

NEXO

Vol. XIV, No. 2
Spring 2011

The Official Newsletter of **The Julian Samora Research Institute**
The Midwest's Premier Latino Research Center

Hispanic Mothers' Perception of Child's Activity Level Associated with Child's Obesity and Physical Activity¹

by Olga J. Santiago, Rubén Martínez, and Bette Avila, Julian Samora Research Institute



Hispanic mothers have the potential to decrease and prevent children's obesity and sedentary behaviors.² Specifically, previous research has found that mothers' behaviors, as well as their beliefs about their children, are associated with children's obesity, sedentary behaviors, and involvement in sports. For example, mothers' physical activities, obesity, eating behaviors, parenting style, time spent with their children, as well as perceptions of their children's physical activity ability, perceptions of their neighborhoods as safe places to play, and perceptions of their children's weight status are associated with children's obesity and activity levels. Several mechanisms by which mothers can influence their children's eating habits and physical activities include modeling behaviors, and support and encouragement of their children's physical abilities.

Mothers are important, if not the most important, socialization agents during childhood. The importance of studying the influence of Hispanic mothers on children's obesity and

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Latino-Owned Businesses: Patterns of Growth and Exclusion

by Rubén Martínez and Jennifer Tello Buntin, Julian Samora Research Institute

With the results of the 2007 Economic Census released in the second half of 2010, there has been a flurry of articles published across the country noting the increase in Latino businesses since 2002. From Oregon to Arkansas to New Hampshire and Pennsylvania, across rural communities and urban areas, the nation saw dramatic increases in Latino-owned businesses between 2002 and 2007. This article provides an overview of Latino businesses and the issues they face as they struggle to succeed in today's changing economy.

The recently released data show that nationwide, Latino-owned businesses (non-farm) increased by 44 percent, compared to the 18 percent increase for all businesses. In raw numbers, Latino-owned businesses increased from 1.6 million in 2002, to 2.3 million in 2007, while all businesses increased from 23 million to 27.1 million. Latino businesses were 8.3 percent of all non-farm businesses and generated \$345 billion in sales/receipts, up by 55.5 percent from 2002. They employed

1.9 million workers with a total payroll of \$54.7 billion, an increase of 26 percent and 49 percent, respectively, since 2002. On average, however, Latino businesses made \$153,000 a year, which is lower than the \$179,000 average for minority-owned businesses, and comprises slightly less than one third of the \$490,000 average made by White-owned businesses.

These data demonstrate the considerable growth and impact of Latino-owned businesses. At the same time, however, Latinos still face significant obstacles both in starting businesses and in operating them. Limited capital and credit access continued to diminish



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Future Depends on Education System

Rubén O. Martínez



With economic recovery efforts mostly focused on job development, there is a tendency for education to get lost in discussions about the future of the state. Fortunately, Governor Snyder has emphasized education as one of the key areas in his proposed roadmap to Michigan's recovery. Additionally, the Governor's emphasis on measures of performance contributes to transparency and accountability in state government. However, the indicators for education do not provide enough breadth to give us a comprehensive profile with respect to the different groups that comprise the state's population.

In education, for example, the dashboard provides us with three indicators for measuring progress: (1) reading capability of third graders; (2) college readiness (as measured by ACT scores); and (3) percent of population with a Bachelor's degree or higher. The Governor's dashboard provides summary statistics from the Michigan Department of Education showing that in 2009, 90 percent of third graders in the state met the Michigan Educational Assessment Program (MEAP)

standards established by the Michigan Board of Education. This figure is up from 86 percent in 2007. The statewide average on the ACT, on the other hand, was 21 in 2010, down from 21.2 in 2007. Finally, the percent of the population with at least a Bachelor's degree was 24.6 percent in 2009, down from 24.7 percent in 2007 and lower than the national figure of 27.9 percent in 2009. All of these are important indicators for measuring progress in the area of education. However, what they do not tell us is how our schools are doing relative to Latinos, African Americans, Native Americans, and other racial minority groups. Additionally, all of our measures should have a comparison point, such as the national average.

For instance, the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) provides reading scores (among others) for fourth graders. Although it is not clear how MEAP reading tests align with the NAEP, Michigan students' scores on the NAEP can be compared to the national average. In 2009, the average score of fourth graders from Michigan was 218, compared to 220 at the national level. Moreover, the gap between the 25th and 75th percentiles was 46 points, similar to the 44-point gap in 1992 (meaning the gap has not closed over the past two decades). With regard to students of color, Latino students had an average score (206) that was 19 points below those of White students (225), and African Americans (194) were 31 points below. Only 36 percent of White students, 17 percent of Latinos, and 9 percent of African Americans in Michigan performed at Proficient or Advanced levels.

Regarding college readiness, average composite ACT scores have decreased for all groups in Michigan over the past three years. White students have gone from an average score of 22.2 in 2007 to 20.6 in 2009; Latinos have gone from 19.8 to 17.5 during the same period; and African Americans have gone from 16.9 to 15.6. Worse yet, in 2009, only 22 percent of White students in Michigan, 9 percent of Latinos, and 2 percent of African Americans met the ACT's college-readiness benchmark across the four academic areas (English, Math, Reading, and Science).

Data from the American Community Survey 2009 from the U.S. Census show that while 25.8 percent of Non-Hispanic Whites in Michigan had at least a Bachelor's degree, only 14 percent of Latinos and 15.5 percent of African Americans did so. At the national level, the figures were 31.1 percent, 12.7 percent, and 17.7 percent, respectively. Except for Latinos, all groups in Michigan were less likely to have a college degree than at the national level. And among Latinos, the percent is so low at both the state and the national levels that a focused initiative is warranted.

The future of Michigan, like that of the nation, is one of increased diversity. While in the short run it may help the state's economy to attract "immigrant capital," in the long run its future is bound up with that of its domestic populations and how well its public school systems can meet their educational needs. At this time, and in recent years, Michigan's education systems have failed its citizens by not producing better learning outcomes. If improvements are to be made in student achievement one has to keep not only measures of performance but also school culture, teacher competencies and expectations, and parental involvement front and center. As the saying goes, "one cannot continue to do the same thing over and over and expect different results." If the state is to move its economy forward, it cannot afford to have its education systems continue to leave Latinos, African Americans, and other students of color behind. ❖

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Latino-Owned Businesses

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the capacity of Latinos to start and operate their own businesses. Moreover, these obstacles impact the types of businesses Latinos start, leaving the more capital intensive yet profitable options out of their reach.

Latino-Owned Businesses: National Overview

The Economic Census is carried out by the U.S. Census Bureau every five years (the next one will occur in 2012). Data on Hispanic-owned businesses are collected by the Census Bureau every five years in the Survey of Business Owners (SBO), which is part of the Economic Census and began as the survey of minority-owned businesses in 1969. In 2007, business owners were identified by their tax status as individual proprietors, partnerships, or corporations that reported sales/receipts of \$1,000 or more in 2007. The SBO defines Hispanic-owned businesses as those in which “a Hispanic of any race owns 51 percent or more of the stock or equity of the business.”

Overall, persons of Mexican origin owned 45.8 percent (or about 1 million) of the Latino businesses, contributing approximately 45.1 percent of sales/receipts. Other Latinos owned 34.5 percent of Latino businesses, while Cuban Americans owned 11.1 percent, and Puerto Ricans, who accounted for the fewest firms, owned 6.9 percent of all Latino firms. Across the groups, it is estimated that there are only 44,189 Latino firms with sales/receipts of \$1 million and more; they account for 3.1 percent of all firms with sales/receipts at that level. Finally, it is estimated that there are only approximately 2 million Latino sole proprietorships across the country.

A closer look at the data shows that 15.1 percent of Latino-owned firms operate in construction; 14.9 percent are in repair and maintenance, and personal and laundry services; 13.9 percent are in administrative and support, waste management, and remediation services; 10.4 percent are in health care and social assistance; and 8.9 percent are in transportation and warehousing. By comparison, White-owned firms are as follows: 14.7 percent in professional, scientific, and technical services; 13.8 percent in construction; 10.7 percent in repair and maintenance, and personal and laundry services; 10.0 percent in retail trade; and 9.8 percent in real estate, and rental and leasing.

Geographically, California is home to the largest number of Latino businesses (566,567), or 25.1 percent of all Latino-owned businesses in the United States. Latino

businesses comprised 16.5 percent of all businesses in California, and it is New Mexico that has the highest percentage in all states (24 percent or 37,155 businesses). Nationally, Florida and Texas had the next highest numbers of firms: 450,185 (19.9 percent) and 447,486 (19.8 percent), respectively.

Latina-Owned Businesses

Although the 2007 SBO detailed data on women’s businesses have not yet been released, the Center for Women’s Business Research (CWBR) in McLean, Virginia, has provided estimates based on 2002 figures for Latina-owned businesses in 2006. Accordingly, there were 745,246 Latina-owned (majority or 51 percent owned) firms that generated nearly \$46 billion in sales/receipts. According to the CWBR, these comprised approximately 36.9 percent of the overall number of Latino-owned businesses, but accounted for only about 17 percent of the overall sales/receipts generated and for 16.2 percent of employees in these firms.

In terms of industries, 80 percent of Latina-owned firms are in services (cosmetology, financial, professional, administrative, etc.); 9.2 percent in retail trade; 5.4 percent in non-traditional industries (forestry, mining, construction, manufacturing, etc.); and 4.5 percent in real estate, rental and leasing. While recent growth occurred across all industries, the greatest was in services, where Latina-owned businesses nearly tripled in the previous decade. It is expected that the 2007 SBO data will provide greater detail on Latina-owned businesses.

