San Joaquin Valley Latino Immigrants: Implications of Survey Findings for Census 2020

San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project
San Joaquin Valley Health Fund

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Dear Colleagues,

In 2020, the United States Census Bureau will conduct its decennial population census as required by the Constitution. The federal government and the states will use the resulting population enumerations to allocate funding in each state, county and community, as well as to determine equitable political representation. These high-stakes decisions must be based on complete and accurate data. Undercount is a controversial issue with each census, but the 2020 Census is at particular risk of undercount due to the Department of Commerce's plan to add a citizenship question.

There is widespread consensus that adding the citizenship question will suppress census response among low-income immigrant and minority-headed households, some of which include people who are not citizens. If there is an undercount of these residents, equitable access to a wide range of programs for which funding is allocated based on census-derived data is put at risk. Because an undercount affects the resources available for all, this issue is not just a concern for the immigrant population. It touches the region overall. Lack of access to these resources has a direct effect on community health and well-being, and political representation.

In 2014, we launched the San Joaquin Valley Health Fund in response to the severe disparities in health, social and economic outcomes experienced by communities of color and low-income people in California's San Joaquin Valley. Along with our 17 state and national funding partners, and more than 90 community partner organizations working on the ground in the San Joaquin Valley, we are committed to improving health and racial equity for all residents—including immigrants. Accordingly, we believe it is important to learn exactly how a census with a citizenship question would affect individuals and families in California, and particularly in the San Joaquin Valley, which is home to a significant percentage of the state's immigrant population.

The San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project is an effort supported by Sierra Health Foundation and eight of our funding partners. It was initiated to provide data-based insights into the impact the citizenship question would have on immigrant household census response throughout the region. This, the first of six working papers on consequences of adding the citizenship question to Census 2020, and other barriers to a complete count, presents key findings from the project's regionwide survey of and focus groups with 414 first- and second-generation Latino immigrants. Subsequent reports will present in-depth details, gathered from surveys and focus groups, on the perspectives of Latino and non-Latino immigrant communities.

We believe the findings in this report show that going forward with a decennial census that includes the citizenship question will have short-term and long-lasting negative health and social impacts on individuals, families and communities in the San Joaquin Valley. The research also provides insights about how advocacy, strategic collaboration, and outreach can help ensure a complete count for Census 2020 in hard-to-count communities.

Our hope is that this report and its companion reports will shine a light on the challenges we face in the coming year, and we encourage you to join with us and countless other concerned individuals and organizations to ensure that Census 2020 results in a fair and accurate count of all residents in the San Joaquin Valley, in California and throughout our country.

Chet P. Hewitt
President and CEO
Sierra Health Foundation
The Center at Sierra Health Foundation

Foreward

The San Joaquin Valley is home to agriculture, technology and service industries, and to the people who spend their lives working in these industries, raising and educating their children, and caring for their loved ones. It's made up of about 18,000 square miles of land in eight counties. It is by far the most productive agricultural region in the U.S. and was home to almost 4 million people in 2017. These are people of diverse demographic profiles, but all of them contribute vastly to the success of the Valley and the industries and people living there. All of them, regardless of legal or economic status, depend on the services and funding provided as a result of an accurate census.

The California Institute for Rural Studies has done research based in community in rural areas of California for 42 years. We know how important the Census is to decision-makers and researchers. Allocating resources to our most vulnerable populations and providing information to and about these communities are dependent on full participation in the census. When the opportunity arose to lead a research project on how plans for Census 2020 might affect the health and well-being of the San Joaquin Valley, we were thrilled to do so, with Valley-based community members leading the work.

The research presented from the San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project builds on a growing body of research. The overall goal of this project is to improve understanding of how the citizenship question may impact California's San Joaquin Valley, a vast region with a large and diverse immigrant population. This report presents the findings from an analysis of initial survey data collected from Latino immigrants and their social networks in eight San Joaquin Valley counties. These survey results show that adding the citizenship question to the 2020 Census is expected to have a major impact in suppressing census response among San Joaquin Valley Latino immigrants.

Lack of willingness to respond to the 2020 Census, in combination with other factors discussed in this report, will most probably result in widespread differential undercount of Latino households in the Valley and a subsequent decrease in the census-based estimates of the overall population in the region. The resulting patterns and extent of undercount can be expected to create significant disparities in allocation of government-sourced program funding. The long-term effects of this differential undercount could seriously skew the data on the racial/ethnic profile of the San Joaquin Valley and, consequently, undermine the reliability of detailed demographic and socioeconomic data collected in the American Community Survey over the decade following the 2020 Census.

The conclusion reached from this research is that the damage from adding a citizenship question to Census 2020 will negatively impact a wide range of initiatives in the San Joaquin Valley and will undermine decades of work in immigrant integration. It will also accelerate an already rapidly growing distrust in the government. As one respondent explained, "It's not that the question bothers me but that there may be consequences."

California Institute for Rural Studies is grateful to our tireless research team. We especially value the work on the ground that Central Valley Immigrant Integration Collaborative (CVIIC) carried out. We could not have done this without them! Additional thanks to our generous funders through the San Joaquin Valley Health Fund.

Gail Wadsworth, Executive Director
California Institute for Rural Studies

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Executive Summary

Overview: The Prospect of Census 2020 with a Citizenship Question

The San Joaquin Valley, a large and diverse region with dense immigrant settlement, faces major challenges as a result of efforts by the Department of Commerce to add a question on citizenship to Census 2020. Because federal and state funding throughout the post-census decade are allocated based on census-derived data and political representation is determined by a community's, county's or state's share of the national population, census fairness and accuracy is crucial to community well-being.

There is widespread consensus that adding the citizenship question will suppress census response among non-citizens and result in differential undercount of low-income immigrant and minority-headed households. However, although the research to date shows there would clearly be a serious problem and that states such as California would be disproportionately impacted, there have so far been only limited opportunities to project what the quantitative impacts would be at the community, regional and state levels.

The Current Report

The San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project was initiated to provide data-based insights into the impact the citizenship question would have on immigrant household census response throughout the region. This first of six working papers on consequences of adding the citizenship question to Census 2020 presents key findings from the project's regionwide survey of and focus groups with first- and second-generation Latino immigrants. Subsequent reports will present in-depth details on survey respondents' and focus group perspectives in the Latino and non-Latino immigrant communities.

The Survey and Focus Group Research

The eight-county San Joaquin Valley region has a current population of more than 4.2 million—more than major cities such as Los Angeles or Chicago—and a foreign-born population of more than 900,000. Slightly more than two-thirds of the region's foreign-born population are Latino immigrants. Moreover, the majority (52%) of the region's population are of Hispanic origin. The study population—first- and second-generation Latino immigrants 18+ years of age (representing the population of "householders" who would choose to respond or not respond to the census) make up more than one-third (about 35%) of the San Joaquin Valley adult population.[1]

Survey data are drawn from face-to-face interviews by interviewers who are themselves immigrants, with 414 Latino respondents. Interviews took place in 31 communities throughout the region, in a range of venues frequented by the hard-to-count Latino population: remates (flea markets), parks, malls, laundromats, community celebrations, college campuses and community food distribution events. The survey was fielded during September and October 2018.

Because it is expected that response to Census 2020 with the citizenship question would be related to legal and citizenship status if the citizenship question is added, interviewers elicited information to determine status for each survey respondent to provide a basis for detailed analysis of patterns of non-response. More than one-third (37%) of the interviews were with undocumented respondents, 27% with legal residents, 12% with naturalized citizens and 24% with second-generation (U.S.-born) immigrants.

Focus groups were conducted with three sub-populations of Latino immigrants: indigenous-origin Mexican immigrants, DACA recipients, and young U.S.-born second-generation adults.

Key Findings on the Negative Impact of the Citizenship Question on Latino Immigrants' Willingness to Participate in the Census

Adding the citizenship question dramatically decreases willingness to participate in Census 2020.

Most survey respondents (84%) were willing to respond to a "simple" census without the citizenship question, but if the citizenship question were added, only 46% said they would be willing to participate.

The Census Bureau's Census Barriers, Attitudes and Motivators Study research shows that actual response in Census 2010 was 10% lower than a sample of survey respondents had indicated when asked in 2008 if they were planning to respond. This implies a San Joaquin Valley census self-response rate no higher than 40%. This is much lower than the 52.3% observed in the 2018 end-to-end test and the Census Bureau's expectation of an overall 60% self-response rate in 2020.

1 Data on the Latino immigrant population are drawn from the 2017 American Community Survey. The first- generation (foreign-born) Latino immigrants 18+ make up 20% of the San Joaquin Valley population. The second-generation immigrants are the adult children of foreign-born parents. Census Bureau research shows they make up close to one-third of the Hispanic population nationally. We estimate they make up 15% of the region's population.

Willingness to respond to a census with the citizenship question varies greatly by legal and citizenship status. As might be expected, adding the citizenship question had the greatest impact on undocumented immigrants' willingness to respond. Only 25% said they would participate in a census with the citizenship question.

Although they have status, legal residents' willingness to respond would also be dramatically reduced from an enthusiastic 85% willingness to participate in a simple census (as it was in 2010) down to 63%. Naturalized citizens, having initially expressed enthusiasm about census participation, were also pushed toward not responding by the citizenship question—down from 89% willingness to 70%.

In contrast to the widespread expectation that adding a citizenship question would only affect the response rate among non-citizens, the second-generation Latino immigrants, grown U.S.-born citizen children of foreign-born parents, initially very enthusiastic about census participation also were strongly pushed toward non-response. Their willingness to respond decreased from 89% to 49%.

Survey respondents' comments show that practical concerns about the confidentiality of household information provided to the Census Bureau being shared and used to adversely impact households was widespread.

However, just as important as practical worries about misuse of census data, there was widespread anger and disapproval about the government having added the question. Many of the second-generation U.S.-born Latino citizen survey respondents considered the citizenship question to be divisive and racist.

Few of the survey respondents saw the prospect of answering a census with the citizenship question as an isolated one. Instead, they saw the question as another piece in a panorama of anti-immigrant rhetoric, policy decisions and immigration enforcement actions by the federal government. Many who were aware of the census as the process of counting the U.S. population questioned the rationale for an intrusive personal question about citizenship status.

Response to proxy interviews as part of non-response follow-up

An important part of the census enumeration process is for enumerators to go to neighbors to try to secure a proxy interview about the size and characteristics of a household that has failed to self-respond and which has not been successfully contacted. These proxy interviews usually account for 25% to 30% of the enumerations of households that failed to self-respond, were not home when the enumerator stopped by or who refused to respond to an enumerator.

Survey respondents were adamant that it was not their place to provide information about their neighbors—under any circumstances. Even when considering a census without the citizenship question, only 19% were willing to provide information about their neighbors. In the eventuality of a census with the citizenship question included, only 8% said they would provide information about a neighboring household.

Considerations entering into respondents' thinking about providing information about their neighbors to a census enumerator included a widespread shared perspective that census information belonged to each household. It also included a practical concern that neighbors would be angry if their information were shared. There was widespread concern that providing such information might adversely affect undocumented neighbors. And, finally, respondents said that they did not know much about some of their neighbors, so their ability to do a proxy interview, even if they might be willing to do so, was uncertain.

Structural Barriers to an Accurate Census Count in San Joaquin Valley Latino Immigrant Communities

In addition to respondent motivation, additional structural factors are causes of undercount. The study examined several of these factors.

Mail delivery

Invitations to respond to the census online and paper census form are mostly delivered by the U.S. postal service—except in areas designated as "Update/Leave."

More than one-quarter (28%) of respondents said they did not have standard mail delivery to the door or a household mailbox. One out of eight (13%) said they only received mail at a PO Box. Another 12% said they only got mail at a mailbox they shared with others. The remaining 3% said they either had no mail delivery or had some other arrangement, such as getting mail at a relative's house.

Those with only a PO Box will not get census mailings, which go to housing units with city-style addresses. Those

who share mailboxes or get mail at neighbors' houses may not be recognized by the Census Bureau as being a separate distinct household.

Internet access

A major element in the Census Bureau's re-engineering of census processes for 2020 has been to encourage online census response. This has many benefits, but also serious drawbacks stemming from lack of Internet access and/or lack of digital literacy among the first-generation immigrant households.

One-quarter (24%) of the Latino immigrant survey respondents lack Internet access. The most prevalent mode of Internet access is via cell phone.

Internet access is closely related to age. While more than 90% of the respondents 25 years of age or younger had Internet access, less than 20% of the older respondents (65+) did. This presents a challenging problem because the older householders, many of them naturalized citizens or legal residents, are the demographic group most willing to respond but least able to respond online.

Use of tablets, laptops or desktop computers to access the Internet is much lower than cell phone access. This is a particularly important consideration vis-à-vis response mode for the large 46- to 64-year-old demographic group in which cell phone access is more than 80%, but where access via computer or tablet is available to only about 30% of the households.

Design for Internet response mode will need to have a robust, user-friendly interface easily usable by respondents with relatively low levels of literacy and digital literacy going online using their cell phones.

Enumerating Complex Households

The survey found that a very high proportion (22%) of the Latino immigrants live in complex households where multiple families live under the same roof or at properties where there are multiple low-visibility hidden and/or unconventional dwellings and a single street address. Although census form instructions tell the householder to include everyone living at a place on their census household roster, the Census Bureau's own research and comments from respondents in the current survey show that "extra people" who are not part of the core household/budget social unit will usually not be included.

For several decades, there has been—and continues to be—a conflict between Latino immigrant (and other) groups' conceptualization of "household" and the Office of Management and Budget's residence rules governing Census operations. These conflicts will persist, but could be addressed helpfully with explicit interviewer training and collaborations with community groups to persuade households to include other non-family members in their census response. Such efforts will be made much more challenging in the context of a census with the citizenship question because, in many cases, some of the doubled-up families in a complex household are undocumented.

Language and Literacy as Dual Constraints on Census Response

The San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project survey secured information on each respondent's educational attainment and English-language ability. Analysis showed that more than one-third (37%) of the first-generation Latino immigrants have only an elementary school education and know only a little English or no English. They will have serious difficulties in responding to the census—either online or by filling out and returning a paper form sent to them.

As is the case with respect to online response, the problem is that the households headed by the least-educated, limited-English-speaking immigrants are those of legal permanent residents, a sub-population relatively oriented toward census participation but constrained in following through due to these barriers to census participation.

Although the Census Bureau did a good job in 2010 in getting bilingual census forms to the Spanish-speaking households in the San Joaquin Valley where no adult spoke English (linguistically isolated households), one-quarter did not receive the bilingual form.

A practical priority in efforts to assure the highest possible level of census response will be to provide in-person questionnaire assistance, since the Census 2020 redesign does not include physical Questionnaire Assistance Centers. If there were an adequate level of community engagement, sending bilingual/bicultural digitally literate community navigators (mobile questionnaire assistance teams) out to offer assistance to low-literate, limited-English-speaking households could make a significant contribution to lowering response barriers.

Heightened Levels of Non-Response Will Result in Serious Differential Undercount Throughout the San Joaquin Valley

Patterns of census non-response do not immediately translate into undercount because Census Bureau operational teams work hard to implement a methodological strategy to compensate for non-response during the non-response follow-up process.

Although each stage of the Census Bureau's enumeration process will meet with some success, widespread non-response will lead to errors and, ultimately, census omission. This cascade of errors will erode data quality and seriously distort the Census Bureau's reporting on the size and demographic characteristics of the San Joaquin Valley region.

Incorporating the San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project survey findings into a "cascade model" explains how multiple factors, including both propensity to respond and the structural barriers to census participation (such as uneven mail delivery of census material, limited Internet access, limited literacy and English-language ability) are transformed into differential undercount. The model provides a sound, but conservative, estimate of eventual undercount in the region.

