

Cognitive and Affective Insecurity in the Context of Production Regimes

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Abstract

Cognitive and affective job insecurity, respectively defined as the perceived likelihood of job loss and anxiety regarding the outcomes of job loss, derive in part from national labor market configurations. Drawing from the International Social Survey Program, this study explores job insecurity in the context of production regimes. The main question is whether the antecedents of cognitive and affective insecurity differ between liberal and coordinated market economies. It is found that internal labor market conditions and management-employee relations strongly impact cognitive job insecurity in liberal market economies, but not in coordinated market economies. Liberal and coordinated market economies share a common set of influences on affective insecurity: cognitive job insecurity and external labor market prospects.

Introduction

The forecast that stable employment would fade in prevalence, replaced by a labor force composed entirely of precariously-employed workers, has not come to pass. Although precarious forms of employment have undoubtedly gained a larger share of the labor force since the 1980s, individuals have not universally responded with heightened job insecurity. This can be explained in part by structural responses to forces that may create uncertainty in the employment relationship. As Beck (2000) states, “All Western countries are similarly affected by the informalization and individualization of paid work. But this epochal change is perceived and valued differently in different cultures.” (111). The variety of national responses is evidenced by job insecurity trends in OECD countries. From the 1980s through the turn of the century, job insecurity exhibited the predicted steady decline in some countries; but in others, such as Norway and the United States, perceptions of job security changed little. In yet others, of which Britain is a prime example, the downward trend in workers’ evaluations of their job security seems to have reversed itself (Green, 2006).

Since Greenhalgh and Rosenblatt’s (1984) treatise on the theoretical underpinnings of perceived job insecurity, hundreds of research studies have explored the antecedents and outcomes of job insecurity. Most of this research assumes that insecurity is primarily affected by either the immediate organizational context, job characteristics, or individual attributes. Organizational factors undoubtedly influence subjective evaluations of job insecurity, but significantly less attention has been given to institutional influences on job insecurity, although it is highly unlikely that average national levels of insecurity can be explained entirely in terms of organizations, jobs and individuals. For this reason, the next stage of insecurity research must consider how international differences in the structure and governance of labor markets shape job insecurity.

Although job insecurity has primarily been conceptualized as a cognitive phenomenon dependent on immediate organizational circumstances (Greenhalgh & Rosenblatt, 1984; Jacobson, 1991), the scope of the term has been broadened to differentiate between cognitive and affective insecurity (Anderson & Pontusson, 2007; Sverke & Hellgren, 2002). A derivative of cognitive insecurity, affective job insecurity is worry or anxiety resulting from cognitive job insecurity. While these two aspects of job insecurity undoubtedly share some common causes, cognitive and affective insecurity are not identical in their meaning, and thus likely not identical in their antecedents. Macro-level analyses of job insecurity must recognize that a cognitive evaluation of the likelihood of job loss is conceptually distinct from the affective orientation toward that evaluation, and therefore may result from different institutional mechanisms.

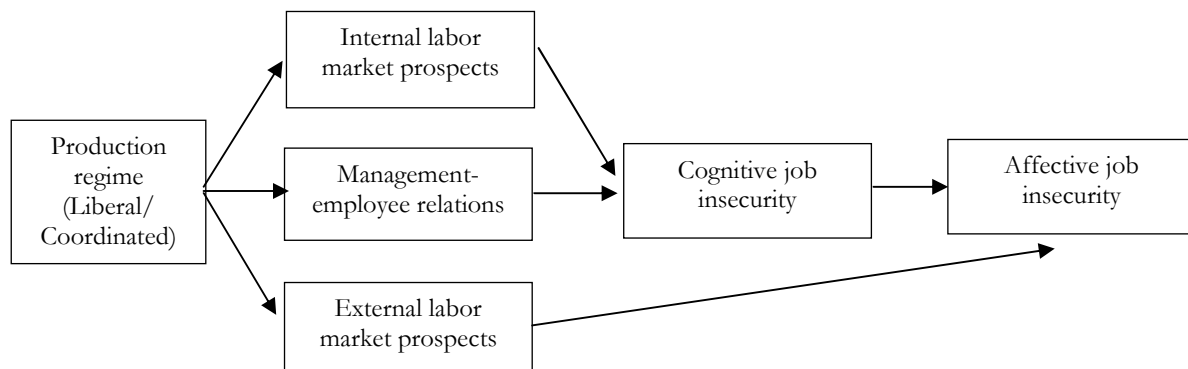
Production regimes and job insecurity

Despite exposure to similar exogenous forces such as globalization, industrial shifts, and immigration, countries have responded to external imperatives in vastly different ways--a difference which lends itself to explaining divergent trends in job insecurity. Broadly, countries have either emphasized employment flexibility and generalizable skills (skills that are easily transferred between employers) or wage stability (through either employment or unemployment protection) coupled with industry-, firm- or occupation-specific skills (Estévez-Abe, Iversen & Soskice, 2000). This difference between liberal market economies, in the former case, and coordinated market economies, in the latter, forms the crux of theories of production regimes.