Latino-Owned Businesses in the Midwest

The growth of Latino businesses was most dramatic in the South, especially in Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and South Carolina, all of which experienced increases greater than 91.5 percent. These were followed by states in the West and the Midwest. For our purposes the Midwest includes twelve states: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. Overall, Latino-owned firms increased by approximately 47.1 percent in this region, from 77,870 in 2002 to 114,592 in 2007. By comparison, White-owned businesses in the Midwest increased by only 9.1 percent during the same period. Illinois, which has the greatest number of Latinos in the Midwest (over 2 million in 2010), had the highest number of Latino firms (56,552) in 2007, reflecting an increase of 43 percent from 2002. Despite having the second-largest Latino population (approximately 420,000; behind Illinois) in the Midwest, Michigan had



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Book Review

Reviewed by Pilar Horner
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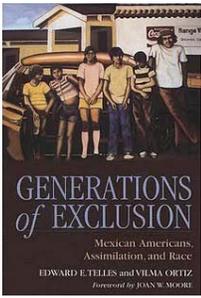
CHICANO STUDIES: The Genesis of a Discipline **By Michael Soldatenko; University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 2009**

Michael Soldatenko's *Chicano Studies* traces the evolution of Chicano Studies in the United States from 1967 to 1982. His work presents an excellent discussion of distinct epistemological and ontological positions, both among the Chicano Studies movement's leading thinkers and within the oppositional forces of academic, political, and social realities in the United States. He aims to show how the origins of Chicano Studies as a discipline were truly an experiment of different perceptions of purpose that differed among intellectual leaders, political activists, and student protestors. His discussion not only includes historical evidence by leading scholars and activists at the time, but Soldatenko also frames his work within the context of larger theoretical frameworks including Marxist theorist Max Horkheimer, semiotician Mikhail Bakhtin, and philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis. Soldatenko surprisingly challenges the determinant primacy that political and social activism, or the larger Chicano Movement, had on Chicano studies. He states, "Although Chicano politics forms a background to the discipline, it is not vital to the intellectual origins and development of the discipline" (p. 15). He argues that the political efforts were important as useful conditions, but not necessary for the Chicano Studies movement. He supports this argument by separating the emergence of the Chicano Studies movement into two types: the Empirical Chicano Studies and the Perspectivist Chicano Studies. Soldatenko argues that the Empiricists aimed to work for change within the structures of the academy. They would locate oppressive and silencing forces and then from within work to change, alter, and promote Chicano studies as a remedy to these ills. Soldatenko does note that the leading Chicano scholar, Octavio Romano, warned against being subsumed by academia. Soldatenko writes that "if Chicano Studies accepted the assumptions of the academy, as Romano had noted, it was doomed to incorporation" (p. 27). And this has been one of the major challenges for empiricists.

Perspectivists (which Soldatenko argues did not survive in the long-term) aimed to transform the academic discourse and experience through the widespread epistemological changes wrought by a cultural revolution. The author notes the difficulty perspectivists had, and that "by the late 1970s, Perspectivist Chicano Studies became an increasingly peripheral and fragmented intellectual agenda, surviving in corners of non-research teaching institutions, alternative educational institutions, the arts, and certain community organizations" (p. 67). This group was rooted in the Spanish philosopher José Oretga y Gasset's notion of perspectivism. This view allowed for the legitimization of Chicano Studies and the linking of knowledge and identity (p. 69). However, Soldatenko argues that academia could not sustain this effort because of its seeming relativity and "could not be easily broken down into analytical parts" (p. 83). As a result, the perspectivists languished while the empiricists were able to sustain their efforts. Soldatenko also takes keen note of the importance of understanding the impact of gender with his treatment of the Chicana feminist movement that challenged contradictions and omissions within the Chicano Studies movement.

One issue that arises from the work is the author's insistence on pitting Chicano Studies against academia as a battle of epistemologies. He notes that Chicano scholars rebelled against social science as a purveyor of truth and science, especially since that truth and science was a perpetrator of oppressive omissions for Mexican Americans wanting to enter the annals of academia. In doing so he makes some practical and valid points. He notes that academia was indeed a place where Mexican Americans had been excluded and whose voices, when present at all, were marginalized. However, in his discussions he makes some questionable assumptions such as attributing large epistemological challenges, such as standpoint theory to Chicano scholar Octavio Romano without noting the historical precedents of this idea. One wonders if Soldatenko understands the historical past of challenging positivism's epistemology or whether he believed that Romano introduced the concept. He frames the "us" vs. "them" debate of Chicano studies and social sciences as a standpoint theorist argument versus a positivistic paradigm (and at times erroneously claiming that dualism is a solely Western thought). These efforts to critique positivism began in the 19th century, continued in the early 20th century with the Frankfurt School in Germany and in the U.S. within sociology (the Chicago School) and anthropology's shift from foreign cultural studies (Mead) to urban settings and discussions of positionality.

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Book Review

Reviewed by Olga J. Santiago
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GENERATIONS OF EXCLUSION: Mexican Americans, Assimilation, and Race *By Edward E. Telles and Vilma Ortiz; Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 2008*

In *Generations of Exclusion*, Edward E. Telles and Vilma Ortiz show how race and ethnicity have shaped the life experiences of Mexican Americans across the generations. Their book follows the pioneering Mexican American Study Project by Leo Grebler, Joan Moore, and Ralph Guzman (in 1965 and 1966) in two metropolitan cities in the Southwest with high concentrations of Mexican Americans. Appropriately, Moore—who today is distinguished professor emeritus at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee—provided the foreword to the book. Using a longitudinal approach, Telles and Ortiz managed to contact nearly 700 of the original participants and added 750 of their children to the study, asking them about their parents and their children, making it possible to have data for four generations and “... to examine the multigenerational status of Mexican Americans” in a multidimensional approach (p. 8).

This book is a great introduction to the social and political status of Mexican Americans, who today are the largest segment of the largest minority group in the country. When the first study was conducted, they were the second largest minority group. The follow-up study is an excellent source of historical information and overview of the socio-political dynamics relative to Mexican Americans, especially in the cities of San Antonio and Los Angeles. The authors discuss their study findings in six chapters/dimensions: education, economic status, interethnic relations, culture and language, ethnic identity, and politics. Progressing through the book, the reader will acknowledge the interrelatedness of the six areas, especially how “education accounts for the slow assimilation of Mexican Americans on most social dimensions” (p. 274).

In each chapter the authors not only provide a historical context and a comparison with previous study findings, they also challenge them, especially the generalizations made in terms of racialization and assimilation theories. Their findings support the conclusion that there is assimilation in “social exposure, politics, identity and especially cultural aspects” (p. 284); however, the association of the generations since immigration with education was far from what was expected using assimilation theory. For example, even when the second generation showed an improvement over the immigrants in terms of high school completion, there were higher school dropout rates in those of the third and fourth generations. Additionally, the study findings are compared with the trends of previous immigrant groups, such as European-Americans, suggesting that even though the ethnic boundaries are less rigid than they were in 1965, “... Mexican Americans were still far from assimilated and definitely had not become accepted as white” in 2000 (p. 273).

Apart from its socio-political content, this book is an excellent reference for sociology and methodology classes. It describes how the longitudinal study was designed and executed and the obstacles that they experienced during data collection. The way the selection of statistical analyses are justified, performed, and discussed are excellent examples for students to learn the contribution and richness of quantitative research in the sociological domain. The authors very articulately provide in each chapter a theoretical and socio-political historical context to make sense of their findings. The study’s results demonstrate the importance of taking into account the historical context, the local context, processes of assimilation and education assimilation, as well as the generations since immigration when studying Mexican Americans. ❖

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Karl Popper’s (1942) critical rationalism voiced these same epistemological concerns and reframed scientific inquiry in fundamental paradigmatic ways, moving to discussions of pursuing truth as moments of falsifiability. Social science was at the time experiencing shifts of epistemological importance. It is perhaps too simplistic of a picture to state that all of social science and Chicano Studies were at fundamental odds; but it is fair to state that Chicano Studies faced strong opposition from its inception to its presence in academia today. The Chicano Studies perspective then was an addition, albeit an important one, to the positivistic challenge.

Still, Soldatenko crafts an articulate, strong, and helpful approach to understanding the complexities of the emergent Chicano Studies. His work is an exceptional exploration that offers some critical insight into the past, present, and future of this important discipline. ❖

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physical activity is becoming more relevant because of: 1) the high prevalence of inactivity and obesity among Hispanic children and adolescents in the United States; and 2) the fact that Hispanic children and adolescents represented 22% of the nation's population of children in 2008 and the Hispanic youth population is projected by the U.S. Census Bureau (2009) to increase to 39% by 2050, representing a major portion of the U.S. youth population.

Hispanic children living in the United States have a higher prevalence of inactivity and obesity than Whites. As such, they are at risk for a series of health-related problems linked to obesity. For example, hyperinsulinemia, poor glucose tolerance, increased risk of Type 2 diabetes, hypertension, sleep apnea, social exclusion, depression, and a lower health-related quality of life are risk factors associated with obesity. Due to the important influence of mothers' behaviors and beliefs on children's behaviors in early childhood, factors at the family level should be a priority when policymakers or other concerned individuals develop intervention strategies. In other words, strategies to prevent Hispanic childhood obesity and increase children's participation in physical activities and sports (at family, school, or community levels) should include mothers.

