THE COMMUNITY SPEAKS:

A Report of the National Latino Commission on Census 2020

MAY 2019
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The 2020 Census must be about accuracy and fairness. The Constitution requires a national population count every ten years, and Census findings lie at the bedrock of our democracy and our understanding of the nation’s people. If inadequate funding and insufficiently tested procedures distort the Census, they will harm our whole society.

Many people believe that 2020 Census data will be less accurate than those from previous decennials, and biased against certain populations as well. These observers are alarmed, and as one state Representative testified, “Books will be written and scholars will be talking about what we could have done to avoid this. Because we need to talk about doomsday right now.”

To thoroughly investigate the complex and varied aspects of this decennial enumeration, the NALEO Educational Fund established the National Latino Commission on Census 2020. The Commission held five hearings across the country, taking testimony from deeply knowledgeable panelists and other experts from the front lines and gathering a wealth of insights, many obtainable no other way.

THE COMMISSION FOUND THE FOLLOWING:

_Barring swift intervention, data from the 2020 Census will be inaccurate and incomplete, causing national damage._ For the next decade it will make political representation less democratic, misdirect the flow of federal funding, and force businesses, policymakers, scientists, and much of the country to rely on erroneous population data. More broadly, it will further reduce public trust in government.

THE CITIZENSHIP QUESTION

_Questioning the citizenship of every person in America would undermine the fundamental objective of the Census._ A form with this query would yield less information rather than more, and render data collected ineffective and unreliable for budgeting and policymaking purposes. In short, the citizenship question would add no new data while degrading the data from every other question.

_According to the Census Bureau’s own research and testimony heard by the Commission, a question about citizenship on the decennial Census will lead to an undercount, especially of immigrants, their families, and their communities._ Many panelists stated that their view is that such an undercount was the real goal of Administration’s decision to add the question, and even if it ultimately never appears on the questionnaire, the effort to include it has bred enough distrust to ensure an undercount.
Further, the citizenship question would cause unpredictable consequences, because it has been inadequately untested. As of this writing, no testing of the question has occurred, though even minor changes in the language of a Census form can cause major alterations in the result. The Bureau plans to test response rates in July 2019 and it must effectively inform stakeholders how it will interpret the results for its enumeration procedures in 2020.

RELIANCE ON ONLINE RESPONSES

While the Bureau has conducted significant testing on this approach, it has not conveyed its findings effectively to stakeholders. Each Census is a vast, complicated undertaking, and there are no do-overs. Without useful information about the Bureau's testing, many stakeholders are concerned that the emphasis on digital response could render Census 2020 data inaccurate.

The online Census questionnaire will be a challenge for the many residents who lack broadband connections or digital literacy. These tend to be immigrants, low-income people, rural individuals, and the elderly—the same populations recognized as historically hard-to-count.

The Bureau needs to ensure the accessibility of the form on a variety of mobile devices, including smartphones that discount phone service providers may provide. Some stakeholders believe this accessibility is currently questionable.

Cyber threats to the integrity of Census administration and data are very real and the federal government must use all means available to protect them. If third parties intervene to alter the data, they are worthless at best, damaging at worst.

The Bureau must have effective approaches to ensure the participation of residents who do not prefer to fill out the form online. Research indicates that many Latinos prefer to fill out the paper version of the form, rather than submitting their information online, and therefore the Bureau’s outreach must effectively communicate that there are several options for filling out the form. It must also take the preferences of Latinos and other population groups into account when planning for the number of paper forms it will print, distribute, and process.

LANGUAGE

The printed form and the postcard informing residents about their options for responding to the questionnaire will reach households in English and Spanish only, and it is unclear how readily speakers of other languages will realize that they can receive assistance in their own language online or by phone.

Even online or by phone, help will be unavailable to many individuals, given the multitude of languages spoken in our nation.

Spanish-dominant residents may lack the literacy necessary to complete the form.

Linguistic isolation fosters lack of knowledge about the Census. Many individuals with limited English proficiency do not realize that the Census is about to occur, or even know what it is.
ADDITIONAL CONCERNS

The Census Bureau needs a robust communications and outreach strategy that accounts for the diversity within Latinos and other populations, and that emphasizes trusted messengers and community partners.

The Administration initially announced that only U.S. citizens could be hired as Census workers, a change in practice from previous decennial enumerations. The Bureau has now stated that it will allow work-authorized non-citizens to be hired as outreach workers and enumerators. These individuals have demonstrated their value in the past, because they are more likely to speak a language other than English, demonstrate cultural competence, and gain the trust of hard-to-count residents. However, the Bureau job application website still includes the U.S. citizenship requirement, and there is significant confusion about the application requirements and process.

The Census Bureau requires specially adapted strategies to count very young children—especially those of immigrants and low-income families. It undercounted this large group in 2010 more than any other major demographic.

The Bureau needs thorough address canvassing and special strategies to reach residents who live in nontraditional housing, such as in subdivided units or nonresidential structures like recreational vehicles or garages converted into housing, as well as people who have no homes at all.

Misinformation and disinformation campaigns on social media, seeking to increase distrust and lower participation in the Census, should be expected and the Bureau has to counteract them.

FUNDING

Congress must fully fund the Census. Census 2020 has a smaller budget in real dollars than Census 2010, though the nation’s population has grown and become more diverse. The insufficient funding has resulted in cancelled testing and reductions in the Bureau’s field presence and its communications and partnership efforts.

Funds for an accurate Census add to the bottom line. They are not losses on the national balance sheet, but instead more than pay for themselves, in the manner of a good investment.
Accurate Census data is the lifeblood of a strong nation.

DR. TRACY NÁJERA

This Census is probably going to be the most important, most critical in the history of the count.

GEPSIE METELLUS

Without an accurate U.S. Census we do not fully know who we are as a nation. Hence the Census Bureau goes forth every ten years seeking to count everyone: citizen and noncitizen, men and women, newborns and dying, homeless and billionaires, and speakers of every language.

The U.S. Constitution requires the decennial Census to count every resident in the nation for the purpose of apportioning seats in the House of Representatives. The Census has other pervasive impacts on American life as well. The outcome affects virtually every one of our institutions: states, cities, universities, schools, hospitals, and more.

If it is inaccurate, it yields an untrustworthy image of ourselves. It skews political representation, misdirects billions of funding dollars, and causes faulty decisions by businesspeople and policymakers, and these consequences persist for at least a decade.

Now the Census is more at risk than at any point in our lifetime. The federal government has introduced major changes, often without the needed testing or a credible rationale. Many of these changes are likely to reduce the representation of certain populations, including Latinos, other ethnic minorities, low-income individuals, and others who have proven hard-to-count in past decades.

“The genius of the Census is that it allows the U.S. to empower its people to exercise their individual and collective political power,” said Ana Marie Argilagos, President and CEO of Hispanics in Philanthropy. “It was never intended to be weaponized nor to instill fear in our country’s residents.”

Juan Cartagena, President and General Counsel of LatinoJustice PRLDEF, stated, “We are watching a train wreck happen.”

To compile crucial information and seek the best recommendations about the 2020 Census, the NALEO Educational Fund established the National Latino Commission on Census 2020 with nine prominent Commissioners, as well as one Guest Commissioner (see Appendices A and B). The Commissioners include Latino elected and appointed officials at all levels of office, as well as civic leaders, from different regions in the nation. They include Democrats, Republicans, and Independents, and they reflect the national origin and sub-group diversity of the Latino community.

The Commission sought to highlight: 1) The challenges posed by ongoing and emerging policy developments to a fair and accurate count of the Latino community and all of America’s residents in Census 2020, and 2) Policy recommendations and best practices to ameliorate those challenges.
The Commission held five regional hearings—in Los Angeles, New York, San Antonio, Orlando, and Columbus (see Appendix C)—where it solicited testimony from public officials, community organizations, and other stakeholders who are familiar with hard-to-count communities in the region, about:

- The impact of the Bureau’s Census 2020 operational plans on Latinos and other hard-to-count communities, including the changes from approaches used in Census 2010.
- The impact of the addition of a question on citizenship to Census 2020, including the effect on Latino participation in the Census.
- Assessment of community members’ experiences with the Bureau’s communications and outreach activities.
- Best practices for reaching and engaging Latinos to participate in Census 2020, including recommendations for ameliorating the large undercount of children under 5 which occurred in Census 2010.
At the NALEO Educational Fund, we continue to work with the Census Bureau to facilitate strategies to avoid potential pitfalls as well as to help provide opportunities to work with the Latino community. We are here to support the Bureau to make sure it gets the resources from Congress to carry out its obligations. We are also here to hold the Census Bureau accountable because despite all the work we will do with our partners in get-out-the-count efforts, in developing collateral, in doing the research, messaging, and all the other outreach, ultimately it is the Census Bureau’s job to carry out the enumeration. We will be there to make sure that it does all it can to count everybody.
1. How the Census Benefits the Nation

As the Commissioners heard in detail, the decennial Census benefits everyone in three main ways, and each in turn confers numerous advantages.

**IT KEEPS OUR DEMOCRACY REPRESENTATIVE**

As the Founders realized, nations evolve. The population in Texas is increasing at a faster rate than in most states, for instance, and our democracy needs a Census to enumerate it. Hence Census data readjust the number of seats each state has in the House of Representatives. The Census also provides basic data for redrawing district lines for state and local governments.

