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**Labour Market Marginalisation of Young Latinos in
San Antonio, Texas: A Geographical Perspective of
Neighbourhood Processes**

by

Harald Sven Bauder
MA, Wayne State University, 1994
BA, Wayne State University, 1993

Thesis

Submitted to the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Wilfrid Laurier University
1998

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ABSTRACT

LABOUR MARKET MARGINALISATION OF YOUNG LATINOS IN SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS: A GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD PROCESSES

Latinos cluster in the lower segments of the U. S. labour market and therefore suffer disproportionately from labour market marginalisation and poverty. This dissertation examines supply side forces of the ethnic division of labour. Expanding upon structuration theory and realism, the research investigates the role of place in shaping career decisions of Latino youth.

A case study of greater San Antonio, Texas, uses quantitative analysis of U. S. Census data to examine the patterns of youth labour market marginalisation in census tracts. In addition, qualitative in-depth interview analysis was conducted with twenty-nine youth and seventeen community-based institutions in two selected neighbourhoods.

The results indicate that place is a mechanism engaged in the social construction of labour market marginality. Geographically narrow activity patterns and spatial isolation expose youth to place-based processes of labour market marginalisation and allow them to be stereotyped according to where they live. Cultural exclusion and discrimination are at the heart of the problem of youth labour market marginalisation. The results stand in sharp contrast with contemporary research, associated with the underclass debate, that provides the basis for public policy making.

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1. Introduction

Poverty has assumed alarming proportions among Latinos in San Antonio, Texas. In 1990, 35 percent of San Antonio's population was poor, and 85 percent of the poor were Hispanic. The high poverty rate is a result of San Antonio's labour market structure. Jobs are generally available, but a large proportion of them are marginal jobs that offer low wages, unsteady employment, no benefits and force workers and their families into poverty (Abramson and Fix 1993, Capps 1996, Johnson et al. 1983, Konstam 1996). Not all ethnic groups are equally affected by the large numbers of marginal jobs in San Antonio's labour market. Latinos cluster in the lower segments of the labour market and therefore suffer disproportionately from labour market marginalisation.

Throughout the last three decades, social scientists have provided various explanations for poverty among ethnic minorities. Among the most influential explanations for policy making have been Lewis' (1969) culture of poverty and Wilson's (1987) notion of the underclass. This dissertation critiques these ideas and provides an alternative explanation.

The dissertation is concerned with the supply-side of the labour market. It examines the relationship between social processes and the ethnic division of labour. Merging social geography and economic geography, this research extends an important trend in contemporary geography that has recently produced a series of research on work and gender (for example Hanson and Pratt 1995, England 1996) and was accentuated at the most recent meeting of the Association of American Geographers¹.

¹ As session discussants, Preston (1998) and McDowell (1998) noted the need for contemporary geography to link social and economic concepts and processes.

This research is a case study of youth² and their career decisions. Social processes of labour market marginalisation are particularly influential during youth, when education and job skills are acquired and when occupational preferences, attitudes towards work and career expectations are shaped. Yet, the ability to influence social processes is constrained for teenagers and young adults. Youth often react to the reproductional forces in society.

The research's main concern is how *geography* shapes the career decisions of Latino youth. The concept of place is central to understanding social processes of labour market marginalisation. Time, mobility and structural constraints confine youth to local labour markets and to local social and institutional contexts which influence career decisions. In addition, the image of place is spoiled by stigmatisation, and place becomes a mechanism for social exclusion, discrimination and, subsequently, labour market marginalisation.

Empirical research uses quantitative analysis of U. S. Census data to examine the patterns of youth labour market marginalisation in census tracts throughout the greater San Antonio area. This analysis emphasises the geographical dimension of youth labour market marginalisation. In addition, qualitative research concentrates on a neighbourhood called the Lanier area, where levels of Latino labour market marginalisation are particularly high. Between September and December 1996, twenty-one in-depth interviews with local youth and fourteen interviews with local institutions were conducted. A smaller control study involving interviews with eight youth and three institutions was conducted in the so-called Palm Heights

² Youth have recently received increased public and academic attention (for example, Skelton and Valentine 1998). The *New York Times*, for instance, published a series of special reports on teenagers (New York Times, April 29, 1998).

area, where levels of marginalisation are lower. Qualitative research examines *how* geography relates to processes of marginalisation.

The results indicate that place is a mechanism which is actively engaged in the social construction of labour market marginality. Geographically narrow activity patterns of youth and the spatial and social isolation of the Lanier area allow youth to be stereotyped according to where they live. In addition, there are place-based processes of labour market marginalisation. The research finds that cultural exclusion and cultural discrimination are at the heart of the problem of youth labour market marginalisation. It exposes these processes of marginalisation and spatial stereotyping. Perhaps the greatest value of this research comes from making this information available to researchers and the community for discussion and consideration in the design of a policy response.

The dissertation is organised in six parts. Part I develops a conceptual framework that positions the author in a spectrum of political ideologies and introduces structuration theory as the fundamental model for understanding social processes. Part II defines the research project more concretely, articulating a model of how processes of labour market marginalisation operate in the case of inner-city minority youth. Part III is termed “extensive” research and presents the results of the quantitative analysis of youth labour market marginalisation in greater San Antonio. Part IV focuses on “intensive” research, the qualitative assessment of how mechanisms of marginalisation operate in the specific context of the primary case-study area. Part V examines relationships between marginalisation and local context in the control study area. Finally, Part VI presents the conclusion and recommendations.

The terms “Hispanic” and “Latino/Latina” are used in the text. Hispanic is the ethnic category of the U.S. Census and is used in reference to census data. Otherwise, Latino/Latina is used to express cultural and ethnic attributes. The latter is often used for self-identification among U.S.-born, second-generation Latin-Americans (Cuello 1997). “Chicano” and “La Raza” are avoided because non-Latinos frequently associate these terms with stereotypes of particular political activities (Marín and Marín 1991: 1-3). The author recognises that the Hispanic and Latino categories include diverse population groups and homogenise cultural variety (Oboler 1995). The terms are applied with the appropriate discretion.

PART I. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Part I positions this dissertation in the context of the current political debate surrounding urban poverty among ethnic minorities. Chapter 2 develops a critical, ideological perspective on the relationship between culture and the division of labour. Chapter 3 introduces structuration theory as the underlying ontology this dissertation will follow. The chapter discusses in particular the role of geography in structuration theory. Chapter 4 reviews realist epistemology to provide a link between social theory and empirical research. As a whole, Part I provides the ideological and theoretical foundation for this dissertation.

2. IDEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON LABOUR MARKET MARGINALISATION

Cultures are never good or bad; they simply have an internal logic.

- Philippe Bourgois (1995: 15)

Labour market literature has been divided into ideological camps which offer different interpretations of urban processes. Conservative and liberal viewpoints have dominated the discourse on urban poverty in the United States throughout the last two decades. However, these positions have been challenged by critical ideologies. Different perspectives are presented below, and the author's position is articulated.

2.1. Conservatives, Liberals and the “Cultural” Explanation

Seeking an explanation for high poverty rates among urban minorities, conservatives have stressed the incompatibility of labour market achievement and cultural/behavioural attributes of minorities. Contemporary conservative views are rooted in the culture-of-poverty literature of the 1960s (Corcoran 1995, Habermas 1983), which asserted that the poor exhibit a subculture of chronic poverty and economic despair (Lewis 1965, Moynihan 1965). This subculture displays common cultural traits, including “...a strong feeling of fatalism, helplessness, dependence and inferiority, [...] weak ego structure, orality and confusion of sexual identification... [and] widespread belief in male superiority” (Lewis 1996: 222). Moynihan (1965) raises concerns about female-headed households among cultural minorities. Culture-of-poverty behaviour is learned and “... by the time slum children are 6 or 7 they have usually absorbed the basic attitudes and values of their subculture. Thereafter they are psychologically unready to take full advantage of changing conditions or improving opportunities that may develop in their lifetime (220).” As a solution, Lewis (1996) suggests gradual acculturation and adaptation of mainstream values and behaviour.

In accord with the cultural explanation of poverty, Lawrence Mead argues in the current context of growing inner-city joblessness that “...low wage jobs are still highly available, and [...] what is lacking is the willingness among urban blacks and the poor to search for and accept these jobs” (quoted in Holzer 1994: 699). Conservatives have therefore suggested that welfare and social programs — designed to assist the poor — actually reinforce culture-of-poverty behaviour. The argument is that social assistance recipients lack exposure to labour market competition and therefore do not acquire the skills, values and behaviours which are necessary

in the labour market. Thus, acculturation can be achieved by repealing social assistance to minorities and the poor and forcing them to adopt a competitive and “mainstream” value structure (Murray 1984).

The liberal perspective has been articulated in Wilson’s (1987) landmark book *The Truly Disadvantaged*. This perspective stresses the effect of economic structural forces, such as metropolitan decentralisation of jobs and economic restructuring. It also acknowledges the interaction between labour market processes and cultural values, attitudes and behaviours of inner-city minorities (Wilson 1987: 13-18, 1996: xiii-xxiii). According to liberals, lack of accessible jobs creates a “dislocated” social environment with high rates of unemployment, large numbers of young men unqualified for marriage, out-of-wedlock births, teenage pregnancies, welfare dependency and crime. Hochschild (1989) uses the term “estrangement” to describe the cultural divergence of inner-city minorities from mainstream society, and Wilson (1987) refers to the “urban underclass.” Men and women who participate in this “estranged underclass-culture” are doomed to failure in the labour market. During the last decade, the urban underclass concept has been refined. Nathan (1989: 171) speaks of a “multi-problem” of economic needs, behavioural problems and attitudinal problems. Jargowsky (1996) has noted that a homogeneous image of poverty-stricken inner-city areas ignores the majority of poverty-area residents who do not participate in typical “underclass” behaviour. This criticism, however, has not damaged the underlying premise of cultural unreadiness for labour market success.

The “underclass” debate has de-emphasised racial discrimination (Fainstein 1993). Wilson (1980, 1987) has shown that the socio-economic division of urban minorities increasingly

reflects the socio-economic composition of society as a whole. This development contradicts the presumption that minorities suffer as a group from discrimination. Wilson (1996) recently acknowledged ethnic discrimination as a source for the exclusion of urban minorities from the labour market. However, he continues to emphasise that inner-city joblessness nourishes the procreation of an urban underclass culture.

Liberals and conservatives alike assume that cultural values, attitudes and behaviour create labour market disadvantages for urban minorities³. Both stress acculturation to mainstream values and lifestyles as the remedy for urban poverty. This “cultural” explanation has dominated the discourse on urban poverty and labour market marginalisation throughout the 1980s and 90s.

2.2. The Critical Response

The “cultural” explanation is problematic in two ways: (a) it individualises marginality and disregards the struggle between social groups, and (b) it internalises the source of marginality to cultural attributes and devalues the role of structural forces.

With regard to the first, the “underclass” concept denies “group rights” to ethnic minorities (Omi and Winant 1986: 126-131). Forces of marginalisation are, according to the underclass idea, independent from ethnicity, but lie in the individual’s inability to cope with his/her cultural, social, political and economic situation. Legislative and policy recommendations therefore do not focus on protecting social groups as a whole but on assuring equal treatment of each

³ Paradoxically, Wilson (1987, 1996) stresses structural forces on the demand side of the labour market (i.e. restructuring and decentralisation) and cultural attributes on the supply side (i.e. out-of-wedlock and teenage births, unmarried men, welfare dependency, etc.)

member of society. Such a perspective fails to consider social dynamics between groups.

Critics claim that society perceives the individual on the basis of ethnicity, culture, gender and age. Likewise, social categorisation is rooted in a collective desire to differentiate between the self and the other (Sibley 1995). Omi and Winant (1986: 129) note:

Discrimination never derived its main strength from individual actions or prejudices, however great these might have been or might still be. Its most fundamental characteristic was always its roots in the racially organized *social* order [original emphasise].

Thus, explanations of poverty must consider group dynamics and cannot disclaim the influence of structural social forces.

The second critique attacks the conservative-liberal viewpoint that marginalisation can be attributed to “dysfunctional” behaviour internalised to an individual. This critique is much more damaging than the first because it denounces the “cultural” explanation as ethnocentric and intolerant towards ethnic diversity. To fully develop this critique, it is necessary to define the relationship between culture, ethnicity and social structure. Steinberg (1981: Preface) writes:

By its very nature, ethnicity involves ways of thinking, feeling, and acting that constitute the essence of culture. That ethnic groups have unique cultural character can hardly be denied. The problem, however, is that culture does not exist in a vacuum; nor is it fixed or unchanging. On the contrary, culture is in constant flux and is integrally a part of a larger social process. The mandate for social inquiry, therefore, is that ethnic patterns should not be taken at face value, but must be related to the larger social matrix in which they are embedded.

Culture and ethnicity become meaningful identities only when social context provides a point of reference to evaluate a certain set of cultural and ethnic traits. Hence, culture and ethnicity are social constructs which cannot exist outside of social context. The fallacy of the “underclass” debate and the “cultural” explanation is that it perceives culture as a constant outside of context and as an independent cause of labour market marginalisation.

The theory of cultural racism (Blaut 1992) articulates this critique. This theory suggests that culture is defined and constantly redefined within its historical and geographical social context. According to the existing power relationships within society, a dominant group controls the construction of a cultural and ethnic identity of a less powerful group. The dominant group may use its own value structure as a reference to evaluate the other group.

Recently, Mitchell (1995) has gone as far as to argue that “there is no such thing as culture” but that “culture [is] an idea used to differentiate and to classify [104]” He argues that culture itself does not carry any causal powers but that it is the product of an attempt to define and control others. Yet, he acknowledges correctly that culture — even if attributed artificially to a person or group of people — has real consequences because social, political and economic agents associate culture with causal power (also Jackson 1996). Thus, even as an “idea” culture cannot be discounted as trivial. It is, in fact, an essential element in the process of social marginalisation.

Borman (1991:10-12) reviews the so-called cultural capital perspective and explains that North American society values highest the Anglo-European culture, which it associates with middle or upper socio-economic status. Ethnic minorities, lacking the

Anglo-European cultural capital, are denied access to socio-economic status and labour market segments.

The “underclass” discourse has adopted a eurocentric position in which social “norms” and “rules” are defined from a Anglo-European perspective. Minority cultures are described by their differences relative to Anglo-European culture. Such ways of thinking attribute the marginal social positions of minorities to “cultural” behaviour that is deviant from “mainstream,” Anglo-European norms. Cultural racism challenges the urban “underclass” concept (Blaut 1992, Carlin 1997) which uses “dysfunctional” behaviour, such as fatherless families, lack of marriageable men and other *cultural* traits, to explain poverty among inner-city Latinos and African-Americans. The liberal “underclass” concept, and conservative literature alike, legitimise marginalisation through cultural stigmatisation.

Conservative and liberal perspectives reflect a melting pot mentality where ethnic minorities acculturate to “mainstream” values while they suppress their own culture (Oboler 1995: 89-93). The alternative to the melting pot is cultural pluralism (Steinberg 1981) or multiculturalism. A multicultural society tolerates ethnic diversity and legitimises difference. It views ethnic diversity as a cultural asset rather than a source of social conflict. Gender and age identities should be defined from within social groups and not superimposed by the dominant group (Zinn 1995). Ybarra (1995), for instance, argues that gender identities in Latino families reflect the gender division of other societies. The contemporary transformation of these identities, however, does not express the acculturation to Anglo-European norms but is initiated from within Latino culture. The acculturation model must therefore be replaced by alternative explanations respecting cultural identity. The multicultural perspective challenges

conservative and liberal thinking to recognise the ability of minorities to achieve their cultural potential rather than suppress it. This requires that society accommodates culture difference (including teenage motherhood and the single-headed families) and provide equal opportunities for those who deviate from the norms of the dominant culture.

Currently, the ideas of cultural pluralism and multiculturalism have found little public support beyond rhetorical approval. Throughout recent decades, political discourse has been dominated by Eurocentric thinking, and society has been intolerant towards cultural difference. Under these conditions...

[i]ndeed, most disadvantaged minorities have been willing to compromise their ethnicity for the sake of economic security, social acceptance, and a sense of participating fully in society instead of living precariously on the periphery. [...] Ethnic groups were not just passive victims of cultural repression, but played an active role in their own demise — not out of any collective self-hatred, but because circumstances forced them to make choices that undermined the basis for cultural survival [Steinberg 1981: 256-7].

Underlying social structure has denied self-determination to minority groups and has forced minorities to choose between acculturation or the reproduction of their marginality.

A related problem is that the existing political system leaves no alternative to acculturation or marginality. Democracy allows a majority group to initiate policies and legislature that promote the reproduction of a social structure in which the status and values of the majority remains protected. In addition, Steinberg (1981) demonstrates that well-intentioned policies to protect minorities from discrimination, such as school desegregation, also may impose limits to the practise of cultural freedom by forcing minorities to sacrifice ethnicity-specific education.

A majority-based political system may, in fact, reinforce ethnic stigmatisation and conflict with the idea of cultural pluralism and multiculturalism.

Post-modern social theory conceptualises social processes of marginalisation on an even more fundamental level. It argues that the common understanding of norm behaviour reflects middle-class consumption patterns (DeOliver 1996). Poverty is a limitation to consumption. It is therefore perceived as a “deviant” condition and becomes an unacceptable cultural trait (Yapa 1996). From this perspective, cultural discrimination may occur on the basis of being poor. This explanation, however, fails to account for the over-representation of minorities among the poor. In fact, Wilson (1980) demonstrated that middle-class consumption is increasingly accessible to minorities. Nevertheless, it is plausible that the condition of poverty in combination with ethnicity is a source for discrimination and marginalisation in the labour market.

2.3. Culture In Perspective

Conservative, liberal and critical perspectives all agree on the “facts of the case;” namely that cultural differences are the source of marginalisation in the labour market. However, the perspectives differ in their explanation of *how* cultural difference produces marginality. The author strongly disagrees with the “cultural” explanation put forth by conservatives and liberals. Culture itself does not have causative properties. It is neither “good” nor “bad” but refers to an “internal” system of behaviour and identity. This system serves as a reference within society to differentiate and classify people (Mitchell 1995).

Nevertheless, the author realises that the “cultural” perspective is informative for understanding how marginalisation works, for it is this perspective that reflects the patterns of thinking engrained in society which construct the marginality of cultural minorities (Bourgois 1995: 11-15). Exposing the “cultural” explanation thus is essential for explaining how processes of marginalisation work. The assumption of the “cultural” explanation — that people with certain cultural characteristics are unfit for competition in the labour market — legitimises cultural discrimination. The discourse surrounding the “cultural” explanation — most notably the “underclass” debate — has thus assumed an active role in the production of marginality. It impacts not only legislature and policies but also cultivates a public attitude that cultural discrimination is morally justifiable.

The relationships between labour market marginalisation and factors such as ethnicity, gender, and family structure, are not driven by “natural” processes which produce labour market disadvantage as a necessary outcome. Instead, disadvantage unfolds only in a social context, where behavioural norms are modelled after a dominant, Anglo-European culture, and does not accommodate other cultures. Social scientists have uncritically adopted these “mainstream” norms in their research (they even helped to define these “norms”). Any explanation of how marginalisation really operates must take into account how, and by whom, social and cultural norms are constructed, and how they are subsequently used to define cultural deviancy.

The local labour market is a key institution where cultural marginalisation is constructed and reproduced (Peake 1997). It grants social status to those individuals who are successful in their careers. However, to gain access to success, one is expected to adopt “norm” behaviour

and “mainstream” attitudes regarding education, family, marriage, sexuality, etc. The problem is that agency for change tends to be reserved for those groups and individuals who have acquired power and social status through labour market success. These are usually the ones who have conformed to “mainstream” values. Opposition to Anglo-European expectations, on the other hand, results in marginalisation.

The author’s objection to the cultural inferiority thesis serves as a common thread which reappears throughout the remaining chapters. It also defines the ideological point of departure for explaining how processes of marginalisation operate. However, before the role of culture is further integrated into a theoretical model for explaining labour market marginality, the author will focus on this model’s fundamental building blocks.

3. STRUCTURATION THEORY, SPACE, PLACE AND THE LABOUR MARKET

Structuration theory provides an ontological framework to investigate processes of marginalisation. This chapter reviews structuration theory and develops a geographical interpretation of the existing structuration model which incorporates the notions of space and place.

3.1. Structuration Theory

Structuration theory views the production and reproduction of society as the product of an interchange between propagating social structures, social practises and deliberate social actions which introduce structural change. This relationship is key to understanding processes of labour market marginalisation and is therefore discussed in more detail below.

3.1.1. Agency, Structure and Structuration

Structuration theory bridges crude determinism, where social actions (including economic, political and cultural actions) are entirely controlled by social structure, and voluntarism, where actors are free of any structural constraints. Structuration theory recognises that social structure and deliberate social action engage in a symbiotic relationship. Social action takes place within the specific context of current social structure. Simultaneously, a group, individual or institution are capable of changing social structure through conscious decision making. This capability is termed “human agency.” The relationship between structure and agency defines the production and reproduction of society (Dear and Moos 1994, Giddens 1984, Cloke et al. 1991, Sayer 1983, Thrift 1983).

Structuration theory makes a distinction between a social system and social structure in order to separate social order from social practises. Systems are concrete social relations which exist in time and space. Structures, on the other hand, are abstract rules and symbols that define the context within which systems are constructed. For instance, in a labour market in a given place and time, the social system may be characterised by the discriminatory relationship between workers of one ethnicity and business owners of another ethnicity. This relationship, however, is based on values, norms, rules and social practises which exist on an abstract level and are not necessarily fixed to this particular place and time. The discriminatory relationship between workers and employers is associated with the social system which exists in a specific place and time. Values, norms, rules and social practises are social structures

which are defined by the greater economic, social, political or cultural context. The concrete properties of social systems are therefore based on an abstract underlying social structure.

The process by which social structures are produced and reproduced is termed structuration. Once social norms and practises are accepted by a greater society these structures are legitimised (Dear and Moos 1994). For instance, it was discussed in the previous section that cultural discrimination, a social practise, is socially accepted through the establishment of Anglo-European norm behaviour and the definition of deviant behaviour such as teenage pregnancy and out-of-wedlock birth. Cultural discrimination is subsequently legitimised through a political and academic discourse. Acceptance and legitimisation allow cultural discrimination to re-occur and thus lead to the reproduction of social structure.

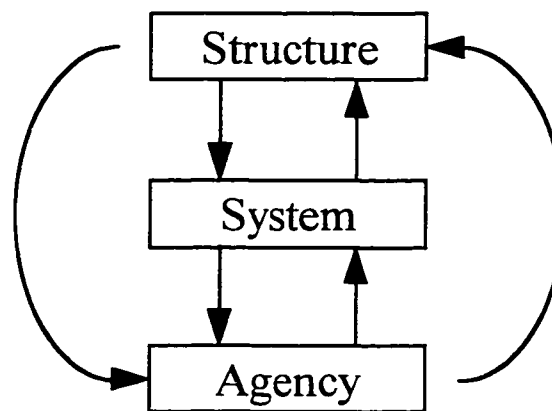
The rigidity of structuration is encountered by human agency: the capability for conscious and reasoned, but also subconscious, decision making with the aim to reinforce or to transform present social structure. These decisions can be initiated by (a) individuals, (b) informal institutions such as family or social and cultural groups, and (c) formal institutions such as government, community organisations, businesses or school boards. Social structures and the social system provide the context for agency and thus define the context in which decision making takes place. Ethnic resistance, for instance, requires the precondition of discriminatory social practises and a concrete condition of disadvantage, such as poverty or low position in the labour market.

The degree of agency of which an individual or group is capable is defined by the power relationships within the social system. Dear and Moos (1994) attribute agency to politicians, bureaucrats, interest groups, influential individuals and “ordinary” citizens. They argue that

capacity for agency is dependent upon the degree of power an agent can wield and the amount of knowledge an agent possesses regarding social structures and the social system.

Accordingly, the capacity for agency is much greater among politicians than among “ordinary” citizen. Hence, agency is “constrained” and “enabled” by social structures and systems such as the political system and political power relationships (Wilson and Huff 1994). It is impossible to separate agency from system and structure. The relationship between system, structure and agency is visualised in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3. 1: Structuration According to Giddens



modified after Giddens (1984)

Wilson (1994) has noted that structures are not as dynamic as structuration theory suggests, and that agency is more constrained by structures than it is enabled by them. He finds that “[a]gents become doomed to create structures reflexively within the limits that are imposed by preconfigured forces embedded in the social system [33].” Structures thus define a certain range within which agents model a social system. Agents may not have the capability of

moving the boundaries given by social structure. Thus, the power of agency may be not be more than a superficial avowal to self-determination. Stone (1989), however, notes with regard to regime politics that such rigid structures may be “real but not fixed [10].” Whereas agency may be severely restricted in a given time and space, the relationship between agency, system and structure is quite dynamic within the time-space continuum.

3.1.2. Space and Place

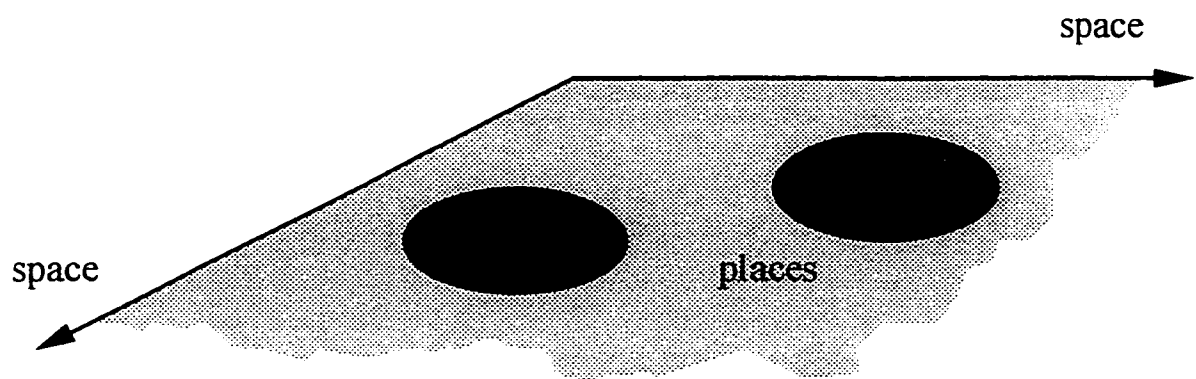
In order to provide a geographical interpretation of the structurationist framework, it is essential to make a distinction between the concepts of space and place that represent fundamentally different geographical perspectives of understanding social relationships. Contemporary geographical theory has generally fallen short in articulating this distinction (for example, Simonsen 1996). Space is conceptualised as a *continuum* on the surface of the earth. In this respect, it is conceived as an absolute (Kain 1962, Alonso 1964, Hecht 1974), relative (Massey 1984, 1985, 1994) or perceptive (Gould and White 1974, Walmsley 1988) measure of distance. More complex conceptualisations of space, which recognise the interdependency of material, social and mental processes, do not challenge the two-dimensional nature of space (Soja 1996).

Place, on the other hand, defines a *particular area* within the space continuum (Agnew 1987, Agnew and Duncan 1989). Place is concerned with the conditions and processes inside a spatial boundary. The relationship between space and place is shown in Figure 3.2.

Every place is embedded in a spatial context. A discussion of place cannot occur without reference to space. It is the way in which social, economic, political and cultural structures are

arranged in space which constitutes place (Massey 1994: 1-16). A characteristic of place is that the friction of space is minimised. Within place, elements of a system can interact with each other without being separated by distance (Harvey 1990: 211-225). Figure 3.3. depicts the constitution of place defined by the local interaction between political, economic, social and cultural “spheres.

Figure 3. 2: The Relationship Between Space and Place



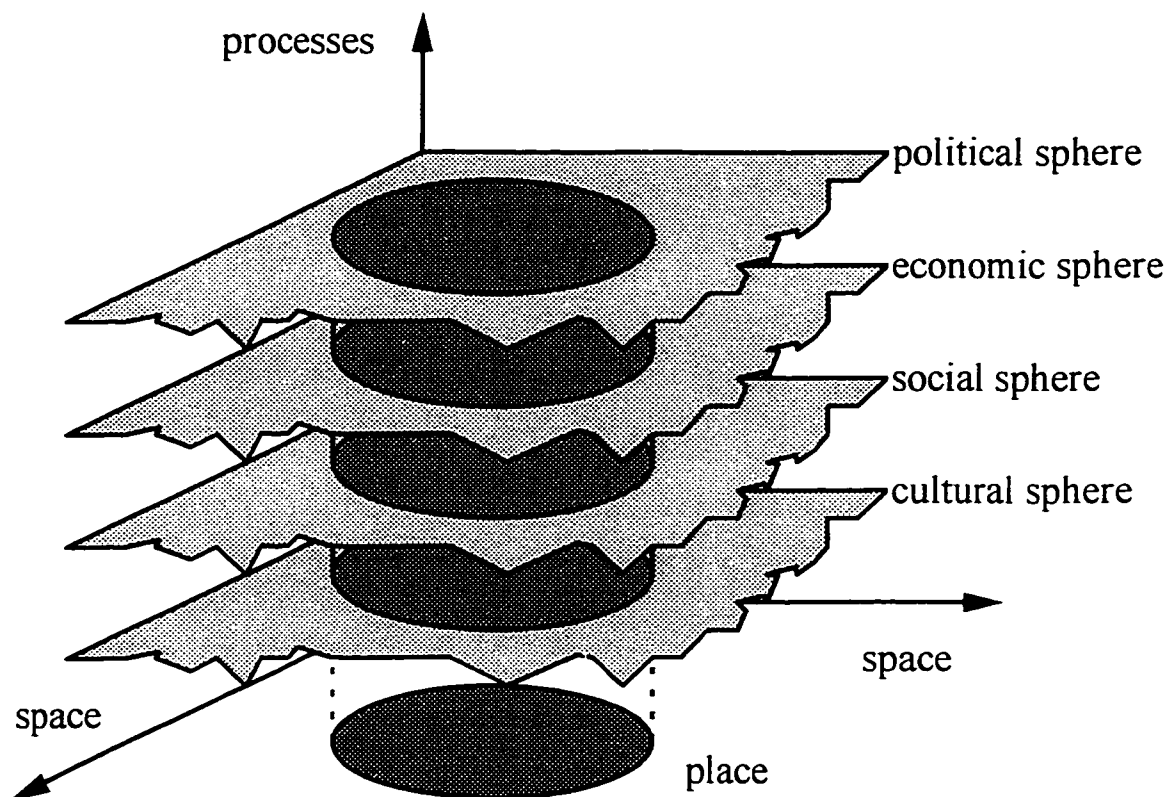
During recent decades, geographical discourse has shifted away from emphasising the universality of spatial processes towards recognising the importance of place, local uniqueness and spatial differences. The “locality debate” of the 1980s pioneered contemporary place-based analysis. It will serve as a point of departure for the geographical interpretation of structuration theory.

Locality Studies

One of the strongest proponents of locality studies, Doreen Massey, wrote (1984: 120):

It is indeed time that regional and local particularities were reinstated as a central focus of geographical thinking. This is not to argue for a return to 'good old-fashioned regional studies' but to suggest that the same subject matter can now be approached within a rigorous analytical framework, with some understanding of the relation between the general and the particular, and with an appreciation of how each local area fits into the wider scheme of capitalist production and social relations. There is a basis for new regional geography.

Figure 3. 3: The Constitution of Place



The need for a place-based approach emerged from dissatisfaction with available geographical approaches to explain complex relationships between economic, social, and cultural political processes. The term *locality* was used to describe the unit of place where these relationships operate (Massey 1984, 1985, 1990; Cooke 1986, 1989a; Bearuregard 1987; Jonas 1988; Savage 1989; Thrift 1989; Jackson 1991; Pratt 1991; Passi 1991). In different localities, relationships have different characteristics and properties. Hence, the economic, social and political constitution of place is unique.

Despite the focus on place, locality studies do not neglect spatial processes. In fact, local processes are understood as inevitably intertwined with greater spatial and global contexts (Savage 1989, Pickvance 1990, Urry 1990, Cox 1993, Massey 1993). For example, universal processes such as global economic restructuring have very different impacts on regions depending on the industrial, political, demographic and cultural context of place (MacKenzie and Norcliffe 1997). Neither place-based nor spatial processes alone can explain the outcome. An achievement of the locality debate was to conceptualise place as an area where spatial processes converge.

This dissertation develops a tripartite interpretation of place from the locality concept. This interpretation includes (a) a high degree of internal social, economic, political and cultural interaction (Soja 1985, Massey 1990), (b) interaction with processes that occur outside place boundaries and that represent greater spatial processes, and (c) no claim that interactions within localities are harmonious, reflecting power struggles associated with the structuration process. Frequently, the focus of locality research was, in fact, internal social conflict (Smith 1985, Cooke 1989a/b, Cox and Mair 1991). This three-fold interpretation permits the notion of place

to be linked with the structuration model presented earlier (Figure 3.1.). First, the high degree of interaction between social, economic, political and cultural elements within place represents the concrete relationships of a *system* that exists in a particular time and place. Second, the greater spatial context represents *structure* in the structuration model. Structures may be social practises such as cultural differentiation or economic processes such as global restructuring. Third, internal social conflict indicates the presence of *human agency* expressed as resistance against existing systems and structures.

Cox and Mair (1991: 198) challenged the conventional perception of place as a passive entity. Instead they attributed pro-active capabilities to place and locality:

If people interpret localized social structures [i.e. systems] in explicitly territorial terms, come to view their interests and identities as “local,” and then act upon that view by mobilising locally defined organizations to further their interests in a manner that would not be possible were they to act separately, then it seems eminently reasonable to talk about “locality as agent”.

The authors add that individuals develop collective local identities in a similar fashion as workers develop class consciousness and class solidarity. Thus, place, like class, becomes an agent representing collective interests (see also Cooke [1989], who points to local network-building and the construction of local identity to demonstrate that place itself becomes an agent). The theoretical accomplishments of the locality debate provide the basis for a geographical interpretation of structuration theory.

3.1.3. A Geographical Interpretation of Structuration Theory

Figure 3.3. depicts political, economic, social and cultural spheres that display spatial variability and difference (Gregory 1989, Sayer 1985, Simonsen 1996). Place-based processes, on the other hand, refer to the unique manner in which horizontal spheres are connected with each other. Figure 3.3. shows how place penetrates through spatial spheres. Spatial and place-based processes have different properties that are listed in Table 3.1.

Both, spatial and place-based processes are important in respect to the production and reproduction of society and must be included in structurationist theory. The relationship between spatial, place-based processes and structuration theory is developed below.

Place-Based Relationships

The geographical scale of place is context-specific. Agnew (1987: 5) views place as the spatial setting of “microsociological” interaction. This terminology is misleading because “micro” does not refer to spatial scale but to *personal* social interaction. Giddens (1984) has termed the place of personal interaction “locale.” Personal interactions occur on very different spatial scales. For instance, complex human relationships exist within a street block, a regional economy or a nation-state. (also Cooke 1989, Cloke et al. 1991, Dear and Moos 1994). The concept of place is defined in a similar manner. Interaction between social, economic, political and cultural spheres occurs in different geographical settings and cannot be reduced to one particular scale. Accordingly, empirical place-based research has focused on countries and provinces (Paasi 1991, Cox 1993), regions (see Massey 1978, 1979, 1984; Cooke 1985, 1989a), cities (Cooke 1989a) and neighbourhoods (Ley 1974, Suttles 1968).

Table 3.1: Spatial and Place-Based Relationships

	Place-Based Relationships	Spatial Relationships
Description:	Relationships <i>between</i> social, economic, political and cultural spheres.	Arrangement <i>within</i> a social, economic, political or cultural sphere.
Geographical conceptualisation:	Place	Space
“Direction” of process:	Local, inward	Global, outward
Relationship to structuration model:	System	Structure
Function of locality as agent:	Internal formation of local identity	Representation of collective local interest to the outside

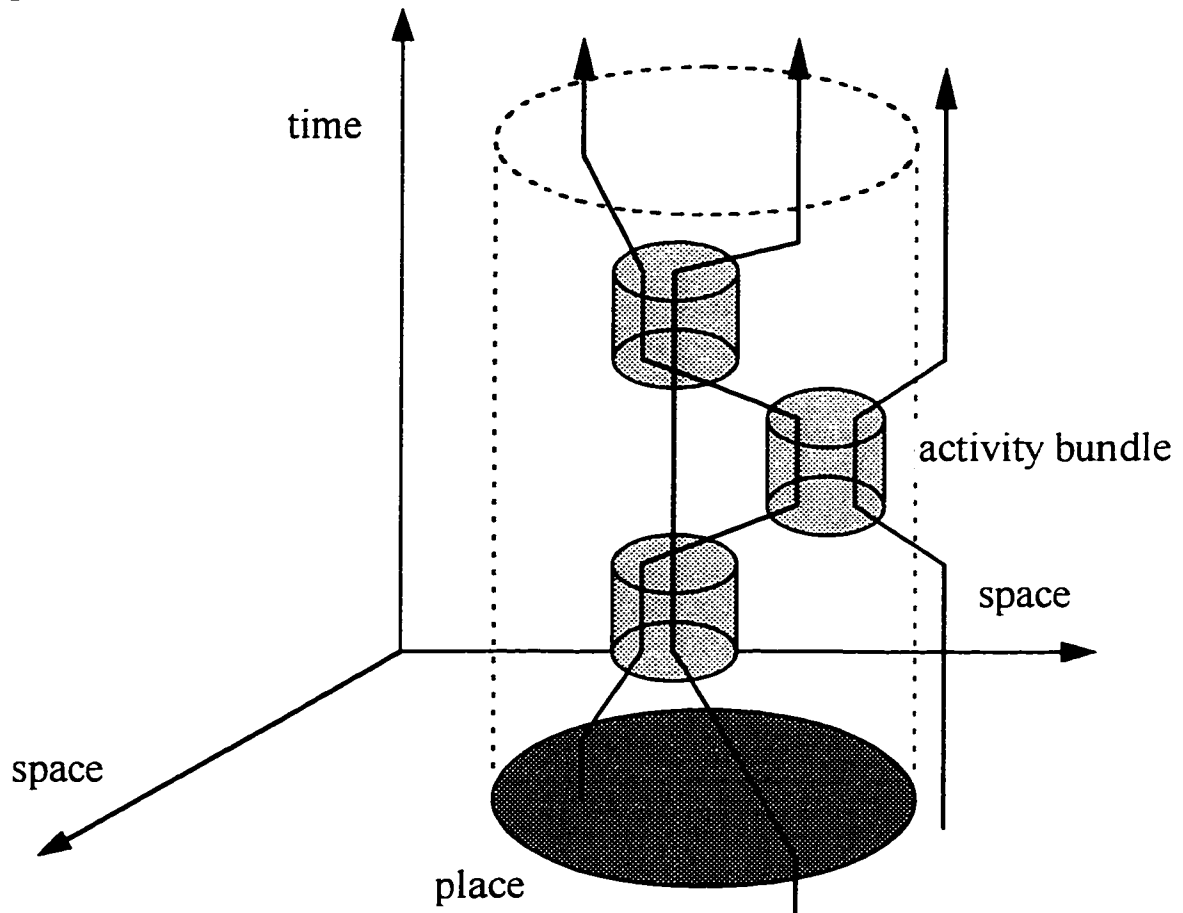
Despite variability of scale, place is not a vague or undefinable concept. On the contrary, political, economic, social and cultural interactions usually occur in precise and definable geographical locations. Thus, place can be expressed in concrete geographical terms. Hägerstrand’s model of time-space constraints (Hägerstrand 1967, 1970, 1973; Giddens 1989; Gregory 1986) demonstrates that social interaction occurs in space and time (Figure 3.4.). The sites where social interaction occurs are called “activity bundles.” Place now becomes geographically definable through the locations of activity bundles. The individual daily activity

patterns tie together social, economic, political and cultural spheres. For instance, persons who have individual daily paths interact with each other as customer and sales person (economic), as neighbours (social), in the neighbourhood association's monthly meeting (political) or at church (cultural).

It has been stated above (Section 3.1.1.), that agency is constrained by the conditions which exist in a social system. These conditions are encountered by the individual in his/her path of daily activity. Agency is thus a response to situations and persons encountered in the activity bundles. However, access to activity bundles is limited and physical exclusion from these sites depresses agency. Conversely, inclusion encourages agency.

Exclusion occurs via (a) time, (b) mobility and (c) structural constraints (Hägerstrand 1967). First, mobility constraints prevent access to sites. For instance, inner-city poor without individual transportation are excluded from suburban employment centers (Kain 1992, Hodge 1996). Secondly, time constraints confine women with household and parenting responsibilities to work close to home (England 1993). Third, structural constraints systematically exclude some people and social groups from sites and events (Sibley 1995). Youth below the legal drinking age, for example, are not allowed to mingle with adults in local bars. Police harass ethnic minorities and keep them from entering middle class residential areas (Davis 1990). Hence, time, mobility and structural constraints control social context and define the circumstances which enable and constrain agency.

Figure 3. 4: Place and Social Interaction



Spatial Relationships

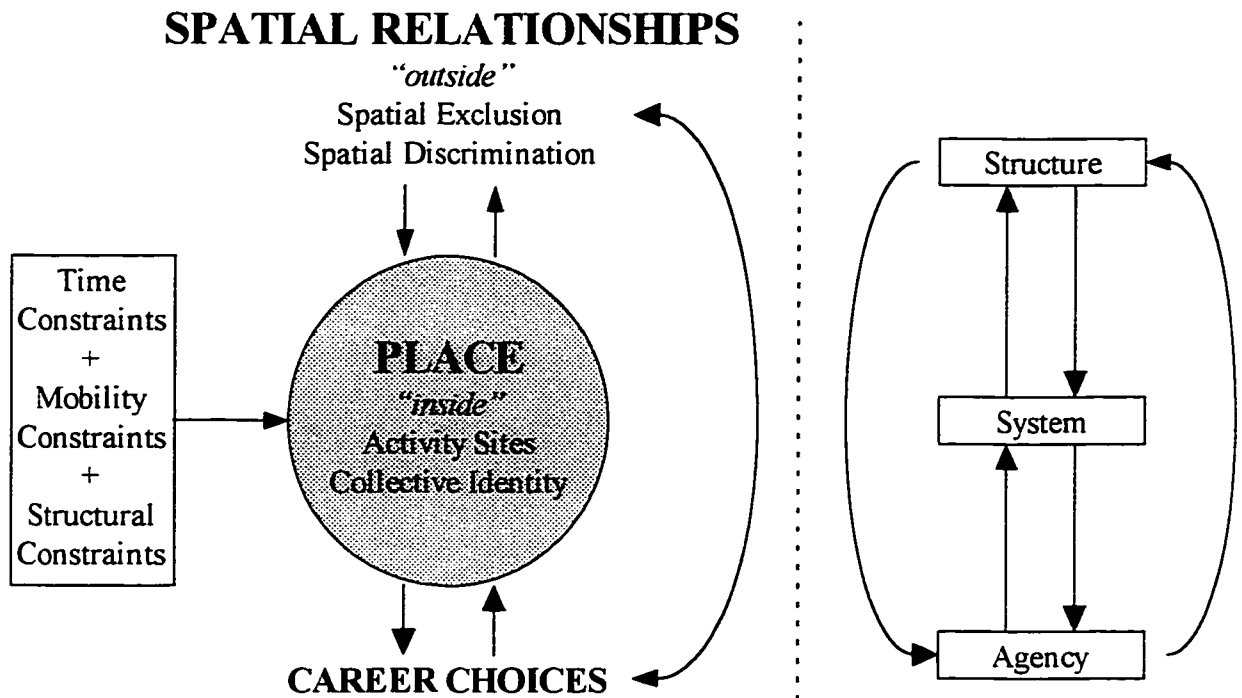
The spatial arrangement of power-relationships deprive agency from residents of some places and provide agency to residents of other places. Residents of poorer neighbourhoods are often denied agency because their residential area is removed from the social, economic, political or cultural infrastructure. For instance, education delivers agency because it provides access to upper labour market segments and prestige in society. However, quality education is denied to students in poor, inner-city areas while affluent suburban areas generally have better

schools (Kozol 1991). Denying a place equal educational opportunity secludes its residents from access to agency. Similar processes of exclusion operate simultaneously on other spatial spheres.

