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Locating day-labor employment: toward a geographic understanding of day-labor hiring site locations in the San Diego metropolitan area

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Day-labor hiring sites are common features of the contemporary North American landscape. These are public and semi-public spaces where mostly male residents congregate daily in hopes of being hired for short-term work. Research on contemporary day-labor markets in the United States to date tends to be policy-oriented, intended to reduce the injustices that are a common part of life as a day laborer. Unfortunately, very little is understood about the spatial organization of day-labor markets. Drawing on more than five years of mixed-methods research in the San Diego Metropolitan Area (SDMA), this paper takes two important steps toward a spatial understanding of day-labor hiring sites. First, it demonstrates that informal hiring sites are established in locations that maximize laborers' chances of finding employment. Second, it establishes a geo-spatial typology of hiring sites for the SDMA that can be used to better tailor day-labor support efforts and policy to site-level context.

Keywords: day labor; locational analysis; informal economy; mixed-methods research; San Diego

Introduction

The scene is common in urban and suburban areas throughout the United States: a group of men wait on street corners, sidewalks, the margins of parking lots, and other public or semi-public spaces—watching cars as they pass in hopes that one will stop and offer a chance to work for a few hours, a day, or longer. Day laborers, also known as *jornaleros* or *esquineros*, hire out for jobs that tend to be difficult and rife with labor rights abuses: lack of proper safety equipment, absence of breaks, and wage theft are exceedingly common (Doussard, 2013; Valenzuela, Theodore, Melendez, & Gonzalez, 2006). Though temporary work-seeking in public spaces has existed in North America at least since 1780 (Mohl, 1971), the number of men seeking work in this manner increased substantially in the 1990s and early 2000s in concert with rising housing prices and the trend toward subcontracting within the residential construction industry (Doussard, 2013). The increasing number of day laborers in the United States also generated an increase in the number of locations where *jornaleros* wait for work (Valenzuela et al., 2006). These day-labor spaces, called hiring sites, shape-up sites, *La Parada*, or *La Esquina*, exist in a variety of geographic settings (e.g., neighborhoods with different residential demographics or aesthetic character). Within day-labor research, the term, day-labor "site" refers to the locations where *jornaleros* congregate each day and wait for a short-term job. This is distinct from the myriad locations where *jornaleros* conduct paid labor after

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being hired. The locations where paid labor takes places are referred to as work sites, or construction sites, in most day-labor literature.

In some cases, day-labor hiring sites become a source of neighborhood conflict. Neighborhood conflict may be due to the logistics of day-labor employment-seeking, which can cause some traffic and public safety concerns. Conflict may also arise due to day laborers popular association with immigration at multiple scales (Varsanyi, 2008a). The majority of day laborers in the United States are undocumented immigrants, and the relatively public manner in which they look for work makes hiring sites attractive locations for political protests by anti-immigrant groups in municipalities throughout the country (Eisenstadt & Thorup, 1994; Esbenshade, 2000; Varsanyi, 2008a). Yet, to date, researchers know very little about the spatial organization of day-labor markets and the characteristics that make particular spaces better for day-labor hiring activities than others.

Existing research on day-labor issues falls into five overlapping areas of focus:

(1) Exploratory surveying and analysis.
(2) Critical analysis of the day-labor industry as part of the neoliberal slide toward contingent and precarious labor conditions.
(3) Ethnographic explorations of individual day-labor hiring sites.
(4) Research that examines the role of day labor in locational conflicts. This particular research area also links localized day-labor conflicts to immigration policy at multiple scales.[1]
(5) Community organizing and outreach for day laborers.

In all of these focal areas, researchers largely ignore the geographic characteristics of the spaces where *jornaleros* wait for work. This need to better understand spatial characteristics of hiring sites is particularly relevant for policy-oriented day-labor studies because a myriad of socio-spatial contextual issues can render interventions into day-labor markets ineffective.

The most glaring omission in day-labor research today is the lack of attention to the geographic aspects that contribute to the establishment of hiring sites in particular places rather than others, and how the geographic context surrounding each hiring site produces different types of sites. Day-labor scholars' collective inattentiveness to diversity of day-labor spaces has resulted in part from the dominance of Valenzuela and Melendez's typology of day-labor hiring sites (2003). This typology classifies sites according to two characteristics: adjacency to a retail outlet that serves the industries that often hire day laborers (e.g., landscaping, painting supply, and home improvement stores) and whether a city or non-profit organization sponsors the site. This framework provides a solid starting point, but is insufficient for truly understanding the operation of day-labor markets as social and economic entities. Day-labor researchers must move past the era of a-spatial day-labor studies, in which the locational selection process for a hiring site is described as being "mysterious" but implicitly unworthy of further investigation (Theodore, 2007, p. 257).

The findings presented in this paper are drawn from data collected between 2006 and 2011 as part of a mixed-methods project that took place in the San Diego Metropolitan Area (SDMA). The primary goal of the project is to reduce or eliminate day-labor related community conflicts through improved urban planning, community building and education, as well as improved communication networks among laborers. Creating effective day-labor policy first requires an understanding of the hiring-site making process at multiple scales. For example, at the regional scale, why are sites located in particular neighborhoods and not others? Considering the inter-neighborhood scale, what makes one

space better or worse for day-labor activity than another? In this paper, I begin to address the geographic shortcomings of existing day-labor research by examining the spatial organization or day-labor hiring sites in the SDMA and how site locations relate to neighborhood characteristics. This analysis suggests that hiring sites follow a locational strategy that maximizes *jornaleros*' employment opportunities, but also that sites exhibit substantial differences in terms of their relative accessibility, the demographic characteristics of laborers who use particular hiring sites, and linkages to the neighborhoods where the sites are located. The paper concludes by offering a geographic typology of day-labor hiring sites in the SDMA. The analysis presented in this paper represents an important first step toward a spatial understanding of day-labor markets, and spatially informed day-labor policy and support efforts.

Geographic perspectives on day labor

Despite the recent "discovery" of day labor as part of the United States' landscape by anti-immigrant groups and media outlets, there is nothing new about day labor in the United States (or globally for that matter). Abel Valenzuela (2003) offers a brief history of day labor in the United States in which he traces day-labor work back to at least 1780 (Mohl, 1971). Dockworkers, the broadly defined construction-service industry, and agriculture traditionally have been the primary economic sectors connected to this type of labor hiring (Larrowe, 1955; Valenzuela, 2003). The role of temporary labor in agriculture is particularly relevant for day-labor research in California. Drawn by inexpensive housing options, migrant workers moved to urban skid rows during periods of low labor demand in the agricultural industry. Urban growth also expanded the demand for labor in construction and other industries that many migrant laborers found more attractive than agricultural labor (Valenzuela, 2003). Anti-union farm owners also hired skid-row day laborers as strike breakers during agricultural labor union strikes of the early twentieth century (Mitchell, 1996).

New immigrants and other disenfranchised people have used corners and other quasi-public spaces to wait for work in a host of industries for hundreds of years—and they have often drawn the ire of wealthier and longer established residents. So what makes contemporary day labor a new and unique type of social conflict in the United States' cities? The most significant change for day-labor employment under economic restructuring in the United States has been the development and massive growth of the suburban landscape, within which there is great demand for day labor in construction and landscaping industries, but a somewhat limited tolerance for laborers' physical presence. The growth of suburbia affected the geography of day labor in two important ways. First, day laborers who might have sought work historically in skid rows or in close proximity to historical immigrant ghettos expanded their employment search areas to include areas farther from traditional low-income or immigrant housing, like suburbia. Second, suburban sprawl overtook many areas where agricultural day labor was historically hired. In these cases, which are particularly relevant in San Diego, the type of day-labor work changed, but the physical locations of the hiring sites did not (Fieldnotes, 2006–2011).

