

CCR  
B  
meet.  
197

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS  
NEW YORK STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

-----X

In the Matter of:

The 1990 Census:  
Preparations for the Count and Issues

-----X

Javits Federal Building  
26 Federal Plaza  
New York, New York

November 19, 1987  
4:45 P.M.

A.S.A.P. REPORTING CO.  
Computer-Aided Transcription  
By: Registered Professional Reporters  
251 86th Street  
Brooklyn, New York 11209

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

A P P E A R A N C E S:

SETSUKO M. NISKI, Vice Chair,

TINO CALABIA, Field Representative

BENJAMIN IREDELLE NIXON, Member

JOHN EASTMAN, Director of Congressional and  
Public Affairs, U.S. Commission  
on Civil Rights

\* \* \*

1

2

DR. NISHI: At this time, let us begin the forum on the 1990 census.

3

4

As some of you may remember, the Commission has been interested in census matters for at least two decades. Before the 1980 census, three or four Advisory Committees undertook activities related to that census. We may be the first Advisory Committee to do so regarding the 1990 census, but others will probably join us or follow up on matters that we are raising today.

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

Before introducing our guests, I should note that associate director, Ronald H. Moore, of the Bureau of the Census had been scheduled to lead off today's panel discussion. The first arrangements for his appearance were handled by Regional Census Director, Shelia Grimm, whose office is located here at 26 Federal Plaza. At the end of October, Ms. Grimm informed Tino Calabria, of our regional office that Mr. Moore would represent the Bureau.

22

23

24

25

Last week, however, Mr. Moore phoned our regional office to say that today's meeting would be untimely, that the press of business would prevent his coming, and that the questions which

1

2 this Committee wished to raise cut across several  
3 divisions, making it difficult for him to  
4 coordinate Bureau responses by today. Mr. Calabria  
5 then offered to try to reschedule the meeting at  
6 the convenience of Mr. Moore, but Mr. Moore  
7 declined this offer.

8           There remains, nonetheless, an  
9 opportunity for this Committee to obtain responses  
10 or comments on today's proceedings. As you may  
11 know, individuals and agencies mentioned in the  
12 reports by the Commission and its Advisory  
13 Committees are provided an opportunity to review  
14 sections of the draft reports referring to them.  
15 As the handbook guiding our work also notes, all  
16 federal agencies are required by statute to  
17 cooperate fully with the Commission, so we look  
18 forward to cooperation from the Census Bureau.

19           At any rate, as we said in the letter of  
20 invitation to Mr. Moore, the Committee is  
21 interested in learning more about:

22           Preparations for the 1990 census, that  
23 is, in the latest version of the questionnaire to  
24 be tested in next spring's dress rehearsal, the  
25 number of temporary workers expected to be hired

1  
2 to help carry out the census, the issue of  
3 undercounts, and the Bureau's recently announced  
4 position on adjustment of the figures to be  
5 reported to the congress.

6 Today's guests have information and  
7 views on the undercount issue and proposals to  
8 compensate for undercounts. But if they are also  
9 able to comment on other aspects of the 1990  
10 census, they are more than welcome to do so.

11 What I would like to do now is to  
12 indicate that the Commission, the U.S. Commission  
13 on Civil Rights, in a meeting on November 13,  
14 recently, has passed this resolution which makes  
15 extremely important and appropriate our forum  
16 today. And I quote, "Whereas one of the primary  
17 tasks of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is to  
18 review allegations of denials of the right to vote  
19 on account of race, color, sex, national origin,  
20 age, or handicap, and whereas proponents of the  
21 Census Improvement Act of 1987 allege that  
22 systematic unaccounting evident in the census has  
23 a differential impact on minorities, the homeless  
24 and residents in rural areas, be it their resolve  
25 that this Commission directs staff to

1

2 expeditiously study the proposed legislation and  
3 make a recommendation as to endorsement or  
4 opposition available for Commission action at the  
5 December meeting."

6

7 And this is the resolution which makes  
8 particularly timely our forum today. Before we  
9 begin our panel presentations, let me also add  
10 that information received from any individual will  
11 be maintained in accordance with the notice of  
12 systems of records published in the Federal  
13 Register to meet the Privacy Act requirements and  
14 as further noted in the Privacy Act form being  
15 circulated to our guests by Mr. Calabria.

16

17 What we will do is follow the order of  
18 presentations our the agenda. Is that agreeable  
19 with the panelists that --

20

21 MR. ZIMROTH: If you don't mind, I would  
22 appreciate if I could go first because I have  
23 another meeting--

24

25 MR. WICE: That's fine with me.

26

27 DR. NISHI: Is that agreeable?

28

29 Peter L. Zimroth is the New York City  
30 Corporation Counsel.

31

32 MR. ZIMROTH: Thank you.

1  
2           First of all, I am very pleased to be  
3 here. I cannot imagine anything more important  
4 that the Civil Rights Commission could be doing  
5 than what you are doing today, because the issue  
6 of undercount is central to the workings of our  
7 democracy. It is obvious that if you are not  
8 properly counted, then you are not properly  
9 represented. And that, in fact, is what the state  
10 of affairs is and has been for a very significant  
11 period of time.

12           Since 1940, at least since 1940, which  
13 is when these figures were first published, there  
14 has been a dramatic and systematic  
15 disproportionate undercount of blacks and other  
16 minorities in this country. It happened very  
17 dramatically again in 1980, and I have no doubt  
18 that, indeed I'm sure that the Bureau itself has  
19 no doubt that it will, in fact, happen again in  
20 1990 unless something is done about it. Just to  
21 give you an example of what I'm talking about,  
22 what I am about to say is the Bureau of Census is  
23 own figures.

24           In 1980, there was, roughly, a one and a  
25 half percent undercount for the population as a

1

2 whole. Blacks in the central cities were  
3 undercounted by 11.3% and Hispanics in the central  
4 cities were undercounted by 10.3%. The City of  
5 New York was undercounted by roughly 500,000  
6 people, which is more people than in many large  
7 cities in this country.

8

9 It's obvious that that kind of  
10 systematic undercount disenfranchises those people  
11 in this country who are already the most  
12 disadvantaged. It is a situation which we, I  
13 think, as a democratic country, one, are dedicated  
14 to equal access to political power and  
15 governmental decision making simply cannot work  
16 with.

16

17 Now, I should just say as a bit of  
18 background, a little of my office's involvement in  
19 this issue because we have actually had a very  
20 substantial involvement. In 1980, the City of New  
21 York and the Corporation Counsel's office and an  
22 outside lawfirm of Cavans, Swine and Moore  
23 (phonetic), sued the Census Bureau because of the  
24 1980 undercount and asked the Court to order an  
25 adjustment to take this undercount into account.  
There was a trial in that case and we won that



1  
2 case. Unfortunately, that decision was reversed  
3 on an evidentiary ruling, not on the merits, but  
4 on an evidentiary ruling and the case was sent  
5 back for a new trial. And we had a new trial and  
6 there has been no decision in that case.

7 But in the course of that case, we  
8 learned an enormous amount about how the census  
9 was done and about the whole question of  
10 adjustment. We questioned and cross-examined many  
11 of the Census Bureau's witnesses and their experts  
12 and we learned what their objections were to the  
13 census, to the adjustment that we were  
14 recommending, that we were proposing. And I think  
15 not only did it educate us, but I think it also  
16 educated the experts in the department of the  
17 census itself to look and to take a much harder  
18 look at this whole issue of adjustment, than,  
19 perhaps they had been inclined to do in the past.  
20 And I want to say that there has been a very  
21 dramatic change in the department of the census  
22 itself. That is at least with respect to the  
23 experts statisticians in the department of census,  
24 because what we have found is that the very  
25 people, the expert witnesses who testified against

1  
2 us in this trial, have now come to the conclusion  
3 that adjustment is feasible, practical and it  
4 should be done. In fact, if I might, I will quote  
5 to you something that the Bureau's associate  
6 director for statistical standards and methodology  
7 said recently, this is a woman named Barbara  
8 Bailer, who was a very formidable adversary of  
9 ours during this trial, who testified against the  
10 position that we have and without question, one of  
11 the country's experts in this area. And as I  
12 said, is she, at least on the expert level, the  
13 statistical level in charge of this effort, was  
14 recently elected as president of the American  
15 Statistical Association, and in her inaugural  
16 address in August of 1987, she said the  
17 following:

18           "The consensus of the statisticians,  
19 statisticians from government, industries and  
20 academia, statisticians who have carefully  
21 reviewed all the work in this area, is that an  
22 adjustment will provide more accurate data on the  
23 size, location and demography of the minority  
24 population in this country, it's time to get on  
25 with the job." That conclusion was echoed by five

1

2 other experts within the Bureau. In fact, we have  
3 a paper which we can give to the chair, coming  
4 essentially to the same conclusion.