Processes related to “place as an agent” enable and constrain collective agency. Place evokes “structures of feeling” (Angew 1987: 28, 35; Entrikin 1996) and provides an anchor for self-identity based on symbolic and emotional meaning (Tuan 1974). Place-based identity is also imposed upon place from the outside (Oakes 1997). Metropolitan space is subsequently divided into a quilt of neighbourhood identities ranging from rich to poor, safe to dangerous and from Anglo-American to Latino. Discriminatory practises are directed towards places that are labelled as dirty and deviant from the cultural “norm” (Sibley 1995, Davis 1990). Ley (1974: 23-91) demonstrates that images of an inner-city African-American neighbourhood in Philadelphia are constructed from an “outsider” perspective and stigmatise local residents. Agency is denied to places on the basis of practises of spatial exclusion and stigmatisation.

Place-based and spatial processes can be conceptualised as “inside” and “outside” processes. In combination they permit a geographical interpretation of structuration theory (Sibley 1995: 72-77). Social systems are expressed in internal (place-based) relationships, whereas structures are represented by external (spatial) relationships. Both “insider” and “outsider” processes contribute to the production and reproduction of society. Both are important elements affecting career choices of youth and explaining marginality of minority youth in the labour market. Figure 3.5. expresses the relationships between place-based and spatial relationships, choices of behaviour and the structuration model.

Figure 3. 5: Place and Structuration



3.2. Marginalisation, Youth and the Labour Market

The term "social reproduction" refers to the continuity of social structure through time (Grusky 1994). The literature has used it to explain the persistent marginalisation of lower classes (Willis 1977, Giddens 1984, Bell 1994, Turner 1994), women (Kobayashi and Peake 1994, Massey 1994, Menchaca 1995), and ethnicity minorities (Bodemann 1991, Mandel 1991, Hannan 1994). The concept of social reproduction rests upon the understanding that class, gender and ethnicity are socially constructed categories (Burawoy 1985, Estrada 1993, Isajiw 1993, Massey 1994). These social categories can only be reproduced if agency within a marginalised social group is restrained.

During youth the individual lacks agency and is vulnerable to the reproductional forces of society. Ruddick (1996: 3) explains:

[Adolescents] are denied agency in all but the most banal forms [...] Adolescents, in the common view, are generally considered too old to be ascribed the power of "nature" — we do not look on their activities with awe and wonder, the way we do those of small children. Yet, adolescents are generally considered too young to be reasoned actors in the sense one might consider adults. When it comes to any form of sustained and serious agency, adolescents are depicted as awkward, simple-minded — "stupid and contagious." They live in a state where agency is continually denied them ...

In a historical study of youth, Kett (1977) shows that the category of "adolescence" has been socially constructed as intermediate between childhood and adulthood. Only as adolescents could young people be controlled in educational and religious institutions in order to assure the reproduction of existing class structure. In these institutions agency was systematically removed from youth. Today, public programs such as the Youth Training Scheme in Great Britain, Ontario's Environmental Youth Corps, Lyndon Johnson's Neighbourhood Youth Corps and other youth organizations are attempts to control career development. Some of these initiatives help youth to improve their labour market positions; others help working-class youth to find working-class jobs. In both cases, however, agency is removed from the youth and placed with institutions.

Minorities are denied agency by means of exclusion from social interaction and the control of activity sites (Sibley 1995). Menchaca (1995: 169-199), for instance, shows that Latinos in Santa Paula, California, are not only segregated in schools, in church and in residential areas, but that Anglo-Americans determine the time and place when/where social interaction occurs.

In shared places, such as restaurants and malls, a protocol of behaviour is imposed that reflects Anglo-American culture. Through controlling the place and process of interaction, the dominant Anglo-American group controls the reproduction of ethnic categorisation (see also Carlin 1997).

In another example, Pratt (1989: 101) illustrates the role of place in the reproduction of the overlapping categories of class, ethnicity and age:

Residential segregation [...] isolates classes and class fractions. It creates varying social milieux which foster distinctive working-class subcultures, structured along the lines of ethnicity, stage in the life cycle and levels of skill. Educational aspirations and resources vary across these milieux, and this has the effect of reproducing skill levels across generations.

The labour market is a vehicle through which social structure is reproduced. Women and men work in gender-stereotypical occupations; persons of working-class background enrol in blue-collar work; and ethnic minorities take ethnic-stereotypical jobs. Most of these stereotypical career paths are established during youth via the acquisition or discontinuation of education, the learning of job skills and the selection of occupations. As illustrated above, however, youth defines a life-stage when the individual is particularly susceptible to the reproductive forces of society.

Although far-reaching career decisions, such as dropping out of school and entering the labour market in a marginal occupation, are conscious decisions, they are responses to greater structural forces. To clarify this statement, it is necessary to make a distinction between agency and strategy. Agency is the *ability to change* social structure. In contrast, strategy refers to

the *action* itself, which may either transform or reproduce social structure. A strategy may be adopted in line with the reproductional forces of society or in resistance against structural pressures.

The distinction between agency and strategy is important because it explains why social groups reproduce themselves in the labour market despite the individual's conscious engagement in career development. Marginalising labour market strategies are adopted due to lack of agency to resist societal pressures. It would be naive to argue that a youth has entire control over his/her future by making the appropriate educational, job skill and labour market decisions. Conservative claims, which maintain that minority youth are culturally ill-equipped to adopt labour market strategies which ensure entrance into higher labour market segments, are therefore invalid. This conservative position "blames the victim." The following examples illustrate how cycles of reproduction continue due to lack of agency and by means of adopting of labour market strategies which reflect the expectations of greater social context.

Willis (1977) describes how working class "lads" in the United Kingdom resist "school culture" and adopt values which emphasise manual work, masculinity and toughness and reject mental work as "feminine." These values reflect the expectations of their peers, their families, schools officials and other formal and informal institutions. Subsequently, the lads leave school early and take shop-floor employment. Thus, another working class generation is introduced into the working class. In this example, the labour market strategies of the lads are intentional (see Ryan 1986, Pratt 1989, also Gove 1994). Yet, agency is restricted because social context defines the lads' social and labour market identity.

In another study of Edmonton, Alberta, Tanner et al. (1995) show that young high school dropouts are well aware of the value of education for their careers and their social status. Nevertheless, they dropped out of high school as a consequence of a combination of pressures from family, school, municipal regulations, and so on. Although the youth are aware of the problematic consequences of leaving school, they do not possess the resources to resist structural forces. Again, young individuals are deprived of agency and develop strategies in response to structural pressures that are beyond their control.

In a similar fashion, gender-specific labour market strategies are responses to gender identities (Stevenson 1987, Athey et al 1994, Massey 1994, Sewell 1994). Borman (1991: 135-136) describes the labour market identities of young women:

[...] gender has an enormous impact on the kinds of employment opportunities available to young men and young women. [...] Young women [...] were given highly routinized, unskilled, and marginalized or closely monitored roles and responsibilities. Perhaps the most dramatic aspect of how work has been transformed for young women (while remaining unskilled) is in the transfer of traditional female work roles to emotion work. Although their traditional roles as domestic workers placed somewhat similar demands on the woman who held these jobs, the relentless and staccato pace of social interaction in a health spa or fast-food restaurant cannot be compared to the rhythm of work in a household setting.

In a similar vein, Segura (1995) points to structural barriers in the labour market and the educational system for Latina women. Hanson and Pratt (1995) show how women engage in strategies that are responses to gender roles, such as being a mother and housewife, and reproduce genderised labour market identities (for a detailed discussion of Hanson and Pratt's (1995) work see "Symposium" in *Antipode* 28, 4). Stereotypical roles associated with

ethnicity, class, gender and age overlap and produce multi-dimensional labour market identities and expectations. The structure-agency relationship is defined differently for each combination of these dimensions. In addition, this relationship differs according to geographical context.

Crysdale and MacKay (1994) illustrate the importance of place regarding labour market participation of youth and social reproduction. In a longitudinal study, they examined the career prospects of youth in Toronto's working-class "Eastside" and in the middle-class "Northend." They found that during early adolescence differences between youth's career plans and educational aspirations in the two areas were rather similar. By late adolescence, however, expectations had diverged. Northend youth had higher aspirations and were more self-confident about their roles than Eastside youth. Eastside youth had higher dropout rates, lower education, entered the labour force earlier and had fewer prospects than Northend youth.

The same study indicated that gender roles varied between the Eastside and the Northend. Although male-dominant attitudes existed in both areas, the difference between gender roles was less pronounced in the middle-class Northend than in the working-class Eastend. The study showed that the gender and class identities in the labour market have place-specific characteristics. Being a woman or a man has different meanings on the Eastside than on the Northend. Accordingly, gender-related career goals and objectives varied by geographical context. This indicates that relationships between structure, agency and social reproduction are also place-specific.

Earlier in this chapter, structuration theory provided an explanation for the construction and reproduction of social structure. Place and space occupy an important role in restraining and enabling agency. They become mechanisms that overlap with ethnicity, gender and class

to produce marginality in the labour market. Youth presents a life-stage when agency to challenge reproductional forces is limited.

4. REALISM

The previous chapter discusses an ontology, structuration theory, which explains how processes of youth labour market marginalisation work. Realism is an epistemology that provides a link to the empirical application of structuration theory. It accommodates the spatial and place-based nature of social relationships and integrates elements of contemporary postmodern theory.

4.1. Realist Epistemology

Realist epistemology (Giddens 1984, Bhaskar 1989, Pratt 1991, Cloke et al. 1991) asserts that a knowable reality exists beyond the human capability to directly perceive or describe it (as opposed to idealism, which views reality as the pure creation of thoughts and beliefs; or positivism which perceives reality as directly observable). Realist epistemology attempts to penetrate through the distortions created by human perception, experiences, preoccupations and the limitations of language to expose the “real” structure of society (Pratt 1991, Sayer 1984).

Postmodern theory, on the other hand, rejects any notion of over-arching structures, necessary relationships and underlying explanation of causality. From this perspective, realism and post-modernism appear incompatible. However, there are several elements in which realist and postmodern thinking converge (Cloke et. at 1991). Three of these elements are important

with respect the approach taken by this dissertation. They are (a) fragmentation, (b) theorisation of difference and (c) recognition of subjectivity in research.

First, realism follows the postmodern rejection of universal social laws and recognises the fragmented nature of society (Ley 1989, Cooke 1990, Dear 1994, Lovering 1989, Anderson and Gale 1992, Harvey 1990). Warf (1992: 163) writes:

Instead of the rationally structured universe of modernism, the postmodern picture of reality is that of a puzzle of infinite complexity, and eclectic kaleidoscope, a collage so multitextured that it can never be adequately captured by a single theory. In short, reality is more complex than any language can adequately describe.

Realist research accommodates this postmodern fragmentation argument by recognising that context changes with place and time. Accordingly, the relationships between structure, system and agency are geographically and historically unique (Gregory 1996, Cooke 1990, Harvey 1990).

Secondly, the theorisation of difference is common to both postmodernism and realism. The postmodern theorist, Foucault (1973), uses a historical assessment of madness to explain that social marginality is constructed through the social practise of excluding people who are “different.” Realism provides the epistemology to “unpack” these practises, which are not available for direct observation, and explain how they operate.

The third common element between realism and postmodernism is that the researcher is not an objective observer but sanctions and legitimises his/her own perspective on social relationships. Postmodern theory maintains that social fragments (defined by ethnicity, gender, age, etc.) operate according to inner rules. These rules are adopted by the reseracher who is, as

a human being, a member of such a fragment and thus situated in a specific social context.

Whereas postmodernism contends that social processes cannot possibly be documented objectively (Lyotard 1984, Gibson-Graham 1994), the realist researcher attempts to penetrate through the distortions created by the observer's own subjectivity. Chapter 2, for instance, outlines how population segments are marginalised because a segment's behavioural patterns are considered "deviant" by social scientists who are non-members of this culture. Thus, social scientists are involved in the construction and reproduction of social systems (Yapa 1996, Sibley 1995). The realist researcher accounts for his/her own perspective when he/she explains social processes.

Realist epistemology recognises that social interaction takes place on different spatial scales and within local context (place). Sayer (1991: 300) writes about locality studies:

As all objects, social or natural, have causal powers and liabilities, causation operates on all scales, including within localities. Some causal mechanisms may be unique or localized (not the same thing); others general and either small or big. Some causal processes may span large areas; others may operate in small, restricted spaces. Consequently, *the "general-cause-and-local-contingent-effects" model may sometimes be appropriate, but realism gives no special privilege to it, as many commentators on locality research (both advocates and opponents) have supposed. Other variants, such as local causes and local effects, or local causes and general or global effects, or global causes and global effects, are just as compatible within realism, and just as relevant for understanding society* [original emphasis].

The realist approach is thus capable of investigating a complex network of relationships between structure, system and agency within the dimensions of space and place, and on different scales (see Jonas 1988, Lovering 1989).

Sayer (1984) notes that two kinds of relationships between objects exist: external, or *contingent*, relationships and internal, or *necessary*, relationships. Contingent relationships are arbitrary. Two persons may exist independently from each other but they may engage in some coincidental relationship when they participate in society. Two otherwise independent persons, for instance, may engage in a contingent relationship as husband and wife. In contrast, a necessary relationship exists if one part cannot exist without the other. For example, one cannot be a parent without having a child. In society, a complex network of necessary and contingent relationships exists where persons and institutions simultaneously engage in necessary as well as contingent relationships with each other. It is particularly important to distinguish between necessary and contingent relationships when describing social systems and their reproduction. Many relationships in a social system are necessary but social structures themselves are contingent. For example, a husband-wife-child relationship within a family is necessary. Yet, the nuclear family is not a necessary condition but contingent upon social, historical and geographical context. Although almost any woman and man are capable of having a child together, it is not until their decision to marry and to have a child that a nuclear family is formed. Raising a child in a husband-wife relationship is, therefore, not a necessary but a contingent condition⁴. In this example, the social reproduction of the nuclear family occurs through agency — having a child and a contingent husband-wife relationship — both of which are embedded in the context of greater social structure (Sayer 1984: 97-107). If this social structure reflects ethnicity and class segregation, it may discourage inter-ethnic and class-

⁴ Another contingency is introduced through new technologies of reproduction which further complicate the mother-father-child relationship.

bridging marriages and enforce social and ethnic stratification. Hence, contingent relationships may cause the reproduction of marginality of classes, ethnic and social groups.

Making the distinction between necessary and contingent relationships allows for placing causality with the agent, the social system and/or underlying social structure. In the case of inner-city minority youth, causality for labour market disadvantage can now be attributed, for example, to either the lack of initiative (agency), cultural inferiority (system), or cultural discrimination (structure). This permits a range of interpretations of the role of culture regarding youth labour market marginalisation.

4.2. Operationalising Realism

Sayer (1984) provides a comprehensive account of operationalising realism. His method identifies three components of social organization: (a) events, which are concrete phenomena and empirically observable, (b) structures, which exist on an abstract level and are not available for direct observation, and (c) mechanisms, which are causal links between events and structures. Figure 4.1. depicts the relationship between the components of social systems and four different types of research: concrete research, abstract research, generalisation and synthesis.

A realist research design dismisses abstract research due to the missing connection to empirical findings (events). Furthermore, synthesis may simply be a follow-up summary of the findings of other approaches. Most important for realist research are generalisation and concrete research, or *extensive* and *intensive* research (Sayer 1984, referring to Harré, see also Massey and Meegan 1985, Sayer and Morgan 1985, Carlson et al. 1995). The properties of

the two types of research are displayed in Table 4.1. Extensive research studies a wide range of concrete events with a very limited number of characteristics. Intensive research, on the other hand, focuses on a very limited number of events but studies the relationship between structures, mechanisms and events.

The key difference between the two types of research is that extensive research is primarily concerned with common properties, patterns and regularities. Intensive research, on the other hand, focuses on causal linkages in specific cases that involve only few events. The latter attempts to isolate few characteristics of an object, such as ethnicity, and examines the relationship between agency, structure and events in a given place at a given time. Both approaches have major weaknesses. Extensive research is taxonomic, concerned with classification rather than explanation, and has little explanatory power. Intensive research, on the other hand, does not necessarily represent general relationships. In combination, however, the two approaches are very powerful research tools. Sayer (1984: 225-226) illustrates this:

[...] in a study of employment change in an industrial sector which I undertook with a colleague, we began to build up background descriptive information by using an extensive method chiefly involving the scrutiny of available statistical information on the industry. While some patterns were discernible at this level, their explanation was largely a mystery. As soon as we changed to an intensive method in which identifiable firms were looked at in their respective competitive contexts, simple explanations of the data quickly became apparent in terms of innovations in product and process technology, achievement of economies of scale, and so on. It was like “switching on the light”.

The goal of realist epistemology is to *describe* and *explain* social processes and outcomes.

The utility of the complementary nature of extensive and intensive research is available to geographers through the conceptual integration of spatial and place-space processes in

structuration theory. The extensive-intensive and spatial-place-based dualisms are coordinated to respond to the two related questions: (a) *where* do events occur, and (b) *why/how* do they occur in this place.

The researcher must be cautious, however, not to equate place-based processes with causation and spatial phenomena with the mere variability of events. Instead, causation is attributable to both place-based and spatial processes. In addition, it is a misconception that extensive research deals exclusively with larger scale processes while intensive research addresses only small scale processes (Sayer 1984: 226-7). The difference between extensive and intensive research is conceptual and not based on geographical scale. In the context of this dissertation, extensive research investigates spatial patterns on a metropolitan scale, and intensive research identifies causal relationships on a neighbourhood level. In addition, extensive and intensive research are arranged sequentially.

Figure 4. 1: Types of Research (Sayer 1984: 215)

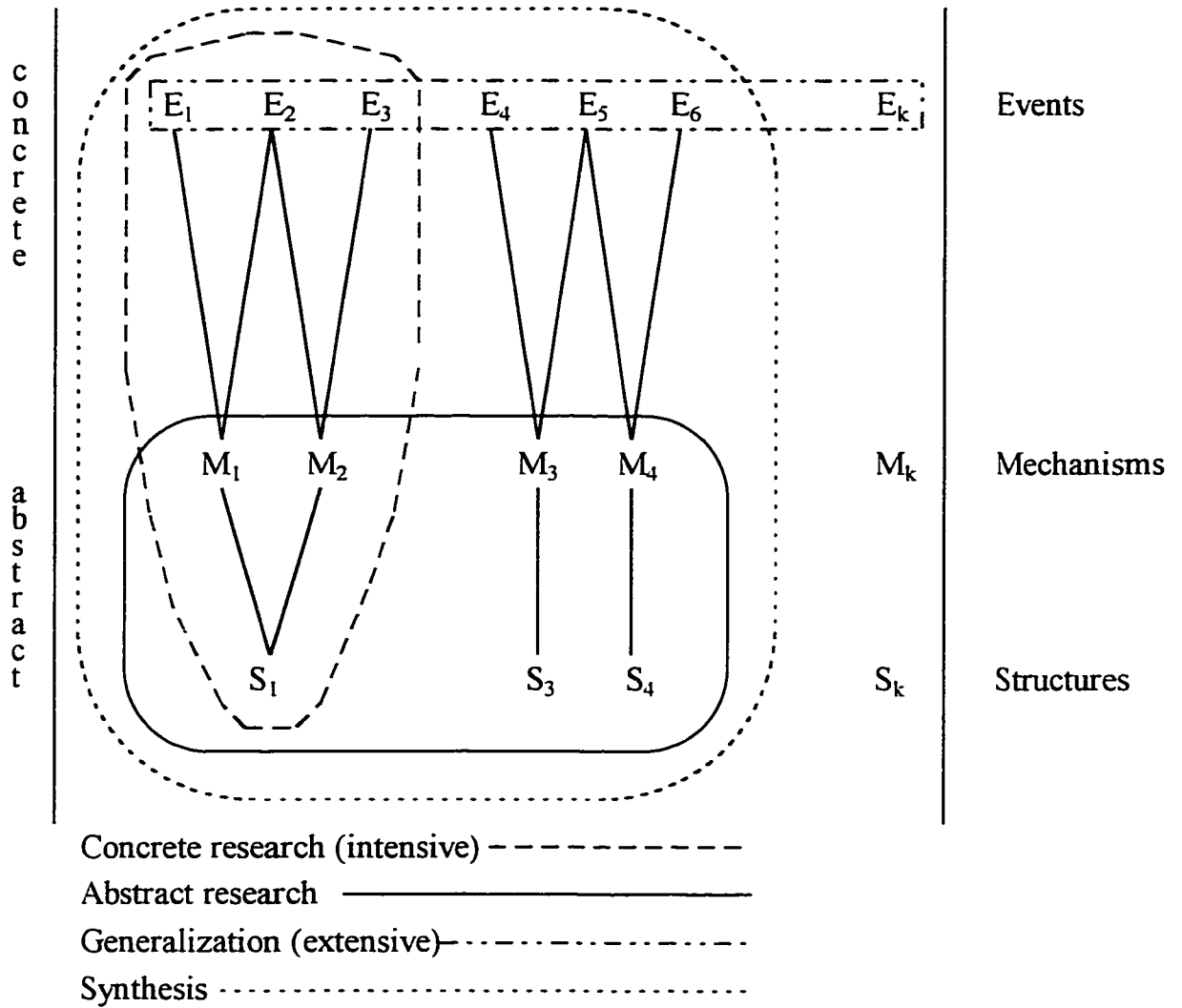


Table 4.1: Extensive and Intensive Research

	Extensive	Intensive
Research question	What are the regularities, common patterns, distinguishing features of a population? How widely are certain characteristics or processes distributed or represented?	How does a process work in a particular case or small number of cases? What produces a certain change? What did the agents actually do?
Relations	Formal relations of similarity	Substantial relations of connection
Type of groups studied	Taxonomic groups (based on similar attributes)	Causal groups (based on structural, causal relationships)
Type of account produced	Descriptive “representative” generalisations, lacking in explanatory penetration	Causal explanation of the production of certain objects or events, though not necessarily representative ones
Typical methods	Large-scale survey of population or representative sample, formal questionnaires, standardised interviews; statistical analysis	Study of individual agents in their causal contexts, interactive interviews, ethnography; qualitative analysis
Limitations	Although representative of a whole population, extensive accounts are unlikely to be generalisable to other populations at different times and places; problems of ecological fallacy in making inferences about individuals; limited explanatory power	Actual concrete patterns and contingent relations are unlikely to be “representative”, “average” or generalisable; necessary relations discovered will exist wherever their relata are presented, e.g. causal powers of objects are generalisable to other contexts as they are necessary features of these objects
Appropriate tests	Replication	Corroboration (confirmation)

based on Sayer (1984: 222)

PART II: YOUTH IN THE URBAN LABOUR MARKET

5. THE URBAN LABOUR MARKET

It has become clear from Part I that the labour market provides an important setting in which the reproduction of social structure occurs. In order to understand these processes in the current social context, it is instructive to review the overall constitution and recent dynamics in urban labour markets in the United States. This will set the stage for the contextualisation of processes of marginalisation in the specific case of Latino youth in San Antonio.

5.1. The Condition of Urban Labour Markets

A cross-disciplinary perspective of labour markets (Fevre 1992: 1-22) sub-divides the wide spectrum of occupations into so-called labour market segments. Few workers cross over from one segment to another. The lack of inter-segment mobility secures the status of workers in higher segments but diminishes the opportunity for upward mobility for workers in lower segments. This explains why youth is such an important stage in the reproduction of labour. It is difficult for a youth, once he/she has dropped out of school and acquired a manual occupation, to enter an upper labour market segment. If, however, a youth gains access to education, employment skills and an occupation in a higher labour market segment, it is likely that he/she will remain in this segment throughout adulthood.

Traditional labour market segmentation models rely on empirical observation and suggest a “natural” split of labour markets into a primary (or independent) and a secondary (or

subordinate) segment (Ryan 1981, Clairmont 1983). This dualistic segmentation approach has been criticised as simplistic (Ashton and Maguire 1984), and alternative models evolved, including tripartite (Rumberger and Carnoy 1980), quadruple (Lee and Wrench 1984) and hierarchical segmentation models (Gittleman and Howell 1993). What unifies these approaches is the understanding that labour market segments are produced through the inter-related processes of labour demand and supply (Peck 1996: 87-115). Demand and supply sides surface in the literature as "pre-market" vs. "in-market" segmentation (Ryan 1981), "occupational choice" vs. "structure of opportunities" (Lee and Wrench 1984), "the worker's side" vs. "employer's side" (Clairmont et al. 1983) or "social stratification" vs. "market segmentation" (Picchio del Mercato 1981). The two categories represent fundamentally different processes. The supply-side is associated with attributes of labour such as education, job skills, occupational preferences, etc. Labour demand relates to economic conditions and the characteristics of jobs (Gordon et al. 1982, Burawoy 1985, Lee and Loveridge 1987, Rutherford 1995).

The division between demand and supply side processes is useful for explaining processes that create labour market segments. Neo-classical economists argue against segmentation theory and assume that the labour market behaves like a commodity market: skill levels, educational attainments and occupational preferences of workers (supply) adjust to demand created in the job market. This conceptualisation, however, is flawed because it ignores social and institutional supply-side processes that influence labour characteristics but that are independent from labour demand.

Peck (1996) provides an extensive review of the “social nature of labor [29]” and the consequence of labour market segmentation. He demonstrates that social and institutional processes constrain the ability (or willingness) of workers to respond to labour demand. These social processes operate in a systematic manner and therefore provide social and institutional mechanisms that allocate labour to jobs (Offe and Hinrich 1985). The segmentation approach is a powerful explanation for the empirically observable division of labour because it “holds [...] that the rules governing the behavior of labor market actors differ from one segment of the labor market to the other [Peck 1996: 46].” The segmentation approach thus breaks with the neo-classical view that the “rule of the market” applies to all actors.

Peck (1996) describes three generations of segmentation theory that contributed different explanations for *why* the labour market divides into segments. The first two generations stress various forms of cultural discrimination in the labour market and within firms (internal labour market) that channel ethnic minorities, working class people and women into secondary jobs. Contemporary third generation approaches, on the other hand, provide a variety of explanations that include processes of social reproduction and institutional regulation. For instance, the social role of the female child rearer translates into marginal work for many women because these roles shape expectations in the family, among educators and employers of impermanent and/or part-time female employment. Willis (1977) shows that similar processes operate for working-class male youth. Peck (1996: 69) therefore concludes that “[o]ne reason secondary work exists is in the *prior* existence of a group of workers who can be exploited in this way [original emphasise].”

Nevertheless, contemporary segmentation theory continues to emphasise labour demand processes that focus on the characteristics of jobs (i.e. skill and educational demands by employers, employment stability, wages, etc.). This focus is valid because the demand side provides the range of jobs that are available for workers. However, the supply side fill these jobs with workers of particular ethnic, gender and class backgrounds. The empirical research in this dissertation concerns supply-side processes. Yet, the social segmentation of labour is co- determined by labour demand structures. For instance, the marginal position of women in the labour market would not be reproduced if female-stereotypical jobs had similar pay, benefits and status as male-stereotypical jobs. To provide a comprehensive review of the contemporary social division of labour, the demand structure of the labour market is discussed below.

Labour Demand

Throughout the post-World War II era, employment in North America has shifted from manufacturing to services and information processing (Ashton 1992, Dicken 1992, Akempong 1995). Manufacturing employment once offered high wages, full-time employment, extended benefits and secure jobs. Today's jobs in the service and information industry pay less, have fewer benefits and offer little job security. In addition, many of the remaining manufacturing firms have left the cities to locate elsewhere, and a new, "flexible production" scheme has lowered pay scales, reduced job security and diminished benefits while encouraging temporary and part-time work (Buck et al. 1992, Sinclair 1994, Winerip 1996). The shift from manufacturing towards services and information processing, combined with the restructuring of

the manufacturing sector itself, has resulted in polarised urban labour markets. Employment increases were observed in the extremes of the occupational spectrum of the labour market but there are fewer well-paying manufacturing jobs (Scott 1990, Malcom and Waldinger 1992, Gittleman and Howell 1995, Church 1995). Workers with a high degree of technical and desirable “soft” skills fare well in the labour market (Kasarda 1996). Workers with intermediate education and job skills, however, who would formerly qualify for manufacturing jobs, now confront descent into lower segments. In addition, a drop in the unionised work force and the continuous decline of (real) minimum wage has led to lower wages and benefits for lower-segment workers (Freeman 1996, Kodrzycki 1996).

Entry-level workers who are currently in demand have flexible schedules, work part-time or temporarily, for minimum wage and without benefits (Skinner 1995, Holzer 1996). Borman (1991: 127) notes:

Work for the typical eighteen- to twenty-two-year-old service employee [...] required middle class deportment on the job but paid less than blue-collar work. Even workers whose job required more typical blue-collar manual skills were plagued by uncertainties.

Entry-level jobs tend to pay little and offer no benefits, in any labour market segment. Yet, some entry-level jobs offer career advancement into employment with more favourable attributes. These entry-level jobs, however, tend to be reserved for high school graduates with high education and skill attainments. Lack of formal education and job skills imposes a barrier for career advancement. The young, entry-level work force is responsive to short-term changes in the economy. Being at the bottom of the employment hierarchy, they tend to be the

ones “hired last” but “fired first” (Freeman 1991, Little 1995, see also Osterman 1991, Betcherman and Morissette 1994). In tight labour markets where plenty of jobs are available, they sometimes accept jobs in higher labour market segments. During the current economic upswing, college graduates can find well-paying jobs in upper segments (Applebome 1997). In loose labour markets, however, youth tend to have jobs in lower segments. Youth with the lowest credentials often have no jobs at all. Joblessness may start a cycle in which lack of previous job experience delays career development.

Loose labour markets are a permanent condition in inner cities, as metropolitan employment in all industrial sectors decentralises and shifts towards the urban fringe (Garreau 1988, Scott 1990, Blair and Fichtenbaum 1992, England 1993, Dubin 1993, Sinclair 1995, Madden 1981). Industries that remain in the inner cities offer either upper segment employment in management and information processing occupations or low segment jobs in, for example, the food and entertainment industry (White 1987). Middle range occupations are in sharp decline (Kasarda 1989, 1992). Thus, the “bridging” middle, which allows occupational upward mobility, is missing. Once inner-city youth establish themselves in the secondary segment of the labour market, their chances for upward mobility are slim.

Labour Supply

Supply-side perspectives are concerned with the *social* segmentation of labour markets. The literature has focused on the labour market position of minorities, including African-Americans (Rumberger and Carnoy 1980, Kasarda 1988, 1989, Blair and Fichtenbaum 1992), Latinos (Gittleman and Howell 1995, Goldberg 1997, Moore and Pinderhughes 1993) and

other ethnic groups (Malcom and Waldinger 1992). Minority men tend to be over-represented in blue collar occupations and under-represented in white collar occupations (Rumberger and Carnoy 1990, Malcom and Waldinger 1992, Gittleman and Howell 1995). As manufacturing employment is declining, many minority men are now forced into the secondary labour market where they encounter low pay, no benefits and unstable employment (Gordon and Sassen 1992, Carnoy et al 1993).

Concentration of Hispanic men in the lowest labour market segment increased nation-wide from 50 to 55 percent between 1983 and 1990 (Gittleman and Howell 1995). In 1987, 24 percent of all Latino men held minimum wage jobs, and unemployment rates were typically higher for Hispanics than for non-Hispanic whites (Morales and Bonilla 1993). Latino men and Latina women are often viewed by employers as cheap and “disposable” labour (Goldberg 1997). Consequently, Latino families are among the poorest of the poor in the U.S. (Carnoy et al. 1993, Goldberg 1997).

Labour market disparities between Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites are paralleled by educational inequalities. Less than 60 percent of all 18 to 24 year old Hispanic youth have completed high school, compared to 82 percent of non-Hispanic white youth (Arenson 1997). Hispanics have the highest school-dropout rates among any group in the U.S. (Goldberg 1997). Latino college enrolment has declined from 29.8 percent to 29.0 percent between 1980 and 1990 (Morales and Bonilla 1993).

Labour supply is also segmented by gender (England 1993, 1995). In the past, gender segregation has been almost complete in occupations like administrative support or nursing (Kenrick 1981). Generally, occupations with high female participation cluster in lower labour

market segments. Although gender segregation is in relative decline, the narrowing of the gender gap has slowed in recent years (Gittleman and Howell 1995). In many instances, gender and ethnicity effects overlap. Most notably, Latina women remain concentrated in the lowest labour market segment (Borman 1991, Athey 1994, Massey 1994, Stevenson 1978, Sewell 1994). Many Latina women perform unregulated domestic work in non-minority households (Romero 1995). Their average incomes lag far behind that of men and Anglo-American women (Carnoy et al. 1993, Segura 1995, Aston and Maguire 1984, Kenrick 1981, Buchele 1981). On the other hand, Latina women have low participation rates in upper labour market segments. The narrowing of the gender gap has been significantly slower for Latina women than for other ethnic groups (Gittleman and Howell 1995).

Spatial residential segregation is contributing to the occupational segmentation of ethnic minorities. Some ethnic minorities tend to cluster in the inner-cities. As minorities assimilate to North-American “mainstream” culture (Grusky 1994), they improve their socio-economic status and disperse into suburban areas (Bourne 1989, 1993, Massey 1985b, SEMCOG 1994, Sharpe and Bauder 1997). They leave behind less acculturated minority populations in the inner cities (Wilson 1987, 1996). Although there is an overall trend of residential decentralisation of Latinos in Texan metropolitan areas (Santiago and Wilder 1991, Frey and Farley 1993), poor Latinos continue to be highly segregated in inner cities.

From these inner-city locations, suburban employment opportunities are often inaccessible due to difficulties overcoming travel distance (Wheeler 1968, Niedercorn and Bechdolt 1969, Deskin 1972, Simpson 1980, Zax 1990, Hwang and Fitzpatrick 1992, Bauder 1996). The spatial mismatch hypothesis (Kain 1968, 1992, Ihlanfeldt and Sjoquist 1989, 1990, Holzer

1991, McLafferty and Preston 1996) uses the spatial job accessibility problem in an attempt to explain higher unemployment rates among urban minorities. However, empirical evidence on spatial mismatch has been inconclusive (Ellwood 1986, Hodge 1996, Holloway 1998).

In addition, the inner-city shift from low-skill clerical and blue collar employment to high-skill managerial, professional and administrative jobs disadvantages minorities who tend to lag behind other groups in educational and skill attainments. Kasarda (1988, 1989, 1992) relates this phenomenon to the so-called skills mismatch hypothesis. Wilson (1987: 148-149) illustrates how a combination of spatial and skills mismatches disadvantage inner-city African-Americans:

[B]lacks tend to be concentrated in areas where the number and characteristics of jobs have been most significantly altered by shifts in the location of production activity and from manufacturing to services. Since an overwhelming majority of inner-city blacks lack the qualification for the high skilled segments of the service sector such as information processing, finance, and real estate, they tend to be concentrated in the low-skilled segment, which features unstable employment, restricted opportunities, and low wages.

Recent empirical evidence (Bauder and Perle, forthcoming) supports the combined spatial/skills mismatch effect in the context of metropolitan Detroit.

Spatial and skills mismatch hypotheses fail, however, to explain the ethnic division of labour. They explain the distribution of labour across space and across a spectrum of skills but are unable to account for place-based relationships between social, economic, political and cultural spheres (Holloway 1998) which contribute to the uneven occupational distribution of ethnic groups. Place-based labour market processes, with reference to ethnicity and inner-city location, will be the focus of the next section.

5.2. Place and Context

Labour markets are relatively small geographical areas. Workers tend to prefer short commuting distances (Peck 1987), and firms frequently draw their workforce from the immediately surrounding residential area (Hanson and Pratt 1992). In addition, firms often locate where a specific local-workforce is available. Some suburban employers, for example, may seek to recruit suburban middle-class housewives (England 1993).

Youth are geographically confined to local labour markets. First, only few youth own automobiles, and most are unable to travel far distances to work. Second, youth tend to engage in informal job searches (Levin-Epstein 1985, Grieco 1987, Holzer 1987). This method is ineffective in producing job offers outside one's own neighbourhood (Ihlanfeldt 1992: 59). In addition, informal job searching is most common among minority youth (O'Regan 1993). Third, youth's unfamiliarity with distant places and fear among minority youth of discrimination and harassment discourage job search outside their own neighbourhood. Fourth, youth are entry-level workers with a low degree of specialisation and encounter a wider range of potential job vacancies in a small geographical area. They, therefore, may find it unnecessary to search for jobs elsewhere (Simpson 1980). As a result, youth tend to depend on the job opportunities close by.

Commuting ability, job search methods, knowledge about other places and occupational specialisation differ between youth. Labour market areas must therefore be individualised and not associated with a rigid geographical boundary. Peck (1996: 87-94) conceptualises labour

markets as “conjunctual structures” which capture the functional integration of social, economic, political and cultural process. Peck (1996: 94) notes:

For instance, residential choices and mechanisms of residential exclusion affect commuting distance but they are processes deeply embedded in the social context of residential place. Local labour markets are thus complex systems of causal linkages beyond economic decentralisation and residential segregation.

Peck (1996: 94) continues by calling for the contextualisation of local labour markets.

There can be no pre-given rules dictating how diverse causal forces will be reconciled in a particular empirical context, as the triad of causal processes associated with production, reproduction, and social regulation interact in different ways at different times *and in different places* [original emphasis].

Thus, the locally unique configuration of political, economic, social and cultural structures defines the local labour market (see also Peck 1989).

Local political context and regulatory initiatives certainly influence local labour market processes. Examples are local economic revitalisation strategies (Blakely 1989, Ledebur and Woodward 1990, Cummings and Koebel 1992, Bingham and Mier 1993), employment training, counselling and placement initiatives (Lovering 1988, Skogan 1989, Rowe 1990, Huckfeldt et al. 1993, Fitzgerald 1995), or the U.S. Federal Government’s recent Empowerment Zone projects (Meredith 1997). In addition, universally articulated policies and regulations have local effects as they encounter place-specific social, economic, political and social systems (Peck 1996: 106-109). For instance, a national minimum wage increase may

have profound impact on a low-skill, inner-city labour market but has smaller impact in high-skill suburban markets.

Herod (1997) has recently criticised the literature for viewing labour as a passive “variable” in the structuration of local labour markets. He insists that workers actively engage in the production and reproduction of local labour markets:

Workers’ ability to produce and manipulate geographic space in particular ways is a potent form of social power. [...W]orkers [...] seek to make space in particular ways to ensure their own self-reproduction and survival *as workers in a capitalist society*. The economic geography of capitalism does not simply evolve *around* workers who themselves are disconnected from the process. They are active participants in its very creation [Herod 1997: 3, original emphasis].

Herod (1997) argues that workers make choices which contribute to the reproduction of local labour markets. These choices involve identification and differentiation along class, ethnic, cultural and gender lines. Despite having choices, agency for changing existing power relationships is constrained through structural forces that create class, ethnic, cultural and gender identities.

Some labour market identities are shared by the residents of a place. Some neighbourhoods are identified as blue-collar/working class or white-collar/professional according to the occupational characteristics of jobs and residents. Such local identities permit the construction of collective interests. Thus, place becomes an agent. Collective, place-based agency is often exercised through local institutions such as the municipal government or community organisations. These institutions often advocate, for example, local economic development (Fosler et al 1982, Ahlbrandt et al 1987, Lurrcott et al 1987, Weaver et al 1987,

Weiss et al 1987, Jeziarski 1990, Orr and Stroker 1994) by constructing a favourable image of place to attract investment. In contrast, local identity may label a place as unsuitable for investment.

This chapter has reviewed the contemporary condition of the urban labour market and examined the spatial and place-based interaction between labour demand and supply. It has argued that labour markets are place-specific representations of social, economic, political and cultural conditions and processes. The following section expands this argument and articulates how these place-based processes work and how they marginalise minority youth.

6. YOUTH CAREER CHOICES IN CONTEXT

Galster and Killen (1995) and Galster (1997) demonstrate that life and career decisions of youth are statistically related with local economic and social conditions. In their model, Galster and Killen (1995) emphasise the contingent nature of decision-making, whereby the decision-making process itself relies on evaluation criteria and preferences which are context-dependent. In a similar manner, this dissertation is concerned with the influence of local contingencies on youth career-decision making. In contrast to Galster and Killen (1995), however, these contingent decision-making processes are examined from a structurationist perspective. The interaction between spatial and place-based relationships restricts youth's agency to freely make career choices. Instead, they are channelled into upper and lower segment careers through social and labour market processes that relate to their place of residence.

6.1. Local Labour Market Demand

Local labour demand structure is an important contingency which influences the career decision-making process. A youth may develop specific occupational preferences and acquire an educational level and a set of job skills in order to qualify for certain local jobs. In a similar vein, if an occupational category is not locally available, a youth may be discouraged and pursue other occupations.

The inner-city job market tends to be highly polarised into upper and lower segment occupations. The trend of middle segment decline may prevent youth from targeting medium skill-level careers. If other contingencies such as class structure, ethnicity, gender or cultural characteristics prevent entrance into upper labour market segments, then a youth may “choose” to prepare for low-segment jobs, such as manual labour, or part-time service employment.

Upper labour market segments may indeed be inaccessible to ethnic minorities and women. Gender discrimination is common in the labour market, and women are frequently placed into gender stereotypical jobs. Minorities experience similar disadvantages. The term “statistical discrimination” describes the unwillingness of employers to hire minority youth because of their stereotypical socio-demographic characteristics. On average, minorities tend to have higher crime rates, lower education and fewer skills than the population as a whole (Holzer 1996). Statistically, employers may recruit a higher skilled and educated work force if they categorically exclude minorities. In addition, employers are sometimes reluctant to hire cultural minorities into upper segment jobs where co-workers and clients are primarily members of an Anglo-American middle class who may not wish to interact with minorities. Discriminatory recruitment strategies include informal recruitment networks which allow employers to screen

applicants for particular social and ethnic attributes (Theodore and Carlson 1996).

Furthermore, job advertisements are often placed in newspapers which are not circulated among minorities or in minority areas (Wilson 1996, Turner 1997). There is a subsequent lack of access to upper segment jobs that pushes women and minorities into lower segment jobs.

An additional barrier is imposed by inaccuracies of labour market information. Perception and knowledge of labour market conditions vary between places, social groups and individuals. Labour market information is generally not directly observable and is usually provided through various formal and informal channels. This filtering process often creates distorted images of labour market conditions (Galster and Killen 1995). For instance, the television advertisement of a suburban community college may attempt to recruit suburban working-class students into robotics programming courses. These skills may indeed be in demand in suburban blue-collar labour markets. Inner-city youth who also watch these television advertisements, however, may gain a distorted image of a local demand for robotics programmers. Access to labour market information is a function of place, class and ethnicity. For example, information about labour demand structure is often available to youth through residents and family. This information is filtered through ethnic and class characteristics of the neighbourhood and the family. Images and perceptions about the labour market thus vary by context. In inner-city areas, or among women or minorities information about the labour market may be filtered through the gender, ethnicity and class stereotypical labour market experiences of local informants. For suburban residents, men or Anglo-Americans these biases are expected to be rather different in nature.

The local condition of labour demand, discrimination and distorted knowledge about labour market opportunities are contingencies which influence youth's career decisions. They are expected to constrain agency for independent decision making and reinforce the existing local and social division of labour. It is difficult for youth to challenge labour demand structure, discriminatory hiring practises and the lack of access to labour market knowledge. Agency may instead rest within local social and institutional contexts.

6.2. Prospects and Social, Institutional Context

Galster and Killen (1995) developed a model of life decisions for youth which emphasises personal characteristics and metropolitan opportunity structure. They separate social and institutional influences on career decisions into "processes" and "prospects." Processes are influences of external elements such as schools, services and social networks. Prospects are personal characteristics and strategies which are likely to produce career decisions regarding education and occupational choice. A similar distinction is made in the model developed below, but processes and prospects are arranged sequentially. In this model, social and institutional contexts initiate processes which influence a youth's labour market prospects, including attitudes and values, identity and expectations, and financial need. These prospects then lead to concrete career decisions. Figure 6.1. visualises the process of labour market marginalisation for inner-city minority youth. Youth career decisions and prospects are linked to local social and institutional contexts.