Day-labor research has been largely a-spatial from its inception and the trend continues in most contemporary work on the subject. Research by Valenzuela and Melendez (2003) established a typology of hiring sites that remains dominant within day-labor studies today. The typology classifies hiring sites as "connected," "disconnected," or "regulated." Connected sites are those located adjacent to retail outlets that typically serve the industries that employ day laborers. Home improvement, paint, and moving supply stores are the classic examples. Regulated sites are "formal hiring sites either controlled by a city or county (e.g.,

Westchester) or managed by a community-based organization" (Valenzuela & Melendez, 2003, p. 4). Within Valenzuela and Melendez's typology, the "disconnected" label applies to any site that is not connected to a retail outlet or formally regulated by local government or community organizations. Disconnected sites are not connected to a specific industry, but their existence could be attributed to a variety of other factors including "foot or vehicular traffic, police cooperation, or historical reasons (i.e., site that has existed for many years)" (Valenzuela & Melendez, 2003, p. 4). The description of connected, disconnected, and regulated sites (later sub-divided into formal sites and workers' centers) established the first typology of day-labor hiring sites. Though the typology is lacking in geographic detail, it is noteworthy because it acknowledges choice in *jornaleros*' site selection process. Accounts of early day-labor hiring sites in skid-row areas or immigrant ghettos implicitly argue that laborers lacked agency in the hiring process, as they simply waited by their homes for employers to arrive and hire them. These accounts show little evidence of day laborers taking action to improve their chances of finding work. By differentiating between types of sites, Valenzuela and Melendez establish criteria by which laborers could evaluate sites and select the one that best meets their needs. Connected sites are located such that they are convenient to likely employers. These sites create a "one-stop-shop" where employers can purchase supplies for particular projects and hire additional labor they might require. In contrast, laborers who choose to look for work through regulated sites might choose to do so because they appreciate the more structured hiring process or other amenities that the site offers compared to an informal site. The definition of a disconnected site also acknowledges laborers' agency, though in a rather vague manner, as the authors identify a wide variety of factors as potential reasons for a site's existence.

More recently, a national survey of day laborers published by Valenzuela et al. (2006) identified several common situational characteristics of day-labor hiring sites. Data from the National Day-Labor Survey indicate that 53% of all informal sites in California are located "near industry-related businesses," which do not include farms but do include agricultural supply stores and nurseries. A further 7% of all hiring sites are located on a "busy street" and 21% of the total hiring sites are formal workers centers (formerly called regulated sites) (Gonzalez, 2007, p. 8). Most of these data simply rephrase the previous categorizations: "near industry-related businesses" is the definition of a "connected" site. Only the addition of the "busy street" situational characteristic provides new information, but on its own, it is not especially useful for understanding how and why *jornaleros* select particular spaces on particular busy streets for shape-up sites. Furthermore, considering that an employer must be able to see and access a day laborer to hire him, the fact that only 7% of hiring sites are found on busy streets indicates that additional factors influence laborers' site-selection process. Because the existing site categorizations say nothing about the relationship of a site to any other aspects of the social landscape, they are limited in their applicability for understanding the locational needs of day-labor hiring sites. For example, the "busy street" variable ignores the simple logistics of the day-labor employment negotiation. When an employer arrives at a site, he must stop his vehicle, wait for laborers to approach the automobile, and then negotiate the wage, time, and responsibilities of the job. These negotiations happen relatively quickly, between 30 seconds and two minutes on average, but the logistics still make it very difficult to accomplish safely on a busy street. As a consequence, hiring sites located a short distance from a busy street are safer and more efficient. In such a location, laborers are equally accessible to employers, and they can carry out employment negotiations more safely, without drawing unnecessary (potentially negative) attention to themselves or the hiring site. For example, only three of the 45 SDMA hiring sites (6.66%) are located within 50 feet of a major road. But 31% of hiring sites are located within 100 feet of a

major road, and nearly 90% (88.89%) are located within 500 feet of a major road. Laborers in the SDMA clearly employ a locational strategy that prioritizes accessibility and safety over visibility alone.

Job search constraints and locational strategy

Geographers have contributed substantially to societal understanding of the social, economic, and urban processes that shape the way people look for jobs. In particular, geographers have highlighted the ways that social networks and mobility constraints combine to produce highly segmented labor markets (Johnston-Anumonwo, 1988). For example, domestic workers in San Diego, the majority of whom are female and likely to be undocumented immigrants, identify employment opportunities through social networking and access their job sites using similar strategies as day laborers (commuting on public transit, carpooling, or depending on employer-provided transportation) (Mattingly, 1999). Similarly, Melissa Gilbert's research compared the mobility constraints faced by white and minority working-poor women with children in Worchester, Massachusetts, and found that thanks to social and support networks, minority women with children were in many ways better off than their white counterparts, despite the fact that the white women had considerably greater mobility (Gilbert, 1998). By critiquing the common assumption that greater mobility equals greater power, Gilbert's work underscores the potential value of social networks for addressing societal inequalities and upending hegemonic power structures. Furthermore, by highlighting the differences in mobility and use of social networks to access employment opportunity among women of different ethnic groups, Gilbert demonstrates the relational production of particular labor market characteristics. In this case, these entangled processes produced labor markets in Worcester, Massachusetts, that are highly segregated by both race and gender.

Day-labor researchers have not left *jornaleros'* employment-seeking strategies entirely unexamined. Recent work has documented a variety of behaviors meant to improve *jornaleros*' employment outcomes: (1) laborers often vary their effort on jobs depending on the their belief that the current job could lead to future employment (Doussard, 2013), (2) many laborers maintain an active cellular telephone (and consistent phone number) to allow employers to contact and rehire them directly, thereby avoiding competition at the hiring site (Crotty & Bosco, 2008), and (3) in some cases laborers leverage ethnic or friendship-based referral networks among laborers who frequent the same hiring site regularly (Turnovsky, 2004, 2006). Each of these studies certainly has geographic implications. However, the role of hiring sites in *jornaleros*' employment-seeking strategies remains neglected. This absence is conspicuous given the inherently spatial nature of the day-labor hiring process.

Urban spaces are not equally accessible to city residents (Herbert & Beckett, 2010; Joassart-Marcelli, Wolch, Alonso, & Sessoms, 2005; Mitchell, 2003). Each *jornalero's* daily decision regarding where he will wait for work is the result of a complex interaction of factors; two of these factors are particularly important for this analysis: the laborer's perceived chances of finding work in a particular location, and the resources (e.g., time, money, physical energy) it requires to reach each potential day-labor hiring site. The constraints on each laborer's mobility vary by housing status and place of residence, means of transport (e.g., bicycle, automobile, public transit) and even racial identity or immigration status. Like other minority and lower-skilled workers facing a spatial mismatch between places of residence and places of work, day laborers experience precarious labor conditions and incur high costs in attempting to bridge this gap (Joassart-Marcelli & Alberto, 2006). Laborers may look for work in areas near their residences and rely on

employers who also live in the area to provide transportation to job sites. Other *jornaleros* may opt to commute considerable distances via public transit or personal vehicle, if they can afford one (Valenzuela et al., 2006). Some even choose to reside temporarily or permanently in vehicles, canyons, or open spaces close to hiring sites. The various strategies *jornalero*s use to overcome structural mobility constraints are a key element in understanding the factors that produce different types of day-labor hiring sites.

Retail geography

Understanding how mobility constraints and variability of access across urban space create segmented labor markets is an important step toward understanding the demographic composition of laborers at hiring sites in the SDMA. However, mobility constraints cannot fully explain why particular locations are better for day-labor activities than others. To understand the role of space and place in *jornaleros*' job search process requires a fundamental reconceptualization of day laborers. Rather than treating laborers as job seekers, Abel Valenzuela (2001) argues that day laborers are entrepreneurial retailers who trade in a single commodity—labor. From this perspective, *jornaleros* are retailers like any other and make rational decisions to maximize their profits. This perspective provides a useful analytical lens for examination of day laborers locational strategies. If one views each *jornalero* as an entrepreneurial retailer, one realizes his spatial strategy should position him in a location where he is most accessible to the greatest number of potential customers. In this case, the "customers" are people who want to hire temporary labor.