“I know how important it is to have the proper representation,” testified Iraida Mendez-Cartaya, who has represented her school district in Tallahassee for 25 years. “It makes it easier to get appropriations passed, to pass legislation that impacts your community, and even to defeat legislation that would adversely impact your community.”

When the Census overlooks immigrants, everyone suffers. For instance, Dr. Jonathan Benjamin-Alvarado, Assistant Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs, University of Nebraska–Omaha, and Chairperson of the Nebraska Advisory Committee on the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, testified that immigrants in Nebraska have accounted for 95.4 percent of the population growth in the last ten years. A faulty count of them may diminish Nebraska’s rightful representation in Congress.

**IT ADAPTS FEDERAL FUNDING TO CHANGING NEEDS**

Census data help guide the allocation of federal monies to programs in all states, and the importance of this funding is hard to overstate. In FY 2016, the United States spent at least **$883 billion** on programs whose allocations to states and communities were based using Census data.

These funds sustain numerous important programs. In 2016, $361 billion went to Medicaid alone. It saved lives, reduced the number of medical bankruptcies, and improved people’s health and well-being. Other programs that rely on these data include foster care, vocational rehabilitation, school lunch and breakfast programs, Pell grants for college students, and Head Start. Everyone who uses these services benefits from filling out the Census form and being counted, though most people do not realize it.

Panelists also noted that an undercount hurts every resident of our nation in other ways. If a Census fails to fully count a city, its state can suffer. As Lucia Gomez, Political Director of the New York City Central Labor Council, observed, an inadequate tally in New York City would harm upstate New York, because the state as a whole would receive fewer resources from the federal government.
IT ENABLES FACT-BASED JUDGMENTS BY COMPANIES, POLICYMAKERS, AND SCIENTISTS

James Madison pointed out this crucial, often overlooked role in 1790. Census data are like a map, and more accurate they are, the better organizations can navigate the world. Clifton Miller, Cofounder and Vice Chair of the Minority Business Enterprises Institute for Public Policy in Dallas, testified that CEOs need good Census data “to plan their businesses, to manage their businesses, to operate their businesses. The fact is that an accurate Census is a business issue.”

The largest companies in our nation depend on a sound Census. According to a report in Reuters, “Retailers like Walmart and Target Corp use Census data to decide where to open stores or distribution hubs, and what to stock on shelves. Big banks like JPMorgan Chase & Co use the information similarly for branch strategy, and real-estate firms scrutinize the statistics to determine where to build homes and shopping centers. TV networks like Univision, meanwhile, rely on the numbers to plan programming in local markets. And the Census is an important input for tech giants like Google when they create myriad data-based products, such as maps.”

Jack Kleinhenz, chief economist for the National Retail Federation, called the Census “almost like an MRI.”

Panelists stressed that policymakers rely on these data as well. Together with the American Community Survey (ACS), the Census helps determine the correct samples for surveys and enforce civil rights and voting laws. Marisa Bono, Chief of Policy for the Office of the Mayor of San Antonio, stated, “Decennial data will help forecast transportation needs and allocate sufficient highway trust fund dollars to our rapidly growing region. This is especially critical for us as we are in the process of formulating a comprehensive multi-motor mobility plan.”

“Everyone uses the services that the Census numbers affect,” Ms. Gomez testified. “Every district builds schools or doesn’t build them based on the number of children they expect in the future. Our families and all our communities use the hospitals, use the businesses, even the big businesses. The numbers in the Census can contribute to whether or not they get the loan, whether or not they can get permits, whether or not they can offer their services to the right communities. The Census is used for everything from economic development to buildings and residences. It’s used for all the data that we see in the press, that we see in our research and books. It’s all built on the Census. So, the less you know about a community, the less you’ll be able to develop that community.”

2. Why the 2020 Census Is Different

The 2020 Census introduces new approaches, and they follow a discernible pattern: Panelists indicated that the total impact would be a lower response rate among hard-to-count residents.

The Department of Commerce has added an eleventh question: “Is this person a citizen of the United States?” The Department inserted this query at the last minute. According to testimony from panelists, and NALEO Educational Fund analysis, it will reduce the participation of immigrants, their family members, and their communities—especially Latinos.
This Census will rely heavily on digital response rather than paper questionnaires. The emphasis on this method will likely depress the response rate of immigrants—Latinos in particular—as well as of the elderly and rural residents.

The Bureau has not tested the citizenship question at all, though it has made plans to do so in July 2019.

In past decennial enumerations, the Bureau used a waiver from the general requirement that federal workers be U.S. citizens to hire work-authorized non-citizens for outreach and enumerator positions. The Administration had ruled that it would only hire U.S. citizens for most of these positions. Work-authorized non-citizens had shown their value in the past and this requirement appeared likely to reduce the participation of hard-to-count communities. Notwithstanding the Administration’s initial announcement about this issue, the Bureau has indicated that it would in fact hire such individuals, though the requirement of U.S. citizenship remains on the online application portal for Census jobs. Moreover, it is not clear how Bureau will inform potential applicants of the precise requirements for these jobs.

The Bureau has less funding in real dollars for Census 2020 than Census 2010, and this fact has significantly altered the Bureau’s preparations and plans. Numerous elements have been “paused,” scaled back, or eliminated. After Congress approved the FY 2019 spending legislation, the Bureau’s financial situation started to improve, but funding is still inadequate.

3. What Is at Stake in 2020?

Panelists agreed that an inaccurate Census would unfairly distort the allocation of democratic power for ten years. It would shift funding away from the most impoverished, as well as away from highways, hospitals and other critical community infrastructure. The detriment to commerce would be less direct and harder to isolate, given the multi-causal factors that support a thriving business community, but it would likely be deep-seated.

Several states risk losing the representation their population deserves. For instance, Ohio’s power in Congress has decreased for decades. It had 23 Representatives after the 1970 Census, but just 16 after 2010. After 2020, this number could diminish by one or two more, and Dr. Tracy Nájera told the Commission, “An undercount would be devastating for our state.” An inaccurate count could unfairly remove one Congressional seat from the Minnesota delegation. Illinois will likely lose one but perhaps two. Texas will gain seats, but not as many as it should, and despite its population increase relative to other states, it may gain none at all.

Eddie Cuesta, the National Executive Director of Dominicanos USA, described a more structural consequence. When the Census undercounts a community of Dominicans, for instance, the chance increases that they will be subsumed into larger, less responsive districts, at the local, state, and Congressional levels, and lose much effective representation.
Federal funding is at risk and for each missed person in the 2010 Census, the median annual loss across the nation was at least $1,091 in FY 2015. Witnesses from throughout the country described in detail how a misallocation of these funds would affect their communities.

The Bureau has long undercounted the Rio Grande Valley, and Christina Patiño Houle, Network Weaver for the Rio Grande Valley Equal Voice Network, testified that the lost funds could have met the urgent needs of low-income families. “It’s money that won’t go to feed the thousands of youth that go to bed hungry every night because of food scarcity and it’s money that won’t get used to build the region’s first public hospitals or improved drainage infrastructure to reduce flooding for low-income families.”

Brooklyn is the most difficult community to count in New York State, and Pastor Gilford Monrose, Director of Faith Based & Clergy Initiatives, Office of the Brooklyn Borough President, observed that previous undercounts have deprived many Brooklyn residents of “key infrastructure, including schools, healthcare, housing, transportation and government development, community development.”

Ten of the nation’s 50 hardest-to-survey counties lie in California. According to Ditas Katague, who leads the State’s Census efforts, in 1990 an undercount of 835,000 in California likely cost it one seat in the House and over $2.2 billion in federal funding. Because the state today has some 40 million residents, the undercount could exceed one million individuals.

At the Columbus hearing, Dr. Benjamin-Alvarado presented the Commission with data regarding the impact of an undercount on Nebraska. The state will lose over $20,000 for every uncounted resident over the next 10 years, he said, and should the Census count in Nebraska fall short by just 0.1 percent, more than $400 million will not return to the state in the next decade. “These are not insignificant amounts,” he said.

In Cook County, Illinois, the government received 14 federal grants in 2018 with a total of over $43 million, based on Census data. Alma Anaya, Commissioner of the 7th District in the County, said, “It is not an exaggeration that an undercount will limit our services and force our operations to adopt in a way that will potentially harm our workforce and the public.”

Commissioners heard that in Minnesota the Census might miss at least 24,000 Latinos in hard-to-count tracts. That shortfall would translate into millions of dollars in federal funds lost and it would help perpetuate income disparities. In Texas a one percent undercount could cause the state to lose $300 million each year, while in Pennsylvania a one percent undercount would cost the state $400 million annually, and Philadelphia alone would lose about $500 million over the full decade. Los Angeles Mayor Eric Garcetti testified that his city stands to lose between $700 million and $3 billion a year in federal funds from an undercount.

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1 Based on Dr. Andrew Reamer’s analysis of five major grant programs—Medicaid, the Children’s Health Insurance Program, Title IV-E Foster Care, Title IV-E Adoption Assistance, and the Child Care and Development Fund—in 37 states for FY 2015.
4. The Citizenship Question: A Chilling Effect

On March 26, 2018, Secretary of Commerce Wilbur Ross proposed including a new question on the 2020 Census: “Is this person a citizen of the United States?”

