Non-kin ties as a source of support in Europe: On the role of context

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Niet-familieleden als een bron van steun in Europa: Over de rol van context

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Contents

Preface

Non-kin relationships are as old as human kind is, but gained importance when more complex and modern social organisations had come to exist. Before you continue reading, please do me a favour and think about your own daily life. How many people who are not part of your family do you meet? How often do you meet them? Do you ever do things for them? And they for you?

In modern contexts non-kin ties are very present in people's lives. People continuously encounter non-relatives, in certain occasions perhaps even more often than they enjoy the physical presence of their family. People spend the day at school or at work with colleagues, they spend free time with friends, have a number of neighbours and even in the sport class they meet new acquaintances (Fingerman, 2009; Rubin, 1990). These relationships accompany the family – that is partner, children, parents, siblings and other members of the extended kinship. Some non-kin relationships develop to a level in which they provide not only companionship but also support, which happens to be beneficial for one's physiological and psychological well-being (Fiori, Antonucci and Cortina, 2006; Huxhold, Miche and Schüz, 2013; Merz and Huxhold, 2010).

Reliance on non-kin support does not occur in vacuum, however; on the contrary it is shaped by the multifaceted contexts in which people are embedded. In this book, I set out to unravel the link between non-kin support and various European contexts by adopting a multi-disciplinary and multi-level approach. Three key concepts stand central in this book: non-kin ties, support and context. These concepts I define within a sociological framework.

Non-kin ties differ from kin ties in that they are 'made' rather than 'given' (Dykstra, 2009). Broadly speaking, non-kin encompass ties which are not related by blood or legal arrangements – that is friends, neighbours, colleagues and acquaintances. Friends are fluid, involve freely chosen (age) peers and are based on reciprocity. Neighbours are in a close proximity and whilst accessible, they are less freely chosen with no clear obligations (Wenger, 1990). Colleagues are fellow workers and like neighbours are less freely chosen, whereas acquaintances are people an individual has personally met at least once, but are neither close nor actively engaged in one's life.

I employ this rather broad but straightforward definition of non-kin ties – a concept I use interchangeably with non-familial ties and non-relatives – because of the existence of much discussion on the difficulty of defining and measuring separately friends, neighbours, colleagues and acquaintances. Already in the 1976 it has been suggested that the definition of friends and perceptions of friendship networks vary by sex, social class and geographic location (Lowenthal and Robinson, 1976). Neighbours and colleagues can furthermore be seen as friends, whereas ex-colleagues and ex-neighbours can be perceived as acquaintances. By introducing the distinction between ties defined by blood and legal arrangements and ties that are not, I furthermore tackle a more recent discussion on the difficulty of distinguishing subjectively between familial and non-familial ties. This theoretical notion is known as the suffusion of kin and non-kin ties and was popularised by Pahl and Spencer (2004). Stemming from the friendship literature, this notion suggest that in modern times choice and commitment to kin and non-kin ties need not follow traditional prescriptions. In other words, family may not be perceived as close and expected to provide care and support whereas friends can be perceived as family-like and thus play an instrumental role in people's life.

Support I define as the (potential) behavioural exchanges between ties, which are intended as helpful and also perceived as such (Dykstra, 2016). Exchanges can take different forms, with some of the most important ones being instrumental and financial aid, emotional concerns, confiding and advice, and (physical) care (Wellman and Wortley, 1990). Support can also be subsumed under actual and potential, where actual support can be provided by one or multiple sources of support, whereas potential support refers to one's personal views about who is the optimal source of support (Messeri, Silverstein and Litwak, 1993). Finally, support can be divided into formal and informal. Formal support encompasses institutional distributions and market exchanges and is provided by professionals or people who are trained and paid to assist others. Informal support, on the other hand, is an unpaid help that is provided by kin and/or non-kin ties.

Important to note is also that I distinguish between social capital on the one hand, and personal networks and support on the other. Building upon classical theoretical accounts, I understand social capital as (1) people's access to resources in their networks (Bourdieu, 1986) and (2) the informal norms that promote cooperation between two or more individuals (Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 2000; Putnam, 1995).

Context stands for the circumstances that surround an individual. These circumstances can be individual (micro level) or shared by a group of people, e.g. a neighbourhood (meso level) or a country population (macro level). In this book, I devote attention to micro and macro level contexts. Chapter 1 offers a more detailed account on the examined contexts and their theoretical justification. Here, I would like to devote some words on the macro-micro link.

The idea that people's lives are affected not only by their personal characteristics but also by the characteristics of the social groups to which they belong is not foreign to sociology. The underlying premise is that social groups are legitimate units with their own, distinct and measurable properties and that these properties can affect outcomes independently of individual characteristics. The study of effects of group characteristics on individual level outcomes is known as contextual analysis (Blalock and Wilken, 1979). Yet, despite this recognition of higher level contextual effects, sociological knowledge and its production have been deeply entrenched in the doctrine of methodological individualism (Boudon, 1987). According to this doctrine, "facts about society and social phenomena are to be explained solely in terms of facts about individuals" (Lukes, 1968: 120). It has been only recently when contextual analysis gained importance, arguably so because of increasing computational power, and availability and quality of comparative data allowing their performance. Yet, the formulation of macro-level hypotheses remains a challenge as there is insufficient theoretical debate to guide researchers. Theory of causation that integrates micro and macro level variables and explains relationships across levels is still in its infancy (Blalock and Wilken, 1979). Notwithstanding, following Diez Roux (1998) I argue that for a number of research questions the current contextual analysis allows for a refined and more accurate reflection of reality than the one offered by single level analysis.

I would like to end this preface by devoting a few words to the question: why should we be concerned with non-kin support and the circumstances promoting its existence? First and foremost, because a plethora of studies has shown that non-kin support enhances health (behaviours) and well-being (Bookwala, 2017; Cohen and Lemay, 2007; Dykstra, 1990; Fiori, Antonucci and Cortina, 2006; Huxhold, Miche and Schüz, 2013; Merz and Huxhold, 2010). Older adults engaged in only kin relationships are shown to be lonelier than older adults with varied personal networks of kin and non-kin (Dykstra,

1990). In a similar vein, drawing upon studies from the 1970s and 1980s, Wenger (1990) argued that friends and neighbours are more important than children in alleviating loneliness. The benefits of friends, neighbours, colleagues and acquaintances are thus many and far-reaching.

Second, it is important to study non-kin support because of the changing European demographic and institutional landscapes. The populations of virtually all European countries are ageing, a process rendering financial burdens on the existing welfare models. As a result, a new participatory paradigm has been proposed, a paradigm that shifts support responsibility from the public to the private domain. Family and friends across Europe are assumed to take up multiple support responsibilities, but when are they able and willing to do so? Understanding the circumstances under which non-kin ties provide (potential) support can inform social policy and enable an easier and more realistic transition to what has for example been termed a 'participation society' in the Netherlands or a 'Big Society' in the UK.

Chapter 1

A systematic study on non-kin support in Europe

1.1. An overlooked source of support in changing contexts

Social relationships and their functions are evolving along with the context in which they are embedded. In sociological research, the link between transformations in the social and the economic, institutional and cultural domains of life are most often approached through the lens of modernisation. The modernisation paradigm suggests the appearance of "modes of social life or organisation which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence" (Giddens, 1990: 1). The modernisation paradigm distinguishes between traditional and modern and, since recently, post-modern or information societies (Giddens, 1990).

Traditional societies in Europe were characterised by agriculture-based economies. People lived close to each other in small settings with limited geographic mobility and long-term trade. Social relationships were exclusively organised in primary groups – kin and community – which served as a complete safety net. Families were large and multigenerational whereas non-familial relationships were based on strong emotional, quasi-familial commitments (de Beer et al., 2017; Young and Willmott, 1957).

In modern societies, life changed in virtually all domains. The shift in means of production from agriculture to industry led to the concentration of job opportunities in the cities, which in turn led to increased geographic distance between family members. Levels of education and participation on the labour market also increased significantly, especially amongst women. Education advancements and the process of individualisation in 20th century Europe went hand in hand with a decrease in family size and diversification of union formation patterns; developments well described by the Second Demographic Transition (Lesthaeghe, 2010; van de Kaa, 1994). Over time, the extended family lost its predominance to the nuclear family in its various forms. These changes in family structure, along with ideas about the decline of family values and reduced support between family members form part of the 'decline of the family' hypothesis (Popenoe, 1993; Silverstein and Giarrusso, 2011).

Contemporary empirical research has largely rejected this hypothesis, demonstrating that the family has indeed changed but remains intact. Nowadays parents spend more time with their children than ever before (Dotti Sani and Treas, 2016; Guryan, Hurst and Kearney, 2008); contact between parents and adult children remains frequent (Hank, 2007), even amongst international migrants (Bordone and de Valk, 2016); and support continues to occur (Dykstra and Fokkema, 2011; Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997). Yet, extant research has also shown that demanding care and support are shared with professionals, especially in the north and west of Europe (Brandt, 2013; Suanet, Broese van Groenou and van Tilburg, 2012). This mix of responsibilities is known as the 'specialisation' hypothesis. Specialisation occurs when demanding care is outsourced to professionals, thereby allowing people to spend more time with family members and provide other, less time and knowledge consuming types of support. In the east and south of Europe, specialisation is less common and family members tend to provide more intensive care and support (Brandt, 2013; Brandt and Deindl, 2013) but meet less often than their northern and western European counterparts (Mönkediek and Bras, 2014).

Modern societies are furthermore demarcated by the establishment of modern social institutions or the welfare regime, which has created greater opportunities for individuals to enjoy a more secure and rewarding existence than any type of pre-modern system (Giddens, 1990). Modern institutions have thus come to function as an additional component in individuals' safety nets. Next to this positive view, sociologist have been concerned that modern social institutions will gradually crowd-out informal caring relations – that is tasks of socialisation and social support previously provided by kin and communities would be taken over by social institutions – which will in turn promote self-centeredness and a decline of commitment to civic norms (Fukuyama, 2000). Known as the 'crowding-out' hypothesis, this notion has been widely examined in contemporary empirical research. Yet, conclusions remain mixed as to whether modern social institutions are pro- or anti-social, much because generalisations depend on the operationalisation of 'social'. In the case of family support, as argued above, a process of specialisation rather than a crowding-out seems to occur. Social capital studies suggest furthermore that generous social spending is positively associated with potential support from non-familial ties (Gelissen, van Oorschot and Finsveen, 2012) but is negatively associated with actual non-kin support provision (Gesthuizen, van der Meer and Scheepers, 2008). Generalisations depend furthermore on the operationalisation of welfare regimes, where scholars distinguish between the

generosity, comprehensiveness and types of welfare regimes (see for example Scheepers, Grotenhuis and Gelissen, 2002; van Oorschot and Arts, 2005 and Visser, Gesthuizen and Scheepers, 2018).

In sum, building upon the 'decline of the family' and the 'crowding-out' hypotheses, contemporary empirical research has demonstrated that in modern times the family remains an important source of care and support across Europe. Institutional support has also gained importance, especially when it comes to demanding care, and seems to complement rather than substitute family support. How about those non-familial, communal ties that once upon a time formed an integral part of individuals' safety net? Did they lose their importance as a source of support as predicted by classical sociological thought or did they become more important as a result of the de-standardisation and pluralisation of social life (Wall et al., 2018)? Following Wenger (1990), I argue that although in modern-day research 'family, friends and neighbours' are frequently cited as an important source of informal support, friends and neighbours have been rather overlooked. A link between generous social spending and non-kin support has been established, but questions such as how do non-relatives situate in the larger support system remain open. Our knowledge remains equally scarce when it comes to the mechanics underlying non-kin help. Do non-family members substitute or complement family support, or both? And under what circumstances do non-kin ties serve as a source of potential and actual source of support? Do we observe similar geographical patterns in non-familial help as the previously documented north/west-south/east divide in family and professional support?

Arguing that there is more to cross-national differences than welfare states, I set out to answer a number of these questions. In specific, the following research questions are central to this thesis:

1. To what extent do non-kin ties form part of individuals' support systems across Europe?

2. How are contemporary cultural, social and demographic contexts, at both the individual and the country level, linked with potential and actual non-kin support in Europe?

In the remainder of this chapter, I first theorise about the role of modern European contexts in shaping non-kin ties as a source of support. Then I

elaborate on the underlying theoretical framework on the configuration of support systems. In section four I present prior research on non-kin support. Sections five through seven deal respectively with my empirical approach to examining non-kin support and its link with European contexts, the key findings and main conclusions of the study.

1.2. Beyond welfare regimes

Contemporary contexts are linked to two main processes of late modernity: individualisation and globalisation. Individualisation has been at the heart of sociology since the discipline's commencement and has more recently been commented on by renowned sociologists such as Anthony Giddens and Ulrich Beck. Individualisation reflects a complex macro phenomenon which is imposed by modern welfare regimes and which allows individuals greater freedom of choice, yet at higher levels of risk and insecurity (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002; de Beer and Koster, 2009; Giddens, 1990). The process of individualisation has been widely discussed in relation to social cohesion and solidarity, providing input to contemporary scholarship on social support.

Within the contemporary scholarship on support, individualisation as an explanation is divided into debates about the role of welfare regimes (institutional context) and the role of individualism (cultural context)[1]. Yet, whereas the role of welfare regimes has been widely examined in empirical studies, the role of individualism has been rather neglected. In social support studies, individualism is often equated with the notion of familialism, as suggested by the long-standing tradition of dividing Europe into cultural zones: 'more individualistic' northern and western European countries and 'more familialistic' southern and eastern European countries (Reher, 1998; Viazzo, 2010). Thus, as suggested by Nonnenmacher and Friedrichs (2013), cultural context is often referred to in sociological research but it has rarely been well defined and examined.

In **chapter 2**, I focus on cultural context. Following theoretical insights from cross-cultural studies, I define cultural context by distinguishing between individualistic values and familialistic norms. I argue that individualism is one

1 Although sometimes used as synonyms, individualism and individualisation differ conceptually. Individualism is defined as a value, whereas individualisation refers to a macro phenomenon which may – but also may not – reflect changes in individual and societal values (de Beer and Koster, 2009).

dimension of a broader system of basic, deep-rooted values which serve as a guiding principle in life. Individualistic values of independence and autonomy reflect what people truly believe is right to do, have the power to explain the diversity of practices across countries, and underlie within-country, specific norms and attitudes in specific domains of social life, such as the family (Ester, Mohler and Vinken, 2006; Schwartz, 2007). Familialism or norms of family obligations reflect on the other hand shared expectations about what members of a society should or should not do and pertain exclusively to the family domain (Schwartz, 2012).

Comparing Europeans' views about the optimal source of support, in chapter 2 I develop and test three key hypotheses about the link between cultural context and the role of non-kin ties as a source of support. The first hypothesis suggests that in their search for independence, people in more individualistic countries will turn to professionals rather than non-kin ties when in need for advice and finding a new job. In the second hypothesis, I elaborate on the pluralisation of social life, arguing that in more individualistic countries more numerous and more diverse social ties will translate into more non-kin rather than kin support. The last hypothesis deals with the link between norms of family obligations and posits that in countries with weaker norms of family obligations people will be less likely to opt for kin and hence more likely to opt for non-kin (and professional) support.

The process of individualisation is linked not only with contemporary cultural but also social contexts. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) elaborated on the premise that due to individualisation societies might be losing their collective consciousness and commitment to civic norms. Individualisation as a process breaking down the old forms of community to personal relationships is associated with risks which can be overcome only by means of building trust (Giddens, 1990). Here, it is important to distinguish between particularised and generalised trust. In traditional societies where the members of a community largely knew each other and stable circumstance of self-identity and the surrounding environment – ontological security – did exist, particularised trust used to guide social interaction. In modern societies, people are surrounded by many others they do not personally know and generalised trust largely guides social interaction (Giddens, 1990; Uslaner, 2002). At present, generalised trust and civic participation vary greatly across Europe. On the one extreme are the northern countries and the Netherlands where remarkably high levels are observed (Delhey and Newton, 2005;

Nannestad, 2008; Svendsen, 2014). On the other extreme are the central and eastern European countries which saw a dramatic decline owning to their socialist past and transition to market economy (Bjørnskov, 2006; Paldam and Svendsen, 2000; Rose, 1994).

In contemporary sociological research, civic behaviour and generalised trust are seen as integral parts of the overarching notion of social capital. In chapter 3, I argue that social capital can be both a property of the individual (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988) and a property of groups, communities and countries (Fukuyama, 2000; Putnam, 1995). When defined as a property of the individual, social capital is suggested to benefit only those persons who possess it whereas when defined as a property of a country, social capital should benefit all its citizens (Poortinga, 2006). Following classical theoretical accounts (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 2000), I furthermore distinguish between social capital and support.

Examining the extent to which Europeans confide in at least one non-kin tie, in chapter 3 I test two key premises on the link between social capital and support. The first premise revolves around the idea that generalised trust serves as social glue and promotes social interaction with non-kin ties and ultimately enables more non-kin support in contexts with higher levels of personal and country generalised trust. The second premise deals with the degree to which people actively participate in formal organisations and posits that contexts of more intense civic participation serve as opportunities to meet others (Dykstra and Fleishmann, 2016) and learn pro-social behaviour (Finsveen and van Oorschot, 2008; Putnam, 1995), and hence results in a greater likelihood to confide in at least one non-kin tie.

Compared with individualisation, globalisation is a more recent phenomenon. Globalisation is a quality of information societies and can be understood as the multifaceted process of integration of economies, industries, markets, cultures and policy-making around the world (Giddens, 1990). In other words, societies have become connected through a global network of trade, communication and transportation. One of the direct social consequences of the process of globalisation is international migration or the movement of people between and across nation-states. International migration has many faces and can take different forms, but its socio-demographic consequences are similar across regions: an increased distance between family members which poses strains on care and support provision.

Within the European continent, international migration is mainly related to work and income and currently follows a pattern of movements from the East to the West (Favell, 2008). Following the collapse of the socialist regime the economic situation in most central and eastern European countries worsened which along with the eastward expansion of the European Union resulted in intensified flows of labour migrants, establishing what Favell (2008) termed a new East-West migration system. In absolute terms, Poles are the largest group amongst emigrants from the central and eastern European countries which accessed the European Union in 2004. According to the 2011 Polish census, about 2 million Poles lived abroad for at least three months, including about 1.5 million for longer than 12 months (Goździak, 2014). Among the top destination countries of Poles in Europe are the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands and Ireland (Fihel, Kaczmarczyk and Stefanska, 2012). In the Netherlands, currently the number of Polish migrants is yearly greater than the traditional migrant groups taken together (Gijsberts and Lubbers, 2013).

In chapter 4 and 5, I examine the role of international migration on the configuration of support networks. In chapter 4, I focus on older people left behind in Poland, arguing that in the absence of their children, non-kin ties will gain importance as a source of both practical and emotional support. Yet, given that children are more likely to be a primary source of practical than emotional support (Litwak, 1985), and that practical support is proximity-related whereas emotional support is not, I also test the premise that increasing distance between parents and children is more important for the non-kin provision of the former than of the latter type of support. Since in Poland strong family culture is combined with low levels of state support (Deacon, 2000; Titkow and Duch, 2004), in this chapter I furthermore examine the premise that both practical and emotional support networks of older adults are predominantly kin focused whereas the role of professionals is negligible.

In chapter 5, I focus on Polish migrants in the Netherlands, delving into the kin/non-kin composition and spatial configuration of their personal networks. Unlike prior research on migrants' personal networks which has been largely guided by an integration perspective, in this chapter I rely on the notion of transnationalism. The notion of transnationalism was introduced in the early 1990s and posits that migration can no longer be seen as unidirectional journey from the country of origin to the country of destination, where the migrant settles permanently (Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc, 1995). On the contrary, transnationalism scholars argue that modern technology and

transportation means have made it possible for migrants to continue bonds with homelands and communities elsewhere, whilst at the same time be engaged in developing a new life in their place of settlement (Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc, 1995; Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Vertovec, 2007). Acknowledging that migrants' lives are nowadays lived between the origin and the destination country in this chapter I test the premise that active engagement in both countries have an impact on the composition and configuration of migrants' personal networks.

1.3. The configuration of support networks

Individuals' support system is comprised of three main sources of support: kin, non-kin and formal organisations. Two individual level models are seen as the most prominent efforts to formulate the principles that govern the configuration of support systems – the task-specific and the hierarchical-compensatory model (Messeri, Silverstein and Litwak, 1993). In the empirical chapters of this book, I primarily apply the logic of the task-specific model with the exception of chapter 4 where I apply a combination of both models. Following Messeri et al. (1993), I acknowledge that the hierarchical-compensatory model is a special case of the task-specific model that is applicable to older adults.

The task-specific model was deductively developed by Litwak in 1985 (elaborating on Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969) and postulates that each support group performs specific tasks based on the nature of the task and the structural properties of the relationship. In other words, the support group most likely to be chosen to perform a task will have structural features that match those of the task.

With regard to the nature of the task, four main structural dimensions are deemed most important. These are the immediacy of the service, the length of time it takes for the service to be delivered, the amount of resources necessary to deliver the service, and the extent to which the same individual is needed to deliver the service over time (Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969; Messeri et al., 1993). These properties link to four main types of support: (1) instrumental support, (2) financial aid, (3) emotional concerns, confiding and advice, and (4) (physical) care (Wellman and Wortley, 1990).

Litwak and Szelenyi (1969) are amongst the first who discussed the structural properties of various relationships. The authors argue that kin ties are semi-permanent biological or legal and closest, and therefore relatives (in a close proximity) are suited to provide all types of support. Family members are moreover seen as the most appropriate informal source of support when it comes to tasks requiring long-term commitment such as care. Relationships with neighbours are based on close proximity, frequent face to face contact and reciprocity, but need not be intimate relationships per se (Wenger, 1990). Since relationships with neighbours are more instrumental than expressive, neighbours are less suited to provide care and emotional support, but are in a better position than distant kin to provide time-urgent services and instrumental support requiring close proximity (Litwak, 1985; Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969). Relationships with friends are based on free choice, affinity, shared interests and reciprocity (Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969; Wenger, 1990). Unlike kin and neighbours, friends are not called upon to deal neither with immediate time-urgent problems nor long-term ones. Support types which friends are best suited to provide include emotional support and mutual confiding (Messeri et al., 1993; Wenger, 1990).

Although the task-specific model follows the idea of compensation, Litwak (1985) argues that the principle of substitution can also be applied: an absent optimal support group will be substituted by another whose structure is closest and thus still in position to perform the required task. For example, when children are not around, neighbours, who are by definition close by, will likely become a more important source of practical support, whereas friends, who share similarity in values and interests, will likely become a more important source of emotional support. However, since in this work I focus on non-kin ties rather than distinguishing between friends, neighbours and other non-relatives, the principle of substitution applies in a similar way to the hierarchical-compensatory model, that is kin will be substituted by non-kin.

The hierarchical-compensatory model was inductively developed by Cantor in 1979 and posits that there exists an order of preferences which depends on the primacy of the relationship between the support provider and the recipient rather than on the nature of the task. Thus, for any given society a hierarchy of sources of support exists, where kin is generally seen as the most appropriate support provider, followed by non-kin and lastly formal organisations. When a first order source of support is not an option because it is either not available or not able to meet the needs of the care recipient, the next source in the hierarchy will be chosen to provide the required support (Cantor, 1979).

1.4. Prior knowledge on non-kin support

Within the scientific literature, non-kin support appears in research on social networks, care for older and childless adults, and qualitative studies on (rural) communities. Social networks studies are by and large the richest source of knowledge about non-kin ties at both the individual and the country level. Social networks are a key measure of the amount and types of social contacts that people have and that give them (access to) different types of support. Social networks studies featuring non-kin can be subsumed under three main types: (1) confidant or personal networks, (2) network typologies and (3) social capital.

The field of personal networks, known also as core discussion networks, gained importance in the 1980s. Being primarily conducted in the US, this research strand was popularised by Fischer (1982), Marsden (1987) and McPherson et al. (2001). These authors argued that size, homogeneity and composition are amongst the most important network's properties. Given my emphasis on non-kin, I focus on the last of these three properties. In brief, prior research has shown that people's web of confidants is most often comprised of both kin and non-kin ties, although solely family based and solely non-family based networks are also documented to exist. It has furthermore been shown that personal networks composition is associated with people's socio-economic background, where being male, younger, higher educated, and an urban resident increase the probability to confide in non-kin ties (Fischer, 1982; Marsden, 1987; McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Brashears, 2006). This type of studies is rarely conducted in Europe however and when this is the case scholars focus extensively on social networks' education and ethnic homogeneity (van Tubergen, 2014; Völker, 1995; Völker and Flap, 2001; Völker, Pinkster and Flap, 2008).

Studies on social network typologies became especially prominent at the beginning of the 1990s when the work of Clare Wenger laid the foundations of a research field dedicated to social network typologies. Ever since, increasing availability of data has allowed for the expansion of these studies in terms of number and geographic coverage. Research findings suggest that, although small variations exist depending on the data used, there are four main types of social networks: diverse, family-focused, friend-focused, and restricted (Fiori, Smith and Antonucci, 2007; Litwin, 2001; Litwin and Stoeckel, 2014; Stoeckel and Litwin, 2013). Yet, as the goal of most social network typologies

has been to examine the relationship between various network types and health and wellbeing of older adults, scholars paid little to no attention to the (contextual) determinants of certain types of social networks. The number of comparative studies is also limited (but see Craveiro et al., 2013; Stoeckel and Litwin, 2013) and pertaining exclusively to older adults.

Non-kin support is also touched upon within studies following the theoretical notion of social capital. Focusing on the link between social capital and welfare provision, these studies provide most of the existing knowledge on non-kin ties in a European comparative perspective. Yet, important to note is that this literature often does not distinguish between kin and non-kin, instead scholars examined them together under the umbrella of informal support (Finsveen and van Oorschot, 2008; Kääriäinen and Lehtonen, 2006; Visser, Gesthuizen and Scheepers, 2018). Moreover, social capital studies have often focused on contacts between non-kin ties rather than the support they provide (Scheepers, Grotenhuis and Gelissen, 2002; van Oorschot and Arts, 2005; Visser, Gesthuizen and Scheepers, 2018). To my knowledge only four studies examined non-kin support and their link with welfare provision. Their results suggest that generous social spending is positively associated with potential support from non-familial ties (Gelissen, van Oorschot and Finsveen, 2012) but is negatively associated with actual non-kin support provision (Gesthuizen, van der Meer and Scheepers, 2008). Focusing on the link between formal (associational behaviour and social trust) and informal social capital (social networks, kin and non-kin support), Pichler and Wallace (2007) demonstrated furthermore that Europe can be divided into two regions: one high on both formal and informal social capital (in a complementary manner) and one where informal social capital substitutes for formal social capital. The Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands belong to the former region whereas the southern and eastern European countries fall in the latter region. Interesting to note is furthermore that whereas in the southern countries family support predominates, in the East of Europe help outside the family is also important. The fourth study offers a comparison of 6 countries, showing that non-kin ties are more prominent as a potential source of instrumental and emotional support in Germany, Austria, the USA and Australia than in Hungary and Italy (Höllinger and Haller, 1990).

The second strand of research highlighting non-kin support focuses on care for older adults and support for those who remained childless. With regard to the former, findings attest that single elderly persons who can rely less on children—

and in particular daughters—for their home care receive not only more formal care but also more care from friends and neighbours. About 30% of the home care for older adults in Europe is provided by non-kin ties (Kalwij, Pasini and Wu, 2014). Furthermore, Himes and Reidy (2000) showed that among friends, women and age peers are more likely to be caregivers whereas married and employed are less likely to provide care to friends. Yet, it has also been argued that although older adults often depend on friends, the normal exchange basis of friendship is undermined when there is a long-term care provision (Adams, 1986; Allan, 1986). Finally, on the example of Canada, Lapierre and Keating (2013) suggested that non-kin ties tend to provide not only care, but also different types of support and that the amounts and types of assistance differ between friends and neighbours. Friends are more often providers and are more likely to assist with personal care, bills and banking, and transportation whereas neighbours are more likely to assist with home maintenance.

In the context of childlessness, research findings reveal that the role of non-relatives as a source of interaction and assistance tends to be more prominent; said differently, non-kin ties step in to substitute for the absence of children (Deindl and Brandt, 2017; Schnettler and Wöhler, 2016; Wenger et al., 2007). Similarly, Albertini and Kohli (2009) showed that support networks of the childless in Europe are more diverse than those of parents, and are hence characterised by stronger links with non-relatives. The substitutive role of non-kin ties as a source of support has thus been well established in the case of absence of children, such as for example amongst older and childless adults. What research has hitherto not sufficiently addressed is the substitutive role of non-kin ties in the case of absence of children in the context of international migration.

The last strand of research that deals with non-kin is qualitative in nature and largely focused on (rural) communities. These studies have shown that support is often provided by both kin and non-kin ties, where friends and neighbours generally assist with practical and emotional help, and companionship (Armstrong and Goldsteen, 1990; Conkova and Bailey, 2012; Heady and Schweitzer, 2010; Nocon and Pearson, 2000; Wenger, 2001). In the case of community-living dependent elders in northern California, it has furthermore been shown that non-kin ties provide personal care (Barker, 2002). However, research on communities is predominantly case study-based, and therefore it is difficult to generalise to national populations as well as to compare across countries. Moreover, qualitative research on the role of non-kin is often explorative, and thus rich in description but not in explanation.

1.5. Overview of empirical work

The empirical work in this book is based on four studies (chapters 2 through 5). In this section, I describe the methodological approach of these studies employing a number of indicators, namely the studied context and population, types of support, data, level of analysis, and methods (for an overview, see table 1).

In **chapter 2** "Non-kin ties as a source of support: Understanding the role of cultural context" I employed contextual analysis (Blalock and Wilken, 1979) and examined the association between country level individualistic values and familialistic norms on the one hand and the likelihood to opt for support from non-kin rather than kin or professionals on the other. In this study, I focused on potential help – or people's view about the optimal support source – and the analyses rest on two types of non-kin pertinent support – advice and job search. Thus, the dependent variables are based on information about whether the respondents will select kin, non-kin or professionals in the following situations: (1) if they needed advice about a serious personal or family matter and (2) if they needed help when looking for a job.

I used data from the third (2011-2012) round of the European Quality of Life Survey (EQLS) in combination with Hofstede's individualism index and a measure of familialistic norms stemming from the European Values Survey. The sample consists of 27 countries in Europe, namely the European Union countries, except for Hungary, Greece and Cyprus, and Serbia and Iceland. The age of the respondents ranges from 18 to 95 years for the analysis pertaining to advice, and 18 to 60 years old for the analysis pertaining to help with looking for a job. Country levels of individualism can be measured through Hofstede's 'Individualism versus Collectivism' index, Schwartz's 'Embeddedness versus Autonomy' index, and Inglehart's 'Self-expression versus Survival' index. Given the conceptual and methodological differences between these measures and the theoretical underpinnings of this study, I decided to utilise Hofstede's individualism index. In comparing the Hofstede's and Inglehart's measures, I opted for the former because his conceptualisation of individualism is more closely related to my theoretical framework. It stands for societies "in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after him- or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onward are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty" (Hofstede et al., 2010: 92). Inglehart's self-expression, on the other hand, reflects

a syndrome of tolerance, trust, emphasis on well-being, civic activism, and self-expression that emerges in post-industrial societies (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005). In comparing the Hofstede's and Schwartz's measures, I opted for the former on the basis of data availability. Although Schwartz's embeddedness versus autonomy dimension does reflect "the nature of the relation or the boundaries between the person and the group" (Schwartz, 2006: 140), the scholar derived his measure using European Social Survey (ESS) data, covering at most 21 of the countries in our sample at the time of the analysis. Regrettably, provided the complexity of our model, such a low number of countries would have resulted in underestimation of the coefficient's standard errors (Bryan and Jenkins, 2015).