Retail geographers merge traditional locational analysis and accessibility research in ways that are quite applicable to day-labor hiring site analysis. Brick-and-mortar retail establishments use a similar locational strategy when selecting a site for their business. When businesses choose locations for their stores, they should know where their potential customers are located and how far those customers are willing to travel to purchase the goods that the business provides (Birkin, Clarke, & Clarke, 2002). Using this information, retailers can select locations that maximize the number of potential customers that can be reasonably expected to visit the stores (Suárez-Vega, Santos-Peñate, & Dorta-González, 2012; Li & Liu, 2012). The case for day laborers is different than a traditional brick and mortar retail outlet in important ways, however. Formal-sector retail establishments can access quantifiable data about the demographic and economic character of potential locations. In all of my conversations with laborers in the SDMA, I found no evidence that they were accessing spatial employment data and using it to evaluate potential sites. Instead, they depended on informal information networks for employment information. Traditional retail outlets analyze the transit patterns and mobility constraints of their customers to make sure the store is accessible. Day laborers, by contrast, must balance their desire to be accessible to potential employers with their own mobility constraints. It should not be surprising then that informal interviews with laborers revealed that the accessibility of particular sites from laborers' place of residence was a major factor in their initial site selection process (Fieldnotes, 2006–2011).

Today, a range of geographic perspectives inform site-selection research. Drawing on multiple perspectives allows researchers to examine a remarkable diversity of issues affecting service and information sectors of the economy. Stephen L. J. Smith (1983), for example, examined differences in dine-out rates between Canadian provinces, as well as local patterns of site selection to better understand the distribution and success rate of restaurants that catered primarily to tourists. Sorenson and Stuart (Sorenson & Stuart,

2001; Stuart & Sorenson, 2003) examined the role of inter-firm social and professional networks in directing and influencing the spatial distribution of the bio-technology firms in which venture capital firms choose to invest. By highlighting the differences in locational strategies employed by firms across different industries, empirical studies demonstrate the importance of theoretical and methodological flexibility in locational analysis within the contemporary global economy.

While research into the locational strategies of firms in the formal economy is increasingly robust, research on the locational strategies of firms and other economic actors operating in the informal sector remains lacking. One notable exception is the work of Maureen Hays-Mitchell who examined the spatio-temporal behavior of informal street vendors, also known as *ambulantes*, in six cities of intermediate size in Peru. She found that street vendors employed very specific locational strategies, targeting central business districts, areas along transportation routes, on heavily trafficked side streets leading to formal-sector markets, and around central squares common in Latin American cities (Hays-Mitchell, 1993, 1994, 1995). The locational strategies that informal vendors employ are responses to agglomerative effects that they get from clustering, and to deglomerative effects that lead some ambulantes to proffer their wares in spaces with less competition. Hays-Mitchell also noted that ambulantes often developed relationships with particular area shopkeepers that worked to the advantage of both formal and informal vendors. This type of negotiation produces particular types of spaces for informal activity. These sorts of personal relationships between formal sector vendors and day laborers are also an important part of *jornaleros*' efforts to maintain access to particular day-labor spaces (Crotty & Bosco, 2008).

Hays-Mitchell's work demonstrates two ideas that are crucial in the geographic analysis of day-labor hiring sites: free from the direct constraints posed by zoning, rent, or other formal means of regulating activities in particular urban spaces, informal vendors target the locations where they are likely to sell the most merchandise. However, even without formal locational constraints, the areas accessible to informal vendors are informally restricted in a number of ways. No vendor makes a locational decision in a vacuum. They all must interpret and negotiate the place-based context within which they live and work. In the case of the Peruvian *ambulantes*, that means the urban centers of Chiclayo, Cajamarca, Huaraz, Huancayo, Ica, and Cusco; each city has its own urban structure and social dynamics that affect how and where street vendors conduct their business. Similarly, variations in urban structure and social dynamics at the regional and neighborhood scale affect how and where *jornaleros* wait for work.

Research methods and regional background

The primary data-collection methods for this project were site mapping, participant observation, and informal interviewing at hiring sites. During the mapping portion of the project I identified 45 shape-up sites in the region (Figure 1). Once I located a site, I surveyed it a minimum of four times per year at three-month intervals, at which time I recorded the number of laborers using the site and their demographic characteristics (race, gender, and age). I also conducted informal interviews with laborers at each site at least once per year to better understand the types of laborers who were using each site and any social issues that were generating problems at the site. After three years of regular visits to hiring sites, I selected six of the 45 sites for in-depth participant observation. During participant observation I spent up to eight hours per day at a hiring site engaging laborers in conversation and informal interviews, observing how laborers spent their downtime,

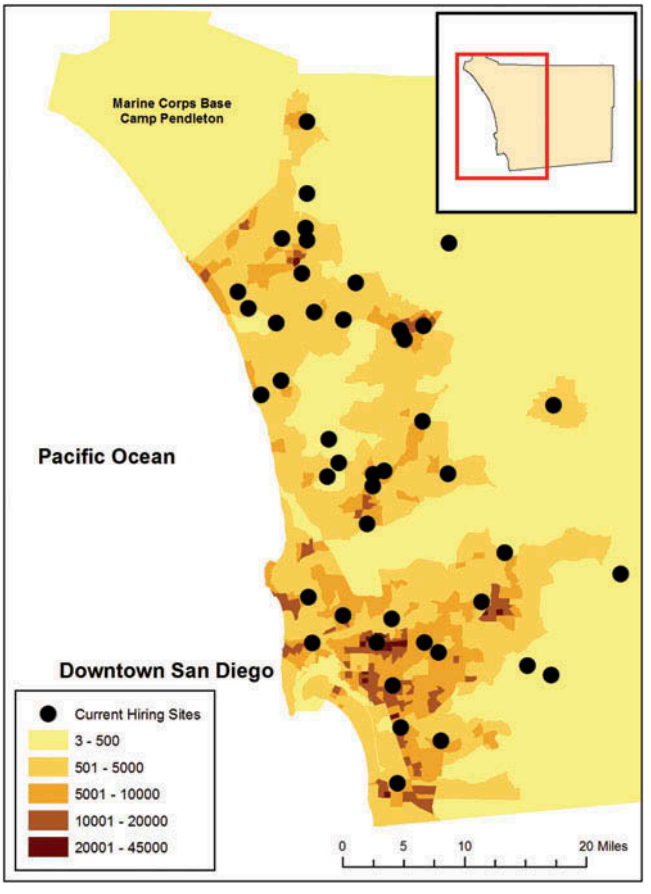

Figure 1. This map shows the 45 day-labor hiring sites in the SDMA identified for this study, as well as population per square mile by census tract (2000 census figures).

socialized with each other and nearby stakeholders, and generally trying to better understand the daily experiences of laborers at the hiring site. I did not seek work as a day laborer for two reasons. First, community-level day-labor conflicts that this project sought to reduce or eliminate are always linked to hiring sites, rather than the sites of employment. There are a great many worthwhile issues to study related to employment sites and working conditions; however, that was not the focus of this project. The second reason for not seeking work as a day-laborer was driven by the need to build trust with laborers at each site. The fieldwork took place during the depths of the Great Recession, a time when job opportunities for day laborers were extremely limited, and seeking work would have placed me in direct competition with the laborers whose trust I was trying to build. Near the end of my fieldwork, I also assisted community groups interested in establishing or improving existing day-labor support networks. In the concluding section of this paper, I present recommendations for implementing the typology of hiring sites in day-labor policy and outreach that are informed by my work with community groups in the region.