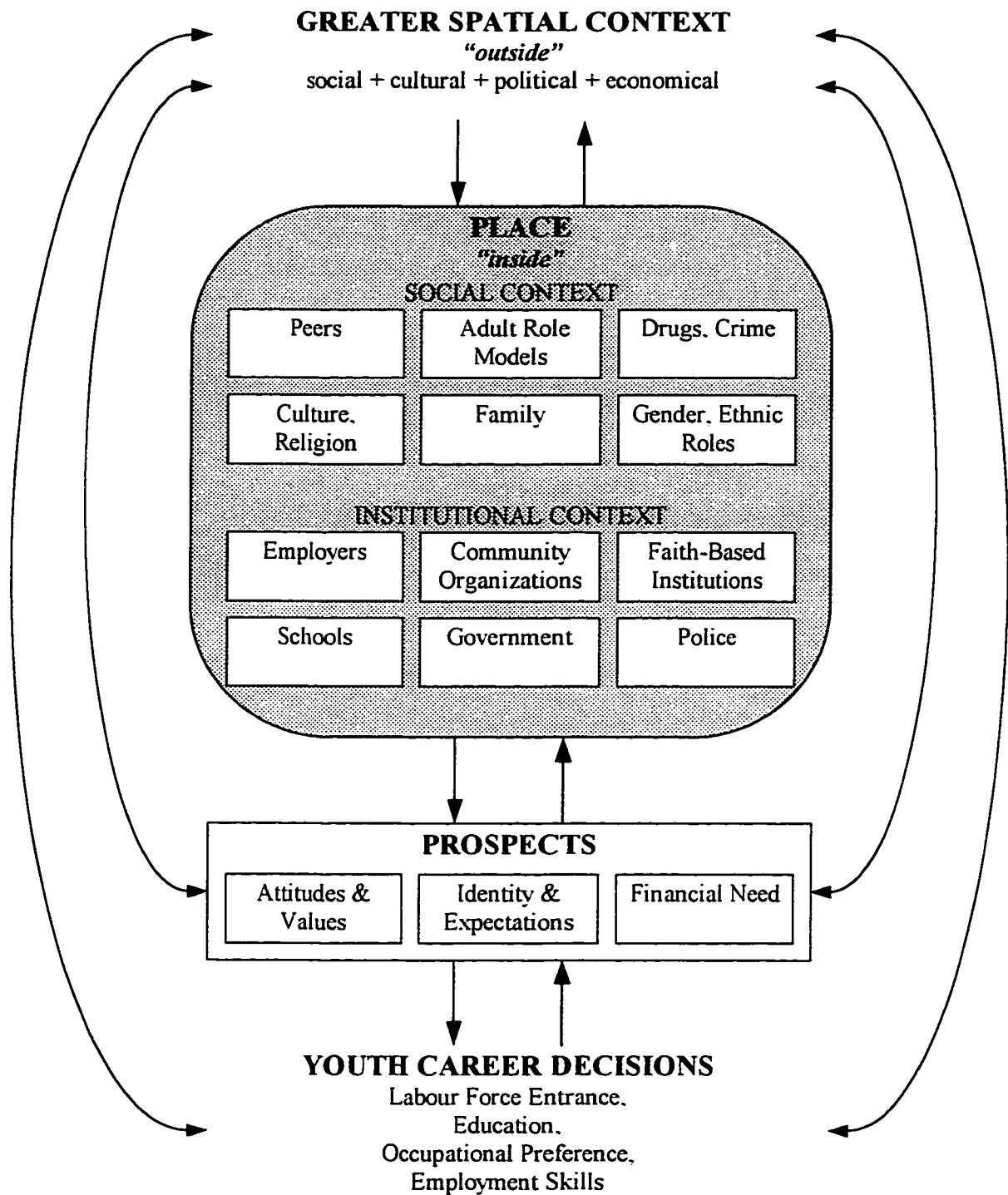
In Figure 6.1., "Greater Spatial Context" refers to overlapping social, economic, political and cultural structures expressing the multi-tiered constitution of space. Place-based social and institutional networks penetrate through these spatial layers and link social, economic, political

and cultural circumstances (compare with Figure 2.2). Greater spatial and structural contexts also influence local context through processes of stereotyping and spatial exclusion (Sibley 1995). Many poor inner-city neighbourhoods, for instance, carry labels of gang violence, crime, welfare dependency, lazy and unreliable residents, poor work ethic, etc. Besides defining the constitution of place, spatial and structural contexts also have a direct influence on prospects and career decisions. National labour policies and greater economic trends, for instance, certainly affect career decisions.

It is important to note that the model does not describe a deterministic set of relationships. The linkages shown in the model are *contingent*. Relationships unfold only within particular contexts (Sayer 1984). In a study of youth employment, Holloway (1998: 41) analyses U.S. census data and concludes that “structural relationships are conditioned by intra-metropolitan residential location.” Thus, it is essential to treat place of residence as a central contingency for career decision making. For instance, the impact of overall economic restructuring (a structural process) and career choices may be very different in the local contexts of an inner-city and a suburban neighbourhood because of different social and insitutional contexts.

Figure 6.1. reflect the elements of the structuration model. *Structure* is represented by “Greater Spatial Context” which defines overall economic, social, political and cultural conditions and practises. The *system* is represented by “Place,” subdivided into “Local Social Context” and “Local Institutional Context,” expressing a place-specific set of elements and relationships. In theory, *agency* rests with the youth when he/she makes conscious career decisions that reproduce or challenge existing structures. In practise, however, the capability for agency is very constrained for youth. More powerful elements such as employers, school

Figure 6. 1: Processes of Labour Market Marginalisation



officials, teachers or family members are expected to have much greater potential for agency and “out-power” youth. In the following section, the exact relationships between the individual elements of the model are discussed in light of the current literature.

6.2.1. Prospects

Prospects are individual characteristics (attitudes and values, identity and expectations, and financial need) that have a direct impact on career choices. In many ways, however, the nature of the impact is contingent upon cultural context defined by place. The text below synthesises the influence of prospects on career decisions in relation to processes of cultural discrimination.

Attitudes and values towards employment and education are important influences on labour market decisions. Galster and Killen (1995: 12) identify a number of attitudes such as "...honesty, diligence, respect for authority and traditional institutions, risk aversion, and ability to plan and sacrifice for the future..." which promise success in the labour market. Although these characteristics may indeed improve labour market success, they must be separated into (a) attitudes leading to “true” competitiveness in the labour market and (b) values which advance careers only because they reflect Anglo-European values which dominate the labour market. The first case refers to a necessary relationship, whereas the second scenario describes a contingent relationship (Sayer 1984). Usually, this distinction is not made. Regarding necessary processes of marginalisation, Hochschild (1989: 145) notes that some inner-city residents fail in the labour market because "no one has taught them that to keep a job [...] one must report to work on time everyday, respond appropriately to a supervisor, maintain decent relations with co-workers, and so on." The organisation of economic activity certainly requires a high level of labour discipline. Punctuality and consistency are necessary conditions for

labour market success. However, the use of the terms “appropriate” and “decent” introduces an interpretative dimension of work ethic. Employers and school officials may reject minority youth because of cultural characteristics, such as “inappropriate” speech patterns or “indecent” inter-personal behaviour, such as avoiding eyecontact. In this case, contingent relationships reflect processes of cultural discrimination.

Values and attitudes also include the overall priority of work in relation to other elements of a person’s life. Career decisions may not be top priority but may be subordinate to other responsibilities such as parenting. The order of priorities may be culturally conditioned and constructed through place-based processes. In addition, whether or not priorities conflict with each other is contingent upon local and structural context. For example, a young parent may be able to continue education, without sacrificing his/her parenting responsibilities, if day-care is locally available. However, if there are no day-care facilities, then this parent may opt to drop out of school in order to provide for the child.

A most problematic concept associated with attitudes and values is self-esteem. Smelser (1989) describes self-esteem as a condition of self-appreciation. Self-esteem allows for taking “active control” of one's life. It provides youth with the confidence to challenge societal pressures. Lack of self-esteem, on the other hand, causes passivity and “anti-social” behaviour. It has a depressing effect on career decisions and limits agency. Such a perspective blames persons with low self-esteem for removing themselves from the responsibility of building a career by getting “drunk” or “high.” In its "aggregate" form, low self-esteem produces social groups that seek socially problematic behaviour which leads to marginal careers (Smelser 1989). This viewpoint ignores the underlying causes for poor self-esteem, namely continuing

removal from success and encouragement, and blames the victims of low self-esteem for being unable to cope with their condition. For this reason, the concept of self-esteem is omitted in the model. Whether a person pursues a career as lawyer or janitor is seen as a personal or cultural preference and not as a function of high or low self-esteem. Career expectations are captured in the category of identity and expectations.

Identity and expectations define the second element influencing career decisions. The notion of identity defines a person's or social group's position in the greater context of the labour market. On the one hand, identity expresses a sense of self. On the other hand, it serves as a social distinction between "us" and "them" (Harvey 1990, De Oliver 1996). Ruddick (1996), using the example of homeless youth, shows that conflicting self-ascribed and imposed identities have important implications for youth's social roles. In a similar way, this paper examines Latino youth's labour market roles and expectations associated with identities that are self-defined and imposed by others. Harvey (1990: 123) indicates that identity shapes consumption and lifestyle and thus regulates the demand-side of the market. In the model presented above, identity regulates the supply-side. Accordingly, a youth may have manufacturing employment expectations due to a blue-collar identity, or he/she may have office-work expectations because of a white-collar background.

Identity and expectations express an individual's past work experiences and personal history (Galster and Killen 1995). These elements are also responses to structural and local contexts. Gendered career expectations, for instance, are embedded in a cultural context. Labour market roles of Latina women and Latino men tend to be defined from within culture and differ from Anglo-American gender expectations. Conservatives tend to use Anglo-

American gender relations as a standard to assess a less emancipated Latino culture and attribute labour market disadvantage of Latina women to Latino culture. However, the problem is not that Latina women cluster in gender stereotypical jobs but that “female” employment receives less pay than “male” employment. Latina women may simply have less access to non-stereotypical employment than Anglo-American women.

Finally, the obvious purpose for most youth to get a job is to make money. The need to generate an income pushes many youth into important career decisions. If financial resources are available from family or other sources a youth may consider attending college and acquiring additional education and job skills. If these resources are not available a youth is likely to enter the labour market early. Another aspect of this prospect is the *desire* to make money. Desire is not necessarily related to need, but may be linked to labour market attitudes, values, identity and expectations. Both, financial need and desire are important influences on career decisions.

The three elements of career prospects are influenced by local social context and local institutional context. This classification of local context separates informal processes (social), which are beyond immediate public control, from formal processes (institutional), which are within the public domain. This distinction is useful for public policy recommendations and for the community to design a social/cultural response to processes of marginalisation.

6.2.2. Local Social Context

The following observation by Anderson (1991) provides an introduction to the conventional perspective of how local social context influences career choices:

Two lifestyles tug at young people of [marginalised] neighborhoods. The stable "decent" family with its belief in upward mobility and options for the future provides one. The street culture, which revolves around violence, drugs, sex, having babies out of wedlock, and other problem behavior, provides the other. [...] Virtually all teenagers are at risk and vulnerable to the alluring street culture, and most will dally with the experience; ultimately, many successfully resist. Those who are not well supervised and raised with optimism toward the future may linger in the street and may eventually succumb to its standards.

This quote expresses local social context as street culture, associated with violence, drugs, sex, etc., which draws some youth into a similar behavioural pattern of violence, drugs, sex, etc. The quote also demonstrates a common fallacy among contemporary academics to categorise behaviour among inner-city youth into a simple dualism of "decent" behavior, reflecting "mainstream" norms, and behaviour that deviates from these norms. This line of thinking follows a cultural explanation of labour market disadvantage (Chapter 2) which attributes labour market success to cultural attributes. "Deviancy," including "violence, drugs, sex, having babies out of wedlock, and other problem behaviour" is subsequently believed to lead to marginalisation (see also Anderson 1995). Entire residential areas may be stigmatised as deviant and criminal.

Cultural discrimination based on "deviant" behaviour, such as teenage pregnancy, is a reality in the labour market. Standards of decency and deviancy are shaped by greater structural context as well as local social context. Thus, local social context indirectly contributes to labour market marginalisation of inner-city youth. This illustrates the danger of taking local influences out of their causal context. Causality does not lie with becoming a teenage mother but with structural barriers confronted by teenage mothers. In this case, causality lies with the contingent relationship between teenage mothers and

social norms. However, some behaviours which lead to necessary disadvantages in the labour market may also be “learned” from local social context. Thus, it is necessary to critically examine the influences of local social context.

Influences of local social context on behaviour are often called neighbourhood effects (Turner and Ellen 1997). They are classified into three main theories (Jencks and Mayer 1990):

(a) *Epidemic Theory*: Social behaviour is "contagious" and is transmitted through "infected" peers (Crane 1991b, Dubois and Hirsch 1990).

(b) *Collective Socialisation Theory*: Local adults influence youth's behaviour. The absence of middle-class role models who could teach a youth behavioural norms influences behaviour (Wilson 1987, Jencks and Mayer 1990, Brooks-Gunn et al. 1993).

(c) *Relative Deprivation Theory*: Youth tend to measure their accomplishments in relation to their peers and neighbours. A less successful youth who resides in a high status area has lower expectations and subsequently fails in the labour market. In contrast, a youth in a less successful neighbourhood has higher expectations and thus is successful.

Empirical evidence confirms epidemic and collective socialisation theories. Peers and adult role models influence high school dropout rates (Jencks and Mayer 1990, Crane 1991, Brooks-Gunn et al. 1993, O'Regan and Quigley 1996), out-of-wedlock births

(Wilson 1978, Crane 1991, Jencks and Mayer 1990, Ku et al. 1993, Brewster 1990, 1994), teenage crime rates, low earnings (Jencks and Mayer 1990, see also Evans et al. 1993) and overall neighbourhood efficacy (Sampson et al 1997). Mayer (1996: 36), however, recognises an important limitation of this research: "...because individuals tend to locate in neighbourhoods inhabited by people with similar characteristics, the direction of causality between individual outcomes and neighbourhood characteristics is unclear." This calls for an alternative research approach that is able to establish the direction of causality. In addition, causality may not be directly linked to behaviour but may rather be associated with the intolerance of schools or the labour market towards certain behaviours. For example, studies have clearly shown that out-of-wedlock birth is correlated with dropping out of school. However, having a child out-of-wedlock is not "bad" behaviour unless it is put into the context of cultural norms. An employer may find it improper to hire single teenage mothers. Single mothers may face barriers, such as lack of day-care, which conflict with school attendance and employment (Tanner et al. 1995). Instead of focusing on individual attributes, causality rests with processes of cultural differentiation.

Cultural differentiation is a place-based process. Commonly held "patterns of thinking and acting" are constructed within local social context. Carlin (1997), for instance, shows that the racialisation of Puerto Ricans in Allentown, Pennsylvania, occurs in the particular local context of city policies and the resistance of Anglo-American residents against the influx of Puerto Ricans. (see also Borman 1991, Bodemann 1991, Mandel 1991, Brewer 1992, Estrada 1993, Isajiw 1993, Lieberman 1993, Crysdale and MacKay 1994, Hannan

1994). Cultural discrimination of Puerto Rican individuals is therefore associated with the place-specific relationship between Puerto Ricans and Anglo-Americans. Discrimination may vanish as Puerto Ricans are being acculturated or as the local conflict between these groups diminishes. In another instance, Leaper and Valin (1996) show that gender roles among Mexican-American parents are conditioned by the degree of acculturation to American "mainstream" society. Through acculturation Latina women become more accepted in mainstream culture and confront less labour market discrimination. Although Leaper and Valin (1996) treat acculturation as an aspatial process, cultural assimilation is dependent on place-based circumstances⁵.

In an influential case study, James Rosenbaum (1991) examines the Gautreaux project, a housing voucher program for poor families, which allowed these families to move either to Anglo-American suburban neighbourhoods or to remain in mainly African-American inner-city areas. Rosenbaum investigates the impact of local context on movers to different residential areas. He observes that the children of suburban movers are performing better in school and in the labour market than their inner-city counterparts. Rosenbaum provides the explanation that suburban youth learn important behavioural skills and gain attitudes through peers and adult role models who are not available to inner-city youth. From a different perspective, this explanation supports the idea that acculturation diminishes cultural discrimination and allows suburban youth to function in a society dominated by "suburban" values. Other research has more directly focused on an

⁵ *Ethnicity* (Roseman et al 1996), a recent collection of essays, discusses outcomes and processes of the construction of ethnicity in cities in different national and regional contexts. Similar differences between places are likely to exist on other geographical scales, including the neighborhood level.

explanation of cultural intolerance. Segura (1995), for instance, reviews labour market barriers in the United States and credits "a high degree of knowledge of the dominant culture [123]" for the success of some Latina women in higher education.

Among the most degraded and prosecuted cultural institutions are "gangs." These informal youth groups often provide emotional support for youth and have an important social function which is not provided by other institutions (Suttles 1968: 157- 220). Yet, youth groups are stigmatised by residents, the police and judges. The observations Suttles (1968: 184) made thirty years ago are still relevant:

[I]f a Mexican group is seen around Sheridan Park [in Chicago's Adams area], people assume they are looking for trouble. When the boys enter a store, the management immediately takes precautions against shoplifting. If a group of boys are seen "hanging" in a dark alley, it "means" they are drinking. If they approach a girl, they are "on the make." When they "hang on the corner" they are just "wasting time."

This perception of youth gangs has not only implications for gang members but also on the employment patterns of other residents. One way mothers in high crime areas protect their children from recruitment into street gangs is to prioritise caregiving responsibilities over employment activities (Puntenney 1997). Local gang activity may become a significant employment barrier for young mothers. In addition, protective strategies include the confinement of children to the home. This affects patterns of social interaction of both the mother and the child. Possible consequences may be social alienation and isolation from labour market information and opportunity.

Paradoxically, many residents view gangs as inevitable institutions. Suttles (1968: 184) observes:

Expectations of [stereotypical behavior like being “on the make,” or “wasting time, etc.] are shared by all street-corner groups, but neither the boys nor the adults would describe such behavior as desirable or socially acceptable. Instead, they are convinced that such behavior is an unavoidable fact of life, and arguments to the contrary are dismissed as “soft-headed.” Since these assumptions are held with such strong convictions and are often couched in a naturalistic vocabulary of motives, they are seldom doubted in the same way that moral rules or formal agreements are challenged. To residents they are a law of nature rather than laws invented by man.

The assumption that gangs are “naturally” deviant categorically criminalises gang members. Agency is denied to these youth because they cannot escape this superimposed image of being criminals. The combination of stigma and restricted access to career opportunity makes illegal drug dealing a lucrative alternative career path (Fargan 1995). Thus, the criminalisation of youth becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The family is an important institution with regard to the reproduction of society. Behavioural patterns are certainly learned from the family and there is no doubt that parents pass cultural traits and behaviours on to their children (Lewis 1969). These include behaviours that are considered “dysfunctional” or “deviant” by mainstream cultural groups. In addition, the family unit may be conditioned by similar processes of cultural discrimination as the individual. These processes are contingent upon place-based context. They are therefore not “base characteristics” to “start out with” (Galster and Killen 1995). For instance, family responsibilities differ between cultures. In some cultures the extended family takes on a higher degree of parenting responsibilities than in

others. Grandparents may raise their grandchildren, uncle and aunts their nephews. In other cultures this may be interpreted as neglect on the side of the biological parents. Foster-care within the extended family may be considered the “norm” in some cultural contexts, but is considered “deviant” in other cultures. Structural barriers may be erected that marginalise these “deviant” parents and youth in society, in the labour market and in the school system.

The existing literature has focused on providing statistical correlation between socio-demographic characteristics of residential areas and the behaviour of adolescents. Correlations, however, do not explain how social relationships work (Massey 1984, Sayer 1985) and invite conservative explanations of cultural inferiority (Chapter 2). The discussion now turns to institutional context in search of an alternative explanation.

6.2.3. Local Institutional Context

The so-called "institutional theory" (Jencks and Mayer 1990) emphasises the role of local formal institutions in marginalising minorities and inner-city residents. Schools are an element of institutional context which have an important influence on prospects and career decisions. They are also directly linked to labour market outcomes in that they deliver formal education. The quality and the nature of education defines not only the skills with which a young individual competes in the labour market (see: Sylva 1994), but it also influences a youth's motivations and occupational choices (Shapiro 1987, Moore 1989, Hoerr 1990, Mayer 1991, Waggoner 1991, Wolman et al. 1991, also Brown and Lauder 1992, Hickox and Moore 1992, Lathe and Giles 1995). It is well known that most

inner-city schools do not prepare their students for the labour market to the same degree as suburban schools in more affluent school districts. School funding is linked to local property-tax revenue, and schools located in affluent school districts generate more revenue for school staff and equipment than schools in poorer districts (Baron 1971, Burdett 1988, Card and Krueger 1992a/b, Mladenka 1980, Kozol 1991). Empirical evidence confirms that students in rich school districts tend to have teachers with higher qualifications than students in poorer inner-city districts (Levy et al. 1974, Matthews et al. 1988).

Cultural discrimination is an often-cited explanation for underachievement in the school system. Some educators blame cultural deficiencies for underachievement among minority students. They claim that students are ill-prepared and unfit for school. Browning (1994: 173) investigated Latino minority students in the San Diego Unified School District and notes:

[E]ducators were suggesting that even if there was a problem [of coping with educational pressures], it was not due to policies of the educational system. On the contrary, blame could be affixed to the students themselves. In this manner, the educators were absolved of any culpability.

Within schools, disciplinarian procedures constrain agency through the punishment of non-conformist behaviour (Bowditch 1993). These procedures vary considerably between school districts. For example, “deviancy” is encountered with more persistence or more tolerance depending on school district’s policies and the individual strategies of teachers and staff. In addition, “deviant” behaviour may be defined rather differently

among school districts, depending on local cultural context and the perceived consequences of “deviant” behaviour.

Police are another contingency of local institutional context. Police may label some neighbourhoods as “good” and others as “bad,” and adopt law-enforcement approaches catering to a higher or lower crime rate (see Dunham and Albert 1988). In addition, police may label and harass particular ethnic and/or social groups that are perceived as “high-risk” populations (Davis 1990). Anderson (1992), for instance, tells “The Story of John Turner” about an African-American youth who is stigmatised by police, the justice system and his probation officers. In this case, the stigma of being a young inner-city African-American man assisted his transition into criminality.

Faith-based institutions, community-based outreach centres and other cultural agencies service local areas. Often, these organisations assume active roles in non-violent conflict solving, prevention of crime and drug abuse, and political activism (Davis 1990: 321-72, Clay 1996, Walker 1996). Community-based organisations also have a similar function in the formation of local, ethnic and gender identities. Strategies to fulfil these roles are direct responses to local social circumstances and are thus place-dependent. Suttles (1968: 41-46), for example, identifies churches as major agents in the creation of cultural identity and social networks. In the last thirty years, however, the relationship between faith-based institutions, place and residents may have changed.

Local institutions, including religious organizations, economic development agencies and local government, directly assist young residents in finding jobs via job placement, job counselling and training (see Skogan 1989, Rowe 1990). These agencies and their

services are place-specific in character since they are usually associated with local economic development efforts (Lovering 1988, Skogan 1989, Rowe 1990, Huckfeldt et al. 1993, Fitzgerald 1995). Empowerment and enterprise zones, or private-public partnerships (Fosler 1982, Ahlbrandt 1987, Jacobson 1987, Lurrcott 1987, Weaver 1987, Weiss 1987, Jezierski 1990, Orr and Stroker 1992, 1994) are examples of local economic development strategies.

Theodore and Carlson (1996) note that many employers are reluctant to hire through formal training and referral programs and instead rely on informal recruitment channels. Access to informal networks is therefore important to getting a job. These informal social networks are formed in community institutions, schools, church, etc. Fernandez and Harris (1992) show that personal networks are smallest for non-working poor. Kin networks tend to be strong among ethnic minorities and in high-poverty areas. However, these networks may not be very fruitful for finding good jobs since family members and neighbours may also be marginalised in the labour market.

This section has conceptualised a model that describes how processes of labour market marginalisation work. This model has laid out a somewhat pessimistic perspective where youth and minorities either adapt to the cultural and institutional structures provided by dominant society or else are forced into marginalisation. Agency in the structuration process is severely constrained for poor inner-city areas and minority youth. The following section articulates the research problems.

6.3. Research Problem

The empirical analysis in this dissertation examines how the elements of the above supply-side model (Figure 6.1.) are related to each other and how these relationships operate. This research is necessary because contemporary literature has over-emphasised the demand-side of the labour market (Kasarda 1988, Moore and Laramore 1990, Church 1995, Massey and Meegan 1982, 1985, Massey 1984, 1985, 1991, Jonas 1988, Urry 1990, Pickvance 1990, Cox and 1991, Carlson et al. 1995) and under-theorised social context. The above literature review has focused on these supply-side issues but revealed important gaps in the literature.

The first gap is that contemporary literature on inner-city minority participation in the labour market has relied heavily on statistical evidence and correlated, for example, teenage pregnancy rates and low earnings. This literature stopped short of *explaining* these relationships with thorough intensive investigation. This dissertation attempts to fill this gap and explain these relationships. It also challenges academics and policy makers to put research results and policies into an ideological perspective.

Secondly, there is a body of research (reviewed in the section above) that does focus on causal processes of marginalisation. However, this literature deals only with fragments of the above model and assumes a non-spatial perspective. The empirical research below contextualises the social and institutional elements of place-based and greater spatial context and examines how these elements interact with each other in a specific geographical context. There is a current policy debate on whether, and how, geography matters. This debate revolves around low-income housing dispersal policies and the

impact on youth career choices (Galster and Hornburg 1995, Gorham 1992). The research will inform this debate.

The overriding task of this dissertation is to examine the relationships between place, ethnicity, culture, gender and age, and the involvement of these mechanisms in the production of labour market marginality. Using realism as a method, the research differentiates between necessary and contingent relationships — a distinction not made in previous research. The realist approach allows for placing causality with elements in the above model and with processes shaping labour market outcomes.

Four specific research problems are developed, based on the structure of the model of processes of labour market marginalisation (Figure 6.1.) and the realist method outlined in Part I. The first research problem examines *labour market marginalisation and career decisions*. This problem studies extensive relationships and describes measurable events related to youth labour market marginalisation (Chapter 4).

The next three research problems are concerned with intensive research. They focus on causal processes and linkages between structure, system and agency in order to explain the events described by extensive research. The second research problem studies *prospects and career choices* and assesses which structures, systems and mechanisms relate to the events revealed by extensive research. More specific questions include: what are attitudes and expectations towards education, work and income? What are cultural, ethnic and gender specific labour market identities? What are financial needs of marginalised youth?

The third research problem relates to the role of *local social context* regarding youth labour market marginalisation. It investigates whether influences of social elements of place

are contingent or necessary in nature and attempts to attribute causality to one or more elements (structure, system or agency) of the structuration process. Examples of more specific questions are: how do place-specific ethnic and gender roles translate into labour market decisions? What is the role of peers and adults in constructing marginalising attitudes towards work?

Finally, the fourth research problem refers to the linkage between *local institutional context* and labour market marginalisation. Questions include: how do community-based organisations intervene with career decision making? Does cultural stigmatisation within local institutions impact identity and labour market choices?

Greater spatial context is expected to interact with career prospects and place-specific social and institutional contexts. The examination of greater spatial context is, therefore, integrated with the second, third and fourth research problems. For example, both the third and fourth research problems examine how place-based labour market identities conflict with identities imposed by outside context. The conflict between inside and outside identities is expected to initiate processes of marginalisation that are similar to the processes of marginalisation between different cultural groups discussed earlier (see Omi and Winant 1986, Section 2.2). However, in this case, discrimination is not based on cultural identities as they are perceived by members of other groups but on place-based identities as they are perceived from other places.

7. THE CASE OF SAN ANTONIO

The literature related to urban economic restructuring has emerged from the experience of the “rustbelt” cities. However, rustbelt cities are structurally different than sunbelt cities⁶. In the “sunbelt,” the restructuring process has been less dramatic because sunbelt cities, unlike rustbelt cities, have never been dominated by manufacturing industries to the same degree as rustbelt cities. In 1950, less than 12 percent of San Antonio’s work force was in manufacturing, compared to 47 percent in Detroit, 41 percent in Cleveland and 40 percent in Buffalo (Schwab 1992: 214). San Antonio’s manufacturing employment was still below 14 percent in 1980 (Cardenas et al. 1995). During the sunbelt boom in more recent decades, the economy of San Antonio has adopted post-industrial features as it has grown, lacking decelerating remnants of a fordist manufacturing era.

Bexar County is the geographical unit used for regional analysis of census data. The city of San Antonio, with a population of 935,927, contributed the main share of Bexar County’s population of 1,185,394 in 1990 (Bureau of the Census 1997). Although Bexar County’s unemployment rate was below 6 percent in 1990, 16 percent of Bexar County’s families live in poverty (Table 7.1.). Many workers do not earn enough money to live above the poverty level. Per capita income averages only \$11,827 in Bexar County, compared to \$12,904 state-wide and \$14,420 nationally.

Hispanics constitute almost half of the county’s population (49.5 percent). National studies show that Hispanics are among the poorest of the poor in the U.S. (Goldberg 1997).

Gittleman and Howell (1995) demonstrated that in the U.S. the concentration of Hispanic men

⁶ Regime theory recognises that economic structures, and public-private coalitions that govern these structures, are unique to geographical context (Stone 1989: 3-12).

in the lowest segment of the labour market increased from 50 percent to 55 percent between 1983 and 1990. In San Antonio, however, the Hispanic population differs widely in its ethnic and socio-economic conditions from other U. S. cities. San Antonio's Latinos are mostly Mexican American and have been in the area for centuries. Their population is — despite the city's proximity to the Mexican border — largely the result of domestic in-migration and natural population increase rather than international migration (Abramson and Fix 1993). Consequently, studies of Puerto Ricans and Dominicans in New York, Cubans in Miami, and recent Mexican immigrants in L. A. are of limited relevance to the Mexican Americans of San Antonio. For this reason, the study adds to the literature that has focuses on immigrant groups and widely neglected non-immigrant Mexican Americans.

Nevertheless, San Antonio is no exception in that poverty concentrates among Latinos. Slightly more than one-third of San Antonio's Hispanic families live in poverty, compared to less than one-fifth of all families. In 1989, San Antonio was ranked second, behind Detroit, in the proportion of persons living in poverty among the 15 largest cities in the U.S. Eighty-five percent of San Antonio's poor are Hispanic (Abramson and Fix 1993). Latinos are concentrated in marginal positions in the Bexar County labour market. Hispanic per capita income is only slightly above \$7,000 in Bexar County and far below the overall average. In addition, unemployment rates are roughly a third higher among Hispanics (Table 7.1.).

Table 7.1: Population Characteristics of Bexar County, 1990

	total	(%)	Hispanic	(%)
Persons	1,185,394		586,124	49.45*
Per Capita Income	\$11,827		\$7,309	
Families	299,507	100	136,580	100
Poverty Status	48,486	16.19	35,533	26.21
Employment				
Persons 16 or Older	876,395	100	402,077	100
Armed Forces	31,285	3.57	4,415	1.10
Civ. Employed	497,202	56.73	226,376	56.30
Unemployed	46,422	5.30	28,166	7.01
Not in Labour Force	301,486	34.40	143,120	35.56

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1997

*percentage of total population

A significant portion of Bexar County's employment consists of marginal jobs characterised by part-time and temporary employment. More than 16 percent of Bexar County's employed persons worked only between 15 and 34 hours per week, and 4 percent worked below 15 hours (Table 7.2). Almost one-fifth of the employed population worked 27 weeks or less during 1989. Moreover, marginalisation in the labour market may result from full-time employment in unskilled and low paying occupations with minimal benefits and little job security.

These labour market characteristics are related to San Antonio's industrial structure. The city is known as a centre of trade, tourism, biotechnology, and military bases. Its economy has expanded rapidly since 1970. Despite the large growth of employment, the increase remains slightly below population growth. This has contributed to an overall increase in competition for available jobs and may have depressed wages (Abramson and Fix 1993).

Table 7.2: Part-Time and Temporary Employment of Bexar County, 1989

	Persons	(%)
Persons 16 or Older Who Worked	604,075	100
Hours Worked Per Week		
35 or More	483,127	78.00
15 to 34	98,908	16.37
Below 15	22,040	3.65
Weeks Worked		
48 Weeks or More	400,073	66.23
27 to 47 Weeks	96,056	15.90
below 27 Weeks	107,946	17.87

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1997

Approximately 80 percent of the city's newly created jobs between 1979 and 1989 were in the service and retail industry (Abramson and Fix 1993). Notably, there has been steady growth of high quality jobs in the high-tech, biotechnology and the medical industry (Lucas 1996), as well as a high growth rate in finance, insurance and real estate. However, many new jobs are in the lower labour market segment. Most recently, a large number of low-segment

telemarketing jobs have moved to San Antonio (Shinal 1996, Konstam 1996). Declining sectors are manufacturing, construction, and wholesale trade (Abramson and Fix 1993, Cardenas 1993, City of San Antonio 1996, Kamerich 1996). More stable employment in the middle segment, specifically manufacturing, construction, and wholesale trade, has been in relative decline (Cardenas et al 1993).

Table 7.3. displays the 1990 distribution of employment by industrial and occupational sectors. More than one-third of Bexar County's employment is in the service industry. Trade industries capture another 24 percent of the employed. Only 15 percent of employment is in manufacturing or construction. In terms of occupations, a combination of technical, sales, administrative support and service occupations dominate Bexar County's labour market. Precision production and craft occupations account for approximately 11 percent and operators, fabricators and labourers for another 12 percent of the area's employment.

Hispanics are particularly affected by San Antonio's industrial structure. Cardenas et al (1993) note:

The high poverty rate is often attributed to the poorly diversified economic base, weak manufacturing sector, and relatively low wage scale. In addition, San Antonio has a long history of ethnically exclusionary labor and development policies, and differential treatment of the Mexican-American population (160-161).

According to local authorities, adult underemployment, as measured by earnings, is largely responsible for high poverty rates (Johnson et al 1983, Abramson and Fix 1993, Capps 1996). Latino underachievement in the labour market concentrates among early school leavers and is

believed to be related to English language deficiencies (Abramson and Fix 1993). In addition, Konstam (1996) notes that wage levels in San Antonio are so low that many young, entry-level workers are discouraged from seeking work and drop out of the work force. Thus they are not counted in unemployment statistics.

Table 7.3: Labour Market Characteristics of Bexar County, 1990

	Persons	(%)
Persons Employed	497,202	100
Industry		
Agriculture, Forestry, Mining	7,046	1.42
Manufacturing, Construction	72,088	14.50
Transportation, Communication	34,042	6.85
Trade	117,305	23.59
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	43,041	8.66
Services	182,425	36.69
Public Administration	41,255	8.30
Occupation		
Managerial, Professional	132,145	26.58
Technical, Sales, Administr. Supp.	174,194	35.03
Service Occupations	75,461	15.18
Farming, Forestry, Fishing	5,373	1.08
Precision Production, Craft	52,505	10.56
Operators, Fabricators, Labourers	57,524	11.57

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1997

Probably more important with regard to the ethnic division of labor are place-based contingencies associated with specific characteristics of inner-city neighbourhoods. These contingencies have important labour market implications when Latino populations are residentially isolated (Galster and Killen 1995, Turner and Ellen 1997, Jencks and Mayer 1990). The segregation of the poor in San Antonio and in 99 other large U.S. metropolitan areas is measured by Abramson et al (1995). One measure of segregation is the isolation index, which examines the extent to which members of a particular group are exposed in their neighbourhood only to members of their group. It measures how poor the neighbourhood of the average poor person is. With an isolation index of 30.0 percent, the poor in San Antonio have the sixth highest isolation index among the 100 largest U.S. cities. This compares to a national average isolation index of 21.0 percent. Furthermore, this index changed negligibly between 1970 and 1990. The isolation of the poor in San Antonio likely intensifies the effect of place-specific processes on labour market marginalisation of residents in these neighbourhoods because it concentrates behavioural and labour market neighbourhood influences that typically correlate with marginal jobs (Galster and Killen 1995, Jencks and Mayer 1990).

Throughout the post-World-War-II period, the city of San Antonio has annexed over 260 square miles of its surrounding territory. Expansion into newer middle-class subdivisions on the outer edges of Bexar County increased the city's middle-class tax base. Despite the attempts to redistribute resources to inner-city areas through annexation a stark city-suburb contrast remains. Poverty, low educational attainments, and poor housing conditions concentrate in the inner-city of San Antonio, most notable on the west and the south sides. In

contrast, rapid middle-class expansion occurs mainly on the northern fringe part of San Antonio and Bexar County (Partnership for Hope, Fall 1991, Fall 1993, Spring 1995, Witte 1993, Cisneros 1995).

Due to the outward-shift of the middle class, inner-city areas have typically undergone dramatic changes. Henry Cisneros (1995: 1-2), former secretary of HUD and former mayor of San Antonio, describes his old San Antonio neighbourhood as follows:

Built in the 1920's, many of Prospect Hill's original residents were railroad workers of German descent. By the time I lived there though, Prospect Hill had become almost entirely Hispanic. Nearly every man on our block worked as an aircraft mechanic at nearby Kelly Air Force Base [...] My parents still live in the same house in Prospect Hill, but the neighborhood has changed. Few young people live there; they're out in newer subdivisions that are closer to their jobs. Kelly AFB [Air Force Base] has shrunk to about 15,000 workers and faces an uncertain, post-Cold War future. The neighborhood's average income is dropping, and many once-familiar stores closed their doors years ago.

This anecdote describes the typical life-cycle of a neighbourhood in the south side and west side of San Antonio. Outgoing middle-class and Anglo-European residents are replaced by a less affluent Latino population. More recently, some centrally located inner-city areas have experienced population decline as more affluent Latinos have left the area, leaving behind those who cannot afford to move. In addition, local economic opportunity is shrinking as employers, dependent on middle class customers, leave and military installations close (Partnership for Hope Newsletter, Spring 1995). Kelly AFB, once an icon which provided Prospect Hills' battle cry "Viva Kelly" (Cisneros 1995), is ordered to be shuttered by 2001.

San Antonio has a highly segregated, informal network of power. San Antonio is similar to other southern cities in the sense that "... business is often and most profitable conducted [...]

less in the board rooms, than on a golf course or over lunch at the City Club (Goldfield 1996: 5).” Ethnic minorities and women frequently confront informal as well as formal barriers to establish themselves in this informal, decision-making environment. Often they are systematically excluded from power. De Oliver (1996: 2-3) describes imbalanced Anglo-Latino power relationships from a historical perspective. He notes that the current social situation of Latinos in San Antonio does not reflect recent friction associated with high rates of Latin-American immigration to the U.S. Rather, it is the result of a long-lasting Anglo-European effort of demolishing Latino identity and controlling public space. Nevertheless, San Antonio's Latino population has attempted to gain political influence by establishing organisations which would lobby Latino interests at the city and state government levels. For the last 20 years, San Antonio's Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS) has been a national role-model for a Latino neighborhood-based political organisation. Under Catholic leadership, COPS has represented the interests of San Antonio's poorer south and west sides in public and private sector policy making. Despite its efforts, however, COPS was unable to end the economic isolation of San Antonio's west and south side populations (Johnson et al. 1983, COPS 1994). There are numerous community organisations in San Antonio that represent the interests of poor and Latino neighbourhoods. These organisations are a focus of empirical research in this dissertation.

San Antonio provides an excellent case study for the ethnic division of labor since a large portion of the Latino labour force is in marginal jobs. The city is also a good laboratory for exploring place-based and spatial processes and their impact on labor market outcomes because spatial segregation by income and ethnicity is extreme. The effects of local

contingencies are therefore expected to be particularly pronounced. In addition, the literature on economic restructuring and urban poverty is biased towards Midwestern cities and African-American minorities. It has neglected Latinos in sunbelt cities (perhaps with the exception of L.A.).

PART III: EXTENSIVE RESEARCH — MAPPING THE LABOUR MARKET

Empirical research follows the realist method and makes a distinction between extensive and intensive research (Chapter 4). Extensive research describes the “event” of youth labour market marginalisation in San Antonio. It measures youth marginalisation, assesses its metropolitan spatial patterns and calculates correlations between marginalisation and socio-economic neighbourhood attributes. Part III presents extensive research and “maps out” the labour market for marginal youth. In Part IV and V, intensive research *explains* how structure and events are related to each other and why marginalisation occurs.

8. SPATIAL PERSPECTIVES OF YOUTH LABOUR MARKET MARGINALISATION

In a recent issue of *The Professional Geographer* on the spatial mismatch hypothesis, Hodge (1996) points out in his introduction that the four articles on this topic make clear the contingent nature of the processes and outcomes associated with spatial mismatch. Not only does “...space matter[s] more in some metropolitan areas than it does in others [419],” but employment conditions vary widely among different groups of people, i.e. races, women, and youth. Furthermore, Hodge notes “...that there are other impacts of spatial polarisation that affect employment prospects, but not necessarily through the degree of spatial accessibility to employment [419].” In particular he refers to the importance of place-based barriers to employment, such as the poor educational conditions of inner-city schools.

These observations serve as a point of departure for extensive research of youth employment conditions in San Antonio, Texas. Like these previous studies, the objective of

this chapter is to describe and analyse the spatial polarisation of poverty and employment conditions in metropolitan space where the poor cluster in the inner city whereas more affluent families reside in suburban areas. This chapter, however, emphasises the importance of place in understanding poverty. It further argues that poverty is the result of marginal employment characterised by jobs of low pay, minimal benefits, little job security and few chances for career advancement. The empirical analysis focuses on youth because marginal careers are established at an early age, when a person makes important educational, job-skill and occupational choices (Galster and Killen 1995).

Extensive research responds to the first research problem outlined above (Section 6.3.) and serves three research objectives. The first objective is to identify the conditions which indicate marginality for youth in the San Antonio labour market. Using census tract data for 1990, a factor analysis is used to identify the main dimensions of the marginalisation of youth in the labour market, integrating a set of variables by age. The second objective is to examine the spatial pattern of levels of youth labour market marginalisation and to identify particular problem areas. Mapping the factor scores allows for analysing the spatial patterns of marginalised youth labour in the greater San Antonio area. The third objective is to link spatial variations in the levels of youth labour market marginalisation to the socio-economic, cultural and family characteristics of residential areas. A regression analysis is used to establish the relationships between labour market marginalisation of youth and overall socio-economical, family and ethnic characteristics of residential areas. In addition to these three research objectives, the empirical analysis will guide the selection process of two case study areas for extensive research.

8.1. Quantifying Youth Labour Market Marginalisation

Below, some of the ideas developed in the literature review above are reiterated in a manner which allows the investigation of these arguments in a quantitative research framework. Most youth enter the labour market with low-paying jobs, but not all of these positions are marginalised. Although entry-level workers typically work on a part-time or temporary basis, for minimal pay and without benefits, many advance into more favourable employment. But these opportunities tend to be reserved for school leavers with high educational and skill credentials (Skinner 1995). Lack of formal education and skills can be important barriers to occupational upward mobility for youth, and thus become characteristics of youth labour market marginalisation. Other characteristics which may limit career prospects include English language deficiencies, as well as employment in manual and personal service occupations. In the case of youth it is not sufficient to define marginal labour as a simple measure of income. A measure must include future career potential, measured by education, employment experience and related measures. The first objective of this paper is to create a measure for youth labour market marginalisation.

