

Census 2020: Counting the Hard to Count

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BACKGROUND

Beyond its practical implications for equitable allocation of federal funding and political representation, the constitutionally enshrined ritual of a national census has been seen as part of our country's celebration of robust growth and diversity. It is the federal government's most expansive peacetime operation, ideally involving all residents of the country.

The census is used as a basis for apportioning federal representatives, distributing billions of dollars of funds equitably, and for identifying regional needs and demographic trends nationally and locally. When people are not counted or are undercounted, the principles of equity and inclusion are jeopardized, and entire communities become voiceless in the decision making that impacts them and their children. In order for people—immigrants and others—to be fully civically engaged, democratic institutions need to be aligned with demographic reality. Participation in the census—enabling an accurate, complete, and fair count—is crucial to our democratic values on which the founding of the country was based and continues to thrive.

At the end of 2018, California Institute for Rural Studies (CIRS) joined with the Central Valley Immigrant Integration Collaborative (CVIIC) to conduct a research project in the San Joaquin Valley to identify barriers and opportunities to immigrant participation in Census 2020, including measuring the impact of the addition of a citizenship question among hard-to-count populations. Due to concern with the possible undercount of immigrant residents from the San Joaquin Valley, the San Joaquin Valley Health Fund supported a research project to determine the willingness and readiness to participate in the 2020 Census—without or with a question on the form about U.S. citizenship status. This project is called the San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project.

SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY CENSUS RESEARCH PROJECT

This is the fourth in a series of reports available online from the project.¹ Reports one through three focused on findings from Hispanic residents, while this report integrates the survey results from 174 non-Latino residents who were interviewed as part of the study.

The central research questions explored in this and the other reports were the following:

- How willing are San Joaquin Valley immigrant households to respond to Census 2020—with and without the citizenship question?
- How will region-wide response patterns vary among sub-populations?
- What barriers, if any, exist that will or could deter census participation for the San Joaquin Valley?
- How will expected levels of census participation in three distinct stages of census enumeration process—namely,
 - self-response,
 - response to follow-up by enumerators and willingness to participate in proxy interviews to secure information on non-responsive households, and
 - use of imputed data to address failure in obtaining direct information from Valley residents affect the completeness of the census count?²

The analyses reported here are designed to project the likely level of Census 2020 participation by San Joaquin Valley residents, and mitigate undercount by identifying “pressure points” where local collaboration can complement and enhance Census Bureau operations. As part of this, we hope the findings will provide guidance in designing both appropriately targeted census promotion messages and any on-the-ground assistance needed to access and complete the Census 2020 forms.

1 See <http://mail.cirsinc.org/publications/current-publications>; <https://www.shfcenter.org/San-Joaquin-Valley-Census-Research-Project>

2 The Census Bureau has devoted extensive research to predicting patterns of self-response to the decennial census—starting with the original “hard to count” score for census tracts and the subsequent “low response score” predictor. This is because non-response follow-up is very expensive and it does not provide the ideal basis for strategic intervention, because self-response is only one of several factors contributing to undercount.

RESEARCH METHODS

The Census 2020 data collection methods this research used were described in an appendix to the first report in this series, as was the model of census operations, which oriented the survey design and won't be repeated at length here.

In brief, the San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project (SJVCRP) trained a staff of local community interviewers who completed interviews with a total of 592 members of the San Joaquin Valley immigrant community.³ Almost all of the participants in both Latino and non-Latino groups were either foreign born or were the children of immigrants. The interviews were done mostly in the language respondents wished – that is, mostly not in English, although some participants chose to respond in English.⁴ Some interviews were completed in both English and another language.

The two samples (Latino and non-Latino) were generated using a sampling framework designed to approximate the profile of first- and second-generation immigrants in the region with respect to demographic characteristics, language, and citizenship status. The targets were formulated by making estimates of the proportions of the different immigrant groups in the valley (and the subgroups among them) according to official statistics and the prior knowledge of survey staff. Once the proportions of categories were generated, a wide range of venues frequented by the target populations were identified and interviews were conducted using a venue-based time-space method of sampling proven successful with “hidden” populations.⁵

The findings reported here to describe the attitudes and behaviors of immigrants regarding the census do not claim to be based on a standard multi-stage random sample of the universe under study. Instead, the goal was to be representative of the San Joaquin Valley population.⁶

Reviewing the distribution sample respondents among key demographic variables, the achieved study sample is representative of the universe of immigrants in the San Joaquin Valley (see the section entitled ‘With whom did we talk?’ later in this section.⁷ However, due to the small overall sample size of non-Latinos, there was underrepresentation of some of the diverse ethnic groups in the Valley—specifically the Punjabi Sikh as well as Filipino, Arab, Pakistani, and Cambodian populations.

As a result, within the sample of non-Latino respondents, analyses by ethnic sub-group is not possible.

The previous reports in this series explain that the survey was constructed to follow a stepwise process specifically designed to determine the attitudes and potential behaviors of respondents related to the proposed Citizenship Question (CQ). The process allows for comparison of answers without and with the contemplation of the CQ. Moving through the survey questions as they appeared on the instrument guided the respondents along a path that progressively included more variables and more complexity, dependent upon previous answers.⁸ As results are presented, it is important to remain aware of the context of the answers and whether they are related to the CQ or are earlier in the step-wise order of inquiry.

To refresh the reader, Figure 1, from the Executive Summary of the second report in the series, depicts the planned operations for Census 2020 data collection. The design of the SJVCRP survey addresses potential problems encountered at each operational stage of Census Bureau data collection in hard-to-count neighborhoods and, particularly, ones with concentrations of immigrants.⁹

3 418 Latinos and 174 non-Latino immigrants

4 In the Latino sample, 93% of interviews were conducted in Spanish, 7% were conducted in English. Though many of the Mexican immigrants speak indigenous languages, most speak Spanish as well. One interview was done in an indigenous Mexican language (Mixtec). In the non-Latino sample, 42% were conducted in English and 58% in other languages. For the 102 non-English interviews among the 174 non-Latinos, 72 were conducted in Hmong, 26 in Khmer, four in Mien and one in Punjabi.

5 Muhib FB, Lin LS, Stueve A, Miller RL, Ford WL, Johnson WD, Smith PJ. A venue-based method for sampling hard-to-reach populations. *Public Health Reports*. 2001. pp. 216–222.

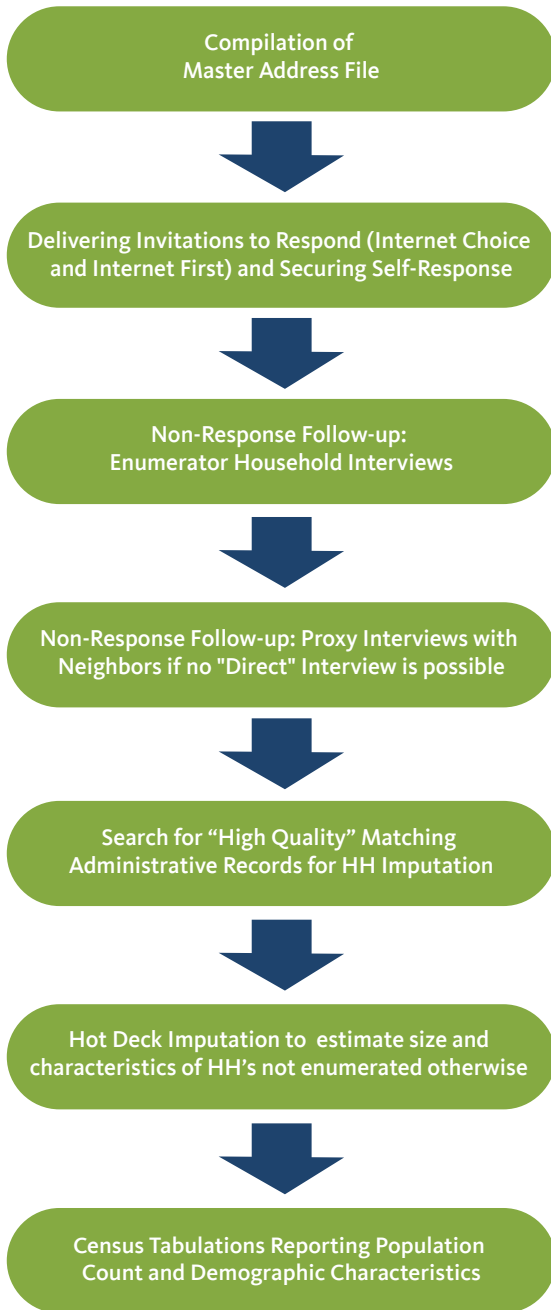
6 See Appendix I for details of methods used and a demographic description of the two samples. Standard multi-stage sampling was considered to be problematic because prior research had determined that a significant portion of the study population resided in housing units not included in commercially available address lists.

7 Random samples in largely clandestine communities often bring with them a bias against the most resistant subpopulations to be interviewed, such as young undocumented men. The target sampling technique attempts to overcome this by directly targeting these groups.

8 As a result, some responses reported here are from smaller subsets of participants.

9 The bulk of the research on factors affecting inclusion in the MAF was reported in a separate study, but are encapsulated in the findings included in the second report of this series – The Cascade Model.

FIGURE 1: SUCCESSIVE CENSUS OPERATIONS WITH POTENTIAL IMPACTS ON DATA CAPTURE AND QUALITY



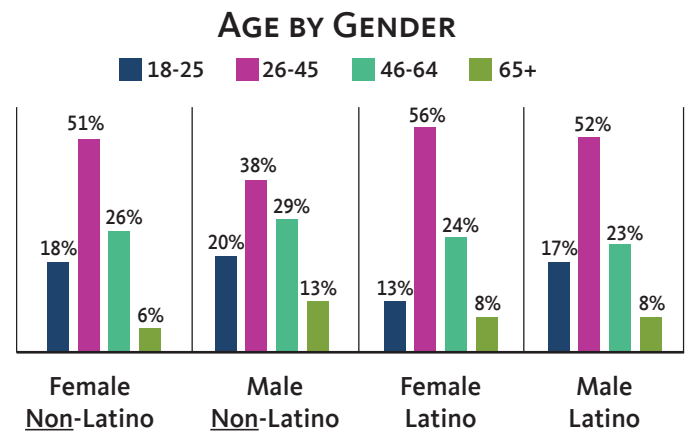
WHO ARE THE HARD TO COUNT?

