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**Concentrated Poverty and Labour Markets: Youth Marginalization in
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ABSTRACT

This paper provides evidence for the relationship between concentrated poverty and labour market segmentation in the city of Buenos Aires. It also examines the consequences that they have on the social marginalization of young people. Firstly, it analyses the effects of concentrated poverty on labour market access for people living in informal settlements. Secondly, it examines the results of multivariate analyses measuring the net effect of the concentration of poverty on five key indicators of youth marginalization, as well as the interrelation of the effects of family educational and occupational status. The results demonstrate that the spatial concentration of poverty is linked to the labour market segmentation, and is a central determinant of urban segregation in the City of Buenos Aires. For young people, living in informal settlements in households with marginal employment status significantly increases their risk of marginalization in a cumulative manner.

Key Words: Urban Segregation, Concentrated Poverty, Informal Settlements, Neighbourhood Effects, Labour Market Segmentation, Youth Marginalization.

1. Introduction

The urbanization of poverty, its intergenerational transmission and territorial concentration, have contributed to putting the problem of urban integration back into international debates on social policy. One of the main contributions to these debates is the growing consensus about the importance of the residential context for reproducing marginalization. Various approaches emphasize how the place where people live plays a critical role in possibilitating or inhibiting their human flourishing (Wilson, 1987, 1996; Galster and Killen, 1995; Mingione, 1996; Sampson, 2003; Murie and Musterd, 2004; Wacquant, 2008; Van Ham et al., 2011; McKenzie, 2012).

The growth of informal settlements is one of the most notorious manifestations of persistent urban marginality in Latin America. More than sixty years ago, marginalized residential enclaves of poverty emerged as part of what was believed to be a transitory phenomenon, originally attributed to a 'stage of development'. However, they have become a constitutive element of the geography of most major cities (Auyero, 2001). Currently, it is estimated that 111 million people, the equivalent of 24% of the urban population, live in informal settlements in Latin America and the Caribbean (ONU-Habitat, 2012). The persistence of territorially concentrated poverty is visible in the consolidation of these enclaves. This calls into question the limits of the processes of economic growth that began at the start of the twenty-first century in attempts to overcome the basic mechanisms of social marginalization (Ziccardi, 2008).

The *villas miseria* of the City of Buenos Aires -as these informal settlements are called in Argentina - confirm the persistence of urban marginality in the midst of Argentina's urban main agglomeration¹. These settlements emerged in the first half of the past century during a period of structural change due to industrialization and internal migration towards urban centres. They have also experienced significant growth since the beginning of the 1980s. According to data from the 2010 Census, the population residing in informal settlements in the City of Buenos Aires was just over 160,000, or the equivalent of nearly 6% of the City's population. This shows a 223% increase in the informal settlements population since the 1991 census. Informal land and property tenure and occupational marginality are some of the attributes of this phenomenon. In addition to these challenges, the levels of violence and social exclusion among young people have recently increased (Suarez, Mitchell and Lépre, 2014).

Several studies have shown that the consequences of labour exclusion are heightened when workers live in contexts of concentrated poverty. Studies have also shown that the segmentation of educational opportunities confines young people living in informal settlements to poorer educational services, and that territorial stigmatization operates as a mechanism of discrimination in access to formal labour markets. It has also been demonstrated that conditions of concentrated poverty give rise to marginal sub-cultures stemming from collective experiences of disaffiliation sustained over time. These sub-cultures often operate as reference frameworks for what segregated

¹ Greater Buenos Aires is the largest urban agglomeration in Argentina. It encompasses the City of Buenos Aires and what is termed the Buenos Aires Conurbano (surrounding 16 municipalities). The City is the Capital of the Federal Republic of Argentina and since the constitutional reform of 1994, it has the status of Autonomous City. According to data from the 2010 National Census of Population, Households and Housing, the population in the Conurbano of Buenos Aires is 9.9 million people and the City of Buenos Aires had a population of 2.9 million, with a combined total population of 13 million, representing 32% of the national population.

youth does and ‘values being and doing’, and generates fatalistic beliefs about their future and their expectations of social mobility (Katzman, 2001). ‘Corrosive disadvantages’ (Wolff & De-Shalit, 2007) do not solely impact the realization of wellbeing. They also impact the subjective perceptions of opportunities for attaining wellbeing.

Empirical research undertaken in the ‘neighbourhood effects’ perspective has made important contributions in identifying and measuring the mechanisms by which the residential context reproduces social marginalization in urban spaces (Van Ham, et al., 2011). These studies have pointed particularly to the negative consequences that concentrated poverty can have on child and adolescent development (Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Sampson, et al., 2002; Murry et al., 2011). Despite growing interest in such research in Latin America broadly, and Argentina in particular, analyses of the effects of neighbourhood-level indicators on residents’ wellbeing are still nascent (Queiroz Ribeiro and Katzman, 2008).

This article analyses the conditions of labour insertion among people living in Buenos Aires’ informal settlements, and how this impacts on youth social marginalization. More precisely, it aims to measure both the net and cumulative effects of concentrated poverty and labour market segmentation on the deprivation of adolescents and young people in terms of educational and employment outcomes. It also seeks to answer two research questions: a) To what extent do people living in informal settlements find their labour market access conditioned by the residential context?; and b) To what extent is the residential context a factor that influences social inclusion outcomes of youth, independent of the family educational and employment status?

A quantitative approach was adopted to answer these questions. Specifically, this work applies binary logistic regression models to determine the strength of the effect of concentrated poverty in relation to other factors, and to identify the net effect of this factor. The analysis of young people’s educational and employment outcomes is carried out by measuring common indicators for studies on youth: rates of school drop-outs, secondary school non-attendance and non-completion, early labour market incorporation, marginal employment, and institutional marginalization. Firstly, we analyse the effects of concentrated poverty on labour market access for people living in informal settlements. Secondly, we examine the results of multivariate analyses that measure the net effect of the concentration of poverty on youth marginalization indicators. We also examine how the effects of family educational and occupational status may be related.

2. Urban Segregation, Concentrated Poverty and Neighbourhood Effects

Originally rooted in the analysis of inequality in large cities in the United States, the urban segregation approach highlights disparities in the distribution of social groups over a given territory. In Massey and Denton’s terms (1988: 282), residential segregation is ‘the degree to which two or more groups live separately from one another, in different parts of the urban environment’. The adverse consequences of urban segregation have renewed concerns about social integration in Latin America. One of the main theses of this approach is that residential segregation acts as a mechanism that reproduces the very urban inequalities of which it is a manifestation (Rodríguez Vignoli y Arriagada, 2004). In this point of view, residential segregation generates a ‘social isolation of the poor’, who have daily contact with equally disadvantaged peers, thus reducing their horizon of

possibilities (Kaztman, 2001). Residential segregation also narrows the spaces of interaction between different social groups, increasing educational and labour market segmentation (Kaztman and Retamoso, 2005, 2007). Residential segregation may also affect the quality of community life and the capacity for collective action, both of which are associated with violence and social disorganization (CEPAL/HABITAT, 2001; Kaztman, 1999, 2001; Kaztman and Wormald, 2002; Sabtini, et al., 2001; Sperberg and Happe, 2000).