The model also makes it possible to see the extent of differential undercount among sub-populations of Latino immigrants. This estimate is provided in Figure 1.

Figure 1—Estimate of San Joaquin Valley Undercount of Latino First- and Second-Generation Immigrant Population

San Joaquin Valley Latino Sub-Population as defined by status	Undercount for Lation Sub-Populations	Impact on overall San Joaquin Valley Census Count (% undercount in sub-population X sub-population as % of region)
Undocumented	21.1%	-1.8%
Legal residents	7.5%	-0.4%
Naturalized citizens	5.9%	-0.4%
U.S.-born generation	10.3%	-1.5%
Aggregate impact—undercount of first and second-generation Latinos	11.7%	-4.1%

*Technical details on components and coefficients used in the cascade model are presented in a companion report to this one, "A Cascade Model Explaining How Latino Immigrants' Non-Response To Census 2020 is Transformed into Regional Undercount," San Joaquin Valley Health Fund, January 2019.

To place the projections presented here in historical context, the officially acknowledged Hispanic undercount in Census 2010 was 1.54%, while the non-Hispanic White overcount was 0.8%.[2] Differential undercount of minorities has persisted in the decennial census for many decades, but no census in the past half-century has had an undercount of a minority population of more than 10%.

Regionwide Impacts of Latino Immigrant Undercount

Population undercount and fiscal impacts

The regionwide undercount of Latino immigrants can be expected to decrease the aggregate Census 2020 San Joaquin Valley population count by about 188,000 persons. The fiscal impact of this aggregate undercount can be expected to be about $200 million per year—simply from the Latino undercount. Unfortunately, since decennial census data are used in allocation of funding for many federal programs, the eventual impact would be more than $2 billion over the decade from 2021-2030.

In general, the patterns of undercount identified in the San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project survey will also shift census-driven funding away from smaller, rural municipalities that have higher proportions of foreign-born Latinos toward urban areas, exacerbating pre-existing tensions. At the county level where many social programs are administered, the varying proportions of foreign-born Latino adults suggests that Madera, Merced and Tulare counties will be disproportionately affected by the patterns of undercount identified in the research because they have higher proportions of foreign-born Latino non-citizens than other counties in the region.

It must also be stressed that the cascade model of census undercount is conservative because it does not seek to quantify the extent to which Census Bureau operational shortcomings, such as inability to hire enough enumerators to handle the increased non-response follow-up workload, from greatly increased levels of non-response may affect enumeration. Inability to hire culturally and linguistically competent local enumerators who can persuade undecided households that they should respond may further compromise census accuracy.

2 Mule T. 2010 "Census Coverage Measurement Estimation Report: Summary of Estimates of Coverage for Persons in the United States," Decennial Statistics Studies Division, U.S. Census Bureau, May 2012.

Consequences of expected undercount for equitable political representation

Undercount of Latino immigrants has a direct and significant impact on political equity within the San Joaquin Valley region because representation in the California Legislature and configuration of legislative districts also relies heavily on decennial census data for apportionment. Jurisdictions with higher proportions of Latino non-citizens would be disproportionately affected.

Ironically, one of the consequences of the skewed demographic profile that would result from adding the citizenship question to Census 2020 is that the reliability of citizen voting-age population tabulations that the Department of Commerce has alleged would be improved by adding the citizenship question to the decennial census would be seriously degraded. Adding the citizenship question not only degrades the reliability of data on citizenship status. It also makes profiles of the racial/ethnic composition and age structure of communities, crucial elements in Voting Rights Act enforcement, inaccurate. In communities, counties, regions and states with higher than average concentrations of Latino immigrants, census-derived racial/ethnic profiles at every geographic level would be skewed to so as to dilute the voting power of Hispanics.

Consequences for immigrant integration and civic life

Adding the citizenship question has more than simply fiscal and political implications. It transforms the decennial census from a civic ritual of affirmation—a collaborative effort to secure an accurate picture of the U.S., a "mirror of America"—into an exercise in government-sponsored efforts to diminish the importance of immigrants and blur our vision of a diverse American nation. This will take a toll on civic life.

There is already widespread distrust of the federal government and diversity of opinion within Latino immigrant networks about the usefulness of becoming engaged in civic life. Census 2020 with a citizenship question will fuel the growth of a mindset Census Bureau researchers describe as "cynical and suspicious," while eroding the numbers who fall into mindsets broadly defined as "dutiful and local-minded" and "compliant and caring."

Many in the Latino immigrant community believe that adding the citizenship question provides clear-cut evidence of federal government animus against Latinos, specifically those of Mexican origin. This is a harbinger of further weakening of bridging social capital—the ability of diverse individuals and groups in a community to overcome differences and work together to improve community well-being.[3]

In Summary

Proceeding with a politicized decennial census—widely understood by Latino first- and second-generation immigrants as compromising a potentially attractive collective endeavor, the process of "standing up and being counted" to assure one's community gets its fair share of federal funding and equitable political representation—will further erode already-wavering trust in government.

Going forward with a decennial census that includes the citizenship question will have short-term and long-lasting negative impacts on individual, household and community well-being in the San Joaquin Valley.

Community stakeholders will need to work diligently during the spring of 2019 to assure the citizenship question is removed from the 2020 decennial census by summer 2019, when the Census Bureau needs to move forward and begin printing census forms.

Even if the citizenship question is removed from the census, it will still be necessary to work energetically and strategically to restore Latino (and other) immigrant communities' willingness to participate in a census when so many questions have arisen about the federal government's commitment to faithfully carrying out its constitutional mandate to conduct a fair and accurate census.

3 The overall community impact on all groups' social life— "hunkering down" as Robert Putnam calls it—despite being gradual and insidious, is a serious concern.

Overview

Differential undercount in the decennial census is a major public policy concern. An undercount results in misallocation of census-driven federal and state funding and inequitable political representation.[1] Overcoming differential undercount of racial/ethnic minorities and sociologically defined sub-populations (such as pre-school age children, migrant and seasonal farmworkers, young African-American men) has been a challenge throughout the history of the U.S. Census.

Just as importantly, differential undercount skews the demographic and socioeconomic profiles of the U.S. population. The accuracy of the American Community Survey, the primary source of detailed information for the nation, as well as for states and local communities, rests on the accuracy of underlying data from the decennial census. This affects a broad range of organizational planning and decision-making in the public and the private sectors.

Research on differential undercount has seldom focused explicitly on the undercount of immigrants, although major urban areas with concentrations of immigrants such as New York City, Houston and Los Angeles have long been aware of the problem, and have sued the Census Bureau to secure statistical adjustment for the undercount of minority households.[2]

Nonetheless, although there is consensus regarding a census undercount of immigrants, the Census Bureau has not provided an estimate of the magnitude at any point. We face a completely new situation at this point in time as a result of the Commerce Department's efforts to add a citizenship question to Census 2020. Longstanding concerns about chronic undercount in communities and states with the most immigrants have ramped up, because adding the citizenship question to the decennial census has long been an important strand in anti-immigrant strategies.[3] Confronted with this possibility, it is important to gain a solid understanding about how such a question might affect the accuracy of census enumeration of immigrants.

The San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project was designed to provide crucial insights about the perspectives held by immigrants and others in their social networks about Census 2020, and to explore their willingness to respond to Census 2020—in the event that the decennial census goes forward with a citizenship question proposed by the Department of Commerce, or in the event the question is left off the questionnaire. These insights then provide a basis for projecting patterns of differential undercount in 2020. The project's research also explores other factors affecting undercount, such as the prevalence of complex households, mail delivery and Internet access in the region.

The overall project research involves interviews and focus groups with a broad spectrum of immigrant populations in the San Joaquin Valley. This report presents the findings from an analysis of survey data collected from Latino immigrants and their social networks from August 29, 2018, to October 21, 2018. One companion report presents details from analysis of comments and responses to probes about census response with a discussion of implications for message development and census promotion. Another report analyzes how the elevated levels of non-response initiate a "cascade" of operational problems that, despite the Census Bureau's best efforts, transform non-response into differential undercount.

A subsequent report will present findings from interviews with San Joaquin Valley non-Latino immigrants—primarily Hmong, Mien, Cambodian, Punjabi and Arab immigrants. The final report on Census 2020 undercount in the region will weave together quantitative analyses of survey data, analysis of qualitative data from conversations with survey respondents and focus groups to probe deeper into the distinctive perspectives of the full spectrum of diverse San Joaquin Valley immigrant sub-populations.

1 Reamer A. "Counting For Dollars: The Role of the Decennial Census in the Geographic Distribution of Federal Funds" https://gwipp.gwu.edu/counting-dollars-role-decennial-census- geographic-distribution-federal-funds

2 There is a body of valuable research on enumeration of sub-populations including immigrants stemming from a Census Bureau research initiative in connection with Census 1990. This program of ethnographic alternative enumeration developed by the Census Bureau's Center for Survey Methods Research generated a number of excellent studies, some of which focused on undercount of immigrants. They were summarized in several papers (De La Puente 1992, De La Puente 1993) and individual research monographs are posted online. Particularly illuminating ones for understanding Latino immigrant undercount include a study by Sarah Mahler of undercount of Salvadorans on Long Island (Mahler 1992), of Mexicans in New York City (Dominguez and Mahler 1992) and one of Guatemalans in Houston (Hagan 1992). There are also several analyses of migrant and seasonal farmworker undercount—relevant since most farmworkers are Mexican immigrants (see Montoya 1992, Gabbard, Martin, and Kissam 1993, Kissam and Jacobs, 2007, and Kissam, 2012). Analysis by William P. O'Hare has been very important in documenting the undercount of Hispanic children under 6 years of age—in general and among minority populations (O'Hare 2016, O'Hare 2013).

3 January 23, 2017, draft memo by Andrew Bremberg, Assistant to the President and Director of the Domestic Policy Council, proposing an Executive Order on "Protecting American Jobs" shows the Trump administration was exploring the possibility of adding a question, not only on citizenship status but also one on immigration status immediately after the inauguration. Subsequent e-mails between Chris Kobach and Secretary of Commerce Wilbur Ross, as well as Ross's e-mails to his staff, show that the idea was pursued throughout 2017, well before he proposed adding the citizenship question (CQ) on March 26, 2018.

San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project Rationale

There has been widespread and well-justified alarm about the Department of Commerce's plans to add a citizenship question to the decennial census. Six former Census Bureau directors, survey research experts, scientific associations, philanthropy networks, cities and counties, and community service and advocacy organizations all wrote to Secretary of Commerce Wilbur Ross to strongly recommend against this plan. Nonetheless, Secretary Ross announced his decision to add the question on March 26, 2018. Subsequently, notices to a Federal Register request for comments on overall Census 2020 operations (including the addition of the citizenship question) generated further opposition from experts—most notably the National Academy of Science's Committee on National Statistics.[4]

The current research builds on previous research and analysis conducted by the Census Bureau and other researchers. This prior research is of high quality and provides a sound basis for concern about the impact of the citizenship question on census response rates. However, the available research has limitations due to the methodologies available to the researchers.

Prior Research on the Impact of the Citizenship Question on Response and Non-Response

The Census Bureau itself first revealed the serious problems that might ensue from adding the citizenship question to the decennial census based on observations from focus groups in formal settings (Meyers 2017; Meyers and Goerman 2018).

Additional Census Bureau research in the Census Barriers, Attitudes and Motivators Study research program provides valuable insights into factors related to census non-response, but has some limitations stemming from the fact that its findings rest on a mail survey with a relatively low response rate of 35% (17,500 respondents from a sample of 50,000). The survey research findings are supplemented with information from 42 focus groups.

A third strand of prior research providing insights on the impact of the citizenship question stems from analysis of unit non-response in the American Community Survey, which does include a citizenship question. This research includes data analysis from internal Census Bureau research and external experts (O'Hare 2018).

In an apparent acknowledgement of the limitations of available research, the Census Bureau is planning to conduct a split-panel field test of a census questionnaire with and without the citizenship question during the summer of 2019.[5] Unfortunately, the results probably will not be available before the deadline to decide whether to print the Census 2020 questionnaires with or without the citizenship question.

The San Joaquin Valley Survey Research Project Design

The San Joaquin Valley Survey Research Project has been designed to generate findings to build on important prior studies. The contribution made by the project to the body of research on the citizenship question's impact is that the analysis reported here and in companion reports stems from interviews with immigrant community members via face-to-face discussion with interviewers, most of whom are immigrants themselves. Moreover, the discussions were in real-world environments of day-to-day life in local communities and in immigrant-friendly settings.

The San Joaquin Valley Survey Research Project uses a time-space continuum sampling design. Interviews were conducted at a broad range of venues where immigrants congregate using a target sample matrix to approximate the distribution sub-populations of immigrants in the region (cf. Steuve, et al., 2001; Parsons, et al., 2008; Hall, et al. 2013; and Ott, et al., 2018, for good descriptions of the methodology; details in Appendix A).

4 Committee on National Statistics, "Letter Report on the 2020 Census," comments submitted in response to RE: FR Doc. 2018-12365, Proposed Information Collection; Comment Request; 2020 Census. Docket number USBC- 2018-0005, August 7, 2018.

5 The Census Bureau's summer 2019 split-panel research on the impact of the citizenship question on patterns of response envisions a large sample of 480,000 households (Terri Ann Lowenthal e-mail, December 6, 2018). Presumably, half of the households would receive the census form with the citizenship question and half would receive the form without it. However, the test will only test self-response, not cumulative response, i.e. it will not examine response to enumerator follow-up and proxy interviews—probably due to budget constraints. Unfortunately, this research is scheduled to take place after the decision on including the citizenship question or leaving it off will have been made. We do not know at this point whether the test will include over-sampling of non-citizen households, but this would be the expected research design.

Factors Affecting Census Non-Response and Subsequent Undercount

Many factors give rise to census non-response and subsequent undercount (West 1988; West and Fein 1989). Potential respondents' level of motivation is a very important element in determining patterns of non-response and subsequent undercount. However, some who are motivated to respond may not have much of an opportunity to respond if they live in a housing unit not on the Census Bureau's address list. Others who wish to respond may find it difficult because the questionnaire is not in a language they know, or they may not read or write well. Or they may live in a complex household and deliberately be omitted by the householder (P1) who fills out the census form.

Therefore, several other factors also need to be considered in efforts to assure a fair and accurate census.[6] These include: completeness of the decennial census sampling frame, language, literacy, access to online modes for response, as well as aspects of Census Bureau operations that may lead to erroneous tabulation and reporting of census data (e.g. availability and accuracy of administrative records used in lieu of actual enumeration, accuracy of procedures for imputing the characteristics of non-responding households, data-editing of responses submitted via NID—non-ID processing of online responses from households in housing units not on the Census Bureau's address list that did not receive an invitation to respond or a mailed census form).

Consequently, the research reported in this paper was designed to go beyond examination of willingness to respond in order to secure data on additional factors contributing to non-response and subsequent undercount, including the following:

- living in a housing unit omitted from the Census Bureau's sampling frame,
- prevalence of "complex" multi-family households where people may be left off census responses,
- prevailing beliefs about who should be counted in the decennial census,
- low literacy/digital literacy as a barrier to census participation,
- limited availability of census forms in languages other than English for language minorities.

Designing the research to look closely at multiple barriers to census participation makes it possible for study findings to provide a sound basis, not only for advocacy about the citizenship question, but also to nurture reflection about how to move toward a simpler, more user-friendly census for immigrants, as well as pathways forward to develop innovative approaches to overcome major operational barriers to census response.

