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## Census 2000: An Overview

1.1

### Why is an Accurate Census So Important?

Article I, Section 2, of the United States Constitution places the census at the core of our democratic system of governance. The decennial census provides information that is the cornerstone of knowledge about the American people. It is the basis for virtually all demographic information used by educators, policy makers, and community leaders.

- Census data directly affects decisions made on all matters of national and local importance, including education, employment, veterans' services, public health care, rural development, the environment, transportation and housing. Many Federal programs are statutorily required to use decennial data to develop, evaluate and implement their programs;
- Federal, state, and county governments use census information to guide the annual distribution of hundreds of billions of dollars in critical services;
- Congressional seats are reapportioned and legislative districts are drawn based on decennial census data; and,
- The data are also used to monitor and enforce compliance with civil rights statutes, including the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and employment, housing, lending, and education anti-discrimination laws.

Because the accuracy of the census directly affects our nation's ability to ensure equal representation and equal access to important governmental resources for all Americans, ensuring a fair and accurate census must be regarded as one of the most significant civil rights issues facing the country today.

### The Census Impacts Everyone's Life

**CHILD CARE** – Census data on the number of working parents, family income, and the age of children are used to locate areas in need of child care facilities. The census information impacts programs like the Childcare and Development Block Grant, a program that enables low income families to obtain child care while they are at work, in job training, or school;

**SENIORS** – Under the Older Americans Act, funds for food, healthcare, and legal services are distributed to local agencies based on census data;

**STUDENTS MOST IN NEED** – The Department of Education uses census data to identify school districts and allocate funds under the Title I Program, helping to provide extra help in the basics for students most in need, particularly communities and schools with high concentrations of low income families;

**SOCIAL SECURITY AND MEDICARE** – The Social Security Administration and the Department of Health and Human Services use data to forecast the number of people eligible for Social Security and Medicare benefits;

**AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES** – The Federal Highway Administration allocates funds for public transportation services for the elderly and people with disabilities based on census data;

**JOB TRAINING** – The Labor Department uses census estimates to support the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) that prepares young people and adults facing serious impediments to employment by providing job training and skills training;

RURAL COMMUNITIES – The Farmers Home Administration uses census data to allocate funds for housing assistance for elderly and low income individuals and families in rural areas; and,

1.2

COMMUNITY REINVESTMENT – The Treasury Department uses census data for the Community Reinvestment Act to help determine whether financial institutions are meeting the credit needs of minorities in low and moderate income areas.

There is a Need for a Full and Fair Count in 2000!!

One of the most significant issues yet to be resolved regarding the 2000 census is whether scientific methods will be employed to achieve a more accurate demographic count of all the nation's people. As can be imagined, counting every individual residing in the United States is a very difficult endeavor and while the census historically undercounts the population in general, children, people of color and the rural and urban poor are disproportionately more likely to be missed.

According to the Census Bureau, the 1990 census missed 8.4 million people and double-counted 4.4 million others. While missing or miscounting so many people is a problem, the fact that certain groups (such as children, the poor, people of color, city dwellers and people who live in rural rental homes) were missed more often than others compounds the consequences of the undercount.

Nationally, the 1990 census missed 4.4% of African Americans; 2.3% of Asians and Pacific Islanders were missed; 5% of Latinos and persons of Hispanic origin were missed; and 12.2% of Native Americans living on reservations were missed in 1990. Children had the highest undercount of all -- two million children were missed. In 1990, children made up approximately 26% of the entire U.S. population, but made up 52% of the undercount.

The real problem of the 1990 census was that the total miscount -- the number of individuals missed and those individuals who were double-counted -- was about 10 million people according to evaluations by the Census Bureau and the General Accounting Office. That is the equivalent of disregarding the entire population of the State of Ohio, or the State of Michigan, or most of Illinois.

As a result of the inaccuracy of the 1990 census, many individuals were denied an equal voice in their government. Federal spending employing population-based formulas – for schools, crime prevention, health care, and transportation – was misdirected.

The Census Bureau's Plan to Ensure the Fairest and Most Accurate Census 2000 Possible

Following the 1990 census, there was consensus among the Census Bureau, professional statisticians, and Congress that significant changes were required for the upcoming 2000 census. In 1991, bipartisan legislation passed unanimously by Congress and signed into law by President Bush directed "the Secretary of Commerce to contract with the National Academy of Sciences to study and report on means by which the Government could achieve the most accurate population count possible..."

Over the next several years, numerous panels of professional statisticians examined plans to adapt census methodologies. For example, the National Academy of Sciences Panel to Evaluate Alternative Census Methodologies found, "[c]hange is not the enemy of an accurate and useful census; rather, not changing methods as the United States changes would inevitably result in a seriously degraded census."

In February 1996, the U.S. Department of Commerce and the Bureau of the Census unveiled "The Plan For Census 2000" in response to the 1991 legislation and the subsequent guidelines and recommendations of the National Academy of Science.

The plan for 2000 combines a more aggressive enumeration effort -- including sending replacement questionnaires to non-responding households, using paid advertising, designing an easier-to-understand form, and making forms available in public places – with modern scientific sampling techniques to complete the count of the final non-responding households and to eliminate the pervasive undercount of children, people of color and the urban and rural poor.



The scientific sampling methods would not substitute for an aggressive effort to count everyone directly. Instead, as a complement to an aggressive enumeration effort, scientific sampling would help the Bureau account for all residents, even those who historically have been hardest to reach through traditional counting methods. 1.3

The Census Bureau's plan for the 2000 Census has received strong support from professional statisticians and demographers who are convinced that the introduction of a limited use of scientific sampling in Census 2000 will result in a more accurate, less costly census. These experts also believe that the Census Bureau's plan for the 2000 Census should minimize the opportunity for political manipulation, not increase it. Scientists understand that the known, objective properties of sampling are preferable to the certainty of missing several million individuals using only traditional methods.

The alternative to introducing a limited use of scientific sampling is to continue with only traditional physical enumeration methods. Modeling the Census 2000 after the 1990 census, we can expect:

- an undercount of at least 1.9 percent of the population (more than 5 million people); and,
- additional costs of at least \$675 million (over the cost of the Census Bureau's current plan)



## Census 2000: The Census Bureau's Plan

2.1

Here's How the Census Bureau Will Work to Count Everyone:

### 1. Mail to Every Home Three times

- Early March 2000: letters will be mailed to every home in the nation alerting residents that census forms will be arriving soon;
- Mid-March 2000: census forms will be delivered to every home by the Postal Service;
- Late March, 2000: Letters will be sent to all households reminding them to return the Census Form by April 1, 2000 – CENSUS DAY; and,
- Early April, 2000: The Census Bureau is considering mailing a replacement form to every home in case the first one was overlooked or misplaced.

### 2. Go Door to Door to Reach Homes That Have Not Responded

- Late April to June 2000: Approximately 250,000 temporary census takers will go door to door to follow-up with households that have not responded to the mailing. We know based on previous experience that less than two-thirds of all households are likely to mail back their forms.

### 3. Use National Advertising to Educate Every American About the Importance of Responding to the Census

- For the first time in history, the Census Bureau will put on a national advertising campaign urging everyone to participate in the census. The campaign will include television, radio and outdoor advertising. Some of the ads will be tailored to hard-to-count communities.

### 4. Use Special Outreach to Contact and Encourage Everyone to Return His/Her Census Form, Including People Who Do Not Have a Fixed Address

- A toll-free number will be advertised and staffed with multi-lingual operators to assist people with their forms. Special outreach and census forms in a variety of languages will be available in schools, civic and community centers, stores and malls, and other appropriate places. The Census Bureau will also send outreach workers to homeless shelters, soup kitchens and other locations used by people who do not have a residential address.

### 5. When the Door to Door Visits Are Completed, the Census Bureau Will Use Scientific Methods and Quality Checks to Ensure the Census Is Accurate

- As well learned in 1990, the Census will not reach everyone, no matter how hard the Bureau tries. After all of these mailings and visits have been completed and carefully tabulated, the professional statisticians at the Census Bureau will then apply proven scientific methods to complete the count. And lastly, to ensure the accuracy of the final Census number, the Census Bureau will conduct a quality check based on randomly selected households nationwide, to ensure that the final numbers are as accurate as possible. The Census Bureau will have made every effort to count everyone in 2000.



## Census 2000: An Accurate Census Affects Everyone in Every Community

3.1

While the primary reason for the collection of Census data is the apportionment of representation in Congress, the data also provide the funding basis for education, health care, the environment, transportation, and a variety of other programs that affect every individual in every community in the nation. Below is a sample of programs affected by Census figures:

### Education

- Goals 2000 - State and Local Education Systematic Improvement Program
- Technology Innovation Challenge Grants
- Title I Program for Neglected and Delinquent Children
- Special Education - Grants for Infants and Families With Disabilities
- Indian Education - Grants to Local Educational Agencies
- Education for Homeless Children and Youth
- Health Professions Student Loans, Including, Primary Care Loans/Loans for Disadvantaged Students

### Health Care

- Head Start
- Protection and Advocacy for Individuals with Mental Illness
- Projects for Assistance in Transition for Homelessness
- Health Education and Training Centers
- Cooperative Agreements for Drug Abuse Treatment Improvement Projects
- Nursing Student Loans
- HIV Emergency Relief Project Grants

### Environment

- Wildlife Restoration
- Air Pollution Control Program Support
- Water Pollution Control - State and Interstate Program
- Hardship Grants Program for Rural Communities
- Environmental Protection Consolidated Grants Program
- Hazardous Waste Management State Program Support

### Transportation

- Capital Assistance Program for Elderly Persons and Persons with Disabilities
- Airport Improvement Program
- Highway Planning and Construction
- Public Transportation for Non-urbanized Areas
- State and Community Highway Safety

### Children

- Child Welfare Services - State Grants
- Childcare for Families At Risk of Welfare Dependency
- Child Abuse and Neglect - State Grants
- Title I Program for Neglected and Delinquent Children
- Special Education - Grants for Infants and Families With Disabilities
- Education for Homeless Children and Youth
- Head Start

### Seniors

- Grants for Supportive Services and Senior Centers
- Nutrition Services
- Rehabilitation Services - Independent Living Services for Older Individuals Who Are Blind
- In Home Services for Frail Older Individuals
- Disease Prevention And Health Promotion Services
- Programs for Prevention of Elderly Abuse, Neglect, and Exploitation

### Individuals with Disabilities

- Supportive Housing for Persons with Disabilities
- Disabled Veterans Outreach Program (DVOP)
- Special Education - Grants for Infants and Families With Disabilities
- Supported Employment Services for Individuals with Severe Disabilities
- Developmental Disabilities - Basic Support and Advocacy Groups
- Block Grants for Community Mental Health Services

### Women

- Violence Against Women Formula Grant



- Rural Domestic Violence and Child Victimization Enforcement Grant Program (PG) 3.3
- Maternal and Child Health Services Block Grant to the States
- Family Violence Prevention Services - Grants for Battered Women's Shelters - Grants to State Indian Tribes

#### The Undercount and Native Americans

- Native American Employment and Training Programs
- Indian Education - Grants to Local Educational Agencies
- Urban Indian Health Services
- Special Programs for the Aging - Title VI, Part A - Indian Programs - Grants to Indian Tribes and Part B - Grants to Native Hawaiians
- Family Violence Prevention Services - Grants for Battered Women's Shelters - Grants to State Indian Tribes

#### Urban Communities

- Empowerment Zones Program
- Cooperative Agreements for Drug Abuse Treatment Improvement Projects
- Urban Park and Recreation Recovery Program
- Title I Program for Neglected and Delinquent Children

#### Rural Communities

- Rural Domestic Violence and Child Victimization Enforcement Grant Program
- Appalachian Local Access Roads
- Rural Self-Help Housing Technical Assistance
- Rural Rental Assistance Payments (Direct Payments for Specific Use)
- Rural Electrification Loans and Loan Guarantee
- Rural Telephone Banks



## Census 2000: Frequently Asked Questions

4.1

Q: What is the decennial Census?