Marginalisation of youth in the labour market is influenced by the structure of metropolitan space. One such influence is the spatial variation in the availability of job opportunities. Some urban labour markets are highly localised. There may be considerable geographical variations of employment demand structure in an urban area depending on local differences in industrial structure, political and institutional activities, and employers' hiring practises and experiences (Peck 1989, 1996, Hanson and Pratt 1992, Scott 1992). The resultant spatial mismatch

between job opportunities and potential labour force has been hypothesised as a major cause of poverty in the inner city (Hodge, 1996). Particularly in the case of youth, limited commuting ability and narrow employment search tend to confine the individual to employment opportunities close by. Ethnic minorities experience an additional disadvantage because they cluster in residential areas with less favourable labour market conditions (Levin-Epstein 1985, Grieco 1987, Holzer 1987, 1991, Santiago and Wilder 1991).

A second influence of the metropolitan spatial structure arises from neighbourhood effects: the place-specific, socio-economic, cultural, and family characteristics of residential areas (Galster and Killen 1995, Jencks and Mayer 1990, Anderson 1991). A neighbourhood's socio-economic characteristics are closely related to the labour market performance of youth.

Abramson et al (1995), for example, point to the...

negative consequences for low-income people of living in isolated, poor neighbourhoods. Distressed neighborhoods can do much to undermine individual motivation and family support. In neighbourhoods of concentrated poverty, positive role models are scarce, and service providers, such as schools, are often underfunded and of inferior quality [Abramson et al 1995: 45].

As a result of spatial mismatch and neighbourhood effects, employment figures, skill levels and educational attainments tend to be lower among inner-city residents and higher in suburban areas and the urban fringe (White 1987, Garreau 1991, Scott 1990). The second objective of this paper is therefore to examine the distribution of levels of youth labour market marginalisation across San Antonio's metropolitan space.

There are different explanations for the relationship between neighbourhood context and the labour force performance of youth. One explanation stresses behavioural attributes. In the 1960's, Oscar Lewis (1969) asserted that a sub-culture of economic despair displays a set of behavioural attributes that produces marginality in the labour market and thus reproduces poverty. More recently, a similar explanation for poverty resurfaced (Corcoran 1995) in studies which associate poor labour market performance with "dislocated" social behaviour. These studies link local levels of unemployment and labour market marginalisation to attitudes and values which are represented by high rates of un-wed parenthood and teenage pregnancy in inner-city neighbourhoods (Wilson 1978, 1996, Jencks and Mayer 1990, Duncan and Hoffman 1991). Since these behaviours may be examined across ethnic boundaries (Wilson 1980), ethnic neighbourhood composition should have no direct effect on youth labour market marginalisation.

A second explanation argues that a youth's educational and labour market decisions are contingent upon labour market attributes of adults in the neighbourhood. Youth may replicate occupational preferences of neighbours. In neighbourhoods where successful adult role models are available, a youth may be more likely to aspire to an upper labour market position. In areas where adults tend to be less well-off in the labour market, a youth may be less likely to succeed (Galster and Killen 1995, Jencks and Mayer 1990, Wilson 1987). If this second explanation is correct, adult labour market attributes, non-employment rates and income levels should be related to youth labour market marginalisation.

The third explanation suggests that cultural and ethnic discrimination excludes minority neighbourhoods from labour market opportunity. Selective recruitment among employers may

phase out job applications with residential addresses in minority neighbourhoods or with diplomas from inner-city schools (Wilson 1996: 111-146). Turner (1997) demonstrates that some suburban Detroit employers avoid recruitment of minority workers through strategies such as placing job advertisements only in suburban newspapers. Kozol (1991) points to the discriminatory non-delivery of educational services to inner-city minorities. If labour market marginalisation is caused by the exclusion of minority residential areas, neighbourhoods with high ethnic and cultural minority populations should be disadvantaged. It is the third objective of this research to investigate the relationship between local neighbourhood contingencies and youth labour market marginalisation.

The model presented below contrasts with previous research that attempted to measure underclass areas. Ricketts and Sawhill (1988) note that the underclass idea (Wilson 1987) emphasises behavioural attributes. Therefore, they constructed a measure for “underclass areas” using four behavioural variables from U.S. Census tract-level data: (1) high school dropouts, (2) prime-age males not regularly attached to the labour force, (3) welfare recipients and (4) female-headed households. Hughes (1989) and Kasarda (1993) developed similar measures for underclass areas.

This behaviouralistic definition of underclass areas is highly problematic and cannot serve as a measure for youth labour market marginalisation. Jargowsky (1997: 24) correctly points out that this approach “confus[es] behavior with economic outcomes.” Ricketts and Sawhill (1988) and Kasarda (1993) emphasise that there are significant differences between poverty areas — representing an economic condition — and

underclass areas — which include behavioural conditions. Youth labour market marginalisation refers to an economic condition.

The realist interpretation of labour market marginalisation (Part I and II) illustrates why economic and behavioural neighbourhood characteristics should not be conflated. Youth labour market marginality is to be measured by variables that engage in a *necessary* relationship with economic marginalisation. Such variables include education, employment status or the availability of financial resources. Behavioural characteristics, including variables such as early child bearing⁷, entertain *contingent* relationships with youth labour market marginalisation, meaning that the effect on marginalisation is conditional on place-based circumstances, such as lack of day-care facilities, or structural circumstances, such as welfare policies. In the following analysis, behavioural characteristics are treated as independent variables.

8.2 Methods and Data

The method is a conventional multivariate statistical and mapping analysis of data available at the census tract level from the 1990 U.S. Census of Population and Housing (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1995) and the 1993 Bexar County Maternal Health Indicators, Deaths by Selected Causes (San Antonio Health District, 1994). The area investigated covers the 226 census tracts within Bexar County, which includes the City of San Antonio.

There are three separate analyses. The purpose of the first analysis is to design a measure of youth labour market marginalisation involving multiple variables indicating employment

⁷ Early child bearing would have been preferred as a measure by Ricketts and Sawhill (1988) but was not available in the 1980 Census. Instead they used female headed families as a proxy.

characteristics, poverty, education and school enrolment. This analysis uses principal component analysis to extract the main dimensions of labour market marginalisation. As is often the case when working with census data, analysis is limited by the lack of variables pertinent to the problem under study. The need to represent a consistent age category for youth (18–24 years) limited the number of variables to five. A description of these variables is given in Table 8.1. They represent low educational levels (EDUC12), high poverty levels (POV18-24), and the cross-tabulations of school enrolment and employment (NENR/NEMPL, NENR/EMPL, ENR/NEMPL). Any combination of non-enrolment and/or non-employment may indicate marginalisation in the labour market. A combination of positive school enrolment and employment is not included in the analysis because it is assumed that employed and enrolled youth are not marginalised. Unfortunately, none of the variables permits distinguishing between men and women.

From the principal component analysis, two dimensions of labour market marginalisation in San Antonio are extracted. In the second analysis, the factor scores for the dimension representing marginal youth are then mapped to reveal patterns of spatial distribution.

The third analysis serves the purpose of investigating the relationship between marginalisation and neighbourhood context. It regresses the extracted factor for marginal youth on a variety of variables which indicate behavioural, labour market and cultural/ethnic neighbourhood characteristics. These are described in Table 8.2. A census tract's behavioural characteristics are represented by BIRTH17, BIRTHSINGLE and MARRIED. Although these variables represent women only, the literature suggests that they are related to behavioural attributes of local men who are not marriage candidates (Wilson 1987). High

representation of births by mothers below seventeen years of age (BIRTH17), single mothers (BIRTHSINGLE) and percentage of women never married (MARRIED) are expected to be positively correlated with labour market marginalisation of youth.

Table 8.1: Variables Included in the Principal Component Analysis

Variable	Description	Mean	S.D.
EDUC12	% of persons who have not completed 12th grade of high school, age 18–24, 1990	30.00	16.59
POV18-24	% of persons who live in poverty, age 18–24, 1990	21.01	15.96
NENR/NEMPL	% of persons who are not enrolled in school and not employed, ages 18–24, 1990	19.72	12.21
NENR/EMPL	% of persons who are not enrolled in school and employed, ages 18–24, 1990	35.09	12.65
ENR/NEMPL	% of persons who are enrolled in school and not employed, ages 18–24, 1990	19.01	10.30

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1995

Table 8.2: Variables by Census Tract Considered for Regression Analysis

Variable	Description	Mean	S.D.
Behavioural Characteristics			
BIRTH17*[^]	% of births by mothers under 17 years	3.48	2.97
BIRTHSINGLE*	% of births by single mothers, all ages	17.59	11.64
MARRIED	% of women never married, ages 15 to 24	24.50	11.14
Labour Market Attributes			
HHINC	Mean household income	28,205	20,544
POVERTY[^]	% of persons in poverty, all ages	12.99	11.95
INDPRIM	% of employed persons in independent primary labour market segment, all ages	26.31	14.49
SUBPRIM	% of employed persons in subordinate primary labour market segment, all ages	49.60	7.50
SECOND	% of employed persons in secondary labour market segment, all ages	24.09	13.09
NOWORK	% of persons who did not work, ages 16 and older	31.85	12.39
PART	% of persons who worked less than 35 hrs/week, 16 and older	10.53	2.97
TEMP	% of persons who worked less than 40 weeks, ages 16 and older	14.64	4.01
Ethnic/Cultural Characteristics			
FOREIGN	% of persons foreign born, all ages	8.94	7.86
HISPANIC	% of persons who are Hispanic	47.39	29.68
LINGISOL[^]	% of persons linguistically isolated, all ages	8.61	8.97

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1995; San Antonio Health District, 1994

*data for 1993

[^] variable was dropped in the analysis due to skewedness and/or multicollinearity

A second set of variables measure labour market attributes by census tract. These include household income (HHINC) and overall poverty levels (POVERTY). Occupational composition of a tract's work force is measured by dividing the labour market into three occupational segments, using the scheme in Table 8.3. The tripartite labour market segmentation scheme (Gittleman and Howell 1995) allows for distinguishing between increasing upper and lower labour market segments and the "declining middle" described in Section 5. The three segments are represented by the variables INDPRIM, SUBPRIM, SECOND. Additional labour market information is provided by the percentage of persons who are not working (NOWORK), who are working part-time (PART) and who engage in temporary work (TEMP). If adult role models affect youth marginalisation, then labour market characteristics should correlate with youth marginalisation.

Finally, three variables represent cultural and ethnic neighbourhood characteristics. These variables measure a tract's foreign-born (FOREIGN) and Hispanic population (HISPANIC). The variable LINGISLO measures linguistic isolation of persons who live in households in which at least one person does not speak English. If cultural and ethnic discrimination creates a labour market barrier for youth, these variables should predict youth labour market marginalisation.

8.3. Results

Principal component analysis, a variation of factor analysis and data reduction method, extracted two underlying dimensions from the five variables expected to represent youth labour market marginalisation. The component matrix was then rotated using a Varimax rotation.

The results are presented in Table 8.4. The three factors account for 74.44 percent of the total variance among the five variables. The first factor explains 47.68 percent of the variance; the second factor explains 26.76 percent. An Oblimin rotation tests true orthogonality of the two factors by means of relaxing the condition of orthogonality. The small inter-factor correlation of $-.128$ indicates true orthogonality.

Table 8.3: Categorisation of Occupations into Labour Market Segments

Labour Market Segment	U.S. Census Occupational Category and Code Number
Independent	Executive, Administrative, and Managerial Occupations (0-42)
Primary	Professional Speciality Occupations (43-202)
	Protective Service Occupations (413-432)
Subordinate	Technicians and Related Support Occupations (203-242)
Primary	Sales Occupations (243-302)
	Administrative Support Occupations, Including Clerical Service Occupations (303-402)
	Farming, Forestry, and Fishing Occupations (473-502)
	Precision Production, Craft, and Repair Occupations (473-702)
	Transportation and Material Moving Occupations (803-863)
Secondary	Private Household Occupations (403-412)
	Service Occupations, except protective and household (433-472)
	Machine Operators, Assemblers, and Inspectors (703-802)
	Handlers, Equipment Cleaners, Helpers, and Laborers (864-999)

Based on Gittleman and Howell, 1995

The factor loadings, indicating the correlation of each variable with the two underlying factors, are used to interpret and label the factors. The first factor is labelled Marginal Youth. It differentiates census tracts according to the proportions of youth who have major educational deficiencies (EDUC12), live in poverty (POV18-24) and are neither enrolled in school nor employed (NENR/NEMPL). Overall, this factor provides a composite indicator of youth labour market marginalisation. The second factor is labelled Employed/Enrolled Youth. This factor differentiates tracts according to a bi-polar contrast between the variables NENR/EMPL and ENR/EMPL.

Table 8.4: Results of Principal Component Analysis

Label	Factor 1 Marginal Youth	Factor 2 Employed/Enrolled Youth
Percent of Explained Variance	47.68	26.76
Component Matrix (Varimax Rotation):		
EDUC12	.889*	.160
POV18-24	.812*	.174
NENR/NEMPL	.922*	.093
NENR/EMPL	.131	-.826*
ENR/NEMPL	-.358	.728*

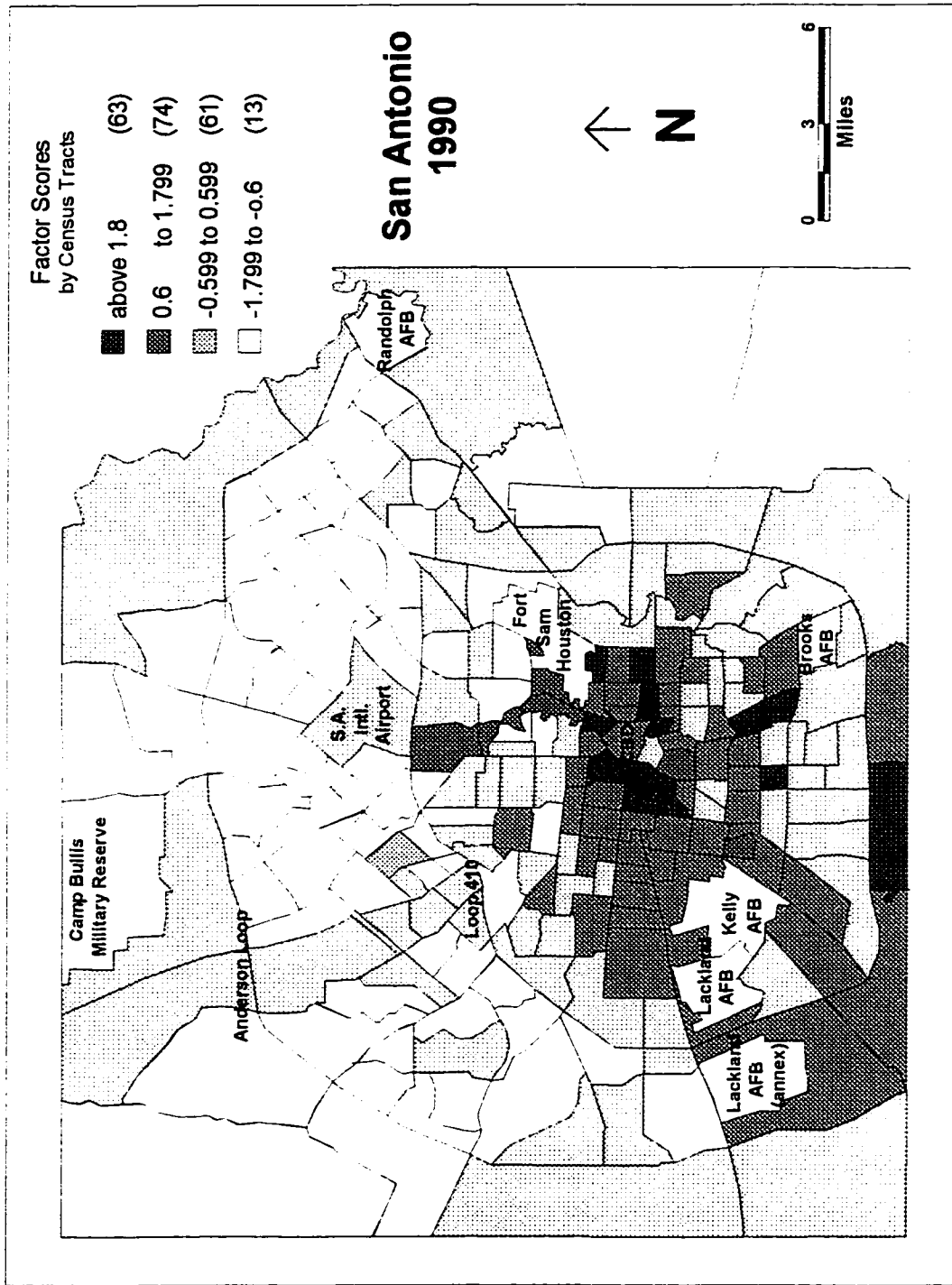
* Indicates high communalities

Interestingly, tracts with high levels of youth labour market marginalisation include high proportions of youth between 18 and 24 years of age who are neither enrolled in school nor employed. Youth that are neither enrolled nor employed are not marginalised. Low educational (EDUC12) and poverty levels (POV18-24) are not associated with early labour market entry. Instead, poor youth with low educational levels tend to be not employed.

Further interpretation of the Marginal Youth factor is facilitated by projecting the factor scores onto a census tract map of San Antonio. Map 8.1. displays a distinct spatial pattern in the distribution of the Marginal Youth factor. Tracts with the highest scores of Marginal Youth cluster in the areas known as the west side and the east side. Overall, factor scores tend to be higher in close proximity to the central business district (CBD). With the exception of military installations, factor scores of Marginal Youth are relatively high in most tracts of the west side, east side, and south side. Tracts with low scores are more frequent on the north side and beyond Loop 410. These patterns are consistent with the literature that emphasises higher rates of labour market marginalisation, lower levels of employment and education among youth in inner-city, poverty and minority areas.

The final analysis focuses on the Marginal Youth factor. In order to assess the statistical relationship between labour market marginalisation of youth and local area characteristics, a stepwise least square regression analysis was performed on the Marginal Youth factor as dependent variable and ten independent variables representing behavioural, labour market and cultural/ethnic residential area characteristics. Three of the variables originally considered for this analysis (Table 8.2.) were not included in the analysis due to a skewed distribution

Map 8.1. Factor 1 — Marginal Youth



(BIRTH17)⁸ or multicollinearity (POVERTY, LINGISOL). Although the variable INDPRIIM was included in the regression model, it was removed by the stepwise regression procedure. An analysis of residuals indicated a normal distribution. The residuals were also plotted against the Marginal Youth factor and projected on the census tract map of San Antonio. The regression results are displayed in Table 8.5. The β -coefficients indicate direction, magnitude and significance of the relationships between the remaining ten variables and the Marginal Youth factor.

BIRTHSINGLE and MARRIED are behavioural neighbourhood characteristics. As expected, both have a significant and positive relationship on youth labour market marginalisation. A one-unit increase of births by single mothers (BIRTHSINGLE) in a census tract is associated with a three-fold rise of marginalisation level. Higher levels of women who were never married (MARRIED) also correlate with higher youth labour market marginalisation. This result supports the hypothesis that youth in areas where young women do not marry during their teens or twenties fare lower in the labour market (Wilson 1987).

The second set of independent variables describes labour market characteristics of a census tract's population. Interestingly, mean household income (HHINC) and rates of adults employed in the "middle" segment of the labour market (SUBPRIM) have no significant effect on youth labour market marginalisation. However, the remaining variables (SECOND, NOWORK, PART, TEMP) have significant correlations of large magnitude with youth labour market marginalisation. Levels of temporary employment in a tract (TEMP) have the strongest

⁸ A log transformation of BIRTH17 would have complicated the interpretation of results. An additional problem is that BIRTH17 represents a youth group whereas other independent variables represent adults.

Table 8.5: Ordinary Least Square Regression Result for Marginal Youth

Variable	β -Coefficient	t
BIRTHSINGLE	2.925***	6.306
MARRIED	.722**	2.342
HHINC	.022	.633
SUBPRIM	-.360	-.606
SECOND	2.220***	3.791
NOWORK	1.546***	3.045
PART	-3.399***	-2.626
TEMP	3.993***	4.079
FOREIGN	1.558	1.484
HISPANIC	.422**	1.991
Multiple R = .914		
Rsquare = .835		
Model F = 102.000***		

* sig. at .1

** sig. at .05

*** sig at .01

relationship on youth labour market marginalisation of any variable in the model. A one-percent increase in temporary work among a tract's adults corresponds to a four percent increase in marginal youth. A one-percent increase of workers in the lowest labour market

segment (SECOND) corresponds to an increase of youth labour market marginalisation by more than two percent. Non-employment numbers of local adults (NOWORK) also have a strong correlation with marginalisation of youth. In contrast to expectations, adults working part-time (PART) are associated with lower levels of youth labour market marginalisation.

The final two variables represent cultural and ethnic neighbourhood composition. Percentage of foreign-born population (FOREIGN) has no significant relationship with youth labour market marginalisation. Tracts with high Hispanic representation, on the other hand, experience somewhat higher levels of youth labour market marginalisation.

8.4. Discussion

The factor analysis extracts a factor for youth labour market marginalisation (Marginal Youth) which represents tracts with high proportions of youth without high school diplomas, who live in poverty and who are neither enrolled in school nor employed. Youth who are either employed or enrolled in school have residential patterns which are different from marginal youth. This finding is surprising because it was expected that youth who are employed but have little chance for career advancement due to lack of high school diplomas would be an indication of marginality. Furthermore, it was anticipated that youth in poverty households (POV18-24) would enter the labour market early and may therefore be marginalised. However, the variable NENR/EMPL, indicating non-enrolment and employment, does not load with the Marginal Youth factor. This challenges the hypothesis that the main problem for youth in San Antonio is underemployment rather than non-

employment. Marginalisation of poor and low-educated youth is clearly associated with non-employment.

The spatial pattern of Marginal Youth reveals high concentrations on the west side, south side and east side and in close proximity to the CBD. This pattern confirms findings of previous literature that marginality concentrates in the inner city and in isolated poverty stricken and minority areas. High factor scores may reflect economic decentralisation and the economic isolation of inner-city areas. Inner-city youth may be unable to access suburban labour markets (Capps 1996). It is more likely, however, that the high factor scores reflect socio-economic status and cultural and ethnic neighbourhood characteristics. Low-status groups tend to reside in the inner-city whereas higher status groups tend to locate in the outer areas (White 1987). A sectoral pattern of marginalisation, characterised by higher concentrations on the west-, south- and east side and low concentrations in the north, are probably typical of other southern cities (Farley and Frey 1993, Witte 1993). However, a third analysis was required to further investigate the linkages between the spatial distribution of Marginal Youth and local neighbourhood characteristics.

Regression analysis reveals that youth behaviors, labor market attributes of local adults, as well as cultural/ethnic characteristics of a census tract have significant correlations with levels of youth labor market marginalization. A conclusion that can be drawn from this finding is that youth labor market marginalization results from a combination of employment attributes, behavioral characteristics and cultural/ethnic discrimination. The greater magnitude of behavioral influences in comparison to ethnicity effects, tends to favor the mechanism of problematic youth behavior. In the literature this mechanism is often grounded in the the

culture-of-poverty idea of the 1960s (Moynihan 1965, Lewis 1969) that suggests that subcultural behavior is incompatible with labor market achievement. This interpretation, however, is to be read with caution because behavioral characteristics also may be the basis for discrimination in the labor market and educational system. In addition, teenage and unwed mothers often encounter institutional barriers, such as lack of access to daycare (Hanson and Pratt 1992, Browning 1994). Although the regression analysis established that behavioral characteristics are important, processes of causality remain uncertain.

Nevertheless, the regression analysis results reveal important information regarding the influence of local conditions. Most importantly, the combination of high levels of unstable employment (TEMP), workers in secondary occupations (SECOND) and non-employed (NOWORK) among the overall population tends to be associated with high levels of youth marginalisation. Behavioural characteristics of a neighbourhood, such as out-of-wedlock births (BIRTHSINGLE) and delayed marriages among young women (MARRIED), also relate to high levels of youth marginalisation. The correlation of ethnic composition (HISPANIC) is of lesser magnitude, yet it is significant. The model may underestimate the influence of ethnic discrimination. The U.S. census assesses ethnicity on the basis of origin and not degree of cultural assimilation. More acculturated Hispanics may reside in areas with lower levels of youth labour market marginalisation and experience less cultural discrimination. Less acculturated Hispanics, on the other hand, may cluster in tracts with high levels of youth marginality and reside in areas that are highly stigmatised. Culture-typical behaviour, rather than ethnicity, may be a reason for discrimination in the labour market and the educational system (Blaut 1992, Steinberg 1981, Borman 1991: 10-12). The variable HISPANIC may not

accurately capture cultural dissimilarity. Neither may foreign-born population (FOREIGN) accurately represent cultural disintegration, since most Hispanics in San Antonio were born in the U.S. (Abramson and Fix 1993).

Two unexpected results are noteworthy. First, mean household income (HHINC) has no significant relationship with labour market marginalisation of youth. Second, the coefficient for PART is negative and large in magnitude. This invites speculation why an increase in part-time work among local workers (PART) is associated with a decrease in the number of marginal youth. The variable PART is not strongly correlated with other independent variables of the regression model (i.e. HHINC, INDPRIM, SUBRIM), dismissing the explanation that part-time work reflects part-time working housewives in middle-class neighbourhoods. Perhaps part-time work provides parents and neighbours with more time for supervising youth.

8.5. Case Study Area Selection

The selection of a case study area for intensive research is based on census tracts' factor scores for the Marginal Youth factor. Table 8.6. displays a profile of census tracts where levels of marginalisation are extremely high, as indicated by factor scores above 1.8. The profile demonstrates that behavioural, labour market and ethnic/cultural characteristics vary widely between census tracts. Although the regression analysis above showed that all variables are individually correlated with youth labour market marginalisation, the tract profiles indicate that no single configuration of variables is responsible for high levels of youth labour market marginalisation.

Highly marginalised tracts are classified into four categories. The first category consists of one census tract that contains San Antonio's largest public housing project with 1,015 housing units. Poverty levels in this tract are above 60 percent and 97.4 percent are Hispanic. Sixty-eight percent of the population over 16 does not work. The second category is labelled Residential Hispanic. It consists of three tracts with a Hispanic population of above 80 percent and mean household incomes above \$8,000 but few persons working in the independent primary segment of the labour market. The third category of tracts is the Residential Black cluster which contains an African-American population of above 55 percent. This ethnic contingency was not anticipated and is therefore absent in the model specification for extensive research. Lastly, there are three tracts bordering the CBD. They have an above-average share of Hispanic residents and display a mix of behavioural and labour market characteristics. Overall, the arrangement of variables is unique to each category.

Based on the information presented in Table 8.6., a primary case-study area, the so-called Lanier Area, is selected. The Lanier area covers tracts 1105, 1601, 1702 and a portion of tract 1106. These tracts display high levels of youth labour market marginalisation. Between 62 and 72 percent of the eighteen to twenty-four year old population has not completed grade twelve. Thirty-seven to 62 percent of the same population neither have a job nor are they enrolled in school (Table 8.6.)⁹. The four tracts define a comparatively large cohesive area on San Antonio's west side, suggesting that place-based conditions and/or processes exist which

⁹ These figures compare to countywide means of EDUC12 = .30, POV18-24 = .21, NEN/NEMPL = .20

produce marginality. An elaborate introduction to the case study neighbourhood is provided in Part IV.

A control area permits the comparison of processes of youth labour market marginalisation in two different social and institutional contexts. An appropriate control area is the so-called Palm Heights area, selected on the basis of *low* factor scores for the Marginal Youth factor. Only 28 to 52 percent of persons eighteen to twenty-four years of age have no high school diploma. Between 18 and 25 percent of youth are without a job and not enrolled in school. Despite lower factor scores, however, overall demographic characteristics are rather similar to those in the Lanier area. The demographic characteristics of the Palm Heights area are displayed in Table 8.7. The Palm Heights area is an appealing control area because it is located in the Latino south-west side of San Antonio, which is similar in geographic context to the Lanier area and in close proximity to the CBD. The locations of the Lanier and Palm Heights areas are depicted in Map 8.2.

Table 8.6: Profile of Marginalised Tracts

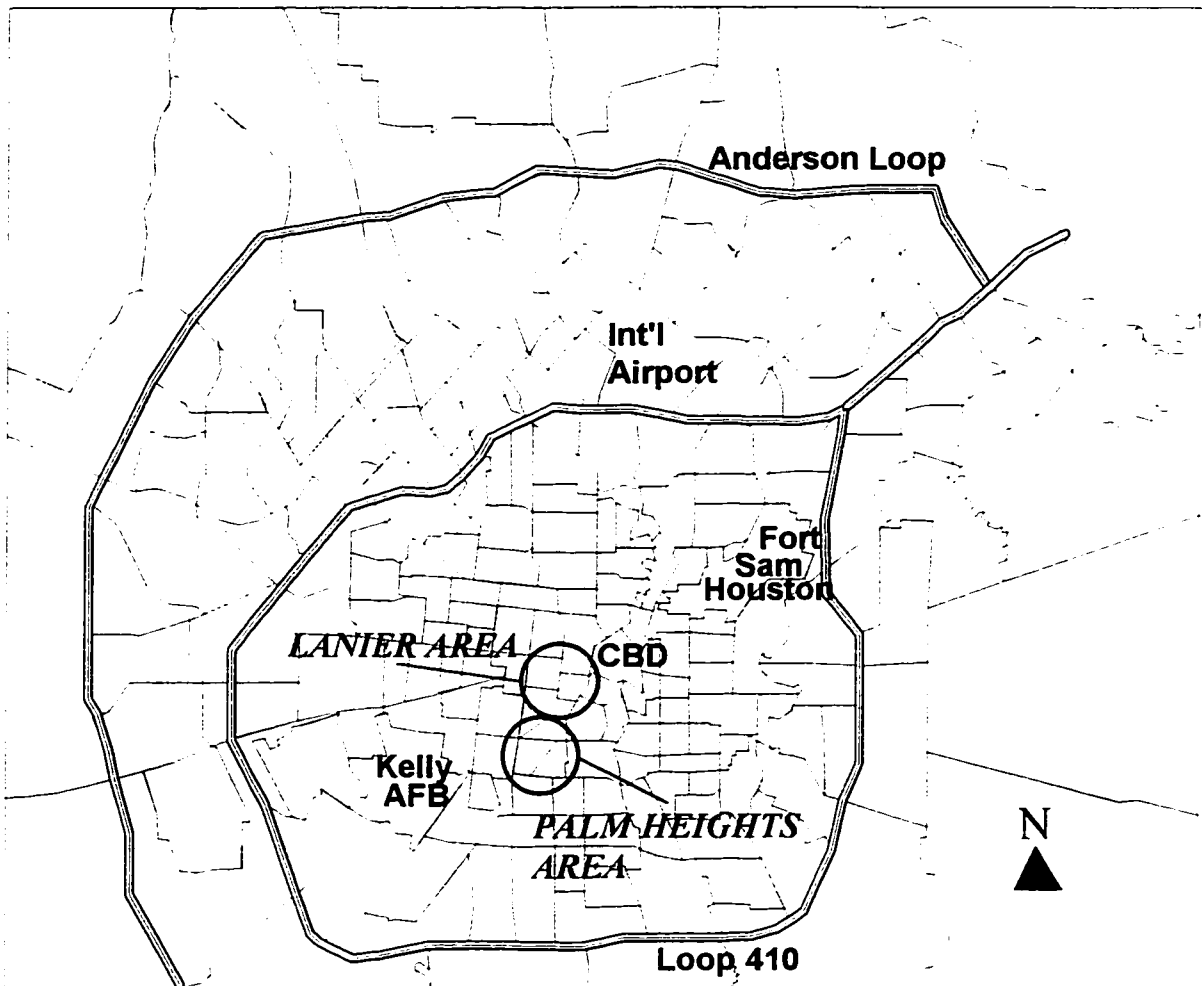
Type	Court	Residential Hispanic			Residential Black			Proximity to CBD	
Tract	1105	1601	1702	1106	1302	1305	1103	1109	130785
n (youth 18–24)	387	719	662	1129	98	446	478	96	302
Factor Score	3.75	1.85	1.98	3.89	2.39	1.93	2.66	2.37	2.74
EDUC12	.72	.64	.62	.75	.70	.46	.66	.48	.70
POV18-24	.83	.44	.53	.59	.71	.50	.63	.83	.64
NENR/NEMPL	.62	.38	.37	.77	.31	.46	.46	.40	.43
Behavioural Characteristics									
BIRTH17	5.4	8.6	8.2	3.3	13.9	7.6	6.5	0.0	4.0
BIRTHSINGLE	52.3	32.6	30.6	31.9	38.9	50.8	51.8	47.1	53.3
MARRIED	34.7	29.4	31.3	36.3	28.7	8.7	22.2	24.1	30.5
Labour Market Attributes									
HHINC	3.635	10.876	8,024	8,263	2,287	2,756	5,299	8,466	7,731
POVERTY	61.6	39.2	37.0	27.9	32.5	33.6	42.9	28.8	47.5
INDPRIM	2.9	7.6	13.2	9.6	16.1	10.4	14.3	12.8	13.8
SUBPRIM	32.4	44.9	47.0	44.0	28.8	34.2	34.5	54.0	41.6
SECOND	64.7	47.4	39.8	46.4	55.1	55.5	51.2	33.2	44.6
NOWORK	67.8	49.8	53.5	39.6	50.6	54.7	58.0	48.8	42.2
PART	8.2	9.7	8.1	8.8	16.4	11.2	10.2	10.0	14.1
TEMP	12.0	16.4	11.4	3.4	23.2	15.0	14.7	20.1	17.1
Ethnic/Cultural Characteristics									
FOREIGN	14.2	15.9	19.8	17.9	6.8	4.9	17.6	6.2	17.8
HISPANIC	97.4	96.5	97.2	80.8	41.2	25.5	79.4	67.4	72.9
BLACK	0.3	0.0	0.2	10.0	57.9	69.6	12.4	5.9	20.0
LINGISOL	42.8	29.5	30.0	22.4	4.4	45.5	26.4	19.9	19.7

Census tract 1520 is excluded because of small numbers of youth 18–24 years old

Table 8.7: Profile of Palm Heights Area

Tract	1504	1602
n (youth 18–24)	438	599
Factor Score	-.04	-.23
EDUC12	.28	.52
POV18-24	.27	.33
NENR/NEMPL	.18	.25
Behavioural Characteristics		
BIRTH17	6.7	1.9
BIRTHSINGLE	22.5	15.4
MARRIED	33.3	12.4
Labour Market Attributes		
HHINC	15,316	15,837
POVERTY	24.2	18.2
INDPRIM	13.7	14.1
SUBPRIM	54.7	60.2
SECOND	31.7	25.4
NOWORK	42.3	41.4
PART	11.4	10.2
TEMP	14.0	12.3
Ethnic/Cultural Characteristics		
FOREIGN	13.2	11.3
HISPANIC	95.6	94.0
BLACK	0.9	0.2
LINGISOL	13.8	14.3

Map 8.2: Lanier and Palm Heights Areas in San Antonio



8.6. Conclusion: Linking Place and Marginality

This chapter has developed an empirical measure of levels of youth labour market marginalisation in residential areas for greater San Antonio. This measure challenges the conventional perception that labour market marginality for youth is associated with underemployment rather than unemployment. Instead, the results reveal that low education

and poverty are associated with the combination of non-employment and non-enrolment in school.

The second major conclusion stresses the relationship between local context and youth labour market marginalisation. Strong relationships between neighbourhood composition, with respect to behavioural, employment and cultural/ethnic attributes of the residential population, and marginalisation of youth exist. Employment characteristics of local residents, expressed by a combination of temporary work, secondary occupations and non-employment levels of the overall population, is a powerful predictor for the labour market marginalisation of youth. In addition, a one-unit increase in birth rates by single mothers is correlated with a three-fold rise of youth labour market marginalisation.

By stressing local contingencies, extensive research establishes an alternative perspective on youth labour market marginalisation to the spatial mismatch hypothesis (Hodge 1996). It is important for geographical research to acknowledge the role of place in shaping labour market experiences for youth (Galster and Hornburg 1995). However, in order to understand *how* place-based processes work, research must utilise an intensive approach. Two case-study areas, the Lanier area and the Palm Heights area, have been selected to conduct such an intensive study.

PART IV: INTENSIVE RESEARCH — EXPLORING PLACE

Extensive research describes patterns and events related to youth labour market marginalisation. Extensive research, however, stops short of explaining *why* and *how* marginalisation occurs. Intensive research answers these questions. The previous sections theorise that causality is attributable to place-based processes. Intensive research therefore concentrates on the place-based contexts of the case study areas. Chapter 9 initially develops the methodology for intensive research. Then, the following chapters present intensive research findings.

9. METHODOLOGY

Quantitative analysis is not appropriate to investigate causal linkages between place and labour market outcomes. Jencks and Mayer (1990) observe:

[a]lmost all of [the literature related to school and neighbourhood influences] relies on a “black box” model of neighborhood and school effects that makes no assumption about how social composition influences individual behavior. Models of this kind try to answer the question, How much would an individual's behavior change if he or she moved from a low-[socio-economic status] to a high-[socio-economic status] neighborhood or school? They do not purport to explain *why* [original emphasis] moving has an effect (115).

Intensive research therefore relies mainly on qualitative analysis. Furthermore, intensive research is exploratory in nature and investigates how the relationships between elements of place and marginalisation operate. It is not expected that these relationships are entirely predictable through the model of youth labour marginalisation developed above. Therefore, the methodology was designed to accommodate unexpected situations encountered in the

Lanier area (Burgess 1984: 143-165, Silverman 1985: 22). Despite this effort, unforeseen circumstances and logistical issues were encountered during the research process that required the modification of the pre-designed methodology. The initial (intended) model of analysis is presented below, followed by the modified version of the model.

9.1. Initial Model of Data Analysis

The initial structure of the methodology is shown Figure 9.1. It separates data collection in the social and the institutional contexts. Phase I of the analysis addresses impacts of social structure. Then, Phase II is concerned with the influence of formal institutions.

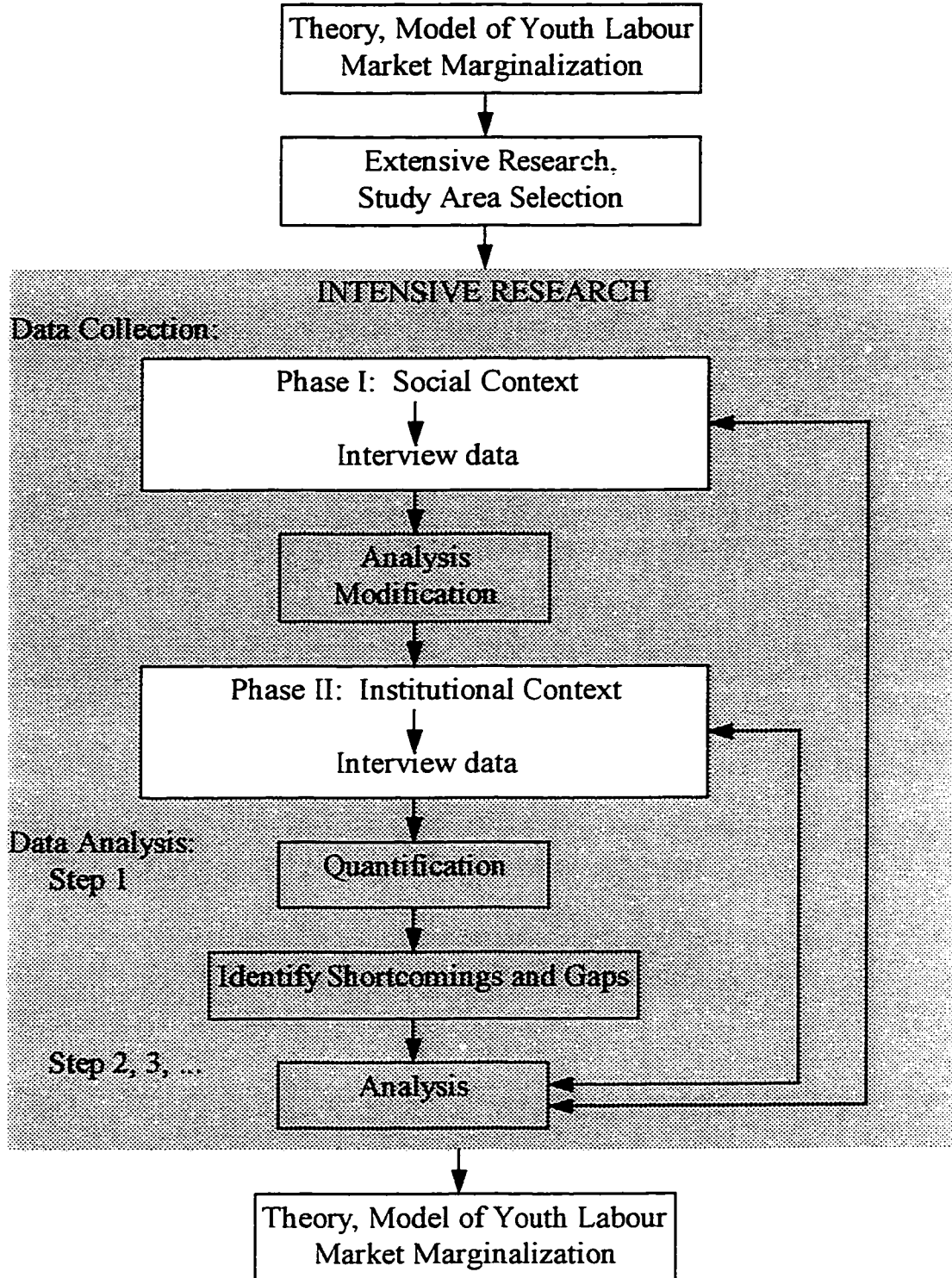
9.1.1. Data Collection

Phase I was intended to conduct interviews with youth who live in the Lanier Area. Depending on the information received from respondents, a size of $n=25$ to 40 is desired. A variety of sampling strategies are possible:

(a) *Local employers* are identified from business and company listings by ZIP code and/or through other sources. They are approached with a letter or phone call requesting their cooperation in identifying young employees for interviewing.

(b) *Local schools, job training, counselling and placement providers* will be asked to allow interviewing their students/clients. The local school board is approached with a similar letter and/or a phone call.

Figure 9. 1: Initial Model of Intensive Research



(c) *Snowball sampling*: Once initial contact to interviewees has been established through employers, schools and other organisations, respondents could be asked whether they know of other individuals who might be willing to participate. These persons will then be approached with a phone call or a mutual meeting between the interviewer, the referrer and the respondent.

The three sample techniques are co-ordinated in order to obtain a stratified sample (Honigman 1982) which includes balanced numbers of youth regarding labour force participation, education, skills, age (16 to mid 20s) and gender. It is expected that individual circumstances and processes of marginalisation will differ between these categories. In the case of non-adult respondents, consent from parents, school officials and/or employers will be requested. Adults who may influence the interviewees' responses should not be present during the interviews.

Phase I (examining social influences) will be completed first; then Phase 2 will focus on local institutional context. Local institutions will be identified through local directories such as the Yellow Pages, the San Antonio Business Listings, word-of-mouth and other sources. Interviews will then be conducted with executive officers and administrators who have a broad overview of the institution's functions, policies, operations and the situations of their clients. In cases where it is not possible to schedule an appointment with a phone call, a formal letter will be mailed. The sample size depends on the amount and quality of information received from respondents. A sample size of $n=10$ to 20 is expected.

Interviews will use a technique called focused interviewing (Merton et al. 1956, Zeisel 1981), in which answers are not restricted to simple yes/no or multiple choice responses.

Rather, the interviewed person answers freely and provides responses which are not pre-designed by the questionnaire. The interviewer has the option to “probe” and ask for further elaboration and explore issues in greater depth. This interviewing technique provides sufficient flexibility for exploratory research.

Two different interview guides will be designed prior to fieldwork; one for Phase I involving youth (Appendix A), and a second one for Phase II focusing on local institutions (Appendix B). Since Phase 2 follows Phase 1, the second interview guide for local institutions could be modified according to responses obtained from the interviews with youth. The focused interviewing technique further provides the researcher with the option to alter the contents and sequence of the interview questions during the course of the interviews in order to accommodate the specific circumstances of the interview and the respondent.