Members of the San Joaquin Valley Survey Research Project team have, for example, generated quantitative estimates showing the extent to which unconventional and hidden housing units omitted from the Census Bureau's Master Address File contribute to overall undercount in immigrant-dense communities in California. These findings, along with the current survey data, are included in the analysis.[7]

Other factors such as living in a complex household shared by several families, literacy and online access have been addressed in Census Bureau research (e.g. Schwede 2003 on complex households). Level and quality of Census Bureau staffing in different hard-to-count areas will also contribute to census non-response (Salvo and Lobo 2013).

Patterns of census non-response do not immediately translate into undercount, because Census Bureau operational teams work hard to implement a methodological strategy designed to compensate for household non-response during the non-response follow-up process. Therefore, the study does not simply examine self-response, but also subsequent stages and operational procedures in the census process.

This provides useful empirical evidence to generate solid estimates of undercount among different sub-populations via a "cascade" model that analyzes how the response rate at successive stages in the census enumeration process (self-response, response to enumerator visits, response to requests for proxy interviews, and availability of administrative records for non-responding households) contribute to undercount.

Using this empirical evidence, the model then goes on to examine how Census Bureau efforts to impute the size and characteristics of non-responding households introduce errors into the census count, along with deficiencies in the Census Bureau's sampling frame and systematic under-reporting among the households that do respond.

6 See James Christy's presentation to the California Complete Count Committee Meeting on December 3, 2018, for a summary overview of challenges to census operations. The Census Bureau has acknowledged these multiple factors in a number of recent public presentations—to its advisory committees and in other fora.

7 Edward Kissam, Cindy Quezada, and Jo Ann Intili, "Community-Based Canvassing to Improve the Census Bureau's Master Address File: California's Experience in LUCA 2018", Statistical Journal of the International Association of Official Statistics, Vol. 35, December, 2018.

Objectives of the Research

The overall San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project seeks to improve the field's understanding of how the citizenship question will affect a region that has been notably affected by the administration's policies vis-à-vis immigrants.[8] The objective is to inform strategic pro-census efforts by diverse stakeholders: statistical researchers, Census Bureau managers and operations supervisors, grassroots community advocacy groups, and local public and nonprofit immigrant service providers.

The research design used in the San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project provides a basis not only to measure the impact that adding a citizenship question might have on immigrant non-response, but also a basis to estimate the resulting differential undercount after the Census Bureau has attempted to compensate for non-response.

Central research questions explored in the study include the following:

- How willing are San Joaquin Valley immigrant households and those in their social networks to respond to Census 2020—with or without the citizenship question? How will region-wide response patterns vary among particularly vulnerable sub-populations (e.g. undocumented immigrants, households headed by persons with limited schooling)? This can provide a basis for a fine-grained analysis about variations in response from community to community and reasons for non-response within each sub-population.
- What beliefs, attitudes and prevalent perspectives in San Joaquin Valley immigrant communities about the purpose and meaning of the decennial census are likely to affect response patterns? Exploring these questions provides a useful foundation for effective design of messages and complements other ongoing research about messaging to promote census participation—in California and nationally.
- What are the geographic impacts of variations in the response rate of sub-populations likely to be undercounted? Analysis of variations of differential undercount among different sub-populations will provide a basis for understanding the resulting undercount in different counties in the region.
- How do expected levels of census participation in three distinct stages of census enumeration—self-response, response to follow-up by enumerators, and willingness to participate in proxy interviews to secure information on non-responsive households—affect eventual undercount?[9] This analysis is designed to ameliorate undercount by identifying pressure points where local collaboration can complement and enhance Census Bureau operations. It also will provide guidance in designing appropriately targeted census promotion messages.
- To what extent will immigrant response strategies to cope with the citizenship question, such as responding to the census but skipping the citizenship question or leaving some household members off the form, affect undercount?[10] This provides a basis both to understand how these problems affect undercount and how they degrade the quality of census-based demographic data.
- In aggregate, what can we project as likely undercount and skew in the demographic profile of the region and the state of California resulting from lowered response rates from households of immigrants and others in their social networks? This is crucial in determining the overall impact adding the question will have on census accuracy in the state.

There have now been six lawsuits filed to block the citizenship question. Plaintiffs in New York v. U.S. Department of Commerce include 16 state attorneys general. California Attorney General Xavier Becerra and the City of San Jose have filed a separate suit in California, while the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund and the American Civil Liberties Union have filed in Maryland.[11] There are also several bills in Congress to

8 In the spring of 2018, there was a particularly high level of regional concern due to ICE detention efforts, including measures seen as targeting agriculture and farmworkers—early-morning roadside detentions and increases in employer I-9 audits.

9 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, but it does not provide the ideal basis for strategic intervention because self-response is only one of several factors contributing to undercount.

10 Analysis of item non-response in the American Community Survey (ACS) shows that skipping the citizenship question (CQ) is a relatively common phenomenon. William O'Hare's analysis of ACS non-response shows a level of CQ non-response of 7.7% for California overall, 8.1% for Asians, 7.4% for Hispanics, and 8.3% for foreign-born respondents and 11.6% for foreign-born Hispanics (O'Hare 2018). This sort of analysis is currently the primary source for assessing the impact of the CQ on decennial census response. However, it cannot provide definitive insights about the likely behavior of those who do not respond to the ACS. Recent analysis by Jacob Model of Community Connect Labs shows that CQ non-response was as high as 17.5% in some California census tracts (Jacob Model, personal communication, December 3, 2018).

11 The Brennan Center for Justice tracks progress in each case and publishes all filings in the cases at https://www.brennancenter.org/analysis/2020-census-litigation . Hansi Lo Wang at National Public Radio has also posted much of the evidence introduced to date (December 17, 2018) in the New York case.

prohibit the Department of Commerce/Census Bureau from adding the question because of the major negative impact it is expected to have on non-citizen census response. Recently, budget negotiations for Department of Commerce funding for FY2019 have included discussion of provisions to forbid the citizenship question from being included in Census 2020.

Whether or not ongoing litigation or congressional action is successful in blocking the administration's efforts to add the citizenship question to Census 2020, it is important to generate the best possible estimates regarding the real-world impact that adding the question, combined with other barriers to census enumeration, will have on differential undercount in Census 2020 and, consequently, on apportionment and equitable access to federal program funding.

The survey findings reported here detail the extent of response suppression among San Joaquin Valley Latinos, and show that adding the citizenship question seriously undermines census accuracy in the region, depriving the federal government, state government and other data users such as foundations and businesses a reliable statistical basis for allocating funding within the region and the state. The survey findings also provide an indicator of the extent to which Latino immigrant undercount in Census 2020 would disadvantage California and other states with higher-than-average numbers of foreign-born Hispanic immigrants. The final report will assess the impact for all immigrants in the region and augment the analysis with qualitative findings from focus groups.

The San Joaquin Valley Population

The San Joaquin Valley region—made up of the eight counties of Kern, Fresno, Kings, Tulare, Madera, Merced, Stanislaus and San Joaquin—is one with dense immigrant settlement. Currently, it is estimated to have a population slightly more than 4.2 million, about 900,000 of whom are foreign-born.[12] The region's population is projected to grow to about 4.6 million by 2020.

Slightly more than half (52%) of the San Joaquin Valley's entire population is of Hispanic origin and about seven out of 10 foreign-born adult residents in the region are of Mexican or Central American origin. Latino immigrants are less likely to have naturalized than immigrants of other national origin, so they make up more than eight out of 10 (84%) of the region's non-citizen population 18+ years of age.[13]

Potential census respondents are generally considered to be the population 18+ years of age, although, in some immigrant households, teenagers may sometimes be the actual respondent. For the purposes of determining the distribution of Hispanics/Latinos within the population of potential census respondents, we analyzed American Community Survey 2017 data on foreign-born Hispanics 18+ years of age in the region.

The 2017 American Community Survey data show that about 20% of the region's overall adult population 18+ years of age are adult Latino foreign-born, i.e. first-generation immigrants.[14] The vast majority of the Latino foreign-born adults are of Mexican origin, although there are some communities with significant numbers of Salvadorans. About 10% of the Mexican immigrant population is of indigenous origin—predominantly Mixtecs, Zapotecs and Triqui.[15]

Another 15% of the region's adult Hispanic population 18+ years of age are the U.S.-born adult children of foreign-born Latinos, i.e. second-generation immigrants.[16] Consequently, the San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project study population—Latino immigrants and their social networks—makes up slightly more than one-third (35%) of the entire adult population of the San Joaquin Valley—the universe of potential census respondents.[17]

12 Based on American Community Survey 2017 data.
13 Based on American Community Survey 2017 data. The region is important on the national map of the Hispanic population. The Pew Hispanic Center's analysis of the top 60 Hispanic metro areas in the U.S. ranks the Fresno metro area as #17, the Bakersfield metro area as #25, Visalia-Tulare-Porterville as #32, Stockton as #33, Modesto as #39, and Merced as #48. See Pew Hispanic Center, "Mapping the Latino Population by State, County, and City," August 2013.
14 We base our estimate of the proportions of the foreign-born Hispanic population 18+ years of age on tabulations of American Community Study 2017 data. However, it should be noted that mixed-status households are prevalent and an immigrant householders' census response will determine whether or not their U.S.-born children are enumerated or not. In some households, a naturalized or U.S.-born Hispanic citizen or non-Hispanic citizen may be reluctant to respond to the census due to concerns about implications for children or other relatives who lack legal status.
15 The National Agricultural Worker Survey has reported higher proportions of indigenous immigrants in the farmworker population in the past, but proportions may be decreasing. The definitive study of this population is Richard Mines, David Runsten, and Sandra Nichols, "California's Indigenous Farmworkers," 2010.
16 Census Bureau analysis of the generational profile of U.S. Hispanic population shows that 31.5% are second-generation. Therefore, we estimate that about 15% of the region's adult population are second-generation adult Hispanics since the 2017 American Community Survey data show that 47% of the San Joaquin Valley adult population are of Hispanic origin. In the San Joaquin Valley region and other areas of labor-intensive agriculture, this sub-population may actually be still larger due to the demographic bulge of Mexican immigrants, particularly farmworkers benefitting from the law's SAW provisions who settled in the region after 1986 passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act.
17 For the purpose of estimating the size of the study population, defined as foreign-born Latinos and their social networks, we can only generate quantitative estimates of the first- and second-generation, i.e. U.S.-born adult children of Latino immigrants. In actuality, the Latino immigrant social networks also include significant, but difficult to quantify, numbers of non-Latino relatives, friends, neighbors and co-workers whose propensity to respond to the census may also be affected by the beliefs, attitudes and aspirations of Latinos.

In terms of immigration and citizenship status, we estimate that about two out of five in the adult foreign-born Latino population (about 8.5% of the region's entire adult population 18+ years of age) are undocumented Latino immigrants, while slightly less than a third of the foreign-born Latino adults (5.3% of the overall adult population in the region) are legal residents.[18] Slightly less than one-third of the foreign-born Latinos (6.2% of the overall adult population 18+ years of age in the region), are likely to be naturalized citizens.[19]

The Survey Sampling Matrix

For the purposes of comparing the population targeted in the survey—Latino immigrants and their social networks—to the overall regional population, we considered the size and characteristics of Latino first-generation (i.e. foreign-born) and second-generation (i.e. U.S.-born children of foreign-born parents) immigrants in the region along with several key socioeconomic and demographic indicators: legal status, age, length of time in the U.S., educational attainment and gender.

It should, at the same time, be noted that the American Community Survey-derived population estimates, despite being the "gold standard" for demographic studies, are very likely to underrepresent Latino immigrants—particularly those living in low-income households.[20]

A detailed description of the survey methodology, including questionnaire development, information on the field research team, interviewer training and choice of venues, is presented in Appendix A to this report.

The Latino Survey Respondents

The analysis in this preliminary report draws on interviews conducted with 414 Latino survey respondents in 104 venues in 31 communities. Survey respondents lived in households in 66 San Joaquin Valley cities and towns throughout the region. Sampling at places where immigrants and people in their social networks congregate was designed to assure geographic and sociological diversity in the sample, as well as to assure inclusion of respondents who might be living in hidden or unconventional housing. It achieved this objective.

About one-third of respondents live in urban neighborhoods in major cities such as Bakersfield, Visalia, Fresno, Merced, Modesto and Stockton. The rest live in medium-size towns such as, Porterville, Selma, Orange Cove, Madera and Merced, in small rural communities such as Dinuba, Huron, Kettleman City, Woodlake and Firebaugh, and remote rural unincorporated areas such as Cantua Creek in Fresno County, Stratford in Tulare County and Stevinson in Merced County.

The survey respondents are sociologically and demographically representative of the San Joaquin Valley population of foreign-born Latino immigrants and their social networks—most importantly with respect to legal status/citizenship. Overall, more than one-third (37%) of the survey respondents are undocumented and more than one-quarter (27%) are legal residents. One-quarter (24%) are U.S.-born citizens (children of immigrants) and 12% are naturalized citizens.[21]

Almost all of the respondents are of Mexican origin, as are almost all Latino immigrants in the region.[22] Major Mexican migrant-sending states—Michoacan, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Oaxaca and Guerrero—are well represented in the sample. The survey sample also provides good representation of indigenous Mexican immigrants.[23]

An important consideration is that the San Joaquin Valley has been a migration destination for many decades because of the amount of agricultural employment available.

18 Our analysis refers to legal residents rather than legal permanent residents because there were a few respondents identified as having U visas. The sample also includes five DACA recipients who are tabulated as undocumented, although they are lawfully present. The foreign-born Latino population has relatively more undocumented adults than the other non-Latino immigrant groups because more of the (predominantly Mexican) Latinos have entered without inspection. More of the non-Latino immigrants have refugee status or some other sort of legal status. Our analysis considers Salvadorans with TPS status as being legal residents, although their status is threatened by current DHS plans to terminate TPS status for them by September 2019.

19 We use the 2017 American Community Survey-based estimate here and in our projection of the regional impact of Hispanic undercount. The survey data provides a direct 2017 estimate that 6.2% of the region's population 18+ years of age are naturalized Hispanic citizens and that 13.8% are non-citizens. The breakout of the non-citizens into those without legal status (8.5%) and legal residents (5.3%) is derived from Center for Migration Studies of New York estimates using American Community Survey 2012 and ACS 2015 data. The estimate of the size of the adult population of second-generation Latino immigrants—the grown children of first-generation or a foreign-born parent is based on U.S. Census Bureau analysis of the generational composition of the national Hispanic population and the American Community Survey-based estimate of Hispanic adults as % of the San Joaquin Valley population. If one takes into account presumed patterns of differential undercount among Hispanics in the American Community Survey, the proportion of naturalized citizens might be expected to be slightly lower, the proportion of legal residents slightly higher, and the proportion of undocumented Hispanic immigrants slightly higher also.

20 Kissam E. "Differential undercount of Mexican immigrant families in the U.S.", Statistical Journal of the International Association of Official Statistics. 2017. This paper reviews the ethnographic literature on Latino immigrant undercount and incorporates Kissam's research on census undercount in 2010 in hard-to-count census tracts in farmworker areas of California, including many in the San Joaquin Valley.

21 The survey sample over-represents undocumented immigrants (48% of the foreign-born respondents), accurately represents legal residents (36% of the foreign-born respondents) and somewhat under-represents naturalized citizens (16% of the respondents). Of necessity, it also underrepresents U.S.-born second-generation adult children. Estimates of impact of non-response on resulting undercount weight subgroup responses to account for this.

22 Just under 4% of the sample are of Central American origin—El Salvador, Honduras or Guatemala, close to their numbers in the overall Latino population of the region.