A: Very simply, the Constitution requires a count of the population every ten years. This count is known as the 'decennial Census.' The 2000 Census will mark the 21st decennial Census (the first Census was conducted in 1790).

Q: Why is the Census an important issue?

A: The Census receives little attention from Congress and the public in the years between each count, yet it is a lynchpin for governmental and private sector activities throughout the decade. Article I, Section 2, of the Constitution places the Census at the core of our democratic system of governance, requiring an enumeration of all residents of the United States in order to allocate seats in the House of Representatives. Census population numbers and related demographic data are used to distribute tens of billions of dollars annually in Federal, state and local program funds that help our communities grow and prosper.

Q: Why is the Census an important civil rights issue?

A: Census data are used to apportion congressional seats and electoral college votes to each state, to carry out congressional, state, and local redistricting, and to monitor and enforce compliance with civil rights statutes, including the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and employment, housing, lending, and education anti-discrimination laws. Census results are also used to allocate billions in federal funds. Because the accuracy of the Census directly affects our nation's ability to ensure equal representation and equal access to important governmental resources for all Americans, ensuring a fair and accurate Census must be regarded as one of the most significant civil rights issues facing the country today.

Q: Isn't it difficult to count all the people residing in the United States?

A: Yes, it is extremely difficult. Even though every Census is designed to accomplish a complete count of the population, no Census has ever been successful in achieving that goal. Despite technological advances and consistent efforts to improve the process, errors persist. Persons who should be counted are missed and some persons who should have been counted only once are counted twice?

Q: How accurate was the 1990 Census?

A: Not very. The 1990 Census was the first Census in over fifty years to be less accurate than its predecessor. The 1990 Census missed 8.4 million people and double-counted 4.4 million others.

Q: What is an undercount?

A: The undercount refers to the percentage of people who are missed by the Census count.

Q: How can the Census Bureau determine whether there is an undercount and its size? If they knew the actual size of the US population, why would they need a Census?

A: The size of the undercount (error) is determined by comparing the Census results with estimates of the population

developed from demographic data.

4.2

Q: Why is the undercount a problem?

A: If every individual had the same likelihood of being missed, the undercount would not be as big of a problem. However, Census undercounts are not evenly distributed throughout the population but are concentrated among poor, minority, and central city populations -- communities that often are most in need of social services and economic development programs. This results in a phenomenon known as the "differential undercount."

Q: What was the differential undercount in 1990?

A: The 1990 differential undercount was the highest ever recorded since the Census Bureau began conducting post-Census evaluations in 1940, missing 4.4 percent of African Americans; 5 percent of Americans of Hispanic origin; 2.3 percent of Asians and Pacific Islanders; and, over 12 percent of Native Americans living on reservations. Most disturbing is how badly the 1990 Census missed children. While children under the age of 18 represented 26 percent of the total national population that year, they accounted for an incredible 52 percent of those missed.

Q: Evaluations show that children, people of color and the rural and urban poor are more likely to be missed. Why are these populations missed at higher rates than the population as a whole?

A: Factors such as poverty, illiteracy, lack of education, fear or mistrust of government, language barriers, geography, and changing family structure all contribute to lower rates of coverage.

Q: What are the consequences to the American people if the Census is not accurate? What is really at stake here?

A: Accuracy must improve in the 2000 Census. Census information is the basis for virtually all demographic information used by educators, policy makers, and community leaders. America relies on Census data everyday -- to determine where to build more roads and hospitals; federal, state and local governments use Census data to decide which communities need more federal help for WIC, senior nutrition programs, job training and other services; businesses rely on Census data for marketing, hiring, and expansion plans. For instance, a state that has a significant number of children undercounted may not receive adequate funding for critical programs like Head Start, child care or nutrition programs. Therefore, it is important that we have the most accurate Census possible using the best, most up-to-date scientific methods as recommended by the National Academy of Science.

Q: Can the Census Bureau reduce the undercount in the 2000 Census?

A: Yes, the Census Bureau's plan for 2000 combines a more aggressive direct enumeration effort, including replacement questionnaires and multiple response options, with modern scientific sampling methods to complete the count of the final non-responding households and to eliminate the pervasive differential undercount of people of color and the urban and rural poor.

Q: What are 'modern scientific methods'?

A: Modern scientific (sampling) methods are the scientific techniques recommended by the National Academy of Sciences to the Census Bureau to ensure the most accurate count in the year 2000. The use of these scientific methods will supplement an aggressive direct enumeration effort in 2000. Such proven methods are used regularly to calculate everything from the unemployment rate to the Gross National Product (GNP) to even blood tests.

Q: Are these modern scientific methods supported by the nation's statistical community?

A: The Census Bureau's plan to supplement the count with scientific methods has been endorsed by the nation's leading statistical associations including, the National Academy of Sciences, the American Statistical Association, the American Sociological Association. Scientists and mathematicians utilize sampling for a wide variety of purposes,

including medical studies, industrial quality control, and social research. Morris H. Hansen and W. Edwards Deming, giants in the field of statistics, pioneered the use of sampling in the 1940 Census. Most people are familiar with the monthly unemployment rate. Because the government cannot afford to do a Census every month, this number – like so many others we refer to every day – is derived from a sample. In 1995, a panel of the National Research Council concluded: “. . . that it is fruitless to continue trying to count every last person with traditional Census methods of physical enumeration.” They recommended that after a good-faith effort to count everyone, sampling should be used to estimate the number and characteristics of the remaining non-respondents. 4.3

Q: Won't sampling delete real people from the Census count?

A: No. Under the present plan of the Census Bureau, all records of persons completing a Census form including the form sent in the mail or the one filled out during the enumerator interview will be included in Census 2000. No forms will be eliminated unless they are fraudulent or duplicative.

Q: Isn't it true that if Congress and the Administration work together we can count all Americans without changing the method by which the Census is taken?

A: The best plan to count the nation's population according to the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) is one that includes scientific sampling. In 1991, Congress, with the Census Bureau and the NAS, sought a solution to the serious problem of the 1990 undercount. They concluded that: (1) regardless of how much is spent, traditional methods of counting will never provide accurate Census results because people will always be missed; (2) undercounting certain groups will continue to be worse than the average; and (3) by using scientific sampling as part of the overall plan for counting, the Census could reduce the national undercount to nearly zero and reduce the overall cost of the effort substantially.

Q: Is the 2000 Census the first time statistical sampling procedures will be used?

A: No! Since at least 1940, statistical imputation has been used when an enumerator knew that a housing unit was occupied, but could not obtain information on the number of people living in that unit. Sampling statistical procedures were used to add persons to the 1970 Census. The 1970 Census included about 4.9 million persons who were added on the basis of various statistical procedures including sampling. For example, a recheck of a sample of housing units labeled vacant, revealed that about 11.4 percent of the housing units originally classified as vacant were really occupied. As a result, about 1.1 million persons were added to the count using statistical procedures.

Q: How much more money will it cost to just achieve the same level of accuracy as 1990?

A: If the Census Bureau employs the same techniques in the 2000 decennial Census as it did in the 1990 Census, it would have to spend between \$675 and \$800 million more and would still have a net undercount of 5 million people. To make any significant reduction in the undercount – without the use of statistical sampling – would cost billions more.

Q: Is the Census Bureau's plan vulnerable to political manipulation?

A: This is not a political issue. This is about the importance of getting a fair and accurate Census. The Administration, the National Academy of Sciences, President Bush's Census Director Barbara Bryant and Republicans like Rep. Chris Shays (CT) and many Republican Mayors including New York Mayor Giuliani and Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan all agree: statistical sampling will lead to the most accurate Census.

In addition, the Census Bureau is run by career employees with a long tradition of independence and professional-

ism. Furthermore, a bipartisan Census Monitoring Board has been created by the President and Republican leaders to guarantee that politics plays no role.

4.4

Q: Isn't sampling just a risky scheme that failed in the last Census?

A: No. The adjustment in 1990 was rejected not because of accuracy but because of politics. The experts at the Census Bureau recommended that the 1990 Census be adjusted. The statistical sampling that was used in the last Census would have improved accuracy. President Bush's Commerce Secretary made the decision not to use it. The Census Bureau has had nearly a decade to learn from the lessons of the 1990 Census and to craft a plan based on the recommendation of the National Academy of Sciences. The plan has the support of the vast majority of the statistical community and has been subjected to intense peer review. Experts, not politicians, created this plan.

Q: Doesn't the Constitution require an "actual enumeration" – and doesn't that mean a door-to-door count?

A: The Constitution requires only that an "actual enumeration" of U.S. citizens be conducted every 10 years, and the most accurate count possible is what the Constitution's framers had in mind since Census data provides the fuel for a functioning democracy. Door-to-door enumeration by itself no longer accomplishes the most accurate Census possible. As a panel from the National Research Council observed, 'It is fruitless to continue trying to count every last person with traditional Census methods of physical enumeration.'

Statistical sampling won't get a perfect count, either. But experts say it will come much closer... The Census Bureau's methodology- designed as it is reduce chronic inaccuracy- upholds the spirit of the Constitution better than an error-plagued head count. The sampling design proposed for Census 2000 will produce just one number of known accuracy.

Q: How many people will be sampled and how will the sampling be done?

A: The Census Bureau has developed a two-part integrated sampling plan to account for everyone. After it has obtained responses from 90% of the housing units in each county or county equivalent, the Census Bureau will begin sampling one in every ten of the remaining units. A nearly simultaneous, nationwide survey of 750,000 households will measure Census accuracy by age, race, sex, Hispanic origin, and other factors. Combining the initial Census responses with both these samples will produce the most complete Census ever.

Q: What does scientific sampling get you?

A: The Census Bureau's integrated scientific sampling plan will both lower costs and improve the quality of the numbers by reducing bias. Because the Census Bureau does not need to hire as many field workers, the cost savings are enormous. Scientific methods also overcome other problems associated with conducting a large, complex Census. For instance, different response rates among different segments of the population can bias results.

Q: Doesn't scientific sampling have its own problems?