The population of the San Joaquin Valley is extremely diverse—including many different ethnic backgrounds, demographic characteristics, and configurations of legal status. We discuss below whom we interviewed and compare the non-Latino and Latino respondent groups.

- In the Latino group, about 3% of the foreign born sample were of Central American origin and the rest (97%) were of Mexican origin.
- In the non-Latino sample group, most participants were South East Asians from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam (72%). Among these, the Hmong were the largest group (46% of the total non-Latino sample), while Cambodians, Lao, and Vietnamese constituted about 26% of the total non-Latino sample. An additional 14% of the total non-Latino sample consisted of other Asians: Punjabi Sikhs, Japanese, Filipino, and Chinese. Additionally, there were some Sub-Saharan Africans as well as Arabs (7%). (About 7% of the sample would not confirm ethnicity or reported some other ethnicity that could not be easily categorized.)

Age and Gender: Both samples (Latino / non-Latino) were well distributed.

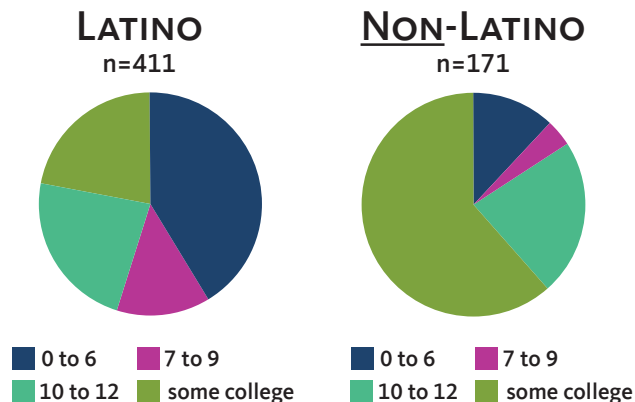
FIGURE 2: AGE BY GENDER AMONG SURVEY PARTICIPANTS



About 45% of each sample were women, and both had a small majority of men in each of the age categories.

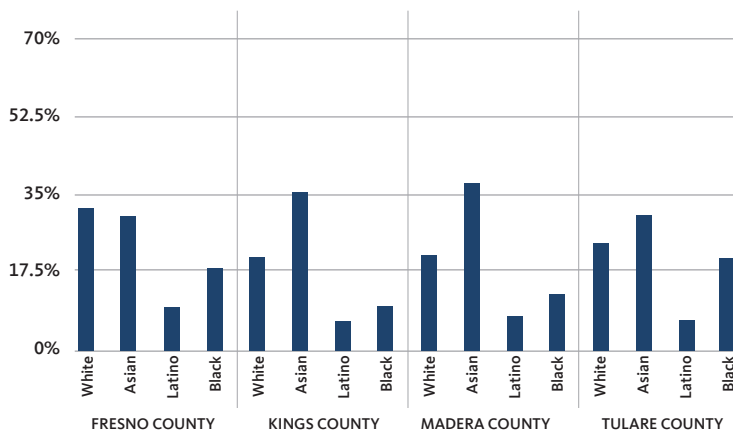
Education: Despite the similarities in age and gender, the non-Latino sample was distinctly more educated and more respondents had legal status than those in the Latino sample. Among the non-Latinos, more than three-fifths (61%) had some college, while among the Latino group, two-fifths (42%) had not gone beyond primary school.

FIGURE 3: COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT IN SAMPLE



Comparing educational attainment in the samples with that among groups nationwide, 72% of Asians nationwide have had some college and 10% of Latinos nationwide have not gone beyond primary school. Looking at the San Joaquin Valley as a whole, 73% of all residents have a high school diploma and 16% have a bachelor's degree. The Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC) published a report on the educational attainment of California counties. Below are their data on four of the San Joaquin Valley counties and the percentage of residents with bachelors' degrees by ethnicity. It is clear to see that the data from the SJVCRP aligns with the data from PPIC.

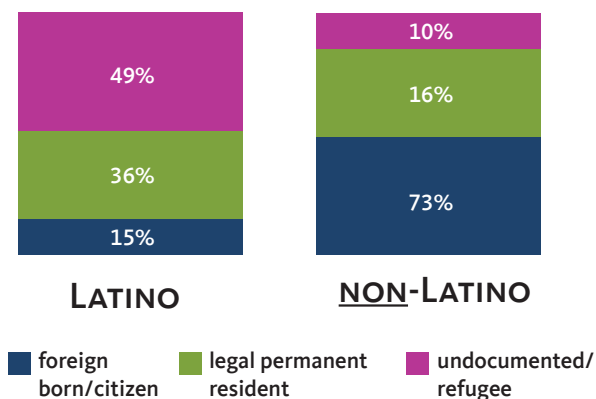
FIGURE 4: BACHELOR'S DEGREES BY ETHNICITY IN FOUR SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY COUNTIES, PPIC, 2018¹⁰



Immigration Status: A noteworthy difference between the sample groups is the immigration status gulf between the Latinos and non-Latinos. The non-Latino sample has more U.S.-born among them than the Latino group. But what is particularly notable in comparing the two groups is the proportion of foreign-born who are citizens—fully 73% of the non-Latino compared to 15% of the Latinos, who were born abroad, are citizens. Comparing the proportion of permanent legal residents between the two groups shows the pattern of more secure legal status among non-Latinos.

- Among the non-Latino foreign-born in the sample, only 10% lack permanent legal status, and this small group is made up mostly of refugees (nine out of 11); 16% have permanent legal status (green card).
- Among the Latino foreign-born in the sample, 49% are undocumented. The researchers did not identify any refugees in the Latino sample. 36% of the Latinos are permanent residents.

FIGURE 5: FOREIGN-BORN BY LEGAL STATUS—LATINO AND NON-LATINO SAMPLES



These sampling differences reflect a real-world phenomenon: The non-Latinos tend to naturalize at higher rates than Latinos, and are likely to emigrate with some form of legal status.

A large proportion of the Latino immigrant population came to the San Joaquin Valley by crossing the border overland. Some of these border crossers have become legal residents, but many have yet to achieve that status.¹¹

¹⁰ Higher Education as a Driver of Economic Mobility, Hans Johnson, Marisol Cuellar Mejia, and Sarah Bohn

¹¹ The Immigration and Reform Act (IRCA) of 1986 and Immigration Act of 1990 allowed many hundreds of thousands of unauthorized workers and their families to achieve legal status in the last three decades.

Immigrants from Latin American countries continue to come to the U.S. as undocumented migrants in the post-Immigration and Reform Act (IRCA) era. There are several key factors, including the expansion of the U.S. economy and the demand for this foreign labor, particularly in certain industries, such as agriculture, which draw them. A resulting consequence of the long residence of IRCA and post-IRCA immigrants is that the average Latino immigrant is now a middle-aged person, as documented in the earlier reports of the SJVCRP.

By contrast, most of the non-Latino immigrants came as refugees or with other types of legal visas.¹² These differences in legal status appear to be reflected in the attitudes toward the census, as we shall see later.

Length of Time in the U.S.: The foreign-born individuals interviewed in this study have been here for a long time. This is not surprising given the difficulty of gaining entry to the United States during the last decade. For both groups, the foreign -born among them have lived here, on average, about 23 years.

Given their success at obtaining legal status, the non-Latinos have a higher proportion of immigrants entering the country in the last five years (18% of non-Latino vs. 4% of Latino foreign-born). Again, this difference may be explained by the fact that the non-Latinos come largely through legal visa programs that continue to provide opportunities to immigrate, while a higher percentage of Latinos enter the country as undocumented border crossers who have faced an increasingly hostile experience in recent years.

As we review and compare the attitudes and behaviors with respect to the census between the two samples—and the two universes they represent—it is crucial to keep in mind the sharp educational and legal status distinctions between the two groups. (See Appendix 1 for further details on the sample composition.)

IDENTIFYING BARRIERS

A variety of barriers to participating in the 2020 Census may potentially arise, associated with personal, structural, and operational factors contributing to undercount. Here we explore how many and how serious the barriers to participation may be for the residents of the San Joaquin Valley. Some barriers may be more structural, such as the housing and household configuration in which one lives, or access to, or ability to use, the Internet. Some factors may

be the risks a potential respondent perceives for themselves and their community in comparison with the perceived potential benefits from participation in the census. (See the CBAMS focus group report for calibration of the level of impact these factors may have on 2020 Census response nationally.¹³)

1. Lack of Knowledge of the Census

Following the lead of CBAMS, the survey asked questions about census knowledge, who should participate, and the possible benefits from participating. Not understanding the purpose of the census, the types of questions asked, and who should participate can serve as a barrier to participation.

Knowledge about the Census: Questions asked at the beginning of the survey questionnaire yielded responses showing that most people had little knowledge of the U.S. Census in general, and especially of the 2020 Census or its contents. Starting with one of our initial questions, we found that there was a basic misunderstanding about who should be counted in the census. Assumptions about who should be counted can affect whether an individual even receives a message as transmitted and forms aspirations to act on it.

- For the non-Latinos, slightly more than half (54%) know who should be included by law.
- For the Latinos, three-quarters (77%) know that all residents of the United States are required to be counted.

Many respondents in both groups believe that only citizens and legal residents need to take part in the census.

What respondents had heard about the Census:

Relatively few people among our respondents had heard anything about the 2020 Census. The non-Latinos had heard less than the Latinos.

- Only 10% (17 respondents) of the non-Latinos had heard mention of the 2020 Census.
- 21% (86 respondents) of the Latinos had heard any mention of the 2020 Census.

For the relatively small minority that had heard something, we asked what they had heard.

- For the 17 non-Latinos who had heard anything about the census, 15 had heard that it was important.

¹² <http://data.cmsny.org/>. Official data show that a full 63% of unauthorized immigrants in California are from Mexico, while 18% are from Asia.

