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Latino Employment and Entrepreneurship in South Bend

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The first influx of Mexicans to the South Bend area occurred in the 1940's: "As early as 1946 some migrants from the southwest came to work on the farms of South Bend's west side" (Fotia, 1975). Because many of the original Hispanic settlers to the area were Mexican Americans from the Southwest, the *Bracero* program is thought to be largely responsible for opening the doors to the new wave of immigrants to the South Bend area (Faught, 1975). After this initial colonization, Mexican immigration to our community increased exponentially from 1965-1971, forming two large Mexican American enclaves on South Bend's west side. The first is by the old Washington High School (now IVY Tech) and the other is around St. Casimir's Church, the area bounded by Ford and Sample.

South Bend was a prospering city during the second half of the century, when companies such as Singer sewing machines, Bendix Aviation Company, Oliver plows, and Studebaker automotive corporation were working full-tilt shortly after the war. In 1960, Studebaker employed approximately 10,000 workers, and Oliver Plow and Bendix about 4,000 each (Chrobot, 2008).

Apart from providing many jobs, this economic boom heralded the fragmentation of South Bend's older ethnic group—the Poles: "During the 1920s, there were 12 bakeries and over 70 grocery-butcher store combinations in these [Polish] neighborhoods. There were 19 retail dry goods stores, 12 furniture stores, plus a lumber company and a coal yard" (Stabrowski, 46). Prosperity during the few "golden years" immediately following the Second World War created the means for Poles to climb socioeconomic ladders and gain greater purchasing

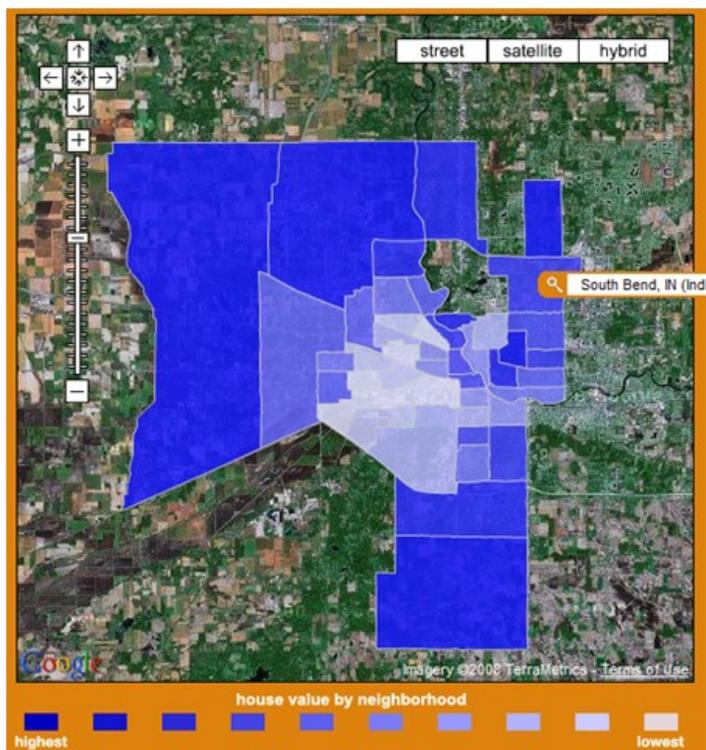
power. Poles, predominately the younger families, moved out of the urban area and into the more expensive suburbs of greater South Bend. This phenomenon was documented in a personal interview: "The old Polonia lives where it always has lived. The new Polonia lives in Mishawaka, Grainger, Elkhart" (Maria Rzeszutek).

Within the next generation, the very life blood of the Polish community disappeared and was replaced by a much older and a very different population base (Strabowski, 72). Thus, by the 1940s, the city's west side was losing its Polish identity and was well poised for the cultural and economic integration of Latinos.

As the Poles moved out of South Bend's west side, they left an

infrastructure that served as the foundation for the development of the Latino community. Many Hispanic shops and businesses on South Bend's west side were founded by Poles. La Panaderia Central, located on the 3000 block of Western Avenue was previously Polish owned and called "Progressive Bakery." This is also true of several other buildings across the street from La Rosita and around Panaderia Central.

Sociologist Alejandro Portes was instrumental in showing that immigrants tend to create alternative economies, which he coined as an "ethnic enclave," classified by "geographical concentration, interdependent networks of social and business relationships, and a relatively sophisticated division of labor" ("Immigrant Entrepreneurs" 5).



A map of property value for South Bend and its surrounding suburbs. Dark blue portions indicate higher property values while light-colored portions indicate low property values. This map helps to elucidate where the Poles who lived in the original ethnic enclave dispersed to.

Latino Enclave of Western Avenue



These enclaves soften the acculturation process and provide employment to co-ethnics. In fact, the entrepreneurial nature of certain members within the community increases the likelihood that other community members will pursue a path of upward mobility through employment, which was first identified in the 1970s in the work of Portes and Bach.