A: Even scientific sampling results contain some uncertainty. But unlike estimation techniques used in past Censuses, the Census Bureau can pick the level of uncertainty it's willing to live with – before the Census begins. Scientifically sampling a fraction of all non-responding addresses will actually save taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars – and it will produce results superior to any previous Census.

Q: Why bother with a Census if the scientific methods are so good?

A: Because political reapportionment and redistricting must rely on the Census, the Census Bureau must make a good faith effort to contact everyone. And because the Census is the only source of information on neighborhoods and other small places, local officials must trust the numbers to meet their planning needs. Sampling is not a substitute for the Census. It is, however, a cost-effective way of completing the job and improving the results.

## Census 2000: What the Experts Say

5.1

Despite the disagreement in Congress over the proposed use of scientific sampling methods to complete and correct the population count in the 2000 Census, the scientific methods have the endorsement of virtually the entire professional demographic and statistical community. Every panel of experts that has closely reviewed the proposed use of scientific methods in the 2000 Census has endorsed the plan. Here is what expert and independent observers have said about the Census Bureau's plan for 2000:

"It is fruitless to continue trying to count every last person with traditional Census methods of physical enumeration...[P]hysical enumeration or pure 'counting' has been pushed well beyond the point at which it adds to the overall accuracy of the Census...Techniques of statistical estimation can be used, in combination with the mail questionnaire and reduced scale of follow-up of non-respondents, to produce a better Census at reduced costs."

Report of the Panel on Census Requirements in the Year 2000 and Beyond, Committee on National Statistics, National Academy of Sciences, 1995.

The General Accounting Office is "encouraged that the Bureau has decided to sample those households failing to respond to Census questionnaires rather than a 100 percent follow-up as it has in the past...sampling households that fail to respond to questionnaires produces substantial cost savings and should improve final data quality."

U.S. General Accounting Office, October 1995.

"The Census Bureau had adopted a number of innovations to address the problems of past Censuses – declining accuracy and rising costs. One innovation, which we fully support, is the use of statistical sampling for non-response follow-up."

Honorable Frank DeGeorge, Inspector General, U.S. Department of Commerce, October 1995.

"Because sampling potentially can increase the accuracy of the count while reducing the costs, the Census Bureau has responded to the Congressional mandate by investigating the increased use of sampling...We endorse the use of sampling for these purposes; it is consistent with the best statistical practice."

Report of the Blue Ribbon Panel on the Census, American Statistical Association, September 1996.

"The planned and tested statistical innovations [in the Census]...have the overwhelming support of members of the scientific community who have carefully reviewed and considered them. If their use is severely limited or prohibited, the 2000 Census planning process will be obstructed, and the result could be a failed Census."

Douglas S. Massey, President, Population Association of America, June 1996.

"An effort to conduct a Census in 2000 using 1990 methods – this is, attempting to the fullest extent to physically enumerate every household, with the funding levels that now seem probable – will likely result in a Census of substantially lower quality than previous Censuses."

Interim Report on Sampling of the Panel to Evaluate Alternative Census Methodologies, Committee on National Statistics, National Research Council, June 1996.

“If conducting the most accurate Census possible is a national goal for 2000, the ICM – the 750,000-household independent survey planned for use in 2000 – is the only proven method to correct the greatest obstacle to an accurate count: coverage bias...Census results seen as inaccurate or unfair could lead to catastrophic political and practical fallout.” 5.2

Honorable Frank DeGeorge, Inspector General, U.S. Department of Commerce, January 1997.

“Changing, updating, and adapting the Census methods is a proven and desirable course of action. Change is not the enemy of an accurate and useful Census; rather, not changing methods as the United States changes would inevitably result in a seriously degraded Census.”

Preparing for the 2000 Census: Interim Report II” of the Panel to Evaluate Alternative Census Methodologies, National Research Council, June 1997.

“[O]ur social and economic development as a nation will be served best by striving for the most accurate Census possible. In every decade, that will be one which combines the best techniques for direct enumeration with the best known technology for sampling and estimating the unenumerated.”

Dr. Barbara Bryant, Director of the Census Bureau under Former President Bush in a letter written to House Speaker Gingrich, May 1997.

“Prohibiting the use of sampling will also prevent the Census bureau from correcting millions of errors in the count. In 1990 ten million people were missed and six million people were counted twice. The Census undercount is not just an urban issue. One-third of those missed in 1990 lived in rural areas, most of them poor and white”.

Consortium of Social Science Associations (COSSA) in a letter to the United States Senate, May 5, 1997.

“It is unwise to prevent the use of ‘statistical sampling’ which is a long established and fundamental component of statistical science...it is essential to obtain as accurate a measure as is possible using the best statistical tools available at the time of the Census. The environment and methodologies are different today from those 200 years ago, and they will be different again in the 21st Century. We urge you to support the latest scientific methods to assure that the Census 2000 results are the best current knowledge science can provide.”

American Statistical Association in a letter to Congress, June 13, 1997.

“...the Academy Panel on Requirements found that scientific sampling, both for non-response follow-up and to improve accuracy would both increase accuracy and lower costs. That panel concluded that scientific sampling was not just a solution to the cost and accuracy problems, it was the only solution.”

The Academy Panel on Requirements, Committee on National Statistics, National Academy of Sciences .

## Census 2000: What the Newspapers Say

6.1

The Washington Post, Editorial, "Games With the Census" – July 15, 1998

"The House Appropriations Committee...ought to provide full funding for the kind of Census the administration has proposed – first a normal count, then the use of sampling and other statistical techniques to determine how many people were missed and adjust the final figures accordingly. That's the only way to combat the increasing undercount of lower income people and minority groups that has skewed the Census in recent years."

The Washington Post, Op-Ed, Brookings Institute Senior Fellow Emeritus Charles Schultze – June 17, 1998

"It would be a major mistake for Congress to force the 2000 Census to be carried out without the aid of sampling. According to the Census Bureau, that would add some \$675 million to \$800 million budgetary costs. At best it would perpetuate the inaccuracies and inequities of the 1990 Census, and more likely make them larger."

The New York Times, Editorial, "Mischievous Senate Lawmaking" – May 6, 1997

"Critics fear that sampling could make Census numbers less accurate, especially in small neighborhoods. But scientific panels for the National Research Council have concluded that sampling would improve the Census, especially for areas the size of Congressional districts—the division most important for reapportionment and Federal distribution formulas. Judicious sampling is expected to reduce the cost of the 2000 Census from about \$5 billion to about \$4 billion."

The New York Times, Editorial, "No Need to Count Every Last Person" – March 19, 1996

"The idea of using sampling to supplement counting may trouble many Americans. But the bureau's proposal is fiscally necessary and statistically sound. Sampling will cut the costs of conducting the Census and should improve its accuracy—especially for hard-to-locate minority families."

The Christian Science Monitor, Editorial, – April 28, 1998

"For a more sensible, and accurate Census, Washington's politicians should back off and let the experts in the Census Bureau apply their apolitical expertise."

The Christian Science Monitor, Editorial "Countdown to Count" – May 9, 1997

"You just can't ring every doorbell in the country, especially in areas where doorbells don't work or don't exist. Poor, disadvantaged, and uneducated Americans will be helped most by the use of sampling, whether they live in South Central Los Angeles or in the hollows of Appalachia. More accurate counting of poor, often minority populations will mean better targeting of government programs to assist them... But such political reflexes ought to be tempered by the simple fact that sampling will enable the Census Bureau to do a better job. The most accurate count possible is, after all, what the Constitution's framers had in mind when they called for an 'actual enumeration' every 10 years. Sound Census data helps provide fuel for a functioning democracy."

Roll Call, Editorial, – July 16, 1998

6.2

Republicans on the House Appropriations Committee...“moved to give the Census Bureau only half of its funding for next year and to release the rest next March – if and when Congress has voted on how the Census should be conducted. This was a blatant and dangerous move to keep the bureau from even planning to implement statistical sampling as a counting method.”

Roll Call, Editorial, “Give It Up II” –June 9, 1997

“What will influence the next round of redistricting most dramatically is not Census sampling, but political control of governorships and state legislatures in 2001. Right now, in nearly all of the states due to gain or lose seats, Republicans are doing just fine. This is a question that shouldn’t be settled on the basis of politics, but the merits. Do we want the most accurate population count possible, or don’t we? Republicans should reconsider their resounding no.”

Roll Call, Editorial, “Census Luddites” – June 20, 1996

“We can’t believe that modern politicians, who live and die by political polls, distrust the idea of gaining accurate information by random sampling. We suspect Members know full well that undercounting poor people and minorities helps politicians who represent wealthier-and whiter-localities. Since when was cheating the politically weak out of their just slice of the political pie enshrined in the Constitution?”

Business Week, Commentary by Howard Gleckman – September 22, 1997

“An inaccurate Census would also punish business. The Census provides a wealth of demographic detail that companies depend on for marketing and planning.”

The Wall Street Journal, Op-Ed by Everett Carl Ladd, “Tempest in a Census” – July 30, 1997

“Properly used, sampling is a valuable tool in many types of measurement, and it has a place in the upcoming Census. Calling it “guessing” is as uninformed as seeing it as a “magic wand” that can sweep all measurement problems away.”

USA Today, Article by William Shapiro, “Census Bureau Deserves a Chance” – June 4, 1997

“For all the political rancor of the era, the government has always upheld the integrity of its data collection. That’s why I believe the Census Bureau deserves a chance to experiment with sampling in 2000. The issue is far too important to be larded onto a supplemental appropriations bill like an old-fashioned piece of congressional pork.”

State Newspapers

California, The San Francisco Chronicle, Editorial, “Making the Census Count” – August 11, 1998

“The Republican alternative is a strict interpretation of “actual enumeration” as stated in the Constitution. Relying on mailed-out surveys and household visits isn’t practical in a country with an estimated population of 270 million. It will take a different counting method to produce an approximate number. Current plans call for counting 90 percent of the households in a Census tract and then use calculations to nail down the number of people living in the final 10 percent of the dwellings. This



method saves time and money. It should also produce an accurate number, one that fulfills the duty of the Census Bureau 6.3 and stands the test of good reason.”

California, Los Angeles Times, Editorial, “Showdown In Census Feud” – August 13, 1998

“Politics enters the picture because the kind of people whom sampling should catch—those owning no homes—lean toward Democratic candidates, while the folks overrepresented in a traditional head count, those owning multiple homes, tend to favor Republicans. House speaker Newt Gingrich is leading the Republican opposition against sampling, calling the Census ‘an issue of great importance to our party.’ But while the use of sampling in the year 2000 could cost the GOP some votes, Gingrich’s opposition could cost it more by alienating the two constituencies traditionally slighted when sampling is not used, Latinos and African Americans.”

In 1991, Gingrich defended one of those very constituencies in a Census undercount, writing a letter urging the Bush administration to use sampling to correct for a low enumeration of African Americans in Georgia in 1990. ‘If the undercount is not corrected, it would have a serious negative impact on Georgia,’ Gingrich wrote, for ‘minority voting strength would be greatly diluted.’ Gingrich should reread that letter and support the Census Bureau’s current attempt to do what he wished it had done in 1990.”