¹³ 2020 Census Barriers, Attitudes, and Motivators Study (CBAMS) Focus Group Final Report: A New Design for the 21st Century. January 24, 2019 Version 3.0. Prepared by Sarah Evans, Jenna Levy, Jennifer Miller-Gonzalez, Monica Vines, Anna Sandoval Girón, Gina Walejko, Nancy Bates, and Yazmin García Trejo.

- None of the non-Latino respondents voiced any concern or alarm about any negative consequences from the census at this stage of the survey.
- About half had heard about it from other people (friends and relatives), about one-quarter had heard from a social agency or from a church, and 18% had heard about it on the radio or television, while 7% heard at work or school.¹⁴

My friend told me not long ago. He said, they are going to count people again in 2020. I think it's okay and normal. –40-year-old male Cambodian respondent from San Joaquin County

- Among the 86 Latinos who stated they had heard something about the census, more than half (55%) said they had been encouraged to participate, and another 26% said they had simply heard that it was happening.
- About 10% of the Latino respondents said that they had heard that something had changed in the upcoming census and what they heard sparked fear in them. Another 9% had heard that some questions on the census had changed, but they were not sure of the impact of these changes.

[I heard] they do not want to count some people. They want to eliminate people from the picture and count only those who have citizenship. –45-year-old male Latino respondent from Tulare County

I have heard that by the policies of “Trumpistas,” the people will not be counted. –40-year-old male Latino respondent from Fresno County

- Latinos showed a difference in the sources of their information from non-Latinos: 83% mentioned radio or television as their source; only 14% heard about the census from a relative, friend, or at work or school, and two people heard of it on the Internet. Non-Latinos mostly heard about the census from acquaintances, not from the media.

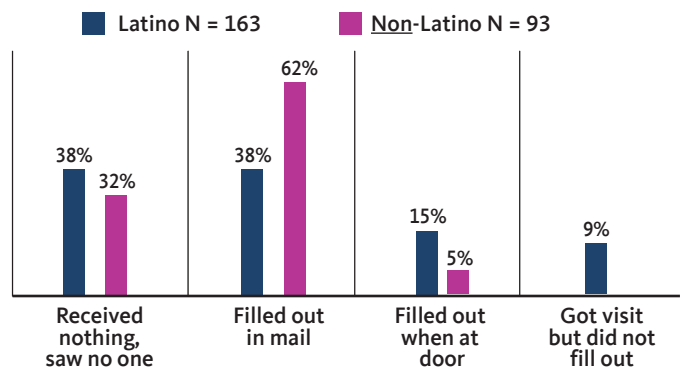
Overall, this pattern of information is similar to what was found in CBAMS, where about 20% were ‘not at all’ or ‘not too’ familiar with what the census was, and only a third (33%) said they were ‘very’ or ‘extremely’ familiar with the census.¹⁵

Experience with the 2010 Census: Another possible source of information about the census is experience with it in previous years. When we asked interviewees if they participated in the 2010 Census, we heard from both samples:

- Large majorities of the foreign-born were in the U.S. for the 2010 census.¹⁶
- Among the Latinos, 53% said they responded to the Census, with 15% filling it out with an enumerator.
- Among the non-Latinos, 67% said they responded, with only 5% filling it out with an enumerator.
- A full 21%-32% of all respondents (both non-Latino and Latino) stated that they did not receive a census form or see an enumerator in 2010.

Figure 6 shows the patterns among those who were both eligible to participate and remembered participating.

FIGURE 6: SURVEY RESPONSE ABOUT 2010 PARTICIPATION AMONG THOSE ELIGIBLE AND WHO COULD REMEMBER*



*Note: Those who were out of the country or were too young to respond were excluded from this analysis.

This result, even with the small sample size, provides data showing that non-Latinos were more engaged with the census in 2010 than Latinos, but there were still a third of each group who did not participate (received nothing, saw no one).

2. Living in a Complex Household Can Affect the Accuracy of the Count.

Living arrangements can pose a barrier to a complete count — specifically with regard to complex households with a lot of people.

¹⁴ For comparative purpose: In years past, when discussing DACA application rates, which are extremely low among Asian Americans, particularly Chinese, ILRC found through focus groups that ethnic media in Asian communities had paid very little attention to DACA, whereas Latino ethnic media had covered it extensively. A consequence was that Asian immigrants who would otherwise be eligible for DACA saw it as a Latino program. Also, it was pointed out that undocumented Asian immigrants were less likely to identify as such publicly. It appears that how the specific ethnic media covers or does not cover an issue can affect community response to an issue.

¹⁵ Slide 16 of CBAMS: 2020 Census Barriers, Attitudes, and Motivators Study (CBAMS) Focus Group Final Report: A New Design for the 21st Century. January 24, 2019 Version 3.0. Prepared by Sarah Evans, Jenna Levy, Jennifer Miller-Gonzalez, Monica Vines, Anna Sandoval Girón, Gina Walejko, Nancy Bates, and Yazmin García Trejo.

¹⁶ 10% of the Latino foreign-born and 20% of the non-Latino foreign-born were living abroad in 2010.

In what we refer to as complex households, there are often “extra” individuals or “sub-families” who represent distinct budgetary units living at a residence with the primary individual, who was the respondent, and his or her family. Sometimes complex households consist of multiple families or groups living at one address in distinct additional units such as garages, garden sheds, accessory units, backyard trailers, and other informal housing units.

The existence of large numbers of complex households is a major challenge for the Census Bureau. There may be an unwillingness among householders to report the presence of “extra” residents living at the same address. There may be a lack of awareness that all people living at an address should be counted, not just family members. The “extra” residents may be living at the premises in violation of housing code, without a landlord’s knowledge or they may be undocumented. If the “extra” resident or family is sub-leasing a living space from a principal renter, the person responding may not think it is right to provide information about the others; or they may not know all the information and don’t want to be wrong; or are confused about the requirement, and since they don’t consider the ‘others’ part of their family, it doesn’t occur to them to include them.

In this study, the average number of people living at respondents’ residences was quite high. There was very little difference overall between Latinos and non-Latinos in the mean: both averaged about 4.4 people per residence. Among both groups, there were many complex households, but there appeared to be a difference in the type of complex residences found between the two groups.

- Among the non-Latino residences, 37% were complex, and many of the “secondary” budgetary units were close relatives, and, on many occasions, adult children and their families living with parents.
- Among the Latinos, 22% were complex. In the Latino sample, there appeared to be many more non-relatives living together to reduce the rent or mortgage.

Figure 7 depicts the comparison between non-Latino and Latino household size and complexity.

FIGURE 7: AVERAGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE PER HOUSEHOLD TYPE



Among non-Latino households, the household size range was from one to 19 persons per household. Table 1 shows the breakdown by household type for non-Latinos: 63 respondents stated that there were between one and nine “extra” people in their household.¹⁷

TABLE 1: HOUSEHOLD SIZE RANGE – NON-LATINOS

	Mean	Median	Maximum	Minimum	N
All Residences	4.5	4	19	1	171
Complex	5.7	5	19	2	63
Simple	3.8	4	8	1	108

Among the Latino participants, household size overall ranged from one to 15 persons, per household. Ninety (90) participants stated that there were between one and seven additional people in their households (see Table 2).

TABLE 2: HOUSEHOLD SIZE RANGE – LATINOS

	Mean	Median	Maximum	Minimum	N
All Residences	4.4	4	15	1	411
Complex	5.2	5	15	2	90
Simple	4.2	4	9	1	321

¹⁷ There was, however, one person who lived in a trailer on the property of his boss. He mentioned there were seven trailers in that backyard. He didn’t know how many people lived there, but it was about six people per trailer. As an extreme outlier, with incomplete information, these data are not included in the analysis.

Seriousness of the Problem: Census Bureau Estimates of Household Size

The very serious implications from household size and complexity reported for these two samples stem from census operations strategy. Where data are missing from a household, census operations specify follow-up by enumerators, proxy interview, and then third-party data or imputation to complete the record. (see Figure 1). None of these is likely to fully count a complex or large household, and for imputation, the Census Bureau may use numbers that reflect the general population, but are not representative of the Latino or non-Latino immigrant communities. The average household size potentially used for imputation for the San Joaquin Valley by the Census Bureau is 3.24 persons (see Edward Kissam, Cascade Model¹⁸), which is clearly lower than the numbers reported by the respondents in this survey (4.5 per residence). Consequently, any imputation of household size done by the Census Bureau of non-responding households will underestimate, and thus undercount, the number of people living at the non-responsive residences.

Further complicating and exacerbating the problem, and beyond the direct impact of the incidence of complex households, our data show that the average household size of the Latino residences in our sample that would not respond (4.61), or maybe would not respond (4.65) is larger than the average household size that would respond to the census (4.19) overall.

3. Use of the Internet and Data Technology—New in 2020

The 2020 Census has proposed changes. It will allow for three modes of response: Internet, phone, and paper. The majority of people will be sent an invitation by mail to participate online. Of course, the usual problems in receiving or being eligible to receive mail will affect the size of the counted population. This is not new. Those who rely on post office boxes or don't have an official, distinct mailing address will not receive a form. But, additionally, the Census Bureau will rely on technology to do in-office address canvassing instead of in-field canvassing. As a result, in-field canvassing will only be done for 30% of the addresses instead of 100%.

However, new problems relate to the forms being online. The online forms strategy does not allow saving data mid-completion. Thus, respondents will be required to complete the census form in one sitting. The Bureau

estimates that 55% of its responses may be recorded online.¹⁹ Beyond interaction with the census data tool, the Census Bureau expects technology will also enable a reduction in the need for face-to-face enumeration and, accordingly, it has plans for a reduced number of enumerator visits. Incomplete or non-response will be reinforced by expanded use of administrative data—third-party data from agencies or organizations with whom the Census Bureau has data sharing agreements in place.

Language access issues also are handled by technology. Online forms will be in a set number of languages (13), and access to translators for a limited number of other languages will be available by telephone.