It is extremely important for the interviewer to communicate well with the respondents (Whyte 1982, Yin 1984, 55-59). It is expected that, in some cases, communication will take place in Spanish. The author gained proficiency in Spanish prior to fieldwork.

9.1.2. Data Analysis

Focused interviews produce large amounts of data and require a well-structured strategy for data analysis. As a first step, a pilot study will be conducted with a small number of interviews. This pilot study will involve both Phase 1 and Phase 2 of the research process. The pilot study is used for fine-tuning the research methodology. In addition, a preliminary modification of the model of youth labour market marginalisation could be possible, based on

the results from the pilot study. After the completion of the pilot study, the remaining interviews will be taken.

Interviews will be audio taped but if respondents disagree with taping, notes will be taken. During transcription of the tapes, data will be provisionally ordered and quantified into broad categories to collect a profile of respondents and assess the nature of their responses. Quantification of interview data, however, will not lend itself for further analysis because of stratified sampling and non-standardised interviewing techniques.

Data analysis will follow a grounded theory approach (Strauss 1987). Grounded theory analysis is inductive in nature and capable of simultaneously generating and verifying theory. With these characteristics grounded theory analysis seems to contradict critical realism and structuration theory, which theorise the structure of reality and society prior to empirical verification. Wai-chung Yeung (1997: 62), however, bridges the gap between grounded theory analysis and critical realism: “The grounded theory method reinforces iterative abstraction in realist research by providing a mediation between theory and practice.” Wai-chung Yeung also notes that critical realism does not build theory on the basis of rationalisation alone (Wai-chung Yeung 1997: 63):

The realist method for theory construction is neither purely deductive, nor purely inductive. It operates rather simultaneously in a deductive-inductive dialectic [...] The role of the realist researcher is to achieve a harmonious synchronisation between deductive abstraction and inductive grounding of generative mechanisms.

This “harmonious synchronisation” is achieved through a modification of the grounded theory approach. In its original version, grounded theory research begins with an initial

exposure of the researcher to the “field” (Strauss 1987, Wai-chung Yeung 1997). However, through the selection process of a “field” — i.e. a geographical setting, a population, an issue and a research problem — the researcher has already introduced a theoretical conceptualisation of the “field.” In the modified version of grounded theory analysis, that will be used in this dissertation, this initial stage of theorisation will be expanded to include the development of a theorised model of labour market marginalisation. The relationships between the elements of this model, however, cannot be sufficiently explained by the theory. It will be the task of grounded theory analysis to establish these relationships and verify them. This task is conceptually similar in purpose to the original grounded theory model. Both versions of grounded theory analysis are exploratory in nature.

Following the grounded theory approach, the analysis of interview data will occur in a step-wise manner. During the first step, consisting of tape transcription, the data will be provisionally organised. Memos (Strauss 1987) will be written to document preliminary results regarding the relationship between elements of the model. In addition, potential shortcomings and gaps in the model of youth labour market marginalisation will be uncovered. In the case of shortcomings and gaps, the available data will be re-examined. This process will be repeated in a second step, third step, etc. With each step the complexity of discovered relationships will increase. The analysis will be completed when a satisfying and logical explanation for labour market marginalisation (called saturation) is extracted from the data.

The research problems regarding prospects and career choices, local social context and local institutional context (Section 6.3.) serve two important functions. First, they keep the analysis focused on the research problems since the researcher asks himself after each step

whether and how these results respond to the research questions. Secondly, they provide a device to examine the original model. Once a relationship is identified to be an important influence on youth labour market marginalisation, it is pursued until this relationship is understood and causality can be placed with one or more of the elements of the structuration model.

9.2. Limitations and Modifications

During the research process situations were encountered that were not predicted by the above-developed methodology. It was, for instance, unclear to what degree the community would co-operate with the research project. Most survey participants, both at institutions and as private individuals, were rather reserved when they were initially approached. Sometimes residents would “probe” the researcher by responding to questions in Spanish but later would switch to English. After initial scepticism, interest among residents and representatives of institutions was generally large and most participants were very co-operative. Younger respondents were often enthusiastic, whereas adults sometimes seemed surprised that the research was focused on the Lanier area rather than a more privileged neighbourhood. Nevertheless, almost all respondents were eager to contribute. The overall supportive attitude within the community was an important factor in the successful completion of this dissertation.

Some community leaders and insitutional representatives of institutions showed an interest in the project beyond survey participation. On occasion, residents and community activists criticised — from an “insider” perspective and in a constructive manner — the underlying ideological motivations for the research. For instance, one community activist disliked the

focus on marginalised youth: “Of course, if you look for labour market failures, you will find them.” In his opinion, a negative formulation of the research problem contributes to the negative stereotyping of the area and has an adverse affect on local youth’s motivations¹⁰. Debates with residents were important and welcomed as they challenged the author not to reproduce marginality through a discourse of marginalisation (see Yapa 1996). Discussions informed the author about his bias as an “outsider” and allowed him to put his perspective in relation to that of resident “insiders” (Sibley 1995). The same community organiser, for instance, noted that although the study’s research objective equates labour market achievement with upper-segment employment, local residents may have a very different perspective on labour market achievement and may consider “flipping hamburgers” a satisfactory or even successful career.

Although a stratified sampling technique was employed, it was not possible to precisely balance the sample on multiple dimensions of gender, age, labour force participation, skills and education. Non-working youth, for instance, were encountered much more frequently than working youth. In order to obtain a sufficient number of working respondents, a slight gender imbalance, in favour of women, was tolerated.

All interviews were conducted in English. Although Spanish was frequently spoken within the community, all respondents communicated easily in English. All interviewees have lived in

¹⁰ The author examines outside stereotypes that contribute to marginalisation of local youth further below in Chapters 11 and 12. In doing this, the author — an outsider himself — had to critically reflect upon his own cultural perspective of marginality. Between the initial research proposal and the completed research, the author reformulated his understanding of marginality from being defined in “absolute” terms towards adopting a space-time contingent notion of marginality (Section 14.3.).

the United States for most of their lives. Nevertheless, some interviewees have maintained a distinct accent exposing their Latino origin.

It cannot be assumed, however, that all youth in the Lanier area or the Palm Heights area speak English. Occasionally, the author encountered young maids in private homes or bus-boys in restaurants outside the Lanier area with no working knowledge of English. However, these youth may not have been captured by the sampling techniques used in this research. Presumably, persons who do not speak English are sheltered from public life as they are not enrolled in schools and do not interact with English-speaking organisations. They remain “invisible” to the sampling strategies because (a) schools and training organisations may not know of them, (b) employers may not refer to them as they may be employed illegally, (c) they may be reluctant to co-operate, due to illegal immigration status and/or unease with non-Latinos.

An additional limitation regarding the sampling of youth originated from institutions which referred interviewees. Administrators used their own judgement and their interest to decide who they referred and who they did not. It was apparent that administrators often attempted to demonstrate the success of their programs by referring youth who were performing well. Other community organisations tried to raise awareness of the marginality of local youth and referred youth with very low career prospects.

In rare instances, formal institutions did not participate. Unfortunately, the San Antonio Independent School District (SAISD) could not be included in the study. SAISD policies require rigorous evaluation procedures for research conducted in their schools involving staff and students. Although an application for interviews with staff and students at Sidney Lanier

High School was submitted shortly after arrival in San Antonio, school-district approval was not granted prior to the date of fieldwork completion. Yet, the author had informal access to school administrators. Additionally, a major local supermarket chain declined co-operation due to internal personnel policies. Although appointments with youth were seldomly missed and could usually be rescheduled, in one instance, a city-run community centre repeatedly failed to keep scheduled appointments. Two youth and five institutional representatives disapproved of interviews being tape-recorded, and notes were taken instead.

In addition to formal interviews, a large amount of information was collected through informal interviews, conversations and discussions with residents, workers, community leaders and organisers, public officials, program administrators and participants, etc. Valuable insights were gained from the author's volunteer participation in the Family Creative Response for Conflict Teen Group at Inner City Development, Inc. Bi-weekly meetings with a group of ten to fifteen teenagers allowed for informal and semi-formal interaction with youth over a continuous four-month period. Furthermore, the author joined a local police officer on a Friday afternoon-evening shift (3:00 to 11:00 p.m.) as a civilian observer.

During the course of fieldwork the initial model for intensive research was modified. Temporal separation between Phase I and Phase II was not possible. Instead, interviews with youth (Phase I) and with institutions (Phase II) were carried out simultaneously. This was necessary because institutional administrators requested detailed explanations of the research project before they would refer any of their clients. One way to remove scepticism was to interview administrators first. For logistical reasons, it was appropriate to interview administrators and clients within a short time period (one or two weeks) to avoid stretching

fieldwork beyond the established time-frame. Preliminary analysis and modification of the methodology took place after the completion of the pilot study and while the remaining interviews of Phase I and Phase II were conducted. In retrospect, it was advantageous not to separate Phase I and Phase II because social context (Phase I) and institutional context (Phase II) were found to be inter-linked with each other. Thus, social and institutional relationships should not be investigated in isolation from each other. The modified — and actual — version of the intensive research model is depicted in Figure 9.2.

Step 1 of the data analysis took place simultaneously with fieldwork. In order to have an overview of the data collected, the respondents' profile for institutions and individuals was recorded during data collection. The profiles were used to monitor the sample and select interviewees according to their gender, education, employment status and age. In addition, memos provided further information on the topics, issues and problems addressed by the respondents. The memos, together with the profiles, were used to synchronise probing during the interviews with the categories and issues which were selected for further exploration.

Steps 2, 3 and 4 of the analysis took place after data collection was completed. During Step 2 the interviews were transcribed from tapes and notes. During this process the data was condensed and organised into preliminary categories corresponding to the relationships between the elements of the theoretical model of youth labour market marginalisation developed in previous sections. In Step 3, the preliminary findings were compared to the initial model and gaps were identified and attempted to be filled by re-analysing the raw interview data. The data was then further condensed and organised into narrower categories and sub-categories. Remaining inconsistencies were identified and examined by consulting the original

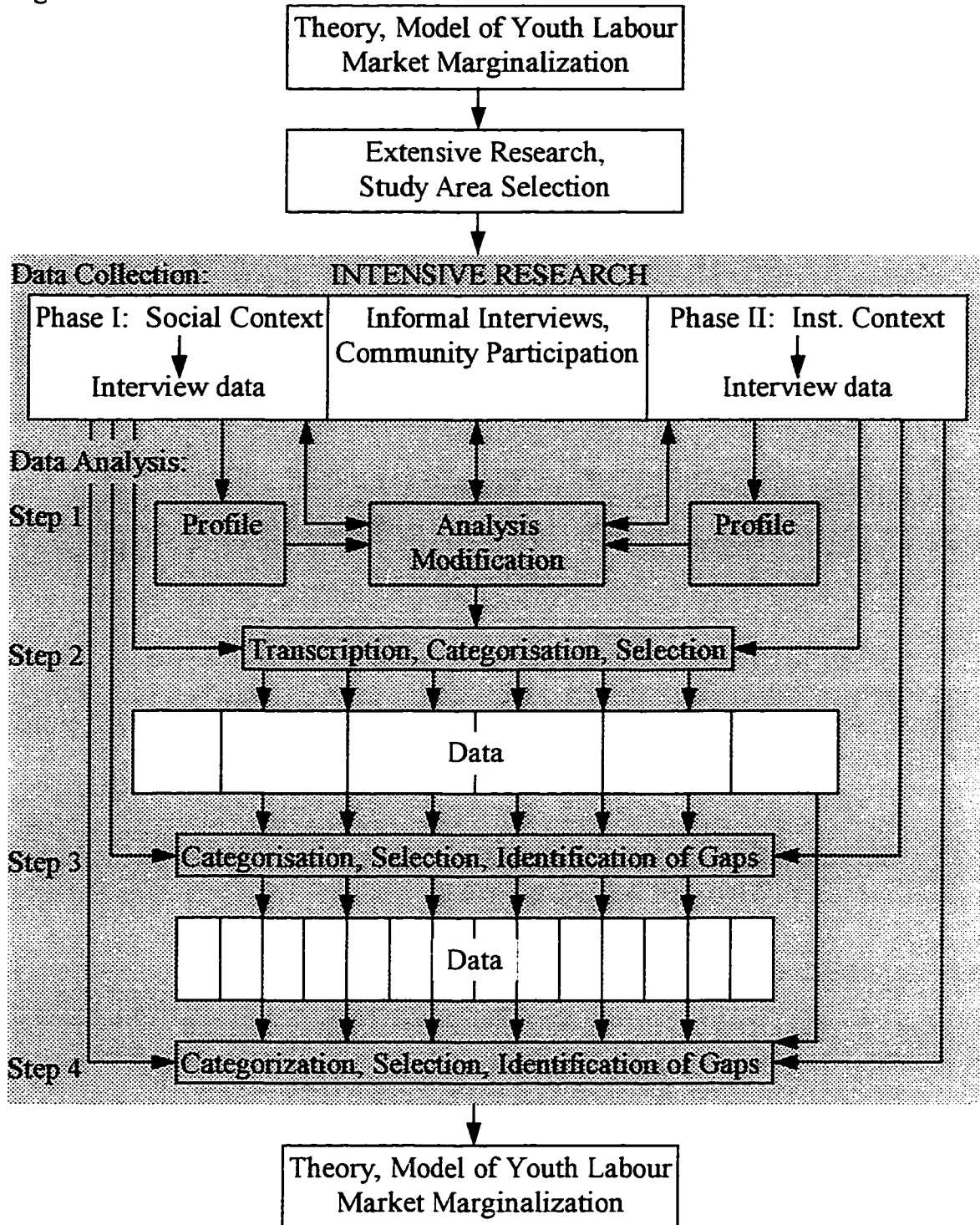
data and the data summaries written in Step 2. In Step 4, the findings were organised to inform the theorised model and the nature of relationships between the model's elements.

The process of data analysis involved continuous cross-examination of the data and interpretations of the data in different stages of the research. Key concepts describing relationships were extracted from the data throughout Steps 2 and 4. Since the nature of many relationships remained undertheorised in the pre-designed model of youth labour market marginalisation, the outcome of empirical findings was usually not predicted by the model. Some elements in the model, such as the police or religion, were not found to have a causal relationship with youth labour market marginalisation. On the other hand, very important causal relationships emerged from the empirical data that were not included in the initial articulation of the model. Empirical analysis, for example, revealed that community-based institutions unintentionally engage in processes of marginalisation, although conventional wisdom purports the idea that they counter-act marginalisation.

9.3. Profile

Preliminary quantification of the interview results is displayed as respondents' profiles. More rigorous quantitative analysis in a multivariate framework is inappropriate due to non-random sampling, unstandardised questionnaires and interviewing technique. Table 9.1. lists basic characteristics of the persons interviewed in the Lanier and in the Palm Heights areas. In the Lanier Area, the survey included twenty-one persons: nine young men and twelve young women. All of them were Latino. More than half were 16 or 17 years old, eight were between 18 and 21 years old and only

Figure 9. 2: Modified Model of Intensive Research



two were 22 or older. Ten respondents were currently not working and only four had full-time jobs. The majority of the respondents (fourteen) were either in school or in college. Although eight of the respondents had at least one child, only two were living with their partner or spouse in one household. Thirteen interviewees had no children. Nine of the respondents were raised in a family where both parents are present. The others were raised either by only one parent or other persons. Sixteen respondents said that at least one of their parents or guardians is at work.

In the Palm Heights area eight interviews were conducted; four with Latino women and four with Latino men. All of them were between the ages of 16 and 17 and were either in high school or college. Only two were working part-time, and six were not working at all. None of the respondents had children. Six were raised by both parents and in seven cases at least one parent was at work.

Based on extensive research results, it was expected that the proportion of non-employed/non-enrolled youth would be higher in the Lanier area than in the Palm Heights area. Most frequently encountered in both areas, however, were employed and in-school youth. The sampling procedure made an effort to balance the sample by employment status in the Lanier area. In the small Palm Heights sample, a gender balance was given preference over employment status and age balance. In agreement with extensive research results, more young respondents in the Lanier area have children of their own and were not raised in two-headed families compared to the Palm Heights area respondents.

Table 9.1. Profile of Youth Interviewed

	Lanier Area	Palm Heights Area
Total	21	8
Men	9	4
Women	12	4
Hispanic/Latino	21	8
Age		
16–17	11	8
18–21	8	0
22 and above	2	0
Employment		
working full-time	4	0
working part-time	6	2
not working	11	6
income less \$7.00/hour	7	2
looking for work	7	3
Education		
in school/college	14	8
not in school/college	7	0
not working and not in school	2	0
Family		
no child	13	8
one child	5	0
two children	3	0
spouse/partner in household	2	0
respondent receives AFDC	3	0
Family Background		
raised by both parents	9	6
raised by one parent only	8	2
raised by others than parents	3	0
welfare-dependent family	7	1
parent(s)/guardian(s) work	16	7
no parent/guardian works	5	1
Language		
English	21	8
Spanish	0	0

The sample for the Palm Heights area was derived from only two sources, compared to ten in the Lanier area. Furthermore, all respondents in the Palm Height area were 17 or younger. It would be improper to draw conclusions from comparing quantitative data of the two samples profiles. Nevertheless, the information in the profiles is valuable because it establishes the context for the analysis of interview data in the following chapters. For example, it is essential to understand that most respondents in the Lanier area had parents or guardians who worked; but also that many respondents had children but have chosen not to live with a partner in the same household.

Table 9.2. lists the fourteen institutions that were interviewed in the Lanier area and the three institutions of the Palm Heights area. The table also shows the programs offered by these institutions, their target population and information about the geographical area which they serve. Ten of the fourteen surveyed institutions in the Lanier area offer educational, training or placement services. In addition a variety of counselling services and activities are provided. Target populations and geographical service areas differ widely between institutions and frequently overlap. None of the three institutions listed under the Palm Heights area offers educational, training or placement services. However, at least six institutions that are listed under the Lanier area offer these services to youth in both the Lanier and Palm Heights areas.

The variety of different programs offered by the institutions was expected to provide a broad understanding of institutional influences on youth. Institutions may represent fundamentally different political ideologies on how the community should assist young individuals in making the transition from school to work and from childhood to adulthood. It

Table 9.2. Profile of Institutions Interviewed

Name	Educ. programs	Training programs	Placement programs	Other programs	Target population (age)	Size	Funding	Service area
LANIER AREA:								
1. Positive Solutions	GED	job training	job search, placement	job counselling	14-21, low income	800-2,000 students	JTPA, SAISD	S, W Sides
2. Literacy Service Division	GED			Cit. exam, literacy	17 +	25 staff	City, SAISD	Council District 5
3. S.A. Education Partnership	college scholarship.			counselling	9th grade	10 staff	City, SAISD.	Primarily S/W. Side
4. S.E.R. Jobs for Progress Inc.	GED	office technician	job search, placement	summer program	14-15; 16-18; 22+	24 staff	Federal	S/W Side
5. S. Lanier Band Booster Assoc.				support Lanier band	Lanier HS band	40 students	n.a.	Lanier High School
6. Juvenile Probation Office				review probation	up to 17	200 stud./week	County	W Side
7. Family Self Sufficiency				referrals	court residents	2 staff, 152 fam.	Local, HUD	S.A.
8. Project Stay			college placement	referrals	low income HS seniors	425 Students	Dept. of Education	W, S, East Sides
9. Young	drop-out	teen	teen	child care	dependent on	100 staff,	Unit Way,	S.A., Bexar

Women's Christian Assoc.	prevention	volunteer	volunteer	parenting	program	500 youth	public	County
10. Downtown Youth Center	homework assistance			activities	6-18	30-55 youth	Unit Way, donations	mostly S/W Side
11. Inner City Development	tutorial	teen volunteer		emergency, rec., cultural	all, focus on youth	150 volunteers	donations, city	mainly Lanier area
12. Young Life				activities, camp	6-18	50-80 members	donations, businesscs	Memorial & Lanier
13. TX Work-force Commission	GED, referrals	vocational assistance	placement, finan. assist.	case management	AFDC recipients	120-130 staff	Federal	21 counties
14. Guadalupe Church		personal counselling		mentor program	teens, youth	20-30 youth	Church, Unit. Way	mostly W Side
PALM HEIGHTS AREA:								
15. Joven				case management.	10-17, "at-risk"	250-300 families	HUD, public	S Side
16. Palm Heights Recreation Center				sports	6-19	3 staff	City	S Side
17. Saint John's Catholic Church				mentor program	12-20	7 vol., 40-60 youth	fund-raising	mainly parish

based on interview data, Sept.-Dec. 1996

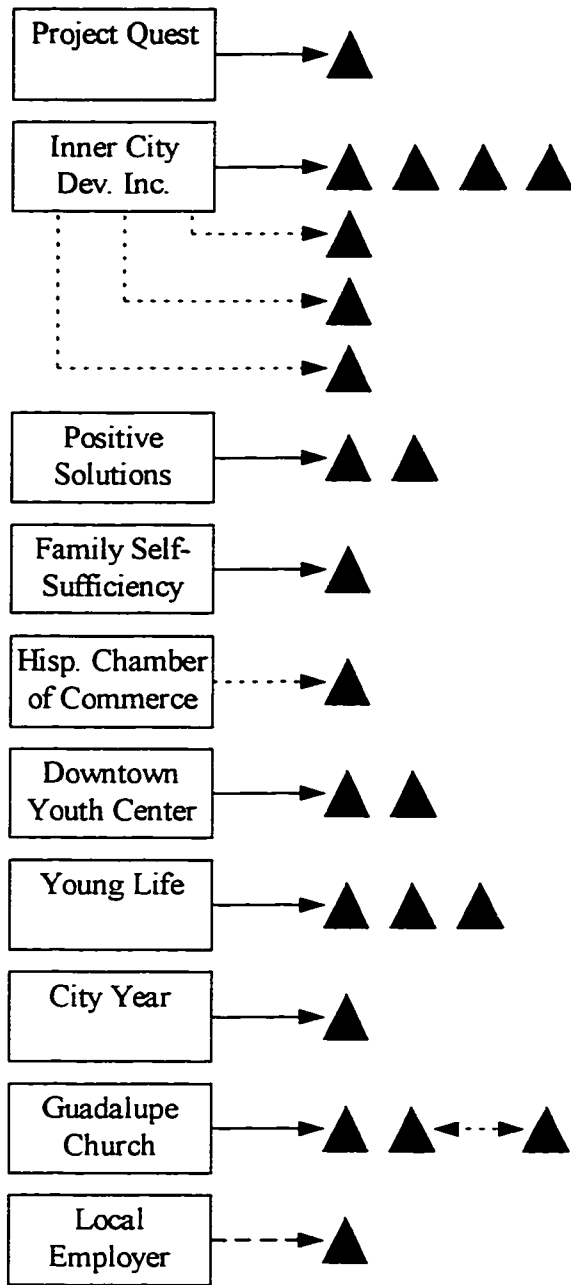
was expected that the interviews would be able to capture a broad spectrum of institutional influences.

Many of these institutions provided sources for the sampling of youth respondents (Figure 9.3.). In the Lanier area, the sample can be traced to ten independent sources (Project Quest and the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce were not formally interviewed and are not listed in Table 9.2.) The majority of respondents are program participants. Only one respondent could be identified through local employers. In the Palm Heights area, two sampling sources were utilised. The author recognises that this may introduce considerable bias; however, the institutional network in the Palm Heights area is thinner than in the Lanier area.

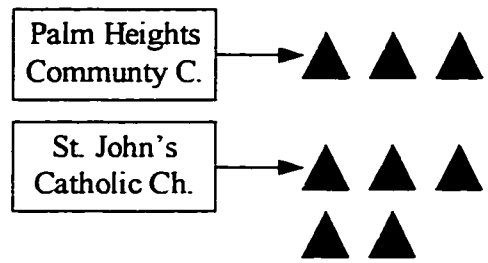
9.4. Summary of Results

Table 9.3 displays a summary which contrasts theorised and observed relationships and processes. In some cases, the effect of relationships and processes on careers was explained through the intensive investigation. In other cases, theorised relationships were found to be non-existent or unimportant. In some scenarios, relationships and processes were uncovered that were not articulated in the theorised model of youth labour market marginalisation. This table is not discussed in detail in this section. Instead, it assists the reader in maneuvering through the following chapters presenting intensive research results.

Figure 9. 3: Sampling Trees for Respondents
Lanier Area:



Palm Heights Area:



▲ interview respondent

Relationship:

——▶ program participant

-----▶ acquaintance/relative of staff/volunteer/participant

- - - -▶ employee

Table 9.3. Results of Processes and Relationships of Youth Labour Market Marginalisation

Process/Relationship	Theorised		Observed	
	Description	Effect on Careers	Description	Effect on Careers
<i>Agency</i>	constrained to youth through social exclusion	career decisions follow reproductional forces in society	as theorised and through criminalisation of youth.	as theorised
<i>Greater Spatial Context</i>				
Stereotyping of Place	local youth are stereotyped as lazy, poor work ethic.	exclusion of local youth from labour market opportunity.	as theorised	discrimination in the labour market and educational system based on stereotypes of place.
Spatial Isolation	youth do not interact with outside contexts; career objectives reflect local identities and expectations.	little emphasis on education, skills and upper-segment occupations.	as theorised	1) gender and ethnicity specific labour market identities. 2) cultural discrimination in the labour market and educational system.
Labour Market Perception	focuses on regional opportunity structure.	career decisions target locally unavailable jobs.	as theorised.	no strong effect.

<i>Social Context</i>	
Peers	<p>pass on attitudes, values, identities and expectations.</p> <p>1) stigmatisation of youth</p> <p>2) protective strategies confine youth to the home</p>
Drugs and crime	<p>cultural discrimination in the labour market due to “deviant” behavioural and attitudinal patterns.</p> <p>1) mothers prioritise parenting responsibilities over careers, education.</p> <p>2) less spatial access to job markets.</p>
Culture and religion	<p>place-specific construction of cultural identity.</p> <p>1) pass on values, attitudes and expectations.</p> <p>2) labour market perception follows career characteristics of adults.</p>
Adult role models	<p>cultural discrimination in the labour market due to “deviant” behavioural and attitudinal patterns.</p> <p>1) cultural discrimination in the labour market due to “deviant” behavioural and attitudinal patterns.</p> <p>2) little emphasise on education, skills and upper-segment occupations.</p>
	<p>as theorised; peer networks change with age.</p> <p>Street culture criminalises all local youth.</p> <p>(see above: street culture)</p> <p>youth reject local adults as role models; role models come from “outside.”</p>
	<p>as theorised; gender and ethnicity specific labour market identities.</p> <p>denies agency</p> <p>(see above: street culture)</p> <p>1) gender and ethnicity specific labour market identities.</p> <p>2) marginalisation of youth with place-typical identities and expectations.</p>

Family	passes on cultural traits and behaviours	1) cultural discrimination in the labour market due to "deviant" behavioural and attitudinal patterns. 2) little emphasis on education, skills and upper-segment occupations.	establish expectations for secondary-segment careers.	career objectives not considered "desirable" by greater society. Youth following family role models are being marginalised.
Gender and ethnic roles	1) ethnic and gender specific career expectations. 2) single and teenage motherhood.	1) placement of Latinos and women into lower labour market segments. 2) cultural discrimination in the labour market due to "deviant" behavioural and attitudinal patterns.	1) as theorised 2) single mothers encounter unavailability of day-care services. 3) initiation to street culture.	1) as theorised; lower education and skills attainments. 2) mothers prioritise parenting responsibilities over career or education. 3) criminalisation and removal of agency.
<i>Institutional Context</i>	local job market biased towards lower-segment jobs.	expectations and careers goals in lower labour market segments.	as theorised	as theorised

Community organisations	<p>1) formation of ethnic and gender roles.</p> <p>2) engage in skill training and job placement.</p>	<p>1) placement of Latinos and women into lower labour market segments.</p> <p>2) employers hire through informal recruitment channels.</p>	<p>1) as theorised</p> <p>2) offer educational services but not skills training.</p> <p>3) skim youth for desired attributes.</p>	<p>1) as theorised; lower education and skill attainments.</p> <p>2) educational improvements.</p> <p>3) youth with "deviant" behavioural and attitudinal patterns are under-served.</p>
Faith-based institutions	<p>formation of ethnic and gender roles.</p>	<p>placement of Latinos and women into lower labour market segments.</p>	<p>4) interventionist strategies assume that youth aspire to upper segment careers.</p> <p>5) impose ideology of cultural inferiority.</p>	<p>4) marginalisation of youth with place-typical identities and expectations.</p> <p>5) marginalise youth with place-typical identities and expectations.</p>
Police	<p>label neighbourhood as "bad," criminalisation of youth.</p>	<p>encourages transition into criminality and school dropout.</p>	<p>provide resources to local youth groups.</p> <p>engage in drug abuse/crime prevention.</p>	<p>no direct effect found</p> <p>no direct effect; indirect effect on street culture.</p>

Schools	<p>1) inner-city schools do not prepare students for the labour market.</p> <p>2) cultural discrimination in the school system.</p>	<p>1) employers reject local graduates.</p> <p>2) students perform poorly.</p>	<p>1) lower standards of education.</p> <p>2) as theorised</p>	<p>1) de-motivate youth; credentials become meaningless.</p> <p>2) students drop out, are encouraged to secondary-segment careers.</p>
Government	<p>engages in job placement.</p>	<p>employers hire through informal recruitment channels.</p>	<p>3) impose ideology of cultural inferiority.</p>	<p>3) marginalise youth with place-typical identities and expectations.</p>
Housing	<p>not theorised</p>	<p>not theorised</p>	<p>imposes local curfew and limitations to public assembly.</p> <p>public housing courts.</p>	<p>criminalisation and diminishing of agency.</p> <p>discrimination in the labour market and disadvantage in educational system based on stereotype of place.</p>

10. INTRODUCTION TO THE LANIER AREA

Why is it that one kid can grow up and get a college education and [another] grew up right next door to be a drug runner?

-community activist

Map 10.1. shows the Lanier area in the geographical context of the four west-side census tracts with particularly high levels of youth labour market marginalisation. It is difficult to draw an exact boundary around the Lanier area. Where the area begins and where it ends is a matter of individual experience and perception, conditioned by time, mobility and structural constraints. Some residents define the neighbourhood as their church parish, other residents define it as the public housing projects and youth groups often regard their gang territory as their home turf. Maps 10.2. shows different territorial perceptions of the Lanier area as neighbourhood. The neighbourhood boundaries were drawn according to descriptions from residents. Although many different territorial perceptions coexist only three examples were selected. Map 10.3. shows the territories of two opposing gangs. The information on territorial boundaries were provided by a youth group organiser who works with gang members.

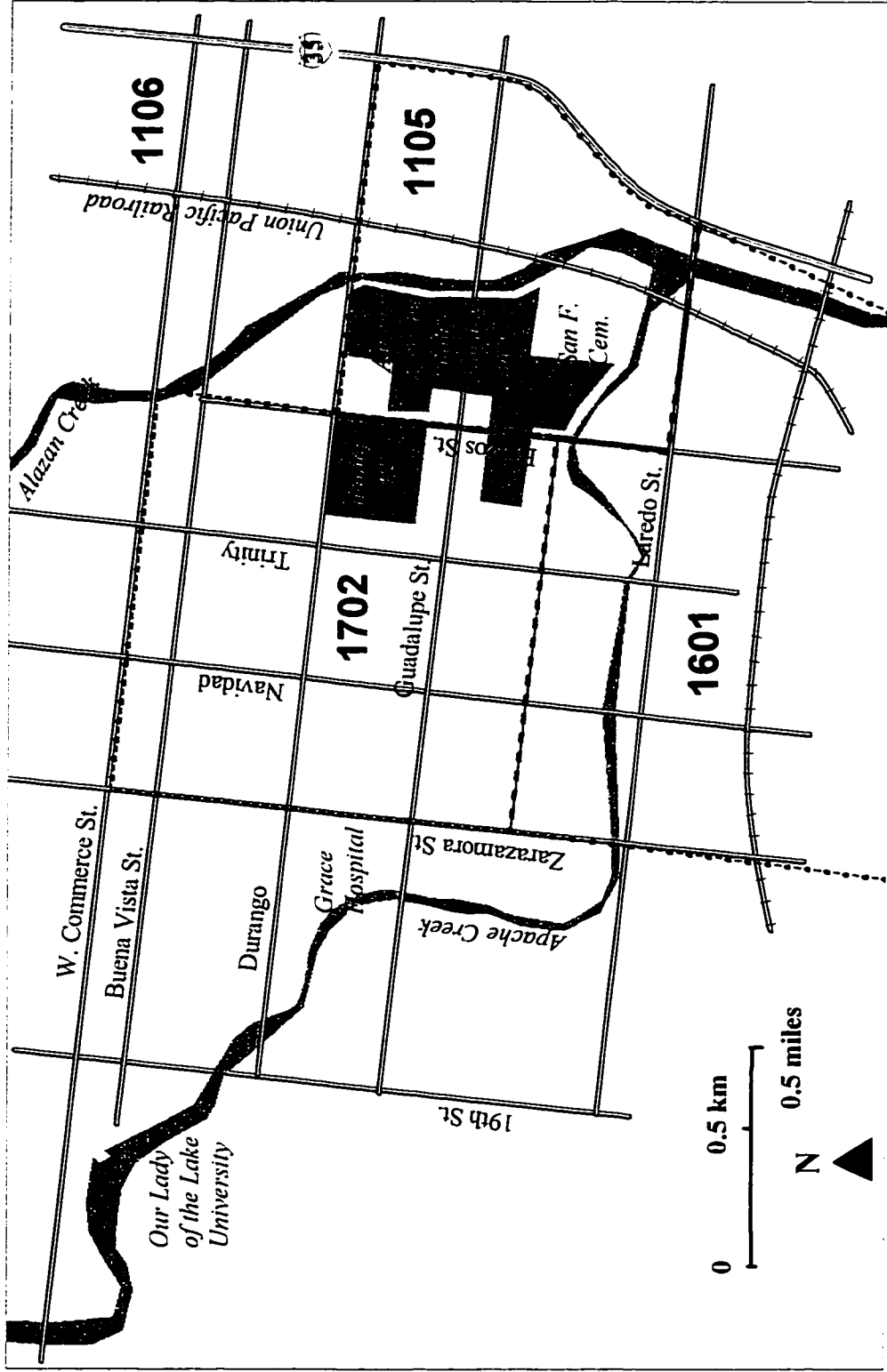
In this study, the boundaries of the Lanier area remain undefined in order to accommodate the individual's experience of place. A common perception, however, is that at the neighbourhood centres around Sidney Lanier High School, the Alazan-Apache Public Housing Courts and Guadalupe Street. The area is separated from the CBD by a

100 yard-wide barrier consisting of the I-35 Expressway, the Union Pacific Railroad tracks and the Alazan creek. The area is named “Lanier area,” “Guadalupe” or “the Courts.” For the sake of consistency, Lanier area (derived from Sidney Lanier High School) is used throughout the remainder of the text.

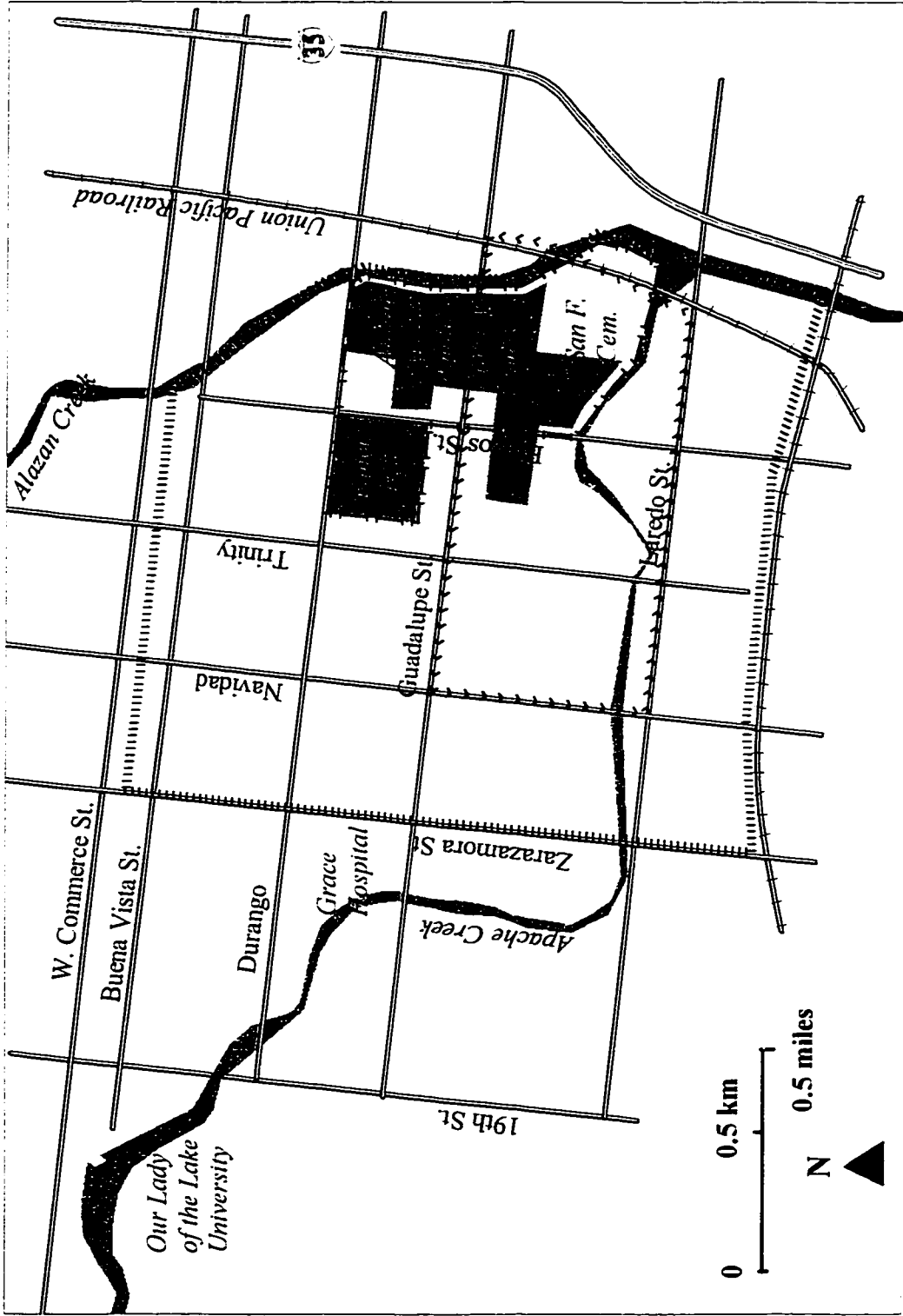
Time, mobility and structural constraints confine youth to a narrow geographical context of the Lanier area. A 21 year-old mother of two children quit her job six miles from her home: “I was pregnant and had to take the bus. I had to get up at 5 in the morning take three buses to get to work, take three busses to get back home.” Structural constraints affected a 17 year-old mother who would not walk to other places because of fear of harassment. Instead, she stays within the immediate neighbourhood or depends on rides offered by her parents or friends. Another structural constraint is the reluctance to travel into lesser known territory due to lacking familiarity of outside areas. A 17 year-old student avoids the north side “cause I don't know this area, like live there.” Most youth expressed similar constraints on daily activity patterns. The spatial isolation of Lanier area youth is also noted by a drug counsellor in the local police force: “They [youth] think the Lanier area is their world. To many kids, the reality is the neighbourhood. They know the north side, but the north side is not their reality.” To youth, the labour market and social and institutional contexts are defined by the Lanier area.

The following section describes local labour demand in the Lanier area. In addition, the employment situation and career prospects for Lanier area youth are assessed.

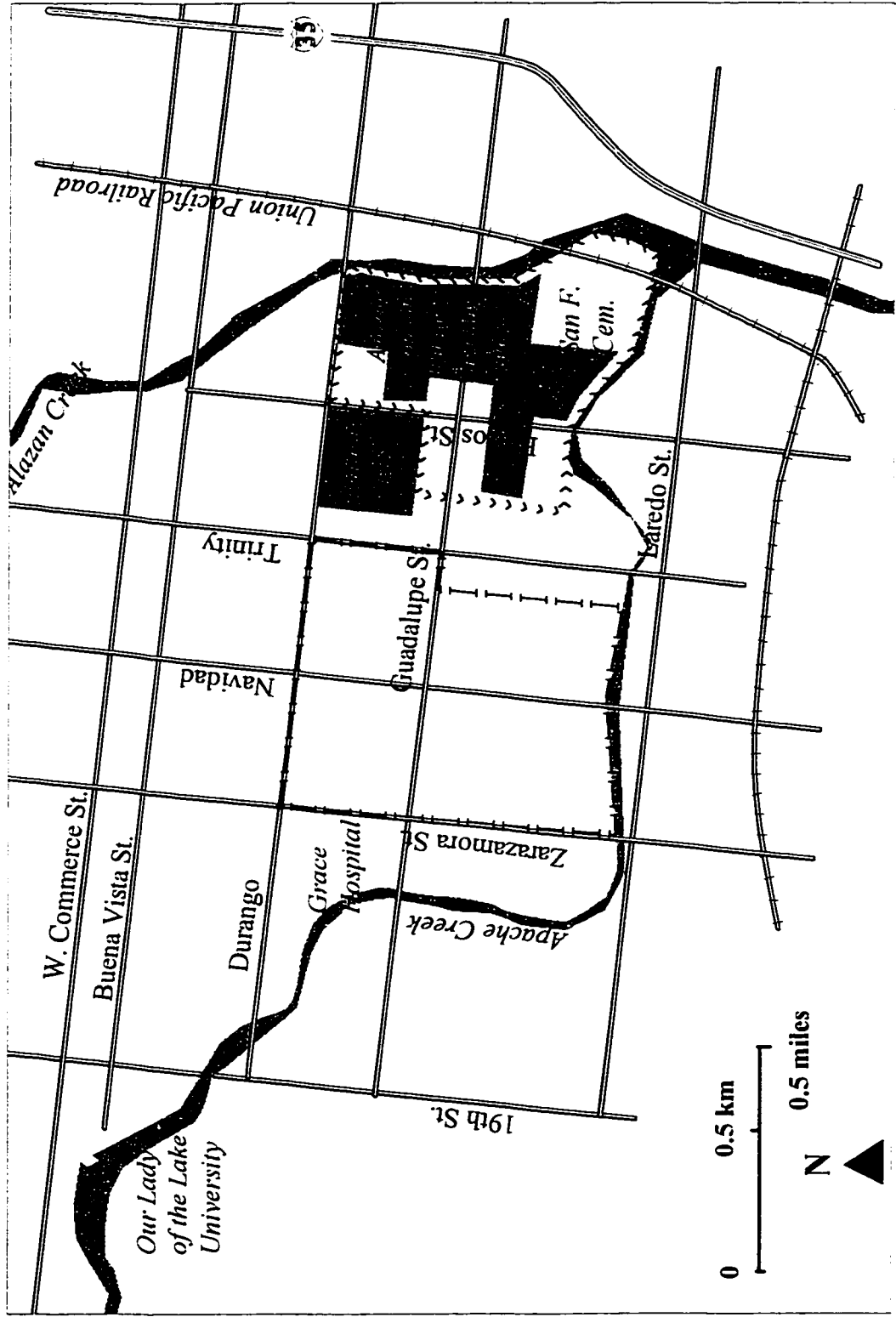
Map 10.1: Lanier Area



Map 10.2: Lanier Area Neighbourhood Perception



Map 10.3: Lanier Area Gang Territories



10.1. Local Labour Demand

As a residential area, the Lanier area offers a limited number and range of employment opportunities. Fewer than fifteen locally-based businesses have more than ten employees (San Antonio Business Listings by Zip Code, n. y.). There are two supermarkets and a number of fast-food restaurants, convenient stores, repair and tire shops. Large public employers are schools and government offices. Part-time job opportunities are available to youth in the supermarkets, restaurants and the non-profit sector. Employers identified through the *Business Listings* offered jobs to youth only during the summer months or in conjunction with a co-op program under the supervision of Lanier High School.