Colorado, (Boulder) Daily Camera, Editorial, “Counting Heads And Votes” – June 19, 1997

“The real issue, of course, is political. There aren’t a lot of Republicans in those uncounted millions and GOP leaders clearly are worried that the use of sampling would cause them to lose seats in congress. We doubt that the political effect would be substantial. But no political calculation should prevent the government from using the best available techniques to make the Census as accurate as it can be.”

Colorado, The Denver Post, Editorial, “Coming to our Census” – May 13, 1997

“Colorado stands to benefit from any improvement modern techniques can make in the accuracy of the 2000 Census.”

Connecticut, Stamford Advocate, Article by Mathematics and Statistics Professor Benjamin Fine entitled,

“Attacks On Census Sampling Ignore the Numbers” – July 10, 1998

“There is consensus among statisticians and demographers that the intended uses of sampling in the Census 2000 are sound, and are more likely to produce more accurate counts at lower cost than would intensified use of the traditional Census methods.”

Connecticut, The Hartford Courant, Editorial, “Sampling will improve Census accuracy” – July 21, 1997

“The Census Bureau needs authority and funding now for a dress rehearsal of all its information- gathering techniques, including sampling, to ensure the most accurate count three years hence. We wish Mr. Shays success in persuading other rank-and -file Republicans to ignore their parochial-minded leaders and do what’s right. Sampling will improve accuracy.”

Florida, The Palm Beach Post, Editorial, “Count On Big Problems” – August 10, 1998

“The Census Bureau wants to add sampling to its head count-which still would reach 90 percent of the public -to get more accurate totals. Congress is holding back planning money to force a Census the old way, errors and all... No one pays attention this early, but the foul-up of 2000 is being prepared now.”

Florida, The Tampa Tribune, Commentary, "Toward a more accurate Census" – August 9, 1998

6.4

"So both parties are going to have to get used to the idea that the counting process has never been perfect, and the 2000 version will be no different. How democratic it would be if they should put aside partisan politics for this occasion and try to make sure the next Census is as accurate as human wit can make it."

Florida, St. Petersburg Times, Editorial, "Politics shouldn't count" – June 18, 1997

"The technique (sampling) is generally regarded as accurate and has been endorsed by the American Statistical Association, the National Academy of Sciences and the General Accounting Office. Its constitutionality has been upheld by several lower courts, and the Justice Department under President Clinton, Bush and Carter has affirmed its legality...Sampling is a reasonable remedy to that (undercount) long-standing problem.

Illinois, The Chicago Sun-Times, Editorial, "Update the Census" – July 29, 1997

"For those reasons, House Republicans have offered to write what amounts to a blank check, promising the bureau whatever resources it needs to count each and every person the old-fashioned way. That is a waste of taxpayer money. At \$4 billion, a Census that uses sampling already is a rather expensive proposition. Spending \$800 million or so more to track down the last remaining American is not a responsible use of taxpayer money."

Illinois, The Chicago Tribune, Editorial, "The science of the Census" – May 15, 1997

"The Republicans want to preserve the status quo because they have benefitted the most from the current system. But where the Census is concerned, accuracy and economy-not political advantage-ought to be the primary concerns."

Maine, Bangor Daily News, "2000 and counting" – July 21, 1997

"With overblown rhetoric that would cause most folks to blush, opponents call the plan, which has the endorsement of the esteemed National Academy of Sciences, a 'risky scheme of statistical guessing.' This from the same politicians who use sampling and statistical analysis to gauge the public's mood before every election, who use these proven and finely honed techniques to declare victory five minutes after the polls close... The most undercounted segment of the population is Black America and as the recent revisitation of the abominable Tuskegee Syphilis study reminded us, Blacks have just cause to be wary when someone from the government comes knocking on the door to ask a lot of personal questions. Reluctance to count them better raises a specter of racism the GOP doesn't need and the nation can't abide."

Maryland, The Baltimore Sun, Editorial, "Census reform a necessity" – June 10, 1997

"It is not only Democrats who believe the Census that missed more than 4 million Americans in 1990 can and should be made more precise. This is also the opinion of President George Bush's Census director, Barbara Everitt Bryant, and of some academic specialists who believe Republican gains in the Sunbelt could offset losses in the inner cities.

Massachusetts, The Boston Globe, Editorial – May 13, 1997

"For the first time in history, the 1990 Census was less accurate than its predecessor, failing about 4 million Americans—roughly a million more than were undercounted in 1980... The Census Bureau's plans to rectify this problem have suddenly become a hot issue in Washington, not because of the proposed sampling technique—professionals say it is sensible and conservative—but because of politics."



Missouri, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, "GOP Plays Game With The Census" – July 19, 1997

6.5

"The battle over the 2000 Census is heating up again in Congress. Republicans insist on an actual count of each and every American – something that has long proved to be impossible. The Census Bureau wants to use statistical sampling to account for the last 10 percent of the population that's hard to find and routinely missed. The bureau is right."

New Jersey, The Record, Opinions, "Missing Americans; Playing Politics With The Census" – August 10, 1998

"What if someone drew a map of the United States and missed Los Angeles? In a way, that's essentially what happened with the 1990 Census, when the federal government did not count 4 million people. Instead of making a more accurate count possible, House Republicans last week blocked a proposal that would have helped the Census Bureau drastically reduce the number of Americans missed by using an additional counting technique.

New Mexico, Albuquerque Journal, Editorial, "Partisan Fears Skew Headcount Accuracy" – August 10, 1998

"By rejecting statistical sampling on undercounted residents, Republicans actually are, in a sense doing what they suspect Democratic administrations would do: skewing the results for partisan advantage. But counting Democrats or Republicans is not the point. The job of the Census Bureau is counting everybody as accurately as possible. The job of congress is to make sure the job gets done right, rather than fighting over who gets to cook the Census books."

New York, Syracuse Herald-Journal; SYRC, Editorial, "Accuracy Is The Goal- Census Should Use Best Methods" – July 16, 1997

"Accuracy, of course, is the goal here. If the Republicans fear that Democrats could manipulate the numbers to create more Democratic congressional districts or to consolidate power, they ought to be putting their energy toward ensuring a truly accurate count. It is utterly ridiculous to have lawmakers working to prevent the most accurate Census that could be done- especially when they so strongly believe in polling methods."

New York, Newsday, Editorial, "The Next Census Ought to Count All Americans" – June 16, 1997

"The Clinton administration is backing the numbers crunchers, and it is right. Republicans, panicked they might lose congressional seats with a more accurate inner-city count, intend to fight again. They are acting out of self-interest, not the national interest."

North Carolina, The News and Observer, ED-OP, "Counting on Errors" – August 10, 1998

"By now, the Bureau should be well into planning for its count at the turn of the century, but the GOP money squeeze endangers the work.... Door-to-door enumeration by itself no longer accomplishes that. Statistical sampling won't get a perfect count, either. But experts say it will come much closer... Republicans are doing the country, their country, no favors in holding the task hostage to politics."

Ohio, The Columbus Dispatch, Editorial, "Census & sensibility: Testing now to improve 2000 head count" –January 31, 1996

"In fact no one wants to avoid the mistakes, costs and old-fashioned techniques of the 1990 count more than people at the Census Bureau... Thus, Congress should provide sufficient funds to the bureau now so that adequate testing can take place before 2000, in order to improve accuracy and reduce costs."

Oregon, Register-Guard, "A first for the Census" – March 31, 1997

"The Constitution requires only that an "actual enumeration" of U.S. citizens be conducted every 10 years, and it gives Congress authority to decide how that should be accomplished. Years ago, Congress wisely turned the mechanics of the Census over to the secretary of commerce. The current secretary, William Daley, and Census Bureau Director Martha Farnsworth seem determined that the Census ushering in the new millennium will be the most accurate in the country's history. Congress should not stand in their way."

Oregon, Register-Guard, "Census going modern" – March 8, 1996

"The important thing, of course, is that the next Census be as accurate and credible as possible. Statistical sampling is a scientifically accepted way to achieve that. The Census Bureau is to be commended for its belated, but nonetheless welcome, decision to enter the modern age."

Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Editorial, "Census Sense; the Use of 'Sampling' Is Scientific And Constitutional" – June 14, 1998

"Sampling is not weird science; many experts in the field favor the method. It also has ample precedent. As it is, the Census Bureau takes 200 sample surveys each year. Some sampling in a major Census was done as long ago as 1940. As a panel from the National Research Council observed, 'It is fruitless to continue trying to count every last person with traditional Census methods of physical enumeration.' Census day 2000 is April 1. The nation will be ill-served if partisan politics obstructs the use of the best way to get the most accurate count."

Pennsylvania, The Philadelphia Inquirer, Editorial, "Con-Census: Too Many Are Losing Out In Population Counts; A Statistical Projection Could Bring The Numbers Up" – June 9, 1997

"Republicans worry that the Clinton administration, with its less-than-fanatical devotion to ethics, might distort such projections for partisan advantage. They cite evidence that the citizenship applicants of thousands of resident aliens (and likely Democrats) were rushed through last year. But under the Census plan, an outside panel of experts would be set up to make sure the statistical projections were sound. Another part of the GOP critique is that the Constitution requires an "actual enumeration" every 10 years.

But the Census Bureau's methodology – designed as it is to reduce chronic inaccuracy – upholds the spirit of the Constitution better than an error-plagued head count. The main reason Republicans are fighting the Census plan – for example, by tucking an amendment into last week's disaster-relief bill – is their fear that more Democrats now go uncounted than Republicans. That's partisanship as bald as what they suspect from the Democrats. And it's no reason to stand by an antiquated Census that disregards millions of Americans."

Tennessee, The Commercial Appeal, "National Head Count" – July 19, 1997

To insist that the nation's Census in 2000 be done by tapping every American on the head, so to speak, is to ensure a deliberate undercount.

Texas, Houston Chronicle, Editorial "Counting Heads; No Reason to Keep U.S. Census Inaccurate" – June 4, 1998

"An accurate Census serves all Americans and harms no political party. True, state and federal funding formulas would be significantly affected, but wouldn't the nation be better off if government spending were based upon accurate rather than grossly inaccurate population numbers?"



Texas, The Houston Chronicle, Editorial, "Accuracy A Must; Much riding on correct Census count for Houston" – June 23, 1997

6.7

"For years, the Census Bureau has infamously undercounted the population, particularly in Texas. In the 1990 count, more than 4 million people in the country-an estimated 500,000 in Texas-were missed... Undercounting the population is not inconsequential. Texas and other states where undercounts were greatest lost out on additional House seats and, more important, billions of federal dollars ranging from Medicaid to highway construction funds. State officials believe missed heads in the 1980 Census cost Texas roughly \$600 million in federal money.

That is funding that, in fairness, the state of Texas cannot afford to concede again... An estimated 5 percent of all Hispanics and blacks were not counted in 1990. In Houston, where Hispanics and blacks account for more than half of the population, that's a major problem... But Texas Republicans should know better than most the stakes riding on an accurate count. Houston has a great deal at stake with the accuracy of the next Census, and political party interests shouldn't take a front seat over the greater interests of the community as a whole."