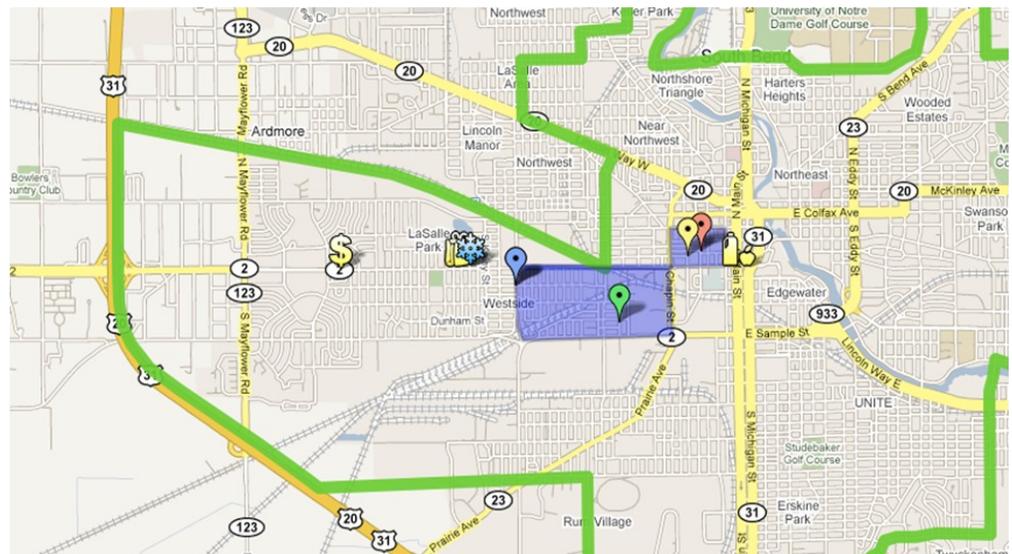
In 1970, there were approximately 332 Spanish households in South Bend. The census estimate for 1974 is 3,086 Mexican Americans, most between the ages of 20-29 (Faught, 1975). Now, there are over 2,315 Spanish households and 11,324 Mexican Americans in South Bend (ACS, 2006). Up until the late 1980s, Latino immigrants came into St. Joseph County as seasonal migrants who eventually settled here or as industrial workers who relocated to work in the area permanently. The late 1980s saw changes in the makeup of the Latino population of South Bend, especially because of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986. Prior to the 1980s,

most of the Latinos coming into South Bend arrived from other U.S. cities like Chicago. These Latinos immigrated to large cities before making their way to St. Joseph County. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, immigrants were more likely to come straight from Mexico due to the IRCA. Many Latino immigrants who had come to South Bend to do migrant farm-work were now able to bring family members who had stayed behind into the United States. The time period following the Immigration Control and Reform Act also brought about a change in the type of work that Latino immigrants came to do in South Bend, with a trend away from migrant farm-work and towards light industrial work and jobs in the service industry. These changes also reflected the shifting demands of the South Bend economy at this time.

As of 2006, Latinos represented about 11% of the population of South Bend, rising from about 3% in 1990. The general population in the enclave is most recently from California, Texas,

“Mexican migration to the Midwest thus has continued for over a century, has usually occurred as a result of vigorous recruitment by employers, and has often contributed to economic growth in the region.”

Where are they Living?

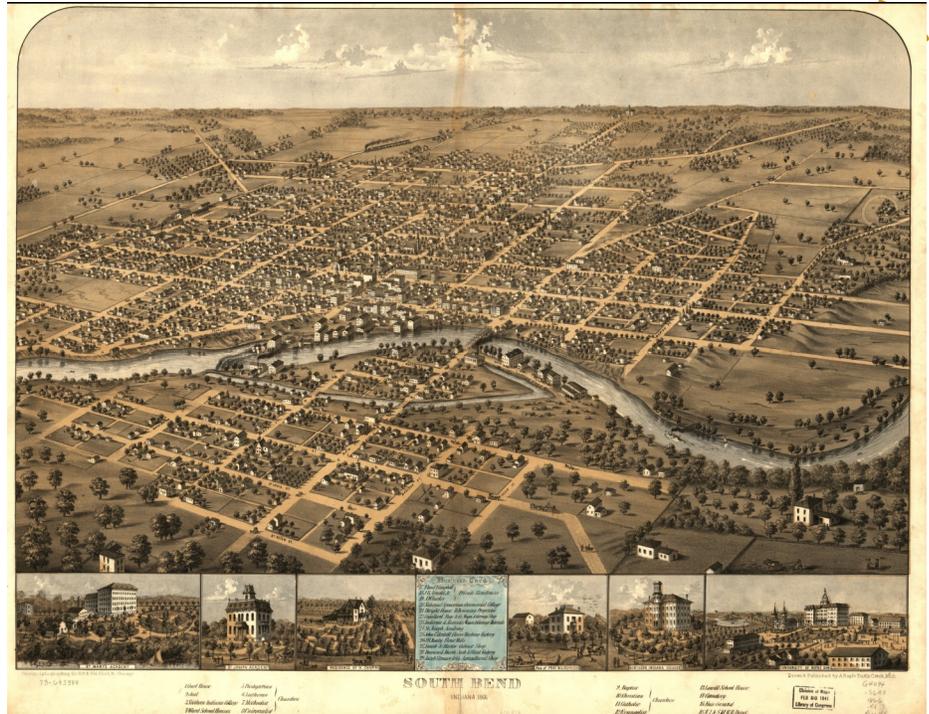


KEY
 The above map shows a perimeter of green that outlines the extremities of the Hispanic community in South Bend. Within this area, the original Polish enclave, called Bogdarka is shaded. Featured business are labeled according to the following legend: Money sign represents the Spanish-speaking Notre Dame Credit Union, the snowflake represents La Rosita Palateria, and the food symbol locates El Paraiso supermarket. Church locations are as follows: Blue—St. Adalbert’s, Green—St. Casmir’s, Yellow—St. Hedwig’s, Red—St. Patrick’s.