To my knowledge a ready-to-use macro level measure of familialistic norms does not exist. Yet, two surveys contain individual scores of familialistic norms: the European Values Survey (EVS) and the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS). Like with the ESS, the GGS does not cover a sufficient number of countries, leading to a preference for the EVS. Using the fourth (2008) wave of the EVS, I generated a country level measure based on the individuals' preference for one of the two statements: "parents'/children's duty is to do their best for their children/parents even at the expense of their own well-being' and 'parents/children have a life of their own and should not be asked to sacrifice their own well-being for the sake of their children/parents".

To perform the analysis, I estimated three two-level random-intercept multinomial models (using restricted penalised quasi-likelihood approximation) for each type of support separately. The first model served as a base-line model and included only individual level characteristic which I treated as controls. In the second model I added both measures of cultural context whereas in model three I additionally added GDP per capita.

In **chapter 3** "Confiding in non-kin: Can generalised trust and civic participation explain cross-country differences in Europe?" I again employed contextual analysis and examined the association between country and individual level social capital and emotional support from at least one non-kin tie. I operationalised emotional support using information about the persons with whom the respondents have discussed personal experiences and feelings in the past 12 months. I constructed the dependent variable in such as a way that it provides information on whether at least one of the ties who provided emotional support was a non-kin tie.

Table 1: Summary of empirical chapters

	Chapter 2	Chapter 3	Chapter 4	Chapter 5
Context	Cultural: individualistic values and familialistic norms	Social: generalised trust and civic participation	Demographic: migration as geographic distance	Socio-demographic: migration as engagement in host and origin society
Types of support	Potential: emotional (advice) and help with job search	Actual: emotional (confidant networks)	Actual: emotional (confidant networks) and practical	Actual: emotional (confidant networks)
Level	Macro	Macro and micro	Micro	Micro
Methodological approach	Comparative: multinomial multi-level models (Frequentist)	Comparative: logistic multi-level models (Bayesian)	Social networks: descriptive, chi-square & logistic regressions	Social networks: Latent Class Analysis & multinomial regression
Data	EQLS, round 3; Hofstede's individualism index; EVS 2008 for family norms	GGS, wave 1; EVS 2008	Polish GGS, wave 1	FPN, wave 1
Population	Entire and sub-population: 18-95 years old for advice / 18-60 years old for job search	Entire: 18-82 years old	Sub-population: left behind older adults (60+ years old)	Sub-population: Polish migrants in the Netherlands (18-59 years old)

I used data from the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) in combination with data on country level social capital stemming from the European Values Survey (EVS). Our sample consists of 10 countries (11 cases due to the split of Germany into Western and Eastern Germany): Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Georgia, Germany, Lithuania, Norway, Romania and Russia. The age of the respondents ranges from 18 to 82 years, with the exception of Austria which had an upper age range of 46 years.

Data on social capital in terms of both generalised trust and civic participation in Europe can be derived from three surveys: EVS, ESS and EQLS. Although similar in their formulation and measurement scales, I have opted for EVS as it is the only dataset including Georgia. For generating the country level measure of civic participation I used responses to the questions of whether people are active members of a series of 14 voluntary organisations in various societal domains. Regrettably, the GGS data do not include information about

civic participation, limiting the analysis of civic participation to the country level. For generating the country level measure of generalised trust I used the question "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?". At the individual level I operationalised generalised trust by means of GGS data following the same question.

To perform the analysis, I estimated five two-level logistic random intercept models. The models were estimated in Bayesian framework, meaning that I employed Markov Chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) technique to estimate the models' coefficients. For the specification of the models, default or non-informative priors were given to all variables' coefficients. The variance coefficients were given non-informative gamma priors (Jackman, 2009). For each of the estimated models 500,000 MCMC iterations were generated, where the first 5,000 were discarded as burn-in. I began the estimation with the empty model, followed by a model including only individual level trust (model 2). Model three included the remaining individual level variables, whereas in model four and five the associations between emotional support and respectively country level civic participation and generalised trust were estimated.

In **chapter 4** "Non-kin ties as a source of support amongst older adults 'left behind' in Poland: a quantitative study on the role of geographic distance" I relied on individual level analysis and examined the association between increasing geographic distance between children and their parents in Poland and the likelihood to receive emotional and practical support from at least one non-kin tie. I used data from the first (2010-2011) wave of the Polish Generations and Gender Survey (GGS). Since in this chapter I am interested in older adults, I restricted the age of the participants to 60 years or more.

I operationalised emotional support using information about the persons with whom the respondents have discussed personal experiences and feelings in the past 12 months whereas practical support I operationalised by using information about the persons who regularly help the respondents with household help (*i.e.* cleaning, cooking, shopping, doing repairs and paying bills). Relying on this information I constructed a number of social network variables, which I then used to descriptively examine whether the size and composition of both practical and emotional support networks differ for older adults with different living arrangements (a number of combinations

regarding the presence of child(ren) and/or a partner in the household). The social network variables include network size (total number of ties named), whether or not at least one non-kin tie provided either type of support, and whether the respondents' networks are *only* family, non-kin or professionally based. Distance between parents and the closest adult child is measured in hours.

To perform the multivariate analysis, I estimated two logistic regression models for each type of support separately. In model one I included only the control variables whereas in model two I added the key independent variable: distance between parents and their closest child.

In **chapter 5** "Personal networks of Polish migrants in the Netherlands" I again relied on individual level analysis and examined the kin/non-kin composition and spatial configuration of migrants' networks as well as their link with engagement in both the country of origin and the country of destination. Personal networks reflect the web of people with whom one discusses important matters such as daily experiences, problems and concerns. The analysis in this chapter is performed in two steps using the first (2014-2015) wave of the Families of Poles in the Netherlands survey (FPN). The age range of the respondents is between 18 and 59 years.

The first step of the analysis included the construction of typology of Polish migrants' personal networks performing Latent Class Analysis (LCA). The indicators used to construct the typology included three variables indicating whether respectively a partner, kin and non-kin were named as confidants and their place of residence and one variable specifying the ratio between kin and non-kin in one's personal network.

The second step included the estimation of one multinomial regression model to gauge the association between the probability of belonging to any of the types of Polish migrants' personal networks (LCA output is here the dependent variable) on the one hand and their engagement in the country of origin and destination on the other. Engagement in the country of origin is operationalised by indicators such as possessions in Poland, remittances and frequency of visits to Poland, whereas engagement in the country of destination is operationalised with indicators such as occupation in the Netherlands, whether the respondent has a Dutch partner, Dutch language proficiency and time since in the Netherlands.

1.6. Summary of results

The findings of each empirical chapter in this book provide knowledge about (1) the extent to which non-kin ties form part of people's support networks and (2) the role of context in determining non-kin ties as a source of support. At this point, I summarise the study findings separately for each empirical chapter.

In **chapter 2**, I examine European cultural contexts of individualism and familialism and their link with the likelihood that people will turn to (a) non-kin rather than kin, and (b) non-kin rather than professionals if they were in need for advice and help with finding a job. To begin with the observed probabilities of selecting different support sources, the analyses of the European Quality of Life Survey data reveal a common pattern of order of preferences for kin, non-kin and professionals at the European level. However, whereas this pattern persists at the country level for advice, when it comes to help with finding a job greater country differences in the order of preferences unfold. Highest levels of potential reliance on non-kin advice in Europe are observed in Austria, Germany, Denmark and Italy (around 30%) whereas lowest in Malta and Romania. For help with finding a job, the results suggest that the citizens of Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Sweden and Iceland have a higher probability to turn to non-kin (between 44% and 47%) than to kin or professionals.

With regard to the relationship between cultural context and the perceived role of non-kin, kin and professionals as an optimal source of support, I find fairly similar patterns for advice and help when looking for a job. Controlling for individual characteristics, the results yield a statistically significant relationship between country level individualism and the probability to select non-kin over professionals, providing empirical support for the 'independence' assumption. Hence, with increasing levels of individualistic values people are less likely to view non-kin rather than professionals as the optimal source of advice and help when looking for a job. As to the 'pluralisation of social life' assumption, I find no empirical support: The analyses yield no statistical association between individualism and the probability to select non-kin over kin. Finally, the results reveal a positive relationship between decreasing strength of norms of family obligations and the likelihood that a person will turn to non-kin than to kin when looking for a job, but not for advice.

In **chapter 3**, I examine European social contexts measured as levels of generalised trust and civic participation and their link with the probability to receive emotional support from non-kin. The analyses of the Generations and Gender Survey demonstrate that about 40 percent of the citizens of the 10 countries studied have at least one non-kin tie in their emotional support network. Yet, like with potential reliance on non-kin ties for advice, the results of this study reveal fairly large country differences: The highest – and above sample average – observed probabilities are documented in Austria (59%), Norway and Belgium whereas the lowest observed probability is documented in Romania (29%).

As regards the link between social context, at both the country and the individual level, and emotional support from non-kin, I find a much greater importance of individual level circumstances. The analyses reveal that a considerable portion of the country differences in confiding in at least one non-kin tie is attributable to compositional differences in the countries' populations. I also find a confirmation for the hypothesis that Europeans who are more trustful are also more likely to share personal experiences and feelings with at least one non-relative. I do not however find support for the hypotheses that generalised trust and civic participation at the country level promote reliance on non-kin emotional support. An interesting issue to which I return later is that active participation in formal networks is more likely (90% likelihood) than generalised trust (50% likelihood) to be associated with receiving emotional support from at least one non-relative.

In **chapter 4**, I examine migration as increasing geographic distance between parents and children and its relationship with receiving practical and emotional support from at least one non-kin tie in Poland. To begin with the reliance on different sources of support, the analyses of the Polish Generations and Gender Survey demonstrate that the support networks of older adults in Poland are predominantly family focused. Yet, the extent to which older adults rely on kin, non-kin and professionals varies greatly across living arrangements and types of support. With regard to the latter, the results show that older adults in Poland are more likely to rely on friends, neighbours and other non-relatives for emotional than for practical help. 38 percent of all respondents reported at least one non-kin tie in their emotional support network, compared to 14 percent who have at least one non-kin tie in their practical support network. With regard to living arrangements, the results suggest that those with distant children (9+ hours away) are least likely to have kin-only networks and most

likely to rely on at least one non-kin tie for both practical and emotional support. Compared with those with proximate children (6%), 71 percent of those with distant children have at least one non-kin tie in their practical support network. This difference exists also for emotional support but it is less extreme, 71 *versus* 27 percent.

The multivariate analyses suggest furthermore that a significant positive relationship exists between increasing geographic distance between parents and their closest child and non-kin support. For practical help, non-kin ties are more likely to become a source of support after three hours of distance between parents and children, whereas for emotional support non-relatives seem to step in as soon as the closest by child leaves the parental home. However, since the magnitude of change in the probability to receive non-kin emotional support is very small and geographical distance explains very little of the variance, I conclude that older adults' likelihood of receiving emotional support from a friend or a neighbour is not strongly conditioned on the distance between them and their closest child.

In **chapter 5**, I examine the kin/non-kin composition and spatial configuration of the personal networks of Polish migrants in the Netherlands by creating a typology. Subsequently, I test the premise that belonging to a certain type of personal networks is linked with the degree to which migrants are engaged in the country of origin and the country of destination. The analyses of the Families of Poles in the Netherlands survey revealed that four types of personal networks exist. The most prevalent type – 'Bi-national: kin-focused' (47.9%) – is characterised by a high likelihood to nominate as confidants one's partner residing in the Netherlands and kin residing in Poland. This type is furthermore characterised by a high conditional probability of being predominantly kin-focused. The second most prominent type – 'Destination: partner-focused' (30.8%) – is characterised by a high conditional probability to nominate one's partner in the Netherlands and high probabilities to not nominate kin and non-kin as network members. The third most prevalent type – 'Bi-national: non-kin-focused' (14.5%) – is distinguished by a high likelihood to select non-kin ties in both the Netherlands and Poland and a high likelihood of being predominantly non-kin-focused. The last type of personal networks – 'Restricted: no confidants' (6.7%) is comprised of those Polish migrants who did not nominate any confidants.

Multinomial regression analyses suggest that a number of indicators of engagement in the origin and the destination context show a statistically significant association with belonging to network types 'Bi-national: kin-focused', 'Destination: partner-focused' and 'Restricted: no confidants' but not with belonging to 'Bi-national: non-kin-focused'. More specifically, the findings suggest that providing remittances and having a Dutch partner are positively linked with belonging to the personal network type 'Bi-national: kin-focused' but negatively associated with belonging to 'Destination: partner-focused'. Moreover, having a Dutch partner is negatively associated with belonging to the network type 'Restricted: no confidants'. Frequent visits to Poland are negatively associated only with belonging to 'Destination: partner-focused'. The remaining indicators of engagement in the origin and the destination context show no predictive power when it comes to personal networks of Polish migrants.

1.7. Overarching conclusions

The process of modernisation brought about profound changes in virtually all domains of life, including social relationships and their functions. Hitherto, much research has been conducted on the role of kin and professionals as a source of care and support in contemporary Europe whereas non-kin support has been largely overlooked. In this study, I set out to fill in this knowledge gap by examining (1) the extent to which non-relatives form part of Europeans' support networks and (2) the circumstances that promote reliance on non-kin ties. I propound that contemporary circumstances playing a role in determining non-kin ties as a source of support expand beyond welfare regimes. Two processes of late modernity – individualisation and globalisation – link with contemporary contexts, which in turn shape the degree to which people rely on kin, non-kin and professionals. In this book, I thus focus on cultural, social and demographic contexts, at both the individual and the country level.

The results of this systematic research on non-kin support suggest that in Europe an order of reliance exists with kin being the most prominent and professionals the least prominent source of support. Non-kin ties take a middle position. This finding alone suggests that despite the societal changes that occurred, family, friends, and neighbours have not lost their importance as predicted by classical sociological thought.

Yet, it is important to note that this order of reliance differs per country, type of support and living arrangements. In specific, as regards country differences, prior research focusing more broadly on informal support and social capital has suggested the existence of a north/west-south/east divide, with southern European countries being characterised by highest levels of family reliance and very few informal supports outside the family (Kääriäinen and Lehtonen, 2006; Pichler and Wallace, 2007; Suanet, van Tilburg and Broese van Groenou, 2013). The findings of this study recreate roughly this picture of regional differences, whilst at the same time they reveal a nuanced view of cross-national differences in the reliance on non-kin ties as a source of support. For help with finding a job, the study results suggest, for example, that the citizens of Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Iceland and Sweden have higher probabilities to turn to non-kin ties than to kin and professionals. This finding is in line with the reports of Pichler and Wallace (2007) to the extent that it reveals a higher reliance on non-kin ties in eastern than in southern Europe; yet it contradicts their findings in that it shows similarly high reliance on non-kin in some eastern and northern European countries. For emotional support, the analysis of both the European Quality of Life Survey and the Generations and Gender Survey show that the citizens of Austria rather than Norway or Sweden are most likely whereas the citizens of Romania are least likely to turn to non-kin. On the other hand, the citizens of Italy are amongst those most likely to rely on non-kin ties when it comes to advice.

In sum, for both help when looking for a job and emotional support, including advice, I find high probabilities to turn to non-kin ties in the north and west of Europe; yet, I do not find a common pattern in the south and east of Europe. On the contrary, in these latter regions I observe some of the lowest and some of the highest probabilities of reliance on non-relatives as a source of support. These findings potentially suggest that commentators may need to move beyond the geographical grouping of European countries and acknowledge within-region, and, as suggested by Dykstra and Fokkema (2011), possibly also within-country differences in support patterns.

In line with the task specific model (Messeri, Silverstein and Litwak, 1993), I also find that non-kin ties are most prominent for help with finding a job and emotional support but are less important when one is in need for practical support. Household help and care require commitment which extends beyond the properties of the relationship between friends, neighbours and colleagues. This finding suggests that prior social capital research using an index of support

(multiple types of support combined) might have provided only a partial picture of support patterns in Europe. This finding confirms furthermore that the role of non-kin ties is more emotional than instrumental, suggesting that activating non-kin ties as a source of practical support and care might not be as easy, or even desired, as suggested by the participatory paradigm prevailing in Europe. Yet, in the case when non-kin practical support and care already occur, i.e. amongst migrants' parents and childless adults, social policy efforts are likely to be beneficial. Prior research has shown that balancing care responsibilities and paid work is challenging (Plaisier, Broese van Groenou and Keuzenkamp, 2015; Tolkacheva *et al.*, 2011) and requires more attention by policy makers.

The extent to which non-kin ties form part of people's support networks differs also by living arrangements. On the example of left behind older adults in Poland, I show that non-kin ties are much more prominent in the practical support networks of older adults who have no children living nearby than they are for those with children residing in the parental household and up to three hours of distance. This finding is largely in line with prior research on care for older adults in Europe who are childless (Deindl and Brandt, 2017; Schnettler and Wöhler, 2016; Wenger *et al.*, 2007) or cannot rely on their children – especially daughters (Kalwij, Pasini and Wu, 2014). Since the normal exchange basis of non-kin is jeopardised when demanding care and practical support are exchanged (Adams, 1986; Allan, 1986), I again plea for the establishment of social policy which can ease the support and care interaction between non-kin ties. Ivanova and Dykstra (2015) demonstrate that at present non-kin ties often lack the legal rights and the appropriate governmental support and suggest that care leaves meant to support family members can be extended to non-kin ties. A good example in this regard is the Netherlands, where as of July 2015 individuals are entitled to a sick leave in order to provide care for a non-relative (Ivanova and Dyksra, 2015). Other examples of governmental support to non-kin ties include cash entitlements when helping a neighbour or a friend, tax reductions or flexible working arrangements.

This last finding suggests furthermore that non-kin ties substitute for practical support from kin. Whereas substitution has often been considered the key role of non-kin ties, in this book I show that complementarity also exists. The complementary role of non-kin ties is particularly visible when it comes to emotional support. The analysis of the Generations and Gender survey shows that on average 40 percent of the Europeans have, next to kin ties, at least one non-kin tie in their emotional support network, varying from about 60 percent in Austria, Norway and Belgium to 30 percent in Romania.

Finally, extant research findings on network typologies of older adults suggest that, although small variations exist depending on the data used, four main types of social networks exist: diverse, family-focused, friend-focused, and restricted (Fiori, Smith and Antonucci, 2007; Litwin, 2001; Litwin and Stoeckel, 2014; Stoeckel and Litwin, 2013). When personal network typologies of Polish migrants in the Netherlands are considered, I find two types of family-focused, a non-kin-focused and a restricted network but not a diverse network type. In other words, unlike older adults in Europe, only a few Polish migrants in the Netherlands have simultaneously kin and non-kin ties in their personal networks. Since mixed networks seem to be protective against loneliness (Dykstra, 1990) and depressive symptoms (Fiori, Antonucci and Cortina, 2006), this finding points towards a potential explanation for the greater levels of loneliness amongst Polish migrants as compared with the general Dutch population (van den Broek and Grundy, 2017).

With regard to the circumstances promoting reliance on non-kin ties, the results of this study reveal that lower country levels of familialistic norms, higher levels of individual generalised trust, and increasing geographic distance between parents and children are positively associated with reliance on non-relatives for help with finding a job, emotional and practical support respectively. Beyond the role of country level familialistic norms in shaping a preference for non-kin over kin, I find a positive relationship between country level individualistic values and a preference for professionals over non-kin ties. Since I do not find a significant relationship between individualism and a preference for non-kin over kin, it is plausible to conclude that (1) individualism operates through the notion of independence but not through the notion of pluralisation of social life and that (2) norms seem to be of a greater importance when people select from the pool of informal social ties – kin and non-kin – whereas individualistic values seem to better predict one's choice for informal (non-kin) over formal (professional) help. Furthermore, since familialistic norms have much stronger and opposite association with non-kin support than individualistic values do, I propound that the role of cultural context can be best understood when decomposed into more specific and theoretically sound constructs.

Individual levels of generalised trust are positively associated with confiding in at least one non-kin tie, but country level generalised trust and civic participation are not, at least not at a 95 percent certainty level. This finding confirms thus the premise that generalised trust creates conditions under which cooperation occurs, but these conditions seem to be more individual than country-specific.

In fact, an important finding of this study is that a great deal of the variance attributed to the country level, is explained by the population composition rather than the social context of the European countries.

Yet, it is also important to note that it is with a greater certainty that civic participation is associated with confiding in at least one non-kin tie as compared to country level generalised trust. This result can be a by-product of the fact that I was unable to control for individual level civic participation. On the other hand, that civic participation seems to be more likely to be positively associated with emotional support from non-kin ties than generalised trust seems to be is also supported by prior research which found a positive relationship between informal support and country-level civic participation, but not generalised trust (Kääriäinen and Lehtonen, 2006). These results suggest that the role of social capital will be better understood (1) when examined through its various forms rather than as an umbrella term and (2) when clearly distinguished between individual and country levels. Distance between parents and their closest child in Poland is positively linked with the receipt of both non-kin practical and emotional support, even when accounted for the presence of a spouse and other children. Yet, findings for practical and emotional support differ when it comes to effect sizes and explained variance. Although non-kin ties seem to be activated as a source of support at a shorter distance for emotional than for practical help, the overall effect of distance is much stronger when it comes to practical household help. Distance between parents and their closest child seems to explain very little of the difference between those with and those without one non-kin tie in their emotional support network, allowing me to conclude that distance matters much more for practical support. This is in agreement with prior studies which have persistently shown that migration is more detrimental to the receipt of proximity-related types of support than it is for non-proximity types of support (Bordone and de Valk, 2016; Ryan *et al.*, 2008, 2009; Wolff, Spielerman and Attias-Donfut, 2007).

With regard to the final context studied in this book, namely migration measured as engagement in the country of origin and the country of destination, I do not find a link with nominating non-kin ties as confidants. Belonging to the non-kin-focused type of personal networks of Polish migrants is only associated with being female, highly educated and not having children. Hence, belonging to a non-kin-focused type of personal networks amongst Polish migrants in the Netherlands seems to be rather conditioned on their socio-economic and family background than their transnational behaviour or level of integration.

This study sheds light on the role of non-relatives in Europeans' support networks and the circumstances promoting reliance on non-kin ties, but it is also subjected to two key shortcomings. First, reflecting the predominant interest on family support, extant data sources do not include adequate measures of conditions for supportive exchanges between non-relatives. As a consequence, I was unable to control for a number of important predictors of non-kin support, such as geographic proximity, emotional closeness and frequency of contact between non-kin ties. Second, in three of the empirical chapters, I rely on personal networks data, but I was unable to account for the topic being discussed. This is informative however, for as McPherson *et al.* (2006) have argued, typically some issues will be more likely to be discussed with kin and other with non-kin ties.

Despite these limitations and without harbouring illusions to have covered all contexts that may impact non-kin support, this study provides a more elaborate and systematic account on non-kin ties as a source of support in Europe, setting the foundations for a better understanding of Europeans' support networks and their link with the circumstances in which they are embedded. Future research could further contribute to this field of enquiry by for example examining differences between friends, neighbours and colleagues. Although methodologically and conceptually challenging, such research could profitably accomplish our knowledge on support provision. Another possible venue for future research is examining contextual explanations on three levels: micro, meso and macro. In this research, I paid no attention to the meso level, but neighbourhood characteristics can play an important role in the establishment and maintenance of social networks.

Chapter 2

Non-kin ties as a source of support in Europe: Understanding the role of cultural context*

Abstract

The 'crowding-out' and the 'decline of the family' hypotheses are the fundamental theoretical notions underlying the literature on cross-country differences in informal support. In this study, we expand upon these notions to develop and test the premise that cultural context shapes European's views about an often overlooked source of support: non-kin. We carefully conceptualise cultural context as individualistic values and familialistic norms. Employing multilevel multinomial models and European Quality of Life Survey data from 27 countries, we confirm the importance of decomposing the broader notion of culture by demonstrating that contexts with both less pronounced individualistic values and less pronounced familialistic norms are conducive to non-kin rather than kin or professional help. Moreover, unlike prior work, which suggested the existence of a north/west-south/east divide in support patterns, our findings show nuanced cross-national differences in the importance of non-kin ties as a source of advice and help when looking for a job. We find some of the highest levels of non-kin reliance in countries in southern and eastern Europe, and in northern and western Europe more generally. We conclude by proposing ways in which future research can advance our understanding of the role of context in shaping support patterns.

Key words

non-kin
support sources
culture, Europe
cross-country comparison

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2.1. Introduction

Modernisation theory gave rise to two key hypotheses – 'crowding-out' and 'the decline of the family' – which have largely underpinned research on cross-country differences in informal support. In this study, we argue that these hypotheses have systematically glossed over the role of non-kin ties as a source of support and its link with cultural context. Moreover, unlike prior comparative work which has often treated cultural context as a black box (Nonnenmacher and Friedrichs, 2013), we plea for a careful conceptualisation of culture, highlighting the importance of differentiating between familialistic norms and individualistic values. To conduct this research, we distinguish between three key sources of support – kin, non-kin and professionals – and focus on two types of support, namely advice and help when looking for a job.

To distinguish between support from members of the personal network and support received through institutional distributions and market exchanges, scholars have introduced the contrast between informal and formal support. Informal support is unpaid help that is provided by family ties (that is consanguine and legal ties such as parents, spouse, children, and siblings) and/or non-kin ties (ties that are neither biologically nor legally bond such as friends, neighbours, colleagues and acquaintances). Formal support encompasses institutional distributions and market exchanges and is provided by professionals or people who are trained and paid to assist others.

Support has many definitions applied in different fields of research ranging from sociology and anthropology, to psychology, to nursing and medicine. Embedded in the sociological enquiry, we understand support as the (potential) behavioural exchanges between network ties, which are intended as helpful and are also perceived as such (Dykstra, 2016). Exchanges can take different forms, with some of the most important ones being instrumental and financial aid, emotional concerns and advice, and (physical) care (Wellman and Wortley, 1990).

Support can also be subsumed under actual and potential, where actual support can be provided by one or multiple sources of support, whereas potential support refers to one's personal views about who is the optimal source of support (Messeri *et al.*, 2013). Our research addresses European country differences in these views by probing into the role of cultural context in determining non-kin rather than kin or professionals as the optimal source of support.

Actual support provision and views on potential support differ across European countries. These country differences are embedded in two lines of enquiry, which have remained empirically largely separated. The first line relates to institutional context and follows the notion of the so-called crowding-out hypothesis. The crowding-out hypothesis posits that welfare advancement will crowd out informal social networks and caring relations, which will in turn promote self-centeredness and a gradual decline of commitment to civic norms (Fukuyama, 2000). Scholars in this field of enquiry have heavily focused on the distinction between formal and informal support. The second line of enquiry revolves around cultural context and suggests that rising individualism goes hand in hand with economic growth and welfare advancement (Hamamura, 2012), and ultimately results in the decline of the family. The decline of the family is suggested to exist in three domains: family structure (e.g. decline of marriage), behaviour (e.g. decline in support exchanges within the family), and culture (e.g. decline of family norms and values) (Popenoe, 1993; Silverstein and Giarrusso, 2011).

The distinction between formal, informal and family support stemming from these two theoretical approaches is largely mirrored in empirical findings on cross-country differences, which have glossed over the nature and mechanics of non-kin support. Broadly speaking, it has been shown that, compared with northern and western European elderly, southern and eastern European elderly are less likely to rely on formal, or on a combination of formal and informal care (Haberkern and Szydlik, 2010; Suanet *et al.*, 2012) . The scarcity of formal care, and support more generally, in the south and east of Europe has been indicative of the importance of informal support in the region. However, prior research merely focusing on informal support has revealed that people in the northern and western European countries, and not those in southern and eastern Europe, are more likely to rely on informal help (Hank and Stuck, 2008; Kääriäinen and Lehtonen, 2006). Family sociologists explain this phenomenon by demonstrating that in the north and west of Europe people more often exchange support within the nuclear family, but people in southern and eastern Europe more often engage in *intensive* care and support, largely so because of less generous public spending (Brandt, 2013) tailored with legal (Saraceno and Keck, 2010) and normative obligations to the family (Kalmijn and Saraceno 2008).

Only four comparative studies inform us about potential (Pichler and Wallace, 2007; Gelissen *et al.*, 2012) and actual non-kin support in Europe (Höllinger and Haller, 1990; Gesthuizen *et al.*, 2008). Their findings reveal a similar to informal support north/west-south/east divide. Embedded in the crowding-out hypothesis, these studies have also shown that cross-country differences in non-kin reliance are linked with country levels of welfare provision, where generous social spending is positively associated with potential support from non-kin (Gelissen *et al.*, 2012) but is negatively associated with actual support provision (Gesthuizen *et al.*, 2008). This prior comparative work on non-kin ties reflects contemporary European differences in (potential) non-kin support in the light of welfare provision, but it fails to situate non-relatives in the larger support system. Consequently, questions such as how non-kin support compares to that of kin and professionals remain open.

In this contribution, we set out to answer this question and argue that, besides institutional context, cultural context provides theoretical grounding for understanding the relative role of non-kin ties as a source of support. Prior work on the role of cultural context has been limited to the family decline hypothesis and has thus extensively focused on family norms (i.e. Haberkern and Szydlik, 2010; Kalmijn and Saraceno, 2008). Family norms, however, are only part of a broader system of individualism, with deep-rooted values of autonomy and independence which serve as a guiding principle in different domains of life (Schwartz, 2007). In section 2 and 3, we elaborate on the concept of cultural context and argue that values of autonomy and independence, along with norms of family obligations, shape people's views about the role of non-kin in their support system.

We conduct multilevel multinomial analysis employing European Quality of Life Survey data from 27 countries. Prior studies operationalised support by a 'general support' measure (i.e. an index of support) or types of support that belong to the family domain (i.e. demanding care, and practical and financial support). However, the task-specific model postulates that kin, non-kin and professionals serve different functions (Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969). Kin ties are often strong, and normatively and legally obliged to care and provide for each other, whereas non-kin ties are defined by voluntary interaction and are best equipped to provide types of support that entail value similarity and access to resources.[2] Our analyses

2 Although lacking the normative prescriptions for doing so, non-kin ties can also serve as a source of care and instrumental aid. Such support exchanges occur primarily amongst older people when the usual primary providers – their family members – are not available (Messeri *et al.*, 1993).

rest therefore on two types of non-kin pertinent support – advice and help when looking for a job – and we examine conditions under which people are more likely to turn to (a) non-kin rather than kin, and (b) non-kin rather than professionals.

2.2. Conceptualising cultural context

For all that is written in sociology about rising individualism and its power in explaining country differences, the discussion has remained largely qualitative. Most of the empirical work on the impact of cultural context on support patterns stems from the field of family sociology. In that field, however, individualism has been often equated with the concept of familialism, as evinced by the long-lasting tradition of dividing Europe into 'more individualistic' northern and western European countries and 'more familialistic' southern and eastern European countries (Reher, 1998; Viazzo, 2010). Whilst we concede that individualism and its opposite collectivism are linked with familialism, we argue that they are different approaches to culture and understanding cultural context. Individualism and familialism also differ in their relationship with institutional context.

According to the "The Big Three" of cross-cultural studies – Hofstede, Schwartz and Inglehart – cultural context can be defined as a broader system of basic, deep-rooted values which serve as a guiding principle in life. Individualism is one dimension in this system and entails values of independence and autonomy. These values have the power to explain the diversity of practices across countries and underlie within-country, specific norms and attitudes in specific domains of social life, such as the family (Ester et al., 2006; Schwartz, 2007). Hence, familialism, when defined as family norms, can be seen as influenced by levels of individualism and as a more pecific approach to culture with explanatory power limited to kin practices.[3] Unlike basic values which reflect what people truly believe is right to do, norms reflect shared expectations about what members of a society should or should not do (Schwartz, 2012).

3 Note that familialism is often associated with collectivism – that is the opposite of individualism. Yet, whereas familialism tends to be conceptualised in the framework of the nuclear family and intergenerational relationships, collectivism extends to include the extended family and one's larger community (Oyserman *et al.*, 2002). As yet, three studies addressed empirically the link between familialism and collectivism, albeit with inconclusive evidence. In short, Gaines *et al.* (1997) argued that familialism is separate from collectivism, Lay *et al.* (1998) suggested that familialism is an essential core of collectivism, and Rhee *et al.* (1996) advocated that familialism is an important element of collectivism but distinct from a non-kin–focused type of collectivism.