Barriers to completing the 2020 Census may arise from lack of access to (or understanding of how to use) technology to complete the form in the language needed, and not having access to a paper form. For this reason, we asked questions regarding online access to determine if barriers to this approach exist in the immigrant communities in the San Joaquin Valley.

Technology: Specific to the San Joaquin Valley, a significant issue may be the technology platform.

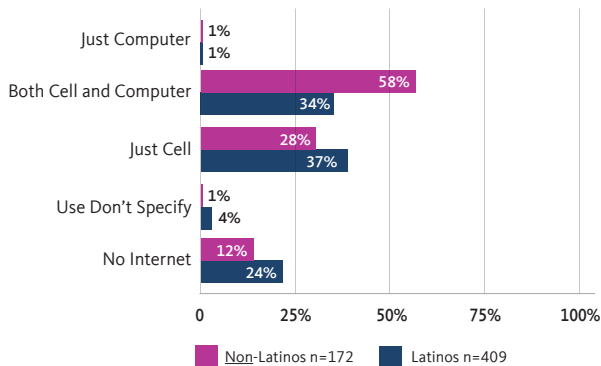
Completing the Census 2020 form. Given that the online census forms may not be optimized for cell phone access, having a cell phone as the primary or only portal to the Internet (and not having a computer at home) may present a barrier to online response.

- For non-Latinos, about 59% of respondents stated they have access to the census form online using a computer. Only 12% had no access.
- For Latinos, only 35% stated they have access to the census from a computer.²⁰ Almost a quarter of the Latinos reported they had no Internet access.

Figure 8 displays the penetration of Internet hardware technology in the San Joaquin Valley.

¹⁸ Kissam, Ed. 2019. A Cascade Model: How Latino Immigrants' Lowered Response Will Lead to Differential Undercount in Census 2020. San Joaquin Valley Health Fund, January 2019.
¹⁹ <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/02/24/for-2020-census-bureau-plans-to-trade-paper-responses-for-digital-ones/>
²⁰ These numbers combine all who have computers.

FIGURE 8: HOW DO RESPONDENTS ACCESS THE INTERNET?



The picture is better if one combines access via cell phone with access by computer. Those numbers increase to 87% and 71% respectively. However, it is not clear if the online census form will be optimized for cell phone response, and the required entry of a long ID number may be challenging for a cell phone user.

Recovery of households that are not sent an invitation to participate. The fact that about two-thirds of the Latino respondents and more than one-third of the non-Latino respondents do not have access to a non-mobile computer may make it difficult for several aspects of data collection, since the Census Bureau hopes to use online access not only for Internet self-response, but also for involving non-contacted households through its program of non-ID processing.²¹

Language access: Beyond the hardware platform, the diversity of languages in the San Joaquin Valley poses a challenge to participation. Thirteen languages are listed by the Census Bureau as ones for which they will provide an online translated form. These do not include the predominant languages in the San Joaquin Valley other than Spanish. Specifically, Hmong, Punjabi, and Khmer are not included, and each of these is spoken by sizeable population sub-groups in Valley communities.

The researchers asked about this mostly in the focus groups they conducted. In those, Punjabi residents raised the issue that they are concerned that online access, which they prefer, is not available in their language. In addition, they expressed concern about mail notices being in Punjabi.

A lot of people I know would want the postcard and letters to be in Punjabi that they can understand, not in complex language.

[To elaborate, discussion focused around available agency Punjabi translations, such as at the DMV, which are too complex and not conversational Punjabi, so the reader does not have the competency to read, making the translation unusable.]

I might as well struggle to read the English.
–Punjabi Focus Group

4. Issues Regarding Department of Commerce Efforts to Add a Question on Citizenship to Census 2020

The SJVCRP research examined immigrants’ perspectives about a census without or with a citizenship question included. After intense legal maneuvering by the administration after the Supreme Court decision remanding review of Commerce Department rationale for the citizenship question (CQ) to the Southern District Court of New York, a definitive decision was made to print Census 2020 questionnaires without the CQ on July 11, 2019.

Consequently, readers should review the analysis of San Joaquin Valley immigrants’ perspectives about a census with a CQ presented here keeping in mind that the question will not be included.

Several research experts have expressed concerns that the very public efforts by the administration to add the question, including Acting Director of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services Kenneth Cuccinelli’s statements to the press²² that the CQ would help “with the burden of those who are not here legally,” would have a lingering effect. What the eventual impact of the CQ on immigrants’ eventual 2020 census response rates will be is now an open question.

For the moment, it would be reasonable to expect that eventual March-April 2020 self-response rates will be higher than might be expected from the SJVCRP analysis of survey respondents’ willingness to participate in the census, but lower than the Census Bureau had originally projected. While overall census response rates may be higher than would have been the case if the CQ had been

²¹ Part of this process allows non-contacted people who learn about the census and choose to participate to voluntarily get on line and fill out the census. <https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial/2020/program-management/planning-docs/2020-oper-plan.pdf>, p. 31.

²² Kolby Ikwitz and Maria Sacchetti, “Top USCIS official suggests census citizenship question could help with ‘burden’ of illegal immigration”, Washington Post, July 5, 2019.

included, it is quite possible that the observed differences in response rates for sub-populations of Latino and non-Latino populations may persist and that they may continue to be lower than those of non-Hispanic White households. The Census Bureau’s 2018 End-to-End Test of Census 2020 in Providence, R.I., for example, showed that there was a response rate of 68% for non-Hispanic White Households and 43% for Hispanic households.²³

Ongoing research by the U.S. Census Bureau, the Census Test of 2019, a large split-panel test of response to census questionnaires with or without the CQ, is examining response rates to Census 2020 with or without a citizenship question and will publish preliminary findings in September or October 2019. A full report is expected by January 2020. In this context, the findings reported here on the impact of the CQ on immigrant response and the Census Bureau’s June-July 2019 test must be considered as relevant to ongoing efforts to understand but not predict eventual response in 2020.

EXPLORATION OF THE IMPACT OF THE CITIZENSHIP QUESTION

Interviewers asked the question about willingness to respond to the census twice: once without mentioning the possibility of a CQ and once later in the survey with the possibility of the CQ. The first time the question about willingness to respond was asked it was only regarding nine questions on the census excluding the CQ. After a series of questions about their willingness to respond in that context, the survey asked about their willingness to respond if the census included a question about citizenship status.

It is important to remember that very few of the respondents had heard of the CQ before the survey. For that reason, the interviewees’ responses first without mentioning the CQ and subsequently mentioning the CQ provides a clear comparison of the change of attitude of the respondents as a reaction to the inclusion of the question.

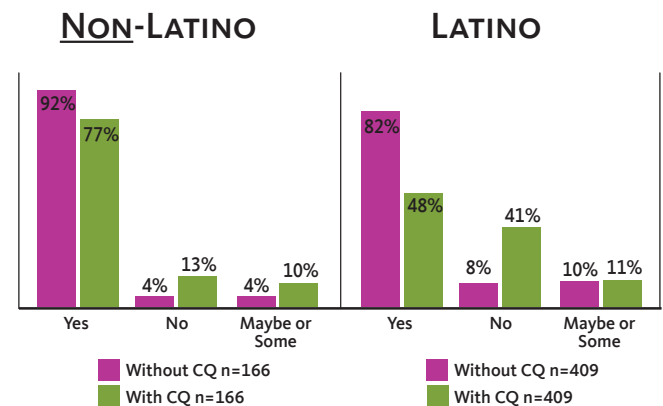
For both the non-Latinos (166 respondents) and for the Latinos (409 respondents), the researchers analyzed only those people who answered both questions about willingness to respond to the census.

Among all respondents:

- Willingness to respond dropped from 84% to 57% overall when a CQ was proposed
 - Among the non-Latino participants, willingness dropped from 92% to 77%.
 - Among the Latino participants, willingness dropped from 82% to 48%.
- Those who stated they would not respond increased from 7% to 33%, overall when a CQ was proposed
 - Among the non-Latino participants, those who would not respond increased from 4% to 13%.
 - Among the Latino participants, those who would not respond increased from 8% to 41%.

Figure 9 displays the comparison of the two respondent sub-groups overall.

FIGURE 9: WILLINGNESS TO RESPOND WITH AND WITHOUT A CQ



The data displayed in Figure 9 show that the possibility of a question on citizenship was clearly a barrier to participation in the 2020 Census in the San Joaquin Valley overall, as well as for all the ethnic group constituents. Latino willingness decreased dramatically, and non-Latino willingness also dropped significantly.

Sensitivity to the addition of a CQ broken out by immigration status reveals an overall profile of response that is very much as expected. Among all respondents, those with citizenship (either foreign-born or U.S.-born) were less sensitive to the inclusion of a question on citizenship, and sensitivity increasingly ramped up as immigration status was less secure.

²³ Albert Fontenot, “Update on Census 2020,” presentation by the Decennial Census Director to the Census Bureau National Advisory Committee, May 2, 2019.

- For citizens (n=287), 69% stated they would respond; 8% were uncertain; 23% stated no.
- For permanent residents or refugees (n=130), 66% stated they would respond; 9% were uncertain; and 25% stated no.
- For undocumented respondents (n=164), 33% stated they would respond; 4% were uncertain; and 63% stated no.

Figures 10a and 10b break down response to the citizenship question by immigration status, separately for non-Latino and Latino respondents.

