

Summary Points

The 2003 Chicago-Area Survey (CAS) reveals that among Latino respondents:

Sixty-four percent report being registered to vote.

Over one-third express no political party preference.

One-fourth think that neither party is responsive to their problems.

Sixty-one percent think they have little or no say in politics.

More respondents appear to be supportive of immigration than in previous surveys.

Eighty-two percent think that discrimination against Latinos occurs frequently or with some frequency.

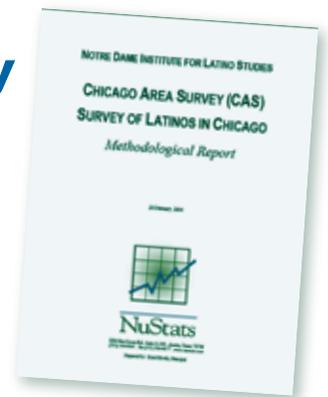
Twenty-nine percent report having been a victim of discriminatory treatment.

Preliminary Explorations of Latinos and Politics: Findings from the Chicago-Area Survey

Introduction

In recent years the political orientations and growing influence of the rapidly expanding US Latino population has been of increasing interest to political parties and commentators, elected officials, and the general public. The 2004 elections underscored the current and future significance of Latinos in US politics at local, state, and national levels. Although this phenomenon has been the focus of considerable research among scholars of the American political system, how partisan and electoral patterns vary among Latinos by national origin, region, and socioeconomic status remains undefined, and a number of claims regarding the extent of participation and voting and the partisan leanings among Latinos remain under dispute.

Because there is no shortage of questions, and each question is more complicated in reality than it may first appear, every opportunity to consider systematic evidence about Latinos' participation in politics should be welcomed. The Chicago-Area Survey (CAS)¹ has provided helpful evidence regarding an important slice of the Latino population—in the Chicago metro



¹ The 2003 Chicago-Area Survey was a randomized sample of 1,512 Latino, 411 non-Latino white, and 403 non-Latino black households in metropolitan Chicago (Cook, DuPage, Kane, Lake, McHenry, and Will counties). The lines of inquiry and questionnaire were designed by a group of scholars working with the Institute for Latino Studies at the University of Notre Dame. Field work was conducted by NuStats Corporation of Austin, Texas. Approximately 21,750 households were eligible for interviewing. A total of 2,326 interviews were completed among Latinos, whites, and blacks in the Chicago region. Respondents were 18 years and older; interviews were conducted in both English and Spanish. For more detailed information about the survey visit the website: <http://www.nd.edu/~latino/CAS>. Survey data in this report are from the 1,512 surveys completed among Latino respondents.

area—and its differences from and similarities to other communities and the general Latino population in the United States.

We will explore several central questions. These include: How much do Latinos participate in politics? More specifically, do they register and vote and why? To what extent, and why, do Latinos identify more strongly with one or the other major political party in the United States? Do the parties seem to be helpful in integrating Latinos into political processes? Further, we explore responses to two questions pertaining to perceptions of the responsiveness of the “external” political environment—whether Latinos feel they have a “say so in politics” and whether elected officials “care about people like me.” At the same time, are there factors which might be thought of as “internal” that help explain Latino perspectives on politics? For instance, what level of interest do Latinos have in politics and public affairs? What level of interest do their friends have?



The three wavy lines shown throughout this publication are a symbol from ancient times representing the human intellect in action. From *The Book of Signs*, collected, drawn, and explained by Rudolf Koch (London: The First Edition Club, 1930, page 8).

Electoral Activities of Latinos

Despite the growth of the Latino population, its full electoral impact is contingent upon eligibility (including citizenship), age requirements, registration, and whether or not one actually votes. (There are, of course,



other forms of political participation, but we do not explore them here.²)

Table 1 provides data on Latino electoral political participation by examining two related aspects. As indicated, less than two-thirds of Latino citizens in Chicago claim to be registered to vote. In comparison, the Latino National Political Survey (LNPS, p. 122)³ indicated that more than 60 percent of Latinos were registered to vote in the early 1990s.