Texas, The Dallas Morning News, Editorial, "Congress needs to fund new approaches" – May 29, 1997

"To be sure, The Dallas Morning News has in the past registered its concern over 'Census adjustments.' Still, concerns such as the following have been answered one by one:

- Accuracy. The 1990 Census was the first to be less accurate than its predecessor. Now, even the Bush administration appointee who oversaw the 1990 Census has endorsed sampling as promoting accuracy.
- Constitutionality. The Constitution says that all people shall be counted. But numerous legal experts believe that sampling is a reasonable option that would pass muster with the Supreme Court.
- Politicization. Could sampling be susceptible to manipulation by one party or the other? That's a risk anywhere in government. Trust has to be placed in the professionalism and integrity of civil service professionals at the Census Bureau.

The most important issue in this debate over how to conduct the Census should be achieving the most accurate Census possible. That will promote fairness and confidence in our political system. Toward this end-whether on the basis of scientific accuracy or cost-objections to sampling are falling by the wayside, and rightly so."

Texas, Ft. Worth Star Telegram, "Census Politics" – May 14, 1997

"It is well to remember that the politicians who decry using a scientific sampling based on 10 percent of the uncounted homes are happy to stake their political futures on polls that are based on much smaller samplings. As we said, this is now mostly about partisan politics rather than 'enumerating' the population."

Virginia, Roanoke Times & World News, Editorial – June 28, 1998

"In the final analysis, the constitutional objective of the Census is to arrive at as accurate an enumeration of the population as is humanly possible. Proven, impartial science is far more likely to engender confidence in numbers than partisan political expedience."

## Census 2000: What the Constitution Says

7.1

“Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct.”

## Article I, Section 2, Subsection 3, United States Constitution

As Congress continues to consider the Census Bureau's plans to use scientific statistical procedures in the 2000 Census, the constitutionality of these methods has become a key point of debate. Opponents of sampling contend that the words "actual enumeration" in Article I, Section 2, of the Constitution require a physical headcount of the population. The weight of legal opinion, however, supports the Census Bureau's conclusion that the Constitution permits the use of sampling and other statistical methods to improve the accuracy of a good-faith effort to count people directly.

- Separate opinions issued by the Department of Justice under Presidents Carter, Bush and Clinton all concluded that the Constitution permits the use of sampling and statistical methods as part of the Census.
- Stuart M. Gerson, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Division, in the Bush Administration, concluded in a July 1991 memorandum to the Commerce Department's General Counsel that the term "enumeration" in the Constitution "is more likely found in the accuracy of Census taking rather than in the selection of any particular method." "Nothing...indicates any additional intent on the part of the Framers to restrict for all time...the manner in which the Census is conducted," Gerson wrote. He also pointed out that the words "actual Enumeration" were used to distinguish an apportionment based on an accounting of the population in a Census, as opposed to the process of conjecture and political compromise used for the initial apportionment that preceded the first Census. The Department of Justice in the Bush Administration concluded that sampling was not prohibited by the Constitution, even though as a matter of policy, the Administration opposed the use of sampling methods to "adjust" for the undercount in the 1990 Census.
- Opponents of sampling have expressed concern that these methods are subject to political manipulation. However, in the memorandum cited above, Stuart Gerson noted that a headcount also "might be subject to political manipulation in the form of a congressional refusal to appropriate sufficient funds...or by an overly restrictive local review procedure. On the other hand, Census Bureau statisticians might perform a statistical adjustment in a manner yielding highly accurate results." Gerson cited possible congressional refusal to allocate sufficient funds for Census programs aimed at reducing the undercount of minorities as an example.
- The Constitution requires a Census every ten years "in such manner as [the Congress] shall by law direct." Jack Rakove, a Pulitzer Prize-winning history professor at Stanford University, observed that "the clause clearly empowers Congress to use its judgment to determine the best mode of Census taking." He went on to observe that, "[A]t no time in 1787 or 1788 did the framers and ratifiers of the Constitution discuss the question of exactly how the enumeration would be conducted."
- All courts that have considered whether the Constitution precludes anything but a physical headcount of the population have concluded that the Census Bureau may use sampling and statistical methods to improve the accuracy of a good-faith direct counting effort. The courts have assumed that the Constitution might not permit sampling to substitute

completely for a traditional direct counting effort, a design that the Census Bureau has not considered.

7.2

- While the Supreme Court has not yet ruled directly on whether the Constitution prohibits statistical methods as part of the Census, the Court has consistently held that the Secretary of Commerce has considerable discretion in deciding the best way to take the Census. In *Wisconsin v. City of New York* (1996), the Court said: "The text of the Constitution vests Congress with virtually unlimited discretion in conducting the decennial 'actual Enumeration'...Through the Census Act, Congress has delegated broad authority over the Census to the Secretary."

Critics of the Census Bureau's plan to use sampling in the 2000 Census have challenged the constitutionality and legality of those methods in court. In February 1998, the U.S. House of Representatives, at the direction of Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-GA), filed suit against the Commerce Department in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, to prevent the use of sampling and statistical procedures to produce the population counts used for congressional reapportionment. Also in February, a similar legal challenge was filed in U.S. District Court in the Eastern District of Virginia by Rep. Bob Barr (R-GA) and several individual plaintiffs. The latter suit was spearheaded by the Southeastern Legal Foundation, an Atlanta-based conservative public interest law firm.

In the Census Bureau's annual funding bill, Congress directed that the Federal courts hearing challenges to the use of sampling in the Census do so on an expedited basis. The rulings of the Federal district courts in the two pending cases may be appealed directly to the U.S. Supreme Court. Oral arguments in the U.S. House of Representatives case were heard on June 11, 1998 while arguments in the Glavin case were heard on August 7, 1998.

Working Group on  
**ANCESTRY**  
in the U.S. Census

As the countdown to the 2000 Census continues, debate over funding and methodology tends to dominate the local and national press. In fact, the collection of data on ancestry of the full U.S. population is essential to understanding the demographics of our nation and forms a crucial part of the Census debate. This is why the Working Group on Ancestry calls for the continuation of the long form in the 2000 Census, including the question on ancestry based on the data's broad range of practical and effective uses. As you work to support a fair and accurate Census, remember how much we all depend on reliable ethnic data.

#### Political and Civic Leaders

Ancestry data constitutes an invaluable asset for politicians and civic leaders who need to target ethnic constituencies on numerous occasions to solicit their feedback on policy issues and government initiatives of concern. Conversely, grassroots organizations depend wholly on ancestry data to identify, locate and mobilize their constituencies in order to make their voice loud and clear to government. America's image of an all-inclusive democracy would demand such information be available.

#### Business, Journalists and Social Scientists

People in the business world from corporations to manufacturers and retailers depend on accurate and reliable ethnic data for market research and economic expansion. Furthermore, researchers would rely on ancestry data to study individual population groups, demographic trends, specific patterns of acculturation, economic and educational mobility and citizenship. Clearly, the benefits would far outweigh the costs of ethnic data.

#### Civil Rights Organizations, Health and Social Service Agencies

Local and state agencies which deal with health care, social service and civil rights issues would depend on ancestry data for outreach and needs assessments of population groups in the community. In addition, data on national origin is a prerequisite for monitoring ethnic constituencies and issues which arise dealing with discrimination, entitlement and affirmative action. It is essential that these people need to rally around the cause of accurate ancestry and ethnic data.

Unless action is taken to ensure that the long form of the Census questionnaire is part of the 2000 Census, vital data regarding our nation's diverse mix of ethnic constituencies will be misrepresented, under-represented or not represented at all. Virtually every agency, business, institution relies on ethnic data to some extent. The only concern is that the cost of the long form may become an issue during appropriation deliberations. While the cost of the long form, which is mailed to twenty million households, is estimated to be \$300 million, there is no way to place a value on the information it will reap. The long form with inclusion of the ancestry question is an investment in the public good for the future and should be strongly supported by all Americans.

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## Census 2000: Women and Children

11.1

Women, children, and families have a special stake in the accuracy of the upcoming 2000 Census. Children were the most likely population to be missed in the 1990 Census. While children under the age of 18 represented 26 percent of the total population that year, they accounted for an incredible 52 percent of the undercount, with over two million children not being counted at all. More than three hundred and forty thousand children were missed in California alone!!

Even more troubling is that the 1990 Census disproportionately missed children in minority communities – 7 percent of Black children, 5 percent of Hispanic children, and more than 6 percent of American Indian children, according to the Census Bureau.

Decennial Census data provide the basis for local, state, and federal policy makers to make critical decisions affecting women, children and families including:

- where child care facilities are needed;
- the number of programs needed to enable low-income families to obtain child care while they are at work, in job training, or at school;
- funds allocated to local agencies for food, healthcare, and legal services provided to senior citizens;
- the number of people eligible for social security and medicare benefits;
- funds directed towards services for the homeless or people living in poverty; and,
- the design of facilities for people with disabilities, the elderly, or children.

When large numbers of children are missed, states and localities receive less than their fair share of Federal program funds that are allocated based on Census numbers and must use their own funds to compensate for the undercount. Every day, state and local governments struggle to serve the actual number of children and families with inadequate funds due to the Census undercount. This has meant a continuing hardship for state and local officials trying to serve the needs of their communities because millions of dollars are incorrectly distributed each year based on inaccurate population figures. This in turn reduces the state and local funds available for other community services.

### A NUMBER OF PROGRAMS CRITICAL FOR WOMEN, CHILDREN AND FAMILIES RELY ON ACCURATE CENSUS INFORMATION

Census information is:

- Needed to fund Child Care and Development Block Grants that improve and maintain the health of infants, children, and families who use child care programs, and also to develop community networks between public health agencies, private sector health providers, and community child care agencies;
- Needed for Violence Against Women Formula Grants that are awarded to states and territories to develop and strengthen the criminal justice system's response to violence against women – including domestic violence, sexual

assault, and stalking. Every year, each state and territory receives a minimum of \$500,000, plus additional funds based on population;

11.2

- Used for grants to the states and territories under the Crime Victim Assistance program for state crime victim compensation and victim assistance programs and for the Public Safety Partnership and Community Policing Grants that provide policing agencies and community-based entities with a unique opportunity to work together to reduce crime;
- Used as a basis for Head Start funding that provides a wide range of services to primarily low-income children, ages 0 to 5, and their families. The services provided include language development, medical, dental, and mental health services (including screening and immunizations); and nutritional and social services;
- Used under the Rural Domestic Violence and Child Victimization Enforcement Grant program to improve and increase services available to women and children in rural areas by encouraging community involvement in preventing domestic violence and child abuse.

For example, Nancy Zirkin, of the American Association of University Women, said the undercount hurt educators trying to plan ahead. She said half of those not counted in 1990 were poor children, which cut financing for federal programs aimed at helping school-aged children from poor families (Associated Press, July 28, 1998). As a result of the inaccuracy of the 1990 Census, many children were denied an equal voice in their government. Billions of dollars employing population-based formulas – for schools, crime prevention, health care, and transportation – were misdirected.

Because the Census plays such an integral role in the planning and funding of programs benefitting women and children such as these, it is essential that an accurate count of women and children is attained in the 2000 Census.