FIGURE 10A: WILLINGNESS OF NON-LATINOS TO PARTICIPATE BY CITIZENSHIP STATUS WITH A CQ

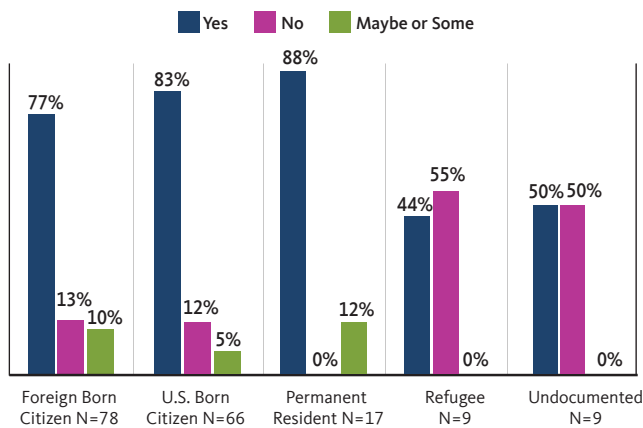
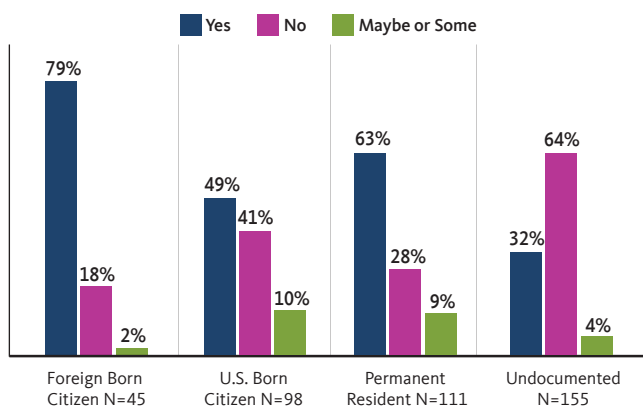


FIGURE 10B: WILLINGNESS OF LATINOS TO PARTICIPATE BY CITIZENSHIP STATUS WITH CQ



The figures show more marked sensitivity among the Latino respondents who had less secure immigration status, but non-Latino respondents also demonstrated sensitivity. Differing proportions of undocumented immigrants in the two samples may partially explain the difference in response.

A very interesting finding among the Latinos is that the U.S.-born sons and daughters of the immigrants actually were more negatively affected by the inclusion of the CQ than either the foreign-born citizens or the permanent resident alien immigrants. With the inclusion of the CQ, only 49% of the U.S.-born were willing to answer, compared to 79% of the foreign-born citizens and 63% of the permanent legal residents. This is despite the fact that the U.S.-born all speak English and have nothing to fear personally. Apparently, concern about their relatives who might be negatively affected made these younger U.S.-born citizens very apprehensive about the CQ. Despite the fact that this group is made up of U.S.-born citizens, special attention may be warranted by the Census Bureau given their level of apprehension about relatives.

Association between sensitivity to addition of a CQ with factors other than immigration status.

For both Latinos and non-Latinos, those respondents with higher educational attainment and better English language proficiency were somewhat more willing to respond. The data show:

- 85% of all foreign-born respondents who stated that they speak English “perfectly” were willing to respond.
- 38% of those who speak no English were willing to respond.

However, among the Latino immigrants interviewed, neither language proficiency nor education was found to be as important as immigration status in influencing their likelihood of responding. The most important finding from the survey is that for the Latino group, the legal status of the respondent overshadows other factors in influencing respondent willingness to respond to the census with the CQ.

Among the non-Latinos with few undocumented residents in the sample, higher educational attainment and English language proficiency are associated with a greater willingness to participate.

Other factors, such as age, gender, years in the United States among the foreign born, and ethnicity (i.e, indigenous Mexicans), were not found to have an independent impact on willingness to respond for either Latinos or non-Latinos.

The impact of the CQ on Census Participation Follow-up (NRFU). As indicated in Figure 1, there are several strategies for capturing data for households that

didn't want to or didn't get to respond to Census 2020 online. These were asked about in the survey. Findings show that the specific impact of the addition of a question on citizenship not only affects the initial motivation to respond, as reported above, but also extends to willingness to participate in the non-response follow-up (NRFU) protocols – responding to an enumerator and being willing to take part in a proxy interview. The findings about response to an enumerator were combined with the self-response. A proxy interview, for the purpose of census operations, is when a person is asked to provide information about the people living in another house in the neighborhood, because the persons in that other house have not responded. This procedure is not new with the 2020 Census.

Questions about willingness to participate in a proxy interview, both before and after the citizenship question was introduced, explored both whether respondents would respond to enumerators by providing information about the size and demographic makeup of a neighboring household, and whether the respondent felt they actually could respond—i.e., whether they had enough information about their neighbors. A large proportion of both samples answered.

Before knowing there could be a citizenship question on the form, inquiry about willingness to provide information by proxy (i.e., on another household in the neighborhood) found that:

- Among the non-Latino sample, 35% said “no” and 21% said “maybe.”
- Among the Latino sample, 78% said flatly “no,” while 7% said “maybe” or that they would answer some of the questions.

Additionally, questions were asked about whether respondents could provide data, i.e., knew their neighbors well enough to accurately report on who lived there to Census personnel. It was difficult to tease out answers to these questions, as respondents often felt unsure if they would or could. So these data are not reported. What can be said is that many thought it would be an issue for them, either because they didn't know them or because they felt it was wrong to do so.

After hearing that a CQ would be part of data collection for Census 2020,²⁴ there was a big drop in willingness.

Of the 100 non-Latinos and 79 Latinos who said they would or might agree to participate in a proxy interview the first time (for a census without the CQ), more than half in both groups said they would not answer or they would answer only some of the questions about their neighbors if the CQ was included. In this case, the decline in willingness was as steep or steeper among the non-Latinos as the Latinos.

Why the CQ Poses a Barrier – What Respondents Said

Throughout the survey, the respondents were offered the opportunity to expand on why they would or would not or might not respond to the Census. Interviewers recorded their comments verbatim, and these were later analyzed by an experienced researcher. In this way the researchers hoped to ‘unpack’ the reasons and concerns motivating their response.²⁵ Overall, about 56% of the 592 immigrants interviewed responded in some depth about their reasons. Most of these were Latino immigrants (among whom 69% commented in some depth), compared to about 24% of the non-Latino immigrants interviewed.

What they said about their willingness to respond is presented below. In general, the comments revolved around four themes:

- Concern about others, for example:
 - I do not want to think that the government's intention is to exclude our community, if the intention of citizenship status [question] is to deport them, then I will not answer anything about my neighbors, I'll just say I do not know them.*
–male Latino survey respondent
- Specifically disliked the CQ, for example:
 - I'm not going to fill it out, the census has a plan to get people out who don't have papers.*
–Latino survey respondent
- Nervous about individual or family safety, for example:
 - Yes, I'll fill it out but it makes me very fearful, I'm a citizen but my husband isn't.*
–young foreign-born U.S. citizen
 - Yes, I'll fill it out because I am a citizen but it may have an impact on me because my parents aren't.*
–young U.S.-born female

24 These analyses of willingness to participate in a proxy interview WITH a question on citizenship are based on respondents who answered both questions, i.e., is reported only on those who said they would or might answer about their neighbor without the CQ, when asked again about what they would do if there were a CQ on the form. In this way, any change in intended behavior is clear.

25 See Appendix 1.

Well, we'll see when the day arrives, this question (the CQ) makes one stop and think.

–older legal resident

- Fear about data sharing, for example:

Well, this is where it makes it difficult that they might throw me out of the country.... One gets in trouble sometimes by going around talking.

–older undocumented woman

- Other versions of this type of response included:

To tell you the truth, I'll fill all of it out except for the questions about citizenship.

–middle-aged male legal permanent resident

I'll answer all except those on citizenship because we are all here working and paying taxes so they shouldn't exclude us.

–middle-aged undocumented man

- Obligation to respond, and I'll do it,²⁶ for example:

It's my obligation. I'm answering showing that I'm here. The government is obligated to distribute funds and that's why they need to know the population.

What Latinos said about participating in the census with the CQ

Of the 409 who responded about their willingness to participate in the census with and without the citizenship question, 288 made some comment specifically about respondent's attitude about participation in Census 2020, given inclusion of a citizenship question.

Table 3 shows their comments by the themes identified earlier, and taking immigration status into account. Because of the greater number of Latino immigrants who commented, the proportion who focused on each of the highlighted themes is about the same as for the whole sample.

- Concern about others (21% of all the comments)
- Specifically disliked the CQ (36% of all the comments)
- Nervous about individual or family safety (14% of all the comments)
- Fear about data sharing (29% of all the comments)

Even when the respondent said they would respond, they often communicated some concern about their participation or willingness to participate with a

²⁶ Since no comments on this were recorded in the survey portion, this response category is not broken out specifically in the table.

TABLE 3: LATINO WILLINGNESS TO RESPOND TO THE CENSUS WITH A CQ BASED ON IMMIGRATION STATUS

		Foreign-Born Citizen	U.S.-born Citizen	Permanent Resident	Undocumented	Total by Category	% of Total
1	Yes–without comment	14%	19%	47%	21%	116 (54%)	28%
2	Yes or maybe–concerned about others	33%	43%	25%	0%	40 (19%)	10%
3	Yes or maybe–dislike the CQ	17%	34%	17%	31%	35 (16%)	8%
4	Yes or maybe–nervous because undocumented	0%	0%	0%	100%	9 (4%)	2%
5	Maybe–need assurance of safety	0%	20%	33%	47%	15 (7%)	4%
1-5	Total Yes or maybe					215 (100%)	
6	No– fear of data sharing	4%	5%	16%	76%	83 (47%)	20%
7	No– wrong to ask CQ	7%	28%	20%	45%	69 (39%)	17%
8	No– legal but nervous about others	0%	70%	30%	0%	20 (11%)	5%
9	No– without comment	20%	0%	0%	80%	5 (3%)	
6-9	Total No					177 (100%)	
10	Other – Answer for some questions or some people	6%	41%	18%	35%	17	4%
Table	Total	45	98	111	155	409	100%

caveat. There were 215 Latino participants in the study who stated that they would still respond to the census with a CQ included. The biggest group was in category 1—“Yes, without comment.” The largest proportion of those who responded in this way were legal permanent residents (54). There were 51 undocumented participants who stated yes or maybe they would respond with a CQ included, more in number than the foreign-born citizens. Below we review the responses by immigration status in more detail.

Latinos who said “yes” they would or “maybe” would still respond

Looking at the entire group (of 215) who said “yes” or “maybe” they would respond to the census with a citizenship question, approximately half made no comment indicating that they wanted to participate. Meanwhile, the remainder of these participants voiced some conditionality to their responses.

