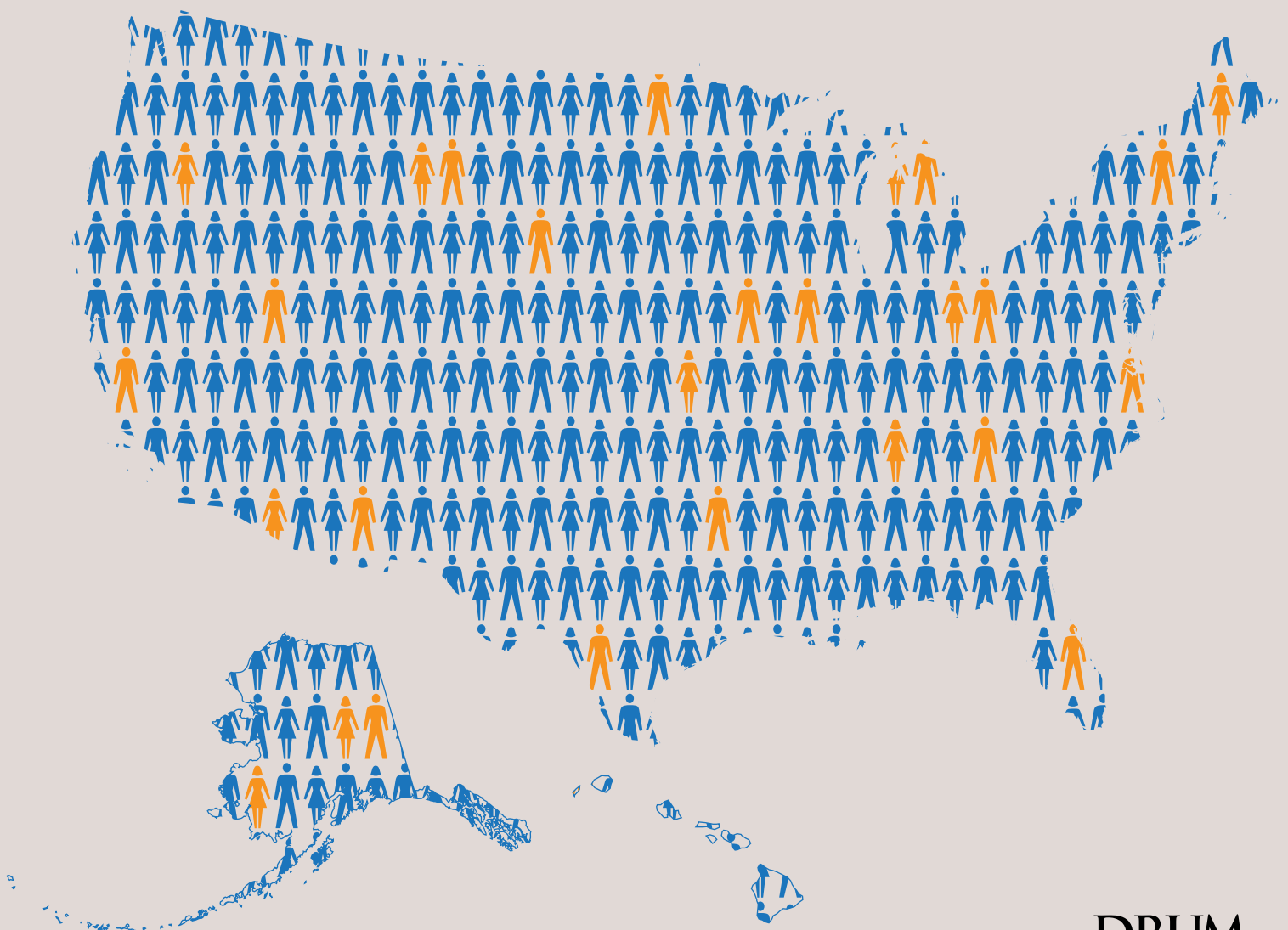


THE NEXT ECONOMIC IMPERATIVE:
UNDOCUMENTED
IMMIGRANTS
IN THE 2010 CENSUS

By Afton Branche



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Every ten years, some populations are inadvertently undercounted in the U.S. Census. Of all of these groups, undocumented immigrants are the only one facing an effort to deliberately exclude them from the constitutionally-mandated count. This year, opposition to counting undocumented immigrants is particularly strong.