One of the factors consistently identified as a predictor of a child's physical activity and involvement in sports is parental perception of a child's physical ability. Parental perception of a child's ability is associated with the child's own perceived physical activity competence, his/her actual physical activity, his/her participation in sports, and his/her weight status. In studying the phenomenon of childhood physical activity and children's obesity, researchers have used a theoretical framework called expectancy-value theory of achievement motivation, developed by Jacquelynne Eccles and colleagues (e.g., Eccles [Parsons] et al., 1983; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000; and others). This theory states that a child's choices, persistence, and performance in a specific area, such as physical activity, can be explained by his/her expectations about how well he/she will do, and how much he/she values that activity.

The applicability of this theory in interventions focused on increasing children's physical activities, and decreasing and preventing children's obesity, relies on

how parents' perception can influence the following: 1) how well the child thinks he/she will do in a task, and 2) how much the child values that task (e.g., sports). A mechanism by which parental perception can influence the child's physical activity and obesity is by providing higher instrumental and emotional support to those perceived as having more ability. For example, mothers who perceive their children as being as active as or more active than their peers might provide more support through positive verbal feedback and encouragement for an active lifestyle, thereby indirectly preventing childhood obesity. In contrast, those mothers who perceive their children as less active than the child's peers might support a sedentary lifestyle, such as watching television, which is associated with childhood obesity.

Clearly, parents' perception of a child's ability during the early years of life can influence that child's behaviors in later years. For example, the motivation of a child to participate in sports is

influenced by early experiences in the family, and this trend continues over time. However, there are also potential differences between the influence of fathers' and mothers' perceptions on children's beliefs and behaviors. For example, one study found that mothers' perceptions had a long-term effect on their children's physical competence and time spent on physical activity. Overall, it was suggested that mothers' socialization practices have a greater impact on younger children because of their extensive involvement in their children's daily activities.

In this study we hypothesized that, aside from differences of the effects of mother's vs. father's perception on a child's physical activity, there are also potential differences among racial/ethnic groups. Specifically, we hypothesized that Hispanic mothers' perception would have a greater influence on their children's behavior than White mothers' perception because of expected gender roles in Hispanic cultures, and the associated expectation of children's respect toward Hispanic mothers. Hispanics' emphasis on familism—which stresses the importance of the family, the value of children, and traditional roles for women (Flores, Eyre, & Millstein, 1998)—can influence the effect of Hispanic mothers' perception of children's physical activity level (PAL) and weight for several reasons. First, Hispanic children might spend more time with their families at home (e.g., eating and doing household work); secondly, Hispanic mothers encourage stereotypic gender behaviors; and finally, Hispanic mothers have more restrictive discipline and are more respected by their children than Whites.



In summary, research studies support the hypothesis that parents' perceptions of children's physical ability can influence PALs and weight status. There are also potential racial/ethnic differences (Hispanics vs. Whites) in the contribution of a mother's perception of her child's physical activity and weight for reasons such as familism. The aim of this study is to extend the work of previous research by examining the influence of mothers' perception on children's physical activity and weight status in a cohort of Hispanic children in the Midwest. A White study sample was used for comparison reasons.

Framed on previous research findings and on the expectancy-value theory, we expected a positive association between a Hispanic mother's perception of her child's PAL in



comparison with the child's peers in Kindergarten and the mother's perception of her child's PAL (in the third and fifth grades), after controlling for other variables. Additionally, we expected a negative association between a Hispanic mother's perception of her child's PAL in comparison with the child's peers in Kindergarten and the mother's perception of her child's obesity (in the third and fifth grades), after taking into account other factors, such as the child's gender and family socioeconomic status.

Methods

Study Design and Sample

Early Childhood Longitudinal Study-Kindergarten (ECLS-K) Data and Research Design

To test the research hypotheses, we conducted a secondary data analysis using the Kindergarten–Eighth Grade Full Sample Public-Use Data File of the ECLS-K Class of 1998–1999, a longitudinal study that includes individual-, school-, and community-level variables. ECLS-K consists of a nationally representative cohort of 21,260 children enrolled in Kindergarten programs (public and private schools; full or part day) during the 1998–99 school year. The sample for this study consisted of 3,124 cases of children living with their biological mothers during the fall of 1998, and for whom the mothers were the survey respondents (Whites $n = 2,838$ and Hispanics $n = 286$).

Measurements

Dependent Variables

The main dependent variables of this study were the child's physical activity level (PAL) and obesity. A child's PAL was assessed by the question: In a typical week, on how many days does (child) get exercise that causes rapid breathing, perspiration, and a rapid heartbeat for twenty continuous minutes or more? Responses ranged

from zero to seven days. For child's obesity we used the CDC classification criteria: children at or above the 95th percentile of the age-sex-specific Body Mass Index (BMI) growth chart were classified as "obese" and all other children as "non-obese."

Independent Variable

Our main predictor was mother's perception of her child's PAL relative to the child's peers in Kindergarten (MP-K). Mothers categorized their children as less active than, as active as, or more active than their peers in three settings: structured activities (e.g. sports), free time, and aerobic exercise. Responses relative to these three settings were combined into one measure, MP-K. We created three ordinal categories of MP-K: low (0 to 2); medium (3 or 4); and high (5 or 6). Linear and logistic regressions were used to test the study hypotheses.

Control Variables

Based on theoretical and empirical evidence, several factors were identified that potentially influence the association between MP-K and the child's PAL or obesity. For example, family structure, parents' education, family socioeconomic status (SES), parents' country of birth, and number of siblings are all associated with a child's weight. At the child level, our model controlled for race/ethnicity, gender, child's place of birth, child's disability status, and hours of television watched per week. At the family level, the models controlled for family structure, number of siblings, mother's perception of neighborhood attributes, mother's perception of neighborhood safety in regards to playing outside, mother's employment status, family SES, parents' place of birth, mother's place of birth, mother's age, home rules for hours of television watching allowed, and place of residence (urbanicity status). These variables were used to test for differences among racial/ethnic groups; however, to test our hypotheses we controlled only for those variables that contributed to the model: child's race/ethnicity, gender, child's disability, family structure, mother's country of birth, mother's age, and family SES (description of the variables available upon request).

Statistical Analysis

Different statistical techniques were used for the analyses: descriptive data analysis, linear regression, and logistic regression. A description of the study sample includes a distribution (means, frequencies, %ages) of child- and family-level variables. A bivariate analysis was conducted to test differences and to assess relationships among variables and between groups (Whites and Hispanics) using t-tests and chi-squares as appropriate. We tested our hypotheses using two models: Model 1, which examined the Hispanic study sample, and Model 2, which examined the White study sample. To examine the association of the child's PAL and child's obesity with other factors, we used weighted multivariate

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Table 1. Selected Child and Family Characteristics at Baseline: Overall, for Whites, and for Hispanics

Characteristics	All Subjects n = 3,124	Whites n = 2,838 (91%)	Latinos n = 286 (9%)
Gender			
Male	49.74	49.68	50.35
Female	50.26	50.32	49.65
Place of birth*			
U.S.	99.26	99.75	94.41
Non-U.S.	0.74	0.25	5.59
Any disability at Kindergarten			
No	84.98	84.74	87.41
Yes	15.02	15.26	12.59
MP Kindergarten			
Lower level	9.66	9.51	11.15
Medium level	67.95	68.06	66.91
Higher level	22.39	22.44	21.94
Parents' place of birth*			
At least one U.S.-born	97.50	99.13	77.01
Both non-U.S.-born	2.50	0.87	22.99
Athletic participation K*			
No	44.36	42.35	64.34
Yes	55.64	57.93	35.66
Average hours of TV per day*			
≤ 2 hr	62.98	64.15	51.41
> 2 hr	37.02	35.85	48.59
Family structure Kindergarten*			
Single mother	12.48	11.52	22.03
Mother with father/partner	87.52	88.48	77.97
Mother employment Kindergarten*			
Employed	70.69	71.65	61.19
Not employed	29.31	28.35	38.81
Mother's perception of neighborhood as safe to play*			
Not at all safe	1.31	0.67	7.69
Somewhat safe	16.84	14.69	38.11
Very safe	81.85	84.64	54.20
Home rules for hours of television watching*			
No	52.72	53.99	40.21
Yes	47.28	46.01	59.79
Urbanity			
Central city	29.71	27.66	50.00
Urban fringe and large town	40.04	40.42	36.36
Small town and rural	30.25	31.92	13.64
Number of siblings			
None	15.01	14.59	19.23
One	29.80	29.88	29.02
Two	43.41	43.90	38.46
Three or more	11.78	11.63	13.29

* Significant racial/ethnic differences using chi-square test, $p \leq .05$

linear regression when child's PAL was the outcome of interest, and logistic regression when child's obesity was the primary outcome. Wald tests were utilized to determine if there were statistically significant differences between racial/ethnic groups in terms of the regression coefficients of MP-K with child's PAL and child's obesity. The statistical significance level was set at the conventional value of $p < .05$ for all statistical tests.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Tables 1 and 2 present selected characteristics of the cohort of children in the Midwest. In this study, Hispanics represented 9% of the study sample ($n = 286$), there was a similar sex distribution between racial/ethnic groups (50% males and 50% females), and over 99% of the children were U.S.-born. For Hispanics, both parents were non-U.S.-born in 22% of the cases. In general, children spent twenty minutes or more of moderate to vigorous physical activity on an average of four days per week; 37% of the children spent more than two hours per day watching television, DVD, or video games; nearly 50% of the parents had rules for the number of hours of television allowed, and almost 10% of the children were obese.