Sites were selected for participant observation because they exhibited at least one of four particular sets of situational and relational characteristics that are common among SDMA hiring sites, three of which are distinct from the criteria used to classify sites by

Valenzuela and Melendez (2003). The type of site selected for in-depth qualitative study were informal hiring sites that are connected to big-box home improvement stores and also located near stops on the light rail system in San Diego, colloquially known as the trolley. The second type of site selected for in-depth observation is used primarily by migrant campers. The physical geography of the SDMA is fairly rugged, and despite massive development of suburban housing over the past 30 years, there remains a considerable amount of undeveloped open space in the region. Some relatively new migrants to the United States use that undeveloped space to their advantage, in ways that create demographic concentrations at several shape-up sites in the region. Day labor is one pathway into the formal economy for recent immigrants without familial or social connections in the United States, many of whom enter the country with little or no financial resources. Camping in undeveloped open spaces allows new immigrants to accumulate capital more quickly by eliminating housing costs and reducing transportation costs in some cases.[2] Laborers throughout the region refer to this type of housing arrangement as "living in the mountains." The men who live in these canyons are slightly more likely to be undocumented immigrants than the national average for day laborers (Fieldnotes, 2006–2011). The third type of site selected for extended study is defined by the shared locational strategy of locating near the historical town-center of a suburban or rural municipality. This locational strategy is uncommon in more urban parts of the SDMA where proximity to trolley or highway access points appeared to be more important components for neighborhood-level site location. The final group of sites selected for participant observation were workers' centers, the definition of which remained unchanged from Valenzuela and Melendez's typology.

This early qualitative typology set a framework for participant observation, but proved insufficient for understanding the relationship between hiring sites and surrounding neighborhoods because the site "types" remain classified based on a singular characteristic. For example, the first type of sites were selected based on proximity to transit, which captures one dimension of site-accessibility, but ignores accessibility for employers, neighborhood demographic characteristics, employment opportunities, and so on. Similarly, the third type of sites was classified based on a singular locational attribute, and neglects any other attributes that may contribute to the space being better or worse for day-labor hiring activities. The shortcoming of the early qualitative typology provided the impetus to create a more robust typology using factor analysis that is presented later in the paper.

Though the work presented in this paper is primarily quantitative, the research methodology was reflexive throughout the project, and findings from the qualitative portions of the project shaped the variables that are included in the quantitative analysis that follows. For example, interviews with laborers found that agricultural work comprised a large part of labor demand at several hiring sites in the region. Subsequent interviews with area stakeholders indicated that many current day-labor hiring sites had existed for 30 or more years, and transitioned from largely agricultural work to construction work (Eisenstadt & Thorup, 1994; Ford, 2005). Agricultural employment is not common for day laborers in many regions of the United States (Valenzuela et al., 2006), but the qualitative findings proved that data on agricultural employment needed to be incorporated into the quantitative analysis. Similarly, the data set used for classifying SDMA hiring sites includes a variable that indicates if the site is primarily used by laborers who live in nearby canyons, and a second variable identifies hiring sites located in suburban or rural town centers. Detailed descriptions of the data sets used for each analysis follow in their respective sections.

Regional analysis of day-labor neighborhoods

To gain a geographic understanding of day-labor markets, one must identify the characteristics that allow particular neighborhoods to sustain informal hiring sites over time. If a particular site does not provide sufficient employment for a *jornalero* to survive, he will have to relocate or find other employment. Therefore, it is critical to examine the neighborhood characteristics that sustain day-labor hiring sites over time. Considerable research on day laborers to date focuses on issues of race and social marginalization of day laborers (Camou, 2002; Bartley & Roberts, 2006; Claffey, 2006; Esbenshade, 2000; Theodore, 2007; Theodore & Martin, 2007). It is perhaps unsurprising then that this work identifies race and class as important factors in laborers' locational strategies. Drawing from a number of case studies in California, Jill Esbenshade (2000) argued that "because day laborers are not hired by other working-class Latinos, they generally wait for work in commercial districts or more well-to-do neighborhoods" (p. 4). In the United States, there is considerable correlation between race and income levels, so it is reasonable to think that laborers could use racial landscapes to interpret wealth. Esbenshade's perspective suggests that laborers employ a locational strategy that targets whiter and wealthier neighborhoods because *jornaleros* believe their employment chances are better in those racially defined neighborhoods. If this assertion is accurate and laborers target high income neighborhoods with few Hispanic residents in their search for employment, the percentage of white residents in day-labor neighborhoods should be higher than non-day-labor neighborhoods. Day-labor neighborhoods should also show higher median incomes than non-day-labor neighborhoods. However, because day laborers find employment in a limited number of industries—construction, agriculture, and general home improvement—opportunity may not correspond directly with mappings of race or class in a region (Valenzuela et al., 2006, p. 3).

If employment opportunities do not match the racial or class characteristics of neighborhoods closely, then laborers would have to relocate in search of greater opportunity. As laborers relocate to improve their chances of employment, we would expect to find day-labor hiring sites in SDMA neighborhoods with higher than average employment in construction and agriculture, as these are the most common industries that hire them. Laborers might also target neighborhoods with high levels of owner-occupied housing, as individual homeowners account for roughly half of all day-labor employment (Valenzuela et al., 2006).

In the following regional locational analysis, I use a two-sample *t*-test analysis to compare the demographic characteristics of "day-labor neighborhoods" with the rest of the SDMA, to better elucidate the specific neighborhood characteristics required to sustain day-labor sites over time. For this study, "day-labor neighborhoods" are the census tracts with any portion falling within half a mile of a day-labor hiring site. I define day-labor neighborhoods this way for two reasons. First, census tracts are small enough to provide geographic specificity but large enough to incorporate residents and activity occurring around, but not immediately adjacent to, day-labor sites in the analysis. These are the residential areas most likely to be directly impacted by the day-labor activities, and therefore are critically important for understanding day-labor activity and the potential for conflict. Second, using census tract-level data allows for easy replication of this approach to study other areas throughout the United States. Figure 2 shows the day-labor neighborhoods and the associated hiring sites identified for this study.

For the regional analysis, I created data profiles that include 11 variables (see Table 1). Socio-demographic data such as total population, total Hispanic population, total White

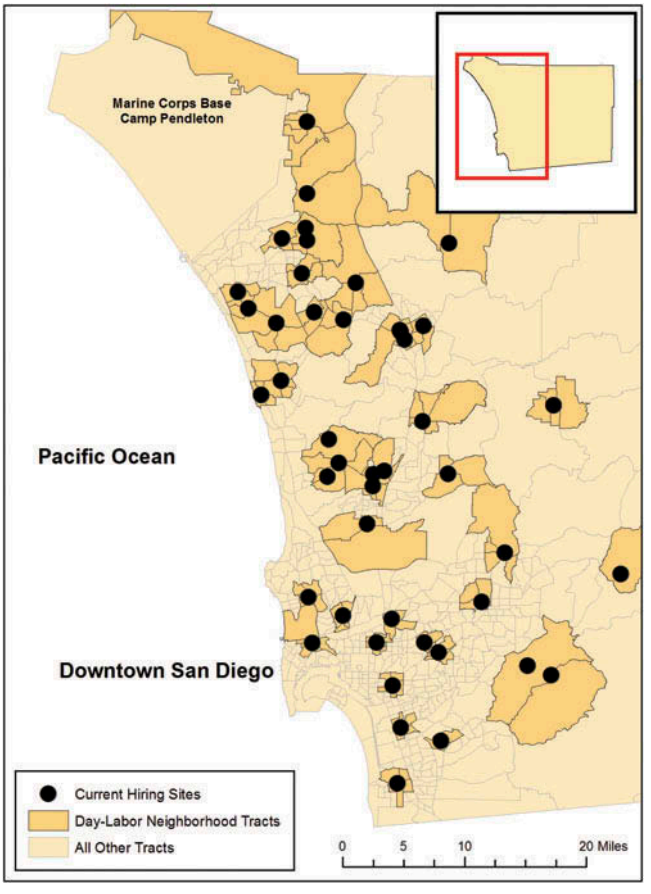

Figure 2. Shows all of the census tracts in the SDMA located within half mile of a day-labor hiring site, referred to as day-labor neighborhoods in this study.

Table 1. *t*-test scores for comparisons of day-labor neighborhoods and regional means.