The United States cannot afford to exclude undocumented immigrants from the 2010 Census. Failing to gather accurate information about an estimated 12 million undocumented residents will make it too difficult for the country to recover from the worst recession in decades: local and state governments won't receive adequate funding for public services; businesses will be discouraged from investing in new markets and creating jobs in growing communities; costly mistakes will be made in infrastructure, education, and healthcare because of incomplete demographic data.

This is the first major policy research paper to analyze the latest data and evidence showing how all Americans will benefit from the inclusion of undocumented immigrants in the 2010 Census. It explains why a demographic profile of this population must become the next economic imperative and refutes common misconceptions about the census.

KEY FINDINGS

- A complete national demographic profile of undocumented residents is necessary to provide adequate federal resources for state and local programs that impact all residents, helping to prevent budget cuts in critical areas such as public education, infrastructure, transportation, and healthcare.
- An accurate count of undocumented families will mean better English language and vocational programs so that these immigrants—and their U.S.-born children—can acquire the improved skills to contribute economically and generate tax revenue for their communities.
- As policymakers focus on economic recovery, census data on undocumented residents will enable businesses to maximize scarce resources, limit investment risk, and create new markets in places where immigration is boosting the overall population and spurring economic demand.
- Undocumented immigrants will not inflate or distort population totals used for apportionment or districting; instead, their inclusion will enable citizens to leverage the political power they are entitled to under the U.S. Constitution.

INTRODUCTION: THE POLITICS

The Constitution requires the census to count every person resident in every state, including both citizens and non-citizens. It is only by counting every resident in every district that our political system can fairly represent the interests of citizens living in areas with many undocumented immigrants. The Constitution mandates that the data used to draw voting districts and apportion seats in the House of Representatives be based on a full count of residents, regardless of citizenship status. A full count of undocumented immigrants and their families is thus the only way to ensure full political representation for the voting citizens in their neighborhoods.

Yet every census since 1940 has significantly undercounted certain groups, particularly immigrants, people of color, children, and low-income people.¹ Undercounting any population has damaging consequences for their communities, from reduced federal funding to a loss of political representation. It is in the national interest to conduct a full and accurate count that leaves no one out. But undocumented immigrants² face the most political opposition to their inclusion and are the least likely to answer the census questionnaire. The 2010 Census comes at a time when undocumented immigrants are increasingly marginalized. Their precarious legal status leaves them vulnerable to threats of deportation and arrest. A nationwide crackdown on undocumented immigration has led to an increase in local immigration law enforcement and detention centers. With these challenges in mind, traditional stakeholders—community organizations, advocates and the Bureau itself—must intensify their efforts in encouraging undocumented families to respond to the census. And other voices, including law enforcement officials and business leaders, can play an equally important role in reaching the hardest to count and reassuring them that they will not be penalized for coming forward.

We can achieve the best count possible only when we recognize why it benefits us all to include undocumented immigrants and their families. It is not a special interest issue; it is rather in the economic and political interest of the country as a whole.

Effective public policies must be based on a realistic portrait of American society. If undocumented immigrants are not fully included in the upcoming census, the communities where they live will not receive adequate resources to provide for local needs. For example, if inaccurate data makes a town's population appear healthier or better insured than it actually is, the local hospital or health clinic may receive insufficient federal grant money. In the same way, local public schools may risk losing funding because communities appear to contain fewer children than they actually have. Transportation planners may underestimate the amount of traffic they must manage. Public agencies in general cannot run the most effective programs without an accurate sense of where constituents live and work and what their varied needs may be. These issues are becoming increasingly relevant in new areas of the country, as undocumented immigrants and their families settle in new destinations. The Pew Hispanic Center estimates that a group of 28 high immigration growth states in the Southeast, Midwest and mid-Atlantic regions is home to 32 percent of the undocumented population, more than double their 14 percent share in 1990.³

Good data is also important for private enterprise. Businesses use social, economic and demographic information provided by the census to make decisions about where and how to invest. Improved data on undocumented immigrants and their purchasing power has the potential to attract business investment to their communities, spur economic demand and increase overall economic growth. Non-profit organizations also use census data to inform outreach services, including English language grants and adult education programs, which promote the integration of undocumented immigrants and their children (most of whom are citizens) and enable them to contribute more economically.