	Yes	No
Are you currently registered to vote?	631 (63.7%)	340 (34.3%)
Did you vote in 2000?	510 (51.2%)	452 (45.7%)

Are Latino citizens exercising their electoral rights? CAS results reveal that only half of Latino citizens in the Chicago area voted in the 2000 presidential election. Other sources confirm these levels of voter turnout for Latino citizens. According to reports from the US Bureau of the Census, in 2000 69.5 percent of all citizens over 18 reported being registered, 59.5 percent reported having voted, and 85.5 percent of those registered voted. Among white non-Latinos the numbers were 71.6 percent registered and 61.8 percent voting, with 86.4 percent of those registered voting. Among Latinos the numbers were 57.3 percent registered and 45.1 percent voting, with 78.6 percent of those registered voting.⁴ Overall, Latino registration and voting indicated in CAS seem low, which is consistent with findings from other recent analyses.

² See, in this series, Timothy Ready, Roger Knight, and Sung-Chang Chun, “Latino Civic and Community Involvement: Findings from the Chicago-Area Survey,” *Latino Research@ND*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (December 2006), Institute for Latino Studies, University of Notre Dame.

³ The 1990s LNPS data were those available at the time that CAS was carried out.

⁴ See US Bureau of the Census, “Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2000,” *Current Population Reports (P20-542)*, by Ann Jamieson, Hyon Shin, and Jennifer Day (February 2002), Washington DC.



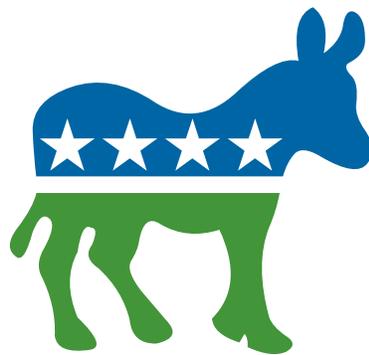
A difficulty with survey data results regarding registration and voting is the self-reporting basis for respondents' replies. Studies that verify actual registration and votes cast (such as the National Election Study) indicate some degree of over-reporting. In addition, there is no opportunity to verify the

citizenship status response. Similar problems are associated with CAS. For example, for the question of current registered status there were sixteen "Don't Know/Refused" responses among the 990 self-identified citizens. For the question "Did you vote in 2000?" there were twenty-three "Don't Know/Refused"

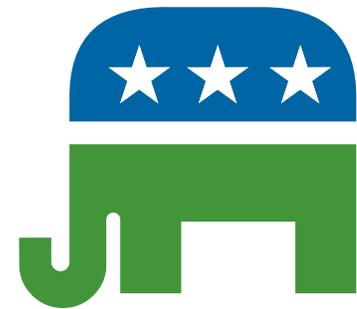
among the same number of US citizens. Interestingly, among the self-identified noncitizens (total noncitizens = 414), some 35 and 26 claimed they were registered and voted, respectively. Despite these common difficulties, the CAS survey results indicate low levels of voter registration and voting.

Partisanship and Latinos

In much of the United States (outside of Florida) Latinos have historically had a propensity to identify with the Democratic Party. Actual voting patterns, for example, commonly suggest that 60 to 75 percent of Latinos who go to the polls vote for Democratic candidates, and Latinos' party affiliation or party registration



are comparably high. The CAS evidence diverges strongly from previous findings. As shown in Table 2, 49 percent of Latinos in the survey claim to identify with



the Democratic Party, well below what other data would lead us to expect. Identification with the Republican Party is also very low, 6 percent, and substantially lower

Which Party Do You Identify With?	Party Identification	Strength of Party ID
Democrats	702 (48.6%)	Strong: 232* Not Strong: 423
Republicans	87 (6.0%)	Strong: 23 Not Strong: 60
Independents	165 (11.4%)	Lean to Democrats: 21 Lean to Republicans: 6 Neither: 112
Other Parties	6 (0.4%)	Lean to Democrats: 0 Lean to Republicans: 0 Neither: 5
No Preference	517 (33.6%)	Lean to Democrats: 38 Lean to Republicans: 7 Neither: 378

* The number of respondents regarding party identification and number of respondents who indicated strength of party identification differs due the "Don't Know" and "Refused" responses.



In support of the mission of the Institute for Latino Studies and the Inter-University Program for Latino Research (IUPLR), the Research team provides policy-relevant information and analysis about Latino communities and issues affecting their well-being. The team both contributes to studies originating from the Institute's other programs and centers and from IUPLR member institutions and carries out its own independent projects.

than Latino partisan affiliation nationally would suggest. Overall, the data on party identification are strikingly different from those in previous research. (For choice of party there were 108 persons who did not indicate whether they were citizens or not and at the same time indicated a party preference.) The more telling finding is the significant portion of the Latino respondents—over one-third—who indicated no particular party preference. What contributes to party identification and, particularly, the extent of political incorporation and familiarity with the US system are relevant factors. This preliminary finding suggests that contemporary partisan alignment may be more of a developmental process (i.e., acquiring political knowledge prior to any partisan affiliation) rather than more immediately acquiring a partisan preference.

