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1 Introduction – The Relationship of Labour Market Marginalisation and Social Exclusion

In modern, industrialised societies, paid work plays a central role. It structures life courses according to a preparatory phase, an actual working phase, and a retirement phase (Henretta, 2018: 85; Brückner and Mayer, 2005). Moreover, employment affects two important dimensions of an individual's life - a material and a socio-cultural one. Economically, work conditions affect individual autonomy and living conditions (Gundert and Hohendanner, 2014: 137-38). On a socio-cultural level, work can define an individual's identity, social role, and social status (Schöb, 2013: 151). Through both aspects, work structures individuals' daily lives. Employment relations define working and leisure time, they shape daily activities, networks, and commutes, and thereby influence the people we meet and the places we visit (Pohlan, 2019: 276; Schöb, 2013: 151; Kunze and Suppa, 2017: 217). In short, through material and social factors paid labour shapes an individual's social integration. As paid labour is of marked importance in modern societies, it is a substantial endeavour to study what happens when this core pillar of social integration shakes or even breaks away.

Difficulties at the labour market can reduce available material resources and cause financial strain while at the same time result in identity struggles and psychological distress, and thereby lead to social exclusion. From this perspective, this study seeks to investigate the effects of labour market marginalisation on social inclusion and exclusion. More specifically, I explore to what extent material and socio-cultural factors explain the connection of labour market experiences, social relations, and activities, with respect to the individual, household, and regional level factors. While individual and household factors indicate the vulnerability of specific social groups to labour market marginalisation and its social consequences, regional contextual factors can put individual experiences into perspective. Structurally, they express the impact of advantaged and disadvantaged environments in shaping individual life chances and opportunities. On a psychological level, the surrounding environment functions as frame of reference with the potential to cause relative deprivation and elicit feelings of alienation and disempowerment. Whether labour market struggles are experienced as deprivation in a context of abundance or as misfortune and collective fate may thus fundamentally depend on the regional context (Schöb, 2013: 151; 2013: 161; Gallie, 2013: 16-17).

For the individual, social integration entails private and public elements. Close and stable relations to others yield embeddedness and belonging through the provision of emotional and financial support (Russel, Watson and McGinnity, 2013: 249; Lelkes, 2010) and through building a foundation for cultural, civic, and political practices encouraging trust and recognition (Gundert and Hohendanner, 2014: 136). Participating in civic, social, and political activities offers human interactions beyond close family and friendship bonds as well as an investment in common interests, which can provide a sense of belonging and integration into a wider community (Beverlein and Hipp, 2006: 97; Taniguchi, 2006: 84). Participation in groups, clubs, and the like has shown to enhance self-esteem, self-efficacy, provide social support as well as labour market opportunities (Siegrist, 2000: 1283; Ruiter and Graaf, 2009: 425). Moreover, for society as a whole, social integration encourages solidarity and cohesion. Whelan and Maître describe social cohesion as involving a "relational connectedness and sense of a common membership of a given community" (2005: 217). Yet, social integration is not only relevant for its beneficial effects. The absence of opportunities to participate in society and lacking embeddedness and belonging can cause stress and reduce well-being, mental, and physical health (Siegrist, 2000: 1283; Strandh et al., 2014; Frech and Damaske, 2019). Moreover, material and cultural disintegration may cause a lack of recognition and alienation from core societal values encouraging political extremism and voting of populist leaders and parties (Gidron and Hall, 2020; Gidron and Hall, 2017; Hochschild, 2016).

1.1 Scientific Evidence and Main Expectations about the Effects of Labour Market Marginalisation on Social Integration

The vast body of literature on labour market disadvantage can be subdivided into research on consequences of future labour market outcomes (Dieckhoff, 2011; Gangl, 2016) and research about consequences for other life outcomes, among them social integration (Brand, 2015; de Graaf and Ultee, 2000), and social isolation (Gallie and Paugam, 2004; Paugam and Russel, 2000; Lelkes, 2010). Studies have analysed material and socio-cultural mechanisms as well as individual and contextual impact factors.