An earlier report by the Drum Major Institute for Public Policy, "Principles for an Immigration Policy to Strengthen & Expand the American Middle Class," showed the full range of immigrants' economic contributions. Undocumented immigrants pay a variety of sales, property, income and payroll taxes and stimulate the economy as workers, consumers and business owners.⁴ In fact, data from the Social Security Administration suggests that undocumented immigrants pay taxes on more than \$66 billion in wages in a

single year.⁵ Finally, most children of undocumented immigrants are U.S. citizens—their own future success in the country, and their ultimate ability to contribute to the United States, is impacted by their early lives in undocumented households. We simply cannot afford to exclude these residents from the census.

BACKGROUND ON UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS AND THE CENSUS

It is difficult to quantify the exact undercount of undocumented residents. Demographers estimated that the 2000 Census missed undocumented immigrants at a rate of 10 to 15 percent.⁶ In 2007, the Department of Homeland Security used a low estimate of the undercount and reported that 1.3 million undocumented immigrants were missed in the American Community Survey.⁷ The undercount is not distributed evenly among cities, counties or even states. Regions with large numbers of undocumented immigrants (the Los Angeles metropolitan area, for example) will have very high relative undercounts of these populations, and as a result, will be disproportionately affected by the consequences.

Recent studies from the Census Bureau find that households of undocumented immigrants meet a range of housing and demographic criteria that correlate with a lack of response to the census. Undocumented immigrants are likely to be impoverished, highly mobile, and lacking the English-language or literacy skills necessary to complete a mail-in questionnaire.⁸ This is a major impediment to full Census participation for cities like Los Angeles and New York, where significant numbers of their adult immigrant populations are limited English proficient.⁹ For the first time the Bureau is now sending 13 million bilingual questionnaires to households across the country. Research indicates that undocumented immigrants are more likely than native-born residents to live in irregular and/or crowded housing conditions.¹⁰ Residents of overcrowded housing are traditionally difficult to count completely, as individuals and households may be, intentionally or otherwise, left off the questionnaire.

In recent years, federal surveillance tactics have made residents more reluctant to share personal information with government agencies.¹¹ In an environment of distrust and suspicion, many undocumented immigrants fear that personal information recorded in the census will be used against them. For that reason, they may not respond to census enumerators. This attitude persists despite the fact that the Census Bureau is forbidden by law from sharing personal information with other federal agencies, including Immigration and Customs Enforcement. Similarly, immigrants who have lived in historically oppressive countries may feel threatened by interactions with U.S. government authority, even in the form of a questionnaire.

On a local level, increases in immigration enforcement activities may prevent large numbers of undocumented immigrants from responding to the census. To improve response rates among the undocumented, the Census Bureau will not include citizenship or country of birth questions in the 2010 short-form questionnaire and will instead include them in the American Community Survey.¹²

COUNTING UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS IS CRITICAL TO PROVIDING ADEQUATE PUBLIC RESOURCES FOR STATE AND LOCAL NEEDS

Undercounting residents can cost local communities millions of dollars in public funds. In 2007, income and demographic census data informed the allocation of over \$370 billion in domestic assistance programs to state and local governments.¹³ For each resident counted, regional governments receive resources for large-scale projects (roads, schools and hospitals, for example) as well as detailed information on where to target

infrastructure improvements. Census data also informs the distribution of competitive local, county and state funding. If one area has higher census figures than another, it will receive relatively higher funding allocations.