A major reason for the level of party loyalty would presumably stem from the perception of the parties and their ability to address substantive concerns. Table 3



certainly seems to support this expectation. Responses to a question about which party “does best to solve your problems” strongly resemble the patterns noted in the prior table on party identification. While ostensibly self-explanatory, it is not entirely clear whether someone identifies with a political party because it reflects and advances his or her views or one identifies with a party and then internalizes the party's position on issues. There is likely some of both but the former intuitively seems more significant than the latter.

The table also makes clear that the Democratic Party is perceived much more favorably than the Republican Party. Interestingly, when one combines the percentages of Latinos who say one of the two major parties

Table 3
Latino Evaluation of Responsiveness of Political Parties

Which Party Does Best to Solve Your Problems? (N=1511)

Democrat	657 (43.4%)
Republican	81 (5.4%)
Independent	26 (1.7%)
Neither	384 (25.4%)
Other Party	5 (0.4%)
No Preference	277 (18.3%)
Don't Know/Refused	81 (5.4%)



does address “your problems,” the total is approximately 50 percent. This means, of course, that about half of the respondents do *not* favorably assess either of the two major parties as “problem solvers” on their behalf. Political parties have historically played the role of mobilizing institutions, that is, bringing people into the political process and encouraging them to vote. Parties have also been important in “interest articulation”

and “aggregation,” that is, in helping define and put forth issues relevant to the party’s constituents (actual and potential) and in acting on behalf of its collective interests. The data in Table 3 cast rather strong doubts on how much or how well Latinos believe the two major political parties have achieved those purposes. There is a prevailing sense that “neither” party has solved problems (25 percent), or respondents see little

difference (18 percent express “no preference”) or are otherwise unclear. These data may have several implications. Affinity with the Democratic Party is weak, based on not only the breadth but also the depth of the affinity. In addition, the major political parties may not be serving as mobilizers or interest organizations in the way and to the extent that they (presumably) have done in the past.

Political Attitudes and Latinos

Other factors that may shape political participation and feelings about the political system include one’s sense that one can have an impact—or what is sometimes referred to as “efficacy.” Table 4 presents relevant findings. When asked about how much “say” they have in politics, over a quarter of Latinos responded “none” and a third replied that they have “little”;



Table 4 Latino Respondents’ Political Orientations: Efficacy and Responsiveness		
Do You Have Much Say in Politics? (N=1429)		
None	390	(27.3%)
A Little	481	(33.7%)
Some	430	(30.1%)
A Lot	128	(9.0%)
How Much Do Officials Care? (N=1423)		
None	413	(28.8%)
A Little	524	(36.6%)
Some	394	(27.5%)
A Lot	101	(7.1%)

in short, nearly two-thirds feel they have little or no say in politics. The prevalent sense of political powerlessness reported seems rather high, although this is not entirely surprising when juxtaposed to some of the responses regarding registration and voting (above).

Whether low participation leads one to a perception that one does not have much say or whether

feeling that one does not have much say leads to low registration and voting is something to contemplate.

Another question regarding perceptions of the political system—“How much do officials care?”—is also important in itself and for what it may imply regarding feelings about the system. As shown, a large percentage (28

percent) perceive that officials do not care at all, that is, choose “none,” and another large percentage (37 percent) believe that officials care only “a little.” Thus, together about 65 percent perceive that officials care little or none. This would seem a sign of disaffection with government that would have other potential consequences, such as dampening interest in politics and reducing actual political participation. As with “say in politics,” which is cause and which is effect regarding perception that officials “care” is not entirely clear.

How “interested in politics” are Latinos? As Table 5 shows, about half claim to have no or very little interest. Specifically, 20 percent claim not to be interested at all and 28 percent indicate they are “not very interested.” Another 4 percent say “don’t know” or “refused” to answer. On the other hand, about 48 percent said they were “somewhat” or “very” interested. How one should interpret these responses is not obvious, but one’s choice of interpretation appreciably affects broader conclusions.