Two distinct dimensions have been identified for the analysis of residential segregation. The first is concerned with the territorial concentration of poverty and its influence on processes of socialization and access to opportunities. The second focuses on the integration of these territories into the urban social fabric, or in other words, the life chances and limitations produced by the structures of production and services of the given territory. Studies on the dynamics set into motion by these dimensions have been developed from the theoretical-methodological consideration of 'neighbourhood effects' (Wilson, 1987, 1996). In this line of thinking, living in a deprived neighbourhood has a negative effect on residents' life chances over their individual characteristics (Van Ham et al., 2011).

Analyses of neighbourhood effects have engendered a multidisciplinary agenda with a strong emphasis on child and adolescent development. The central tenet of this approach is that various territorially-bound processes limit the development of children and adolescent exposed to territorially-concentrated poverty for a prolonged period of time. Empirical research on social-ecological differentiation has come to consistent conclusions with respect to the impact of various characteristics of the residential surroundings on indicators such as: infant mortality, low birth weight, teen pregnancy, school drop outs, school attainment, the development of cognitive abilities, child abuse, access to employment and youth criminality (Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Sampson, et al., 2002; Murry et al., 2011; Van Ham et al., 2011).

Small and Newman (2001) propose a distinction between socialization and instrumental mechanisms. Instrumental mechanisms are those related to characteristics of the residential surroundings, which limit the capacity for individual agency. The most crucial of these mechanisms is 'social isolation', which assumes that living in a poor neighbourhood, or one with high levels of unemployment, disconnects residents from key social networks, limiting their access to sources of information on employment opportunities (Wilson, 1987; Elliott et al., 1996). The erosion of institutional resources such as schools, churches, recreational spaces and local care centres, also affects poor neighbourhoods, making childrearing more difficult (Wilson, 1987). Kaztman and Retamoso (2005) mention factors such as distance from workplaces, the costs of transportation in time and money, local employment opportunities, and employer selectivity in regards to recruitment from certain neighbourhoods. Other factors such as distance from educational and training institutions, lesser quality in the local supply of education, difficulties in maintaining continuity in one's studies due to family care and reproductive work in the home, may also be important.

The mechanisms of socialization described above are the means by which neighbourhoods socialize those who grow up in them. The literature identifies four channels through which the effects of residential context are transmitted: a) access to social capital and social networks, b) the collective efficacy to produce, modify and simplify social norms, c) the differential quality of institutional resources, and d) the restrictions and opportunities offered by the urban environment

for undertaking various routine tasks (Sampson et al., 2002; Sampson 2003). Kaztman and Retamoso (2005) point out that role models have a strong influence in mediating between the residential social context and access to employment. The efficiency of normative community patterns and the presence of marginal subcultures also do so. Links to the labour market are affected by adolescents' exposure to symbols and images that justify lack of motivation towards employment, question the possibility of accessing social opportunities through work, or devalue knowledge associated with the formation of a 'work culture'. In this sense, the analysis of segregated neighbourhood environments emphasizes the absence of role models capable of translating expectations, habits and behaviours that are common in formal social and economic circuits. The formation of a 'work culture' is also affected by the inefficacy of the normative patterns that regulate neighbourhood social life. The urgencies of daily life, and the lack of, or instability of, resources to nourish networks of reciprocity or community base institutions, conspire against the generation and maintenance of general patterns of a common social fabric. Finally, the presence of marginal subcultures diminishes the attraction to work as part of a valuable 'doing' that people have reason to value.

The measurement of neighbourhood effects in the Latin American context is relatively recent in comparison to quantitative studies undertaken in the US and European contexts. However, there are several important pieces of research that examine the relationship between residential context and educational attainment among children and adolescents, the quality of labour market outcomes, the risk prevalence in child and adolescent development and the educational and occupational trajectories across the life course (Queiroz Ribeiro and Kaztman, 2008; Solís and Puga, 2011). Although the contribution of such research is relevant, it has several limitations. Firstly, few studies to date have systematically compared large cities based on a sole methodological proposal. Secondly, there is only sparse literature which outlines the interaction of forms of urban segmentation and their cumulative effects, and which identifies and characterizes the mechanisms by which this interaction operates. This work contributes, through such an analysis, to the body of literature on urban marginality, and places emphasis on the relationship between concentrated poverty and the labour market, as well as their combined consequences for the risk of youth marginalization.

3. The Measurement of Neighbourhood Contextual Effects

The analysis of the statistical relationship between residential segregation and educational and occupational outcomes is not free of methodological difficulties. The literature identifies two central problems with measuring the effects of the residential context on individual outcomes: selection bias and endogeneity of simultaneity (Sampson, 2001).

The selection bias problem stems from the fact that homes are not distributed randomly across the territory. The place of residence is the result of visible characteristics and of others that, independent of the place of residence, also condition individual attainment. Neighbourhoods, in a sense, 'select' their residents and that in doing so restrict individuals' decisions about where to live. This implies that estimates of the effects of residential segregation are affected by selection bias. If the factor that determines residential localization was not included in the estimate model because it cannot be observed, the segregation variable would be correlated with the sampling error, which

would in turn bias the results of the equation. Furthermore, measurement of the effects of segregation would be overestimated by capturing the effects of an unobserved factor that influences decision making about one's place of residence. This is why it is recommended to include family income or other household socioeconomic indicators in the estimation model because they express an unobserved factor in the case of socioeconomic residential segregation. The problem then becomes one of multicollinearity, which can cancel out the statistical significance of the contextual variable.

The problem of simultaneity refers to the hypothesis that people who live in residentially segregated areas do so because they have employment problems, rather than being unemployed because they live in these neighbourhoods. If decisions about where to live are not made freely, their contextual residential characteristics will be more than simply a causal factor. In this line of thinking, the concentration of marginal workers in segregated communities is the result of a selective migration process that agglomerates people with employment issues into certain areas. This reverses the hypothesized order of causality of 'neighbourhood effects'. Several authors have addressed this problem by referring to the synergistic nature of social interaction. This reduces the theoretical relevance of the matter, given that it is not the effect of residential localization, as an individual variable, which is of interest, but rather the contextual effect of decisions taken by a grouping of families (Sampson, 2001).

The results discussed herein come from applying logistic regression models to data on a sample of young people surveyed for the City of Buenos Aires' Annual Household Survey (EAH) in 2004 and 2012, and a specific sample of young people living in seven Buenos Aires's informal settlements collected through the Catholic University of Argentina's Survey of Family Living Conditions (ECVF-UCA) in 2011-2012 (Suarez, Mitchell and Lépole, 2014). The EAH data are used to establish the effect of the residential context, and the other considered factors, on the risk of youth marginalization. The ECVF-UCA data is used to determine the statistical influence of parental employment status and family educational status on the school and employment outcomes of young people residing in informal settlements.