A key feature of cultural context as a system of values is that it can persist for centuries and changes only slowly (Hamamura, 2012). This means that the potential impact of institutional arrangements such as social security provisions on individualism is likely to take a long time to materialise (Inglehart et al., 2017). Yet, it is also important to note that the existence and preservation of values of independence and autonomy are likely to depend upon the welfare state functioning as a safeguarding system. Inglehart (1997) empirically corroborates this notion by demonstrating that post-materialist values, including autonomy and independence, become more salient in societies whose existential security is ensured.

Familialism, on the other hand, is tightly linked with institutional context. As argued by Dykstra (2018) the generosity or restrictedness of public provisions variably releases or necessitates normative obligations. Release from family obligations is likely to occur in countries where public assistance is provided in kind rather than in cash, whereas necessity is more likely in contexts where social security is provided in cash rather than in kind. Moreover, the should-element carried by norms of family obligations is reinforced by legal obligations. Haberkern and Szydlik (2010) have, for example, argued that normative and legal obligations often coincide, making it difficult to disentangle their impact. Normative and legal obligations are sometimes conflated and examined in the form of typologies, such as Leitner's (2003) and Saraceno and Keck's (2010) typologies.

Diverging from prior practices of studying culture, we examine both individualistic values and norms of family obligations. In so doing, we are able to separate the effect of what people truly believe is right to do from the effect of what people feel they are expected to do given the current institutional environment in which they are embedded. For the sake of parsimony and considering the focus of this contribution, namely cultural context, we will, however, not develop and test hypotheses about the direct effect of welfare provision.

2.3. Links between cultural context and non-kin support

The defining features of individualistic and collectivistic cultures revolve around the notion of dependency between individuals. According to cross-cultural research, in more collectivistic cultures people are interdependent: they view the welfare of their larger community as central to the concept of the self (Gaines et al., 1997; Triandis, 1993) and strive to maintain a sense of solidarity and harmony through fulfilment of their obligation to the group. This sense of solidarity and harmony is, furthermore, sustained through heightened sensitivity to the needs of community's members, empathy and reciprocity (Sorensen and Oyserman, 2009). Since fulfilment of one's obligation to the group implies giving whereas reciprocity by definition infers that one gives with the intention to receive, people in more collectivistic countries can be expected to more readily provide but also demand from the circle of communal relationships. In more individualistic cultures, on the other hand, people are deemed independent: they value their autonomy and prioritise personal goals and needs over those of others (Hofstede et al., 2010; Oyserman et al., 2002). Applying the contrasting notions of independence and interdependence to support patterns, we can expect that people in more individualistic societies may seek to achieve independence through receiving professional help, whereas in more collectivistic societies, people may rather turn to community members when in need. We therefore hypothesise that with increasing country-level individualism people are less likely to view non-kin rather than professionals as the optimal source of support (*Hypothesis 1*).

Compared with more collectivistic societies, where social relationships and group belonging are largely prearranged and relatively fixed over one's life time, in more individualistic societies social relationships are shown to be voluntary, carefully fostered and as result also greater in number and diversity (Hofstede et al., 2010; Oyserman et al., 2002). In other words, people in more individualistic societies are less restricted in expanding their social connections beyond the family – the first group in which an individual is integrated (Hofstede et al., 2010). Since a greater number of social contacts implies a greater access to various types of support, people in more individualistic countries may be able to leave behind and substitute (partly) the safety net which family ties provide. Following this rationale, we expect that with increasing country-level individualism people are more likely to view non-kin rather than kin as the optimal source of support (*Hypothesis 2*).

Since the strength of norms of family obligations signifies the extent to which people feel that support should be exchanged between the closest family ties – children and parents – we argue that *with decreasing strength of country-level norms of family obligations, people are more likely to view non-kin rather than kin as the optimal source of support* (Hypothesis 3). Here, it is important to note that the predictive strength of the concept of familialism lies in explaining whether a person is likely or not to select kin ties as the optimal source of support. It does not therefore provide clear clues as to whether people who are less likely to opt for kin will at the same time be more likely to opt for non-kin. We feel nevertheless safe in assuming that when strong feelings of family obligations prevail, people are less likely to opt for any other source of support than kin.

We do not expect that the impact of cultural context differs across the types of support under study. We do however expect that the extent to which kin, non-kin and professionals are viewed as the optimal source of support differs for advice and help when looking for a job. In brief, given that in our study advice pertains to personal and family matters, it is plausible to assume that advice is sought in the private domain or, in other words, the probability to opt for non-kin ties (and, for that matter, for kin ties) is higher compared with the probability to opt for professionals. As regards help with looking for a job, it can be expected that both non-kin ties and professionals are more likely to serve as a source of support compared with kin ties. Prior research has shown that non-kin ties (Cappellari and Tatsiramos, 2015) and professional services (Gregg and Wadsworth, 2009) are most useful for finding jobs through the transmission of information about job opportunities.

2.4. Methodological approach

To test the hypotheses, we use data from the most recently available (2011–2012) round of the European Quality of Life Survey (EQLS). The EQLS is conducted every four years by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. Our sample consists of 27 countries in Europe, namely the European Union countries, except for Hungary, Greece and Cyprus, and Serbia and Iceland. We excluded Greece and Cyprus from the analyses due to lack of country-level data on individualism. We omitted Hungary because it is an outlier with extreme scores on individualism (80)

and the observed probability to select relatives as a source of support (~90%).[4] The sample size per country varies between 1000 (Bulgaria and Slovakia) and 3055 (Germany). The age of the respondents ranges from 18 to 95 years for the analysis pertaining to advice, and 18 to 60 years old for the analysis pertaining to help with looking for a job. In the latter case, we restricted the age range to account for the fact that in some European countries (i.e. Austria, Bulgaria, Poland, and Slovakia) the retirement age for women in 2012 was 60 years (European Commission, 2012).

2.4.1. Dependent variables

Our analysis rests on two dependent variables reflecting two types of support. They are based on the questions "From whom would you get support in each of the following situations: (1) if you needed advice about a serious personal or family matter; (2) if you needed help when looking for a job. For each situation, choose the most important source of support". The answer categories were: "a member of your family/relative" (kin); "a friend, neighbour or someone else who do not belong to your family or relatives" (non-kin); "a service provider, institution or organisation" (professionals); and "nobody". Since we are interested in comparing individual choices for receiving help from non-kin rather than kin or professionals, we removed from our sample those who answered "nobody" (2.9% of the observations for advice, and 18.9% of the observations for help when looking for a job). As the principle of Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives (Hedeker, 2007) holds true in our multinomial models, omitting "nobody" as an alternative outcome did not affect the odds among the remaining outcomes.

2.4.2. Independent variables at the country-level

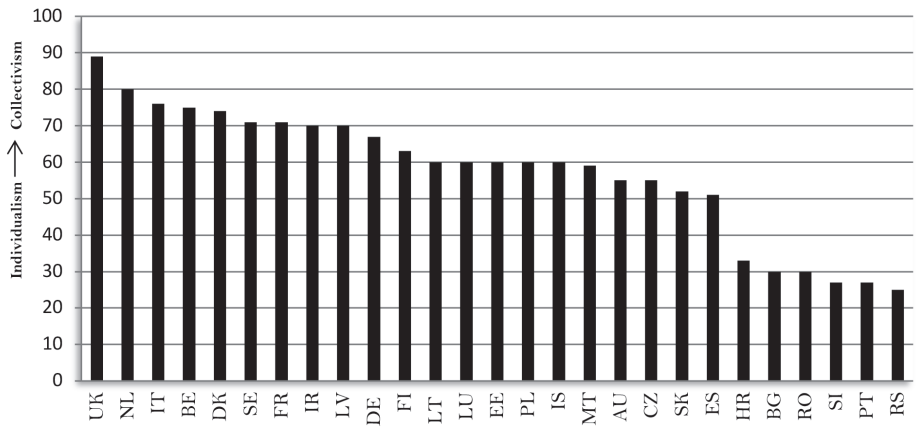
We measure country levels of individualism through Hofstede's 'Individualism versus Collectivism' index. His conceptualisation of individualism is closely related to our theoretical framework. It stands for societies "in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after him- or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism as its opposite pertains

4 More elaborate investigation into the suspiciously high individualism score for Hungary reveals that the country was not part of the original set of countries but was added to the database later based on secondary sources (Hofstede, 2001: 502), which Hofstede himself described in a personal conversation as raising more questions than providing answers. For the sake of a robustness check, we conducted the analyses with Hungary as well. They yield a rather similar size of the coefficients but with slightly different significant levels compared with the findings presented in this contribution (exact coefficients are available upon request).

to societies in which people from birth onward are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty" (Hofstede et al., 2010: 92). Hofstede's individualism index forms part of a multidimensional cultural model, which was originally developed in the early 1970s. At this time, the model was based on an extensive IBM database from 72 countries and validated against 40 cross-cultural studies from various disciplines (Hofstede and Bond, 1984). Throughout the years, Hofstede's model has received credit for a number of salient characteristics, including (1) the acknowledgment of the multidimensionality of culture and (2) its persistence over time5, (3) its application at the national level, and (4) universal coverage (Minkov and Hofstede, 2011). Yet, not all scholars have been equally positive, with a key critique addressing the representativeness of the data. In response, further validation against World Value Survey data was performed, providing evidence for the representativeness of the final database (Minkov and Hofstede, 2013).

We obtained data on Hofstede's individualism index from Hofstede et al. (2010: 95-97). The index ranges from 0 to 100, where higher scores signify higher levels of individualism. Figure 1 displays the index of individualism per country, showing highest levels of individualism in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Italy. At the other extreme are Slovenia, Serbia and Portugal.

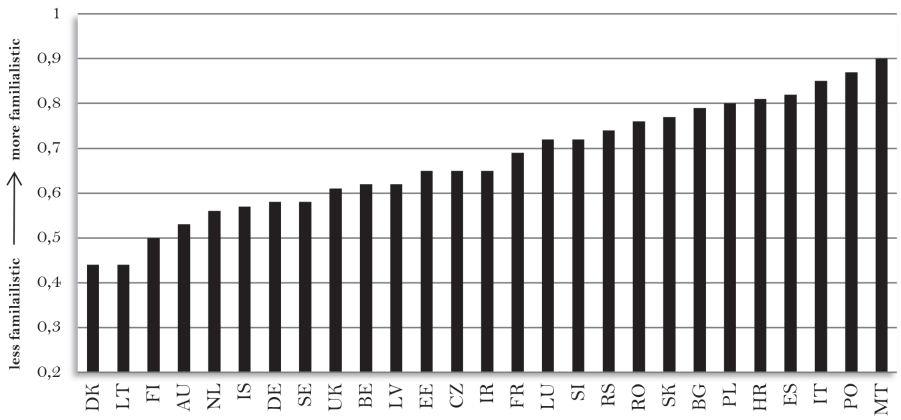
Figure 1: Per country index of individualism



5 Please note that although data could be deemed old, following Minkov and Hofstede (2011) we argue that cultures do evolve but move together in more or less the same cultural direction. Hence, the cultural gaps between countries remain the same. A confirmation of this proposition is provided by Inglehart (2008).

To our knowledge there are no ready-to-use macro-level measures of norms of family obligations. Therefore, we generated the measure by taking the arithmetic mean of individual-level scores. Data on norms of family obligations were obtained from the fourth (2008) wave of the European Value Survey and are based on the questions "Which of these statements best describes your views about (a) parents' responsibilities to their children and (b) responsibilities of adult children towards their parents when their parents are in need of long-term care?". The statements were respectively "parents'/children's duty is to do their best for their children/parents even at the expense of their own well-being" and "parents/children have a life of their own and should not be asked to sacrifice their own well-being for the sake of their children/parents". Higher scores indicate higher levels of familialism. Figure 2 depicts the degree of familialism per country, showing that Denmark, Lithuania and Finland are least familialistic, whereas Malta, Portugal and Italy are most familialistic.

Figure 2: Per country levels of familialism



Finally, since countries with higher levels of modernisation and economic development are also known to have higher levels of individualism (Hofstede et al., 2010; Inglehart and Baker, 2000) and more modern family attitudes (Aassve et al., 2013), we control for GDP per capita. GDP per capita is an often used index of societal modernisation because of its wide availability and convergence with other indices of social development (i.e. infant mortality rate, level of education and urbanisation) (Hamamura, 2012: 5). We derived the data on GDP per capita for 2011 from the Eurostat database (Eurostat, 2015).

2.4.3. Control variables at the individual-level

Given our strong focus on examining the role of cultural context in shaping European's views regarding the optimal source of support, we treat individual-level characteristics merely as controls. Following theoretical insights into the mechanisms that govern the configuration of support systems at the individual level (Messeri et al., 1993) and prior research (e.g. Gelissen et al., 2012; Wenger, 1990), we control for people's socio-economic and demographic background, living arrangements, frequency of contact, and relationship closeness.[6]

2.4.4 Method

The categorical nature of our dependent variables combined with the hierarchical structure of the data, where individuals (level-1) are nested in countries (level-2), require a multilevel multinomial model. We estimate three random-intercept models for each of the dependent variables. First, we estimate the model with level-1 controls only (Model 1). The 'level-1 only' model serves as a base-line model and informs us about the variance at the country level.[7] The intra-class correlation or the percentage of the variance in the probability of selecting any of the categories relative to non-kin (reference category) that is due to country-level characteristics is also calculated based on the 'level-1 only' model. Subsequently, we estimate the combined model including both measures of cultural context (Model 2). As a final step, we add to the model GDP per capita (Model 3).[8] Since our dependent variables have 3 unordered categories, we have two sets of fixed and random coefficients. The fixed effects are presented as odds ratios, meaning that coefficients below 1 signify a negative relationship and coefficients above 1 signify a positive relationship. For the readers' ease, we present the final model's results in two separate tables, one reflecting the impact of context (Table 2) and the other reflecting the impact of individual-level characteristics (Table II, to be found in the Appendix).

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6 For detailed information about individual-level variables, please refer to Table I in the Appendix.

7 We treat the 'level-1 only' model rather than the 'empty' model as a base-line because in multinomial multilevel models the level-1 variance is fixed to the variance of a standard logistic distribution. As a result, unlike ordinary multilevel models, where the level-1 variance term is typically reduced as level-1variables are included, in a multinomial multilevel model the random-effect variance becomes larger (Hedeker, 2007).

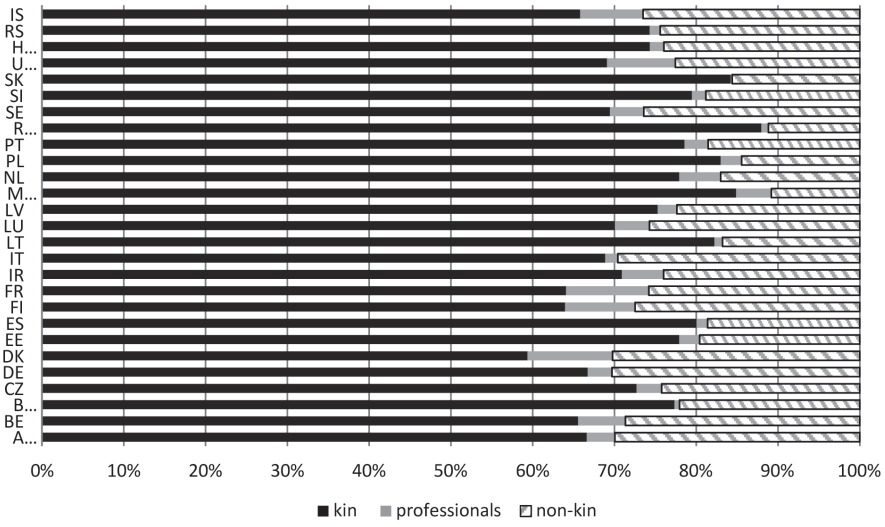
8 The correlation between individualism and familialism is -0.50 ($p<0.01$) whereas the correlation between individualism and GDP per capita is 0.47 ($p<0.05$). Familialism and GDP per capita are not significantly correlated: r= -0.27.

2.5. Results

2.5.1 European country differences in non-kin support

We turn to the observed probabilities of selecting kin, non-kin or professionals to gauge European country differences in the extent to which people view friends, neighbours and other non-relatives as the optimal source of support. Our data reveal fairly different patterns for advice and help when looking for a job. For advice, and in Europe as a whole, the observed probability to select non-kin as the optimal source of support (22%) is lower than that of kin (74%) but higher than the probability of selecting professionals (4%). This pattern persists at the country level as well, with some noticeable differences in the degree of reliance on non-kin ties. As can be seen in Figure 3, the highest probabilities for advice from non-relatives are observed in Austria, Germany, Denmark and Italy (around 30%). The lowest probabilities are found in Malta and Romania (around 11%).

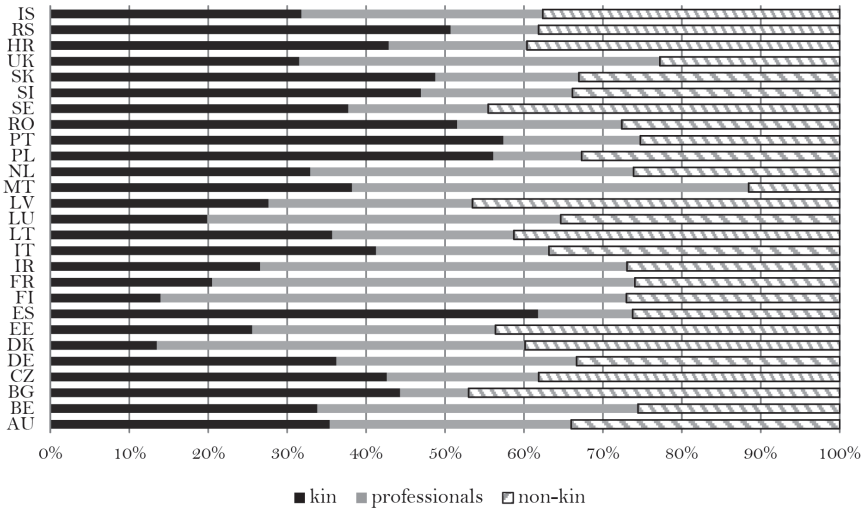
Figure 3: Per country observed probabilities for advice



For help with looking for a job, we find that in Europe as a whole the probability to view non-relatives as the optimal source of support (33%) is slightly lower than that of kin (39%) and slightly higher than that of professionals (28%). As can be seen in Figure 4, however, we do not find a common pattern across European countries. Instead, we observe great differences between countries where the citizens of Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Sweden and Iceland

have a higher probability to turn to non-kin (between 44 and 47%) than to kin or professionals. The role of professionals seems to be most prominent in Finland, France, Malta, Denmark and Ireland whereas kin ties are most often selected as a primary source of help when looking for a job in Spain, Portugal, Poland, Serbia and Slovakia.

Figure 4: Per country observed probabilities for help with looking for a job



2.5.2. The impact of cultural context

As can be seen in Table 2, we find significant variance at the country level, justifying our comparative approach. For both types of support, the intra-class correlation coefficient (ICC) suggests that the variance which is due to country level characteristics is higher for the probability of selecting non-kin over professionals (15.36 and 13.12%) than for the probability of selecting non-kin over kin (4.57 and 5.02%).

Regarding the relationship between cultural context and the perceived role of non-kin, kin and professionals as an optimal source of support, we find fairly similar patterns for advice and help when looking for a job. Regarding familialism, we find partial support for hypothesis 3: there seems to exist a statistically significant, positive relationship between decreasing strength of norms of family obligations and the likelihood that a person will turn to non-relatives rather than relatives when looking for a job, but not for advice.

Table 2: Results of multilevel multinomial analysis: Predicted odds ratios for selecting respectively kin and professionals over non-kin as a source of help, macro-level estimates

	Advice			Help with looking for job		
	Model 1	*Model 2*	*Model 3*	*Model 1*	*Model 2*	*Model 3*
Category 1: Kin (reference category: non-kin)						
Fixed Effects	Odds Ratio (CI)	Odds Ratio (CI)	Odds Ratio (CI)	Odds Ratio (CI)	Odds Ratio (CI)	Odds Ratio (CI)
Individualism (H2)		0.995 (0.986,1.004)	0.998 (0.988,1.007)		1.003 (0.993,1.012)	1.005 (0.996,1.015)
Familialism (H3)		2.484 (0.680,9.075)	2.558 (0.751,8.720)		**8.507 ** (2.281,31.735)**	**8.703** (2.434,31.115)**
GDP per capita (logged)			**0.674† (0.431,1.054)**			**0.674† (0.419,1.082)**
Intercept	**3.936*** (3.248,4.770)**	**3.933*** (3.256,4.749)**	**3.932*** (3.274,4.723)**	**0.678** (0.540,0.851)**	**0.676*** (0.549,0.834)**	**0.676*** (0.550,0.830)**
Random Effects						
Intercept	**0.158*** (0.397)**	**0.121*** (0.346)**	**0.107*** (0.327)**	**0.174*** (0.417)**	**0.120*** (0.347)**	**0.111*** (0.336)**
ICC (in %)	4.57	-	-	5.02	-	-
Pseudo R2 (in %)	-	23.26	32.14	-	31.03	36.21
Category 2: Professionals (reference category: non-kin)						
Fixed Effects	Odds Ratio (CI)	Odds Ratio (CI)	Odds Ratio (CI)	Odds Ratio (CI)	Odds Ratio (CI)	Odds Ratio (CI)
Individualism (H1)		**1.020* (1.003,1.038)**	**1.019* (1.001,1.037)**		**1.022** (1.006,1.039)**	**1.019* (1.001,1.036)**
Familialism		0.393 (0.037,4.128)	0.383 (0.037,3.970)		1.114 (0.115,10.776)	1.072 (0.114,10.111)
GDP per capita (logged)			1.336 (0.571,3.127)			1.686 (0.745,3.816)
Intercept	**0.167*** (0.099,0.281)**	**0.167*** (0.114,0.247)**	**0.167*** (0.114,0.246)**	**0.669* (0.483,0.927)**	**0.668** (0.497,0.900)**	**0.668** (0.498,0.897)**
Random Effects						
Intercept	**0.597*** (0.773)**	**0.377*** (0.614)**	**0.369*** (0.608)**	**0.497*** (0.706)**	**0.380*** (0.617)**	**0.370*** (0.608)**
ICC (in %)	15.36	-	-	13.12	-	-
Pseudo R2 (in %)	-	36.90	38.19	-	23.54	25.55
Log-likelihood	60 585	60 491	60 496	36 156	36 162	36 164
Number of observations	31 797	31 797	31 797	18 774	18 774	18 774
Number of countries	27	27	27	27	27	27

*Note: *** $p \leq 0.001$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$, † $p \leq 0.1$; numbers in parenthesis for the random effects represent standard deviation; CI = confidence interval; Estimation method: Restricted penalised quasi-likelihood approximation.*

For individualism, our results yield a statistically significant relationship with the probability to select non-kin over professionals, providing empirical support for hypothesis 1. Hence, with increasing levels of individualism people are less likely to view non-kin rather than professionals as the optimal source of advice and help when looking for a job. As to hypothesis 2, we find no empirical support: Our analyses yield no statistical association between individualism and the probability to select non-kin over kin.

Here, it is important to note that familialistic norms and individualistic values differ not only in their predictive power when it comes to selecting non-kin over kin or professionals, but also in their magnitude. As the country-level of familialism increases, people are 88.5% less likely to select non-relatives over relatives, whereas as the country-level of individualism increases, people are 1.8% less likely to select non-kin over professionals.[9]

Finally, turning to the coefficients of GDP per capita, we find that in countries with higher GDP people are more likely to turn to non-kin than to kin for both advice and help when looking for a job. The probability that people will first turn to non-kin than to professionals seems, on the other hand, not to depend on country's GDP per capita. Including GDP in the final models does not change considerably the statistical and substantive importance of the remaining coefficients.

2.6. Conclusions and discussion

This study makes two important contributions to research on support. First, it enhances our knowledge on non-kin ties as a source of assistance in Europe. Non-kin support has often been overlooked in comparative work, arguably so because prior studies have been embedded in the crowding-out and the decline of the family hypotheses where the focus lies on formal, informal and family support. To our best knowledge, as yet only a few comparative studies have examined (potential) non-kin support (i.e. Höllinger and Haller, 1990; Pichler and Wallace, 2007; Gesthuizen et al., 2008; Gelissen et al., 2012) and they failed to situate it in the larger support system. We extend prior knowledge by demonstrating that when it comes to views about the optimal source of support, in Europe as a whole non-kin ties take a middle position. Put

9 The percentages are calculated based on the log-odds produced by the final Model (3). Exact calculations are available upon request.

differently, non-relatives are more likely to be viewed as the optimal source of support compared with professionals, but kin ties remain the most likely source of support for both advice and help when looking for a job. This sequence of kin, non-kin and professional help suggests that despite the societal change which we observed in the past decades, informal caring relations have not lost their importance to professional help. This conclusion is in line with prior work, e.g. Dykstra and Fokkema (2011); Gelissen et al. (2012); Höllinger and Haller (1990); and Silverstein and Bengtson (1997), which largely refuted the decline of the family and the crowding-out hypotheses.

It is important to note, however, that this European pattern persists at the country level only for advice, whereas for help when looking for a job we find large differences across nations. This finding suggests that to better understand the role of non-relatives as a source of support in Europe, it is important to distinguish between different types of support. Since advice and help looking for a job are non-kin pertinent types of support, it can be argued that they have higher observed probabilities for non-kin reliance compared with other, kin pertinent types of support. Future research addressing different types of support (i.e. practical and financial help) can therefore further advance this field of enquiry.

As regards country differences, prior research focusing more broadly on informal support and social capital has suggested the existence of a north/west-south/east divide, with southern European countries being characterised by highest levels of family reliance and very few informal supports outside the family (Kääriäinen and Lehtonen, 2006; Pichler and Wallace, 2007). Our findings roughly re-create this picture of regional differences, whilst at the same time they provide a more nuanced view of cross-national differences in the importance of non-kin ties as source of support. More specifically, for both advice and help when looking for a job, we find high probabilities to turn to non-kin ties in the north and west of Europe; yet, we do not find a common pattern in the south and east of Europe. On the contrary, in these latter regions we observe some of the lowest and some of the highest probabilities of selecting non-relatives as a source of support. These findings potentially suggest that commentators may need to move beyond the geographical grouping of European countries and acknowledge within-region, and, as suggested by Dykstra and Fokkema (2011), possibly also within-country differences in support patterns.

The second contribution of the study lies in carefully conceptualising and analysing cultural context. We argued that although rising individualism has often been seen as a potential determinant of support patterns, it has rarely been empirically studied. We therefore differentiated between individualistic *values* and the often employed concept of familialistic *norms*, and suggested that their effect on people's views about the optimal source of support may differ. Our findings substantiate this proposition by demonstrating that the impact of individualism and familialism is different in magnitude and opposite in direction. More specifically, we find that with every point of increase in individualism, people are 1.8% less likely to select non-kin over professionals, whereas with every point of increase in familialism, people are 88.5% less likely to select non-kin over kin. These findings lead to two important conclusions. First, norms seem to be of a greater importance when people select from the pool of informal social ties – kin and non-kin – whereas individualistic values seem to better predict one's choice for informal (non-kin) over formal (professional) help. This latter finding provides support for the premise that individualism operates through the notion of independence (Hypothesis 1).

Yet, we do not find support for the premise that individualism operates through the notion of voluntary interactions (Hypothesis 2). A possible explanation for this result is Triandis' (1993) observation that in more individualistic countries people have larger and more diverse networks, but their ties are also often casual and entail little emotional involvement. Since support provision is determined not only by the number but also by the quality of social relationships (Silverstein *et al.*, 1995), it is plausable to assume that individualism may better explain differences in social network size and composition than in sources of support.

Second, norms of family obligations seem to have a stronger impact than individualistic values, likely so because they are more closely linked with welfare arrangements. The institutional context is likely to influence country levels of familialistic norms, but not individualistic values, reinforcing norms' predictive power. Prior research has established clear connections between the kinds and generosity of public provisions and espoused normative obligations towards family members (Dykstra, 2018). Legal obligations to provide support to family members often coincide with familialistic norms (Haberkern and Szydlik, 2010). Aassve *et al.* (2013) show that individualism in the sense of having liberal family attitudes should not be equated with a retreat from family responsibilities. The authors argue that a longer history of self-determination and political autonomy brings greater opportunities to build civic values and social trust. In turn, the

higher levels of social trust generate greater confidence in substituting the family's safety with support found in the wider community. Europeans are unrestricted in holding values of autonomy and independence, but are unlikely to behave upon them unless there is an institutional context allowing them to do so.

This study sheds new light on the importance of individualistic values and familialistic norms in shaping Europeans' choices for receiving help from non-kin rather than from kin or professionals, but certain issues remain to be illuminated. First, as cross-cultural research advances and offers new theoretical and methodological insights into the concept of individualism, research on support needs to devote efforts to further develop and test hypotheses on its role in explaining country differences. Other measures of familialistic culture, such as family values and attitudes, may also reveal new insights into support patterns. Up until now, family values, which are deep-rooted and only weakly influenced by welfare arrangments, have been primarily used in demographic research as they pertain to the importance of mariage and children (van de Kaa, 1994). Family attitudes, on the other hand, are about gender roles and therefore have been primarily used in research on parenting and household division of labour (Poortman and van der Lippe, 2009). Both family values and attitudes are an important proxy of familialistic culture and may reveal new insights into the field of sources of support.

Future research on non-kin ties as a source of support may also benefit from establishing whether these cross-national differences hold true when considering actual rather than potential support. Although often neglected, distinguishing between anticipated and actual support is informative. When relying on questions about potential support, actual support can be under- or overestimated (Adams, 1986). Actual support depends more strongly on the availability of sources of support than does anticipated support (Broese van Groenou and De Boer, 2016), and thus might reveal different geographical patterns.

Following Gelissen *et al.* (2012) we also suggest that future research may benefit from new improved data which contain a greater number of countries and allow therefore to examine the imapct of culture and welfare provisions simultaniously, as well as other potential covariates such as generalised trust, trust in instituions and labour market characterstics. All these charactersitics are shown to be less favourable in countries in eastern and southern Europe than in countries in western and nothern Europe (Ledeneva, 1998; Nannestad, 2008; van Oorschot and Arts, 2005) and may therefore prove to be important in exaplining country

differences in European's views about the optimal source of support. To take the example of labour markets, it is only logical to assume that when professional services are provided, people will be more likely to use them even in countries with high levels of familiastic norms because professional services are particularly useful for the transmission of information about job opportunities (Gregg and Wadsworth, 2009).

To understand the causal link between context and support patterns, as well as the link between cultural contexts and other potential covariates, it is necessary to employ longitudinal data. More dynamic statistical models, such as multilevel stuctural equation models (Rabe-Hesketh *et al.*, 2004) will be suitable to examine and better understand the relationship between culture, other contextual explanations and social support. The interaction between social support and context is a complex phenomenon that merits a better understanding in comparative sociological research.

2.7. Appendix

Table I: Descriptive statistics of model variables

Variable	Observations	Mean/Proportion	SD	Range
Country-level characteristics				
Individualism/Collectivism	27	57.41	17.94	0-100
Familialism	27	0.68	0.13	0-1
GDP per capita	27	24555	11363	8700-68100
Individual-level characteristics[a]				
Age	36 509	50.64	18.02	18-95[b]
Male	36 509	0.57		0/1
Urban	36 444	0.52		0/1
Satisfaction with social life	36 021	7.20	2.18	1-10
Satisfaction with family life	36 061	7.96	2.11	1-10
Contact with relatives	35 637	9.62	8.15	0-25
Contact with non-kin	36 424	13.79	10.34	0-25
Living alone	36 509	0.23		0/1
Living with non-kin	36 200	0.01		0/1
Number of children	36 328	1.58	1.31	0-10
Married	36 308	0.60		0/1
Education	36 360	3.11	1.33	0-6

Note: [a] Descriptive statistics at the individual level are combined for both datasets used for the analysis; [b] The age range for the analysis pertaining to help when looking for a job is 18-60.