The area surrounding the Lanier area offers a greater variety of employment opportunities. Zip Code 78207 covers roughly eight census tracts surrounding the Lanier area and contains 206 retail, 189 service and 49 manufacturing establishments (Table 10.1). In close proximity to the Lanier area are two large hospitals (Santa Rosa and Lutheran General), a number of small manufacturing and wholesale employers and a permanent market (Market Square). The University of Texas will soon open a downtown campus.

Table 10.1. Employment by Zip Code: Lanier Area

Zip Code	78207 (Lanier Area)		78205 (CBD)	
	Establishments	Employees	Establishments	Employees
Retail	206	2,403	303	4,831
Service	189	1,467	652	10,558
Manufacturing	49	n.a.	16	n.a.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1997

Another easily accessible employment location is San Antonio's CBD. A large tourist industry includes hotels, stores and restaurants, and is located along the Riverwalk and within a half-mile radius of the Alamo. There are also the Rivercenter Mall, the Convention Center and a growing number of offices (Cardenas et al 1993). The CBD, represented by the Zip Code 78205, contains 303 retail, 652 service and 16 manufacturing establishments. The service sector alone offers 10,558 jobs; retail offers another 4,831 jobs (Table 10.1).

Spatial mismatch is not an employment barrier for Lanier area youth. The overall perception among interviewees is that employment opportunities in the Lanier area are similar to opportunities elsewhere. A twenty-one year old woman reports:

This [present job] is the best job I've had and that's right in the area. I guess they pay me \$7.50 because I was bilingual and most of their workers are Spanish speaking. So you might be a good asset for communication. I don't think the area has anything to do with it.

Rather than being affected by spatial mismatch Lanier area youth tend to have access only to lower labour market segments. A young mother and community volunteer explains:

There aren't really jobs that [residents] can get that they can depend on around here on the west side. You either get in a program or go to the downtown area and work in a restaurant or something like that. Other than that, there's nothing out there.

In a similar vein, an employment counsellor notes:

San Antonio is basically a tourist town. So the jobs that are available are seasonal and minimum wage kind of jobs; at motels and hotels [or] Seaworld and Fiesta Texas. And you're working part time and you don't have any benefits. A lot of people who live in [the Lanier area] work in these occupations.

Although lower segment jobs are over-represented for Lanier area residents, extensive research indicated that a large portion of Lanier area youth may neither be in the labour market nor in school. The following section assesses the current labour market position and labour market prospects of the Lanier area interviewees.

10.2. Youth in The Labour Market

Due to stratified sampling, career aspirations among the respondents are diverse. Two interviewees are in college, eight are in high school, five dropped out of high school but are getting their GED and one is in school and working. One high school dropout found a job within a month after the interview. Only four respondents have full-time jobs. Five youth have part-time jobs.

Two of the full-time workers are City Year volunteers who receive monthly stipends. Another 21 year-old woman is locally employed as a office supervisor; and an 18 year-old female youth is an office assistant at a local non-profit organisation. Among the part-time workers there is a 17 year-old youth who occasionally works for a temp-firm. Many youth who have part-time jobs are participating in school/college coop-programs. An 18 year-old college student is a biomedical intern. A 17 year-old Lanier senior works half-days at a local manufacturing firm as office assistant. Another 17 year-old youth finishes classes before noon and then washes dishes at a different high school. One youth is a temp worker and another youth is a baby-sitter.

Extensive research showed that Lanier area youth tend to be highly marginalised. The area has a disproportionately high rate of school dropouts and many youth who are not employed. The high rate of school dropouts is reflected in the characteristics of the interview sample. Dropouts, however, tend to be either in alternative educational programs (GED) or have some sort of temporary, part-time or unregistered employment available to them. This kind of employment, however, is located in the lowest labour market segment and generally does not permit entrance into higher segment careers. Although extensive research described marginal youth as not employed and not enrolled, this category more likely reflects the informal economy and alternative education. Neither the informal economy nor alternative education offers access to upper segment careers.

Mobility into upper labour market segments is further restricted because formal job training is not available to Lanier area youth. Exceptions are students who receive typing and secretarial skills in high school. Another student explains:

My HOSA class — it's Help Occupation Students of America — that's a class that takes us to the Hospital. And we don't get any pay or anything, that's three times a week, you turn in a paper and you get credit for the paper, not for doing work. [HOSA] is for me to get hands on experience in the hospital.

Youth who receive job training, however, are exceptions. If a youth has other job skills, they were usually obtained from previous jobs. Some youth have gained work experience as summer volunteers in community organisation. Others reported having summer jobs in hotels, at local restaurants, supermarkets and with the city, as cleaners, bus boys, dish-washers, cashiers or as landscaper. Employment experience is important for career building and some youth have complete work histories and, depending on their age, a multitude of job skills and experience. Other youth, particularly in the age 16 to 19 category, have no job experience. This supports the extensive research finding that youth in the Lanier area are marginalised if they do not have jobs and thus do not make experiences necessary for career advancement.

Although extensive research indicated the Lanier area to be highly marginalised, not all youth are affected by this pattern. In fact, youth engage in a wide range of different career paths. For example, an 18 year-old college student, and double-major in chemistry and biology, was placed by her university's work study program into a part-time job with a biomedical research firm. Currently, she earns \$10 per hour. She has an uninterrupted part-time work history since the age of fifteen and now has office, computer and finance skills. She intends to get a Master degree in chemistry from a university in New York

state and become a chemistry teacher. Her career path clearly does not fit the pattern of marginalisation indicated by extensive research.

A community activist and director of a community centre explains that local youth make different career decisions:

You know, there's different extremes. There is the kids 'yeah, I'm wanna finish high school, I wanna go to college and I wanna get out of here.' There is those extremes. Then there's people, you know, who love the neighbourhood wanna get a job, wanna stay here. And there is patterns of a lot of unskilled labour. That's very popular in the employment thing, you know, people that do a lot of construction. They're not apprentice, you know, carpenters or anything like that, they just go help their uncle. They're uncle is working with a sub-contractor; the sub-contractor needs somebody else to put somebody else on the job. But if people do house painting, they do construction then, you know, keeping them floating. There's a lot of that that men do. And there's things like house cleaning. That's a popular occupation among women. Housecleaning means office cleaning as well as cleaning hotels, offices. There is, you know, working at Wendy's, McDonald's; working at a warehouse, that's another popular occupation.

In some cases, place-based circumstances permit entrance into upper-segment career paths whereas, in other cases, they only give access to marginal careers. Apparently, choices are contingent decisions that are not simple necessary consequences of a set of place-based conditions.

10.2.1. Occupational Preferences

Occupational preferences reflect desired rather than actual careers. They are displayed in Table 10.2. Occupations are scattered across the occupational spectrum. Only three youth had no concrete occupational preferences. Women are dis-proportionately attracted

to health and care-taking occupations. Eight respondent desire nursing and health related occupations; seven of these are women. A 19 year-old mother of one child remarks:

I would like to be a nurse. I wanna be a nurse, anything that has to do with kids. I don't know that's all I can think of, [...] I heard that they pay them real good. That's why I'm trying to get my GED and try to study for some classes or go to college or somewhere where I can learn.

A college placement specialist, however, warns that many youth are disillusioned about the demands of a nursing career. He states:

Table 10.2. Occupational Preferences of Youth Interviewed

Occupation	Number
Marine Biologist	1
nurse	5
nurse assistant	2
home-health care worker	1
office manager	1
accountant	1
teacher	1
mortician	2
military	2
clerk	1
dish washer	1
“anything that makes money”	1
“no boring job”	1
don't know	1

I do get a lot of nursing majors. But I guess, the nursing field is real, real hard to get into right now, very demanding. The UT [University of Texas] Health Center here I think allows maybe thirty students a year into the nursing program. I mean that's nothing compared to the university students that are trying to get into it.

Some youth have rather focused occupational career objectives. A 17 year-old youth says:

Fast-food is not for me. I would like more or less just an office job because I also need to look at my books. Later, I wanna work for the San Antonio Independent School District as a substitute, just to pay for my tuition at San Antonio College. Eventually, I wanna become a mortician. People die every day, the money is there and I've been interested in it for a long time. My second option is a [school or community] counsellor cause I have been around and I know what it's like.

In other instances, occupational aspirations are lower. An 18 year-old Lanier senior, for instance, considers a career as dish-washer.

10.2.2. Education

Current educational choices and future aspirations of interview respondents are displayed in Table 10.3. Seven young adults graduated from high school or attend college. Three youth have dropped out of school. Eleven youth are still in school, studying for their high school diploma or GED. Young age prevents them from having higher educational credentials.

Overall, future educational aspirations are ambitious. Thirteen youth want to go to college and three aspire to a Master's degree or the equivalent. Only one respondent, who dropped out of high school, has no intention to return to school.

Table 10.3. Educational Aspirations of Youth Interviewed

Education	at present	intended
Master's Degree or Equivalent	-	3
College	3	13
High School Diploma/GED	4	4
Below High School but in School/GED	11	-
Drop out	3	1

Educational intentions are often well developed. Two City Year volunteers will receive scholarships from City Year and intend to enrol in colleges which they already selected. A 17 year-old Lanier senior has obtained an athletic scholarship at a university in Kentucky which he selected based on his plans to major in marine biology. Other youth's educational aspirations are rather arbitrary. Some plan on attending college but they have neither decided on a course of study nor developed strategies to finance tuition. Both, occupational preferences and educational decisions reflect a wide range of choices and contradict the idea that marginalisation is a necessary condition for Lanier area youth. Instead, career decisions are complex contingent processes.

10.3. Prospects

According to the model of youth labour market marginalisation, career decisions related to education, occupational objectives and labour market experiences are based on (a) attitudes and values towards careers, (b) labour market identities and expectations and (c) financial need. These three categories are addressed below.

10.3.1. Attitudes and Values

For most youth the value of a career lies in generating an income. Accordingly, these youth associate career advancement with making more money. A 19 year-old student explains her sequence of priorities. First she will get her GED “so I can get a better job, to make good money and get a house someday or a car. And that's when I started thinking what kind of job would I like or enjoy. Well, that's when I thought I wanna be a nurse.”

All interviewed youth were aware of the importance of educational credentials to get a job. The interview guide contains the question *If you had any advise for younger kids in the area, what would you tell them?* Eighteen of twenty-one interviewees responded with answers relating to education such as “stay in school,” “don’t drop out” or “finish high school.” A 17 year-old Lanier senior remarks: “Without education you're nothing. Education is the first key to you're success. Without education you won't be able to do anything. You could be a janitor.” As part of a long-term career strategy, many youth continue education and search for temporary or part-time jobs instead of better paying full-time employment.

Other youth, however, have different priorities and sacrifice education. A local GED provider elaborates:

One of the main things that we see as barrier to education is that even though education is one of their main priorities, it is not number one in their lives. [...] There's certain priorities that a person has: Work, take care of our children. Education is maybe number five or six down here. Then they have problems with transportation and child-care. That's why [class] attendance is sporadic. They come in for three month and then I don't see them anymore. What happened? 'Oh, my child got sick'.

Priorities often interfere with career objectives. A local contingency therefore is how well first priorities, such as parenting responsibility, are accommodated with education, work and career. Later chapters will demonstrate that the sequence of priorities interact with other place-based contingencies to play a crucial role regarding youth labour market marginalisation.

10.3.2. Identity and Expectations

Labour market identities and expectations, associated with ethnic, gender and social roles, diminish career choices. Stereotypical employment attributes situate Latinos in lower labour market segments than other ethnic groups. Career expectations of Lanier area youth express this bias. An 18 year-old college student explains: “If someone says to me 'Oh boy, you're not gonna make it because [...] you're Hispanic, how should we expect you to accomplish'. And they [her local peers] would go like: 'Oh you know, you're right' and so they give up.” In addition, employment expectations for women are in lower segments compared to men. An administrator of a local women’s association states: “In our

youth program we have a girl that's really good in math and science and she wants to be a nurse. And I think she can be a doctor. She can be a best nurse, I think she can be a better doctor.”

Gender differences regarding career prospects are embedded in local context and the underlying circumstances of ethnicity and culture. The following conversation with an 18 year-old housing court resident illustrates how being a woman, being Latina and cultural interaction with the English-speaking “outside” combine to construct social marginality:

Resident: My friend Rodolfo [pseudonym] never really knew his dad and his mom's boyfriend was to him his father. But the parents didn't speak much English; and all his brothers they all spoke English but his sister had this fair English.

Interviewer: Why the sister?

Resident: I think one of the guys was in the military, the oldest one, and when he came back he wanted to make sure that all his brother were, you know, grammatically correct because he knew how things were.

Interviewer: But not the sister?

Resident: She was like, from tradition she was not real educated or whatever, so he was more concerned with his brothers than he was with his sister.

Being a Latina has a two-dimensional impact on careers. First, there is an aggregate effect of being a women and of being Latina; both are marginalised in the labour market. Secondly, traditional tasks performed by Latina workers, such as housekeeping and manual labour, are under-rated, often unpaid or part of an unregulated underground economy. In addition, the labour market gives preference to workers with educational credentials and language skills, factors which are denied to some Latina women.

Access to labour market opportunities is even more restricted to mothers who carry additional parenting responsibilities. In the Lanier area, many young single mothers carry a dual bread-winner/care-taker role. A FSS case worker elaborates:

A number of young ladies who are twenty-three years old have five, six children. They were starting having children, when they were themselves children. So that makes it difficult because what we stress is that they have to be able to earn an income which is above the income-level which the state uses to provide income assistance. And of course, the larger the family, the higher the income they have to earn. That makes it very difficult, especially if they have more than four or five children. You're looking at earning anywhere between nineteen or eleven dollars an hour or you won't be entitled for income assistance. And that makes it hard.

Wage expectation among Lanier area youth are typically below ten dollars per hour, even among young mothers. Most interviewees said they would work for \$5.00 or \$6.00 per hour.

Overall career expectations are associated with personal circumstances, ethnicity, gender and family situations. These characteristics translate into labour market marginality through processes in the labour market and in social and institutional contexts of the Lanier area. This finding contradicts Wilson (1987) who purports that female headed families, for instance, are naturally disadvantaged. Instead, marginalisation results from the configuration of structural circumstances, including pay discrimination against Latino women and denial of access to upper-segment job opportunities.

10.3.3. Financial Need

Financial need describes a monetary condition which pushes a youth into the labour market for income generation. In contrast, financial independence allows a youth to continue education or engage in other career-preparing activities. Parenting responsibilities are one reason for young individuals to generate an income and enter the labour market. A 17 year-old GED student, for instance, is looking for employment to make child support payments for his two children who live with his former girlfriend. Another 17 year-old mother is searching for a part-time job to get a car which she needs to get supplies for her son and to take him to the doctor. Other financial needs originate from the search for independence from parents. A 17 year-old youth, for instance, states that he is looking for employment “cause I’m in the process of moving out. I have to basically learn to take care of myself.” Career decisions are financial decisions that respond to the needs of children, costs of college tuition, etc. Thus, financial needs are tightly interwoven with structural conditions of greater society.

10.4. Conclusion: Prospects, Careers and Culture

The Lanier area has excellent spatial access to a large number and variety of jobs. This contradicts the spatial mismatch argument which asserts that lack of spatial access to employment opportunities cause youth labour market marginalisation. Nevertheless, many Lanier area youth make career decisions that restrict their career paths to the secondary labour market. Supply-side processes are therefore the likely cause for high levels of youth labour market marginalisation in the Lanier area.

Extensive research results are misleading as they suggest that Lanier area youth are categorically marginalised. Instead, career choices vary greatly among local youth. This result supports Jargowsky's (1996) warning not to homogenise poor inner-city populations. In the context of this dissertation, this means that there is no overriding single factor that channels all Lanier area youth into marginal careers. Rather, processes of marginalisation operate under some circumstances but not in others. This supports the argument of the contingent nature of the structuration process in the context of youth labour market marginalisation.

Contrary to the conclusion derived from extensive research, that marginal youth are not employed and not enrolled in education, many of these youth participate in the informal economy or in alternative educational programs. The majority of the interviewed youth, in fact, complete the basic high school diploma or the equivalency degree and many intend to enrol in college. Awareness of the importance of higher education, however, does not automatically translate into college attendance and subsequent access to upper labour market segments. It depends on additional conditions, including attitudes and values, identity and expectations, financial ability, and social and institutional context whether a youth gains access to upper-segment careers.

The geographical interpretation of the structuration model, developed in Chapter 3, associates place-specific structuration with local contingencies. One local contingency that cuts across all aspects of career decision-making is the perception of the value and purpose of a career. Many Lanier area youth have higher priorities than careers, such as parenting responsibilities. In addition, place-based, ethnicity and gender-specific labour market

identities favour career paths, such as nurse or dish-washer, and neglect upper-segment paths, such as medical doctor or managers. These general career objectives reflect more specific employment attributes, including pay, benefits and job security. The career paths associated with local identities, however, are not “naturally” marginalising. Dish-washer or nursing assistant are not “bad” careers, unless these occupations are evaluated on a scale that positions them below restaurant manager or doctor. An evaluation of dish-washer or nursing assistant as a “bad” job does not necessarily reflect the perception of Lanier area residents. Rather, it represents an outsider perspective from a different geographical context. Such a perspective on careers is often adopted by outsiders who work in the Lanier area and by researchers who study the area. These observations set the stage for further analysis of role regarding place in the structuration process.

11. SOCIAL CONTEXT AND IDENTITY

I've always looked at living in this community as far as the children are concerned as what life would look like during war time somewhat. There are people dying everywhere all around you. There are people suffering everywhere all around you. I mean all these hard things. It's your survival mentality. That's exactly what it is. But I know, it's spiritual warfare. It's a spiritual battle.

- youth group organiser

These kids, they live it and we see it on TV, you know.

- community volunteer

Agency regarding career decisions is constrained for Lanier area youth. On the one hand, youth are expected to carry adult responsibilities but, on the other hand, they continue to be dependent on parents, school officials and structural circumstances that constrain independent decision making. A 19 year-old mother explains that she dropped out of school because of a conflict between her parenting responsibilities and formal dependence on her mother:

I had left my mom's house when I had [the baby] and since I left she had me registered as a runaway. So, she wanted me back home, I just didn't want to go back. I tried doing back to school and I told my mom: I know I haven't stayed home and I've been missing some school days, I wanna know if I can go back without you calling the cops on me. She didn't. She had said yes but the first thing that happened when I went back to school, you know, the cops were there who were taking me back home. My mom was trying to convince me to stay but I didn't want to stay. So I left the house and I told my mom I'm at least trying to finish school. That's when I left and I never went back [to school].

The director of an educational institution articulates the problem from an adult perspective:

I have people say: why you're gonna help these [youth], they messed up. And there again, you never made a mistake? These kids, you're pregnant? 'Get out!' 'But mom I have no job.' 'Oh well, you should have thought of that.'

An extreme way of removing agency is to criminalise youth. Residents and institutions associate groups of unsupervised youth with violent gangs. A 16 year-old youth remarks that local adults “are over-protective. They don't like it when kids go by their yards, and they get kind of scared when a group of guys or girls walk by. They think we're all a bunch of trouble makers.” Along the same lines, a community activist notes:

We had a researcher who asked parents, you know, 'what do you hope for your children?' You know, the researcher asked the parents what they would hope to see the child doing ten years from now. The kind of responses that they would get were like: 'Well I hope they're not in jail, I hope she's not pregnant, I hope they're not doing drugs.' You know, things that would be all in the negative.

A similar perspective that criminalises local youth is voiced in the institutional context of the Lanier area. A youth group organiser believes that most of his youth-clients will “end up in the courts or in jail.” Like convicted criminals, youth are controlled by their social and institutional contexts to prevent epidemics of “disorder.” Similarly, many youth are not given the opportunity to develop their career objectives according to place-based identities. Instead, their career objectives are shaped by the perceptions that are

considered as “appropriate” by youth group administrators¹¹. Thus, local youth are denied the opportunity to challenge the roles and expectations imposed upon them by society and the labour market. With agency minimised, youth are exposed to forces entrenched in social structure and the social system.

The remainder of this chapter takes initial inventory of the Lanier area’s social context. Then it describes how social structure and the social system are involved in the formation of identities. Conflicting identities from “inside” the Lanier area and from the “outside” result in the marginalisation of youth in the labour market.

11.1. Local Social Context

The six theorised elements of social context are peers, crime and drugs, culture and religion, family, adult role models, gender and ethnic roles (Section 6.2.). The two elements “drugs and crime,” and “culture and religion” are collapsed into a single category “street culture.” Another category, “changing context: stability and turnover,” has been added.

Peers

Peer networks are defined locally. A young mother who lives in the Alazan-Apache Housing Courts explains that her peer network evolved through “...my little girl's dad. He's always been living on the west side. So I met friends through him and I met girls

¹¹ Chapter 12 elaborates on processes of marginalisation that take place within the local institutional context. The pessimistic attitude among youth group organisers reflects the inability of local youth to live up to non-local, outside expectations.

through his friends or guys, you know, and I used to hang out with them.” When youth get older and interact with contexts outside the Lanier area their social networks expand geographically. A 19 year-old college student now has friends in the Lanier area and in other parts of San Antonio. She notes that “some of them had graduated with me at Lanier and the other ones, I have been real close to from SAC [San Antonio College].”

Attitudes, expectations and the construction of local identities procreate through peer networks. In the Lanier area these networks are confined geographically and allow social and labour market identities to be locally constructed. Older youth and youth who have access to outside peer networks have access to other identities. This is supporting evidence for the place-based nature of social systems, as theorised in the geographical interpretation of structuration theory. However, the experience of social context is conditioned by peer networks which are individualised and changing with age. Place alone is an inaccurate representation of peer influences. This complicates previous literature on neighbourhood effects (Jencks and Mayer 1990, Turner and Ellen 1997, Crane 1991) that associates local peer influences with rigid geographical areas such as census tracts.

Street Culture

Bourgois (1995: 8) defines street culture as “a complex and conflictual web of beliefs, modes of interaction, values, and ideologies that have emerged in opposition to exclusion from mainstream society.” One distinct aspect of street culture is youth gangs (Suttles 1968, Ley 1974, Rodriguez 1993). The territories of two rival gangs are shown in Map

10.3. Smaller youth groups have overlapping territories (not shown in Map 10.3.). Peer networks are defined within these territories.

Despite a recent decline of local gang memberships, youth groups still have profound impact on peer networks, according to local youth and community leaders. A 17 year-old youth describes how the following about the relationship with his friends was disrupted by other youth groups:

We went to school together, we went swimming, rode bikes, we mostly went to the movies. Just like regular stuff, played a lot of basketball, we did a lot of stuff together. All the guys in the area were hanging out together. But when the gangs started coming in we all started separating, you know. Everybody! Like some of my friends started to go to that gang; some other friends started to go to another gang and those two gangs didn't like each other. So we couldn't even talk to him because this gang over here didn't like us. We couldn't talk to this gang over here because this gang didn't like us. We wouldn't really talk to them because we didn't want to get in trouble, you know. Most of our friends are gang members but we stay away from them and let them do what they want. But we won't go with them and stuff. A lot of the gang stuff has really like separated all our friends, you know.

Violence often confronts youth who resist gang affiliation. A 16-year old male youth clarifies:

Youth: I think the only problem [with the Lanier area] that I would have that is negative are gangs. The only reason is that ever since I was in middle school, I was always picked on. I have my name painted on just about any bullet.

Interviewer: How come?

Youth: Years ago they wanted to initiate me to join their gangs and I would refuse and therefore I was constantly in a fight, just about every day. A lot of my friends were either paralysed, shot — because of gun shot wounds. And I don't wanna go down that road.

Many interviewed youth reported losing friends due to violent deaths. A 17 year-old adolescent states:

A lot of my friends died too. One of my friends was on drugs and my best friend was trying to stop him. He shot him right here [points to his body], and he shot him in the face and he shot him in the chest and he died. Another of my friends, he was standing outside, and some car just drove up and shot him right here in the throat and he just collapsed. My other friend, he just died a week ago. He shot himself in the head. Suicide, just like that. Sometime you have a lot of problems, you owe people money and stuff like that. I had a lot of friends that died already.

Other signs of violence and narcotics abuse are publicly visible in the Lanier area. On Trinity Street, a graffiti-mural reads: "IN LOVING MEMORY OF CHUCK — REST IN PEACE — STOP VIOLENCE." It mourns a 15-year old youth who killed himself in a game of Russian Roulette after he was sniffing paint. Street prostitution has been reported to be in decline in recent years although interviewees noted that prostitution still exists within their peer networks.

Only a fraction of Lanier area youth engage in violent crimes, excessive drug abuse and prostitution. Although many youth have participated in some aspect of street culture, most have done so sporadically and/or withdrew from it after short periods of engagement. Nonetheless, the stigma of street culture and criminality is categorically imposed upon the Lanier area and local youth, not just on the few individuals who actually, and permanently, engage in street culture.

Community-based organisations respond to the street-culture “problem” with specialised programs. The Literacy Service Division, for instance, offers GED classes especially designed for gang members. Although gang violence and local street prostitution have declined in recent years, stereotypes remain and the criminalisation of local youth continues. Subsequently, agency remains restricted for youth.

Family

A community activist answers the question whether youth in the Lanier area have a disadvantage in finding jobs as follows:

A lot of them will be limited of the experience of somebody else in the family having held a job. And you know, if you have an older sister, brother or parent who has job experience you have more of a tendency to follow that role. So they have fewer roles models.

In a similar vein, a college placement counsellor explains:

We still have a lot of kids saying: 'My parents don't tell me anything about I should go to college.' They don't have a lot of emotional support from home. If there's a kid out there struggling and wanting to go to college a lot of them will find themselves on their own.

Few Lanier area youth are being motivated for careers in the upper labour market segments through role models in the family. Lanier area parents often function as role models for careers in manual labour and promote labour force entrance at an early age. A 17 year-old youth reports:

My friends' families, they're workers. They work a lot, you know. They're real hard workers. They work in construction and mechanic and stuff like that, tire shops and stuff like that, you know. Even my friend worked at a restaurant too.

The careers of family members described above are usually not considered “desirable” careers by standards that prevail outside the Lanier area. A common perception among local institutions is therefore that family members generally do not provide positive role models. This perspective is expressed by a youth group supervisor who was asked about the origin of career expectations among local youth:

That question is difficult. They know that their mom and dad didn't get very far. They may try to pick up something from the family but if the family is dysfunctional [sic] they have to look elsewhere. So they may look at a teacher, they may look at an athlete, or friend.

If, however, local youth accept local family members as their role models regarding labour market expectations, they are likely to enter lower labour market segments.

In the latter case, family members pass on career aspirations that reflect a family's cultural identity. This identity does not provide access to upper labour market segments. However, this does not support Lewis' (1996) culture of poverty argument or Wilson's (1987) underclass argument that assume that a necessary labour market disadvantage exists due to cultural identity. Rather, the following chapters will demonstrate that contingent processes discriminate against individuals and groups that display cultural

identities of minorities. Thus cultural inheritance exposes youth to similar forces of cultural discrimination and marginalisation that are experienced by their parents.

Adult Role Models

Many residents, community leaders and youth feel that the Lanier area adult population impacts youth behaviour. The director of a youth centre suggests:

In the projects the housing units are so close together, everybody is living so close. That's who they see, their neighbours. You know, our kids see so much they shouldn't see. And you know, in their immediate neighborhood, it could be next door, they see the crime, they see the drugs and they see their role models. Well, the adults they see in their lives like, as I said, aren't doing very much. They are just kind of there and waiting for their check and, you know, aren't working.

Most youth reject local adults as role models. A 23 year-old mother describes the situation in the Alazan-Apache Courts: "We don't have anyone to look up to because you're on your own. Your parents are somewhere else. It's just ourselves." Another 19 year-old single mother, who lives in the Alazan-Apache Courts, also denies that her neighbours influence her career plans:

They're usually just at home, taking care of kids, getting by. I'm gonna have a job and I won't be in the projects anymore. I've been around them for so long, I am tired of them. I'd rather move on.

As adult role models are not locally available, youth search elsewhere. A 15 year-old female youth finds a surreal role model in a TV show:

Youth: I would like to be, like on Baywatch, those girls.

Interviewer: Why?

Youth: I don't know.

Interviewer: Is that what you watch?

Youth: Yeah and 90201.

Interviewer: What do these people do?

Youth: There are a lot of people and they guard [they are life guards].

Neither the families nor the social context of the Lanier area supplies adult role models that are examples for youth to enter upper labour market segments. This situation traps youth between greater structural forces, which reward upper segment career aspirations, and a local system in which lower-segment aspirations prevail. Later chapters describe community-based institutions' attempts to provide "mainstream" role models with upper segment aspirations and the implications of these efforts.

Gender, Ethnic and Cultural Roles

Young men and women have profoundly different social roles in the Lanier area. Boys are often supervised by older youth and develop strong peer relationships. In the interviews many male youth admitted to sporadic drug consumption, youth group affiliation and engagement in "street culture." Young women, on the other hand, are often sheltered by their families from neighbourhood influences and given household responsibilities. The household is a controlled environment which limits interaction with other youth and depresses initiation into street culture. Thus, the experience of local context is very different for female and male youth.

Motherhood forces many young women to submerge even further into household and parenting responsibilities and limits exposure to street culture. In addition, greater involvement in family and household tasks give female youth less flexibility for career decision making. Under these circumstances, many young mothers (and fathers) regret having children at an early age. A young mother's advice to younger girls is typical for young Lanier area parents:

I wouldn't tell them like don't get pregnant or that's bad or anything. But I'd kind tell them like, there is no excuse for it. I wanna be like the example. I tell them there is no excuse for dropping out of school. Get a job. Like I told my husband's sister. You all gotta think about what are you gonna do for you're children? How do you want you're children to look up to you? That's the way I kinda feel.

Once a youth has become a parent, he/she has little choice but to react to structural forces including non-availability of day-care, lack of institutional support, etc. and confronts limitations to career prospects and restrictions to career choices.

Changing Context: Stability and Turnover

Many young individuals and families leave the Lanier area as soon as their income levels permit the move. A youth groups organiser notes:

The other thing I've seen is that once a young person is coming from this community, finishes college, they don't always come back. They wanna live somewhere else. They don't wanna be a part of this.

The Alazan-Apache Housing Courts contribute further to residential instability. Forty-two percent of the renters move out within a year; another 26 percent move within less than five years¹².

Many youth long for a different social environment. A 17 year-old teenager says:

I want more money, and I want to live in a better neighbourhood. I mean not that I don't like it but I don't want my kids to go through what I went through. I've been through a lot. I've been shot at, been thrown out of the house, I've been in robberies.

A 21 year-old mother has an immediate need to protect her two daughters:

My daughter picked up a needle in our yard. And we have a fenced yard. And then, my other daughter picked up another needle in my mother-in-law's yard. My girl already knows what a prostitute is. They're babies. They're not even supposed to know that exists yet. That's the main thing that I see the girls — drugs, gangs, graffiti everywhere. You can't leave anything outside, it will disappear and stuff like that. I told my husband I'm tired of this. I don't think there is an alternative either. Either you move me out of here or let me go somewhere else.

The flight of better-off families creates a situation in which the remaining adults who are locally available as role-models have jobs in the secondary labour market. A youth group organiser notes:

What role models are there in the community? If a kid gets a college education and then leaves; and they get careers and better houses and all those things, there's nothing wrong with wanting a better life, but what do you leave behind? So, it's no surprise that kids look up to gang members and alcoholics and whatever is in the community because they don't really have another role model.

¹² A population profile of the Alazan-Apache Public Housing Courts was provided by Roberto J. Ramirez, Housing Manager. See Table 12.1. below.

Community leaders appeal to residents to stay in the Lanier area and introduce “middle class” values and attitudes to the community. However, many families distance themselves from their neighbourhood. They do not wish to be associated with the low prestige and the negative label of the Lanier area that becomes a burden in dealing with society. The image of the ideal neighbourhood, promoted outside the Lanier area, does not correspond to the socio-economic condition of the Lanier area. Issues of place identity and their impact on careers are discussed below.

11.2. Identities

Fractured ethnicity, culture and gender-shaped identities are constructed *inside* the Lanier area. From the *outside*, a categorical identity of dirtiness, laziness and violence is imposed upon Lanier area youth¹³. The geographical and social isolation of the Lanier area as well as geographically defined peer networks allow these inside and outside identities to co-exist.

Residents frequently identify themselves as “west siders” in order to differentiate themselves from Anglo-Americans on the north side. They refer to the Lanier area to describe their immediate neighbourhood and to make the distinction between their neighbourhood and other west-side areas.

¹³ Evidence of the outsider views of the Lanier area are presented below in Section 11.2.2.

11.2.1. Perspective From The “Inside”

Many youth value the social relationships they entertain with their peers and their neighbours, but they reject street culture. A 17 year-old youth explains:

On the west side, a lot of people are mostly outside barbecuing, drinking you know always talking outside with their neighbours. You see a lot of that. It's a lot of fun on the west side if you know people, you know [...] The only thing, you cannot really trust a lot of people because they would take your stuff. You cannot really trust anybody.

Other youth are disturbed because the Lanier area and its residents do not project the ideal image of a neighbourhood according to societal standards. A 21 year-old woman remarks:

You know, there are times like on the weekends when things were pretty bad because of the things that you would hear, like couples arguing or people having their little feuds down the street, you know. And it's generally known about that side of town, people are more outword about it on this side of town. I mean they don't really care about who sees what. I mean there's a lot in the evenings and I don't like it. There's just all that stuff that's going on, like neighbours would get into arguments. Most people don't really care.

The Lanier area also carries labour market identities associated with ethnic, culture and gender-specific career expectations. Similar to social identities, youth either accept or reject these labour market identities. Health care related careers, for instance, are the preferred occupations of many young Lanier area women. These occupations correspond to the care-taking roles of women in the cultural context of the Lanier area. A 17 year-old Lanier senior describes her motivation to become a nurse:

There is something about it, you know, the medical field, like helping people feel better because they come into the hospital feeling all sick, you know, just by giving them a shot that makes them feel better. I don't know, just helping people.

Another 17 year-old mother says that being a nurse would help her role as a mother of a seven month-old son: "I think it [to be a nurse] would be good for me because I have a kid now. If something is wrong with him I would know, kind of, what is wrong with him." Yet another 17 year-old student remarks:

I had an interest in caring for children ever since I had two little step sisters. And I kind of see how some mothers see their babies and I would like to be a part of that, you know, make them understand it's important to take care of their baby.

In addition, health related occupations are chosen because of the proximity and visibility of two large medical complexes, giving youth the impression that jobs in the health-care industry are widely available.

In other instances, youth resist their ethnic, cultural and gender roles in the labour market. A 16 year-old student with atypical college aspirations encounters pressure from his peers who subscribe to more common working-class roles: "A lot of my friends are drop-outs. They call me a sell-out because I'm moving on to better things and they're just getting into that doing nothing." Along the same lines, a 21 year-old office assistant confronts pressure from her family as she challenges her ethnic and gender roles in the labour market:

My dad kinda makes fun of me: 'You think you're a white girl.' 'No dad'. 'Then don't act like one.' You know what I mean? I told him: 'You know dad, I found a 50,000

dollar mistake [in the bookkeeping].’ I thought he’d be proud of me. And he got after me and said: ‘Don’t tell anyone cause it’s gonna be your fault.’ And I was like: ‘Dad, calm down, I already told him [her boss].’ But my dad would jump on me [...] ‘you don’t want to take those responsibilities.’ You know what I mean? He doesn’t encourage me at all. He’s just like: ‘You stay where you’re at.’

In other cases, ethnic, gender and social roles prevent labour force participation. A training provider explains:

I’ve seen some instance, when a young girl becomes pregnant, living at home: ‘You have to stay home, you’re a mother now. You’re not gonna go to school. You’re a girl anyway. So therefore you’re not going out. You’re gonna marry some guy and he’s going to take care of you. I think some instances are like that; especially among the Mexican Americans.

These ethnic, culture and gender identities are firmly established in the Lanier area.

The director of an education and skills-training agency describes labour market expectations of Latina women:

San Antonio in the past seven, eight, nine years has tried about four, five times to start a program for women in non-traditional work. These are the ladies that work on the expressways, the highway patrol police — ten, twelve bucks an hour — construction workers, all this stuff. The program has not been successful. They were [implemented] by good, strong organisations, but when you’re in construction and you have to work a little late: ‘I gotta go to day-care.’ A lot of women, with welding and stuff like that: ‘Ah, I’m not gonna do that. It’s not what you’re supposed to do.’ And some of these women are 2nd or 3rd generation here in Texas. Here, they all go into traditional occupations: Teaching, day-care.

Ethnicity, culture and gender are social mechanisms that evoke place-specific roles and expectations that channel youth into lower-segment careers. Access to upper labour

market segments often result from a break with traditional identities. A former resident of the Lanier area reports that she managed to resist her role as a Latina woman that would have required her to “work around the house” instead of going to school. Now, she owns and manages a nursing home. Agency many have allowed this woman to resist prevailing norms about employment. However, it will be shown in the following chapter that agency is severely constrained for Lanier area youth and that career choices are enabled and constrained by structural and place-based contexts.

Ethnicity, culture and gender roles are particular to the Lanier area and local residents have different standards for career assessment than, for example, north side residents. According to a local community activist, an occupation such as “flipping hamburgers” is often considered a successful career by Lanier area standards, whereas on the north side it is a failure. A young interviewee, for instance, declared dish-washer as his desired and long-term career goal. Such local identities diverge from outside ideals of success.

The Lanier area also acts as an “agent” that expresses a collective identity. A sense of “us against them” mentality is expressed by a 17 year-old male youth who warns: “If you beat up someone from the west side and you're not from there, you better not come back or you won't leave alive.” Place becomes a symbol for collective identity constructed around social networks and common cultural attributes such as baggy pants, Latino accents, tone of skin, graffiti art and behaviour. Lanier area youth’s spatial and social isolation, associated with time, mobility and structural constraints and confined peer networks, contribute to the construction of a local “us against them” identity. These

processes of collective identity formation are also used by outsiders to define the Lanier area from a different perspective.

11.2.2. Perspective from the “Outside”

The “outsider” image of the Lanier areas reflects stereotypes of poverty, low incomes, high crime rates and violent gang activity. According to this image, girls are unable to resist sexual curiosity and have children as teenagers, young fathers deny the responsibility of raising their offspring, and children receive little parenting and subsequently join gangs, steal, become drug addicts and criminals. Residents are lazy, hostile and dirty. A local college placement specialist, who now works in the Lanier area, illustrates the typical outsider perspective:

When I first came over here, I thought 'oh my god' do I really want this job. I come from the north-west side of town and I was all scared that my car is gonna be vandalised and broken into, stolen. I was thinking the worst. But once I was here for a while, it kinda just grows on you and so it's not as bad as people say it is, you know. But that's what I was thinking.

Even non-resident Latinos wish not to be associated with the low status of the Lanier area. The supervisor of a local youth group states:

When I came to San Antonio I lived with my sister for a while. I said 'I'm moving to the west side.' And she said 'To the west side, why do you want to live on the west side?' 'I need to live in the community where I serve young people.' And she couldn't understand, because in her mind, the west side was a dirty place those were Mexicans and I don't want to be with those Mexicans. I'm a Mexican-American because I was born here.

Latinos who are more acculturated to mainstream society emphasise the difference in the degree of assimilation between themselves and Lanier residents. They share the pre-occupations of Anglo-American outsiders.

Outsiders perceive the Lanier area as culturally homogenous. Culture and place are collapsed into a single identity. Ironically, outsider labels of dirtiness, laziness and violence and collective identity are constructed around the same cultural attributes maintained by Lanier area youth. For instance, male teenagers are frequently identified — correctly or incorrectly — as west siders by their baggy pants, Latino accents, the tone of their skin and stereotypical behaviour, such as gestures or postures. A passage taken from a youth group meeting at a local community centre demonstrates the consequences of this label. This conversation occurred during a role-play aimed at teaching teenage participants to confront stereotypes with affirmative but assertive behaviour.

Counsellor: In a store [in a suburban mall], what is the first thing people think when they see you?

Youth: Think we steal something.

Counsellor: Why?

Youth: Because we're from the west side.

Counsellor: I don't think it's that you're from the west side but the way you dress and the way you act.

The youth associates the stereotype with his west-side residence. The counsellor remarks that dress and behaviour signifies the west side label. Both agree that stereotypes label youth as potential thieves.

The consequences of labels of place reach beyond harassment in shopping malls.

Similar stereotypes are shared among employers, educators, politicians and other institutions. An employment counsellor explains:

Counsellor: A lot of them [youth] have what they call their west-side tone and, you know, the way they speak. And I think, if I was an employer, would I want to hire them?

Interviewer: So they are labelled by the employers?

Counsellor: Right. West siders talk different and they dress different. And it's normal for them to dress like that here. So, yeah, they have difficulties finding jobs. And, as I said, their aspirations may be high; eventually they come down.

The significance of place of residence regarding employers' hiring practises is noted by the director of a skills training organisation:

[Employers] know that you come from a poverty area, they know that maybe you're educational skills are not high enough to whatever the standards are. They might give you a test where it shows, you know, what you're deficiencies are. And that comes back to you.

Along similar lines, a training provider remarks:

When people say west side they automatically think you're poor, you belong to gangs and you're on welfare. So the stigma is there. I have two students that graduated from here. We trained them upfront, we sent them to the hospital to get on the job training. And the [employer] told me they don't like to get welfare jobs, because they know they're not dependable.

The executive director of a training institution describes a similar effect in the context of the school system: "One of the biggest negatives I see: Because a student comes from

a poor area, maybe they ought to go vocational. And that's not true.” A youth group supervisor observes:

For one, there is a stigma that comes along growing up in the courts, you know, automatically people would treat you differently, especially teachers, especially teachers. They would just not much care about you because they figure you're gonna be a failure. And that's a stereotype and a perception that continues to perpetuate itself because these teachers don't change. And it's not all teachers. It's just a few.

A community activist summarises the consequences of the west-side label: “Kids have to fight twice as hard just to get away from this image that people have: The west side, the housing projects, kids who are poor.” Stigmatisation from the “outside” restricts educational opportunity and thus narrows the range of career choices available to local youth. Place image erects a barrier which limits access to upper labour market segments.

Youth react differently to these stereotypes. In many instances, negative stereotyping has a depressing effect on career aspirations. In other cases, youth are motivated to escape the negative stereotype. The remarks of a faith-based youth group co-ordinator elucidate the different reactions. First, he explains the negative effect of stereotypes:

Well, first of all is that they [youth] have a deep set of psychological problems of interacting with the real world. They feel that they are inferior. I mean just be blunt. They feel that they are inferior. So they are walking around, you know, that the people that are in the northern part [of San Antonio] are more likely to have a better job. A job that won't be manual where they be working and using their muscles and working in the sun. Well, they themselves would have to be clerks or cleaners.

Stereotypes now become self-fulfilling prophecies because both local youth and outside employers and educators use them to assess career potential. However, the youth group coordinator also points to a reverse effect of outside stereotypes:

They all have their own little story, you know, like Sonia [name was changed] I mean she sees her life everyday cause she lives there in the courts but because of that she wants to excel. She realised that once she gets educated, finding a job, that there is better things out there.

Many other youth, however, are unable to contest labels of labour market expectations.

Negative stereotypes overwhelm many youth. The “aggregate” result is high levels of youth labour market marginalisation in the Lanier area.

To confront the disadvantage associated with the Lanier area’s stereotypes, community leaders attempt to strengthen relationships between the Lanier area and areas outside. One way to strengthen patterns of interaction is to encourage youth to visit areas outside the Lanier area. A 23 year-old mother explains that she became motivated to aspire to a college career when she joined City Year, a regional volunteer organisation for youth and young adults:

They [City Year] motivate you to go to school and I really needed that because we didn't have that in our family. I was like 'Oh well, school is not for me'. But then when I got to City Year, they would talk so much about going to college and then after college I do that. And it kinda made me go like 'Gosh, I can do it too' you know 'I wanna do that, go to school'.

Only few youth, however, have access to outside context. Often, peer and institutional networks do not expand beyond the Lanier area until adulthood, when important career decisions have already been made. Thus, spatial isolation and labelling of place remain important influences on career decisions.