Variables (year 2000)	*t*-value
Total population	−1.6345
Total Hispanic population	−0.7407
Total White population	−1.708*
Median household income	−1.3954
Percent Hispanic	0.6709
Percent White	−1.3092
Total owner-occupied homes	1.8145*
Total Ag–place of residence	−3.6116***
Total construction–place of residence	−2.4766***
Total Ag–place of work	−3.8985***
Total construction–place of work	−2.3145**

Note: *t > .10. **t > .05. ***t > .01.

population, percent of population Hispanic or non-Hispanic white, and median income were drawn from the 2000 US Census of Population and Housing (SF1). These particular variables allow for an examination of Esbenshade's argument that race and class were important drivers of day laborers site selection strategy (2000). I also included a variety of employment-related variables in this analysis. If day laborers are targeting areas where their employment opportunities are greatest, it would be logical for hiring sites to be located in areas that are convenient to potential employers' residences and/or places of work.[3] Therefore, residential employment variables, including the total number of census tract residents employed in construction (North American Industrial Classification System (NAICS Code: 23) or agriculture (NAICS Code: 11) were also drawn from the 2000 US Census of Population and Housing (SF3). Neighborhood employment variables, including the total construction (NAICS Code: 23) and agricultural (NAICS Code 11) jobs located in a census tract were drawn from the 2000 Census Transportation and Planning Package Part 2 (CTPP). For the purposes of the *t*-test comparison, I removed a number of census tracts from the regional mean calculation, including four tracts in eastern San Diego County with extremely low population density and all census tracts with military facilities, which present access restrictions preventing *jornaleros* from congregating in those tracts.

Findings

The results of the difference-of-means tests demonstrate the importance of area employment characteristics for sustaining day-labor activities. These findings clearly indicate that day laborers seek work in neighborhoods with higher-than-average total neighborhood employment in the industries for which they are most often hired, and with a higher-than-average number of residents employed in those industries as well. In the comparison between day-labor neighborhoods and non-day-labor neighborhoods, the former proved to have statistically higher levels of agricultural employment at the 99% confidence interval. Construction employment in day-labor neighborhoods is also statistically significant, though at the 95% confidence interval. Day-labor neighborhoods are also home to higher-than-average numbers of farmers and construction workers, both of which proved to be statistically significant at the 99% confidence interval. The average number of owner-occupied homes is higher in day-labor neighborhoods than non-day-labor neighborhoods, a finding that proves significant at the 90% confidence interval. Taken as a whole, these results suggest that day laborers employ a locational strategy that maximizes their chances of employment.

The results regarding race are less conclusive than the employment-related findings, but they appear to support the argument that laborers are in fact locating in neighborhoods with greater total number of white residents. However, the percentage of white residents in a neighborhood did not prove to be significantly different between day-labor neighborhoods and the regional means. Laborers are locating in areas with high numbers of white residents, but not necessarily "whiter" landscapes. The inconclusive results regarding race in day-labor neighborhoods illustrate a shortcoming of the method used in this analysis. There is almost certainly correlation between some of the racial and economic characteristics. In particular, white residents are more likely to be homeowners than minorities (Krivo & Kaufman, 2004; Wyly, Atia, Foxcroft, Hammel, & Phillips-Watts, 2006; Wyly & Holloway, 2002)—so attributing causal significance to either of those variables in an analysis of day laborers locational strategies would be premature. The *t*-test results demonstrate a clear pattern at the regional scale, in which day-labor neighborhoods provide more employment

opportunities in traditional day-labor industries than exist in the rest of the county. This analysis, however, does not focus on understanding differences between hiring sites or day-labor neighborhoods. The following sections begin to parse out these distinctions and establish a foundation for the geo-spatial typology of day-labor hiring sites. Understanding the differences between sites requires a deeper examination of day laborers areas of residence, mobility, and strategies for accessing employment opportunities.

Intra-site variation in the SDMA

It is impossible to fully quantify the processes that produce day-labor spaces; however, it is possible to explore some of the differences between types of day-labor spaces with statistical rigor using principal components analysis. Principal components factor analysis (PCF) is a popular type of factor analysis, most commonly used to distinguish patterns within a data set. The key to quality PCF analysis is for the researcher to have a thorough understanding of the relevant variables, so that the factor analysis is conducted on an appropriate data set (Goddard & Kirby, 1976). In this study, I constructed a data set that included 20 total variables aggregated to the hiring-site level.

The variables included in the data set fall into three groups: (1) demographic variables that show the racial composition of day-labor neighborhood residents; (2) demographic variables related to employment opportunity in each day-labor neighborhood; and (3) demographic and spatial variables related to each hiring site's accessibility to both *jornaleros* and potential employers. See Table 2 for a complete list of variables and their sources.

Data on the racial composition of day-labor neighborhoods was included for two reasons. First, the population of day laborers in the SDMA is diverse. There are laborers of a variety of racial groups and nationalities, and the demographic composition of laborers varies widely between sites. Therefore, data on the four largest racial groups (US Census SF1) were included to see if locations with diverse day-labor populations were linked with diverse neighborhoods. Second, most previous day-labor research identifies racial difference between neighborhood residents and laborers as the primary driver of day-labor conflicts. Addressing this issue requires a broader examination of the racialized landscapes that day laborers inhabit. Including the four largest racial groups in the factor analysis allows for greater detail regarding the racial composition of neighborhood residents, which is critical for understanding the potential for conflict at particular sites.

The types of labor demanded at each site are estimated by aggregating neighborhood and residential employment in construction (NAICS Code 23) and agriculture (NAICS Code 11) to each site. Site-level data regarding nearby formal-sector employment provides a more nuanced understanding of spatial variations in the sources and nature of employment opportunities. Housing variables included in this data set help to draw distinctions regarding employment potential, as well as *jornaleros'* access to housing near hiring sites. Data on owner-occupied housing density is a potential link to employment opportunity, as homeowners account for roughly half of all day-labor employment. Day laborers are unlikely to be homeowners themselves. Therefore, data on renter-occupied housing and median rent in a day-labor neighborhood provides insights into the cost and density of potential housing for laborers near each site (Valenzuela et al., 2006). In total, 13 demographic variables were drawn from the census tracts that made up the day-labor neighborhood for each site. Because day-labor neighborhoods are not necessarily

Table 2. Variables included in the factor analysis dataset and their sources.

Variable	Source
Total population	2000 US Census SF1
Percent non-Hispanic White	2000 US Census SF1
Percent Hispanic	2000 US Census SF1
Percent Black	2000 US Census SF1
Percent Asian	2000 US Census SF1
Percent neighborhood employment in agriculture	2000 Census Transportation Planning Package (CTPP)
Percent neighborhood employment in construction	2000 Census Transportation Planning Package (CTPP)
Percent of neighborhood residents employed in agriculture	2000 US Census SF1
Percent of neighborhood residents employed in construction	2000 US Census SF1
Average of median rent for neighborhood census tracts	2010 American Community Survey (5 year estimate)
Average of median income for neighborhood census tracts	2000 US Census SF1
Density of rental units within neighborhood census tracts	2000 US Census SF1
Density of owner-occupied housing units within neighborhood census tracts	2000 US Census SF1
Distance to a rail-transit stop	San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG)
Distance to a freeway access ramp	San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG)
Distance to a major road	San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG)
Distance to agricultural land use in 1986	San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG)
Distance to agricultural land use in 2008	San Diego Association of Governments (SANDAG)
Camper-occupied	Fieldnotes (2006–2011)
Town-center	Fieldnotes (2006–2011)

comprised of equal numbers of census tracts, and furthermore are all of different sizes, the neighborhood-demographic variables were adjusted to be comparable across sites. So, for example, median income was entered as the mean (average) of median income of the census tracts that make up each day-labor neighborhood. Population, employment, and housing variables were standardized by calculating their density within each day-labor neighborhood.

A further five spatial variables were calculated using ArcGIS 10.0. These variables establish distance measurements from each hiring site to land-use features that ethnographic portions of the research showed to be important in terms of laborers' mobility (e.g., distance to a transit center) and accessibility for employers (e.g., distance to freeway on/off ramps, proximity to agricultural land use). Mobility characteristics are vital for understanding the production of day-labor hiring sites. It does not matter how good the chances of employment are in a particular location if a laborer cannot access that space at the times when employment opportunities are greatest. The most important time of day at any hiring site is between 6 and 9 am; this is the period with the highest hiring volume, and when the best jobs hire out. Therefore, a long morning-commute time reduces a

laborer's chances of accessing longer-term, better employment. For laborers without access to an automobile, efficient public transit is critical for employment success. The trolley system is considerably more efficient than area bus service and is clearly the public transit of choice for day laborers in Southern San Diego County. Eight hiring sites in the region are located within half a mile of a trolley stop; 11 are located within one mile.