5 So that what we have now is a situation  
6 in which the Census Bureau itself, that is, its  
7 own experts has come to the conclusion that  
8 adjustment is theoretically the correct thing to  
9 do and practically feasible. And you and I both  
10 know that just within the last two weeks, the  
11 politicians within the Census Bureau have said the  
12 opposite. They have made a decision, in my view,  
13 an extraordinary cynical political decision that  
14 there will be no adjustment in the 1990 census,  
15 that the dramatic undercount will continue for yet  
16 another ten years, that there will be a  
17 continuation of the disenfranchisement of this  
18 very substantial portion in our population, and so  
19 I'm here to urge the commission to do whatever is  
20 within its power either to get the politicians in  
21 the Census Bureau to let their experts do the job  
22 that they know they can. Or if not, to help us in  
23 our efforts to get the Congressman Dymally to get  
24 that bill passed, and that is a bill that mandates  
25 that there be an adjustment in the 1990 census.

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

So I would be happy to answer whatever questions that you want and I can also leave my colleague, Chuck Weinstock, if you prefer.

DR. NISHI: Good. I think the procedure that we are going to follow is following each presentation, that we would have, then, questions from our Advisory Committee panel.

Mr. Nixon, do you have any comment?

MR. NIXON: No.

DR. NISHI: How about you, Mr. McLaurin.

MR. MC LAURIN: I would like to know if there are some recommendations that we might use to pressure the congressman? Is there some method that we might use in helping congress make up its mind as to --

MR. ZIMROTH: First is to publicize this horrendous state of affairs. When people talk about census, they think about a lot of numbers. They don't really appreciate the effect that this 1990 census will have on their lives. I was talking primarily about representation issues, which I believe go to the heart of the census.

There is also huge amounts of money at stake here because allocation of money, not only

1  
2 in congress but in all the states, is very often  
3 based on population. And if the City of New York  
4 is undercounted by 500,000 people, that has a very  
5 substantial impact on the amount of money that the  
6 City gets. And if blacks in the inner-cities are  
7 not properly counted, that has a tremendous effect  
8 on, basically, their political power. Not only in  
9 congress, but in the state legislatures, in the  
10 City Council, everywhere. It is an issue that  
11 goes to the core of the workings of the democracy  
12 and people have to understand that, and the  
13 congress has to understand that this is an issue  
14 not simply of am I going to keep my seat or not  
15 keep my seat. It is an issue of, first,  
16 principals and you just have to get that message  
17 across.

18 DR. NISHI: I would like to beef up the  
19 documentation here and to be sure that we have  
20 this correctly. As I understand it, there is 11%  
21 of the blacks in the central cities.

22 Now, you are referring to all central  
23 cities, major metropolitan, standard metropolitan  
24 areas?

25 MR. ZIMROTH: I am not referring to

1

2 anything other than the Census Bureau's own  
3 figures --

4

DR. NISHI: With regard to New York  
5 City, maybe you can give us the specifics there  
6 with regard to that. If you say there is an  
7 undercount of a few hundred thousand people --

8

MR. ZIMROTH: That's what the Census  
9 Bureau says. I don't have any knowledge --

10

DR. NISHI: Okay.

11

Then what then would you say is the  
12 percentage undercount in New York City? We can  
13 figure this out --

14

MR. WEINSTOCK: Why don't we just supply  
15 that to you later?

16

DR. NISHI: Fine. That would be useful  
17 to us because I think it would be useful in our  
18 report to the commissioners to indicate the extent  
19 to which New York City is evidently to be dealt  
20 with.

21

MR. ZIMROTH: I want to say one thing on  
22 this issue because one of the things that we have  
23 been saying for quite a long time is that even  
24 though I understand, politically, that a lot of  
25 congressmen and women will look at this as a

1

2 question of who is going to benefit as opposed to  
3 who is going to be hurt, and I suppose that's  
4 inevitable. I think that they have to be made to  
5 understand that adjustment is just a fairer way of  
6 counting, regardless of where the chips fall.

7 Your question prompts that response  
8 because I don't think this can be made and it is  
9 not an issue of cities versus rural or black  
10 versus white. It's simply a question of one  
11 person, one vote. If you are a person in this  
12 country, you should be counted. Period. That's  
13 all.

14 MR. NIXON: I think, particularly in a  
15 city like this where we have so many homeless  
16 people, the point can be made without regard to  
17 race. And because poor people are more likely to  
18 be undercounted, it also gets to be a non-rural  
19 versus urban, or white versus black kind of  
20 thing.

21 DR. NISHI: Could you also give us some  
22 estimation of, say, the loss of federal  
23 allocations, that is a consequence of the 500,000  
24 undercounts?

25 MR. ZIMROTH: Well, we had some

1

2 estimates in our lawsuit and, again, I will  
3 provide you with those figures.

4

DR. NISHI: That would be useful to us.

5

6 MR. ZIMROTH: We will make a list of  
7 that. Of course it is very hard to estimate what  
8 it would be in the future.

8

9 DR. NISHI: Yes. But I think what would  
10 be your, in the course of discovery.

10

11 MR. ZIMROTH: Yes, we will supply that  
12 to you.

12

13 DR. NISHI: I am sure that you have more  
14 substantial documentation which will be useful to  
15 us, so we can be more vigorous in our  
16 communications with the commissioners.

16

17 DR. RICKETTS: I would like to take  
18 exception to some of what you have to say because  
19 one does not have to make it a white person,  
20 black, rural or urban issue. Nonetheless, to the  
21 extent that blacks and certain minorities are more  
22 represented in the population that's undercounted,  
23 they suffer disproportionately and they stand to  
24 better more so than some other groups.

24

25 MR. ZIMROTH: If what I said you took to  
be a disagreement with that statement, then I



1

2 obviously didn't communicate correctly, because  
3 what you said is one of my main thrusts, so I  
4 agree with you.

5

6 MR. CALABIA: Could we know when you  
anticipate final action by the courts?

7

8 MR. ZIMROTH: I have no way of knowing  
that.

9

10 MR. NIXON: Let me be clear on the  
500,000. Was that just a number picked out of the  
11 air or were you saying --

12

13 MR. WEINSTOCK: 524,000 is their  
figure.

14

15 MR. NIXON: Is the undercounts in New  
York City?

16

MR. WEINSTOCK: Yes.

17

DR. RICKETTS: The Census Bureau?

18

MR. WEINSTOCK: Yes.

19

20 DR. NISHI: Dr. Bailer, who is now, she  
is the newly elected head of the American  
21 Statistics Association; correct?

22

MR. ZIMROTH: Yes.

23

24 DR. NISHI: So she reports that there is  
a consensus among statisticians and I wonder if  
25 you would provide us with the specific source of

1

2 that citation because I think that's a useful  
3 one.

4 MR. ZIMROTH: This was a, what I am  
5 reading from is an excerpt from a transcript of a  
6 speech that she gave in, I think it was  
7 California, I don't know where, on August 18,  
8 1987. If you want the full transcript, I believe  
9 you could get it from Terry Ann Lowenthal, who is  
10 Congressman Dymally's legislative assistant, or  
11 alternatively, she is the staff person on the  
12 Committee, one or the other.

13 MR. WEINSTOCK: The House Subcommittee.

14 MR. ZIMROTH: She supplied me with the  
15 relevant pages of the speech. I don't have the  
16 full speech here with me. I just have the  
17 excerpts. You can see from the paper,  
18 Subcommittee Staff Director, right, and you can  
19 see from the paper that we distributed in the very  
20 beginning, if I may read into the record, it says  
21 "In this paper, we discuss the issue of whether  
22 there exists a rigorous and sound body of  
23 statistical theories and operations for correcting  
24 the 1990 census enumeration, so as to produce  
25 census figures with reduced differential

1

2 undercounts. We show that such measures exist and  
3 that correction of the census are technically  
4 feasible." That is from this paper which is  
5 entitled the technical feasibility of correcting  
6 the 1990 census and it's written by Dan Childers,  
7 Gregg Diffendal, Howard Hogan, Nathaniel Schenker  
8 and Kirk Wolter.

9

DR. NISHI: What is the status of this?  
10 Is this a staff report? This is a technical staff  
11 report; is that correct? It does not indicate --

12

MR. CALABIA: The final page --

13

MR. ZIMROTH: This paper reports the  
14 general results of research undertaken by the  
15 Census Bureau staff. The views expressed are  
16 attributed to the authors and do not necessarily  
17 reflect those of the Census Bureau. Well, we know  
18 that.

19

DR. NISHI: Thank you. That's useful to  
20 us.

21

As far as you know then, the  
22 presentation by Dr. Bailer this summer and the  
23 staff paper, represents pretty much a consensus  
24 among the technical experts about the feasibility  
25 of adjustment?