The effect of production regimes on the quality of employment and workers' subsequent attitudes towards their jobs has been systematically explored in a recent compilation of studies (Gallie, 2007a) that finds production regimes impact job quality and workers' attitudes, including employees' subjective evaluations of job security (Paugam & Zhou, 2007). As noted by Gallie

(2007b), “the nature of the production regime affects several aspects of work experience that are critical for the quality of employment and that have important consequences for worker’s motivation, job satisfaction, and psychological health” (p. 87). In this paper, I will explore the effect of production regimes on job insecurity. I propose that, because production regimes differ in their labor market structures, this will result in different antecedents of cognitive and affective job insecurity. In particular, that which is most problematic for workers within a production regime should most strongly impact how secure workers feel in their jobs. This paper will explore several aspects of production regimes hypothesized to impact job insecurity: internal labor market prospects, work relationships, and external labor market prospects. The conceptual model linking the various elements of the study are presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1. The effect of production regimes on cognitive and affective job insecurity



Production regimes and internal labor market dynamics

With regard to internal labor market prospects, liberal market economies’ emphasis on generalizable skills and a high level of stratification within firms reduces both the leverage of employees within the firm and increases the ease with which an employer can replace an employee with another who possesses a similar skill set. Coordinated production regimes, being heavily reliant

on specific skills--be they at the firm, industry, or occupational level--must necessarily grant more concessions to employees, as workers with specific skills are not easily replaced. As noted by Gallie (2007b), "skill specificity will make employers reluctant to casually hire and fire employees because of the cost of training to develop company-specific skills and the market power of those with industry-specific skills" (p. 88). Intimate knowledge of the inner workings of a firm thereby increases workers' value to the firm, and increases employers' desire to retain these employees. Workers in coordinated market economies face better prospects of advancement within the firm than do workers in liberal market economies because employers wish to retain valuable skills and also recuperate their investments in firm-specific skill training.

The nature of relationships between managers and employees also differs between liberal and coordinated market economies. Workers in coordinated market economies enjoy higher autonomy and task discretion than workers in liberal market economies. This affects management-employee relations in that employees with high autonomy are freer from managerial control. Additionally, coordinated market economies are characterized by cooperation rather than control. An important difference between liberal and coordinated market economies is that workers in coordinated market economies are more often represented by collective bargaining organizations such as unions and works councils, whereas workers in liberal market economies often must rely on their own bargaining power in negotiations with management, as collective bargaining organizations are not as prevalent. Thus, the individual relationship between managers and employees should exert a stronger influence over perceptions of job loss likelihood in liberal market economies, as workers are both less autonomous and less likely to be represented by collective bargaining agreements.

Liberal market economies are characterized by weak protections for workers, who are thereby more reliant on relationships with supervisors to maintain their position in the organization. Additionally, the emphasis on transferable skills and the lack of incentive to form firm-specific skills

may lead to a sense of disposability--a worker in a liberal market economy is likely to feel more replaceable than a worker in a coordinated market economy. Economies characterized by general skills and high mobility should thus contain workers who are concerned not only about their promotion prospects within the firm, but also about their indispensability to their employer. These concerns are not present to the same extent in coordinated market economies due to stronger employment protections for workers, a higher reliance on specific skills that may be indispensable to an employer, and high levels of unionization.

In sum, internal labor market prospects and work relationships should more strongly impact cognitive insecurity in liberal market economies as compared to coordinated market economies. Because cognitive insecurity, defined as a perception of possible job loss, is dependent primarily on the immediate organizational context, internal labor market conditions should impact cognitive, but not necessarily affective, job insecurity. The reasoning for this is as follows: cognitive job insecurity derives from organizational conditions, while affective job insecurity--worry about the consequences of job loss--is necessarily more future-oriented and therefore extends beyond the bounds of the internal labor market.