To provide some admittedly imprecise comparison on the issue of individuals’ interest in public affairs, responses to a question from the LNPS (1992, p. 75) can be noted. Question-wording and the response choices in the LNPS and CAS differ. Even acknowledging that difference, as well as the

Table 5 Political Interests and Awareness among Latinos	
Do You Have Much Say in Politics? (N=1508)	
Not at All	301 (20.0%)
Not very Interested	421 (27.9%)
Somewhat Interested	567 (37.6%)
Very Interested	153 (10.1%)
Don't Know/Refused	66 (4.4%)
How Interested Are Your Friends in Politics? (N=1505)	
Not at All	285 (19.0%)
Not very Interested	465 (30.9%)
Somewhat Interested	479 (31.8%)
Very Interested	116 (7.7%)
Don't Know/Refused	160 (10.6%)

fact that one (the LNPS) was a national sample from the early 1990s and CAS is a contemporary local sample, about two-thirds (63 percent or more) claimed to “follow current affairs” “most of the time” or “some of the time.” CAS findings suggest lower levels of interest than did the LNPS.

Scholars contend that political participation and interest may also be shaped by one’s networks of association; that is, the views of friends, close acquaintances, families, and so on may foster (or discourage) interest. About 43 percent say that their friends are “somewhat” (32 percent) or “very” (11 percent) interested in politics. A slightly larger overall segment (50 percent) say their friends have rather low interest—“not very” or “not at all”—in politics (see Table 5). An obvious correlation is that one’s own interest in politics and

the degree of friends’ perceived interest in politics are remarkably similar.

Along with individual and associational aspects, another factor relevant to political engagement is the informational context. As Table 6 suggests, a large proportion of respondents “watch news on television” either “daily” (56 percent) or “most every day” (26 percent). Rather small proportions watch only once or twice a week or almost never. On the surface, this seems to suggest reasonably high levels of information seeking and gathering. Furthermore, these patterns are similar to what was found in the LNPS (*Latino Voices*, p. 73) where 55 to 70 percent of Latinos said they watched television news 4–7 days a week and 20 percent or so watched 1–3 days per week. The LNPS also indicated that



television was the “most used news source,” with over 70 percent identifying it as such. It is doubtful whether heavy use of television news, especially as the primary source of information, is a good or the “best” way for Latinos or for the general population to learn in much depth about politics and public affairs. Arguably, other sources, such as newspapers, provide greater breadth and depth of information.

The language medium on which Latinos rely for news is also suggestive of their ostensible integration into the social and political system. A third (31 percent) of those surveyed indicate that they use Spanish-language sources of information. However, more than two-thirds use English

or both English and Spanish. These numbers differ somewhat from those reported in the LNPS of the early 1990s, which also varied considerably by group. Mexican Americans claimed to rely heavily on English sources (77 percent) or both (18 percent); Puerto Ricans

relied primarily on English sources (41 percent) or both (36 percent); Cubans relied primarily on English sources (50 percent) or both (27 percent). In all instances, then, Latinos in CAS rely more heavily on Spanish than did any of the Latino groups in the LNPS.

Table 6 Television News and Language Medium	
How Often Do You Watch News on Television?	Latino Respondents (N=1479)
Almost Never	66 (4.5%)
1-2 Times a Week	202 (13.7%)
Most Every Day	383 (25.9%)
Daily	828 (56.0%)
Which Language Medium Do You Rely on for News? (N=1423)	
English	404 (27.3%)
Spanish	462 (31.2%)
Both	616 (41.6%)

Policy Issues and Latinos

What are some of the policy views and concerns of Latinos, especially regarding policy areas thought to be of particular interest to them? Table 7 addresses issues of immigration and affirmative action. First, we see that a large majority, four out of five Latinos, believe that immigration has been good for the country. This appears to be a considerably higher percentage than is expressed by the general population. On the other hand, there is not much support among

CAS Latinos for increasing immigration levels. The clear majority, over two-thirds, support existing levels of immigration, that is, they are in favor of having the levels of immigration “remain the same,” and another 11 percent favor decreasing immigration.

The views in the early 1990s were markedly different. In the LNPS, two-thirds to three-fourths of Latinos in the various national-origin groups agreed or strongly agreed that there “are too many

immigrants.” Thus, while it is very difficult to compare because of different samples, different times, different question-wording, and other differences, in broad terms Latinos in CAS appear more supportive of immigration than in the LNPS some years before.