Racial/ethnic differences. The results of the bivariate analysis suggested that there were no significant differences by ethnic group in terms of MP-K. Consistent with previous studies, there were significant differences ($p < .05$) between racial/ethnic groups (Hispanics vs. Whites) in terms of sedentary behavior and weight status. In Kindergarten, a lower proportion of White children spent more than two hours per day watching television, DVD, or video than Hispanics (36% vs. 49%, respectively); and Whites had a lower BMI mean ($\bar{X} = 16.25$ vs. $\bar{X} = 16.74$) and a lower prevalence of obesity (10% vs. 15%) than Hispanics. At the family level, a significantly lower proportion of White mothers reported being single than Hispanic mothers (12% vs. 22%); White families had a significantly higher mean on the SES index ($\bar{X} = 0.25$ vs. $\bar{X} = -0.27$) and a higher proportion of working mothers (72% vs. 61%) than did Hispanic families. Eighty five percent of White mothers reported the neighborhood to be very safe to play in, whereas only 54% of Hispanic mothers did so. In terms of neighborhood problems, White mothers reported significantly fewer problems than Hispanic mothers ($\bar{X} = 9.73$ vs. $\bar{X} = 9.11$).

In addition to baseline (Kindergarten) variables, racial/ethnic differences were tested for PAL, BMI, and obesity for the third and fifth grades (see Table 2). Consistent with previous study findings, there were significant racial/ethnic differences for obesity prevalence in all grades, with Hispanics having a higher prevalence of obesity than Whites.

Hypothesis Testing

In this study we tested for an association between mothers' perception of child's physical activity in comparison with child's peers in Kindergarten (MP-K) and with child's PAL in the third and fifth grades. Additionally, we tested for an association between MP-K and child's obesity in the third and fifth grades. Tables 3 and 4 present the results of these statistical analyses. In general, MP-K was positively associated with children's PAL in Kindergarten, third grade, and fifth grade, after taking into consideration child's gender, child's disability status, family structure, mother's country of birth,

mother's age, and family SES (see Table 3). Children from both ethnic groups in the medium and high categories of MP-K were consistently more active than those children in the low category of MP-K.

Similarly, Table 4 presents the results of the logistic regression analyses to test the second hypothesis for the third and fifth grades. In general, MP-K was negatively associated with children's obesity after taking into consideration child's gender, child's disability, family structure, mother's country of birth, mother's age, and family SES. This study finding suggests that MP-K has a long-term effect on children's weight status. Additionally, the effect of MP-K on child's obesity appears stronger for Hispanics than for Whites. Hispanic children in the medium and high categories of MP-K had a lower likelihood of obesity in third grade [medium Adjusted Odd Ratio (AdOR) = 0.17, $p < .001$; high AdOR = 0.29, $p < .05$] and fifth grade (medium AdOR = 0.18, $p < .001$; high AdOR = 0.27, $p < .01$) than the Hispanic children in the low category of MP-K. However, for Whites the effect of MP-K on child's obesity was significant only for third grade (medium

Table 2. Selected Child and Family Characteristics for Whites and Hispanics

Variable	Total n = 3,124		Whites n = 2,838 (91%)		Hispanics n = 286 (9%)	
	Mean	±SD	Mean	±SD	Mean	±SD
Days/wk ≥ 20 min MVPA at K	4.02	2.24	4.04	2.21	3.86	2.53
Days/wk ≥ 20 min MVPA at Third Grade	3.99	1.93	4.03	1.92	3.58	2.08
Days/wk ≥ 20 min MVPA at Fifth Grade*	3.69	1.77	3.72	1.74	3.30	1.99
Body Mass Index Kindergarten*	16.30	2.08	16.25	2.03	16.74	2.56
Body Mass Index Third Grade *	18.38	3.51	18.29	3.42	19.34	4.27
Body Mass Index Fifth Grade*	20.12	4.30	20.01	4.22	21.26	4.98
SES at Kindergarten	0.19	0.71	0.24	0.70	-0.27	0.63
Mothers' perception of neighborhood attributes (0–10) at Kindergarten*	9.67	0.92	9.73	0.77	9.11	1.77
Percent of obese children by grade						
Kindergarten*	9.46%		8.91%		15.04%	
Third Grade*	16.04%		15.23%		24.62%	
Fifth Grade*	18.62%		18.15%		23.64%	

* Significant racial/ethnic differences using *t*-test, chi-square test $p \leq .05$

Table 3. Association of Mother's Perception of Child's Physical Activity in Comparison with Child's Peers to Child's Actual Physical Activity Level for a Cohort of Midwest Children (ECLS-K Data)

Baseline Characteristics	Hispanic Children's Physical Activity Level			White Children's Physical Activity Level		
	Kindergarten β (LSE)	Third Grade β (LSE)	Fifth Grade β (LSE)	Kindergarten β (LSE)	Third Grade β (LSE)	Fifth Grade β (LSE)
MP Kindergarten						
Group 0 to 2 (ref.)						
Group 2 to 4	1.67 (0.53)**	1.50 (0.67)*	2.13 (0.60)** ^ε	1.36 (0.07)***	0.62 (0.17)**	0.41 (0.32)
Group 5 to 6	2.87 (0.32)*** ^ε	1.77 (0.88)	1.59 (0.75) ⁺	1.95 (0.11)***	1.08 (0.16)***	0.83 (0.28)**
Gender						
Male (ref.)						
Female	-0.62 (0.19)**	-0.57 (0.45)	-0.50 (0.39)	-0.44 (0.11)**	-0.62 (0.07)***	-0.48 (0.10)***
Any disability						
No (ref.)						
Yes	0.66 (0.32)	-0.22 (0.44)	0.11 (0.40)	-0.12 (0.14)	-0.06 (0.21)	-0.24 (0.18)
Family structure						
Mother with father/partner						
Single mother	-0.40 (0.39)	-0.97 (0.39)*	0.56 (0.33)	0.24 (0.13)	0.29 (0.13)*	0.07 (0.17)
Mother's country of birth						
Non-U.S.-born (ref.)						
U.S.-born	0.34 (0.40)	0.97 (0.42)*	0.07 (0.17)	-0.20 (0.52)	-0.41 (0.18)*	0.24 (0.15)
Mother's age	0.03 (0.05)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.01)*	-0.04 (0.01)***	0.02 (0.01)
Family SES Index	0.17 (0.20)	0.00 (0.27)	1.15 (0.43)*	0.10 (0.05)	0.09 (0.05)	0.14 (0.09)

LSE = Linearized Standard Error

⁺ $p = .05$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

^ε Adjusted Wald test for difference in the parameters between racial/ethnic groups, $p < .05$

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The Education of Latinos in Michigan and Its Mid-Sized Cities

by Rubén Martínez and Jean Kayitsinga, Julian Samora Research Institute

The educational attainment levels of Latinos should be of statewide and national concern, especially with the rise of the global economy in which developing nations are quickly becoming highly competitive. In this brief, we present the current state of Latino education in Michigan as compared to the United States, and in the cities of Lansing, Flint, Saginaw and Pontiac based on the availability of data.¹ These cities are part of the rust belt and all have majority-minority student populations in their public school districts.²

The Latino population is the largest ethnic minority group in the United States. As of July 1, 2009, it was estimated at about 16% of the U.S. population. In Michigan, Latinos comprised about 4.2% of the total population. In the mid-sized cities of Lansing (114,823), Flint (114,374), Saginaw (56,321), and Pontiac (66,336), Latinos represented about 10.7%, 3.2%, 12.1%, and 16.5% of the total population, respectively.

The educational attainment of Latinos is problematic both across the country and in Michigan. Latinos are among the least educated group in the United States. About 13% of Latinos 25 years of age or older have earned a bachelor's degree or higher compared with 17% of Blacks, 30% of non-Hispanic Whites, and 49% of Asians in the same age group. Even more alarming is that about two-thirds of Latino adults only have a high school or less than a high school education.

In Michigan, 14% of Latinos 25 years of age and older have a Bachelor's degree or higher, compared with 14% of Blacks, 26% of non-Hispanic Whites, and 62% of Asians in the same age group. About 29% of Latino adults in Michigan have completed high school or its equivalent. Overall, 63% of Latino adults in Michigan have a high school or less than a high school education.

In Lansing, about 10% of Latinos 25 years or older have a Bachelor's degree or higher, compared with 20% of Blacks, 25% of non-Hispanic Whites, and 43% of Asians. In Flint, about 8% of Latinos 25 years or older have a Bachelor's degree or higher, compared with 11% of Blacks, and 13% of non-Hispanic Whites. In Saginaw, 8% of Latinos

25 years or older have a Bachelor's degree or higher, compared with 6% of Blacks, and 14% of non-Hispanic Whites. In Pontiac, 2% of Latinos 25 years or older have a Bachelor's degree or higher, compared with 10% of Blacks, and 13% of non-Hispanic Whites.

Enrollments and Achievement

In the 2008-2009 school year, minority students comprised 67.5% of the student population in Lansing public schools, 84% in Flint, 88.5% in Pontiac, and 79.9% in Saginaw. Latinos comprised 15.8% of the students in the Lansing public schools, 19.9% in Pontiac, 13.3% in Saginaw and 2.4% in Flint.³

Preschool Education

In the 2008-2009 school year, 24% of kindergarten enrollees in the United States were Latinos, 52% were non-Latino Whites, 16% Blacks, 5% Asians/Pacific Islanders, and 1% American Indians/Alaskan Natives. In Michigan, 6% of kindergarten students were Latinos, 71% non-Latino Whites, 17% Blacks, 3% Asians/Pacific Islanders, and 1% American Indians/Alaskan Natives.