The tangible loss of resources for local government agencies is evident in the U.S. Conference of Mayors' study of the 1990 Census. That year's dramatic undercount cost cities \$536 million in state and federal funds. Hardest hit was the city of Los Angeles, which saw nearly 139,000 residents miscounted and lost over \$120 million in federal funding.¹⁴ Although the 2000 Census was a significant improvement, millions of U.S. residents, including undocumented immigrants, still went uncounted. A PricewaterhouseCoopers study of the 2000 Census undercount projected that the undercount would cost the District of Columbia and 31 affected states over \$4 billion from 2002 to 2012.¹⁵

But states and localities don't only suffer an overall loss of funding—they lose resources for specific services with concrete consequences for their residents. Among the programs impacted:

- **Federal Highway Aid.** Respondents to the American Community Survey estimate the distance and time traveled in daily journeys to work. With these figures, the Federal-Aid Highway Program builds new highways, replaces unsafe bridges and increases surface street mobility. In addition, state and metropolitan planning organizations use data to provide public transportation services and develop programs to reduce traffic congestion for workers.¹⁶ Without a full count of residents, counties and cities will not receive adequate funding or accurate data to get commuters to work safely and efficiently. Overwhelming majorities (94 percent) of undocumented men participate in the labor force,¹⁷ so getting an accurate picture of these transportation patterns is necessary if planners are to create a more effective transportation infrastructure.
- **The Community Development Block Grant Program.** This \$3.5 billion federal program uses detailed census data on population and housing conditions to enable state and local governments to provide affordable housing, revitalize neighborhoods and expand economic opportunities for low and moderate income residents.¹⁸ With better data on undocumented immigrants, the CDBG Program will have better information to target urban development initiatives.
- **Funding for Hospitals and Clinics.** The federal government requires that public health care facilities serve all residents, regardless of citizenship status. To compensate for these costs, the Medicare Modernization Act of 2003 allocated nearly \$250 million to states for providing health care to undocumented immigrants, requiring that two-thirds of funding be divided among states with the largest numbers. These figures were based on Census 2000 data that included a significant undercount of undocumented immigrants. While the Congressional Budget Office concludes that this health care spending accounts for a small percent of regional budgets, it also finds that federal programs to address these costs are insufficient.¹⁹ A more accurate demographic profile of undocumented families will result in more equitable healthcare resources for all residents.
- **Public Education.** An undercount of children in undocumented families could result in overcrowded and understaffed classrooms and a lack of supportive programs for American schoolchildren in high-poverty districts throughout the country. Historically, children in undocumented families, an estimated 5.5 million in 2008, are among the most vulnerable to being undercounted.²⁰ Even native-born children of undocumented immigrants are at risk of being missed by the census because they live with undocumented families and are more likely to be low-income urban dwellers than children of naturalized or native-born parents.²¹ The undercount of children in undocumented families negatively impact the allocation of Title I funding, the primary federal education program for low-income students. In 2008, state educational agencies received over \$13 billion for Title I distribution to school districts based on census poverty estimates.²² Since nearly one in seven poor children in the U.S. lives in an undocumented household,²³ undercounting these young people could significantly distort the overall count of low-income children, leaving schools in their communities with fewer resources than they would otherwise receive.

Of course, public funding and planning decisions go beyond the federal and state levels. The same census data informs state decisions and allocations for town and county services and helps local governments make decisions on a neighborhood level, deciding everything from how to route buses to where to dig sewer lines, plan parks,

or pick up garbage. Precise local data is particularly crucial in the realm of public education. As noted above, children growing up in undocumented families are at high risk of going uncounted. Yet if large numbers of these children are missed in the census, their school districts will have insufficient demographic data to plan for the education of all students. School districts and local governments need precise demographic data on school-age children to determine the need for new schools, as well as residence information to settle on new school locations. In addition, census data is used to forecast population trends for school-aged children—districts with a large cohort of children in primary school today may need to build additional secondary school facilities in upcoming years. This is particularly important for school districts in immigrant gateways, as research consistently shows that immigrant women have higher fertility levels than their native-born peers.²⁴

The key funding and planning decisions made for these and dozens of other programs make an accurate census an economic and political imperative for regional governments and their constituents. New York City, home to the nation's largest hard-to-count population, has been a pioneer in this area. When announcing the establishment of the NYC 2010 Census Office, Mayor Michael Bloomberg said, "Full participation by all New Yorkers in the census is in every community's best interest and in the best interest of the City overall."²⁵ Leveraging partnerships with elected officials, city agencies (the Office of Immigrant Affairs, for example) and service providers, the Office aims to use existing city resources to engage local communities and encourage full participation in the census. New York City's early and unprecedented resolve to ensure an accurate count of its residents in 2010 is a model for the type of effort states, local communities and the federal government should replicate.