1

2

MR. ZIMROTH: Yes.

3

4

5

6

DR. NISHI: You feel, then, there is not any significant questioning of this consensus by anybody of any significant stature about its feasibility?

7

8

9

10

11

MR. ZIMROTH: I can't say that there are not questions that have been raised. Of course there are. There will always be questions when you are dealing with a statistical method like this.

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

What I am saying is, frankly, I'm not saying it, I am saying that Barbara Bailer has said there is a consensus of statisticians. She is someone who has been working in this for a very long time. We, frankly, believed that there was a consensus in 1980. That was the basis and is the basis of our lawsuit. But obviously wasn't the consensus in the Bureau itself until now we know that there is one, apparently, now.

21

22

23

24

25

DR. RICKETTS: I might want to put two cents in and say that statisticians felt they could always adjust the census and the extreme view on that is that some statisticians feel one might not even need to take the census.

1  
2           My reasonable appraisal of this is that  
3 what you do when you are, this is all by based on  
4 some supplemental surveys, is that you can correct  
5 the numbers, but to the extent that you don't have  
6 an accurate count to begin with, then you have  
7 some problems with the demographic composition.  
8 You have more demographic composition problems,  
9 which mean you get closer to what the ideal  
10 situation would be, but you have not licked the  
11 problem 100%.

12           MR. ZIMROTH: You see one of the things,  
13 and if you look at the press release that the  
14 Census Bureau put out when it announced its  
15 decision that it was not going to adjust, one of  
16 the things that they said in support is that this  
17 wasn't an unanimity about which method of  
18 adjustment you should use. To which I think an  
19 appropriate response would be any one of the  
20 methods would improve the situation  
21 substantially. So that to say that you can't  
22 decide which of those, to me, is not an adequate  
23 statement. In fact, you know, that press release  
24 is something I think that you ought to spend some  
25 time asking the Bureau about because there are

1

2 many things in that press release that are  
3 questionable.

4

5 I mean the statement, they lead off, I  
6 believe, I don't have it with me, but I would  
7 recollect the statement leads off with saying that  
8 this is going to be the most accurate census ever,  
9 is only going to be 1% undercounts. Well, 1% for  
10 the population. What is that? Roughly 2.4  
11 million people? What they don't tell you is who  
12 those 2.4 million people are going to be.

12

13 Hypothetically, if every one of those were a  
14 Hispanic or black or whatever, would they argue  
15 that that was a fair census? Nonsense.

15

16 DR. NISHI: We are going to have to move  
17 along. We very much appreciate your being with  
18 us.

18

19 MR. WEINSTOCK: I will stick around.

19

20 DR. NISHI: Very good. We are delighted  
21 that you can.

21

22 Thank you, very much, Mr. Zimroth.

22

23 Our next panel presenter will be Mr.  
24 Jeffrey Wice, who is the Washington Office  
25 Director of the New York State Assembly.

25

MR. WICE: I thank you, very much. I

1

2 appreciate the opportunity to be here. I'm,  
3 perhaps, one of the first New Yorkers to work with  
4 the modern or the current Census Bureau with our  
5 reapportionment and census activities.

6 In 1978, in my capacity as the assembly  
7 intergovernmental liaison, I went out to the  
8 Census Bureau to find out if the state legislative  
9 is the body which draws the congressional and  
10 state legislature distribution. We wanted to  
11 begin setting up five computer bases for the  
12 legislature to have the consensus tracks and the  
13 maps on lines that after receiving the numbers at  
14 the end of 1980, we would be able to begin work in  
15 a timely fashion and I have been working on this  
16 ever since, and experienced 1980 census and have  
17 been aware, you know for nine years now, the  
18 problems presented and in trying to find ways to  
19 remedy that, to insure the correct count.

20 I would like to be able, I agree with  
21 everything that Mr. Zimroth had said earlier, and  
22 would like to provide some additional information  
23 for your record and an idea of some of the  
24 political things being considered now in  
25 Washington and in other states.

1

2           The census itself, it is important to  
3 remember, is required in Article 1 Section 2 of  
4 the U.S. Constitution where the Federal Government  
5 is required to include in the census the whole  
6 number of persons and that's the basic derivation  
7 of one person, one vote, and with that comes the  
8 apportionment in Congress, the State Legislature,  
9 City Councils, School Boards, Federal funding,  
10 State funding, down on the line.

11           With the problems that we have  
12 experienced, you know, with the undercount, we  
13 think that is essential that a correct census be  
14 made. I also want to point out in terms of  
15 phraseology, people have referred to this as the  
16 undercounts, as the adjustment. It might be best  
17 to call it correction. Adjustment makes a lot of  
18 people wonder why are you adjusting; are you  
19 punching the numbers; what is the accurate count.  
20 And because we are talking about asking or  
21 requiring by law the Census Bureau to make a  
22 change, we are really talking about correcting a  
23 wrong situation. So, I think that would be  
24 easier.

25           I will touch a little bit later on other



1  
2 ways that there, actually, is an adjustment for  
3 other purposes, methods involving imputation.  
4 Essentially, there are two or three arguments  
5 overall for the current census operation and what  
6 correction could achieve. There is going to be a  
7 differential undercount. The problem between a  
8 white population and a black or other kinds of  
9 minority populations, no matter what the Census  
10 Bureau itself tries to do, they -- 99% of the  
11 population, but that census improvement method  
12 itself could have some problems based on the 1980  
13 experience and that correction will really bring  
14 the numbers closer to reality.

15 I am not here to speak for the Census  
16 Bureau. But in 1980, the Bureau had 275,000 field  
17 staff people throughout the country, and it has  
18 6,300 processors take the material from the  
19 questionnaires and from the door to door surveys  
20 done, be the enumerators to compile the results.  
21 So there are a lot of people involved in the  
22 process, but there are lots of errors,  
23 nonetheless. The basic information comes from  
24 people in their homes, by mail or by the door to  
25 door survey taken in the summer.

1  
2           As you are probably aware, on or about  
3 April 1st, the Census Bureau sends out  
4 questionnaires to all households in the United  
5 States. The address lists that they use come from  
6 commercial sources, and the quality of those lists  
7 really vary depending on who the vendors are that  
8 supply them and the kind of neighborhoods that the  
9 lists cover. Mail always gets lost, a problem  
10 specific to New York; you have broken mailboxes;  
11 you have the group box; the theft of mail; and  
12 oftentimes when people receive mail in minority  
13 areas or non-speaking English areas, mail from the  
14 government is something you just as soon not open  
15 and throw away. That was a problem in 1980. The  
16 questionnaires are sent back on an act of good  
17 faith by all households. They are requested to  
18 mail them back as soon as possible, but often  
19 people never do. The form is in English and they  
20 often don't speak or read English and there is a  
21 big gap.

22           For the households that are missed in  
23 that mail questionnaire survey, the Bureau then  
24 sends out your door to door enumerators in the  
25 summer months. Then you have problems where the

1  
2 enumerators are often afraid to go into a  
3 neighborhood for various reasons. They are also  
4 temporary employees. They are hired for, you  
5 know, less than a year's period, so you know that  
6 by the end of the calendar year, you are out of a  
7 job and you try to do whatever you can to count  
8 people. You often find, in urban areas, a  
9 practice known as curb stoning where the  
10 enumerators go into their assigned neighborhoods,  
11 they might look at the mailboxes of an apartment  
12 building and decide, well, I'm not going to go up  
13 and down the hallways here, let's just say there  
14 are ten units, let's say three per unit and add  
15 five more. That's often done. Or somebody will  
16 look at a building from the outside and say that  
17 one is vacant; there are no windows, it is all  
18 gutted out; when, in fact, there would be a number  
19 of homeless people inside. Or they make an  
20 estimate, they ask somebody in the street, does  
21 anybody live there, and oh, good there are a bunch  
22 of bills and they don't count or they count  
23 whoever they want to.

24 Mr. Zimroth cited a few numbers of the  
25 1% that is missing in the census and who are

1  
2 they. In 1980, 10 to 13 billion people, I think,  
3 were omitted from the census. And that there is  
4 also a problem of overcount and that 6 million  
5 people were erroneously added to the census.  
6 Also, 3 million people were created by computer  
7 through a process known as imputations where,  
8 based on the questionnaires or the door to door  
9 survey result, is missing information, there are  
10 methods where the Bureau imputes the missing  
11 information into the final count, and that is an  
12 adjustment. That is something the Bureau is  
13 already doing. In addition, about 2 million  
14 people were counted twice that, that I heard one  
15 story that people, one fellow received a  
16 questionnaire at his home, his vacation address  
17 and then a third business address, and when would  
18 the government ever leave him alone as he kept  
19 sending these forms back. And although I recall,  
20 because I live in Washington but maintain a New  
21 York residence as well, where I grew up on Long  
22 Island, my mother asked me, well, where do you  
23 live for the purposes of this and I figured, well,  
24 you are supposed to live at your usual residence,  
25 and I could have been counted twice because I

1

2 travel the New York/Washington corridor  
3 constantly.