4. Concentrated Poverty and Labour Market Access

Although there are few studies that refer to the effect of concentrated poverty on the labour insertion for the residents living in informal settlements, the available evidence suggests that the social division of urban spaces is related to access to structures of opportunities in the labour market (PNUD, 2009). The results show that living in neighbourhoods with a lower socio-economic level reinforces the chances of getting employed in informal sector, even when we control the education level, the occupational qualification and the economic activity (Lépole, 2014)². Studying the labour insertion of the inhabitants in segregated neighbours of the City of Buenos Aires is especially relevant because these enclaves are conditioned by residential marginality (Macció and Lépole, 2012). Below we examine the extent to which labour market participation is conditioned by living in an informal settlement. We then explore the relationship between the territorial concentration of

² Similar results were identified for the capitol cities of Montevideo, Uruguay (Arim, 2008) and Santiago de Chile (De Mattos, 2002), and several large cities in Brazil (Queiroz Ribeiro et al., 2010).

poverty and marginal forms of labour market participation. The information presented herein covers the period from 2004 to 2012. Over this span of time, Argentina experienced significant economic dynamism, along with significant reductions in unemployment and income poverty. The City of Buenos Aires did more favourably in this respect than the national average.

4.1 Labour Force Participation in the Informal Settlements

The labour force participation rate of the population over 10 years old in the informal settlements of the City of Buenos Aires is 55% in 2012, while for the rest of the City it is 7 percentage points (p.p.) higher. This may demonstrate that lower levels of labour market participation may be associated with conditions of concentrated poverty, as experienced in the informal settlements. This difference has not substantively changed in the period under analysis: in 2004 the activity rate in informal settlements was only one percentage point lower whereas for the rest of the City it remained at 62%. According to these results, among people living in informal settlements, labour participation may be assumed to be lower than the rest of the City. Nonetheless, hasty conclusions can lead to incorrect interpretations, due to the existing differences between the demographic composition of the population living in those territories and the rest of the City.

For this reason, another methodology is to examine the importance of the spatial dimension in determining labour participation is using a logistic regression model. This allows for the influence of socio-demographic attributes on labour force participation to be neutralized, in order to isolate the specific effect of the residential context.

Contrary to the above observation, the odds ratios show that living in informal settlements does not affect residents' chances to participate in the labour market. Strictly speaking, the odds ratios indicate that the estimated labour market participation of people living in informal settlements does not differ from that estimated for the rest of the City population when controlling for gender, age, household position, immigration status and education level (Table 1).

According to these results, the territorial dimension does not account for the lower labour force participation rates observed for residents of informal settlements, as the residential location in informal settlements does not have a statistically significant effect on determining the population's labour participation. Hence, these results contrast with the proposition that the reduction and sustained weakening of labour participation among people living in concentrated poverty are explained by chronic labour inactivity.

Table 1. Odd ratios of a binomial logistic regression model on labour market participation and occupational marginality. City of Buenos Aires, 2004 and 2012

	Labour market participation		Occupational marginality	
	2004	2012	2004	2012
Women (vs. men)	0.405 **	0.426 **	3.263 **	3.638 **
Age	1.496 **	1.464 **	0.988	0.951 **
Age2	0.995 **	0.996 **	1.000 *	1.001 **
Head of household				
Spouse	0.295 **	0.299 **	0.844 **	1.133 *
Child or other household member	0.605 **	0.421 **	2.074 **	2.088 **
Finished secondary school or higher				
Secondary studies incomplete	0.537 **	0.425 **	3.196 **	2.844 **
Up to primary school studies incomplete	0.545 **	0.419 **	3.686 **	3.561 **
Non-migrant				
Internal migrant	1.137 **	1.026	1.329 **	1.378 **
International migrant	1.275 **	1.087	2.180 **	2.772 **
Centre and Northern Areas				
Southern area	0.950	0.980	1.380 **	1.252 **
Informal settlement	0.877	0.977	2.017 **	1.325 **
Constant	0.008 **	0.014 **	0.050 **	0.071 **

** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1

Source: Based on data from the Encuesta Anual de Hogares (DGEyC2004 and 2012).

4.2 Occupational Marginality in the Informal Settlements

The labour force in the informal settlements is largely confined to the informal sector. Only a quarter of the economically active population works in the formal sector. However, forms of participation in informal economies are quite heterogeneous. Within the informal labour force, marginal forms of employment are those characterized by high levels of employment precariousness and a lack of occupational qualifications (Léopore, 2014). In 2012, the marginal participation in the labour market of people living in informal settlements accounted for 31% of the economically active population, a 2.5 times higher rate than for the rest of the City (12%). Analysing the evolution of labour marginality in these territories, the proportion of residents in a situation of occupational marginality reached 44% in 2004, meaning that it has gone down by 13 p.p. during the period evaluated³.

Compared to the trajectory outside the informal settlements, the reduction of the more disadvantaged forms of occupational insertion has been more intense in the informal settlements. Improvements in occupational status were also observed in the impoverished residential enclaves. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the socio-territorial gaps have not changed during these years, since already in 2004 the odds of being in a situation of occupational marginality in informal settlements doubled that observed for the rest of the City.

³ Marginal forms of labour market participation include domestic workers, unskilled self-employed individuals and unskilled salaried individuals in subsistence activities or assisted employment. It also includes individuals who are fully unemployed.

The logistic regression model, also used in the previous section, provides conclusive results related to a statistically significant rise in marginal insertion for people residing in informal settlements during the period under study. Holding the age, gender, household position, immigration status and education level of economically active people constant, living in an informal settlement implies a 1.3 times higher risk of occupational marginality than that estimated for those not living in these neighbourhoods. Markedly, in 2004 the odds of marginal insertion in the labour market for those living in poor settlements were twice as high as that for the inhabitants of the rest of the City (Table 1). Although the effects of the territorial concentration of poverty on access to the formal labour market remain statistically significant, these effects were softened during the period of economic growth from 2004 to 2012.

5. Concentrated Poverty and Youth Occupational Marginalization

The previous section examined how occupational marginality increases in informal settlements, independent of other population characteristics. This section seeks to establish to what extent young people's occupational attainment is affected by where they live and their household's occupational and educational status. Access to a first job is a symbol of adulthood for most youth. For many, entering the working world is seen as a transition to adult life. However, difficulties in labour market insertion are a problem which affects them in a particular way and which exposes them to higher levels of economic and social uncertainty compared to adults. According to data from the EAH (DGEyC) from 2012, 31% of young people between the ages of 18 and 24 years residing in informal settlements in the City of Buenos Aires found themselves in a situation of occupational marginality. Furthermore, nearly 10% of children and adolescents from 10 to 17 years of age were employed in 2012. Compared to corresponding data from 2004, there was a reduction in the risk of occupational deprivation. Nevertheless, socio-territorial disparities have continued to be salient (Table 2).