It is widely accepted that the risk of experiencing labour market difficulties varies across society and that structurally and economically disadvantaged groups of the population particularly with respect to education and social class but also gender and migration background show higher risks of labour market marginalisation (Riddell and Song, 2011; Crawford *et al.*, 2016; Lahtinen,

Sirniö and Martikainen, 2018). Likewise, regarding consequences for career trajectories and future labour market outcomes, research has reported effects to be negative and long lasting in terms of salary, job characteristics, and unemployment risks (Brand, 2015; Gangl, 2016; Dieckhoff, 2011; Brandt and Hank, 2014). Furthermore, the consequences with respect to financial strain and identity struggles are likely to intensify with duration. However, less prior research has addressed the processual character of labour market marginalisation. While some studies investigated the long-term effects of labour market disadvantage (Clark, Georgellis and Sanfey, 2001; Brand and Burgard, 2008), only few studies have examined the cumulative nature of labour market marginalisation (see for an exception Brandt and Hank, 2014).

Moreover, the effects of labour market marginalisation on social integration have been ambiguous (Kunze and Suppa, 2017; Russel, Watson and McGinnity, 2013: 249; Gallie and Paugam, 2004). This is partly because there are various concepts and measures for social exclusion, which include the quality (Russel, Watson and McGinnity, 2013: 249) or quantity of private and public contacts (Kunze and Suppa, 2017) or social isolation (Lelkes, 2010). Other studies have analysed specific age groups such as young people (Hammer, 1996; Kieselbach, 2004) or those approaching retirement (Schmitt, 2001). Research has further produced mixed findings with respect to civic participation. While some studies found a retraction from the public to the private sphere (Kunze & Suppa 2017) and a decline in civic engagement particularly for longer periods of unemployment (Piatak, 2016), other studies did not find significant effects (Brand and Burgard, 2008: 232–33; Pohlan, 2019) or even positive effects (Wiertz and Lim, 2019).

Theoretically, two competing explanatory approaches link labour market disadvantage to social exclusion (Suppa and Kunze, 2020: 1–2) – one focussing on economic and the other on socio-psychological aspects. Labour market disadvantage affects economic resources (Rogge and Kieselbach, 2009; Vogel, 2000; Gallie, Paugam and Jacobs, 2003). This can cause financial and material hardship inhibiting costly interactions and putting households under pressure with the potential to impede access to key dimensions of social life. In addition to this, employment affects social identities. Labour market difficulties might hence cause identity struggles and prevent someone from fulfilling a socially expected role (Stryker and Burke, 2000; Petersen, 2011; Rogge and Kieselbach, 2009; Schöb, 2013). The degree to which individuals experience loss of purpose and stigma depends on social norms, expectations, and the availability of alternative social roles. Research suggests that this varies by gender, age, partnership, and parental status affecting household obligations, care tasks, and the primacy of paid labour as source of identity (Schöb, 2013: 152; 2013: 155).

Research has found different and partially contradicting results with respect to both financial and social identity related mechanisms. While some studies attribute negative effects of labour market marginalisation to economic hardship (Russel, Watson and McGinnity, 2013: 249; Gallie, Paugam and Jacobs, 2003), others found material disadvantage to only partly explain negative effects of unemployment and atypical jobs (Winkelmann and Winkelmann, 1998; Schöb, 2013; Gundert and Hohendanner, 2014). As social identity, discrimination, and the impact of struggles related to social roles are complex to measure, there is less knowledge about the impact of these factors. Some studies have solved the problem through quantifying the part of the effect, which could not be explained by material factors (Gallie, 2013: 16–17; Winkelmann and Winkelmann, 1998), but direct or more explicit measures are scarce.

Furthermore, research has claimed that individual behaviour is embedded in contexts and difficult to understand in isolation (Lim and MacGregor, 2012: 749-50; Friedrichs and Nonnenmacher, 2014: 2). Individual experiences, decisions, and reactions depend on social and economic environments and local inequality and local norms can play a role for both material and psychological self-perception. Scientific evidence suggests that regional economic characteristics shape individual labour market outcomes (Dütsch, Ganesch and Struck, 2019) as well as regional social inequality (Manduca, 2019). However, most prior research has focused on cross-national comparisons to capture how policies and labour market structures shape the consequences of labour market disadvantage (Whelan and Maitre, 2013; Wulfgramm, 2012; Parboteeah, Cullen and Lim, 2004; Schofer and Fourcade-Gourinchas, 2001; Gil-Lacruz, Marcuello and Saz-Gil, 2017). The impact of regional characteristics, in contrast, has not only been less discussed but findings on the effects of labour market disadvantage are also more controversial. While some found regional unemployment to alleviate individual unemployment experiences (Clark, 2003), others found opposite effects (Oesch and Lipps, 2013). Apart from the inconclusive finding on regional labour markets, research on the role of regional economic, demographic, but also social and cultural factors in shaping the relationship of labour market marginalisation and social exclusion is scarce.

