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Life in Limbo: Old-Age Transnationalism

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Abstract

Background and Objectives

Transnationalism, defined as migrants having ties to the country of origin and the destination country, is mostly explored with qualitative data. Quantitative studies only use a small number of indicators. This is one of only a few studies to examine transnationalism based on multiple indicators and elaborate classes of transnationalism. The research questions are: What are the forms of transnationalism in which older migrants engage? And how do age, gender, income, and country of origin affect these forms?

Methods

The paper used the Vivre/Leben/Vivere (2011/12) subsample of migrants in Switzerland, aged 65 to 82. Transnationalism was measured using 11 indicators, including nationality, having family abroad, and sending remittances. Latent class analysis was used to distinguish between several forms of transnationalism. Latent class regression models subsequently explore the effect of age, gender, income and country of origin on these transnationalism forms.

Results

Four different forms of transnationalism were found among older migrants: *least transnational*, *distant transnational*, *active transnational*, and *returning transnational*. The models suggest that country of origin and income are important predictors, while age is less important and gender has no effect on falling in these transnationalism classes.

Discussion and Implications

The results confirm that our measure of transnationalism is an innovative approach toward exploring the different forms older migrants engage in. The method has several advantages over usual methods and can be used in future studies to analyze, for example, how different forms of transnationalism emerge as a consequence of policies relevant for older migrants, like care arrangements and pensions.

Keywords: Forms of transnationalism, Older migrants, Immigrants, Diversity and ethnicity, Latent Class Analysis

Life in Limbo: Old-age Transnationalism

Introduction

The aftermath of the Second World War was followed by large migration flows to central and western Europe. This labor migration of guest workers was conceived as temporary, yet most migrants settled, brought their families or started families, and aged in place (Bolzman, Fibbi, & Vial, 2006). Still, it was expected that once they retired they would return to their home countries – again an expectation fulfilled by a minority only (Bolzman et al., 2006). Instead, upon retirement, migrants rather opted for back-and-forth trips, or what is known in the literature as transnational migration (Ciobanu & Ramos, 2016). Empirically there are two aspects to consider: the population of older migrants is increasing in the United States and Europe, and transnational migration is becoming a generalized lifestyle. Against this background, this paper enquires two questions: What are the forms of transnationalism in which older migrants engage? And how do age, gender, income, and country of origin affect these forms?

Transnational migration refers to the fact that, after migrating, people live simultaneously between the home and the host country (Glick-Schiller & Fournon, 1999). Researchers stress the regularity of the behavior (Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999). Over the last two decades, the literature on transnationalism has flourished and branched out to several strands that include economic transnationalism (Portes et al., 1999; Snel, Engbersen, & Leerkes, 2006), political transnationalism (Guarnizo, Portes, & Haller, 2003; Portes et al., 1999; Waldinger, 2008), the nexus between integration and transnationalism (Carling & Pettersen, 2014), and transnational families, parenthood and care (Baldassar, 2007; Baldassar & Merla, 2013; Nedelcu & Wyss, 2016; Parreñas, 2001).

Transnationalism among older migrants, and migrants in general, is studied predominantly using qualitative methods (Fauser, 2018) with only a few exceptions (Attias-Donfut & Wolf, 2005; Bolzman, Kaeser & Christe, 2017; Klok et al., 2017a; 2017b). There is emerging research on transnationalism in old age, with as main themes return intentions (Attias-Donfut & Wolf, 2005; Bolzman et al., 2006; 2017; Hunter, 2011), care (Baldassar, 2007; Horn et al., 2016; Karl, Ramos, & Kühn, 2017), grandparenting (Nedelcu & Wyss, 2016), and international retirement migrants and lifestyle (Gustafson, 2001). There is little discussion on different forms of transnationalism.

With regard to the migrant populations studied with a transnational lens, the literature covers to a large extent labor migrants (Bolzman et al., 2017; Hunter, 2011; Karl et al., 2017; Klok et al., 2017a; 2017b), family migrants (Nedelcu & Wyss, 2016), and international retirement migrants (Gustafson, 2001). One limitation is the focus on national groups: Mexicans and broadly Latin Americans in the United States (Alcántara, Molina, & Kawachi, 2015; Guarnizo et al., 2003), or Moroccans in the Netherlands (Klok et al., 2017a; 2017b), yet this is often determined by the data available.