or Chicago, but originally from Michoacán or Zacatecas in Mexico. Countries represented in the South Bend Latino community include Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and others. Despite this diversity, there is a clear preponderance of Mexican immigrants.

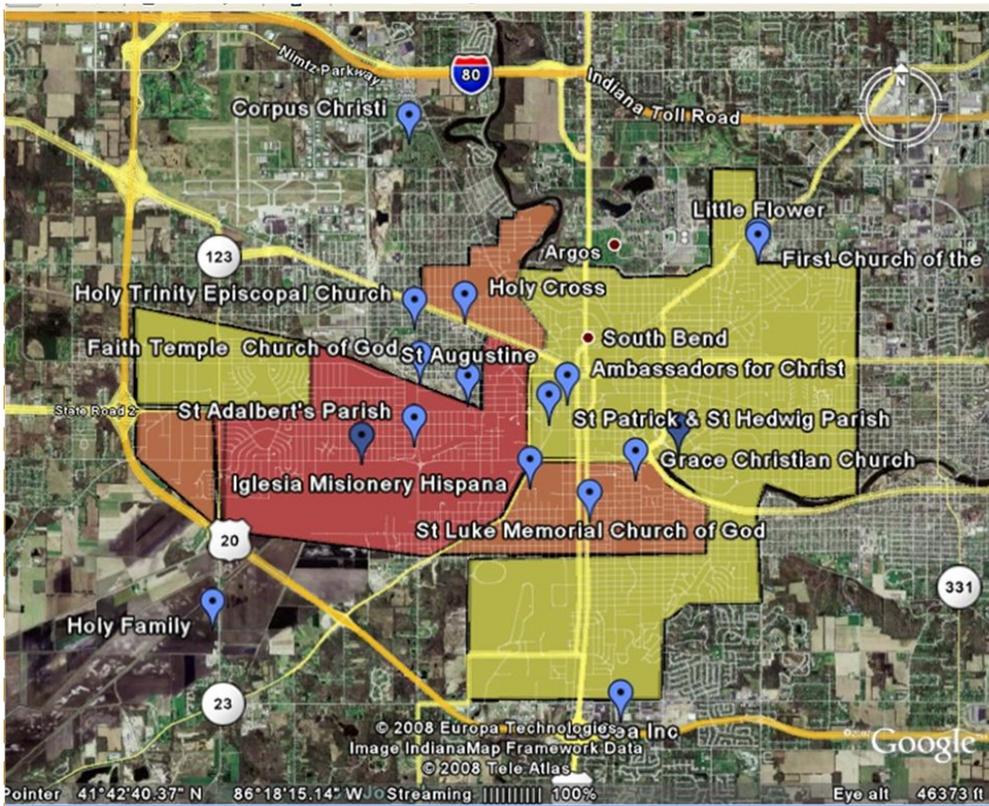
Nearly 23% of Latino individuals in South Bend live below the poverty level, compared to only 16% of the total population. Approximately 42% of the Latino population over age 16 was in the labor force as of 2000 census data, while nearly 48% of the total South Bend population over age 16 was working. This may account for some of the disparity, but the differences in median earning capacity for Latinos and white, non-Latinos are also very important to note.

Latinos have come to South Bend to fill the demands of the city's changing economy. The graph on page 4 shows



South Bend, circa 1866. Library of Congress

other census data suggests that Latinos work in construction or manufacturing. Another 20% work in wholesale and



The map to the left shows a breakdown of Latino residency in South Bend as measured by the percentage of Latino students in various school districts. The red area of this map highlights the part of the city with the highest concentration of Latino students, and presumably of Latinos overall. The west side of South Bend, in the area between Chapin Street and Mayflower Road, along Sample Street and to the north and south from there has the most highly concentrated Latino population in the city. However, the majority of South Bend school districts have at least 10% Latino pupils, suggesting that Latinos are spread throughout the entire city.

(courtesy Prot et al.)

employment by industry in South Bend as of 2006 for the total population, and

fill many of the jobs that are now available in the area. Over 30% of Latinos

work in retail industries, while over 15% work in personal service jobs, including domestic work. Certainly the limited

Median Earnings by Sex and Race, South Bend, Population 16 Years and Older with Earnings in the Past Twelve Months

| | Latino | White, Non-Latino |
|--|---------|-------------------|
| T o t a l | \$16386 | \$26689 |
| M a l e | \$16292 | \$32021 |
| F e m a l e | \$17431 | \$20924 |

*Data in 2006 Inflation-Adjusted Dollars
Source: ACS 2006

What is their Economic Situation?