Secretary Ross said that the Department of Commerce could not determine how this question would affect the response rate. The Department had opted to include the question without testing its impact on the accuracy of the count, and Commissioner J. Walter Tejada said, “It’s dumbfounding for some of us, who have the privilege of being elected to office and who rely on factual data to make decisions, to have an administration take a position like this without proof.” Subsequently, the Bureau provided plans to test the question in July 2019.

All Commissioners and panelists who offered an opinion on the question condemned it, as have all three federal judges who have ruled on it. The Supreme Court decision is expected in June 2019.

The Context

The Census Bureau has always faced some difficulty inducing people to complete the Census forms. For instance, as Texas State Rep. César Blanco observed, in 2010 just 24 percent of Texas households—almost a quarter of the population—failed to mail back the initial Census form, and this unresponsiveness compelled more costly and difficult in-person follow-ups.

Many people worry about abuse of their confidential information. By law, sharing Census data outside the Bureau is a crime for 72 years after its collection, and Title 13 of the U.S. Code provides serious penalties—prison sentences of up to five years and fines of up to $250,000—for anyone committing this offense. Under the privacy protections, personal information cannot be used against an individual by any government agency or court. Nonetheless, as Ms. Anaya observed, “Communities of color in particular already have a deep-seeded mistrust in government that historically has not worked in their favor.”

Many panelists said President Trump’s policies have greatly heightened this distrust. Newcomers and their communities perceive that his statements about immigrants are problematic. At the New York hearing, Juan Cartagena, President and General Counsel of LatinoJustice PRLDEF, said, “From the very first pronouncement of Mr. Trump, he has indicated his disdain—I would say his hatred—for undocumented populations, non-citizen populations. He is hell-bent on getting rid of as many people who are not here legally as possible. He has sent messages, has taken actions that say: ‘This is an anti-immigrant administration.’”

“This Administration has battered us in many ways,” stated Maria Rodriguez, Executive Director of the Florida Immigrant Coalition, “verbally going after the Mexicans, the Muslims, the legal permanent residents, actually going after citizens with their denaturalization task force.”
As their comments imply, this Census faced higher than normal distrust even before the citizenship question. According to the New York Times, a Census Bureau survey in the spring of 2018 found that a quarter of respondents were “very” or “extremely concerned” that their Census answers would not be kept confidential and could be used against them. Among people born outside the United States and low in English proficiency, the rate was over 40 percent. Michael Seifert, a Border Strategy Advocate with the ACLU of Texas, lives on the Rio Grande border and testified that he was “astonished at the degree of distrust that’s out there.”

At the same time, malicious acts toward immigrants have increased throughout society. Ilene Jacobs, Director of Litigation, Advocacy and Training at the California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc., said, “We see a lot of hate crimes, hate violence, anti-immigrant fervor.”

In this atmosphere, Secretary Ross announced the citizenship question.

The Rationale

Secretary Ross said the citizenship question was necessary to enforce the Voting Rights Act of 1965, but according to panelists, NALEO Educational Fund analysis and court rulings, offered no evidence to support the claim.

Ernest Herrera, Staff Attorney at the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), said that civil rights groups have never had difficulty enforcing the VRA, and, as far as he knew, the Trump Administration was not working on any Section 2 VRA enforcement actions anywhere in the country. “So that line about trying to enforce the Voting Rights Act is just not true.”

Administration officials have been evasive about the source of the question. “If it was such a great idea,” asked Los Angeles Mayor Garcetti, “why would people want to bury their tracks? We see a Department of Justice saying, ‘Make sure this doesn’t come from us.’”

Panelists wondered why the Administration would insist on this question at all, since it is completely unnecessary, and NALEO Educational Fund analysis indicates that this sentiment is shared by a broad number of experts and stakeholders. The ACS already asks about citizenship, and Mr. Cartagena, whose organization files federal voting rights lawsuits, testified that ACS data on citizenship are fully adequate to enforce the VRA.

Some panelists work with organizations involved in litigation challenging the citizenship question. Mr. Herrera’s organization, MALDEF, was a plaintiff in Maryland District Court litigation, where in unusually harsh words from the bench, on April 5, 2019, Judge George Hazel wrote, “The unreasonableness of Defendants’ addition of a citizenship question to the Census is underscored by the lack of any genuine need for the citizenship question, the woefully deficient process that led to it, the mysterious and potentially improper political considerations that motivated the decision and the clear pretext offered to the public.”

Mr. Cartagena and LatinoJustice PRLDEF filed an amicus brief in the successful New York district court case, where the judge ruled that the citizenship question violated the Administrative Procedure Act because it was arbitrary, and the judge also found that it was clear that Secretary Ross’s purported reason for adding the question — to enforce the Voting Rights Act — was a pretext. In the Northern District of California, Judge Richard Seeborg also called the rationale a “mere pretext,” and said it was the result of “a cynical search to find some reason, any reason, for an agency request to justify that preordained result.” He added, “The inclusion of the citizenship question on the 2020 Census threatens the very foundation of our democratic system—and does so based on a self-defeating rationale.”
Mr. Cartagena told the Commission that the real goal is an incorrect tally, weighted for partisan gain. “The current occupants of the White House are hell-bent on making sure that they derive political benefit from an inaccurate, incomplete Census count. They obviously do not speak for the entire party. That’s been clear. But they have made calculations in their heads about what it would mean to have a less than accurate count.”

Panelists agreed again and again, asserting that the true objective of the question is to lower the count of people with immigrant backgrounds. If people fear misuse of their information, they will tend to avoid the Census, and Daniel Ortiz, Outreach Director of Policy Matters Ohio, stated, “That fear is grounded in real history,” since the United States used Census data to intern Japanese citizens during World War II.²

“The purpose is transparent,” Mayor Garcetti told the Commission. “It’s to exclude. It’s to intimidate immigrant communities.”

**The Impact**

Based on testimony it heard, the Commission concluded that the citizenship question would lead to a less accurate, discriminatory count and subvert the Constitutional purpose of the Census. It would unfairly realign political representation, make funding less targeted, and increase the cost of the Census. Entrepreneurs and policymakers would commit more errors. Our nation would weaken.

The Census Bureau is well aware of these consequences. Its own analysis shows that the question could cause an undercount of 6.5 million people, more than the population of Missouri. The Bureau’s chief scientist, John Abowd, told Secretary Ross on January 19, 2018 that adding the citizenship question “is very costly, harms the quality of the census count, and would use substantially less accurate citizenship status data than are available” from current records. The Bureau has conducted many prior studies whose results demonstrate that a citizenship question would exacerbate fears of the Census in immigrant and minority communities.

Moreover, many prior Census Directors have warned against it. In his 2005 testimony to Congress, former Census Director Kenneth Prewitt stated that a citizenship question would raise suspicions in the very people the Census is trying to count and undermine the value of the Census.

Mr. Herrera testified that on October 16, 2009, eight former Census Bureau directors wrote a joint statement opposing a Congressional proposal to add a question on citizenship and immigration status to the Census. They said they could state unequivocally that adding an untested question as the count was looming would jeopardize its accuracy in all communities at risk.

In an amicus brief to the Supreme Court opposing the citizenship question, five former Census Directors, from both Republican and Democratic administrations, stated, “Experts uniformly agree that the question will jeopardize data quality.” Regarding the federal funding alone, they said, “The stakes here are therefore enormous—and the allocation of such important and significant resources should not be influenced by how frightened some residents of this Nation are of participating in the census.”

² As a result, Congress enacted stringent confidentiality protections to prevent such interference from happening again.
The Department of Commerce understands that citizenship question would do disproportionate damage to black, brown, and immigrant communities. It would not just intimidate these families into skipping the Census, but as Mr. Ortiz noted, “push people further into the shadows,” motivating millions to distance themselves from the government in general.

Mayor Garcetti told the Commission, “Here in Los Angeles the result of this would be disastrous. A complete, fair and accurate count is absolutely essential—and not just in a selfish way for my city, but I would offer for this country.”

He detailed domino effects. “We will all be less safe because immigrants won’t report crime and criminals will prey on all of us—and they don’t ask for papers. Our students will suffer if we have families who are afraid to send their children to school. And in our main neighborhood streets, 61 percent of new businesses are started by immigrants. If they won’t make these investments, we will all suffer.”

Deborah Chen of the Organization of Chinese Americans (OCA), Greater Houston said that her city’s metropolitan area has 506,000 residents who are unauthorized immigrants and her region will lose $5.8 billion if the Census fails to enumerate these people. One in three Houston residents, or 2.1 million people, live with noncitizens. The amount at stake here is $24 billion over the decade.

Dr. Tracy Nájera, Executive Director of the Children’s Defense Fund of Ohio, expressed concern for her state. Its population growth has largely come from immigrants, who contribute significantly to Ohio’s economy and the vitality of its communities. In Nebraska too, immigrants have accounted for virtually the entire population increase since 2010.

The Census typically undercounts young children, and panelists said the question would reduce their tally even further. Whitney Tucker, Research Director of North Carolina Child, said her state “cannot afford to risk the accurate count of our very young children on the expensive, untested, and unnecessary addition of a citizenship question.”