Addressing this research gap, the following research questions arise: To what extent does labour market marginalisation affect social integration and through which mechanisms? Which socio-economic groups (with respect to age, gender, and household composition) are more vulnerable or resilient to adverse consequences of labour market disadvantage? Which regional characteristics facilitate or mitigate the consequences of labour market marginalisation?

1.2 Conceptual Framework and Analytical Approach

For the analysis of social consequences of labour market disadvantage, I employ two dimensions of social integration: personal relationships to family and friends representing individual embeddedness and belonging as well as civic participation, capturing engagement with the broader public community beyond close family and friendship bonds. This conceptual differentiation is based on the distinction between formal and informal forms of participation by Dieckhoff and Gash (2015), between strong and weak ties by Granovetter (1973), and between private and public participation by Kunze and Suppa (2017; 2020; Suppa and Kunze, 2020). While each of the empirical chapters has a specific focus, the core analytical concepts remain consistent throughout the empirical analysis binding together the different empirical parts. Analytically, I focus on the processual nature of labour market marginalisation. As one negative experience increases the probability of a consecutive disadvantaged or precarious position (Giesecke and Groß, 2003; Barbieri, 2009), difficulties tend to accumulate over time (Hillmert, 2009: 85). Moreover, with increasing duration and frequency of experienced disadvantage the effects on social integration are likely to change. Measuring accumulation of disadvantage with respect to social integration is essential, as both mechanisms, material hardship and identity formation, are processes, which unfold their mode of action over time. I therefore assume substantially different effects if labor market exclusion is punctual and transitional in an otherwise stable career trajectory or if it is the result of an enduring trajectory of disadvantage, which cumulates across time. With respect to unemployment for example, it is likely that due to unemployment benefits and savings only longer duration of joblessness will have palpable effects on living conditions. Moreover, identity formation is an ongoing long-term process, which will be more likely affected and hence have an impact on social integration as a consequence of cumulative disadvantage. Conceptualising labour market marginalisation as a cumulative process is thus a central endeavour to account for the role of time in shaping an individual's economic and socio-psychological conditions. Thus, throughout the analysis, individual labour market histories are conceived as past years and months the individual has worked full-time, part-time, or has been unemploved¹.

Moreover, all analyses test for both material and social identity mechanisms to assess the relative importance of the two competing theoretical approaches. I do so by recurring to the household's financial situation and inferring identity struggles from gender, age, partnership status, the household composition, as well as family and work values. These two approaches may be

¹ Inactivity and marginal employment play a subordinate role in the empirical analyses and are included in parts.

mutually exclusive or complement each other and their respective importance might depend on the dimension of social integration.

Finally, the context is important for the perception and evaluation of one's failures and successes as it shapes social norms and expectations. At the same time, it structures labour market opportunities or can complicate labour market outcomes. Economic resources with the potential to be an additional burden or compensate for individual loss of income are often shared at the household level. Moreover, care and reproduction tasks creating time constraints have to be negotiated between household members (Bianchi *et al.*, 2000). Furthermore, the regional environment provides real access to opportunities or can create barriers to a successful career through the lack of suitable local job opportunities and childcare facilities. Therefore, each chapter examines the impact of individual, household, and regional level variables.

1.3 The Setup of the Empirical Analysis

Germany serves as a case study to test the theoretical assumptions empirically. It offers a unique setting to study labour market marginalisation processes as well as the impact of individual and contextual factors: Firstly, East and West still differ with respect to both economic and labour market features, even though some social, economic, and demographic trends have been converging since reunification (Fuchs, 2016). Overall, Eastern and Western regions have different labour market conditions, salaries, household incomes, and economic prosperity. With respect to both unemployment rates and GDP per capita, the East has gotten closer to the West, but has not reached Western levels (Niebuhr, 2019: 31). Zooming in on the regional level, economic inequality increases and labour market opportunities diverge even further, with some areas having almost full employment and others 14 percent unemployment rates in 2017 (Niebuhr, 2019: 31). Moreover, notwithstanding the economic and social changes since the early nineties, the disparities between regions and their rank with respect to wealth and unemployment have proved to be persistent over time (Niebuhr, 2019: 31).