In that same school year, the percentage of Latino students enrolled in kindergarten in Lansing was 15%, in Flint 4%, in Saginaw 15%, and in Pontiac 29%. Black students were the majority enrolled in kindergarten in the Flint (74%), Saginaw (60%) and Pontiac (54%) school districts. In the Lansing school district, Black students represented 38% of kindergarten enrollees. That school year, the percentage of White students enrolled in kindergarten was 41% in Lansing, 22% in Flint, 25% in Saginaw, and 14% in Pontiac.

Elementary School and Middle School Education Enrollment

In 2008-2009, 53% of students enrolled in public elementary schools in the United States were Whites, 23% were Latinos, 16% Blacks, 5% Asians/Pacific Islanders, and 1% American Indian/Alaskan Natives. In Michigan, 70% of students enrolled in public elementary schools were Whites, 20% were Blacks, 5% Latinos, 3% Asians/Pacific Islanders, and 1% American Indian/Alaskan Natives.

The distribution of public elementary school enrollments by race/ethnicity for the 2008-2009 school year for Flint, Lansing, Pontiac, and Saginaw public school districts were as follows: 3% of students enrolled in Flint's public elementary schools were Latinos, 79% were Blacks, and 17% Whites. In Lansing public school district, 16% of students enrolled in elementary school were Latinos, 46% Blacks, and 32% Whites. In Pontiac, 25% of enrolled



students were Latinos, 59% Blacks, and 12% Whites. In Saginaw's school district, 14% of student enrollees were Latinos, 62% Blacks, and 23% Whites.

Math and Reading Achievement⁴

Results from the 2009 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)⁵ math achievement tests show that much higher percentages of Asian/Pacific Islanders (60%) and White (50%) 4th-graders scored at or above proficient than did Latino (21%), Black (16%), and American Indian/Alaskan Native (21%) students at the same grade levels. By contrast, higher percentages of Black (36%), American Indian/Alaskan Native (34%), and Latino (29%) 4th-graders scored below the basic math achievement level, compared to Asian/Pacific Islanders (8%) and White (9%) students.

In Michigan, a similar pattern prevailed, with higher percentages of Asian/Pacific Islander (55%) and White (42%) students scoring at or above proficient level in 4th grade mathematics than Latinos (20%) and Blacks (9%). Obversely, over one-half of Black (52%) and nearly one-third (29%) of Latino 4th-graders scored below the basic math achievement level. Approximately 52% of Latino, 39% of Black, 44% of White, and 32% of Asian/Pacific Islander 4th-graders scored at the basic math achievement level.

At the 8th-grade level nationwide, higher percentages of Asian/Pacific Islander (54%) and White (44%) students scored at or above the proficient level than did Latino (17%), Black (12%), and American Indian/Alaskan Native (18%) students. Approximately 50% of Black, 44% of American Indian/Alaskan Native, and 43% of Latino, compared to 17% of White, and 15% of Asian/Pacific Islander 8th-graders scored at below the basic math achievement level.

In Michigan, higher percentages of Asian/Pacific Islander (59%) and of White (37%) 8th-graders scored at or above math proficient levels than their Latino (16%) and Black (6%) peers. Obversely, 68% of Black and 38% of Latino 8th-graders, compared to their White (23%) and Asian/Pacific Islander (11%) peers, scored below the basic math achievement level.

As in math assessments, higher percentages of Asian/Pacific Islander (49%) and White (42%) students scored at or above the reading proficient level than did their Latino (17%), Black (16%), and American Indian/Alaskan Native (20%) counterparts. Over one-half of Black (52%) 4th-graders, 51% of Latino, and about half of American Indian/Alaskan Native (50%) 4th-graders scored below the basic reading achievement level.

In Michigan, 36% of White and 32% of Asian/Pacific Islander 4th-graders scored at or above the proficient reading level. By comparison, 8% of Black and 17% of Latino 4th-graders scored at this level of reading. In

contrast, 65% of Black and 49% of Latino 4th-graders scored at below the basic reading proficient level, compared to 28% of their White and 21% of Asian/Pacific Islander peers.

Nationwide, at the 8th-grade level, higher percentages of Asian/Pacific (45%) and White (41%) students scored at or above the reading proficiency level than did Black (13%), Latino (17%), and American Indian/Alaskan Native (21%) students. In contrast, 43% of Black, 39% of Latino, and 38% of American Indian/Alaskan Native 8th-graders scored below the basic reading level, compared with 17% of Asian/Pacific Islander and 16% White students.

In Michigan, higher percentages of White (36%) students scored at or above the reading proficient level than did Black (9%), Latino (17%), and Asian/Pacific (26%) 8th-grade students. In contrast, 54% of Black, 39% of Latino, 21% of White, and 40% of Asian/Pacific Islander 8th-graders scored below the basic reading level.

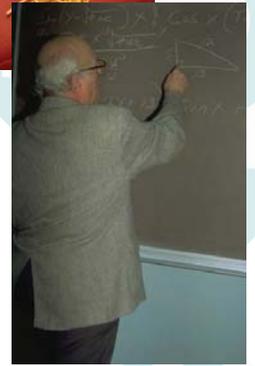
Overall, Latino students in 4th and 8th grades scored lower than White and Asian/Pacific Islander students but higher than Blacks in the areas of reading and mathematics at both the national level and in Michigan. Clearly, education leaders and school teachers must find ways to improve the delivery of education to Latino and other minority students.

High School Education

Graduation and Dropout Rates

Numerous studies have highlighted high dropout rates among Latinos, a factor that reproduces their relatively low occupational status in society. Despite the value that Latino parents place on education, Latino students have the second-lowest graduation rate in the United States and the highest dropout rates. As of 2008, about 18% of Latinos 16-24 years old in the United States were considered dropouts (status dropouts).⁶ By comparison, about 10% of Black students, 7% of American Indian/Alaskan Native students, 5% of White students, and 4% of Asian and Pacific Islander students were categorized as dropouts.

In Michigan, four-year dropout rates provided by the Center for Educational Performance and Information for the 2009 cohort show that both Latino (26%) and Black (26%) students are more likely to drop out of high school than American Indian/Alaskan Native students (17%), non-Latino White students (10%), and Asian students (7%). A similar pattern is found in three of the four mid-sized



Update: Secure Communities, State Legislation, and Immigration Detention in Michigan

by Susan E. Reed; Lead Attorney, Michigan Immigrant Rights Center

Numerous programs and task forces exist to assist state and local law enforcement in coordinating action with the Department of Homeland Security. Until recently, participation in these programs has primarily been voluntary on the part of state and local law enforcement. However, the emergence of the Secure Communities (S-Comm) program, combined with the evolving patchwork of state immigration legislation, continues to undermine state and local governments' and law enforcement agencies' authority to respond to local concerns and set their own policies and priorities with respect to their level of involvement in federal immigration enforcement.

First announced in March 2008, S-Comm is a federal immigration enforcement program that U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) is currently seeking to implement nationwide. Where activated, whenever a person is arrested and booked into a local jail, S-Comm runs that individual's fingerprints through an ICE database. This allows ICE to identify noncitizens—including legally present nonimmigrants and lawful permanent residents—and possibly initiate removal (deportation) proceedings against them. Removal proceedings may be initiated regardless of the outcome of the state or local charge for which the individual was initially arrested. S-Comm is an extension of ICE's Criminal Alien Program (CAP), an initiative to screen inmates in prisons and local jails that began in the mid-1980s. Generally, CAP has involved prisons and jails that provide ICE with a list of foreign-born arrestees, then ICE can interview and potentially place an immigration hold or "detainer" on those who are suspected of being removable from the United States.¹

Local law enforcement officials and community advocates around the country have raised serious concerns about S-Comm, in particular because the process is automated and ICE has indicated that participation by local law enforcement is mandatory. Primarily, critics of S-Comm are concerned that increased and automatic linkage between local law enforcement and ICE will deter immigrants from reporting crimes in fear of immigration consequences.² In addition, there are concerns that S-Comm may provide increased and effective cover for racial profiling among bad actors,

since the ultimate disposition of the state or local arrest—and even its underlying lawfulness—is not usually a factor in removal proceedings.³ Participation in S-Comm begins at the state level via a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) between ICE and the relevant state identification bureau. Individual counties are then brought online. The Michigan State Police entered into an MOA with ICE in late 2009.⁴ In Michigan, four counties were activated in 2010: Wayne, Oakland, Macomb, and Kent.⁵

ICE has indicated that it plans nationwide use of S-Comm by 2013 and that participation will be mandatory.

Some jurisdictions had expressed their intent to "opt out" of S-Comm and, although local opt-out and deferred activation were originally presented as options by ICE, the agency has recently stated

that opting out of the central data sharing aspect of S-Comm would not be possible, and that jurisdictions could only opt out of learning the specific reason why immigration

authorities wanted a person to be detained.⁶

Recently, a coalition of civil rights organizations, concerned about the implications of S-Comm and ICE's failure to cite a legal basis for mandatory participation, obtained disclosure of ICE documents about the program through a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit.⁷ These documents track the history of ICE's statements to the public and to members of Congress regarding the possibility of opt-out, internal ICE discussions related to the late 2010 change of course in its public statements regarding opt-out, the lack of legal basis for mandatory participation, and information that indicates that opt-out is technically possible.