Sites must not only be accessible to laborers, but must also be convenient for potential employers. As the regional analysis demonstrated, day-labor sites in the SDMA are located in neighborhoods where construction and agricultural employment are concentrated. Within each day-labor neighborhood, *jornaleros* work to establish hiring sites in locations that are convenient to employers' paths of travel. Though it may be unnecessary to point out, the people hiring day-laborers do not take public transit to hiring sites or to the locations where jobs take place. Therefore, informal hiring sites are located such that they are convenient and accessible for their automobile-based employers. Nearly one-third of the hiring sites in San Diego County are located within a quarter-mile of a freeway entrance or exit ramp, and nearly 90% are located within 500 feet of a major road. By maintaining sites in highly accessible positions—close to freeway access points; near to, but not directly on, major roads; proximity to locations where agricultural work takes place—laborers demonstrate a nuanced understanding of their employers' daily activity paths. The differences in locational strategy employed by laborers at each site speak to the complexity of the physical and social landscapes that the laborers navigate in their daily search for employment.

The final two variables included in the data set are binary variables that proved to be important in the ethnographic research. The "Town Center" variable refers to sites located near suburban or rural town centers. These sites exhibit a locational strategy that appears to prioritize centrality in lower-density neighborhoods, which again suggests that laborers use location to improve their employment opportunities. The "Camper" variable was assigned to 15 hiring sites in the region where the majority of *jornaleros* resided in nearby canyons, living in squatter "campsites." To be clear, this classification does not refer to sites with large numbers of "traditional homeless" laborers who live in cars, single-room occupancy hotels, or sleep in developed spaces like parks or sidewalks. In the following section, I begin to examine the intra-site variations within the county and quantify the relative importance of particular factors in producing different types of day-labor hiring sites.

Geospatial typology of San Diego day-labor hiring sites

Principal component analysis distilled the initial 20 variables to five orthogonal components that collectively account for slightly less than 75% of variance between the sites. The initial components are rotated to maximize the differences between each factor, while retaining explanatory power. The resulting five factors represent a bundle of variables that tend to cluster together (see Table 3). Site scores are then calculated for each of the five factors. The relative importance of each factor on a particular day-labor hiring site is interpreted based on how each site scores on a particular factor. These five factors form the basis for a geographic typology of day-labor spaces in the SDMA. There are five "types" of day-labor spaces in the SDMA: Center-City, Barrio, Construction/Town Center, Agricultural Legacy, and Migrant Campsites. Each type highlights a particular set of spatial characteristics are common to some hiring sites, but may be very different than others. These "types" of sites represent the linkages between hiring sites and surrounding neighborhoods more completely than the typology offered by Valenzuela and Melendez

Table 3. Principal components factors for San Diego metropolitan area.

Factor number	Site type	Key attributes	Factor load
1	Traditional inner city	Rental density	0.8932
		Population density	0.8829
		Distance to agriculture in 1986	0.7206
		Percent Black	0.6881
		Owner occupied density	0.6741
2	El Barrio	Percent Hispanic	0.9055
		Percent White	−0.8729
		Average median household income	−0.6562
		Average median rent	−0.6381
3	Construction–town center	Neighborhood construction employment	0.8488
		Town center	0.7153
		Resident construction employment	0.6922
		Average median rent	−0.4942
		Average median household income	−0.3905
4	Agricultural legacy	Distance to freeway access point	0.7624
		Neighborhood agricultural employment	0.7448
		Distance to transit center	0.6988
		Resident agricultural employment	0.6304
		Distance to agricultural land use in 2008	−0.3606
		Distance to agricultural land use in 1986	−0.3141
5	Migrant campsites	Distance to agricultural land use in 2008	0.6459
		Percent Asian	0.5916
		Camper occupied	0.4728
		Distance to major road	−0.4563
		Distance to agricultural land use in 1986	0.3006

(2003). Rather than simply acknowledging whether a hiring site is formal or informal, or if it is connected to an industry-related retailer, the five-factor typology presented acknowledges considerably more ways that a hiring site may, or may not, be "connected" to place. The location, and long-term success, of each hiring site is the result of a combination of employment demand and relative accessibility for both laborers and employers. Figure 3 shows all of the SDMA hiring sites classified according to their highest scoring factor.

- **Center-City**: The factors that proved important to Center-City day-labor sites evoke an image of the urban core of North American cities. Population density, rental density, percent Black, and historical distance from agriculture are all weighted heavily. The strong correlation with distance from agriculture suggests that sites that score highly on this factor have limited connection to agricultural work within the region. The strong positive weighting for owner-occupied density suggests there is sufficient demand for short-term help on home-improvement or remodelling projects to support laborers looking for work at the site. High rates of home ownership are not typically considered a hallmark of North American center-cities. However, situated in the context of increasing gentrification and do-it-yourself home improvement projects, the role of these sites in their respective neighborhoods becomes clear.

  Center-City sites are located primarily within central San Diego where population density is relatively high, even where single-family homes are the dominant

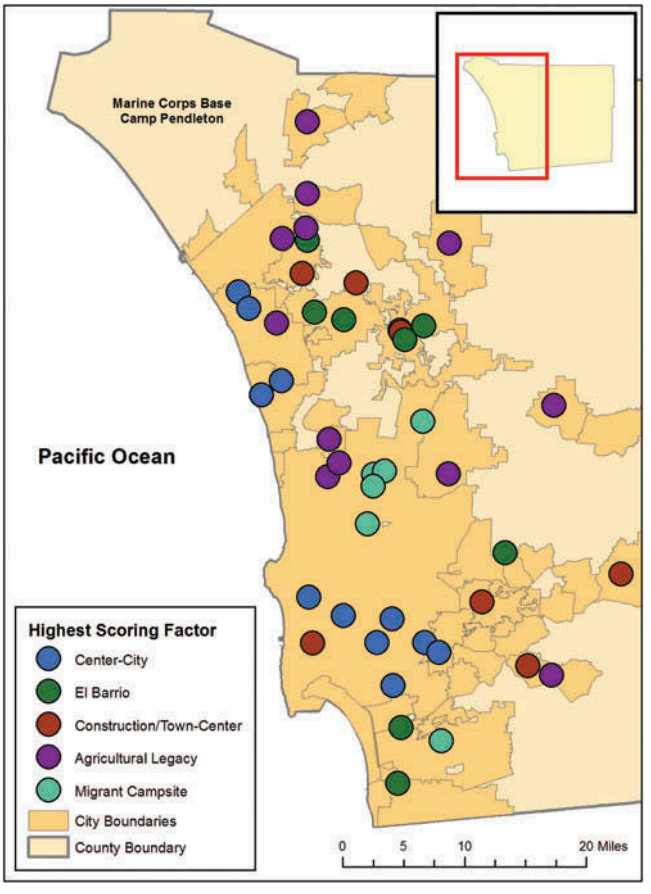

Figure 3. This map shows all of the day-labor hiring sites in the SDMA according to their highest scoring factor.

housing type. There is a second cluster of sites in north-west San Diego County that score highest on the "Center-City" variable. These sites are located in coastal communities that have similarly dense housing stock. However, the cost of housing in the northern beach communities is quite high, so laborers must find alternative ways to access their preferred hiring spaces.

The laborers who wait for work at "Center-City" sites reach the hiring site in a variety of ways. The characteristics of neighborhoods around Center-City hiring sites suggest plentiful rental housing, but not necessarily low-cost rental housing. To access their preferred hiring site, some *jornaleros* may travel by public transit from lower-cost rental areas. Others may share a nearby higher cost residence with several people to keep costs low. Finally, some *jornaleros* use personal automobiles to access Center-City sites.