U.S. CITIZENS BENEFIT ECONOMICALLY FROM SERVICES THAT INTEGRATE UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR CHILDREN; ACCURATE CENSUS COUNTS ARE INTEGRAL TO THEIR SUCCESS

Undocumented immigrants are an inextricable part of the American economy and society, contributing to our nation as workers, entrepreneurs, taxpayers and consumers. In "Principles for an Immigration Policy to Strengthen & Expand the American Middle Class," the Drum Major Institute showed that current and aspiring middle-class Americans would benefit if the nation provided a path to legal status (and ultimately citizenship) for undocumented immigrants.²⁶ The report found that by promoting greater integration of the people our country already relies on, legal status would help to maximize immigrants' economic contributions and to prevent undocumented workers from undercutting American wages and working conditions. Even in the absence of comprehensive immigration reform that would create a path to legalization, it is nonetheless in the interest of local communities and the nation to integrate undocumented citizens.

For example, immigrants who are proficient in English earn as much as 14 percent more than those who cannot speak as fluently.²⁷ It follows that they also pay more in taxes, rely less on public services, and spend more, stimulating the economy as consumers. Studies suggest that most immigrants want to learn English,²⁸ but resources for English language classes are limited. Accurate census figures are necessary to target these scarce resources most effectively. As Audrey Singer of the Brookings Institution notes, "Census data are used to understand local trends in detail; many organizations rely on data to derive information on how many immigrants reside in their community...languages spoken and English language proficiency, their poverty status and whether they have become U.S. citizens."²⁹

The case for integration—and for the census data necessary to achieve it—is even stronger when we consider the children of undocumented immigrants, nearly three quarters of whom are U.S. citizens. English proficiency lies at the center of a child's ability to do well in school, attend college and enter the workforce. The vast majority of children in undocumented families are U.S. citizens and will remain in our country for their lifetimes—yet many of these children are English language learners (ELLs).³⁰ Unfortunately, studies have shown that the ELL population is particularly vulnerable to dropping out of the educational system. The Migration Policy Institute finds that language-minority students with low levels of English proficiency are less likely to finish high school than their peers.³¹

Better demographic data on the children in undocumented families leads to better-funded programming to develop their language skills, improve their educational outcomes, and bolster their contributions to our society. The Department of Education's English Acquisition Grant program, which received nearly \$650 million in 2008, uses census figures to distribute funds to state educational agencies for English language education programs.³² Specifically, the Department disburses 80 percent of grant funds to states based on their reported number of limited English proficient children and the remaining 20 percent on the number of immigrant children.³³ Targeting these funds properly requires an accurate count of students from undocumented families.

ACCURATE DATA ON UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANTS ATTRACTS BUSINESS INVESTMENT AND STIMULATES LOCAL ECONOMIES

In his testimony before the House Subcommittee on Federalism and the Census, Andrew Reamer of the Brookings Institution said: "It is no understatement to say that the vitality of America's businesses and economy relies significantly on a successful census."³⁴ Indeed, virtually all businesses and private sector organizations use demographic, income and residence information from the census to determine potential market locations. To miss undocumented immigrants in these estimates is to miss vital market information that stimulates local commercial investment and economic growth.

