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Unemployment and other forms of social exclusion: Job loss and its consequences on civic engagement in Germany and Great Britain

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Abstract

This article addresses the relationship between unemployment and other forms of social exclusion. More specifically, it deals with the consequences of job loss on the participation in civic engagement, comparing the situation in Germany and Great Britain. Building on previous research which has shown that the unemployed are less engaged in volunteer work, the study investigates whether the decline of civic engagement is really a consequence of unemployment in the sense that people who lose their jobs give up their civic engagement. Special attention is given to the logic of the situation in which an unemployed person decides to give up or take up volunteering activities: Firstly, I argue that the use of volunteering as a job search strategy is related to early phases of unemployment while it is used as an alternative to paid employment in later stages of unemployment. Secondly, the article tests the assumption uttered by feminist authors that women are more inclined to accept unpaid volunteer work as a valuable alternative to paid employment. Thirdly, the study shows that the effect of job loss on volunteering behaviour cannot be understood independently from the institutional surrounding, namely the degree of labour market regulation in a country. The article presents empirical findings from the multivariate analysis of longitudinal panel data in Germany (GSOEP) and Great Britain (BHPS).

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1. Introduction

In her classical study, Jahoda and her colleges (1933) describe the disastrous effects of a factory closure in an Austrian village (Marienthal) during the 1930s which led to the unemployment of the entire village population: Amongst other consequences, she describes a retreat of the unemployed from social contacts into the private sphere of the household. Since then, various studies have pointed to the influence of job loss on other dimensions of social exclusion.[1] The experience of unemployment has been found to have various effects on a person's future career as well as on other areas of life. Especially long-term unemployment leads to financial deprivation which restricts the individual's opportunities (Böhnke 2001). Occupational skills cannot be used any more, which leads to their deterioration (Gangl 2004). The number of social contacts is reduced, the contact to previous colleagues diminishes, which increases the risk of social isolation (Kronauer 2002; Wilson 1987). Not least, unemployed people are less often engaged in volunteering (Erlinghagen 2000; Gensicke, et al. 2005; Smith 1998).[2]

From a longitudinal perspective, the question remains to be answered whether this lower participation rate is really a consequence of job loss in the sense that people who lose their job give up their civic engagement. Alternatively, it could also be that a third factor influences both, a person's job loss and his or her decision to give up volunteering activities. Although the empirical findings are far from being clear-cut, several policy initiatives have pointed to the importance of increasing the involvement of the unemployed in volunteering activities as

[1] The concept of social exclusion is a much contested one. I follow Kronauer's (2002) understanding who differentiates between two aspects of social exclusion: exclusion from the participation in the societal division of labour and exclusion from material, cultural and political participation in a society. While unemployment is related to the first aspect, the exclusion from civic engagement concerns the latter aspect.

[2] My definition of volunteering encompasses the investment of time in formal clubs or associations, thus including a rather broad variety of activities. More specifically, volunteers are active members of e.g. sports clubs, religious organizations, leisure clubs or – less often – trade unions and political parties. Their activities include e.g. the collection of money, the organization and running of meetings, interest representation but also personal help or counseling (Rosenbladt 2001; Smith 1998).

a means of social integration in Germany (Deutscher Bundestag 2002; Kommission für Zukunftsfragen 1997) as well as in Great Britain (Gaskin, et al. 1996).

At the same time, feminist scholars have uttered concerns that this promotion of volunteering might lead especially women to accept unpaid volunteer work as a valuable alternative to paid employment (Klammer/Klenner 1999; Sing/Kistler 2000). Following this argumentation, one would expect that unemployed women who have lost their chance to re-enter the labour market take up volunteering activities as an alternative to paid employment.

The article addresses these contradicting expectations by asking *whether job loss leads people to give up their volunteer work or whether, to the contrary, it stimulates new volunteering activities*. Thus, it is treated as an open empirical question how job loss influences the volunteering behaviour of different sub-groups.

Although several authors have pointed to the lower incidence of volunteering among the unemployed, few studies have used longitudinal data to address the question of causality: Is job loss really the causal factor which leads the unemployed to give up their volunteering activities? Or is the lower participation rate of the unemployed in volunteering activities related to other (observed or unobserved) related factors? We find some hints in the German cross-sectional *Survey of Volunteering and Civic Engagement* which shows that unemployment is associated with low association membership; at the same time, the unemployed who are members of associations, are not less involved in active volunteering than others (Rosenbladt 2001: 67). A strict test of the causal relationship between job loss and volunteering behaviour is, however, not possible with cross-sectional data. Erlinghagen (2000: 302) presents to my knowledge the only study tackling the influence of job loss on volunteering behaviour with longitudinal data. He finds for West Germany that the sub-group of short-term unemployed men as well as men who were previously unemployed have an increased risk of giving up their voluntary engagement. This finding supports results from cross-sectional studies which suggest a gender-specific reaction in the sense of a social retreat especially of men (Kronauer/Vogel 1998: 343f.; Russell 1999). Unfortunately, Erlinghagen

excludes the East German sub-sample from his study.[3] Thus, there is (some) evidence that unemployment leads people, especially men, to give up their voluntary engagement. However, no comparisons between national contexts are available. Moreover, we lack a theoretical framework for understanding differences in the volunteering behaviour of different sub-groups of the unemployed.

The present article suggests a theoretical framework which directs the empirical attention to the logic of the situation in which unemployed individuals decide to change their volunteering behaviour and points to three influencial factors: firstly, the duration of unemployment, secondly the gender of the unemployed person (as a proxy for work-role centrality) and thirdly the institutional background, namely labour market institutions. In the following theoretical part of the article I develop more concrete hypotheses regarding the effect of job loss on the volunteering behavior of different sub-groups of the unemployed.

2. Theoretical framework

In order to capture the influence of job loss on volunteering behaviour theoretically, I draw on psychological theories of action (Brandtstädter 2001; Heckhausen/Schulz 1998) which suggest a conceptual framing for the individual reaction to a stressful event as job loss is considered to be one. Heckhausen and Schulz (1998: 50) differentiate between several types of action control. Two of them are of special interest for the role of volunteering for the unemployed. The first is the so-called *selective primary control*. It refers to a focused investment of resources such as effort, time, abilities, and skills in the pursuit of a chosen goal. It may also include the development of new skills, as long as this is directly aiming at attaining goals. The efforts of a person who has lost his job to find a new one can involve various activities: The unemployed person can acquire new qualifications in order to increase his chances of finding employment. These qualifications can be acquired either formally in certified professional training courses, or informally, e.g. via volunteering. Moreover, these efforts can involve formal and informal ways of job search, such as sending applications to firms with job openings or getting to know people who might put in a good word for oneself to an employer. The latter strategy, namely to increase one's social networks, is again associated with volunteering.

[3] Moreover, his operationalisation of unemployment which mixes information on current and previous unemployment, its length and changes to other employment statuses does not allow identifying the influence of the length of the current unemployment spell.

More theoretically, the two types of resources which can be acquired by volunteering and are expected to help with finding a new job are human and social capital. Regarding the chances of acquiring *human capital via volunteering*, I argue that volunteers can acquire the capacity for teamwork, goal orientation, communicative skills, sense of responsibility or organisational skills. Consequently, it is expected that this increase in human capital can compensate the loss of productivity related to the exclusion from the labour market. Other forms of human capital are related to the person's formal education as well as his or her health status. Both are considered important preconditions for a person's productivity (Becker 1962). Previous studies have shown a close link between a person's educational attainment and his or her likelihood of being involved in volunteering activities (Gensicke 2001; Wilson/Musick 1997). Equally, a good health status increases a person's chances of being involved in voluntary work (Wilson/Musick 1997). In order to isolate the effect of unemployment on volunteering behaviour, both educational attainment and health should therefore be controlled in multivariate models.

Regarding the *acquisition of social capital*, it is argued that that social networks increase the information which employers and potential employees have about each other. Moreover, social contacts to decision-makers in the labour market can increase one's chances for a new job. Following insights from social capital theory (Flap 2002), apart from the quantity of social contacts, it is equally important to investigate the level of different kinds of support on which the unemployed can count. Confirming earlier research, various recent studies find social segregation among the unemployed to be very high in the sense that a high proportion of the friends of the unemployed are unemployed themselves (McKee-Ryan, et al. 2005; Russell 1999). To the contrary, most volunteers are employed, often in good labour market positions (Gensicke, et al. 2005; Smith 1998). Therefore, unemployed persons who volunteer increase their chances of getting to know people with better resources. The decision to keep one's *volunteering activities* or to take up new voluntary engagement in order *to use it as a way of extending one's skill repertoire and informal job search strategy* can thus be understood as such a selective primary control strategy. Other forms of social capital, such as a spouse (especially one who is also volunteering) or an informal social network of friends have also been shown to have a positive influence on a person's volunteering behaviour (Gensicke 2001; Rotolo/Wilson 2006; Smith 1998). In order to isolate the effect of

unemployment on volunteering behaviour, a person's family status and informal social networks should be controlled in multivariate models.

Moreover, we know from Bourdieu's (1983) discussion on the interrelation between different forms of capital that social capital is closely linked to a person's economic capital. The close relationship between volunteering as a special form of social capital and the volunteer's economic situation has been demonstrated in previous studies (Gensicke 2001; Smith 1998). Therefore, the multivariate models explaining the role of labour market exclusion for volunteering behaviour should control for the respondents' economic situation. Apart from a person's family status, the presence and age of children in the household can be considered a factor determining a person's social capital. More precisely, previous research has found that small children decrease especially their mothers' willingness to volunteer while older children are a plus, especially regarding their volunteering in the area of community-oriented groups (Glade 2001; Wilson 2000). Another aspect related to the acquisition of social capital via volunteering is that non-citizens or people from ethnic minorities are less often involved in social networks of the majority group and consequently in volunteering activities in formal clubs or associations (Attwood, et al. 2003; Gensicke, et al. 2005). Therefore, they are less likely to possess social capital with the mentioned positive effects on their labour market success. In order to isolate the effect of unemployment on volunteering behaviour, one has to control for the mentioned intervening variables, such as the presence and age of children in the household as well as the respondents' citizenship or ethnical background.

The second type of action control strategy which is of special interest is the so-called *compensatory secondary control* which aims at buffering the experiences of failure and resulting negative effects on the motivational resources of the individual, such as decreased perceived control, self-efficacy and self-esteem. Such control strategies involve the *disengagement from unobtainable goals*. Namely, it could mean that a person who has made several unsuccessful attempts to find new employment decides not to search for a job any more but *to focus on alternative activities, such as volunteer work.*

A third strategy, namely *the retreat from social contacts such as volunteering activities* can be considered a *dysfunctional secondary control strategy* since it is not related to a re-orientation towards new goals. Due to their on average higher work-role centrality, men are less likely to

accept unpaid volunteering as a valuable alternative to paid employment. Therefore, they are more likely to choose this alternative. This expectation is supported by previous research on gender differences regarding the social networks of the unemployed (Kronauer/Vogel 1998; Russell 1999).

The continuative question is *which influencing factors determine the situation in which individuals decide for one of the above described reactions*.

A first factor which is to be considered is *the duration of unemployment*. Although the different types of control strategies cannot be exclusively attributed to temporal phases of the coping process, I argue that primary control strategies are likely to precede secondary control strategies in time. It can be expected that short-time unemployment is related to selective primary control strategies, such as the use of volunteer work for informal qualification and job search strategies. Long-term unemployment, to the contrary, should be related to compensatory secondary control strategies, such as the acceptance of volunteering as an alternative activity to paid employment.

A second factor which influences whether a person uses volunteering rather as a qualification and job search strategy or as an alternative to paid employment is the person's *gender*. As Brandstädter (2001: 82f.) argues, the decision between different possibilities of action is directed by *development and identity goals*, such as personal values and goal orientations like the *centrality of paid work for a person's identity*. Kronauer and Vogel (1998: 343f.) observe two typical reactions to job loss: The first type of reaction is that the unemployed give up with resignation and accept their fate of unemployment, they retreat into social isolation and do not participate in labour market or societal activities any more.[4] This is especially typical for elderly male single unemployed. The second type reacts to their unemployment by retreating to "social networks" which help them save their social identity. Neighbour help or do-it-yourself-work play a role in supporting their social identity, as does mutual support with other

[4] This reaction reflects earlier research (Wilson 1987) which has used the term "underclass" to describe the situation of those who are trapped in a situation of poverty not only by their own lack of resources but by the chronic shortage of resources in their networks and communities. Authors from the right of the political spectrum have expressed their fear that the social segregation and over-generous welfare provision lead additionally to a replacement of the work ethic by a dependency culture (Murray 1990). These scholars expect that unemployment, especially long-term unemployment will lead to a withdrawal from social networks. More recent empirical research gives a more complex picture (see e.g. Russell 1999).

unemployed. Volunteering, it might be argued, can have a similar function. This finding suggests that the factor which underlies gender differences regarding the reaction to unemployment is the importance which gainful employment has for a person's identity, i.e. the work-role centrality. As previous research has argued (see e.g. Kohli 1985), paid work is a central part of most adult lives. However, it has also been shown that women are more likely to consider other activities, such as family or care work, an important part of their lives and a potential alternative to employment. This is especially true for West German women who have been encouraged by various institutional settings to leave the labour market during child rearing phases for a considerable time span (Dornseiff/Sackmann 2003; Falk/Schaeper 2001). Following from these findings, I expect that long-term unemployed West German women are more likely to accept unpaid volunteer work as a valuable alternative to paid employment. Consequently, I expect that *long-term unemployed West German* women are more likely than their East German or British counterparts *to keep their volunteering activities or take up new volunteer work* in order to compensate for the missing employment. In addition, a person's work role centrality could be influenced by the demand for labour, i.e. in regions with high unemployment rates, more people (especially women) without paid employment might choose not to register as unemployed and thus to enter the so-called hidden labour force. Therefore, this factor should be controlled by including the regional unemployment rate in the multivariate models.

Finally, a third factor is expected to impact on the type of action control which an individual who is confronted with job loss chooses. This last but not least important influencing factor on the role of volunteering for the unemployed is related to *the institutional surrounding, namely the degree of labour market regulation*. Authors supporting the Varieties of Capitalism approach (Hall/Soskice 2001) argue that Germany and Great Britain are prototypical cases of coordinated and liberal market economies which differ in the degree of labour market regulation, namely employment, unemployment and wage protection. On the individual level, these institutional settings create incentives for individuals to invest in different types of skills and job search strategies. Hall and Soskice (2001) differentiate between general, firm-specific and industry-specific skills. The main characteristic of general skills is that they are transferable, i.e. they can be used in different occupational and firm-contexts. To the contrary, firm-specific skills can only be applied within the same firm, industry-specific skills within the same industry. Meager unemployment benefits in Great

Britain put more pressure on the unemployed to accept any job offer and thus encourage informal job search strategies as via social networks. Moreover, the low employment and wage protection in Great Britain favours the acquisition of general skills which can be used in various jobs and industries and increase a person's flexibility on the labour market. As argued before, general skills, such as organizational skills or team work, can be acquired informally via volunteer work. Other than in Great Britain, where these informally acquired general skills are valued on the labour market, skill acquisition is much more formalized in Germany which is why volunteering can be expected to be less helpful as informal qualification and job search strategy. Consequently, *volunteers in Germany should be more likely to give up their volunteering activities after job loss than their British counterparts*.

To sum up, volunteering can have two different functions in the coping process following job loss: When an unemployed person applies selective primary control strategies, volunteering can serve as an informal qualification or job search strategy. However, in an institutional surrounding which does not value volunteering as job search strategy, as it is argued to be the case in Germany, it is a reasonable selective primary control strategy to give up volunteering activities and focus solely on the acquisition of certified skills and formal job search strategies. Alternatively, the unemployed person can use compensatory secondary control strategies, i.e. accept goal deviation. Unpaid volunteer work is expected to be such an alternative activity and source of social recognition to gainful employment, mainly for West German women who have on average a lower work-role centrality.

From the above theoretical considerations I develop several hypotheses which are then to be tested empirically.

3. Hypotheses

As argued above, a person's decision for a certain strategy is likely to depend on the duration of his or her unemployment experience. Thus, it is likely that job loss leads to an *initial phase of primary control strategies*. Depending on the institutional context, this means either – in Germany – a focus on formal professional qualification and job search and an abandonment of volunteering as an informal qualification and job search strategy or – in Great Britian – an explicit focus on volunteering as valuable informal qualification and job search strategy. The hypotheses which are to be tested read out as follows:

H1. German short-term unemployed men, as opposed to their British counterparts, are more likely to give up their volunteering activities.
H2. British, as opposed to German, short-term unemployed men have a higher likelihood to take up volunteering activities.

In a *later phase of unemployment*, when the unemployed person has already made a number of unsuccessful attempts to find new employment, it is likely that he or she enters a second phase of the coping process, dominated by *secondary control strategies* where it is likely that *volunteering* is no longer perceived as qualification or job search strategy but *as alternative activity to paid work* – at least by individuals with low work-role centrality who are willing to consider unpaid work as a valuable alternative. I argue that the centrality of paid work is on average higher for men than for women, especially for West German women. The hypotheses which are to be tested read out as follows:
H3. West German long-term unemployed women are less likely to give up their volunteering activities than their East German or British counterparts.
H4. West German long-term unemployed women have an increased likelihood of taking up new voluntary engagement as compared to East German women and men from both countries.

Finally, I expect that long-term unemployed men in both countries who have given up their hope of finding a new job but cannot value unpaid volunteering as a valuable alternative to paid employment will tend to choose social retreat as a dysfunctional social control strategy. The hypotheses to be tested read out as follows:
H5. German and British long-term unemployed men are, compared to their short-term unemployed counterparts, more likely to give up their volunteering.
H6. German and British long-term unemployed men have a lower likelihood of taking up new voluntary engagement as compared to women.

Before I turn to the presentation of my own empirical results on the consequences of job loss on volunteering behaviour, I describe in the following my data base and methodological approach.

4. Data and methods

I start with presenting the data sets, I then operationalise the variables of my models, explain the data set up and discuss the choice of my statistical models.

4.1 Data sets

In order to be able to answer the presented research questions, I need panel data information which allows tracing a person's labour market and volunteering behaviour over time. In Germany and Great Britain we find two largely comparable data sets which fulfil this criterion, namely the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP) and the British Household Panel Study (BHPS). The GSOEP is a longitudinal survey of private households and persons in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) which started in 1984 and has been continued annually since then. It is carried out by the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW). The original sub-sample of West Germans consisted of 4,528 households. In June 1990, it was expanded to the territory of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), only six months after the Berlin wall came down. Since then, the sample has been extended several times. The present analysis includes all seven sub-samples. A rather stable set of core questions is asked every year, covering topics such as labour market and occupational dynamics, earnings, income and social security, education, training, and qualification, as well as leisure activities, such as volunteer work (Haisken-DeNew/Frick 2005: 16).[5]

The BHPS is a panel study of private households and persons in Great Britain (including Wales and Scotland south of the Caledonian Canal) which began in September 1991 and has been repeated annually since then. The original sample consisted of 8,217 households. In 1999, a new sample was drawn in Wales and Scotland (including the area north of the Caledonian Canal); in 2001, a further sample was drawn in Northern Ireland. The present study includes all sub-samples. The survey is carried out by the ESRC UK Longitudinal Studies Centre at the Institute for Social and Economic Research at the University of Essex. A rather stable set of core questions is asked, including (amongst others) the following topics: current employment and earnings, employment changes over the past year, household finances and organisation as well as volunteering behaviour (Taylor, et al. 2006: A2-4f.). The

[5] Additionally, in each year the basic information in one of these areas is enlarged by detailed questions. For volunteering, this has been the case in the years 1990, 1995, 1998 and 2003. In order to control for possible differences between these waves and waves with the "ordinary" questions for volunteering, I included a dummy variable in all multivariate models, indicating the enumerated years ("special wave").

analysis is restricted for both countries to individuals aged 16 to 65 years and thus excludes respondents who have reached retirement age.

4.2 Operationalisiation

For Germany, the concept of "volunteering" is measured by two variables: One question asks for "volunteer work in clubs, associations or social services" and the other for "participation in citizens' groups, political parties or local politics". This operationalisation is to be considered rather crude. Since no specific volunteering organisations are enumerated, it leaves it to the respondent to decide whether the type of organisation in which he or she is engaged qualifies as a volunteering organisation. The German terminology used in the questionnaire (honorary office, *Ehrenamt*) which is generally associated with rather traditional organisations, such as church-related organisations or trade unions, possibly leads respondents who are engaged in less institutionalised short-term projects to hesitate reporting their activities. However, it is the only available panel data information on volunteering behaviour in Germany.

From the two available variables I create a *binary variable* which takes the value of 1 if a person participates every week, every month or less often in one of these activities.[6] The newly created variable has the value of 0 if the person never participates in volunteering activities. Missing values are treated as if the person did not volunteer.[7] This treatment is following Uhlendorff (2004) and is based on the assumption that volunteering is a socially desired activity and that people who do not answer the question are likely not to be volunteers. The information on people's volunteering activities is for large time periods only included bi-annually. In order to assess changes in people's volunteering behaviour, I create a variable ("taking up volunteering") which takes the value of 1 if a person does not volunteer at time t but volunteers at time t+1[8]; it takes the value of 0 if a person does not volunteer either at time t or at time t+1. I also create a variable ("giving up volunteering") which takes

[6] In 1984, the variable is exceptionally coded as 1 if the person participated often/regularly in social or political volunteering. The variable was coded exceptionally as 0 if a person never/very rarely participated in social or political volunteering. In 1990 (only West), 1995 and 1998 the variable is coded as 1 if the active engagement was daily, weekly or monthly.

[7] This concerns around 1% for social and 1% for political volunteering.

[8] T+1 refers to the year following t where information on volunteering is available. Cases where no information about the following wave with information on volunteering is available are excluded from the analysis.

the value of 1 if a person volunteers at time t but does not volunteer any more at time t+1; it takes the value of 0 if a person volunteers at time t and still volunteers at time t+1.

In order to capture a person's employment status I create three binary variables: (1) One which takes the value of 1 if a person is unemployed; (2) one which takes the value of 1 if a respondent is employed (full-time employed, regularly part-time employed, in-company apprenticeship or irregularly employed); (3) and one which takes the value of 1 if a person has any other (non-) labour market status (performing military/civilian service, inactive).[9] A person's employment status refers to his or her self-declaration – which does not necessarily have to coincide with the legal definition. If a person reports to be both, unemployed and another employment status, I change the binary variables (2) and (3) to 0, thus favouring the status of unemployment.

The concept of "volunteering" is measured in the BHPS by a two-step procedure: In a first step, respondents are asked: "Are you currently a member of any of the kinds of organisation on this card?" The possible answer categories are: a) Political party, b) Trade union, c) Environmental group, d) Parents'/School Association, e) Tenants'/ Residents' Group or Neighbourhood Watch, f) Religious group or church organisation, g) Voluntary services group, h) Other community or civic group (give details), i) Social Club/Working men's club, j) Sports Club, k) Women's Institute/ Townswomen's Guild, l) Women's Group/Feminist Organisation, m) Other group or organisation (give details).[10] In a second step, respondents are asked: "Do you join in the activities of any of the organisations on this card on a regular basis? (Yes/No) Which ones?" This operationalisation can be considered to encourage respondents to report a larger variety of volunteering activities. The enumeration of specific organisations is likely to remind the respondents of activities which they might not have thought of under the label of "volunteering", such as their engagement in sports clubs. Consequently, the volunteering variable in the British dataset presumably includes a larger variety of activities than the respective variable in the German dataset.

[9] From 1991 until 1995, the category employed additionally includes full-time short-term work and part-time short-term work; the category other labour market status also includes maternity leave. From 1996 onwards, the two answer categories regarding short-time work were dropped again. From 1998, employment also includes workshops for handicapped. From 2000 onwards, the answer categories for military and civilian service were separated. From 2002 onwards, the category other labour market status includes early retirement without working time, military service, civilian service and non-employed.

[10] Later questionnaires (from 1997 onwards) included the additional answer categories: "Pensioners group/organisation", "Scouts/Guides organisation" and "None".

From 1995 onwards (wave 5), the questions on volunteering were only included every second year. I use a binary variable which is generated from this latter variable and which indicates whether a person is actively participating in any activities of the voluntary organisation. Missing values are, similar to the German case, replaced by 0, i.e. it is assumed that the respondents who do not answer the question on volunteering do not volunteer. As in the German case, two binary variables are created which capture changes in people's volunteering behaviour ("taking up volunteering" and "giving up volunteering").

I capture the employment status by three binary variables: (1) unemployed, (2) employed (including self-employment, paid employment and government training schemes) and (3) a rest category (including retirement, family care, full-time student, long-term sick/disabled, on maternity leave and something else). Interviews by proxy respondents are excluded from the analysis.

Moreover, the multivariate models include the following control variables: nationality (for Germany) or ethnical background (for Great Britain)[11], age (with three categories), educational attainment (also with three categories)[12], length of the current unemployment spell (differentiated in short-term unemployed up to six months and long-term unemployed over six months – measured at time t)[13], health status (on a 10-point-scale in Germany and a 5-point-scale in Great Britain), family status (married or non-married), the presence of a child in the household (youngest child under three years old, over three years old or no child), the standardised household income (again with three categories)[14] and the regional unemployment rate[15]. The German models additionally contain information on the residence

[11] In Germany, I differentiate between respondents with and without German citizenship. Due to less restrictive citizenship policies in Great Britain, the variable capturing processes of discrimination is a person's ethnical background which I differentiate in white or non-white.

[12] For an overview on the categories and frequencies, see table 8 in the appendix.

[13] Traditionally, long-term unemployment is defined by a duration of at least 12 months. The chosen operationalisation is based on the fact that the average duration of unemployment in Great Britain is much shorter and state-funded measures for the long-term unemployed are directed to people with an unemployment spell of at least six months (Clasen, et al. 1998).

[14] The household income in both datasets is defined as the monthly net-income of all household members aged 16 or older in Euros. The GSOEP dataset provides a standardized variable which takes into account changes in the purchasing power over time. For the BHPS, I standardized the variable based on the price index provided by the Office for National Statistics.

[15] The regional unemployment rate in Germany contains information provided by the Federal Employment Office, based on the national definition of unemployment laid down in the Social Code (SGB III) on the level of federal states. In Great Britain, the regional unemployment quote is based on information provided by the

in East or West Germany, a dummy variable indicating those waves where the answer categories for the volunteering variable were code differently (see footnote 4) and a variable on the frequency of social activities of the respondents[16].

4.3 Data set up

In order to answer my research questions, I set up two national data sets. Since one of the main variables – volunteering - is not provided every year, I only included those waves with information on volunteering in the datasets. Thus, my German data set includes the years 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2001 and 2003. In the BHPS, as in the German case, information on the respondents' volunteering behaviour is not included every year in the questionnaire which leads to the necessary exclusion of those waves without information on volunteering in the dataset. Thus, my British dataset includes the years 1993, 1994, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001 and 2003. The datasets include one row per wave, i.e. one person is represented with as many waves as he or she participated in the survey in the years with information on volunteering behaviour.

This data set-up seems most appropriate for the present research questions because it includes similar information on unemployment and volunteering activities (both at time of interview). In order to capture the influence of unemployment length in the panel models, I also linked information about the length of the current unemployment spell.[17] Due to the theoretical focus on gender differences, all models are provided separately for men and women.

A problem of this modelling is that the time interval between t and t+1 is due to the data restrictions rather long (up to two years). This is especially a problem since the explaining variables describe a person's circumstances at time t while the dependent variable is the change in volunteering behaviour from time t to time t+1. In the time interval of up to two years, not only a person's volunteering behaviour but also his or her circumstances regarding

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National Statistics Office and refers to those unemployed individuals who have claimed benefits (claimant count). The residential information in the BHSP was transferred to the regional codes of the official unemployment statistics.

[16] For Germany, I created an index variable based on the frequency of visiting friends on the one hand and cultural events on the other. For Great Britain, a comparable question (for specific activities) is only available for those waves without information on voluntary engagement. Consequently, it cannot be used for the multivariate analysis.

[17] In order to avoid left censoring of the data, I excluded the first two years of each sub-sample. Thus, I have for each case the information whether the respondent is unemployed for more or less than six months.

labour market status and other explaining variables can have changed. The assumption of my models is, however, that these other circumstances which might have changed within the time interval of up to two years are distributed randomly.

A related methodological difficulty which occurs due to this data set up is that the respondents' unemployment can extend after time t which causes a situation where one does not take into account the unemployment length between time t and t+1, i.e. the time when the potential change in volunteering behaviour is measured. Assuming that time t splits an unemployment spell randomly between the time before the interview and the time after, only 50% of the total unemployment duration is recorded on average. Regarding the conclusion about the relative importance of unemployment length on volunteering behaviour, the results are still correct; only the total effect of unemployment length on volunteering behaviour will be overestimated.[18]

4.4 Model choice

The type of longitudinal data analysis which is used in this study is panel analysis, more precisely Random Effects (RE) Logit models. Panel models take into account the clustered nature of the data where several observations are available per person. Generally, one can differentiate between two types of panel analysis, stable and dynamic models. Due to various methodological problems related to dynamic panel models[19], I opted for stable panel models.

Stable panel models can be found especially in the form of Random Effects (RE) and Fixed Effects (FE) models. These models are often used to control for unmeasured person-specific effects when examining the influence of measured covariates on an outcome. Unobserved heterogeneity is always an issue in non-experimental research.[20] In panel data, unobserved heterogeneity is particularly salient because respondents are observed on more than one occasion leading to the likelihood that stable, person-specific characteristics are present

[18] Alternatively, one can omit unemployment duration as an explanatory variable and only include unemployment at time t as explanatory variable for changes in volunteering behaviour at time t+1. Since long-term unemployed respondents have a higher likelihood of being selected into the sample than short-term unemployed respondents, the explanatory variable in these models is dominated by long-term unemployed people. These models can serve as reference models and show largely the same results. They are included in the appendix (see tables 4 and 5).

[19] For an overview, see Finkel (1995: 21f.).

[20] Unobserved heterogeneity describes the heterogeneity across individuals which arises from unobserved individual characteristics and leads to biased and inconsistent estimates of the parameters of interest (Kyriazidou 1997).

(Allison 1994, quoted in Teachman, et al. 2001: 272). It is often interpreted as capturing features of an individual, such as cognitive ability, motivation, or early family upbringing, that are given and do not change over time (Wooldridge 2002: 248). If these characteristics are not measured and incorporated into the model, resulting estimates of the effects of measured covariates may be inefficient or biased (Teachman, et al. 2001: 272). Assuming that unemployment duration has a specific effect on changes in volunteering behaviour, one assumes a random selection into (short- and long-term) unemployment. However, we know from previous research that the risk of becoming and remaining unemployed is unevenly distributed in the population: Thus, human capital factors, such as low educational attainment, previous unemployment experience and bad health status are associated with worse chances of re-employment (Kaiser/Siedler 2000). At the same time, these factors have been shown to be negatively related to voluntary engagement (Gensicke 2001; Wilson/Musick 1997). Moreover, non-measured factors, such as personality traits, could have a simultaneous effect on unemployment and volunteering behaviour. As we will see in the following, panel models are a valuable methodological choice to address this problem.

Since the dependent variables of my models are binary (change in volunteering behaviour), two types of stable panel models are available: Fixed Effects Logit models (= Conditional Logit models = FE-logit models) and Random Effects Logit models (RE-logit models).

Both, FE- and the RE-models decompose the error term in two components: a person-specific error ν_i and an idiosyncratic error ε_{it},

$$u_{it} = \nu_i + \varepsilon_{it}.$$

The person-specific error does not change over time. Every person has a fixed value on this latent variable (fixed effects). ν_i represents person-specific time-constant unobserved heterogeneity. It could for example be a person's ability. The idiosyncratic error varies over individuals and time. In FE-models, the person-specific error term is a fixed value, in the RE-model it is a random variable which is estimated by maximum likelihood estimation.

The RE-logit-model calculates the contribution of each person i=1,…,N towards the likelihood as follows:

$$L_i = \Pr(y_{i1},...,y_{iT} \mid X) = \int_{-\infty}^{+\infty} \left[\prod_t^T \Pr(Y_{it} = y_{it} \mid x'_{it}\beta + \nu_i) \right] f(\nu_i) d\nu_i$$

where $f(v_i)$ is the density function of the person-specific error term v_i.

The advantage of RE-models as compared to logistic regressions is that the decomposition of the error term into a person-specific and an idiosyncratic part allows controlling for time-constant unobserved heterogeneity. A difficulty of these models, though, is their assumption that the explaining variables are at no time correlated with the person-specific error term: cov (x_{it}, v_i) $\neq$ 0. Moreover, it is based on the assumption that the person-specific error term is normally distributed.

The alternative approach, namely the FE-logit model, allows for correlation between person-specific error term and explaining variables. Since, however, FE-models consider only variances between individuals over time, they exclude at the same time (mostly) time constant explanatory variables from the analysis. Moreover, they exclude individuals from the analysis who do not show variation in the dependent variable over time.

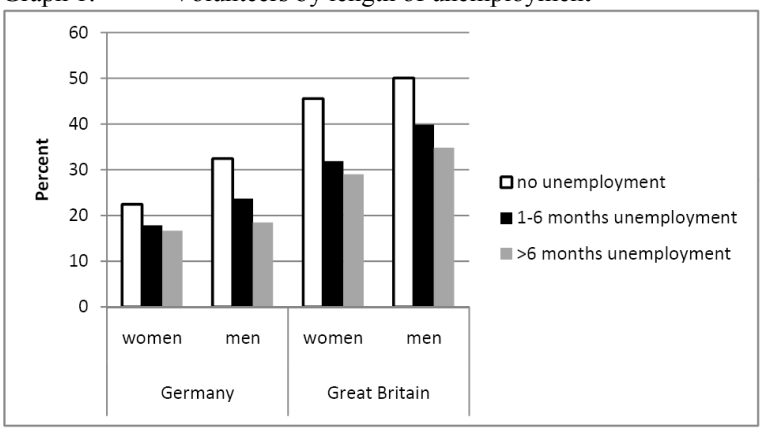
Regarding the analysis of the influence of unemployment on volunteering behaviour, I additionally calculated FE-logit models (see appendix, table 6) which circumvent the above mentioned problem of the large time lag between waves including information on volunteering behaviour; however, they cannot give information on changes in volunteering behaviour.

In the following, I report the findings of my own empirical analysis. I start with some descriptive results before I present the findings of my multivariate models.

5. Empirical results

A descriptive analysis of the participation rate by the duration of unemployment shows that the longer a person's unemployment experience lasts, the lower are his or her chances of being involved in volunteering activities (see graph 1). The difference between short- and long-term unemployed as between both sub-groups of the unemployed and the employed is smallest for German women.

Graph 1: Volunteers by length of unemployment



Source GSOEP, BHPS, own calculations, GSOEP: N=35,263 (persons), 181,436 (observations), BHPS: N=27,300 (persons), 105,396 (observations)

This descriptive result gives initial support to the idea that job loss starts a process of retreat from volunteering which gains increasing importance the longer the unemployment experience lasts. The finding that German women's involvement in volunteer work is relatively independent from their labour market status gives initial support to the hypothesis that German women might be more inclined to accept unpaid volunteer work as a valuable alternative to paid employment.

In order to test the reported research questions in detail, multivariate models need to be calculated which are reported in the following. Firstly, I present the models which test the influence of unemployment on giving up volunteering. Secondly, I describe the models testing the influence of unemployment on taking up new volunteering activities.

As to H1, I was expecting that German short-term unemployed men, as opposed to their British counterparts, are more likely to give up their volunteering activities since they do not expect them to be helpful for their job search. The multivariate analysis (see table 1) confirms this hypothesis (on a 10% level).

Table 1: Giving up volunteering

	German		British	
	women	men	women	men
Ref.: No unemployment				
Short unemployment	1.11	1.40+	1.73+	1.27
Long unemployment	1.12	1.07	0.86	1.64**
German/White	0.31**	0.21**	1.11	0.63*
Age (Ref.: 26-40)				
<=25	1.02	0.84+	1.29*	1.14
>40	0.75**	0.79**	0.59**	0.70**
Education (Ref.: medium)				
low	1.41**	1.51**	1.42**	1.26*
high	0.62**	0.84+	0.66**	0.68**
Health	0.98	0.99	0.90**	0.91**
Special wave	0.93	0.97		
Married	0.88	0.66**	0.93	0.92
Children (Ref.: No child)				
Child aged <3	1.13	1.05	0.87	1.39**
Child aged >=3	0.80**	0.86*	0.94	1.19*
Social life	0.93*	0.90**		
Household income (Ref.: medium)				
Low	1.41**	1.10	1.08	1.05
high	0.86*	0.96	0.93	0.85*
Regional unemployment rate	1.04**	1.03**	0.91**	0.89**
No. observations	10958	14815	9696	9075
No. respondents	3647	4440	3822	3556
Log likelihood	-6376.0	-7922.2	-5657.9	-5058.2

Random Effect Logit Model; Source: SOEP, BHPS, own calculations; + significant at 10%;
* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

This finding coincides with Erlinghagen's (2000) results who also found West German short-term unemployed men to be more likely to give up their volunteering activities. The present research goes beyond these findings in showing that the result is context-sensitive in the sense that it does not hold true for British short-term unemployed men. This country-difference reflects the theoretical framework presented earlier, suggesting that volunteering as a way of acquiring general skills and informal job search via social networks is more helpful on the British, less regulated labour market. Unexpectedly, British short-term unemployed women are also (equally on a 10% level) more likely to give up their volunteering activities. Since women's volunteering activities are more often related to caring, person-to-person tasks and less often to public, political activities or leadership positions (Gaskin and Smith 1997: 35, quoted in Wilson 2000), they apparently do not consider it as helpful for their job search as their male counterparts do.

Moreover, I expected that German and British long-term unemployed men are likely to give up their volunteering activities, compared to their short-term unemployed counterparts (H6). This hypothesis can be confirmed for Great Britain but not for Germany (see table 1). Combining this finding with H1, I conclude that German unemployed men give up their voluntary engagement relatively early after job loss since they do not consider it helpful for their job search. British unemployed men keep their voluntary engagement throughout the first six months and only give it up if their unemployment lasts longer than six months.

The other control variables show largely the expected effects (see table 1): Respondents with German citizenship (in Germany) or with white ethnical background (in Great Britain) are less likely to give up their volunteering activities (with the notable exception of British women). Highly educated volunteers are less likely to give up their volunteering. Good health status and marriage decrease a person's likelihood of giving up volunteering. Respondents with small children are more likely to give up their volunteering activities, those with children aged three years or older are to the opposite less likely to give up their volunteering (with the exception of British men). Respondents in Germany with an active social life are less likely to give up their volunteering activities as are people with high household income.[21] In Germany, a high regional unemployment rate is associated with a higher risk that people give up their volunteering, in Great Britain the effect is unexpectedly the opposite.

[21] Despite the positive effect of social activities on volunteering behaviour (increased likelihood of taking up new activities, reduced chances of giving up volunteering), the inclusion of social activities as a control variable does not change the effects of unemployment on volunteering behaviour for the German case (reduced models are not shown in this article but can be received from the author on request). Since the multivariate models in Great Britain cannot control for social activities, we can only assume that the effect of unemployment on volunteering behaviour would be reduced by the inclusion of social activities as a control variable. Consequently, one can assume that the presented models for Great Britain overestimate the effect of unemployment on changes in volunteering behaviour.

Table 2: Giving up or taking up volunteering, German women

	Model A: Giving up volunteering	**Model B: Taking up volunteering**
Ref.: No unemployment		
Short unemployment	1.00	1.13
Long unemployment	1.48	0.93
West German	0.77	1.45**
German	0.30**	2.75**
Age (Ref.: 26-40)		
<=25	1.00	1.05
>40	0.75**	0.96
Education (Ref.: medium)		
low	1.42**	0.69**
high	0.60**	1.22*
Health	0.98	1.01
Special wave	0.93	1.28**
Married	0.87	1.24**
Children (Ref.: No child)		
Child aged <=3	1.14	1.02
Child aged >3	0.79**	1.30**
Social life	0.94*	1.18**
Household income (Ref.: medium)		
low	1.41**	0.94
high	0.87*	1.17**
Regional unemployment rate	1.02	0.98*
Interaction effect		
Ref.: West German * No unemployment		
West German * Short unemployment	1.19	1.00
West German * Long unemployment	0.59	1.19
No. observations	10958	35050
No. respondents	3647	7594
Log likelihood	-6373.2	-12075.3

Random Effect Logit Model; Source: SOEP, BHPS, own calculations;
+ significant at 10%; * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

As regards gender differences (as a proxy for work-role centrality), I expected that West German long-term unemployed women are less likely to give up their volunteering activities. Due to differences in the cultural and institutional background, this effect was neither expected for East German long-term unemployed women nor for British women or German and British men (H3). This hypothesis can however generally not be confirmed (see table 2, model A). Although West German long-term unemployed women are less likely to give up their voluntary engagement than their East German counterparts, this effect is not statistically significant.

Table 3: Taking up volunteering

	German		British	
	women	men	women	men
Ref.: No unemployment				
Short unemployment	1.11	1.02	0.89	0.67+
Long unemployment	1.01	0.68**	0.90	0.72+
German/White	2.69**	2.01**	1.00	1.14
Age (Ref.: 26-40)				
<=25	1.03	1.24**	0.81*	1.38**
>40	0.96	1.03	0.90	1.08
Education (Ref.: medium)				
low	0.70**	0.88*	0.57**	0.73**
high	1.19*	1.09	1.52**	1.30**
Health	1.01	1.02	1.03	1.11**
Special wave	1.28**	1.29**		
Married	1.23**	1.23**	1.09	1.14
Children (Ref.: No child)				
Child aged <3	1.03	0.99	1.16	1.15
Child aged >=3	1.28**	1.23**	1.16*	1.23**
Social life	1.19**	1.13**		
Household income (Ref.: medium)				
Low household income	0.95	0.89*	0.96	0.89
High household income	1.19**	1.02	1.21**	1.17*
Regional unemployment rate	0.96**	0.95**	1.00	1.03**
No. observations	35050	30383	10924	8362
No. respondents	7594	7050	4453	3584
Log likelihood	-12082.3	-11953.2	-5887.0	-4675.2

Radom Effect Logit Models; Source: SOEP, BHPS, own calculations; + significant at 10%;
* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Moreover, I expected that West German long-term unemployed women have an increased likelihood of taking up new voluntary engagement. This effect was expected not to be significant for East German women, British women or German and British men (H4). The findings of the multivariate analysis show that long-term unemployment among West German women leads indeed to an increased chance of taking up voluntary engagement. Since this effect is however not statistically significant, the hypothesis cannot be confirmed (see table 2, model B).

As to the assumptions concerning the influence of job loss on taking up new voluntary engagement, they generally cannot be confirmed. I expected that British, as opposed to German, short-term unemployed men have a higher likelihood to take up volunteering activities (H2). However, this hypothesis cannot be confirmed (see table 3). I conclude that voluntary engagement is only used as a job search strategy by those who were already

volunteering before they lost their job. It is however rather unlikely that a person takes up new voluntary engagement after job loss.

Lastly, I expected that German and British long-term unemployed men have a lower likelihood of taking up new voluntary engagement and that this effect is not significant for women (H5) (see table 3). This hypothesis can again not be confirmed (only for the reduced models which do not control for household income and regional unemployment rate).[22]

To sum up, the descriptive results confirm earlier findings that the unemployed are less involved in volunteering activities. The only exception is the sub-group of German women who are involved in volunteer work relatively independent from whether they are unemployed or not and how long their unemployment experience has lasted. This gives initial support to the hypothesis that West German women are more inclined to accept volunteering as a valuable alternative to paid employment. As to the hypothesis that West German long-term unemployed women might actually be less inclined to give up their volunteering activities, it could not be confirmed in a strict statistical sense. However, one should consider that the analysis only includes registered unemployed women. It could thus be that women from the hidden labour force, i.e. women who are searching a job without being officially registered as unemployed and who are on average less dependent on the financial income from paid work, are more likely to accept volunteering as a valuable alternative to paid employment. Further research should therefore include women from the hidden labour force into the analysis.

In order to assess the question about the influence of job loss on a person's volunteering behaviour from a longitudinal perspective, I calculated several multivariate models. They confirm the hypotheses only partly. Regarding the expectations related to the decline of volunteering after job loss, I confirmed the hypothesis that German short-term unemployed men, as opposed to their British counterparts, are likely to give up their volunteering activities. Moreover, the hypothesis that long-term unemployed men are likely to give up their volunteering could only be confirmed for Great Britain but not for Germany. Taken together, these two findings suggest that German unemployed men give up their voluntary engagement relatively early after job loss since they do not consider it helpful for their job search. Contrary, British unemployed men keep their volunteering activities throughout the first six

[22] These reduced models are not included in the present article. They can be received from the author on request.

months of unemployment and only give them up if their unemployment lasts longer than that. Finally, it could not be confirmed that any sub-group of the unemployed is more likely to take up new volunteering activities. In the following, these results are to be discussed in the light of the initial theoretical considerations.

6. Discussion

This study set out to analyse the impact of job loss on volunteering behaviour in Germany and Great Britain. By including two different institutional settings, I was able to compare the impact of different labour market institutions. The longitudinal character of the data allowed analyzing a person's volunteering behaviour after job loss and thus gaining an idea about the causal relationship between different forms of social exclusion.

The most important difference between countries which has been shown is that *German unemployed men give up their volunteering activities earlier than their British counterparts*. The strategy of the short-term unemployed men to give up their volunteering activities (and potentially focus on formal ways of qualification and job search) can be considered a selective primary control strategy. In an institutional context which favours firm or industry specific skills over general skills and formal over informal job search strategies this is to be considered a rational behaviour. To the contrary, the finding that British long-term unemployed men give up their volunteering activities – despite an institutional setting which favours volunteering as job search strategy – can be seen as a compensatory secondary control strategy which is however dysfunctional insofar as no new goal setting takes place. The finding that British short-term unemployed women are likely to give up their volunteering activities shows that the favourable institutional context in Great Britain is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for volunteering to be considered a valuable qualification and job search strategy. Moreover, gender – interpreted as a proxy for the type of volunteering activity – plays an intermediate role. This finding points to the importance of differentiating between different types of volunteering organizations. Depending on the resources of their active members, they should have different effects on their volunteers' labour market success. Initial support for this idea is provided by Strauß (2008).

The second important finding is that *job loss has no significant influence on the taking up of new volunteering activities*. This is true for all sub-groups, including West German women for

which feminist authors had claimed the opposite. This finding has important implications for further policy initiatives. It supports a "preventive approach" to volunteering promotion in the sense that it is more promising to address people who are endangered by unemployment and motivate them to get involved in volunteering activities than to try motivating people who have already lost their jobs. Especially in Germany where volunteering is not valued institutionally as an informal qualification and job search strategy as in Great Britain, unemployed people will be likely to invest all their time and efforts in a formal job search. However, in order to support volunteering among people endangered from unemployment and to allow them profiting from the various assets such as social networks or a sense of usefulness, policy initiatives should address people who are endangered by unemployment before they really lose their jobs.

As to the question how unemployment is related to other forms of social exclusion, such as the exclusion from volunteering activities, the present study reveals several interesting results: Generally, volunteering as a form of social integration is closely related to labour market integration in Germany and Great Britain. Namely, job loss leads men to give up their voluntary engagement. Depending on whether they expect their volunteering activities to be helpful for job search, their retreat occurs sooner (as in Germany) or later (as in Great Britain). Only for individuals who do not consider paid work as central to their identity, volunteering activities can have function as a means of social integration which is somewhat more independent from the integration into the labour market.

Another interesting question which should be tackled by further research regards the type of post-unemployment jobs which volunteers find. It should e.g. be interesting to find out whether those jobs are typically in specific sectors of the labour market and how stable their employment is.