Table II: Results of multilevel multinomial analysis: Predicted odds ratios for selecting respectively kin and professionals over non-kin as a source of support, individual-level estimates

	Advice		Help when looking for a job	
reference category: non-kin	**Kin**	**Professionals**	**Kin**	**Professionals**
Fixed Effects	Odds ratio (CI)	Odds ratio (CI)	Odds ratio (CI)	Odds ratio (CI)
Male	**0.909*** (0.858,0.962)**	**0.842* (0.743,0.955)**	**1.285*** (1.196,1.382)**	**1.258*** (1.165,1.358)**
Age	**1.015*** (1.013,1.017)**	**1.020*** (1.016,1.024)**	**0.991*** (0.988,0.995)**	**1.008*** (1.005,1.012)**
Urban	**0.888*** (0.838,0.941)**	**0.859* (0.756,0.977)**	**0.844*** (0.784,0.909)**	**0.935† (0.865,1.011)**
Living alone	**0.824*** (0.751,0.903)**	0.886 (0.715,1.099)	**0.726*** (0.638,0.827)**	**0.820** (0.721,0.934)**
Living with non-kin	**0.814† (0.651,1.019)**	**0.511† (0.246,1.058)**	**0.781† (0.599,1.017)**	**0.668** (0.495,0.902)**
Contact with relatives	**1.025*** (1.021,1.029)**	**0.990* (0.981,0.999)**	**1.016*** (1.012,1.021)**	**0.995* (0.990,1.000)**
Contact with non-kin	**0.991*** (0.988,0.994)**	**0.986*** (0.980,0.992)**	**0.995** (0.991,0.999)**	**0.996* (0.992,0.999)**
Satisfaction with family life	**1.153*** (1.134,1.172)**	0.982 (0.949,1.017)	**1.053*** (1.030,1.076)**	**1.041*** (1.018,1.065)**
Satisfaction with social life	**0.970*** (0.955,0.986)**	**0.895*** (0.865,0.926)**	1.003 (0.983,1.024)	**0.931*** (0.911,0.951)**
Number of children	**1.064*** (1.036,1.092)**	**1.092*** (1.039,1.149)**	0.983 (0.947,1.020)	**1.052** (1.013,1.092)**
Married	**1.399*** (1.292,1.514)**	**1.248* (1.030,1.513)**	**1.100 † (0.996,1.214)**	**0.797*** (0.717,0.886)**
Education	**0.887*** (0.867,0.907)**	**0.925** (0.882,0.971)**	**0.841*** (0.815,0.867)**	**0.939*** (0.909,0.969)**

*Notes: *** $p \leq 0.001$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$, † $p \leq 0.1$; CI = confidence interval; Estimates stem from the final models, which include all country level variables (individualism, familialism and GDP) and individual level controls.*

Chapter 3:

Confiding in non-kin: Can generalised trust and civic participation explain country differences in Europe?*

Abstract

Non-kin ties form a key dimension of sociability and provide care and support that is not always available through familial ties. There is some evidence that the number and supportive functions of friends, neighbours and other non-relatives vary across Europe. In this contribution, we expand on prior research by addressing European country differences in the extent to which non-relatives serve as an actual source of emotional support. Moreover, we develop and test the premise that both individual- and country level social capital in the form of generalised trust and civic participation explain country differences in the extent to which Europeans confide in at least one non-kin tie. We employ the Generations and Gender Survey data from ten European countries in combination with aggregated data from the European Value Survey and advanced statistical methods. Our findings suggest that (1) when it comes to actual emotional support from non-relatives nuanced country differences unfold and (2) European country differences in non-kin emotional support are less an issue of context and more a matter of population composition and individual generalised trust.

Key words

non-kin
emotional support
generalised trust
civic participation
cross-country comparison
Bayesian analysis

** This chapter is co-authored by Tineke Fokkema and Pearl Dykstra. A slightly different version of the chapter is currently under review in an international peer-reviewed journal.*

3.1. Introduction

Non-kin ties form a key dimension of sociability and provide benefits that are sometimes parallel and sometimes not available through familial ties (Fingerman, 2009). Friends, neighbours and other non-relatives provide information (Granovetter, 1973), companionship (Wellman and Wortley, 1990) and emotional support (McPherson et al., 2006; Seeman and Berkman, 1988; Small, 2013). They also provide hands-on help when family members are not available or incapable of providing care and support (Cantor, 1979; Kalwij et al., 2014; Wenger, 1990). A plethora of studies has also shown that the presence of non-kin ties in one's social (support) network enhances health behaviours and psychological outcomes (Cohen and Lemay, 2007; Dykstra, 1990; Fiori et al., 2006; Huxhold et al., 2013). Drawing upon studies from the 1970s and 1980s, Wenger (1990) has, for example, argued that friends and neighbours are more important than children in alleviating loneliness.

There is some evidence that the number and supportive functions of non-kin ties vary across countries. Research on social networks' composition has shown that compared with northern and western Europe, in eastern and southern Europe there is a lower frequency of friends-based social networks (Craveiro *et al.*, 2013; Höllinger and Haller, 1990; Litwin and Stoeckel, 2013). Similarly, social capital studies have demonstrated that non-kin networks and the (potential) resources linked to them abound in northern Europe but are scanty in southern Europe, with western and eastern Europe occupying the middle ground (Gelissen *et al.*, 2012; Gesthuizen *et al.*, 2008; Pichler and Wallace, 2007). This north/west - south/east divide has often been ascribed to the differential size and comprehensiveness of European welfare regimes, and empirical work has repeatedly confirmed the hypothesised link between social spending and support differentials (Gelissen *et al.*, 2012; Gesthuizen *et al.*, 2008; Kääriäinen and Lehtonen, 2006). It has been shown that social spending is positively associated with potential support (Gelissen *et al.*, 2012) and negatively associated with actual support given to non-kin ties (Gesthuizen *et al.*, 2008).

The above-mentioned comparative work has provided important insights regarding the geographical differences in non-kin networks and reliance, but they are also subjected to a number of limitations when it comes to understanding non-kin ties as a source of support. First, compared with potential support, actual support exchanges between non-kin ties have

received much less attention in comparative academic writings and it is not yet clear to what extent do European countries differ in that regard. A number of studies (see for example Kääriäinen and Lehtonen, 2006; Suanet *et al.*, 2012) have examined European differences in informal support provision, but because they merged support from close family members and non-kin ties, our knowledge regarding the exact role of non-kin ties remains limited. Kalwij *et al.* (2014) have specifically examined non-kin support amongst elderly in Europe, but because of a small number of observations, the scholars have not addressed country differences. Although often neglected, the distinction between potential and actual support is important (Uchino, 2009), for as argued by Dykstra (2016) measures about potential support reflect the belief that others will provide assistance in the future, should a need arise. This measure says therefore more about a person's personality and perceptions than about the quality of his/her relationships. Expanding on prior research, we address non-kin ties as an *actual* rather than a potential source of help and seek to examine the extent to which European countries differ in that regard.

The second limitation of prior research relates to the fact that scholars have often conflated different types of support (i.e. financial, emotional and practical help, and personal care). In so doing, they have neglected the fact that some types of support are kin and other non-kin pertinent (Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969), and may therefore be linked to different country- and individual determinants. In this work, we focus on confiding in non-kin ties, which we use interchangeably with emotional support. We opt for emotional support as it is a type of support that can be provided by both kin and non-kin ties (Marsden, 1987; McPherson *et al.*, 2006; Small, 2013). Said differently, non-kin emotional support complements rather than substitutes kin support (Messeri *et al.*, 1993). Empirically speaking, this means that we examine European country differences in the extent to which at least one social network member who provided emotional support is a non-kin tie.

Finally, whereas the existence of the relationship between welfare spending and support has largely been confirmed (Brandt, 2013; Gelissen *et al.*, 2012; Kääriäinen and Lehtonen, 2006), empirical evidence remains limited regarding the extent to which various social capital forms at both the individual and the country level are linked with support. This knowledge gap is also noticed by Kääriäinen and Lehtonen (2006) who conclude that it still remains to be seen how important are different forms of social capital for the emergence of support. In section two, we take up this point further and elaborate on the

micro and macro links between emotional support from at least one non-kin tie and two forms of social capital – civic participation and generalised trust.

To empirically examine the propositions of this study, we employ the Generations and Gender survey (GGS) data in combination with aggregated data from the European Value Survey (2008). Although designed as a family-pertinent survey, the social network approach of the GGS ensures sufficient information on actual support exchanges between non-kin ties, as well as on generalised trust, the socio-economic background of the respondents and their family situation (Dykstra et al., 2016). Moreover, we employ a Markov Chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) technique to estimate a logistic random intercept model, which enables us to overcome prior methodological limitations due to a rather small number of countries and, ultimately, to rely on data covering 10 European countries (essentially 11 cases due to the split of Germany into Western and Eastern Germany). We opted for the GGS over the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe (SHARE) data because the former span people across all ages, allowing us to expand beyond prior research on non-kin support which has primarily focused on older people.

3.2. Links between social capital and support

Social capital is a complex concept with many definitions applied in different fields of research (Ferragina, 2017). In the sociological rubric, social capital has often been referred to social networks – or the web of social relationships that surround individuals (Finsveen and van Oorschot, 2008). Since one of the key functions of social relationships is the provision of support (Dykstra, 2016), it has often been assumed that social capital and support go hand in hand (Leal *et al.*, 2011). We concede with this claim; yet following classical theoretical accounts we also argue that social capital is more than individual social networks and therefore the link between social capital and support is not well understood.

Classical theoretical accounts posit that social capital is about (1) people's access to resources in their networks (Bourdieu, 1986) and (2) the informal norms that promote cooperation between two or more individuals (Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 2000; Putnam, 1995). Given the positive notion carried by the concepts of resources and cooperation, we can expect that all forms of social capital will be positively linked with the degree to which people across Europe confide in non-relatives, yet the mechanisms through which these forms operate may differ. Following van Oorschot et al. (2006), who provide a theoretically and empirically justified formulation of social capital in

Europe, we opt for two conceptually different forms of social capital, namely generalised trust (social norm) and civic participation (formal networks).

Social capital is seen as both a property of the individual (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988) and a property of groups, communities and countries (Fukuyama, 2000; Putnam, 1995). When defined as a property of the individual, social capital is suggested to benefit only those persons who possess it, whereas when defined as a property of a country, social capital should benefit all its citizens (Poortinga, 2006). Since personal networks and the extent to which non-kin ties may serve as a source of support depend upon individual characteristics as well as upon macro social trends that create opportunities to establish and maintain personal relationships (Broese van Groenou and de Boer, 2016; Broese van Groenou and van Tilburg, 2007), we consider both micro and macro levels of social capital. Regrettably, our data do not contain information on individual level civic participation, allowing us to empirically examine only individual generalised trust.

Generalised trust, or the trust people have in others who they may or may not personally know, operates through creating conditions under which cooperation may occur (Fukuyama, 2000). In other words, generalised trust is thought to serve as a foundation for a sense of solidarity and togetherness, and to function as social glue that creates a sense of community to fellow citizens (Delhey and Newton, 2005; Uslaner, 2008). This implies that when people trust others and live in a context of high generalised trust, they will be more likely to readily cooperate with social ties beyond the close circle of family members. We can therefore expect that *higher levels of generalised trust, at both the individual and the country level, will be positively associated with the probability to receive emotional help from at least one non-kin tie* (Hypothesis 1a and 1b).

Civic participation, or the degree to which people actively participate in formal organisations, operates through creating opportunities for interaction where pro-social behaviour is learned (Finsveen and van Oorschot, 2008; Kääriäinen and Lehtonen, 2006; Putnam, 1995). Moreover, Allan (1986) has argued that friendship is often created through formal or semi-formal organisations such as work, sport club or other leisure arenas. We can therefore expect that *higher levels of civic participation at the country level will be positively associated with the probability to receive emotional support from at least one non-kin tie* (Hypothesis 2).

To our knowledge, only a few studies have empirically examined the link between social capital and non-kin support. Their findings provide inconclusive evidence. At the micro-level of individuals, Gelissen et al. (2012) have demonstrated that civic engagement, or participation in formal networks, is negatively associated with perceived support, whereas Finsveen and van Oorschot (2008) have shown the opposite association to exist. It has furthermore been shown that individual-level trust is positively associated with potential non-kin support (Gelissen et al., 2012). Apropos of country-level social capital, Kääriäinen and Lehtonen (2006) evinced that there exists a positive relationship between participation in formal organisations and informal support (kin and non-kin combined), but the scholars found no significant relationship between generalised trust and informal support.

3.3. Methodological approach

We employ data from the first wave of the GGS, which was conducted in 19 countries in the years between 2004 and 2013 (for exact year of data collection per country, please refer to http://www.ggp-i.org/). From the original sample, we excluded the non-European countries (Australia and Japan) and those lacking on the dependent variable (Italy, Estonia, the Netherlands and Hungary). Furthermore, we excluded Poland and France because their data do not include information on generalised trust; and Sweden because the dataset is missing on one of the control variables, namely type of residence[10]. This exclusion procedure resulted in a final sample of 10 European countries (or 11 cases since we split Germany into Western and Eastern Germany[11]): Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Georgia, Germany, Lithuania, Norway, Romania and Russia. Since we are interested in whether or not at least one confidant is a non-kin tie, we selected furthermore only those respondents who reported having received emotional support[12]. After a list-wise deletion of the missing cases across variables, the final sample used for the analysis consists

10 Please note that missing variables means that in certain countries a number of questions were not asked. This is not the same as missing cases, which does not occur in our dataset.

11 We split Germany into Western and Eastern Germany to account for the fact that both generalised trust (Bjørnskov, 2006) and civic participation (Wallace *et al.*, 2012) have been strongly influenced by the socialist regime as well as by the fall of the Berlin Wall.

12 About 9% of the sample reported receiving no emotional support. We do not wish to neglect the importance of the question of why people do not confide at all. Nevertheless, to answer that question, scholars might need to focus more on the individual level and employ different theoretical rationales than the ones in this study, such as for example particularised trust, (perceived) need for support, and personality traits.

of 32,190 respondents, varying from about 5,000 respondents in Bulgaria to 500 respondents in Eastern Germany. The GGS spans people in the age range 18-82 years old, with the exception of Austria which had an upper age range of 46 years.

3.3.1. Dependent variable

Our dependent variable is derived from the question "Over the past 12 months, have you talked to anyone about your personal experiences and feelings? If yes, whom did you talk to?" The respondents could name up to five[13] ties who then could be identified as being a partner, parents, children, grandchildren, siblings (kin); friends, acquaintances, neighbours and colleagues (non-kin) and an organisation or a company[14]. Utilising this question we constructed our dependent variable (a binary variable) in such a way that it provides information on whether at least one of the ties who provided emotional support was a non-kin tie. In order to validate this methodological decision, we also examined how many of all named ties are non-kin ties. Descriptive statistics for our dependent variable suggest that 41% of the respondents in all countries have at least one non-kin confidant. Of those 41%, about 3.2% have reported to have 2 non-kin ties who provided emotional support and merely 1% have reported to have confided in more than 2 non-kin ties. This substantive outcome, along with the methodological difficulties that arise from the small percentage of people who reported to have more than one non-kin confidant, vindicate our decision.

3.3.2. Independent variables at the country level

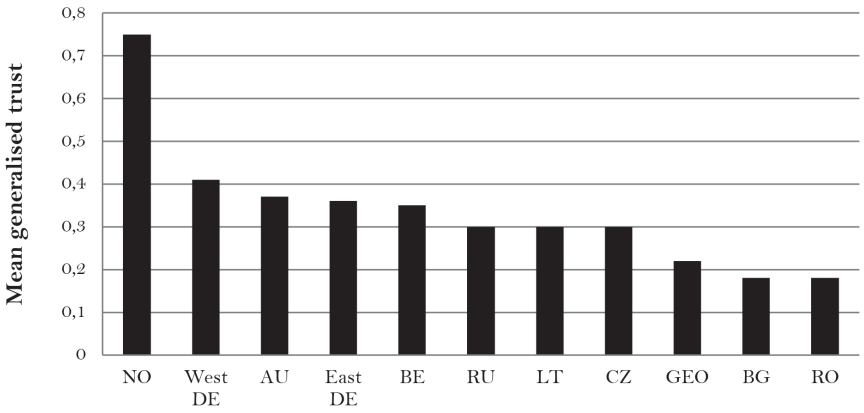
We derived country levels of generalised trust and civic participation by taking the arithmetic mean of individual-level scores from the fourth, 2008 wave of the European Value Survey. For generating the measure of generalised trust, we employed a standard question used throughout cross-national surveys, which despite its shortcomings is proven to be a reliable, valid and cross-nationally comparable instrument (Nannestad, 2008). The question reads as

13 Although the GGS imposed a limit of five to the number of social relationships a respondent could name, in an experimental design Dykstra *et al.* (2016) have shown that this restriction does not significantly affect the size of the emotional support networks across the countries included in the dataset. More specifically, the authors demonstrated that only a small percentage of the respondents used all five slots as well as that the mean size of the emotional networks is somewhat larger in the no-cap condition (2.19) than in the cap condition (1.86), but this difference is not significant.

14 In total, 0.8% of the sample reported to have reached out to an organisation or a company for emotional support. Since we are interested in the extent to which at least one confidant is a non-kin tie, we do not distinguish between organisations and family ties.

follows: "Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?". Answers are measured on a scale from 0 to 1, where 0 means that you can't be too careful and 1 means that most people can be trusted. The average country scores (Figure 5) resemble a well-documented regional pattern of low levels of generalised trust in the central and eastern European countries (Bjørnskov, 2006) and high levels in the Nordic countries (Delhey and Newton, 2005). Moreover, although we find a higher level of generalised trust in Western than in Eastern Germany, overall Eastern Germany seems to be closer to the western than to eastern European counties.

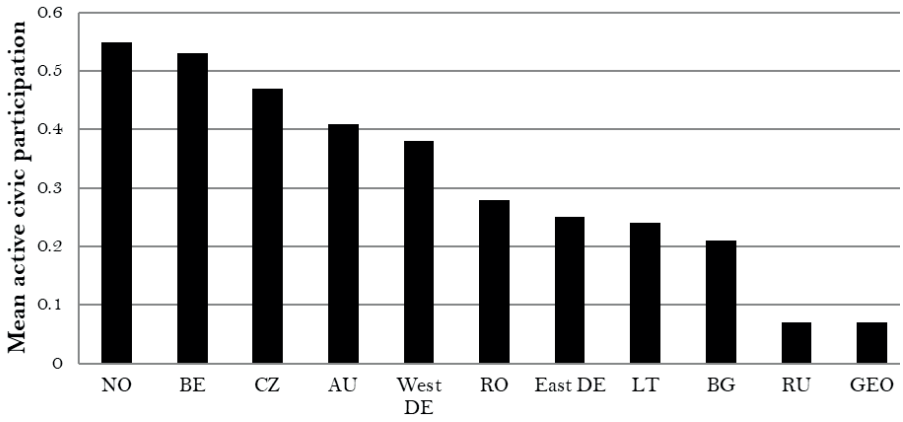
Figure 5: Per country average levels of generalised trust



We derived country-level scores of civic participation by utilising responses to the questions of whether people are active members of a series of 14 voluntary organisations in various societal domains[15]. In constructing the variable, we first summed up the total number of respondent's active memberships and then took the country mean of this sum. The scale runs from low participation to high participation. Figure 6 depicts country-level scores of active civic participation. Our data suggest that there exist pronounced country-differences in active participation, with Norway and Belgium taking the lead and Russia and Georgia showing virtually non-existent active participation. Unlike for generalised trust, for civic participation we find furthermore that Eastern Germany is closer to eastern than to western European countries.

15 These organisations include political parties or groups, trade unions, religious or church organisations, professional associations, peace movements, voluntary organisations concerned with health, sport or recreation clubs, environmental groups, education or arts groups, charity, voluntary or community groups, and youth groups.

Figure 6: Per country average levels of active civic participation



3.3.3. Independent variables at the individual level

The key variable of interest at the individual level is generalised trust. The trust measure stems from the GGS and follows the same question as our country-level variable. We recoded the variable in such a way that 0 indicates that one cannot be too careful and 1 indicates that most people can be trusted.

Additionally, we control for whether or not the respondent has provided any support to non-kin ties (a binary variable coded as 1 for 'yes'). According to the social exchange theory, reciprocity is an important ingredient of non-kin relationships and support (Broese van Groenou and van Tilburg, 2007; Gouldner, 1960). In line with this theoretical notion, empirical evidence from social capital studies has demostrated that having provided to non-kin ties is strongly and positively associated with the likelihood to receive from non-relatives *(Gelissen et al.*, 2012).

Prior research has also suggested that non-kin ties are more likely to serve as a source of support amongst people who live alone (Wenger, 1990) and who experienced conflict within the family (Allan, 2008; Klein and Milardo, 2000). We therefore control for the presence of spousal disagreement (a variable based on 9 items of disagreement[16] and running from 1 'never' to 5 'very frequently') and whether the respondent lives alone (a binary variable coded as 1 for 'yes').

16 The topics of disagreement include having children, raising children, drinking alcohol, household chores, money, relationships with friends, relationships with parents and in-laws, sex, and leisure time.

Table 3: Descriptive statistics, GGS data for 10 European countries

1	Observations	Mean/ Proportion	SD	Range
Country-level characteristics				
Generalised trust	11	0.34	0.18	0-1
Active participation in formal organisations	11	0.31	0.18	0.07-0.55
Individual-level characteristics[a]				
Generalised trust	32 190	0.36		0/1
Any help given	32 190	0.46		0/1
Disagreement with spouse	32 190	1.57	0.59	1-5
Living alone	32 190	0.10		0/1
Has young children (below 7 years)	32 190	0.29		0/1
Age	32 190	46.5	13.60	18-82
Sex (male)	32 190	0.42		0/1
Residence (urban)	32 190	0.66		0/1
Difficulties making ends	32 190	0.59		0/1
Education	32 190	3.54	1.19	0-7
Employed	32 190	0.65		0/1
Unemployed	32 190	0.17		0/1
Retired	32 190	0.17		0/1
Other activity	32 190	0.01		0/1

Next, the life-course approach suggests that during various life stages some relationships may end and others may start as a result of major role transitions (Broese van Groenou and van Tilburg, 2007). For example, the experience of life transitions such as retirement or becoming unemployed may lead to the sudden or gradual disconnection with colleagues and ultimately to result in a less non-kin orientred discussion network. Becoming a parent on the other hand may lead to new members (i.e. mothers of child's friends) entering the discussion network and hence result in a greater likelihood for emotional support from non-kin ties (David-Barrett *et al.*, 2016; Small *et al.*, 2015). We therefore additionally control for whether the respondent has children younger than 7 years old (a binary variable coded 1 for 'yes') and for respondent's activity status (a categorical variable indicating whether the respondent is unemployed, retired, in other activity (i.e. sick leave) or employed (reference catory)).

Finally, we account for the socio-economic background of the respondents, namely age, gender, income (proxied by whether the respondent is able to meet ends), level of education and residence. These individual characteristics are shown to affect one's social network composition (Marsden, 1987; McPherson *et al.*, 2006). Table 3 provides descriptive statistics for all variables included in the regression analysis.

3.3.4. Method

Given the binary nature of our dependent variable and the hierarchical structure of our data where respondents are nested in countries, we estimated two-level logistic random intercept models. Our models were estimated in Bayesian framework (using MLwiN 2.3), meaning that we employed Markov Chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) technique to estimate the models' coefficients. It is beyond the scope of this contribution to discuss in detail the differences between Bayesian and Frequentist statistics (for a detailed discussion, see Jackman (2009)), but it is important to note that the Bayesian approach enables us to overcome estimation bias engendered by a rather small sample of countries (Austin, 2010).

As regards the specification of the models, given the lack of prior research on the link between social capital and emotional support from non-kin ties, we gave default or non-informative normal priors to all variables' coefficients. The variance coefficients were given non-informative gamma priors (Jackman, 2009). For each of the estimated models 500,000 MCMC iterations were generated, where the first 5,000 were discarded as burn-in. Standard convergence diagnostics indicated convergence for all of the parameters but the intercept of the null model[8].

In total, we estimated five models. We began with the 'empty model' (Model 0), which enables us to calculate the intra-class correlation coefficient (ICC) or the proportion of the total variance that is attributed to the country level (Hedeker, 2007). Then, we estimated a model including only individual-level generalised trust (Model 1.1), followed by the 'level-1 only' model including the control variables as well (Model 1.2). These models are used to estimate the contribution of individual-level generalised trust and the control variables to the likelihood of confiding in at least one non-kin tie. Here, we are interested not only in the coefficients' effect size and distribution but also in changes in the second level variance. Should we find a significant decline in the country-level variance, we can conclude that there is a compositional effect. Model 2 and 3 include country-level characteristics. We model the effect of generalised trust (Model 2), active civic participation (Model 3) separately because of

the high and significant correlation (0.71) between these characteristics. Here, we are again interested not only in the coefficients' size and distribution but also in the decline of second level variance. Should we find a decline of the variance when comparing model 1.2, and models 2 and 3 respectively, we can conclude that there is a contextual effect. This means that country-levels of generalised trust and civic participation matter for the receipt of non-kin support above and beyond the impact of individual-level trust and other individual characteristics (Duncan, Jones and Moon, 1998).

The results of the study are presented as log-odds (Table 4). A positive coefficient signifies a positive relationship whereas a negative coefficient signifies a negative relationship between the explanatory variable and the propensity to confide in at least one non-kin tie. Unlike in Frequentist statistics where maximum likelihood estimation methods are employed and one point estimate is produced and used to make population-based inferences, in Bayesian statistics an estimate is produced at every iteration. These coefficients' estimates form a posterior distribution with a mean, which in our case represents the log-odds provided in table 2. Furthermore, since we use a Bayesian framework, we do not rely on significance levels but on the 95% credible interval. The credible interval can be interpreted as the 95% probability that the true population value is within the upper and the lower bounds of the interval (van de Schoot and Depaoli, 2014). When the interval does not include zero, the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between the variables of interest is rejected and the effect is assumed present.

3.4. Results

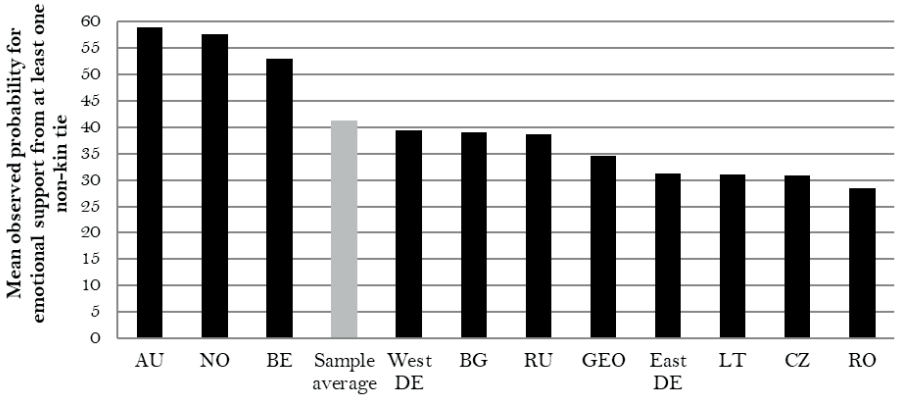
3.4.1. Descriptive results: European country differences in emotional support from non-kin ties

We examine the observed probabilities to confide in at least one non-kin tie to gauge European country differences in the extent to which non-relatives serve as an actual source of emotional support. As can be seen in Figure 7, our data reveal that the European average probability to have at least one non-kin tie in the emotional support network is 41%.

As regards country differences, we find that the northern and western European countries (but not Germany) differ from the central and eastern European countries. More specifically, the highest – and above sample average – observed probabilities are documented in Austria (59%), Norway and Belgium whereas the

lowest observed probability seems to be in Romania (29%). As regards Germany, we find that Western Germany scores very close to Bulgaria and Russia whereas Eastern Germany seems to group with Lithuania and the Czech Republic. Georgia takes a middle position in the below-sample-average group of countries.

Figure 7: Per country observed probabilities for receiving emotional support from at least one non-kin tie



3.4.2. Multi-level results: The impact of social capital on emotional support

We began our multivariate analysis by estimating the empty model, which revealed that the ICC or the proportion of the total variance that is attributed to the country-level is 7.5% (the variance estimate equals 0.27 with a credible interval of 0.11 ÷ 0.65). Adding individual-level generalised trust reduced the second level variance to 0.18 (0.07 ÷ 0.43). As can be seen in table 4, we observed a further decline in the variance component to 0.05 after including the control variables. This significant decrease in variance after the inclusion of individual characteristics suggests that a considerable portion of the country differences in confiding in at least one non-kin tie is attributable to compositional differences in the countries' populations.

As regards the impact of individual-level trust, our analyses lend support for hypothesis 1a: Compared with those who are least trustful, people who trust others seem to be more likely to have at least one non-relative in their emotional support network. Moreover, we find a strong effect of having provided to non-kin ties, where those who did so are much more likely to confide in at least one non-relative compared with those who did not provide to non-kin ties.

Table 4: Multi-level logistic regression results, individual and country level coefficients, GGS data, wave 1

	Model 1.2 [a]	Model 2	Model 4
	log-odds (95% CrI)	log-odds (95% CrI)	log-odds (95% CrI)
Country level			
Generalised trust	--	0.51 (-0.40 ÷ 1.43)	--
Active participation in formal organisations	--	--	0.71 [b] (-0.03 ÷ 1.45)
Individual level			
Generalised trust	**0.18 (0.10 ÷ 0.25)**	**0.17 (0.10 ÷ 0.25)**	**0.17 (0.09 ÷ 0.25)**
Any help given	**3.78 (3.71 ÷ 3.85)**	**3.78 (3.71 ÷ 3.85)**	**3.78 (3.71 ÷ 3.85)**
Disagreement with spouse	**0.27 (0.20 ÷ 0.34)**	**0.28 (0.21 ÷ 0.34)**	**0.27 (0.21 ÷ 0.34)**
Living alone	**0.38 (0.08 ÷ 0.68)**	**0.38 (0.09 ÷ 0.68)**	**0.38 (0.08 ÷ 0.68)**
Has young children	-0.07 (-0.17 ÷ 0.03)	-0.07 (-0.17 ÷ 0.02)	-0.07 (-0.17 ÷ 0.02)
Age	**-0.01 (-0.01 ÷ -0.002)**	**-0.01 (-0.01 ÷ -0.002)**	**-0.01 (-0.01 ÷ -0.002)**
Sex (male)	**-0.41 (-0.48 ÷ -0.34)**	**-0.41 (-0.48 ÷ -0.34)**	**-0.41 (-0.48 ÷ -0.34)**
Residence (urban)	**0.17 (0.10 ÷ 0.25)**	**0.17 (0.10 ÷ 0.25)**	**0.17 (0.10 ÷ 0.25)**
Difficulties making ends	-0.06 (-0.15 ÷ 0.03)	-0.05 (-0.14 ÷ 0.03)	-0.05 (-0.14 ÷ 0.04)
Education	**0.10 (0.07 ÷ 0.13)**	**0.10 (0.07 ÷ 0.13)**	**0.10 (0.07 ÷ 0.13)**
Unemployed	-0.08 (-0.18 ÷0.01)	-0.08 (-0.18 ÷ 0.02)	-0.08 (-0.17 ÷ 0.02)
Retired	**-0.17 (-0.31 ÷ -0.04)**	**-0.17 (-0.31 ÷ -0.03)**	**-0.17 (-0.30 ÷ -0.04)**
Other activity	-0.03 (-0.34 ÷ 0.29)	-0.03 (-0.34 ÷ 0.29)	-0.03 (-0.34 ÷ 0.29)
Intercept	**-2.34 (-2.51÷ -2.17)**	**-2.33 (-2.50 ÷ -2.17)**	**-2.34 (-2.50 ÷ -2.19)**
Uo	**0.05 (0.02 ÷ 0.13)**	**0.05 (0.02 ÷ 0.13)**	**0.04 (0.01 ÷ 0.10)**
DIC	23,485	23,485	23,485
N	32,190	32,190	32,190

Note: Coefficients that have an effect are highlighted in bold; CrI = credible interval.
a The relevant results of Model 1.1 include the coefficient for individual-level generalised trust (0.13 (0.09 ÷ 0.16)) and the variance component (0.18 (0.07 ÷ 0.43)); b 90% credible interval does not include 0 (0.11 ÷ 1.45).