National women's and children's organizations overwhelmingly support the Census Bureau's plan for a fair and accurate Census. Some of these groups include: American Association of University Women, Children's Defense Fund; League of Women Voters of Los Angeles; National Women's Political Caucus; and, the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund.



## Census 2000: People of Color

The 1990 undercount of racial and ethnic minority groups, referred to as the “differential undercount,” was the highest ever recorded since the Census Bureau began conducting post-Census evaluations in 1940, missing 4.4 percent of African Americans; 5 percent of Americans of Hispanic origin; 2.3 percent of Asians and Pacific Islanders; and, over 12 percent of Native Americans living on reservations.

But the undercount of these populations is only part of the problem of the 1990 Census.

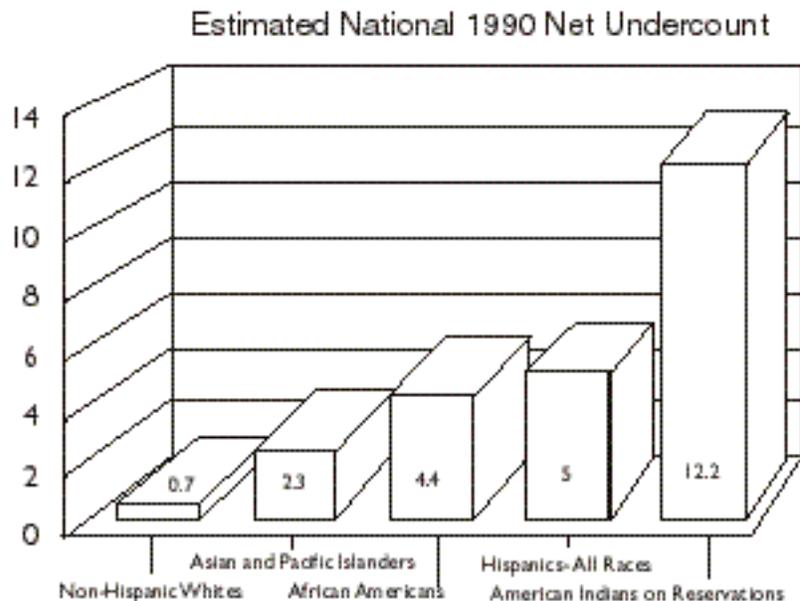
The real problem of the 1990 Census was that the total miscount – the number of individuals missed and those individuals who were double-counted – was over 12 million people, according to evaluations by the General Accounting Office. That is the equivalent of disregarding the entire population of the State of Ohio, or the State of Michigan, or most of Illinois. Moreover, the people missed did not live in the same communities as the people who were counted twice – the mistakes did not cancel each other out.

As a result of the inaccuracy of the 1990 Census, many individuals were denied an equal voice in their government. Federal spending employing population-based formulas – for schools, crime prevention, health care, and transportation – was misdirected.

### Why are People of Color Disproportionately Undercounted?

There are several reasons why people of color and the poor are consistently and disproportionately undercounted by the Census including: 1) mail and door-to-door collection methods have lower response rates in lower income areas; 2) lower education levels, illiteracy, or difficulty with the English language affect the ability of many individuals to understand the Census; 3) a general misunderstanding of the importance of Census participation; and, 4) distrust or suspicion of government leading to the fear that the Census may be used by immigration and/or law enforcement officials to deport or incarcerate or may disqualify one for social welfare programs.

As a result of the inaccuracy of the 1990 Census, many individuals were denied an equal voice in their government. Federal spending employing population-based formulas – for schools, crime prevention, health care, and transportation – was misdirected.



## Census 2000: Individuals With Disabilities

13.1

### Accuracy is Critical in 2000

Just like other people, individuals with disabilities will lose out if there is an inaccurate Census count in 2000. Census data are the basis for virtually all demographic information used by educators, policy makers, and community leaders and directly affect funding for many programs critical to individuals with disabilities including programs for health care, transportation, employment training, and housing. Federal, state, and county governments use Census information to guide the annual distribution of \$180 billion dollars in critical services.

### A Number of Programs Critical for Individuals with Disabilities Rely on Accurate Census Information

Census information is:

- Used by state and county agencies to plan for eligible recipients under the Medicare, Medicaid, and Supplemental Security Income programs;
- Used to distribute funds and develop programs for people with disabilities and the elderly under the Rehabilitation Act;
- Required under the Housing and Urban Development Act to distribute funds for housing for people with disabilities;
- Used to allocate funds to states and local areas for employment and job training programs for veterans under the Job Training Partnership Act, Disabled Veterans Outreach Program;
- Needed under the Americans with Disabilities Act to ensure that comparable public transportation services are available for all segments of the population;
- Required to award Federal grants, under the Older Americans Act, based on the number of elderly people with physical and mental disabilities;
- Used to allocate funds for mass transit systems to provide facilities for disabled persons under the Federal Transit Act;
- Used under the Disabled Veterans Outreach Program for a collection of job development services for disabled veterans including counseling, job training and placement services.
- Used under the Housing Opportunities for Persons with AIDS (HOPWA) program to provide housing assistance and supportive services for low-income persons with HIV/AIDS and their families; and,
- Needed for Special Education Preschool Grants that make available special education for children ages 3 through 5.

## Census 2000: Senior Citizens

14.1

### Accuracy is Critical in 2000

WHY IS AN ACCURATE CENSUS SO IMPORTANT? Article I, Section 2, of the United States Constitution places the Census at the core of our democratic system of governance. The decennial Census provides information that is the cornerstone of knowledge about the American people. It is the basis for virtually all demographic information used by educators, policy makers, journalists, and community leaders.

- Census data directly affects decisions made on all matters of national and local importance, including education, employment, veterans' services, public health care, rural development, the environment, transportation and housing. Many Federal programs are statutorily required to use decennial data to develop, evaluate and implement their programs;
- Federal, state, and county governments use Census information to guide the annual distribution of hundreds of billions of dollars in critical services;
- Congressional seats are reapportioned and legislative districts are drawn based on decennial Census data; and,
- The data are also used to monitor and enforce compliance with civil rights statutes, including the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and employment, housing, lending, and education anti-discrimination laws.

### A Number of Programs Critical to Seniors Rely on Accurate Census Information

Census information is:

- Used by state and county agencies to forecast people eligible for Social Security and Medicare;
- Used by planners to determine the number of hospitals, health service centers, and retirement homes;
- Used to help elderly persons with nutritionally sound meals through senior citizen distribution centers or via meals-on-wheels programs through the Nutrition Education Program;
- Used to distribute funds and develop programs for people with disabilities and the elderly under the Rehabilitation Act.
- Needed to enforce equal employment opportunity under the Age Discrimination and Employment Act;
- Used by planners to ensure that comparable public transportation services are available for all segments of the population;
- Required to award Federal grants, under the Older Americans Act, based on the number of elderly people with physical and mental disabilities;
- Used to enable older people who cannot afford to repay a loan the ability to remove health and safety hazards in their homes under the Very Low-Income Housing Repair Loans and Grants program;

- Needed for the Senior Community Service Employment program – a national program that recruits, trains, and offers job placement services to economically disadvantaged individuals aged fifty-five and older. SCSEP, funded under Title V of the Older Americans Act, helps seniors with poor employment prospects to gain financial independence through employment training, referrals and counseling; 14.2
- Needed for the Prevention of Elderly Abuse, Neglect, and Exploitation program to coordinate state and local adult protective efforts with other states and local service programs that focus on elderly abuse prevention and intervention;
- Used under the Long Term Care Ombudsman Services for Older Americans program whereby state and local long term care ombudsmen speak and act on behalf of the residents of nursing homes by investigating nursing facility complaints and providing community support to those who often cannot speak or act on their own behalf; and,
- Needed for Indian Program Grants to Indian Tribes and Grants to Native Hawaiians that help provide meals, health-care, and transportation to elder Native Americans and Native Hawaiians who are disproportionately poorer than the older population in general.

The accuracy of the 2000 Census has significant implications for the education of the nation's schoolchildren. Not only does the Census provide the U.S. Department of Education with the most comprehensive data on school enrollment and educational attainment, but school district boundaries and funding for many education programs are based on Census figures.

#### A Number of Critical Education Programs Rely on Accurate Census Information

Census information is:

- Used under the Goals 2000 State and Local Education Systematic Improvement program to develop comprehensive education improvement plans for states, local school districts, and schools. Goals 2000 challenges states and communities to develop academic content standards, student performance assessments, and plans for improving teacher training;
- Used for Safe and Drug Free Schools and Communities State Grants that provide support to state education agencies for a variety of drug and violence prevention activities focused primarily on school-age youth;
- Needed for Special Education Preschool Grants for children ages 3 through 5. Funds under this program are also used to cover the costs of related services including the salaries of special education teachers, speech therapists, and psychologists;
- Used to reform elementary and secondary school programs that serve Indian students under the Indian Education Grants to Local Educational Agencies program; and,
- Needed to fund the Title I Program for Neglected and Delinquent Children that provides grants to states to help provide education continuity for youth in correctional facilities so they can make successful transitions to school or employment once they are released from state institutions;

Additionally, the decennial Census provides a comprehensive demographic database that supports the informed development of education policy. This database is compiled from the Census short form sent to all households, and the Census long form which is sent to one of every six households.

- The decennial Census provides the most comprehensive data on school enrollment at every educational level, including whether individuals attend public or private schools, and educational attainment;
- These databases on school enrollment and educational achievement also contain corresponding information on the nation's student population and the households in which they live, including location, age, gender, income, family structure, labor characteristics, disabilities, and other demographic characteristics.

The Census short and long forms provide federal, state, local, and district level educational officials with data benchmarks for evaluating the impact and effectiveness of education policies.

- The decennial Census database is also used for a number of critical education functions, including the drawing of school district boundaries, the provision of direct aid to schools with children whose English proficiency is limited, the determination of illiteracy levels among language minorities, profiling the socio-economic conditions of school-age children, and measuring changes in education levels across communities so employers can determine where to locate

new jobs;

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- There is no comparable comprehensive source of information about the population to assist U.S. Department of Education initiatives.

The comprehensive decennial Census data – the basic demographic information compiled through both the short and long forms – is used to help allocate \$14 billion a year in education funding (FY 1996).

- The Census is used to disperse Title I grants for state educational agencies to improve the education of economically disadvantaged children most at-risk, and to distribute funding for the Rehabilitation Services-Vocational Rehabilitation State Grants program and the Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities program;
- Other U.S. Department of Education programs that use the data in their allocation formulas and eligibility determinations include: Special Education - Grants for Infants and Families with Disabilities; the Innovative Education Program Strategies; Eisenhower Professional Development State Grants; and Adult Education Grants for Working Americans.