23 The survey includes a question on country of birth, but interviewers were not required to secure information on state of origin. However, when respondents volunteered information about their state of birth in conversation with the interviewer, it was recorded. Many respondents are from the states of Oaxaca (12%) or Guerrero (1%) and a significant proportion of the Mexican immigrants from these regions are of indigenous origin. Moreover, two of the interviewers are immigrants of Mexican indigenous origin, so their observations also provide assurance that the important Mexican indigenous minority (about 10% of the Mexican population) was adequately represented. With unlimited resources, it might have been desirable to over-sample the sub-population of indigenous Mexican immigrants (as well as other ethnic/racial minorities). Such research could be conducted in 2019 if there were interest.

Consequently, the region's Latino immigrants are mostly long-term settlers. Due to post-2001 increases in border enforcement, there is a dwindling proportion of newcomers.[24] Pastor and Marcelli estimate that the average undocumented immigrant has lived in the U.S. for 12 years, legal residents on average 21 years and naturalized citizens 29 years. In the early 1990s, after the IRCA legalization program, many transnational migrants settled in the region, while others from their hometowns came north. After border enforcement escalated in 2001, the flow of new migrants began to decrease. It dwindled further with the 2007 recession. The aging of the Mexican population and progress in jobs creation also has dampened migration flows.

The Latino immigrants of all legal and citizenship statuses have much in common. Although many of those who have not been able to secure status remain more economically marginal, they are an important and integral part of civic life in communities throughout the region.

Table 1—Characteristics of Foreign-born Latino Survey Respondents vs. San Joaquin Valley Foreign-Born Population 18+

Characteristics	Foreign-Born Latino Survey Respondents	Overall San Joaquin Valley Foreign-Born Latinos 18+
Survey and region population	N=317	602,898
% Undocumented	49%	42%
% Legal resident	36%	27%
% Naturalized citizen	15%	31%[26]
Average age—undocumented immigrant	39 years	31 years
Average age—legal residents	50 years	46 years
Average age—naturalized citizens	52 years	48 years
Time in the U.S.—undocumented	16 years	12 years
Time in the U.S.—legal residents	31 years	21 years
Time in the U.S.—naturalized citizens	36 years	29 years
Gender=female	47%	49%

*Estimates of overall San Joaquin Valley immigrant demographic characteristics are from Manuel Pastor and Enrico Marcelli, "What's At Stake for the State: Undocumented Californians, Immigration Reform, and our Future Together", Center for Immigrant Studies, University of Southern California, 2013. The estimate of Hispanic foreign-born population 18+ is from ACS 2017 data. The estimate of distribution by legal/citizenship status is based on ACS 2017 data (for non-citizens and naturalized citizens) and CMSNY data for estimating the proportions of undocumented and legally resident non-citizens.

Table 1 compares the foreign-born Latino survey respondents to the overall population of Latino immigrants 18+ with respect to several important demographic and sociological characteristics.

As Table 1 shows, the profile of survey respondents closely resembles the Latino immigrant population of the Valley overall. Thus, their responses should provide reliable insights on the perspectives of the entire San Joaquin Valley adult population of first- and second-generation Latino immigrants 18+ years of age who face the task of responding to the census—the 20% who are foreign-born first-generation immigrants and the 15% who are the U.S.-born second generation adult children of immigrant parents.[25]

By design, the survey oversampled undocumented immigrants—since there has not been previous research providing a quantitative estimate of this sub-population's census participation or the impact of the citizenship question on their willingness to respond—although it is universally agreed they are the sub-population most likely to be deterred from response.[26] The project's design and reliance on local, mostly immigrant interviewers, made it possible to assure they were included.

The survey was quite successful in matching the profile of foreign-born Latinos in each legal/citizenship status, since length of time in the U.S. is likely to be linked to extent of assimilation/integration and, therefore, to perspectives on U.S. social issues. Since the Latino survey respondents are slightly older than the overall immigrant population, if there is age-based bias in the survey responses, it is likely to result in a slightly conservative estimate of the impact of the citizenship question because the older, longer-settled population, with a slightly higher proportion of naturalized citizens, is more integrated into civic life.

24 This is most clearly evident in an analysis of the California farm labor force from the National Agricultural Worker Survey (NAWS 2015) because it secures information on length of time in the U.S. for all respondents and has documented the decrease in new Mexican-born entrants to the California farm labor force. See also a recent report on declining immigrant population in the U.S. (Pew Hispanic Research Center, November 2018).
25 Nationally, almost one-third of Hispanics are second-generation immigrants. In the San Joaquin Valley, Hispanics are about half of the entire population of the region. Therefore, we estimate that about 15% of the San Joaquin Valley population are second-generation Hispanics.
26 San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project survey responses can, ultimately, be weighted to project patterns of overall non-response throughout the region and the state.

Table 2—Educational Attainment-Latino Survey Respondents (N=414)

	Latino Survey Respondents' Educational Attainment				
Legal and citizenship status	0-6 years school	7-9 years school	10-12 years school	Some college	Total
Undocumented	56%	18%	21%	5%	100%
Legal resident	60%	17%	17%	6%	100%
Naturalized citizen	40%	4%	29%	27%	100%
U.S.-born citizen	---	6%	30%	64%	100%

Another factor relevant to the perspectives regarding census response is educational attainment. Table 2 shows the level of education differences for the undocumented, legally resident, naturalized citizen and U.S.-born citizen survey respondents. The survey respondents are very similar to the overall population in this regard.

As can be seen from Table 2, the legal residents and undocumented respondents in the sample are quite similar in terms of educational attainment, but many of the naturalized citizens have gone further in the education system—an important factor in their decision to apply for and successfully secure citizenship status.[27] As might be expected, many in the Latino second generation have a high school education or some college.[28]

Key Findings

Willingness to Respond to the Census Without or With the Citizenship Question

A central question in our research is the proportion of Latino immigrants and U.S.-born adult children of immigrants (second generation) willing to respond to the census—without and with the citizenship question. In this section, we describe study findings regarding patterns of non-response. Our analysis includes information on willingness to respond by citizenship and legal status. Comparing willingness to respond without or with the citizenship question provides a good quantitative indicator of the impact of adding the citizenship question.

Baseline—Willingness to Respond to the Census Without the Citizenship Question

After asking survey respondents several initial questions to learn their beliefs about who should respond to the census, about their experience in the 2010 decennial census, and what they had already heard about Census 2020, interviewers went on to ask respondents about their willingness to answer the census.[29] A high proportion of respondents said they would be willing to answer the census without the citizenship question. Interviewers posed this question as follows.

Q 4.1 *The Census asks nine simple questions about you and the people you live with. For example, they ask—how many people live in the house where you live (even if they're not part of your immediate family), whether you're a renter or the homeowner. They also ask about race, names, ages and relationship with other people in your household....Knowing what the census asks about you, your family and others who may live there with you, would you answer? [coded by interviewer as Y/N/maybe and respondent comments and responses to probes noted in text box]*

The vast majority (84%) of survey respondents said they were willing to answer the census as it had been described to them, while 10% said "maybe" and 6% said they would not answer the census. This level of expressed willingness to respond is consistent with that reported in the Census Barriers, Attitudes and Motivators Study (CBAMS) survey in 2008 (86%), but substantially higher than in the 2018 CBAMS survey (67%). It should be recognized, however, that the CBAMS survey asked respondents whether they were "extremely" or "very" likely to respond to the census "if it were held today."[30] In contrast, the San Joaquin Valley Census Research survey asked simply if they would be willing to respond to Census 2020.

The comments, even at this point in the interviews, made by the 16% of the survey respondents who said initially they might not or that they certainly would not answer the census, were enlightening. About one-half of the already dubious respondents, when asked if they would explain the reasons for their decision, said they would be reluctant to participate due to potential government misuse of their

27 Low rates of naturalization among Mexican and Central American immigrants to the San Joaquin Valley stem in part from self-selection among the less-educated who opt not to apply. Statistically speaking, the rate of naturalization is strongly correlated with educational attainment. A detailed analysis by the Public Policy Institute of California (Johnson and Reyes 1999) showed that in 1997, the naturalization rate for immigrants with eight years or less schooling was 25%, while the rate for those with some college was 48%. Current naturalization rates are likely to be similar to the 1996-1997 ones where there was high motivation to naturalize due to the political threats posed by Proposition 187 in California and passage of IIRIRA in 1996.

28 The Pew Research Center reported in 2017 that, nationally, 47% of Hispanic high school graduates 18-24 went on to college. See John Gramlich, "Hispanic Dropout Rate Hits New Low, College Enrollment at a New High," September 29, 2017.

29 Few (3%) had yet heard about plans to add the citizenship question when the survey was conducted (September-October 2018). Most of those who had understood the question as being about immigration status.

30 Presentation by Young & Rubicam and Census Bureau, "2020 Census Barriers, Attitudes and Motivators (CBAMS) Survey and Focus Groups: Key Findings for Creative Strategy," October 31, 2018, Funders' Committee for Civic Participation/Census Funders Initiative webinar.

information, i.e. "no trust," "fear" or specific reference to government utilization of the information to target detentions of unauthorized immigrants ("too dangerous").

Impact of the Citizenship Question on Willingness to Respond

Subsequently, after securing responses about "baseline" willingness to respond to the census without a citizenship question, interviewers asked the survey respondents about their willingness to participate in the census, if it were to include the citizenship question. The question was posed as follows to those who had previously said they would respond:

Q. 5.1 *The Census Bureau has proposed adding a question on citizenship to the census questionnaire. If this question were to be added, you would be asked if you and other people in your household are citizens or not....You've already said you'd answer the census, if the census included this question would you respond to the census completely?*

Respondents who had previously said they would not respond to the census were asked the question in a slightly modified form,

Q. 5.1Alt. *The Census Bureau has proposed adding a question on citizenship to the census questionnaire. If this question were to be added, you would be asked if you and other people in your household are citizens or not....I know you already told me you wouldn't answer the census but it's important to understand what you think about adding this question?. . [coded by interviewer as Y/N/maybe and respondent comments noted in text box]*

Overall Impact of the Citizenship Question

As expected, we found that adding the citizenship question would have a dramatic impact on response rates throughout the Latino immigrant population and their social networks. Table 3 shows how adding the citizenship question would push potential respondents toward non-response.

The survey finding that about two out of five (41%) survey respondents would not be willing to respond to the decennial census with the citizenship question is almost four times greater than the previous published national estimate of citizenship question non-response based on analysis of item non-response to the American Community Survey (ACS) citizenship question, which shows a citizenship question allocation rate (i.e. number skipping the citizenship question) of 11.6% for Hispanic foreign-born ACS respondents.[31] However, a recent unpublished analysis of ACS item allocation rates for California for 2017 shows even higher levels of ACS item non-response to the citizenship question for foreign-born California respondents.[32]

Table 3—Willingness to Respond: Latino Immigrants and their Social Networks

Willingness to Respond	Census 2020 *without* the CQ (N=407)	Census 2020 *with* the CQ (N=405)
Yes	84%	46%
No	6%	41%
Maybe	10%	13%

*Percentage for valid cross-tabulations for responses to both Q. 4 and Q. 5. Rounded to nearest percent. Missing data for cross-tabulation of response to Q. 4 is 7 people (2%) and Q.5=9 people (2%). Willingness was coded as "yes" if a respondent said they would be willing to self-respond or, if unwilling to self-respond, if they would be willing to respond to an enumerator visit. The "no's" are those who would neither self-respond or respond to an enumerator.

The difference between the American Community Survey-based citizenship question allocation rate as an indicator of unwillingness to respond to a census with a citizenship question is likely due at least in part to the fact that the American Community Survey allocation rates, which are calculated based on those who were willing to respond to a Census Bureau survey that is even more burdensome than the decennial census.

The survey finding regarding decrease in willingness to respond if the citizenship question is included is dramatic—since the Latino immigrants' and those in their social networks' initially expressed willingness to respond to the census without the citizenship question was so high—even higher than the proportion of the general population in the Census Barriers, Attitudes and Motivators Study 2018 mail survey who said they were "extremely" or "very willing" to respond to the census. It indicates there will likely be very large disparities in willingness to respond, which may lead to total non-response from the household or omission of some persons in the household that will, in turn, give rise to undercount in communities with concentrations of Latino immigrants in the region resulting from inclusion of a question on citizenship.

31 At the national level, there is 11.6% non-response to the citizenship question among foreign-born Hispanics. William P. O'Hare, "Citizen Question Nonresponse: Demographic Profile Who Do Not Respond To The American Community Survey Question," Georgetown Center on Poverty and Inequality, September 2018. Foreign-born Hispanics' responsiveness to the citizenship question may be higher than California Latinos' because it has a different mix of national origins.
32 Jacob Model, personal communication, December 10, 2018. Model's analysis graphs the distribution of foreign-born Californians' response to the ACS citizenship question by PUMA for 2015-2017. It shows most California foreign-born individuals' non-response in 2017 clustering around 10%—with rates up to 25% in a noticeable proportion of PUMAs. The shift in levels of non-response from 2015 and 2016 is statistically significant.

The survey result presented here makes an important contribution to currently available research due to the fact that the sample is made up of predominantly low-income Latino immigrants living in hard-to-count census tracts. It includes many who would not be willing or able to respond to a mailed or online survey, while research and analysis of patterns of response to the citizenship question in both the Census Barriers, Attitudes and Motivators Study and American Community Survey reports relies on this methodology.[33]

Impact of the Citizenship Question for Undocumented, Legal Residents and U.S. Citizens

The San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project is unique in that the methodology was designed to permit candid communication between bilingual/bicultural, mostly immigrant interviewers and survey respondents so as to provide a basis to analyze differences in response among sub-groups based on legal status/citizenship.

Table 4 presents the survey findings about the Latino immigrant population's willingness to respond to Census 2020 without or with the citizenship question in relation to respondents' legal status/citizenship status.[34]

This more detailed understanding of patterns of response and non-response to a census with the citizenship question is useful both to examine how multiple factors—causes of census undercount—interact to give rise to differential undercount and in developing messaging strategies to encourage census participation. There is widespread agreement that the most effective messaging will be highly targeted, customized messaging, but the effectiveness of such a strategy rests on solid understanding of different sub-groups' beliefs, attitudes and aspirations.[35]

Table 4—Latino Sub-Populations' Willingness to Respond to Census by Legal Status/Citizenship

Willingness to Respond	Census 2020 *without* the CQ (N=406)	Census 2020 *with* the CQ (N=404)
Undocumented (N=147)	80%	25%
Legal residents (N=108)	85%	63%
Naturalized citizens (N=44)	89%	70%
U.S.-born citizens-second generation (N=97)	89%	49%

*Missing cases for Q. 4=8 and missing cases for Q. 5=10

The findings in Table 4 have important implications.

The first is that the broad generalization currently prevailing in public dialogue about the citizenship question, that it will have little impact on U.S. citizens and only affect the response of non-citizens, is inaccurate. Willingness to respond varies substantially among non-citizen households.

Contrary to what is generally believed, Table 4 shows that the impact of the citizenship question is not confined to non-citizens. It also will have a major impact on the second-generation U.S.-born Latino citizens' response, even though it generally has been assumed that refusal to respond would be driven only by worries about breach of confidentiality and potential misuse of census data by immigration authorities. The second-generation Latino immigrants, U.S.-born citizens, were much less willing to answer the census if it were to include a citizenship question than the naturalized citizens (see Figure 1).