The cumulative effects of residential and socio-occupational segregation can be identified by confirming that young people living in occupationally marginalized households in informal settlements have the highest levels of deprivation in terms of occupational attainment. In this case, 51% of economically active young people found themselves in a situation of occupational marginality. While, in contrast, lower levels of deprivation are observed in the more affluent areas⁴, which are composed of households with a low incidence of employability issues. In these households, only 38% were not employed in the formal sector, and occupational marginality affects about 14% of this group of youth. Also, for young people who reside in the informal settlements, the likelihood of obtaining formal sector employment rises when the household is headed by a formal-sector worker. The likelihood of occupational marginality among youth also increases when the household is headed by an individual with marginal occupational status.

In terms of the risk of child and adolescent labour, the data suggests a similar dynamic to that of the two above-mentioned indicators of youth occupational attainment. More specifically, the percentage of children and adolescents between 10 and 17 years of age entering the labour market before adulthood was 14% among youth residing in the informal settlements in households headed

⁴ The Centre and Northern neighbourhoods of the City are classified as affluent areas.

by individuals in situations of occupational marginality. However, this percentage is reduced to just 2% among children and adolescents who live in households headed by individuals employed in the formal sector in the rest of the City. In the case of households in which the household is headed by a formal sector employee residing in an informal settlement the adolescent employment figure is 9%, that is, 5 percentage points less than households in situations of occupational marginality.

The following provides an analysis of the influence of residential context and family employment and educational status on the risk of child and adolescent employment, as well as marginal forms of labour market participation among young people. It analyses the results of logistic binary regression models for 2004 and 2012.

5.1 Child and Adolescent Labour

The risk of child and adolescent labour is conditioned by the social residential context independently of family educational and employment status. The population of 10 to 17 year olds who live in informal settlements face a 3.4 times higher risk of early entry into the labour market as compared to residents of affluent neighbourhoods of the City. Also, when children and adolescents are part of households headed by individuals with marginal participation in the labour market, the chances of early incorporation into the labour market were 80% higher for children and adolescents than those from households headed by formal worker, holding all other factors constant. In the same vein, children and adolescents who come from households with low educational levels have a 2.4 time higher risk than children and adolescents from households with a higher educational level (Tables 3, A1 and A2).

The regression coefficients obtained for the City's informal settlement population are not statistically significant. Thus, it is not possible to establish the net effect of the family employment situation on the risk of child and adolescent labour with the data collected from the ECVF-UCA (Tables 3 and A3). However, the analysis of the descriptive statistics do not provide evidence that rules out the existence of a relationship between household occupational marginality and the propensity for child and adolescent labour, even in the case of the informal settlements.

5.2 Young People in Marginal Employment

When we consider parental employment status, the likelihood of young people being employed marginally in the labour market is 5.5 times greater when the household head has a marginal form of participation in the labour market, all other attributes being held equal. The results obtained for 2004 confirm that the marginal parental insertion in the labour market is a significant determinant of young people's labour participation. However, the odds ratio for that year is lower (3.5) than the 2012 odd ratio obtained (5.5) (Tables 3, A1 and A2).

The residential context factor has less significance on the determination of youth marginal labour insertion. Holding the rest of the variables included in the regression model constant, the likelihood of young people working in the marginal labour market is 37% higher among those living in informal settlements compared to the ones who reside in the more affluent

neighbourhoods. On the other hand, the educational climate of the household is not a clear predictor of youth marginal labour insertion, holding other factors constant.

For young people living in the informal settlements, the multivariate results indicate that the quality of their labour insertion is also affected by parental employment status. The chances of young people finding themselves in employment marginality are 2.8 times higher when the head of their household is a marginal worker. However, the household educational environment is not a factor that significantly alters the estimated probability. In fact, there is no evidence that youth who come from households with a lower educational level have a greater risk of employment marginality than their peers from households with a higher educational level (Tables 3 and A3).

Countering the hypothesis that the household head being employed in their neighbourhood of residence increases the risk that young people find themselves marginally employed, the results reveal that the household head working outside the informal settlements does not significantly reduce the probability for young people to be employed in marginal employment. In this sense, the participation of adult workers in the economic circuits of the City does not reduce their children's chances of marginal employment.

Table 2. Percentage of young people's educational, occupational and institutional marginalization by residential context, head of household employment status and household educational climate. City of Buenos Aires, 2004 and 2012

	School drop-outs		Non-attendance		Secondary school non-completion		Child and adolescent labour		Marginal employment		Out of work, out of school and not seeking employment	
	2004	2012	2004	2012	2004	2012	2004	2012	2004	2012	2004	2012
Residential context												
Centre and Northern areas	4.3	2.9	10.8	8.9	21.9	20.6	4.7	2.2	21.7	19.6	6.9	6.6
Southern area	10.5	6.3	23.4	25.4	39.6	47.3	8.1	4.8	27.2	28.0	12.7	12.7
Informal settlement	14.5	15.7	54.6	51.0	76.9	74.4	9.8	9.2	40.7	30.8	25.9	22.1
Head of household employment status												
Head of household in formal employment	3.0	3.3	9.3	8.7	20.3	20.5	3.5	2.1	18.5	15.3	6.3	6.4
Head of household in informal employment	8.1	5.3	20.1	20.5	32.8	36.4	7.8	3.9	18.8	18.8	9.2	10.6
Head of household in marginal employment	11.3	7.5	22.5	25.2	40.5	43.8	8.4	7.2	44.8	47.8	15.7	12.8
Household educational climate												
High educational climate	0.8	1.1	1.4	1.9	8.1	7.9	2.4	1.3	18.0	19.0	2.9	3.7
Medium educational climate	8.1	5.9	23.7	24.4	41.2	48.9	8.3	4.7	26.9	23.1	13.6	14.5
Low educational climate	14.0	11.0	55.0	52.9	80.4	82.1	8.2	6.2	37.9	29.0	22.1	17.0

Source: Based on data from the Encuesta Anual de Hogares (DGEyC 2004 and 2012).