Production regimes and external labor market prospects

Although production regimes deal primarily with job quality, it seems that the immediate employment situation is but one aspect of job insecurity; the external labor market figures prominently in these informal calculations. Insecurity--a sense of uncertainty coupled with an evaluation of the potential unpleasantness of possible outcomes (threat times severity, in Greenhalgh and Rosenblatt's formulation [1984])--by definition includes consideration of the external labor market. The evaluative component (cognitive job insecurity) depends on the immediate organizational context, but the potential unpleasantness of possible outcomes (affective job

insecurity) corresponds to external labor market prospects--what happens in the case of job loss.

Affective insecurity is, as previously noted, worry about what will happen in the event of job loss. In this case, external labor market conditions should weigh heavily on workers. Internal labor market conditions impact affective insecurity, but operate indirectly through cognitive job insecurity.

Production regimes impact workers' sense of affective job insecurity because liberal and coordinated production regimes yield vastly different employment trajectories. Liberal market economies are associated with general skill sets that lead workers to hold many different types of jobs, and jobs that are of shorter duration than those of workers in coordinated market economies. Coordinated market economies, on the other hand, are characterized by a higher degree of skill continuity, and in the case of countries with short job duration--such as Denmark--there exists a system of labor market matching that facilitates matching workers and jobs. Workers receive more state-legislated protection from job loss, and systems of income replacement stabilize the economic situation of unemployed workers. Because labor market transitions are more problematic in liberal market economies, these should also be a greater source of anxiety.

While cognitive job insecurity has, unsurprisingly, been shown to be the strongest determinant of affective job insecurity, it is by no means the sole determinant. Given that affective job insecurity is anxiety about future employment, it should be significantly influenced by external labor market prospects, although the predictions regarding differences between liberal and coordinated market economies are ambivalent. On the one hand, workers in liberal market economies are more likely to possess generalizable skills that will transfer easily to another firm; high skill mobility may result in confidence in finding another job. However, tenure and unemployment protection tend to be lower in liberal market economies--in an environment of frequent job changes, low protection from the negative effects of unemployment, and scant help from the state in gaining

new skills, workers may be overly concerned about maintaining their qualitative level of employment.

Workers in coordinated market economies, on the other hand, may also be concerned about finding a comparable job, although for different reasons. Investments in specific skills may give rise to concerns about skill transferability, as specific skills can only be transferred to similar jobs. Yet coordinated market economies are likely to offer both unemployment protection and retraining opportunities, which may increase confidence in external labor market prospects. Thus, even in an environment of low tenure and high mobility, workers may remain confident in their ability to retain their current quality of employment. In both liberal market economies and coordinated market economies, affective job insecurity depends on the likelihood and consequences of job loss.

Data

For individual-level data, I will use the International Social Survey Program (ISSP), a cross-national survey designed to capture attitudes on various socially-relevant topics. First conducted in 1986, the original survey covered four post-industrial countries: Australia, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States. With new countries added regularly, current surveys include 34 countries on five continents, thereby spanning a broad range of political and economic configurations. The ISSP was designed from the outset to assess attitudes both across countries and across time: the survey contains a fixed set of eight modules, each of which is repeated at regular intervals. Each topical module is fairly consistent across waves, as the rules of the survey mandate that no more than one-third of questions can be modified; the other two-thirds must be repeated verbatim. In addition to the topical modules, each survey uses a common set of socio-economic background variables (Uher, 2000).

The ISSP is a collaborative research program in which one of the primary goals is to make cross-national surveys as comparable as possible. To this effect, the original questionnaire, which is drafted in English, is translated into each country's language--an interactive process that requires feedback and approval from a designated "translation group" within the ISSP. Continuity across time is preserved by requiring that replicated questions maintain equivalent wording. Thus, the ISSP attempts to ensure that concepts carry a similar meaning in each translation of the survey. This by no means eliminates the possibility that concepts are understood differently across nations (Hult, 2005), but this confounding factor is given special attention in the drafting of the survey, reducing the chance that any finding of international differences is merely a product of research design.

This research project will focus exclusively on the 2005 (Wave III) Work Orientations Module. The survey is subdivided into three overarching categories: (1) attitudes toward work and work commitment, (2) work organization (both attitudes and actual employment situation) and (3) the content of work. Respondents are asked about their preferences for various employment situations and job characteristics; and are also asked to evaluate their current work situation. Beginning with the 1997 module, the survey was expanded in scope to assess respondents' attitudes toward the labor market, such as evaluations of employment prospects, turnover intentions, and unemployment. The survey was also expanded to include unemployed workers: respondents who are not currently employed at the time of the survey are asked about reasons for job loss, job search strategies and perceptions of re-employment prospects. The inclusion of workers' attitudes concerning the labor market is a valuable addition to the survey, as attitudes toward one's current employer are shaped by both intra- and extra-organizational forces.