The newly public documents may represent a new opening for communities seeking to opt out of S-Comm. Critics of the program point out that, despite the legislative mandate for S-Comm to target persons convicted of serious crimes, approximately 78% of people ICE has deported through S-Comm "hits" are non-criminals or low-level offenders.⁸ There is at least one documented case of a domestic violence victim who called police being placed into deportation proceedings following a meritless cross-accusation and consequent S-Comm hit.⁹



An intimately related issue centers around pending “Arizona-style” legislation in Michigan and other state law proposals seeking to address immigration status. Proposals modeled after Arizona’s controversial SB 1070 law have been introduced in the last two legislative sessions.¹⁰ The bill that is currently pending, HB 4305, contains provisions that would: 1) prohibit local authorities from adopting policies or priorities that “limit[s] or restrict[s] enforcement of federal immigration laws to less than the full extent permitted by federal law”; 2) obligate local law enforcement to verify the immigration status of any person who is “stopped, detained, or arrested, for a violation of a law” and “is or should reasonably be suspected of being unlawfully present in the United States”; and 3) allows any person to sue any locality that “adopts or implements a policy limiting or restricting enforcement of federal immigration laws to less than the full extent permitted by federal laws.”¹¹

In addition to the Arizona-style legislation, in the 2009-2010 legislative session a bill was introduced that would have required the Michigan Department of State to issue annotated, differently colored, or otherwise distinguishable driver’s licenses and state identification cards for noncitizens, who must already meet lawful presence requirements to obtain licenses or identification cards.¹² This push to focus increased local law enforcement attention on citizenship and alien status, coupled with Arizona-style proposals and S-Comm activation, heightens concerns among advocates about racial profiling and other civil rights violations in Michigan. It is important to note in the debate surrounding S-Comm and Arizona-style legislation that, unless there is some local law or policy preventing it, state and local law enforcement are currently free to communicate with ICE and regularly do so through CAP and other formal and informal channels. There are only two jurisdictions in Michigan that have codified policies restricting coordination with ICE, and neither policy is absolute.¹³

Immigration status is a civil matter, not a criminal matter. The sole purpose of immigration detention is to ensure that immigrants appear for court proceedings and comply with removal orders. Legally, detention is not punishment. However, in many areas, including the State of Michigan, no civil detention facilities exist and immigrants are detained in local jails through contracts between local authorities and ICE. The use of criminal detention facilities and procedures to house civil detainees has been severely and repeatedly criticized by domestic and international groups and bodies, including, most recently, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, the human rights arm of the Organization of American States.¹⁴

It’s clear that recent expansion of federal immigration enforcement activities and increased political pressure for states to become involved in regulating and criminalizing immigration violations mean that more and more immigrants (and people perceived to be immigrants) will be drawn into the immigration enforcement and detention systems during the course of their daily activities and family life.

Attorneys, scholars, community advocates, and others with questions or concerns about immigration policy and immigrant rights in Michigan should feel free to contact the author or any member of the Michigan Immigrant Rights Center staff

for technical support, training, legislative tracking, and networking with the immigrant advocacy community statewide.



Endnotes

- ¹ A new report from the Immigration Policy Center, “The Criminal Alien Program: Immigration Enforcement in Travis County, Texas,” Guttin, Andrea, February 2010, examines the history of the program and its implementation in one Texas County. The report is available at http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/docs/Criminal_Alien_Program_021710.pdf.
- ² See, e.g., Vedantam, Shankar, *Call for Help Leads to Possible Deportation for Hyattsville Mother*, The Washington Post, November 1, 2010, available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/story/2010/11/01/ST2010110106818.html?sid=ST2010110106818>, visited March 18, 2011.
- ³ A study by the Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Race, Ethnicity and Diversity at the University of California Berkeley concluded that participation in the Criminal Alien Program tacitly encourages local police to arrest Hispanics for petty offenses. See “The C.A.P. Effect: Racial Profiling in the ICE Criminal Alien Program.” Available at http://www.law.berkeley.edu/files/policy_brief_irving_FINAL.pdf, visited March 18, 2011. See also American Civil Liberties Union of North Carolina Foundation and Immigration & Human Rights Policy Clinic, University of North Carolina, *The Policies and Politics of Local Immigration Enforcement Laws*, Feb. 2009.
- ⁴ The MOA is available at http://www.ice.gov/doclib/foia/secure_communities-moa/r_michigan_10-1-09.pdf.
- ⁵ <http://www.ice.gov/doclib/secure-communities/pdf/sc-activated.pdf>.
- ⁶ Vedantam, Shankar, *No Opt-out for Immigration Enforcement*, The Washington Post, October 1, 2010, available at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/09/30/AR2010093007268.html>, visited March 18, 2011.
- ⁷ Documents obtained through the suit, *NDLON et al. v. ICE*, are available at <http://ndlon.org/feb/>.
- ⁸ Immigration and Customs Enforcement, *Nationwide Interoperability by Conviction, Monthly Statistics Through Nov. 30, 2010*, available at http://www.ice.gov/doclib/foia/secure_communities/nationwide_interoperability_conviction-nov10.pdf, visited March 18, 2011. Low-level offenders include ICE Levels 2 and 3.

Education of Latinos

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Michigan cities. Latinos have the highest dropout rates in Lansing (24.3%), Flint (37.9%), and Pontiac (31.6%) school districts, but in Saginaw they (16.3%) have a lower dropout rate than White (18.5%) and Black students (18.1%).

Conclusion

This brief highlights the education achievement gap of Latinos in the United States, Michigan, and in selected Michigan school districts (Lansing, Flint, Pontiac, and Saginaw). Three patterns are clear: 1) overall, Michigan has lower student performance levels than does the nation; 2) student performance in each of the mid-sized cities is lower than for the state as a whole; and 3) Latinos, Blacks, and American Indians/Alaskan Natives perform at levels lower than White students at national, state, and local levels. They have higher dropout rates (and thus lower graduation rates), except for Latinos in Saginaw.

Despite the many factors that impact Latino students at different grade levels, few are as important as the characteristics of the schools themselves, including school climate and culture, teachers' expectations of students, and teacher competence in educating students from diverse backgrounds. It is a fact that many Latino students begin elementary school without the economic and social capital that many other students possess. At the same time, however, they also often attend schools that are ill equipped to compensate for these initial disadvantages. Particularly important is the lack of effective home/school relations and communications, which contributes

Secure Communities

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⁹ See supra note 2.

¹⁰ In the 2009-2010 session, three bills modeled after Arizona's legislation were introduced: HB 6256 and its identical Senate companion, SB 1388 as well as a slightly different version, HB 6366. The sponsor of HB 6366 has reintroduced identical legislation in the 2010-2011 session as HB 4305. All bills as well as their procedural history are available at <http://www.legislature.mi.gov>.

¹¹ HB 4305 of 2011, Section 4.

¹² SB 1447 and SB 1448 were introduced in the 2009-2010 sessions and would have amended the Michigan vehicle code to require driver's licenses and state identification cards to indicate alien status. No similar bills have yet been introduced in the current legislative session.

¹³ The City of Ann Arbor passed a resolution on July 7, 2003, limiting immigration enforcement action to criminal violations of the federal immigration law, as distinct from civil violations, except in cases where the Chief of Police determines there is a legitimate public safety concern. Unlawful presence in the U.S. is a civil violation under federal law, although federal law

to limited involvement by Latino parents in the schools. Contrary to popular ideology, the burden is not solely that of the students and their parents. School districts must do more to engage Latino parents in the education of their children. This requires both the allocation of resources in the form of outreach personnel, accessible materials for parents, and transformation of school climate and culture.

If Latino and other minority students do not have the highest levels of academic support through the cooperation of their parents and their teachers when they enter elementary school, their disadvantage will continue in middle school, contributing to the likelihood of school failure later on. It is imperative to improve the education of this growing population not only by investing more in schools, teachers, and parental involvement but also in the transformation of the local education systems to ensure they meet the educational needs of all students.

Endnotes

¹ This article is based on a longer paper on the education of Latinos available on the JSRI website: <http://www.jsri.msu.edu>.

² In other words, minority students comprise the majority of the student population.

³ This low figure for the school district in Flint suggests that there may be a problem in the categorization of Latino students. While Latino students in other locations tend to exceed the percent that Latinos comprise in the geo-political unit, the opposite is the case in Flint.

⁴ Only data for Michigan and the United States are used. We don't have the data for other mid-size cities to compare with Lansing, Flint, Saginaw, and Pontiac school districts.

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also codifies numerous immigration-related criminal offenses. The City Code of the City of Detroit prohibits police officers from inquiring about immigration status for the purpose of determining compliance with federal law and prohibits inquiring about the immigration status of victims or witnesses. See City Code Sec. 27-9-4. However, officers are not prohibited from making inquiries when processing an arrested person. *Id.*

¹⁴ The report is available at: <http://cidh.org/countryrep/USImmigration/TOC.htm>, visited March 18, 2011. See also Semple, Kirk, *Immigrant Detentions Draw International Fire*, New York Times, March 17, 2011, available at http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/18/us/18detain-1.html?_r=2&adxnll=1&hpw&adxnllx=1300403040-69B4ZTRmMnDUYZQ4vSr3zQ, visited March 18, 2011. Detention is also extremely costly, and experience in pilot programs in the U.S. and abroad has shown that there are alternatives to detention that may be less expensive and more effective. See Detention Watch Network, Stanford Law School Immigrants' Rights Clinic, *Policy Brief: Community-Based Alternatives to Immigration Detention*, August 25, 2010, available at http://www.detentionwatchnetwork.org/sites/detentionwatchnetwork.org/files/DWN%20ATD%20Report%20FINAL_08-25-2010.pdf, visited March 18, 2011. ❖

Legal Scholar Promotes Protection of Migrant Workers

by Daniel Vélez Ortiz, Julian Samora Research Institute



Beth Lyon, professor of law, founding director of the Farmworker Legal Aid Clinic, and co-director of the Interpreter Internship Program at Villanova University School of Law, visited MSU as a presenter in the Transnational Labor Across the Americas Symposium Series. The

series—sponsored by JSRI, the Department of Sociology, and the Labor and Education Program/School of Labor and Industrial Relations, with support from the Office of Inclusion and Intercultural Initiatives—focuses on human rights and labor issues arising from transnational labor migration across the Americas. Professor Lyon’s scholarship addresses human rights and “brown collar migration,” referring to the increasing number of low-income workers who are people of color, particularly newly arrived Latino immigrants.

Professor Lyon delivered her lecture titled “The Unsigned Migrant Worker Convention” on October 27, 2010, pointing out that migration law is bound to context with the social and political conditions prevalent at any point in time. She emphasized that today a “global regulatory abyss” exists in transnational labor law, especially with regard to the brown collar migrants. For example, present international laws mostly regulate trade (i.e., NAFTA) but not movement of persons.

She focused on the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (Convention), an international agreement adopted on December 18, 1990, by the U.N. General Assembly. The Convention, which entered into force in 2003 after it was ratified by 20 nations, has today been ratified by 43 countries and signed by 31 (meaning they intend to adhere to its provisions). However, many countries have not ratified or signed, including the U.S.

The Convention affirms the fundamental rights of unauthorized workers and undocumented immigrants. In the case of the U.S., signing of the Convention has been resisted on the basis that it would conflict with existing laws. For instance, the agreement emphasizes family reunification and equal treatment for undocumented workers. Currently, U.S. law prohibits such rights and protections for undocumented workers.

Lyon concluded with an assessment of what it would mean if the Convention were to be signed and enacted by the U.S. Although the process would likely be lengthy and

complex, its positive impact for brown collar migrants and our standing as an international leader would warrant the effort.

While here, Lyon presented “Derechos del Trabajador Inmigrante” to community members at Cristo Rey Church in Lansing; lectured undergraduate students in a Social Work policy course; met with faculty members from the MSU College of Law’s Immigration Law Clinic and the Department of Spanish; and visited with faculty and graduate students from the College of Social Science. ✖

Key Provisions of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families

- Right to life and to recognition as a person
- No torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment; no slavery or forced labor
- Right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, and to hold and express opinions
- No arbitrary or unlawful interference with privacy, family, home, or communications, or attacks on honor or reputation
- For children of migrant workers, right to a name, registration at birth, and a nationality
- Right to education and respect for cultural identity
- Right to protection of family unity
- Right to hold property
- No unlawful confiscation or destruction of documents related to identity, residency, or work
- Right to freely leave and return to State of origin
- Right to liberty of movement and choice of residence within State of employment
- No collective expulsion – cases must be examined and decided individually
- Right to liberty and security, including prevention of arbitrary arrest or detention and prescribed processes for dealing with both justifiable and unlawful arrest and detention
- Right to protection of consular/diplomatic authorities of State of origin
- Right to equal treatment in remuneration, working conditions, and terms of employment
- Right to participate with, join, form, or seek the aid and assistance of trade unions and associations
- Right to emergency medical care

Hispanic Mothers' Perception of Child's Activity Level

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AdOR = 0.46, $p < .001$; high AdOR = 0.39, $p < .01$). Further analyses confirmed that there were significant racial/ethnic differences in the effect of MP-K on child obesity over time (analyses available upon request). For example, children from both ethnic groups in the medium category of MP-K had a lower likelihood of being obese in third grade than those in the low category, but the coefficient in the Hispanic model was significantly higher than the coefficient in the White model (medium AdOR = 0.17 for Hispanic vs. medium AdOR = 0.46 for Whites; see Tables 3 and 4).

Discussion

The findings of this study have public health implications for the Midwest. Mothers' perceptions could potentially serve as an additional tool or mechanism to increase child's PAL and to prevent or reduce children's obesity. Moreover, mothers may need assistance in orienting their potential influence on these two domains.

While mothers' perception cannot be easily changed, how parents communicate their expectations to their children and how parents act based on their perceptions are both modifiable with the proper guidance. Thus, future research is needed to examine mothers' responses (actions) to their perceptions of child's PAL and how these actions can affect child's self-perception or self-efficacy in sports or physical activities.

As suggested by previous studies, possible mechanisms to improve a child's PAL include higher instrumental and emotional support from parents to those children perceived as having more physical ability, and by influencing the child's self-perception of physical ability. Parents who perceive their children as more active or with more athletic ability might provide them with more support (financial, instrumental, emotional) than those that are perceived as less active, possibly affecting the likelihood of obesity and/or a sedentary lifestyle. Mothers need to be oriented and provided with tools on how to manage their perception of less-active children. Instead of allowing or limiting them for being less active or having less ability, mothers can provide children with activities (less intense if necessary) inside or outside

Table 4. Association of Mother's Perception of Child's Physical Activity in Comparison with Child's Peers to Child's Obesity (BMI \geq 95th percentile) for a Cohort of Midwest Children (ECLS-K Data)

Baseline Characteristics	Hispanic Children Obesity			White Children Obesity		
	AdOR C.I. Kindergarten	AdOR C.I. Third Grade	AdOR C.I. Fifth Grade	AdOR C.I. Kindergarten	AdOR C.I. Third Grade	AdOR C.I. Fifth Grade
MP Kindergarten						
Low level	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Medium level	0.16 (0.04–0.69)*	0.17 (0.08–0.37)*** [€]	0.18 (0.11–0.33)*** [€]	0.44 (0.33–0.58)***	0.46 (0.28–0.76)**	0.80 (0.36–1.76)
High level	0.28 (0.07–1.17)	0.29 (0.10–0.85)*	0.27 (0.16–0.43)*** [€]	0.26 (0.15–0.44)***	0.39 (0.22–0.69)**	0.82 (0.33–2.07)
Gender						
Male	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Female	0.35 (0.16–0.78)*	0.45 (0.25–0.79)**	0.37 (0.07–1.90)	1.06 (0.91–1.23)	0.76 (0.53–1.07)	0.82 (0.66–1.02)
Any disability						
No	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Yes	0.33 (0.03–3.69)	0.69 (0.04–9.82)	0.09 (0.29–4.15)	0.97 (0.66–1.42)	0.86 (0.65–1.13)	1.23 (0.74–2.05)
Family structure						
Two parents	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Single mother	0.99 (0.25–3.91)	0.90 (0.35–2.27)	3.45 (1.51–7.88)***	0.92 (0.56–1.51)	1.31 (0.66–2.60)	0.97 (0.49–1.89)
Mother's country of birth						
Non-U.S.-born	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
U.S.-born	0.65 (0.34–1.24)	0.29 (0.14–0.60)**	0.42 (0.16–1.12)	0.53 (0.29–0.95)*	1.27 (0.68–2.36)	0.94 (0.40–2.22)
Mother's age	0.98 (0.87–1.10)	0.92 (0.85–0.99)*	0.94 (0.83–1.07)	1.01 (1.0–1.02)*	1.00 (0.98–1.03)	1.04 (1.00–1.09)*
Family SES Index	0.75 (0.30–1.89)	1.69 (0.91–3.14)	1.48 (0.42–5.17)	0.63 (0.39–1.00) ⁺	0.68 (0.50–0.92)*	0.49 (0.34–0.70)**

AdOR = Adjusted Odd Ratios; C.I. = Confidence Interval

⁺ Obese defined as a BMI \geq 95th percentile * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

[€] Adjusted Wald test for difference in the parameters between racial/ethnic groups, $p < .05$

the house and appropriate for their physical ability and activity level.

To our knowledge, this is the first study that examines how mothers' perceptions influence children's PAL and obesity in a cohort of children in the Midwest. Mothers' perceptions had a positive effect on PAL and obesity levels in the third and fifth grades for Hispanic children in the Midwest, even after taking into consideration individual and family variables at baseline, such as family structure, mother's country of birth, and family SES. However, this study's findings also suggest that Hispanic mothers' perceptions have a stronger effect on children's obesity than those of White mothers. Contrary to our findings, previous studies with national-level data did not suggest racial/ethnic differences in the effects of mothers' perceptions on children's PAL or BMI. This difference in findings can most likely be attributed to the measurements used and to control variables. However, it also emphasizes the importance of performing studies at the regional level (i.e., Midwest only). These findings call for future research in this area.

Aside from its contribution to the public health literature, this study has several limitations. Specifically, PAL was a subjective measure, reported by the mothers at three stages. Additionally, the findings of this study cannot be generalized to families with stepmothers or adopted mothers. Due to the differences among Hispanics in health behaviors, future research could test if the results of this study are applicable when taking into account the specific place of birth of non-U.S.-born Hispanic mothers.