We also find a positive association between living alone, having experienced disagreement with one's spouse, being an urban resident and increasing education on the one hand and the propensity to receive emotional support from a non-relative on the other. Lastly, our analysis revealed that men, older people and those in retirement are on average less likely to confide in at least one non-relative compared with women, younger people and those in employment. Here, it is important to note however that although we find an association between increasing age and non-kin support, the effect size is extremely small (log-odds of -0.01).

As regards the impact of country-level social capital, our analyses do not provide empirical support for hypotheses 1b and 2 at a 95% certainty level. Put differently, we do not find an association between country-level generalised trust and civic participation and emotional support from at least one non-kin tie. Moreover, model 2 and 3 do not explain additional variance; findings suggesting that there is no contextual effect at hand. However, it is important to note that whereas our certainty for the coefficient of generalised trust is extremely low (around 50%), our certainty for the coefficient for civic participation is about 90%. This means that active participation in formal networks is more likely than generalised trust to be associated with receiving emotional support from at least one non-relative.

3.5. Conclusions and discussion

The mobilisation of social support is one of a series of coping strategies employed during times of need, with most studies suggesting that people with more diverse and strong support networks enjoy better psychological and physiological well-being (Cohen and Lemay, 2007; Dykstra, 1990; Fiori et al., 2006; Huxhold et al., 2013). In this paper, we address actual support from non-kin ties and essentially set to answer two questions: (1) are there country differences in the extent to which Europeans confide in at least one non-relative and (2) can generalised trust and civic participation explain these country differences? We employed the Generations and Gender survey data in combination with aggregated data from the European Value Survey and advanced statistical methods to answer these questions.

Our analyses suggest that the observed European average probability to confide in at least non-kin tie is 41%. Given that we examined only those who actually received emotional support, this finding can be seen as a signal that

more than half of the European population does not have any non-familial ties in their emotional support network. This means that other social ties, i.e. the family, seem to remain an important source of emotional support across Europe. Building upon Wenger (1990) who argued that friends and neighbours are more important than children in alleviating loneliness, we advance that in developing efforts to increase psychological well-being across Europe, attention should be paid to activating non-kin ties.

With regard to country differences, in line with prior research (Craveiro *et al.*, 2013; Gelissen *et al.*, 2012; Gesthuizen *et al.*, 2008; Litwin and Stoeckel, 2013; Pichler and Wallace, 2007) which suggested the existence of a north/west - south/east divide in social capital, we found higher levels of generalised trust and civic participation in northern and western Europe than in central and eastern Europe. However, we also found a somewhat more nuanced country differences when it comes to the receipt of emotional support from non-kin ties. Two interesting observations warrant mentioning in this regard. First, our data suggest that Austria rather than Norway takes a leading position when it comes to the likelihood to confide in at least one non-kin tie. Future research might be beneficial here by employing different survey data from Austria to examine whether the high mean probability for actual emotional support from non-relatives in that country is universal for the population phenomenon or whether it is engendered by the lower age limit introduced in our data. On the example of perceived emotional support, Conkova *et al.* (2017) provides evidence that the former holds true. Second, both Western and Eastern Germany are below the European average and thus scoring closer to eastern than to western European countries. These examples suggest that although a general north/west - south/east divide in social networks and the potential resources linked to them seems to exist, once zoomed into *actual* emotional support from non-relatives more nuanced cross-country differences unfold. Future research may benefit from establishing whether these country ordering persists when other non-kin (i.e. help with emergences) and kin pertinent (i.e. practical support with household chores) types of support are examined.

With regard to the role of social capital in explaining these country differences, we find that country-level generalised trust and civic participation seem not to have an impact on the extent to which people confide in non-relatives. However, this is more so for generalised trust than civic participation, for we can be 90% certain that civic participation is positively associated with confiding in at least one non-kin tie and only about 50% for generalised trust.

Since friendship and pro-social behaviour are argued to be a function of civic participation (Finsveen and van Oorschot, 2008; Gelissen et al., 2012; Putnam, 1995), strategies aiming at activating non-kin ties can benefit from creating formal and semi-formal social settings to serve as an opportunity for interaction. As suggested by Dykstra and Fleishmann (2017) examples of such social settings include religious communities, (volunteer) work, and the neighbourhood. This recommendation is especially relevant for the central and eastern European countries, where many of the 'old' formal and voluntary organisations were dismantled after the fall of the Berlin Wall and only a few 'new' organisations have been created (Völker, 1995; Wallace et al., 2012).

That civic participation seems to be more likely to be positively associated with emotional support from non-kin ties than generalised trust seems to be also suggests that future research may benefit from developing efforts to more critically employ the concept of social capital. Similar to our study, Kääriäinen and Lehtonen (2006) found a positive relationship between informal support and country-level civic participation, but not generalised trust. These results suggest that the role of social capital will be better understood when examined through its various forms rather than as an umbrella term. More dynamic statistical models, such as Structural Equation Models, may also prove useful in assisting scholars to disentangle the link not only between social capital and support, but also between different forms of social capital. The concepts of generalised trust and civic participation seem to be closely linked, as evinced by their high correlation, but it still remains to be seen whether civic participation breads trust or vice versa.

With regard to individual-level social capital, we find empirical evidence that there exists a positive association between generalised trust and the likelihood to confide in at least one non-kin tie. This finding confirms thus the premise that generalised trust creates conditions under which cooperation may occur, but these conditions seem to be individual rather than the country-specific. In fact, an important finding of this study is that a great deal of the variance attributed to the country level, is explained by the population composition rather than the social context of the European countries. Said differently, much of the differences which we observed across countries can be explained by individual-level generalised trust rather than contextual factors. Besides the impact of generalised trust, we found a positive association between emotional support from non-relatives and living alone, having experienced disagreement with one's spouse, having provided help to non-kin ties, being an urban resident

and increasing education, as well as a negative association between emotional non-kin support and being man, older and in retirement. Future research can advance this field of research by theorising and empirically examining whether the effect of some of these individual characteristics varies across countries. Similarly to Gelissen *et al.* (2012), we found for example that having given to non-kin ties is one of the strongest predictors of non-kin emotional support. Since people in the then socialist countries extensively relied for their survival on informal support guided by personal and generalised reciprocity – a phenomenon known as 'blat' (Ledeneva, 1998) – it can be argued that the impact of reciprocity will be stronger in the post-socialist central and eastern Europe than it will be in western and northern Europe.

This study sheds new light on the role of non-kin ties as an actual source of emotional support across Europe, but it is also subjected to a number of methodological shortcomings. First, although we do generalise our findings to Europe, we have been restricted by data availability and could not include countries from the south of Europe. Second, since the GGS does not include adequate measures of conditions for supportive exchanges (Dykstra *et al.*, 2016), we were unable to control for a number of important predictors of non-kin support, such as geographic proximity, emotional closeness and frequency of contact between non-kin ties. We were also unable to account for the topic being discussed. This is informative however, for as McPherson *et al.* (2006) have argued, typically some issues will be more likely to be discussed with kin and other with non-kin ties. Finally, to best understand the mechanism through which social capital influences support, a longitudinal approach is required. Since we made use of cross-sectional data, we are not able to answer questions such as does generalised trust lead to more non-kin reliance or do restrictive family networks lead to lower generalised trust, as suggested by Ermisch and Gambetta (2010). As the GGS is advancing in collecting and releasing wave 2 data, scholars might be able to provide new knowledge on the link between social capital and actual support. The current study, despite its limitations, has made the first step in that regard.

3

Chapter 4:

Non-kin ties as a source of support amongst older adults 'left behind' in Poland: A quantitative study on the role of geographic distance*

Abstract

In the transition to democracy and a market economy, the Central and Eastern European countries experienced rapid and fundamental changes. Large-scale emigration flows and pronounced reductions in previously universal welfare systems increased the phenomenon of 'left behind' older adults. We examine this phenomenon in the case of Poland, a rather family-oriented society which in recent years sent most emigrants to Western Europe in absolute terms. Employing a support system framework and representative survey data, we enquire into older adults' support patterns. Our results suggest that older adults in Poland rely predominantly on family support, although this varies greatly across living arrangements. We also find a positive association between distance separating parents and their closest child, and support from at least one non-kin. Yet, our findings reveal differences between practical and emotional support, with the latter being more likely to be provided by non-kin, but with distance mattering to a lesser degree. Parents with very distant child(ren) are few and differ only from parents with very proximate child(ren), a finding prompting the question as to what is the difference between being 'left behind' by international and by internal migration. We conclude that the phenomenon of 'left behind' in Poland, at least in terms of support, is less a matter of children's migration and more an issue of household and regional context.

Key words

migration	social support
non-kin ties	left behind
Poland	quantitative analysis

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4.1. Introduction

The expansion of the European Union, along with the process of globalisation, has brought about an increasing number of mobile people who move within, into, and out of the European continent for a variety of reasons, but most often related to work and income. This movement of people has in turn led to changes in family life in its various aspects. Families that are subjected to the experience of migration – either directly or indirectly – are faced with multiple new situations, many of which might entail reduced emotional closeness and fewer possibilities for support between family members (Zhou, 2012). As a result, within the broad and diverse research field of migration studies, a sub-literature has emerged on those 'left behind' by migration, who typically fall into three categories – migrants' spouses, migrants' children, and migrants' parents. In this contribution, we bring to the forefront migrants' parents 'left behind' in Poland and their support systems – a network of people who provide an individual with practical and emotional support.

The literature on the left-behind parents of migrants consists mainly of studies from China and other parts of Asia, most of which focus on internal migration (see for example He and Ye, 2014; Knodel and Saengtienchair, 2007; Xiang, 2007). Another important study to note, set within the optic of long-distance transnational care, is Baldassar's pioneering research on Italian migrants in Australia and their old-age parents in Italy (Baldassar, 2007; Baldassar, Baldock and Wilding, 2007). Thus far, research on parents left behind by migration within Europe has been scarce and mostly small-scale. Exceptions have been Gedvilaitė-Kordušienė (2015) on Lithuania; King and Vullnetari (2006) on Albania; Krzyzowski and Mucha (2014) on Poland; Waidler et al. (2016) on Moldova; and Zimmer, Rada and Stoica (2014) on Romania. These latter studies reflect the recency of large-scale East-West migration flows, consequent on EU enlargements in 2004 and 2007, and hence the relative newness of the phenomenon of the 'left behind' in Europe (Black et al., 2010; Favell, 2008).

In some of the former communist countries, such as Poland, emigration has become such an important part of life that the emergence of a 'culture of emigration', in which working abroad is a normal rite de passage for young people, has been noted (Cieślińska 2012: 58). This emigration of young people is accompanied by high levels of familialism and varying degrees of rapid institutional change, leaving many older parents not only without one

of the most important sources of support – their child(ren) – but also without meaningful state support. Given that Poland is the country which, in absolute terms, has been sending most migrants to the West, we select it as a case study for this paper.

Prior research on the 'left behind' has almost exclusively featured the family as the key source of support and well-being. Theoretical insights into the configuration of social support networks suggest however that people can rely on multiple sources of support, usually subsumed under the categories of kin, non-kin, and professionals (Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969; Messeri, Silverstein and Litwak, 1993). According to the task-specific model, kin ties are a primary source of support that tends to provide all types of help, especially those requiring long-term commitment. Non-kin ties are most often preferred for emotional support and in case of emergencies, whereas professional help is opted for when the need is for more demanding (physical) care. There might, however, exist an overlap between the support sources and the types of help they provide: when the primary providers are not available, lower-placed ties, that are still able to perform the required task, are likely to step in (Litwak, 1985; Messeri, Silverstein and Litwak, 1993).

Adopting this support system framework, in this article we first examine older Poles' support patterns, taking into account their living arrangements. Then, we test the premise that when their children are not around, non-kin ties – that is friends, neighbours and others who do not belong to one's family – will become a more important source of support. Using data from the Polish Generations and Gender Survey, we investigate the extent to which increasing geographic distance between parents and their closest child triggers the receipt of practical and emotional support from at least one non-kin tie; at the same time, we account for older adults' family structure, living arrangements, and socio-economic status. Our novel achievement in this paper is hence to highlight the relevance of non-kin ties in mechanisms of support in migratory contexts; we are amongst the first to do this.

4.2. The case of Poland

In the transition to the new market economy, the demographic situation in the Central and Eastern European countries changed, in some respects for the worse. Currently, compared with the rest of Europe, this region is characterised by lower fertility, and higher levels of emigration and population

ageing (Eurostat, 2013). During the communist era, internal and international migration were strictly regulated; leaving the country was not a matter of personal choice. The shift to a market economy brought the closure and downsizing of many former state-run enterprises, resulting in high rates of unemployment and pressures for emigration, which assumed a mass scale after Poland joined the EU in 2004. According to the 2011 Polish census, about 2 million Poles lived abroad for at least three months, including about 1.5 million for longer than 12 months (Goździak, 2014). Amongst the top destination countries of Poles in Europe are Great Britain, Germany, the Netherlands and Ireland (Fihel, Kaczmarczyk and Stefanska, 2012).17 These statistics suggest that the number of Polish families whose members are separated by a long distance has substantially increased in the past decade or more.

The fall of the Iron Curtain not only brought about considerable modifications in the demographic make-up of the country but also wrought change in its social and institutional context. Older adults 'left behind' in Poland are now embedded in a post-communist welfare regime (Fenger, 2007) and a strongly family-based culture (Titkow and Duch, 2004). Although Poland has been considered one of the success-stories of the transition period (Fenger, 2007; Kera and Kessler, 2008), the country, like its Eastern European neighbours, has witnessed pronounced reductions in the previously universal socialist welfare system (Deacon, 2000). These reductions, in combination with the deterioration of institutions that used to ensure older people's well-being (i.e. pensions and the public health system), have led to social problems, including the impoverishment and exclusion of older adults (Botev, 2012). According to the latest statistics, in 2014 about 18 percent of the Polish population aged 65 years and more was at risk of poverty or social exclusion (Eurostat, 2015).

With regard to Polish family culture, Saraceno and Keck (2010) have argued that Poland falls into a cluster of countries characterised by a high degree of 'familialism by default'. This means that both residential and home-based care for older people are very limited and most of the support provision falls into the family domain. In fact, Titkow and Duch (2004) have argued that the transition to a market economy has strenghtened the institution of the family in

17 Labour restrictions on Polish migrants were removed in 2007 in the Netherlands and in 2011 in Germany. Poles have had unrestricted entry to Britain and Ireland (and Sweden) since 2004 (Goździak, 2014).

Poland, making it an important source of material and psychological support. Social networks and intergenerational relations studies have corroborated this argument, showing that spouses and children, especially daughters, are the most important sources of support (Krzyzowski, 2011; Litwin and Stoeckel, 2014). Poland is considered a familialistic country not only because of intense actual support provision but also because of strong norms of filial obligation. These reflect expectations regarding the degree to which children should support their parents, and thereby define the social roles of adult children with respect to their ageing parents (Mureșan and Hărăguș, 2015). This context of low state support for older adults in combination with high reliance on one's children for support suggests that non-kin ties might gain importance as a source of support when children are not around.

4.3. Prior research on the left behind

Although increasing in quantity and diversity, prior research on migrants' parents 'left behind' is still limited and almost exclusively focused on family support, as was pointed out in the introduction. This strand of literature has been partly informed and tinged by an alarmist perspective favoured by mass media and international advocacy organisations showcasing 'elderly orphans' and 'abandoned children' (Cieślińska, 2012; Knodel et al., 2010). Academic literature has provided limited support for this alarmist view, suggesting that parents and migrant adult children continue to engage in intensive contacts. Moreover, compared with parents without migrant children, parents of both internal and international migrants seem to receive more financial support (Abas et al., 2009; Cong and Silverstein, 2008, 2011; Gedvilaitė-Kordušienė, 2015; Guo, Aranda and Silverstein, 2009; Knodel et al., 2010; Zimmer, Rada and Stoica, 2014). These financial transfers within the migrant family have been shown to increase not only the material resources of the older adults 'left behind' but also their well-being and the amount of childcare they provide to the offspring of the migrant children (Cong and Silverstein, 2008, 2011).

On a less positive note, research has also shown that the parents of migrants receive less practical support than those without migrant children (Cong and Silverstein, 2008; Guo Aranda and Silverstein, 2009; Knodel *et al.*, 2010; Zimmer, Rada and Stoica, 2014). For the case of China, Guo, Aranda and Silverstein (2009) have furthermore demonstrated that once the positive impact of material transfers is accounted for, parents with migrants seem to have higher levels of depression compared with parents with non-migrant children. A similar conclusion was

drawn by Adhikari, Jampaklay and Chamratrithirong (2011) and Antman (2010) who revealed that older parents with migrant child(ren) are more likely to have symptoms of poor mental and physical health. Hence, financial transfers, mainly migrant remittances, seem to have a positive effect on parents' material well-being but there is a trade-off with emotional well-being and the lack of 'hands-on' care. This trade-off has been amply illustrated by qualitative research in Albania (King and Vullnetari, 2006; King *et al.*, 2014) which has shown that older adults experience feelings of detachment, loss, and grief regarding the absence of their children. Older parents find it difficult to adjust to simply not having their children (and grandchildren) 'around' and to be able to be in direct touch with them 'on demand'. From family sociological research we know that frequent face-to-face interaction is a prerequisite for emotional closeness and ultimately emotional support (Lawton, Silverstein and Bengtson, 1994). Accordingly, it could be argued that family members who live at a great geographic distance, as compared with those who are in close proximity, might be less likely to exchange not only proximity-related types of support, such as practical help, but also non-proximity types of support, such as emotional help.

Within the rubric of being 'left behind', sources of support beyond the family have rarely been examined, and this is where the original thrust of this paper is located. Hitherto, two studies inform us about support patterns involving non-family members. Adhikari, Jampaklay and Chamratrithirong (2011) have demonstrated that older adults who have migrant children are more likely than those without migrant children to seek treatment from health services. Geest, Mul and Vermeulen (2004) have furthermore argued that, in countries like the Netherlands, where public-sector care arrangements exist, it is likely that when older adults become dependent, they will make use of these arrangements. Yet, these latter authors have also shown that in Greece, where public-sector care arrangements are scarce, of low quality and not preferred, hiring a migrant to take care of older adults 'left behind' is regarded as a respectable practice since the migrant's labour is incorporated into the household domain and thus regarded as part of the family-care model. In this context, migration is thus seen as both a cause of and a solution to the shortage of carers for older people 'left behind'. Research on unpaid help by non-kin ties to those 'left-behind' is virtually non-existent, however.[18]

18 To our knowledge, the only study which addressed non-kin ties as an unpaid source of support is Cieślińska (2012). This study focuses however on 'left behind' *children* in Poland. Its findings suggest that, in the rare cases when both parents emigrated, children are cared for by other relatives, friends and neighbours.

4.4. Theoretical background

Although research in the linked fields of care and migration studies has primarily focused on the family, theoretical discussions in the field of social support networks suggest that people can rely on multiple sources of support. According to the task-specific model (Litwak, 1985) – one of the most well-known efforts to formulate the principles that govern the configuration of social support networks (Messeri *et al.*, 1993) – whether an individual will turn for support to kin, non-kin or professionals depends upon the structural properties of the relationship and the nature of the task which is required. Kin ties are biological or legal and therefore best suited to fulfil tasks that entail long-term commitment, such as care. The spouse and co-resident children can additionally function in task areas such as immediate practical help, since they share proximity and daily contact. The spouse is also suited to provide emotional support, as the marital dyad is likely to share similarity in interests and values. Neighbours are by definition in close proximity and can best handle time-urgent services, whereas friends share interests and affinity and are best suited to fulfil tasks related to emotional support, such as providing advice and mutual confiding. Finally, according to the task-specific model, a person will likely turn to a professional when the task requirements exceed the resources (i.e. time and knowledge) of the informal sources of support. This is most often the case when it comes to the more demanding aspects of physical care (Litwak, 1985; Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969; Messeri *et al.*, 1993).

Applying this support system framework to Poland, where a strong family culture prevails, we can expect that *both the practical and emotional support networks of older adults will be predominantly kin focused, especially amongst those whose spouse and child(ren) are in close proximity* (Hypothesis 1). Yet, given the task-specificity of the model, we can also assume that this will be more so for practical than for emotional support. In other words, we can expect that *older adults in Poland will be more likely to rely on non-kin ties for emotional than for practical support* (Hypothesis 1.1). Since professionals are not a primary source of practical and emotional help, and state support in Poland is generally low, we suggest that *the role of professionals in older adults' social support networks will be negligible* (Hypothesis 1.2).

The task-specific model follows the idea of specialisation, but principles of substitution are also applicable. The task-specific substitution principle is relatively simple: the group that best subsitutues for an absent optimal source of support is the one whose structure most closely matches the tasks of the other (Litwak, 1985; Messeri *et al.,* 1993). In the context of the current research, this means that when

children are not around, neighbours, who are by definition close by, will likely become a more important source of practical support, whereas friends, who share similarity in values and interests, will likely become a more important source of emotional support. Regrettably, our data source does not allow for distinguishing between friends and neighbours. We therefore formulate a general hypothesis suggesting that *there will be a positive relationship between increasing geographic distance between parents and their closest child and the likelihood that parents will receive practical and emotional support from at least one non-kin tie* (Hypothesis 2). Given that children are more likely to be a primary source of practical than emotional support, and that practical support is proximity-related whereas emotional support is not, *we also expect that the association between increasing geographic distance between parents and their closest child and practical support from non-kin will be stronger than the association between distance and emotional support* (Hypothesis 2.1).

Here, it is important to note that, in order to best understand the role of distance between parents and their closest child in relation to the receipt of support from at least one non-kin tie, it is essential to take into account whether older adults have a spouse (in the household). This is because, as suggested by the task-specific model, spouses are typically a primary source of both practical and emotional support (Litwak, 1985; Messeri et al., 1993). Furthermore, since the demographic and socio-economic background of the parent is likely to be associated with the location of his/her closest child as well as the likelihood to receive non-kin support, in this research we additionally account for the age and gender of the respondent, whether he/she has more than one child, as well as his/her education, occupation, and area of residence.

4.5. Methodological approach

In order to test the above-specified hypotheses, we employ data from the first wave (2010-2011) of the Generations and Gender Survey (GGS; see http://www.ggp-i.org/). The GGS is a nationally representative survey conducted in 19 countries, including Poland. The survey aims to improve our understanding of the family and spans people in the age range 18-79 years old. Although designed as a family-pertinent survey, the social network approach of the GGS ensures sufficient information on actual support provision from sources beyond the family, including non-kin ties and professionals. It is important to note, however, that the delineation of networks in the GGS is a combination of 'exchange' and 'role-relation' methods (for more detail see Broese Van Groenou and Van Tilburg, 2007), but unique identifying information (i.e. a name) is collected only in the

role-relation method. This means that the exchange network and role-relation network can only partly be matched and hence limited information is available on the characteristics (i.e. emotional closeness and frequency of contact) of the various members of the exchange network. Despite this limitation, GGS does provide information on the geographical distance between parents and their children, respondents' family structure, living arrangements, and their socio-economic background (Dykstra *et al.*, 2016), thereby enabling us to meet our main research aim.

The original sample size of the Polish GGS is about 20,000 people. However, since we are interested in older adults, we selected only those 6,359 respondents aged 60 years or more.

4.5.1. Practical and emotional support networks

We derive information on practical support from two questions. The first tackles the degree to which the respondent received household help (i.e. cleaning, cooking, shopping, doing repairs, and paying bills) from his/her spouse. The second question addresses up to five other network members from whom the respondent received regular help with household tasks. Information on emotional support we derive from a question which enquires into whether, over the last 12 months, the respondent has talked to anyone about his/her personal experiences and feelings. The respondents could again name up to five helpers. These in turn could be identified as being a spouse, parents (in-law), children, grandchildren, siblings (kin); friends, acquaintances, neighbours and colleagues (non-kin); and an organisation or a company (professionals).

In order to best understand older adults' support patterns, we used these questions to construct a number of support network variables. We began this procedure by selecting only those survey respondents who received practical and emotional support from at least one person. For practical support, this selection reduced the sample size to 1,029 people, and for emotional support to 3,545 people. As a second step, we created a continuous variable indicating the total number of ties that were named (network size).[19] Given our focus

19 Although the GGS imposed a limit of five to the number of social relationships a respondent could name, Dykstra *et al.* (2016) have shown that this restriction does not significantly affect the size of the support networks across the countries included in the dataset. More specifically, these authors demonstrated that only a small percentage of the respondents used all five slots. True, the mean size of the support networks is somewhat larger in the no-cap than in the cap condition, but this difference is minor.

on non-kin ties, as a third step we created a dichotomous variable indicating whether at least one of the five possible helpers was a non-kin tie.[20] Finally, we constructed three dichotomous variables indicating whether the respondents' network is *only* family, non-kin or professionally-based. Employing these variables, we descriptively examine whether the size and composition of both practical and emotional support networks differ for older adults with different living arrangements.

4.5.2. Distance between parents and children

Employing information about the length of time it takes the older parent to travel to his/her adult child(ren), we constructed a categorical variable indicating how many hours away is the closest child.[21] We constructed five categories: (1) the closest child is in the parental household; (2) the closest child is outside the parental home and at a distance of maximum 1 hour; (3) the closest child is between 1 and 2 hours; (4) the closest child is between 3 and 9 hours; (5) the closest child is 9 hours away or more. We constructed the variable in such a way that those older adults who fall in the last category (9+h) for example, have no other children living closer than 9 hours away, even if they have more than one child.

4.5.3. Living arrangements and control variables

Given the focal role of the spouse as a source of practical and emotional support, we examine the living configurations of older adults in Poland. We constructed a categorical variable indicating whether (1) the respondent has a spouse who is in the household; (2) the respondent has a spouse who is not in the household; (3) the respondent has no spouse (never married, divorced or widowed).

We furthermore control for respondents' socio-economic and demographic background since we expect that these characteristics will be associated with both the dependent and the key independent variables. The exact characteristics which we control for are: whether the respondent has more

20 We also examined how many of those who reported at least one non-kin tie had in fact only one non-kin tie in their support network. For practical support, this is the case for 97.2% of the respondents, and for emotional support for 76.8% of the respondents. These high proportions vindicate our decision to employ a binary rather than a count variable as a key dependent variable.

21 The measurement of distance can be quantified in three main ways – by linear distance (in kilometers etc.), by time taken to make the trip, and by cost. For this exercise (and also because the dataset provided this measure), we use the time travelled as the most practical and realistic metric.

than one child (a dichotomous variable, coded 1 for yes), age (a continuous variable), sex (a dichotomous variable, coded 1 for male), educational level (a variable measured on a scale from 0, pre-primary education, to 7, high-level academic education), employment (a categorical variable indicating whether the respondent is employed, unemployed, retired, or in some other condition such as sick leave or in training), and area of residence (a dichotomous variable coded 1 for urban).

4.5.4. Association between geographic distance and support from at least one non-kin tie

Employing the variable indicating whether or not older adults have at least one non-kin tie in their support networks and the above-described independent variables, we conduct logistic regression models to examine the relationship between distance separating parents from their closest child and the likelihood that a person will receive practical and emotional support from at least one non-kin tie. We model separately the likelihood for each type of support. We begin the analyses by including the control variables in the model (Model 1). Subsequently, we include the key independent variable: distance between parents and their closest child (Model 2; reference category is the closest child in the parental household). As we add the distance variable, we examine changes in the explained variance or the degree to which distance explains the difference between those with and without at least one non-kin tie in their support networks.

Tables 9 and 10 (which are presented and discussed later in the chapter) give the results of the logistic regression models. All coefficients represent how a change in the independent variable is associated with a change in the probability of having at least one non-kin tie in the practical and emotional support network. The coefficients are presented as odds ratios, meaning that coefficients greater than one signify a positive association and those below one a negative association. Since the odds ratios are somewhat uninformative when it comes to understanding the degree to which non-kin ties provide support and difficult to interpret when it comes to substantive effects (Mood, 2010), in Figures 8 and 9 we additionally present the predicted probabilities for receiving support from at least one non-kin over each of the possible categories regarding the location of the closest child. The predicted probabilities hold all other covariates constant at their mean, meaning that these results can be interpreted as the likelihood of non-kin support for a person who is average with regard to the characteristics included in the model.

4.6. Results

4.6.1. Sample description

As can be seen in Table 5, the majority (53.1%) of older adults in Poland have their closest child outside the parental household but within a distance of 1 hour. Just over a quarter (26.4%) have their closest child in the parental household, followed by those who have their closest child between 1 and 2 hours away (12.5%). Amongst those with (very) distant children, 5.2% reported their closest child between 3 and 8 hours, and only 2.8% had their closest child more than 9 hours away.

Table 5: Description of sample by practical and emotional support networks with and without at least one non-kin tie, Polish Generations and Gender Survey, 60+

	Sample average	Practical support Support network has:		Emotional support: Support network has:	
		at least one non-kin tie	no non-kin ties	at least one non-kin tie	no non-kin ties
	% (N of observations) *Mean (Standard deviation)*				
Child in the household*	26.4 (1417)	9.1 (10)	12.7 (96)	19.7 (218)	28.0 (546)
Child within 1h*	53.1 (2847)	57.3 (63)	73.4 (555)	55.3 (612)	53.9 (1051)
Child between 1-2h*	12.5 (670)	16.4 (18)	9.7 (73)	13.9 (154)	11.1 (217)
Child between 3-8h*	5.2 (281)	12.7 (14)	3.0 (23)	7.0 (77)	4.8 (93)
Child 9+h or abroad*	2.8 (151)	4.5 (5)	1.2 (9)	4.1 (45)	2.2 (43)
Living with spouse*	54.7 (3478)	20.3 (29)	33.9 (300)	38.7 (522)	65.9 (1447)
Living alone, non-resident spouse*	1.7 (111)	2.8 (4)	2.4 (21)	2.4 (32)	1.5 (34)
Living alone, no spouse*	43.6 (2770)	76.9 (110)	63.8 (565)	59.0 (796)	32.5 (714)
2+children	68.9 (4380)+	52.4 (75)	74.3 (658)	62.2 (840)	76.6 (1681)
Age of respondent	68.3 (5.8)[i]	71.5 (5.7)	71.1 (5.8)	68.4 (5.7)	68.2 (5.8)
Male	38.7 (2460)	24.0 (213)	31.0 (43)	26.3 (355)	40.4 (886)
Employed	5.6 (353)	0 (0)	1.5 (13)	5.6 (75)	6.0 (131)
Unemployed	7.3 (463)	9.1 (13)	8.1 (72)	5.9 (80)	7.5 (165)
Retired	83.0 (5278)	84.6 (121)	83.3 (738)	84.0 (1134)	82.6 (1812)
Other activity	4.2 (265)	6.3 (9)	7.1 (63)	4.5 (61)	4.0 (87)
Education	2.6 (1.4)	2.5 (1.5)	2.3 (1.4)	2.9 (1.4)	2.6 (1.3)
Urban residence	68.1 (4329)	69.9 (100)	64.9 (575)	77.0 (1040)	65.8 (1445)

*Note: *The variables measuring distance between parents and their closest child as well as living arrangements are categorical but for the sake of clarity they are presented as dummy variables; +11.3% (717) of the respondents do not have any children and 19.8% (1262) reported having 1 child;* [i] *The age range of the sample is 60-81.*

Table 6 provides information as to what percentage of older adults in Poland fall into each of the living arrangement configurations given the location of their closest child. The data suggest that the most common living arrangement in Poland includes a spouse living in the respondent's household and a non-resident child at a distance of maximum 1 hour. As to those 'left behind' by migration, findings show that only 2% of the older adults who have a spouse in the household, have their closest child more than 9 hours away. Moreover, around 2% have a spouse who is not living in the same household as the respondent, and about 44% have no spouse. From the latter group, about 4% have their closest child more than 9 hours away, whereas from those with a non-resident spouse around 9% have no closer child than 9 hours away.