Liberal market economies are represented by Australia, Canada, Great Britain, New Zealand, and the United States. These countries are characterized by low employment and unemployment protection, and an emphasis on transferable skills rather than specific skills. Denmark, the

Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, West Germany represents coordinated market economies. These countries offer moderate to high levels of both employment and unemployment protection, as well as an emphasis on specific skills. Thus both production regimes are well represented within the survey.

Variables

Cognitive job insecurity is measured with a single item: respondents are asked, using a five-point scale, the degree to which they agree that “My job is secure.” As noted by Green (2006), “This type of question does not specifically link insecurity either to the risk of job loss or to the cost of job loss. Arguably, it may lead respondents to consider the wider implications of insecurity” (p. 140). Considering that insecurity stems from uncertainty and unpredictability (De Witte, 2005), and is not entirely determined by the organizational context, a measure of job insecurity that does not specifically link insecurity to job loss risk is conceptually superior to a measure that is explicitly linked to the organization. Affective job insecurity is ascertained by asking respondents, “To what extent, if at all, do you worry about the possibility of losing your job?” Four response categories are offered: “I worry a great deal,” “I worry to some extent,” “I worry a little,” “I don’t worry at all.”

Internal labor market prospects are represented by perceptions of advancement opportunities, measured by the degree to which respondents agree that “My opportunities for advancement are high.” Two indicators are used to assess management-employee relations: one which asks respondents about the quality of management-employee relations, on a scale from “very bad” to “very good” and a question about respondents’ belief that they could be easily replaced within the organization. This sense of dispensability is captured by the question, “How difficult or easy to you think it would be for your firm or organization to replace you if you left?” External labor market prospects are measured by workers’ beliefs about their marketability. Respondents are also

asked to indicate how easy it would be to find a comparable job. Specifically, the question asks, “How difficult or easy do you think it would be for you to find a job **at least as good** as your current one?” [emphasis mine]. This question is superior to previous versions contained in the Work Orientations Module, which asked how easy it would be to find another job, irrespective of its quality. However, workers are probably highly interested in finding a job that enables them to maintain the standard of living to which they are accustomed. This point is clearly articulated by Felstead, Burchell, and Green (1998) who note that “what matters most for some purposes is not so much security in the current job itself, but security in maintaining the qualitative level of one’s employment” (p. 181).

