

Perceptions of Vulnerability in Time of Economic Downturn and
Draconian Immigration Enforcement: Examination by Nativity and Age at Migration

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Background

The importance of age at migration on post migration experiences has been a keen interest among demographers. Some researchers have studied its impact on schooling and educational outcomes (Cahan, Davis, and Staub 2001, Glick and White 2003, Portes and Rumbaut 2001, Bohlmark 2008, Rumbaut 1995, 2004). Others have studied its impact on labor force participation (Chiswick and Miller 2008) and economic returns (Ferrer and Riddell 2008, Schaafsma and Sweetman 2001, Hall and Farkas 2008). Still others focused on family formation including union formation (Furtado and Theodoropoulos 2011), parental practices (Glick, Bates, and Yabiku 2010), and fertility (Meng and Gregory, 2005). There is also a growing research related to health in the recent years which examines how age at migration may be associated with mental and physiological health conditions (Wim Veling et.al 2011, Roshania, Narayan, and Oza-Frank 2008, Kaushal 2009). Of course, all of these areas of interest are related to one another. These studies focus on examining the experiences of first and second generation immigrants, adolescents and young adults in particular, and how they per with the average experiences of their US born counterparts. Despite the consistent interests in age at arrival on post migration experience, little has been studied on a probable difference in the perceptions of vulnerability in times of economic recession and tightening immigration enforcement.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Studies report that “stress-responses can be modulated or even caused by psychological factors, including loss of outlets for frustration and of social support, a perception of things worsening, and under some circumstances, a loss of control and of predictability.” (Sapolsky 1994:194). Certainly, many individuals in the United States living through the 2008 economic recession have reason to feel

vulnerable and experience real insecurity in multiple dimensions of their lives. For immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants, the economic recession coincided with increased immigration enforcement efforts. One sense of vulnerability, deportation fear, is driven by the presence of immigration enforcement that creates an atmosphere of surveillance and cultivates a ground for distrust. Accordingly, while previous studies suggest that racial and ethnic minorities and immigrants tend to be more vulnerable in times of economic recession because they tend to have less stable financial foundation than native born (Lai 2011), not many empirical studies have been conducted to examine the nativity differences on perceived vulnerability to economic recession or to consider the joint impact of increased immigration surveillance. The data for this current study was collected at a time of intensified hardships that result from the combination of economic recession and tightening of immigration enforcement. Our data provide us a rare opportunity to explore and understand a nativity difference in perceived vulnerability in the face of intensified difficulties, which may be observed in tangible everyday concerns such as housing and job security. We also explore whether there are further variations in perceived vulnerability by age at migration and whether immigrants who arrived at a younger age share a level of vulnerability closer to that experienced by US born or whether their sense of vulnerability is closer to that experienced by those who arrived at an older age. If the younger age at arrival suggests common experiences from the social institutions throughout their childhood and adolescence and go through similar socialization processes, then the earlier arrivals should resemble the similar sense of vulnerability to the US born. If these social institutions instead are the source of inequality, then the earlier arrivals may not have been able to accumulate sufficient resources to hamper various challenges as the US born, and therefore may share the sense of vulnerability with the later arrival immigrants.

The most recent large economic recession in the United States, beginning in 2008, has had a significant impact on all residents in the United States. The tightening of credit opportunities, declining asset values (homes) and increasing unemployment have all ensued (Iacoviello and Minetti 2008, Yellen 2009). However, the magnitude of the impact of this recession may be different depending on several individual factors including nativity. Preexisting vulnerability may be enhanced in times of hardship.

Economic recession has been reported to exacerbate existing inequality in health and well-being (Kondo et al. 2009) yet the level of disparity may vary depending on groups (Valkonen et al. 2000). Certainly those who are already living at the lower end of the socioeconomic status spectrum face greater hardships and difficulty in meeting their everyday needs when the economy worsens. Those who are relatively better off may perceive lower level of vulnerability as they tend to have more stable resources on which to rely.