4

5 The Census Bureau announcement on  
6 October 30th caught me by surprise. Assemblyman  
7 Angelo Del Toro is here. Because we have been  
8 working with the Census Bureau, as Mr. Zimroth.  
9 Discussed a bit, that the experts have agreed with  
10 the statisticians that a correction is possible  
11 and that there are about 24 various ways of  
12 correcting the census through statistical  
13 methods.

14

15 In 1976, the Census Bureau stated that  
16 one of its major objectives would be to correct  
17 the census in 1980, if there is a demonstrated  
18 need to do so. In early 1980, the Bureau held a  
19 conference on the undercount issue and Vincent  
20 Barraba, who was the Census Bureau Director under  
21 both republican and democratic, had indicated that  
22 if there is a problem with the consensus, if there  
23 is a perceived undercount, they would correct.  
24 However, on December 16, 1980, the Bureau  
25 announced the census had complete and that it  
26 would not correct.

27

28 At this point, really, the remedy is

1  
2 going to lie with federal legislation and  
3 Congressman Dymally has introduced HR3511; all but  
4 four or five New York members of congress are  
5 co-sponsors of that legislation. The additional  
6 co-sponsors number about 20 from other states and  
7 support is still building for that bill. That  
8 legislation, in essence, would require that the  
9 Census Bureau correct the census for under and  
10 overcount. It would not mandate the method; that  
11 we left to the Bureau. And very importantly, it  
12 would also require that the Bureau release only  
13 one set of numbers for all purposes, be there  
14 proportionment, federal funding, information or  
15 statistical uses.

16 One argument made against the correction  
17 is that you will have two sets of numbers, there  
18 will be lots of confusion, and that this would  
19 bring litigation claiming that there are people  
20 made up, but this legislation would directly  
21 address that.

22 The legislation that has been referred  
23 to Post Office and Civil Service Committee,  
24 several hearings have been held on the bill.  
25 There is, of course, a question as to who wins,

1

2 who loses, politically. All the estimates on  
3 congressional proportionment for 1980 are very  
4 sketchy. Estimates had been done for the  
5 Commission by the Library of Congress and by other  
6 agencies in the Congress Department, which state  
7 that New York, based on the 1990 estimates, could  
8 lose anywhere from two to five congressional  
9 seats. Census Bureau numbers, in my experience,  
10 are often inflated. The two seats lost was done  
11 over two years ago. I don't trust that.

12 I think overall, however, that when New  
13 York proportionment of congressional seats is  
14 relative to other states as well, and some people  
15 believe the shift of seats caused by a correction  
16 might only be one or two, and that a recent WALL  
17 STREET JOURNAL article indicated that the one seat  
18 might come from Massachusetts or from Minnesota  
19 and go to California. I think it is very  
20 dangerous to really discuss the winners and losers  
21 because there is fear involved. There are  
22 problems with politicians-- where will new  
23 districts be related. That really should not be  
24 part of the argument on this legislation. We are  
25 really talking about to finally come to the

1

2 realization of one person one vote and fairness.  
3 And support is still building in Congress. The  
4 leadership is trying to get an idea of where the  
5 members are on the issue of both sides of the  
6 aisle, and I think it will be several months until  
7 we see some final action on it.

8

9 There are one or two other issues that I  
10 thought ought to be covered, in terms of illegal  
11 aliens, illegalization process. If at the end of  
12 this or if ever you want to handle that, you may  
13 want to speak to Assemblyman Del Toro about that.

14

15 DR. NISHI: We have new persons who have  
16 entered the room. I wonder if you would introduce  
17 yourselves.

18

19 MR. DEL TORO: I am Assemblyman Angelo  
20 Del Toro. I sit as Chair of the Reapportionment  
21 Commission and we will be dealing with all the  
22 consensus data to --

23

24 DR. NISHI: And we are sitting as  
25 members of the U.S. Panel Commission of the New  
26 York State Advisory Committee, and we welcome  
27 you.

28

29 MR. WICE: Is it okay if I just yell for  
30 a moment? If you would like--

31



1

2

DR. NISHI: Yes.

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

MR. DEL TORO: Also, as a Hispanic, which the census undercounts, really, the Constitution of the United States calls for the central census, and it's funny, when the constitution was first adopted, black people were to be counted 3/5, really three for every white person. If you look at the progress, black people and brown people have made, we are really only up to 4/5 of what a white person is because the traditional 20% undercount by the Census Bureau happens in black and brown areas, usually. Black communities, Hispanic communities, and I would think now in the city --

16

DR. NISHI: Also a little yellow.

17

18

19

20

21

MR. DEL TORO: You are right. Also the Asian. Generally speaking, poverty runs heavy in these communities. It is just not -- my district will be affected by this census, I hope in a good way, but it can be in a bad way.

22

23

24

25

But it is also affects us in terms of many federal formulas, like house, education, senior citizen aid, the City of New York, the State of New York lost substantial amounts of aid

1

2 and it's not a one year lost. It's a ten year  
3 lost. So you multiply the loss by ten. So it's  
4 the very people that need aid themselves, they get  
5 a double bang. They get undercounted and get less  
6 aid in the process.

7 As a Hispanic, I am very concerned about  
8 the undocumented community in New York City, which  
9 may go up to about 750,000. I am also concerned  
10 that there is a bill pending in Congress, that  
11 there is a national movement, that is very  
12 destructive, that will say to the Census Bureau  
13 that they should only be counting citizens. I  
14 think that is really a direct contradiction to the  
15 United States Constitution, which is very clear,  
16 says all persons in the state-- and by the way,  
17 that language of all persons is not only written  
18 in the body of the constitution, it is then  
19 written in the 14th Amendment where states are not  
20 allowed to discriminate against persons in their  
21 states. So the language is very clear and it is  
22 followed throughout the constitution. The census  
23 was never meant not to count citizens. It was  
24 clear -- I mean, only to count citizens, you count  
25 all people that reside in a given state. It is

1

2 followed up later in the 14th Amendment. I think  
3 that's a clear position that both the  
4 administration and our federal officials should be  
5 taking, and any efforts not to count undocumented  
6 or illegal aliens should be not tolerated.

7 Now, we are very concerned in New York  
8 State, in that in our undocumented population,  
9 Immigration and Nationalization Services, I don't  
10 think did justice to us. It opened up four  
11 offices in New York State for the vast number of  
12 people that we have. For example, in Manhattan,  
13 which has large undocumented populations, probably  
14 in lower Manhattan, in the northern part of  
15 Manhattan and Washington Heights, Inwood, in my  
16 district in East Harlem, there was only one office  
17 open to serve all those communities that needed  
18 help. And it was out of the way, I think it was  
19 on 23rd street. It wasn't close to any of the  
20 undocumented -- there was one office located in  
21 Long Island City. Again, that's a good place, but  
22 there was one office in Long Island and one in  
23 Buffalo. Areas such as Brooklyn, the Bronx,  
24 Rochester, Amsterdam, New York, where there are  
25 large pockets of undocumented people were just not

1

2 serviced at all and we thought that was very  
3 unfortunate.

4 I think that it really led to  
5 discrimination against those people because it's  
6 clear that the state government, the city  
7 government, county government, has supplied  
8 services, that we have to provide education  
9 services, housing services, health services,  
10 police service, sanitation services, and not to --  
11 it is my contention that these people would have  
12 started on the process, they were more likely to  
13 participate in the census. It is very hard to  
14 convince somebody to participate with the Federal  
15 Government in this one activity, no matter how  
16 confidential that activity might be, when officers  
17 or agents of the Federal Government and that  
18 activity are there to beat you up and get you out  
19 of the country. People don't do that. In their  
20 own best interests, they are going to hide further  
21 and not participate. So this entire question of  
22 undocumented aliens is something that I really  
23 think boards on the civil rights issue for those  
24 people.

25

DR. NISHI: What you are indicating is

1

2 it was linked in with the --

3

MR. DEL TORO: That's where your  
4 undercount is.

5

DR. NISHI: You have an interest in the  
6 matter of accuracy of count, but also the facts  
7 have pointed out to us that the people are the  
8 ones who are victimized and they were victimized  
9 for a decade at least.

10

MR. DEL TORO: That's right.

11

DR. NISHI: How could it be now? How  
12 would it be possible for the public to become more  
13 self-interested in the matter? There has not been  
14 -- it's not a kind of issue that it's very easy to  
15 get the people to rise up and say we are losing  
16 things, we are being victimized.