11.3. Conclusion: Perspectives of Place

This chapter took inventory of the underlying social context of the Lanier area influencing youth career decisions. Due to individual time, mobility and structural constraints and peer networks, this context differs for individuals and by age. Youth visit different sites, at different times, meet different people and engage in different activities. A community activist remarks that Lanier area residents are divided although they share the same neighbourhood:

For me, I define community as the people that live in a certain geographical area. But there are different part that do different things. Here, they don't work together as a whole community. I guess you're right it is by geography but it's the people that live within it, different cultures, different institutions.

Dimensions of socio-economic status, culture and degree of acculturation separates youth into different social and institutional networks.

Local identity differs from insider and outsider perspectives. Lanier area youth create insider identities according to shared symbols derived from street culture and the cultural attributes of family members and local adults. These local identities reflect gender and ethnicity specific labour market expectations, associated with secondary careers. Some youth identify with insider identities but others reject local identity in favour of

“mainstream” values and cultural attributes. Many youth and community leaders believe that acculturation and adoption of “mainstream” values permit entrance into the upper labour market segments and the middle class.

Outsider perspectives, on the other hand, create stereotypes of place that categorically label Lanier area youth as dirty, lazy and criminal. These stereotypes are the basis for discrimination against Lanier area youth by school officials and employers. Both, insider and outsider identities initiate social and labour market processes that produce high levels of youth labour market marginalisation in the Lanier area. These findings demonstrate that place is an important mechanism in the structuration process. Career choices are constrained and enabled through “internal” processes and the place-based constellation of social context. In addition, “external” processes of spatial exclusion and stigmatisation are involved in the marginalisation of Lanier area youth.

Local identities and labels and their effect on career choices explain extensive research results. Extensive research represented cultural attributes of the residential area by aggregate measures of Hispanic population and foreign-born population. These variables were found to be correlated with youth labour market marginalisation. Intensive research revealed that this correlation is associated with processes of identity formation and stigmatisation.

Processes of spatial exclusion and discrimination, in particular, contradict the cultural inferiority thesis which treats culture as a necessary condition for marginality (Chapter 2). Instead, contingent career decision making becomes increasingly complex as local context interacts with outside processes. Local institutions occupy a key position connecting inside and

outside contexts. The next chapter examines the interplay between outside influences, institutional context and labour market marginality.

12. INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT AND PROCESSES OF MARGINALISATION

This chapter first examines the make-up of institutional context in the Lanier area.

Then it discusses how processes of marginalisation operate in this context.

12.1. Local Institutional Context

The six elements of institutional context identified in the theoretical model are employers, community organisations, schools, faith-based institutions, government, and the police. Faith-based institutions and government are merged in the following analysis. An additional important institutional element, not included in the initial model, is housing.

Employers

The Lanier area is under-serviced by commercial services and businesses. A community activist informs “what do you see here as far as thriving business? There is none. Coin operated laundry, grocery stores, what else do you see? Do you see banks? There are [few] banks on the west side.” The director of a community centre explains that “people in the [public housing] courts don't get the newspaper unless they pick it up in the store. The Express News won't even throw the newspaper at the courts. They're afraid to.”

Local employers influence youth's career decisions because employers define the job market that youth encounter in their daily routines. Many Lanier area youth develop expectations and career goals based on the local bias towards secondary jobs. The director of a youth program explains how career objectives of her clients are formed:

Because their world is so small it is gonna determined by what's happening in the community and who they see [...] And if you drive around, what you see are tire-shops, are taco-restaurants, are, you know, stuff like that. But if you were just to look around in this area you see that work-wise what's available, you know, that's very limited. There isn't very much around.

Jobs in the area surrounding the Lanier area, including the CBD, are typically not part of Lanier area youth's daily routines. Perhaps, the spatial mismatch hypothesis, emphasising geographical separation between work and residence, gains new validity through such an "exposure" argument, which maintains that the jobs encountered during youth's daily routines influence career decisions. Spatial accessibility, per se, appears to be less of a problem (Chapters 8, 10).

Community Organisations

Many community organisations focus on career development and education. Their objectives include "getting more students into college," providing GED (Graduate Equivalency Degree), job training and job placement. Some community organisations have summer and after-school programs that introduce youth to labour discipline required

in the job market. These programs address *necessary* relationships for success in upper-labour market segments.

A second group of local organisations has social objectives that affect careers in an indirect manner. Activities include sports, fund-raising events, summer field camps, organising dances, etc. The director of a local youth centre defines the centre's mission as "provid[ing] the kids with some alternatives, provide them with some guidance, some counselling." One youth group has created a "safe zone" to protect youth from "gangs," "people drinking," "having parties" and "fights."

A third category of objectives are ideological in nature. The mission statement of a faith-oriented organisation notes that "membership [is] nourished by [...] the Christian faith and sustained by the richness of the many believes and values." A non-religious youth centre has "the overall objective to develop the dignity in the individual [and] talk about morals and values." Often, institutions have overlapping objectives and offer a mixture of activities.

Recruitment territories and strategies vary widely between organisations. Some organisations recruit locally. A director notes:

We recruit mainly from the kids immediately in the neighbourhood [...] We don't recruit for those programs from outside of the neighbourhood because there are so many children in this neighbourhood and in a ten by ten block area we have 7,000 school age children. There is no need really to go outside the neighbourhood to find kids.

Other community organisations often recruit from larger areas. A popular recruitment site are schools. Often recruitment is coupled with referrals from teachers and counsellors. The representative of a career development program remarks: “We work with a counsellor, or we work with community and school staff persons at that school to recruit the girls through either referral from the teacher, their own referrals or other referrals.” This introduces considerable bias of who is selected for recruitment and who is not. In the case of recruitment from schools, only youth who are enrolled and attend school are reached. Other youth remain invisible.

Reaching a specific target population is sometimes difficult. A regional career service organisation, for instance, is mandated by the State of Texas to enrol *all* youth under 17 who dropped out of school into their career program. However, only a small fraction, 320 youth, participate countywide. A volunteer-supervisor of another organisation is puzzled: “The only thing that I really want is I want to go and grab more kids. I mean, I wish I just knew how to go out and grab more kids.”

In addition, community organisations often skim for youth who are interested in participating, who have a certain skills or interests or who display desired sets of behaviour, attitudes, etc. Due to selective and formal recruitment strategies, some youth do not have access to services and are not exposed to the influences of organisations. This, again, stresses the contingent nature of local institutional influences which are intersected by personal characteristics of youth and the pre-occupations of recruitment staff.

Schools

Local schools are Sidney Lanier High School, Tafolla and Cooper Middle Schools and Brackenridge, Ruiz, Barkley and DeZavala Elementary Schools, all administered by the San Antonio Independent School District (SAISD). Not all youth are in school. The director of an employment service agency states that schools “ wouldn't even deal with the problem children. What they did is, you know, they dropped them out.” Students not performing or behaving according to expectations are referred to specialised educational institutions.

A share of Lanier High School students do not receive basic education. The executive officer of a GED providing institution regularly admits students with 12th level credentials but a 6th-grade reading level and lacking basic math skills. The co-ordinator of another educational program says about her students:

Some have a high school diploma and can't read. Some of them have learning disabilities, that was probably diagnosed in class but maybe they just passed to be admissible. We have a lot of problems with people that can't read.

The provision of educational credential without the delivery of education has effects that reach beyond the fact that education is not delivered to some students. A 21 year-old former Lanier student was discouraged from continuing education because expectations at Lanier were lower than in other schools. She does not want her daughters to have the same experience:

I graduated with a scholarship and I lost it. And I see other people that are really intelligent and I feel like I didn't deserve that scholarship and I don't want my girls to feel that they're underestimated. You know what I mean? I don't want them to feel like I got a scholarship but I don't feel like I deserved it. You know, that's the way I feel now.

In addition, providing credentials without education delivery stereotype all students of the Lanier area. As educational credentials become meaningless, employers may rely more on stereotypes and statistical discrimination to select their workforce¹⁴.

Schools are the focal point of social life for Lanier area youth. Almost all interviewees reported that they have made friendships in school. Moreover, teachers, counsellors and parents are role models for youth. Extracurricular activities build strong relationships with coaches, instructors and parents. A volunteer for the Sidney Lanier Band Booster Association observes that: "just being a band member teaches you discipline and responsibility." Yet, a school official discloses that that many teachers and most counsellors are reluctant to assume personal role-model responsibilities. To remedy the lack of teacher involvement, one of the middle schools brings in 120 "consultants" from businesses, military and the public sector to serve as role models. Further below, it will become apparent that the strategy among local institutions of "importing" outside role models has profound impact on youth labour market marginalisation.

¹⁴ This dissertation could not explore this relationship any further because the research design focused on social and institutional context (supply side) and not on recruitment mechanisms by employers.

Faith-Based Institutions and Government

Faith-based institutions are highly involved in community matters. They also provide resources to local youth groups. Two youth groups, Young Life and the Guadalupe Church Youth Group, are directly affiliated with local churches, meet in church facilities and have faith-based mission. Other independent community-based institutions receive donations from local churches.

Most interviewed youth, however, did not mention faith-based institutions or religious belief as an important influence on their careers or other aspects of their lives. A youth-group supervisor complains that “all the kids, especially the teenagers and especially from this area, you know, the Lanier area, it's not cool to be in church; it's not cool.” The impact of the church is restricted to their linkages to community youth groups and other elements of local context that have more direct contact with youth.

In a similar fashion, the local government has an impact through obvious fiscal and organisational ties to community organisations and schools. Local government is also directly involved with youth through the west side branch of the Bexar County District Court where a juvenile probation officer is mandated by the district judge to monitor juvenile delinquents.

In addition, local legislators have imposed a curfew for youth and instated a policy that limits public assembly to 12 persons or less. Such policies signify structural processes aimed at regulating youth behaviour and legalising the criminalisation of youth.

The Police

In their role as law-enforcement officers, youth often perceive the police as discriminating against them on the basis of stereotypes indicating gang affiliation. A 17 year-old male youth explains:

Youth: [The police] stops you for no reasons if you walk around at night. Especially [because of] the way we dress.

Interviewer: What does dressing have to do with it?

Youth: That's how a lot of [gang members] dress. They dress, like they wear their pants all the way down to their knees. But we don't, we got big pants. They're called Chicos.

Police practises are sometimes misinterpreted by youth. When officers check remote and abandoned lots for “dumped” (stolen) cars, residents may interpret this as trying to “track down” youth who are hanging out on these lots. In one observed instance, an officer responded to a call from a property owner who complained that “suspicious” people were trespassing his vacant land. The “suspicious” people were three Latino men having a beer in secluded place away from the eyes of the public. The process of selecting who is “suspicious” originated from the property owner who called the police and not from the police themselves. Public perception of this incident, however, was that the Latino men were selected by the police and then harassed. In the same way, police enforcement of the curfew is misinterpreted as police harassment because youth fit the stereotype of gang members. In this case, criminalisation of youth is established in the legislature, not in the police force.

Nevertheless, there is evidence that ethnic and cultural discrimination against youth groups exists within the ranks of the police. Interviewed youth consistently accused one officer of harassment and brutality but did not report such behaviour among other officers they know.

Housing

The Lanier area contains the Alazan-Apache Housing Courts which is, with 1,015 housing units, San Antonio's largest public housing project. Table 12.1. depicts tenant characteristics. The ethnic composition of the court residents is 95 percent Hispanic and not much different from the Lanier area as a whole. However, regarding other demographic characteristics the court population differs strongly from non-court residents. Fewer than nine percent of the court residents are employed and the mean annual income is only \$5,425. Only 27 percent of household-heads have a high school diploma or the equivalent. Less than one percent has a post-secondary degree. The vast majority of families are headed by single women. Turnover rates among court residents are extremely high; forty-two percent of the residents move out within one year.

The demographic division between court residents and non-court residents reflects a social division within the Lanier area. Among non-court residents an image prevails that the housing courts are dirty, noisy and crime-ridden. A 23 year-old woman, for instance, reported that her mother disliked her boyfriend because he lived in the Alazan-Apache courts:

When my mom found out he [boyfriend] lived in the courts she didn't like him. She was like 'ohhh, don't be talking to nobody from there'. But I still talked to him because he was nice. I mean it's not where you live at. My mom didn't understand it. She didn't like him. I'm still with him, but we just don't live together.

Peer networks and gang territories are also divided between court and non-court populations. This supports earlier evidence that internal identities are fragmented by ethnicity, culture, gender as well as housing arrangement.

Even within the housing courts there is a spatial separation between residents. The San Antonio Housing Authority established the Family Self-Sufficiency Program (FSS) to assist court residents in making the transition from welfare to work. This program provides incentives for participants by assigning them to new and well maintained apartments west of Brazos St. in an otherwise private-residential section of the Lanier area, secluded from other public-housing residents. A 23 year-old court resident and FSS participant expresses the social division within the courts:

There is a section where all the good people are. Where all the people that are doing something for themselves live. All the other ones are the ugly courts. They're dirty, they're ugly, there's graffiti, they don't take care of them, they don't water them, they don't do nothing. All the people that are living over there, they're working at McDonalds, they have no jobs, they're living on welfare, they do nothing. And they do nothing for themselves. But over here, it's the good side. [...] You see the people live in the other courts, it's like: 'oh, bums, they don't do nothing, you know.'

The San Antonio Housing Authority is actively involved in the construction of social division and local identities through the division of the courts into “good” and “bad” sections. By participating in FSS and adopting “norm” deportment, families receive

access to the “good” section. The local culture of the housing courts and outside standards of decency stand in apparent conflict with each other. It will be explained below, how these conflicts influence the structuration process.

12.2. Processes of Marginalisation

Institutions have three kinds of influences. First, they attempt to steer youth into promising career paths via interventionist programs. Secondly, institutions operate according to ideological assumptions about *what* desirable prospects and career objectives are. These assumptions are encrypted in the institutions missions, their implementation and the worldviews of administrators. Whereas the chances for upper-segment careers improve for youth who adopt these ideologies, youth who maintain identities that are more typical to the Lanier area are marginalised. Thirdly, institutions provides role models for youth. These role models have characteristics reflecting institution’s ideologies.

12.2.1. Interventionist Strategies

Most of the local institutions named above attempt to intervene with marginalising neighbourhood circumstances. The director of a youth program emphasises:

I think that intervention is a big key. I think that you have a few individuals that rise above, that come out of the hood, or whatever, and are very successful. But you still have the majority of kids that don't.

Table 12.1. Alazan-Apache Housing Courts Resident Profile

Characteristic	number	percent
Total Population	2,717	100
Ethnic Origin		
Hispanic	n.a.	96
Black	n.a.	2
Anglo*	n.a.	1
Other	n.a.	1
Employment Characteristics		
Residents employed	235	8.6
Yearly Average Family Income (\$)	5,425	
Household Characteristics**		
Elderly	122	n.a.
Non-Elderly	691	n.a.
Disabled	135	n.a.
Education of Head of Household		
High School Diploma or GED	n.a.	27.1
Post-Secondary Degree	n.a.	0.6
Family Characteristics		
Two Parent Families	56	n.a.
Male-Headed Household	65	n.a.
Female-Headed Household	669	n.a.
Turn-Over Rates (Families Living in Same Development)		
0-1 years	n.a.	41.7
2-5 years	n.a.	26.0
6-10 years	n.a.	12.1
> 10 years	n.a.	20.2

Source: Roberto J. Ramirez, September 1996

* i.e. Anglo-American

** The total number of families and households was not available.

Interventionist strategies operate under the assumption that youth aspire to upper segment careers but are held back by structural circumstances. An administrator in an education providing organisation describes the findings of a research project conducted in the community, emphasising that motivations among youth are high:

There wasn't any lack of students aspiring. Now, you had your imbalance because you had a lot of students wanting to be lawyers, a lot of students that wanted business careers; but students were pointing to something. So, the notion of the students in minority areas having low expectations or low career aspirations to me is not valid. What happens is that nobody helps them then figure out how they're going to achieve that career goal. So, as time goes on, the system doesn't work for you and you end up then settling for whatever you can get.

Intervention strategies involve efforts of removing barriers to upper segment careers. A youth-group organiser emphasises the necessity for a comprehensive and holistic approach:

When you tell somebody that there is the potential for them to be something or to go somewhere, you need to take the responsibility of making that real. Don't tell them about dreams. Your responsibility is making them reality. If I tell a kid that they can make it on to college after they dropped out of high school, I've taken on the responsibility of making sure that they can get a GED, go into whatever way they can to get into college. That's my responsibility now, because I opened their eyes to it [...] That means that I have to go after finding a role model for him, if not myself, and helping him find a job.

Interventionist strategies indeed address multiple aspects of a youth's life including the social context that influences the youth. A college-placement specialist, for example, explains that it is important to reach parents to successfully place a youth into college:

You have a lot of negativism from the parents. I had parents come in and tell me: 'Oh you know, I really hope my daughter was gonna start working instead of going to college.' I have parents with those attitudes. They think their daughter would be better off working at the minimum wage. And that's where we find ourselves educating parents too.

Career development intervention also targets structural circumstances. Positive Solutions, for example, addresses day-care, transportation and financial problems of their clients.

The executive officer of another training and placement initiative explains:

We also provide supportive kind of services, child care services, which are a major barrier for clients we face and transportation related services. I mean we link them up with a number of different agencies and organisations that they need in order to obtain employment.

A major barrier, identified by most community-based institutions, is the lack of access to day-care. The chief administrator of a placement organisation notes:

A number of young ladies who are 23 years old have five, six children. But having that large of a family, a lot of things come together: Problems with the children, the day-care issue especially. That's what we're looking at very carefully; that's one of our greatest challenges. We need adequate day-care centres.

The administrator of another education and training organisation points to a day-care accessibility problems:

[A big problem is] accessibility to child-care, getting there. We don't provide transportation, you know, in the morning. We're on a bus route, so we do have a lot of parents that ride the bus with the children, drop them off and go to work. A lot of people have asked us 'do you pick up children?' No, we don't, not for child care.'

The institutional request for daycare facilities contradicts calls of the underclass literature to combat un-wed and teenage pregnancies. Instead, it indicates the willingness in the community and among institutions to respond to local cultural preferences of early parenthood.

Currently, local institutions attempt to increase co-operation between themselves in order to enlarge the pool of resources and services available to youth. The Avenida de Guadalupe United for Action (AGUA), for instance, provides a weekly forum for communication and collaboration among community organisations that are active in the Lanier area. AGUA includes employment and educational institutions, shelters, social service and health care providers, the housing courts, the police, and agencies serving children, youth, adults and the elderly. AGUA allows interventionist strategies to operate in a more efficient and holistic manner.

12.2.2. Institutions and Ideologies

Whereas community-based institutions recognise the need to respond to early and un-wed pregnancies, they paradoxically echo Oscar Lewis' (1969) culture-of-poverty idea in other respects. "Living for the day" and "not looking ahead into the future" are repeatedly cited by community leaders and administrators as traits of a local culture that marginalises youth in the labour market. An administrator of a training institution explains:

A lot of it has to do with the fact that, you know, we have a tendency — we, speaking of this culture, of trying to live for today without even thinking, you know, where am I going to be five years from now. Because of the economic problems that we, these people, are growing up with, the lack of money. They [need] to make it though this

week, they survive this week. They don't really think about the following week. You know, it's like they live from day to day. And so they're looking at maybe, hopefully graduating from high school but a lot of them have no idea what they wanna do after high school. That's too far in the future for them.

“Living in the present,” however, does not automatically result in labour market marginalisation. Instead, immediate priorities cannot be co-ordinated with upper-segment career paths under local structural circumstances. Establishing a family, for instance, is often incompatible with continuing education because affordable day-care is not available. A young parent may be forced to drop out of school and labour market marginalisation is the likely outcome, no matter whether a future perspective exists or not. By the same token, having no vision of the future but the opportunity to go to college produces better career prospects.

Many local institutions, however, attribute marginality to youth's short-sighted behaviour and other cultural attributes. This cultural inferiority perspective is expressed by an education provider for AFDC recipients, who uses the example of inability to cope with crisis:

We think about our clients living in crisis all the time and they really do for the most part. I think poverty and welfare lend themselves to crisis. They can't maintain jobs because the first crisis that comes along they throw up their hands. And you know, we too have crises in our lives. You know we've gone through all kinds of crises as employees but we learned some way to be able to handle a crisis because crisis doesn't keep us off track.

Another popular perception is that an upper-segment career and teenage parenthood are mutually exclusionary. The director of a youth program articulates this viewpoint:

Pregnancy is a way of getting them [girls] the identity of a mother. And that just kind of points towards that very small world; you know, that sense of, why not get pregnant? You know, I'm not gonna go to college. You know, it's never: If I wanna go on, better not have a baby because that's really gonna hurt my chances of going to college or whatever. You never think about it. It's never an option.

Most institutions consider pregnancy and parenthood as a disturbing event that disrupts education and career development. In the case of a 20 year-old mother of two children the idea that pregnancy is a condition of “deviancy” had a detrimental effect:

Youth: I only went [to school] up to the eighth grade. I got pregnant and dropped out?

Interviewer: Did you think you wouldn't need education anymore?

Youth: No, not that. I was embarrassed. I was pregnant and I didn't want people to see me like that. I couldn't do anything about it. I don't believe in abortion. I dropped out and now when I think back, I should have stayed in school.

Ideologies introduced by institutions to the Lanier area label and discourage youth who are not performing according to ideological expectations. As a consequence, non-participants and young mothers are brand-marked as “deviant” and “unfit” for labour market success.

Many local institutions focus on eradicating “deviant” cultural traits which marginalise youth in the labour market. Programs and activities concentrate on “re-educating” youth. The executive director of a youth centre illustrates that this is the centre's overriding objective:

You know, the few hours that we get them [youth] here [in the youth centre] is not enough, unfortunately, to change their whole mind-set, you know, in terms of what they've already seen and been exposed to. And we, you know, we try. You know,

we're all here and we're all working; and you know, we're not living in the projects. And we talk to them about how we went to college and things like that. But the kids I think identify more with their own family and their own neighbours than they do with us. They don't see us, you know, living next door to them.

In the last two sentences of this quotation, it becomes clear, that the director associates deviant culture with family and local influences, whereas the institution's and the staff's influence represents outside culture. This perspective distorts the relationship between local cultural context and labour market marginalisation, making it appear as necessary cause-effect relationships. Institutional efforts therefore concentrate on changing local cultural context to adapt mainstream characteristics that are believed to provide access to upper labour market segments.

12.2.3. Role Models and Outside Culture

Institutions attempt to change youth's behavioural patterns by introducing cultural elements from outside contexts that are more successful in placing youth into upper labour market segments. This is achieved through adult role models, often taken from the workforce of local institutions. A career counsellor was asked whether he and his colleagues consider themselves role models for their adolescent clients. He responds:

Yes, we do a lot of times because you have a kid that you [supervise] and he has no aspirations of going to college or thinking that he can make it. And you know, like I said, the parents aren't at home giving them the support, you know. If they're not there who else can we count on? Now, here you have a kid that is looking up to you and says: 'Well, maybe it is true, maybe I can make it in college.' And now that I've been here long enough, I've seen some of these kids actually graduate.

Institutions frequently “import” role models from outside areas. A community activist explains:

There is another program that Lanier has, by the USAA, the insurance company in San Antonio; they have mentors. I think they've had them for four, five, six years now. At Lanier they started them [students] when they were freshmen. They have certain standards that they have to follow of course, ethical standards. But they're allowed to go out with them at the weekends. And so those students are seeing other parts of town. They have that role model that is constantly with them and talking to them and everything so I think that benefits them a lot. They probably would have higher aspirations because they've seen it.

Many youth accept these “mainstream” role models provided to them by institutions.

A 21 year-old mother explains that her role models are an employee at a community organisation and this employee's husband:

They have a house, they have a car, better education, who are intelligent, who want to succeed. You know what I mean? I like people that: 'yeah, move forward, do as much as you can.' That's the kind of people I like. And my husband has a friend who is very encouraging like that. That's the best thing for our children. You know, people that care like that. Those are kind of my role models.

Through these outside perspectives, introduced by role models, local institutions establish norms of what constitutes labour market success. The responses of two youth program supervisors who work, but do not live, in the Lanier area show that career perspectives differ between local residents and the program supervisors:

Marco [pseudonym] graduated from high school. His mom is the greatest mom in the world, she is the sweetest mom. But she doesn't push him, she doesn't push him. 'Marco, right now, is working at Bill Miller [a restaurant chain]. If that's what he's happy with, I'm happy with him.' She should have tried to push him. That would be the difference.

The co-worker continues:

Instead of getting a scholarship for [athletics] he decided 'I rather make those 100 bucks a week and get myself some jeans, nice shirt and have some money to go out during the weekend. Things that kid has never had before. And his mom: 'if that's what Marco wants then I'm happy.' And for him, it's too far out of his reach.

Moreover, local institutions are actively involved in the construction of marginality of youth whose aspirations do not fit the outside definition of a “good” career. The norms established by local institutions reinforce the perception among local youth that the careers they choose are inferior. The efforts of local institutions become counter-intuitive as they realise the limited potential for local youth to enter upper-level careers. In response to the lack of education and skills, a youth centre channels youth into lower labour market segments. The executive officer “admits” to encouraging youth to enter “bad” manual jobs:

The kids that we have here I can tell you are very hard workers and I think that they would do well in the manual jobs because they are not afraid, you know, to get out there and work hard. And some of them will probably end up there because they already feel that they are so poor in terms of academics that they wouldn't be able to get a professional job. And you know, there are a few that are quick learners but it couldn't be anything that involves too much of their own thinking and decision making because they're so used to being told, you know, what to do, what to say and what to write. Very few can think on their own.

The organisers of another youth group have similar labour market expectations of Lanier area youth:

Organiser 1: Why I am upset is because to me a paediatrician from that neighbourhood wouldn't be realistic. A doctor to me is unrealistic.

Organiser 2: We don't discourage it but us adults we know that the sacrifice would be great. And there's gonna have to be a lot of perseverance in that individual. I mean everybody wants to be a pilot.

Organiser 1: Well one of them wants to be a nurse and I can see that as being realistic. Especially that program Project Quest¹⁵ gears to disadvantaged neighbourhoods. They're nutritionists, plumbers; they're all associate degrees. We're not talking about Ph.D.s or doctors. Those are realistic because of that program

These youth group organisers discourage occupational career objectives in upper labour market segments but promote entrance into lower segments corresponding to the occupational stereotypes of the Lanier area. Place reflects collective labour market identity and becomes a mechanism of marginalisation. Ironically, the same institutions have introduced outsider perspectives which labels lower segment occupations as inferior. A community activist criticises local institutions on these grounds:

Yeah, I think that in the last 30 years, a lot of the guidance counsellors would send them [Lanier area youth] into trade, trade skill occupations or direct them in that way. 'Oh, you're good with your hands. Why don't you become an auto mechanic, or something like that. I think that they're directed that way. That's not necessarily the way they all want to go. I mean that's because that's what their parents do. They're manual labour or skilled labour.

¹⁵ Project Quest (Quality Employment through Skills Training) is a local job placement and training program for adults, administered by COPS (Communities Organised for Public Service).

There is some evidence that place-based processes of labour market marginalisation also operate in the school system. Teachers and counsellors have powerful positions that allow them to motivate students to pursue career objectives that are based on the teacher's and counsellor's ideas of career success. In addition, teachers and counsellors carry preoccupations about Lanier area youth's labour market roles that are similar to the ones observed in other community-based institutions. An 18 year-old college student recalls being a Lanier student: "Like some teachers, like 'I wanna do this' — 'Oh Bull — 'Sir or Miss I wanna do this.' — 'Oh no, you gotta be more realistic, what do you *really* want to do?'" A tool for placing youth into career paths available to teachers and counsellors is Lanier High School's co-op program which provides jobs for many of the employed youth who were interviewed. Although the interviews did not generate any clear evidence regarding the origin of the stereotypes of teachers and counsellors, it is likely that stereotypes are based on place as it was observed among institutional representatives.

The interaction between local stereotypes and greater social processes demonstrates how place unfolds its properties of marginalisation in the context of greater cultural norms and expectations. In other words, processes of youth labour market marginalisation are contingent upon place. They are embedded in discriminatory spatial practises of greater society.

12.3. Conclusion: Cultural Perspectives and Marginalisation

Local institutional context has an important influence on youth career decision-making. Its influence is exercised indirectly through the construction of local identities and through

providing local images of labour demand. Institutions also exercise their influence in more direct ways through interventionist programs and the provision of role models.

Interventionist strategies are based on the underlying assumption that youth prefer to work in upper segments of the labour market but are held back by structural barriers. Strategies, therefore, focus on overcoming these barriers. A major obstacle is the insufficient availability of daycare to young mothers in the Lanier area. Most institutions noted that more daycare facilities should be made locally available. This request stands in contrast to the recommendations of contemporary liberal and conservative researchers who argue that single mothers should be motivated to engage in marital relationships with men who are capable of providing a family income. Yet, the community does not ask for a larger pool of “marriageable” men.

The relationship between births by single mothers, marital status of women and youth labour market marginalisation has been documented by extensive research. This relationship is explained, however, not by the natural uncompetitiveness of single mothers and unmarried women in the labour market but by institutional barriers that deny teenage and unwed mothers access to education and upper-segment careers.

The problem of youth labour market marginalisation is, however, even more deeply rooted in institutional ideologies. When the assumption that youth want the jobs that institutions envision for them is relaxed, contradictory images emerge between the career aspirations of Lanier area residents and the expectations imposed by local institutions. Local institutions and residents do not necessarily share the same perspective on what “good” and “bad” careers are. Furthermore, community-based organisations, schools and employers “assign” Lanier

area youth, who lack “mainstream” values and attitudes, to stereotypical lower-segment occupations. Ironically, the same institutions label such occupations as inferior. Thus, labour market marginalisation is constructed and reproduced within the institutional context of the Lanier area. This local institutional context, however, is largely defined by the structural norms that prevail outside the Lanier area.

These findings explain the relationship between labour market attributes of a neighbourhood’s overall population and high levels of youth labour market marginalisation, uncovered by extensive research. Variables indicating secondary occupations, temporary employment or no work of the overall population are positively related to youth labour market marginalisation because the labour market perspectives of Lanier area institutions label local youth unfit for upper-segment careers. These labels disadvantage youth in the educational system, the institutional network and the labour market.

Outside standards of “good” and “bad” occupations are introduced to the Lanier area through role models who serve in institutions as workers, volunteers, or mentors. Frequently, these role models influence youth to adopt outside standards and change their cultural outlook on employment. The modification of career aspirations is associated with the cultural assimilation to outside expectations. Acculturation, indeed, provides access to upper labour market segments for some youth. However, for less acculturated youth who maintain local career identities it introduces a vortex of marginalisation.

On a more positive note, role models also have important functions in helping youth to achieve career goals that are established from inside context. A youth-group organiser explains:

We also carry a mentor program during the year and we find a mentor, an active citizen, a role model to take one of the kids. Is the kid interested in drafting then I want one of the clients that I deal with and I talk to him and we ask them whether he would take on one of our kids for a day? So that you see what the real word is like. And that's worked out quite well. We think that's one way for them not to have this illusion that' not tangible.

Local institutions should not impose career perspectives that represent “outside” cultural contexts on youth. Neither should they gage youth’s career aspiration against these outside standards. Instead, institutions need to adapt to fragmented and culture-specific perspectives of labour market roles that are specific to the local context of the Lanier area. Their role is to help local youth to achieve the careers they envision for themselves. Such services may include day-care and vocational training in service and trade industries. The provision of these services would disable processes that force some local youth into marginality. It is equally important that the administrators of these services are not biased towards outside perspectives. Role models, for instance, should not come from a cultural background that is inaccessible to youth. Thus, it is important that the institutions in the Lanier area respond to cultural and social circumstances that exist in the Lanier area¹⁶. This would provide youth with “real” options to pursue their own career objectives. It would expand agency in the decision-making process.

¹⁶ Currently, Lanier area institutions respond to the expectations of outside context.

PART V: CONTROL AREA

13. PALM HEIGHTS

Extensive research has shown that levels of youth labour market marginalisation are low in the Palm Heights area. The two census tracts of the Palm Heights area have negative factor scores and few youth are not employed and not enrolled in school. Regarding overall cultural and socio-demographic characteristics, however, the situation of Palm Heights youth does not appear to be much different from Lanier area youth (see Section 8.5., Table 8.7). The director of a youth centre in the Palm Heights area describes circumstances that also apply in the Lanier area:

A lot of kids have dropped out of school. Like I said, it's an individual thing. It depends on the situation, you know, rough times at home. They go through different stages, they end up [dropping out of school] and working [...] What I've seen with a lot of kids is no family at home. Like the mom works all day, is never at home; and then whatever off-time she has it's like 'It's my time' you know. Like they don't spend time with their kids. And I see kids going all day without eating, you know. They haven't been at school. I mean I don't blame the parents, they have to work.

Processes of labour market marginalisation are contingent upon local and greater spatial contexts and operate only under certain individual, social and institutional circumstances. This chapter excavates social and institutional contexts of the Palm Heights area and explains why processes of marginalisation are depressed in the Palm Heights area. Initially, an introduction to the Palm Heights area will be provided.

13.1. Introduction to Palm Heights

The Palm Heights area is located on the south side of San Antonio (Map 8.2), physically separated from areas in the north and east by two expressways, I-35 (to the north) and US-10 (to the east). Due to the area's closeness to the CBD, its geographical context is rather similar than that the Lanier area (Section 8.5.).

13.1.1. Youth and The Local Labour Market

Zip Code 78225 includes the Palm Heights area and has 59 retail, 30 service and 11 manufacturing establishments (Table 13.1.). There are 700 jobs in the service and retail sectors combined, considerably less than the 3,970 jobs in the Zip Code of the Lanier area (Table 11.1.). Due to the Palm Heights area's proximity to downtown, youth have access to the same employment base in the CBD that is also available to Lanier area youth. Local economic opportunity structure is therefore unlikely to be the reason for lower levels of youth labour market marginalisation in the Palm Heights area. These observations seem to further damage the spatial mismatch argument since removal from jobs is not associated with higher levels of marginalisation.

Two of the interviewed youth have part-time jobs. Both of these jobs are entry-level positions, preparing youth for upper-segment, long-term careers. A 17 year-old student describes his part-time job, which he acquired through a high school coop-program, as follows:

We go to all the schools. Like if the school wants internet, we hook up the internet for them, we hook up the printers. It's a really demanding job. A lot of education on

that job. I've learned lots so far. And I work 4 hours a day, 20 hours a week. I make minimum wage, \$4.75.

A 16 year-old youth who wants to become a zoologist volunteers part-time:

I volunteer at the Humane Society. Well at first I helped cleaning out cages and stuff and but if I have more hours then I have more experience that they would like, not promote me, but they would give me more hands on experience, you know.

None of the interviewed youth has a full-time job. Instead, all of the youth interviewed are in school and therefore considered “non-marginalised.”

Table 13.1. Employment by Zip Code: Palm Heights Area

Zip Code	78225	
	Establishments	Employees
Retail	50	529
Service	30	171
Manufacturing	11	n.a.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1997

13.1.2. Prospects

Youth in the Palm Heights area are highly motivated to pursue whatever career objectives they have. A 17 year-old youth changed his career plans after gaining some initial experience:

I wanted to be an actor but I don't think I could ever accomplish that. I tried hard. I was in drama class, I think at my first year when I was a freshman — very hard! It just wasn't for me.

Now, after obtaining part-time employment as computer software specialist, he wants to pursue a career in computer electronics.

Other youth have general, but upper-segment career objectives. A 17 year-old youth states:

I wanna go first to the Navy and then college. My brother said it's [navy] good, it helps with your education more. He went in for four years. I don't wanna go in for that much. Ah, I think you gotta go for more than three years. I will probably go four years. Then I get out and try to go to college [for] fine arts or drafting, architectural work. Probably in architecture. If I could ever get a good job with that or something like that. Maybe start my own business, like an architect.

Another 16 year-old youth remarks:

Youth: I like Chemistry, anything that has to do with science.

Interviewer: What do you like about it?

Youth: I mean, cause mostly, sometimes it's for a career, you know.

Interviewer: What kind of career?

Youth: It's, I guess, to help me out to get me to be a lawyer. It's always good to have something to fall back on, teacher or scientist.

Interviewer: And then what, graduation?

Youth: Yeah, eventually. After I graduate I wanna go to college to get my Bachelor's degree or Ph.D. in one of the sciences or law school.

Although occupational preferences are not articulated clearly, youth generally aspire to upper-segment careers. Youth's perspectives of what kind of careers are desirable reflect

the patterns of thinking of greater society. None of the youth aspired to occupations in the secondary labour market segment. In this regard, local context and greater social norms appear to conflict with each other, like in the Lanier area.

Without exception, education has priority over immediate employment. Four interviewees stated that they currently have no interest in work because school has priority. In addition, there is little pressure related to parenting responsibilities. None of the interviewees has children which would probably change the order of priorities and put children before career goals. Thus, the behavioural norms among youth in the Palm Heights area seems to coincide with mainstream ideas of decency.

13.2. Processes of Marginalisation

Higher educational attainment and upper-segment career prospects indicate that mechanisms of youth labour market marginalisation operate less frequently in the Palm Heights area than in the Lanier area. The following sections examine social and institutional contingencies which trigger mechanism of marginalisation to operate.

13.2.1. Local Social Context

Like in the Lanier area, a distinct street culture exists in the Palm Heights area. A 16 year-old respondent, for instance, started a street fight involving 40 youth (according to his own count) a few days prior to the interviews. Another 16 year-old student, talks about her experiences and the implications of involvement with street culture:

I was in a bad crowd. Then I realised this is dumb, so I just went to be myself. I was getting in trouble a lot, mainly at school. I wouldn't do my work, I would talk back a lot. I wouldn't go to school.

However, according to most youth and residents, street culture is weak and violent incidents are the exception. A 16 year-old youth says:

It's a pretty good neighbourhood. We usually don't get in any trouble or nothing strange happens. There was only one time, but that was a couple of years ago, they murdered somebody right there on my street but that was a long time ago.

Along the same lines, a 16 year-old female youth remarks:

It [the Palm Heights area] is pretty good. There is the occasional [fighting, but] it's not dangerous, like you cannot be outside and not worry about drive-bys that kill you or anything. It's peaceful.

Nevertheless, adult residents stereotype and criminalise adolescents. A 16 year-old female youth examines:

Some of them [adults] are like real suspicious about the, I guess what you call, teenagers. Yeah, they would be looking at you funny. Because of their perception of teens. They think all teens are out to harm them which isn't true. I feel like people look at me differently just because of my age.

Criminalisation of youth, as discussed earlier, restricts agency and structural influences on youth's career decision making. Youth who are perceived as "deviant" and a threat to local culture are socially alienated. Local adults, for instance, shy away from taking on

role model positions for youth who they view as “deviant.” The supervisor of a recreational centre, when asked whether local adults influence youth’s attitudes, values and expectations, responded:

Maybe some adults but not all the time. They [youth] are mostly in their age groups. I don't see now anymore like these younger kids hanging out with older people. They used to but not anymore. What, about 15 years ago, then you had older guys here and the younger kids would follow them. Not anymore. A lot of these older guys they thinks the kids are attacking, they're bold, you know.

Youth confirm that they do not interact much with local adults. A 16 year-old youth says that: “The only adults that I know here are the ones like Maria [pseudonym] at the Youth Centre; except my neighbours, they're nice you know. But other than that, I don't really know anyone.” Another 16 year-old youth explains that: “I don't really know any adults in the area. Not really, I don't talk to my neighbours.”

Nonetheless, role models do exist in the institutional context of the Palm Heights area. A community activist attributes the labour market success of youth in her program to the socio-economic background of adult volunteers and the high level of commitment these volunteers bring to the group:

They're all from different backgrounds. One of the ladies that help is a juvenile probation officer, and another lady that helps is a retired agent, another guy works for the FBI, another lady that helps works here at the directory, and then we have another student who helps — I think he's around 20 — and he comes around and helps. And then there's a guy from Boston here helping us. Actually, we spend a lot of time with those kids. I mean, quit a bit. We see them at least, I would say, four times a week. And that's a lot when you think about it.

So far, social or institutional conditions were described that indicate a large degree of similarity between the Palm Heights area and the Lanier area. In both areas, a street culture exists, youth are criminalised and role models are imported from the “outside.” Key to understanding lower levels of youth labour market marginalisation, however, are the degree of spatial isolation, the manner in which inside identities are constructed and how these inside identities relate to outside context.

The spatial confinement of youth to the immediate neighbourhood is not as extreme in Palm Heights as in the Lanier area. Many youth simultaneously attend activities in community centres that are located in different neighbourhoods. For instance, it is common that youth play basketball at Normoyl and Palm Heights Community Centers. Peer networks typically cross neighbourhood boundaries or leapfrog into other parts of San Antonio. Due to a lesser degree of spatial isolation, influences of outside context penetrate into the Palm Heights area and introduce local youth to outside attitudes, values and expectations. Subsequently, youth acculturate to “mainstream” society and adopt outside ideas of what constitutes labour market success.

In the Lanier area marginalisation is often associated with a shift in priorities away from education, introduced by parenthood and the need to provide for a child. In the Palm Heights area, on the other hand, fewer youth are young parents. Local values and attitudes resemble “mainstream” thinking that women should not have children as teenagers. The birth-rate of women under 17 years of age in the two census tracts of the Palm Heights area is 6.7 and 1.9 and close to the county average of 3.48. In the Lanier area the rate is between 3.3 and 8.6 percent (Section 8.5.). Thus, mechanisms of

marginalisation associated with teenage pregnancy activate for a smaller proportion of youth.

Outside perspectives may, similar to the Lanier area, stigmatise youth who live in the Palm Heights area. A community activists, in fact, believes that the negative stigma of the Palm Heights area is “at least” as strong as that of the west side. A youth who regularly participates in a local youth group, but lives in a different neighbourhood, remarks: "In the area where I live, the kids and the parents think they're so much better than others. And they look down upon them [Palm Heights youth]." However, youth may escape discriminatory practises of employers, teachers and school officials based on local stigma because they signify a high level of acculturation and display attitudes and codes of deportment that resembles “mainstream” culture rather than stereotypical local subculture. Through acculturation, the social system of the Palm Heights area approaches the structural norms of greater social context.

The cultural characteristics of Palm Heights youth are likely to be influenced to some degree by family characteristics. Most interviewed youth were raised by both parents and at least one of the parents worked (Table 9.1). The nuclear family, however, is a cultural trait that reflects “mainstream” culture. In addition, if both parents are present, the likelihood that one parent works is higher than in single-headed families. Family characteristics may merely reflect cultural background. Thus, the presence of dual-headed families in the Palm Heights area upholds the finding that cultural assimilation provides access to upper segment careers.

13.2.2. Local Institutional Context

Generally speaking, the institutional network in the Palm Heights area is rather thin in comparison to the Lanier area. Palm Heights area residents have access to two community centres. The director of a community program explains how her program was established in response to the lack of local support services:

Well, there are a lot of programs going on the west side because there's already been a lot of awareness in terms of the poverty and lack of services on the west side. Well, on the south side, there wasn't anything. We have a Y[MCA] but it's primarily day-care. They don't provide any kind of services. That was one thing. Then the second thing was the level of poverty in the area. They did an assessment of the area, because we don't want to duplicate any services, so they did a lot of research before they even started the program.

The most striking difference between the Palm Heights area and the Lanier area, in terms of institutional context, is that the Palm Heights area has no public housing courts. It is therefore expected that Palm Heights area residents are overall more acculturated to greater society than residents of the Lanier area which concentrates “deviant” (low income, female headed) households in the Alazan-Apache housing courts. According to a community activist, who grew up in the Lanier area but now lives in the Palm Heights area, the stigma of the Palm Heights area is *not* one of people “on welfare and government assistance” who display stereotypical welfare-behaviour. Instead, Palm Heights is labelled as a poor but “honest” neighbourhood. Place assumes a symbolic meaning of decency, rather than deviancy as the Lanier area.