- **El Barrio**: The second type of day-labor hiring site is characterized by neighborhood racial and class-based segregation. The El Barrio factor includes variables consistent with a low-income Latino neighborhood. Percent Hispanic has a very high positive factor load, while percent White has a very strong negative factor load. Average median rent and average median income both show strong negative

factor loads. Therefore, sites that score highest on factor 2 occupy spaces where housing costs are very low and Latinos comprise a majority of the residential population. More than half of "El Barrio" sites are located along the Highway 78 corridor in northern San Diego County, but with a second smaller cluster in the Southwest corner of the SDMA, between downtown San Diego and the international border. *Jornaleros* who wait at these sites may do so because they lack the financial resources to commute far from their places of residence, or because they feel more comfortable waiting for work in a familiar neighborhood. At any hiring site, demand for labor must be sufficient for laborers who use the site to survive. That a substantial number of sites score highest on this factor serves to further refute the assertion that Latinos do not hire day laborers (Esbenshade, 2000).

- **Construction/Town Center**: The construction–town center factor highlights clustering of construction employment and the availability of low-cost housing near the hiring site. High factor loads on both neighborhood and residential construction variables, combined with negative factor loads for average median rent and average median household income suggest that laborers who use these sites need not travel great distances to make themselves accessible to area employers, as there is affordable housing in close proximity to clear areas of employment demand. These housing variables support the qualitative observation that many hiring sites exist in suburban town centers that have experienced disinvestment in recent years and now offer housing that is relatively affordable by San Diego County standards.

  It appears that sites that score highest on the Construction/Town-Center factor do not follow a discernible spatial pattern, which is somewhat surprising, considering that the Town Center binary variable is an inherently spatialized attribute. However, many of the sites located in suburban–rural town center, score highest on other factors (primarily Agricultural Legacy). Therefore, the "town-center" site-location strategy is consistent in lower-density areas throughout the region, regardless of the type of jobs for which laborers are commonly hired at a particular site.
- **Agricultural Legacy**: The fourth factor, termed "Agricultural Legacy," shows high positive factor loads with agricultural employment variables. It also shows negative factor loads with the two distance-from-agriculture variables, indicating that these sites are located near agricultural land use. Finally, the Agricultural Legacy factor shows positive factor loads for "distance to transit center" and "distance to freeway ramp"—so sites that score high on factor 4 are located farther from transit and freeway access points. Agricultural Legacy sites are primarily located on the suburban–rural fringe, though four sites near SR-56 in the center of the SDMA also score highest on the Agricultural Legacy factor. The agricultural legacy sites around the suburban–rural fringe are located adjacent to the primary commercial center in each respective town. Laborers typically access these sites on foot or bike, as public transit is limited on the rural fringe of the SDMA. Nearly all of the laborers who look for work at Agricultural Legacy sites near SR-56 in the center of the SDMA live in nearby canyons and undeveloped spaces, as housing cost in nearby neighborhoods is prohibitively expensive.
- **Migrant Campsites**: Sites that score highest on the Migrant Campsite factor are clustered near the eastern end of the SR-56 corridor in the center of the SDMA, with a single outlier located farther south. The Migrant Campsite factor shows strong positive factor loads with the binary "Camper Occupied" variable, as well as percent Asian. The factor also has a large negative factor load for the "distance to major road" variable. Laborers who use these sites squat in area canyons or

undeveloped spaces, walking out each morning and waiting at a nearby hiring site in hopes of finding work. The "Migrant Campsite" factor shows positive loads on both distance-from-agriculture variables. This finding contradicts historical evidence that the laborers who first took residence in the canyons worked in agriculture. The difference in factor loads between the "distance to agricultural land-use in 1986" and "distance to agricultural land-use in 2008" may provide some clarity however. The positive factor load for 2008 is nearly double that of 1986, indicating that sites which score highest on factor 5 are located in areas that transitioned from agriculture to other land uses in the past three decades.

Applying the typology for day-labor policy and support efforts

The factors that draw particular laborers to particular hiring sites are complex. They intersect and overlap. The relative strength of each factor score, and the cluster of variables it represents, for each site, demonstrates the particular characteristics that make each day-labor space unique. The factor scores for each site reflect this complexity (see Table 4). A number of sites score nearly equally on two or more factors, while others exhibit a very strong fit with a single factor. Therefore, even when a site scores highest on a particular factor, that does not mean that the variables common to another factor are not also important, and they may influence the size, or longevity of a particular day-labor hiring site. Though the factor weights give an appearance of messiness, it is exactly that messiness that demonstrates the potential for quantifying the unique spatial characteristics of each hiring site. For example, Site 30 scores very high on factor 1, Center-City, with a value of 4.80 (this was the highest value of any factor, for any site). The second highest scoring factor is Agricultural Legacy, with a value of 0.72. The relative strength of the factor 1 score compared to the factor 4 score indicates that the variables associated with factor 1 are much more important at this particular day-labor space. With that information, support efforts can be tailored to the needs of laborers who would choose this type of site. In other cases, the scores demonstrate a more complex set of processes that make a day-labor hiring site successful. The hiring site at North Quince Street and Mission in Escondido scores highest on factor 3, Construction-Town Center, with a value of 1.49. It also scores relatively high on factor 2, Hispanic Neighborhood, with a value of 1.20. That a site scores high on factors 2 and 3 is perhaps unsurprising, since some of the key variables in each factor overlap (i.e. average median rent, average median income), but the factor scores certainly show a greater degree of complexity in terms of the characteristics of this particular hiring site. These are but two examples to illustrate a larger point regarding the utility of the factor analysis in establishing a geospatial typology of day-labor hiring sites. This factor-based typology can be used as a framework for understanding day-labor hiring sites in the SDMA. However, because factor scores represent a variety of characteristics that are collectively associated with successful hiring sites, day-labor policy must consider how a particular site scores on each factor, rather than simply shaping policy based on the highest scoring factor for each site.

Factor scores provide a basis for customizing support efforts to the types of *jornaleros* who use each site, and there are a number of important ways that the typology of sites presented can be directly implemented for day-labor policy and support efforts. The scores can be used to approximate the type of jobs available at particular sites, and day-labor advocates can provide industry-specific training and support. For example, providing education and training regarding exposure to

Table 4. Factor scores and ranks for San Diego County hiring sites.

Site number	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
1	−0.81007	1.138939	1.298777	0.351987	−0.24769
2	−0.53548	0.042118	2.424207	−0.09736	1.215419
3	−0.77694	0.699463	2.936907	−0.05756	1.149749
4	−0.72792	0.691679	0.044061	−0.40715	−0.53224
5	−0.37121	−0.41248	−0.14061	−0.63606	−0.83135
6	0.159058	0.824421	−0.18578	0.398206	−0.06808
7	−0.95338	0.412174	−0.01224	0.647832	0.276857
8	−0.02991	−0.66868	−0.51011	−0.24991	0.439213
9	−0.76914	−0.41616	−0.47019	−0.42648	−1.18902
10	−0.0091	−1.18057	0.322401	−0.70943	−0.20281
11	0.257094	−0.3455	0.114326	−0.60624	0.061002
12	−0.52651	0.746456	0.354302	−3.85529	−2.50444
13	−0.26268	1.229251	−0.39187	−0.08296	1.121255
14	−0.18008	1.28781	−0.3981	0.15316	1.200547
15	−0.34482	1.481329	−0.13929	−0.50702	1.041463
16	1.413404	1.037995	0.620718	0.38309	−1.48656
17	−0.10526	−1.03928	−0.40667	1.044017	0.275018
18	−0.83502	−0.08425	−0.1294	0.900433	−0.66337
19	−0.54366	−1.74617	0.48931	−0.65898	0.119554
20	−0.84999	−1.78566	−0.08696	−0.38422	−0.30562
21	0.521022	−1.46175	−1.00875	0.628574	−0.43293
22	0.526681	−1.1166	−1.15181	0.944079	−0.43448
23	0.082052	−1.31237	−0.94214	0.312181	−0.43971
24	0.079873	1.128438	2.239415	2.788623	−2.71316
25	−0.89262	0.446703	0.127307	1.044626	0.7064
26	−0.25878	0.37652	−0.9931	0.512839	1.089692
27	0.488378	−0.52981	−0.77422	0.704038	0.538164
28	1.185031	0.024966	−0.40357	−0.31095	−0.28123
29	−0.20685	0.087224	−0.96594	0.504896	0.457877
30	4.293605	0.498374	0.669131	0.878007	−0.22661
31	0.897412	−0.40133	−1.05951	0.219951	0.616938
32	1.436869	0.064829	−0.61038	0.495514	−0.38277
33	0.44526	0.361694	−0.83083	0.161747	0.405391
34	2.082633	1.166089	0.22627	−1.75433	2.181504
35	0.57054	−0.62286	−0.54508	−0.78343	−0.80677
36	−0.00413	0.728319	−0.28542	−1.89849	−0.61695
37	−0.66762	−0.79383	−0.48628	−0.49061	−0.49257
38	−0.65404	−0.31662	−1.06463	0.305358	−0.12239
39	0.686917	−3.39919	3.132852	−0.50665	1.348321
40	−1.12973	0.084047	−0.40842	0.793477	0.464064
41	−1.05892	0.208721	0.180008	0.963701	−0.85203
42	−1.24639	0.600195	−0.56237	0.506811	1.973128
43	0.821866	0.85369	−0.16885	−0.77958	−0.17415
44	−0.54887	0.661588	0.247921	0.472766	−1.2447
45	−0.64857	0.750067	−0.29538	−0.9132	0.570091