Table 3. Estimated probabilities (odds ratios) for young people using a binomial logistic regression model of educational, occupational and institutional marginalization. City of Buenos Aires, 2012

	School drop-outs	Non-attendance	Secondary school non-completion	Child and adolescent labour	Marginal employment	Out of work, out of school and not seeking employment
<i>City of Buenos Aires (a)</i>						
High educational climate						
Medium educational climate	6.94 ***	13.08 ***	11.67 ***	2.67 ***	0.79 *	3.96 ***
Low educational climate	10.82 ***	42.96 ***	56.93 ***	2.43 ***	0.69 *	4.10 ***
Head of household in formal employment						
Head of household in informal employment	0.78	1.14	0.86	1.29	1.20	1.05
Head of household in marginal employment	0.79	1.20	1.04	1.80 **	5.51 ***	1.33
Centre and Northern Areas						
Southern area	1.04	1.59 ***	1.50 ***	1.18	1.47 ***	1.31 **
Informal settlement	2.45 ***	2.36 ***	2.86 ***	3.35 ***	1.37 *	1.66 ***
<i>Informal Settlements (b)</i>						
Low educational level (vs. medium and high)	1.32	3.66 ***	3.56 ***	0.87	10.60	1.24
Head of household in formal employment						
Head of household in informal employment	1.53	1.00	1.38	0.73	1.84	0.70
Head of household in marginal employment	9.35 ***	1.52	1.28	1.50	2.78 **	1.52

Note: In each case the category of comparison is highlighted. In the case of dichotomous variables, these are mentioned between parentheses.

*** $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.15$

Source:

(a) Based on data from the Encuesta Anual de Hogares (DGEyC, 2012).

(b) Based on data from the Encuesta Condiciones de Vida Familiares (ECVF-UCA, 2011-2012).

6. Concentrated Poverty and Youth Educational Marginalization

The territorial concentration of poverty has consequences for the educational attainment of young people living in marginalized contexts. In measuring young people's educational attainment, we consider three risk indicators. The first is teens, 13 to 17 years old, dropping out of formal studies, while the second and third are school enrolment and lack of completion of studies among young people between the ages of 18 and 24.

School attainment among adolescents and young people in the City of Buenos Aires demonstrates clear disparities according to residential localization, which is indicative of the intimate link between the segmentation of educational services and residential segregation. The descriptive analysis presented in Table 2 illustrates this point. Adolescents who reside in informal settlements have much higher school dropout rates than their peers in better off residential areas. While 16% of adolescents residing in the informal settlements had dropped out of formal studies, in the more affluent areas of the City it was 3%. In the case of young people, while 74% of young people residing in informal settlements have not completed secondary school, in the City's affluent areas only 21% had not done so.

The analysis of the conditioned distributions allows for closer examination of the extent to which the combined effects of residential and occupational marginalization on households results in a higher risk of educational exclusion. In fact, more than half of the adolescents who reside in an informal settlement and whose household is headed by a marginal worker, do not attend school. This contrasts with the more affluent areas of the City where only 6% of adolescents whose parents are employed in the formal sector do not attend school. On the other hand, among adolescents who reside in the informal settlements and come from households headed by a formal worker, the non-enrolment rate is 40%, that is, 14 percentage points less than for those who come from households with employment problems.

The analysis of secondary school completion does not appear to link it to the family occupational status, but rather to the educational status of the household. In fact, the non-completion of secondary studies among young people residing in the City's informal settlements does not show significant differences in terms of the quality of their families' labour market insertion (74% in the case of households headed by marginal workers and 75% in the case of households headed by formal sector workers). To the contrary, among young people who do not reside in marginal settlements there are differences in the probability of secondary school completion according to the family's occupational status (35% and 16%, respectively). Nonetheless, when controlling for families' level of education, the probabilities tend to converge, though maintaining differences by place of residence in the case of families with medium and high levels of education. The situation of young people who form part of households with a low educational level is quite different. In these households, the probability of secondary school non-

completion is above 80%, without evident differences by place of residence or the family's employment quality.

In terms of adolescent school dropouts, the dropout rate among 13 to 17 years old is lower in households in the more affluent residential areas headed by formal workers, at only 2%. Though this rate is clearly much higher in the homes in the informal settlements in situations of occupational marginality, the rate is not significantly higher than that of youth in informal settlements whose household is headed by a formal sector employee (14% and 15% respectively). Similarly, when examining the risk of dropping out of school among adolescents who live in informal settlements and form part of households with a low educational level, there are no significant differences based on the family's occupational status.

6.1 School Dropouts

Living in an informal settlement is a factor that increases the risk of young people dropping out of school regardless of their age, gender, parental employment status and the educational climate of the household. According to the results obtained for 2012, the probability of dropping out of school among young people living in informal settlements was 2.5 times higher than for their counterparts from the rest of the City. Furthermore, the educational climate of the household is a factor that shows a strong influence in school dropouts. Therefore, the odds of school dropouts among young people living in households with low educational climate is higher than the estimated for young people living in households with high educational climate. In contrast, parental employment status does not affect the probability of young people dropping out of school in the City of Buenos Aires (Tables 3, A1 and A2).

However, the household head's labour insertion is a factor that determines the likelihood of school dropouts among adolescents who live in informal settlements. The results obtained from the regression analysis applied to the sample of households taken from the survey carried out by Suarez et al. (2014) show that the young people who are part of a household headed by individuals with marginal forms of labour market participation exhibit a 9 times higher risk of dropping out than those headed by individuals in formal employment. Instead, the low educational climate of the household seems not to increase the probability of young people dropping out of school (Tables 3 and A3).

6.2 Young People Out of Education

The likelihood of school attendance for the young people between 18 and 24 years old is strongly influenced by residential context. Young people living in informal settlements have a 2.4 times higher odds ratio of school non-attendance than their counterparts from the rest of the City, all other attributes being equal. When we compare this with the results obtained in 2004 one

observes that the odds ratio has increased, showing that the residential effect is stronger over the years in determining the youth lack of education (Tables 3, A1 and A2).

However, educational climate is the most statistically influential determinant in youth school attendance rate. According to the regression models, forming part of a household with a low educational climate increases the likelihood for young people from 18 to 24 years old of not attending an educational establishment more than 40 times in contrast to the likelihood of the young people from high educational climate households. By contrast, parental employment status shows no significant relationship with the chances of attending school. In that sense, household employment status does not appear as a relevant determinant of young people's educational situation.

On the other hand, the results of the regression analysis reveal that young people living in informal settlements who come from households with low educational climate compared to the ones who come from households with an average educational climate have a chance 3.7 times higher of not attending school. Thus, household employment status does not condition school attendance outcomes among young people 18 to 24 years old residing in informal settlements (Tables 3 and A3).

6.3 Young People with Incomplete Secondary School Studies

Young people who live in marginal settlements of the City of Buenos Aires have a significantly higher probability of secondary school non-completion than their counterparts in the rest of the city, despite the educational climate and parental labour insertion. One also notes that this effect has increased in the period considered, from 1.8 in 2004 to 2.9 in 2012 (Tables 3, A1 and A2).