Table 6: Description of living arrangements, Polish Generations and Gender Survey, 60+, who have children

	Child in the household	Child within 1h	Child between 1 and 2h	Child between 3 and 8h	Child 9+h or abroad	Total N
spouse in the household	27.2%	53.6%	12.1%	4.8%	2.2%	3128
non-resident spouse	11.7%	51.1%	22.3%	6.4%	8.5%	94
no spouse	25.8%	52.3%	12.5%	5.8%	3.5%	2144

Note: 8% (N=507) have no partner and no children; Chi-square test shows significant differences, but note that we violate the test assumption of at least 5 expected counts per cell.

Finally, as can be seen in Table 5, about 70% of the respondents reported to have more than one child and about 40% are fathers. The mean age is 68.3 years; the majority of respondents are retired (83%) and urban residents (68%). With regard to education, 51% of the sample reported upper secondary education, followed by those at the lower end – primary education (30%), and then those at the higher end – first-level tertiary education (12%).

4.6.2. Support patterns amongst older adults in Poland

Tables 7 and 8 provide information on the proportion of older adults who did not receive support, as well as the size and composition of the practical and emotional support networks of those who did receive support. In presenting this data, we distinguish between those who have no spouse and no nearby children (either because they are childless, or their nearest child lives 9+

hours away – hence they have been 'left behind' by migration), and those who have a spouse and the closest child lives at a distance of maximum 1 hour (the most common living arrangement in the dataset). Here, it is important to note that we rely on a very small number of people who fall in the category 'no spouse and nearest child lives 9+h', and therefore the descriptive findings in that regard should be treated with caution. However, we believe it is important to keep these categories separated because our analyses reveal fairly different support system configurations between those who have never had children and those who have children at a large distance, allowing us to begin refining our knowledge on those left behind by migration in Poland.

Table 7: Practical support networks by living arrangements, Polish Generations and Gender Survey, 60+

	Sample	No spouse, no children	No spouse, closest child 9+h	Spouse, closest child within 1h
No support*	83.8%	80.9%	90.5%	87.5%
Average number of ties in support network (SD)[i]	1.55 (0.8)	1.33 (0.7)	1.43 (0.5)	1.60 (0.9)
Support network with at least one non-kin tie*[i]	13.9%+	20.6%	71.4%	5.7%
- Non-kin ties-only support network*[i]	7%	15.5%	28.6%	2.4%
Support network without non-kin ties	86.1%	70.4%	28.6%	94.3%
- Kin ties-only support network*[i]	77.3%	50.5%	28.6%	85.6%
Support from at least one professional tie	4.0%	17.5%	0.0%	1.0%
- Professional ties-only network*[i]	1.8%	12.4%	0.0%	0.5%
Total number of people who received support	1029	97	7	209
Total N	6359	507	74	1677

*Note: SD=Standard deviation; + 97.2% of all people who have non-kin ties in their practical support network have only one non-kin tie; *Chi-square test reveals statistically significant differences between the categories 'no spouse and no children', 'no spouse and closest child 9+h', and 'spouse and closest child within 1h'; [i] Test of significance is performed but note that we violate the test assumption of at least 5 expected counts per cell.*

The findings reveal that 84% of older adults in Poland did not receive practical support from anyone. This proportion is almost twice those who did not receive emotional support (44%). Moreover, compared with the group of older adults with a spouse and a nearby child (within 1 hour), we observe a significantly higher share of people with distant children, who did not receive practical help, but this difference is not large: 88% versus 91% respectively (Table 7). These group differences are somewhat larger for emotional support, where those with a distant child or no children have a 16% higher observed probability of not receiving support than those with a proximate child (Table 8).

Table 8: Emotional support networks by living arrangements, Polish Generations and Gender Survey, 60+

	Sample	No spouse, no children	No spouse, closest child 9+h	Spouse, closest child within 1h
No support*	44.3%	57.0%	56.8%	41.1%
Average number of ties in support network (SD)*[i]	1.95 (1.1)	1.68 (0.9)	1.62 (0.8)	2.0 (1.1)
Support network with at least one non-kin tie*	38.1%+	70.6%	71.4%	26.6%
- Non-kin ties-only support network*[i]	14.3%	38.1%	42.9%	8.3%
Support network without non-kin ties	61.9%	29.4%	28.6%	73.4%
- Kin ties-only support network*[i]	60.1%	23.9%	28.6%	72.2%
Support from at least one professional tie	1.1%	3.7%	2.4%	0.4%
- Professional ties-only network*[i]	0.5%	2.8%	0.0%	0.1%
Total number of people who received support	3545	218	42	987
Total N	6359	507	74	1677

*Note: SD=Standard deviation; + 76.8% of all people who have non-kin ties in their emotional support network have only one non-kin tie; *Chi-square test reveals statistically significant differences between the categories 'no spouse and no children', 'no spouse and closest child 9+h', and 'spouse and closest child within 1h'; [i] Test of significance is performed but note that we violate the test assumption of at least 5 expected counts per cell.*

Regarding the size of older adults' support networks, the findings suggest that emotional networks are in general larger, with an average size of 2.0 supportive ties, compared to 1.6 ties for practical support. The networks' size differs across different household configurations but not by much: for practical support, those without children have the smallest (1.3 ties) whereas those with a proximate child the largest (1.6 ties) networks. For emotional support, those with a distant child have the smallest (1.6 ties) and those with a proximate child have the largest (2.0 ties) networks.

Next, with regard to the composition of the networks or the degree to which older adults rely on different sources of support, we find, as suggested by Hypothesis 1, that both practical and emotional support networks in Poland are predominantly family focused. Of those who received support, 77% reported that they relied exclusively on kin for practical help, compared with 60% who relied exclusively on kin for emotional help. Yet, the degree to which older adults rely only on family varies greatly across living arrangements, with those with distant children – and hence effectively 'left behind' by migration – being least likely to have kin-only networks (for both practical and emotional help, 28.6% have kin-only networks). An interesting finding worth noting here is also that, unlike those with distant children, those older adults with no spouse and no children are still most likely to rely on kin ties only (51%) for practical support. Compared with all other living arrangements, childless older adults in Poland are also most likely to rely either exclusively, or on at least one, professional for practical help (12% and 18% respectively). For emotional support, however, like those with a distant child, childless older adults are most likely to rely on non-kin ties.

With regard to reliance on non-kin ties, as suggested by Hypothesis 1.1, the findings show that older adults in Poland are more likely to rely on friends, neighbours and other non-relatives for emotional than for practical help. As can be seen in Tables 3 and 4, 38% of all respondents reported at least one non-kin tie in their emotional support network, compared to 14% who have at least one non-kin tie in their practical support network. The same conclusion can be drawn if we turn to exclusive reliance on non-relatives: 14% reported to have only non-kin ties as a source of emotional help, compared with 7% for practical help. As expected, we also see that the role of non-kin ties becomes more important when children are not around: 71% of the respondents with distant children have at least one non-kin person in their practical support network, compared to 6% for those with proximate children. This difference

exists also for emotional support but it is less extreme, 71% versus 27%. In the next sub-section, we discuss in more detail the association between distance between parents and their closest child and support from at least one non-kin person.

Finally, as suggested by Hypothesis 1.2, professionals play a negligible role in older adults' support networks in Poland, with the notable exception of the above-mentioned childless people. On average, 4% of older adults in Poland reported having at least one professional in their practical support network, and only 1% reported at least one professional in their emotional support network.

4.6.3. Association between distance and receiving support from at least one non-kin tie

We turn now to Tables 9 and 10 and Figures 8 and 9 to document and analyse the association between distance between parents and their closest child and the receipt of practical and emotional support from at least one neighbour, friend or another non-relative. We first examine Model 1 – the control variables-only model – which suggests that a strong positive relationship exists between living alone and/or not having a spouse, and the likelihood of receiving practical support from at least one non-kin person.

Table 9: Logistic regression results for practical help from at least one non-kin tie

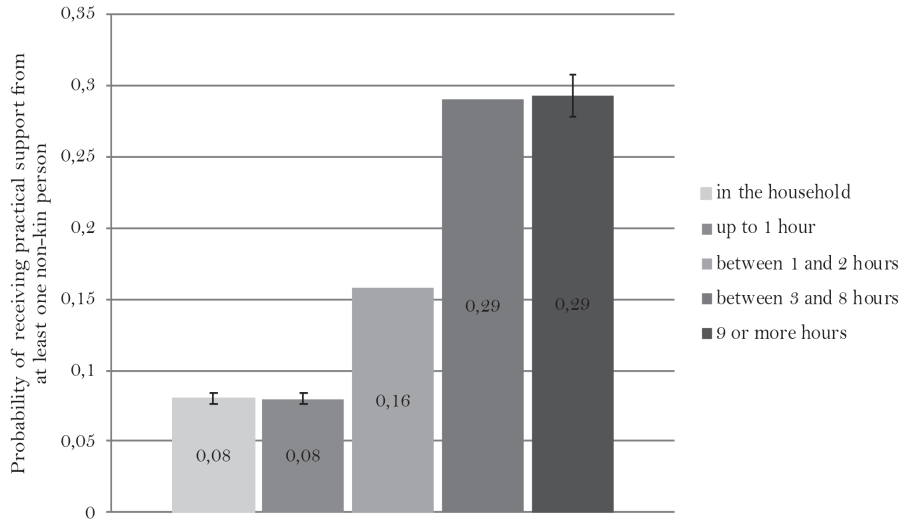
	Model 1	Model 2
Proximity of children in hours (ref: Child in the household)	Odds Ratios (Standard Error)	
Child within 1h		0.93 (0.35)
Child between 1-2h		2.14 (0.95)
Child between 3-8h		**4.65** (2.33)**
Child 9+h or abroad		**4.72* (3.26)**
Living arrangement (ref: living with spouse)		
Living alone, non-resident spouse	1.55 (1.04)	1.19 (0.85)
Living alone, no spouse	**3.07*** (0.86)**	**3.19*** (0.91)**
2+ children	**0.42*** (0.10)**	**0.47** (0.11)**
Age of respondent	0.98 (0.02)	0.98 (0.02)
Male	**2.27** (0.57)**	**2.54*** (0.65)**
Employed	-	-
Unemployed	0.78 (0.33)	0.79 (0.34)
Other activity	1.01 (0.41)	1.06 (0.44)
Education	1.11 (0.09)	1.06 (0.09)
Urban residence	0.93 (0.23)	0.92 (0.23)
Constant	0.34 (0.49)	0.28 (0.43)
N of observations	864	864
Nagelkerke R Square %	6.9	10.6
Log-likelihood	-306.6	-294.5

*Note: *** $p \leq 0.001$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$; There are no people who are in employment and received practical support from at least one non-kin tie.*

Compared with mothers, fathers are also more likely to rely on a non-kin tie, whereas having more than one child produces a negative association with non-kin practical support. For emotional support, we find that both not having a partner, and having a partner who is non-resident in the household, matters. As with practical support, we also find a negative association between having more than one child and non-kin support; but, unlike practical support, fathers are less likely than mothers to receive emotional support from a friend or a neighbour. Finally, although not very strong, there seems to exist a positive relationship between education and area of residence, on the one hand, and non-kin support

on the other. Highly educated older adults in cities are more likely to receive emotional support from at least one non-kin tie. For both types of support, the control variables explain about 7% of the variance.

Figure 8: Predicted probabilities to receive practical help from at least one non-kin tie over proximity of closest child in hours



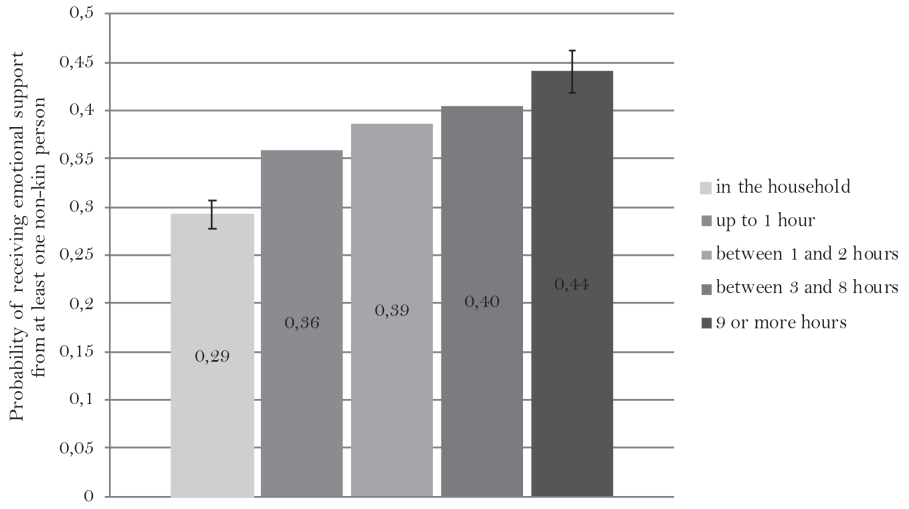
Model 2 takes into account our key independent variable: distance between parents and their closest child. For practical support, we see that older adults with child(ren) in the parental home (reference category) seem to differ significantly only from those with children between 3 and 8 hours distant, and 9 hours or more. In other words, up to 3 hours, increasing distance between the closest child and the parent does not make the parent more likely to add a non-kin tie to their practical support network. Turning to the marginal effects presented in Figure 8, we also see that the magnitude of change is quite high: holding values for all control variables at their mean values, older adults who fall the into the category 'closest child is at distance of 9 hours or more' have on average a 29% chance of receiving practical support from at least one non-kin tie, compared with only a 1% chance for a non-kin support amongst those with a proximate child, or an 18% chance for all older adults together. It is interesting to note here that older adults with very distant children, i.e. those likely to be 'left behind' by international migration, differ significantly only from those older adults with a child in the household or at a distance of less than 1 hour (coefficients are significant at p-value 0.03 and 0.01 respectively). Finally, adding the distance variable to the model results in about 4% additional explained variance.

Table 10: Logistic regression results for emotional support from at least one non-kin tie

	Model 1	Model 2
Proximity of children in hours (ref: Child in the household)	Odds Ratios (Standard Error)	
Child within 1h		**1.36** (0.14)**
Child between 1-2h		**1.53** (0.22)**
Child between 3-8h		**1.65** (0.30)**
Child 9+h or abroad		**1.91** (0.46)**
Living arrangement (ref: living with spouse)		
Living alone, non-resident spouse	**2.31** (0.65)**	**2.17** (0.62)**
Living alone, no spouse	**2.71*** (0.24)**	**2.73*** (0.25)**
2+ children	**0.74** (0.07)**	**0.77** (0.08)**
Age of respondent	0.99 (0.01)	0.99 (0.01)
Male	**0.73** (0.07)**	**0.73** (0.07)**
Employed	1.07 (0.20)	1.10 (0.20)
Unemployed	0.96 (0.16)	0.98 (0.16)
Other activity	0.70 (0.14)	0.70 (0.14)
Education	**1.13*** (0.04)**	**1.12*** (0.04)**
Urban residence	**1.49*** (0.14)**	**1.41*** (0.13)**
Constant	0.54 (0.28)	0.53 (0.28)
N of observations	3 050	3 050
Nagelkerke R Square %	6.6	7.1
Log-likelihood	-1 863.8	- 1855.3

*Note: *** $p \leq 0.001$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$.*

Figure 9: Predicted probabilities to receive emotional help from at least one non-kin tie over proximity of closest child in hours



For emotional support there is also a positive and significant relationship between the distance separating parents from their closest child and non-kin support, whereby those with a child in the household differ significantly from all other categories. Thus, when it comes to emotional support, non-relatives are more likely to become part of the support network as soon as the child leaves the parental household. In Figure 9 we see, however, that the magnitude of change in probability is small, and hence older adults' likelihood of receiving emotional support from a friend or a neighbour seems not to be strongly conditioned by the distance between them and their closest child. Holding all other variables at their means, the average predicted probability for non-kin emotional support is 38%, whereas the probability for non-kin emotional support amongst those with a co-resident and a distant (9+ hours away) child is respectively 29% and 44%. As with practical support, those with a distant child differ significantly only from those with a household child (coefficient is significant at p-value 0.01). Finally, adding the distance variable in the model results in very little (0.5%) additional explained variance. For both types of support, the control variables' coefficients remain virtually unchanged after including the key independent variable of time-based distance in the model.

4.7. Conclusions and discussion

Building upon prior research, this paper has argued that large-scale emigration flows of young people and considerable reductions in previously universal welfare systems in the Central and Eastern European countries have contributed to create the phenomenon of 'left-behind' older adults. We examined this phenomenon in the case of Poland, a country which has sent very large numbers of emigrants to Western Europe in recent years. More specifically, the paper enquired into older adults' support patterns given their living arrangements, and tested the premise that, when their children are not around, non-kin ties become a more important source of support. This has been our specific original contribution to what Toyota, Yeoh and Nguyen (2007) have called the 'migration–left behind nexus'.

Research on people 'left behind' by migration tends to be fuelled by concerns about support provision and the well-being of older adults (Toyota *et al.*, 2007). Adopting a dyadic perspective, prior studies have corroborated these concerns regarding issues of care and practical support, demonstrating that the parents of migrants tend to receive less 'hands-on' help than those without migrant children (Cong and Silverstein, 2008; Guo *et al.,* 2009; Knodel *et al.*, 2010; Zimmer *et al.*, 2014). In contrast to these studies, we adopted in this paper a more explicit recipient perspective and found more positive evidence about support provision. We showed that older adults 'left behind' by migration in Poland do receive significantly less support and have smaller support networks than their counterparts with proximate children, but these differences are not large. Future research might be able to bring new insights into the phenomenon of those 'left behind' by migration in Poland by focusing on older adults who did not receive support. An interesting question in that regard pertains to whether older adults did not receive support because they did not need it, or because they did not want to receive it, or because they were no network ties willing or able to provide support. Moreover, unlike this research which is cross-sectional and thus gave no clues as to how the patterns and needs of support for older adults 'left behind' by migration change over time, future research might be able to accumulate new knowledge by adopting a longitudinal perspective. As people grow old, their needs for care and support generally increase. Developing and testing hypotheses about the role of needs in determining support patterns amongst the 'oldest old' might prove informative in understanding the phenomenon of 'left behind'.

Turning to those who received help, i.e. about 20% of our sample for practical support and about 60% for emotional support, our findings suggest that support networks in Poland are comprised primarily of family ties, especially amongst those with a proximate spouse and child(ren). That Poland is a rather familialistic country has been suggested by prior research (Krzy owski, 2011; Litwin and Stoeckel, 2014; Titkow and Duch, 2004) and is further corroborated by our finding that family remains the most important source of practical support even amongst those older adults who have no spouse and never had children. Previous work on childless people has suggested that these kin ties are likely to be siblings and their children (Albertini and Mencarini, 2014; Dykstra, 2015). In line with prior research in countries with low state support for older adults (Geest et al., 2004), we also demonstrated that the role of professionals in older Poles' support networks is negligible, with the notable exception of childless people.

The degree to which older adults in Poland rely on family support varies greatly across living arrangements and types of support, however. With regard to the latter, we demonstrated that both full and partial reliance on non-kin ties is much more likely for emotional than practical support. With regard to living arrangements, we observed that older adults 'left behind' by migration seem to be more likely to rely on non-kin ties for both practical and emotional support. Hence, by means of descriptive analysis, it can be concluded that, although non-kin ties serve as a source of support less often than kin ties do, they play an important role for those older Poles whose children live far away. This finding bears significant policy relevance, especially in the Polish context, where state support for older adults is limited. Since practical support, including some aspects of demanding personal care, do not fall naturally into the domain of non-kin ties, yet do seem to occur, social policy that enables and supports people to provide help to non-kin (e.g. cash entitlements when helping a neighbour) could prove instrumental in strengthening informal support for older adults.

Consistent with this descriptive analysis, logistic regression analysis revealed that a positive relationship exists between increasing geographic distance between parents and their closest child and the receipt of non-kin support, even when we account for the presence of a spouse and other children. Furthermore, we established that this association differentiates between practical and emotional support. For practical support, results revealed that, up to 3 hours, increasing geographic distance between parents and their

closest child does not make parents more likely to add a non-kin tie to their support network. This is probably because, as suggested by the task-specific model (Litwak, 1985; Messeri et al., 1993), kin ties are simply better suited to provide help with household tasks. For emotional support, on the other hand, the findings suggested that non-kin ties are more likely to become part of older adults' support networks as soon as the closest child leaves the parental home. This, along with the finding that a spouse's presence in the household significantly decreases the probability to receive emotional support from at least one non-relative, corroborates the thesis that daily face-to-face contact is a crucial determinant of emotional closeness and ultimately emotional support (Lawton, Silverstein and Bengtson, 1994).

Findings for practical and emotional support also differ when it comes to effect sizes and explained variance. Although non-kin ties seem to be activated as a source of support at a shorter distance for emotional than practical help, the overall effect of distance is much stronger when it comes to practical household help. Distance between parents and their closest child seems to explain very little of the difference between those with and those without one non-kin tie in their emotional support network, allowing us to conclude that distance matters much more for practical support. This is in agreement with prior studies which have persistently shown that migration is more detrimental to the receipt of proximity related types of support than it is for non-proximity types of support (Bordone and de Valk, 2016; Ryan et al., 2008; 2009; Wolff, Spielerman and Attias-Donfut, 2007).

On a different but related note, the regression results also suggested that older adults with very distant children differ only from those with very proximate children, with this significant difference applicable to both practical and emotional support. This, along with the finding that only about 3% of older Poles have children further than 9 hours away, open questions such as could the 'left behind by migration' in Poland be more of a regional than a national phenomenon, and how people 'left behind' by international and those similarly affected by internal migration differ, if at all. Biao (2007) in his study on rural China suggested that the phenomenon of being 'left behind' can in fact be attributed less to mobility and more to the fundamental problem that many rural communities are economically and socially left behind. As suggested by Zimmer, Rada and Stoica (2014), this also holds true in the former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, where rapid urbanisation and rural depopulation have led to a deterioration in the quality and sustainability of

rural life. This has resulted in greater numbers of single older adults, who are marginalised and much more in need of informal support than their urban counterparts. Poland has witnessed spatially different rates of emigration and economic development (Cieślińska, 2012) and some qualitative work in the regions which were most affected would prove useful to achieve a more in-depth geographical understanding of the phenomenon of the 'left behind'.

To recap, this contribution sheds new light on the phenomenon of the so-called 'left behind' in Poland by demonstrating that, in contrast with the average older Pole, those 'left behind' by long-distance migration are not necessarily much less likely to receive support; yet their support networks' compositions differ. We also argued that the phenomenon of the 'left behind', at least in terms of support patterns, might be less a matter of distance and more an issue of household and regional context. As a final point, we would like to suggest that future research on the phenomenon of older people 'left behind' by migration could be profitably accomplished through the lens of well-being. On the one hand, previous research in the field of migration studies has suggested that older adults with migrant children experience feelings of loss and grief from the absence of their children (King and Vullnetari, 2006; King *et al.*, 2014). On other hand, prior work in the field of support provision has demonstrated that both practical and emotional non-kin support is positively associated with older adults' well-being (Merz and Huxhold, 2010). How these opposing effects interact to shape the phenomenon of 'left behind' in Europe remains to be fully explored.

Chapter 5:

Confidant networks of Polish migrants in the Netherlands*

Abstract

Bridging the literatures on personal networks and migration studies, in this contribution we set out to examine the web of confidants of Polish migrants in the Netherlands. Arguing that prior research has neglected networks' transnational character and kin/non-kin composition, we create a network typology and test the premise that belonging to different types of networks is closely linked with migrants' engagement in the origin and destination context. Using the Families of Poles in the Netherlands survey – a recently collected representative data – we demonstrate that four types of personal networks exist. These are 'Bi-national: kin-focused' (47.9%), 'Bi-national: non-kin-focused' (14.5%), 'Destination: partner-focused' (30.8%) and 'Restricted: no confidants' (6.7%). Our results reveal furthermore that belonging to any type other than 'Bi-national: non-kin focused' is linked with the degree to which migrants remit and visit Poland as well as with the nationality of their partner. Since opportunity structures that are important amongst other migrant groups (e.g. employment in the destination context and host country language proficiency) seem not to predict Polish migrants' belonging to any of the types of personal networks, we conclude that other, i.e. cultural, factors play an important role in understanding Poles' web of confidants.

Key words

personal networks
kin and non-kin ties
spatial configuration
typology
Polish migrants in the Netherlands

** This chapter is co-authored by Tineke Fokkema and Pearl Dykstra. A slightly different version of the chapter is currently under review in an international peer-reviewed journal.*

5.1. Introduction

Social networks constitute both an important measure of solidarity and a crucial source of identity, social control and support (Dykstra, 2016). Different types of social networks exist, with personal networks consisting of people with whom personal concerns are shared (Marsden, 1987; McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Brashears, 2006). The importance of confidants for psychological and physiological well-being lies in their trustworthiness and the affection they provide (Antonucci, Ajrouch and Birditt, 2014; Bookwala, 2017; Fiori, Antonucci and Cortina 2006; Marsden, 1987; McPherson et al., 2006; Small, Deeds Pamphile and McMahan, 2015). In this study, we examine the web of confidants of Polish migrants in the Netherlands, thereby bridging the literatures on personal networks and migration studies.

Size, homogeneity and composition are among the most important properties describing the network of confidants (Fischer, 1982; Marsden, 1987). Network size measures the total number of confidants and is shown to vary from person to person and from society to society. Moreover, each country has a group of "social isolates", that is people who do not list any confidants (Litwin and Stoeckel, 2014; McPherson *et al.*, 2006). In a nationally representative sample in the United States, Fischer (2009) showed that the group of social isolates is about 10 percent. Similarly, European studies of older adults demonstrated that the group of social isolates ranges from 3 percent in the Netherlands, to 7 percent in Poland, to 10 percent in Italy (Litwin and Stoeckel, 2014). Homogeneity is an indicator of similarity among confidants in the network – be it in terms of age, gender, education or ethnicity (Marsden, 1987). Regardless of the specific measure under consideration, personal networks are remarkably homogenous, corroborating the theoretical premise that interaction with similar others is more rewarding as it reduces the costs of interaction (McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook, 2001; Mollenhorst, Voelker and Flap, 2008; Völker, Pinkster and Flap, 2008). Composition refers to the types of ties in the network, with prior research demonstrating that the web of confidants is often comprised of both kin (e.g. partner, parents and siblings) and non-kin (e.g. friends, neighbours and colleagues), although solely family-based and solely non-family-based networks also exist (Fischer, 1982; Giannella and Fischer, 2016; Marsden, 1987). The size, homogeneity and composition of personal networks are not constant, but rather continually evolve over the course of life, across time and space (Antonucci, 2001; Fischer, 2009; McPherson *et al.*, 2006; Small, Deeds Pamphile and McMahan, 2015).

In migration studies, more and more attention is being paid to migrants' social networks, but only a handful of papers focus specifically on the web of confidants (e.g. Herz et al., 2014; Molina, Petermann and Herz, 2015; Popielarz and Cserpes, 2017; van Tubergen, 2015; and Völker et al., 2008). Herz et al. (2014) is an intriguing paper which clearly demonstrates that not all existing ties serve as confidants. On the example of Germany, the authors revealed that half of the country population knows at least one person who lives abroad, but fewer than 3 percent have a long-distance network member with whom they discuss important personal matters. The remaining four studies focused primarily on networks' ethnic diversity or the extent to which immigrants confide in co-ethnics (people with the same ethnic background and/or nationality), host country nationals (people born in the country of destination who have no migration background) or internationals (people who are from a third nationality and thus not from the immigrant's origin country and also not from the destination country). Moreover, with the exception of Molina, Petermann and Herz (2015), these studies have exclusively focused on confidants in the country of destination. This emphasis on network's ethnic composition in the destination context, we argue, is not surprising given that having inter-ethnic ties is considered one of the key aspects of integration. In fact, a great deal of the studies on Polish migrants in the Netherlands are also embedded in the integration paradigm and as a result focused on issues such as migrant's labour market participation, Dutch language proficiency, housing and the presence of social ties in the Netherlands (Dagevos, 2011; Gijsberts et al., 2018; Gijsberts and Lubbers, 2013, 2015; Toruń czyk-Ruiz, 2008).

In this work, we departure from existing practices of examining personal networks in migration context and thereby contribute to the literature in a number of ways. First, unlike prior studies that took an integration perspective and as a result focused exclusively on migrants' ties in the country of destination, we examine Polish migrants' personal networks through the lens of transnationalism. This means that we devote special attention to networks' spatial configuration or the degree to which Poles confide in social ties in the country of origin as well as in the country of destination. Moreover, rather than focusing on social network's ethnic homogeneity we examine networks' kin/non-kin composition or the extent to which Poles confide in their partner, parents and siblings as well as in their friends, neighbours, colleagues and other non-relatives. To examine networks' spatial configuration and kin/non-kin composition simultaneously, we develop a network typology.

Developing a network typology has been at the heart of social network analysis at least since its early years for it allows to more efficiently distinguish individuals by their networks as well as to identify network features that are more salient than others (Giannella and Fischer 2016). Network typologies provide thus a parsimonious framework for summarising, describing and explaining the complexity of personal networks. Finally, following Levitt and Glick-Schiller (2004), we distinguish between activities and social connections and test the premise that migrants' engagement in activities in the country of origin and the country of destination is closely linked with the configuration of their personal networks. We perform this research by employing a recently collected representative data on confidants from the registered in the Netherlands Polish migrant population – the Families of Poles in the Netherlands survey – in combination with latent class and multinomial regression analysis.

We turn to the case of Polish migrants because in recent years Poland has become a major source of labour migrants to the west of Europe. According to the 2011 Polish census, about 2 million Poles lived abroad for at least three months, including about 1.5 million who lived outside Poland for longer than 12 months (Goździak, 2014). In the Netherlands, the number of Poles has increased significantly since Poland's accession in the European Union, reaching yearly immigrant flows greater than those of the traditional migrant groups (Turks, Moroccans, Antilleans and Surinamese) taken together (Gijsberts and Lubbers, 2013). According to official statistics, the number of Polish migrants in the Netherlands increased from about 21 to 160 thousand in the period 2004-2017 (CBS, 2017).

5.2. Types of personal networks

As noted earlier, one of the key innovations of this study is that we enquire into migrants' personal networks from a transnationalism rather than an integration perspective. The notion of transnationalism was introduced in the early 1990s and posits that migration can no longer be seen as unidirectional journey from the country of origin to the country of destination, where the migrant settles permanently (Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc, 1995). On the contrary, transnationalism scholars argue that modern technology and transportation means have made it possible for migrants to continue bonds with homelands and communities elsewhere, whilst at the same time be engaged in developing a new life in their place of settlement (Glick-Schiller,

Basch and Szanton Blanc, 1995; Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Vertovec, 2007). Said differently, transnationalism gave recognition to the fact that migrants' lives are nowadays lived between the origin and the destination country. Yet, it has also been reasoned that not all migrants are equally transnational (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt, 1999). As evinced by Engbersen et al. (2013), the group of Polish migrants in the Netherlands follows patterns that can be subsumed under those who are simultaneously involved in the origin and the destination context, those who are involved either in the destination or in the origin context, and migrants who are involved in neither context. Building upon this divide, we propound that four types of Polish migrants' personal networks can exist: members are (1) balanced between the country of origin and the country of destination; (2) primarily situated in the country of origin; (3) primarily situated in the country of destination; (4) not existent (i.e. when the migrant disconnects with confidants/had no confidants in the country of origin and does not establish new ones in the country of destination).