At the same time the United States was entering the worst economic recession in decades many locales were also experimenting with increased local enforcement of immigration violations. Some of these efforts took the form of agreements between federal agencies and local enforcement agencies (i.e. 187g agreements) while others were spearheaded by policymakers in State government (i.e. SB 1070 in Arizona) (O’Leary and Sanchez 2011, Selden, Pace and Gilman 2011). The impact of these efforts may impact the population in more nuanced ways than the economic recession. For example, local attention to immigration enforcement is likely to impact the lives of immigrants more directly than those of their US born counterparts. However, in communities that are very heterogeneous with regards to nativity, US born residents will share the neighborhoods and households with immigrants. While most of the strict immigration enforcement in Arizona targets undocumented immigrants, legal immigrants and foreign born long term residents as well as U.S. citizens may also experience indirect impact as mixed nativity and legal status household is not uncommon (Waslin 2009, Fix and Zimmerman 2001). Spillover effect may be observed among the residents that share the same geographic area (Nill 2011, Szkupinski Quiroga and Medina 2011). As a result, sense of vulnerability may be internalized if exposure to such conditions is vast and sustaining even though the particular individual may not be the direct beneficiary of the enforcement.

Few empirical studies have explored the extent to which immigration enforcement efforts or economic recessions have differential impacts on immigrants depending on their age at migration. While socioeconomic assimilation has been shown to vary considerably by age at arrival in the United States, other aspects of assimilation such as shifts in values or attitudes do not appear to operate in the same

rather linear fashion. If those who arrive as children become more economically stable than those who arrive as adults, their sense of vulnerability to the economic downturn may more closely resemble that of US born residents. But vulnerability takes on many forms, and it seems likely that the fear of immigration enforcement will be more universally shared by all immigrants regardless of age at arrival in the United States. In this case, we would not expect age at arrival to differentiate among immigrants and for all immigrants to perceive their economic status to be more vulnerable to immigration enforcement efforts than their US born peers. Therefore, it is important to explore the perceptions of vulnerability to both economic conditions as well as immigration enforcement by age at migration.

This study takes advantage of a unique dataset collected from one community during the worst years of economic recession and at the heart of the most heated anti-immigration legislation debates in the United States. We compare perceptions of vulnerability and experiences of economic hardships among local residents with different migration histories. We expect to find diverging perceptions of vulnerability by nativity and that immigrants have an elevated perception of vulnerability that is attributed to immigration enforcement than native born, while economic conditions are expected to impact both natives and foreign born more or less equally. Further, we expect to find that the immigrants who arrived at a younger age share more similar level of perceived vulnerability with the US born than those who arrived later in the life course. In other words, we expect to find that those who migrated at an older age perceive the highest level of vulnerability in the midst of economic recession and the prevalence of draconian immigration enforcement in contemporary Arizona.

Data and Methods

The study is based on a pooled sample ($N = 231$) that comes from three waves of data collected in Phoenix, Arizona from 2009 to 2012. Our original surveys were collected at a critical time point of high economic and social stressors. The follow-up surveys were collected as the economy continued to stagnate and in the aftermath of the passage of the anti-immigration bill SB1070. Data from the 2010 census show that about one third of households in the area are renter occupied and vacancy rates range from 5 to 20% (mean of 11%) across the community. Around 70% of those living in South Phoenix are

Latina/Latino; a number virtually unchanged from the 2000 census. Also as of 2000, 30% of residents were born outside of the U.S., and 17% percent of households are linguistically isolated (i.e. have no one over the age of 14 who can speak English well). Our sample was drawn through a random sample of Census Block Groups within these zip codes stratified by income to ensure representation of households above and below 185% of the poverty line. Property parcels were weighted by area to ensure equal probability of selection into the sample across property size. Units were randomly selected within multi-unit residential parcels. Bilingual letters inviting participation were sent to randomly selected households in the community. Then, teams composed of interviewers and a Latina community educator visited sampled households, completed household rosters and secured agreements to participate in the study. The bilingual surveys were collected from at least one adult per household and obtained basic demographic information, detailed migration histories, income and employment information, intra-household resource allocation as well as housing and food security, self-reported health and information on personal social networks.

The survey is unique in that it asks respondents of their perceptions on various aspects of life that may be impacted by economic downturn and immigrant enforcement. For the purpose of this study, we explore two areas: housing security and job security. The housing and job security questions are asked respectively in relation to economic recession and immigration enforcement. The following section describes dependent and independent variables of the study:

Dependent variables: We focus on two dimensions of security and stability for residents in our focal community: employment and housing security. We construct each dependent variable out of two questions respectively asking whether they perceive lack of stability in these two dimensions attributed to either the economic recession or the immigration enforcement. On housing, we asked the following two questions: “Regardless of your own immigration or citizenship status, as a result of the increased public attention to immigration in Arizona and in the US: Have you had more difficulty finding or keeping housing or has it been about the same?” and “Has the economic downturn in the past year impacted you and your family in any significant way? For example, have you had more difficulty finding or keeping

housing or has it been about the same?”. On job, we asked the following two questions: “Regardless of your own immigration or citizenship status, as a result of the increased public attention to immigration in Arizona and in the US: Have you had more trouble getting or keeping a job or has it been about the same?” and “Regardless of your own immigration or citizenship status, as a result of the increased public attention to immigration in Arizona and in the US: Have you had more trouble getting or keeping a job or has it been about the same?”. Each variable is given “1” if the participant reported whether finding and keeping housing and job have become more challenging (i.e., more difficult) as opposed to no change or better due to economic recession or immigration enforcement relative to the previous year. The outcome variables are drawn from the initial response if the individual participated in multiple waves.

Independent variables: Our hypotheses focus on nativity and economic security and the potentially mediating impact of attribution to financial strain and fears surrounding economic enforcement. Specifically, we investigate whether immigrants who arrive in the United States as adults are more likely to face job or housing insecurity than immigrants who arrive in the United States as children or adolescents and residents who were born in the United States. We then explore whether individuals’ own financial difficulties or fear of immigration enforcement explain these nativity differences. To this end, we measure nativity with a three category variable: immigrant arrived before age 18, immigrant arrived after age 18, and US born (reference group). We measure financial strain with another categorical variable in which individuals reported that they were finding it somewhat easy to make ends meet, were finding it very difficult to make ends meet or were finding it easy to make ends meet (reference group). We measure fear of immigration enforcement with the individual’s report of how much they worry that a friend or family member will be deported (not worried at all = reference group). Other control variables include age (in years), gender (male = 1, female = 0), religion (Catholic = 1, other than Catholic/ non-religion = 0), education (high school graduate or higher = 1, less than high school completion = 0).

In order to explore the difference by nativity on each outcome, we run nested logistic regression models. As case wise missing items were small, missing values for age were substituted with the sample mean. The diagnostic analysis reported that substituting the mean value for the missing items did not

change the outcome, and therefore, we consider this missing treatment to be adequate for this study at this juncture. Each model is run by nativity (US born vs. immigrant) and also by nativity and age at migration (US born vs. immigrant who arrived before age 18, US born vs. immigrant who arrived at 18 or older). In order to compare the variability within immigrants by age at arrival, we also run diagnostic regression models alternating the reference group (i.e., immigrant who arrived before age 18).

Preliminary Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 shows the sample statistics. Although the overall sample is small for demographic studies, we have a relatively equitable representation of US born and immigrant residents in our study. There are more men represented among the immigrant sub-sample and their age is somewhat older on average than the US born. This is likely somewhat influenced by the prevalence of mixed-nativity families in the area. In addition, a majority of the foreign born sample is Catholic and has less than high school education. A majority of the US born respondents, on the other hand, completed at least high school. The immigrants in our study report higher level of financial strain than the US born. The concern about deportation is also significantly higher among the foreign born respondents than the US born respondents.

Table 1 about here

When compared by nativity, a higher proportion of immigrants reported significantly higher level of job and housing insecurity than the US born. The nativity difference is more distinct in housing concerns.

Table 2 breaks nativity into three categories taking age at migration into consideration. When divided into three subgroups, we have slightly higher proportion of men among those immigrated prior to age 18 as compared to the US born and also to the immigrants who arrived at 18 or older. This group is significantly younger than the US born, while the immigrants that arrived 18 and over are significantly older than the US born at the time of survey. The immigrants of both subgroups had significantly higher proportion of Catholics as compared to the US born in our sample. However, the immigrants who arrived at an earlier age resemble the US born in terms of their education with immigrants who arrived after age

18 achieving significantly lower level of education. When asked about financial strain, the US born and the immigrants who arrived before age 18 resemble each other, while the immigrants who arrive at older ages report much higher level of financial strain. These differences in education and economic strain are consistent with the extant research that immigrants who arrive in the United States as children experience socioeconomic mobility on par with the US born peers more so than they resemble immigrants who moved to the United States as adults.

Table 2 about here

While our sample demographics show that the US born and the immigrants who arrived before 18 seem to have had a similar experience of socialization and economic attainment, they still report significantly higher level of perceived vulnerability in areas of life when compared with the US born. Although our descriptive results show a proportional difference, the immigrants who arrived before age 18 share the sense of vulnerability that is closer to the immigrants who arrived at older ages than of the US born. This is quite interesting given the level of education and financial strain between those of the US born and the younger arrivals resemble each other, yet diverge significantly in the perceptions of vulnerability that are prevalent in two critical aspects of everyday life, housing and job security.

Multivariate analysis

Here we present our preliminary results from multivariate regression analyses with three nativity and age at migration categories. Panel A reports the regression results predicting respondents' perceptions of housing insecurity. Panel B reports the regression results predicting respondents' perceptions of job insecurity. In model 1, our key predictor, nativity and age at migration, is regressed on each outcome variable. As observed in the descriptive results, for all outcome variables, being an immigrant is significantly associated with greater perceived housing and job insecurity. Immigrants who arrived before age 18 are significantly more likely to report this issue ($\beta = 1.436, p < .05$) than US born. Immigrants who arrived at age 18 or older are also significantly more likely to report the vulnerability on housing due to immigration enforcement ($\beta = 2.325, p < .001$). The difference in perceived vulnerability between native

born and the two immigrant groups in job security are slightly more repressed, and only the immigrants who arrived at age 18 or older is significantly different from the US born.

Table 3 about here

Model 2 controls for demographic characteristics of the respondents. Guided by previous studies, we expected that there may be considerable variation in the sense of vulnerability so we control for gender and religion as well as age. We also control for education, a proxy for socioeconomic characteristics. As prior studies suggest education buffers the sense of a loss of control (Schieman 2001, Barker et al. 2008), we expect to find a higher level of attained education is associated with lower level of perceived vulnerability. Overall, the effect of nativity and age at migration is fairly consistent with the results of model 1 even after controlling for the demographics. However, the difference between the immigrants who arrived before age 18 and the reference group is no longer significant ($\beta = 0.637$, n.s.). In other words, the observed nativity and age at migration difference is moderated by demographic characters. This result suggests that if immigrants arrive in their early years and acquired the same level of education, they do not show particularly heightened vulnerability when compared to the US born. Immigrants who arrived at age 18 or older, to the contrary, continue to be significantly different from the reference group ($\beta = 1.622$, $p < .001$). When referring to economic recession, the general effect of nativity and age at migration is consistent with model 1 even after controlling for the demographic characteristics. The result shows that holding demographic characteristics constant, only the immigrants who arrived at age 18 or older is more likely to report job insecurity than the US born ($\beta = 1.247$, $p < .05$). Higher education decreased the likelihood of perceiving vulnerability in housing security but not for job security. The significant difference was observed in reference to both economic recession and immigration enforcement. Perhaps high school completion is not enough to drastically change the chance of increased job security, while high school diploma may be used as an informal criterion for passing housing loans or ownership.

Model 3 controls for self-reported financial conditions. Although the sense of vulnerability at the individual level may be triggered by wide range of factors such as social isolation, disability, and lack of

resource, financial stability is one critical factor that affects the perception. We predict that higher level of perceived financial strain is associated with higher likelihood of perceived vulnerability. Our results show that the higher financial strain as compared to no financial strain significantly increased the likelihood of reporting vulnerability in housing and job security.

Furthermore, our diagnostic regression models alternating the reference group shows that significant difference between the immigrants who arrived prior to age 18 and those who arrived at age 18 or older was only observed consistently in housing security (not shown). This result suggests that the immigrants who arrived in an older age in our study continue to have a heightened level of difficulty finding and keeping housing in contemporary Arizona where economic recession and strict immigration enforcement compose a dense web of structural hardship. It is possible that some of the difference may be attributed to the limited structural integration through education.

Model 4 controls for deportation fear. Living with a fear that one's family members or close friends may be asked for documents and apprehended creates a distressed state of mind which is associated with a sense of vulnerability. We expect to find a higher likelihood of perceived vulnerability in both housing and job security when higher level of deportation fear is reported. Our result partially confirms this hypothesis. The significant difference in the sense of vulnerability is observed only when the participants report very high level of fear. Moderate level of fear does not change the chance of perceived vulnerability as far as job is concerned. However, deportation fear is certainly a strong predictor that mediates some of the nativity and age at migration difference observed in the earlier models. Once deportation fear is held constant, the difference between the US born and the early arrivals are explained away for housing and job security. Furthermore, though not statistically significant, once deportation fear is controlled, as compared to the US born, the immigrants who arrived prior to age 18 has less chance of perceiving vulnerability in housing and job that attributes to economic recession. This result suggests that the nativity and age at arrival differences in the sense of vulnerability are attributed more to deportation fear than to the financial strain (See model 3). In other words, the difference in the

perceptions of vulnerability across groups is driven by the fear which is an underlying effect of the draconian immigration enforcement.

Model 5 is a full model which controls for both financial strain and deportation fear. The significant differences of the immigrants who arrived before age 18 relative to the US born observed are all explained away. This result suggests that the earlier arrivals, once more direct measures of vulnerability are taken into account, no longer experience particularly higher sense of vulnerability in the present day Arizona. On the other hand, the immigrants who arrived at 18 or older continue to show a significant difference from the US born in both outcomes. This result suggests the experience of the later arrivals in our study is quite different from that of the other two groups and this may situate them under a condition to perceive vulnerability more in their everyday lives.

Discussion

Our preliminary results show that the perceptions of vulnerability that impact ones' life seem to vary by nativity. The results also show that the variation are quite nuanced and varies in the aspects of life as well as the structural factor attributed to the perception of vulnerability. Overall, the immigrants in our study reported much more difficulty in finding and keeping housing as compared to the US born counterparts. Even after controlling for more direct factors considered to be associated with vulnerability, that is, financial strain and deportation fear, those who arrived in the United States as adults continue to have a higher chance of perceiving vulnerability in housing security. This result suggests some other factors are contributing to the sense of vulnerability among immigrants. It may be the fact that the double hardship creates "unfriendly" and "unwelcoming" atmosphere for the local community, hindering people from finding and keeping safe and stable housing. While jobs may be found on a more ad hoc basis through social ties, housing requires accumulated share of financial resource. Therefore, immigrants may feel more vulnerable toward housing security in the absence of stable financial foundation as compared to the US born (Lai 2011). We should also remember that the housing is one of the sectors that got hit the hardest in the economic recession, and some of our study participants experienced foreclosure, which we came to learn through our follow up data collections.

Still, we continue observe that later arrivals face significantly more vulnerability than the US born in finding jobs in reference to immigration enforcement. As reported in the descriptive results earlier, the economic recession impacts job security of both the US born and the immigrants alike. The sense of vulnerability in job security due to immigration enforcement fears, on the other hand, are more restricted among the adult arrivals and may be associated with a sense of relative deprivation of job security from the previous year. In other words, it may suggest the possibility that employers have become more strict about observing legal policies such as employer sanction laws than previous years, that the immigrants have become more familiar with the change in everyday life associated with these tight immigration enforcement, or a combination of both.

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Table 1. Sample Statistics

	US Born	Foreign Born	
Male	36.2%	45.2%	
Age (in years, mean)	39.62	43.34	*
18-29	42.4%	20.0%	
30-39	18.5%	20.0%	
40-49	7.6%	31.3%	
50-59	13.0%	20.0%	
60 -	18.5%	8.7%	
Religion			
Catholic	31.0%	68.7%	***
Education			
High School Graduate	69.0%	45.2%	***
Less than HS	27.2%	52.6%	
HS grad	39.5%	28.1%	
Some college	21.1%	11.4%	
College grad	9.7%	6.1%	
Refused	2.6%	1.8%	
Financial Strain (mean)	1.80	2.11	***
No financial strain	36.0%	20.2%	
Somewhat difficult	48.3%	49.1%	
Very difficult	15.8%	30.7%	
Deportation Fear (mean)	2.56	3.67	***
None	37.3%	6.4%	
Somewhat	26.4%	11.8%	
Very Much	36.4%	81.8%	
Chilling Questions			
Difficulty to keep/find housing	29.3%	67.0%	***
Difficulty to keep/find job	58.6%	80.0%	***
N	116	115	

Source: South Phoenix Community Survey 2009-2012

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$

Table 2. Sample Statistics

	US Born	Immigrated before age 18		Immigrated at age 18 and over	
Male	35.7%	51.3%	*	42.9%	
Age (in years, mean)	39.42	35.62	*	47.44	***
18-29	42.9%	46.2%		6.5%	
30-39	18.7%	28.2%		15.6%	
40-49	7.7%	10.3%		41.6%	
50-59	12.1%	10.3%		26.0%	
60 -	18.7%	5.1%		10.4%	
Religion					
Catholic	30.4%	64.1%	***	71.4%	***
Education					
High School Graduate	68.7%	64.1%		36.4%	***
Less than HS	27.4%	31.6%		62.3%	
HS grad	38.9%	34.2%		26.0%	
Some college	21.2%	23.7%		5.2%	
College grad	9.7%	7.9%		5.2%	
Refused	2.7%	2.6%		1.3%	
Financial Strain (mean)	1.79	1.92		2.21	***
None	36.3%	23.7%		18.2%	
Somewhat	48.7%	60.5%		42.9%	
Very much	15.0%	15.8%		39.0%	
Deportation Fear (mean)	2.58	3.51	***	3.72	***
None	36.7%	10.3%		5.6%	
Somewhat	26.6%	18.0%		8.3%	
Very Much	36.7%	71.8%		86.1%	
Chilling Questions					
Difficulty to keep/find housing	29.6%	48.7%	**	75.3%	***
Difficulty to keep/find job	58.3%	71.8%	*	84.4%	***
N	115	39		77	

Source: South Phoenix Community Survey 2009-2012

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$

Table 3. Panel A: Housing Security															
	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5		
Parameter	β	Std. Error	p	β	Std. Error	p	β	Std. Error	p	β	Std. Error	p	β	Std. Error	p
Intercept	-0.868	0.204	***	-0.418	0.555		-0.908	0.460	**	-2.101	0.739	**	-2.380	0.624	***
Nativity & Age at Arrival (ref = US born)															
Immigrant < age 18	0.817	0.380	**	0.637	0.404		0.733	0.429	*	-0.039	0.447		0.016	0.473	
Immigrant >= age 18	1.984	0.334	***	1.622	0.369	***	1.773	0.412	***	0.934	0.417	**	1.023	0.466	**
Age (in years)				-0.002	0.011		-0.021	0.008	**	0.006	0.012		-0.013	0.009	
Male				-0.107	0.303		-0.071	0.325		0.210	0.340		0.267	0.366	
Catholic				0.540	0.312	*	0.568	0.342		0.476	0.338		0.431	0.367	
High School Grad +				-0.754	0.308	**	-0.703	0.324	**	-0.961	0.348	**	-0.938	0.361	**
Financial Strain (ref = Not at all)															
Somewhat							1.072	0.381	**				0.964	0.406	**
Very much							2.150	0.489	***				2.151	0.541	***
Deportation Fear (ref = Not at all)															
Somewhat										1.288	0.537	**	1.355	0.562	**
Very much										2.515	0.475	***	2.453	0.504	***
-2 Log Likelihood	279.727			271.252			246.672			234.752			216.785		
*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$															
Source: South Pheonix Community Study, N = 231															

Table 3. Panel B: Job Security																			
	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3				Model 4				Model 5		
Parameter	β	Std. Error	<i>p</i>		β	Std. Error	<i>p</i>		β	Std. Error	<i>p</i>		β	Std. Error	<i>p</i>		β	Std. Error	<i>p</i>
Intercept	0.334	0.189	*		1.066	0.559	*		-0.282	0.433			0.087	0.647			-1.248	0.529	**
Nativity & Age at Arrival (ref = US born)																			
Immigrant < age 18	0.601	0.403			0.307	0.428			0.390	0.435			-0.373	0.478			-0.363	0.494	
Immigrant >= age 18	1.356	0.367	***		1.247	0.412	**		1.164	0.433	**		0.503	0.457			0.322	0.488	
Age (in years)					-0.021	0.010	**		-0.012	0.008	*		-0.016	0.011			-0.003	0.008	
Male					0.133	0.312			0.285	0.324			0.480	0.343			0.641	0.355	*
Catholic					0.552	0.326	*		0.469	0.338			0.495	0.352			0.363	0.364	
High School Grad +					-0.164	0.323			0.050	0.332			-0.223	0.343			-0.097	0.351	
Financial Strain (ref = Not at all)																			
Somewhat									1.022	0.347	**						0.953	0.369	**
Very much									1.596	0.493	**						1.500	0.526	**
Deportation Fear (ref = Not at all)																			
Somewhat													0.462	0.430			0.581	0.441	
Very much													1.923	0.409	***		1.969	0.433	***
-2 Log Likelihood	269.309				262.061				251.049				236.044				227.219		
*** <i>p</i> < .001, ** <i>p</i> < .05, * <i>p</i> < .1																			
Source: South Pheonix Community Study, N = 231																			