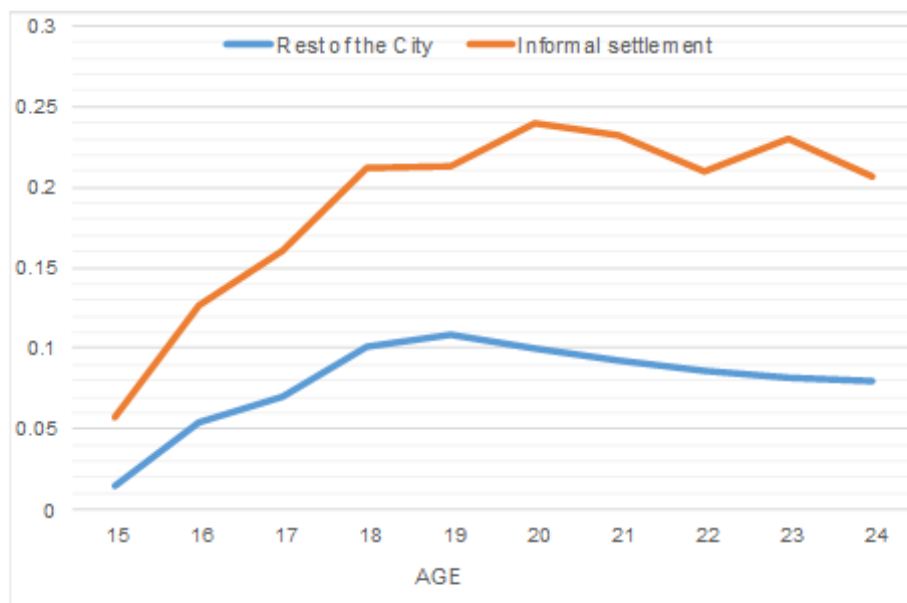
Although the residential context affects young people's educational situation, it is important to highlight that the educational climate of the household is the strongest determinant of youth educational achievements: youth from low educational climate exhibit a considerable higher likelihood of not completing secondary school studies compared to young people with higher educational climate. On the contrary, the influence of parental labour insertion on the completion of secondary school studies is not statistically significant.

The likelihood of young people from 18 to 24 years old who live in the informal settlements of the city of Buenos Aires of not completing secondary education is not related to the household employment status. However, the educational level of the household is a significant predictor. The likelihood of not completing secondary education among young people is 3.6 times higher among those who live in households with low educational climate compared to those living in household with a medium or high educational climate (Tables 3 and A3).

7. Concentrated Poverty and Youth Institutional Marginalization

The situation of young people who have dropped out of formal studies, without being integrated into the labour market, can be understood through the lens of different frameworks of analysis. One of the common frameworks in youth studies is based on the premise that young people find themselves disaffiliated from the roles that society expects of them: as students or workers. The increasing difficulties that young people face in meeting social expectations are compounded with a sort of ‘upward spiral of failures’ (Kaztman, 2001), which lead to both the progressive deterioration of self-esteem and of their sense of self-efficacy. To the extent to which this situation is prolonged over time, the social marginalization is deepened, given that young people miss out on significant experiences that would allow them to gain knowledge, information and contacts to access milieus and channels of social inclusion and mobility. As a consequence, youth who are not in study nor work, nor actively seek employment, face disaffiliation from the institutional spheres that are key to their social integration, as well as educational institutions and the working world (Queiroz Ribeiro, 2005).

Figure 1. Percentage of young people (15 to 24 years old) not in education, employment or seeking employment by age and residential context. City of Buenos Aires, 2010



Source: Based on data from Redatam CNPHyV 2010

Figure 1 presents the proportion of young people 15 to 24 years of age in the City of Buenos Aires who found themselves neither in work, nor in study, nor seeking employment in 2010, by residential context. A closer look at this information reveals that the percentage of disaffiliated youth in the informal settlements is notably higher than that of young people from

the City's other residential areas, and that these disparities rise with the age of the young people concerned.

This confirms the cumulative effects of households' residential and employment marginalization on young people's risk of institutional marginalization: the rate of young people neither studying or working is higher among young people in the informal settlements who live in households headed by a marginal worker than those who live in affluent neighbourhoods in households headed by formal worker: 21% to 5%. As such, this also confirms that when the household head from informal settlements has a formal employment, the likelihood of institutional marginalization drops to 16%. While this indicates that family employment status impacts the likelihood of youth in informal settlements being both out of work and out of study, it is clear that this influence is more intense than in the other residential areas of the City.

Despite the clarity of the descriptive statistics of this indicator, the differences identified may still be the product of existing differences in the socio-demographic and economic characteristics of households in each residential context. This is why, as in prior sections, the application of binary logistic regression models is necessary to establish the weight of residential segregation in relation to other factors that influence young people's institutional marginalization. The results of the regression analysis confirm the net effect of each factor considered in the model. Residential context, as well as the household educational climate and parental employment status have statistically significant variations. These findings confirm that, independent of household assets and social capital, living in a poor neighbourhood significantly increases youth disaffiliation (Tables 3, A1 and A2).

Living in an informal settlement contributes to increasing the chances that young people 18 to 24 years old find themselves neither work nor study, controlling for the rest of the independent variables under consideration. The likelihood that young people in the City of Buenos Aires neither study nor work increases 66% when they reside in informal settlement compared to when they reside in the more affluent neighbourhoods. However, one should note that the household educational climate contributes, with even greater statistical significance, to determining the likelihood of young people's institutional marginalization. In fact, young people from households with a low level of education are 4 times more likely to be neither in education nor work than their peers from households with a high level of education. Though to a lesser extent, the intensity of the educational and residential factors also influences the likelihood that young people neither study nor work. In 2012, in the case of household heads in a situation of employment marginality, the probability of young people neither studying nor working was 1.3 times greater than if the household head is formally employed. These same values are estimated for 2004. Lastly, examining the factors that affect disaffiliation among young people residing in informal settlements, neither educational climate, nor parental labour status has a statistically significant influence. This could be attributed to the devaluation of household resources in situations of residential marginality (Tables 3 and A3).

8. Conclusion

This article provides empirical evidence for the relationship between concentrated poverty and labour market in the City of Buenos Aires, and the consequences these have on youth social marginalization. Firstly, we analysed the effects of concentrated poverty on labour market access for people living in informal settlements. Although a first look at labour indicators would appear to demonstrate that living in these settlements leads to restricted participation in the labour market, due to the conditions of residential segregation; deeper analytical insight leads us to discard this hypothesis, thereby rejecting those interpretations that postulate the occurrence of chronic labour inactivity and discouragement in poor urban areas. Nevertheless, the analysis changes when evaluating the occupational insertion of the labour force in these territories, in which the spatial dimension is a factor that merits consideration. In stark contrast with people living in informal settlements, those living outside them do not experience such significant restrictions in accessing job opportunities. Using logistic regression models, the results are consistent and indicate that marginal insertion in labour market is affected by the residential location in poor settlements regardless the socio-demographic features under consideration. Consistent with ‘neighbourhood effects’ theories, the evidence shows that people living in informal settlements face greater difficulties entering formal sector employment in the City of Buenos Aires.

