Community Conditions and Employment Insecurity in the United States*

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ABSTRACT

Despite prominent arguments suggesting that aspirations and expectations for labor market opportunities are influenced by community context, sociologists have not examined whether community conditions influence adult residents' perceived employment insecurity. I study the predictors of perceived likelihood of losing a job and perceived ability to find another job among employed individuals, as well as examining the predictors of currently looking for work, among a large and diverse sample of residents of Chicago neighborhoods. I estimate multilevel models to assess the contribution of neighborhood structural and social conditions, as well as more commonly studied individual characteristics. Net of an extensive array of individual and job characteristics, local unemployment rates, community social cohesion, the percentage of African American resident and a concentration of immigrant residents all show independent associations with measures of employment insecurity, though these associations often depend on individual respondents' race/ethnic or immigrant status or on their educational attainment.

INTRODUCTION

The shifting landscape of employment security and the withering of the social contract between employers and employees has been a topic of much academic and public discussion (Hacker 2006; Kalleberg 2009; Uchitelle 2006). Most studies that examine how individuals view their own employment security in the face of changing macroeconomic and labor market conditions have focused mainly on individuals' human and ascribed characteristics that situate them in the labor market (e.g., Manski and Straub 2000; Naswall and De Witte 2003). Others have examined how conditions in specific workplaces or for particularly insecure work arrangements, like contracting or temping, shape workers' perceived employment insecurity (Barley and Kunda 2004; Smith 2001). However, the extant literature has not examined whether the residential community context shapes perceived employment insecurity, despite a large body of research and theory that suggests aspirations and expectations for labor market opportunities are influenced by community conditions (MacLeod 1995; Wilson 1996; Young 2003). While individual characteristics are central influences on workers' notions of their likelihood of finding or keeping a job, local community environments may also influence and stratify employment insecurity. Not just individual residents, but entire communities may be affected by macroeconomic trends, the loss of particular industries, and the loss of jobs.

While some sociologists have been chronicling the increasing precariousness of work over the last several decades, another group of researchers have focused on the concentration of structural and social disadvantage in some communities over this same period, and explored the consequences for the life chances of their residents. These neighborhood changes are intimately connected to the labor market conditions that may be affecting residents' employment insecurity. A considerable stream of research has emerged to assess the argument that an exodus of jobs and

middle class families from urban centers (Wilson 1996) has led to the concentration of poverty and joblessness, socially isolating residents from conventional middle class norms of work life and leading to a constellation of negative outcomes for residents. Socially-isolated and economically disadvantaged communities offer objectively fewer opportunities for steady employment, and Wilson (1996) argues that being surrounded by neighbors and role models who are detached from the formal labor market argument reduces residents' expectations for labor market success. Nonetheless, there has been little empirical exploration of the link between concentrated community disadvantage and adults residents' perceived employment insecurity or opportunity (Jencks and Mayer 1990a). Drawing together research and theory on neighborhood effects and on job insecurity, this study is the first to assess whether community conditions are associated with adult residents' perceived employment insecurity.

Focusing on individuals' expressed concerns about losing a job and their perceived likelihood of finding another job if they experienced job loss, as well as examining current unemployment as an outcome, These three distinct outcome measures capture different aspects of employment insecurity, and may be differentially linked to community conditions. I use data recently collected to understand the influences of neighborhoods on their residents in Chicago. The Chicago Community Adult Health Study sample provides a unique opportunity to examine perceived employment insecurity for immigrants and a large sample of Hispanic Americans, in addition to the more typically studied whites and African Americans. The sample also includes a large number of neighborhoods that range widely in levels of unemployment, ethnic and immigrant composition, and social cohesion. This makes it possible to explore a full range of community conditions, moving away from the exclusive focus on concentrated disadvantage that characterizes much of the prior neighborhood effects literature. It is also possible to examine

how community characteristics may be associated with employment insecurity differentially across racial/ethnic groups, by immigrant status, and for less and more skilled workers.

The global economic recession that began late in 2007 has intersected with ongoing major macroeconomic changes that have transformed labor markets and communities over the past several decades. Hard times have heightened perceptions and experiences of employment insecurity for many Americans. Even before the current recession, perceived employment insecurity was rising over the past several decades among American workers, net of the business cycle (Fullerton and Wallace 2007; Schmidt 1999). While employment instability has spread to advantaged social groups, it is still less-skilled workers who face the worst long-term prospects as a result of global and domestic changes in demand for labor. Moreover, employment insecurity has been linked to negative consequences for individuals and organizations that could confound efforts directed toward economic recovery. Workers worried about losing their jobs report greater intention to quit and less investment in their workplaces (Ashford, Lee and Bobko 1989; Burchell 1999) and show worse health outcomes than their securely employed counterparts (Ferrie et al. 2002; Sverke, Hellgren and Naswall 2002), even net of actual job losses (Burgard, Brand and House 2008). Given these broad-ranging consequences, it is important to understand whether and how community social and economic context shapes employment insecurity and which groups face the greatest risks, if policy solutions are to improve outcomes for people and communities.

Measuring Employment Insecurity

Many prior studies of employment insecurity have focused on job insecurity, or a worker's own rating of the likelihood of losing his or her job in the near future. Another dimension of perceived employment insecurity, but one that has received less scholarly attention,

is concern about being able to find another job if the current job was lost. This latter measure taps a broader notion of labor market security, beyond the particularistic conditions that prevail in a worker's current job situation. Other studies of employment insecurity in economics and sociology have focused not on workers' self reported perceived insecurity, but on their current or prior unemployment, layoff or job loss experiences.[1] Different measures of employment insecurity are likely correlated and may be related to an underlying set of characteristics that characterize the individual worker (e.g., human capital, residential community conditions, and other characteristics), but each of the three measures also likely taps somewhat distinct conditions and has different implications for intervention. Reducing perceived job insecurity might be reduced at the organizational level with the release of more information, so that employees can make plans and reduce the stress of uncertainty. Reducing perceived labor market insecurity would require either retraining of individuals who feel their skills are insufficient, or moving people to jobs or jobs to people. These latter interventions would also be appropriate steps to address current unemployment. It is important to understand which would be appropriate responses.

Community conditions could generate variation across these different aspects of residents' employment insecurity. For example, extended unsuccessful job searches and eventual transitions to discouraged worker status are more likely in communities with high rates of unemployment, regardless of job seekers' qualifications. In addition, two workers may feel equally certain that a job loss is imminent, but if one lives in a community with a very low unemployment rate while the other lives in a community facing heavy job losses, their respective ratings of the likelihood of finding another similar job could diverge greatly. Additionally, the influence of an individual's characteristics may vary depending on their context; a recent

immigrant to a typical American community may feel that their ability to find another job is hampered by poor English skills, whereas they might not perceive the same language-related employment barrier in a community with a high concentration of immigrants networked into the local labor market. Therefore, I turn next to a discussion of theoretical expectations for associations between community characteristics and different dimensions of residents' employment insecurity, as well as expectations for moderating effects of individuals' characteristics on the associations between community characteristics and employment insecurity.

Community characteristics and employment insecurity

Prior studies have largely individualized employment insecurity, using theories of individual status attainment processes and human capital that focus on the characteristics and resources that job seekers utilize in the labor market and that stratify them into industries and occupations facing different levels of instability. In this analysis I adjust for a wide range of individual ascribed and achieved characteristics because they are known predictors of employment insecurity and because they stratify adults across residential neighborhoods, potentially explaining any associations between community conditions and employment insecurity that may appear. However, what makes this analysis novel is the focus on whether and how individual employment insecurity is contextualized by characteristics of the residential community.

Community conditions could influence residents' perceptions of their job security or labor market insecurity, or their exposure to unemployment, through a number of mechanisms. Obviously, growing up or residing in a disadvantaged community could limit residents' access to the resources they need to obtain and hold a good job. For example, their educational attainment

or job history could be shaped by the presence of high quality schools or the availability of jobs with opportunities for promotion and advancement (Sampson, Morenoff and Gannon-Rowley 2002), and their sense of control could be limited by their own or their families' experiences with success or failure finding stead work (MacLeod 1995). However, it is very challenging to map the causal links between community characteristics and respondents' individual achievements, because of strong selection forces that sort individuals into different kinds of neighborhoods. Because of these challenges, and the cross-sectional data that will be used here, I explore different mechanisms. Instead of examining on how community characteristics are linked to individual's achieved characteristics or job histories, I adjust for individual characteristics and remain agnostic on the causal directionality of their association. I focus on how the local availability of work, the presence of social ties in the community, and the composition of the local labor market pool shape current perceptions of labor market chances and current unemployment for residents.