The Commission also concluded, based on the testimony it heard, that trusted individuals are now reluctant to promote Census participation. For instance, Mr. Seifert said, “I get nervous guaranteeing my community that their data is safe because I don’t know that it is.” Stacey Carless, Executive Director of the North Carolina Counts Coalition, stated that though she wants to encourage the immigrant population, she was not convinced that the Administration “would not use this information to arrest and deport noncitizens.” Caprice Taylor-Mendez, Strategic Program Manager at Community Foundation for Greater New Haven, said, “We’re hearing from service providers who are saying we can’t go anywhere near that Census for 2020 if there is any chance of endangering the people that we love and serve.”

The Damage Regardless

Trust is easy to lose and hard to regain, and panelists noted that even if the federal government now removes the citizenship question, it has impaired the Census. It has intensified suspicion of a project that requires trust and that lies at the foundation of our democracy.

“The very fact that the question even exists has created a chilling effect,” said Ms. Carless. “People are questioning the integrity of the operation.” Ms. Patiño Houle said of the question, “Whether or not it is added, it has already invoked fear in our community. This is something our community is very worried about.”

As a result, whether or not the question appears on the Census 2020 questionnaire, the Commission recommends that specific strategies to contain the harm must generally focus on trust.
BEST PRACTICES

Eliminate the question. This affirmative act would clearly reduce the risks to the 2020 Census, though the Administration seems highly unlikely to do it. Thus, if the Supreme Court does not order the question extirpated, Congress must enact legislation swiftly to do so.

Assure confidentiality from the top down. Ms. Jacobs said that the Secretary of Commerce and the Census Bureau have to emphasize confidentiality, “in partnership with community-based organizations, with non-governmental organizations, with local governments.”

The Bureau must stringently enforce protections of confidentiality. At the same time, the Trump Administration cannot undermine them, verbally or in any other way.

Provide answers to important questions about how the enumeration will proceed if the citizenship question is included. As of this writing, the Bureau has established an internal working group to examine many questions which have arisen about the impact of the addition of the citizenship question on Census 2020. This working group will determine such issues as:

- What the Bureau will do if the question is left blank; and
- Whether the Bureau will use administrative records from government agencies and other sources, to “impute” an answer.

However, the working group has not yet provided answers to these questions, and this delay is a significant obstacle for planning community outreach and education efforts.

Revise the Integrated Communications and Partnership Program (ICP). NALEO Educational Fund analysis indicates that virtually all of the Bureau’s testing on residents’ attitudes towards Census 2020 was in process before the announcement of the citizenship question, and there are virtually no Bureau data on the messages and messengers who might be able to overcome residents’ fear of responding to a form with the question on it. For example, the Bureau started to administer its 2020 Census Barriers, Attitudes, and Motivators Survey (CBAMS) in February 2018, so that survey did not address respondents’ perception of the question. Some of the CBAMS focus groups were conducted after the Department of Commerce announced the question, but the groups’ findings yielded minimal information about the impact of the question. Thus, there has not been sufficient testing on the messages and the messengers who might be able to overcome residents’ fears of responding to a form with the question on it. Should the question remain on the form, the Bureau will need to move quickly to do the testing and other activities needed to revise its ICP. State and local governments and philanthropic institutions should also provide funding to community-based organization that are familiar with hard-to-count communities to enable them to conduct similar testing.

Effectively inform stakeholders about use of the results of the 2019 Census test. In July 2019, the Bureau will conduct a test where some households will receive a survey with the citizenship question, and some will not. The Bureau intends to use the test results to help it plan its Nonresponse Followup operations (NRFU), so it can learn whether it needs to adjust the number of field staff and its approaches to NRFU for Census 2020. The Bureau must expeditiously provide stakeholders with accurate information about the results of this test so that they can plan their own outreach efforts accordingly.

Other strategies apply to outreach in general and appear in the following section.
5. Outreach Overall

Panelists consistently emphasized the importance of effective education and outreach efforts targeting hard-to-count communities. They set forth a broad range of activities that government entities and community organizations should conduct, and they often noted that the federal government could play a proactive role in these efforts.

In addition, through its communications and partnership efforts, the Bureau should support effective outreach strategies, the sound deployment of messages and messengers, and the optimal use of media. The Commissioners heard a broad array of perspectives on these issues.

BEST PRACTICES

Supporting Government Entities and Community Organizations

**Collaborate with statewide and local Complete Count Committees.** The Bureau should develop strong partnerships with these organizations, which people trust and which unite other parties for valuable outreach.

Their usefulness is clear and multifaceted. For instance, Pastor Monrose testified that the Brooklyn Count Committee would be a hub for nurturing and coordinating efforts among “the broad spectrum of government leaders, education, business, healthcare, houses of worship, cultural institutions and other community organizations.” He added that the Committee would distribute key information broadly on changes in the Census questionnaire and strategies for achieving full participation in the community, navigating online barriers, advocating for funding, employment opportunities, and more.

Steven Choi, Executive Director of the New York Immigration Coalition, helped create New York Counts 2020. Its approach was all-inclusive, he told the Commissioners. “We brought together social service providers, businesses, faith-based institutions, and groups dealing with civic participation, health, race, immigration, housing, advocacy, education, and children. This strategy has been a strong one and we believe there are other lessons for states and communities as well.”

**Work actively with Census liaisons in local government.** They are effectively encouraging residents to participate in the Census. Mayor Garcetti said he had reestablished a Mayor’s Census Office in Los Angeles, and designated Census liaisons in all City departments. “Every City department, whether it’s Animal Services or Rec and Parks needs to have somebody working on the Census because we will find people who might feel fearful or who we might not count,” he said. “I hope this can be a good model as we look at what works around America.”

**Create long-term partnerships.** The Census Bureau should forge ongoing partnerships with community-based organizations and non-governmental organizations, rather than temporary ones that require renewal every ten years when the Bureau carries out the Census.

**Emphasize partnerships with businesses, especially those that provide products or services to hard-to-count communities.** “I think that the ones that really get it are the business community,” said Rep. Blanco, who noted that they are eager to assist. “They come out in full force to promote the Census and raise awareness and we’re going to rely on them again.”
**Use FY 2019 funding for ICP and local assistance activities in a sound and effective manner.**
The language in the Appropriations Committee reports which accompanied the FY 2019 funding legislation for Census 2020 explicitly required the Bureau to enhance its communications, partnership, and assistance efforts. It required the Bureau to conduct communications activities commensurate with those conducted in 2009. It also mandated increasing partnership program staff, expanding targeted communications activities, and establishing Census questionnaire assistance centers (QACs) in hard-to-count communities. It is critical that the Bureau carry out these mandates in a timely manner. Moreover, as of this writing, the Bureau has indicated that it in lieu of establishing community-based QAC’s, it will implement a “Mobile Response Initiative” where Census staff will be present at markets, festivals or other high-traffic events in hard-to-count communities. While the Commission believes this approach has some merit, it is also critical that the Bureau proceed with the community-based QAC’s envisioned in the report language, with regular and accessible hours, and an environment more conducive to assuring residents of the confidentiality of the information they provide to the Bureau.

**Support community-based organizations.** Ms. Taylor-Mendez stressed that they are vital partners for the Bureau’s outreach efforts, partly because they know “where the key people are, such as in local Latino radio, FM and AM, Spanish newspapers.” As numerous panelists testified, State and local governments, philanthropic organizations, businesses, and many other entities provide valuable assistance as well.

**Provide real-time feedback to community groups during the count for rapid response.** Ms. Katague, Director of the California Complete Count Office, testified that she has asked the Census Bureau to provide response rates down to the Census block level during the 12 to 16 weeks of self-response. For instance, she said, with this information she could look at Koreatown on one day and see that the response rate was 19 percent. She could realize that she still had intact relationships with a Koreatown minister or health clinic, having worked with them previously, and she could urge them, “Get the messaging out. Get it in your Sunday sermon.” She could then see day by day whether this intervention or any intervention was helping.

**Specific Outreach Strategies**
Community partners understand the most effective strategies for reaching community members. For example, Patricia Campos-Medina, a researcher at Rutgers University–Newark, testified that in the Central American community people “don’t have a lot of interaction with elected officials, they don’t know who the mayors are, and they don’t know who the City Council members are.” They often have two or three jobs and therefore they lack the time to become deeply engaged outside of work and their families. “So, you have to go to them through the grassroots organizations,” she said. Panelists provided several recommendations, all of which highlight the need for the Bureau to avail itself of the breadth of knowledge and expertise these partners possess.

Dr. Benjamin-Alvarado emphasized the importance of house-to-house, person-to-person contacts. He termed this strategy “the most reliable vehicle that I know of” and he urged get-out-the-count campaigns modeled on get-out-the-vote. “Why don’t we start going door to door and spreading information and the kinds of very specific micro messaging that we’re going to have to share with our community, the trusted promoters?” he asked.

“As we’ve done with healthcare, as we’ve done with voting.” Co-chair Lubby Navarro, School Board Member of the Miami-Dade County Public Schools in Miami, agreed. “I do believe this effort is boots on the ground, very surgical.”
Ms. Caprice Taylor-Mendez, Strategic Program Manager at Community Foundation for Greater New Haven, suggested sending messengers to health clinics. “We have partnered closely with our local community health clinics,” she stated. “While patients are waiting for their doctor appointment, they are sitting there for hours. They’re told to show up in the early morning and their appointment doesn’t happen until 3 p.m. that day. So that’s a lot of captive audience time.” Ms. Sami Haiman-Marrero, President and CEO of Urbander, added, “The health care industry is very critical, because they don’t close. It’s 24/7. People trust their engagement."