Obligation – For the respondents who gave a clear yes answer, some affirmed their desire to stand up and be counted. A U.S.-born young woman said:

I believe it's important to count ourselves.

Another older foreign-born citizen said proudly:

I recently became a citizen and I am going to respond.

Nervous – Some, said ‘yes,’ but were nervous about the fate of others in their households or communities. None of these respondents were undocumented. One young male legal permanent resident said:

It's important to be counted, but yes, it is very worrisome this citizenship question. I have many relatives without papers.

Dislike of the CQ – Quite a few said ‘yes,’ but expressed discomfort with the question itself. As one young adult female foreign-born citizen said:

I don't like the census asking this question even though I'll respond. I was told that the census was to count the population.

A legal resident in his middle years had this to say:

I'll do it even though I don't like this discriminatory question.

Finally, a young undocumented man said:

Yes, I'll do it, but it's no good because it's possible that the information will get to the immigration authorities.

Concern about data sharing – There were nine undocumented respondents who said even though they would fill out the census, they feared that information about them would leak to Homeland Security. Many of these respondents seemed to prefer to wait for an enumerator to arrive at their doors to assist them in completing the census. And with an official representative of the Census Bureau at their doors, some felt more of a sense of duty to respond. One undocumented man in his middle years said:

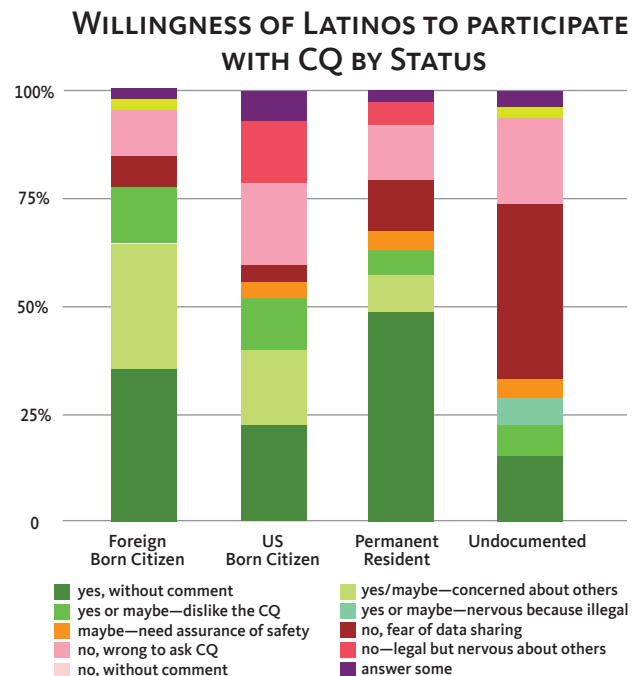
If they find me at home, I'll give them some of my time and respond, after all there's nothing to lose.

Another undocumented man of the same age said:

It depends how friendly they are with me.

Figure 11 summarizes and displays the analysis of the willingness to respond to the Census in 2020 by type of immigration authorization in a different way.²⁷

FIGURE 11: LATINO WILLINGNESS TO RESPOND: YES – NO – MAYBE



²⁷ See the section below entitled “The Impact of Legal Status.”

Latinos who said “no”

There were 177 Latino participants who said that they wouldn't answer any questions on a census that included the CQ.

Fear – The biggest group (83 in Category 6) said that they feared the Census Bureau would share the data with immigration authorities. Of these 83, 63 were undocumented, 13 were legal permanent residents, and seven were citizens. There were 16 who were opposed to answering the census even without the CQ. Some of the legal residents and citizens were also plagued by this fear.

I won't fill it out, it frightens me. They say it is confidential but that's not true.

–young female foreign-born citizen

I don't like this, it's very bad. This will affect my mother. My parents are [permanent] residents so it is very bad.

–young U.S.-born woman

I don't know how this information will be used against me and my family.

–young U.S.-born man

The majority who were undocumented projected an unsurprising dread.

The government wants this information to find out where we are....in order to more easily throw us out of the country.

–middle-aged undocumented woman

Improper question – Many participants expressed their opposition by just explaining that it was plain wrong (unjustified) to ask the question. More than half of the 69 objecting to the question, 38 had legal documentation allowing them to live in the United States. And 49 of these 69 switched to a more hostile attitude toward the census simply because of the fact that the CQ was being proposed.

I am going to change my opinion about cooperating with the census. It's bad because whether you are a citizen or not you still have the same rights.

–middle-aged undocumented man

I just feel that question is racism.

–young U.S.-born man

It's a very personal question. The government shouldn't be interested in that. It's discriminatory.

–young U.S.-born man

This question doesn't seem appropriate in the census. Now, we don't know what they're going to come up with to scare people more.

–elderly U.S.-born man

It's ridiculous that they ask that question in the census. I'm against it. I won't open my door.

–middle-aged male legal resident

Fear for family or community – The last category of respondents that was made up of 20 people (Category 8) are those who said that they wouldn't cooperate because they feared, not for themselves but for others. All of these were legal residents. It is interesting that most (14 out of 20) of this group consisted of the U.S.-born children of immigrants.

It depends on which side you're on. I will not fill out the census. Many of my family members don't have their papers, it will affect my family.

–young legal resident woman

I won't answer. Look, it's a form of intimidating people who don't have papers.

–middle-aged legal resident woman

What non-Latinos said about participating in the census with the CQ

Even if the census includes a citizenship question, a majority of the non-Latinos interviewed were willing to participate in the census—77% said yes while another 10% said maybe they would answer or that they would answer some of questions; however when they heard of the inclusion of a citizenship question, 13% said they would not respond.

For the 174 non-Latino respondents, the researchers were able to categorize the nuances of their responses for all but two. The types of comments, however, diverged somewhat from those of Latino respondents.

- Concern about others (18% of all the comments)
- Specifically disliked the CQ (31% of all the comments)
- Nervous about individual or family safety (31% of all the comments)
- Fear about data sharing (20% of all the comments)

Table 4 displays the results, grouped together by positive and negative responses, and organized by status of immigration authorization.

TABLE 4: NON-LATINO WILLINGNESS TO RESPOND TO THE CENSUS BASED ON IMMIGRATION STATUS

		Foreign-Born Citizen	U.S.-born Citizen	Permanent Resident	Undocumented	Refugee	Total	% of Total
1	Yes– without comment	43.75%	41.41%	11.72%	0.00%	3.13%	128 (95%)	74%
2	Yes or maybe– nervous for others	66.67%	33.33%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	6 (4%)	3%
3	Yes or maybe– dislike the CQ	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0	
4	Yes or maybe– nervous because illegal	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0	
5	Maybe– need assurance of safety	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1 (1%)	1%
1-5	Total Yes or maybe						135	
6	No– fear of data sharing	37.50%	25.00%	0.00%	12.50%	25.00%	8 (32%)	5%
7	No– wrong to ask CQ	30.77%	46.15%	0.00%	7.69%	15.38%	13 (52%)	7%
8	No– legal but nervous about others	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2 (8%)	1%
9	No– without comment	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	2 (8%)	1%
6-9	Total No						25	
10	Other – Answer for some questions or some people	58.33%	25.00%	16.67%	0.00%	0.00%	12 (100%)	7%
Table	Total	78	66	17	2	9	172	100%

Non-Latinos who said “yes” would or “maybe” would respond

Of the non-Latino respondents who said yes, almost all gave a clear, unequivocal answer. Many said that since they are citizens they are happy to respond.²⁸ However, a few had specific concerns.

Fear of Data Sharing – Interestingly, a higher proportion of non-Latinos (7%) than Latinos (3%) said that they would either answer only some of the questions or would only answer for some of the people living in the household (Category 10). For example, one 62-year old permanent resident woman from Sierra Leone living in a complex household that included non-family members said:

I will answer for the ones who are U.S. citizens, but not everyone.

A foreign-born 40 year-old female Hmong immigrant reported:

Yes, I would mail it in but would not answer the citizenship question.

Concern for others – Some said that though they would answer, they understand why others would not.

For me I’m okay, but for others that have issues with their status, it can be a problem.
–64-year-old Cambodian immigrant

One side of me thinks it’s good but still [I’m] not sure that I will support that. I don’t know.
–33-year-old Cambodian immigrant citizen

Non-Latinos who said “no,” they would not participate

Of those who said “no” that they would not respond, 16 out of 25 changed their minds about responding to the census in a way unreceptive to the census if the census included a citizenship question.

Fear – Of the 25, eight said they feared that the data was insecure.

No, I don’t want people to know if I’m a citizen or not. I don’t like (it) when people ask questions about my family. –71-year-old Hmong woman

²⁸ Note these sentiments were mostly expressed in the focus groups, and thus are not included in the table.

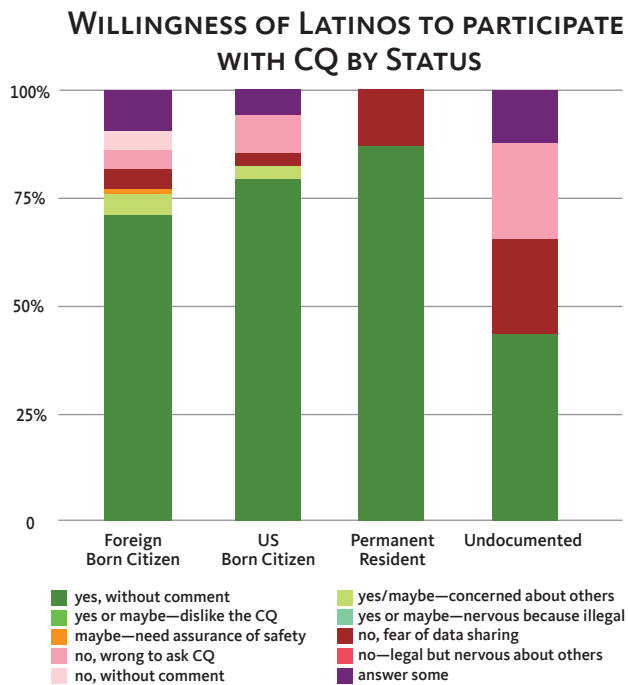
Improper question – Thirteen of the 25 said that they disliked the question.