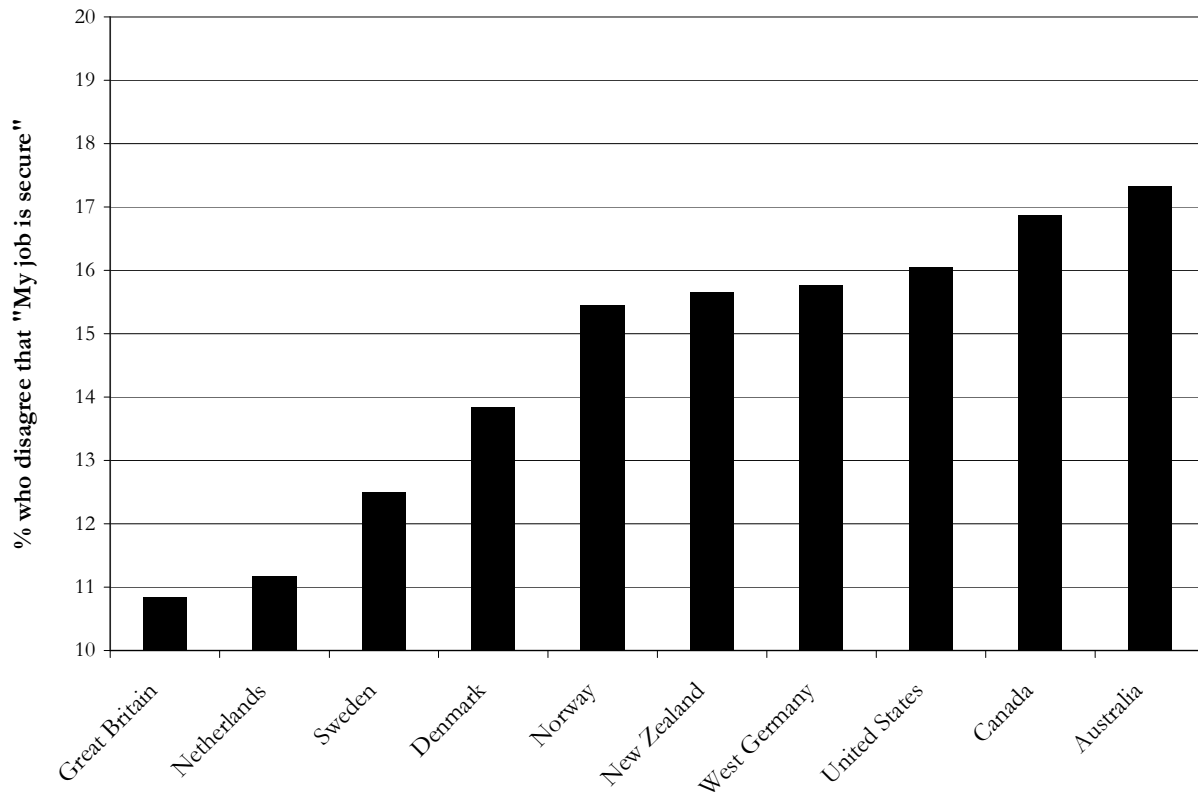
Methods

Models of both cognitive and affective job insecurity are tested using ordinal logistic regression, preferable to OLS regression because the assumptions of linear regression are clearly violated due to the limited and ordered response categories of the survey questions. Because the models test employment attitudes of those who are currently employed, analyses are limited to those who are employed either full- or part-time at the time of survey administration. Additionally, because the dynamics of insecurity differ for self-employed workers--for whom internal labor market mobility is unproblematic and management-employee relationships are irrelevant--and dependent employees, this analysis is limited to the latter group of workers. Although the tables below show coefficients only for the variables of interest, the original model includes considerably more variables. The models control for demographic variables (gender, age, marital status, and education), job characteristics (supervisory status, autonomy, and income), and occupational or industry (union membership, occupation, and private or public sector employment).

Dependent variables: Cognitive and affective job insecurity

Figures 2 and 3 compare national averages of cognitive and affective insecurity. Figure 2 shows the percent of workers who disagree (strongly or otherwise) that their jobs are secure, while Figure 3 displays the percent of workers who worry at least to some extent (i.e., they worry “to some extent” or “a great deal”) about the possibility of job loss. While the relationship between production regimes and job insecurity is not perfect, some clear patterns emerge regarding insecurity levels and production regimes.

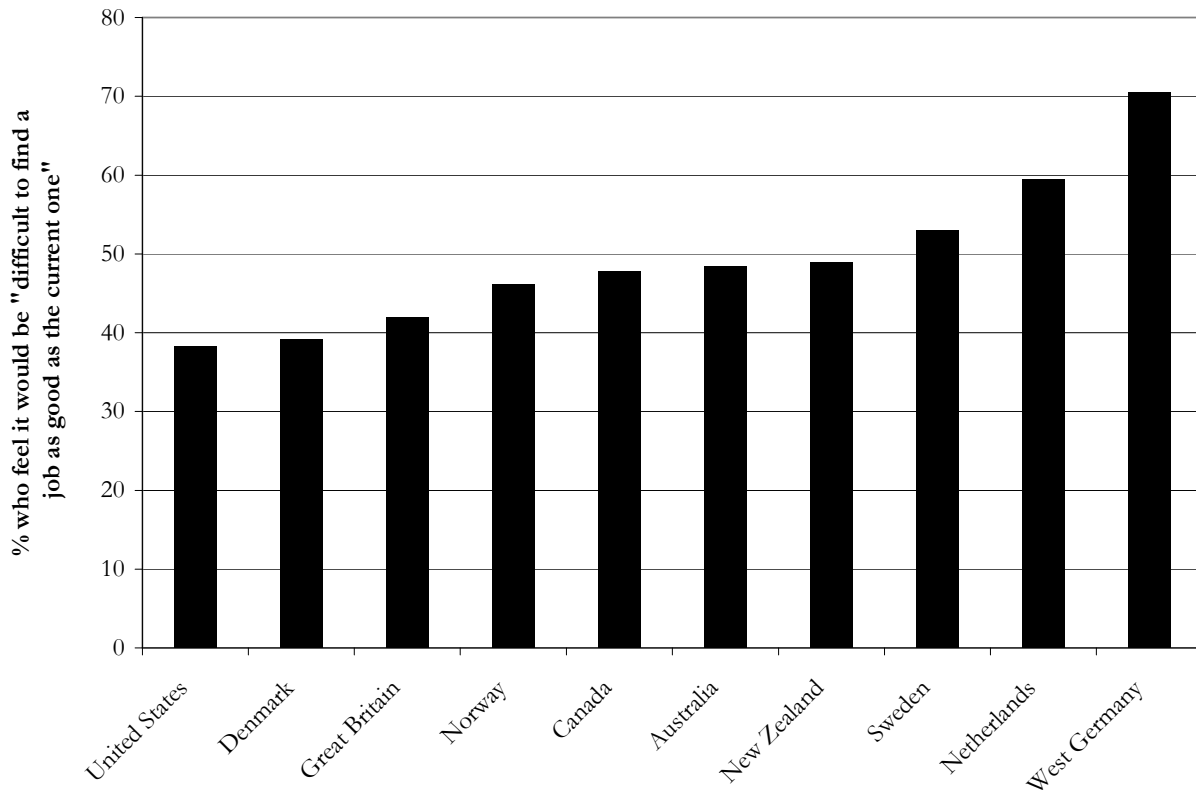
Figure 2. International differences in cognitive job insecurity