Conclusions

The need for interventions to increase Hispanic children's physical activity and to decrease or prevent obesity is clear because: 1) childhood obesity is a public health problem among Hispanic children, and 2) Hispanic children and adolescents will soon represent a near majority of the youth population in the United States. Consistent with the expectancy-value theory of achievement motivation and with the findings of previous

Education of Latinos

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⁵ NAEP reports the percentages of students performing at three levels: At or above proficiency (Advanced), Proficient, and Basic. Basic level indicates partial mastery of knowledge and skills that are fundamental for proficient work at a given grade. Below basic, therefore, indicates less than this level of achievement. Proficient represents solid academic performance (i.e., competency over challenging matters at

studies, the results of this study suggest that MP-K is associated with children's PAL and with children's obesity concurrently and over time. By using these results to inform interventions it may be possible to alter Hispanic mothers' socialization practices as a means to prevent children's obesity.

Hispanic mothers need assistance in comprehending how their perceptions of their children's physical activity can influence their children's PAL and weight status. Future research is needed to learn how mothers reorient their behaviors based on their perceptions and how it affects their children's willingness and eagerness to participate in physical activities. Additional research is also necessary to confirm this study's findings, and to examine possible mechanisms of how mothers' perception exerts its influence on Hispanic children's weight status.

Endnotes

¹ We express our appreciation to the investigators of the U.S. National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) for making the data from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study Kindergarten Class of 1998–99 (ECLS-K) publicly available.

² This article is based on a longer paper available on the JSRI website: <http://www.jsri.msu.edu>.

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this level). Advanced signifies superior performance (NCES 2010-015:56).

⁶ Status dropout rate represents the percentage of 16- to 24-year-olds who are not enrolled in school and have not earned a high school credential (either a diploma or equivalent credential, such as a General Educational Development [GED] certificate). Status dropout numbers may be inflated since a large proportion of immigrant Latinos may not enroll in U.S. schools (Fry, 2003). ✖



Latino-Owned Businesses

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the lowest growth rate in Latino businesses between 2002 and 2007 (9.4 percent).

Illinois, however, was not the Midwestern state with the greatest percentage increase in Latino-owned businesses. Despite fewer numbers of Latino-owned firms, five other states experienced more than a 50 percent increase between 2002 and 2007. Missouri (3,652; 6,177) and South Dakota (355; 595) experienced the greatest percentage increases, 69.1 percent and 67.6 percent, respectively.

Latino businesses increased 59.8 percent in Iowa (1,536; 2,455), 56.3 percent in Indiana (5,482; 8,567), and 55.6 percent in Nebraska (1,966; 3,060). The rest of the Midwestern states also experienced significant growth.

Latino businesses increased by 50 percent in Wisconsin (3,750; 5,625), 43 percent in Illinois (39,539; 56,552), 36.8 percent in Ohio (7,109; 9,726), 25.8 percent in Minnesota (3,984; 5,011), and 24.3 percent in North Dakota (230; 286).

While the growth in the number of Latino-owned firms in the Midwest is dramatic, the increase in money received by these Latino-owned businesses is even more striking. In 2002, Latino-owned firms in the Midwestern states brought in more than \$15.6 billion. By 2007, that amount had increased by 61.3 percent to nearly \$25.2 billion. Again, Illinois led the group in sheer numbers. Latino-owned businesses in Illinois brought in about \$7.4 billion in 2002. This amount increased by 40 percent to over \$10.3 billion in 2007. However, Minnesota experienced a 248.1 percent increase in sales/receipts by Latino-owned businesses between 2002 and 2007. Latino-owned businesses in South Dakota and Wisconsin increased sales/receipts by 160.4 percent and 140.3 percent, respectively. Indiana experienced a 117.3 percent increase, while the remaining states also experienced significant increases, with the exception of North Dakota, which experienced a 4.9 percent decrease in sales/receipts despite a 24.3 percent increase in the number of firms.

Employer vs. Non-Employer Firms

Although little known, it is a fact that most businesses in the U.S. do not have any paid employees. In 2007, 78.8 percent of firms in the country and 86.7 percent of minority firms did not have paid employees. At 89 percent, however, the rate for Latino businesses without paid employees is significantly higher than the national rate and higher than the minority rate. Consequently, despite the dramatic growth in numbers and sales/receipts these data show, both across the nation and in the Midwest, the types of firms Latinos are starting still

remain predominantly sole or family proprietorships with no paid employees. These firms, while providing income and independence, do not provide the same level of profitability as employer firms. Moreover, ownership of an employer firm suggests a greater economic leadership role in the community at large, as well as better integration into the local and perhaps state and national economy. Thus, the over-representation of non-employer firms among Latino businesses implies continued barriers and challenges despite the patterns of growth observed between 2002 and 2007.



Of the 2.3 million Latino-owned U.S. businesses in 2007, only 249,168 of them had paid employees. This reflects a 24.9 percent increase in employer firms since 2002. Latino-owned employer firms reported \$274.5 billion in sales/receipts in 2007, as well as a total payroll of \$54.6 billion for 1.9 million employees. Thus, employer firms made up about 11 percent of the Latino-owned businesses in 2007, but generated 79.5 percent of the sales/receipts in that year. Average sales/receipts for Latino-owned employer firms were \$1.1 million in 2007, up from an average of \$899,600 in 2002.

In contrast, the 2 million non-employer Latino-owned firms in 2007 accounted for only 20.5 percent of the sales/receipts. Average sales/receipts for these firms were \$35,149 in 2007, up from \$30,875 in 2002. In addition, non-employer Latino firms increased 46.4 percent between 2002 and 2007, compared to the 24.9 percent increase in employer firms.

These data make it clear that while greater profitability is found in the employer firms, it is the non-employer firms that are experiencing greater growth. These observations lead one to wonder what obstacles may be standing in the way of Latino entrepreneurs who wish to develop the larger, more profitable employer firms. Furthermore, while these non-employer firms provide family income and some degree of financial independence, are they businesses of necessity representing Latino exclusion from existing employment opportunities rather than a desire to be independent? In other words, are Latino-owned non-employer firms a result of the lack of full integration of Latinos in the traditional labor market? More research is needed to fully understand the processes leading to Latinos starting both non-employer and employer firms.

Investment, Credit, and Capital Among Latino Entrepreneurs

It is fairly well known that Latinos have been subject to discrimination across a range of institutions, including discriminatory lending practices in the banking industry. In addition, Latinos, especially immigrants, are overrepresented among the unbanked and the underbanked; that is, those persons who either do not have an account at a bank or financial institution or who have limited access to mainstream financial services and use alternative services. While the majority of the unbanked and underbanked are citizens, Latino immigrants are particularly situated outside of the mainstream.

Factors that contribute to these statuses, beyond institutional discrimination and bias, include reluctance by financial institutions to accept the Matrícula Consular and other forms of foreign government-issued identification, lack of Spanish-speaking staff, required minimum balance savings accounts, high fees, and a general distrust of banks. The result is that Latinos not only fall prey to the high fees of alternative financial service agencies (check cashing businesses, pawnbrokers, etc.), they also are unable to show a long-term relationship with mainstream banking institutions, which perpetuates their status outside of the mainstream. As a result, Latinos are unable to use formal credit sources in the name of the business, often relying on personal savings and informal credit sources to start up businesses and to operate them. As a result, they often cite lack of cash flow as a major problem.

One consequence of these characteristics is the underrepresentation of Latinos in capital-intensive businesses. Analyzing the Census Bureau's Survey of Income and Program Participation, Timothy Bates, Magnus Lofstrom, and Lisa Servon found that few obstacles exist for minority entrepreneurs seeking to build small, low capital, sole or family firms. In fact, many loan programs

targeting these entrepreneurs were underutilized. However, it is the financial and human capital intensive businesses that maintain significant challenges for Latino and other minority entrepreneurs. Bates and his colleagues found that individuals with a net worth of \$150,000 were more likely to start capital intensive businesses in high barrier industries like manufacturing, for example. Their findings are consistent with the SBO data that show that 89 percent of Latino-owned firms in 2007 had no paid employees.

Bates, Lofstrom, and Servon argue that the types of microlending programs currently in existence are not likely to be effective in developing minority and poor entrepreneurs into business owners within these capital intensive industries. "Entry into capital-intensive fields is simply not likely to be impacted by extending small loans to poor aspiring entrepreneurs." Different strategies are needed to encourage and develop Latino and other minority businesses in these industries. These loan programs might better serve Latinos by targeting those businesses ready to and interested in expanding operations.

Conclusion

Latino businesses are among the fastest growing in the nation. In the Midwest region these businesses increased at a rate slightly higher than they did at the national level, and the growth rate of Latino businesses was 2.6 times greater than the overall business growth rate for the nation. They had the highest rate in Missouri and the lowest in Michigan, with the greatest absolute growth occurring in Illinois, the Midwestern state with the largest Latino population. However, despite overall patterns of growth, the SBO data, combined with the findings of the other studies described here, suggest that while more Latinos are starting their own businesses these days, they continue to remain outside the primary economic networks at the local, state, and national levels. In fact, the growth of individual and family-based Latino firms may represent an increasing degree of alienation from the traditional labor and business sectors.

If true integration into the mainstream economy is desired (and there are segments of the American population who are opposed to integration), entrepreneurial support policies and programs need to move beyond the one-size-fits-all model and come up with new ways of interacting with and supporting Latino entrepreneurs in order to encourage their development of employer and capital-intensive firms. It is clear that Latino-owned firms are drivers of value creation and that their economic potential remains unrealized. As they increase in size and in sophistication, they will generate more jobs and sales/receipts. This is all the more important as the demographic shift that will make Latinos one of every three citizens by 2050 continues to unfold. ❖

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