17

What would be your view as a person who  
18 was a skilled politician?

19

MR. DEL TORO: I think we have to point  
20 out that analogy, blacks, 3/5 to 4/5 now. Number  
21 two, I think we see the Census Bureau itself  
22 should be hiring. If you are talking about  
23 counting the homeless, I mean why don't you find  
24 some homeless people who know where the homeless  
25 hide out, who know the lifestyle of the homeless

1  
2 and maybe can give you some insight onto what's  
3 going on. If you are talking about the  
4 undocumented, maybe we can say that for the years,  
5 what is it 1991 -- 1990, that the Federal  
6 Government, Immigration and Nationalization  
7 Services might do a little more, a forum on the  
8 census being counted, that there won't be any  
9 raids during the 1990 census, there were highly  
10 publicized raids in Texas, San Antonio, Texas, by  
11 I.N.S., at the same time that the Census Bureau is  
12 going on and trying to count people.

13 I think the Federal Government, the left  
14 hand should be talking to the right hand, saying,  
15 look, this is only once every ten years, maybe we  
16 can cool out a little bit and give these people a  
17 buy for that time.

18 The other thing is, mechanically, the  
19 Census Bureau process has to be reviewed. What's  
20 happening is in the Census Bureau makes up a list  
21 of addresses, building addresses, residential  
22 addresses, to send out their mail, their  
23 questionnaires. They wait until the  
24 questionnaires get back and if an apartment  
25 building, let's say there were ten apartments and

1

2 six did not answer the questionnaire, they send  
3 out what's called an enumerator to physically go,  
4 knock on the door and try to get the census form  
5 filled out. Maybe we should have more  
6 enumerators.

7 It is important, too, that those  
8 residential address lists are very accurate. For  
9 example, in New York State, not so far from here,  
10 the Census Bureau has yet to include addresses  
11 that will be in Battery Park City and which are  
12 residences. They will probably have trouble with  
13 the Soho section, which is just north of here,  
14 because that was a section that's turned over from  
15 being an industrial section into a more  
16 residential section. So it is very important that  
17 the Census Bureau work with local planning  
18 commission and work with local government to get  
19 as accurate a list as possible, because what  
20 happens is if the mailing address is not in on  
21 their list, they don't get a questionnaire back.  
22 They then don't send a enumerator to find out what  
23 happened in that building.

24 DR. NISHI: What you are suggesting here  
25 is some mechanism of quality control from those of

1

2 whom they by the commercial sources of the list?

3 MR. DEL TORO: That's right. And to

4 keep it up-to-date. The other thing is many

5 religious groups, such as the Catholic Church,

6 especially with the undocumented population, the

7 Hispanic undocumented population, did not

8 participate and help the Census Bureau by

9 disseminating information in the 1980 because of

10 the question of the status, legal status of these

11 people. So I think that the Census Bureau should

12 work now with the Catholic Bishop, Catholic

13 Conference, Federation of Protestants, all the

14 groups, and try to persuade them with the I.N.S.

15 that information and help that they get won't lead

16 to someone being deported, because that's what

17 they are worried about.

18 DR. NISHI: We appreciate very much your

19 suggestions here.

20 MR. WEINSTOCK: Can I just ask one

21 question?

22 DR. NISHI: Yes.

23 MR. WEINSTOCK: All of the suggestions

24 you made sound good to me.

25 I am just wondering whether, in addition



1

2 to those coverage improvement suggestions, you  
3 believe that the use of statistical adjustment and  
4 correction will be helpful?

5

MR. DEL TORO: I think it is very  
6 important that there be a statistical correction.  
7 It procedurally must be put into a census track.  
8 It just can't be done, from the reapportionment  
9 point of view. Lets say they correct the New York  
10 City's population for 500,000 more people. That's  
11 the equivalent of approximately one Congressional  
12 District. The question is where do you locate  
13 that Congressional District, do you put it in  
14 Manhattan, Bronx --

15

DR. NISHI: We are going to hear from --

16

MR. DEL TORO: To challenge in the  
17 federal court, if you do adjust, or statewide, is  
18 it in Buffalo that they get the Congressional  
19 District or New York City?

20

DR. NISHI: We will be here --

21

MR. WICE: The sent surveys but we did  
22 state that if there were to be one would be down  
23 to the -- that's very important because if you do  
24 make a correction, you do have to put these people  
25 someplace, and there was an experience in the 1970

1

2 census with military personnel living overseas,  
3 that those individuals were imputed into the count  
4 by state, not below the state level, and it made  
5 it a lot harder to then apportion then for  
6 purposes of redistricting. The Bureau stopped  
7 that practice in 1980, there is possible  
8 congressional legislation which would also require  
9 the counting of military, and that it's important  
10 that if they do that, that those individuals be  
11 put, be placed into their residences.

12 DR. NISHI: Usual residence? Yes?

13 MR. DEL TORO: One other thing. See, I  
14 think they use too large areas for their district  
15 offices, the Census Bureau. New York City has a  
16 system of planning boards, which each planning  
17 board really keeps track of the residential units  
18 which is the key here. I think if somehow, the  
19 Census Bureau, could even break down that  
20 operation and into the use of that planning  
21 board's areas, we would get a much more accurate  
22 count.

23 Now, the other thing, by the way, that I  
24 think is very important also is that after the  
25 census, before the census becomes official and it

1

2 is certified for the president as the official  
3 census, I think there is a 14 day period for local  
4 governments to present materials to challenge the  
5 census to show that there was an undercount. I  
6 think there should be more time for that. 'Cause  
7 14 days in government is like a drop in the  
8 bucket. It doesn't really allow for much time at  
9 all.

10 MR. WICE: The Bureau gives the data to  
11 the 39,000 local municipalities through -- staff  
12 people can take two weeks to review population of  
13 8 million people.

14 MR. DEL TORO: In New York State, we do  
15 happen to have some fairly accurate lists,  
16 Department of Motor Vehicles, Health Department,  
17 to do this, but it really takes a lot of time.

18 DR. NISHI: Yes. Good suggestions.  
19 Thank you, very much.

20 We appreciate, very much, your  
21 presence.

22 MR. DEL TORO: I'm sorry I was late.  
23 There is a demonstration going down at City Hall.

24 DR. NISHI: Do you have any questions  
25 here or should we go on?

1

2

MR. NIXON: I have a quick question.

3

From your position on state legislative and my

4

recollection of the time I lived Upstate New York,

5

it seemed to me that there be no great rush among

6

those who are outside of the urban areas to do

7

something like it is increasing us and decreasing

8

them sort of thing.

9

What I want to know is what is your

10

sense now in the legislature? Are you able to

11

sell the idea of fairness?

12

MR. DEL TORO: First of all, one of the

13

things that some upstate areas have not gained as

14

rapidly in population as New York City and New

15

York City basically has now stabilized. Long

16

Island, I think Rockland and Westchester counties

17

are increasing, so some of those same upstate

18

people may not find themselves that the position

19

New York City was in ten years ago; so that's

20

number one.

21

Number two, one of the groups that

22

traditionally has been undercounted are rural

23

dwellers, where you don't have, you know, they

24

don't have their own mailbox. They have like a

25

route designation, or where they live off a main

1

2 road, and you have areas where, really, the  
3 streets haven't been put in yet, and so they have  
4 also been undercounted. So, I think we can talk  
5 to them.

6

MR. WICE: For the purposes of  
7 congressional portion and federal funding, the  
8 larger states population base is the more  
9 congressional seats it would receive or retain.  
10 So that nationally speaking, at the population  
11 growth rate has been slower Upstate New York, if  
12 you improve New York City's actual counts, the  
13 other parts of the state benefit as well.

14

MR. NIXON: Good point.

15

DR. NISHI: Well, we appreciate very  
16 much your presence. You have a question?

17

MR. EASTMAN: You weren't here for Mr.  
18 Zimroth's presentation, but he cited some  
19 statistics, 11.3% undercounts in inner city blanks  
20 and 10.3 percent in inner city Hispanics. You  
21 have referred to 20%.

22

MR. DEL TORO: I think there was more of  
23 an undercount.

24

DR. RICKETTS: You see these are  
25 average. So for certain age groups, it is as high

1

2 as 20%.

3

MR. EASTMAN: Is that in the Bureau of  
4 Census information and the undercounts? I wanted  
5 to see if there is some other place --

6

DR. RICKETTS: That is generally known.

7

DR. NISHI: Thank you, very much.

8

Now, I think we will have Mr. Ricketts  
9 speak next because we have been to fall off the  
10 idea of significance of the census or where, if  
11 there is an over -- undercounts, excuse me, where  
12 would the correction be made and I think the level  
13 is significant here. So, Dr. Erol Ricketts.