Overall, coordinated market economies tend to display lower levels of insecurity than their liberal market counterparts, with the notable exception of Great Britain, which exhibits the lowest insecurity levels of the countries included in this analysis. New Zealand, the United States, Canada, and Australia, representative of liberal market economies, are clustered at the high end of the scale. Among employed individuals in these countries, at least 15% disagree that their jobs are secure. Comparatively, fewer workers in coordinated market economies express high job insecurity. Norway and West Germany are similar to liberal market economies in their cognitive insecurity levels, yet Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands exhibit relatively low levels of insecurity.

With regard to affective job insecurity, workers in liberal market economies tend to be more concerned about the possibility of job loss, as shown in Figure 3. In this case, a pattern also emerges (once again, with exceptions) between coordinated and liberal market economies. Liberal market economies are characterized by higher anxiety than coordinated market economies; in four of five liberal market economies, at least 17% of workers in the former type of production regime are worried about job loss. Conversely, workers in the latter category are much less worried, with anxiety plaguing 8% to 15% of workers. The exception among liberal market economies is New Zealand, in which 13% of workers are concerned about job loss. Overall, workers in coordinated market economies seem to be less troubled by the prospect of losing their jobs. The one notable exception is West Germany, which far outstrips all other countries in anxiety: One-third of all West German workers are worried about job loss. From a cursory analysis of cognitive and affective job insecurity in liberal and coordinated market economies, it seems that production regimes do indeed impact insecurity levels. This leads to the question of whether the determinants of insecurity also differ between production regimes.

Figure 3. International differences in affective job insecurity



Findings: Production regime effects on cognitive job insecurity

Tables 1 and 2 compare the impact of internal labor market prospects, management-employee relations, and external labor market prospects on cognitive insecurity. Because it is hypothesized that countries are differentially affected by these variables according to regime type, separate tables are created for countries in liberal market economies and those in coordinated market economies. Based on a comparison of the tables, it seems that the antecedents of insecurity in liberal market economies differ from those of coordinated market economies, although some overlap exists. The prediction of different routes to cognitive insecurity is largely supported.

In four of five liberal market economies, workers' perceptions of advancement opportunities with their current employer significantly influence cognitive job insecurity. The expectation of

internal labor market mobility is associated with a heightened sense of cognitive security. Only in the case of Canada does this finding not hold. Work relationships, particularly the quality of management-employee relations, influence cognitive insecurity: workers who positively evaluate relationships with their superiors tend to feel more secure in their jobs than workers who evaluate these relationships as being poor. Great Britain is the exception to this finding: work relationships have no effect whatsoever on cognitive insecurity. A sense of replaceability affects cognitive insecurity only in the United States and New Zealand, with higher perceived disposability leading to higher insecurity. For workers in the three other liberal market economies, perceived disposability has no effect on cognitive insecurity. In the United States and Australia, perceptions of high external labor market mobility alleviate insecurity: cognitive job insecurity is less among workers who feel they could easily find a job comparable in quality to their current one. Overall, internal labor market prospects and management-employee relations are the strongest determinants of cognitive job insecurity in liberal market economies; perceived disposability and external labor market prospects less so.