Ms. Gomez recommended collaborating with works centers, noting that these locations would be critical. They do organizing in the community themselves and they possess firsthand knowledge of their populations and industries.

Some panelists noted the value of the Bureau working with community-based organizations to spread a “train-the-trainer model,” in which instructors teach staff and volunteers to train others. Those using this approach should prioritize training the hard-to-count, such as youth, formerly incarcerated males, and people for whom English is not the first language. Ms. Taylor-Mendez said, “These individuals are not always on the community-based organization staff, but the very people who we consider hard-to-count.”

Commissioners expressed much interest in creating a celebratory atmosphere around the Census and involving the arts in Census outreach efforts. Will Gonzales, Executive Director of Ceiba, suggested using teatro invisible and teatro foro. Teatro invisible is drama that occurs without the audience realizing it. For instance, he said, two actors might board a full bus and play out a skit about the Census without anyone realizing they are performers, and passengers will talk about it with others after they arrive at their destinations. “It’s called guerrilla marketing in the private sector,” he said. In teatro foro, actors perform amusing skits before a captive audience, such as GED or ESL classes. In this case, people understand that the performers are actors. Mr. Gonzalez said community-based organizations have used these techniques in Philadelphia and he hoped to employ them for the Census. He also noted that Philadelphians were going to use fiestas, music, raps, and murals with socially responsible messages about the Census.

**Effective Messages and Messengers**

The Bureau’s ICP efforts should focus on promoting the most effective messages and messengers to reach hard-to-count residents. Panelists offered several recommendations in this regard. For example, Co-chair Navarro highlighted the importance of seeking “trusted” voices: “It’s going to take your regular Jerry down the street who has lived in the neighborhood 40 years. It’s going to take the cafeteria lady, the librarian. We have to catalog those trusted voices within categories. If it’s your healthcare provider, who within the healthcare provider is the most trusted person?” Commissioner Carlos Tobon highlighted the important role that high school students and “DREAMers” can play in reaching out to their family members, peers and communities.

Ms. Patiño Houle, Network Weaver for the Rio Grande Valley Equal Voice Network, also noted the need to understand which voices residents distrust, and to minimize reliance on them. She referred to suspicion of “strangers who don’t speak Spanish, who are hired from the outside, who are not recognized in the community, especially in a community where we have so much distrust of law enforcement agents, and who are visiting people’s houses during the enumeration and have no connection with those individuals.”
For this reason, the Bureau has stated it will reverse the initial policy announced by the Administration, which would have only permitted U.S citizens to obtain positions with the Bureau. The agency has indicated that it will hire work-authorized non-citizens. These linguistically and culturally competent messengers are able to win people’s confidence, and the Bureau’s policy will likely improve the count of the most vulnerable. However, as of this writing the website of the Bureau where candidates can apply for jobs still includes the U.S. citizenship requirement. Moreover, many stakeholders do not feel that there is clear information about the application process.

Panelists also highlighted the value of messaging which makes the Census meaningful on a local level. Ms. Taylor-Mendez stated, “It should really speak to the issues affecting the community at that time.” For example, she said, in Connecticut, 50 percent of undocumented family members pay about $28 million in taxes annually, yet their voices hardly matter. Hence one message might say, “We know you’re paying taxes without representation.”

Mr. Cartagena added, “The cop on the street, the school system that doesn’t work, the water that doesn’t taste good—those things are all affected by people who get elected and the money that’s spent by government.”

“We’ve found that healthcare and education have been strong motivators,” said Kevin Cosney, the Organizing Coordinator of California Calls. “These are some of the top two issues people are concerned about.” Similarly, Pastor Monrose suggested highlighting the overcrowding at hospitals.

Mayor Garcetti said it is also necessary to frame the message in terms meaningful to everyone: “One, that we’re too pro-business to be anti-immigrant. Two, that we’re too pro-family to be anti-immigrant. And three, that we’re too pro-public safety to be anti-immigrant.”

**Effective Use of Media**

Panelists emphasized the importance of informed and skillful use of media to reach hard-to-count residents. The Bureau should:

- **Spend more advertising dollars.** Ms. Patiño Houle stressed that ads are effective with base-level challenges, such as informing people what the Census is and how to participate, and that therefore advertising should focus especially on the hard-to-count. “With the cutback in Census funding for local advertising and the lack of guaranteed distribution of postcards to PO boxes,” she said, “we’re very concerned that April 2020 will come and go without residents understanding what action they need to take to participate.”

- **Take full advantage of ethnic media.** In Nebraska, Latino television and radio have grown in parallel with the Latino population, and Dr. Benjamin-Alvarado said, “We have been pleasantly surprised to see this. They have been the most reliable portals for information to be disseminated into the community.” As it implements the ICP, the Bureau should invest significant advertising dollars in Spanish-language and other ethnic media and focus on reaching hard-to-count residents.
Focus on modern communications approaches. Dr. Nájera said, “Treat this like get-out-the-vote efforts. Think geotargeting. Think social media to energize everyone, make them feel that they are part of this effort, that they truly count.” Ms. Taylor-Mendez added that Facebook has many affinity groups which can play a key role. “Have it come from those who are considered hard-to-count, have them tell their stories, and more importantly, tell why the Census is so important and why everyone should be counted.”

Make sure rogue elements do not undermine people’s sense of security about the Census. Fake social media characters and impersonator websites may be inevitable, and they could deter families from filling out the form, particularly those who seek to complete it online. As Ms. Gomez stated, “If some people say, ‘Don’t respond, don’t trust the Census,’ this information will go out and will be used.” The Brookings Institution has warned that, in addition, viruses, data breaches, and service disruptions could distort the count. The Census Bureau needs help from social media companies and online watchdogs to fend off individuals and organizations that spread false rumors to undermine the Census.

The Bureau should also provide much more useful, easily obtainable Internet content. Ms. Katague observed that information on how to fill out the form is hard to find on Google or YouTube. “And when there’s very little good content, people with bad intent can put content out there.”
6. Reaching and Counting
Specific Immigrant Communities

The challenges for Census 2020 vary all over the country and that is one reason the Commission held hearings nationwide. Individual ethnicities and nationalities can pose distinctive challenges and require case-by-case handling.

Nevertheless, they all show the impact of knowledgeable Census and other workers on the ground, of people thoroughly familiar with their communities. As Mr. Gonzalez said, “It’s important to know the way that we speak to a Puerto Rican about the Census is very different than the way we would speak to a Mexican or to a Honduran.”

Every state has a different ethnic profile and different qualities that influence the count. There were too many presented to the Commission to cover in this report, but some deserve attention to show the variety and the difference in effective approaches.

Haitians in Florida

The Census has seriously undercounted Haitians in the past, according to Gepsie Metellus, Executive Director of the Haitian Neighborhood Center Sant La. “The 2010 Census would have us believe that there are 900,000 Haitians throughout the state of Florida,” she said. “We know that that is grossly inaccurate. The Census would have us believe that there are maybe 125,000 Haitians in Miami-Dade County. We know that to be false.”

The Haitian community in Miami-Dade County is fairly young, with most residents under 50. The area has a high rate of illiteracy, in the native language as well as English. Ms. Metellus said, “It has lived through some really unfortunate experiences that do not really help us help them to build trust in institutions.” For instance, for a period ICE agents were arriving at houses of worship to pick up undocumented people. A person might not have witnessed an incident, but would hear that a close family member or a friend had, or perhaps had been detained.

Stories like that develop a life of their own, and in Haitian communities the grapevine is active and news travels quickly. As a result, Ms. Metellus said, “We’ve got to clean up and tell people, ‘Yes, you can participate in the census because no one will have access to this information.’”

The grapevine can work both for and against an accurate count, she observed. “If we play our cards right, we can all be very successful. And if we don’t play our cards right, what happens in the Mexican community will influence the response in the Haitian community and the Guatemalan community, the Cuban community, and so on.”

With the challenges of literacy, Haitians are largely unaware of the importance of the Census for representation and funding. As a result, Millennials and young people in school will be basic to an effective enumeration. “They drive social policy in their household,” Ms. Metellus said. “Because they read. They have access to information. They have access to media. So they can do or undo, break or unbreak outreach efforts. So it’s very important to make sure that they’re front and center in the campaign.”
Puerto Ricans in the Mainland United States

There are 5.5 million Puerto Ricans in the mainland United States, and their population there is growing three times faster than the nation’s overall. Though Puerto Ricans have been leaving the island for the past decade, Hurricane Maria drove about 175,000 of them to the mainland, according to Mr. Cartagena of LatinoJustice PRLDEF. The states with the largest influx have been Florida, New York, Massachusetts, North Carolina, and Georgia.

There are special challenges in counting this new population. Yanidis Velez-Bonet, Florida and Southeast Deputy Director of the Hispanic Federation Central Florida, said that Florida became the epicenter as plane after plane brought disoriented families to a world where the languages and cultures were alien to them. “We are in growing pains,” she said. “We have a lot of transient families who basically are moving every six months and every year. We know that this is going to be a huge challenge for us during the Census process.” She urged the Bureau to allocate the funding “to have accurate and bilingual information, not only to invest in the community outreach, but also through media. That is going to be key for our success as a community.”