They're never going to get a true answer to that. That's the dumbest question I have heard.
 –34-year-old U.S.-born woman

Fear for community or family – Only two said they would not respond because of fear that the question would harm others they knew (Category 8). One male 62-year-old Laotian Mien speaker said he couldn't respond because he thinks someone at his residence has a visa that is expired.

Figure 12 displays the incidence of different responses for non-Latinos, as shown in Table 4, graphically.

FIGURE 12: NON-LATINO WILLINGNESS TO RESPOND: YES – NO – MAYBE



The quintessential statement about the meaning of the inclusion of the citizenship question is perhaps best expressed by two individuals—one Latino and one non-Latino—in response to the question about possible participation in a proxy interview.

I do not want to think that the government's intention is to exclude our community, if the intention of citizenship status [question] is to deport them, then I will not answer anything about my neighbors, I'll just say I do not know them.
 –male Latino survey respondent

I would not feel comfortable asking people about their citizenship status... it is something that is not shared among neighbors and should not be shared.
 –female Hmong survey respondent

CONCLUSIONS: OBSTACLES AND OPPORTUNITIES TO FOSTER FULL CENSUS PARTICIPATION IN THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

SJVCRP data clearly show that it may be harder for San Joaquin Valley immigrant communities to participate in Census 2020 than it was for them to participate in previous decennial censuses. Still there are things that can be done to help boost participation.

These immigrant communities experience all of the aspects of census-defined hard-to-count communities: being hard to locate, hard to interview, hard to contact and hard to persuade. But on top of all these, language access, Internet access and specific vulnerability or concern about the probity of inclusion of a citizenship question and the use of the data gathered from it, pose a specific challenge to adequately and accurately capturing the number and characteristics of immigrant residents of the San Joaquin Valley. The accuracy is further hobbled by the incidence of large and complex households in the immigrant community, which cannot be addressed through the use of administrative records or imputation.

San Joaquin Valley is home to 4.2 million people, and accounts for 11% of California's population. It is a minority-majority region with a population larger than the city of Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, Miami and San Francisco. More than one out of four heads of household are foreign-born, and more than one out of five heads of household are second-generation immigrants (with U.S.-born and foreign-born parents). Census 2020 is at risk of undercounting and miscounting these residents at a significant rate. Something has to be done to specifically address the obstacles in a very tailored way.

Obstacles as profiled earlier highlight the issues.

The primary obstacles respondents identified are concerns raised by administration efforts to include a citizenship question.

TABLE 5: WILLINGNESS TO RESPOND

Willingness to respond	Without the CQ	With the CQ
All Latino Respondents	84%	46%
Undocumented (147)	80%	25%
Legal Residents (108)	85%	63%
Naturalized Citizens (44)	89%	70%
US-born Citizens – second-generation (97)	89%	49%
Other Immigrants		
Refugee or Undocumented (11)	100%	27%
Legal Residents (16)	95%	88%
Naturalized Citizens (75)	95%	76%
US-born Citizens – second-generation (64)	95%	84%

Without the question, likely response is high; with it, likely response drops off precipitously. Our data show that mitigating the problem of decreased self-response through non-response follow-up (NRFU) strategies is not possible. There is no way to reliably capture the demographic characteristics of the complex and large households, either through use of third-party data or through imputation using ‘like’ households. Ironically, adding the CQ would not only result in degraded reliability of census-based profiles of key demographic analyses such as age structure of the population, proportion of homeowners and renters, number of children in households, but also yield unreliable data on citizenship status.

In addition to concerns about the negative impact of adding the CQ, particular concerns relate to: the number of households that can be termed large and complex; the likelihood that many of these households may use post office boxes (and therefore not receive invitations to participate) or may share mail boxes; and constraints on Internet access.

It’s sobering to take note of the following:

- More than one out of five Latino households are complex or compounds. For other immigrant households, that proportion is more than one out of three. “Extra” people in these households are likely to not be included in the household roster.
- 28% of immigrant households lack standard mail delivery, with 13% of Latinos and 1% of others only having mailboxes and 12% of Latinos and 29% of others sharing mailboxes. 3% of Latinos and 2% of others receive mail at a friend’s house.

- Living arrangements often violate housing codes. “Extra” individuals, in many cases, are undocumented. They will be left off the household roster of households that do respond—especially if the CQ is on the census.
- Follow-up will not be very successful in detecting the “extra” residents in complex households. Families in hidden housing units will not get an invitation to respond, a form, a reminder, or an enumerator visit.
- 61% of Latinos and 40% of other immigrants either have no access to the Internet or have access only through a cell phone.

Opportunities suggested by the research. Three sorts of opportunities for intervention are suggested by the data.

The first is to remove the CQ from the Census 2020 form. These data already have played a role in trying to accomplish that, and that was an important project objective.

It’s important to note that the immigrants who were interviewed had very different and fairly nuanced opinions about it. Their concerns were not so much ‘fear of what would happen to them’ as is profiled in much of the media, but risk management—what risks are there for me/my family/the community, and how can they be managed. Some of the nuances are described in the section of this report about what respondents told us. Messaging to promote census participation needs to be tuned with respect to the different situations and feelings of different elements in the Valley.

Additionally:

- Messaging should be directed to landlords to focus specifically on safety/confidentiality of including non-family members living at the same place; and that data cannot be used to enforce local housing laws.
- Messaging should be directed to the ‘extra’ persons living in complex households urging them to respond by going to a questionnaire assistance center (QAC) for help or to respond by phone, even if they did not receive an invitation to participate [Non-ID Processing (NID)].
- Messaging and materials meant to promote participation should be in a language and at a level appropriate to the intended recipients, and delivered through appropriate and diverse messengers.

- Messaging should be planned to correspond to the appropriate census activities in each phase of the census process. For example, messages may focus on the specific phases, importance, and safety of response (September 2019 to February 2020), targeted promotion of self-response (March-April 2020), targeted awareness of follow-up options for non-responders (April-August 2020).
- Individuals hired by the Census Bureau and used by local organizations need to be both skilled and flexible in communication, i.e., not so much following a script as individually addressing issues in a sound and authentic manner.

Because so much of immigrants' concerns about census participation stems from distrust of the government, a central part of the messaging strategy will need to address privacy of the information provided, specific methods being used to assure it, and assistance in resolving uncertainties about the potential risk of census response and benefits to local communities. Given widespread concerns about answering each census question correctly, messaging should urge immigrants to "respond to the census as best you can." Many Americans inadvertently skip one or two questions; the Census Bureau is not prepared to follow up to correct responses from 100 million households.

Second is the need to expand resources on the ground to encourage and assist with enumeration of hard-to-count populations. This may include, at least:

- Enhancing summer 2019 in-field address canvassing efforts to assist the Census Bureau in identifying hidden housing units, unconventional housing, transitory living arrangements (e.g., motels more or less permanently occupied by very low-income families).
- Expanding update-leave (U/L) census and "in-field adds" during non-response follow-up in areas with concentrations of complex and hidden housing and PO Box use.
- Ensuring census enumerators and other staff with whom the public interacts are fully knowledgeable of how to respond (i.e., filling out a form with an ID number or responding online without an ID number), are fully skilled in communicating, and are culturally competent to interact with diverse individuals to help them work through their concerns about participating.

- Deploying mobile questionnaire assistance teams with trusted community service personnel (such as Headstart or community health center outreach workers), and service-learning volunteers (such as bilingual, digitally literate community college and four-year college students) to reach out in neighborhoods with concentrations of immigrants after census forms are mailed (April 1-30) and before NRFU (non-response follow-up) begins to persuade immigrant households, especially those without Internet connectivity and those who are limited in English, to respond and offer immediate assistance.
- Providing nearby user-friendly QACs with Internet access, staffed with appropriate people with language, social and Internet skills, and strong campaigns to encourage and foster residents to make use of them.
- Providing specific support for questionnaire assistance and NID response (online or by phone) for languages that the Census Bureau has left out but are present in the Valley, e.g., Hmong, Punjabi, Mixtec, Triqui, Zapotec, Khmer. This support could incorporate printed materials, but should take the literacy limitations of many limited-English immigrants into account. It may be that inter-generational youth-adult teams will be useful.
- Urging the Census Bureau to increase bilingual Spanish-language mailing to households in census tracts with fewer than 20% foreign-born of that language or, if infeasible, to provide special questionnaire assistance options in such areas (e.g., QACs with bilingual paper forms).

Third is to engage the community in Census participation as a positive and empowering event. This may include:

- Organizing community teams to promote census participation and help overcome census response barriers and, at the same time, developing messaging efforts that recognize their successes and contributions in reducing NRFU workload by persuading households to respond.
- Ensuring that large and small local businesses and social and educational agencies represented in the community are part of the census empowerment team and are recognized for it.
- Engaging in smart-targeting of census tracts with specific needs, and joining with census professionals to urge an increase in available resources and attention, if needed, for specific areas.

- Monitoring the success of census data gathering, ensuring needs and problems are identified, and resources go where they are needed.

The Census Bureau is conducting its own research (2019 Census Split-Panel Test of the CQ) about the impact the citizenship question would have had. Findings from this research (due in Fall 2019) will have implications about the sorts of tracts that have lower response and implications about barriers encountered in response.

It is important to:

1. Obtain detailed results from this Census Bureau research as early as possible,
2. Formulate and (re)test messaging and outreach strategies taking into account the results from the Census Bureau's Split Panel test, and
3. Devise and implement rapid-response strategies to address and document operational issues (e.g., difficulties in responding online, problems in communicating with Census Bureau centers that accept census responses by phone) as they arise in conducting census operations, to try to facilitate response.

These are not just immigrant issues, they are everybody's issues. Everybody, particularly in California, will suffer if we cannot create and reinforce an environment that cultivates and makes it safe to respond to the invitation to participate in Census 2020.

