-reported socioeconomic status and health status were found. Also, no gender differences were found ($\chi2(2) = 2.78$, n.s.). While the participants did not differ with respect to the number of children[4], a significant effect of grandparental status could be found. More precisely, only three out of 23 participants of the RETURN group (13 %) were already grandparents, whereas 54.5% of the STAY group and 48.1% of the COMMUTE group reported to have already grandchildren who were mostly living in Luxembourg too ($\chi2(2) = 11.13$, $p < .01$).

Table 2. *Correlations between general life-satisfaction and self-regulatory strategies in groups with different future plans*

Do you plan to go back to Portugal in the future?	**Persistence**	**Positive Reappraisal**	**Lowering Aspirations**
Go back to PT (*n* = 23)	.20	.29	.47*
Stay in LU (*n* = 46)	.10	.35*	.08
Commute (*n* = 27)	.45*	.64**	-.23

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

[4] All participants had at least one child living in Luxembourg who was also taking part in the present study.

In terms of opportunity structures, we found further interesting results: whereas there were no differences regarding home ownership in Luxembourg which was in general very high (86.4% for RETURN, 82.6% for STAY, and 88.9% for COMMUTE), the probability of owning housing property in PT was higher for the RETURN group (87%) or the COMMUTERS (84.6%) compared to those who indicated they would like to stay permanently in Luxembourg (56.5%) with $\chi 2(2) = 9.97$, $p < .01$).

Third, we were interested in finding out if different future plans are linked with indicators of integration. Thus, we compared the three groups with regard to their cultural connectedness concerning Portugal and Luxembourg. Results were in the expected directions: whereas no differences were found with regard to cultural connectedness to Portugal, the groups differed with respect to cultural connectedness to Luxembourg. Participants within the STAY and COMMUTE group reported to feel more strongly connected to the host culture compared to the RETURN group. There were, however, no differences regarding experienced acculturation stress between the three groups.

Table 3. *Regression analyses to predict general life-satisfaction by self-regulatory strategies with future plans as moderator*

	B	*SE B*	*t*
First Step $\Delta R^2 = .01$			
Gender	-.02	.03	-0.08
Age	.01	.02	0.78
Second Step $\Delta R^2 = .19$**			
Primary Control: Persistence	.04	.13	0.32
Secondary Control: Positive Reappraisal	.47	.13	3.70**
Secondary Control: Lowering Aspirations	.06	.11	0.50
Stay in LU	-.02	.26	-0.08
Return to PT	.11	.31	0.35
Third Step $\Delta R^2 = .14$*			
Persistence x Stay in LU	-.58	.28	-2.04*
Persistence x Return to PT	-.33	.32	-1.03
Positive Reappraisal x Stay in LU	.11	.31	0.36
Positive Reappraisal x Return to PT	-.69	.33	-2.10*
Lowering Aspirations x Stay in LU	.34	.24	1.43
Lowering Aspirations x Return to PT	.87	.32	2.70**

Note. Gender: 0 = male, 1 = female; Dummy 1 = Stay in LU; Dummy 2 = Return to PT; Reference Group: Commute between LU and PT; all continuous predictors were standardized
$+p < .10$; $*p < .05$; $**p < .01$

Future plans, self-regulative strategies and life satisfaction.

A second aim of the present study was to detect differences in life-satisfaction and its regulation by the use of different self-regulatory strategies. In a first step, we carried out ANOVAs to test for group differences on life-satisfaction, as well as on primary and secondary control strategies. Here, we found no group differences with regard to general life-satisfaction. However, the RETURN group reported fewer use of primary and secondary control strategies compared to the other two groups; significant group differences showed for persistence (F (2, 95) = 4. 18, $p < .05$) and positive reappraisal (F (2, 94) = 4.56, $p < .05$; see table 1).

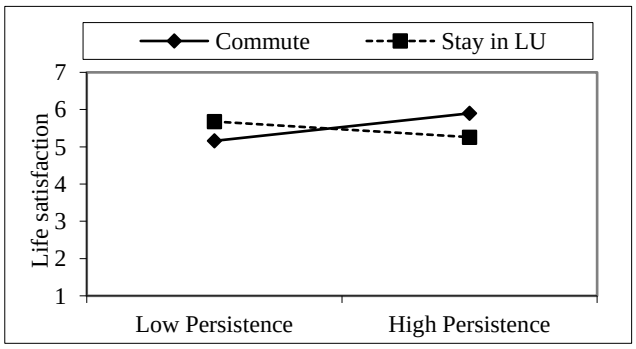

Figure 1. Staying in LU vs. Commuting as a moderator for the relation between persistence and life-satisfaction

Moderation of life satisfaction by self-regulatory strategies and future plans

Apart from these mean differences, we were interested in a potential interaction of self-regulatory strategies and future plans on life satisfaction. In order to find an answer to this question, we inspected in a first categorical test the bivariate correlations between the respective control strategy and life-satisfaction in each group (see table 2). In a subsequent continuous analysis we used regression analyses to test if future plans moderate the relations between control strategies and life-satisfaction (see table 3).