Puerto Ricans are also entering the Deep South, where state and county governments are doing “a horrendous job” of integrating them, according to Mr. Cartagena. “They don’t know who Puerto Ricans are. Data shows that most Americans don’t even know Puerto Ricans are citizens. Yet they come to places like Hinesville, Georgia, and I have lawyers there right now telling us horror stories about local government and how they’re treating Puerto Rican migrants.” He added, “This population is so used to being addressed with dignity on the island of Puerto Rico, and having them now face these issues and convincing them that they can listen to us—‘It’s confidential, please participate’—is a major challenge.”

Ohio has also received many Puerto Ricans, and Commissioner Lilleana Cavanaugh cited a further challenge: political detachment. “One of our major concerns is the apathy that we see among the more elderly, more mature Puerto Ricans that have had to come back to the mainland and thinking, ‘I’m going to be here for the rest of my days.’”

Vietnamese in Texas

Language and culture are important barriers to an accurate count of this community. Vietnamese Americans have the highest rate of limited English proficiency of any Asian American ethnic group, according to the 2010 ACS. At the same time, 13.5 percent of all Vietnamese families in the United States live below the poverty line, compared to the national average of 10 percent.

“Another challenge we face,” said Jannette Diep, Executive Director of Boat People SOS-Houston, “is that Vietnamese Americans have a distrust of government agencies and a lack of faith in the mainstream services. This stems from the years of civil war and post-war persecution in Vietnam.”

She believes that most Vietnamese Americans have heard nothing about the 2020 Census. Therefore, the Bureau’s first challenge lies in making them aware that the Census will happen and that it has major consequences for their community.

The Bureau should partner with ethnic media to educate the community about Census 2020 and it should pay special attention to texting. “It seems that our community is more engaged when you text them,” she said, “because they actually do respond back to our texting.”
Use of the Vietnamese language is essential, and the Census Bureau must translate all materials, videos, messaging, and social media into Vietnamese.

Effective outreach is also essential. Census workers can improve the response rate, Ms. Diep said, by attending organized events in the Vietnamese communities, including the rural and Gulf coastal communities and the isolated areas that are the hardest to count. She advised recruiting and training community members, creating ambassadors of the Census who are also assistants in completing the form. In addition, she recommended that the Bureau partner with businesses, apartment complexes, temples, and churches, and provide resources on the Census as well as a table at the locations to provide Census assistance.

In addition, she urged partnerships with schools to educate Vietnamese young people about the Census so they could help family members complete the questionnaire.

**Mayans in Florida**

The Commission learned that indigenous populations from Latin America have established communities in states such as Florida. Many Guatemalans and southern Mexicans in this country are Mayans with their own indigenous culture, and the Guatemalan Mayans especially have fled severe repression in their homeland. Maria Rodriguez said there were more Mayans in Florida than one might expect, with a population in South Dade and a Mayan Guatemalan center in Palm Beach. Some indigenous Mexicans live in Pinellas County near Clearwater and Largo, and near Lake Okeechobee. Such hard-to-count areas are similar to yet different from hard-to-count areas in deep Florida’s cities and the rural regions near Tallahassee. She noted that among the Mayans, “there are dozens of languages. So there is a challenge there.”

**African Americans**

California is home to 2.5 million African Americans, the fifth largest Black population in the country. “A large swath of our communities here is hard-to-count,” said Mr. Cosney. “We have about 150,000 Black immigrants here, about 136,000 incarcerated, and countless homeless individuals—all adding to the hard-to-count nature of our communities.”

Black communities are not a monolith, he stressed. Nationally, about 25 percent of Latinos are Afro-Latinos. In California, African Americans comprise 6.5% of the population but 29% of the state’s prisoners, and they are also seven times more likely to be homeless than their White counterparts. They live not just in metropolitan areas but throughout the state, “in many places where we don’t have traditional infrastructure from a community-based standpoint, or even from a local government standpoint, to make sure that we have a full count.”

In addition, he said, “A lot of our Black immigrant communities are African refugees and asylum seekers, many coming from Muslim countries,” and they may add to “the fears that this Administration has talked about.”

Blacks in California face some unique challenges. “The increased and rapid displacement of our communities—gentrification—is pushing our folk both into streets and into communities that have traditionally been under-resourced,” Mr. Cosney said. “So, one big concern there is whether our cities and municipalities have the resources to get an accurate count of our rapidly exploding homeless populations.”
Other panelists who work with organizations or constituencies with significant African American populations in areas such as North Carolina, New York, and Chicago addressed a broad variety of critical issues nationwide that were similar to those of other hard-to-count communities. Among these panelists’ concerns were the need for local messaging and the mistrust of government.

7. The Digital Divide

For the first time, the Census Bureau will offer the Internet as a response mode and will promote it as the primary response option for 2020. Digitization has boosted productivity in the overall economy and given us powers few people in history ever imagined. But it has not given everyone these powers and that fact is a serious obstacle to the 2020 Census.

The Bureau is emphasizing a digital questionnaire to meet a Congressional mandate to improve efficiency and cut costs. It raises many red flags, and Ms. Velez-Bonet said that with the digital divide, along with the citizenship question and the language barriers, “We are basically setting up ourselves up not to have a fair and accurate Census.”

PANELISTS CITED CHALLENGES IN SIX MAIN CATEGORIES:

1. **Perceived lack of planning.** The Bureau has conducted a significant amount of testing of the online response approach, but some panelists were still concerned that that unforeseen problems will arise.

2. **Lack of digital connectivity.** Numerous households in the nation have no broadband subscriptions. Like the citizenship question, the emphasis on digital will probably impair enumeration of immigrant communities, non-English speakers, and the impoverished. Rural populations are less connected to the Internet and their count will likely suffer as well.

3. **Insufficient digital literacy.** Many individuals who do have broadband—especially the elderly—are unknowledgeable or uncomfortable with the Internet.

4. **Reaching and engaging residents who prefer not to participate online.** Some research indicates that Latinos are distinctly more likely to prefer paper than Blacks or Whites.

5. **Questions about the effectiveness of the form on mobile devices.** Some stakeholders believe the Bureau needs to provide greater assurance that the form will function well on smartphones, which outnumber other kinds of computers.

6. **Potential insecurity of data.** Digital forms are vulnerable to outside tampering through hacking or other technological manipulation.
Perceived Lack of Planning

Joseph Villela, Director of Policy at the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights (CHIRLA), said Census officials had initially assumed the Bureau would have enough funds to plan and test the online version, but he believed misjudgments had occurred and “a lot of the process of planning has not been implemented at all.” Summing up panelist sentiment, Commission Co-chair Alex Padilla said that the decision to prioritize the digital approach “was driven as a cost saver, not as a result of new and proven methodologies that are more effective.”

As a result, many stakeholders believe that the American public may encounter harsh surprises with the implementation of the online form.

Lack of Digital Connectivity

The Commission heard testimony that the lack of broadband connections for some segments of the population will likely contribute to an undercount of these residents. A significant portion of the American public cannot use broadband. A 2018 report from the Pew Research Center found that about a third of U.S. adults lack it in the home, and 53 percent of Latino households have no or limited home broadband.

Connectedness varies by region. For instance, Rep. Blanco of El Paso said that digitization “could alienate about 30 percent of the rural and border households lacking broadband Internet. And not only just the rural communities but communities like mine with folks who can’t afford Internet.” In North Carolina, 24 percent of households, primarily in rural and low-income communities, have no Internet service according to Ms. Carless. In South Los Angeles, Ms. Garcia said, a University of Southern California study found that 47 percent of households—almost half—lack this connection. She described these areas as ones with “high poverty, limited human capital, and a high concentration of people with disabilities.”

According to Ms. Katague, the California Emerging Technology Fund estimates that 31 percent of Californians are under-connected or completely unconnected. She has asked the Census Bureau how it will determine which 20 percent of households will receive the paper questionnaire. “They said they’ll use data from the NTIA [the National Telecommunications and Information Administration] and the FCC about broadband access. I continue to tell them that there’s a difference between broadband access and broadband subscription rate.”

Some poor rural communities can find linking up to the Internet overwhelmingly difficult, noted Ms. Patiño Houle, Network Weaver for the Rio Grande Valley Equal Voice Network. To get Internet service, a household may have to pay for a company to install cable in its entire neighborhood. “So as you can imagine, in a rural community with low-income individuals, that is a crazy price for people to pay.”

Farm workers and the homeless are a particular challenge. Migrant workers travel often, and about the homeless Ms. Jacobs said, “There cannot be an online Census that reaches people who are living in their cars and parking lots. There cannot be an online Census that reaches someone who’s living in a garage or who’s living near an irrigation ditch or in a tent or under a tarp or in an onion field. There will be no reaching those most vulnerable to make sure that they are not only counted, but that we are accurately reflected in the decennial Census.”

3 “Access” refers to the availability of broadband in an area, while “subscription rate” refers to the actual households connected. A household can be deemed to have access if it is in an area where a connection is possible, whether or not it has a connection. Hence, in theory, an area could have just one subscription, but every household would be considered as having access. For Census purposes, only the actual connections are relevant.
**Insufficient Digital Literacy**

For many residents, filling out a paper form is simple and intuitive. An online form is different. Even accessing it requires basic knowledge of and comfort with the Internet, and some people with broadband lack these qualities.