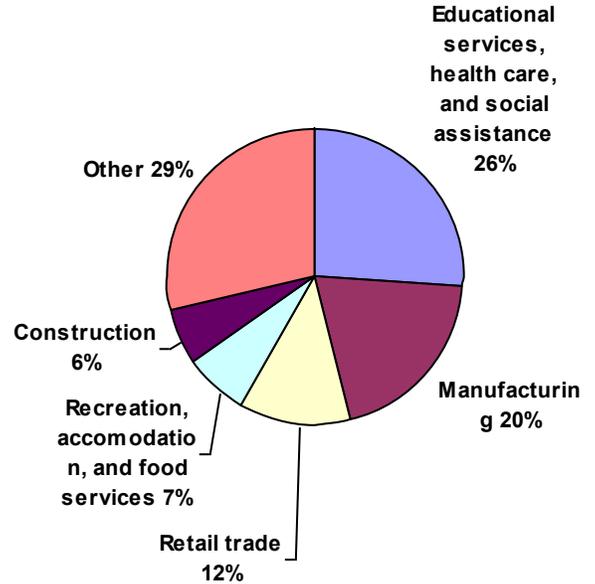
earnings potential of jobs that Latinos hold in South Bend also accounts for some of their economic conditions.

Latinos in Indiana participate in the workforce as much as other groups, but their income levels are among the lowest. They also tend to have jobs in more hazardous sectors with poorer working conditions. This section shows that Latinos work as many hours as Whites and more than Blacks, but in recent years their income level and health coverage have decreased, and income disparities have increased.

Income is one of the best indicators to measure economic well-being. Because working families use income to meet their needs, to invest, and to save, income inequality can translate into marked differences in quality of life.

Because wages and salaries make up roughly three-fourths of total family income, wage earnings are the driving force behind income growth and income inequality trends. The major development in the la-

Employment by Industry in South Bend, 2006



Source: ACS 2006

bor market in recent years has been the stunning disparity between the improving pay for Whites and the stunted pay growth for others. In Indiana the gap in income from wages between Whites and other minority groups such as Latinos and Blacks has not improved in the last 18 years. In the early 1990s the median income of Whites from salary and wages was 48 percent higher than that of Latinos and 111 percent

higher than that of Blacks. Between 1993 and 2001 the gap between Whites and Latinos closed, while the gap between Whites and Blacks fluctuated, coming to 14 percent in the 1999–2001 period. But the gains in income from salaries and wages achieved during the 90s have almost disappeared in the last seven years for Latinos and Blacks. In 1999, the Median Household Income for Hispanic and Latino Population was

| | Latino share of employment | | | | | | Avg. hourly wage 2005-2007 | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------------------------|--------|
| | 1990-92 | 1993-95 | 1996-98 | 1999-01 | 2002-04 | 2005-07 | Non Latino | Latino |
| Agriculture | — | — | — | — | 3.6% | 5.7% | — | — |
| Construction | — | — | — | 3.0% | 3.6% | 10.9% | 12.6 | 4.3 |
| Manufacturing | 3.3% | 1.5% | 3.5% | 3.6% | 4.4% | 5.1% | 13.8 | 6.4 |
| Trans., utilities | — | — | — | — | 2.1% | 2.4% | 14.0 | — |
| Wholesale trade | — | — | — | 5.7% | — | 3.7% | 9.2 | — |
| Retail trade | 0.9% | 2.7% | 2.1% | 1.8% | 3.3% | 5.2% | 7.1 | 2.6 |
| Fin., ins., real estate | — | — | 2.2% | 3.4% | — | — | 10.5 | — |
| Services | 0.7% | 2.0% | 1.6% | 1.6% | 1.8% | 2.3% | 9.8 | 1.2 |
| Federal | — | — | — | — | 2.9% | — | 14.5 | — |
| State and local | — | — | — | — | — | 5.4% | 10.9 | — |
| Total | 1.4% | 1.7% | 2.0% | 2.4% | 2.8% | 4.1% | 10.65 | 3.79 |

— Not enough cases to report wages (minimum five unweighted cases)
Source: Author's calculation using CPS.