Turning now to the coordinated market economies, it seems that internal labor market prospects, work relationships, and external labor market prospects matter much less for cognitive insecurity in comparison to the liberal market economies. Promotion prospects significantly affect cognitive insecurity only in Denmark; management-employee relationships in Sweden and West Germany; perceived replaceability in the Netherlands; and external labor market prospects in Norway. The patterns of influence that are exhibited in the liberal market economies are not seen in coordinated market economies. Internal and external labor market conditions, important to cognitive job insecurity in liberal market economies, do not hold the same sway over insecurity in coordinated market economies.

Table 1. Cognitive job insecurity in liberal market economies; ordered logit coefficients

	Great Britain	United States	Australia	New Zealand	Canada
<i>Internal labor market prospects</i>					
Promotion prospects	0.643*	0.264*	0.413*	0.310*	0.100
<i>Work relationships</i>					
Management relations	0.011	0.490*	0.204*	0.329*	0.260*
Ease of replacement by employer	-0.191	-0.123*	-0.106	-0.279*	-0.063
<i>External labor market prospects</i>					
Ease in finding a comparable job	0.055	0.153*	0.277*	0.074	0.069
N	341	797	761	575	391
Pseudo R ²	0.092	0.098	0.100	0.079	0.085

Starred items are significant at the .05 level.

Controls: Gender, age, marital status, education, supervisory status, job characteristics (income and autonomy) union membership, occupation, and private/public sector employment.

Table 2. Cognitive job insecurity in coordinated market economies; ordered logit coefficients

	Norway	Sweden	Denmark	Netherlands	West Germany
<i>Internal labor market prospects</i>					
Promotion prospects	0.104	0.011	0.215*	0.031	0.160
<i>Work relationships</i>					
Management relations	0.165	0.231*	0.110	-0.003	0.450*
Ease of replacement by employer	-0.073	-0.104	0.145	-0.242*	-0.149
<i>External labor market prospects</i>					
Ease in finding a comparable job	0.231*	0.004	0.041	0.170	0.138
N	576	568	643	537	336
Pseudo R ²	0.064	0.059	0.049	0.105	0.134

Starred items are significant at the .05 level.

Controls: Gender, age, marital status, education, supervisory status, job characteristics (income and autonomy) union membership, occupation, and private/public sector employment.

Findings: Production regime effects on affective job insecurity

Tables 3 and 4 compare affective job insecurity between production regimes. Unlike the determinants of cognitive insecurity, coordinated and liberal market economies overlap significantly in the antecedents of affective insecurity. Because of this coincidence, both production regimes will be discussed simultaneously, unlike in the previous analysis. Coefficients for cognitive job insecurity are significant for all countries regardless of production regime, although cognitive insecurity exhibits a slightly stronger effect in coordinated market economies, as indicated by coefficient size. In all cases, high cognitive insecurity is related to high affective insecurity. While promotion prospects mattered importantly for cognitive job insecurity in liberal market economies, it has no effect whatsoever on affective insecurity, and still no effect in coordinated market economies.

No clear pattern emerges regarding the connection between work relationships and affective insecurity. Management-employee relations matter for affective insecurity in the United States and New Zealand, but do not matter for any countries characterized as coordinated market economies. A sense of disposability leads to anxiety among Australian workers, but not any other similarly-situated workers. Disposability also increases anxiety in two of five coordinated market economies, Norway and Sweden. Work relationships relate to affective insecurity, but not in any systematic way.

Conversely, external labor market prospects have a strong effect on affective insecurity in both liberal and coordinated market economies. Workers who believe they could easily find a job just as good as the current one exhibit significantly less worry about job loss than those who perceive fewer opportunities beyond the firm. Only in Great Britain, among liberal market economies, and West Germany, among coordinated market economies, do external labor market prospects not matter for anxiety. In sum, cognitive insecurity unsurprisingly and strongly influences affective insecurity, and this holds to be a near-universal phenomenon. Yet, contrary to predictions that antecedents of affective insecurity would differ between liberal and coordinated market

economies, the effect of external labor market prospects is widespread and not dependent on regime type.