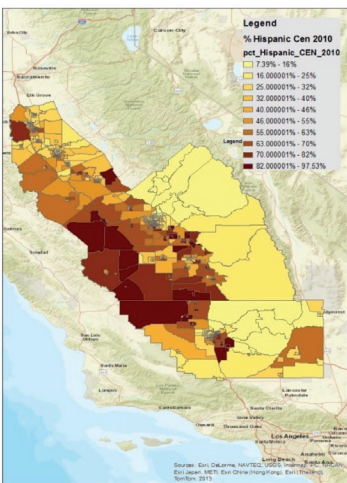
APPENDIX 1: METHODS

Description of two target samples – the Frame:

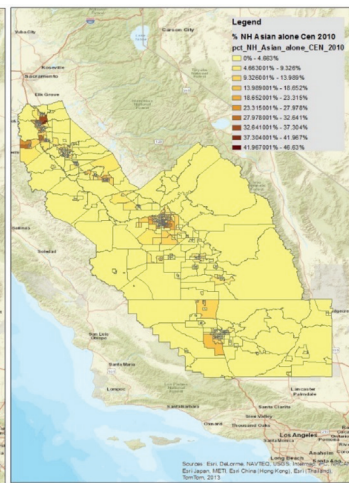
The two samples were chosen using target sampling with an attempt to reflect the underlying universes of hard-to-count populations. The maps below show the percentages of Hispanic and Asian residents by census block from 2010 Census data. The color ramp represents more density with darker color.

Survey staff chose well-defined targets based on official data and staff experience that, if fulfilled, would provide a sample representative of the populations, acknowledging that we would not be able to adequately represent every group in the Valley. The following graph shows the percentages of non-white populations in the eight counties of the San Joaquin Valley.

APPENDIX FIGURE 1.1:
Study Area with Percent Hispanic by Census Block

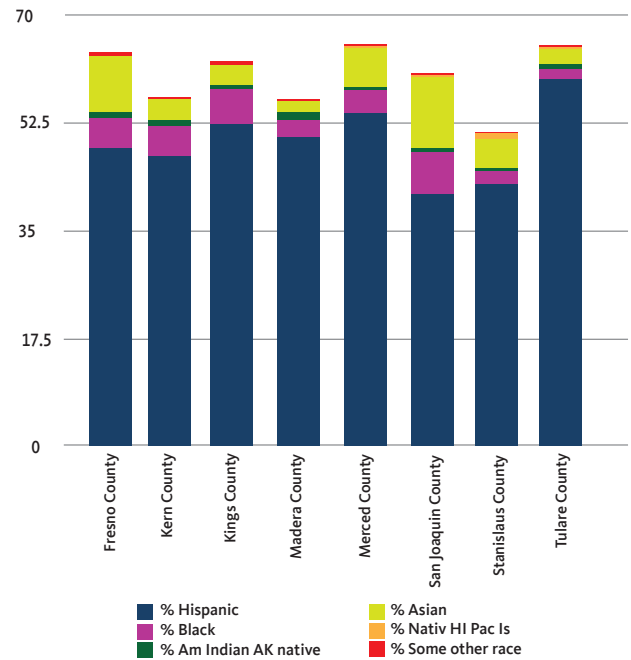


APPENDIX FIGURE 1.2:
Study Area with Percent Non-Hispanic Asian by Census Block



Survey staff chose well-defined targets based on official data and staff experience that, if fulfilled, would provide a sample representative of the populations, acknowledging that we would not be able to adequately represent every group in the Valley. The following graph shows the percentages of non-white populations in the eight counties of the San Joaquin Valley.

APPENDIX 1.1: CENSUS 2010 NON-WHITE ETHNICITY—EIGHT SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY COUNTIES



The interviewers were trained to seek certain proportions of overlapping targets in sampling the population. There were targets for counties, gender, age, ethnic group, immigration status, and other factors. The interviewers, guided by survey staff, were required to choose each interviewee so that the respondent would help fulfill these overlapping sampling targets with respect to all the necessary characteristics of the population. The survey staff continuously monitored the interviewers to ensure that the accumulating target counts were on track to achieve the intended targets.

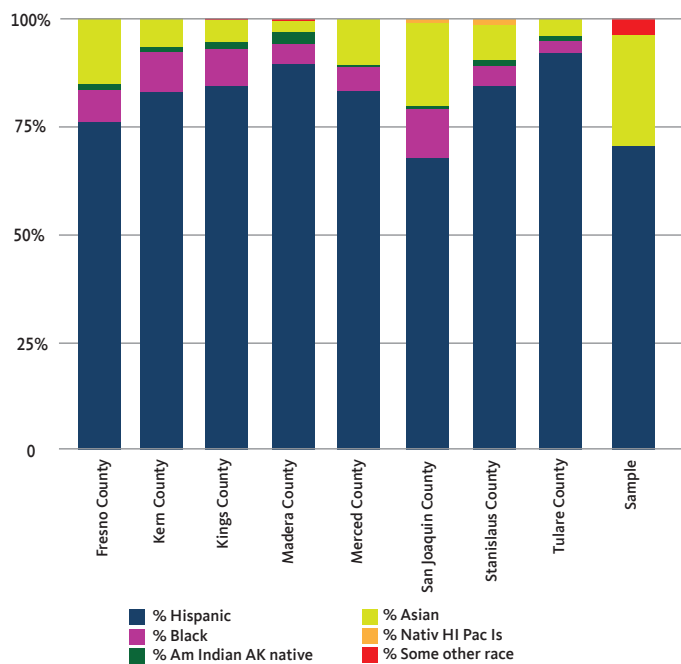
The interviewers interacted with target participants at public venues like flea markets, ethnic retail outlets, laundromats, sports venues, churches, food distribution locations, public meetings, and social service agency locations. The effort to fulfill the targets was quite successful.

Survey staff and interviewers had decades of experience accessing all elements of the Latino community. Among the non-Latinos, there were greater challenges. The survey staff depended on partner organizations and community leaders for field support and access to these groups. This presents the possibility of a bias against the non-institutionalized, less immigration-secure part of the non-Latino population. It should be noted, however, that the non-Latino

population tabulated in official statistics shows low proportions of undocumented members as well.²⁹

Also, due to the small overall sample size of non-Latinos, we underrepresented Punjabi Sikh, Arab, Pakistani, and Filipino populations within the targets themselves. For these reasons, some groups that were under-sampled in the survey were engaged in more in-depth conversations in focus groups.

APPENDIX 1.2: COMPARISON BETWEEN CENSUS 2010 ETHNICITY IN THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY AND THE SAMPLE



Sampling target matrix is below. What can be seen is the complexity of the sample frame.

APPENDIX 1.3: TARGET MATRIX: GOALS AND TOTALS

	Target Sum of all Interviews Total	Total of Respondent Interviews
Naturalized immigrant	128	118
Legal resident immigrant	158	140
Undocumented immigrant	164	161
Native born-children of FB	72	150
Native born coworker, neighbor	78	22
Total	600	591
Young 18-25	134	105
Middle 26-45	269	274
Middle 46-64	147	156
Older 65+	50	54
Total	600	589³⁰
Latino	415	418
Asian, Islander	140	139
Sikh	10	11
Arab	20	7
Other	15	16
Total	600	591
Male	320	322
Female	280	269
Total	600	591
Urban (20,000+)	390	447
Rural (19,999-)	210	144
Total	600	591
Less than 6 years education	214	193
7 to 9	28	65
10 to 12	205	128
Any college	153	203
Total	600	589
Fresno County	120	130
San Joaquin County	80	94
Merced County	80	102
Stanislaus County	70	50
Madera County	70	54
Tulare County	80	88
Kern County	80	52
Kings County	20	21
Total	600	591

²⁹ See CMSNY (Census) data (Kissam can find the exact citation).

³⁰ In some cases, while a survey was completed, not all data was shared—specifically age and education attainment.

An effort was made to distribute the sample across the eight counties of the San Joaquin Valley. As seen from the Target Matrix, that goal was achieved for the Latino sample, obtaining 8% or more of the sample in seven out of the eight counties. The researchers focused there for the non-Latino survey work because they had not conducted many interviews in Merced, Stanislaus and San Joaquin counties, and because interviewers serving these counties were more travel constrained and had viable contacts in these counties for non-Latino respondents.

Responses to the Survey: Recording of Responses

Almost all of the questions in the survey were asked with definite answers as the main values to be recorded. There were very few open-ended questions. Many of the questions allowed for a Yes, No, or Maybe as a response. However, in addition to these responses, the interviewers collected verbatim the full responses to the questions. These responses were noted in comment boxes throughout the survey. The survey analysis staff reviewed all of these verbatim notes not only on the entered data available to them, but also on the scanned interview forms themselves. In this way, each response on all of the questions for the whole survey was reviewed and assigned codes based not just on the interviewers’ assessment of the answer (nor on the accuracy of the data-entry staff), but on a thorough consideration by seasoned immigration survey analysts of the text written in the boxes associated with every question.

In addition, analysts reviewed all of the questions again for more detailed categories of attitudes toward the CQ, which resulted in the analysis in the section entitled “In Depth Analysis of Attitudes Toward the Citizenship Question.”

APPENDIX 2: DISCUSSION OF THE SHIFT DUE TO THE CITIZENSHIP QUESTION (CQ)—VARIOUS PERMUTATIONS

We looked at all the permutations of the responses to calculate a detailed impact of the CQ on the respondents’ attitudes. As seen in Table A-1, if all of the negative shifts are summed, 17% of the non-Latinos and fully 43% of the Latino respondents made a negative shift in their attitudes. Large percentages, especially among the Latinos, moved from a “yes” to a “no” or to a “maybe.” Fully 28% of the Latinos shifted from a “yes” to a “no.”

APPENDIX 2: DISCUSSION OF THE SHIFT DUE TO THE CITIZENSHIP QUESTION (CQ)

Shift between the Two Questions	<u>Non</u> -Latinos	Latinos
yes to no	7%	28%
yes to maybe	8%	8%
maybe to no	2%	6%
Total of worse attitude	17%	42%
yes to yes	77%	46%
no to no	4%	7%
no to yes	0%	1%
maybe to yes	1%	2%
maybe to maybe	2%	2%
Total of neutral or more positive attitude	83%	58%
Total %	100%	100%
Total N	166	409

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