Several theoretical strands in sociology suggest that people may be influenced by local economic and social conditions when they form opinions about their labor market chances. Some of the most prominent discussion has centered on the local availability or unavailability of jobs. Wilson (1987; 1996) has prominently argued that the loss of relatively well-paid manufacturing jobs and related out-migration of black middle-class families has led to the emergence of urban communities of concentrated disadvantage where unemployment and poverty are high, employed role models with good jobs are scarce, and residents' lives are not organized around paid work. Living in such communities, Wilson argues, influences both objective opportunities for employment and the way young community residents think about their life chances and labor market opportunities. The availability of many peer "role models" in the community with stable

employment histories could generate collective expectations of employment security and provide concrete examples of means to find another position in the event of job loss (Jencks and Mayer 1990b).

Even outside communities of extreme disadvantage, however, macroeconomic changes and shifts in the industrial structure of the United States mean that jobs for workers in some communities have disappeared permanently, while new jobs becoming available may not fit the skills or expectations of resident job seekers (Quillian 2003). The presence of high unemployment, resulting in many local competitors seeking jobs or a large number of discouraged workers, could influence residents' objective opportunities for employment, as well as their perceptions that their current job is secure, or that an equally good job would be available if the current one was lost. Therefore, I expect that higher local unemployment will be associated with greater perceived job insecurity and labor market insecurity, and with heightened risk of being unemployed, net of individuals' characteristics.

Beyond the local availability of jobs, the cohesiveness of community residents could indicate the presence of networks useful for job search, or could influence the spread of good or bad news that might influence residents' sense of their labor market prospects. Social cohesion taps the presence of social ties between neighbors (Sampson, Morenoff and Gannon-Rowley 2002), and could reduce concerns about being able to find and keep stable employment if residents believe that they can activate their dense local networks to help them find a job. These ties may actually be useful for finding work in organizations in which neighbors are employed, for example. This means that higher levels of social cohesion could be associated with lower perceived job and employment insecurity and lower risk of unemployment. On the other hand, dense community social ties could indicate homogenous groups of residents who all face similar

job prospects (Young 2003), whereas weaker ties with a greater variety of individuals have been theoretically and empirically linked to greater success in finding a job (Lin 1999). High levels of social cohesion may also enhance the ease with which bad news spreads throughout a community, fueling increased concerns about job loss if many residents are losing jobs or facing unsuccessful job searches. This means that higher levels of social cohesion could be associated either with higher perceived job and employment insecurity and higher risk of unemployment.

Do associations between community characteristics and employment insecurity depend on individual residents' characteristics?

The association of community level unemployment rates and social cohesion with residents' employment insecurity may vary across individuals, depend on key individual characteristics that stratify workers, most centrally their level of human capital and their race/ethnicity and immigrant status. First, the salience of local contextual influences for perceived or actual employment insecurity may vary depending on a resident's engagement with broader social and professional networks. Workers in higher status, more skilled occupations are more likely to have regional or national employment networks and concerns, while less-skilled workers may be more attuned to local labor market conditions. More skilled workers may believe that their network of colleagues, even those in distant locations, are more useful for finding new employment opportunities than are their neighbors. They may also have access to occupationally-based organizations that protect their employment security (Kalleberg 2009). By contrast, conditions prevailing in local labor markets probably have a stronger effect on workers with fewer resources or weaker labor market attachment. Jencks and Mayer (1990a) argue, for example, that job proximity is more salient for female than male employment and for teenagers as compared to older workers, because women and teenagers earn less, and traveling far to work

has costs that may exceed the benefit of working . By this same logic, less-skilled workers are probably more sensitive to local labor market opportunities because they don't have the resources to travel long distances for work given their lower wages.

Second, sociologists and others have focused on the more difficult labor market conditions facing minority Americans, particularly those who are "trapped" in under-resourced communities. Residents who do not have the resources or choice to move to more vibrant labor markets may be more attuned to local labor market conditions as they form their opinions about their labor market chances. For example, African Americans are less likely to be able to move to more affluent neighborhoods due to their own financial resources or because of discriminatory preferences of other residents, and are exposed to more disadvantaged neighbors and community conditions, on average, than non-Blacks, regardless of their own socioeconomic resources (Pattillo 2007). In addition, their social networks outside the community may be constrained to a greater degree than those of other racial/ethnic groups, whether because of their race or because they are more likely to live in impoverished neighborhoods (Small 2007). Furthermore, because their networks are more likely to contain disadvantaged individuals, African Americans may have access to less (Young 2003) or receive less assistance from their local network members when they seek a job (Smith 2005).

Hispanic Americans, particularly those who face the barrier of limited English proficiency, show less objective employment insecurity than African Americans but may also have a dimmer view of their employment security than non-Hispanic white Americans. Recent immigrants are another group who may face limited English proficiency and limited networks outside of insulated migrant labor networks. For all minorities and immigrants with low human capital and resources, and particularly for those who live in segregated and isolated communities,

Stoll and Raphael (2000) argue that job search centers on the residential community and that searching in distant communities with better opportunities is costly. Even outside of severely disadvantaged communities, minority individuals and immigrants with limited English proficiency may face discrimination and associated limits on job searching outside of their neighborhoods. For these reasons, perceived employment security among African Americans, Hispanics, and recent immigrants may be more strongly shaped by conditions in their communities of residence than that of non-Hispanic white Americans who are not recent immigrants.

Local Labor Market Competition and Employment Insecurity

Beyond broad community conditions like the availability of jobs or the presence or absence of social cohesion, communities could matter for individual employment insecurity because of demographic composition of the local labor market and competition for jobs between particular groups. Sociologists have noted in particular the labor market competition between African Americans and Hispanics, particularly recently arrived Hispanic immigrants (Waldinger 1996). This competition usually takes place in local labor markets, and is linked to residence in communities with a high concentration of minority and/or immigrant residents. At the same time, living in communities with a high concentration of members of one's group could have positive effects on employment opportunity and expectations, so I explore these countervailing hypotheses.

First, the loss of good manufacturing jobs and exodus of other employment opportunities from urban centers has had disproportionate negative effects on black families and some urban communities. The concentration of African Americans in segregated communities could increase the likelihood of employment insecurity for residents of these communities because it indicates

few employment opportunities or high unemployment. However, residing in a community with a high percentage of black residents may improve some individual residents' perceived employment security, even if these communities have fewer jobs available. Greater minority group presence in a local labor market could positively affect minority representation in more and better jobs because there are more members of the group in the general labor market queue for local jobs (Jiobu 1988). Queuing theory suggests that if there are relatively many African Americans searching for work in the community, a larger fraction of jobs will be held by blacks, even if unemployment rates are high or if employers discriminate against minorities (Tolnay 2003). The greater representation of co-ethnics may mean that African Americans perceive greater labor market security in communities with higher proportions of black residents, though it is not clear that their actual risk of unemployment would be lower in these communities. At the same time, the concentration of African Americans in a local labor market has also been linked to better job opportunities for immigrants because employers prefer them over African Americans in a local labor queue (Tolnay 2001; Waldinger 1996). This means immigrants' perceptions of their labor market chances may also be better in communities with high concentrations of black residents. Taken together, queuing theory and the available evidence suggest that the percentage of black residents in the community may be linked to greater chances of being unemployed, but also may be associated with lower concerns about being able to find another job for African American and immigrant residents.

A second important aspect of the composition of the local labor market pool that could shape demographic advantage in labor queues or perceived threat from other local groups competing for jobs is the concentration of immigrants living in the community. A high proportion of immigrants in a community may make finding work easier for some residents, such

as immigrants from the same group as earlier immigrants who have been residing the in U.S. longer and can provide local job opportunities (Light and Bonacich 1988). Immigrant "barrios" with many Hispanic and immigrant residents, for example, do not show the same high and chronic unemployment rates as some of the disadvantaged areas with a high concentration of African American residents (Waldinger 1999). Tightly locally-networked immigrants with opportunities in ethnic enclave economies may thus perceive low labor market insecurity, with an abundance of similar jobs available should they lose their current job. By contrast, a high concentration of immigrant residents may increase perceived or actual employment insecurity for other residents, such as African Americans competing for low-skilled jobs with new immigrants (Waldinger 1996). Thus, high immigrant concentration may be associated with greater concerns about job insecurity and labor market insecurity and greater risk of unemployment for African American residents.

However, employers in ethnic enclaves may also have a constantly renewed pool of potential employees who will work for low wages, and thus the available jobs in the enclave may not very secure, increasing employees' job insecurity (Wilson 1999). Enclave entrepreneurs are able to take advantage of language and cultural barriers and of ethnic affinities to gain privileged access to new co-ethnic immigrants' labor to ensure reliable employees, supplies, and customers (Pfeffer and Parra 2009, Sanders and Nee and Sernau 2002, Wilson et al 1980). However, this means that the new immigrants forego the better jobs and higher incomes available in the open economy if they stay in the enclave (Sanders et al 1987, Sanders et al 2002, Wilson et al 1980, Logan and Alba). Thus, immigrant enclave economies are advantageous primarily for new immigrants with limited English and limited skills, providing work where no other labor markets will (Sanders and Nee 1987). In sum, living in a community with a high concentration of recent

immigrants may be associated with lower labor market insecurity and lower actual unemployment for immigrants, but also could be associated with increased job insecurity.

Immigrant status and Hispanic ethnicity may also work somewhat interchangeably in neighborhoods that receive many Hispanic immigrants and provide networks for these new arrivals. In the analysis that follows, I consider Hispanic immigrants separately from immigrants with other ethnic backgrounds to account for the composition of the sample, drawn from Chicago neighborhoods. This also makes it possible to distinguish the separate effects of Hispanic ethnicity and immigrant status in predictions of various aspects of employment insecurity.

DATA AND METHODS

Data

Individual-level data are obtained from the Chicago Community Adult Health study (CCAHS), a probability sample of 3,105 adults aged 18 and over living in Chicago, Illinois. The sample was drawn from 343 neighborhood clusters (NCs) previously defined by the Project on Human Development in Chicago Neighborhoods (Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls 1997). The NCs, the geographic unit that comprised communities in this study, usually included two census tracts and typically represented about 8,000 people, and were demarcated using meaningful physical and social boundaries (Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls 1997). People in 80 focal areas previously denoted by the PHDCN were sampled at double the rate of residents in other areas. The CCAHS sample contains an average of 9.1 respondents per NC, with about 14.3 in the focal areas in about 7.5 in other areas. In-person interviews with one individual per household were conducted between May 2001 and March 2003, and the survey achieved a response rate of 71.8 percent, a relatively high rate for surveys in large urban areas. All analyses are weighted to account for

differential rates of selection and non-response across NCs, with the weighted sample matching the 2000 Census population estimates for the city of Chicago in terms of age, race/ethnicity and sex. More information on weights and other aspects of the CCAHS has been published elsewhere (Morenoff et al. 2007). Measures of NC-level social processes were created using the CCAHS data, while measures of other NC-level characteristics were obtained from the 2000 U.S. Census; these variables are described in detail below. Information about the occupational unemployment rate was obtained from the Current Population Survey and linked to CCAHS respondents' three-digit occupation codes.[2]

Two analytic samples were used in this analysis; models assessing the predictors of perceived employment insecurity use the respondents who were working for pay at least 15 hours per week at the time of the survey (N=1839); respondents who reported working fewer hours were not asked about their employment conditions. I used respondents who were asked about their employment security and were not missing on key covariates (N = 1812), and who were not self employed (N = 1622). Self-employed respondents were excluded from this first analytic sample, as they often are from studies of job insecurity, because the factors affecting their perceived employment insecurity may differ from those that affect individuals working for an employer. To assess the predictors of objective employment insecurity, I drew from a second sample of 2137 respondents who were working for pay, self-employed, or currently looking for work, and who were not missing information on predictor variables (N = 2135).

Measures

Employment Insecurity

I examined two measures of perceived employment insecurity and one measure of objective employment insecurity. To measure *job insecurity*, CCAHS respondents working at

least 15 hours per week were asked: “How likely is it that during the next couple of years you will involuntarily lose your main job— very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not at all likely?” Similar to prior research on job insecurity, I dichotomized responses so that 0 = not too likely or not at all likely and 1 = somewhat or very likely to lose job. Respondents were also asked about their *labor market insecurity*: “If you were to lose your main job, what do you think your chances would be of finding another job that paid about the same—very good, good, fair, or poor?” For consistency with the measure of job insecurity, responses to this item were dichotomized so that 0 = very good or good chance and 1 = fair or poor chance of finding another job. Sensitivity analyses using the original ordinal coding of these variables were also conducted and are reported below. To measure objective employment insecurity, respondents were coded 1 if they reported that they were currently *looking for work* when asked about their labor market status: “… are you working now for pay, looking for work, retired, keeping house, a student, or something else?” Respondents who were working for pay (whether employed by someone else or self-employed) were coded 0 on this measure of looking for work.

Community Characteristics

The percentage of residents 16 years and older in the NC who are unemployed (NC-level range: 1.0 – 48.7 percent), the percentage who are African American (range: 0 – 100 percent) are drawn from the Census and because the percentage distributions are highly skewed, I recoded them into deciles, creating ten categories of comparable size. I conducted this recoding at the NC level, based on all 343 neighborhood clusters sampled in the CCAHS. Values for the deciles range from 0 for the lowest to 9 for the highest decile. Recoding these Census variables was necessarily particularly for examining cross-level interaction terms in the models described below, because distributions of the percentage of African American residents in the NC, for

example, varied drastically for individual African American versus non-Hispanic white respondents. I also generated a marker of high immigrant concentration based on Census information, coded 1 for NCs in the top quartile of the percentage of residents who are foreign-born (>= 33.6 percent), and coded 0 for NCs with fewer foreign-born residents. A measure of NC-level social cohesion was constructed from five items collected from the individual CCAHS survey respondents and aggregated to the NC level; all items were recoded so that scores ranged from 1 (disagree strongly) to 4 (agree strongly), with items including "this is a close knit neighborhood" and "people in this neighborhood are willing to help their neighbors." The original social cohesion score ranges from 2.7 to 3.4 across NCs, with higher scores indicating greater cohesion, and for consistency with the census based measures, I recoded the score into deciles.

Individual Characteristics

Individual predictors include sex (0 = male, 1 = female) and age (in years, centered on age 43 for meaningful interpretation of coefficients). Racial/ethnic and immigrant status were combined to create a categorical indicator with six categories: non-Hispanic white, non-Hispanic black, non-Hispanic other race, Hispanic non-immigrant, Hispanic immigrant, and other immigrant. Immigrant status denotes a first generation immigrant, or a person who was not born in the United States. Educational attainment is coded so that 0 = some college or more while 1 = high school completion or less. Job characteristics assessed among employed respondents include tenure with the current employer (in years), sector of employment (0 = private, 1 = public employer), union membership (0 = no, 1 = yes), and the unemployment rate in the respondent's three digit Census occupation code.

Analytic Plan and Methods

I began with descriptive comparisons of employment security outcomes across social categories, then estimated models of job insecurity, labor market insecurity, and looking for work that (1) examined community characteristics one at a time as predictors, (2) adjusted for an extensive set of individual sociodemographic characteristics and measures of job-specific conditions, and (3) examined cross-level interactions between community characteristics and those of individual respondents. Appendix A presents correlations between community characteristics at the NC level, with the highest found between deciles of the percent unemployed in the NC and the percentage of African American residents (0.74). Other correlations are lower, however, and we include the percent unemployed in all models that explore other community-level predictors to adjust for the availability of jobs in the area. All models were estimated using two-level hierarchical logistic regression models and HLM 6.0 software, with level 1 representing individual residents and level 2 representing NCs. Level 1 weights were used in all analyses.

RESULTS

Descriptive Results

Table 1 presents individual-level summary statistics for respondents overall and by race/ethnicity and immigrant status category and educational attainment. The figures presented are weighted percentages or means and standard deviations (in parentheses), with unweighted column totals presented at the bottom of the table.

- TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE –

Overall, consideration of the main analytic sample shows that 23.4 percent of the CCAHS respondents working at least 15 hours per week reported job insecurity, or worries about losing their current job, and 28.9 percent reported labor market insecurity, or concern about

being able to find another job that paid about the same if they lost their current job. Additional tabulations not shown indicate that the tetrachoric correlation between these two outcomes is 0.16, and workers reporting job insecurity are more likely to report labor market insecurity (36 percent) than those who are not as worried about losing their job (27 percent), but these two measures are capturing overlapping but still distinct groups of insecure workers. Now considering the larger analytic sample of respondents either working for pay (self-employed or working for an employer) or looking for work, Table 1 shows that 13.9% reported currently looking for work at the time of the survey.

Comparing across columns of Table 1, it is clear that perceived and objective labor market insecurity are socially-patterned by ascribed characteristics and human capital resources. Non-Hispanic whites have the lowest levels of job insecurity at 17 percent, with Hispanic immigrants and other immigrants reporting the highest job insecurity at 31 percent. Hispanics who were born in the U.S. have similar levels of job insecurity as non-Hispanic whites (19 percent), while non-Hispanic blacks feel they have a greater chance of losing their jobs (25 percent). With the exception of the very small number of other race non-immigrants, whites also report the lowest labor market insecurity at 25 percent, while Hispanic immigrants report the highest at 38percent. Other immigrants and Hispanic non-immigrants have similar labor market insecurity to that reported by whites, while the prevalence is somewhat higher among blacks (30 percent). More educated workers report considerably lower job insecurity and employment insecurity than less educated workers. Interestingly, these patterns of perceived employment insecurity sometimes differ from the patterning of current unemployment, while other times they are consistent. For example, though Hispanic immigrants are least likely of these groups to be looking for work (8 percent), they have very high levels of perceived insecurity. Whites and

Hispanic non-immigrants also have relatively low levels of current unemployment (11 percent), but these better match their perceived insecurity. Other immigrants and blacks have higher levels of unemployment (16-19 percent) as well as reporting relatively high levels of perceived insecurity. Educational attainment is consistently associated with lower perceived and objective employment insecurity.

Turning to conditions at the neighborhood cluster level, the sample overall shows levels of unemployment and proportion of African American residents in the fourth decile of these distributions, and levels of social cohesion in the fifth decile. About 29 percent of respondents live in areas of high immigrant concentration. Comparison across social groups reveals dramatic differences in community-level sociodemographic conditions that have been noted in other research. For example, the average white respondent lives in an NC that falls in the second decile of the overall distribution of NC-level unemployment, while the average black respondent lives in an NC that falls in the seventh decile, with Hispanic immigrants and non-immigrants and other immigrants falling between these extremes. Similar differences are apparent when considering the percentage of African American residents in the NC; whites and Hispanics less likely to live in communities with many black neighbors, though other immigrants fall between these groups. Not surprisingly, Hispanic immigrants and non-immigrants live in neighborhood clusters with more foreign born residents, though other immigrants do not. Community social cohesion is also socially-patterned, with the average white respondent living in an NC in the sixth decile of the distribution, compared to the average black respondent, whose NC falls in the fourth decile. However, black respondents live in communities with the highest levels of organizational participation, driven by the greater religious participation in these communities. More highly

educated respondents live in NCs with lower unemployment, fewer immigrants, and slightly higher social cohesion scores.

These social groups also vary in their individual characteristics that predict both employment insecurity and community of residence. In addition to differences in demographic characteristics like educational attainment, age, and gender, there are important variations across social groups by job and occupational characteristics. Public employment is much higher among black respondents than among whites or immigrants, for example, likely influencing their relative perceived job insecurity. Blacks, Hispanics immigrants and non-immigrants and other immigrants, and workers with less than a high school education face much higher occupational unemployment rates than whites and better educated respondents.

Multivariate Results

Table 2 presents a first set of hierarchical linear regression models of job insecurity (first column), labor market insecurity (middle column), and looking for work (last column), focusing on the predictive power of the decile of the NC-level unemployment rate before (Model 1) and after adjustments for sociodemographic (Model 2) and cross-level interactions (Model 3) are added. Unstandardized coefficients are presented with standard errors in parentheses, and the level two variance components for each model and their significance levels are presented at the bottom of the table.

- TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE –

Comparison of Models 1 through 3 for job insecurity in the first column show that there is no effect of the local unemployment rate on perceived job insecurity overall, but that respondents with a high school education or less are significantly more likely to report job insecurity in areas with higher unemployment rates, while the relationship moves in the opposite

direction for non-Hispanic immigrants. Hispanic non-immigrants are also marginally less likely to report job insecurity in areas with higher local unemployment rates. A comparison with the model predicting looking for work in the last column of Table 3 shows the same cross-level interaction with the respondent's educational status; actual unemployment is higher for respondents in areas with higher local unemployment only if they have only a high school degree or less. The unexpected associations for Hispanic non-immigrants and other immigrants are not evident in models predicting current unemployment. Finally, while there is a positive association between the local unemployment rate and labor market insecurity in the unadjusted Model 1, this association is no longer significant once individual characteristics are added in Model 2.

To make clearer the nature of the cross-level interaction between respondent's education and the local unemployment rate, Figure 1 shows the predicted percentage of respondents reporting perceived job insecurity by educational attainment and NC-level unemployment averaged over the top and bottom quartiles of the distribution.

- FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE –

Figure 1 shows that for those who have a high school education or less, predicted perceived job insecurity is much higher than for those in communities with lower unemployment rates. A weaker association in the opposite direction appears for those with more education. The pattern of the plot would look very similar if the percentage looking for work was used as the outcome.

The remaining results in Table 2 show that individual-level characteristics are important predictors of employment insecurity, net of community conditions. Hispanic and other immigrants have higher perceived job insecurity, but significantly lower likelihood of currently looking for work. Respondents with lower education fare worse on all outcomes. Women are

report more perceived job insecurity, and older workers report more job insecurity and labor market insecurity but are less likely to be looking for work at the time of the survey. Workers with more tenure are more concerned that they couldn't find another similar job if they lost their job, as are public sector employees, though public sector workers perceive less job insecurity. The rate of unemployment in the respondent's occupation is positively associated with both perceived job insecurity and labor market insecurity, but more substantially for the latter outcome.

The remaining tables of results consider the other community characteristics, while adjusting for NC-level unemployment rate, but otherwise replicating the models presented in Table 2.

- TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE –

- TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE –

- TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE –

Table 3 shows the results for community social cohesion; while there is no association with labor market insecurity, African Americans show significantly greater perceived job insecurity in communities with higher social cohesion while non-Hispanic whites show significantly less perceived job insecurity as social cohesion rises. Hispanic immigrant respondents also show marginally greater perceived job insecurity in communities with higher social cohesion, as well as showing marginally more likelihood of currently looking for work. Figure 2 demonstrates this association, with predicted perceived job insecurity higher for African Americans living in communities with high social cohesion, while the opposite relationship is apparent for non-Hispanic whites.

- FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE –

Table 4 shows the set of models that adjust for the percentage of African American residents in the neighborhood cluster. While non-Hispanic whites in communities with more African American residents report significantly higher perceived job insecurity, Hispanic immigrants report marginally lower job insecurity as the percentage of black residents rises and significantly lower risk of currently looking for a job. Non-Hispanic whites also report more labor market insecurity in communities with more African American residents, but Black respondents report lower labor market insecurity in these communities. Figure 3 shows this final relationship, presenting the predicted likelihood of looking for work for Hispanic immigrants versus non-Hispanic whites. Hispanic immigrants have greater risk of looking for work in communities with the lowest percentage of African American residents, while they have almost no predicted likelihood of current unemployment in communities with many black residents.

- FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE –

Finally, Table 5 presents results focusing on the impact of living in a community with a high concentration of recent immigrants. While high immigrant concentration is marginally positively associated with perceived job insecurity in the unadjusted model, it no longer has an independent association after individual characteristics are added in Model 2. There is no association between NC-level immigrant concentration and currently looking for work. However, African American respondents report significantly more labor market insecurity in communities with high immigrant concentration.

DISCUSSION

Bridging and building on the existing research on job insecurity and neighborhood effects, this study is the first to assess whether community conditions are associated with adult residents' perceived employment insecurity. The unique aspects of the large and diverse sample

of residents in Chicago neighborhoods used here make possible strong comparisons across different kinds of neighborhoods and allow for some of the first assessment of perceived employment insecurity among Hispanic Americans and among Hispanic and other immigrants, a large and growing component of the American labor force. Multilevel models are used to examine the way that community characteristics shape residents' perceived job insecurity and perceived labor market insecurity, and the likelihood that they were currently looking for work

Results show that net of an array of sociodemographic and job characteristics, local unemployment rates are associated with significantly greater perceived job insecurity and greater likelihood of currently looking for work, but only for respondents who had only a high school degree or less. Net of local job availability, I find that community social cohesion reduces perceived job insecurity, but only for non-Hispanic whites. Among African Americans and Hispanic immigrants, the perceived risk of losing one's job is higher in communities with greater social cohesion. This finding suggests that tight community social ties may have unexpected and pernicious effects if many residents are facing difficult employment situations and bad news travels fast. Most studies have focused on the positive effects of social cohesion for residents' outcomes, but these findings suggest that only some individuals in high social cohesion communities benefit in terms of their perceived opportunities, and no groups showed any advantage in terms of their likelihood of actually looking for work.

Perceived job insecurity was also significantly greater for residents of communities with a greater percentage of African American residents, but only for non-Hispanic whites; job insecurity was actually lower for Hispanic immigrants in communities with more African American residents, and they were also substantially less likely to be currently looking for work in such communities. These findings align with expectations of extant literature that notes the

preferences for immigrants in labor queues with African Americans. Moreover, additional support for the expectations of queuing theory was shown by African American respondents' significantly lower concerns about finding another job if they lost theirs in communities with a higher percentage of black residents.

However, there was little support for the proposed protective effects for immigrants or Hispanics of residing in a community with a high concentration of recent immigrant residents. Nonetheless, as expected, African American respondents living in communities with a high concentration of immigrants reported significantly greater labor market insecurity. While this study does not have detailed network data or specific information about ethnic entrepreneurship in the communities under study, the results are quite intriguing. The addition of such data in future studies would provide a better test for expectations about ethnic and immigrant enclave economies and labor market competition between African Americans, Hispanics, and recent immigrants.

This study has several important strengths that enhance the impact of these novel findings. The CCAHS data cover both advantaged and disadvantaged neighborhoods, not just the latter, as has often been the case in studies of community effects. I am able to include a comprehensive set of individual controls and detailed employment and occupation-level information in these models, to address some of the issues associated with the selective distribution of workers across communities. Results presented here suggest that individual characteristics remain robust and important independent predictors of perceived and objective employment insecurity when community conditions are taken into account. Nonetheless, there are important limitations that should be considered when interpreting these results, and that provide guidance for future research. First, these data lack workplace-level information, and

psychological and organizational research suggests that conditions in the workplace can shape perceived employment insecurity. However, these workplace-specific factors should have less influence on perceived labor market insecurity, and should not affect models of looking for work that are presented here. Moreover, controlling for the detailed occupation-level indicators of unemployment rates will help to capture structural changes affecting particular kinds of workplaces.

Second, this is a study of a single U.S. city with unique structural and spatial conditions. Findings here may not apply in non-urban areas or in other cities. However, concentrating on a single city also eliminates many unmeasurable factors that would complicate an analysis of nationally-representative data, and by studying Chicago I have been able to explore social disparities among blacks, Hispanic non-immigrants, Hispanic immigrants, and other immigrants as compared to their native-born and white counterparts. In particular, this reveals that the high proportion of Hispanics who are immigrants differentiate Hispanic Americans as a group from non-Hispanic whites in terms of employment insecurity; Hispanic immigrants showed a consistent pattern of differences from non-Hispanic whites, while this was not the case for Hispanic respondents who were not first generation immigrants. Also and not inconsequentially, many of the theoretical questions about neighborhood effects pursued here were developed in reference to Chicago itself.

Third, this sample excluded individuals may be most strongly affected by the characteristics of their residential communities: discouraged workers and those who are only weakly attached to the labor force. These respondents were not asked the questions necessary to include them in the analyses presented here. Omission of these respondents may make these findings more robust, because selection into the most disadvantage neighborhoods is likely to be

highest among these individuals, but from a policy perspective, they are here an important an unfortunately ignored component of the labor force. More generally, despite the strengths of these data, they are cross sectional and suffer from the typical selection problems that most studies of neighborhood effects face. I used an extensive set of controls for individual respondents' human capital and job characteristics, but there are likely still unmeasured factors that have selected respondents into their residential communities and that could influence their employment insecurity. Future research could use longitudinal data or quasi-experimental data to test the results found here.

Finally, this study focuses on the ways that individuals' employment security is shaped by their social environments, and does not engage the issue of worker agency. Responses by workers to job conditions including job insecurity are a core concern of sociology (e.g., Hodson 2001), and recent research suggests that collective action may increasingly center on the local area, rather than the workplace, for some groups (Turner and Cornfield 2007). Clearly, more research is needed to account for the interplay of structural conditions and agency, including actions taken to reduce insecurity that may include residential moves.

These findings have important theoretical and policy implications. First, sociologists studying the stratification of labor market outcomes including employment insecurity should continue to move beyond individual human capital characteristics to consider individuals' residential contexts. Additionally, these and studies of neighborhood effects focused on other outcomes should continue to explore how the characteristics of individual residents may make them more or less vulnerable to risks in their environments. Policy interventions should also be guided by evidence for varying influences of community conditions on different groups of residents. For example, making jobs available in high unemployment communities would reduce

socioeconomic inequality in employment insecurity only if these jobs were appropriate for people with relatively low educational attainment, otherwise training programs would also be need to provide workers with a means to obtain higher quality jobs.

Future research in this area will be needed to guide policy, because the analyses presented here do not include measures of the availability of particular jobs in specific communities, or of residents' actual job search strategies, so these results are only suggestive of the mechanisms at work. Additionally, all policy interventions must be conditioned by the non-random placement of residents in disadvantaged communities, such as those with high unemployment rates. Researchers and policy makers should also consider how particular community characteristics – such as a high level of social cohesion – cannot be classified as universally good or bad for residents. The results presented here suggest that interventions to increase social cohesion, for example, might help advantaged residents more than disadvantaged ones, for whom tighter social links seemed to represent only a better conduit for bad news.

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ENDNOTES

[1] A related set of studies have classified as insecure those workers with nonstandard employment arrangements, such as temporary agency or fixed term contract work. This is a less direct way to measure the perception or experience of employment insecurity in the absence of other information that may divide these workers into groups that feel insecure about their arrangements versus others who work in such jobs voluntarily, so I do not pursue it here.

[2] I currently use the 3 year moving average value from the 2004-2006 CPS data because these were readily available; these are likely fairly similar to the 1999-2001 moving average and I will update the data to include this more appropriate range of years as soon as possible and obviously before submission. Will also add more detail about the files used at that time.

Appendix A. Correlation Matrix of Neighborhood Cluster-level characteristics, CCAHS 2002.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(1) Decile of Unemployment	1.00			
(2) Decile of African American residents	0.74	1.00		
(3) Immigrant Concentration	-0.22	-0.44	1.00	
(4) Decile of Social Cohesion Score	-0.44	-0.35	0.02	1.00

Note: Based on 343 neighborhood clusters from the full CCAHS sample.

Table 1. Descriptive Characteristics of CCAHS Respondents, Overall and by Race/Ethnicity, Immigrant Status, and Education.

	Overall	Race/Ethnicity/Immigrant Status						Education	
Outcome Measures		NH White	NH Black	NH Other	Hispanic Non-Immig.	Hispanic Immi-grant	Other Immi-grant	HS or less	Some Coll. +
% Job Insecurity[a]	0.234	0.170	0.245	0.271	0.187	0.308	0.312	0.290	0.199
% Labor Market Insecurity[a]	0.289	0.245	0.303	0.096	0.277	0.382	0.251	0.378	0.233
% Looking for Work[a]	0.139	0.110	0.191	0.198	0.114	0.082	0.160	0.178	0.112
Neighborhood Cluster Characteristics									
Decile of unemployment[b]	3.54	1.69	6.03	2.44	3.64	3.15	3.70	4.19	3.13
	(2.66)	(1.82)	(2.18)	(2.09)	(1.93)	(2.08)	(2.85)	(2.50)	(2.68)
Decile of African American residents	3.73	2.36	6.88	2.87	2.46	2.37	4.28	3.68	3.76
	(2.67)	(1.74)	(1.54)	(1.86)	(1.91)	(1.81)	(2.76)	(2.82)	(2.57)
% High immigrant concentration[b]	0.290	0.253	0.060	0.426	0.560	0.554	0.183	0.407	0.215
Decile of Social Cohesion[b]	4.75	5.39	3.81	4.51	4.88	4.86	4.71	4.52	4.90
	(2.83)	(2.69)	(3.00)	(2.52)	(2.61)	(2.63)	(2.91)	(2.88)	(2.79)
Individual characteristics									
Race/Ethnicity									
% NH White	0.319	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.166	0.415
% NH Black	0.285	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.286	0.284
% NH Other	0.008	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.005	0.012
% Hispanic Non-Immigrant	0.102	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.131	0.083
% Hispanic Immigrant	0.180	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.319	0.083
% Other Immigrant	0.108	--	--	--	--	--	--	0.098	0.114
% High School Graduate or Less	0.492	0.202	0.389	0.025	0.501	0.688	0.353	--	--
Age (years)	37.36	36.71	38.96	31.00	31.43	37.96	40.13	37.95	36.99
	(12.14)	(12.37)	(12.24)	(12.88)	(10.96)	(11.13)	(11.84)	(13.06)	(11.51)
% Female	0.479	0.491	0.564	0.469	0.516	0.345	0.405	0.411	0.522
Tenure at current job (years)	5.86	5.96	7.12	3.44	4.11	6.16	6.28	6.16	6.09
	(7.35)	(7.23)	(9.09)	(5.42)	(4.76)	(6.40)	(6.66)	(7.12)	(7.71)
% Public Employment sector	0.180	0.151	0.311	0.323	0.182	0.073	0.090	0.139	0.206
% Union member	0.194	0.160	0.310	0.096	0.191	0.119	0.127	0.178	0.205
Occupational unemployment rate	4.74	3.51	4.88	3.38	5.03	6.41	5.05	6.41	3.68
	(2.90)	(2.63)	(2.63)	(2.41)	(2.77)	(2.92)	(2.88)	(2.73)	(2.48)
N	1622	428	584	11	165	289	145	644	978

Note: Percentages or means with standard errors in parentheses are weighted using person-level weight, column totals are unweig

a. Most figures in Table 1 are calculated for the main analytic sample of employed respondents (N=1622), while the indicator of looking for work is based on the larger analytic sample (N=2135) including all respondents working for pay (N= 1820) or currently looking for work (N=315).

b. Deciles are calculated at the neighborhood cluster level, using all neighborhoods included in the CCAHS; decile values range from 0 to 9.

Table 2. Unstandardized coefficients from multilevel logistic regression models of job insecurity, labor market insecurity and looking for work, focusing on neighborhood cluster-level unemployment rate deciles, CCAHS 2002.

	Job Insecurity (Lose Job)			Labor Market Insecurity (Not Find Job)			Looking For Work		
	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3
Unemployment Decile	0.040	0.008	0.047	0.068 **	0.029	0.046	0.133 ***	0.104 **	-0.033
	(0.024)	(0.034)	(0.063)	(0.022)	(0.033)	(0.059)	(0.026)	(0.036)	(0.064)
Unemployment Decile Interactions									
* Non-Hisp. Black	--	--	-0.101	--	--	-0.019	--	--	0.121
			(0.083)			(0.078)			(0.088)
* Hispanic Non-Immig.	--	--	-0.200 †	--	--	-0.048	--	--	0.178
			(0.122)			(0.108)			(0.114)
* Hispanic Immigrant	--	--	-0.137	--	--	0.060	--	--	-0.006
			(0.098)			(0.095)			(0.137)
* Other Immigrant	--	--	-0.261 *	--	--	-0.077	--	--	0.048
			(0.110)			(0.108)			(0.113)
* High School or Less	--	--	0.165 **	--	--	-0.020	--	--	0.130 *
			(0.052)			(0.048)			(0.054)
Non-Hisp. Black	--	0.324	0.556	--	-0.115	-0.029	--	-0.065	-0.477
		(0.214)	(0.384)		(0.208)	(0.375)		(0.230)	(0.437)
Non-Hisp. Other	--	0.402	0.314	--	0.243	0.247	--	1.016 **	1.011 **
		(0.340)	(0.344)		(0.365)	(0.366)		(0.360)	(0.364)
Hispanic Non-Immigrant	--	0.015	0.599	--	0.082	0.234	--	-0.084	-0.548
		(0.249)	(0.436)		(0.228)	(0.401)		(0.238)	(0.460)
Hispanic Immigrant	--	0.454 *	0.826 *	--	0.194	-0.048	--	-1.049 ***	-0.778
		(0.202)	(0.364)		(0.193)	(0.362)		(0.265)	(0.563)
Other Immigrant	--	0.452 *	1.041 ***	--	-0.305	-0.151	--	-0.662 *	-0.731 †
		(0.227)	(0.314)		(0.242)	(0.332)		(0.293)	(0.412)
High School or Less	--	0.294 *	-0.351	--	0.452 **	0.528 *	--	0.617 ***	0.025
		(0.145)	(0.254)		(0.138)	(0.233)		(0.146)	(0.286)
Female	--	0.304 *	0.299 *	--	-0.096	-0.087	--	0.113	0.112
		(0.129)	(0.129)		(0.124)	(0.125)		(0.135)	(0.136)
Age (centered at 43 years)	--	0.019 **	0.021 ***	--	0.024 ***	0.025 ***	--	-0.026 ***	-0.025 ***
		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.006)	(0.006)
Job Tenure (years)	--	-0.012	-0.012	--	0.025 **	0.025 **	--	--	--
		(0.010)	(0.010)		(0.009)	(0.009)			
Public Sector Employer	--	-0.575 **	-0.593 **	--	0.285 †	0.297 †	--	--	--
		(0.193)	(0.195)		(0.164)	(0.164)			
Union member	--	-0.064	-0.068	--	0.200	0.194	--	--	--
		(0.174)	(0.175)		(0.156)	(0.156)			
Occupational Unemployment Rate	--	0.041 †	0.041 †	--	0.091 ***	0.090 ***	--	--	--
		(0.024)	(0.025)		(0.023)	(0.023)			
Intercept	-1.34 ***	-1.68 ***	-1.69 ***	-1.16 ***	-1.75 ***	-1.80 ***	-2.38 ***	-2.60 ***	-2.26 ***
	(0.111)	(0.195)	(0.222)	(0.103)	(0.188)	(0.213)	(0.130)	(0.171)	(0.196)
Variance Component	0.219 ***	0.200 ***	0.199 ***	0.161 **	0.265 ***	0.266 ***	0.328 **	0.345 **	0.345 **

Note: ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, †p<.10. Job insecurity and Labor market insecurity models are calculated for the main analytic sample of employed respondents (N = 1622 respondents working for pay and not self-employed), while Looking for work models are estimated using the larger analytic sample (N=2135) including all respondents working for pay (employed or self-employed) or currently looking for work.

Table 3. Unstandardized coefficients from multilevel logistic regression models of job insecurity, labor market insecurity and looking for work, focusing on neighborhood cluster-level decile of Social Cohesion score, CCAHS 2002.

	Job Insecurity (Lose Job)			Labor Market Insecurity (Not Find Job)			Looking For Work		
	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3
Decile of Social Cohesion Score	-0.038	-0.040	-0.134 **	0.019	0.006	-0.021	-0.041	-0.029	-0.018
	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.047)	(0.023)	(0.026)	(0.045)	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.051)
Unemployment Decile	0.025	-0.010	-0.012	0.076 **	0.032	0.030	0.117 ***	0.091 *	0.090 *
	(0.027)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.025)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.028)	(0.038)	(0.039)
Decile of Social Cohesion Score Interactions									
* Non-Hisp. Black	--	--	0.196 ***	--	--	0.062	--	--	-0.023
			(0.059)			(0.057)			(0.062)
* Hispanic Non-Immig.	--	--	0.140	--	--	-0.028	--	--	-0.089
			(0.093)			(0.085)			(0.087)
* Hispanic Immigrant	--	--	0.135 †	--	--	0.062	--	--	0.182 †
			(0.071)			(0.068)			(0.100)
* Other Immigrant	--	--	-0.036	--	--	0.024	--	--	-0.075
			(0.079)			(0.082)			(0.100)
* High School or Less	--	--	-0.022	--	--	-0.015	--	--	-0.005
			(0.048)			(0.045)			(0.049)
Non-Hisp. Black	--	0.337	-0.560	--	-0.115	-0.400	--	-0.057	0.040
		(0.214)	(0.342)		(0.208)	(0.339)		(0.230)	(0.351)
Non-Hisp. Other	--	0.387	0.304	--	0.244	0.226	--	0.998 **	0.999 **
		(0.341)	(0.347)		(0.365)	(0.368)		(0.361)	(0.363)
Hispanic Non-Immigrant	--	0.034	-0.686	--	0.080	0.209	--	-0.071	0.348
		(0.249)	(0.530)		(0.228)	(0.493)		(0.238)	(0.470)
Hispanic Immigrant	--	0.468 *	-0.236	--	0.193	-0.127	--	-1.038 ***	-1.941 **
		(0.202)	(0.402)		(0.193)	(0.396)		(0.266)	(0.595)
Other Immigrant	--	0.450 *	0.629	--	-0.305	-0.433	--	-0.661 *	-0.322
		(0.227)	(0.442)		(0.242)	(0.490)		(0.293)	(0.527)
High School or Less	--	0.290 *	0.439 †	--	0.453 **	0.546 *	--	0.616 ***	0.635 *
		(0.145)	(0.260)		(0.138)	(0.252)		(0.146)	(0.260)
Female	--	0.312 *	0.288 *	--	-0.097	-0.115	--	0.113	0.098
		(0.129)	(0.130)		(0.124)	(0.125)		(0.135)	(0.136)
Age (centered at 43 years)	--	0.020 ***	0.021 ***	--	0.024 ***	0.025 ***	--	-0.026 ***	0.026 ***
		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.006)	(0.006)
Job Tenure (years)	--	-0.013	-0.012	--	0.025 **	0.026 **	--	--	--
		(0.010)	(0.010)		(0.009)	(0.009)			
Public Sector Employer	--	-0.567 **	-0.553 **	--	0.285 †	0.292 †	--	--	--
		(0.193)	(0.193)		(0.164)	(0.164)			
Union member	--	-0.055	-0.063	--	0.198	0.198	--	--	--
		(0.174)	(0.175)		(0.156)	(0.156)			
Occupational Unemployment Rate	--	0.042 †	0.045 †	--	0.091 ***	0.091 ***	--	--	--
		(0.024)	(0.024)		(0.023)	(0.023)			
Intercept	-1.11 ***	-1.44 ***	-0.96 ***	-1.28 ***	-1.79 ***	-1.64 ***	-2.13 ***	-2.42 ***	-2.47 ***
	(0.190)	(0.248)	(0.307)	(0.180)	(0.247)	(0.311)	(0.212)	(0.244)	(0.324)
Variance Component	0.219 ***	0.196 ***	0.188 ***	0.165 ***	0.270 ***	0.280 ***	0.328 ***	0.347 **	0.362 **

Note: ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, †p<.10. Job insecurity and Labor market insecurity models are calculated for the main analytic sample of employed respondents (N = 1622 respondents working for pay and not self-employed), while Looking for work models are estimated using the larger analytic sample (N=2135) including all respondents working for pay (employed or self-employed) or currently looking for work.

Table 4. Unstandardized coefficients from multilevel logistic regression models of job insecurity, labor market insecurity and looking for work, focusing on neighborhood cluster-level deciles of percent African American residents, CCAHS 2002.

	Lose job			Not Find			Looking For a Job		
	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3
Decile African American Residents	0.030	0.106 *	0.158 **	-0.021	0.046	0.111 *	0.039	0.020	0.072
	(0.033)	(0.042)	(0.058)	(0.030)	(0.041)	(0.054)	(0.037)	(0.047)	(0.059)
Unemployment Decile	0.020	-0.035	-0.037	0.082 **	0.010	0.015	0.105 **	0.095 *	0.085 *
	(0.033)	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.031)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.042)	(0.043)
Decile African American Residents Interactions									
* Non-Hisp. Black	--	--	-0.069	--	--	-0.193 *	--	--	-0.054
			(0.096)			(0.090)			(0.091)
* Hispanic Immigrant	--	--	-0.175 †	--	--	-0.118	--	--	-0.411 ***
			(0.095)			(0.090)			(0.146)
* Other Immigrant	--	--	0.039	--	--	0.033	--	--	0.096
			(0.103)			(0.107)			(0.126)
Non-Hisp. Black	--	0.048	0.297	--	-0.232	0.768	--	-0.110	0.069
		(0.240)	(0.579)		(0.232)	(0.542)		(0.253)	(0.564)
Non-Hisp. Other	--	0.319	0.245	--	0.213	0.145	--	1.005 **	0.958 **
		(0.342)	(0.348)		(0.365)	(0.368)		(0.361)	(0.364)
Hispanic Non-Immigrant	--	0.076	0.063	--	0.107	0.085	--	-0.072	-0.070
		(0.250)	(0.252)		(0.229)	(0.231)		(0.240)	(0.241)
Hispanic Immigrant	--	0.525 *	0.958 **	--	0.222	0.494	--	-1.032 ***	-0.122
		(0.204)	(0.322)		(0.195)	(0.302)		(0.269)	(0.399)
Other Immigrant	--	0.559 *	0.522 **	--	-0.261	-0.284	--	-0.646 *	-0.854 †
		(0.230)	(0.340)		(0.244)	(0.346)		(0.295)	(0.464)
High School or Less	--	0.318 *	0.350 *	--	0.461 ***	0.494 ***	--	0.623 ***	0.652 ***
		(0.145)	(0.147)		(0.139)	(0.140)		(0.147)	(0.148)
Female	--	0.313 *	0.300 *	--	-0.095	-0.097	--	0.113	0.099
		(0.129)	(0.129)		(0.124)	(0.125)		(0.135)	(0.136)
Age (centered at 43 years)	--	0.019 **	0.019 **	--	0.024 ***	0.025 ***	--	-0.026 ***	-0.026 ***
		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.006)	(0.006)
Job Tenure (years)	--	-0.012	-0.012	--	0.025 **	0.025 **	--	--	--
		(0.010)	(0.010)		(0.009)	(0.009)			
Public Sector Employer	--	-0.575 **	-0.579 **	--	0.286 †	0.311 †	--	--	--
		(0.193)	(0.194)		(0.164)	(0.165)			
Union member	--	-0.050	-0.052	--	0.208	0.214	--	--	--
		(0.174)	(0.175)		(0.156)	(0.156)			
Occupational Unemployment Rate	--	0.043 †	0.043 †	--	0.092 ***	0.093 ***	--	--	--
		(0.024)	(0.025)		(0.023)	(0.023)			
Intercept	-1.38 ***	-1.91 ***	-2.04 ***	-1.13 ***	-1.84 ***	-2.03 ***	-2.43 ***	-2.63 ***	-2.75 ***
	(0.120)	(0.215)	(0.247)	(0.110)	(0.206)	(0.230)	(0.139)	(0.193)	(0.222)
Variance Component	0.222 ***	0.174 ***	0.187 ***	0.165 **	0.255 ***	0.251 **	0.326 **	0.349 **	0.359 **

Note: ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, †p<.10. Job insecurity and Labor market insecurity models are calculated for the main analytic sample of employed respondents (N = 1622 respondents working for pay and not self-employed), while Looking for work models are estimated using the larger analytic sample (N=2135) including all respondents working for pay (employed or self-employed) or currently looking for work.

Table 5. Unstandardized coefficients from multilevel logistic regression models of job insecurity, labor market insecurity and looking for work, focusing on neighborhood cluster-level high immigrant concentration, CCAHS 2002.

	Job Insecurity (Lose Job)			Labor Market Insecurity (Not Find Job)			Looking For Work		
	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3	M1	M2	M3
High immigrant concentration	0.253 †	0.045	0.014	0.146	-0.034	-0.152	-0.085	0.039	0.084
	(0.143)	(0.164)	(0.177)	(0.133)	(0.162)	(0.174)	(0.166)	(0.192)	(0.238)
Unemployment Decile	0.043 †	0.008	0.013	0.070 **	0.030	0.046	0.131 ***	0.103 ***	0.103 **
	(0.025)	(0.034)	(0.036)	(0.023)	(0.033)	(0.035)	(0.026)	(0.036)	(0.038)
High Immigrant Concentration Interactions									
* Non-Hisp. Black	--	--	0.310	--	--	1.000 *	--	--	-0.305
			(0.502)			(0.474)			(0.593)
* Hispanic Immigrant	--	--	-0.041	--	--	-0.036	--	--	0.516
			(0.081)			(0.079)			(0.555)
* Other Immigrant	--	--	0.135	--	--	0.098	--	--	-0.631
			(0.095)			(0.102)			(0.558)
Non-Hisp. Black	--	0.335	0.251	--	-0.122	-0.309	--	-0.057	-0.035
		(0.219)	(0.235)		(0.212)	(0.228)		(0.234)	(0.252)
Non-Hisp. Other	--	0.401	0.324	--	0.244	0.211	--	1.017 **	1.013 **
		(0.340)	(0.347)		(0.365)	(0.368)		(0.360)	(0.362)
Hispanic Non-Immigrant	--	0.007	-0.016	--	0.087	0.069	--	-0.093	-0.110
		(0.250)	(0.251)		(0.229)	(0.230)		(0.241)	(0.244)
Hispanic Immigrant	--	0.441 *	0.513 †	--	0.203	0.283	--	-1.062 ***	-1.465 **
		(0.207)	(0.288)		(0.198)	(0.278)		(0.273)	(0.476)
Other Immigrant	--	0.443 †	0.159	--	-0.299	-0.491	--	-0.669 *	-0.443
		(0.229)	(0.313)		(0.244)	(0.328)		(0.295)	(0.338)
High School or Less	--	0.290 *	0.297 *	--	0.456 **	0.465 ***	--	0.615 ***	0.618 ***
		(0.145)	(0.146)		(0.139)	(0.140)		(0.147)	(0.147)
Female	--	0.305 *	0.302 *	--	-0.097	-0.099	--	0.114	0.098
		(0.129)	(0.130)		(0.124)	(0.125)		(0.135)	(0.135)
Age (centered at 43 years)	--	0.019 **	0.020 **	--	0.024 ***	0.025 ***	--	-0.026 ***	-0.026 ***
		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.006)	(0.006)
Job Tenure (years)	--	-0.012	-0.012	--	0.025 **	0.025 **	--	--	--
		(0.010)	(0.010)		(0.009)	(0.009)			
Public Sector Employer	--	-0.573 **	-0.576 **	--	0.285 †	0.290 †	--	--	--
		(0.193)	(0.193)		(0.164)	(0.164)			
Union member	--	-0.063	-0.084	--	0.199	0.179	--	--	--
		(0.174)	(0.175)		(0.156)	(0.157)			
Occupational Unemployment Rate	--	0.041 †	0.044 †	--	0.091 ***	0.094 ***	--	--	--
		(0.024)	(0.025)		(0.023)	(0.023)			
Intercept	-1.43 ***	-1.69 ***	-1.68 ***	-1.21 ***	-1.75 ***	-1.74 ***	-2.35 ***	-2.61 ***	-2.60 ***
	(0.123)	(0.198)	(0.199)	(0.113)	(0.191)	(0.192)	(0.142)	(0.177)	(0.178)
Variance Component	0.223 ***	0.206 ***	0.218 ***	0.160 **	0.269 ***	0.274 ***	0.329 ***	0.349 **	0.347 **

Note: ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05, †p<.10. Job insecurity and Labor market insecurity models are calculated for the main analytic sample of employed respondents (N = 1622 respondents working for pay and not self-employed), while Looking for work models are estimated using the larger analytic sample (N=2135) including all respondents working for pay (employed or self-employed) or currently looking for work.

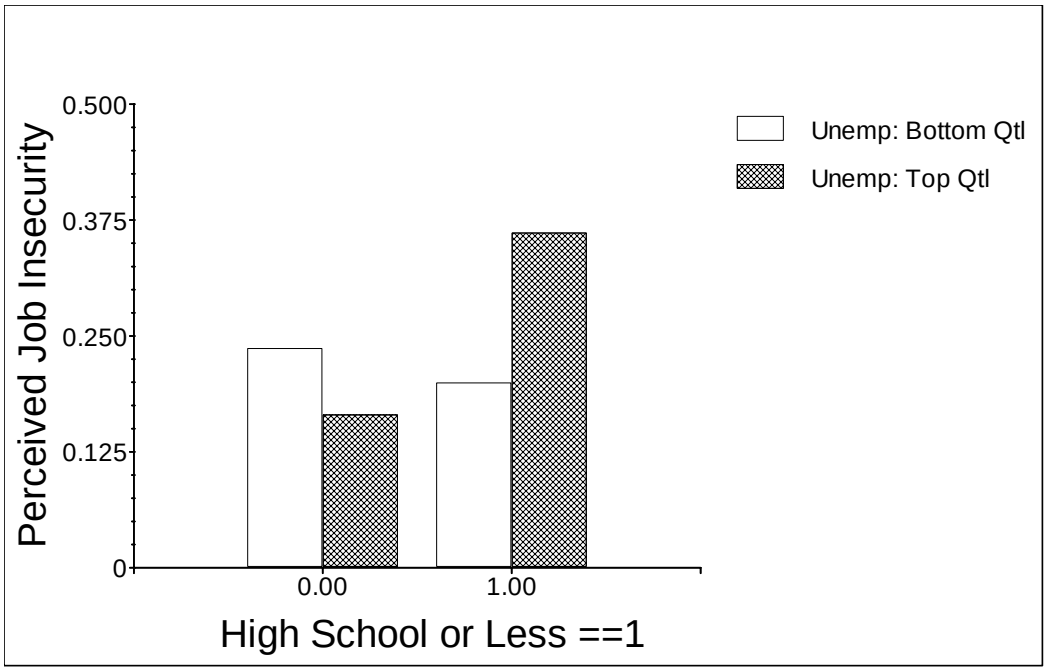

Figure 1. Predicted perceived job insecurity by educational attainment for bottom and top quartile average values of neighborhood cluster-level unemployment rate.

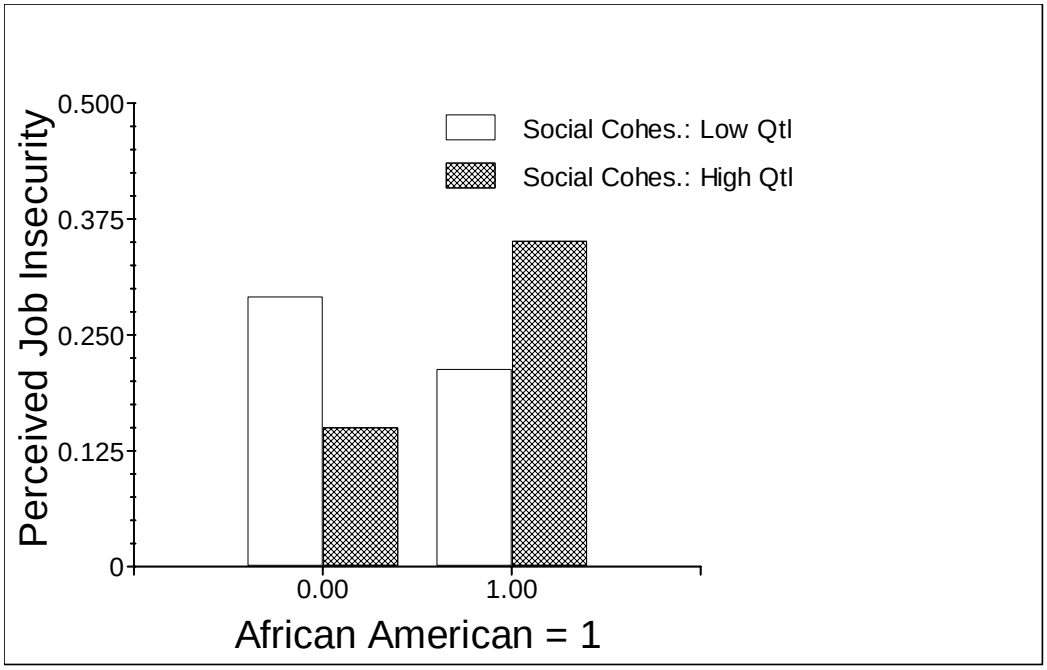

Figure 2. Predicted perceived job insecurity by African American race versus non-Hispanic white for bottom and top quartile average values of neighborhood cluster-level social cohesion.

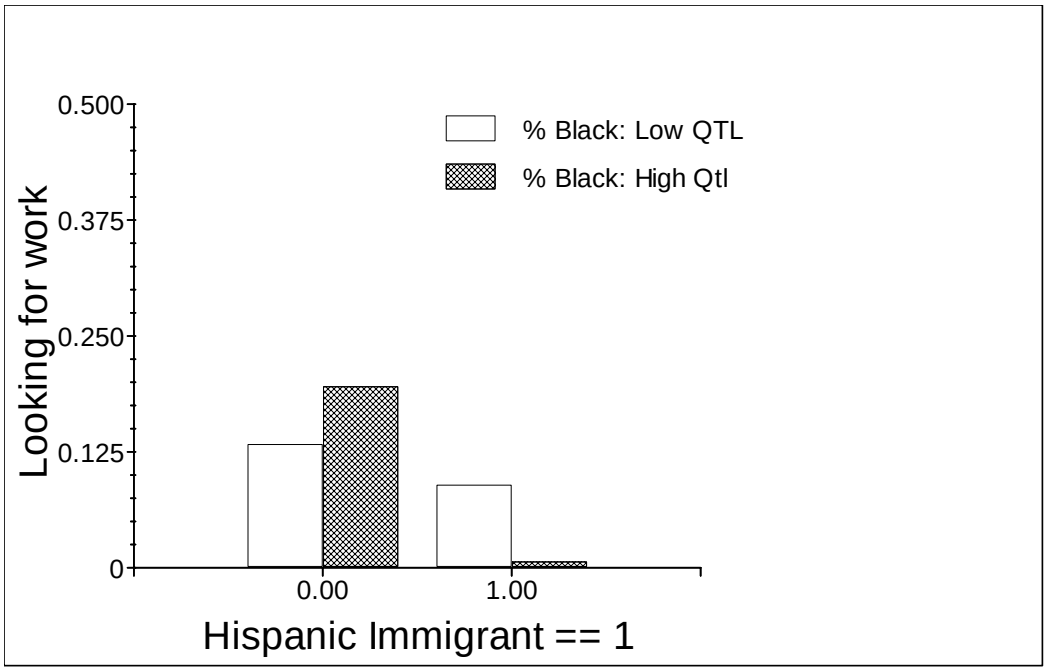

Figure 3. Predicted likelihood of currently looking for work for Hispanic immigrants versus non-Hispanic whites for bottom and top quartile average values of neighborhood cluster-level percent African American resident.