14

DR. RICKETTS: I would like to say  
15 whatever statement I make should not be construed  
16 as representing the Rockefeller Foundation by the  
17 City University of New York.

18

I would like to say that I thank Mr.  
19 Zimroth, Mr. Wice and Mr. Del Toro. I  
20 particularly like your comments or your analogy on  
21 the 3/5, 4/5, kind of pertinent, attention,  
22 grabbed me. I think people, we should not delude  
23 ourselves that whatever the Census Bureau does is  
24 going to solve the problem. It would make a more  
25 correct budget, not solve it. What the Census

1

2 Bureau would do and any kind of agency can do in a  
3 situation like this where you are taking a survey,  
4 which is a large survey, and you want to correct  
5 it, is you take another survey and hope to take  
6 the second one better and use the second one to  
7 adjust the first one. It is nothing more than  
8 that. So how good you adjust the first one  
9 depends on how good you do the second one. It is  
10 pretty much that simple and if there is going to  
11 be an undercount, having done this, the people who  
12 are likely to be undercounted are still going to  
13 be the people who are most likely to be  
14 undercounted before.

15 So I mean, let's not convince ourself  
16 that in the early 90s, there won't be cases of  
17 litigation and debates, and whatever method of  
18 correction that you use, that someone is not going  
19 to find fault with it. If there are 20 methods  
20 and you choose one, it is quite conceivable that  
21 people who challenge that one method are going to  
22 do so on the basis that one of the other nineteen  
23 was the proper way to go. So for anyone to  
24 convince themself that the matters will be squared  
25 away is, I think, foolhardy.

1  
2 I think one thing to keep in mind, in  
3 trying to sympathize what the Census Bureau said,  
4 we are talking about something that has been  
5 extraordinary expensive and it is kind of a  
6 secular strength involved where people are not as  
7 cooperative with the government as they used to  
8 be. It kind of, in a way, feeds on itself because  
9 if people are not counted, they then begin to  
10 think of themselves as not being represented and  
11 they will withdraw participation, so you have a  
12 spiralling effect.

13 So I think it is important to be  
14 reasonable in considering how expensive this  
15 matter is for the Census Bureau and one  
16 alternative way is, of course, for the Census  
17 Bureau to concentrate resources maybe every 20  
18 years, just commit a tremendous amount of  
19 resources to correct and then to adjust because  
20 they can eventually adjust. And if you believe in  
21 the fact that they can correct this with a person  
22 enumeration survey, then there is nothing wrong  
23 with whatever figure you can accurately come up  
24 with in base year. Still, the problem is having  
25 good base year figures and that says committing a



1

2 lot of resources.

3

4 Mr. Del Toro, I think, kind of gave us  
5 the essence of what is involved. You have to hire  
6 people who will go into some of these districts  
7 and are willing to knock on apartment doors and  
8 get these figures. That is what is not going to  
9 happen. The rural people aren't counted for the  
10 same reason urban people aren't counted for. They  
11 are hard to count. If you are a temporary  
12 employee and you don't have any kind of career  
13 commitments for the Census Bureau, then why risk  
14 yourself to find a very hard to reach person.

15

16 So I think it is acrosss the board the  
17 same reason, the same reasons why the urban  
18 populations are unlikely to be undercounted as  
19 rural people are, and again, these numbers that  
20 the Census Bureau gives are undercounts, again,  
21 are average figures and represent tremendous  
22 diversity for subgroups within -- I mean overall,  
23 the undercount is only one and a half percent, but  
24 when you look at certain age groups of blacks, it  
25 is 20% and there is a diversity from 20% --

26

DR. NISHI: What age group is that?

27

DR. RICKETTS: More or less adolescent

1  
2 male. I would say somewhere between 18 to 26. It  
3 is impressing because a lot of the work I have  
4 done over the last year, looking at all the census  
5 data available is directed to coming up with some  
6 motion of trying to measure what is now commonly  
7 called the underclass. Again, this is a group  
8 that is not adequately covered by census. This is  
9 a group that is missed. I am worried that this is  
10 a group that will be missed in whatever survey you  
11 do. These are people that have no stake in the  
12 Bureau and, hence, have no reason to want to  
13 cooperate. So again, I worry that it is our job  
14 to force the Census Bureau to do a little better  
15 or we ought to be realistic that that's not going  
16 to happen overnight and you are not going to solve  
17 the problem. We may get a little closer to doing  
18 a decent job of counting the population, but I  
19 don't think the problem will be solved.

20 I testified on the hearing which has  
21 been described here several times, Mervyn Dymally,  
22 and the testimony is on the record and the  
23 testimony really had to do with, more or less, the  
24 relevance of getting a good count of minority  
25 populations for --

1

2

DR. NISHI: Would you mind giving us a copy of your testimony?

3

4

DR. RICKETTS: I only have one.

5

MR. CALABIA: We will make copies.

6

DR. RICKETTS: My testimony had to do with the problem of having inaccurate counts in the census for research purposes, for knowing what is happening with the black population and to show what has happened with any minority population.

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

The undercount is particularly important for any small group because the way the sampling frame is structured says that in any kind of random base, you have a small population, you are more likely to miss a small population than one is fairly large and fairly distributed through whatever area of survey.

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

So I think, again, that to allow me to summarize, I think the importance of this is one, it is very important to have accurate counts for delivery of services, for apportionment and, from my point of view, for research. Very important to do good research because that's how we know what is happening with the population; everything we seem to know, what is going on and that is what

1

2 informs policy. And so, I mean, we are inclined  
3 to chuckle about research, but nonetheless, it is  
4 crucially important.

5

6

DR. NISHI: We appreciate that very  
much.

7

Are there questions?

8

Yes, Mr. Nixon.

9

10

11

12

13

MR. NIXON: Listening to all of this, it  
is not clear to me why this count needs to be  
taken as opposed to keeping track of who comes in  
the country and who leaves, who is born and who  
dies. Now--

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

DR. RICKETTS: First of all, the Census  
Bureau does a decent job of who comes into the  
country, but a very poor job of keeping track of  
people who leave. Then when you have transient,  
you know, people who live in one state, die in  
another state and your transient people, then it  
is not good --

21

22

DR. NISHI: With the amount of  
mobility--

23

24

25

I would like to ask you a question. You  
indicated the underclass had no stake in the  
system. It seems to me that the underclass are

1

2 those who are in very great need of the services  
3 which the funds for which are allocated on a count  
4 basis. So that I would like to understand better  
5 your assertion.

6

DR. RICKETTS: I would like to clarify.  
7 What I mean to say is they may not -- yes, they do  
8 have a stake as any person living in the United  
9 States does. They may not understand their stake  
10 and understands the relationship of securing that  
11 stake to their participating in the census and in  
12 voting and so on.

13

DR. NISHI: Well, this, indeed, was my  
14 very real concern here that in terms of how do you  
15 get the people who are eventually going to be  
16 victimized by the undercounts to understand their  
17 stake in it? That's a tough one. Because they  
18 are, of course, very cynical by now.

19

DR. RICKETTS: Precisely.

20

MR. NIXON: Not only cynical. I imagine  
21 the people I identified in that 18 to 26 year  
22 group are literally hiding.

23

MR. DEL TORO: Could I add something.

24

One of the problems with the Hispanic  
25 community that I forgot to mention is the actual

1

2 question and the way it is framed --

3

DR. RICKETTS: You are exactly right.  
4 The testimony had a lot to do with this, how  
5 should the questions be worded.

6

MR. DEL TORO: Question number four on  
7 the census, you start with the name, address,  
8 number of people in the family. Question number  
9 four deals with race, which is very clear, white,  
10 black, other, Polynesian, it lists a whole number  
11 of races. Question number seven says, if I  
12 remember, the quote is "Are you Spanish or  
13 Hispanic?" Now, as a Puerto Rican, I always took  
14 Spanish people to be those from Spain. Right? My  
15 parents come from Puerto Rico. There are people  
16 that come from the Dominican Republic. We view  
17 ourselves as part of amorphous Hispanic  
18 community. If you ask any Hispanic, he will tell  
19 you what country his parents come from and the  
20 reason the Census Bureau uses the word Spanish was  
21 not to help the Hispanic community identify  
22 itself, but the way it was explained to me anyway  
23 by one of the directors, associate directors, was  
24 so that other ethnic Americans would not check off  
25 that box. They viewed the word Spanish and they

1

2 understand that means you are usually Spanish  
3 speaking and then they leave that box alone. I  
4 think that's very confusing to the Hispanic  
5 population.

6

DR. RICKETTS: But to add more  
7 information to that, interestingly in California,  
8 you have the problems where the Chicanos refer to  
9 themselves as Latinos. They also don't respond to  
10 that question.