Affirmative action has been an important effort intended to assure equality of access to social, economic, and political institutions. It has also been a highly controversial policy for some time, for

Table 7
Public Policy Issues and Latinos' Positions/Assessments (N=1512)

Do You Think That Immigration is a Good/Bad Thing for This Country?	
A Good Thing	1235 (81.7%)
A Bad Thing	128 (8.5%)
Don't Know/Refused	148 (9.8%)
Should Immigration Levels Be Increased, Decreased, or Remain the Same?	
Increased	245 (16.2%)
Stay the Same	1027 (67.9%)
Decreased	167 (11.0%)
Don't Know/Refused	74 (4.9%)
Degree of Support for Affirmative Action in the Workplace	
Agree Strongly	896 (59.3%)
Agree Somewhat	466 (30.8%)
Disagree Strongly	107 (7.1%)
Disagree Somewhat	17 (1.1%)
Don't Know/Refused	24 (1.6%)
Degree of Support for Affirmative Action for College Admissions	
Agree Strongly	895 (59.2%)
Agree Somewhat	483 (31.9%)
Disagree Strongly	53 (3.5%)
Disagree Somewhat	57 (3.8%)
Don't Know/Refused	25 (1.7%)



reasons that are now familiar to most Americans. What are CAS Latinos' feelings about the policy? Table 7 makes clear that Latinos support such affirmative action policies strongly. Well over half agree strongly with a policy of "affirmative action in the work place" and 31 percent agree somewhat. Combined, these numbers approach 90 percent in support. The extent of support for affirmative action in college admissions is similarly high, with 90 percent agreeing with the policy strongly (59 percent) or agreeing somewhat (32 percent). The overall support for affirmative action is striking, but it is not clear whether support is rooted in perceptions that the policy will be directly helpful to the respondents themselves and/or whether it is believed that the policy is an appropriate means to deal with inequality or opportunity-related problems on principle. Other questions from CAS, again, are important themselves and may be relevant to the motives that underlie support for affirmative action.



Differential Treatment: Perceptions and Actual Experience

Responses to two questions regarding discrimination are presented in Table 8, one asking about the frequency of discrimination "toward Latinos" and the other asking about personal experience, that is, "have you [the respondent] been a victim of discriminatory treatment?" The two questions can be considered individually and in combination. A substantial proportion, and the most common response among those surveyed (41 percent), perceive that Latinos (other than themselves) "frequently" have discriminatory actions directed at them. Another significant portion (42 percent) indicate that discriminatory acts occur with "some" frequency. On the other hand, the proportion who claims to have been (personally) a victim of "discriminatory treatment" (29 percent) seems small compared to those who see the broader discrimination against Latinos just noted. These ostensibly divergent patterns are notable but not altogether unusual. Previous studies have indicated moderate to high perceived levels of general discrimination, and the present evidence suggests a broadly similar perception (although question-wording and other aspects of other surveys differs substantially, making direct comparisons difficult).

Prior surveys have also found what seem to be rather low levels of perceived individual discrimination. In the LNPS (*Latino Voices*, p. 92), the perception of personal discrimination was higher than found in CAS; for example, 38 percent of Mexican American and 30 percent of Puerto Rican LNPS respondents answered “yes” to a question as to whether they had been discriminated against “because of national origin”—seemingly higher than what we see in CAS. In light of

Table 8
Latinos Perception and Experiences with Discrimination Directed against Their Group Members (N=1512)

How Often Do You Think That Discriminatory Actions Occur toward Latinos?	
Frequently	613 (40.6%)
Some	632 (41.8%)
A Little	91 (6.0%)
None	23 (1.5%)
Don't Know/Refused	153 (10.2%)
Have You Been a Victim of Discriminatory Treatment?	
Yes	434 (28.7%)
No	914 (60.4%)
Don't Know/Refused	165 (10.9%)

the perceptions of considerable generalized discrimination, support for affirmative action may be more understandable.

Conclusion: **Latinos and Their Political World**

Drawing from responses in CAS, we have explored a number of issues commonly considered germane to Latinos' incorporation into US politics or the politics of democratic inclusion in America. These included questions about political participation, perceptions of the political parties, sense of individual efficacy and public officials caring, interest in politics, information networks, public policies, and views about general and personal discrimination. Although we treated them separately, we also assume interrelationships between the issues. Moreover, in most

instances we selected questions that probed both individual (personal) and general and internal and external dimensions. Stated otherwise, is it people's attitudes, the nature of “the system,” or some combination that affect the levels and kinds of political participation?