Secondly, we examined the results of multivariate analyses measuring the net effect of the concentration of poverty on five indicators of youth marginalization, as well as manner in which the effects of the family educational and occupational status are interrelated. Two logistic regression models were applied to each indicator: one for young people in the whole of the City of Buenos Aires, and another for young people residing in informal settlements. The findings reveal that residential context as well as parental employment and educational status affect, though each to different extent, the risk indicators evaluated: school dropouts, no schooling, incomplete secondary education, early insertion into the labour market, and marginal employment.

Access to formal employment is conditioned by the socioeconomic makeup of the neighbourhoods where young people live. The risk of marginal employment increases significantly when young people live in informal settlements, independent of the other considered factors. In addition to corroborating the so-called territorial effect, both household educational and occupational status are factors that have a statistically significant influence on young people’s employment outcomes. In the case of young people who reside in informal settlements, having parents with a higher level of education is not associated with greater chances of securing formal sector employment. In this sense, the fact that a young person’s parents have completed secondary school does not place their children in an advantageous position in relation to their peers with less educated parents. However, marginal labour market

participation among the household head does increase the risk of youth reproducing these same conditions of occupational informality in a statistically significant manner.

Youth's educational attainment is also affected by the effects of concentrated poverty. The results of the multivariate analysis undertaken indicate that holding other factors equal, living in an informal settlement significantly increases the likelihood of dropping out of school, as well as of school non-attendance and non-completion of secondary education. The educational environment of the household is also an attribute that has a significant effect on reducing the relative risk of educational deprivation. In contrast, the household's occupational status is not significantly associated to any of these same three indicators, when controlling for the effects of the residential context and educational environment in the household.

Analysis of school performance among adolescents and young people who reside in informal settlements shows that despite exposure to similar conditions in the neighbourhood surroundings, the risk of educational exclusion varies according to several factors. When the household's main earner is in a situation of occupational marginality, the risk of adolescents dropping out of secondary school increases relative to adolescents where the main earner in the household is employed in the formal sector. However, the level of education among the adults in their household does not have a statistically significant influence on their likelihood of dropping out of school. On the other hand, low education levels among the adults of the household do increase the risk of school non-attendance and non-completion of secondary education among young people, holding other factors constant. In contrast, parental employment status does not show a significant impact on these educational deprivation indicators.

Additionally, the residential context as well as the family educational and employment status influence institutional marginalization among young people in a significant manner. This institutional marginalization is expressed in a dual exclusion from the educational system and the labour market. Residing in an informal settlement is a circumstance that contributes to an increased likelihood of a young person not working nor studying, nor seeking employment, independent of other socio-demographic and economic factors, though to some extent, family employment status affects these risks, increasing or containing them, according to the quality of the household employment status. However, the education level of the adult members of the household largely conditions the probabilities of youth institutional marginalization. For young people living in the informal settlements, the multivariate results indicate that neither the educational climate, nor the household occupational status has a statistically significant influence on institutional marginalization, given that it could also be attributed to the erosion of family resources in marginal residential contexts. However, the probability that young people in the informal settlements find themselves neither in study nor in work is higher if the main earner in the household works outside the marginal neighbourhood than if they work in the neighbourhood, holding all other factors equal.

In conclusion, this work affirms that the spatial concentration of urban poverty, combined with labour market segmentation, is a main determinant of urban marginality. Participation in marginal labour market circuits among residents of informal settlements increases the risk of youth social marginalization in a significant and cumulative fashion. The empirical evidence analyzed throughout this article has a number of important implications for public policy. Firstly, it draws attention to the insufficiency of conditional cash transfer programs to tackle the consequences of concentrated poverty on educational and employment outcomes for youth living in segregated areas. Secondly, it confirms prior findings that employment promotion policies directed at increasing employability among disadvantaged youth are often not effective in counteracting the barriers that residential marginality causes in accessing the formal labour market. Social policy design should take into account the restrictions imposed by the joint effects of labour market segmentation and concentrated poverty in accessing opportunities for social inclusion. In this sense, formulating mechanism and incentives which promote in a combined and integrated way educational quality, employment training opportunities and workplace training for young people from disadvantaged neighbourhoods may be a key way forward. From an urban integration perspective, the main challenge is overcoming the residential and occupational circuits of marginality in which youth living in impoverished urban enclaves are trapped.

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Appendix

Table A1. Estimated probabilities (odds ratios) for young people using a binomial logistic regression model of educational, occupational and institutional marginalization. City of Buenos Aires, 2012

	School drop-outs		Non-attendance		Secondary school non-completion		Child and adolescent labour		Marginal employment		Out of work, out of school and not seeking employment	
	Coef.	Sign.	Coef.	Sign.	Coef.	Sign.	Coef.	Sign.	Coef.	Sign.	Coef.	Sign.
Women (vs. men)	0.91	0.71	0.55	0.00	0.54	0.00	0.85	0.46	2.02	0.00	1.31	0.02
Age	0.86	0.95	6.88	0.01	0.00	0.00	1.81	0.65	1.25	0.76	4.34	0.00
Age2	1.03	0.71	0.96	0.01	1.14	0.00	1.01	0.80	0.99	0.61	0.97	0.00
Head of Household												
Spouse	-	-	2.41	0.00	2.41	0.00	-	-	1.34	0.31	6.41	0.00
Child or other household member	-	-	0.63	0.01	0.91	0.61	-	-	1.34	0.10	1.79	0.02
Finished secondary school or higher												
Secondary studies incomplete	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.66	0.79	1.48	0.01	0.72	0.03
Up to primary school studies incomplete	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.74	0.74	1.37	0.34	1.42	0.15
Non-migrant												
Internal migrant	1.06	0.91	1.41	0.06	0.78	0.13	1.89	0.13	0.85	0.33	0.70	0.07
International migrant	1.68	0.18	1.28	0.16	1.00	0.99	1.50	0.23	1.29	0.17	0.99	0.96
High educational climate												
Medium educational climate	6.94	0.00	13.08	0.00	11.67	0.00	2.67	0.00	0.79	0.12	3.98	0.00
Low educational climate	10.82	0.00	42.96	0.00	56.93	0.00	2.43	0.01	0.69	0.10	4.10	0.00
Head of household in formal employment												
Head of household in informal employment	0.78	0.41	1.14	0.35	0.86	0.22	1.29	0.34	1.20	0.17	1.05	0.71
Head of household in marginal employment	0.79	0.50	1.20	0.29	1.04	0.81	1.80	0.06	5.51	0.00	1.33	0.07
Female household head (vs. male)	0.58	0.04	0.64	0.00	0.73	0.01	0.89	0.63	1.57	0.00	1.11	0.00
Household head migrant for neighbouring country (vs. non-migrant)	1.69	0.13	1.34	0.10	1.32	0.10	1.18	0.59	1.11	0.59	1.23	0.35
Centre and Northern Areas												
Southern area	1.04	0.92	1.59	0.00	1.50	0.01	1.18	0.58	1.47	0.03	1.31	0.09
Informal settlement	2.45	0.00	2.36	0.00	2.86	0.00	3.35	0.00	1.37	0.15	1.66	0.00
Constant	0.00	0.71	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.03	0.66	0.00	0.00

Note: In each case the category of comparison is highlighted. In the case of dichotomous variables, these are mentioned between parentheses.