The Census undercount does not merely affect urban communities. Individuals living in rural areas are missed as well. And poor rural areas are missed to a greater degree than the country as a whole. The Census Bureau's plan for the 2000 Census is applied in the same manner, block by Census block, across the country, in urban and rural areas. Urban areas are not treated differently, nor do they receive any special treatment under the Census Bureau's plan. Rather, undercounts in both rural and urban communities will be substantially reduced through the Census Bureau's plan for the 2000 Census. Consider:

- In the 1990 Census, rural renters were missed at a rate of 5.9 percent compared to the national average rate of 1.6 percent. Because individuals who rent homes are more likely than homeowners to be poor, the proportion of poor rural people who were missed was far greater than the nation as a whole. Ninety percent of the rural renters missed were White.

Individuals living in rural areas are especially difficult to count for several reasons. Many homes are very remote and therefore, inaccessible. Also, individuals living in rural areas tend to use post office boxes and/or general delivery addresses rather than individual home addresses, thereby making it difficult to collect Census forms. Efforts also are hampered by difficult-to-find addresses such as "rural routes" and post office box numbers.

#### Accurate Decennial Census Data is Vital for Rural America

Census information is used to plan the building of tunnels, bridges, and roads. The data are used to help federal and local emergency management agencies assess the damage of tornadoes, floods and drought, and plan recovery assistance. Census data are used to help the Department of Veteran Affairs plan hospitals and nursing homes for veterans. And Census data help local governments and businesses plan future economic development by forecasting future demand for goods and services.

- In the South, in 1990, the undercount of "white renters" was 6.23 percent, representing over 10 percent of the total national undercount. For American Indians living on reservations, the 1990 undercount was more than 12 percent;
- The use of scientific methods to correct undercounting in the initial Census counts does not shift, or redistribute, population toward urban areas. In 1990, 75 percent of the population lived in urban areas, versus 25 percent in rural areas. Urban areas accounted for 80 percent of the undercount; rural areas for 20 percent – roughly the same ratio. If the 1990 Census had been adjusted, using statistical methods, to correct the undercount, the population counts would have been made more accurate in both urban and rural areas, leaving the distribution roughly the same.

#### A Number of Programs Critical to Rural Communities Rely on Accurate Census Information

Census information is:

- Needed to provide food to individuals, families, and institutions through the Food Donation Program;
- Needed to finance business facilities and community development projects in rural areas. Loans are made by the Rural Business - Cooperative Service (RBS) to intermediaries to establish revolving loan funds for rural recipients under Intermediary Relending Programs;

- Business and Industrial Loans – for improving, developing, or financing businesses and industries, creating jobs, and improving the economic and environmental climate in rural communities (including pollution abatement); 16.2
- Used for assisting rural communities that have had a significant decline in the quantity or quality of drinking water to repair and replace rural water treatment facilities through the Emergency Community Water Assistance program;
- Used to distribute funds through the Rural Domestic Violence and Child Victimization Enforcement Grant Program – to improve and increase services available to women and children in rural areas by encouraging community involvement in preventing domestic violence and child abuse. Funding helps increase victims' access to treatment and counseling, and further strengthens the investigation and prosecution of domestic violence and child abuse cases;
- Used to distribute funds through Rural Development Loans and Loan Guarantees – zero interest loans and grants for telephone and electric utilities to promote rural economic development and job creation;
- Used to distribute funds through Rural Cooperative Development Grants – to improve the economic condition of rural areas through the development of new cooperatives and the improvement of existing cooperatives; and,
- Used for low income and moderate-income rural residents to purchase, construct, repair, or relocate a dwelling and related facilities under the Very Low to Moderate Income Housing Loans program.

“An inaccurate Census would also punish business. The Census provides a wealth of demographic detail that companies depend on for marketing and planning.” Business Week, Commentary by Howard Gleckman – September 22, 1997

Businesses of all sizes and types rely on Census data to reach decisions that allow them to operate more efficiently. The business community utilizes Census data for marketing, hiring, selecting site locations, as well as forecasting future demand for goods and services. In short, Census data help businesses to make more knowledgeable decisions about the people they serve and thereby enhance overall economic performance.

Site selection is one common application of Census data for the business community

- Census data (age, race, gender, income, occupation, household composition, the number of vehicles available to a household, and the cost of shelter) assist businesses in choosing where to locate new stores, banks, fast food restaurants, and other retail or service enterprises;
- Bank lenders and insurance companies use Census data to evaluate financial risks and investment planning;
- Builders and contractors are particularly interested in housing-related Census data in order to select sites for new housing construction as well as rehabilitation projects.

Census data are critical for businesses to better understand the local labor supply

- A major concern to the business community is having an adequate supply of skilled workers. Census data provide this needed information so that businesses are able to determine whether a geographic area has the labor force skills needed for a specific industry; and,
- Census data also are critical in helping administrators, personnel managers, and employees to determine whether a firm is complying with federal regulations that promote fair employment practices.

Census data help businesses target their goods and services to particular consumers

- Businesses selling products or services to specific demographic groups use Census data to help forecast changing trends in their consumer attitudes, behaviors, and lifestyles. For example, Census data showing growth in single-person households have prompted companies to produce various lines of single-serving portions of packaged foods;
- Businesses use demographic, social, economic, and housing data from the Census for their marketing and advertising campaigns; and,
- Service organizations such as Big Brothers of America use data on the characteristics of young men such as age, education, occupation, and income to estimate the number of potential volunteers in metropolitan areas.



The debate about how the 2000 Census ought to be conducted dates back several Censuses; however, a review of the last Census – the 1990 Census – provides a context for the current debate.

1990 According to the Census Bureau, the 1990 Census missed 8.4 million people and double-counted 4.4 million others. The net undercount rate of 1.6 percent (4 million people) in 1990 was 50 percent greater than in 1980. In addition, the difference between the undercount of whites and the undercount of ethnic minority groups (known as the 'differential undercount' was the highest ever recorded since the Census Bureau began conducting post-Census evaluations in 1940, missing 4.4 percent of African Americans; 5 percent of Americans of Hispanic origin; 2.3 percent of Asians and Pacific Islanders; and, more than 12 percent of Native Americans living on reservations. While children under the age of 18 represented 26 percent of the total national population that year, they accounted for an incredible 52 percent of the undercount.

In 1990, Robert Mosbacher, Secretary of the U.S. Department of Commerce, decided against adjusting the Census to correct for the undercounts and overcounts despite the recommendation of Census Bureau Director Barbara Bryant to do so and a U.S. Department of Justice memo saying that the use of sampling is both constitutional and legal. As a result, the 1990 Census was the first one in five decades to be less accurate than its predecessor.

Upset with the results and cost of the 1990 Census, Congress unanimously passed and President Bush signed into law the Decennial Census Improvement Act of 1991 (P.L. 102-135) that directed the National Academy of Sciences (the Academy) to study "the means by which the Government could achieve the most accurate population count possible."

1996 In February, the U.S. Department of Commerce and the Bureau of the Census unveiled "The Plan For Census 2000" in response to the 1991 legislation and the subsequent guidelines and recommendations of the National Academy of Sciences. Since 1990, the Census Bureau had worked hard to research, test, and evaluate Census methods to achieve the objectives set by Congress in the 1991 Decennial Census Improvement Act. The Bureau has been guided by recommendations from independent experts, including three panels of the National Academy of Sciences, the General Accounting Office, and the Commerce Department's Office of Inspector General.

In one report to the Bureau, the National Academy of Sciences concluded, "It is fruitless to continue trying to count every last person with traditional Census methods of physical enumeration...[P]hysical enumeration or pure 'counting' has been pushed well beyond the point at which it adds to the overall accuracy of the Census...Techniques of statistical estimation can be used, in combination with the mail questionnaire and reduced scale of follow-up of non-respondents, to produce a better Census at reduced costs."

The resulting plan for 2000 combines a more aggressive direct enumeration effort, including several mailings to every household and multiple response options, with modern scientific sampling techniques to complete the count of the final non-responding households and to eliminate the pervasive differential undercount of people of color and the urban and rural poor.

In March, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Congress has delegated "virtually unlimited discretion" in how to conduct the Census to the Secretary of Commerce, and given him broad latitude in how the Census is conducted. The Court ruled that the Secretary was within his authority to reject therecommendations to correct the 1990 Census. The ruling came in a lawsuit filed in 1991 by the City of New York and several other state and local governments

and outside stakeholders who called on the Secretary of Commerce, Robert Mosbacher, to adjust the 1990 Census to correct the undercount.

In September, the House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight voted 22-12 along mostly partisan lines in favor of a committee report *Sampling and Statistical Adjustment in the Decennial Census: Fundamental Flaws* that recommended against the Census Bureau's proposed use of sampling to complete the initial count and reduce the disproportionate undercount of children, people of color, and the rural and urban poor. The committee held only one hearing on the Census in 1995, before issuing the report.

In a September letter to the U.S. Senate, the U.S. Conference of Mayors (USCM) said that it is "absolutely unforgivable for the federal government to knowingly undercount millions of citizens of the United States of America when there is an acceptable means of including these persons in the official count of the Census."

Also in September, the American Statistical Association's Blue Ribbon Panel on the Census issued a report endorsing in principle the Census Bureau's plans to incorporate scientific sampling techniques into the 2000 Census "because sampling potentially increases the accuracy of the count while reducing costs."

1997 In January, the American Sociological Association (ASA) Council unanimously adopted a resolution citing sampling "as an important and valid scientific method for containing costs and improving the accuracy of the Decennial Census." The resolution urges the Secretary of Commerce and Congress to "support unequivocally" the use of scientific sampling for follow-up of non-responding households and for reducing the differential undercount in the 2000 Census.

Also in January, the National Academy of Sciences renewed its recommendation that the Census Bureau use scientific sampling methods to supplement the traditional head count. The Academy's National Research Council states in its report *Preparing For the 21st Century: Challenges Facing a Changing Society* that the "application of modern statistical methods provides an opportunity to obtain more accurate Census results at lower costs than in recent Censuses.

In February, the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO), released its "High Risk Series" report for the 105th Congress. The 2000 Census was one of five new program areas added to the list of Federal activities at risk of failure. According to the report, the inability of Congress and the Census Bureau to agree on Census methods could lead to an "unsatisfactory" Census at a "substantially higher cost."

In April, the National League of Cities, U.S. Conference of Mayors, National Association of Counties wrote in a letter to the Honorable Robert C. Byrd, Ranking Member, Senate Appropriations Committee "...we understand the Census Bureau is planning to count at least 90 percent of the individuals residing in all local areas and then use their statistical sampling technique for the remaining non-responding households. We believe the sampling technique is vital to ensure the most accurate possible Census count, especially in "hard-to-enumerate" areas, rural and urban, where access to households is difficult. We believe the integrity of the Census is important for trust and respect of the government and for corporate and governmental services to all of our constituents."

In early May, Congress revisited the issue when the Senate Appropriations Committee passed the disaster relief spending bill with a provision prohibiting the Census Bureau from preparing to use sampling in the 2000 Census. An amendment offered by Senator Ernest Hollings (D-SC) to strike that language was defeated by a 13-15 vote.

Also in early May, the Consortium of Social Science Associations (COSSA), wrote a letter to the U.S. Senate stating, "Prohibiting the use of sampling will also prevent the Census Bureau from correcting millions of errors in the count. In 1990 ten million people were missed and six million people were counted twice. The Census undercount is not just an urban issue. One-third of those missed in 1990 lived in rural areas, most of them poor and white (emphasis in original)."