- **Undocumented Immigrants and Market Potential.** Undocumented immigrants have significant consumer power. A full count of undocumented immigrants and their incomes provides businesses with the information they need to expand grocery, retail and restaurant services to serve these markets. New retail and grocery services create more opportunities for citizens to shop, work and invest in their own communities, while providing a vital source of income to local governments through commercial taxes. As large numbers of undocumented immigrants live in low-income urban areas, precise demographic data on their purchasing power has the potential to attract much needed investments to benefit their often underserved communities. Although undocumented immigrants are largely employed in low-wage industries, they make significant contributions to local economies through consumption of goods and services. Economists at the Center for Urban Economic Development reported that undocumented immigrants in the Chicago metropolitan area spend almost \$3 billion each year on goods and services in their neighborhoods, and generate an additional \$2.5 billion in local spending.³⁵ Improved income and demographic information on undocumented consumers in Chicago and other cities makes a better case to businesses that their communities are worth the investment.
- **Data to Support Business Decisions.** A more accurate profile of undocumented immigrants will improve the quality of data used to forecast and track demographic changes crucial to commercial decisions. Large retail stores, like Target and Home Depot, require locations with specific population densities to open new stores, and consultants must use current population statistics to project how long it takes for certain locations to reach desired numbers.³⁶ Without enough census data on undocumented immigrants and recent arrivals, large retailers have no record of these current residents.

In the last decade, growing numbers of undocumented immigrants have settled in new states like North Carolina and Colorado, in some cases making up large percentages of urban and suburban population growth. For businesses and retailers, new population growth means new markets; for communities, accurately measuring this growth means an opportunity to attract investment and boost local economies. If businesses use incomplete data on undocumented immigrants, market profiles will underestimate the economic potential of their communities. As the country recovers from the recession, businesses will use census data to minimize risk, for example, to determine how many customers at a certain income level live in a potential location before investing scarce resources. With improved data on undocumented immigrants, businesses will have better information to make decisions that spur economic demand and support growing communities.

AN ALL-INCLUSIVE CENSUS GIVES AMERICANS THE POLITICAL POWER THEY ARE ENTITLED TO UNDER THE LAW

To fully represent citizens, everyone residing in the United States must be counted. The original purpose of the decennial census was to count all U.S. residents to determine seats in the House of Representatives. Indeed, the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution states that “representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State.”³⁷ States must allocate representation based on the number of residents, regardless of citizenship status. Members of Congress represent each person in their respective districts, including non-citizens and non-voters. Most arguments against counting undocumented immigrants in the census reflect a misunderstanding of this basic point.

- **Deliberately excluding undocumented immigrants from the Census would be unconstitutional.** Opponents of a full census count implicitly acknowledged this point when they called for H.J. Res. 6, a constitutional amendment seeking to limit census apportionment to U.S. citizens. Representative Candice Miller (R-MI), the bill’s main sponsor, claimed that it would correct a “technical error” by replacing the word “persons” with “citizens.”³⁸ But the amendment would have been a substantive change, not a technical modification. When the Constitution was originally drafted, the United States had a number of residents that could not exercise the full rights of citizenship (namely slaves and indentured servants), yet they were purposely included in population totals used for apportionment. When the Fourteenth Amendment granted citizenship rights to these groups, it upheld the principle of representation based on persons, including non-citizens.³⁹ As historian William E. Nelson points out, when the Joint Committee on Reconstruction debated over the Amendment’s language, they felt it necessary “to distinguish between the rights of all persons and the special rights of citizens.”⁴⁰ The choice to count all “persons” for apportionment totals is no accident, it is rather the only method to ensure that states receive political representation based on a complete count of their residents, citizens or otherwise.
- **Concerns about “vote dilution” are misplaced.** Critics such as the anti-immigrant Center for Immigration Studies point out that districts with many undocumented immigrants will have relatively fewer voters than a district without them, making it easier to win an election there.⁴¹ By this logic, citizens in immigrant-concentrated districts will have disproportionately greater political power, and ‘dilute’ the vote of citizens in other areas.⁴² These shifts in political power do indeed occur, but they are a legitimate outcome of the system of congressional apportionment, not an aberration that wrongfully dilutes votes. By design, the census counts residents—not only voters—in order to draw congressional districts. This affects the relative power of individual votes in a range of ways that have nothing to do with undocumented immigrants. For example, the nation’s 73.6 million children are not voters, yet their inclusion in census apportionment data has a dramatic impact on drawing Congressional districts. In Pennsylvania’s 1st District, 71.5 percent of the population is of voting age; by contrast, in Pennsylvania’s 14th District, 79.1 percent can vote. Although both districts are of equal size, the 14th district counts nearly 50,000 more voters than the 1st district—as a result, it takes more votes to win in the former than it does in the latter.⁴³ Similarly, while most states temporarily limit voting rights for felons and ex-felons, all states include both groups in apportionment totals. Finally, voters may wield greater power simply because a larger number of their fellow citizens decline to vote in a particular election—any individual voter in the district with lower turnout has more power to sway the election than any individual voter in a higher turnout district.
- **Leaving out undocumented immigrants deprives citizens of political power and political voice.** To some extent, efforts to eliminate undocumented immigrants from the census amount to a straightforward political power grab. After all, the apportionment of House seats and Electoral College votes is a zero-sum game—for every seat one state wins, another loses. According to the Federation for American Immigration Reform, “Rather than apportioning Congressional seats among the states on the basis of the full count of the decennial census, a more logical distribution would be on the basis of the number of native-born and naturalized U.S. citizens. If this were done, states with large numbers of illegal aliens and other non-citizens would lose seats to states that have a higher share of citizens.”⁴⁴ This proposal encourages areas without many