This fact could affect the count of seniors across the country. Ms. Garcia observed that the elderly in all states had an easier time in 2010, because the Bureau conducted the Census primarily by mail. In 2020 many seniors, especially Latinos, may not have the digital skills to complete the form online.

“It will have a tremendous impact,” Mr. Villela of CHIRLA said, and added that it will especially affect immigrants who are elderly and unused to the Internet. “We see that as a major obstacle.”

**Reaching and Engaging Residents Who Prefer Not to Participate Online**

The Commission noted that according to NALEO Educational Fund research, a large share of the Latino population is likely to prefer completing the paper form for Census 2020 rather than the online questionnaire. In a 2018 survey of Latino residents, the organization found that 75 percent of the respondents expressed a preference for the paper form, and nearly 40 percent of respondents said it was not convenient to complete the form online.

In addition, in NALEO Educational Fund’s 2018 assessment of the Providence County “End-to-End” test, the organization’s survey of residents found that 40 percent of Latino respondents filled out the questionnaire on paper and sent it in by mail, 35 percent completed the questionnaire in-person with an enumerator, 20 percent completed the form online, and 3 percent completed the questionnaire on the phone. In comparison, 43 percent of Blacks and 36 percent of Whites filled out the form online, and these figures suggest that the Census will especially undercount Latinos if it relies too heavily on promoting the online format, or if there is a widespread belief that people must complete the form online. Thus, it is critical that the Bureau examine different population group preferences for participating in Census 2020, and adapt its operational plans to take these preferences into account.

**Effectiveness of the Form on Mobile Devices**

The Bureau seems to not have effectively communicated to stakeholders about the accessibility of the online form on devices other than desktops and laptops, such as smartphones. More people own them than desktops, and in Latino and other ethnic minority households they are often the only computer. Mr. Cosney noted that about 30 percent of African Americans use the Internet solely on their phones. Hence organizations continue to advocate for an effective, easy to use Census app. As Mr. Villela wondered, “How is the Census going to apply it on mobile devices? Can it be applied—instead of just a regular computer that needs a specific speed?”

Ms. Katague mentioned another deterrent to smartphone responses: cost. “Most of our under-covered folks use cellphones,” she said, and asked whether they were going to waste their minutes filling out the form.
Vulnerability of Digital Information

Hacking is a major enterprise of some governments and sophisticated cyber-criminals might alter 2020 Census data itself. “There are going to be some people who will try to interfere with our efforts in this crazy world,” Mr. Gonzalez said. The Bureau needs strong cybersecurity to protect this information, and it is uncertain how effectively it has addressed this challenge.

BEST PRACTICES

Panelists offered counter-strategies for Congress and the Bureau, focused on improving outreach. They should:

**Invite libraries to participate and support them.** Public libraries are the main source of free access to the Internet. The Commissioners learned that 99 percent of hard-to-count tracts lie within five miles of one, according to Gavin R. Baker, Assistant Director of Government Relations at the American Library Association (ALA). Libraries already partner with Complete Count Committees and other local organizations, and librarians are trusted messengers who inform individuals about the Census and help them apply online for Census jobs. In 2010, when the Census was primarily on paper, libraries nonetheless hosted over 6,000 Census Bureau QACs and Be Counted sites.

Some libraries are especially welcoming to immigrants and therefore even better opportunities for outreach. Deborah Chen, of the Civic Engagement Program of OCA, Greater Houston, said, “The Houston public library has a unique space called The Living Room where librarians actually bring in food for immigrants who share their cultural experiences. It’s a networking session but it’s really to create a welcoming space for families to bring their children and use libraries as resources. I believe that’s one of the ways we’ll be able to reach out to families with children and especially for low-income communities that use libraries as a resource for Internet access and books.”

**Make the form easy to use on mobile devices.** They will be critical for the 2020 Census and the Bureau needs an effective questionnaire for them.

**Make filling out the smartphone form cost-free.** Ms. Katague wondered why Bureau could not ask cellphone providers: “Can you make this 800 number minute-neutral during the high time when the Census is being taken?”

**Ensure that outreach and operational plans consider differences in residents’ preferences for completing the questionnaire.** In addition to making the online form as accessible as possible, the Bureau must acknowledge that many residents will not use that option and must plan accordingly. The Bureau must ensure that its outreach plans emphasize the full range of options available for self-response to the questionnaire (online, paper, and phone). It must plan to address the preference of many Latinos and other population groups to complete the form on paper and take this into account for its printing and processing operations.

NALEO Educational Fund’s E-T-E research also found that 35 percent of Latinos participated by completing the form in person with an enumerator. Thus, it is critical that the Bureau conduct an effective NRFU operation, where enumerators obtain information in-person from residents who do not initially self-respond. This need is particularly salient in light of the December 2018 report from the GAO, which raised serious concerns about the Census Bureau’s inadequate in-person NRFU procedures in the E-T-E test. The Bureau must take swift action to address the issues raised in the report, and to ensure a sound NRFU operation.
Safeguard against hacking and fake news. The Bureau needs to make effective use of cybersecurity specialists—and the federal government employs many thousands of them—to prevent manipulation of Census data.

8. Reaching and Counting People in Their Own Language

People speak an enormous variety of languages in the United States and those with limited or no English proficiency are among the hardest to count. One panelist testified that of the 2.6 million people living in Brooklyn, perhaps 47 percent of the borough’s population speak a language other than English.

The Commissioners heard from Daniel Ichinose of Asian Americans Advancing Justice–Los Angeles that about 1.7 million Asian Americans dwell in Los Angeles County alone, more than in any other county in the nation. Los Angeles County also has 68,000 Pacific Islander residents, more than any county outside Hawaii. He estimated that one in three Asian Americans in California and one in ten Pacific Islanders are limited in English proficiency. They therefore face challenges in engaging in the Census. In some Asian communities, a majority or near majority of people are limited English proficient. For instance, statewide 52 percent of Vietnamese, 48 percent of Koreans, and 46 percent of Hmong fall in this category. “We have dozens of ethnic groups, dozens of languages spoken,” he said. “And this diversity presents even greater challenges to response.”

Among the Obstacles in 2020:

Linguistic isolation. The printed form will only be available in English and Spanish, and it is unclear how many people who do not understand these languages will realize that they can get language assistance online.

The Census Bureau will offer the Internet self-response in 12 languages, and online assistance with the Census questionnaire in almost the same 12 languages. Nonetheless, 12 languages are insufficient for the linguistic diversity of the United States, and the Bureau will fail to make meaningful contact with many individuals. For instance, the City of Los Angeles offers comprehensive election assistance in 12 languages, and among them are Armenian, Kami, Farsi, Hindi and Thai, all spoken by significant portions of the city’s population and all absent from the Bureau’s list.

Linguistic isolation imposes limitations that extend beyond inability to read a Census form. For instance, it can restrict knowledge about the wider society. Mr. Ichinose told Commissioners that early results from focus groups suggest that very few Asian populations know that the Census is approaching in 2020, or even what it is.
Lower level of literacy. Mr. Villela stated that even among Spanish speakers, who do have materials in their own language, immigrant communities have a level of illiteracy that Census officials have to address. He asked how the public could be certain that the Bureau and other organizations could deploy enough field assistance to enable these people to fill out the forms.

Language variants. “We know very well that the Spanish from one country is somewhat different from that in another,” Mr. Gonzalez said. “It’s not that they are different languages, but just that you can connect better with people if you’re speaking similarly and using similar accents.”

BEST PRACTICES

The Bureau will require robust language assistance to engage limited English proficient populations. The Bureau should:

Expand the number of languages for Internet self-response and online questionnaire assistance.

Make best use of the smaller number of workers in the field fluent in a language other than English. If the Census Bureau does not expand its field staff, it must address the need for the remaining members to reflect the varied communities and be competent linguistically and culturally.

Promote the sharing of resources. The Bureau can help ensure that areas with an abundance of funding and other resources share them with areas that have less. “We can’t afford not to share those resources,” Mr. Ichinose said, “given the vast diversity in our communities and the dozens of languages that we’ll need to be engaging folks in.”

Assist local governments in engaging with immigrant communities. For instance, the City of Los Angeles works with these communities in several ways, Ms. Garcia explained. First, the Mayor’s Office of Immigrant Affairs “does a great job in engaging our immigrant population in local government.” Individuals can rely on this office for the services, information, and resources that they need. Second, the City works collaboratively with community organizations and with schools. For example, the Los Angeles Unified School District administers a campaign called We Are One LA Unified that provides information and resources to immigrant students and their families, and the City is integrating Census 2020 into this program.

Focus on consulates. The Census Bureau can do valuable work with consulates. “The newer immigrant communities who need services go to them a lot, often for passports, documents for renewal, especially for DACA,” Ms. Gomez said. She added that the Mexican consulate in New York City has been working in tandem with local organizations to do outreach.

Don’t ignore Spanglish. Mr. Gonzalez said, “An all-hands-on-deck, all-of-the-above approach means it has to be multilingual, not only in English and Spanish but also in Spanglish.”
9. The Very Young and the Old

Very Young Children

The Census typically undercounts the youngest children. In the 2010 Census, demographers estimate that a net undercount occurred nationwide among all children under 5. These overlooked youngsters were disproportionately Latino and African American, and experts estimate that the Census missed about 7.1 percent of very young Latino children in 2010, nearly twice the rate of their non-Hispanic counterparts (4.3 percent).