Apart from the economic differences, regions vary culturally regarding the family, gender, and work relationship. Mirroring the economic development since reunification, also gender ideology has been converging. While West Germany has changed to more Scandinavian style family policies since the mid-2000s, values in the East have been shown to remain more gender egalitarian (Ebner, Kühhirt and Lersch, 2020). In the East, women and particularly mothers still have higher labour force participation and work more hours in comparison to Western regions, where the male breadwinner model is culturally deeply rooted in society (Holst and Wieber, 2014: 967; Lang and Groß,

2020). Moreover, rural, sparsely populated, and socially homogenous regions offer very different labour market opportunities than dense, international metropolitan regions with a variety of accepted and practiced life-styles and coexistent social worlds. Secondly, there has been considerable change over time. Overall, unemployment rates have declined since the beginning of the nineties, and GDP has been rising (Dustmann et al., 2014)². Furthermore, Germany has experienced a marked shift in labour market and social insurance policies. From having one of the most generous welfare systems across Europe it has redirected its aim to "combating unemployment and decreasing social welfare expenditure" (Gundert and Hohendanner, 2015: 781). A set of reforms has reduced the duration of benefits from three to one year, after which benefits are means tested, and installed a set of mandatory activation programs (Gundert and Hohendanner, 2015; 781). More recently (2007), there have been reforms to incentivise parental leave for fathers with a reform in 2015 for part-time arrangements and expanding childcare coverage in 2013 to improve the compatibility of work and family and decrease employment penalties for mothers.

Together, this variation of socio-economic variables across regions but also over time lends itself to examine context effects on individual labour market outcomes and the extent to which the context determines consequences of labour market disadvantage. As such, Germany offers unique conditions for the multilevel and processual interest of this book. Notwithstanding the recent shifts in social policy towards more egalitarian family policy, Germany has a legal framework with extensive maternity leave periods and a model of "joint taxation for married couples with tax incentives for unequal incomes of both partners" (Lersch, Jacob and Hank, 2017: 413). This solidifies the traditionally gendered social roles within the family, encourages the male breadwinner family model (Lersch, Jacob and Hank, 2017: 413), and in combination with a gender segregated labour market shapes employment opportunities for men and women. The persistence of the male full-time and female part-time model is suitable for studying the impact of social roles for labour market outcomes.

I use geo-coded panel data and combine the German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) data from 1990 to 2017 (Liebig *et al.*, 2019) with regional 'Indikatoren und Karten zur Raum- und Stadtentwicklung' (INKAR) data (Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt-und Raumforschung - BBSR, 2019b). This allows analysing multi-layered individual experiences and detecting the impact and interdependence of individual and regional socio-economic factors. SOEP data offers individual and household information and INKAR a rich set of social, demographic, and economic variables at the regional level [Raumordnungsregionen]. Reflecting the hierarchical and longitudinal nature of the research question and data set, I use multi-level and individual fixed-effects models to estimate the process of accumulation and its social consequences.

2 Additionally, the financial crisis in 2008 has not hit Germany as harshly as other European countries.

1.4 Three Dimensions of the Labour Market and Social Exclusion Relationship

The empirical set up of this book incorporates the multilevel study design in each of the thematic focal points, which subdivide the analyses into three parts. The first part focusses on the accumulation of labour market disadvantage, the degrees of vulnerability of different social groups, and the relative importance of individual, household, and regional impact factors (*Chapter 04*). The second part examines the effects of labour market disadvantage for personal relations and their socio-economic as well as spatial determinants (*Chapter 05*). Finally, the third part investigates individual, household, and regional circumstances for the labour market effects on civic participation (*Chapter 06*). The empirical chapters reflect the three dimensions of the labour market marginalisation and social inclusion-exclusion nexus and organise the setup of this book.

Individual and Regional Determinants of Labour Market Marginalisation

The first part of the empirical analysis (*Chapter 04*) assesses the extent to which labour market marginalisation is the result of a double disadvantage. One emerges from negative individual labour market experiences, which increase the risk of renewed unfavourable positions. The other originates from regional characteristics affecting individual labour market opportunities. The aim of this chapter is to investigate under which circumstances difficulties at the labour market accumulate over the life course, which social groups are particularly vulnerable to the accumulation of disadvantage, and which regional and social factors shape the accumulation of labour market disadvantage. Two main conclusions resulted from the empirical analysis. First, the extent to which difficulties at the labour market solidify and explain future labour market outcomes depends on an individual's past labour market experiences, gender, and household situation. Second, regional labour markets, wealth, social policies, and culture affect individual labour market outcomes. Regional labour markets and childcare institutions mainly shape women's full-time and parttime opportunities, while regional unemployment and wealth shape unemployment risks for all.