undocumented residents to claim more political power by excluding the undocumented residents of other jurisdictions. Thus, it is squarely in the political interest of citizens in immigrant destinations to see that their legal rights are recognized and all undocumented immigrants are fully counted in 2010.

- **The Constitution calls for “reality-based” public policy.** Critics argue that since undocumented immigrants should not be present in the U.S. in the first place, they should be left out of the census as if they were, in fact, absent from our communities.⁴⁵ But ignoring the existence of millions of people working, attending school, raising families and contributing to local economies does not make them disappear. Instead, it leaves the nation less equipped to understand and deal with the realities of American life.
- **Efforts to exclude undocumented immigrants from apportionment and redistricting totals compromise the entire census.** The anti-immigrant Federation for American Immigration Reform suggests a simple solution to avoiding the count of undocumented immigrations for apportionment: put citizenship questions in the census, and exclude undocumented immigrants from apportionment and redistricting totals.⁴⁶ Even if a constitutional amendment were passed to make this possible, such a change would seriously threaten the accuracy of the overall count. Research suggests that if citizenship questions were included, both authorized and undocumented immigrants might become intimidated, failing to respond to the census at all.⁴⁷ As we have seen, discouraging undocumented immigrants from responding to the census is seriously detrimental to the communities, cities and states where they live.

CONCLUSION: TOWARD A FULL COUNT IN 2010

A successful 2010 Census hinges on a full count of all undocumented immigrants and their families currently living in the United States. Being counted in the U.S. Census is an important part of the process of integrating all immigrants into our society and supporting their contributions to our economy. As workers, taxpayers, and business and homeowners, undocumented immigrants are an important part of the social and economic fabric of our communities and should be fully counted as such. Yet our nation’s flawed immigration policies have left them at the margins of the labor market and in the shadows of our communities. In an environment of rising anti-immigration sentiment and more frequent enforcement measures, undocumented families will be more hesitant than ever to report sensitive income or residence information to government agents. We cannot afford to let this happen in 2010.

An accurate census means more than a simple population count, or more than U.S. residents fulfilling their civic duty. As we have seen, census data supports the public policies that help Americans find safe and affordable housing, send their children to quality schools and access public health care. Yet these policies cannot function effectively without an accurate portrait of all residents living in the United States, regardless of immigration status. For this reason, it is clear that all citizens should encourage the full participation of their undocumented neighbors in the upcoming census.

This paper has illustrated how census data is used for a host of purposes, from apportioning seats in Congress, to determining the locations of new schools, to allocating funds for low-income communities. At the federal level, counting undocumented immigrants means fair political representation and the equitable distribution of billions in federal funding. In a down economy, it is critical that cities, counties and states receive their fair share of resources to assist their constituents; complete census data is at the foundation of grants and public policies that allow them to do so. At a local level, a full count of all residents means improved information and resources to make changes that tangibly improve neighborhoods. For school districts and health care facilities, better counts of the undocumented families that they serve means improved funding and expanded programs that benefit both immigrants and their neighbors. Only by supporting a full count of undocumented immigrants in 2010 can Americans enjoy the fair share of political representation, federal funding and economic investment to which they are entitled.