The second key innovation of this study is that we move beyond networks' ethnic composition to examine the extent to which Polish migrants confide in kin and non-kin ties. The differences between kin and non-kin ties are many and far-reaching. Family ties are consanguine relations that are difficult, at least formally, to be sundered; they are given rather than chosen and often obliged to care and provide for each other. The only relative that is not given, but chosen, is one's partner; yet the partner is an affective relation which, like other relatives, is very supportive (Dykstra, 2009). What we owe and can expect from relatives, especially from the immediate family – partner, children, parents and siblings – involves far more commitment, trust and sacrifice than is the case with non-relatives (Fischer 1982; Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969). Given the stability, closeness and obligatory nature of kin ties, we can expect that they will not be strongly influenced by the process of migration and will hence form part of migrants' personal networks in the origin context. Prior research tentatively confirms this premise by demonstrating that despite enlarged geographic and cultural distance, migrants remain in frequent contact with their close family ties (Koelet and de Valk, 2016; Morosanu, 2013; Rooyackers, de Valk and Merz 2016). With regard to kin ties in the country of destination, we can expect that they will form part of migrants' personal networks to the extent that Polish migrants have these ties in the place of settlement, either through family members' own migration or through the presence of a native partner (family in-law). Prior research on intermarriages and the role of social networks in facilitating migration (including family reunification)

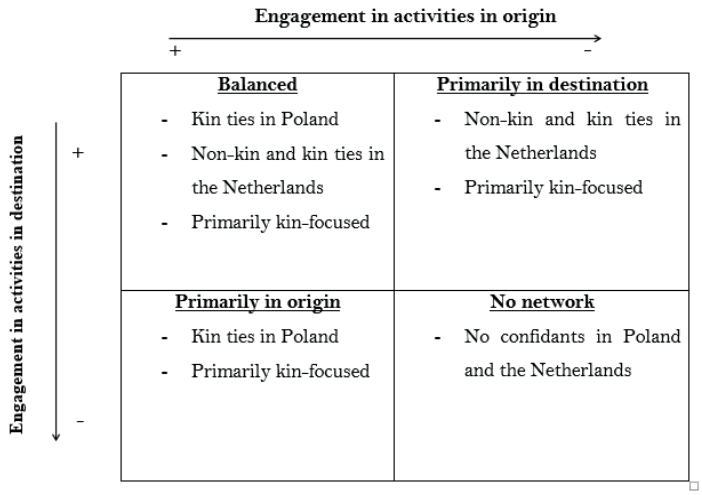
suggests that having family members in the country of destination is in fact not uncommon (Boyd and Nowak, 2012; Massey and España, 1987; Sánchez-Domínguez, de Valk and Reher, 2011). Hence, kin ties are likely to be part of all above-proposed network types, with the obvious exception of the network type 'confidants are not existent'.

Non-relatives, on the other hand, are voluntary ties, that require maintenance, and are often defined by close proximity and similarity in age, values and interests. They tend to be chosen for sociability, consolation and casual assistance (Fischer, 1982; Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969). Given the temporality and voluntary nature of non-kin ties, we can expect that they will withstand the process of migration with more difficulties than kin ties will and as a result seldom form part of Polish migrants' personal networks in the country of origin. Prior research is again confirmative here in showing that migrants tend to keep contact only with a limited number of friends in the origin context and that these friendships tend to fade away as time since migration elapses (Morosanu, 2013). Because friends are neither biologically nor institutionally bond, they tend to 'move on' after migration and often no longer invest the required effort to sustain the relationship (Janta, Cohen and Williams, 2015; Mueller, 2015). With regard to non-kin ties in the country of destination, it can be argued that they may play a fairly important role in migrants' web of confidants because of their close proximity and frequent opportunities for face-to-face interaction (opportunity structure). In research on personal networks, the link between opportunity structure and social interaction has been well established (Mollenhorst et al., 2008; Völker et al., 2008), supporting Verbrugge's (1977) famous expression "there is no mating without meeting". In line with this argument, extant research on migrants' social contacts demonstrated that migrants often establish new non-kin ties in the destination context through their job, language courses or the neighbourhood (Eve, 2010; Lubbers et al., 2010; Ryan, 2011, 2015). This discussion allows us to conclude that non-kin ties are likely to form part of personal networks' types 'primarily in the country of destination' and 'balanced between the country of origin and destination'. Yet, since non-kin ties are more susceptible to disruption and lacking the obligation for care and support, we can expect that all types of migrants' personal networks will be predominantly kin-focused.

The third and final innovation of our study is that we link Polish migrants' personal networks with their engagement in activities in the country of origin and the country of destination. In doing so, we build upon Levitt

and Glick-Schiller's (2004) distinction between transnational social fields and transnational spaces. Transnational social fields pertain to migrants' (potentially multi-ethnic) social connections or personal networks, whereas transnational spaces pertain to the economic, political and religious activities across borders that propel both migrants' integration and transnational connections. Transnational spaces include a whole gamut of activities ranging from remittances and visits to the home country, to occupational activities, to voluntary and voting behaviour in the home and destination country (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt, 1999). Activities in the country of origin ensure migrants' ongoing identification with the home context and safeguard reciprocal relationships that cement migrants' support system and social status (Mouw et al., 2014). Activities in the country of destination serve on the other hand as opportunity structures allowing people to meet and establish valuable social relationships (Mollenhorst et al., 2008; Verbrugge, 1977), which are in turn likely to serve as confidants. By the same token, we can expect that those who are neither engaged in activities in the origin nor in the destination country will be more likely to have no confidants. Figure 10 summarises our expectations with regard to personal network types as well as the associations between belonging to any of these types on the one hand and engagement in activities in the country of origin and the country of destination on the other.

Figure 10: Summary of hypothetical migrants' personal networks



5.3. Methodological approach

5.3.1. Data

To examine the web of confidants of Polish migrants in the Netherlands, we employ data from the Families of Poles in the Netherlands (FPN) survey. The data were collected between October 2014 and April 2015 amongst Polish migrants aged 18-59, who registered in the Dutch population register (GBA) in 2004 or later. In total, 1131 Polish migrants were interviewed, either through a web or computer assisted personal interviews in either Polish or Dutch (Karpinska *et al.*, 2016). The way in which data were collected did not allow for item-nonresponse, meaning that there are no missing values. However, since 2 respondents indicated to be much younger than 18 years old, which is clearly not possible given their GBA registration, we excluded them from the analysis. The response rate is 51% which along with the random sampling procedure of the survey ensured a representative sample (Karpinska and Ooijevaar, 2016). Here, it is essential to note that because we rely on registered migrants, our analysis does not capture migrants who are seasonal workers – that is Poles who come to the Netherlands for a period shorter than 4 months.[22]

The FPN dataset includes a wide array of attributes, ranging from migration history and practices, to family structure and normative expectations, to support networks including personal networks. Personal network data were collected by means of a name generator asking the following question: "From time to time, most people discuss things that are important to them with others. For example, these may include good and bad things that happen to you, problems you are having, or important concerns you may have. Looking back over the past 12 months, who are the people with whom you usually discuss important personal matters? Note that we mean here private conversations and not professional help (psychologist or social worker)." After all confidants were named, name interpreters were used to collect data on their background characteristics, including: role relationship (i.e. partner; (grand-)child[23], (great-)parent (in-law), sibling (in-law), other relative (in-law) – *kin*; friend, acquaintance or colleague – *non-kin*), age, gender, and place of residence (i.e.

22 In the Netherlands, only migrants who intend to stay longer than 4 months are required to register in the municipality where they live in. Van Der Heijden, Cruyff and Gils (2011) estimated that about 23% of the Poles in the Netherlands in 2008-09 did not register.

23 We excluded the respondents' child(ren) from the analysis because our focus is on adult confidants. Children in the FPN dataset are rather young: mean age is 10 years old.

Poland, the Netherlands or elsewhere[24]). For a detailed description of the name generator procedure, we refer the reader to Karpinska *et al.* (2016).

5.3.2. Latent class analysis

Combining information on the presence of confidants, their role relationship and place of residence, we generated a number of variables which served as an input in the typology analysis. To construct the typology of Polish migrants' personal networks, we performed Latent Class Analysis (LCA) in *Latent Gold 5.1* (Vermunt and Magidson, 2016). LCA is a powerful tool in identifying the number of types that exist in a population as well as in predicting which people of the population are likely to belong to any of these types (conditional probabilities of belonging) (Hagenaars and Halman, 1989). A standard practice in LCA is to employ binary or categorical input variables – also known as indicators – in order to increase parsimony and manage complex data (Dykstra and Fokkema, 2011; Vermunt and Magidson, 2016). The indicators used in this LCA are as follows:

Partner: A categorical variable indicating whether the respondent's partner[25] (1) is named as a confidant and resides in the Netherlands (75%); (2) is named and resides in Poland (4%); or (3) whether the respondent's partner is not part of his/her confidant network, either because the respondent has no partner at all or did not name him/her[26] (21%). We generated a separate variable for the partner rather than including him/her in the variable kin, because of his/her special role in people's personal networks (Conkova and King, 2018; Messeri, Silverstein and Litwak, 1993; Stoeckel and Litwin, 2013).

Kin ties: A categorical variable indicating whether parents (in-law), siblings (in-law) and other relatives were nominated as confidants as well as their country of residence. If the ratio of kin ties in the Netherlands to all kin ties in the

24 Since we are interested only in confidants in the origin and the destination context as well as for the sake of parsimony and avoiding having empty cells, we excluded from the respondents' personal networks those who do not live in either the Netherlands or Poland. This means that we excluded 82 partners, 53 siblings and 54 non-kin ties.

25 Partner is defined as the person with whom the respondent is legally married, in a registered partnership, in a cohabitation agreement or being together without a legal contract. The partner could or could not live with the respondent.

26 Given the technical difficulties arising from performing LCA with categorical variables with more than 3 categories (Vermunt and Magidson, 2016), we kept together those who did not name their partner (60 respondents; 5.6% of the sample) and those who have no partner (166 respondents, 15.8%). Please note that not naming the partner could be a by-product of the fact that for some people the partner's role as a confidant is too self-evident and consequently they 'forget' to name him/her (cf. Marsden, 2005).

network was greater than 0.5, we coded the variable as 1: kin ties are named and predominantly living in the Netherlands (6%). Similarly, if the ratio of kin ties in Poland to all kin ties was greater or equal to 0.5, we coded the variable as 2: kin ties are named and predominantly living in Poland (52%). Finally, if no kin ties were named, we coded the variable as 3: no kin ties are named (42%). The number of nominated kin ties ranges between 0 and 15, with 50% of the respondents naming two kin ties. Nominated kin ties are most often parents (especially mothers), followed by siblings (especially sisters).

Non-kin ties: A categorical variable indicating whether friends, colleagues and acquaintances were nominated as confidants as well as their country of residence. This variable was generated following the same logic as the previous indicator. Hence, category 1 stands for non-kin ties that are named and predominantly living in the Netherlands (30%), category 2 indicates that non-kin ties are named and predominantly living in Poland (12%), and category 3 indicates that no non-kin ties were named, that is their number in the social network equalled 0 (58%). The number of nominated non-kin ties ranges between 0 and 5, with some 13% nominating at least one non-kin tie. Nominated non-kin ties are most often friends, followed by colleagues and acquaintances.

Kin/Non-kin composition: As a final indicator, we included a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent's network is comprised of primarily kin (ratio of kin to all ties is equal or greater than 0.5; 85%) or predominantly non-kin ties (ratio of kin ties to all ties is less than 0.5; 15%).

5.3.3. Multinomial regression analysis

To examine the proposed link between types of Polish migrants' personal networks (LCA output is here the dependent variable) on the one hand and migrants' engagement in activities in the country of origin and the country of destination on the other (independent variables), we performed multinomial regression analysis in *STATA 13*. The results of the multinomial model are presented as marginal effects. The marginal effects hold all other covariates constant at their mean, meaning that these results can be interpreted as the associated change in the probability to belong to a certain type of personal networks as one-unit change in the independent variable of interest occurs for a Polish migrant who is average with regard to the remaining characteristics included in the model (Mood, 2010).

The predictors included in the model are depicted in Table 11. We operationalise migrants' engagement in activites in the country of destination – the Netherlands – by means of their employment status; whether they have a Dutch partner; Dutch language proficiency; and the time they spent in the country. Employment (a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent has a paid job) and having a Dutch partner (a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent has a Dutch partner) are important proxies of migrants' engagement in the Netherlands, because most new ties in the destination context are established mainly through the work place or marrying a native person27 (Lubbers et al., 2010; Ryan, 2011, 2015). Dutch language proficiency (a continuous variable reflecting the mean score of the respondents' self-reported ability to understand, speak, write and read Dutch) we include in the model because it facilitates social interaction and allows migrants to develop close and trustworthy relationships (Leszczensky et al., 2016; Ryan, 2015; Toruńczyk-Ruiz, 2008). Finally, we include time spent in the Netherlands (a continuous variable) because it is associated with migrants' friendship ties. As time since migration elapses, friendship ties in the country of origin tend to weaken whereas ties in the country of destination tend to become stronger (Lubbers et al., 2010).

We operationalise Polish migrants' engagement in activities in the country of origin by means of material possessions; remittances; and frequency of visits[28]. Following Carling (2008), we argue that *material possessions* (a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent owns any of the following: dwelling, land, store or business, car, van or truck in Poland) and *remittances* (a dummy variable indicating whether the respondent provided money to family, friends, and acquaintances in Poland) not only have a material function but also serve as a social glue which reinforces social ties from a distance. Higher *number of visits* to Poland (a continuous variable), on the other hand, ensure direct interaction which allows people to stay aware of each other's lives, problems and concerns (Wellman and Wortley, 1990).

Finally, we control for a number of background characteristics of the respondents, namely age, gender, education, religiosity, the presence of children, prior migration, and return intentions. *Age* (a continuous variable),

27 Besides the work place and marrying a native person, new ties can be established through sport clubs and other formal organisations. Regrettably our data do not include information on formal and voluntary organisations, such as sport clubs, religious or church organisations, and community groups.

28 Due to data limitations, we do not include a measure of indirect contact with social ties in Poland (i.e. via the telephone or internet).

gender (a dummy variable coded 1 for males) and *education* (a categorical variable ranging from 1: no education to 6: tertiary or higher education) are strong determinants of personal networks' composition as well as social isolation. With regard to the latter, it has for example been evinced that women, younger people and higher educated are less likely to report no confidants (McPherson *et al.*, 2006; Völker *et al.*, 2008). *Religiosity* (a continuous variable indicating the number of times the respondent attends religious services per year) (Litwin, 1996), and *the presence of children* (a dummy variable coded 1 for yes) (Small *et al.*, 2015) create opportunities for interaction with non-kin ties. With regard to the latter, Small *et al.* (2015) has evinced that being a parent is associated with an increased availability of non-kin ties in one's personal network. These non-kin confidants are other parents acquainted at the playground, day-care services or the child's school. *Prior migration* (a dummy variable coded 1 for yes) is likely to be associated with more transnational networks and higher probability for future migration (Czaika and de Haas, 2014), whereas *return intentions* (a dummy variable coded 1 for yes) serve as a source of motivation to remit and continue close bonds in the country of origin (Carling, 2008).

5.4. Results

5.4.1. Description of the sample

Table 11 provides information on the sample background characteristics as well as migrants' engagement in activities in the country of origin and destination. The average age of the sample is 34 years; there are somewhat more women than men (60% vs 40%) and the average education level equals a diploma at the intermediate level. The mean attendance of religious services per year is 8 times and half of the respondents (54%) said to have at least one child. About one in four Poles in the Netherlands experienced prior migration and about 30 percent of the sample intend to return to Poland.

With regard to engagement in the destination and origin context, the majority of Poles in the Netherlands reported to be employed (79%); about 11 percent have a Dutch partner and about half of the sample reported average Dutch language proficiency. On average, the respondents have been living in the Netherlands for six and a half years. A small minority of Poles in the Netherlands (10%) reported to have provided goods and money to kin and non-kin ties in Poland in the past 12 months and about 34 percent possess at least a dwelling, land, business or a vehicle in Poland. Finally, the respondents reported to visit Poland on average about 2 times a year.

Table 11: Descriptive statistics of Poles in the Netherlands (N=1129)

Variable	Mean/ Proportion	Standard deviation	Range
Controls			
Age	34.0	7.1	18 - 59
Gender (1=male)	40.2	-	0/1
Education	4.3	1.2	2 - 6*
Religiosity	7.8	15.7	0 - 200
Presence of children (1=yes)	54.3	-	0/1
Prior migration (1=yes)	24.3	-	0/1
Return intentions (1=yes)	31.3	-	0/1
Engagement in activities in destination			
Employment (1=employed)	79.2	-	0/1
Having a Dutch partner (1=yes)	11.3	-	0/1
Dutch language proficiency	11.1	4.3	4 - 20
Time spent in the Netherlands	6.5	3.3	1 - 23
Engagement in activities in origin			
Remittances (1=yes)	10.8	-	0/1
Possessions in Poland (1=yes)	33.6	-	0/1
Number of visits to Poland	2.4	2.7	0 - 50

*Note: * There are no respondents without any education (category 1).*

5.4.2. Typology of Polish migrants' networks

Based upon the LCA fit statistics, namely log-likelihood (LL), Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) and the corresponding p-value (Vermunt and Magidson, 2016), we concluded that a 3-cluster solution best fits our data (Table 12). Adding the group of those Poles who reported to have no confidants resulted in 4 types of personal networks.

By inspecting the conditional probabilities of cluster belonging presented in Table 13, we now interpret the types of personal networks of Polish migrants in the Netherlands. The most common type of personal networks is characterised by a high likelihood of nominating one's partner in the Netherlands (0.74) and kin ties in Poland[29], e.g. parents and siblings (0.88). Furthermore, there is a 99 percent probability that this type is predominantly kin-focused. We therefore label it *'Bi-national: kin-focused'*. 48 percent of all Polish migrant's personal networks can be classified as 'Bi-national: kin-focused'.

29 Please note that the indicator 'kin ties' does not contribute in a significant way to discriminating between clusters. Yet, given the important role of one's parents and siblings as confidants (Litwin and Stoeckel, 2014), we have decided to keep this indicator in the LCA.

Table 12: Model fit for the optimal number of classes in the latent class analysis (N=1129)

Number	Degrees of freedom	Likelihood ratio statistic (L^2)	Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC)	p-value
1-cluster	46	-3044.0	6136.7	3.5e-78
2-cluster	38	-2856.3	5816.9	1.2e-11
3-cluster	**30**	**-2809.2**	**5778.3**	**0.30**
4-cluster	22	-2801.9	5819.5	0.65

Table 13: Personal network types amongst Polish migrants in the Netherlands: Latent Class Analysis (Conditional probabilities; N=1129)

Indicator	Type 1 Bi-national: kin-focused	Type 2 Destination: partner-focused	Type 3 Bi-national: non-kin-focused
% of sample	47.9	30.8	14.5
Partner:			
named and lives in the NL	**.74*** **	**.87*** **	.51***
named and lives in PL	.03***	.06***	.02***
not named or no partner	.23***	.07***	.47***
Kin ties:			
named and predominantly living in the NL	.09	.02	.02
named and predominantly living in PL	**.88**	.07	.33
not named	.02	**.90**	.64
Non-kin ties:			
named and predominantly living in the NL	.31***	.12***	**.66*** **
named and predominantly living in PL	.12***	.04***	.31***
Not named	.57***	**.84*** **	.03***
Composition of network:			
predominantly kin	**.99** **	**.99** **	.03**
predominantly non-kin	.01**	.01**	**.97** **

Note: $^{***}\ p \leq 0.001$, $^{**}\ p \leq 0.01$.

The second most common cluster is characterised by a high conditional probability of nominating one's partner in the Netherlands (0.87) and high probabilities to *not* nominate kin and non-kin ties. Like with the previous cluster, this type of personal networks has a high probability of being predominantly kin-focused (0.99). We label it *'Destination: partner-focused'*. 31 percent of all Poles in the Netherlands can be classified as 'Destination: partner-focused'.

The third cluster in the LCA is distinguished by a high conditional probability of nominating non-kin ties in the Netherlands and Poland (0.66 for the Netherlands and 0.31 for Poland). Unlike the other two types of personal networks, there is 97 percent probability that this cluster is predominantly non-kin-focused. We therefore label it *'Bi-national: non-kin-focused'*. 14.5 percent of

Polish migrants in the Netherlands can be classified as 'Bi-national: non-kin-focused'. Finally, we find that about 7 percent of the Polish migrants in the Netherlands reported to have no confidants. We label this type of personal networks *'Restricted: no confidants'.*

5.4.3. Link between confidant network types and transnational practices

To examine whether belonging to a certain type of Polish migrants' personal networks is predicted by engagement in the country of origin and the country of destination, we performed multinomial regression analysis. As can be seen in Table 14, a number of activities in the origin and the destination context show a statistically significant association with belonging to network types 'Bi-national: kin-focused', 'Destination: partner-focused' and 'Restricted: no confidants' but not with belonging to 'Bi-national: non-kin-focused'. In particular, we find that providing remittances is associated with 11.7 percentage points increase in the probability of belonging to the cluster 'Bi-national: kin-focused' and 14.2 percentage points decrease in the probability of belonging to the cluster 'Destination: partner-focused'. In a similar vein, our model suggests that an increasing number of visits to Poland is associated with 1.6 percentage points decrease in the probability to belonging to 'Destination: partner-focused'.

With regard to engagement in activities in the Netherlands, we find a significant association only between having a Dutch partner and the probability to belong to network types 'Bi-national: kin-focused' (15.1 percentage points increase), 'Destination: partner-focused' (12.8 percentage points decrease) and 'Restricted: no confidants' (3.6 percentage points decrease). We do not find a statistical link between belonging to any of the personal network types and possessions in Poland, employment in the Netherlands, Dutch language proficiency[30] and time spent in the Netherlands.

30 We have performed robustness checks by employing different versions of these variables. For example, we have tested the association between belonging to any of the network types and reading, writing, understanding and speaking Dutch separately. Regardless of the variables included in the model, these associations remain insignificant (results are available upon request).

Table 14: Marginal effects of multinomial regression model predicting belonging to types of personal networks of Polish migrants in the Netherlands (N=1129)

	Bi-national: Kin-focused	Destination: Partner-focused	Bi-national: Non-kin-focused	Restricted: No confidants
Age	-0.007**	0.003	0.001	0.003*
Gender (1=male)	-0.130***	0.160***	-0.064**	0.035*
Education	0.005	-0.041**	0.037***	-0.001
Religiosity	0.001	0.002	-0.002	0.001
Presence of children (1=yes)	0.110**	0.050	-0.103***	-0.060***
Prior migration (1=yes)	0.071	-0.089**	0.012	0.009
Return intentions (1=yes)	0.086*	-0.054	-0.033	-0.001
Engagement in activities in destination				
Employment (1=employed)	-0.021	0.062	-0.035	-0.008
Having a Dutch partner (1=yes)	0.151**	-0.128**	0.008	-0.036*
Dutch language proficiency	-0.004	0.006	-0.001	-0.001
Time spent in the Netherlands	-0.003	-0.005	0.004	0.003
Engagement in activities in origin				
Remittances (1=yes)	0.117*	-0.142***	0.054	-0.030
Possessions in Poland (1=yes)	0.016	-0.015	0.014	-0.016
Number of visits to Poland	0.012	-0.016*	0.002	0.002

*Note: *** p<0.001, **p<0.01; * p<0.05.*

With regard to the control variables, we find that with an increasing age, the likelihood to belong to the personal network type 'Bi-national: kin-focused' decreases whereas the probability to belong to the network type 'Restricted: no confidants' increases. Male Polish migrants in the Netherlands seem to be more likely to have no confidants or to belong to the network type 'Destination: partner-focused', whereas women are more likely to belong to both kin- and non-kin-focused bi-national networks. Increase of one level of education is associated with a 3.7 percentage points increase in the probability of belonging to the cluster 'Bi-national: non-kin-focused'. This means that the differences can lead up to (4x3.7=) 14.8 percentage points difference between those who have primary education (lowest education category, 2) and those who

obtained a university degree (highest category, 6). Moreover, with increasing education the probability of belonging to the cluster 'Destination: partner-focused' decreases. Religiosity does not show a statistical link with any of the personal network types. Poles with at least one child are more likely to belong to the network type 'Bi-national: kin-focused' and less likely to belong to the 'Bi-national: non-kin-focused' and 'Restricted: no confidants' types. Finally, those who experienced prior migration are also less likely to belong to the cluster 'Destination: partner-focused', whereas those with return intentions are more likely to belong to the network type 'Bi-national: kin-focused'.

5.5. Conclusions and discussion

In this study, we set out to examine the personal networks of Polish migrants in the Netherlands, arguing that prior migration research has neglected networks' transnational character and kin/non-kin composition. Moreover, we propounded that more engagement in activities in the country of destination will serve as an opportunity structure for social interaction and in turn lead to more kin and non-kin confidants in the Netherlands. Engagement in the country of origin, on other hand, is likely to ensure migrants' ongoing identification with the home context and in turn safeguard the presence of confidants in Poland. Using the Families of Poles in the Netherlands survey – a recently collected representative sample of registered Polish migrants aged 18-59 – in combination with latent class and multinomial regression analysis, we demonstrated that four types of personal networks exist and that belonging to any of these types, but to 'Bi-national: non-kin focused', is statistically linked with migrant's activities in the Netherlands and Poland.

The most common type of personal networks amongst Polish migrants is 'Bi-national: kin-focused'. More specifically, about half of the registered Polish population in the Netherlands seems to primarily nominate as confidants their partner, residing also in the Netherlands, as well as their parents, siblings and other relatives residing in Poland. This result, in line with Molina *et al.* (2015), substantiates the premise of the largely transnational character of nowadays migrants' personal networks. Belonging to this network type is more likely amongst Poles who are younger, women, with at least one child and return intentions.

As expected, being more engaged in the country of origin and the country of destination is furthermore positively linked with belonging to this bi-national, kin-focused type of personal networks. However, this holds true only when it

comes to providing remittances and having a Dutch partner. This latter finding allows us to conclude that when it comes to personal networks, having a Dutch partner may not necessarily promote the inclusion of other confidants in one's network in the Netherlands but it does seem to go hand in hand with nominating kin ties in Poland. A possible explanation here revolves around the idea of cultural differences. In our view, it is plausible to assume that due to their lower understanding of the Polish culture and way of living, partners with a Dutch background will not be optimally equipped to satisfy all demands for sharing daily problems, concerns and decision making, prompting their partners to turn to other close and trustworthy ties – their parents and siblings in the origin context.

The second most common type of personal networks of Poles in the Netherlands is 'Destination: partner-focused'. About 30 percent of the registered Poles in the Netherlands belong to this network type, which is characterised by a very high probability to nominate one's partner, residing also in the Netherlands, and a very high probability to *not* nominate kin and non-kin ties. Poles belonging to this network type are more likely to be men, with low education and to have not experienced prior migration. As expected, our results suggest furthermore that Poles who are less engaged in activities in the origin context – that is they remit and visit Poland less often – seem to nominate confidants mainly in the destination context. Unlike expected, however, we also find that confiding primarily in social ties (one's partner) in the Netherlands is not associated with migrants' engagement in the country of destination, with the only exception of having a Polish partner.

The finding that Poles belonging to these two types of personal networks do not nominate confidants in the Netherlands beyond the partner could be interpreted as indicating that the majority of the Poles in the country are socially not integrated. However, it is important to note that, as demonstrated by Herz *et al*. (2014), not all ties serve as confidants. In other words, having no confidants beyond the partner does not necessarily mean that Poles in the Netherlands do not maintain any other social ties. On the contrary, prior research has shown that about half of the Polish migrants maintain social contacts with native Dutch and other Poles (Gijsberts and Lubbers, 2013, 2015). Hence, we can conclude that at least half of the Poles in the Netherlands seem to be relatively well civically embedded, but they do not transform their social ties into trustworthy and close relationships which may serve as confidants. A similar conclusion was drawn by Ryan (2011), who demonstrated that Polish migrants in London find it difficult to establish friendships, especially when it comes to Britons.

The third type of personal networks of Poles in the Netherlands is also characterised by a bi-national nature but it is comprised of primarily non-kin ties. About 15 percent of the Poles in the Netherlands belong to this type. Poles who are likely to belong to 'Bi-national: non-kin focused' seem to be women, well-educated and with no children. Moreover, our results suggest that belonging to this type of personal networks is *not* associated with engagement in the country of origin and in the country of destination. Hence, this group of Poles in the Netherlands seems to resemble Engbersen's et al. (2013) footloose type of labour migrants who do not have strong ties with either the country of destination and the country of origin. Yet, it also seems to significantly diverge in that Engbersen's *et al*. (2013) footloose type is characterised by few contacts with native Dutch (friends) whereas in our study those not engaged in either country are likely to predominantly confide in non-kin ties. Here it is important to note that our data did not allow establishing whether these non-kin ties are native Dutch, co-ethnics or internationals, but prior research in the UK suggest the latter might be true. Based on qualitative methodology, Ryan (2011) has, for example, shown that highly educated Polish in London do in fact consciously look for possibilities to expand their social networks beyond co-ethnic ties, efforts leading to primarily international friendships.

Finally, like Stoeckel and Litwin (2013) who found that 7 percent of population aged 50+ in Poland do not confide in others, we find that 7 percent of the Poles in the Netherlands did not nominate any confidants. As expected, we also find that older and male Poles are more likely to report no confidants, but we do not find a significant association between having no confidants and education. Furthermore, we do find that having a nuclear family (i.e. Polish partner and at least one child) seems to be protective against belonging to restricted personal networks amongst Poles in the Netherlands.

Turning to the three key innovations of this contribution, we can conclude that examining personal networks from a transnationalism rather than an integration perspective provides new, more realistic and comprehensive picture of migrants' web of confidants. We have demonstrated that about 50 percent of the Poles in the Netherlands maintain kin-focused personal networks and another 15 percent maintain non-kin-focused personal networks in both countries. Yet, we also found a personal network type which is characterised by confidants situated primarily in the country of destination; that is a partner-focused confidant network. We did not however find a origin-focused type of personal network, likely so because we rely on data covering only registered in

the Netherlands Polish migrants rather than season or circular migrants who are likely to keep a strong bond with Poland (Engbersen *et al.*, 2013).

As expected, we also found that both kin and non-kin ties form part of migrants' personal networks, but unlike expected we also evinced that few have networks with both kin and non-kin confidants simultaneously. Non-kin ties seem to serve as confidants primarily amongst women, with high education and no children, and do so not only in the Netherlands but also in Poland. This result is in line with prior research on childless people, for whom the role of non-kin ties has been clearly demonstrated (Albertini and Kohli, 2009; Deindl and Brandt, 2017; Schnettler and Wöhler, 2016) .

Finally, as expected we found a link between more engagement in activities in the destination and the origin context but only as far as remittances, visits to Poland and having a Dutch partner are considered. Interestingly, opportunity structures – i.e. employment in the destination context and host country language proficiency – which are important predictors of personal networks amongst other migrant groups, i.e. Argentinian migrants in Spain (Lubbers et al., 2010), do not play a significant role for the configuration of personal networks of Poles in the Netherlands. On the one hand, this means that other, e.g. cultural, factors may play a more important role in understanding Poles' web of confidants and on the other it provides evidence for the existing diversity of migrants and their personal networks.

5

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Summary

The process of modernisation brought about new contexts, such as ageing, individualism, and migration – to just name a few – posing questions about the organisation of support and the role of different providers in individuals' support networks. A key premise across Europe has been the idea that kin and non-kin ties should take more responsibility in the future, but little is known about the circumstances under which they are willing and able to do so. This holds particularly true for non-kin ties – ties which are not related by blood or legal arrangements, e.g. friends, neighbours and colleagues. Non-kin ties have been largely neglected in European research on support. A link between generous social spending and non-kin support has been established (Gelissen, van Oorschot and Finsveen, 2012; Gesthuizen, van der Meer and Scheepers, 2008), but questions such as how do non-relatives situate in individuals' support networks remain open. Our knowledge remains equally scarce when it comes to the mechanics underlying non-kin help. This dissertation addresses this knowledge lacuna and poses two key questions: (1) *To what extent do non-kin ties form part of individuals' support networks across Europe?* and (2) *How are contemporary cultural, social, and demographic contexts, at both the individual and the country level, linked with potential and actual non-kin support in Europe?*

Adopting a multi-disciplinary and multi-level approach I answer these questions in four empirical chapters. In the first empirical chapter (**chapter 2**), I focus on country level cultural context. Following theoretical insights from cross-cultural studies, I define cultural context by distinguishing between individualism (values) and familialism (norms). Comparing Europeans' preferences for a source of advice and help with finding a job, I demonstrate that a common pattern of order of preferences for kin, non-kin and professionals exists at the European level. However, whereas this pattern persists at the country level for advice, when it comes to help with finding a job greater country differences in the order of preferences unfold. I find some of the highest levels of reliance on non-kin not only in northern and western Europe, but also in countries in southern and eastern Europe. With regard to the relationship between cultural context and the perceived role of non-kin, kin, and professionals as an optimal source of support, I find that contexts with both less pronounced familialistic norms and less pronounced individualistic values are conducive to non-kin rather than kin and professional help respectively.