Table 3. Affective job insecurity in liberal market economies; ordered logit coefficients

	Great Britain	United States	Australia	New Zealand	Canada
<i>Internal labor market prospects</i>					
Job security	1.049*	0.630*	0.874*	0.785*	1.091*
Promotion prospects	0.042	-0.026	0.081	0.049	-0.188
<i>Work relationships</i>					
Management relations	-0.115	0.207*	0.115	0.435*	0.204
Ease of replacement by employer	-0.011	-0.098	-0.145*	-0.114	-0.206
<i>External labor market prospects</i>					
Ease in finding a comparable job	-0.001	0.244*	0.388*	0.218*	0.229*
N	341	797	761	575	391
Pseudo R ²	0.150	0.101	0.133	0.122	0.178

Starred items are significant at the .05 level.

Controls: Gender, age, marital status, education, supervisory status, job characteristics (income and autonomy) union membership, occupation, and private/public sector employment.

Table 4. Affective job insecurity in coordinated market economies; ordered logit coefficients

	Norway	Sweden	Denmark	Netherlands	West Germany
<i>Internal labor market prospects</i>					
Job security	1.141*	1.108*	0.762*	1.281*	1.214*
Promotion prospects	0.123	-0.156	-0.166	-0.158	-0.045
<i>Work relationships</i>					
Management relations	0.119	0.132	0.121	0.171	0.174
Ease of replacement by employer	-0.229*	-0.258*	-0.112	-0.102	-0.118
<i>External labor market prospects</i>					
Ease in finding a comparable job	0.515*	0.313*	0.307*	0.428*	0.189
N	610	568	643	537	336
Pseudo R ²	0.193	0.168	0.135	0.199	0.228

Starred items are significant at the .05 level.

Controls: Gender, age, marital status, education, supervisory status, job characteristics (income and autonomy) union membership, occupation, and private/public sector employment.

Conclusions and discussion

The intent of this paper was to test how production regimes affect job insecurity. It was hypothesized that liberal and coordinated production regimes would differ in their structure of internal labor markets, external labor markets, and management-employee relations, and that these structures would differentially impact job insecurity. An analysis of average job insecurity showed that production regimes do correlate with job insecurity: With a few exceptions, workers in coordinated market economies score lower on both cognitive and affective job insecurity. When job insecurity is regressed on workers' evaluations of current employment conditions and future employment prospects, some interesting findings emerge.

Liberal and coordinated market economies differ in the antecedents of cognitive job insecurity, but share the same causes of affective job insecurity. In liberal market economies, the problems inherent in internal labor markets--problems that stem from being nested within a competitive environment that provides workers with little control over their work and gives them few assurances for the future--appear to manifest themselves in heightened job insecurity. Coordinated market economies, which are more likely to rely on cooperative arrangements and worker control, do not exhibit the same negative effects of internal labor markets on cognitive insecurity.

As noted, cognitive job insecurity derives from present job conditions, yet affective insecurity is both present- and future oriented. Anxiety results from current job conditions and an unknown employment future. This finding holds across most countries included in the sample, indicating that the causes of anxiety do not vary according to regime type. This result was unexpected. It was hypothesized that external labor market prospects would not impact affective insecurity to the same degree in coordinated as compared to liberal market economies. The reasoning for this was that coordinated market economies structurally facilitate labor market

matching and are more likely to compensate for labor market failures. Thus, external labor market prospects would be less problematic for workers in these countries than for workers in liberal market economies, who have few protections and for whom labor market matching is left primarily to individual workers. However, it seems that workers in all countries suffer anxiety when they perceive few external labor market prospects, regardless of the supports available to them. In most cases studied, employees who felt they would have difficulty finding a job comparable to their present one expressed higher levels of worry. Apparently, reacting with anxiety to an uncertain and potentially unpleasant employment future is an outcome not mitigated by social supports.

In summary, production regimes do appear to have some use in explaining job insecurity, although this is limited primarily to the cognitive dimension. However, affective job insecurity is not wholly unaffected by production regimes--it seems that production regimes impact affective insecurity primarily through their effect on cognitive insecurity. This indicates that the structuring of the employment relationship figures importantly into workers evaluations of the likelihood of job loss. Production regimes that favor a cooperative strategy will contain a workforce that feels more secure in their employment and, by proxy, is less worried about the future.

Future studies may explore the aspects of external labor markets that contribute to anxiety. Marketability, and its impact on work-related attitudes, has scant attention. However, given that few employees spend their entire working careers with the same employer, marketability is a concern to most workers at some point in their careers. To this end, theories of production regimes may yet again prove useful, as liberal and coordinated market economies tend to differ in the average skill profile of workers. Production regimes can make career trajectories more predictable, and lessen the instability inherent in labor market transitions. The manner in which states handle labor market transitions seems to be an important next step in insecurity research.

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