Secondly, Table 4 shows that adding the citizenship question has a much greater impact on undocumented immigrants' willingness to respond than on legal residents' and citizens'. The fact that adding the citizenship question would cut undocumented immigrants' willingness to respond by two-thirds leaves no doubt that, if allowed, adding the question would irrevocably undermine the reliability of census data in Latino immigrant communities. The resulting non-response among undocumented Latino immigrants would be likely to reduce both the numbers enumerated and seriously skew census data on race/ethnicity and demographic profile of the population in the region. These distortions would ripple onward through the

33 Previous quantitative analysis of the impact that adding the citizenship question might have on response rates, unavoidably, has needed to rely primarily on item non-response rates, i.e. skipping the question in the American Community Survey (ACS). This analysis is problematic, first of all, because item non-response is a relevant but imperfect indicator of unit non-response (not responding to a survey) and, secondly, because the ACS sample is likely to seriously underrepresent the hard-to-count populations that are the focus of the San Joaquin Valley Census Research study.

34 Legal/citizenship status was not directly asked, but was often volunteered in the course of interviewers' conversations with respondents, mentioned in the course of answering questions about reasons for deciding to answer or not answer the census. All respondents were asked place of birth and length of time in the U.S. This provided a basis to impute legal status/citizenship. Interviewers provided information on the basis for their assessment of respondents' status—direct or indirect. Status determination made by interviewers was subsequently reviewed by research analysts Ed Kissam and Richard Mines, taking into consideration factors such as length of time in the U.S. (strongly related to LPR or undocumented status), education and English-language ability (strongly related to LPR status vs. naturalized citizen).

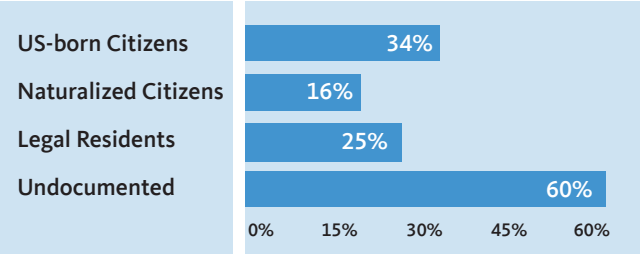
35 See, Frederika Conrey, Randall ZuWallack, and Robyn Locke, "Census Barriers, Attitudes and Motivators Survey II Final Report," ICF Macro report to U.S. Census Bureau, June 2012. Their use of market segmentation analyses to examine "mindsets" regarding the census is powerful and their over-arching taxonomy of mindsets (government-minded, compliant and caring, dutiful, local-minded, uninformed, cynical, suspicious) appears to be relevant to the Latino immigrant survey respondents' perspectives.

American Community Survey data that provides detailed insights about population composition throughout the post-census decade.

The third finding that 25% of undocumented immigrants say they are willing to respond to a census with the citizenship question is also important. Comments from the undocumented but compliant potential census respondents make it clear that the dilemma faced by Latino advocates, activists and service organizations seeking to promote census response while also opposing addition of the citizenship question is a street-level one. Many of the undocumented respondents were fairly anguished in weighing the importance of being counted, asserting their identity and right to be part of the communities they live in against the potential repercussions of government violation of confidentiality. Others believed that the government already had almost universal information about everyone, so it didn't matter if they responded to the census.

Figure 1 presents a "push" analysis of the proportion of respondents whose initial "yes" or "maybe" answer about willingness to respond to the census becomes a "no" if the Citizenship question is added.

Figure 1—Proportions of Respondents Unwilling to Answer the Census if the Citizenship Question is Added



The high proportion of undocumented respondents "pushed" from outright willingness or potential willingness toward definitive unwillingness to respond to the census by addition of the citizenship question is dramatic, but not surprising. What is more surprising is the citizenship question's impact on the second-generation U.S.-born Latino's willingness to respond—depressing it by 34%.

Beyond Willingness Toward Estimating Eventual Response

An important consideration in interpreting these San Joaquin Valley Census Research findings about willingness to respond in relation to eventual census response is that the Census Barriers, Attitudes and Motivators Study survey results from 2008, when linked to actual census response two years later in Census 2010, showed that 10.2% of respondents who had said they were extremely or very likely to respond to the census eventually did not. Consequently, we project that the actual overall Census 2020 response rate among San Joaquin Valley first- and second-generation Latino immigrants will not be higher than 36% if the citizenship question is included.

We gave special attention to assessing the eventual response of undocumented immigrants because they are the group whose willingness is most impacted by adding the citizenship question. Review of the comments made by undocumented respondents who were willing to participate in the census even with the citizenship question suggest there might not be as dramatic a fall-off between aspiration and behavior in this group as might be expected, based on the Census Barriers, Attitudes and Motivators Study analysis, because the comments of these undocumented respondents who expressed a willingness to answer often showed they had weighed the pros and cons and came to a fairly solid resolution.

For example, one respondent commented, "I'm not a legal resident, but I think it's important to answer the census. I'm not scared of the government." Another said, "I don't have papers, but I pay taxes, I pay rent. I think it's important to be counted in this country." Another said, "It (the citizenship question) doesn't change anything, the government already knows where we are". But others who inclined toward answering were still somewhat uncertain. One, for example, said, "Look—I'd answer the census with that question, but I sure hope they wouldn't give it to immigration to use." Others said they would simply skip the citizenship question or answer untruthfully about their citizenship.

On the other hand, review of comments from the undocumented respondents who had said that "maybe" they'd respond rested in part on the enumerator who came to seek an answer if they had not self-responded. Consequently, if NRFU is not well-staffed, a number of the "maybes" would become "no's."

For the purposes of projecting eventual undercount, we assume that the actual response rate among undocumented immigrant households will be mid-range between their expressed willingness to respond and the fall-off in response that might be expected based on the Census Barriers, Attitudes and Motivators Study findings, i.e. 20%.

For modeling the undercount resulting from non-response, it was conservatively assumed that the fall-off between expressed willingness and actual census response was lower than in the Census Barriers, Attitudes and Motivators Study 2008-2010 analysis, i.e. actual response rates 5% below expressed willingness. In some scenarios, however, the fall-off may be higher since, especially if the undecided—the "maybes"—are pushed toward non-response. As discussed below, eventual levels of response will probably also be negatively affected by structural barriers to census participation affecting those willing to respond (e.g. non-receipt of a census invitation, lack of Internet access).

Factors Affecting Eventual Propensity to Respond

Whether the eventual drop-off between intent to respond and actual response will be lower or greater than that observed in comparing 2008 Census Barriers, Attitudes and Motivators Study survey respondents' intent to their eventual Census 2010 behavior is uncertain. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that the gap between intent and behavior will narrow much in the current sociopolitical environment.

An important consideration is what the eventual census response rate will be among the overall 13% of the survey respondents who answered "maybe" to the query as to whether they would answer the census if it included the citizenship question. Well-designed and well-targeted pro-census messaging has promise in nudging the "maybes" toward response. However, if the "maybes" are pushed toward non-response by further developments suggesting that census information might be mis-used, or if developments in immigration policy and enforcement further erode confidence in the federal government, the resulting levels of response will be that much lower overall.

If the citizenship question is ultimately left off the Census 2020 questionnaire, it is reasonable to expect the current levels of willingness to respond we report here would rebound somewhat. However, the administration's efforts to add the citizenship question may have irrevocably compromised Latino immigrants' willingness to respond. Some prominent researchers have expressed concern that the effort to add the question may have lasting damage.[36] Surely, if there is a summer 2019 decision for the citizenship question to be left off the Census 2020 questionnaire, census promotion efforts during the fall and winter of 2019 should focus on re-establishing the pre-citizenship question willingness to respond—but the extent to which even strategic and well-designed messaging can restore pre-2018 willingness to respond is not clear.

Comments in the course of interviews suggest that a small proportion of the "maybes" (in about 2%-3% of the interviews) are from potential respondents who might, with help from a sympathetic Spanish-speaking enumerator, be convinced to respond. Some in this group directly said they could not read or write.

Immigrant social networks' perspectives on census response are understandably intertwined with consciousness about the administration's immigration policy, rhetoric and enforcement activities. Comments from respondents about responding to a census with the citizenship question also suggest that the eventual response rate will rest not only on the question itself, but also on other contextual factors that could nudge response rates still lower than we project. Perspectives on the census itself are catalyzed by external factors that might raise or lower the perceived level of direct threat posed by the question.

Research shows that these decisions about interactions with government institutions and programs are not entirely fact-based. An excellent statistical analysis by the Bureau of Economic Research showed that even Hispanic citizens in counties where the 287g program (local law enforcement collaboration with ICE) was being implemented were less likely to use social services than those in counties where the program was not in effect—even though the program did not have a direct impact on them.[37]

Similarly, widespread anecdotal reports are that immigrant use of public services has already dropped in anticipation of new DHS "public charge" regulations. It appears that families that have decided not to make use of services for which they are eligible include many who would not, in fact, be affected by the new DHS regulations. Social networks are rapid and effective mechanisms not only for information transfer, but also for modulation of beliefs, attitudes, aspirations and eventually behavior.

36 Constance Citro, a highly-respected census researcher, raised this issue in a June 2018 discussion among researchers and policy advocates. Her concern appeared to be shared by all participants on the call.

37 Marcella Alsan and Crystal Yang, "Fear and the Safety Net: Evidence from Secure Communities," National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper # 24731, June 2018.

Willingness to Respond to a Follow-up Enumerator Visit during Nonresponse Follow-up

If a household fails to self-respond to the census, after continued non-response to several reminders, an enumerator is asked to visit the non-responding household.

San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project survey respondents who had said they were not willing to respond to the census were asked if they would respond to an enumerator who came to the door. This query was posed as follows in questioning those who had said they would not self-respond (to the census without the citizenship question):

Q 4.2 *When people don't respond to the census, they get a reminder. And if they still don't respond, the Census Bureau sends someone to their house to contact them and get their response in person....I know you said you didn't plan to respond to the census, but would you be willing to answer the questions about yourself and those who live in your household if someone from the Census Bureau (with their official ID) came to the door to explain to you that your answers to the census are totally confidential?*

Subsequently, in asking about willingness to respond to an enumerator who followed up to get a response from a household which was unwilling to answer a census with the CQ the question was posed similarly:

Q. 5.2 *I understand that you said you didn't want to answer the census under these new circumstances. But, as we talked about before, when people don't respond to the census questionnaire, the Census Bureau sends someone to get the answers in person...If the census included this question about citizenship, would you answer if a person (with their proper identification) came to your door and reminded you that your answers to the census are confidential and that they wouldn't be shared with anyone for any reason?*

Table 5 shows responses regarding willingness to provide information to an enumerator who came to the door. It is clear that the citizenship question has a powerful negative impact on this mode of response as well as on willingness to self-respond.

Table 5—Proportions of Latino immigrants Who Were Not Inclined to Self-Respond but Who Would Respond to a Follow-up Visit by an Enumerator

Would Respond to Enumerator	Census 2020 ***without*** the CQ (N=69)	Census 2020 ***including*** the CQ (N=170)
Yes	29%	4%
No	43%	84%
Maybe	27%	12%

*Q. 4.2B and 5.2B were asked only of respondents who said they were unsure or unwilling to respond to the census—without the CQ (Question 4) or with the CQ (Question 5)

If contacted by an enumerator in the course of a census without the citizenship question, slightly more than one out of four who were not inclined to self-respond (29%) said they would be willing to talk with the enumerator, and a similar proportion said they might perhaps answer the door and answer the questions. Overall, slightly more than half were inclined to answer the door.

However, with the citizenship question added, those willing to respond to an enumerator who contacted them because their household had not responded previously declined sharply—from 29% down to 4%, and the proportion of respondents who said they would not talk to the enumerator at the door almost doubled—to 84%. Notably, several of those had said they would not or might not respond to the census but who were willing to respond to an enumerator were those who had difficulty with reading and writing, although they were basically inclined to respond. However, comments from other survey respondents often suggest that an enumerator visit was seen as more intrusive than a mailed request.

The proportion of respondents who said they were uncertain as to whether they would respond to an enumerator visit decreased sharply—from 27% to 12%—if the citizenship question were to be added with the "maybes" becoming "no's."

Those who said that maybe they'd talk to an enumerator often stated that their response would depend on how the enumerator approached them and whether or not they had an official ID (due to concerns about scammers/con artists). This finding underscores the strategic importance of hiring culturally competent/linguistically competent enumerators

and training them to engage in persuasive exchanges with uncertain potential respondents.[38]

Ultimately, it is uncertain to what extent those in this group of immigrants who are inclined not to respond but who are wavering about talking with an enumerator would be successfully contacted, or if they would actually respond if contacted in the course of nonresponse follow-up, since the outcome depends so heavily on rapport in face-to-face conversations.

However, based on respondent comments about their attitudes toward the citizenship question, it is, ultimately, not likely that many of those who initially uncertain, or still more problematically, those who were inclined not to self-respond, would actually be successfully contacted and converted into successful nonresponse follow-up interviews. Consequently, based on the answers regarding willingness to talk with enumerators, it is likely that nonresponse follow-up will not have great success in improving on the already low rates of self-response.

Response to Enumerator Requests for Proxy Interviews (providing Information about neighboring households)

It is important to remember that the process of enumeration in the decennial census is operationally complex. The Census Bureau, in accordance with well-established survey principles, works hard to secure whatever information it can about households that have not taken the initiative to respond.

When an enumerator tries to contact a non-responding household to convince the householder to answer and fails to secure an interview (either because no one is at home or because the household refuses the interview), they are instructed to then attempt a "proxy interview" with a neighbor. A General Accountability Office report on the Harris County and Los Angeles County 2016 test censuses notes that it is estimated that in Census 2010, about 25% of non-response follow-up "enumerations" were actually proxy interviews with neighbors to get information on a nearby non-responding household.

Securing a proxy interview is generally becoming more difficult because levels of concern about "big data" and government misuse of data. Moreover, as sociologist Robert Putnam has observed, community diversity, while desirable, does decrease prevailing levels of mutual trust in communities as different ethnic groups "hunker down."[39]

In an environment where there is widespread apprehension about government misuse of information for immigration enforcement, the old-fashioned idea that it is one's civic duty to "help out" the census by providing an enumerator with information about one's neighbors is losing ground.[40] The San Joaquin Valley Census Research survey shows extraordinarily low willingness to respond to enumerator requests for proxy interviews.

- Even without the citizenship question, only 19% of the Latino survey respondents were willing to participate in a proxy interview to provide information about their neighbors.
- Adding the citizenship question decreased this minimal willingness to provide information about one's neighbors. With the question, only 8% of the respondents said they would provide an enumerator with information about a neighboring household.

Respondents frequently mentioned a concern related to privacy/confidentiality: 42% said that it was not their business to provide that information; 13% mentioned the issue of privacy, and 16% said that was the neighbors' information, that they should be the ones to decide about sharing it or not or that they wouldn't want the neighbors providing information about them.

This perspective, stemming both from underlying cultural views on ownership of personal information and a sociopolitical environment that has become riskier than ever before for immigrants, overshadowed respondents' practical concerns about misuse of information—10% commented that providing such information was "dangerous" and 14% commented that they wouldn't want to have the neighbors get upset with them for providing information about their household. A few framed this as not wanting to be thought of as a neighborhood gossip (metiche).[41] Revealingly, some said their willingness to provide information about the neighbors depended on

38 In his study of Census 2010 census coverage in hard-to-count rural areas with concentrations of farmworkers in the San Joaquin Valley and Central Coast, Kissam found that two-thirds (64%) of Spanish-speaking households that had been contacted during non-response follow-up (NRFU) said the enumerator spoke Spanish well, while 14% said they spoke "a little" Spanish. The remaining 22% said the enumerator who came to the door spoke no Spanish. The respondents in the 2010 study said that the enumerators were generally courteous and professional, but 8% said they had difficulty understanding the enumerator (Kissam 2010).
39 Robert Putnam, "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Unity in the 21st Century", Scandinavian Political Studies, Vol. 30, 2007.
40 A specific concern within immigrant communities has to do with whether information provided to the government for one purpose can be used for another purpose. For example, in principle, information provided by DACA applicants regarding their family was protected by a USCIS firewall keeping it from being used by ICE. This was threatened in the context of the Obama administration's effort to implement DAPA. This concern has been extended to potential mis-use of census data as a result of discovery in the California litigation to prohibit the citizenship question being added to Census 2020. https://www.brennancenter.org/blog/trump-administration-discussed-illegally-sharing-census-data-law-enforcement
41 Someone who sticks their nose into affairs that don't concern them.

whether they were legal or not and whether it would harm them. Some respondents specifically mentioned their concern about use of census information for immigration enforcement.

One-third of those who were willing to provide information about their neighbors in a census with the citizenship question (2.5% of all) expressed some hesitation and said their willingness would depend on whether their neighbors were undocumented or not. They said they would give basic information about the neighboring household, but not provide the enumerator information about the citizenship of the household members.

Aside from the question of willingness, comments made in conversations with interviewers regarding the idea of providing information about their neighbors show the challenges in relying on proxy interviews for enumeration. Two-thirds (67%) thought they could provide basic information about a neighboring household, but one quarter (25%) said they couldn't. Reasonably enough, for some, their ability and willingness to respond to a request for a proxy interview depended on which particular neighboring household was involved. Obviously, even in the proxy interviews that are successful, the completeness and accuracy of information elicited is suspect.

Nonetheless, although willingness to agree to a proxy interview and ability to respond were intertwined, the overwhelming majority of those who said they would refuse a proxy interview were clear in stating that, in their view, it was not "correct" to share personal information about the neighbors.

Implications of Reluctance to Participate in Proxy Interviews

The eventual consequence of negative attitudes about participating in proxy interviews is fairly complex in terms of statistical policy and operational implications. We asked respondents about their willingness to provide the full set of answers to the census questions as per the official Census Bureau position that the respondent should provide complete information about a neighboring household. In practice, there appears to be a disjunction between Census Bureau policy (that proxy interviews should be complete and accurate) and operational practice where proxy interviews will be accepted as "enumeration" even if a neighbor can or will only provide skeletal information on the number of persons living in the non-responding household, in which case household characteristics have to be imputed.

Moreover, there are problems with the quality of household "enumerations" based on proxy interviews in an environment where reluctance to provide information about the neighbors is pervasive. The responses that are provided may well be uneven—resting on individual enumerators' ability to establish rapport, a households' relationship with a neighboring family and their individual perspective on the appropriateness of information-sharing.

Messaging to explain that Census Bureau operational practice is to only require information on numbers of persons in a non-responding household would compromise census data quality since, in many cases, information on household characteristics would be missing. However, if census promotion included messaging suggesting that the information needed would be simply the size of a neighboring household, this could contribute to a more complete count—especially if it were made clear that proxy interviewees would not need to provide information on legal and/or citizenship status of their neighbors.[42]

Other Factors Affecting Likelihood of Enumeration

The San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project survey gathered information on six other factors that might affect enumeration of Latino immigrants and their social networks: mail delivery at the household, Internet access, living in a complex household/housing unit, English-language skills, and educational attainment/presumed literacy. These factors are, to some extent, co-variant and interactions among them, in addition to potential respondents' willingness to respond, will affect 2020 census response rates.

The issue as to whether the Census Bureau's Master Address File includes the housing unit where a household lives and, thus, whether they will receive a mailed census form (or in 2020, an invitation to respond online) is a perennial one, as is the problem of assuring enumeration of everyone who lives in a complex household. The issue of Internet access and response is a novel and complex one; however, Census Bureau research to date shows that online response rates are lower than mail response rates. These issues play out

42 The idea of securing reliable data on citizenship status from proxy interviews is obviously untenable in general and particularly in immigrant communities. The Census Bureau's terminology referred to households where data are collected via proxy interview as "enumerated" is conceptually misleading. Technically speaking, determination of household characteristics via proxy interviews (or reference to administrative records) should not be considered to be "enumeration." In the current context, it is striking that proxy interviews are likely to be particularly unreliable regarding the two key elements necessary for estimating citizen voting-age population—age and citizenship status.

distinctively in the San Joaquin Valley towns and urban neighborhoods where most of the Latino immigrants live.

Mail Delivery

Overall, almost three-quarters (72%) of the San Joaquin Valley Latino immigrant survey respondents had postal delivery to their house or their own mailbox. There will, hopefully, be few problems in their receiving an invitation to respond. The Census Bureau did a good job of sending bilingual (English/Spanish) census forms to census tracts with high concentrations of linguistically isolated households in 2010. However, there will be challenges in assuring the remaining 28% are enumerated—stemming from their access to mail delivery.

About one out of eight survey respondents (13%) said they only received mail at a PO Box. These households include not only those in areas already recognized as not having "city-style" addresses, but some living in areas with city-style addresses where the invitation to respond to the census (either Internet First or Internet Choice) will not be delivered.

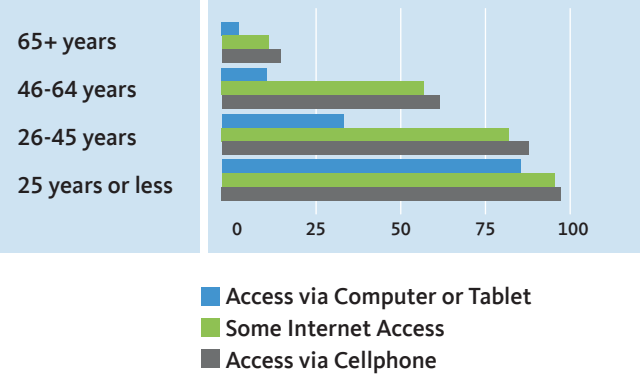
The Census Bureau typically mails one census form or invitation to respond to each address. This affects response in cases where multiple families share a single postal address. One out of eight (12% of all respondents)—many of them in complex households—said they received their mail at a mailbox they shared with others.

The existence of shared mailboxes at a property is a concern because it is possible that in cases where there are multiple housing units at a single address, only the "main house" will be included in the Census Bureau's Master Address File and will be sent an invitation to respond. Alternatively, there may be multiple family units living in a single dwelling, i.e. complex households, where each family considers itself a separate unit and where only the "core" household members will be included in the householder/P1's census response. The remaining 3% either said they had no mailing address or described some other sort of access to mail delivery.

Internet Access

Overall, three-quarters (76%) of survey respondents have Internet access. Internet access is not related to legal or citizenship status but, rather, to age. Figure 2 shows the level of Internet access and type of Internet access by age and shows significant differences in Internet access for different age groups.

Figure 2—San Joaquin Valley Latino Immigrant Access (N=407)



This pattern of Internet access has important practical implications for eventual efforts to "get out the count" and is very important to consider—in addition to geographic patterns of Internet availability. As can be seen from Figure 2, older immigrants are much less likely to have any Internet access; moreover, their access is usually via cell phone, not via home computer or tablet. In contrast, younger immigrants—many of them second-generation U.S.-born with a high school education or some college—have Internet access via either tablet/computer or cell phone.

This finding underscores how critical it will be for the Census Bureau to assure that its online response modality is implemented so as to support cell phone access, that the access is available in Spanish as well as English, and that it is user-friendly for less-educated users whose primary use of the Internet is for social media or entertainment. It was not possible to explore in the survey the extent to which those who did have Internet access used interactive web sites (e.g. for online purchases, banking, drivers' license applications). Examining the types of Internet use that are prevalent in the region will be important in efforts to promote and facilitate online self-response.

The age differential in Internet connectivity and online experience also supports the concept of mobile questionnaire assistance centers (QACs) where bicultural/bilingual census response navigators would do outreach to homes of the older immigrants to assist them with online response. Such an approach is strategically attractive.

Respondents in Complex Households

Living in a complex household is a significant cause of undercount. In the current study, we have defined "complex household" somewhat differently from the way it is defined

by the Census Bureau. By complex household, we mean the domicile of a survey respondent who said that there were "extra" members living at the same place/address where they lived.[43]

Our definition, therefore, includes complex households as defined by the Census Bureau where multiple family/social units live under the same roof, but also households where the respondent lives at one of several hidden housing units (e.g. backyard trailers, sheds, converted garages) with a single address. Family/social units in both types of living arrangements are at risk of being omitted from the Census 2020 count.

The San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project survey found that 22% of the Latino immigrant population live in complex households. There are, on the average, 5.3 persons living at each of these places. In these complex households, there were, on the average, 2.9 "extra" people in addition to the respondent's family household. It is extremely likely that these "extra" individuals will not be enumerated.

If they live under the same roof as the census respondent (P1), they are likely not to be included on the household census roster (despite the census form instruction to "include everyone").

If they live in a hidden housing unit that's not in the Census Bureau's Master Address File, they will have no chance of being enumerated—except via the Census Bureau's non-identification processing (NID) option. Unfortunately, due in part to cost constraints, the Census Bureau decided to abandon its "Be Counted" enumeration option that previously was available at Questionnaire Assistance Centers and replaced it with an online option. However, this requires a potential respondent to be motivated, and to have Internet access and digital literacy—very uncommon among the most economically peripheral individuals who are the "extra" persons in the complex households.

In subsequent analyses, we will seek to estimate the proportion of complex households that would be considered complex households using the Census Bureau residence rules (even when multiple social/budgetary units live under the same roof) and what proportion are hidden housing units omitted from the Census Bureau's Master Address File (MAF). In either case, housing arrangements are an important factor leading to undercount among low-income households in the region.

English-Language Skills as a Constraint on Census Response

Research on Census 2010 coverage in 40 rural hard-to-count tracts in agricultural areas of California (including the San Joaquin Valley) showed that the Census Bureau did a very good job in sending bilingual census forms to Spanish-speaking households. More than three-quarters (76%) of the linguistically isolated Latino households in the 2010 survey received the Spanish-English bilingual form and this contributed to a high mail response rate.

Nonetheless, English language skills remain a concern with respect to self-response for the San Joaquin Valley immigrant households where no adult speaks English. Online response is, in principle, an attractive solution to the language barrier, but overall decennial census strategy still rests ultimately on linguistic accessibility—for both the Internet First and the Internet Choice households. It is not clear if Census 2020 targeting of areas for mailout of paper forms will be improved from 2010, but the evidence, for the moment, suggests that about one in four non-English households will only get a paper form or invitation to respond online in English.

Table 6 shows that this may be a significant factor contributing to undercount among those who do, in fact, want to respond to the census.

Table 6—Self-Reported English-Language Skills: Latino Survey Respondents (N=413)

	Latino Survey Respondents' English-Language Ability			
Legal and citizenship status	Speak No English	Speak Only a Little English	Speak English OK	Speak Perfectly or Very Well
Undocumented (N=155)	25%	46%	23%	7%
Legal resident (N=113)	22%	32%	34%	11%
Naturalized citizen (N=47)	9%	18%	36%	36%
U.S.-born citizen (N=98)	---	---	---	100%

43 In the SJVCRP survey, we defined "household" based on budgetary unit. The problem with the current OMB residence rules is that the prevalent view of "household" in Latino (and other) immigrant communities is that a household is defined as a budgetary unit, not by who lives under the same roof in crowded, doubled-up housing. Technically speaking, crowded housing results in partial household omission in the complex households as defined by the OMB residence rules, and total household omission in the hidden housing units in the subsidiary housing units at a place/address that are, typically, not included in the MAF because they lack a postal address. This issue is discussed in detail in Richard Mines' study of farmworker housing in the Salinas and Pajaro Valleys (CIRS, 2018), in Kissam's analysis of Mexican immigrant undercount (Kissam 2017), and in the recent study of hidden housing units added to the MAF as a result of California's LUCA-linked community-based address canvassing results (Kissam, Quezada, and Intili 2018).

Language and Literacy as Dual Constraints

It is important to recognize also that the educational attainment of San Joaquin Valley Latino immigrants means that their print literacy as well as digital literacy will remain a constraint on self-response in 2020.

Limited English and limited literacy combine to make self-response to the census difficult for most. Research conducted for the Census Bureau several decades back, coupled with fundamental literacy research from the National Adult Literacy Survey, suggests that the sorts of print literacy required for census form completion begins to be a significant factor for respondents with less than nine years of schooling.[44]

Looking at the intersection of educational attainment and English-language ability of the foreign-born Latino respondents shows that more than one-third of the first-generation Latino immigrants (37%) have only an elementary school education and only a little English or no English language skills. Another 28% with seven to nine years of schooling will have some difficulty with the form—depending on the quality of schooling and whether or not they actually receive a bilingual census form or invitation to respond. The level of digital literacy in the low-literate/limited-English population is not known, but it is not likely to be higher than their print literacy.

Consequently, literacy constraints may affect self-response among two-thirds (65%) of the Latino immigrants in the San Joaquin Valley—even if their household is successfully targeted to receive a bilingual (Spanish-English) form.

Low literacy will be a particularly serious factor affecting self-response among indigenous Mexican respondents because, although Spanish is the lingua franca in Latino immigrant communities throughout the U.S., those whose native language is one of the indigenous ones (e.g. Mixtec, Zapotec, Triqui) have lower levels of Spanish-language literacy than immigrants whose first language is Spanish. This will contribute to differential undercount of these ethnic minority groups.

Prevailing Beliefs about Who Should Respond to the Census

Lack of knowledge about who should participate in the census is another factor that will affect the Latino immigrants' levels of response and, ultimately, undercount. Overall, 12% of survey respondents thought that only citizens and legal residents should participate in the census. Another 8% were unsure and said they didn't know. The aggregate 20% of the San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project respondents who didn't know the correct answer that everyone should be counted is only slightly higher than the numbers of Census Barriers, Attitudes and Motivators Study respondents who didn't know that the census is meant to count both citizens and non-citizens—16%.

Practically speaking, there is the additional problem that the undocumented survey respondents were more likely to think that only citizens or citizens and legally resident immigrants should be counted. Among the undocumented respondents, 16% incorrectly believed they should not participate (whether or not they were inclined to) and 11% were unsure.

Projections of Differential Undercount and Aggregate Regionwide Undercount Based on Observed Patterns of Non-Response

Patterns of census non-response do not immediately translate into undercount because Census Bureau operational teams work hard to implement a methodological strategy designed to compensate for survey non-response during the non-response follow-up process. At each stage of the Census Bureau's enumeration process, it meets with some success, but widespread non-response will lead to errors and, ultimately, census omission.

In areas such as the San Joaquin Valley, incomplete/inaccurate address lists, errors introduced through reliance on proxy interviews, errors from incomplete and/or inaccurate administrative records used to compensate for non-response, and the limitations of hot-deck imputation used to impute the number and characteristics of people living in non-responding households are inevitable. This cascade of errors will erode and distort the tabulations the Census Bureau ultimately generates to report the numbers and characteristics of the population. These errors are significant—at all levels of census geography—but their largest negative impact is on neighborhoods, communities and counties with more "hard-to-count" households and, consequently, more widespread and higher levels of non-response.[45]

44 Kissam E, Herrera E, Nakamoto J. "Hispanics' Response to Census Forms and Procedures." Aguirre International, Final Report to Population Division, U.S. Census Bureau, 1993. The National Adult Literacy Survey research analyzes literacy in a way that is particularly relevant here—examining reading competencies in processing highly formatted print material such as that used in questionnaires as compared to reading the typical text in elementary school books, novels and magazines.
45 A particularly thorough and definitively documented description about how these errors emerge in the course of multiple stages of census enumeration efforts—omission of hidden housing units, erroneous deletion of housing units believed not to be occupied, use of proxy interviews to secure information on non-responding households, and imputation—was prepared by census expert Joseph Salvo for his testimony in the NY v. Department of Commerce. (See Joseph Salvo, "Expert Rebuttal Report: Errors in the Local Census," November 11, 2018).

Nonetheless, it is possible to model how, despite the Bureau's best efforts, a cascade of non-response to successive Census Bureau enumeration efforts and subsequent efforts to overcome the problem of non-response ("enumeration" based on recourse to administrative records or hot-deck imputation), gives rise to undercount.[46]

Adding the citizenship question unquestionably introduces bias, but the key research question is, "How much?" The San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project survey, by providing key information on the numbers and characteristics of households likely not to respond, provides an empirical basis for answering the question about how serious the undercount will be and how it will skew the demographic and socioeconomic profile of affected communities.

Table 7 shows our estimate of the Census 2020 consequences for undercount of first-generation foreign-born Latino immigrants and second -generation U.S.-born Latinos in the San Joaquin Valley if the citizenship question is included in the census.

Table 7—Cascade Model Estimate of San Joaquin Valley Undercount in Latino Immigrant Networks

San Joaquin Valley Latino Sub-Population as defined by status	Undercount for sub-populations	Impact on overall San Joaquin Valley Census Count (% undercount in sub-population X sub-population as % of region)
Undocumented	21.1%	-1.8%
Legal residents	7.5%	-0.4%
Naturalized citizens	5.9%	-0.4%
U.S.-born citizens	10.3%	-1.5%
Aggregate impact—undercount of first- and second-generation Latinos	11.7%	-4.1%

*Working paper discussion and technical details for the cascade model are presented in the companion report to this one, "A Cascade Model Explaining How Latino Immigrants' Non-Response to Census 2020 is Transformed into Regional Undercount," San Joaquin Valley Health Fund, January 2019.

To place the projections presented here in context, the officially acknowledged Hispanic undercount in Census 2010 was 1.54%, while the non-Hispanic White overcount was 0.8%.[47] The model projects that the likely undercount among sub-populations within the Latino immigrant population in the San Joaquin Valley will, in 2020, be from two to 14 times higher than the officially acknowledged overall national Hispanic undercount in Census 2010.

Table 7 indicates that the San Joaquin Valley region, and municipalities within the region, will be disproportionately impacted by differential undercount stemming from the citizenship question, and will not secure an equitable share of federal census-driven funding or secure equitable political representation in Congress.

Geographic disparities in expected allocation of funding and political representation resulting from differing levels of undercount among the harder-to-count Latino sub-populations result primarily from variation in numbers of foreign-born from community to community. However, the maturity of migration networks bringing newcomers to different communities may also lead to variations in the local mix of legal and citizenship statuses in each county, so this, too, will contribute to differences in undercount from one town to another.[48]

Census undercount of Latino first- and second-generation immigrants will generally shift funding and political representation away from the smaller rural municipalities, which have more concentrated immigrant populations, toward the larger, urban areas. For example, the population of Firebaugh in western Fresno County is 92% Hispanic and 38% foreign-born, while another west side small town, Kettleman City, is 100% Hispanic and 46% foreign-born.

The estimate of undercount presented in Table 7 is conservative. It does not, for example, attempt to estimate the negative impact that constrained access to the Internet and low digital literacy, coupled with print literacy, might have on self-response rates.[49] Eventual census accuracy will rest, in part, on the Census Bureau's ability to effectively collaborate with concerned community groups in designing and implementing initiatives to overcome these chronic barriers to census participation.

46 The "cascade model" showing how high levels of non-response degrade the accuracy of census tabulations due to the inevitable errors that arise from successive stages to compensate is described in a companion report to this one, the San Joaquin Valley Health Fund Working Paper #2: "A Cascade of Errors: How Low Levels of Latino Immigrant Response Undermine San Joaquin Valley Census Accuracy."

47 Mule T. 2010 "Census Coverage Measurement Estimation Report: Summary of Estimates of Coverage for Persons in the United States," Decennial Statistics Studies Division, U.S. Census Bureau, May 2012.

48 The Center for Migration Studies of New York has developed good estimates of the proportions of the non-citizen population who are legal residents and undocumented at the PUMA (Public-Use Microdata area)—an area generally (but not always) smaller than a county. They have used these estimates to develop county-level estimates of numbers of undocumented immigrants by country of origin for each of the counties in the San Joaquin Valley region.

49 The data on survey respondents' level of educational attainment is relevant here. About half of the population have only an elementary school education. A number of respondents' comments about considerations entering into their response included reference to their inability to read or write (in Spanish or in English). Interestingly, even some who had access to the Internet and used applications such as Facebook, for example, said they were illiterate.

The Bottom Line: Serious Differential and Aggregate Undercount Throughout the Region

As Table 7 clearly shows, some sub-groups among Latino first- and second-generation immigrants will suffer more from undercount than others. This differential undercount will affect the entire census count for the region because these immigrant households make up such a substantial portion of the overall population.

The San Joaquin Valley region is projected to have a population of about 4.6 million by 2020. With Latino first- and second-generation immigrant undercount alone resulting in a 4.1% reduction in overall regional population census count, census undercount will have a major negative impact on the entire region.

The aggregate regional census undercount of Latino first- and second-generation immigrants in the San Joaquin Valley is likely to result in about 188,000 persons being left out of the census count.

The households not included in the census count for the San Joaquin Valley region will include a disproportionate number of low-income households—since the most seriously undercounted group, the undocumented immigrant households, typically have lower earnings than those where the head of household has legal status or citizenship. The fiscal and civic implications of this loss are discussed in the conclusions section of this report.

Summary Conclusions

Although the population of the San Joaquin Valley is distributed among major urban centers, medium-size communities and small rural towns, the region will probably have a total population of about 4.6 million people in 2020, making it much larger than many major urban areas such as Chicago or Houston, and comparable in population to the city of Los Angeles. Differential undercount in the San Joaquin Valley needs to be understood not only as a regional concern, but also as an issue of statewide and national concern.

The San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project survey results show that adding the citizenship question to the decennial census is likely to have a major impact in suppressing census response among San Joaquin Valley Latino immigrants and their social networks who make up one-third of the region's total population. Compromised willingness to respond to Census 2020, in combination with other factors such as omission of low-visibility housing units from the Census Bureau's address list, language and literacy barriers, and lack of Internet access for online response, will almost certainly result in serious differential undercount of Latino households in the San Joaquin Valley and, therefore, decrease the census-based estimates of the overall population in the region.

The resulting patterns and extent of undercount can be expected to create significant disparities in allocation of federal and state census-driven program funding. Just as importantly, differential undercount might seriously skew the racial/ethnic profile of the San Joaquin Valley region and, consequently, undermine the reliability of detailed demographic and socioeconomic data collected in the American Community Survey over the post-censal decade from 2021-2030.

The projected level of 11.7% undercount among first- and second-generation Latino immigrants is at a level that some experts would consider to be indicative of a failed census. The fiscal impact would result in a potential federal funding loss to the region of about $198 million—a total over the post-censal decade from 2021-2030 of about $2 billion.[50]

50 Professor Andrew Reamer's expert analysis of the fiscal implications of undercount suggest that California would lose about $1,050 for each Californian omitted from the census. The amount would be higher except for the fact that the FMAP portion of California's federal funding is unaffected by census omission. For details, see Andrew Reamer, "Counting for Dollars 2020: The Role of the Decennial Census in Geographic Distribution of Federal Funds—Report #2 Estimating Fiscal Costs of an Undercount to States," George Washington Institute for Public Policy, March 19, 2018. The eventual level of fiscal losses depends on other states' and communities' undercount. Thus, the eventual impact remains uncertain—but there undoubtably will be a shift in funding and political representation away from the communities, regions and states with larger Hispanic populations.

By providing new insights into the willingness of different sub-populations of Latino immigrants to respond to a census with the citizenship question, the San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project makes a significant contribution to a body of research that has been forced to rely on research tools (the Census Bureau's focus groups and the Census Barriers, Attitudes and Motivators study mail survey) and analytic methodologies (analysis of allocation rates in the American Community Survey question about citizenship) that have inherent limitations. The prior research is sound, but the research reported here provides new insights about the dynamics and extent of undercount in the real-world conditions prevailing in communities with concentrations of low-income immigrant households.

Ironically, one of the results of the skewed demographic profile resulting from differential undercount is that the quality of citizen voting-age population tabulations that the Department of Commerce has alleged would be improved by adding the citizenship question to the decennial census would be seriously degraded. This is due to unreliability of tabulations of responses to the citizenship question, a racial/ethnic profile skewed to underrepresent Hispanics, and serious uncertainties about the age profile of the population.

Understandably, adding the citizenship question has a dramatic negative impact on undocumented and mixed-status households' willingness to respond to the census, but it also has a remarkable impact in dampening second-generation Latino immigrants' willingness to participate in the census. The full impact of adding the citizenship question will almost certainly be broader and deeper than might be expected simply from looking at individual households' response rates.

Adding the citizenship question has more than simply fiscal implications. The transformation of the decennial census from a civic ritual of affirmation—securing an accurate picture of the U.S., a "mirror of America"—into an exercise in government-sponsored efforts to diminish the importance of immigrants and blur our vision of a diverse American nation will take a toll on civic life.

Survey respondents' discussions with interviewers echo the findings from the Census Barriers, Attitudes and Motivators Study II report identifying diverse mindsets vis-à-vis the census among all Americans. The research shows households falling into one of seven response segments: the government-minded, the compliant and caring, the dutiful, the local-minded, the uninformed, the cynical, and the suspicious.

The survey findings make it clear that if Census 2020 includes a question on citizenship, the cynical and suspicious segments—estimated in Census Barriers, Attitudes and Motivators Study II as making up about one-quarter of U.S. households—will grow dramatically among Latino immigrant households, while competing with the mindset of the compliant and caring.

There are also, among the Latino survey respondents, a fair number who fall into the mindset the Census Barriers, Attitudes and Motivators Study identifies as dutiful and local-minded. But their conversations with interviewers show they are struggling to resolve a conceptual/values conflict between a positive outlook about the importance of the census to their community and the competing wave of escalating cynicism and suspicion about what the census is for.

The consequences are worrisome not only in the short-term, but in the long-term. The San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project finding that the federal government's effort to add the citizenship question undermines U.S.-born second-generation immigrants' willingness to participate in the census, along with that of the very large population of settled immigrants who lack legal status, is a harbinger of further weakening of community bridging social capital—the ability for diverse individuals in a community to overcome individual differences and work together to advance common objectives for improving community well-being.[51]

We emphasize here the negative impact a decennial census that includes the citizenship question may have on social capital and second-generation immigrants' attitudes about civic participation, because these adult children of immigrants play an important role in bridging the gap between native-born and foreign-born families in rural communities with large numbers of settled immigrants. By the same token, the findings suggest that the young second-generation Latino adults can play a significant role in immediate efforts to promote census participation.

51 Ed Kissam describes these dynamics in "Migration Networks and the Process of Community Transformation in Arvin, California and Woodburn, Oregon," The Journal of Latino and Latin American Studies, Vol. 2 (4), Fall 2007, pp 87-116. Despite the distinctive concerns about impact within the second-generation, the overall community impact on all groups' social life—"hunkering down" as Robert Putnam calls it—despite being gradual and insidious, is a serious concern.

Local and state government, along with local institutions—the schools, community service programs, immigrant advocacy organizations—will need to work hard to reinforce immigrant community perspectives about Census 2020 actually being an affirmation of their presence as citizens of local communities (with or without formal legal/citizenship status).

The damage wrought by efforts to add the citizenship question to Census 2020 will negatively impact a wide range of immigrant integration initiatives. A multitude of public institutions in California and in the San Joaquin Valley have worked for decades in efforts to effectively integrate immigrants into community life. A census with a citizenship question—widely recognized as being a surrogate for an inquiry about immigration status—will undermine the decades of work they have invested in this mission, accelerating already-rapid growth in distrust of government and disappointment and anger regarding its anti-immigrant policies.

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APPENDIX A — Methodology

The San Joaquin Valley Health Fund's San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project was conducted through face-to-face interviews with 414 Latino first- and second-generation immigrant respondents in eight counties and focus groups in three counties in the San Joaquin Valley of California, from early September 2018 through mid-October 2018.

Focus groups with three sub-populations of Latinos—indigenous-origin immigrants, DACA recipients and second-generation immigrants were conducted during December 2018 to provide additional insights into the perspectives of these sub-groups among Latino immigrants. The implications of survey respondents' comments in the course of the survey, along with focus group discussions, is analyzed in a companion report, "The Personal Geography of Census Non-Response: Implications for Promoting Census Participation" from the San Joaquin Valley Health Fund.

The Survey Research Team

The core research team for the study consisted of five researchers with long experience working in national research with farmworkers and rural Mexican immigrants and in health-related studies, housing studies, Spanish-language radio audience research, and research on immigrant community life in the San Joaquin Valley. This team developed both of the research instruments (survey form and the focus group agenda) as well as developing data management, data entry and data validation procedures.

While all team members participated in the survey design elements, Cindy Quezada of Central Valley Immigrant Integration Collaborative fulfilled the role of Survey Data and Operations Manager and Latino Focus Group Manager; Dr. Richard Mines fulfilled the role of Data Manager and analyst; Gail Wadsworth, Director of California Institute for Rural Studies, fulfilled the role of Project Director and Analyst of qualitative data; Ed Kissam fulfilled the role of Census Research Advisor and Report Writer; and JoAnn Intili fulfilled the role of Research Project Advisor. Interviews were carried out by Rafael Flores, Jorge San Juan, Morena Fuentes, Marco Antonio Fuentes, Rigoberto Garcia and Lilia Becerril.

Form Development

Five of the six survey team members spoke Spanish fluently, and all had experience doing both quantitative and qualitative research in Spanish and English, with indigenous and mestizo and in non-indigenous or mestizo communities. The survey form initially was developed in English, and then translated into Spanish. The form was translated by an immigrant who had lived and worked in the San Joaquin Valley for more than 10 years. It was then checked and re-translated, where necessary.

The form was then field tested with four people, revised again and field tested with about 30 people, revised and then tweaked by the survey interviewers as part of the training. Altogether the survey development passed through about 15 different iterations before the form was finalized.

The survey instrument was designed to generate information about respondents' understanding of the census, willingness to self-respond to a census with or without the citizenship question, willingness to participate in a non-response follow-up interview with an enumerator and participate in a proxy interview. The survey also elicited key information on household composition and respondent characteristics.

To assure potentially worried respondents about confidentiality, interviewers explicitly told them that they did not want their names and that, although they would be asked the town and zip code they lived in, the survey would not include information on their address.

The survey questions that related to beliefs, attitudes or decision-making related to the census were designed so that interviewers would elicit conversational answers, which were written down as textbox entries as well as clear-cut responses of yes, no or maybe with respect to willingness to answer a census without the citizenship question or a census that included it. This provided a means to review interviewers' coding as well as to capture some of the colloquial tone of interviews designed to engage respondents by having a conversational tone.

As is usual, one of the challenges the team sought to address in the development of the survey was the issue of length and burden. The team was well aware of the price paid for making an interview too long, and the first tests of the form indicated that was an issue—some of the respondents evidenced boredom and distraction. As a result, the team ended up adopting an elaborate skip pattern, short circuiting most of the more complicated sessions for those

respondents who said they would self-respond to the census.

The analytic limitations imposed by the skip patterns utilized relate primarily to the fact that the sub-set respondents asked about response to an enumerator visit were those who had said they would not respond. These issues are addressed in more depth in our companion report on the focus group discussions and survey respondents' comments.

Survey Data Collection Team and Training

A team of 20 people was recruited and trained by the Survey and Data Managers to undertake the data collection. Interviewers were recruited through individuals who participated with organizations working in the San Joaquin Valley. Of those 20, 10 actually continued on to do interviews. These included six women and four men, ranging in age from about 25 to 52 years of age. Three spoke only Spanish; two spoke Spanish, Mixteco and English; and five spoke English and Spanish. Regarding preparation for this kind of work, all had experience doing outreach and seven had worked in survey research projects in the past. One was a teacher, another a college instructor; one a student; three were in private-sector work (construction/farmwork); three worked for community-based organizations and one was a housewife. The four interviewers who collected the majority of the data had previous survey research experience.

Training took place over three days—two days in the classroom and one in the field. It was led by the Research Manager, Dr. Cindy Quezada, and was assisted by Dr. Rick Mines, who helped design the instrument, the training and data collection management tools, based on his long experience as head of the National Agricultural Worker survey for the U.S. Department of Labor, and his extensive research interviewing California farmworkers over more than four decades.

See the Training Agenda presented in Exhibit 1.

Training was conducted in Spanish and English (where needed); and introduced the organizations doing the research, the reason for the research and the timeline, how to approach potential respondents and gain consent from the targeted sub-populations that were to be priorities at the venue, orientation to the interview/questionnaire format and how to record data, and an interviewing practicum.

Data entry was done by some of the same people who collected the interviews, but each interview was reviewed by the Research Manager before being turned over to the data entry workers. Dr. Mines undertook the major data preparation and analysis.

Sample Design and Implementation

The designation of harder-to-count populations is amply documented in previous census research (see, for example, Bruce and Robinson 2003, and Census Hard to Count Maps 2020) on development of the HTC score. Kirsten West, David Fein and a range of ethnographers involved in the Census Bureau's alternative enumeration initiative have provided rich descriptions of community, household and individual characteristics that make census participation difficult. While a variety of persons may be less likely to respond to the census, the group that is termed harder-to-count includes a preponderance of those who are poorer, minority and immigrants. Thus, we were concerned to use a methodology that was efficient in capturing the harder-to-count as well as being able to provide a reliable and accurate assessment of their willingness to respond to the census.

As Steuve (et al. 2001) have noted, household sampling and traditional random sampling techniques are not necessarily appropriate if one needs to capture respondents who are likely to be dispersed across an area, or who experience stigma. Multi-stage random sampling techniques are expensive and do not necessarily lead the researcher to the appropriate respondents, as has been documented in research on omission of low-visibility housing from the Census Bureau's sampling frame. Given a limited research budget and limited time, we were looking for a strategy that would concentrate resources where the harder to count are.

Please contact Ellen Braff-Guajardo at ebraff-guajardo@sierrahealth.org if you would like a copy of the survey form.

Exhibit 1: Interviewer Training Agenda

DDAY 1 (8 de Septiembre, 2018)
9-9:15— Llegada (fruta, café)
9:15-9:45—Presentación individual ante el grupo
9:45-10:15—Introducción del proyecto:

- CIRS y CVIIC - quiénes somos?
- ¿Qué es el censo y por qué es importante?
- El propósito de este estudio

10:15-11:00—Revisión del Manual de Instrucciones (disponible en la reunión)

- Cronología de la recolección y análisis de datos
- Como presentarse a los entrevistados en distintos lugares
- Consideraciones especiales para los lugares de muestreo
- Cuotas para el muestreo

11:00-11:15 Pausa
11:15-12:00pm—Continuación de la Revisión del Manual de Instrucciones (disponible en la reunión)

- Consentimiento VERBAL
- Lenguaje
- Estilo de presentación
- Como registrar y revisar datos en una encuesta
- El formato de la encuesta
- Como percibir el estatus legal del entrevistado

12:00-12:30—Almuerzo— Logística- Revisión del papeleo - W9's, ID's, depósito directo
12:30-1:00

- Como entregar las encuestas
- Horas de oficina de Cindy
- Como trabajar en parejas

1:00-1:15pm Pausa
1:15-3:15 Revisión de las preguntas de la encuesta (1ra sesión)

DAY 2 (9 de Septiembre, 2018)
9:00-9:15— Llegada (café y fruta)
9:15-10:45— Revisión de las preguntas de la encuesta (2da sesión)
10:45-11:45— Práctica de entrevista
11:45-12:00— Pausa
12:00-12:30pm Almuerzo— discusión de los resultados de la práctica realizada
12:30 -1:30pm— Seguir practicando la entrevista
1:30pm-1:45pm— Preguntas y discusión

DAY 3 (Fecha no todavía determinada) Las Primeras Entrevistas en Lugar

The methodology selected for this is time-space sampling (TSS), pioneered by the Center for Disease Control in its AIDS research—the Young Men's Survey. Parsons (2008) notes "Time-space sampling is named for the randomization of time (whether it be day of week, and/or segment times during a particular day), space (venue/location to which participants are to be drawn from), and often individuals (every nth person entering a venue);" although Parsons also finds that the selection of every 'nth person' is not necessary for maintaining the integrity of the findings.

Steuve describes the strategy as "a probability based method for enrolling members of a target population at times and places where they congregate rather than where they live." (Steuve, 2001). For other researchers, TSS seems like a form of cluster-based sampling (cf. Wikipedia, Sampling). It walks the line between convenience and snowball sampling (each not considered to be probability-based sampling one can generalize from) and the more precision-oriented household and other systematic, random-based, sampling strategies.

For this research, we took the approach members of the research team had utilized previously in a decade of audience research for Radio Bilingue, which compared favorably with Arbitron audience research based on standard multi-stage sampling (cf. Kissam, et al., 2003), that mitigates the downsides of potential biases associated with specific venues, with a firmly community-context rooted and tested survey. (cf. Parsons, 2008; Ott, 2018).

Muhib (2001) credits TSS with the ability to generate a relatively diverse sample at higher efficiency and lower cost. Samaan (2010) avers that with good planning and implementation, TSS can produce representative samples. (Weir, et al, 2012, note significant differences among venue samples of sex workers in China, but their analysis seems to suggest that the reason might be specific requirements by individual venues for types of sex workers. Those sorts of requirements do not apply here.)

The process for recruitment used in the San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project survey followed a three-step process similar to the one Steuve used. First, venues where the population might congregate in an area were identified and reviewed, and then those that represented high probability areas for different targeted population subgroups were identified and selected. Second, for each venue, days and times of day when higher numbers of people congregated were determined.

Venues were chosen to be geographically dispersed and diverse with respect to the types of individuals frequenting them. We improved the likely representativeness of the sample by relying on a community-based field research team, with many of the same characteristics of the targeted respondents, to identify and characterize specific venues. The field researchers knew the range of potential venues and could assess the likelihood each would prove effective.

Ott, et al. (2018) used much the same approach, and found the approach viable as an alternative for household-based sampling, when based in a deep-seated community engagement context. As she points out, "A common critique of [time-space sampling, sic.] is that, while providing access to hidden populations, it makes it difficult to generalize. ... sampling approaches may ultimately be a trade-off of biases [16]. Although household approaches to sampling may be conducted in such a way as to be statistically generalizable to a community, these approaches pose nonresponse biases of their own, due to particular confidentiality concerns within the household and lack of availability at the time the researchers come." These concerns, and her and her colleagues' conclusions about them based on their study, are very much in line with our own.

The entire sample for the San Joaquin Valley Census Research Project was targeted at 600 individual interviews. This figure was decided upon in order to meet budget and time constraints, while at the same time affording sufficient bandwidth to conduct statistical comparison among the Valley's harder-to-count ethnic sub-groups (principally Latino, Asian and Punjabi). Table A-1 presents the relative proportion of Latino population in each of the eight San Joaquin Valley counties, and the number of Latino immigrant interviews targeted and achieved.

Table A-1: Approximate Geographic Sampling Targets—Latino Respondents

County	Average HH Size	Foreign-born Population	Hispanic as % of County Population	Survey Target (# of Latino interviews)	Actual Latino interviews (N=416)
Fresno	3.18	207,744 (23%)	50%	100 (24%)	116 (28%)
Kern	3.19	176,647 (20%)	49%	80 (19%)	48 (12%)
Kings	3.28	27,620 (3%)	50%	15 (4%)	10 (2%)
Madera	3.37	32,947 (4%)	53%	30 (7%)	52 (13%)
Merced	3.36	69,190 (8%)	54%	50 (12%)	37 (9%)
San Joaquin	3.14	173,684 (19%)	38%	40 (10%)	34 (8%)
Stanislaus	3.07	107,953 (12%)	41%	50 (12%)	34 (8%)
Tulare	3.35	102,459 (11%)	60%	50 (12%)	85 (20%)
Average SJV Household Size	3.2425	898,243 (100%)	49%	415 (100%)	416 (100%)

Within this geographic target matrix, quotas were set for different population sub-sets, roughly proportional to their representation among the foreign-born immigrant population in 2010.

Table A-2 presents the targeted and actually realized sample for Latinos overall and by categories of age and gender and immigration status.

Table A-2: Sampling Targets for Latinos by Age, Gender, Immigration and Legal Status

Survey Participant Characteristics	Latino	Young 18-25	Mid 26-64	Older 65+	Total % Female
Foreign Born (75%) N=315	100%	15%	80%	10%	49%
• Target –	315	45	240	30	47%
• Actual –	316	19	259	38	46%
Naturalized Status					
• Target – 21% of FB	65	-	50	15	47%
• Actual – 15% of FB	48	4	28	16	46%
Legal Resident Status					
• Target – 35% of FB	110	15	90	15	47%
• Actual – 36% of FB	113	4	92	17	43%
Undocumented Status					
Target – 44% of FB	140	30	100	-	47%
Actual – 49% of FB	155	11	139	5	50%
US Born (25%) N=100	100%	50%	50%	-	50%
• Target Second-generation	100	50	50	-	50%
• Actual Second-generation	98	60	34	4	49%
Total Sample Comparison with Targeted Sample					
• Targeted Sample	415	95 (23%)	290 (70%)	30 (7%)	198 (48%)
• Actual Realized Sample	414	79 (19%)	293 (70%)	42 (10%)	193 (47%)

Table A-2 shows a slightly higher number of older Latinos interviewed at the expense of younger Latinos. However, there is representation of the full age range, gender, and legal and immigration status.

Focus groups following the termination of the interview portion were conducted with a variety of population subgroups in order to sound out types of participants we might have missed on how they feel about the census (mirroring the actual survey). The companion report to this one summarizes these findings and the comments collected from participants in the course of the interviews.

Data Collection

Data collection took place with (at least) pairs of interviewers going out to different venues. The Research Manager selected venues and assigned data teams, and most times the teams were accompanied by the Research Manager, who also did interviews. In total, interviews were conducted at 104 venues in the San Joaquin Valley. The types of venues selected are presented in Table A-3.

Table A-3: Types of Venues Where Interviews Were Conducted

Venue Types	# of Venues	# of Interviews
Laundromat	28	62
Remate (flea market)	17	137
Ethnic food store	7	20
College campus	9	35
Park	11	28
Mall or mainstream retail—groceries, restaurant	9	35
Food distribution event	6	42
Barber/salon	3	4
School	3	3
Special events (e.g. Fiestas Patrias, Health Fair, Consulado Sobre Ruedas, DACA Workshops, Wedding, Community spaces)	10	41
Total Venues	104	416

The venues were selected for the appropriate population and ability to conduct interviews. The specific sub-population to be interviewed at each venue was identified beforehand. For example, some venues were selected to likely have a younger group or an older group or more women or more men, etc. Progress in meeting sample targets was registered in the data management software developed by the research management team.

All interviews were conducted in the language of choice of the respondent. Over the course of the interview period (September 2018 through October 2018, we were able to successfully interview 414 Latinos. These included:

- 116 respondents from Fresno County (28%), in venues in seven towns
- 48 respondents from Kern County (12%), in venues in three towns
- 10 respondents from Kings County (2%), in venues in two towns
- 52 respondents from Madera County (13%), in venues in three towns
- 37 respondents from Merced County (9%), in venues in two towns
- 34 respondents from San Joaquin County (8%), in venues in three towns
- 34 respondents from Stanislaus County (8%), in venues in three towns
- 84 respondents from Tulare County (21%), in venues in eight towns

While we generally targeted different sample subgroups for each of the venues, we were very careful to work toward dampening bias by:

- Instituting similar practices for each to control possible selection bias,
- Limiting the number of individuals who could be interviewed who were part of the apparently same friend/family group, Equipping the interview location with a place to sit with some privacy,
- Relying on trained interviewers who were drawn from the population we had targeted, and who could interview either in English or the potential respondent's native language, whichever was preferred.

Interviewers approached all those who were present in the location who fit the specified target groups (i.e., likely age, gender or ethnicity). The team did not specify every 'nth' person, as that was not feasible with the staffing available.

Respondents' Reaction to the Invitation to Participate in this Survey

Interviews took 10-20 minutes and respondents received a token remuneration of $20, in the form of cash in a plain envelope, presented at the end of the survey.

While the remuneration was appreciated at the end, it was not enough to ensure busy, reluctant shoppers (for example) would assent to participate in the survey.

There are two types of refusal—those who refuse to participate initially, before one gets a chance to start the survey, and those who quit when they realize the nature of the questions. Our approach to survey design was successful in dealing with the second—nobody changed their mind mid-stream. However, many were just too busy or too nervous about what we might want (e.g. to sell them something), or the weather was too hot (over 95 degrees several days, since interviews took placed in the fall in the San Joaquin Valley of California). So, some were not willing to take the time to talk with the interviewers.

The heat at the time and the specific community climate surrounding the intended survey respondents (ICE raids in Spring 2018, news reports of impending DHS "public charge" regulations, local courtroom detentions of unauthorized immigrants and uncertainty about possible termination of DACA) are factors that make it difficult to set and use an appropriate benchmark drawn from other studies where the particular social environment of social pressure undermining willingness to talk with "outsiders" was different.

Additionally, as with many other studies, keeping accurate track of who did not want to participate at all is difficult, as some just signal and you cannot get their attention; others say 'no' in some fashion; and others want to be interviewed in a group; and one doesn't have enough staff. The kind of reception to the interview and willingness to participate in the interview varied a lot by type of venue. As one might expect, success was higher in laundries, in some of the flea markets, although it varied from place to place, and food distribution lines than in shopping malls.

On average, the response rate went from a low of about 30% of potential respondents who agreed to talk with interviewers, to almost all. (This is the estimate of the Research Manager who was present at almost all of the interviews). While, ideally, it is possible to get a 60% to 90% response rate, these rates generally occur where the interviews are about a topic that will directly benefit the individual respondent, or which they can see benefit in, e.g. HIV prevention, African-American community-building, etc. Few had heard of the public controversy regarding the citizenship question, but, as discussed in study findings, levels of community trust have been eroded by the immigration enforcement environment.

In a more neutral environment, the Census Test in 2017 yielded a 50% response rate, transit rider response rates for intercept interviews hovered around 35 to 40%, and mall interview response rates varied from about 20% to 90%. In the case for this study, conditions were worse, and these positive factors were not at play.

The major positive factor for potential respondents were the interviewers themselves, and their cultural competence, language and social skills; as well as maybe a place to sit on a hot day, and the respect given them with a token of remuneration for their time.

However, all that being said, the important thing is whether the respondents do in fact represent the hard-to-reach, immigrant population that we were trying to reach. The answer seems clearly to be YES. This has been shown in Table A-2 and was discussed in Tables 1 and 2 of the body of the report. We are particularly pleased that the eventual sample appropriately represented countries and states of origin for the Mexican immigrants, and that it included indigenous-origin respondents, and Central American immigrants. The sample is also representative of the foreign-born Latino immigrant population in the region with respect to educational attainment and representative of the U.S.-born second-generation immigrant population in terms of education.

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