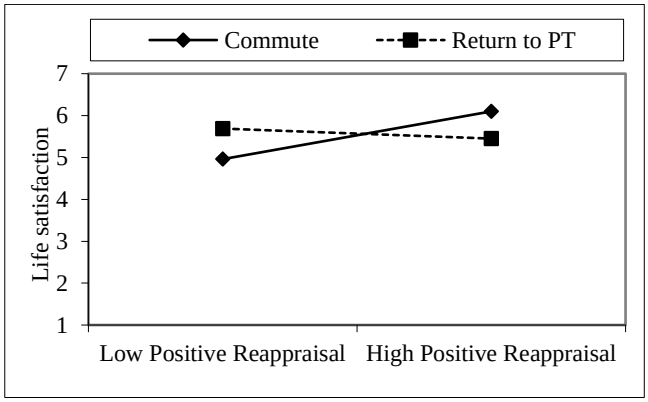

Figure 2. Returning to PT vs. Commuting as a moderator for the relation between positive reappraisal and life-satisfaction

All predictors were standardized prior to the analyses; future plans were dummy coded with commuting as reference group. Analyses were controlled for age and gender of the participants. Post-hoc plotting was used to determine the direction of effects.

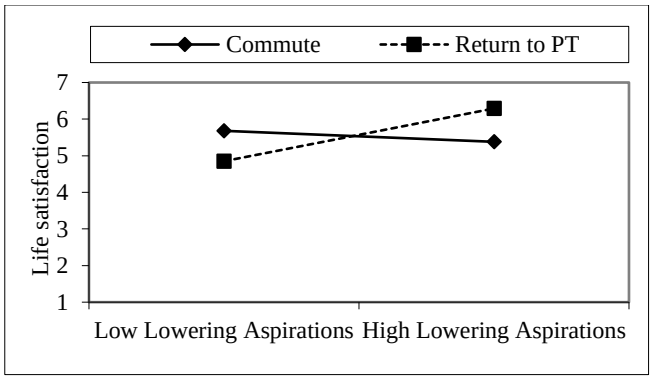

Figure 3. Returning to PT vs. Commuting as a moderator for the relation between lowering aspirations and life-satisfaction

As expected, it turned out that control strategies were differently beneficial for immigrants depending on their future plans. Regarding persistence as a primary control strategy, a positive correlation with life-satisfaction (r (27) = .45, p < .05) was only found for the COMMUTERS. Regression analyses confirmed these bivariate results: Being persistent predicted higher life-satisfaction most strongly for COMMUTERS compared to those who decided to stay permanently in Luxembourg (see figure 1). As far as positive reappraisal is concerned, positive correlations with life-satisfaction were found for both the STAY group (r (46) = .35, p < .05) as well as for the COMMUTERS (r (27) = .64, p < .01). Again, multiple regression analyses confirmed that the COMMUTERS benefitted more from positive reappraisals compared to the RETURN group (see figure 2). Lowering aspirations, as a further strategy, was positively correlated with life-satisfaction in the RETURN group only (r (23) = .47, p<. 05). Regression analyses confirmed that this effect showed only for the RETURN but not the COMMUTE group (see figure 3)

Discussion

The present study focused on future plans of middle-aged and older Portuguese first generation immigrants regarding their future preferred country of residence, as well as on the question if they might regulate their subjective well-being differently, depending on different future plans. We set out to find answers to these questions by focusing on middle-aged and older first generation Portuguese immigrants living in Luxembourg.