The 2010 Census will be the most expensive, and in some ways, the most challenging in recent history. It is encouraging that the Obama Administration has made improving the undercount a priority, as it has allocated \$250 million in stimulus funding for the Bureau to reach minority and hard-to-count populations. The Bureau will use a significant portion of these funds to partner with organizations that can target U.S. residents in their communities and in their native languages. Improved funding does not necessarily lead to improved response rates for what is essentially a volunteer survey—it takes the participation of community organizations, leaders and neighbors to make sure that the hardest-to-reach populations are fully counted. Going forward, it is our hope that all U.S. residents, regardless of citizenship, see the value in a successful census and support the inclusion of the millions of undocumented families living and working in their communities.

Endnotes

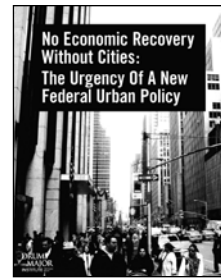
- 1 The 1990 Census used the Post-Enumeration Survey to estimate the net undercount. The survey compares an independent population sample to a sample of the census; the two samples are then compared with the census itself and adjusted accordingly. The net undercount is the difference between how many people are officially counted and how many, according to the adjusted figure, are estimated to live in the U.S. For the 2000 Census, the Bureau used a second coverage evaluation method, Demographic Analysis, to determine the undercount. This approach compared aggregate birth, death, international migration data and other administrative records with census population estimates. See, for example: Gregory Robinson and Kirsten West, "What Do We Know About the Undercount of Children?" U.S. Census Bureau, (August 1999).
- 2 For our purposes, undocumented immigrants are defined as foreign-born non-citizens who either entered the country without valid documentation or arrived with valid visas and stayed beyond their visa expiration date. Further, immigrants in the process of applying for legal status adjustment, for example asylum or temporary protected status, are considered undocumented.
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- 5 Based on Social Security Administration estimates of the Earnings Suspense File which is made up of tax contributions from individuals who have reported earnings using false or mismatched Social Security numbers. Experts believe that undocumented immigrants make up all but a small percentage of these payments, but there is no official estimate of the proportion.
- 6 See, for example: Capps, Passel, Fix and Henderson. "Civic Contributions: Taxes Paid by Immigrants in the Washington, DC Metropolitan Area," The Urban Institute (May 2006). ; Gregory Robinson. "ESCAP II: Demographic Analysis Results," U.S. Census Bureau (2001). ; Bean et. al. "Estimates of Numbers of Unauthorized Migrants Residing in the United States: The Total, Mexican, and Non-Mexican Central American Unauthorized Populations in Mid-2001," Pew Hispanic Center (Jan 2002).
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- 10 See, for example: Douglas S. Massey and Chiara Capoferro. "Measuring undocumented migration," *International Migration Review* 38.3 (2004): 1075–1102. ; Edmonston 2002.
- 11 Statement of Robert Goldenkoff. Testimony before the House Subcommittee on Information Policy, Census and National Archives, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, House of Representatives (March 23, 2009) 2. <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d09525t.pdf>
- 12 Part of the re-engineered 2010 Census, the American Community Survey is an ongoing survey sent out to a sample of households each year. The ACS is the current version of the survey known in previous years as the long-form questionnaire.
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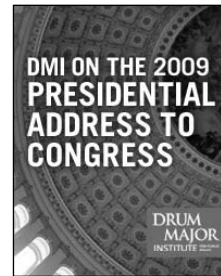
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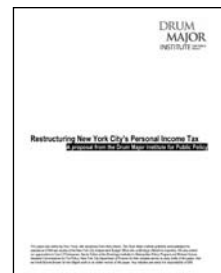
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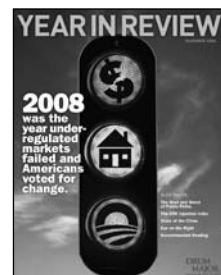
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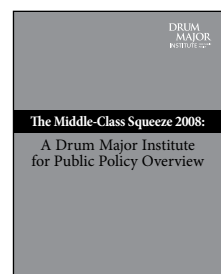
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