The second empirical chapter (**chapter 3**) is devoted to social context at both the country and the individual level. Relying on social capital studies, I examine the link between generalised trust and civic participation on the one hand and the extent to which Europeans share personal matters and concerns with at least one non-kin tie on the other. Analyses of emotional support networks reveal that about 40 percent of the European citizens have at least one non-kin tie in their emotional support network, varying from above average reliance in western and northern Europe and below average reliance in eastern Europe. I also find confirmation for the premise that Europeans who are more trustful are more likely to share personal experiences and feelings with at least one non-relative. However, I do not find support for the propositions that generalised trust and civic participation at the country level promote reliance on non-kin emotional support.

In the third and fourth empirical chapters, I examine the role of international migration on the configuration of support networks. In **chapter 4**, I focus on older people left behind in Poland, arguing that in the absence of their children, non-kin ties will gain importance as a source of both practical and emotional support. The analyses demonstrate that the support networks of older adults in Poland are predominantly family focused. Yet, the extent to which older adults rely on kin, non-kin, and professionals varies greatly across living arrangements and types of support. With regard to the latter, the results show that older adults in Poland are more likely to rely on friends, neighbours, and other non-relatives for emotional than for practical help. With regard to living arrangements, the results suggest that those with very distant children are least likely to have kin-only networks and most likely to rely on at least one non-kin tie for both practical and emotional support. In similar vein, I find that parents are more likely to rely on non-kin support the further away their children live, though this association is more pronounced for practical than for emotional support.

In **chapter 5**, I examine the kin/non-kin composition and spatial configuration of the personal networks of Polish migrants in the Netherlands by creating a typology. Subsequently, I test the premise that belonging to a certain type of personal networks is linked to the degree to which migrants are engaged in the country of origin (i.e. sending remittances and visits) and the country of destination (i.e. employment and language proficiency). The analyses reveal that four types of personal networks exist: (1) 'Bi-national: kin-focused' (47.9%) – characterised by a high likelihood to nominate as confidants

one's partner residing in the Netherlands and kin residing in Poland; (2) 'Destination: partner-focused' (30.8%) – characterised by a high probability to nominate one's partner in the Netherlands, without nominating other kind and non-kin as network members; (3) 'Bi-national: non-kin-focused' (14.5%) – distinguished by a high likelihood to select non-kin ties in both the Netherlands and Poland; (4) and 'Restricted: no confidants' (6.7%) – comprised of those Polish migrants who did not nominate any confidants. Furthermore, I find that providing remittances and having a Dutch partner are positively linked with belonging to the personal network type 'Bi-national: kin-focused' but negatively associated with belonging to 'Destination: partner-focused'. Moreover, having a Dutch partner is negatively associated with belonging to the network type 'Restricted: no confidants' whereas frequent visits to Poland are negatively associated with belonging to 'Destination: partner-focused'.

Based on the results of this systematic research on non-kin ties, I draw a number of conclusions. First, in Europe an order of reliance seems to exist with kin being the most prominent and professionals the least prominent sources of support. Non-kin ties take a middle position. This finding alone suggests that despite the societal changes that have occurred, family, friends, and neighbours have not lost their importance as predicted by classical sociological thought.

Yet, it is important to note that this order of reliance differs per country, type of support, and living arrangements. Specifically, with regard to country differences, prior research focusing more broadly on informal support and social capital has suggested the existence of a north/west-south/east divide, with southern European countries being characterised by highest levels of family reliance and very few informal supports outside the family (Kääriäinen and Lehtonen, 2006; Pichler and Wallace, 2007; Suanet, van Tilburg and Broese van Groenou, 2013). The findings of my work recreate roughly this picture of regional differences, whilst at the same time they reveal, as shown in chapter 2 and 3, a nuanced view of cross-national differences in the reliance on non-kin ties as a source of support. I therefore suggest that commentators may need to move beyond the geographical grouping of European countries and acknowledge within-region and possibly within-country differences in support patterns.

I also find that non-kin ties are most prominent for help with finding a job and emotional support but are less important when one is in need for practical support. Household help and care require commitment which extends beyond

the properties of the relationship with friends, neighbours, and colleagues. This finding suggests that prior social capital research using an index of support (multiple types of support combined) might have provided only a partial picture of support patterns in Europe. It further confirms that the role of non-kin ties is more emotional than instrumental, suggesting that activating non-kin ties as a source of practical support and care might not be as easy, or even desired, as suggested by the participatory paradigm prevailing in Europe - that is the premise that family and friends should and will take more care responsibilities. Yet, in the case when non-kin practical support and care are already taking place, i.e. amongst migrants' parents and childless adults, social policy efforts are likely to be beneficial.

The extent to which non-kin ties form part of people's support networks differs also by living arrangements. As the example of the left behind older adults in Poland shows, non-kin ties are much more prominent in the practical support networks of older adults who have no children living nearby. This finding is largely in line with prior research on care for older adults in Europe who are childless (Deindl and Brandt, 2017; Schnettler and Wöhler, 2016; Wenger *et al.*, 2007). Since the normal exchange basis of non-kin is jeopardised when demanding care and practical support are exchanged (Adams, 1986; Allan, 1986), I again plea for the establishment of social policy which can ease the support and care interaction between non-kin ties. Such policies could for example include a sick leave in order to provide care for a non-relative, cash entitlements when helping a neighbour or a friend, tax reductions or flexible working arrangements.

With regard to the circumstances promoting reliance on non-kin ties, the results of my work reveal that lower country levels of familialistic norms and individualistic values, higher levels of individual generalised trust, and increasing geographic distance between parents and children are positively associated with reliance on non-relatives for help with finding a job, emotional and practical support respectively. Given the differential effects of familialistic norms and individualistic values, i.e. norms are of a greater importance when people select from the pool of informal social ties – kin and non-kin – whereas individualistic values better predict one's choice for informal (non-kin) over formal (professional) help – I conclude that the role of cultural context can be best understood when decomposed into more specific and theoretically sound constructs.

That I find a relationship between individual level trust and non-kin emotional support but no relationship with country level generalised trust or civic participation confirms the premise that generalised trust creates conditions under which cooperation occurs, but these conditions seem to be more individual than country-specific. In fact, an important finding about cross-country differences in emotional support networks is that these can be better explained with the composition of European countries' population rather than with their social contexts. Given that I find different effects of generalised trust and civic participation – two separate forms of social capital - I conclude that the role of social capital will be better understood when examined through its various forms rather than as an umbrella term.

Based on the this study's finding that distance between family members matters more for practical than for emotional support, I furthermore conclude that migration is more detrimental to the receipt of proximity-related types of support than it is for non-proximity types of support. This is well in line with prior studies (see for example Bordone and de Valk, 2016; Ryan *et al.*, 2008, 2009; Wolff, Spielerman and Attias-Donfut, 2007), which show similar results on the example of financial and practical support, and grandparenting.

With regard to the final context studied in this dissertation, namely migration measured as engagement in the country of origin and the country of destination, I do not find a link with nominating non-kin ties as confidants. Belonging to the non-kin-focused type of personal networks of Polish migrants is only associated with being female, highly educated and not having children. Hence, having a personal network with high representation of non-kin ties amongst Polish migrants in the Netherlands seems to be rather conditioned on their socio-economic and family background than their transnational behaviour or level of integration.

Without harbouring illusions to have covered all contexts that may impact non-kin support, my work provides an elaborate and systematic account of the reliance on non-kin ties as a source of support in Europe, setting the foundations for a better understanding of Europeans' support networks and their link with the circumstances in which they are embedded.

Nederlandse samenvatting

Het moderniseringsproces heeft nieuwe contexten met zich meegebracht zoals vergrijzing, individualisme en migratie - om er maar een paar te noemen – die vragen oproepen over de organisatie van steun en de rol van verschillende actoren in de steunnetwerken van individuen. Een belangrijk uitgangspunt in Europa is ontstaan vanuit het idee dat familie en niet-familieleden in de toekomst meer verantwoordelijkheid moeten nemen, maar er is weinig bekend over de omstandigheden waaronder zij daartoe bereid en in staat zijn. Dit geldt in het bijzonder voor niet-familieleden zoals vrienden, buren en collega's. Steun van niet-familieleden is nauwelijks onderzocht in Europees onderzoek. Er is eerder wel een verband gelegd tussen genereuze sociale uitgaven en steun van niet-familieleden (Gelissen, van Oorschot en Finsveen, 2012; Gesthuizen, van der Meer en Scheepers, 2008), maar vragen zoals "welke rol spelen niet-familieleden in het steunnetwerk?" en "hoe verschilt deze rol over landen?" blijven open. Onze kennis is even schaars als het gaat om de mechanismen die ten grondslag liggen aan steun van niet-familieleden. Dit proefschrift gaat in op deze kennislacune en stelt twee hoofdvragen: (1) *In hoeverre maken niet-familieleden deel uit van de steunnetwerken van individuen in Europa? en* (2) *Hoe zijn de hedendaagse culturele, sociale en demografische contexten, zowel op individueel als op landelijk niveau, verbonden met potentiële en feitelijke steun van niet-familieleden?*

Middels een multidisciplinaire en multi-level benadering beantwoord ik deze vragen in vier empirische hoofdstukken. Het eerste empirische hoofdstuk (**hoofdstuk 2**) richt zich op de culturele context op het landniveau. Aan de hand van theoretische inzichten uit interculturele studies definieer ik de culturele context door onderscheid te maken tussen individualisme (waarden) en familialisme (normen). Uitgaande van de voorkeuren van Europeanen voor een bron van advies en hulp bij het vinden van een baan, laat ik zien dat er op Europees niveau een gemeenschappelijk patroon bestaat van de volgorde van voorkeuren voor familieleden, niet-familieleden en professionals. Hoewel dit patroon op landelijk niveau blijft bestaan voor advies, komen er grotere verschillen in de volgorde van voorkeuren naar voren als het gaat om hulp bij het vinden van een baan. In dit hoofdstuk laat ik zien dat een aantal van de hoogste niveaus van steun van niet-familieleden niet alleen in Noord- en West-Europa te vinden zijn, maar ook in landen in Zuid- en Oost-Europa. Met betrekking tot de relatie tussen culturele context en de waargenomen rol van niet-familieleden als een bron van steun, laat ik zien dat contexten met

zowel minder uitgesproken familialistische normen als minder uitgesproken individualistische waarden bevorderlijk zijn voor het geven van steun van niet-familieleden in plaats van familieleden en professionele hulp respectievelijk.

Het tweede empirische hoofdstuk (**hoofdstuk 3**) is gewijd aan de sociale context, zowel op nationaal als op individueel niveau. Gebaseerd op sociaal-kapitaalstudies onderzoek ik het verband tussen gegeneraliseerd vertrouwen en burgerparticipatie enerzijds en de mate waarin Europeanen persoonlijke ervaringen en zorgen delen met ten minste één niet-familielid aan de andere kant. Analyses van emotionele steun netwerken laten zien dat ongeveer 40 procent van de Europese burgers ten minste één niet-familielid heeft in hun netwerk, variërend van bovengemiddelde afhankelijkheid in West- en Noord-Europa en onder gemiddelde afhankelijkheid in Oost-Europa. Wat betreft het verband tussen sociale context en emotionele steun van ten minste één niet-familielid, kan ik de aanname bevestigen dat Europeanen die meer vertrouwen hebben, ook meer kans hebben om persoonlijke ervaringen en gevoelens te delen met ten minste één niet-familielid. Ik heb echter geen bevestiging gevonden voor de aanname dat vertrouwen en burgerparticipatie op landelijk niveau de afhankelijkheid van emotionele steun van niet-familieleden bevorderen.

In het derde en vierde empirische hoofdstuk onderzoek ik de rol van internationale migratie op de configuratie van steunnetwerken. **Hoofdstuk 4** richt zich op oudere mensen die in Polen zijn achtergebleven en beargumenteer ik dat bij afwezigheid van hun kinderen, niet-familieleden belangrijker worden als een bron van zowel praktische als emotionele steun. De analyses tonen aan dat de steunnetwerken van ouderen in Polen overwegend gezinsgericht zijn. Echter, de mate waarin ouderen afhankelijk zijn van familieleden, niet-familieleden en professionals verschilt sterk tussen type huishouden en soorten steun. Wat dit laatste betreft, tonen de resultaten aan dat ouderen in Polen eerder geneigd zijn om zich tot vrienden, buren en andere niet-familieleden te wenden voor emotionele dan voor praktische hulp. Met betrekking tot type huishouden suggereren de resultaten dat mensen met kinderen die ver weg wonen het minst waarschijnlijk een alleen-familiegericht netwerk hebben en het meest waarschijnlijk op ten minste één niet-familielid vertrouwen voor zowel praktische als emotionele steun. Ook laat ik zien dat naarmate de geografische aftand toeneemt ouders meer geneigd zijn om te steunen op niet-familieleden, hoewel deze associatie meer uitgesproken is voor praktische dan voor emotionele steun.

In **hoofdstuk 5** onderzoek ik de familie/niet-familieleden samenstelling en ruimtelijke configuratie van de persoonlijke netwerken van Poolse migranten in Nederland door een typologie te maken. Vervolgens test ik het uitgangspunt dat het behoren tot een bepaald type persoonlijk netwerk gekoppeld is aan de mate waarin migranten zich betrokken voelen bij het land van herkomst (b.v. verzenden van 'remittances' (geld en cadeaus) en bezoeken aan Polen) en bij het land van bestemming (b.v. werkstatus en taalvaardigheid). Uit de analyses blijkt dat er vier soorten persoonlijke netwerken bestaan: (1) Bi- nationaal: gericht op de familie (47,9%) - gekenmerkt door een hoge waarschijnlijkheid om iemand in Nederland woonachtige partner en familieleden in Polen te kiezen als vertrouwenspersonen; (2) 'Bestemming: gericht op de partner' (30,8%) - gekenmerkt door een hoge waarschijnlijkheid om eigen partner in Nederland te kiezen en hoge kansen om geen familie en niet-familieleden te kiezen als netwerkleden; (3) 'Bi-nationaal: gericht op niet-familieleden' (14,5%) - gekenmerkt door een hoge waarschijnlijkheid voor het kiezen van niet-familieleden in zowel Nederland als Polen; (4) en 'Beperkt: geen vertrouwelingen' (6,7%) - bestaande uit Poolse migranten die geen vertrouwenspersonen hebben benoemd. Verder laat mijn onderzoek zien dat het verstrekken van 'remittances' en het hebben van een Nederlandse partner een positieve associatie heeft met het behoren tot het persoonlijke netwerktype 'Bi-nationaal: gericht op de familie', maar negatief geassocieerd wordt met het behoren tot 'Bestemming: gericht op de partner'. Bovendien heeft het hebben van een Nederlandse partner een negatieve associatie met het behoren tot het netwerktype 'Beperkt: geen vertrouwelingen', terwijl frequente bezoeken aan Polen negatief worden geassocieerd met het behoren tot 'Bestemming: gericht op de partner'.

Op basis van de resultaten van dit systematische onderzoek naar niet-familieleden, trek ik een aantal conclusies. Ten eerste lijkt er in Europa een volgorde van afhankelijkheid te bestaan waarbij familieleden de meest prominente bron van steun zijn en professionals de minst prominente bron. Niet-familieleden nemen een middenpositie in. Deze bevinding suggereert dat ondanks de maatschappelijke veranderingen die zich hebben voorgedaan, familie, vrienden en buren hun belang niet hebben verloren zoals voorspeld door het klassieke sociologische denken.

Toch is het belangrijk om op te merken dat de volgorde van afhankelijkheid verschilt per land, soort steun en type huishouden. Meer specifiek, wat betreft de landenverschillen heeft eerder onderzoek dat zich richt op informele

steun en sociaal kapitaal gesuggereerd dat er een noord/west – zuid/oost-kloof bestaat, waarbij Zuid-Europese landen worden gekenmerkt door de hoogste mate van familie-afhankelijkheid en zeer weinig informele steun buiten de familie (Kääriäinen en Lehtonen, 2006; Pichler en Wallace, 2007; Suanet, van Tilburg en Broese van Groenou, 2013). De bevindingen van mijn onderzoek bevestigen grotendeels dit beeld van regionale verschillen, terwijl ze tegelijkertijd, zoals getoond in hoofdstuk 2 en 3, een genuanceerd beeld geven van de verschillen tussen landen in de afhankelijkheid van niet-familieleden als een bron van steun. Ik stel daarom voor dat onderzoekers verder kijken dan de geografische groepering van Europese landen in regios en de verschillen in steun binnen de regio en mogelijk binnen landen kunnen erkennen.

Mijn onderzoek laat ook zien dat niet-familieleden het meest prominent zijn voor steun bij het vinden van een baan en emotionele steun, maar minder belangrijk zijn als iemand behoefte heeft aan praktische hulp. Huishoudelijke hulp en zorg vereisen betrokkenheid die verder reikt dan de eigenschappen van de relatie tussen vrienden, buren en collega's. Deze bevinding suggereert dat eerder onderzoek naar sociaal kapitaal met behulp van een index van steun (meerdere soorten steun samen genomen) slechts een deel van de steunpatronen in Europa laat zien. Deze bevinding bevestigt verder dat de rol van niet-familieleden meer emotioneel is dan instrumenteel. Dit suggereert dat het activeren van niet-familieleden als een bron van praktische hulp en zorg niet zo eenvoudig, of zelfs gewenst, is zoals gesuggereerd wordt door het participatie paradigma dat in Europa heerst - dat is het uitgangspunt dat familie en vrienden meer zorgverantwoordelijkheden moeten en zullen nemen. Echter, in het geval dat er al praktische hulp en zorg door niet-familieleden gegeven wordt, b.v. door ouders van migranten en ouderen zonder kinderen, zal sociaal beleid die niet-familieleden ondersteunt waarschijnlijk gunstig zijn.

De mate waarin niet-familieleden deel uitmaken van de steunnetwerken van mensen, verschilt ook per type huishouden. Zoals getoond in hoofdstuk 4, niet-familieleden zijn veel prominenter aanwezig in de praktische steunnetwerken van ouderen die geen kinderen in de buurt hebben. Deze bevinding komt grotendeels overeen met eerder onderzoek naar de zorg voor ouderen in Europa die kinderloos zijn (Deindl en Brandt, 2017; Schnettler en Wöhler, 2016; Wenger et al., 2007). Omdat de relatie tussen niet-familieleden in gevaar wordt gebracht wanneer veeleisende zorg en praktische ondersteuning worden uitgewisseld (Adams, 1986; Allan, 1986), pleit ik opnieuw voor de invoering van sociaal beleid dat de druk van de steun en zorginteractie

tussen niet-familieleden kan verlichten. Dergelijk beleid kan bijvoorbeeld een ziekteverlof zijn om zorg te bieden aan niet-familieleden, financiele vergoeding voor het helpen van een buur of een vriend, belastingverlaging of flexibele werkafspraken.

Met betrekking tot de omstandigheden die de afhankelijkheid van niet-familieleden bevorderen, laten de resultaten van mijn onderzoek zien dat lagere landniveaus van familialistische normen en individualistische waarden, hogere niveaus van individueel gegeneraliseerd vertrouwen en toenemende geografische afstand tussen ouders en kinderen positief gerelateerd zijn aan afhankelijkheid van niet- familieleden voor respectievelijk hulp bij het vinden van een baan, emotionele en praktische steun. Familialistische normen en individualistische waarden hebben differentiële effecten, dat wil zeggen normen zijn van groter belang wanneer mensen kiezen uit de pool van informele sociale banden – familie- en niet-familieleden - terwijl individualistische waarden beter iemands keuze voor informele (niet-familieleden) dan formele (professionele) hulp voorspellen. Bijgevolg concludeer ik dat de rol van culturele context het best kan worden begrepen wanneer deze wordt ongedeeld in meer specifieke en theoretisch gezonde constructen.

Dat ik een relatie heb gevonden tussen vertrouwen op individueel niveau en emotionele steun van niet-familieleden, maar geen relatie met vertrouwen en burgerparticipatie op landniveau, bevestigt de stelling dat gegeneraliseerd vertrouwen, een omgeving schept waarbinnen samenwerking plaats kan vinden. Nochtans lijken deze omgeving meer individueel te zijn dan landen specifiek. Een belangrijke bevinding met betrekking tot verschillen tussen landen in netwerken voor emotionele steun is dat deze beter kunnen worden verklaard door de samenstelling van de bevolking van Europese landen dan door de sociale context. Omdat ik verschillende effecten van gegeneraliseerd vertrouwen en burgerparticipatie heb gevonden, concludeer ik dat de rol van sociaal kapitaal beter begrepen kan worden als het wordt onderzocht in verschillende vormen dan als een overkoepelende term.

Op basis van de bevinding van mijn onderzoek dat afstand tussen gezinsleden belangrijker is voor praktische dan voor emotionele steun, concludeer ik verder dat migratie nadeliger is voor de ontvangst van soorten steun die van nabijheid afhangelijk zijn dan van soorten die geen nauwe nabijheid tussen ontvanger en provider vereisen. Dit is in lijn met eerdere studies (zie bijvoorbeeld Bordone en de Valk, 2016; Ryan et al., 2008, 2009; Wolff, Spielerman en Attias-Donfut,

2007), die vergelijkbare resultaten laten zien op het gebied van financieel en praktisch steun en grootouderschap.

Met betrekking tot de laatste context die in dit proefschrift wordt bestudeerd, namelijk migratie gemeten als betrokkenheid in het land van herkomst en het land van bestemming, heb ik geen link gevonden met het benoemen van niet-familieleden als vertrouwenspersonen. Behoren tot het niet-familie-gerichte type van persoonlijke netwerken van Poolse migranten heeft alleen een relatie met vrouw zijn, hoogopgeleid en geen kinderen hebben. Daarom lijkt het dat het hebben van een persoonlijk netwerk met een hoge vertegenwoordiging van niet-familieleden meer afhankelijk is van de sociaaleconomische en familiale achtergrond van de migranten dan van hun transnationale gedrag of integratie.

Zonder de illusie te koesteren dat ik alle contexten heb onderzocht die van invloed kunnen zijn op steun van niet-familieleden, biedt deze studie een uitgebreid en systematisch overzicht van niet-familieleden als een bron van steun in Europa, die de basis legt voor een beter begrip van de steunnetwerken van Europeanen en hun verband met de omstandigheden waarin ze zijn ingebed.

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There are many consequences of being a migrant, but one has to certainly be named: having friends all over the world. Writing a thesis on non-kin is not for no reason and I would like to extend my gratitude and appreciation to all of you. Dear friends in Utrecht, Leiden, Rotterdam and Groningen, Estonia, Bulgaria, Germany, Italy, Spain, the USA and elsewhere, we might not see each other very often but you are always with me. Thank you all for the great moments together, for your support and for giving me the feeling that I am not alone.

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Nina Conkova

Utrecht, September 2018

About the author

Nina Conkova (1983, Bulgaria) holds a master's degree in Population Studies from the University of Groningen. For her NIDI-award-winning master thesis, entitled "Depopulation and ageing in rural Bulgaria", Nina conducted two months of ethnographic field work in the village of Bania. During her research master, Nina completed two internships. In 2011, she was intern at the Centre for Population Studies at the Bulgarian Academy of Science where she conducted a desk research on the topic of rural population decline and ageing in Bulgaria. In 2012, Nina was a trainee at Population Europe where she worked on several projects, including the Fast-track Data Project of the European Union Seventh Framework Joint Programming Initiative "More years, better lives".

In September 2013, Nina joined the Families in Context research group as a PhD student. During her PhD trajectory at the department of Public Administration and Sociology at Erasmus University Rotterdam, Nina published in international peer-reviewed journals and participated in national and international conferences. In the 2015-16 academic year, she served as a chair of the PhD Council of the Erasmus Graduate School of the Social Sciences and the Humanities and together with her colleague Brett Ory, Parents Association (Bulgaria) and the Center of Women's Studies and Policies (Bulgaria), she conducted research on fatherhood in Bulgaria. Throughout the years, Nina also served as a reviewer for a number of international peer-reviewed journals such as Ageing & Society, European Societies and the International Journal of Comparative Sociology.

Since October 2017, Nina has been working as a researcher at the Leyden Academy on Vitality and Ageing where she conducts, translates and disseminates research on older migrants in the Netherlands. Nina is a member of a number of professional networks, such as the IMISCOE standing committee on Ageing Migrants, the Netherlands Sociological Association and the Eastern-European Ageing Societies in Transition.

Portfolio

PhD Training

06/2014 – 08/2014	University of Michigan, the United States • Summer Programme in Quantitative Methods of Social Research of the Inter-university Consortium
2015 – 2017	Erasmus Graduate School of the Social Sciences and the Humanities, the Netherlands • Big Data Analysis and Visualisation • Multilevel modelling I • Multilevel modelling II • Philosophy of the Social Sciences and the Humanities • Presenting and networking
2015	COFACE Families in Europe, Bulgaria • One day training on advocacy campaigns

Teaching

2018	University of Leiden Masters Vitality and Ageing Supervision Master Thesis (with Belia Schuurman) • Warsha Jagroep • *Title:* Culture and ageing: Diversity in desires and needs
2017	University of Leiden Guest lecture "Social exclusion in the Netherlands: On the example of older migrants" *Course:* Global Challenges (in English)
2016	University of North Carolina at Greensboro Invited e-lecture "Introduction to Bulgarian Families" *Course:* Families and Children in Global Perspective (in English)
2013-2016	Erasmus University Rotterdam / Department of Public Administration and Sociology *Course:* Statistics 1 (BA and pre-master level), tutor (in Dutch)
2013-2016	Erasmus University Rotterdam / Department of Public Administration and Sociology *Course:* Statistics 2 (BA and pre-master level), tutor (in Dutch)
2013-2015	Erasmus University Rotterdam / Department of Public Administration and Sociology *Course:* Cohesion 3: Deviance (BA level), tutor and supervision of BA thesis proposals (in English)

Conferences

2017	• 4th GGP User Conference, 6-7 July, Berlin (poster presentation)
2016	• PhD Seminar, 14 December, Rotterdam • Dutch Demography Day, 23 November, Utrecht • International Workshop "Research on ageing migrants: Current state and future directions", 3-5 November, Mainz • European Population Conference, 31 August – 3 September, Mainz • NCCR Conference, 23-24 June, Neuchatel (invited presentation) • 6th LCSR workshop, 20-24 April, Moscow • Scientific Meeting Families in Context, 7 April, Rotterdam • International Exploratory Workshop IMISCOE Standing Committee 'Ageing migrants', 10-12 March, Neuchatel
2015	• 5th Annual LCSR conference, 16-20 November, Moscow • COFACE, 5-6 November, Sofia (presentation for social policy audience) • Dutch Day of Sociology, 27 May, Amsterdam • 10th International Multilevel Conference, 9-10 April, Utrecht
2014	• PhD Seminar, 10 December, Rotterdam • Dutch Day of Sociology, 28 May, Antwerp
2013	• Seventh International Conference on Population Geographies, 25-28 June, Groningen • Fourth International and Interdisciplinary Conference on Emotional Geographies, 1-3 July, Groningen • Seminar for young demographers, 15 March, Sofia
2012	• Dutch Demography Day, 20 November, Utrecht (poster presentation)
2011	• Multi-disciplinary workshop on ageing and well-being, 7-8 December, Groningen

Publications

Journal articles

- **Conkova, N.**, Vullnetari, J., King, R. and T. Fokkema (accepted). 'Left like stones in the middle of the road': Narratives of ageing alone and coping strategies in rural Albania and Bulgaria. *The Journal of Gerontology: Social Sciences.* https://doi.org/10.1093/geronb/gby127

- **Conkova, N.** and J. Lindenberg (accepted). Gezondheid en welbevinden van oudere migranten in Nederland: Een narratieve literatuurstudie**.** *Tijdschrift voor Gerontologie en Geriatrie.* doi: 10.1007/s12439-018-0268-2

- Fokkema, T. and **N. Conkova** (2018). Turkse en Marokkaanse ouderen in Nederland en België: een sociaal-demografisch profiel. *Geron* 2, pp.15-19.

- **Conkova, N.** and R. King (2018). Non-kin ties as a source of support amongst older people 'left behind' in Poland: A quantitative study on the role of geographic distance. *Ageing & Society*: 1-26. doi:10.1017/S0144686X17001507

- **Conkova, N.**, Fokkema, T. and P.A. Dykstra (2018). Non-kin ties as a source of support in Europe: understanding the role of cultural context. *European Societies* 20(1): 131-156. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2017.1405058

- **Conkova, N.** and A. Bailey (2012). "*The graveyard is the biggest neighbourhood"*: Experience of ageing and social support in the depopulating village of Bania, Bulgaria. *Naselenie* 1-2, pp. 96-115.

Conference papers

- **Conkova, N.**, Fokkema, T. and P.A. Dykstra (2017). Confiding in non-kin: Can generalised trust and civic participation explain cross-country differences in Europe? *4th GGP User Conference, Berlin.*
- **Conkova, N.,** Fokkema, T. and P.A. Dykstra (2016). Non-kin ties as a source of support: Understanding the role of cultural and institutional contexts. *European Population Conference paper*, Mainz.
- Ory, B. and **N. Conkova** (2016). Cultural determinants of father involvement in Bulgaria.*42nd Quetelet Conference Men's perspective in unions, fertility and parenthood,* At Louvain-La-Neuve.

Semi-scientific

- **Conkova, N.** and B. Ory (2016). Fathers in Context: Comparative Analysis of Father Involvement in Bulgaria and the Netherlands. Report available online http://hdl.handle.net/1765/93240
- **Conkova, N.** (2013). Als je ver weg woont. AGORA Magazine 3, pp. 30-33.
- **Conkova, N**. (2013). Tussen schoonheid en desolatie. Donau Tijdschrift over Midden en Zuidoost- Europa 3, pp.56-65.

Data-related

- Karpinska, K., Fokkema, T., **Conkova, N**. and P.A. Dykstra (2016). Codebook of the Families of Poles in the Netherlands (FPN) Survey, wave 1. [datafile deposited at DANS and available through http://www.ggp-i.org/].

Summaries of scientific articles

- **Conkova** (2017): Which door are Europeans knocking on when they need help? *PopDigest*. Berlin: Population Europe. Available at: http://population-europe.eu/pop-digest/which-door-are-europeans-knocking-when-they-need-help [last accessed January, 3rd, 2018].

Awards and scholarships

2015	Trustfonds travel grant to attend the 5th International Annual Research Conference "Cultural and Economic Changes under Cross-National Perspective", € 500
2014	DANS Grant for the Summer Programme in Quantitative Methods of Social Research of the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, € 1000
2013	DAAD PhD Scholarship for the project "Are intergenerational relations indeed a problem? Experiences and impact of social change in Bulgaria and Eastern Germany"; declined due to other commitments
2012	Winner of NIDI Master Thesis Award
2012	GUF scholarship for excellent students, € 1000
2011	Talent of the city of Groningen (top 100 out of 50 000 students)

Professional associations

- Netherlands Demographic Society (NvD)
- Netherlands Sociological Association (NvS)
- European Association for Population Studies (EAPS)
- Eastern-European Ageing Societies in Transition (EAST)
- International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion (IMISCOE) - Member of the Standing Committee 'Ageing Migrants'