Later in May, the Senate agreed to compromise language in an emergency spending bill that allowed the Census Bureau to proceed with its plans to use sampling in the 2000 Census. The amendment offered by Senator Ernest Hollings (D-SC), and accepted by Appropriations Committee Chair Ted Stevens (R-AK), as well as Subcommittee Chairman Judd Gregg (R-NH), prohibited the Census Bureau from making any “irreversible” decisions regarding the use of sampling that would affect the final population numbers used for apportionment.

In June, House and Senate conferees on the disaster relief bill approved a provision that banned all sampling and statistical procedures that affect the Census population counts used to apportion the House of Representatives. In addition to prohibiting the expenditure of funds on these techniques in any fiscal year, the new language amended the Census Bureau’s authorizing law to ban current and future use of such methods. The provision essentially barred the use of any sampling or statistical procedure to take the Census except for the administration of the Census long form to a sample of households.

In June, a report from the National Academy of Sciences finds, “Changing, updating, and adapting the Census methods is a proven and desirable course of action. Change is not the enemy of an accurate and useful Census; rather, not changing methods as the United States changes would inevitably result in a seriously degraded Census.”

President Clinton vetoed the disaster relief bill because of the prohibition on scientific sampling methods in the Census. After several weeks, Congress removed that provision and substituted the language approved originally by the Senate. It also required a report by the Census Bureau detailing its use of scientific methods in the Census. The President signed the bill into law in mid-June.

In July, Congress revisited the issue when the House Appropriations Committee passed the FY98 Commerce Department spending bill with a provision banning the use of sampling for counting the population in the Census. An amendment was offered by Rep. Mollohan (D-WV) to remove the sampling restriction, however, the amendment was defeated by a vote of 33-25, with every Republican voting against the amendment and every Democrat voting in favor.

In July, the Senate gave final approval to its version of the FY98 Commerce Department spending bill. The Senate bill included \$354.8 million for 2000 Census activities, the amount requested by the President, and prohibited the Bureau from making “irreversible” plans to use sampling in the Census. The language essentially permitted the Bureau to continue evaluating the current Census design, which includes a limited use of scientific sampling to supplement traditional counting methods in the 1998 Census Dress Rehearsal.

In the House, the FY98 Commerce Department spending bill reported out of the appropriations committee prevented any funds from being used to implement statistical sampling. An attempt was made on the House floor to strip the anti-sampling language from the bill, however, that attempt failed (197-228) on a mostly party-line vote on September 30, 1997 (Roll Call Vote #475).

In November, Congress passed the FY’98 appropriations bill (H.R. 2267) allocating \$390 million to the Census Bureau for 2000 Census activities in FY98. The President agreed to sign H.R. 2267 only after a compromise regarding the Census was worked out. The agreement called for expedited review of the constitutionality of Census sampling and created a Census monitoring board. Also, the compromise required the Census Bureau to prepare for two kinds of Censuses: one that includes scientific methods and one that does not. The Census Bureau agreed to test both designs in the 1998 Census Dress Rehearsal.

In December, Rep. Dan Miller (R-FL) was named Chair of a new subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight that will oversee the decennial Census.

1998 In January, Census Bureau Director Martha "Marty" Farnsworth Riche announced her resignation (effective January 30, 1998), citing personal reasons for her decision not to serve through the remainder of the second Clinton Administration. 18.4

In late January, the Atlanta-based Census Bureau Regional Director James Holmes was named Acting Director of the Census Bureau.

In February, the Southeastern Legal Foundation (SLF), a conservative nonprofit organization, and Representative Bob Barr (R-GA) filed a lawsuit in the Federal District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia. (Barr lawsuit) The suit (*Glavin v. Clinton*, No. 98-207-A) challenges the use of statistical methods when taking the Census.

Also in February, Speaker of the House of Representatives Newt Gingrich (R-GA) filed a lawsuit in the Federal District Court for the District of Columbia, challenging the use of statistical methods when taking the Census U.S. House of Representatives v. U.S. Department of Commerce, No. 98-CV-456 (Gingrich lawsuit).

In April, a number of interested parties moved to intervene (ask the court if they could be parties to the lawsuit) in both the Gingrich and Barr lawsuits. These parties, which include major cities, localities and civil rights organizations, believe that they have an interest in the outcome and that their position was not fully represented by the original parties to the two lawsuits.

In June, a three-judge panel in the District of Columbia District Court heard all pending motions in the Gingrich lawsuit. The judges are Royce Lamberth and Ricardo Urbana of the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C. and Douglas Ginsburg of the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals.

In late June, President Clinton nominated Kenneth Prewitt to serve as director of the U.S. Census Bureau.

In July, Congress revisited the issue when the House and Senate crafted FY'99 spending bills for the Census Bureau (included in the FY99 Commerce Department spending bill). Under the House version, only half of the \$952 million allocated for the 2000 Census would be available for the Census Bureau to spend through March 31, 1999. The remaining \$476 million cannot be spent until the President, by March 15, 1999, formally requests the funds and gives a cost estimate for completion of the Census. Rep. Alan Mollohan (D-WV) offered an amendment to remove the restrictions on the allocation, however, that attempt failed (201-227) on a mostly party-line vote on August 5, 1998 (Roll Call Vote #388). The Senate bill provides \$848 million for the 2000 Census, the amount requested by the President.

The Clinton Administration has said it will veto the appropriations bill if it includes the restrictive language in the House bill. It is likely that the FY99 Commerce Department spending bill will be rolled into a continuing resolution at the end of the 105th Congress which is scheduled to adjourn in early October.

- 1790 First Census conducted by Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, who reported two sets of numbers to President Washington. One set, written in black ink, was the official set of population numbers, which came to about 3.9 million. Jefferson also included a second set of numbers in red ink, which he characterized as representing a closer approximation of the actual number of people, even though they had not all been counted. Jefferson (and Washington) believed the true population was closer to 4.0 million. President Washington used the first Presidential veto on the apportionment bill because he did not agree with the formula used to distribute seats in the House of Representatives among the states.
- 1869 Rep. James Garfield was accused of trying to politicize the Census when he proposed that the Census be organized by congressional district rather than the territories of the U. S. Marshals. At that time, the Marshals were appointed by the Senate which objected to the proposal.
- 1870 Historians have said that a mistake in distributing electoral college seats based on the 1870 Census gave the presidency to Rutherford B. Haynes rather than Samuel J. Tilden.
- 1890 After spending eight years tallying by hand the results of the 1880 Census, Census Bureau employees invented the punch card machine for the 1890 Census. The introduction of the punch card made the Census more efficient and allowed earlier release of the data, however, it also introduced a new source of error in the Census as the data was transcribed from the form to the punch card.
- 1902 Permanent Census Office created in the Department of Commerce and by the end of the 19th Century, professional enumerators had completely replaced U.S. Marshals as the primary Census agents.
- 1910 Theodore Roosevelt vetoed the Census bill because it did not make Census enumerators part of the civil service, but rather kept them as political appointees.
- 1920 Congress, faced with a Census that showed a shift in the balance of power from rural areas to urban areas, called the numbers inaccurate. Some suggested that conducting the Census in the winter caused an undercount in rural areas. Congress let the decade go by without reapportioning the House of Representatives.
- 1940 When more young men showed up for military service than predicted by the Census, the Census Bureau began to study the undercount in the Census. Census Bureau introduced its "short form" questionnaire for the majority of the population, using the "long form" set of more detailed questions for only a sample of the population. Prior Censuses had required all residents to answer all questions.
- 1960 Following the 1950 Census, noted statistician W. Edwards Demming and his colleagues concluded that the use of enumerators going door to door introduced error into the Census, and that a system where people filled out the form themselves (self-enumeration) would be more accurate. As a result, in 1960, the Census Bureau began to collect the Census forms by mail, and by 1970 most people were counted by mail, not by going door to door. Of course, counting people by mail was criticized when it was introduced.
- 1970 Both sampling and statistical procedures were used to add persons to the 1970 Census. The 1970 Census included about 4.9 million persons who were added on the basis of various statistical procedures, including sampling. For example, a recheck of a sample of housing units labeled vacant, revealed that about 11.4 percent of the housing units originally classified as vacant were occupied.

- 1980 The U.S. Department of Justice, under President Carter, issued a memo saying that the use of sampling is both Constitutional and legal. The Census used a statistical procedure called “imputation” to add 762,000 persons into the Census count to correct for the incorrect labeling of a number of housing units as vacant. This resulted in the shift of one Congressional seat from Indiana to Florida. The State of Indiana sued and the courts upheld the use of statistical procedures in the Census.
- 1987 The U.S. Department of Commerce Under Secretary for Economic Affairs canceled the post Census survey designed to measure and correct the undercount with the 1990 Census. The City of New York, joined by dozens of cities, counties and states, sued the U.S. Commerce Department.
- 1988 The U.S. Department of Commerce and the City of New York signed an agreement to allow the “Post-Enumeration Survey” to go forward and to be evaluated by 8 experts – four appointed by the Secretary of Commerce and four appointed by the City of New York.
- 1991 The 8 experts split 4 to 4 with the four appointed by the Secretary recommending against using the survey to correct the Census and the four appointed by New York recommending in favor of correcting the numbers.

In April of 1991, then-Representative (now Speaker of the House) Newt Gingrich (R-GA) sent a letter to Robert A. Mosbacher, Secretary of Commerce, asking him to adjust the Census results for the state of Georgia “to reflect the accurate population of the state so as to include the over 200,000 [who] were not previously included.” The adjustment Rep. Gingrich asked for would have relied on the use of statistical sampling that would be prevented by the lawsuit he has now filed. Rep. Gingrich’s letter goes on to say, “...the failure to make an adjustment based upon the admitted undercount would seriously affect federal funding which Georgia receives. In effect, Georgia would be required to utilize funds to provide for an additional 200,000 for which it was not receiving funding.”

The U.S. Department of Justice, under President Bush, issued a memo saying that the use of sampling is both Constitutional and legal.

A committee of experts at the Census Bureau voted 7 to 2 in favor of correcting the Census counts. The Census Bureau Director Barbara Bryant recommended to the Secretary of Commerce that the Census counts be adjusted to correct for undercounts and overcounts. However, the Secretary decided that the survey as not sufficiently precise to adjust the Census numbers. The City of New York turned back to the court for relief.

In October, Congress unanimously passed and President Bush signed into law the Decennial Census Improvement Act of 1991 (P.L. 102-135) that directed the National Academy of Sciences (the Academy) to study “the means by which the Government could achieve the most accurate population count possible.”

- 1994 The U.S. Department of Justice, under President Clinton, issued a memo saying that the use of sampling is both Constitutional and legal.
- 1996 In March, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the New York lawsuit that Congress has delegated its authority to run the Census to the U.S. Secretary of Commerce, and given him broad latitude in how the Census is conducted. The Court ruled that the Secretary was within his authority to reject the recommendations to correct the 1990 Census.