Source: Based on data from the Encuesta Anual de Hogares (DGEyC, 2012).

Table A2. Estimated probabilities (odds ratios) for young people using a binomial logistic regression model of educational, occupational and institutional marginalization. City of Buenos Aires, 2004

	School drop-outs		Non-attendance		Secondary school non-completion		Child and adolescent labour		Marginal employment		Out of work, out of school and not seeking employment	
	Coef.	Sign.	Coef.	Sign.	Coef.	Sign.	Coef.	Sign.	Coef.	Sign.	Coef.	Sign.
Women (vs. men)	0.33	0.00	0.77	0.08	0.47	0.00	0.47	0.00	2.74	0.00	1.61	0.00
Age	0.64	0.07	4.77	0.09	0.00	0.00	8.23	0.15	0.37	0.25	7.98	0.00
Age2	0.84	0.13	0.96	0.09	1.15	0.00	0.96	3.37	1.02	0.31	0.95	0.00
Head of Household												
Spouse	-	-	2.15	0.02	2.82	0.00	-	-	0.97	0.93	5.10	0.00
Child or other household member	-	-	0.43	0.00	0.80	0.33	-	-	1.79	0.01	1.53	0.17
Finished secondary school or higher												
Secondary studies incomplete	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.11	0.22	2.12	0.03	2.72	0.00
Up to primary school studies incomplete	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.05	0.09	2.06	0.00	1.45	0.05
Non-migrant												
Internal migrant	3.25	0.01	1.05	0.81	0.97	0.89	2.12	0.03	1.20	0.32	1.11	0.61
International migrant	6.29	0.00	2.11	0.01	0.99	0.97	1.89	0.18	1.58	0.09	0.87	0.62
High educational climate												
Medium educational climate	11.40	0.00	22.10	0.00	9.21	0.00	3.06	0.00	1.09	0.62	4.52	0.00
Low educational climate	17.47	0.00	92.00	0.00	61.10	0.00	2.64	0.01	1.21	0.45	6.40	0.00
Head of household in formal employment												
Head of household in informal employment	1.39	0.39	1.23	0.23	1.11	0.48	1.69	0.06	0.88	0.44	0.87	0.43
Head of household in marginal employment	1.45	0.37	0.83	0.40	0.89	0.54	1.23	0.51	3.51	0.00	1.60	0.02
Female household head (vs. male)	0.80	0.52	0.71	0.05	0.75	0.05	0.60	0.04	1.65	0.00	1.28	0.14
Household head migrant for neighbouring country (vs. non-migrant)	2.04	0.22	0.92	0.77	0.60	0.06	1.26	0.60	1.20	0.55	0.97	0.92
Centre and Northern Areas												
Southern area	1.36	0.43	0.97	0.90	0.96	0.84	1.32	0.36	1.03	0.88	1.18	0.39
Informal settlement	0.82	0.69	1.37	0.20	1.81	0.04	1.37	0.43	1.10	0.77	1.59	0.06
Constant	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.04	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.02	0.36	0.00	0.00

Note: In each case the category of comparison is highlighted. In the case of dichotomous variables, these are mentioned between parentheses.

Source: Based on data from the Encuesta Anual de Hogares (DGEyC, 2004).

Table A3. Estimated probabilities (odds ratios) for young people using a binomial logistic regression model of educational, occupational and institutional marginalization. City of Buenos Aires, 2011-2012

	School drop-outs		Non-attendance		Secondary school non-completion		Child and adolescent labour		Marginal employment		Out of work, out of school and not seeking employment	
	Coef.	Sign.	Coef.	Sign.	Coef.	Sign.	Coef.	Sign.	Coef.	Sign.	Coef.	Sign.
Women (vs. men)	2.55	0.04	0.56	0.01	0.50	0.01	0.81	0.57	2.20	0.02	2.99	0.00
Age	43.74	0.43	7.53	0.14	0.04	0.03	0.20	0.23	0.39	0.64	4.94	0.03
Age2	0.90	0.50	0.96	0.18	1.07	0.05	1.07	0.14	1.02	0.67	0.96	0.04
Head of Household												
Spouse	-	-	1.12	0.76	0.98	0.97	-	-	10.81	0.00	12.01	0.00
Child or other household member	-	-	0.36	0.00	0.46	0.03	-	-	3.68	0.02	4.50	0.00
Finished secondary school or higher												
Secondary studies incomplete	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.19	0.08	1.20	0.74	3.09	0.00
Up to primary school studies incomplete	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.29	0.12	0.90	0.78	0.59	0.09
Non-migrant												
Internal migrant	0.78	0.76	1.10	0.79	1.60	0.24	1.48	0.50	1.23	0.70	0.86	0.69
International migrant	1.10	0.89	2.68	0.01	1.77	0.09	1.53	0.40	0.63	0.30	0.98	0.95
Low educational level (vs. medium and high)	1.32	0.59	3.66	0.00	3.56	0.00	0.87	0.74	10.60	0.88	1.24	0.43
Head of household in formal employment												
Head of household in informal employment	1.53	0.58	1.00	1.00	1.38	0.29	0.73	0.56	1.84	0.21	0.70	0.26
Head of household in marginal employment	9.35	0.00	1.52	0.22	1.28	0.50	1.50	0.44	2.78	0.05	1.52	0.21
Female household head (vs. male)	3.82	0.01	0.97	0.92	0.97	0.92	1.00	0.99	0.81	0.57	1.05	0.87
Household head migrant for neighbouring country (vs. non-migrant)	0.84	0.74	2.81	0.00	2.54	0.00	0.98	0.96	1.06	0.89	1.22	0.50
Household receives welfare assistance (vs. non-beneficiary)	1.46	0.48	1.81	0.02	0.89	0.67	1.34	0.51	0.50	0.09	0.92	0.75
Head of household works in the neighbourhood (vs. works elsewhere)	0.86	0.76	1.04	0.88	0.95	0.84	1.17	0.69	0.88	0.71	0.61	0.05
Constant	0.00	0.31	0.00	0.10	1.00	0.02	0.12	0.45	0.21	0.71	0.00	0.01

Note: In each case the category of comparison is highlighted. In the case of dichotomous variables, these are mentioned between parentheses.
Source: Based on data from the Encuesta Condiciones de Vida Familiares (ECVF-UCA, 2011-2012).