Consequences for Personal Relations

The goal of the second part of the empirical analysis (*Chapter 05*) is to examine to what extent labour market marginalisation affects an individual's social relations to family and friends. To that end, I developed an analytical model comprised of four dimensions. Drawing on gender theory, life course research, linked-lives perspective, and context effect literature, four categories of socio-structural position are proposed as influential: age, gender, household composition, and the region of residence. More explicitly, based on the empirical

analysis, this chapter draws four main conclusions about the relationship of labour market disadvantage and personal relations. First, whether difficulties at the labour market affect the quality and frequency of social relations depends more on an individual's social role and identity than on the financial situation. Second, the social factors particularly important in determining the relationship of labour market disadvantage and social relations are gender and household composition, as these factors influence an individual's social role and identity. Third, the economic and social regional contexts are less important for the effect of labour market disadvantage on social relations than individual factors. Fourth, the effects of unemployment and part-time employment differ depending on the importance of work and family life for the individual's social identity: Specifically, the social relations of individuals who highly value partnership, children, and caring for others are less vulnerable to difficulties at the labour market. Confirming gender and life-course theory, the effects on relationships to family and friends differed by gender and age group. Women and young people's social relations did not suffer from labour market disadvantage while men particularly when living with children had less frequent relations to family and friends when confronted with adverse labour market experiences. This suggests an increased vulnerability of men who deviate from full-time employment. Taken together, the results show that an individual's identity shapes the degree to which labour market disadvantage can harm close personal relations

Consequences for Civic Participation

The third empirical part (Chapter 06) investigates the extent to which labour market marginalisation affects civic participation. Its aim is to disentangle individual and contextual impact factors and assess the explanatory power of material and social identity related mechanisms. Based on the empirical results, this chapter argues that overall, social identity, available time, and socioeconomic regional factors determine the relationship of labour market difficulties and civic participation. More precisely, the amount of available time determines to what extent individuals are able to participate in civic life. With respect to paid labour, this means that the more someone works the less time he or she has left for civic engagement. This relationship further depends on an individual's household and care obligations. On the other side, accumulating labour market disadvantage, particularly unemployment, decreases individual participation frequency notwithstanding the augmentation of individual available time. The importance of work and family determine whether individuals who experience labour market marginalisation engage in civic activities. Strong work and family values increase the chances that individuals participate in civic activities despite their disadvantages at the labour market. With respect to the region of residence, social and cultural regional factors such as the regional fertility rate and the percentage of people who voted at the last national election have particularly positive effects on the participation behaviour of individuals with rather stable careers. These factors reinforce existing participation norms. Economic regional factors such as regional wealth and unemployment influence individuals independently of their labour market histories.

Taken together, this study argues that material security is an overrated factor when it comes to explaining the relationship of labour market disadvantage and social exclusion. More centrally, social identity and normative expectations shape effects of labour market marginalisation. Moreover, the accumulation of difficulties at the labour market, the duration and frequency of experiences, influences the strength of effects. Yet, experiences of labour market disadvantage affect the dimensions of social integration differently – private social relations are affected in a dissimilar way than public civic engagement. Furthermore, the economic, social, and cultural context shapes both individual labour market risks as well as the effects of labour market disadvantage on social exclusion. In a complex social reality, difficult labour market experiences do not translate into impoverished social relations or withdrawal from civic activities for everyone under all circumstances. Rather, their effect depends on how an individual is situated in the broader private and public social, cultural, and economic context.

1.5 Overview of the Book

In sum, the structure of the book is as follows: Ensuing this introduction, *Chapter 02* reviews the scientific literature on which this study is based and develops the overarching, theoretical frame for the empirical analyses. *Chapter 03* presents the multilevel longitudinal data set, its two data sources, composition, and specificities. Furthermore, it gives an overview of the methodological approach and analytical strategy. *Chapter 04* is the first of the three empirical chapters. It analyses the cumulative process of labour market disadvantage distinguishing between individual and regional impact factors. *Chapter 05* and *Chapter 06* analyse the social consequences of labour market disadvantage. *Chapter 05* explores the effects of labour market marginalisation on personal relations for different socio-economic groups focussing on the effects on individual embeddedness. *Chapter 06* shifts the focus to the societal level analysing the repercussions for civic participation. Finally, *Chapter 07* puts the results in perspective and discusses theoretical and policy implications.