The findings are in some ways consistent with those of previous studies, and, in others, the findings of this survey diverge. In several instances, we have briefly presented comparative data from other work to provide some context for the current findings. It is very difficult to

explain the differences. They may be attributable to CAS being conducted in a different time and place, the different composition (i.e., a significant portion of the sample being immigrants, especially recent ones) of the Latino population in the region, somewhat different question-wording, and other factors. That is, the situation (a) in 2004 (b) in Chicago with (c) its particular configuration and background of Latino groups (d) responding to questions posed in particular ways may all account for some of the differences.

What have we learned? Latino political participation—registration and voting—appears low. There is a leaning toward affiliation with the Democratic Party but not to the degree often identified in other studies. Latinos are much more likely to see the Democratic Party as more attentive to their problems than the Republican Party, but there is also a strong collective sense of no preference for either party or that neither party is well focused on Latino concerns. The nature of partisanship among these Latinos suggests “continued” preference for the Democratic Party, yet it seems less than enthusiastic. Matters of party-targeted outreach and mobilizing efforts remain more hypothetical than real. Despite the recent elections and attention directed at Latinos by the political parties and media shortly before CAS was conducted in 2003, there still appears to be a lack of sustained and/or historical institutional effort by political parties in the Latino community.

There are also signs of alienation from politics in that large numbers of Latinos feel that they have little or no “say in politics” and that politicians seem not to care much about them. About half of Latino respondents, as well as their friends, are

not especially interested in politics. Latinos watch television news extensively and most frequently not in Spanish only. Immigration is clearly viewed as good for the country, and the vast majority of Latinos wish to see immigration remain at its current rate or increased. There is also overwhelming support for affirmative action. It can be safely said that Latinos’ policy preferences about immigration and affirmative action are distinct from those of the white/Anglo population in the United States as well as from those of the major political parties. The political distance of Latinos from the American political system has direct consequences for their political development and its impact on this community. Matters of responsiveness, representation, policy preferences, policy impact, and low levels of Latino political involvement serve to perpetuate a segment of American society that is rather “isolated” from active civic engagement.

Finally, the perception of survey respondents is that Latinos are often discriminated against. On the other hand, little over a quarter of Latinos claim to have been “victims of discriminatory treatment.” The link of perceptions and behavior is a complex relationship. In the case

of discrimination, respondents can have different criteria or frames of reference as to what constitutes discriminatory behavior, as well as basing their perceptions on the attitudes and experiences of members of their social networks. At the same time, if perceptions tend to emphasize discriminatory practices concerning Latinos, then such perspectives could affect collective orientations and behaviors. It is quite evident that this initial report only portrays a preliminary picture of Latinos and the American political system. We have made reference to variations across Latino subgroups as well as variations within national-origin group members. Subsequent analysis and reports will explore many of the critical factors (e.g., nativity, language, socioeconomic status, networks, etc.) that can help to sort out key relationships.



About the Researchers

John A. Garcia received his PhD from Florida State University in 1971. His research interests include the acquisition and utilization of social capital for political engagement, coalition formation among minority communities, and the social construction of ethnic and racial identity and political involvement. His books include *Latino Politics: Exploring Political Community* (Rowman and Littlefield Press, 2003) and his work has appeared in *Social Science Quarterly*, the *National Journal of Political Science*, *Publius*, *International Migration Review*, and other refereed journals, as well as many chapters in edited volumes. He is currently engaged in a research project funded by the Russell Sage Foundation on the intersection of immigrant status and racial and ethnic identity. Some of his future research will consider redistricting strategies and representation and Latino public opinion and US foreign policy.

Rodney E. Hero is the Packey J. Dee Professor of American Democracy in the Department of Political Science at the University of Notre Dame. He specializes in US democracy and politics, particularly as viewed through the analytical lenses of Latino and ethnic/minority politics, state/urban politics, and federalism, and has published a number of research articles on these topics. His book *Latinos and the US Political System: Two-tiered Pluralism* received the American Political Science Association's 1993 Ralph J. Bunche Award. He also authored *Faces of Inequality: Social Diversity in American Politics* (Oxford University Press, 1998), which was selected for APSA's 1999 Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award; coauthored *Multiethnic Moments: The Politics of Urban Education Reform* (Temple University Press, 2006); and recently completed *Racial Diversity and Social Capital: Equality and Community in America* (Cambridge University Press, 2007). In addition to serving on the editorial boards of several prominent political science journals, he was a vice president of APSA (2003–04) and is president of the Midwest Political Science Association (2006–07).

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