Several earlier studies have shown that only a part of ageing immigrants actually intend to return to their country of origin after retirement, even if this was their initial plan. The ideal of return seems to be quite present among Portuguese first generation immigrants (see Afonso, 2015; Baganha, 2003). However, instead of returning permanently, commuting between host country and country of origin can be a preferred alternative (see e.g., Bolzmann et al., 2006, concerning ageing Italian and Spanish immigrants in Switzerland, or De Coulon & Wolff, 2005, for different groups of ageing immigrants in France). This seems to be especially the case for immigrants from Southern European countries who profit from a more convenient health care system as well as from formal care opportunities for ageing people in the host countries compared to their countries of origin (see e.g., Viberg et al., 2013). In fact, future plans of first generation Portuguese immigrants in Luxembourg who participated in the present study are in line with these earlier findings: about 43% of them indicated that they plan to stay permanently in Luxembourg, 25.2% preferred to commute, and only 21.5% reported planning to go back permanently. Notably, health or economic constraints seemed to be less relevant for the self-reported respective choices, but the participants planning to return to PT were still younger compared to the other two groups; moreover, the proportion of retired persons was higher in the group of those who want to stay permanently in LU.

These findings indicate that the ones who want to remain in LU permanently might already have taken their final decision. For those persons who plan to go back to PT, moving back to the country of origin lies still in a (more or less) far and vaguer future. A serious and strongly reflection about future plans can be postponed in the current life situation as these immigrants are mostly still gainfully employed. It is an open question if they will change their minds once they reach retirement age (see e.g. Klinthäll, 2006). One of our findings leads to the speculation if the arrival of grandchildren may influence their decision since participants who were already grandparents reported to stay permanently in LU or to commute. It seems that the arrival of grandchildren marks a decisive point in favor of the host country for the whole family: as long as adult children do not have a family of their own, their moving to the country of origin might still be regarded as a realistic opportunity by their parents, but when adult children start setting up families of their own in the host country this means that they will probably stay there permanently. Our results point in the same direction as study findings by Bolzmann and colleagues (2005) who have described the presence of offspring as a decisive factor when choosing the country of residence.

It is still an open question what this means for the intergenerational relations in ageing migrant families. Our qualitative interviews (see e.g., Albert & Barros Coimbra, 2016) provided some insight into the role of grandparenthood in the context of migration. In fact, it seems that ageing parents of PT families and their adult children somehow regret the fact that in their own family history grandparents could not play the desired role. Grandparents were mostly left behind in Portugal, and were thus not present in the daily lives of PT migrant families in Luxembourg. Apparently, this is an experience that neither ageing parents nor their adult children would like to repeat.

Interestingly, the rate of those owning housing in Luxembourg was rather high, pointing to an adaptation of the participants to the customs of the native population of Luxembourg. In fact, the Luxembourgish population generally prefers to own their housing (84% with Luxembourgish nationality are owners of their house or apartment; Statec, 2011), whereas the rates are in general somewhat lower when taking into account also the non-native population in Luxembourg (73% for the whole population in Luxembourg, Statec, 2011). As we focused here on first generation immigrants who have spent most of their working lives in Luxembourg, there might have been larger opportunities to build a house of their own, and succeeding in doing it may be considered a sign for successful migration in this generation. This is different for the newly arriving migrants of today as housing prices have been rising significantly in the last years both in Luxembourg and in Portugal (actually, based on national statistics in Luxembourg only 54.3% of immigrants with Portuguese nationality own their housing, Statec, 2011).

Even though groups did thus not differ with regard to housing in Luxembourg, however, the groups differed regarding home ownership in Portugal. More precisely, those wanting to stay permanently in Luxembourg had a significantly lower probability to own residential property in the country of origin compared to those who plan to go back to PT or to commute. Two readings are possible regarding this finding. On the one hand, it might be that missing opportunity structures (e.g., no inheritance, not enough means to buy a house in PT, etc.) influenced the decision of some immigrants to stay permanently in LU. On the other hand, depending on their future plans, immigrants may invest differently in the specific contexts where they live or where they plan to live respectively.

With regard to emotional investment, it seems that the ones who want to stay in LU or who want to commute have built more connections toward the host country culture than the ones who want to go back to PT permanently. In this sense, they seem more committed to the host country. This is in line with the reasoning of Bolzmann and colleagues (2006) who state that the probability for a permanent return becomes lower once one has established bonds to the host culture context as well. The three groups did not differ in their cultural connectedness to PT; therefore, the adaptation to the Luxembourgish culture does not go to the expense of attachment to the PT culture. This corresponds with earlier research showing that Portuguese immigrants often prefer an acculturation strategy of integration, which retains the attachment to their country of origin, while also establishing links to the host country, and desiring to live in a multicultural society (cf. Berry, 2001). PT also often retain a binational identity, bilingualism and even double residence (for Germany: Neto, Barros, & Schmitz, 2005; for France: Strijdhorst dos Santos, 2002).