Too often in the literature, studies draw on unidimensional or two-dimensional measures of transnationalism, such as return intentions (Bolzman et al., 2017), remittances (Alcántara et al., 2015; Kuuire et al., 2016), or visits to the home country (Alcántara et al., 2015; Bolzman et al., 2017; Schunck, 2011), without accounting for the coexistence of these dimensions. There are only a few notable exceptions to this (Bilecen & Sienkiewicz, 2015; Carling & Pettersen, 2014; Snel et al., 2006). Also, sometimes these dimensions are put together in one indicator of strong vs. weak transnationalism (Carling & Pettersen, 2014), without acknowledging that some migrants might be transnational in one domain and not in another. This needs to be taken into account, especially in relation to older migrant populations, who cannot be as physically mobile as the younger generations. Yet they can engage in other forms of transnationalism, like reading newspapers in the native language, talking on Skype with family from the home country, and voting.

The literature shows that some migrants return to the country of origin around retirement time, which is considered to mark an end to their legitimacy in the destination country (Sayad, 1999). By focusing on migrants aged 65 and older who have aged in place, we mainly capture the population who has made the decision to stay in the host country. In this paper, we are able to capture transnationalism as a continuous ambivalence, a choice of living life between the home and the host country, a lifestyle in which one can selectively opt for some activities that connect to the country of origin.

The paper innovates in two ways: first, because it uses a quantitative multidimensional approach to transnationalism, and second because it constructs different forms of transnationalism depending on the prevalence of some domains. Further, it studies the predictors of forms of transnationalism, focusing on gender, age, income, and country of origin. This paper studies older migrants in Switzerland,

particularly former labor migrants after World War II from Spain, Italy and Portugal, who aged in place.

The article is structured into three parts. The first part presents the data design and research methods used in the analysis. The second part presents the results focusing on different forms of transnationalism. The paper finishes with a discussion of the findings and the implications of different transnational practices for current societies and policymaking.

Design and methods

Data. We used the immigrant subsample from the first wave of the Vivre/Leben/Vivere (VLV) survey from 2011 and 2012. The survey collected data on the living and health conditions of Swiss residents aged 65 and older. The immigrant subsample includes around 500 migrants, mainly from Italy, Spain, and Portugal, aged between 65 and 82, in the Geneva and Basel cantons (Ludwig et al., 2014).

Variables. We used eleven different variables from the dataset to find distinct groups of transnationalism among older migrants. We chose variables representing different dimensions of transnationalism that are frequently used in the literature, like return intentions (Carling & Pettersen, 2014), remittances (Carling & Pettersen, 2014; Schunck, 2011), and membership in migrant associations (Snel et al., 2006).

We used respondents' nationality, distinguishing between respondents who have only the Swiss nationality and respondents with a different or dual nationality. We also used their partner's nationality. This variable distinguishes between respondents whose partner only has the Swiss nationality and respondents whose partner has a different or dual nationality. For respondents without a current partner we used the nationality of their last partner.

We added an index indicating whether respondents have family living outside of Switzerland. We used information on the country of residence for the respondent's father, mother, children, and grandchildren. The index distinguishes between respondents with at least one family member living in the country of origin, respondents without any family member living in the country of origin but living in another foreign country, and respondents with family in Switzerland only.

We measured exposure to foreign media with an index of five variables that indicate in which language respondents (1) listen to the radio, (2) watch TV, (3) read

the newspaper, (4) read magazines and books, and (5) browse the internet. The index distinguishes between respondents who do at least one of these activities in their native language, respondents who do not do any of these activities in their native language but in a foreign language, and respondents who do not do any of these activities in a language other than the one spoken in their canton of residence (French for Geneva and German for Basel).

We added three variables indicating whether respondents take part in transnational activities that do not involve physical border-crossing. These are (1) if respondents voted in the last election in their country of origin, (2) if respondents are a member of a club or organization whose main purpose is bringing together people from their country of origin, and (3) if respondents remit money to a family member in their country of origin. The first two variables distinguish between respondents who do this activity and respondents who do not. The variable on remittances distinguishes between respondents who never remit, those who sometimes remit, and those who remit often.

We used two variables that indicate whether respondents have an attachment to a country other than the destination country. One of the variables distinguishes between respondents who want to move back to their country of origin, respondents who want to move to another country, and those who want to stay in Switzerland. The second variable indicates whether a person wants to be buried in their country of origin or not. We also included a variable on physical transnationalism, simply indicating visits to the country of origin. The variable distinguishes between respondents who did not visit their country of origin in the previous year, those who stayed in their country of origin for up to four weeks, and those who stayed longer than that. Finally, we also included a variable on transnational homeownership. This variable distinguishes between respondents who own a home in their country of origin, respondents who own a home in another country, and all others. In addition to finding different types of transnationalism among older migrants in our dataset, we also examined these groups further. Drawing on our final sample of 486 migrants, we looked at differences by age, gender, income, as well as between countries of origin. Descriptive statistics for all variables are shown in Table 1.

Methods. To capture and examine the structure underlying transnationalism among older migrants, we employed latent class analysis (LCA). This method allows

exploration of latent discrete classes. The advantage is that the classes do not have to be ordered along a continuum but can be understood as different types of transnationalism (Bacher & Vermunt, 2010; Ayalon 2016). Additionally, LCA uses probabilistic classification, meaning that respondents have probabilities of belonging to different classes (Bartholomew et al., 2008). The different classes can then be interpreted based on their conditional probabilities for each included variable (Silverstein & Bengtson, 2002).

We used LCA without prior assumptions on the number of classes. We computed a series of models, compared on their goodness-of-fit by using BIC, aBIC, cAIC and the likelihood ratio. The indicators are reported in the supplementary material (see Table S1 and Figure S1). The models range from including one latent class to including six different latent classes. Our measures for model evaluation show that the 2-class, 3-class, and 4-class solutions show good fit to the data. We chose the 4-class solution, which shows the lowest value for the aBIC and a similar low BIC value as the 2-class and 3-class solutions. The results of the 4-class solution are interpretable, and the group size is still manageable but differentiates better than the 2- or 3-class solutions.

Further, we explored the four found classes in more detail by including covariates in the analysis and computing a “one-step” latent class regression model. Respondents’ class membership was predicted using their gender, age, income, and country of origin. This gives a more exhaustive picture of the determinants for falling in the different classes.

Results

This section is structured around two themes: the forms of transnationalism that older migrants engage in, and the predictors of forms of transnationalism, particularly gender, age, income, and country of origin.

Which forms of transnationalism do older migrants engage in?

The majority of the sample is connected to their country of origin through their nationality. Almost 92 percent of the migrants have a non-Swiss or dual nationality. More than 71 percent of the respondents have a partner with a non-Swiss or dual nationality. Almost 71 percent of the sample does not have parents, children or grandchildren outside of Switzerland, 16 percent have at least one family member

living in another country, and only around 13 percent have at least one family member in their country of origin. Transnationalism regarding exposure to media in a foreign language shows a different picture. More than 70 percent are exposed to media in their native language, while 7.6 percent consume media in another foreign language and only 22 percent consume media exclusively in the language of their canton of residence.

[Table 1 around here]

While almost 42 percent of the sample voted in the last election in their country of origin, only about 20 percent are members of associations that bring together people from the country of origin, and only about 13 percent remit money. Only around 5 percent want to move abroad in the future (either to their country of origin or to another country). Around 14 percent want to be buried in their country of origin. The percentage of the sample that engages in physical transnational activities is surprisingly high. Less than one-third (30.9 percent) did not visit their country of origin in the previous year, 42 percent of the sample visited for at least a short period, and almost 27 percent went for a long stay. The transnational homeownership variable shows that almost 28 percent of the sample owns a home in the country of origin and 3.5 percent in another country outside of Switzerland.

Our four transnationalism groups are interpreted based on the conditional probabilities associated with the manifest variables within each of the four latent classes, as shown in Figure 1. Answer categories 1, 2, and 3 refer to the categories listed in Table 1. For all variables, a higher value indicates a stronger sign of transnationalism. For binary variables, only answer categories 1 and 2 are used.

[Figure 1 around here]

Class 1 of the LCA includes around 14 percent of our migrant sample. They are the *least transnational*. The probabilities of answers show the lowest values for almost all included variables for the transnational answer categories (i.e. answer categories 2 and 3). The *least transnational* show a very high probability of only having the Swiss nationality. The probability of having a partner with only the Swiss nationality is similarly high. Although some respondents might have family living outside of Switzerland, none

has family in the country of origin. The probabilities for media usage show a similar picture. The probability of consuming media in a foreign language is the lowest compared to all other classes, and the media they consume is not in their native language. The *least transnational* show no signs of voting in the country of origin. The probability levels of the variables on membership in associations, sending remittances, moving abroad, and funeral wishes are very low, once again displaying the limited degree of transnationalism in this class. The *least transnational* tend to visit their country of origin, although these visits are normally brief. They also tend to not own a home outside Switzerland.

Class 2 includes almost one-third of the sample. We call this class the *distant transnational*. These migrants' transnationalism is characterized by their and their partner's nationality, their media exposure and voting behavior. This means that their transnational activities and behaviors can be done remotely, i.e. from Switzerland, without involving past or future visits or returns. Compared to the *least transnational*, they show high probabilities of having a nationality other than the Swiss, and medium-to-high probabilities of having a partner with a nationality other than the Swiss. Although the probabilities are low, some people in this class have family living outside of Switzerland, even in the country of origin. In contrast to the *least transnational*, people in this class have a high probability for consuming media in their native language. They are also more likely to vote in their country of origin. However, they show similar probability levels on the remaining variables.

Almost half of the respondents in the sample are included in the third class, the *active transnational*. This class is characterized by high probabilities of distant and physical transnational activities. Like the *distant transnational*, the *active transnational* have high probabilities for themselves and their partner of having a non-Swiss nationality and for exposure to media in their native language. They present an average probability for having family abroad or in the country of origin and for sending remittances, and a low probability for moving abroad and funeral wishes. In contrast to the *distant transnational*, however, this class shows the highest probabilities for voting, membership, and visits to the country of origin. Additionally, people in this class have a high probability for owning a home in their country of origin.

The last class is a rather small class of transnational migrants. Only 4.5 percent of the sample can be categorized in this class of *returning transnational*. Like the *distant* and the *active transnational*, the *returning transnational* have high probabilities

for themselves and their partner of having a non-Swiss nationality and a high probability for consuming media in their native language. Like the *active transnational*, they are very likely to have visited their country of origin during the past year and to own a home there. In contrast to the other classes, this class is connected to their country of origin through family ties and shows higher probabilities for sending remittances. In addition, this is the only class to show high probabilities for the two variables of moving abroad and funeral wishes. Given that the age of our sample ranges from 65 to 82, it is not surprising that the *returning transnational* make up less than 5 percent of the sample. At this age most people are retired (89 percent of our sample), and those who wanted to return to their country have probably done so already (Bolzman et al., 2017).

In Figure 1, we see that the conditional probabilities for some variables change jointly between the classes. Respondents' nationality tends to show high probabilities at the same time as partner's nationality and consuming media in the native language. Having family in the country of origin and sending remittances tend to be either low or high in each class. If we assume that remittances are sent to family members, it makes sense that it is mostly migrants who still have family members in the country of origin who send such remittances (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002). Confirming the literature, Figure 1 also shows that the probabilities for long visits to the country of origin are high in classes whose probability of owning a home in the country of origin is likewise high (Bolzman et al., 2017; Falkingham, Chepngeno-Langat, & Evandrou, 2012). The two variables, moving abroad and funeral wishes, also fluctuate jointly between classes, and might also be connected to having family abroad: if migrants have family living in the country of origin, they might be more likely to want to return (Bolzman et al., 2006; 2017; Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002; Palo Stoller & Longino 2001).

[Figure 2 around here]

Who engages in which forms of transnationalism? Gender, age, income, and country of origin

A more in-depth analysis explored the forms of transnationalism by predicting respondents' falling into the four latent classes. We used respondents' country of origin, age, income, and gender as covariates in latent class regression models. Figure 2 shows the probabilities for falling in the four classes for each country of origin group.

These probabilities vary greatly between countries of origin. Only for the *distant transnational* class did we find medium-to-high probabilities for all migrant groups. The other classes show very different patterns.

Italian migrants have a high probability of being *active transnationals*. Portuguese migrants have a high probability of being *returning transnationals*. Spanish migrants have a high probability of being *active transnationals* and a low probability of being *returning transnationals*. Migrants from other countries of origin, summarized in the group “Other”, have a medium-high probability of being *least transnational*.

[Figure 3 around here]

The plotted results of using gender as a predictor for class membership are shown in Figure 3. The probabilities for falling in the *distant* and *active transnational* classes are the same for men and women. Although the probabilities differ for being a *least transnational* and a *returning transnational*, the differences are very small and not significant. Hence, men and women have the same probability of falling in each of the four latent transnationalism classes.