Schools have a powerful influence on career decisions of youth in the Palm Heights area. Teachers and school administrators often decide on an individual basis which youth

should have access to educational and career opportunity. A 16 year-old youth, for instance, was absent from school for two weeks. The school principal send him to the "Bridge," an organisation helping dropouts to return back to school, for six days and re-admitted him after being convinced of the student's motivation and attitude towards education. In another instance, a 16 year-old youth believes that he will receive support from a teacher if he ambitiously pursues a career objective in the teacher's field of interest. He answered to the question "What would help you most to get a job?"

My school. Right now I'm doing pretty good in drafting. If I keep doing that, I'm pretty sure that my drafting teacher could get me a job. He's helped a lot of kids out. He got this studio job where they pay \$10 an hour working on a computer with drafting. He helps out most of the students that are in drafting.

If students display motivation and a set of attitudes, values and expectations that please the teacher or school administrator the student will gain access to career opportunities. The evaluation and perception of a student's career potential, however, underlies the cultural biases of school staff. Like in the Lanier area, access to career opportunity is not a necessary consequence of attitudes, values and expectations, but contingent upon greater circumstances. Unlike Lanier area youth, however, Palm Heights youth's career prospects coincide with the structural norms of greater society. This provides Palm Heights youth with access to jobs and education.

Interventionist strategies of local institutions have a comprehensive focus that extends beyond career decisions. A youth-group supervisor describes an interventionist strategy that targets both, career related issues and fundamental issues of behaviour:

With the older kids we try to do it [target career objectives] a lot. But with the younger kids, the focus is just on staying out of trouble. So, it's two entirely different things. But with the older kids, yeah, we're very much focusing on getting ahead and thinking about school.

Another community-based institution aims at protecting youth from the influences of street culture. A youth worker explains:

Mostly it [the youth program] focuses on protection from the neighbourhood, activities that are going on at school, maybe peer-pressure, and then intervention for the kids that are involved in that stuff. They're specialised and we meet with them, also so that they can get away from it. Like some of the kids are real active at school. Some of the kids are football players and basketball players, they're real active. But then there are other kids that aren't active at all. And they're in that high-risk area so we deal with them differently.

One youth group attempts to influence youth's attitudes, change their expectations and even modify their cultural identity. The supervisor of this group describes this process as "moulding" the youth into a person with different attributes. She explains her group's strategy:

It's [the group's aim] mainly helping them think about what they want to do. It's not only about the future but also to mould them culturally. You know, we're gonna take them to a museum and stuff so that they can see different things.

In a different instance, the same supervisor describes how youth are pushed into new social roles with different expectations:

If we get someone with nineteen [...] we try to make them into an adult leader. We're trying to mould them into doing something different. In fact, that 20 year-old that comes around, we're trying to mould them into being an adult around these kids. So they can see that they can still be here within the community but it's a little bit different now, because they're adult.

Other interventionist strategies directly address career choices. A youth group supervisor elaborates on one particular component of the program:

In the summer there is a program called Youth Enrichment and what we do is, we pick 20 kids who really want to be in this program and what that is: Everyday they're doing something. They're doing something either culturally, spiritually, or educationally. Like for example, in the summer one day, we like go to different colleges, and the next day they went to elderly homes. We've gone to visit different corporations, like Southeastern Bell and USAA. Then we have the Airforce come and talk to the kids. So, it's every day. Those kids are hand picked. They have to write letters saying why they want to be in that program. And actually what we've seen is that kids that were involved with this program are the kids that go on to work and go to college.

Rather than having to focus on the removal of formal barriers to career development, such as lack of daycare facilities, Palm Heights institutions can concentrate on upper-segment career development. This is possible because youth are culturally assimilated to the mainstream and display little deviant behaviour that encounters resistance in the labour market. Youth group organisers are confident that youth will achieve their goals once they are interested in an upper-segment career. A counsellor seems surprised about the level of career achievement of her former clients.

You know what so interesting is? A lot of them [youth] are going to college. And it's so funny because some of them would be counsellors now. So, it's real interesting. Some of the boys wanna go into sports medicine, physical therapy. A couple of these kids are talking about going to the Airforce.

In both, the Lanier area and the Palm Heights area, institutions operate according to similar structural norms. However, in the Palm Heights area, career prospects of youth are in tune with outside cultural standards. Institutions are therefore rather effective in assisting career development. In the Lanier area, on the other hand, strategies result in marginalisation. Place-based structural contingencies contradict the cultural inferiority thesis which treats the relationship between culture and career as an aspatial and necessary relationship. Instead, marginalisation results from the mismatch between the local system and greater social structure.

Another difference to the Lanier area is that youth who seem less ambitious about entering upper labour market segments are not pressured into the secondary labour market. As noted above, interventionist strategies attempt to keep youth “out of trouble” rather than preparing them for a secondary career. This strategy preserves the opportunity for youth to focus on upper-segment careers if expectations and attitudes change at a higher age.

Community-based institutions in the Palm Heights area attempt to break the spatial isolation of youth. They create an environment where youth interact with adolescents and adults from other neighbourhoods. They expose youth to “other worlds” than their own. The director of a local community centre, for instance, remarks that most youth come from the Palm Heights area but that:

Mostly the older guys are from another part of town, the east side, the west side. They drive here. They come over here cause they like the players. Like here they play

good ball and the competition; they play basketball, volleyball, flag football. We have a lot of activities. We have boys and girls' teams and organise them, practise with them and things like that. We compete in a league here, or have other teams come to our league. We have teams from Normoyl and Quale [Community Centres] on the 36th street.

The supervisor of another youth group describes a similar effort to draw youth from other neighbourhoods:

We're trying to get all of the south side. Burbank, Harlingdale, McCollum, South End although we don't want to reach into other church parishes. We don't want to go into the South End cause that's another parish. But we got kids that are from MacArthur which is like way on the North side. We've had kids coming from everywhere in this town.

Along with attracting participants from different residential areas local institutions have succeeded in introducing a mixture of members with diverse socio-economic and cultural backgrounds to their youth groups. A youth group supervisor explains:

We've had a lot of luck in getting kids from the catholic schools. Which is real interesting because usually it's real hard to get catholic school and public school kids together because they think they're real different from each other and we've been real lucky in getting catholic school kids. We can blend them and that's pretty good.

Through recruiting youth participants from a variety of geographical areas, institutions in the Palm Heights area provide local youth with access to peers from other social contexts. Cultural integration stimulates the acculturation of youth to the behavioural and attitudinal norms of wider society. Thus, Palm Heights' community-based institutions support processes of cultural assimilation. Once motivations, attitudes and expectations

among youth are re-shaped to resemble “mainstream” norms, youth are more likely to succeed in the labour market. Employers are more willing to hire youth who display the more familiar attitudes and behavioural patterns of majority culture. Through acculturation, a youth escapes cultural discrimination from educators and employers and gains access to education and career opportunities.

However, causality for labour market integration is not attributable to culture itself. Rather, the realist method exposed the compatibility between greater society and acculturated place as the cause for the lower levels of youth labour market marginalisation in the Palm Heights area.

13.3. Conclusion: Marginalisation and Acculturation

The research has found no evidence that levels of marginalisation are lower in the Palm Heights area because youth consciously challenge their labour market identities. Youth in the Palm Heights area are not equipped with a greater degree of agency than Lanier area youth. Instead, career decisions typically are responses to local contingencies associated with social and institutional context. Mechanisms of marginalisation are not necessarily weaker in the Palm Heights area compared to the Lanier area, as the regression model used by extensive research suggests. Instead, local contingencies cause these mechanisms to operate less frequently.

One local contingency is that life priorities of youth reflect those of greater society. In comparison to the Lanier area, few youth have children as teenagers and avoid single parenthood which erect barriers for upper-segment careers. In addition, standards to

evaluate occupations resemble those of greater cultural context. Upper-segment occupations are considered “good” occupations and lower segment jobs are perceived as “bad” jobs. Non of the respondents desired employment in a lower labour market segment.

Institutional practises also differ between the two study areas. Whereas Lanier area institutions “assigned” a proportion of the youth to lower-segment careers, Palm Heights area institutions encouraged all youth interviewed to aspire to upper-segment occupations. This strategy, however, is likely be a response to a social context in which youth tend to be more acculturated to the norms and values carried institutional administrators and staff. In the social context of the Lanier area, the institutional response may be similar to that of Lanier area institutions. The influence of institutions on youth career decisions is therefore contingent upon social context.

As youth are more acculturated and share with “mainstream” society the perception that upper-segment jobs are superior to lower-segment employment, they gain access to upper-segment career opportunities and are likely to remain in school until or beyond high school graduation. But the virtue of these “mainstream” values and behaviours does not lie within a natural superiority. Instead, the labour market and the educational system give preference to acculturated youth. Less acculturated youth, on the other hand, tend to be excluded from opportunity.

Cultural assimilation is expressed through the geographical integration of social networks. Community-based institutions in the Palm Heights area play an important role in integrating youth into a greater, non-local cultural context. This is achieved by

developing spatial networks with adults and other youth that expose youth to contexts outside the Palm Heights area, thus avoiding the cultural and social isolation of youth. Institutions are successfully “moulding” youth to accept the cultural attitudes, values and expectations of greater society.

PART VI: CONCLUSION

14. PLACE, CULTURE AND LABOUR MARKET MARGINALISATION

It is difficult to move upward because there is no one around who shows them how.

-administrator of a Lanier area institution

The conclusion interprets the research findings in light of the theoretical framework and the model of youth labour market marginalisation developed in Parts I and II. It begins with a discussion of realist method in geography, followed by the interpretation of patterns and the processes of youth labour market marginalisation. Then, the next section discusses place as a mechanism of marginalisation in the structuration model. Section 14.4. argues for a reconceptualisation of labour market processes that include place, culture and institutional processes. The chapter ends with an evaluation of policy measures based on ideological perspectives of marginalisation.

14.1. Geographic Method: Integrating Extensive and Intensive Research

The geographic method used in this research reflects the relationship between spatial and place-based processes in the labour market. The co-ordination of extensive and intensive research allows to study this relationship. Extensive research defined the parameters of youth labour market marginalisation and examined the spatial patterns of marginalisation throughout greater San Antonio. These patterns were then correlated

with spatial variations of cultural, behavioural and labour market attributes of the overall population. Extensive research showed that there is a relationship between youth labour market marginalisation and the behavioural, labour market and ethnic characteristics of the adult population in census tracts.

Intensive research subsequently exposed the mechanisms which cause youth labour market marginalisation. Causality was attributed to processes within place (i.e. local identity formation), between places (i.e. stigmatisation of the Lanier area), and greater spatial structure (i.e. deviance from “mainstream” norms and expectations). Causality, thus, operates simultaneously within different geographical dimensions. In addition, intensive research showed that many youth who are marginalised — according to the definition developed by extensive research — do have access to either informal work or alternative educational programs.

Two major limitations became evident. The first relates to the non-generalisability of intensive research results. The mechanisms of causation identified in the case study are place-specific and do not operate in the same way in all places. For instance, cultural discrimination is related to high levels of non-acculturation of the Lanier area’s Latino population. In the Palm Heights area, a neighbourhood of a more acculturated population, mechanisms of marginalisation operate in a different way or not at all. The contingent nature of cultural discrimination therefore limits the ability of case-study research to explain the spatial patterns of youth labour market marginalisation in other areas of San Antonio.

The second limitation regards the complexity of relationships between spatial and place-based processes. In this research causality was initially conceptualised as a place-based process. Research, however, has revealed that spatial processes (such as inside–outside representations) and structural processes (such as behavioural standards that are accepted as cultural norms by institutional administrators) are equally important in understanding processes of marginalisation. The initial research design could not fully respond to the “multi-tiered geographical reality of labour markets” (Peck 1996). It did, however, succeed in uncovering essential processes of youth labour market marginalisation. Co-ordinating traditional spatial and place-based geographical methods within a realist framework allowed for uncovering relationships in the labour market that would otherwise have remained hidden.

An additional limitation regards the age-cohorts used in extensive and intensive research. Extensive research measured youth labour market marginalisation for ages eighteen to twenty-four. This age category was provided in the available census tabulations. Intensive research, on the other hand, focused on youth sixteen and older because it was theorised that many important career decisions are being made below the age of eighteen. The eighteen to twenty-four age cohort was appropriate to *measure* youth labour market marginalisation, since marginalisation was theorised as the *outcome* of a process that begins at an earlier age but that remains “invisible” until the age when a youth would enter the labour force and/or graduate from high school. To examine the *process* of youth labour market marginalisation, however, it was appropriate to interview youth as young as sixteen because they are subjected to processes of marginalisation.

14.2. Culture, Behaviour and the Marginal Labour Market

Extensive research defined marginalised youth as being neither employed nor enrolled in school. Intensive research, however, revealed that many marginalised youth may, in fact, have access to alternative educational programs or employment in the informal sector of the economy. It re-defined youth labour market marginalisation using information not available through census data. This improvement, however, does not challenge the validity of extensive research results because both, the initial and the refined measure of marginality, describe the same youth population, namely youth who are likely to remain in the secondary labour market segment and who are likely to suffer from poverty during adulthood.

The relationship between cultural, behavioural and labour market attributes of the overall population and youth labour market marginalisation, established in extensive research, was explained by intensive research. Cultural attributes of a neighbourhood are involved in the construction of local identities and place-specific labour market expectations. In addition, the same attributes are used to label Lanier area youth and deny them equal access to educational and labour market opportunity. Nonetheless, youth who do not fit this local stereotype are likely to escape marginalisation. Respondents in the Palm Heights area claim that they are subjected to similar stereotypes. Yet, Palm Heights area youth are acculturated to “mainstream” society and avoid stigmatisation. Acculturation dismantles processes of marginalisation associated with the labelling of place. Less acculturated youth, on the other hand, suffer from the stereotypes of place.

Behavioural characteristics of a neighbourhood measured by extensive research include births by single and teenage mothers. Unwed and teenage pregnancies are more common in the Lanier area than in greater San Antonio as a whole. Once a young woman is a mother, priorities are likely to shift from career development towards raising the child¹⁷. If a sufficient support infrastructure, such as daycare facilities, is accessible, careers objectives can be pursued despite parenting responsibilities. However, social processes label unwed young mother/fatherhood as a “deviancy” and associates this condition with non-aculturated minorities and lower classes. Young and single Lanier area parents do not have an adequate support network allowing the pursuit of upper segment careers. Processes of marginalisation, associated with unwed and teenage childbirth, operate for fewer youth in the Palm Heights area because teenage pregnancy rate is lower.

The employment attributes of a neighbourhood’s population are related to levels of youth labour market marginalisation because youth derive career identities from the employment characteristics of the overall population which positions many Lanier area youth in secondary occupations. This trend, however, is magnified in the institutional context of the Lanier area which pushes youth into marginal careers because the stereotype of the Lanier area associates youth with marginal rather than upper-segment jobs. Most youth in the Palm Heights area, on the other hand, desire careers in the upper segments of the job market. They are encouraged by local institutions to pursue these careers.

A particularly important element regarding youth labour market marginalisation in the Lanier area are the Alazan-Apache housing courts, providing homes for a large number of poor

¹⁷ Young fathers often have child support responsibilities which influence career decisions.

families and single mothers. The cultural, behavioural and labour market attributes of housing court residents contribute to the construction of place-specific labour market identities and expectations. In addition, the large concentration of poor and marginal population magnifies the stereotype of the Lanier area. However, the presence of the public housing courts do not put the Lanier area at a natural disadvantage but triggers processes of marginalisation by removing the area further from the cultural and behavioural “mainstream.”

A limitation of the analyses of the Lanier and Palm Heights areas is epistemological in nature. Despite the intensive focus on two study areas the research is *not* a comparative analysis. Rather, the research sought to explain relationships in the Lanier area first and then examine Palm Heights for the presence, or absence, of similar relationships. Empirical evidence about the nature of linkages between place, culture and career identity was first produced for the Lanier area. Subsequently, the nature of these linkages was established as the “standard” for the analysis in Palm Heights. Yet, the linkage between place, culture and identity may function according to different internal rules in the Palm Heights area. This research approach may have distorted evidence obtained from the analysis of Palm Heights¹⁸. Thus, the Palm Heights portion of intensive research can only inform processes that were examined in the Lanier area; it cannot stand on its own.

14.3. Place as a Mechanism of Structuration

Place of residence is geographically defined through mobility, time and structural constraints. It is an overarching mechanism involved in the construction of labour market

¹⁸ Mitchell (1995), for instance, rejects the notion that culture has an “internal architecture [106]” and therefore denies that an internal logic of culture can operate according to similar rules in different places.

identities along the lines of culture, ethnicity and gender. This mechanism operates as three interrelated processes. First, labour market identities are constructed inside place, in response to local context. Secondly, Lanier area residents are labelled by “outsiders” as lazy, dirty, violent and unfit for the labour market or educational achievement. Thirdly, outside perspectives deem local labour market identities as “inferior.” The interaction of these three processes construct and reproduce the Lanier area as a marginal place and its residents as marginal workers. Youth of the Palm Heights area generally are more acculturated which deactivates this mechanism. Typical gender and ethnicity-specific labour market identities in the Palm Heights area do not reflect marginal careers.

Although place is a mechanism that marginalises youth, it does not categorically operate in the same way for all youth who live in the same place. Instead, it operates only under certain contingencies. One such contingency is cultural identity. For instance, in the Lanier area different ethnic and gender-specific career and life expectations co-exist. Many young women become mothers and prioritise parenting responsibilities over careers. Other women, on the other hand, focus on career development. The combination of living in the Lanier area and having expectations that deviate from the cultural “mainstream,” channels youth into marginal careers. Acculturated youth, on the other hand, are less likely to be marginalised.

The idea of place as a mechanism of marginalisation improves the structuration model presented in Chapter 3. Structures are values, attitudes, identities and expectations accepted by greater society and legitimised through attitudinal and behavioural norms. Attitudes towards employment and labour-market expectations are often awarded with employment in upper labour market segments whereas non-conformity with these norms

result in labour market marginalisation. Structures are aspatial in nature. They are defined for society as a whole rather than a geographical sub-population.

Systems, on the other hand, are concrete manifestations of social, economic, cultural and political relationships existing in places such as the Lanier and Palm Heights areas. These places provide the geographical setting for the construction of locally specific attitudes, values, expectations and identities. If local identities conflict with structural norms, marginalisation is a likely outcome. For example, the high frequency of teenage pregnancies in the Lanier area is incompatible with “mainstream” values. As a consequence, young Lanier area mothers are being marginalised in the labour market. In the Palm Heights area, local values, attitudes, expectations and identity tend to match with the structural norms of society and fewer youth are being marginalised.

Human agency, the ability to influence social structure and social systems, is severely constrained for youth. In both the Lanier and the Palm Heights areas, youth are subjected to the reproductional forces in society. In the Lanier area, this involves the “assignment” of youth to ethnicity and gender-stereotypical secondary careers. In the Palm Heights area, youth are being “moulded” into pursuing mainstream careers. On the surface, youth do have agency in that they can escape cultural discrimination in the labour market through acculturation. However, confinement to place and the arrangement of social and institutional contexts does not provide this option to all youth. For the youth who have this option, giving up their cultural identity is a choice that many youth may not be ready to make, even if stigmatisation and labour market discrimination are the consequences.

The importance of place in structuration lies in the geographical isolation of minority culture from greater society. This allows place to function as an agent that labels its residents as “deviant,” “dysfunctional” and “unfit” for the labour market. Structural norms, including the notion of success, are not defined from an internal perspective within the local community but from an external perspective. Success is accomplished through the denial of local culture and the adaptation of outside “mainstream” norms.

The above findings put into question the very concept of youth labour market marginalisation. If labour market identities and roles are space-time contingent, then the concept of labour market marginality is also defined within a space-time-specific context. Thus, labour market research must recognise that the notion of marginality is not a standardised concept but is in itself contingent upon space and time.

14.4. Place-Culture Contingent Labour Market Processes: Towards a Fourth Generation Approach

The theoretical discussion on the relationship between place and labour market processes, outlined in Chapters 5 and 6, has informed this research but was unable to explain the processes that operate in the Lanier and Palm Heights areas. Based on the research results presented above the existing theories on labour market segmentation and marginalisation must be rethought. In addition, Figure 6.1. “Processes of Labour Market Marginalisation” must be redrawn. This is attempted in the current section.

Peck (1996: 83-115) calls for a “fourth generation” approach to labour market segmentation theory that includes place-specific labour market processes. He argues that place matters because it functions as a container that hosts a particular configuration of social, economic, institutional and historic contexts and represents a time-space contingent system. He continues to argue that “labor market *processes* are spatially varied, [...] certainly in the manner of their operation [106]” and that “local labor markets are both constructed (in terms of the concrete working out of generative forces underpinning them) and socially regulated (in terms of the distinctive regulatory milieux formed in and around them) in locally specific ways [110].” The results presented in this dissertation add a new dimension to this fourth generation approach. They demonstrate that place assumes a much more proactive role in segmenting the labour market than theorised by Peck. Not only do labour market processes function in a place specific manner, but place is, in fact, an active element — or agent — in the labour market process.

This extension of the fourth generation approach takes a supply-side perspective of labour market processes. Place and cultural representation are inseparably intertwined with each other. In other words, place represents the people who live there and people represent the place in which they live. The representations of the Lanier area and the residents of the Alazan-Apache Housing Courts, for instance, are intrinsically connected. In the context of labour market processes regarding youth, place represents career identities of the youth who live there and youth career expectations reflect place-specific identities. In the Lanier area, low skill levels, educational attainments and life priorities (i.e. parenting and family responsibilities versus career development) of youth shape the

representation of career identities of Lanier area youth. The research above has shown that place acts as an agent capable of marginalising youth in the labour market when it represents youth career identities.

The “outside” representation of the Lanier area, for instance, is an important element in the formation of career identities among Lanier area youth. From the “outside” place and culture collapse into a single identity: place is given a meaning that is associated with cultural characteristics¹⁹. This place-based identity has — through social and institutional processes — important consequences for the formation of youth’s careers paths. The consequences of outside representation, however, are not the same for all youth who live in the Lanier area but are contingent on “internal” processes of identity formation. In the Lanier area, institutional processes reflect outside perspectives and marginalise youth who deviate from mainstream expectations. Subsequently, these youth are channelled into secondary occupations. Youth who reflect mainstream aspirations are likely to escape processes of marginalisation. These contingent processes of youth labour market marginalisation, associated with the representation of place, provide a general lesson that must be incorporated in a supply-side formulation of fourth generation of segmentation theory.

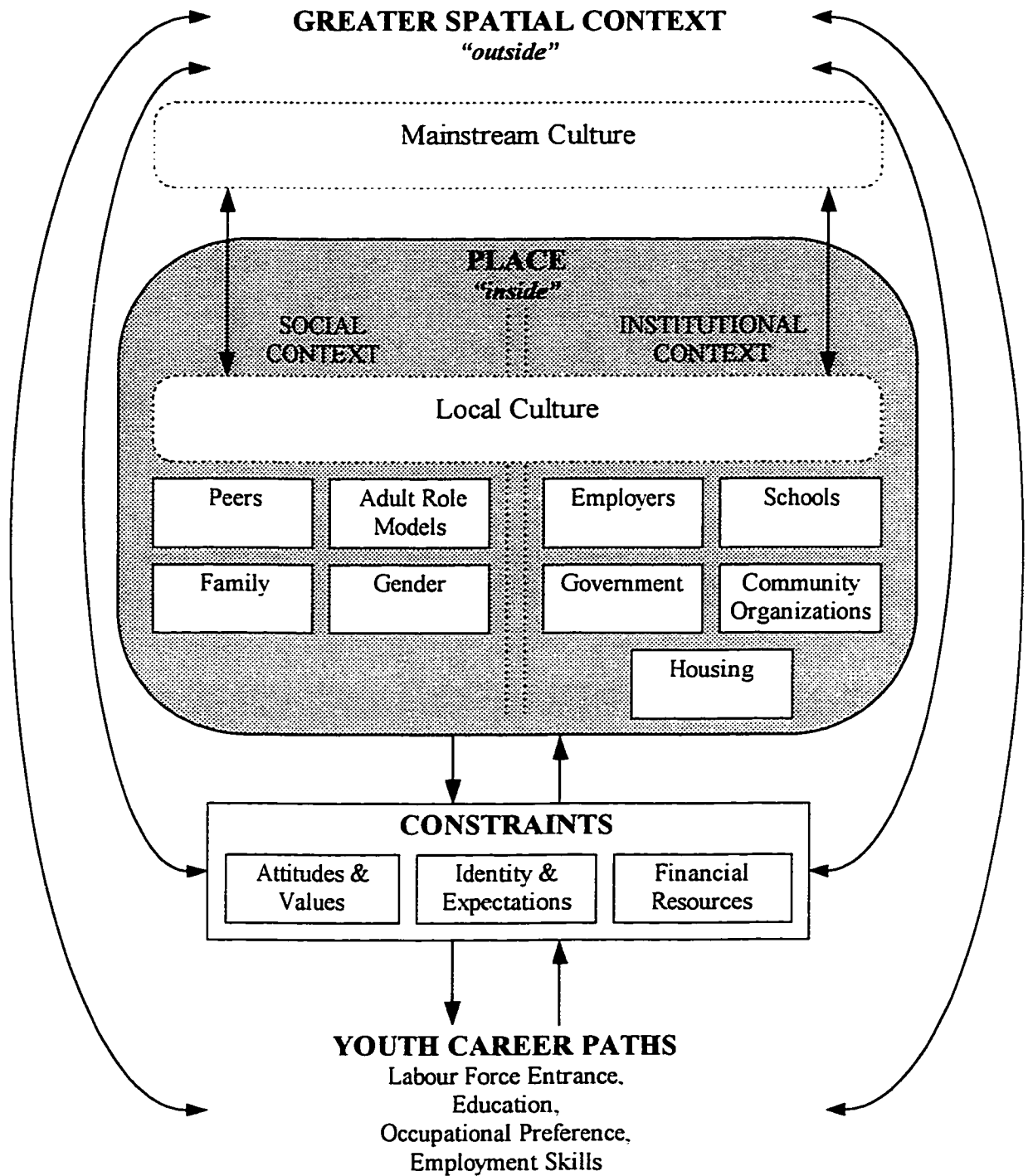
Figure 14.1. is a modification of Figure 6.1. and conceptualises the contribution of the research results to labour market theory. In contrast to the earlier theorisation (Chapter 6, Figure 6.1.), Local Culture now is depicted as an element that cuts across Social Context and Institutional Context. In addition, Greater Spatial Context represents “mainstream”

¹⁹ Mitchell (1996) and Jackson (1997) argued that culture is artificially given meaning to differentiate and to classify but they have not addressed the role of place.

culture. The bi-directional arrows between Mainstream Culture and Local Culture indicate that the relationship between these two elements has important implications for youth career paths.

In addition, elements of social and institutional contexts that were found to be important influences on youth career paths have remained in the model; Housing was added and Gender is now isolated as a separate element. Elements that were found to be less important, such as the Police and Faith-Based Institutions, dropped out of the model. The category that includes Values, Priorities, Work Identity, Expectations and Financial Resources is now labelled Constraints to better reflect the nature of the structuration model. Finally, Youth Career Decision (an element that appears in Figure 6.1.) is now named Youth Career Paths because research results revealed that agency is severely constrained for youth. The term “decisions” may suggest a degree of free decision making that is not supported by the research findings.

Figure 14.1. Place-Culture Contingent Processes of Labour Market Marginalisation



14.5. Culture, Place and Policy

Many community-based institutions share the viewpoint of contemporary urban policy advisors that cycles of poverty must be broken through the acculturation of minorities and the poor. The director of a youth centre states:

There is a certain way of looking at things that is passed down. I mean, within this small community they [youth] see adults acting certain ways and there is a lot of dysfunctional things going on. And that's all they see. And that's how they see the world. If that's all you see and all you know then who can you see and know anything different that would be positive or that would be constructive or building up. So, it is the adults, it's the peers, it's the community, it's also the community's way of living. Really, it is hard to break these cycles.

On the same note, the Urban Institute (1996) stresses the need to change cultural attributes; or Freeman (1996) notes the importance of “inter-personal” and “social skills” for labour market success. These opinions clearly hints towards policies of acculturation along the lines of the culture of poverty and underclass debates.

A more critical perspective purports that life decisions are *cultural* decisions. In the Lanier area, teenage pregnancy, for example, represents a norm rather than deviancy. Many adult Lanier area residents share the perspective that there is nothing wrong with having children at the age of seventeen. Becoming a parent as a teenager is not naturally “bad” behaviour. Teenage parenthood is seen as “deviant” only from a cultural perspective that condemns early pregnancy. In a similar way, labour market structures are modelled after values and expectations of greater society and do not accommodate cultural minorities. Labour market marginalisation is therefore constructed within the

context of cultural and behavioural norms. This viewpoint stands in sharp contrast to the culture of poverty and underclass ideas.

In addition, current policy measures commonly fail to recognise geography as a force involved in processes of marginalisation. An upper-level administrator of the Texas Workforce Commission, for instance, ignores geographical relationships and instead blames poverty alone for welfare dependency:

Probably the common denominator of our clients is AFDC. So whether our client lives in 07 or 09 [Zip Codes], they lived in Alamo Heights or they lived in the Lincoln Courts [is not important]. It's because we deal with people that are poor.

The recognition of fundamental social and geographical processes of youth labour market marginalisation, exposed by this research, are the basis for policy recommendations. A new policy agenda must recognise three conditions:

(a) *Place matters*. Social, cultural, political and economic structure are arranged within place to produce unique local labour market expectations, identities and career objectives. For example, many young women in the Lanier area want to become nurses because of place-specific cultural identities, institutional circumstances and the visibility of hospitals.

(b) *Space matters*. Spatial segregation is a means for separating less acculturated groups from greater society. Spatially isolated social networks limit exposure to outside context and

decelerate assimilation processes for cultural minorities. Spatial integration, on the other hand, encourages acculturation.

(c) *Culture is an underlying contingency for marginalisation.* Acculturation is awarded with access to labour market opportunity. Less acculturated youth are spatially and socially isolated, deprived of opportunity and marginalised in the labour market. In the institutional context of the Lanier area, for instance, youth who do not accept “mainstream” norms of behaviour and attitudes are being “assigned” to lower segment careers.

There are two possible policy responses. The first is to encourage the acculturation of cultural minorities. The pursuit of this policy would require that spatial isolation and segregation are eliminated and that cultural minorities are fully integrated into “mainstream” society. The second response is to guarantee equal access to educational and labour market opportunity to all youth, regardless of their cultural attitudes, values, expectations and identities and their degree of acculturation. This policy would require that educational, skill development and support facilities accommodate to local cultural differences. For instance, support systems must be developed to guarantee labour market opportunity for teenage, single mothers and fathers equal to the opportunities given to other youth.

It is not the author’s intention to impose his own cultural and intellectual bias by making more concrete recommendations in favour of one of the two possible policy responses. It requires a political discourse to decide on issues of cultural development in the labour market. This discourse should be facilitated by the affected cultural groups and take place within a

suitable geographical context. The author hopes that this dissertation has uncovered processes of youth labour market marginalisation that will open the door for this discourse. It is also the author's hope that the local community takes leadership in negotiations between inside and outside contexts for an appropriate policy response.

PART VII: APPENDICES AND REFERENCES

15. APPENDICES

Appendix A. Interview Guide for Youth

FOCUSED INTERVIEW GUIDE — YOUTH (OCT. 1996)
Dissertation
Residential Location and the Effect on Occupational Preferences/Skills
Harald Bauder

INTRODUCTION:

I am: *a Ph.D. student at Wilfrid Laurier University in Canada
*conducting dissertation research\

Purpose of the Study:

- *study young men and women who are in school and who are working
- *I want to find out *why* you are working/not working
- *involves interviews with other young men and women who live in the area

Purpose of the Interview:

- *to learn about the reasons of going to school/working
- *to learn about career objectives

Confidentiality:

- *records of this interview are strictly confidential
 - *your name will be replaced with a number code
-

BASICS:

Date:

Time: from to

Place of Interview:

Name (Number Code):

Male/Female:

Other youth present during interview:

GENERAL INFORMATION:

How old are you?

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Where do you live?

Do you live with your family or by yourself?

- *roommates
- *grandparents, uncle/aunt, etc.

Do you have children? How many?

Tell me about your family?

- *brothers and sisters
- *grandparents
- *ethnicity
- *origin/recent immigrants
- *occupations
- *extended family

Do you spend a lot of time (hanging out) in that area? How much time? Are there other places?

What do you think about the area?

- *Where is it, extent?
- *What do/don't you like about it?
- *peers
- *adults
- *ethnicity/ gender/discrimination
- *values
- *culture/crime/drugs
- *poverty
- *police
- *church
- *organizations
- *government
- *schools

Do many of your friends live in the same area?

Where did you meet them?

- *school
- *neighbourhood
- *other friends
- *sports
- *church

From what kind of families do they come from?

- *Latino
- *from rich/poor families
- *occupation

What do you think about the adults in the area?

What do they do/who are they?

- *Latino
- *rich/poor
- *work/occupation

Do you want to be like them when you're older? Why, why not?

Do you hang out with girls/guys (opposite gender)? Anglos?

Are there any differences between those friends and the others?

Are your friends and the people of the barrio in any way different than you are? In what way?

Are you involved with any community organizations? Which one? What do you do there?

JOB INFORMATION:

Do you have a job?

If no: Did you have a job before?

Tell me about that job?

*what kind of job

*what is it that you do at the job

*employer

*permanent or temporary/hours per week/wage

*under the table

Is this your first job?

*if no: tell me about the previous job(s)

Why did you quit?

How come this job and not something else?

*occupation

*skill

* a 'cool' job

*what everybody else gets

*money/independence

* honest work

*peers

*local adults

*male/female/Hispanic job

*teachers/school

*other institutions

*family/parents

*employers/job market (local/national)/only job available

Have you ever wanted to be something else? Can you describe the job you want(ed)?

*Why did you want to be a ... ?

*(not) a 'cool' job

*what everybody else gets

*money/independence

*(not) honest work

*peers

*local adults

*male/female/Hispanic job

*teachers/school

*other institutions

*family/parents

*employers/job market (local/national)/only job available

What made you change your plans? At what age did you change your plans?

*(not) a 'cool' job

*what everybody else gets

*money/independence

- *(not) honest work
- *peers
- *local adults
- *male/female/Hispanic job
- *teachers/school
- *other institutions
- *family/parents
- *employers/job market (local/national)/only job available

What are your future expectations of the job? Do you want to stay with this job?

How far is this job located from your home? How did you get there?

Was this your home when you got the job? Where did you live before?

EDUCATION

Are you in school right now?

Tell me about your education?

- *formal education (yrs.)
- *completed high school
- *dropout

Dropouts: Why did you drop out? At what age did you drop out?

- *'cool' job
- *what everybody else did
- *money/independence
- *peers
- *local adults
- *male/female/Hispanic role
- *teachers/school
- *other institutions
- *family/parents
- *employers/job market (local/national)/only job available

Did you ever receive job training?

- *job training
- *internships
- *vocational training
- *Where? School/community organizations/religious organizations

What is your main subject focus in school/training, why?

- *to get a job
- *tradition/family history/recognition
- *to make money on a good job
- *satisfy parents
- *do what peers do
- *other adults in the area
- *like all the other guys/girls/Hispanics

Do you want to continue/return to education? why or why not?

- *to get a job

- *tradition/family history/recognition
- *to make money on a good job
- *satisfy parents
- *do what peers do
- *employers/labour market

If you had the chance to go back in time, would you do anything different?

CAREER OBJECTIVES FOR NON-WORKERS

Are you interested in a permanent full-time job? Why/why not? When?

Tell me about your job you would like?

- *what kind of job
- *what would be your function at the job
- *employer
- *where?
- *permanent or temporary/wage/hours per week/wage

Why do you want this job?

- *just the way it is/cool job
- *what everybody else gets
- *money/independence
- *honest work
- *peers
- *local adults
- *male/female/Hispanic job
- *teachers/school
- *other institutions
- *family/parents
- *employers, job market (local/national), only job available

Have you tried to get a job?

- *why were you unsuccessful
- *How did you look for it?

Have you tried to contact community organizations?

JOB MARKET

What kinds of jobs are available to you?

Where did you get this information?

Do you think that there are better jobs available outside of your area? Do you have access to them?

FINAL THOUGHTS

Do you have an idol? Who is it?

What do you think would help getting where you want?

If you had any advise for younger kids in the area, what would you tell them?

Thank you for the interview!

INTERVIEWER ASSESSMENT:

parents, school official, employer present at interview?

appearance:

attitude:

language:

Ability to speak English:

Appendix B. Interview Guide for Institutions

FOCUSED INTERVIEW GUIDE — INSTITUTIONS (OCT. 1996)

Dissertation

Residential Location and the Effect on Occupational Preferences/Skills

Harald Bauder

INTRODUCTION:

I am:

- *a Ph.D. student at Wilfrid Laurier University in Canada
- *conducting dissertation research

Purpose of this project?

- *identify influences on young men and women with regard to job skills and occupational preferences
- *involves interviews with other community based institutions in the area

Purpose of the Interview:

- *to learn about objectives of your institution
 - *to learn about the role of your institution with regard to labour force entrance/other community issues
-

BASICS:

Date:

Time: from to

Name of Institution:

Type of Institution:

Place of Interview:

BACKGROUND:

What is the mission of your institution?

What is the size of your institution?

- *staff
- *members
- *dollars available

What are your funding sources?

What geographical area do you serve?

What are the specific services you offer?

- *training
- *counselling
- *placement

Are there any membership/eligibility requirements?

- *family background
- *grade point average
- *labour market performance
- *poverty

Please give a description of the people you serve?

- *ethnicity
- *identity
- *income/class
- *gender

What is your role in the agency?

How long have you been with the organization?

SERVICES

Tell me about the individual programs that are offered by this institution related to youth (not only labour market performance but also other programs).

Program A:

Name/Title of program:

Please give me a brief description of the program/service.

- *training/placement/cancelling
- *length/started when?
- *target population/institution
- *targets individuals or groups

Does this program target

- *employment skills
- *education
- *occupational preference

In your opinion, what could be improved?

Program B:

Name/Title of program:

Please give me a brief description of the program/service.

- *training/placement/cancelling
- *length/started when?
- *target population/institution
- *targets individuals or groups

Does this program target

- *employment skills
- *education
- *occupational preference

In your opinion, what could be improved?

Program C:

Name/Title of program:

Please give me a brief description of the program/service.

- *training/placement/cancelling
- *length/started when?
- *target population/institution
- *targets individuals or groups

Does this program target...

- *employment skills
- *education
- *occupational preference

In your opinion, what could be improved?

SKILLS AND OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES OF LABOUR FORCE ENTRANTS

Do you think that young people who grow up in this area are disadvantaged in finding a job? Why?

- *education
- *skills
- *career objectives
- *attitudes
- *culture
- *financial support
- *family support
- *drug dependency/crime
- *adults role models/peers
- *ethnic/racial discrimination
- *schools
- *lack of other support institutions
- *no jobs available
- *transportation
- *teenage pregnancy

What are the occupational aspirations of the youth you serve?

Do you feel that young job entrants in this area are channelled into certain careers?

Where do you think these roles and expectations originate?

- *peers
- *adults
- *gender, ethnic stereotypes
- *family
- *culture/identity
- *outsiders who label residents of the area

Does your organization address these problems? How?

- *peer influences
- *influences of other adults
- *influences of gender/racial/ethnic stereotypes
- *value structure
- *culture/identity
- *target poverty
- *attitudes

Some youth are successful on the labour market/in education. In your opinion, what conditions their success?

What could be improved to improve the occupational choices of youth?

Is there anything that the community can do to improve the situation? Or is there anybody else?

Thank you for your interview!

INTERVIEWER ASSESSMENT:

gender: M / F

appearance:

attitude:

language:

Ability to speak English:

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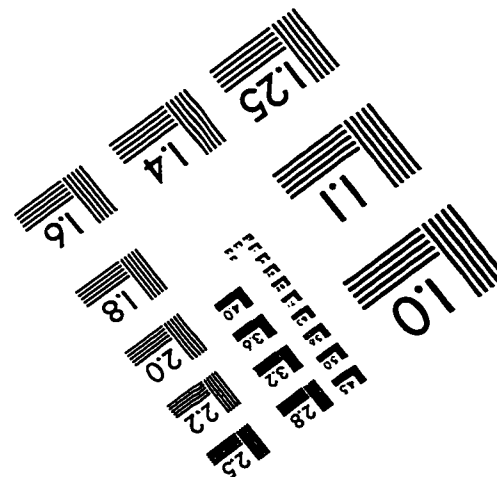
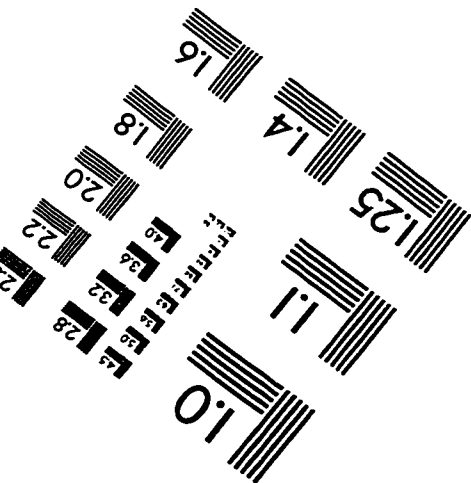
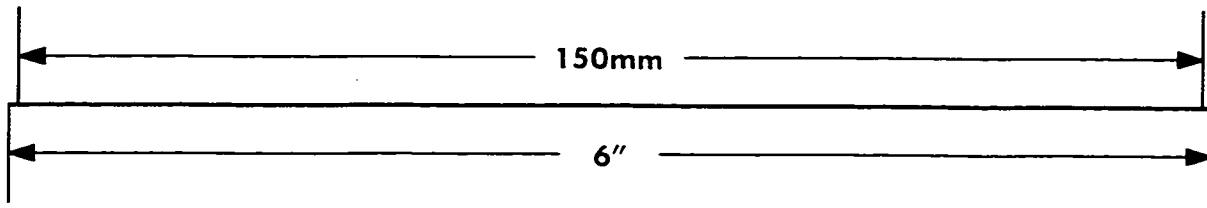
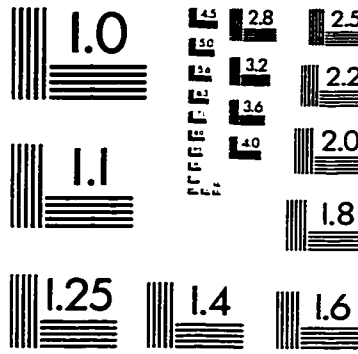
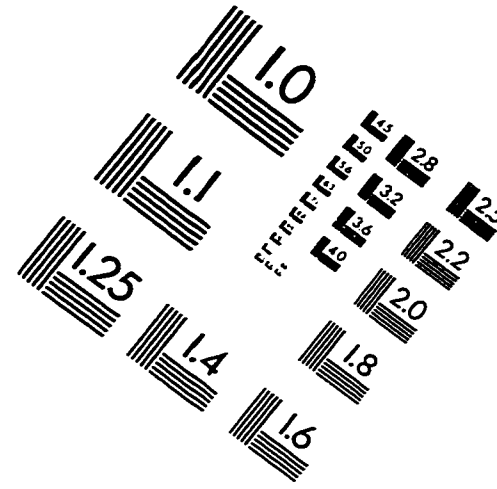
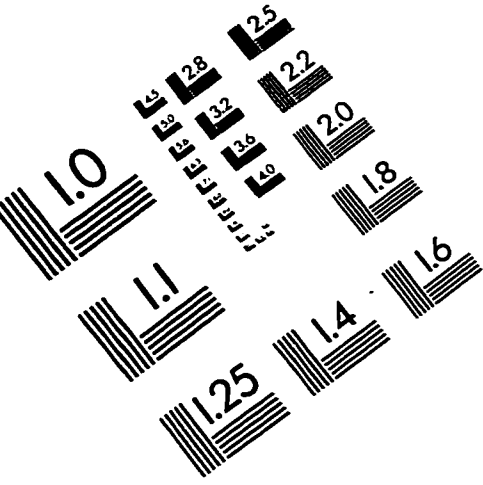
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