There were no group differences with regard to acculturative stress. This finding indicates that the sample who lived for at least 11 years in LU with a maximum up to 50 years (M =30.6 years on average) is apparently well-integrated after this time. Acculturation stress may show at earlier stages of migration when the differences between the host and the country of origin might be experienced as more pronounced and stressful. With ongoing time, self-regulative strategies may successively help to cope and to adapt to this.

As far as the regulation of subjective well-being in this study is concerned, some interesting results occurred. Although one could have expected that those who are less satisfied with their current lives are more prone to plan a return to their country of origin in the future, no differences in life-satisfaction were found between those who plan to return, stay or commute. Rather, it seems that depending on their future plans ageing migrants differ in how they regulate their well-being. Notably, one could assume that for those who have decided to stay in Luxembourg or to commute between both countries, there is a higher need to cope with their decisions; in contrast, those who plan to go back to Portugal might still have to take the final decision of going back or not. Most of them are still gainfully employed and have to postpone their final return until retirement, thus there might be no need for specific regulatory efforts so far, and these persons may keep kind of a "standby" position. Earlier studies have reported similar findings with regard to age effects showing that older participants use more regulatory efforts compared to younger ones. These results were explained by differing life opportunities. At a younger age, life holds more opportunities but these close down with advancing age, hence, there seems to be an increased need for more regulatory efforts in older age (see e.g., Wrosch et al., 2000).

Our findings indicated an interaction between self-regulatory strategies and future plans on life satisfaction. Whereas the ones who planned to commute profited most from primary control strategies, namely persistence, as well as from the secondary control strategy of positive reappraisals, lowering aspirations as another secondary control strategy seemed not a good option for this group. Whereas Wrosch and colleagues (2000) hold that the opportunities of attaining personal goals are higher in younger age, we suggest here that third age could become another age of opportunity under certain conditions. In this sense, retirees might strive for new life goals, once they are relatively free of constraints which predominate in middle age, such as job and family obligations related to care for children. Studies regarding lifestyle migration in third age point in this direction (see e.g. Ahmed & Hall, 2016). This might also be particularly true for ageing labor migrants, who have often occupied lower status, low skilled jobs: retirement could bring new possibilities, sometimes even a more stable financial situation and a new status as suggested by Attias-Donfut and colleagues (2005). Persistence in goal striving would thus be particularly beneficial for ageing

migrants who would like to commute between their host country and their country of origin as specific actions are needed to do so. Further, they also benefitted highly from positive reappraisals, a strategy that could account for the compromise character inherent in the choice of commuting.

Also for the ones who want to stay in LU permanently positive reappraisals represented the most efficient strategy in improving general life-satisfaction, a result that could be explained by the fact that for these immigrants future life opportunities seem more restricted–their decision of staying in LU might be most definite, hence the need to adapt personal goals to the circumstances.

Interestingly, the ones who planned to return to PT were benefitting mostly from the secondary strategy of lowering aspirations. This strategy could also entail fewer efforts of integration in the host country: these migrants might have in mind to go back anyway in the future, hence their lower commitment to the host country context. It has still to be answered if such a strategy might have negative effects on other than cognitive components of subjective well-being such as positive and negative affectivity.

Apparently, in the present study we included only those ageing migrants who were still living in Luxembourg, without tracing back migrants who had already returned to PT. It would be interesting to focus also on those who have already returned back to PT, and to apply longitudinal designs in order to explore the decision making process and the final enactment of plans in more detail. We are aware that our sample is also selective in the sense that we focused here on families only, thus all our participants had at least one adult child who had grown up in Luxembourg and was still living there. The situation and future plans might be different for immigrants who have no children or who left children behind in Portugal.

Conclusions

The present study has shed some light on future plans of first generation middle-aged and older Portuguese immigrants living in Luxembourg. Our results show that this is not a homogeneous group but they report different preferences for their future country of residence indicating different needs and wishes. Also, we have seen that future plans are related to different integration strategies as well as to different use of self-regulatory strategies. Findings can be seen in analogy to studies which concentrated on age effects regarding primary and secondary control. Namely, in situations where opportunities and new life chances open up, strategies of primary control might be most beneficial whereas secondary control strategies seem to play a role mostly when regulating a presumed or actual loss of opportunities to attain initial goals. Findings also show that lowering aspirations might be related to a positive evaluation of one's life if the individual focuses on a rather open future life and neglects aspects of the current life situation. If such a denial or potential positive illusions have also long-term positive consequences is open to discussion (already Lazarus, 1983).

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