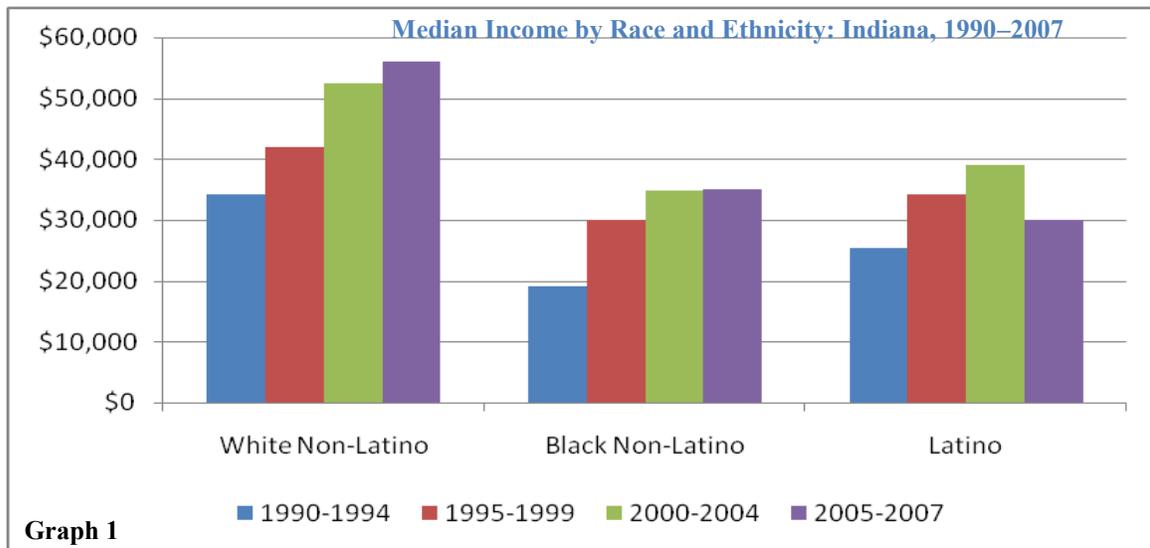
\$31,234. After 2001, there was a decline in the median wages for Blacks and Latinos, and currently, the median household income of Latino families is approximately \$35,000 (+/-4.5K CI, ACS). In other words, income inequality is rising in Indiana, given that Latinos and Blacks have to work more but earn less. Although income from wages and salaries factors into the quality of life of working families, differences in that income might be affected by the number of hours worked.

The concentration of Latinos in certain industries explains the decrease in their hourly wages in Indiana. Not only do Latinos concentrate in industries that have low pay, but there is also a considerable gap in wages between Latinos and non-Latinos within industries. There are three

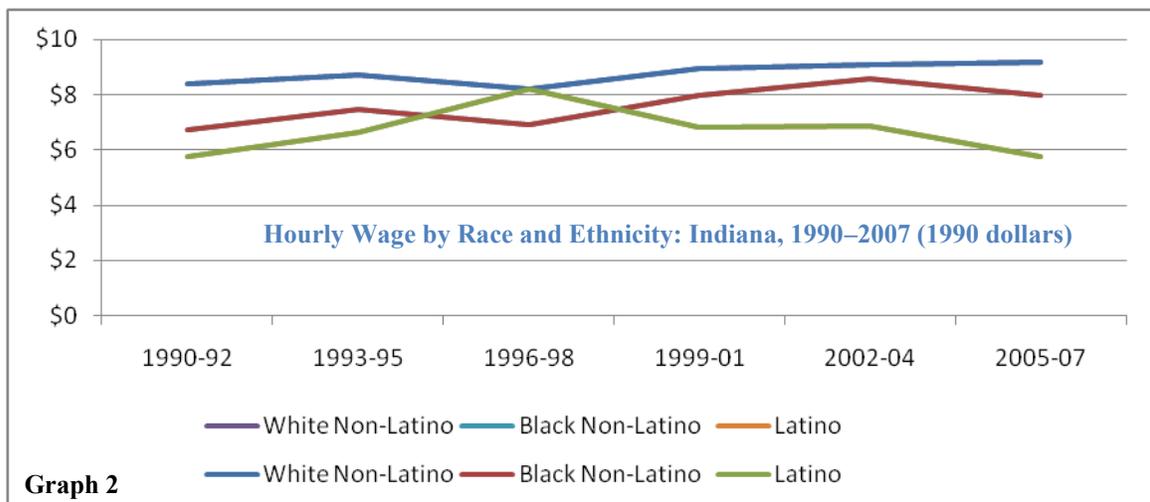
“traditional” sectors where Latinos have worked since 1990: manufacturing, retail trade, and services. Latino participation in these sectors has fluctuated, but the trend has been upwards. Since 2002, Latinos have started to work in construction and agriculture, sectors that have been heavily impacted recently by downturns in the economy (Table 5). On average, non-Latinos are earning 2.8 times the wage that Latinos earn across industries. The largest difference is found in construction, where non-Latinos earn 2.9 times the wage of Latinos. Although it seems that in the services sector non-Latinos are getting more than nine times the wage of Latinos, this could result from the likelihood that a large proportion of income for Latinos working in the services sector comes from gratuities. This is corroborated by the fact that

the income from salaries and wages (including gratuities) for non-Latinos is on average just 1.3 times the wage of Latinos in the services sector (data not shown).

McKenna did not indicate high levels of self-employment in construction like the above cited data set because we focused on more visible businesses (i.e. retail and entertainment) which also have high rates of self-employment for Mexican immigrants (91.% and 13.6% respectively).



Graph 1



Graph 2

Source: Author’s calculation using CPS.

Economics Continued...

Table 2A
Male Industry Shares and Self-Employment Rates in Mexico and the United States
Mexico Census (2000) and U.S. Census 5% PUMS (2000)

| | Mexico | Mexican Immigrants in U.S. | Mexican Natives in U.S. | U.S. Total |
|------------------------------|---------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| Industry Shares | | | | |
| Agriculture/Mining | 17.1% | 8.7% | 2.9% | 2.6% |
| Construction | 12.5% | 22.6% | 13.0% | 11.8% |
| Manufacturing | 22.2% | 22.7% | 17.5% | 19.8% |
| Wholesale Trade | 1.5% | 4.9% | 5.4% | 4.9% |
| Retail Trade | 13.2% | 6.1% | 11.2% | 9.8% |
| Trans and Warehousing | 6.6% | 3.1% | 6.6% | 6.1% |
| Utilities | 0.7% | 0.3% | 1.6% | 1.5% |
| Information | 1.0% | 0.7% | 2.9% | 3.2% |
| FIRE | 1.2% | 1.5% | 4.0% | 5.5% |
| Prof Services | 4.1% | 9.5% | 7.7% | 9.5% |
| Educ/health Services | 4.3% | 2.0% | 8.1% | 8.8% |
| Arts, Ent, Rec | 4.2% | 12.5% | 6.1% | 5.4% |
| Other Services | 6.9% | 4.6% | 4.3% | 4.3% |
| Public Admin/AF | 4.5% | 0.6% | 8.7% | 6.8% |
| Total | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| Self-Employment Rates | | | | |
| Agriculture/Mining | 43.5% | 4.3% | 7.0% | 32.5% |
| Construction | 24.0% | 8.3% | 13.3% | 22.7% |
| Manufacturing | 13.3% | 1.2% | 1.6% | 2.9% |
| Wholesale Trade | 24.3% | 3.7% | 3.6% | 8.9% |
| Retail Trade | 38.9% | 9.1% | 4.7% | 10.7% |
| Trans and Warehousing | 22.7% | 11.5% | 6.5% | 9.2% |
| Utilities | 2.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Information | 8.5% | 3.6% | 2.5% | 4.9% |
| FIRE | 15.7% | 7.4% | 8.4% | 14.7% |
| Prof Services | 26.1% | 12.1% | 13.8% | 20.7% |
| Educ/health Services | 10.0% | 3.7% | 2.9% | 7.2% |
| Arts, Ent, Rec | 26.1% | 3.1% | 4.7% | 10.5% |
| Other Services | 34.7% | 13.6% | 15.6% | 19.9% |
| Public Admin/AF | 1.8% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Total | 25.8% | 6.0% | 6.0% | 11.1% |
| Sample size | 814,729 | 106,006 | 73,928 | 2,893,273 |

Notes: (1) The sample consists of individuals ages 16-64 who work 35 or more hours per week. (2) All estimates are calculated using sample weights provided by the Census.

Entrepreneurship in South Bend

Economic assessments of immigration rarely focus on the contributions of immigrant small business owners despite compelling quantitative and qualitative evidence that suggests their role as economic agents and community leaders are quite beneficial to their adopted communities. Latino business owners in the Western Corridor of South Bend have been successful in their entrepreneurial endeavors, and Latino consumers have made a significant contribution to the local economy. This section

highlights three businesses—La Rosita Paletería y Nevería (ice cream and popsicle shop), El Paraíso (grocery store), and Central Bakery—and describes their origins and how these businesses contribute to the exchange of social and cultural capital within the transnational setting of the Latino enclave.



Just after Sundown along the St. Joseph River in the Heart of South Bend

La Rosita Paletería y Nevería, an ice cream and popsicle shop located at 2909 Western Avenue, has been open for five years. Rosa, who is the restaurant co-owner and namesake, is originally from Durango, Mexico. She immigrated to Chicago and lived near Midway Airport for 12 years prior to settling in South Bend. Her family owned a paletería in Mexico, which inspired her to open La Rosita. Rosa still stays in close contact with her parents, who visit her almost every year from Mexico. However, she does not keep in contact with her brother who also lives in Mexico.

During the summer, La Rosita makes between 3,000 and 4,000 popsicles every week and sells them under their own brand name. They maintain links with other Mexican immigrant communities in Chicago where they buy the ingredients for their popsicles. Many of the ingredients and special flavors must be imported from Mexico because they cannot be found in the United States. Rosa and Juan have expanded their business beyond their own paletería and now sell popsicles at the grocery store “El Paraíso” in South Bend, at Indiana University of South Bend, and other businesses in Elkhart and Goshen.

Featured Business: La Rosita



The unique flavors found at the Paletería serve as cultural capital, drawing clientele who know and love the flavors specific to Mexico. Fresa de leche (strawberry cream), arroz (rice), piña (pineapple), and mango are the most popular. Some of their

flavors are particular to different regions of Mexico. For example, Rosa sells a popsicle flavored with a fruit found in southern Mexico, which is especially loved by immigrants from this region. La Rosita thus offers a “taste of home” to its clients.

The Paeteria itself serves as not only a place to buy ice cream and popsicles, but also as a social gathering space for families and friends in the community, an example of a “field” in the bourdieusian sense. The Paeteria serves mostly the Latino community of South Bend, but many non-Latinos frequent the store as well. Rosa pointed out that relations with the local non-Latino community were good. She noted that her customers include “morenos del otro lado de Western, un profesor anglo de IUSB, familias mexicanas, hombres hon-dureños...”

La Rosita's Paletas (Popsicles)

Right:

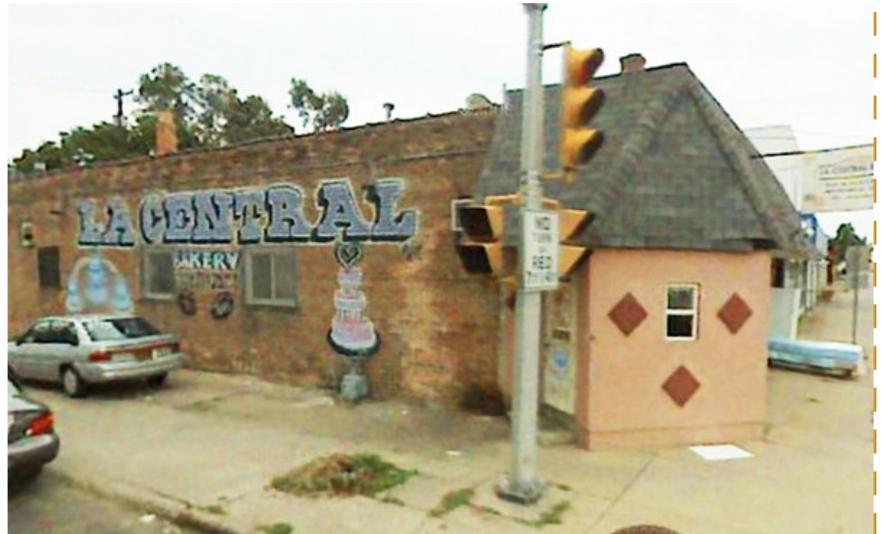
La Rosita's popsicles for sale at El Paraiso super-market exemplify the unity of the Latino Enclave and the cooperation between Mexican entrepreneurs.



Featured Business: La Panaderia Central

This bakery on the 3000 block of Western Avenue was originally called Progressive Bakery and was established by a Polish couple in the mid-1970s. For 23 years they sold kolaczki and packi and other Polish pastries to local residents.

As Poles moved away from Western Avenue in the 1990s, they sold many of the shops and stores that helped maintain Polish identity. The bakery was sold to the Cervantes', a Mexican family of bakers in 1999. Apart from serving largely Latino clientele, La Central also sell bread and rolls to the Martins bakery on Western Avenue. The history behind La Panaderia Central attests to the changing socioeconomic conditions in South Bend during the 1960's and 1970's. It also attests to the rising economic prosperity and development of the Hispanic community on the city's west side. The bakery is unique compared to other larger grocery



stores due to the freshness of its pastries and the low prices of its products.

“We understand that the conditions are not always ideal for researching and getting information, but we respect those who do not wish to share information with us. In fact, this experience demonstrated how important building rapport with informants is for ethnography to succeed.

Authentic Mexican Bread baked at La Central for sale at Martins Supermarket



El Paraiso is a grocery store and restaurant located on the edge of the enclave. This business opened four years ago and is owned by husband and wife Rafael and Lucy Martinez. It is primarily family-operated but based on the large number of employees, it seems likely that they hire other residents from the Latino community as well. We had the opportunity to interview Lucy who is originally from Durango, Mexico. She moved from Mexico and lived in Chicago for 13 years, Elkhart for 14 years (where El Paraiso was first started), then Legonia and Ft. Wayne before settling in South Bend. She reported that business was going well for them. When asked about competition with other similar grocery stores, she said that she did not know much about the other Latino grocery stores in South Bend which include several small shops and a large grocery. This may be due to the fact that El Paraiso is located on the edge of the enclave.

The products sold in the store come directly from Mexico. They offer fresh produce, selling many fruits and vegetables native to Mexico such as tomatillos, sugarcane stalks, nopales (prickly pear cactus) and tuna (cactus fruit). They sell their own "El Paraiso" brand name items as well as other recognized ethnic brand names such as Goya and Bimbo. They also have a deli stocked with fresh meats, cheeses, and seafood. This cultural capital draws customers who desire the unique products sold in El Paraiso that cannot be found elsewhere in South Bend. The dominant language spoken in El Paraiso is Spanish. The language, the food products, and the cultural items sold (magazines and newspapers in Spanish, religious items such as candles with pictures of the saints or rosaries, soccer balls) along with the Span-

Featured Business: El Paraiso

ish



music playing over the loud speaker create an arena of interaction controlled by Latino culture. This sets El Paraiso apart from other grocery stores such as Martins where English and Anglo-American culture are more prevalent.

El Paraiso serves as an important place for the community beyond simply a grocery store and restaurant. The clientele of El Paraiso is both Latino and non-Latino; however, there are many services for Latinos which help foster transnational ties between South Bend and one's country of origin. A money transfer system used by many working families in South Bend helps support their families by sending remittances back home. One can book flights or buy bus tickets (ranging from \$150-\$350 depending on the destination) from South Bend to Texas or Mexico, with all buses departing from the parking lot of El Paraiso. They sell phone cards

which allow families to keep in contact over long distances for a reasonable price. In addition, a restaurant connected to the grocery store serves one of the most important aspects of cultural identity—authentic Mexican food. El Paraiso serves as an advertising space for the Latino community. The entrance of the building has walls covered with advertisements (in both Spanish and English) for renting apartments, bilingual real estate agencies, hair cutting services, restaurants, musical performances, and other social events around the community. Free Spanish-language newspapers such as *Voz Latina* and *El Puente* are available to customers (see Appendix) and include information specific to the Latino community, from Central and South America or from other local immigrant communities. This communication with the wider community promotes business, announces social gatherings, and shares forms of social capital.

Challenges to the Business Community



Above: Advertisements for a bus transportation company “Los Nortenos” which leave from South Bend.

Mexican immigrants are underutilizing the U.S. Financial system. Because banks are perceived as unfriendly and intimidating to many Mexican migrants, they instead largely resort to informal borrowing and lending amongst friends, as well as alternative check-cashing and money-sending institutions (which charge

Mexican immigrants are underutilizing the U.S. Financial system. Because banks are perceived as unfriendly and intimidating to many Mexican migrants, they instead largely resort to informal borrowing and lending amongst friends, as well as alternative check-cashing and money-sending institutions (which charge higher transaction rates). Mexican immigrants are also much more likely to have checking or savings accounts than credit cards, as documentation issues often prohibit issuance of credit cards and loans.

Many economic, social, geographic, educational, and cultural factors contribute to this unfortunate reality and impede the financial assimilation of the Latino community. It is also important to note that some financial customs are part of a larger ideological system that functions to maintain identity within a transnational context. For example, the practice of adult children helping their parents with grocery purchases, money, and transportation (termed generalized reciprocity) is common among Mexican and Puerto Rican societies (Richman et al. 2008). This interdependent practice is unique to immigrant communities and starkly contrasts with the individualism of American culture.

The utilization of informal credit unions by Latino communities can be seen as a means of maintaining traditional cultural practices—a vital facet of any transnational identity. Although it impedes the process of financial integration, it is important to realize that assimilation

is a slow and incomplete process for any ethnic Diaspora. For aspiring entrepreneurs, communal credit is a trusted and welcoming form of assistance that may give them the confidence to invest and establish a business in a foreign setting. While informal lending is not necessarily itself a negative thing, it may not be as effective for larger investments (such as a mortgage on a home or financing an education) and is not insured by law against default.

Despite their many strengths and organic support systems, both Latino entrepreneurs and wage earners face many challenges. Along with increased unemployment, the current economic situation poses additional problems the Latino community. Most importantly, the effects of the recession are trickling down to the construction and service industries in which most Latinos are employed. Furthermore, Latino wage earners tend to be in jobs that do not offer defined benefit contributions, and do not have many liquid assets to bolster their social security. Also, Latino education levels are still low, which prevent them from attaining jobs with more upward mobility.

For these reasons, combined with changing financial ideals of their children, the retirement futures of many Latinos are in jeopardy: “At over 20 percent, the poverty rate among Latino seniors is the highest in the nation. Latino retirees rely



Above: Advertisements for Traditional music, real-estate, automobiles, and more displayed in the entrance of El Paraiso. This window serves as an informal transnational “community board” that reflects traditional modes of advertising. Its location within El Paraiso speaks to the value of the socio-cultural capital exchanged there.



IN SUMMARY

heavily on Social Security benefits as their single largest source of retirement income” (Richman et al. 2008).

Statistical analysis of census data from other studies points to several conclusions: immigrant communities tend to have a higher rate of self-employment abroad if entrepreneurship is common in the country of origin; education and legal status increase the likelihood of immigrant entrepreneurship; and English language ability increases the likelihood of men to be self-employed and decreases the same for women (Fairlie, Woodruff 2005). Immigration and the resulting entrepreneurship and self-employment provides a boost for the economy and public policies should support it.

Immigrant Entrepreneurs lead a fragile existence. Problematic issues such as the inability to speak English or lack of relevant financial experience in their countries of origin, combined with socio-cultural factors, such as distrust of banks and government, affect Mexicans’ ability to adjust to the U.S. financial system. Thus, access to credit and infrastructural support, so vital for maintaining business in the U.S., is largely unavailable. Lack of interaction with institutionalized business further cripples the endeavors of this community.

From an economic perspective, improving the opportunities for ethnic entrepreneurs is

logical due to the large buying power they hold. The 2000 census revealed to America the potential of the Latino population as consumers, who now account for \$928 billion in spending (Association of Hispanic Advertising Agencies).

Immigrant entrepreneurs will continue to provide the majority of labor force growth in the future (see *Paying Their Way and Then Some*). This vibrant ethnic enclave in South Bend has retail establishments, restaurants, and agencies which connect the

Mexican population both locally and transnationally. Just as entrepreneurs who previously established enterprises in the West side—sites such as El Paraiso, La Rosita, and the Panaderia Central—function as places of both social and economic exchange. Increasing financial literacy among the Latino community, in conjunction with more support mechanisms, is key to assisting in the assimilation process and establishing the future of South Bend’s Latino Entrepreneurs.



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