In some states, this problem is intensifying and it will cause numerous, multi-dimensional consequences. For instance, according to Whitney Tucker of North Carolina Child, in the decade since 2010, the young Latino population in her state has grown substantially, and Latinos account for 20 percent of the state’s children under age 5, though they remain less than 10 percent of its total population.

Researchers have determined that if North Carolina had counted all of the state’s young children in the 2010 Census, it would have gained an additional seat in Congress. “If we fail to do so again in 2020, we will jeopardize our Congressional representation,” said Ms. Tucker.

The nation will face a second consequence in the longer term. As explained more fully below in Section 11, the ages 0 through 4 are a critical time for preparing children for the educational and many other varied opportunities the world provides. The uncounted children tend to live in high poverty areas, those served by initiatives that help give them this preparation such as Head Start and Early Head Start, and support for these programs depends in part on Census numbers.

At stake is federal funding not solely for Early Head Start and Head Start, but for a multitude of other programs that assist young children. For instance, half of all children nationwide have their births paid for by Medicaid. Federal funding sustains the national school lunch program (which provides free breakfast and free and reduced-price lunches for students, and which can be fundamental for their nutritional requirements), Title 1 funds for schools with low-income students, funding for services provided through the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, funds for the special needs population, and Title III funds for limited English proficient students.

In Miami-Dade County alone, Ms. Mendez-Cartaya estimated that the undercount of around 18,000 children in 2010 caused its public schools to lose $51 million they should have received over the decade, or $5 million per year. “Ensuring every child is counted is critical for us,” she said.

North Carolina receives more than $16 billion in Census-derived funds for vital programs and services, and of that sum, $5 billion goes directly to programs that support children. An undercount of young Latinos will cut into the funds available for all children.

Children are difficult to count for many reasons. For instance, while the Census may miss the whole family, the vast majority of uncounted children in 2010 lived in households that completed a Census form. In such cases, the head of the household may simply neglect to list a child on the form. Some children are not part of a traditional family as we might think of it, said Dr. Maria T. Riestra-Quintero, Chief of School Readiness and Early Childhood Programs, Office of Community Action and Human Services Department for Miami-Dade County. A child may live in a foster home, or in a complex living arrangement with a relative or non-relative, or in a multi-generational household with perhaps two families in the dwelling, or in families with joint custody. The family may be mobile or homeless. These situations are all conducive to the omission of very young children from the form.
BEST PRACTICES

The Census Bureau Should:

*Ensure that the ICP program includes specific messaging and strategies on counting very young children.* For example, the Bureau should remind households to include “unrelated children” at every opportunity. Such special attention is particularly important given the high percentage of children uncounted in 2010 who were left off of households’ Census forms.

*Create partnerships with government agencies, businesses, and institutions that reach families with very young children.* The Bureau should work with businesses to reach their customers through services and product message placements, enter into partnerships with state and local governments that provide family services, and engage in collaborative efforts with health services providers, including pre- and post-natal programs, pediatricians, and community clinics. It should also partner with elderly population service providers to reach multi-generational households and initiate collaborative efforts with childcare licensing agencies for public and private foster care providers.

*Make the Bureau’s Statistics in Schools program more robust.* This program provides resources to educators about the everyday use of statistics and affords an opportunity to promote Census participation to students and their families. The Bureau should expand this program more for Pre-K education, with robust partnerships with Pre-K providers.

The Elderly

Reliance on the Internet will likely make the elderly harder to count. For seniors the Census questionnaire was easier to fill out in 2010, because every form was on paper. Today, especially in immigrant communities, the elderly may not have an Internet connection or may lack the technological literacy to participate.

BEST PRACTICES

The Bureau should:

*Implement special efforts to work with government agencies that focus on the older population.* Esteban Bovo, Jr., Miami-Dade County Commissioner, noted that his County has an Office of Elderly Affairs, and many other cities also have committees devoted to the elderly. They offer free lunches and exercise programs, and, he said, “This is something that has been robust now in Miami-Dade County for a long time. We use that as a backdrop to communicate Census participation to that elderly population.”

*Partner with the AARP,* which has increased its involvement in these issues and heightened its efforts in the Latino community. “It was a blind spot for them for a long time, so perhaps that’s an area that we could mine more for participation and collaboration,” Commissioner Bovo suggested.

*These Best Practices are based primarily on analyses by the NALEO Educational Fund rather than testimony from panelists.*
Focus on young people as a gateway to the elderly in key communities. Ms. Metellus, Executive Director of the Haitian Neighborhood Center Sant La, said, “We are a young community, and so the bonus in that is that children and grandchildren can also play a role in encouraging the adults to participate. I suspect that, in the Haitian community, it’s going to be the young folks who motivate the older folks to go ahead and participate.”

10. The Housing Challenge

The Homeless and Residents of Low-Visibility Housing

Mr. Villela told Commissioners that low-visibility or non-traditional housing is a major cause of the undercount of immigrant communities. As noted, a significant proportion of new immigrants, rural residents, and farm workers live not in the classic nuclear family household, but rather in multiple, complex ones. Ms. Jacobs said, “My work has been on rural low-income residents and migrant and seasonal farm workers for whom we found there was a mega undercount, not just a differential undercount.”

Some of these individuals, she noted, “live under someone’s porch, in someone’s back yard, under a camper’s shell. They live along rivers. They live in parking lots. Someone renting out a garage will not receive a Census questionnaire. The Census is not designed to reach people in special and vulnerable populations.”

Mr. Cosney testified that a large percentage of the Black community in California is hard-to-count, and gentrification is pushing Black people into the streets and under-resourced communities. He concluded, “So one big concern here is: Do our cities and municipalities have the resources to get an accurate count of our rapidly exploding homeless populations?”

Ms. Jacobs raised issues related to the Bureau’s address canvassing, the process by which it validates or corrects the addresses of every household for its Master Address File. She queried, “If you live in multi-unit housing, unconventional housing, under someone’s porch, what is your address? Does the Master Address File have you in the address? It’s doubtful.” The Bureau needs to reach housing units by defining them in a way that makes sense for immigrant, low-income, and complex households, and to achieve this result, it requires more effective address canvassing.

Disaster Victims

Dr. Benjamin-Alvarado provided his testimony at a time when a “bomb cyclone” was causing historic flooding in his state of Nebraska, with over $1.3 billion in damage. “Fifty-three municipalities and half our counties are being impacted,” he said. “And how is FEMA money going to come to the state? It’s going to be based upon the Census.” Since the only population growth in Nebraska’s rural areas has come from Latinos, an undercount of them there will diminish aid for future disasters, just as climate change is rendering them more likely. The threat here goes to every undercounted area that a catastrophe might strike.
The Incarcerated

Imprisonment presents challenges for enumeration accuracy along two dimensions. The first involves the precision and process of inmate count. Commissioner Anaya noted that the Cook County Jail was in her District, and yet even she had to ask, “What is the process with our jail population and how do we count them?” The second, as Mr. Cosney said, arises from “the revolving door of incarceration, which means there’s a lot of destabilization in Black communities. Some of the same situations as in migrant communities are happening here. Where are we catching these folk? Where are they stopping to get Internet to fill out the Census?”

11. The Funding Shortfall

The Commission learned that a number of deficiencies in the 2020 Census have arisen from insufficient funding. Although the federal government has rarely lacked funds for goals it considers important, the Bureau is not receiving the level of appropriations required to conduct the 2020 Census.

Congress has a duty to pay for an accurate and complete Census, and yet so far it has ignored that obligation. In September 2018 the GAO estimated that life-cycle funding for the 2020 Census would total $15.6 billion; however the amount has not been provided. As a result, many components of the Bureau’s ICP program were delayed or scaled back, and the Bureau has envisioned eliminating a field questionnaire assistance presence.

Rosa Tock, Legislative and Policy Director for the Minnesota Council on Latino Affairs, testified, “A challenge that we now face is that the Census Bureau reduced its presence from eight locations that were all over the state to three offices, in the Minnesota area, Rochester, and Duluth.”

In 2010 a late infusion of about $100 million came from the American Reinvestment Recovery Act and it enabled the hiring of partnership assistants and funded local communities to do outreach. It is unclear whether the resources provided in FY 2019 and FY 2020 will come even close to providing the support needed for effective partnership and outreach efforts. The language in the Committee reports accompanying the FY 2019 appropriations bill attempted to remedy some of these problems, but funding is still inadequate.

The amounts provided for the Census are minuscule compared to the amounts at stake. Maria Rodriguez, Executive Director of the Florida Immigrant Coalition, cited estimates that a full tally of the hard-to-count in Florida would cost $39 million. That is less than one percent of the $44 billion in federal funds that Florida received in 2016 alone.

In other words, small spending increases can leverage large gains. A research report from the Fiscal Policy Institute indicated that if New York State invested $40 million in the Census, it could realize a return of hundreds of millions or even billions of dollars.
Dr. Riestra-Quintero emphasized that a completely funded Census saves society money in a much less obvious area: programs that promote early childhood development and the well-being of their families. In the first year of life, a child’s brain is forging “millions and millions” of connections, and by age three the brain has created networks that last a lifetime. “If from 0 to age 4, our children’s patterns of growing up are good, then when they enter school they are positive and everyone is happy. But if we neglect this population, the patterns are very hard to break. