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# Factors associated with social capital development among Russian post-2022 migrants

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## Abstract

Migration often disrupts existing social networks, requiring migrants to rebuild social ties and social capital in new environments. This study examines how everyday social practices shape the reconstruction of social capital among Russian migrants who left the country after February 2022. While previous research has primarily focused on institutional integration, less attention has been paid to the role of family circumstances and gendered practices in the development of social capital after migration. Additionally, the study examines how employment, parenthood, and gender are associated with different dimensions of social capital. Social capital is defined as consisting of social relationships, reflected in the number of acquaintances and interactions with others, and social attitudes, including generalized trust and perceptions of others' honesty. The analysis is based on two online surveys conducted in 2023 among Russian migrants and a comparison group of individuals who remained in Russia ("stayers"), with a total sample of 491 respondents. Regression models were used to examine the associations between socio-demographic characteristics and indicators of social capital. The results show that parenthood and gender are strongly associated with broader social networks and more frequent social interaction among migrants. Women and migrants with children demonstrate higher levels of social capital than men and childless migrants. These patterns are largely specific to migrants and are not observed among stayers.

***Keywords:*** Social capital; Migration; Parenthood; Gender; Migrant adaptation

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## 1. Introduction

Social capital is widely recognized as a key resource for migrants' adaptation and integration into host societies, as it shapes access to information, social support, and everyday interactions (Giusta & Kambhampati, 2006). Migration often disrupts established social networks, requiring individuals to rebuild social ties and re-establish patterns of interaction in unfamiliar institutional and cultural environments. As a result, the formation and reconstruction of social capital become important components of migrants' adaptation processes.

However, recent studies argue that migrants' social capital cannot be understood solely through the classic dimensions of social ties, generalized trust, and social norms. Increasingly, social ties are mediated by digital infrastructures, including messaging platforms, remote work environments, and online communities. From this perspective, digital infrastructures are not merely communication tools but important mechanisms through which social relationships are maintained and developed. Consequently, rebuilding migrants' social capital depends not only on offline institutional integration but also on everyday interactions across online and offline environments, which shape access to social resources and opportunities to establish and maintain social relationships (Adedeji *et al.*, 2024; Ponzanesi & Leurs, 2022).

Previous research also shows that migrants' social capital is shaped by both pre-migration and post-migration factors, including education, employment, migration experience, and length of stay in the host country. However, much of the existing literature focuses on structural correlates of integration, such as labor market participation or institutional inclusion. At the same time, comparatively less attention has been paid to how everyday social practices, family circumstances, and gendered roles influence the rebuilding of social capital after migration. This gap is particularly noticeable in studies of highly skilled migrants, whose relatively favorable socioeconomic position allows researchers to examine social mechanisms of adaptation beyond issues of economic vulnerability.

The recent out-migration from Russia following February 2022 provides a valuable empirical context for examining these processes. This migration wave, which can be characterized as crisis-induced, largely consists of relatively highly educated and highly skilled professionals who left their home country shortly after the onset of the crisis. Unlike the large-scale post-Soviet "brain drain" of the 1990s, the current wave is distinct due to the digital nature of work: many migrants maintain employment continuity through remote work immediately after relocation (Kostenko *et al.*, 2023). Such relative socioeconomic homogeneity makes it possible to focus more directly on social mechanisms of adaptation rather than on structural disadvantages typically associated with migration.

At the same time, migration under conditions of sudden political and institutional change creates significant uncertainty in everyday life. Migrants must rebuild social environments, establish new networks of interaction, and navigate unfamiliar institutional settings. In this context, everyday social practices associated with employment, family life, and gender roles may play an important role in shaping the reconstruction of social capital.

Existing studies suggest that employment can facilitate social capital formation by providing opportunities for interaction within professional networks and access to new social environments (Goel & Lang, 2017; Topa, 2011). Family circumstances may also influence the formation of social capital. In particular, the presence of children often requires migrants to interact with schools, healthcare institutions, and members of local communities, potentially creating new opportunities for social ties. Gender may further shape these processes, as men and women often engage in different forms of social interaction and participate in distinct social networks (Curran *et al.*, 2005).

In this study, we examine how employment, parenthood, and gender are associated with the development of social capital among Russian migrants who left the country after February 2022. Following previous research, we define social capital as comprising two interrelated components: social relationships and social attitudes. Social relationships refer to social connections and patterns of interaction, while social attitudes capture levels of generalized trust and perceptions of others' honesty (Putnam, 2001).

To better understand whether the observed relationships are specific to the migration context, we compare migrants with a comparison group of Russians who remained in the country ("stayers"). Unlike migrants, whose social capital may need to be reconstructed after relocation, stayers develop their social networks gradually within a relatively stable social environment. This comparison allows us to assess whether the factors associated with social capital formation operate differently under conditions of migration.

By focusing on everyday social practices embedded in employment, family life, and gendered roles, this study examines how migrants reconstruct their social networks and social capital under conditions of sudden and unplanned mobility. Particular attention is paid to family routines and gendered everyday practices, which shape migrants' opportunities to maintain, adapt, and develop social ties under conditions of disruption and uncertainty. In doing so, the study offers a more nuanced understanding of social capital formation and social network reconstruction in contexts of sudden migration.

## 1.1. Theoretical framework and hypotheses

### *1.1.1. Social capital*

The debate about the nature and role of individual social capital has been going on for decades. Social capital is traditionally differentiated from other forms of capital, such as human, cultural, and economic (Coleman, 1988); at the same time, all these forms of capital can interact.

Social capital is a resource that links individuals to networks of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition (Bourdieu, 2002; Portes, 1998), and in the framework of this study, we consider migrants' social capital as an intangible asset that helps them to adapt to the host society.

Despite lacking single definition, social capital can be understood as a combination of components: obligations and expectations, information channels, and social norms (Coleman, 1988); or trust, social norms, and social links (Putnam, 2001). Trust is crucial for migrants, although its relevance may vary across contexts and by personal experience (Essex *et al.*, 2022). It is necessary to distinguish between trust in people and residents of the host country in particular (Bilodeau & White, 2016). Several recent studies show that immigrants exhibit higher levels of acceptance and trust in public institutions than natives (Röder & Mühlau, 2012). In addition, a growing literature treats trust not only as a general attitude but as a multidimensional relationship to host-country institutions and publics, with important implications for integration trajectories (Godinho Nascimento *et al.*, 2025). This perspective suggests that social capital should be theorized as a set of distinct (and potentially divergent) relational resources rather than a single uniformly beneficial asset.

In this study, social capital is defined as a combination of two components, namely relationships and attitudes. Relationships include social links, such as friendships and acquaintanceships, as well as interactions with strangers. While interactions with strangers do not necessarily represent established social ties, they can serve as an indicator of openness to social interaction and the potential formation of new networks, which is particularly relevant in a migration context where individuals must rebuild their social environments. Attitudes include acceptance and general trust in people, including perceptions that others are honest and open, which can provide a basis for forming different types of relationships in society (Putnam, 2001). Given that relationships and attitudes do not necessarily complement each other within an individual's social capital, we further measure each of these two components of social capital independently, using different measures for each component.

Social capital is shaped through both offline and digitally mediated interactions, as digital platforms, such as Telegram, Facebook, and Instagram, increasingly support transnational ties, access to information, and participation in migrant networks (Brandhorst, 2023; Moran, 2022; Ratnam *et al.*, 2022). For migrants, these platforms also provide channels for emotional support and maintaining connections within geographically dispersed diaspora networks. While such platforms do not necessarily facilitate the formation of locally embedded ties with members

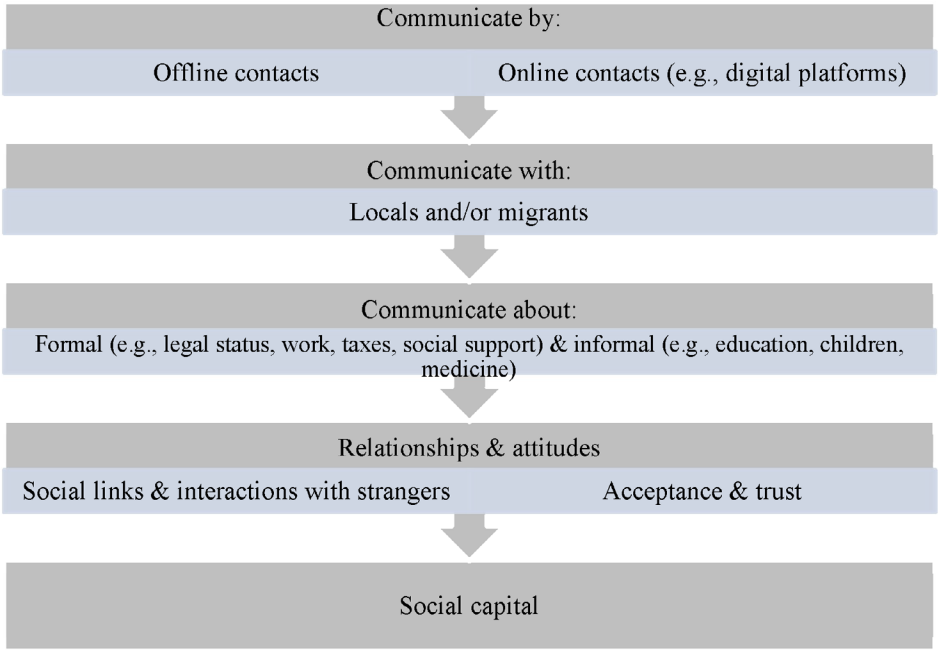



**Figure 1.** Mechanisms of migrants' social capital formation

of the host society (Candidatu & Ponzanesi, 2022), they have become important environments for sustaining and organizing migrant social networks. Overall, the formation of migrants' social capital involves a combination of online and offline communication across different domains of everyday life (Figure 1).

Offline and digitally mediated communication jointly contribute to migrants' social capital in the host country by facilitating the formation of new social relationships and attitudinal orientations. However, these processes do not operate uniformly across migrants, as their outcomes vary depending on individual circumstances and everyday social practices. To account for this variation, the following section examines the key factors that are associated with the development of social capital.

#### *1.1.2. Factors associated with migrants' social capital*

For migrants, social capital is not only an important factor in making decisions about migration and choosing a host country (Portes, 1998), but also an indicator of the quality of life of migrants (Adedeji, 2019), and a condition for their adaptation to the host society (Giusta & Kambhampati, 2006). The role and characteristics of migrants' social capital are traditionally analyzed in relation to migrants with initially lower levels of education and well-being than those of Russian post-2022 migrants before immigration: Turkish immigrants in Sweden (Westin, 2015), Moroccan and Senegalese immigrants in Spain, and Egyptian and Ghanaian immigrants in Italy (Fokkema & de Haas, 2011). For these migrant groups, it was shown that access to employment, services, and benefits is reduced when social ties are absent (Cheung & Phillimore, 2013; Nakhaie & Kazemipur, 2013), bridging ties of social capital create opportunities for upward mobility in the labor market (de Graaf & Flap, 1988; Granovetter, 1973), whereas bonding ties lead people to work within the diaspora rather than entering the open labor market (Gërxhani & Kosyakova, 2022; Kracke & Klug, 2021).

Recent debates also shift attention from static factors toward the everyday mechanisms through which migrants gain (or fail to gain) access to information, support, and institutions in their new social environment. Ethnographic research highlights the role of publicly accessible social infrastructures (e.g., libraries, shops, parks, community venues) as a "social front door" that can enable newcomers to accumulate bridging and linking resources by connecting them to local knowledge and intermediaries (Wessendorf & Gembus, 2024). In addition, studies that explicitly theorize bonding/bridging/linking social capital show that participation in collective activities (e.g., volunteering) may strengthen bonding ties while leaving bridging ties constrained by exclusion and unequal access to local institutions, making linking pathways particularly salient (Zhang & Meijering, 2025). Together, this work suggests that employment, family circumstances, and gender are important to the extent that they structure migrants' participation in such everyday infrastructures—offline and online—through which social capital is (re)produced.

Migrants' social capital may decrease after moving to a new country. It can be reconstructed during the adaptation and integration process (Rüdel & Steinmann, 2024), but the very possibility of its recovery can be influenced by various factors. It is important to understand which factors facilitate the development of social capital after migration, and which become obstacles.

Migrants' social capital depends on pre-migration factors, such as age, education level, previous migration experience, and the availability of migration-related information, as well as post-migration factors, including occupation, length of stay in the host country, and intention to return home or migrate to another country (Fokkema & De Haas, 2011). Additionally, employment may play an important role as a source of formal professional ties (Cheung & Phillimore, 2013; Holbrow & Nagayoshi, 2016; Lu *et al.*, 2013; W.W. Wang & Shen, 2022), parenthood as a source of informal social ties (Sime & Fox, 2014), and gender, since female and male migrant networks have different associations with migration outcomes (Curran & Saguy, 2001; Curran *et al.*, 2005). Taking into account the relative homogeneity of Russian post-2022 migrants with respect to the mentioned pre-migration and post-migration factors, we assess the role of employment, parenthood, and gender in the development of social capital among Russian post-2022 migrants.

#### *1.1.3. Employment*

Recent research shows that employment plays an important role in migrants' adaptation and integration in the host countries. It provides financial security, facilitating access to housing, education, and healthcare, and forming a basis for broader societal participation, including a sense of belonging in host societies (Teräs *et al.*, 2024; C. Wang & Fan, 2012). On the one hand, in many cases, migrants are employed within their migrant communities, which could reduce their level of integration (Anthias & Cederberg, 2009; Ryan *et al.*, 2008). On the other hand, employment may also foster cultural adaptation by enabling regular interactions with locals and exposure to societal norms (Enh *et al.*, 2024). However, when discussing Russian migrants, we cannot ignore the fact that after the COVID-19 pandemic, many professional communications, even while working in the office, were switched to a remote format.

These digital patterns were further intensified in the post-pandemic period (DeFilippis *et al.*, 2022), and for Russian migrants, this may also affect social capital development in the host country, since, although some of them moved abroad with a job offer in the host country from either a pre-migration or a new employer, others work remotely either for an employer in Russia or for an employer in the new country. This may facilitate the development of new online professional and social contacts, in contrast to in-person contacts.

In this sense, remote and platform-mediated work can affect not only the volume of professional contacts but also the balance between locally embedded ties and digitally sustained networks that may remain oriented toward the country of origin or dispersed diaspora communities. Recent research highlights that immigrants' well-being and integration increasingly depend on how digital tools structure opportunities for social connection and support, suggesting that online interaction should be theorized as a component of social capital rather than treated as merely a substitute for offline contact (Adedeji *et al.*, 2024; Ponzanesi & Leurs, 2022).

According to Sergeeva & Kamalov (2024), trends in economic integration reveal that two-thirds of Russians who were previously employed by Russian companies have since left these firms to join international or local ones. Moreover, previous research has not found an increasing rate of unemployment, suggesting that this flow does not place a significant burden on the welfare budgets of host countries significantly. This suggests that, when moving to a new country while employed but without established social ties, colleagues who are residents of the host country or other employed migrants who can become important sources of social capital formation. Thus, the formation of new social ties may begin through employment, and in this case, the nature of the job (online or in-office, and for a previous or new employer) may affect the relationships being formed. Therefore, our first hypothesis is related to the possible relationship between employment and social capital of Russian post-2022 migrants: employed migrants have higher levels of social capital (H1).

We do not examine the relationship between employment and social capital among stayers because the present study focuses specifically on whether employment is associated with social-capital reconstruction following migration. For migrants, we also examine whether working online or in an office in the host country is associated with differences. The format of work—online or in the office—may be associated with differences in the number of acquaintances and friends for employed migrants. This is important for this study because a significant proportion of skilled Russian migrants have relocated with their foreign employers and continue to work in the same business environment as before migration—for the same employer, either in a new country, at international hubs, or online. In either case, however, they keep in touch with their former colleagues from Russia, regardless of the country to which their former colleagues moved. Thus, the conditions and opportunities for closer interaction with the local population may therefore be limited. Therefore, for those who have the opportunity to work online, regardless of the location of the employer, the level of social capital in the host country may be lower than that of migrants who work in an office. If there is no professional contact or only limited professional contact with host-country nationals, interaction with the local population may be limited to interactions related to everyday household needs (e.g., shopping, domestic issues, and entertainment) and childcare (if any). Thus, the second factor associated with social capital development to be tested is parenthood.

#### *1.1.4. Parenthood*

Previous studies consistently emphasize the role of cultural capital in family migration (Kofman, 2018) and the role of the family in adaptation processes (Koser Akcapar, 2010). As the first circle of relationships (Furstenberg, 2005; Parcel & Bixby, 2015), children may positively influence the social capital of family members (Leonard, 2005). The role of children can be both direct, as they create opportunities for new social ties through their friends and friends' families, and indirect, as parents have to forge new social ties to re-establish a familiar way of life that may have been disrupted after migration (e.g., education, healthcare, and leisure time). The presence of children often requires adult family members to establish social ties with the local community and official institutions (e.g., nurseries, schools, and healthcare facilities). Moreover, children create their own social ties (Sime & Fox, 2014) in which parents may become involved.

Therefore, our second hypothesis concerning parenthood is related to the possible relationship between the presence of children and the social capital of Russian post-2022 migrants: migrants with children have higher levels of social capital than migrants without children (H2). In testing this assumption, we also examine whether the age of the children matters. We hypothesize that the role of parents in adaptation may be greater when children are younger, so having an infant (under 3 years old), a preschool-aged child (4–6 years old), a school-aged child (7–18 years old), and an adult child (over 18 years old) may be differentially associated with the number of acquaintances and other components of parents' social capital. We also compare the relationship between the

presence of children and social capital among migrants and stayers to test whether the identified relationships are specific to migrants.

#### *1.1.5. Gender*

The discussion of women's role in the development of social capital is ambiguous even beyond the issue of migration and depends on the importance given to gender roles in society (for detailed historical observation, see Hondagneu-Sotelo & Cranford, 2006). The perception is that women are assigned the role of homemaker, responsible for children and family, and are therefore mostly involved in informal social relationships, unlike men who participate in more formalized professional social networks (Ganapati, 2012). Therefore, it is often assumed that men and women develop and utilize different kinds of social ties (Côté *et al.* 2015). Moreover, generally among migrants, men tend to create or join social and professional networks, while women are more likely to develop kinship-based ties (see, for example, the case of educated migrants from China to Canada, discussed in Salaff & Greve, 2004). In addition, given the traditional view of gender roles in the majority of Russian families (Doğangün, 2019), it is worth assuming that women are most often responsible for the development of social capital related to daily routines.

It is commonly believed that women play an active role in relief and recovery after disasters (Enarson, 1999), and, since unexpected migration is also a form of disruption, the role of women in adaptation to the host society should not be underestimated. Women may demonstrate greater adaptability in overcoming various social, cultural, and economic obstacles during migration (Fokkema & de Haas, 2011).

Traditionally, men feel more confident in their territory and familiar surroundings, while women are more likely to explore new conditions and adapt to them through social interaction. Possible explanations for these differences may lie in gender-differentiated responses to stress: men may become more self-focused when experiencing stress, while women may show a greater tendency to empathize with others and engage in social interaction (Tomova *et al.*, 2014).

Based on the preceding discussion, we formulate the third hypothesis about the possible relationship between gender and the social capital of Russian post-2022 migrants in the host country: social capital is higher for women (H3).

In testing this hypothesis, we do not distinguish between women who moved with their partners and/or children and those who moved on their own. To examine whether gender is specifically associated with social capital after migration, we test the hypothesis for the stayer subsample as well.

## 2. Data and methods

### 2.1. Data and samples

The empirical analysis of the study was based on data obtained from two similar online surveys conducted in May–October 2023, which provided us with a total sample of 491 respondents. The first survey (303 respondents, 61.7%) sampled those who left Russia, and since we did not find any significant differences based on the date of migration in the social-capital measures of Russian migrants (Table A1), we further analyzed migrants as a single sample regardless of whether they migrated before (old wave) or after (new wave) February 2022. The second survey, which served as a comparison group, sampled those who remained in Russia ("stayers," 188 respondents, 38.3%). Table A1 shows that, after controlling for all covariates, there are no significant differences between earlier- and later-wave migrants, although some differences remain between migrants and stayers

The survey for migrants was shared in Telegram channels for Russian migrants (e.g., Kovcheg, Scholars Without Borders), and Facebook and Telegram channels for Russians abroad (including channels for parents). The survey for stayers was distributed among city districts and parental groups on Vkontakte (Russia's largest social network). Additionally, both surveys used the snowball method to recruit respondents.

All respondents were asked questions about socio-demographic characteristics (e.g., gender, age, and family status), employment, marital status, and the presence of children. For the migrant subsample, we also asked questions about the date of migration and country of stay. Both groups answered questions related to trust, acceptance, social links, and ways of accessing the information needed for daily routines.

To assess respondents' financial stability, we asked questions related to subjective income, that is, their own assessment of their wealth. Another indirect measure of migrants' socioeconomic status is the city of their pre-migration employment or the city of residence in Russia. This distinction is important since the quality of life significantly differs between the capitals (Moscow and St. Petersburg agglomerations) and other cities. For migrants, working in the capitals before migration may result in a greater loss of subjective income than for those who lived in urban centers of less administrative importance. The drop in subjective income may also be associated with differences in social capital and adaptation in the new country.

The survey did not include questions about respondents' political views or civic engagement, as these aspects fall outside the scope of this study. The study focuses exclusively on the daily practices and mechanisms through which social capital is formed. Given the non-probability nature of the sample, the findings should be interpreted as indicative of associations rather than as representative estimates.

### 2.2 Measures

#### *2.2.1. Dependent variables*

To estimate the social capital of the respondents, five dependent variables were employed to capture two components of social capital: relationships and attitudes. For migrants, the relationship measures refer to their social interactions in the host countries, whereas for stayers, they refer to interactions in Russia.

The relationships component was measured using three variables. The first is the number of acquaintances, which was recorded as a categorical variable to facilitate interpretation by aggregating some of the smaller categories. The variable ranges from 0 (indicating that the respondent has no acquaintances) to 3 (indicating that the respondent has more than seven acquaintances). The second and third variables capture online and in-person communication with strangers. Respondents were asked how frequently they communicate with people they do not know well, with online and in-person communication measured separately. The questions were: "How often do you communicate with strangers online?" and "How often do you communicate with strangers in person?" Both variables were measured on a five-point scale ranging from 1 ("never") to 5 ("very often").

The attitudes component was measured using two variables: trust and acceptance. Trust was assessed with the question, "Do you think you can trust most people?," measured on a five-point scale ranging from 1 ("one should be careful") to 5 ("you can trust people"). Acceptance was measured with the question, "Do you think most people would take advantage of you, if you let them, or rather behave honestly?," also using a five-point scale ranging from 1 ("one should be careful") to 5 ("you accept the way people treat you").

We assume that the relationship measures capture the breadth and frequency of social ties at the new place of living. We mostly focus here not on the possible isolation of the migrants within their communities or diasporas, but on building weak but broad social ties: new acquaintances and even communication with strangers, meaning being involved in the broader social environment of the host countries (Ryan *et al.*, 2008; White, 2002; You & Hon, 2019). The attitudes mainly describe the potential for social capital formation, taking into consideration trust as one of the main conditions for building weak social ties and bridging social capital (Algan, 2018; Son & Feng, 2018).

Table 1 indicates that online communication constitutes a central component of migrants' everyday communication practices and, for many respondents, occurs more frequently than offline interaction.

Beyond everyday communication practices, respondents were also asked about the context in which they formed new social ties. Approximately 15% of the respondents reported meeting new friends or acquaintances through thematic online chats and social networking groups, while 9.5% established new contacts through the parents of their children's friends. The workplace was the most common setting for forming new social ties, with nearly 35% of respondents reporting that they had met new acquaintances through their own workplace; an additional 5% did so through a spouse's colleagues. These findings indicate that the workplace remains an important context for the development of social ties alongside digital social networks.

#### *2.2.2. Independent variables*

The main independent variables correspond to the study hypotheses.

For H1, two binary independent variables were used to measure respondents' employment status and work location:

(i) Employed: 1 (employed) and 0 (not employed).
(ii) Work in the host country: 1 (if the respondent's employer is based in the host country) and 0 (if not).

For H2, the following independent variables were employed:

(i) Having children: 1 (if the respondent has at least one child) and 0 (if the respondent has no children).
(ii) Children's age (categorized into age groups): 0–3 years old, 4–6 years old, 7–18 years old, and >18 years old.

For H3, the binary independent variable "gender," coded as "1" if female and "0" if male, was used.

#### *2.2.3. Control variables*

We control for a set of standard control variables:

(i) Age (continuous variable).
(ii) Gender: 1 (female) and 0 (male), except for H3, for which gender is the main independent variable.
(iii) Marital status: 1 (if the respondent lives with a partner, regardless of the formal status of the partnership) and

**Table 1. Sources of information and support across different life domains (%; *n* = 491)**

| Life domain | Independent search for information | Online chats and social media groups | Offline sources (new acquaintances and strangers) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Legal status | 26.4 | 22.4 | 9.6 |
| Employment | 61.1 | 9.9 | 10.9 |
| Taxation | 51.5 | 11.6 | 7.3 |
| Social benefits | 80 | 3 | 4.3 |
| Local language | 61.1 | 9.9 | 9.9 |
| English language | 83.2 | 6 | 3.6 |
| Healthcare | 42.6 | 18.9 | 12.5 |
| Healthcare for children | 65 | 12.5 | 8.9 |
| Education | 75.9 | 8.2 | 5 |
| Education for children | 70.3 | 12.6 | 5 |
| Extracurricular education for children | 76.9 | 10.6 | 6.6 |
| Goods and services | 52.8 | 14.9 | 15.2 |
| Public transport | 54.5 | 16.5 | 10.6 |
| Pets | 78.2 | 12.2 | 5.3 |
| Primary source of support | – | 70.6 | 23.7 |

0 (if the respondent lives separately or has no partner).

(iv) University degree: 1 (Bachelor's degree or higher) and 0 (lower levels of education).

(v) Resided in the capitals: 1 (if the respondent resided in capital cities before migration, including the Moscow and St. Petersburg agglomerations) and 0 (if the respondent resided in smaller cities, towns, or settlements).

(vi) Subjective income: A five-point scale ranging from the lowest to the highest level of subjective income.

We interpret the results for control variables only when they are relevant to the corresponding hypothesis (for H3, gender is also interpreted as the main independent variable). For H2, we also control for the variable "children stayed in Russia," which denotes whether the respondents' children migrated with the respondent, remained in Russia, or remained in a country other than the respondent's current country of residence, based on responses to a direct survey question.

## 3. Results

### 3.1. Hypotheses testing

Before testing the hypotheses, balance tests were conducted to assess differences between the migrant and stayer subsamples in terms of socio-demographic characteristics. As detailed in Table 1, there are some differences between the migrant and stayer subsamples in several socio-demographic characteristics: gender (a higher share of women in the stayer subsample), number of children (a higher number of children among respondents in the stayer subsample), subjective income (migrants report higher levels of subjective income than stayers), and education levels; however, even taking into consideration the significantly higher share of migrants with a university degree compared to stayers, both subsamples show high levels of education. Age, marital status, and place of residence (residence before migration [for migrants]) did not demonstrate significant differences between the subsamples.

The substantial gender imbalance in the stayer subsample (with women representing the majority of respondents) may reflect the channels through which the survey was distributed, particularly parental and local community groups in social networks where women may be more active. This feature should therefore be interpreted as a characteristic of the sampling process rather than as a reflection of the broader population structure (Table 2).

Descriptive comparisons between migrants and stayers reveal several notable differences in social capital measures. Migrants report a significantly smaller number of acquaintances than stayers (mean = 1.52 versus 2.08, $p < 0.001$), which may reflect the disruption of established social networks following migration. At the same time, migrants demonstrate significantly higher levels of trust (mean = 3.07 compared to 2.64 among stayers, $p < 0.001$) and acceptance (3.23 versus 2.95, $p < 0.001$). Differences in interactions with strangers are less pronounced. Migrants communicate slightly less often with strangers in person (mean = 3.01 compared to 3.17 among stayers), while online interaction is marginally higher among migrants (2.59 versus 2.56). However, neither of these differences is statistically significant, suggesting that migration is associated more strongly with differences in the structural and attitudinal dimensions of social capital than with differences in everyday interaction frequencies. Table A1 further shows that, after controlling for socio-demographic variables, social capital characteristics do not differ significantly between earlier- and later-wave migrants, although some differences remain between migrants and stayers.

Other researchers have also demonstrated a higher level of trust among migrants compared to stayers (Sergeeva & Kamalov, 2024). The reasons for the higher levels of trust observed in our results and in the aforementioned study could vary from self-selection (i.e., individuals who trust others may be more likely to migrate) to certain post-migration optimism and are not the subject of the study. However, the stayer subsample is used as a comparison group to test whether H2 and H3 are confirmed for both samples or only for migrants.

Linear regression models with robust standard errors and clustered standard errors were employed. As there could be different institutional and cultural environments across host countries, standard errors clustered by country were applied to the migrant sample. For stayers, regression with robust standard errors was employed (as they all reside in the same country); however, due to the smaller number of observations, there is a potential risk of heteroscedasticity.

### 3.2. Results of hypothesis testing

While testing H1 about the higher level of social capital for employed migrants, no significant differences between employed and unemployed migrants were observed (regardless of the location of the employer) in such measures of social capital as the number of acquaintances, in-person communication, and trust. However, online communication and acceptance are higher for employed respondents compared with unemployed respondents, and these results are significant at the 5% level (Table 3).

No significant difference (apart from 10% significance in the model without the control variables for the Acceptance) in social capital measures was observed in relation to employment in the host country or to whether the respondents' work was office-based or remote. Thus, the results provide partial support for H1, as employment is associated with higher levels of online communication and acceptance, but not with other measures of social capital. These associations do not necessarily indicate greater social capital formation in the host country. Employment is associated only with some attitudinal and interactional dimensions of social capital.

To test H2 regarding a higher level of social capital for migrants with children, the results for the migrant and stayer subsamples were compared. The analysis examined the relationship between having children and measures of social capital, including whether this relationship varies by children's age group, as the social inclusion of parents may differ depending on whether they have infants (0–3 years old), preschool-aged children (4–6 years old), and school-aged children (7–18 years old).

We also include the variable "children stayed in Russia" as a control variable in the regression models for the migrant subsample (as in some cases, respondents migrated without their children, or they have children both staying in Russia and living with them in the host country). Acceptance, online communication, and in-person communication with strangers were not significantly associated with parenthood. However, we found a significant difference between migrants with and without children (the "no children" variable) for the level of trust (Table 4) and the number of acquaintances (Table 5). Migrants with children report significantly higher levels of trust than migrants without children (the non-standardized β-coefficient = 0.223, $p < 0.05$; Table 4), while in the stayer subsample, respondents with children demonstrate a lower (but statistically insignificant) level of trust compared to childless respondents, suggesting that the hypothesized positive association between parenthood and trust is observed only among migrants.

**Table 2. Descriptive statistics of socio-demographic characteristics of migrants ($n$ = 303) and stayers ($n$ =188)**

| Socio-demographic characteristic | Mean | | Median | | $p$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Migrants | Stayers | Migrants | Stayers | |
| Number of children | 0.85 | 1.3 | 0 | 1 | <0.001[a] |
| Age (years) | 36.3 | 37.1 | 35 | 36.5 | 0.146 |
| Subjective income (from 1 [the lowest level] to 5 [the highest level]) | 4.37 | 3.83 | 5 | 4 | <0.001[b] |
| University degree | 92.7% | 84% | – | – | 0.002[b] |
| Marital status | 76.6% | 74.2% | – | – | 0.55 |
| Resided in capitals | 70.9% | 68.1% | – | – | 0.52 |
| Gender (female) | 50.8% | 88.3% | – | – | <0.001[b] |
| Trust (from 1 [one should be careful] to 5 [you can trust people]) | 3.07 | 2.64 | 3 | 3 | <0.001[a] |
| Acceptance (from 1 [one should be careful] to 5 [you accept the way people treat you]) | 3.22 | 2.94 | 3 | 3 | <0.001[a] |
| Number of acquaintances (from 0 [no] to 3 [7+]) | 1.52 | 2.08 | 2 | 2 | <0.001[a] |
| Offline communication (1 ["never"] to 5 ["very often"]) | 3.01 | 3.17 | 3 | 3 | 0.076 |
| Online communication (1 ["never"] to 5 ["very often"]) | 2.59 | 2.56 | 2 | 2 | 0.603 |

Notes: [a]Mann–Whitney $U$ test; [b]Chi-square test.

The age of the children does not appear to play a significant role in the level of trust. For the number of acquaintances, however, the age group 0–3 was associated with a lower number of acquaintances than the age group 7–18 (β-coefficient = −0.349, $p < 0.01$; Table 5). For the stayer subsample, the results were the opposite: the number of acquaintances was lower among respondents with children (β-coefficient = −0.467, $p < 0.01$) and higher among childless respondents.

In summary, for people who remain in Russia, parental routines may reduce opportunities to build or maintain social capital, while for the migrant subsample, activities associated with children may provide opportunities to develop social capital. This might be related to the need to find necessary information in a new environment and seek advice. Consequently, respondents with children tend to seek information for everyday needs from different sources, including those not related to childcare. These activities may encourage migrants with young children to interact with others more often. Our results show that significantly higher levels of trust and a greater number of acquaintances are characteristic of migrants with children regardless of their age (in contrast to the stayer subsample), while the other indicators are not significant.

To test H3 regarding a higher level of social capital for women, three additional control variables were added:

(i) Having children: 1 (if the respondents' children live with them) and 0 (if they live separately).
(ii) Employment: 1 (if the respondent is employed) and 0 (if the respondent is unemployed).
(iii) Work in the host country: 1 (if the respondent's employer is located in the host country) and 0 (in any other case, including unemployment).

For all measures of social capital, except for trust, women show significantly higher levels compared to men (Table 6). This effect is observed only for the migrant subsample. For the stayer subsample, there are no significant differences between men and women in any of the measures of social capital. Therefore, it can be concluded that women tend to demonstrate higher levels of acceptance, have more acquaintances, and interact with strangers both online and in person more often (the non-standardized β-coefficient ranges from 0.126 to 0.425).

**Table 3. Regression analyses testing Hypothesis 1 among migrants: Associations with acceptance and online communication (unstandardized β coefficients)**

| Variables | Online communication | | | | Acceptance | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Control variables | + | + | − | − | + | + | − | − |
| Work in the host country | 0.0898 | | 0.120 | | 0.144 | | 0.161* | |
| | (0.121) | | (0.109) | | (0.0927) | | (0.0912) | |
| Employed | | 0.370** | | 0.298** | | 0.319** | | 0.289** |
| | | (0.142) | | (0.131) | | (0.154) | | (0.143) |
| Standard errors clustered by countries | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Observations | 302 | 302 | 303 | 303 | 302 | 302 | 303 | 303 |
| $R^2$ | 0.048 | 0.062 | 0.002 | 0.011 | 0.032 | 0.047 | 0.009 | 0.019 |

Notes: Only models in which the focal independent variables corresponding to the hypotheses meet the specified significance thresholds are reported. The focal independent variables are highlighted. The dependent variables are indicated in the first row. Control variables (see Section 2.2.3) are either included (+) or excluded (−), as indicated. Standard errors are clustered by country where indicated (+) and are unclustered where indicated (−). Standard errors are reported in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

Since migration, especially when coupled with political changes in the home country, is often associated with considerable stress, higher social capital measures for women may be associated with gendered behavioral patterns in response to migration-related stress. Women in the study sample exhibit higher levels of several social capital indicators than men. One possible explanation is that women may engage more frequently in everyday interactions that facilitate network formation following migration. For example, women reported lower levels of perceived security ("Do you feel secure in the place you live?") than men, with the difference being larger and statistically significant at $p < 0.01$ among stayers, whereas among migrants, the difference between women and men is smaller and not statistically significant. In other words, the gender difference in perceived security among migrants is relatively small, while the difference is statistically significant among stayers.

Women are also more enthusiastic than men in both the migrant and stayer subsamples, but the difference is larger and statistically significant among migrants. Women reported lower levels of loneliness than men (among migrants, both women and men reported higher levels of loneliness than their counterparts in Russia, $p < 0.01$), while in Russia, women reported slightly higher levels of loneliness than men, although the difference is not statistically significant. Women also reported receiving various types of assistance related to their children's health and education. Regarding services of a different nature, women are also more likely to receive support. In this case, we refer again to H2 about the positive role of children in social networks (as obtaining more detailed information about childcare services may require greater interaction with others).

Additionally, it should be noted that control variables such as education (higher education compared to other levels) and age are insignificant in most models, with their coefficients also showing signs that vary across specifications. Moreover, the age of parents has a strong correlation with the age of children, and as can be seen from the descriptive statistics, there are no substantial differences in educational levels in the sample.

## 4. Discussion

This study examined the role of employment, parenthood, and gender in the formation of social capital among Russian post-2022 migrants. By defining social capital as a combination of social relationships and interactional

**Table 4. Regression analysis testing Hypothesis 2: Associations with trust level among migrants and stayers (unstandardized β coefficients)**

| Variables | Migrants | | | Stayers | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Control variables | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Children stayed in Russia | 0.327 | 0.317 | 0.283 | | | |
| | (0.345) | (0.330) | (0.335) | | | |
| Children younger than 18 (reference group) | | | | | | |
| No children | −0.207** | | | 0.209 | | |
| | (0.102) | | | (0.286) | | |
| Children older than 18 | −0.475 | | | −0.0706 | | |
| | (0.303) | | | (0.360) | | |
| Children at the age 7–18 (reference group) | | | | | | |
| No children | | −0.144 | | | 0.329 | |
| | | (0.206) | | | (0.338) | |
| Children older than 18 | | −0.445 | | | −0.0835 | |
| | | (0.303) | | | (0.366) | |
| Children's age (4–6) | | 0.168 | | | 0.0603 | |
| | | (0.274) | | | (0.277) | |
| Children's age (0–3) | | 0.0353 | | | 0.204 | |
| | | (0.267) | | | (0.284) | |
| Have children | | | 0.223** | | | −0.198 |
| | | | (0.101) | | | (0.282) |
| Standard errors clustered by countries | + | + | + | – | – | – |
| Observations | 302 | 302 | 302 | 186 | 186 | 186 |
| $R^2$ | 0.045 | 0.047 | 0.040 | 0.007 | 0.011 | 0.007 |

Notes: Only models in which the focal independent variables corresponding to the hypotheses meet the specified significance thresholds are reported. The focal independent variables are highlighted. The dependent variables or analysis groups are indicated in the column headings. Control variables (see Section 2.2.3) are included (+) or excluded (–), as indicated. Standard errors are clustered by country (+) or unclustered (–), as indicated, and are reported in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$.

attitudes, the analysis suggests that these components contribute to social capital to varying degrees. Most importantly, these relationships are not replicated in the same way among Russians who remained in the country of origin.

While recent studies on Russian post-2022 migrants have identified political factors as one of the key elements (Kostenko *et al.*, 2023; Sergeeva & Kamalov, 2024), this study focuses on aspects crucial for the transformation of migrants' social capital, namely employment, gender, and parenthood.

Other factors are also relevant to the assessment of migrants' social capital. On the one hand, several studies assume that people with higher social capital are more likely to migrate (Garip, 2008; Massey & Aysa-Lastra, 2011). On the other hand, other studies show that social capital is negatively associated with short moves and has no significant impact on long-distance moves (Clark &

**Table 5. Regression analysis testing Hypothesis 2: Associations with the number of acquaintances among migrants and stayers (unstandardized β coefficients)**

| Variables | Migrants | | | Stayers | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Control variables | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Children stayed in Russia | −0.790*** | −0.804*** | −0.776*** | | | |
| | (0.294) | (0.274) | (0.287) | | | |
| Children younger than 18 (reference group) | | | | | | |
| No children | −0.0595 | | | 0.455** | | |
| | (0.0996) | | | (0.183) | | |
| Children older than 18 | 0.156 | | | 0.0787 | | |
| | (0.295) | | | (0.265) | | |
| Children at the age 7–18 (reference group) | | | | | | |
| No children | | −0.187 | | | 0.354* | |
| | | (0.143) | | | (0.212) | |
| Children older than 18 | | 0.153 | | | 0.0688 | |
| | | (0.300) | | | (0.266) | |
| Childrens' age (4–6) | | 0.0104 | | | −0.138 | |
| | | (0.198) | | | (0.179) | |
| Childrens' age (0–3) | | −0.349** | | | −0.134 | |
| | | (0.163) | | | (0.188) | |
| Have children | | | 0.0542 | | | −0.467*** |
| | | | (0.0980) | | | (0.179) |
| Standard errors clustered by countries | + | + | + | − | − | − |
| Observations | 293 | 293 | 293 | 182 | 182 | 182 |
| $R^2$ | 0.058 | 0.071 | 0.057 | 0.053 | 0.058 | 0.053 |

Notes: Only models in which the focal independent variables corresponding to the hypotheses meet the specified significance thresholds are reported. The focal independent variables are highlighted. The dependent variables or analysis groups are indicated in the column headings. Control variables (see Section 2.2.3) are included (+) or excluded (−), as indicated. Standard errors are clustered by country (+) or unclustered (−), as indicated, and are reported in parentheses. * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

Lisowski, 2019). However, in studies on social capital and migration, several researchers have analyzed the impact of pre-existing cross-border diaspora networks and labor migration. For example, individual characteristics, such as the number of acquaintances in the country of origin, significantly increase the number of acquaintances in the host country (Table A2). In any case, the role of social capital and social ties in shaping migration flows cannot be overestimated, whether they are driven by purely political factors or not. However, initial social capital in the host country does not necessarily affect the choice of destination following unexpected migration. Migrants have to form new social ties and kinship networks after relocation; thus, various factors might be of importance. For post-2022 Russian migrants, we found evidence that employment, children, and gender are correlated with social capital formation.

Employment may provide opportunities for social interaction within professional environments. The workplace can function as a setting where migrants encounter new contacts and exchange information,

**Table 6. Regression analysis testing Hypothesis 3: Associations between gender and selected social-capital indicators among migrants (unstandardized β coefficients)**

| Variables | Acceptance | | Number of acquaintances | | Offline communication | | Online communication | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Work in the host country | 0.144 | | −0.0912 | | 0.0303 | | 0.0898 | |
| | (0.0927) | | (0.144) | | (0.151) | | (0.121) | |
| Gender (female) | 0.126* | 0.160** | 0.205* | 0.225** | 0.425*** | 0.425*** | 0.254** | 0.302** |
| | (0.0723) | (0.0750) | (0.112) | (0.0984) | (0.125) | (0.123) | (0.123) | (0.120) |
| Have children | 0.0534 | 0.0620 | −0.00212 | −0.00172 | 0.0166 | 0.0172 | 0.195 | 0.205 |
| | (0.106) | (0.117) | (0.116) | (0.113) | (0.241) | (0.240) | (0.206) | (0.195) |
| Employed | | 0.319** | | 0.0536 | | 0.0167 | | 0.370** |
| | | (0.154) | | (0.127) | | (0.200) | | (0.142) |
| Control variables | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Standard errors clustered by countries | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Observations | 302 | 303 | 293 | 293 | 302 | 302 | 302 | 302 |
| $R^2$ | 0.032 | 0.009 | 0.031 | 0.029 | 0.058 | 0.058 | 0.048 | 0.062 |

Notes: The focal independent variable corresponding to Hypothesis 3 is highlighted. Control variables (see Section 2.2.3) are included in all models. Standard errors, clustered by country, are reported in parentheses. The corresponding regression results for trust, which were not statistically significant, are presented in Table A2. * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

potentially facilitating the reconstruction of social capital. Although our data do not directly measure workplace interactions, the positive association between employment and selected dimensions of social capital is consistent with this interpretation. Remotely employed migrants might also have more online interaction, as changes in working conditions and relocation may alter how they maintain or expand their networks of contacts. The observed association between employment and online communication may indicate that employed migrants have access to broader interactional networks. However, the data do not allow us to determine whether these interactions occur primarily with co-nationals, other migrants, or host-country residents. Future research should investigate how different forms of employment shape opportunities for social capital reconstruction. We acknowledge that there may be an inverse relationship, whereby employment is possible precisely because of pre-existing social capital.

Family migration—when family members accompany the principal migrant—appears to constitute a significant share of Russian post-2022 migration (Kostenko *et al.*, 2023). Parenthood may create additional opportunities for social interaction through schools, healthcare institutions, childcare arrangements, and other family-related activities. Consistent with this interpretation, migrants with children report a larger number of acquaintances than migrants without children. The association also varies by the age of the children: migrants with children aged 0–3 years reported fewer acquaintances than those with children aged 7–18 years. This difference may reflect the different social environments associated with different stages of family life, although the available data do not allow the underlying mechanism to be established. Among stayers, the pattern is different, as having children is associated with fewer acquaintances than being childless. The contrast between migrants and stayers suggests that parenthood may operate differently in contexts of migration and non-migration. However, the findings do not fully explain the mechanisms through which children and family routines contribute to social capital, as the study does not capture how parents and children build ties with broader communities. Whether these differences translate into broader adaptation outcomes remains a question for future research.

The analysis also reveals a gendered pattern in social capital formation that emerges specifically in the migration

context. Female migrants demonstrate higher levels of social interaction and broader social networks than male migrants, whereas comparable gender differences are not observed among stayers. Rather than reflecting inherent gender traits, this pattern may be related to gendered divisions of everyday responsibilities and coping strategies under migration-related stress. Women's greater involvement in daily routines and care-related activities may expose them to a wider range of social interactions and thereby create additional opportunities to establish social ties. Some of these findings are consistent with previous research emphasizing the role of family and gender in adaptation processes (Giusta & Kambhampati, 2006), while the observed gender pattern differs from findings reported in other contexts, such as Canada (Soltane, 2020). One possible explanation for these differences is the relatively high level of education and qualifications among Russian post-2022 migrants compared with migrants involved in other recent migration flows. However, this interpretation remains tentative and requires further empirical investigation.

The present findings should be interpreted as context-specific and relate to a highly educated sample of Russian post-2022 migrants. In particular, the observed patterns regarding social-capital indicators among women and migrants with children may not necessarily generalize to other migrant populations or migration contexts. The differences from findings reported in contexts such as Canada (Soltane, 2020) further underscore the importance of contextual factors in shaping social capital formation.

Several limitations of the study should be acknowledged. First, the data were based on non-probability online surveys and snowball sampling, which may lead to self-selection bias and limit the representativeness of the sample. Second, the stayer subsample exhibits a substantial gender imbalance, which likely reflects the distribution channels of the survey. Third, the cross-sectional nature of the data does not allow for causal interpretations of the observed relationships. Fourth, the measures used to capture social capital do not fully reflect the range of social interactions through which migrants and their families build ties with broader communities. Future research based on longitudinal or representative data could provide a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of social capital reconstruction among migrants. For example, employment may contribute to social capital reconstruction, but migrants with broader social networks may also be more likely to obtain employment. Similar considerations apply to the observed associations involving parenthood and gender.

## 5. Conclusion

This study examined the formation and reconstruction of social capital among Russian post-2022 migrants, with particular attention to employment, parenthood, and gender. The findings indicate that social capital formation after sudden migration is associated with everyday social practices and that these associations differ from those observed among Russians who remained in the country of origin. This supports the view that social capital should be considered not only as a pre-existing resource that may facilitate migration but also as a set of social relationships and interactional practices that migrants reconstruct after relocation.

Employment is associated with selected dimensions of migrants' social capital and may provide opportunities for developing new social contacts through professional and online interaction. Parenthood is also associated with migrants' social networks, while differences across children's age groups suggest that family routines may create different opportunities for social interaction at different stages of family life. These findings highlight the importance of considering family practices alongside employment when examining how migrants reconstruct social capital after sudden migration. The analysis also indicates a gendered pattern in migrants' social capital, although the mechanisms underlying these differences remain uncertain and should not be interpreted as reflecting inherent gender characteristics.

Taken together, the findings indicate that employment, parenthood, and gender constitute important contexts for the reconstruction of social capital following sudden migration, although the observed relationships are context-specific and do not imply causality. The study thus contributes to a broader understanding of social capital reconstruction by highlighting the role of everyday social practices in shaping migrants' opportunities to establish and maintain social ties. Further longitudinal and representative research is needed to clarify the mechanisms and longer-term dynamics underlying these processes.

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## Conflict of interest

The authors declare they have no competing interests.

## Author contributions

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*Writing–review & editing:* Olga Veselovskaya, Daria Saitova

## Ethics approval and consent to participate

Participation in the study was voluntary and anonymous. The data were collected through an online survey, and informed consent was obtained from all participants prior to completing the questionnaire. No personally identifiable information was collected. The dataset is not publicly available in order to protect the anonymity of respondents.

## Consent for publication

Informed consent for publication was obtained from all participants prior to completing the questionnaire. In addition, no personally identifiable information was collected.

## Availability of data

Data in the fully anonymized format are available from the corresponding author upon request.

## Further disclosure

The findings presented in this manuscript have been previously presented at the following conferences and scientific events:

(i) 3rd Conference "New Advances in the Political Economy of Development in Eurasia," Almaty, Kazakhstan (June 5–7, 2025).
(ii) Slavic-Eurasian Research Center, Hokkaido University, Sapporo, Japan (January 24, 2025).
(iii) Central Eurasian Studies Society (CESS) Annual Conference, Turan University, Almaty, Kazakhstan (June 6–9, 2024).
(iv) 2nd Conference "New Advances in the Political Economy of Development in Eurasia," KIMEP University and Almaty Management University, Almaty, Kazakhstan (June 6–8, 2024).
(v) 3rd Latin American Meeting in Digital Anthropology, Santiago, Chile (December 13–15, 2023; presented in Spanish).
(vi) International Scientific Conference "Following Emigrants: In Search of a New World," Academic Bridges Laboratory, online (June 23–25, 2023; presented in Russian).

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## Appendix

**Table A1. Regression analysis of differences among earlier-wave migrants, later-wave migrants, and stayers in social capital indicators**

| Variables | Trust | Acceptance | Number of acquaintances | Offline communication | Online communication |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Control variables | + | + | + | + | + |
| Migration status: later-wave migrant (reference group) | | | | | |
| Stayer | −0.511*** | −0.335*** | 0.543*** | 0.0184 | −0.110 |
| | (0.115) | (0.0882) | (0.0818) | (0.121) | (0.126) |
| Earlier-wave migrant | −0.127 | 0.00832 | 0.326* | 0.277 | 0.0655 |
| | (0.221) | (0.161) | (0.174) | (0.189) | (0.223) |
| Standard errors clustered by countries | + | + | + | + | + |
| Observations | 488 | 488 | 475 | 488 | 488 |
| $R^2$ | 0.047 | 0.044 | 0.112 | 0.050 | 0.023 |

Notes: Later-wave migrants constitute the reference group for migration status. All models include the control variables described in Section 2.2.3. Standard errors, clustered by country, are reported in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

**Table A2. Regression analysis of the role of gender among migrants and stayers (unstandardized β coefficients)**

| Variables | Trust | | Acceptance | Number of acquaintances | Offline communication | Online communication |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Migrants | Stayers | Migrants | Stayers | Migrants | Stayers |
| Have children | 0.147** | 0.240** | −0.00533 | −0.0860 | 0.0688 | 0.302*** |
| | (0.0716) | (0.0977) | (0.0850) | (0.0619) | (0.110) | (0.105) |
| Female (reference: male) | 0.121 | −0.187 | −0.0575 | 0.0306 | 0.352 | 0.0108 |
| | (0.0953) | (0.278) | (0.170) | (0.164) | (0.246) | (0.240) |
| Control variables | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| Standard errors clustered by countries | + | | | | | |
| Observations | 302 | 186 | 186 | 182 | 186 | 186 |
| $R^2$ | 0.034 | 0.032 | 0.016 | 0.022 | 0.030 | 0.102 |

Notes: Male is the reference category for gender. The migrant trust model is presented because the association between gender and trust was not statistically significant; the corresponding migrant models for acceptance, number of acquaintances, offline communication, and online communication are presented in Table 6. The remaining columns present the corresponding analyses for the stayer sample. Control variables are included in all models. Standard errors are reported in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.