11

MR. DEL TORO: It is very hard. So in  
12 my district, we were at this conference in  
13 Maryland and they had a computer. So I looked up  
14 my postal number and I put it in and this came out  
15 that we had a lot of white people and a lot of  
16 black people, and the Hispanics had all  
17 disappeared. When I pulled it out of the Census  
18 Bureau --

19

DR. NISHI: Let's turn now --

20

MR. WEINSTOCK: Is there any chance I  
21 can add one quick point?

22

DR. NISHI: Yes, please.

23

MR. WEINSTOCK: One of the comments Mr.  
24 Ricketts made was that the undercounts will repeat  
25 themselves in the course of the doing the

1  
2 post-enumeration survey. But it seems to me what  
3 that suggests is that our figures for what the  
4 undercount is in each of these census  
5 underestimate. So when we say 500,000 people  
6 weren't counted, and we take into consideration  
7 this bias between the two sets of figures, we're,  
8 in fact, talking about a million people not being  
9 counted. It is an enormous population that is  
10 being missed. And I am very concerned that, you  
11 know, that attempts to hire more Bureau employees  
12 or to increase the amount of advertising aren't  
13 going to catch the people who have a reason to  
14 resist participating in a census. We can try and  
15 persuade undocumented aliens, but I'll bet you we  
16 can spend as many billions as we like in this, and  
17 we are not going to persuade a lot of them and we  
18 are going to miss them every time unless we  
19 adjust.

20 DR. RICKETTS: On the other side, when  
21 you adjust, you can count too many and that  
22 happens. As my colleague pointed out, using  
23 computer models, you can generate some people,  
24 too.

25 DR. NISHI: I would like now to turn to



1

2 Mr. Charles Wang, who is the director of the  
3 Chinatown Planning Council and as well as being a  
4 Chairperson of the U.S. Census Bureau's Evasion  
5 Pacific Islander Census Advisory Committee. Mr.  
6 Wang is very familiar with the serious problem of  
7 the very small minority populations and extremely  
8 diversified, as well.

9

Mr. Wang.

10

MR. WANG: I welcome this opportunity  
11 and thanks for the invitation. I am really  
12 delighted to be able to share with you some of the  
13 concerns based on the particular Asian and Pacific  
14 Islanders population. Number one, is the recent  
15 decision by O.M.B. stating that the total sampling  
16 of the population throughout the country will be  
17 reduced from 16 million to 10 million, so this is  
18 one way of, as you may know in terms of the total  
19 census, one is 100% count.

20

Some of the questions, basic questions,  
21 that are all included in the 100% count and there  
22 are a host of other questions which would only be  
23 counted by a sample basis. 1980, the sample  
24 number is 16 million, so number of smaller groups  
25 will be included with that kind of 16 million

1

2 number, but when you reduce the total 16 million  
3 number to 10 million, we have a smaller sampling  
4 number; you are bound to miss out a lot of smaller  
5 groups in certain geographic areas. So in that  
6 effect, that decision is going to short change a  
7 lot of minority groups in certain areas. So  
8 that's one concern I would like to kind of bring  
9 to your attention.

10

11 I heard about the discussion about the  
12 post-census adjustment and survey. I think the  
13 commerce had made a decision not to go. I think  
14 that is a dead wrong decision, to the extent I  
15 think the adjustment should be made to compensate  
16 the kind of difficulty that I think we have  
17 already identified. So I won't go into that. I  
18 think assemblymen talk about the ethnic question,  
19 which is a very, very important one to the Asian  
and Pacific Islanders.

20

21 In the 1980 survey form where we were  
22 asked "Are you Asians?", and then if yes, you  
23 check; there are about 11 boxes with Japanese,  
24 Chinese, Philippino, Korean, down the line, that  
25 each of us will be able to check in front of box  
to identify ourself with one particular ethnic

1  
2 race. Certainly that box covers a little bit of  
3 space. In order to save space, right, so the  
4 Bureau in the 1990 revised form asks each of us to  
5 write in our race, so if you are Asians, you check  
6 a yes, then there is a line there, you write in  
7 Chinese, Japanese. Can you imagine, you know, the  
8 kind of trouble that's going to put people  
9 through. And lots of people just because of that  
10 may not want to fill out a form. They don't want  
11 to be bothered because it is already a very  
12 complicated form and then you have to write it  
13 in. So, many of the, again, the language  
14 difficult individuals would be scared away. So,  
15 this is not in the spirit to encourage more people  
16 to respond. It is just the opposite, right.

17           So this is where I felt that, you know,  
18 we have to make a strong stand to see if they can  
19 revert back to the format of 1980 and modify in  
20 some way, but certainly the check off is critical  
21 to the other aspects that once you write it in, it  
22 is a form of discrimination to the extent that  
23 every other group will be enumerated by computer  
24 except those who write in, because the write in  
25 cannot be coded. So once you are not included in

1  
2 the coding process, you will not be counted until  
3 whenever they eventually come to it, right. And  
4 so the data on Asian Americans, in total, yes, we  
5 will have, but in terms of Chinese, Japanese,  
6 Philipinos, we will not have those datas because  
7 of this kind of write in situation. So that would  
8 create a tremendous, tremendous impact on the  
9 subgroup within the Asian American. So some of us  
10 who created this regret that we should really  
11 abolish that.

12           The other part that I think I want to  
13 talk about has already been touched upon; the  
14 staffing. The bilingual staffing is critical. It  
15 is not just Spanish, some of the other minority  
16 definitely need to have more of those type of  
17 staff with the kind of language capability to  
18 really help to collect the form back and will  
19 insure an adequate count.

20           I think that comes to the final point,  
21 where I also testified in the subcommittee of the  
22 congress. In terms of the budgets, the Census  
23 Bureau's budget has tremendously increased because  
24 of the-- I mean all the years of inflation and  
25 also your having a much larger population compared

1  
2 to 1980, so rightfully so being the budget has  
3 almost tripled compared to about 1980. But on the  
4 other hand, the proportion allocated, something we  
5 earlier talked about, even if you have a good  
6 outreach, you still will not be able to reach some  
7 disadvantaged group and the Bureau has appropriate  
8 substantially amount of money for automation,  
9 computers, and in that aspect, but has not given  
10 the proportionate increase to the outreachers.

11 So we have the homeless, we talk about,  
12 they will be very difficult to count, the other  
13 specialized type of situation and in the urban  
14 areas, so you would have to need to triple the  
15 effort by your not giving the adequate resources  
16 to match those records. So in that aspect, the  
17 minority will be short changed because the  
18 outreach effort really, let's face it, the  
19 minority are the target and the undercounts, such  
20 as it comes from the minority community, without  
21 that kind of adequate appropriation of the budget,  
22 again, you can almost predict the result would be  
23 not as satisfactory as we would like to see.

24 In that respect, I would like to  
25 recommend that the commission look into it

1

2 further, maybe you are to invite, I mean the  
3 chairperson from the Hispanic group and the black  
4 will have actually four subgroups within the  
5 Bureau's Advisory Committee, Native Americans,  
6 Asian, Pacific Islanders, black and Spanish.

7           The timetable for the Bureau is that by  
8 April, they have to submit April 8th to the  
9 Congress their final recommendation, so that is  
10 really the battlefield, all right. That if we  
11 cannot get the Congress to help us to turn some of  
12 this situation around, then I really would be  
13 disappointed to say that unfortunately the 1990  
14 census will be a very dismal type of census  
15 because some of the mistakes, some of the  
16 shortcomings that occurred in '80 will repeat  
17 itself again, unless we make a strong push, count  
18 on the support of Congress to really reverse some  
19 of the decisions that are made by O.M.B., by the  
20 Secretarial Congress and by the Bureau staff.  
21 That is where I would hope that the Commission  
22 could be also very helpful.

23           DR. NISHI: I would like to see your  
24 opinion. I haven't read the bill itself in  
25 detail. But does the bill, Dymally's bill, does

1

2 that provide for any earmarking of the proportion  
3 of funds or anything of that sort? As far as I  
4 know, it does not. It only requires the census to  
5 make a correction.

6

MR. WANG: Right.

7

8 DR. NISHI: Would it be a feasible  
9 thing? What would you think of the strategy of  
10 adding onto that bill or specifying in that bill  
11 that the outreach aspect of the budget be  
increased?

12

13 MR. NIXON: My thinking would be that --  
14 I'm a little concerned about the politics of,  
15 again, making them versus us kind of thing, and I  
16 think that just to say we think you ought to  
17 correct, to count everybody to the greatest extent  
18 possible, and then leave the money on their back  
19 to figure out how the budgets should be allocated  
20 to do that, it seems to me there should be a more  
21 appropriate way to address it. We get into  
22 arguments as to whether we should increase -- even  
a definition of what outreach is.