Last, one could speculate what the recent labour market reforms in Germany mean for the future role of volunteering for the unemployed. Severe reductions of the level of unemployment benefits and an increased pressure on the unemployed to accept jobs irrespective of their previous labour market positions might lead to a sub-group of the unemployed, namely those who are dependent on the meager tax-based unemployment benefits (*Arbeitslosengeld II*), whose situation is actually very similar to that of the British

unemployed. As a consequence, this sub-group of the unemployed might start appreciating volunteering as informal qualification and job search strategy. However, up to now these developments are too recent to be assessed empirically. So far, the differences between the two countries as prototypes of different degrees of labour market regulation lead to distinct roles of volunteering for the unemployed.

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Appendix

Table 4: Giving up volunteering (without unemployment duration)

	German		British	
	women	men	women	men
Unemployed at time t	1.13	1.13	1.35	1.47**
German/White	0.31**	0.21**	1.11	0.63*
Age (Ref.: 26-40)				
<=25	1.02	0.84+	1.29*	1.13
>40	0.75**	0.79**	0.59**	0.70**
Education (Ref.: medium)				
low	1.41**	1.51**	1.41**	1.26*
high	0.61**	0.84+	0.66**	0.68**
Health	0.98	0.99	0.90**	0.91**
Special wave	0.93	0.97		
Married	0.88	0.66**	0.94	0.92
Children (Ref.: No child)				
Child aged <3	1.13	1.05	0.86	1.39**
Child aged >=3	0.80**	0.86*	0.94	1.19*
Social life	0.93*	0.90**		
Household income (Ref.: medium)				
Low	1.40**	1.10	1.07	1.05
high	0.86*	0.96	0.93	0.85*
Regional unemployment rate	1.04**	1.03**	0.91**	0.89**
No. observations	10958	14815	9696	9075
No. respondents	3647	4440	3822	3556
Log likelihood	-6375.9	-7923.4	-5658.8	-5058.4

Random Effect Logit Model; Source: SOEP, BHPS, own calculations; + significant at 10%; * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Table 5: Taking up volunteering (without unemployment duration)

	German		British	
	women	men	women	men
Unemployed at time t	1.05	0.87+	0.93	0.74*
German/White	2.70**	2.03**	1.01	1.14
Age (Ref.: 26-40)				
<=25	1.04	1.25**	0.81*	1.37**
>40	0.96	1.03	0.90	1.08
Education (Ref.: medium)				
low	0.70**	0.88*	0.57**	0.73**
high	1.19*	1.09	1.52**	1.30**
Health	1.01	1.02+	1.03	1.11**
Special wave	1.28**	1.28**		
Married	1.23**	1.23**	1.09	1.14
Children (Ref.: No child)				
Child aged <3	1.03	0.99	1.16	1.15
Child aged >=3	1.28**	1.24**	1.16*	1.23**
Social life	1.19**	1.13**		
Household income (Ref.: medium)				
Low	0.94	0.89*	0.96	0.89
high	1.19**	1.02	1.21**	1.17*
Regional unemployment rate	0.96**	0.95**	1.00	1.03**
No. observations	35050	30383	10924	8362
No. respondents	7594	7050	4453	3584
Log likelihood	-12082.4	-11956.9	-5887.1	-4676.1

Random Effect Logit Model; Source: SOEP, BHPS, own calculations; + significant at 10%; * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Table 6: FE-logit models: Unemployment on volunteering

	German		British	
	women	men	women	men
Ref.: No unemployment				
Short unemployment	1.01	0.98	0.95	1.01
Long unemployment	1.23*	1.06	0.73+	1.22
German/White	1.54	1.03	1.20*	1.16
Age (Ref.: 26-40)				
<=25	0.82**	0.99	1.05	0.98
>40	1.26**	1.13*	0.92	0.88
Educ. (Ref.: medium)				
low	1.00	1.00	0.79	1.33
high	0.75*	0.78*	0.96	0.90
Health	0.99	0.99	1.14**	1.08**
Special wave	1.16**	1.15**		
Married	1.09	0.96	0.94	0.90
Children (Ref.: No child)				
Child aged <3	0.60**	0.85*	0.99	0.80*
Child aged >=3	1.14*	1.08	1.51**	1.07
Social life	1.30**	1.28**		
Househ. Inc. (Ref.: med.)				
low	0.88*	0.95	0.94	0.97
high	1.22**	1.07	0.98	0.94
Regional unemployment rate	1.02*	1.01	1.04**	1.06**
No. observations	25792	27705	15789	13257
No. respondents	3319	3610	3083	2624
Log likelihood	-9735.4	-10536.9	-5657.9	-5058.2

Source: SOEP, BHPS, own calculations; + significant at 10%; * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Table 7: Levels of educational attainment in Germany and Great Britain

	Germany	Great Britain
Low education	• inadequately completed general education • general elementary education (*Haupt-/Volksschulabschluss*) • general elementary education and basic vocational training above or beyond compulsory schooling	• CSE Grade 2-5, Scot G • Apprenticeship • Other qualification • No qualification
Medium education	• intermediate general qualification (*Mittlere Reife /Realschulabschluss)* and vocational qualification • intermediate general qualification • general maturity certificate (*Fachhochschulreife, Hochschulreife/Abitur*) • general maturity certificate and vocational qualification	• GCE A levels • GCE O levels or equivalent • Commercial Qualification
High education	• lower tertiary education, either with general diplomas or with diplomas with vocational emphasis • higher tertiary education (*Hochschulabschluss)*	• Higher Degree • First Degree • Teaching Qualification • Other higher qualification • Nursing qualification

Table 8: Percentages or means and standard deviations

	Germany		Great Britain	
	women	men	women	men
Volunteers (1: yes)	24.2	32.8	45.4	50.3
East German (1: yes)	21.2	20.6	--	--
German or white ethnical background	83.2	80.9	89.7	89.5
Age <=25 years	13.6	13.8	15.3	14.0
Age 26-40	37.5	37.0	35.9	37.4
Age >40	48.9	49.3	48.9	48.6
Education low	49.9	51.6	24.5	25.7
Education medium	37.3	32.3	32.7	38.8
Education high	12.8	16.1	42.8	35.5
Health status (D: 1-10, GB: 1-5)	x= 6.7, s = 2.2	x=6.9, s=2.2	x=3.9, s=0.9	x=3.8, s=1.0
Married (1: yes)	68.1	66.2	70.9	70.5
No child	57.0	59.6	62.3	57.0
Child < 3 years	7.4	7.2	10.5	11.3
Child >= 3 years	35.6	33.2	27.2	31.7
Social activities	x=4.6, s=1.1	x=4.6, s=1.1	--	--
Low household income	23.2	19.4	27.7	33.9
Medium household income	40.9	40.9	31.3	29.4
High household income	35.9	39.7	41.1	36.7
Regional unemployment rate	x=10.9, s=4.4	x=10.9, s=4.4	x=5.6, s=2.7	x=5.6, s=2.7