agricultural chemicals, exposure to sun and heat, and nuances of agricultural labor law would provide immediate workplace and health improvements for *jornaleros* at agricultural legacy sites. *Jornaleros* who wait for work at El Barrio sites due to limited mobility might find greater employment opportunity if free or deeply discounted transit passes were available. Factor scores can also be directly applied to make day-labor

organization efforts more efficient. Each type of site has particular characteristics that make the space "work" for particular groups or "types" of laborers. Understanding the likely composition of laborers at a particular site can aid with organizational efforts by allowing day-labor advocates to identify potential cleavages within the day-labor population at each site—by race, nationality, documentation status, or housing status—before organizers arrive (Camou, 2002; Crotty & Bosco, 2008; Fine, 2005, 2006). Finally, the typology provides insights regarding the potential for community conflict. Hiring sites that score highly on the El Barrio factor are less likely to generate community conflict than sites that score highest on the migrant campsite or center-city factors, as El Barrio residents are more likely to share ethnicity and economic status with the *jornaleros*. At sites where the social distance between *jornaleros* and nearby residents is greater, support efforts to introduce and/or integrate laborers into the community could help prevent conflict

The five-factor typology presented is an important improvement on Valenzuela and Melendez's a-spatial typology; however, day-labor support efforts must contextualize relative factors scores for each site with site-specific qualitative data, as well as broad trends within the day-labor industry, to truly meet the needs of *jornaleros* in the SDMA. For example, qualitative site surveys indicate that migrant campers comprise the bulk of the population at 15 SDMA hiring sites. However, only six sites score highest on the migrant campsite factor. The relative factor scores do nothing to change the needs of laborers who live under such challenging circumstances. These laborers clearly have the most substantial support needs; and efforts must include transitional housing and legal assistance for undocumented migrant campers. Similarly, laborers who are poor, but not homeless, have common needs—regardless of their race or ethnicity. Programs to provide food and financial support to pay rent and bills would reduce the likelihood of currently housed laborers at center-city hiring sites, many of whom are white or African American, and El Barrio sites, the majority of which are Latino, becoming homeless. Laborers at all site types would benefit from legal support to help recover unpaid wages, access to medical care to treat injuries sustained on-the-job, and increased organization among laborers to establish wage floors.

The five-factor typology presented in this paper does not entirely invalidate Valenzuela and Melendez's classification scheme (2003). Whether a site is located next to an industry-related store *does matter*, but it is only one of several important characteristics that may help to differentiate between types of sites. Identifying sites located near industry-related stores is useful from a policy standpoint however, as these stores are often key stakeholders in day-labor management, even if the retailer's management publicly distances themselves from day-labor issues (Condon, 2003; Greenhouse, 2005). Industry-related stores can and should be part of comprehensive day-labor management and support efforts, so long as the geographically specific context is addressed.

Similarly, formalizing space and creating workers centers to support and protect *jornaleros* is an important tool for day-labor policy-makers. The critical point is to formalize spaces where there is evidence that day-labor hiring sites *work*. Formalizing an out of the way space with no regard for the spatial processes that make particular places good for day-labor hiring sites necessarily reduces the effectiveness of the formalizing effort. The goal should not be to formalize space and expect people teetering on the edge of poverty and survival to alter their income-generating strategies. Instead, efforts should be made to formalize, or otherwise improve the conditions of, the spaces where

laborers *already* wait for work. The factor scores can then be used to customize support provision at each site.

Conclusion

The results of this research demonstrate empirically that day-labor hiring sites in the San Diego region are located in neighborhoods with statistically higher employment in the industries for which *jornaleros* are most often hired. Higher-than-average numbers of owner-occupied homes are also found in day-labor neighborhoods. Considered together, these findings provide the strongest evidence to date that the locations of day-labor hiring sites are not random, but rather demonstrate a locational strategy that maximizes *jornaleros*' chances of employment. This preliminary exploration also contributes to literature on informal economic activity by empirically linking the spatial organization of informal day-labor hiring sites and formal-sector employment in construction and agricultural industries.

The results regarding race at the regional scale are somewhat ambiguous. Day-labor neighborhoods have higher white population than the regional average; however, the percentage of white residents in day-labor neighborhoods is not significantly higher than is found in the rest of the SDMA. The correlation between race and home ownership raises interesting questions regarding the ways that day laborers interpret the landscapes of day-labor neighborhoods. It also illustrates the legacy of racial discrimination in United States' housing markets. Future research may seek to adjust some of the methods used in this analysis to provide greater clarity on the relationship between racial landscapes and employment for day laborers.

This mixed-method approach provides the best framework to date for analysing day-labor hiring sites in the SDMA. Quantitative approaches, like principal components factor analysis, can be used to provide a geographically informed typology of day-labor hiring sites. Each of the hiring site types tends to be used by different segments of the day-laboring population. Strategies to manage day-labor conflict, or provide services for laborers, must account for these differences if they hope to be successful. It is important to remember that day-labor hiring sites, like all spaces, are constantly being made and remade by processes at multiple scales. Similarly, the typology of sites presented in this chapter is subject to change, as the processes that make particular spaces better or worse for day-labor hiring activities change over time. Perhaps most importantly, this research demonstrates that at the regional scale, laborers are active participants in the production of day-labor hiring sites, employing a collective locational strategy that maximizes their chances of employment. As such, planners and government officials must understand the presence of day laborers in their communities as a reflection of the demand for temporary labor within the local economy, and part of the processes that quite literally build and maintain their communities.

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Notes

1. Recent work by Monica Varsanyi (2008a, 2008b) provides particularly provocative analyses of the connections between day-labor markets and the rescaling of immigration policy and policing in the United States.
2. Many day laborers endure precarious living situations due to the contingent, cyclical, nature of day-labor work. Early in my fieldwork, when employment demand was high, I encountered relatively few homeless day laborers. By 2008, the number of homeless day laborers had increased substantially as labor demand (and the regional housing market) collapsed (see Crotty, 2014 for additional details on the effects of the Great Recession on the SDMA day-labor market). However, new migrants' practice of squatting in undeveloped canyon spaces has remained constant for at least 40 years (Eisenstadt & Thorup, 1994). This particular subgroup of *jornaleros* continues a practice linked to seasonal agricultural migration that prioritized capital accumulation over short-term housing status. Contemporary migrant campers are much less likely to physically return to their place of origin however, due to the increased risk and cost of crossing the United States–Mexico border (Crotty, 2014).
3. Employers may decide to pick up the additional help they require during their commute from home to their place of business, from their place of business to a job site, or they may bypass their place of work and hire help on the way from their place of residence to a job site. In order to accommodate all the scenarios by which laborers could make themselves convenient to potential employers, both employment location data and residential location data are included in this analysis.

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