23

24 MR. WEINSTOCK: Let me just tell you one  
25 thing about this because I have been very much  
involved in the work of preparing this bill. I

1

2 have worked a great deal with the Dymally staff.

3 The premise of this bill is that although we've

4 got to continue our outreach efforts, as we did in

5 1980 and this was a dramatic amount of outreach in

6 1980, it is never going to do the trick and that's

7 why correction is necessary. The very first

8 principal of this bill is to try, as we may, spend

9 as much as we can, you know, hiring Bureau

10 employees, hiring them in many languages,

11 increasing the advertising in all sorts of

12 newspapers, all sorts of community publications.

13 There is a fundamental resistance to

14 participating in the census among very significant

15 populations. In addition to the undocumented

16 alien population, there is the population of

17 families, homeless and doubled up with other

18 families. According to the Coalition for the

19 Homeless, there are over 100,000 of those families

20 doubled up with other families in New York City.

21 When it comes time to tell how many people are

22 living in that apartment, they are not going to

23 tell how many people are living in that apartment

24 because it is an illegal occupancy. They are not

25 going to cooperate; that's 200 families right



1  
2 there. You have your 400,000 to 750 undocumented  
3 aliens. You have homeless individuals. You have  
4 people who speak Tameal (phonetic), subrocoration  
5 (phonetic), many, many Asian languages and there  
6 aren't going to be census questionnaires and  
7 census enumerators who speak all of those  
8 languages. It is not going to happen. The only  
9 way you are going to begin to make a dent in the  
10 undercount is to do the correction and that's  
11 really the premise of the bill.

12 MR. CALABIA: Someone mentioned earlier  
13 the process of the imputation and that the Census  
14 Bureau does that as a matter of --

15 MR. WEINSTOCK: Do you want me to  
16 explain it?

17 MR. CALABIA: Apart from explaining it,  
18 doesn't that also constitute a form of adjustment  
19 for correction?

20 MR. WEINSTOCK: Sure. In 1970, the  
21 Census Bureau added 5 million people using the  
22 process of imputation. In 1980 they added 3.3  
23 million. Let me give you a few examples of how  
24 this comes up.

25 Lets say you get a questionnaire back

1  
2 and it says on one hand, this unit is occupied; on  
3 the other hand it says under the section, how many  
4 people live there, zero. Those are two  
5 inconsistent answers. They don't know what to do  
6 with that, so the Census Bureau figures, let's  
7 just assume that the questionnaire directly  
8 underneath that in the pile, you know, constitutes  
9 a similar household and let's use their figures.  
10 So they basically impute, you know, in a correct  
11 --

12 DR. RICKETTS: All they are doing or  
13 proposing to do differently is to do that  
14 imputation on the basis of another survey. This  
15 is just something that any researcher does with  
16 records. You try to sort out inconsistent  
17 records. You can do that by assigning the  
18 average. For instance, you can assign the person  
19 the average, the average household size is three  
20 persons, you give --

21 MR. CALABIA: So the assumption that the  
22 adjustment by the Bureau in 1990 is something new  
23 and outlandish and perhaps incorrect --

24 DR. NISHI: It has a lot of precedents.

25 DR. RICKETTS: What it is, is the idea

1  
2 that this is based on a post-enumeration survey  
3 because, for instance, if you were to take an area  
4 in New York City, we figured that people were  
5 really undercounted because a certain kind of  
6 population characteristics, and then you took that  
7 post-enumeration survey and you applied it to  
8 similar areas, you would have improved the  
9 counts. Just another strategy and a non-  
10 scientific strategy, but nonetheless this thing  
11 goes on. The census is really a survey. The  
12 survey, in a way, --

13 DR. NISHI: Is it still timely in terms  
14 of getting some change in the questionnaire form  
15 itself?

16 MR. WANG: Yes. If the Congress will  
17 decide. The Bureau staff had made their  
18 decision.

19 MR. NIXON: A comment I made earlier,  
20 employers need that fine cut breakdown, in some  
21 cases, for the purposes of meeting regulatory  
22 requirements for affirmative action programs. The  
23 process of asking the general question, Asian  
24 American, and then requiring that you fill in is  
25 totally inadequate. I couldn't agree more. That

1

2 doesn't cut it.

3

DR. NISHI: Yes. There has to be a strong protest. Yes. Are there any questions?

5

MR. CALABIA: Just one last question. I know we are running late, but there has been some discussion of preparation by the Bureau.

8

At the local level, to your knowledge, has the Bureau begun some of the programs that they had in 1980, that is the complete count program in which mayors and local heads of government are trying to enlist the citizen in encouraging a full count? Has that begun yet?

14

MR. WANG: Not yet on the city level, but has been started on the local level. The Census Bureau, the regional office has started to hire some of the so-called temporary staff to start organizing on the local --

19

MR. CALABIA: So these temporary people actually have jobs longer than the six months?

21

MR. WANG: They will be at least until 1992.

23

MR. WEINSTOCK: One last point. I don't want to define your agenda for you, but earlier, you suggested that one of the issues you wanted to

25

1

2 take up was whether the Advisory Committee should  
3 endorse Representative Dymally's bill. The point  
4 I want to add here is, in addition to considering  
5 that, you should also consider, perhaps, whether  
6 you want to express directly to the Department of  
7 Commerce and to the Census Bureau your convictions  
8 about correction because it's kind of funny. I  
9 mean, here you are an executive agency and you are  
10 going over to Congress to ask Congress to tell  
11 another executive agency how to behave. I mean a  
12 simpler thing would be to go to that agency.

13 DR. NISHI: It is important for us to be  
14 clear in the fact that we serve as an advised body  
15 to a Federal Commission and, therefore, what we do  
16 is to seek to gather information and to make  
17 recommendations which we transmit for the use and  
18 consideration of the Commission. So that's the  
19 way in which we function.

20 MR. WEINSTOCK: Maybe I shouldn't --

21 DR. NISHI: I understand. But I want to  
22 be sure that we had it on the record that we had  
23 conveyed that to you.

24 MR. WEINSTOCK: Sure.

25 MR. EASTMAN: Can I ask, and I would ask

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

you to be very candid on this because we have had four or five presentations in favor of the correction or the adjustment, but the Congress Department has opposed it and on some statistical ground.

I would wonder if you could explain briefly, their ground and if there are leading statisticians who have opposed it as well that we might also include in this fact finding mission?

MR. WEINSTOCK: Well, the leading statistician is Barbara Bailer. She is the President of the American Statistical Association. She is the Associate Director for statistical standards and methodology at the Census Bureau. She is the boss. She said there is a consensus among statisticians.

Do you want the names of other individual statisticians? Two very eminent ones are Eugene Ericksen; he is at the Temple University, and Joseph Cadane, and I don't know his current affiliation but I can get it for you. These statistics you referred to in the the Department of Commerce's statement were exposed earlier. The statistic is that that the total

1  
2 undercount may be less than 1%, but as we all  
3 agree, that's not the issue. The issue is how  
4 does that break down among several populations.

5 MR. NIXON: That's two and a half  
6 million people.

7 MR. WEINSTOCK: Right. That's a lot.

8 DR. NISHI: I think our time is well  
9 beyond our set adjournment time. However, I think  
10 it is important to note that for 1970 census  
11 correction or effort to estimate the undercounts  
12 among Hispanics, they use school records in the  
13 New York area and a full recall there, that the  
14 findings were absolutely astounding in terms of  
15 the amount of undercounts there, and I think it  
16 ran over 25%, if I recall. I am giving that  
17 modestly because actually my memory of this is  
18 that it was very much higher, but I thought I would  
19 be safe to say that it was at least 25%, but it  
20 was some estimation based upon the school  
21 registrations. So the seriousness and the --

22 MR. WEINSTOCK: And the persistence.

23 DR. NISHI: Yes. It is a chronic and  
24 predictable kind of undercount, it appears.

25 We thank you, very much.

1

2

MR. WEINSTOCK: Thank you. It was a  
3 pleasure.

4

5

6

7

8

DR. NISHI: And we thank you for your  
audience. I think we wanted to thank our devoted  
our staff here and our recorder who has been  
dealing with some very technical and problematic  
--

9

10

MR. EASTMAN: Make sure you get that on  
the record.

11

12

13

14

15

16

(TIME NOTED: 6:30 P.M.)

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25



1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

C E R T I F I C A T E

STATE OF NEW YORK  
COUNTY OF KINGS

I, MARY GIBALDI, a Shorthand Reporter and  
Notary Public within and for the State of New  
York, do hereby certify:

That the foregoing record of proceedings is  
a full and correct transcript of the stenographic  
notes taken by me therein.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my  
hand this 25 day of November, 1987.

*Mary Gibaldi*  
-----

MARY GIBALDI