[Figure 4 around here]

Figure 4 shows the probabilities for the four transnationalism classes by age. Although the probability differences are not very big, we can see some variation by age. Compared to young-old migrants, the older-old migrants in our sample have a higher probability of being *least transnational* and *distant transnational*. By contrast, probabilities of being an *active* or *returning transnational* are lower among older-old migrants than among the young-old. The older-old are strongly limited in their physical mobility and thus are more likely to engage only in distant transnationalism.

Our fourth covariate for predicting class membership is income. The results are displayed in Figure 5. We can see small yet important differences between the three income categories. Migrants with a low income are most likely to belong in the *distant* or *active transnational* class. Migrants with a medium income are most likely to belong in the *active transnational* and to a lesser extent the *least transnational* and *distant transnational* classes. Lastly, migrants with a high income are especially likely to be *active transnationals*, and to some extent *least transnationals* or *distant transnationals*.

The results show income to be an important factor that influences the forms of transnationalism older migrants engage in, for example by enabling or restricting access to certain activities, such as visiting the country of origin.

[Figure 5 around here]

In summary, we found that gender does not affect the probability of falling in the transnationalism classes, age has a small effect, and income as well as country of origin have a strong effect on class membership.

Discussion and Implications

The aim of this study was to first identify the different forms of transnationalism older migrants engage in, then explore how these forms are affected by age, gender, income, and country of origin. Using LCA, we found four different forms of transnationalism among older migrants in Switzerland. The *least transnational* are characterized by low probabilities of showing any kind of transnational behavior, although they are still likely to visit their country of origin for short stays. The *distant transnational* show high probabilities of being legally tied to foreign countries, through their and their partner's nationality, and through consumption of media in their native language. The *active transnational* show a connection to foreign countries similar to that of the *distant transnational*, and are very likely to visit their country of origin for short and longer stays as well as to own a house there. Finally, the *returning transnational* show high probabilities for most of the transnationalism indicators, especially for intentions to return to and be buried in their country of origin.

More in-depth analyses indicate that country of origin and income are important predictors for falling in these four classes. It appears that while all groups engage in transnational practices, older Italian and Spanish migrants are *active transnationals*. Meanwhile, the Portuguese are particularly attached to their country of origin, and thus are predominantly *returning transnationals*. Migrants with a high income are more likely to be *active transnationals*, while migrants with a low income are more likely to be *distant transnationals*.

This paper has several advantages over other studies exploring transnationalism. First, in contrast to many other studies, ours used a quantitative approach to examine the topic. This allowed inclusion of migrant groups from different

countries of origin and finding generalizable results. Second, it used a wide array of indicators to explore different transnationalism forms. While many studies rely on only a few indicators to measure the construct, our inclusion of multiple indicators guarantees a wider and more comprehensive picture of the topic under study, and allows for a more accurate understanding of it. Third, previous studies on transnationalism created summarizing indices placing migrants on a continuum from not transnational to very transnational (Carling & Pettersen, 2014). Using LCA allowed us to identify distinct classes of transnationalism older migrants engage in.

The measurement of transnationalism used in this study is a clear improvement over earlier measures and constitutes an important innovation to the transnationalism literature. This paper provides a measurement model that can be replicated in other contexts and with other migrant populations. Additionally, the findings of this paper are of great relevance for policies and practices, allowing to evaluate their scope and impact going beyond national borders. The comprehensive picture of older migrants' transnationalism that we present in this article has several benefits. It can change the way older migrants are perceived; not as passive actors, but as active citizens. Further, it can help policymakers make connections between these specific forms of transnationalism and a variety of migration and welfare policies, for example the length of visits in the home country and their implications on residence permits or facilitating family visits. The fact that migrants engage in different forms of transnationalism has clear implications for welfare states, particularly regarding pensions and informal and formal care, both received and provided (Böcker & Hunter, 2017; Nedelcu & Wyss, 2016).

Specifically, one aspect is the transfer of pensions to the origin country or third countries where older migrants decide to spend their retirement – yet some forms of social protection are not exportable (Böcker & Hunter, 2017; Bolzman et al., 2017), which increases transnational mobility. Another important issue is constituted by formal and informal care arrangements. While care can be also organized remotely (Baldassar, 2007; Baldassar & Merla, 2013), older persons prefer to stay closer to their adult children to either receive or provide care (Nedelcu & Wyss, 2016). This incentivizes older migrants to stay, move nearer or engage in physical transnationalism to be closer to children and grandchildren. National migration regimes can limit forms of transnationalism though (Horn, 2017). All these reveal age-specific factors that clearly impact forms of transnationalism: retirement can be associated with being free

to travel for extended periods; health deterioration might reduce physical mobility options (Ciobanu & Hunter, 2017; Tong et al., 2019); and yet exposure to television and radio in the native language might increase. Finally, poor health and the need for formal care puts a stop to physical transnationalism, and older migrants are constrained to remain permanently in the country of destination or, alternatively, consider permanent return to the country of origin when in need of round-the-clock care (Karl et al., 2017). Hence, transnationalism in old age comes with some specificities.

The increase in older migrant populations, and simultaneously the closing of borders, have implications for forms of transnationalism. Studying current forms of transnationalism is therefore, extremely important, especially as it provides information on the impact of migration and care regimes on mobility patterns and allows anticipation of their interplay.

This study does not come without limitations. The database we used allowed us to focus on older labor migrants from three countries. While these are some of the largest migrant groups in Switzerland, their citizens are all members of the European Union, and are therefore allowed to move freely between their country of origin and Switzerland. This does not allow us to make any claims about how different migration regimes impact transnational practices. Future studies on transnationalism should therefore, adopt the methodological strategy presented in this paper and apply it to other migrant populations and other countries. This would allow researchers to assess the impact on transnational practices of migration regimes in terms of visas and migrants' rights at the destination. Additionally, exploring how forms of transnationalism vary between different migrant groups in terms of age or generational status, would provide us with a more comprehensive picture of it. Longitudinal data could provide researchers with information on how transnationalism evolves over time and how the life course in general, but also specific events like marriage, having children or unemployment, can influence the forms of transnationalism migrants engage in. It is also important to study the consequences of different forms of transnationalism and how outcomes like loneliness and vulnerability might be related to them. Another interesting application is the exploration of transnationalism of non-migrants, who might also have ties with several countries.

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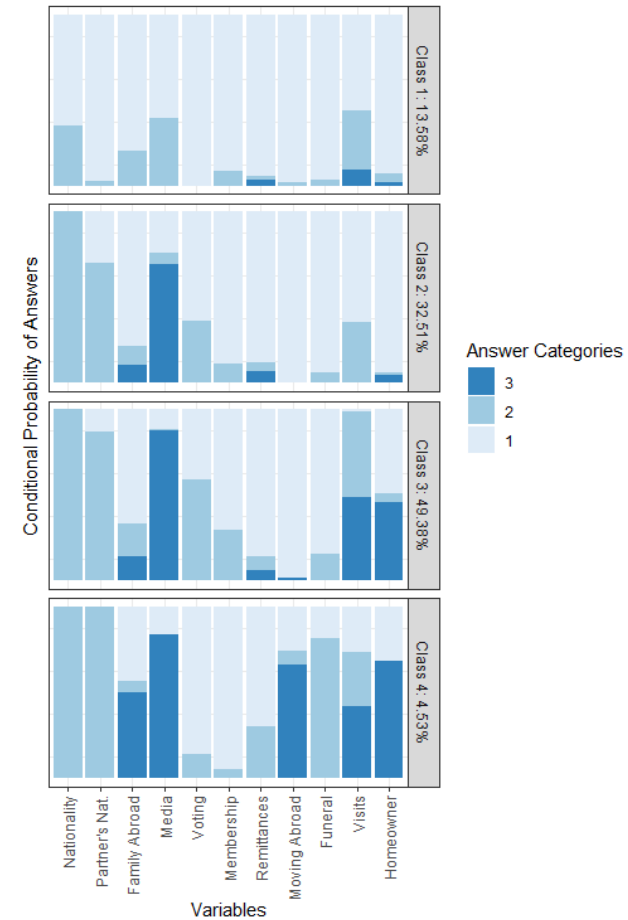
Tables and Figures

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Variables

Variable		N	%	Min-Max	Mean	SD
Transnationalism Variables						
Nationality	2: Non-Swiss	447	91.98			
	1: Only Swiss	39	8.02			
Partner's nationality	2: Non-Swiss	347	71.40			
	1: Only Swiss	139	28.60			
Family abroad	3: Yes - in country of origin	63	12.96			
	2: Yes - in other country	78	16.05			
	1: No	345	70.99			
Media	3: Yes - native language	342	70.37			
	2: Yes - other language	37	7.61			
	1: No	107	22.02			
Voting in country of origin	2: Yes	203	41.77			
	1: No	283	58.23			
Membership in associations bringing together people from the country of origin	2: Yes	95	19.55			
	1: No	391	80.45			
Remittances	3: Yes - often	28	5.76			
	2: Yes - sometimes	37	7.61			
	1: No	421	86.63			
Moving abroad	3: Yes - to country of origin	21	4.32			
	2: Yes - to other country	4	0.82			
	1: No	461	94.86			
Wants funeral in country of origin	2: Yes	70	14.40			
	1: No	416	85.60			
Visits to country of origin	3: Yes - long stay	131	26.95			
	2: Yes - short stay	205	42.18			
	1: No	150	30.86			
Homeowner	3: Yes - in country of origin	135	27.78			
	2: Yes - in other country	17	3.50			
	1: No	334	68.72			
Covariates						
Age		486		65-82	71.99	4.24
Gender	Female	241	49.59			
	Male	245	50.41			
Country of origin	Italy	223	45.88			
	Spain	63	12.96			
	Portugal	60	12.35			
	Other	140	28.81			
Income	Low	182	43.44			
	Medium	189	45.11			
	High	48	11.46			

Source: VLV Wave 1, 2011/2012, immigrant subsample, own calculations

Figure 1. Conditional Probabilities for LCA Model with 4 Latent Classes



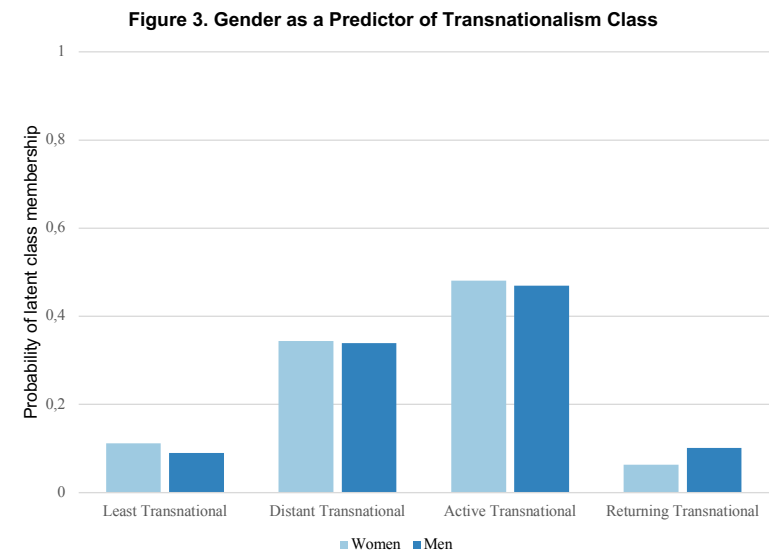
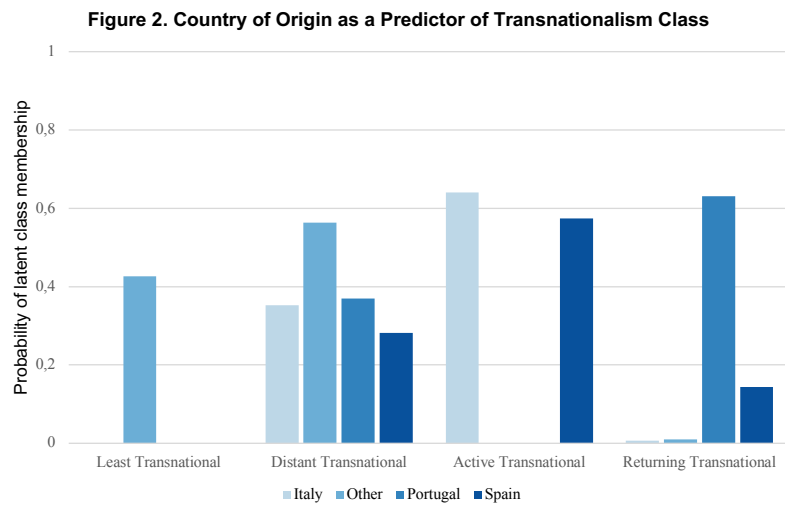


Figure 4. Age as a Predictor of Transnationalism Class

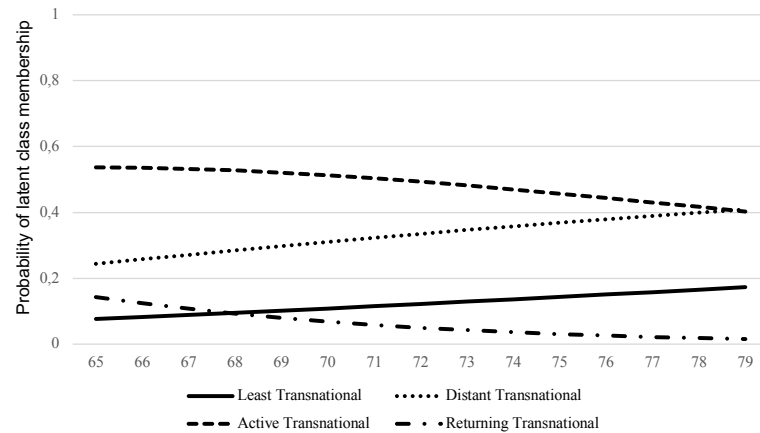
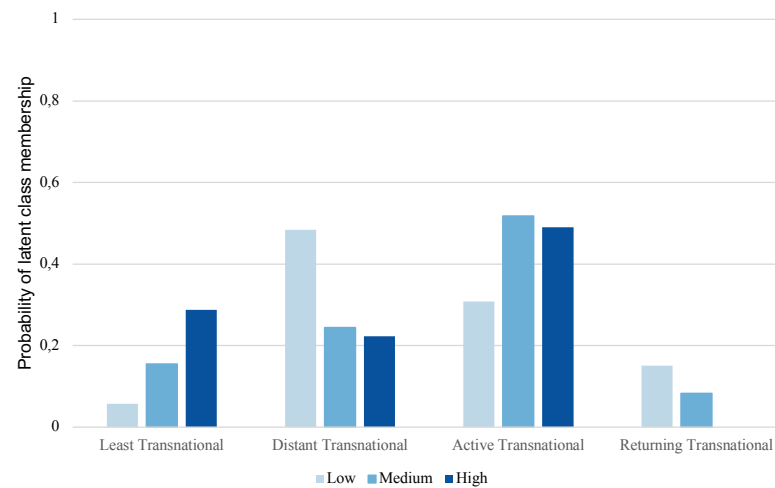


Figure 5. Income as a Predictor of Transnationalism Class



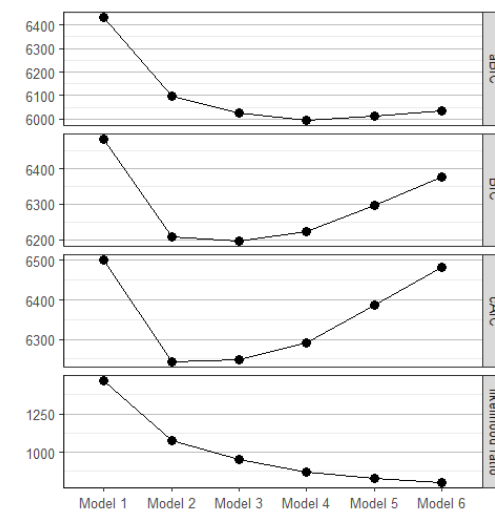
Supplementary Material

Table S1. Goodness-of-Fit for LCA Models

Model	No of Classes	Log likelihood	BIC	aBIC	cAIC	Likelihood ratio
Model 1	1	-3189.80	6484.76	6430.81	6501.76	1465.52
Model 2	2	-2995.38	6207.27	6096.18	6242.27	1076.68
Model 3	3	-2933.80	6195.46	6027.24	6248.46	953.52
Model 4	4	-2890.80	6220.83	5995.47	6291.83	867.53
Model 5	5	-2872.56	6295.68	6013.20	6384.68	831.03
Model 6	6	-2857.24	6376.41	6036.79	6483.41	800.40

Source: VLV Wave 1, 2011/2012, immigrant subsample, own calculations

Figure S1. Goodness-of-Fit for LCA Models



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Conflict of Interest

Authors have no conflict of interest.

Ethical approval VLV

All participants gave their written informed consent for inclusion before they participated in the study. The present study was conducted in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki, and the protocol had been approved by the ethics commission of the Faculty of Psychology and Social Sciences of the University of Geneva (project identification codes: CE_FPSE_14.10.2010 and CE_FPSE_05.04.2017).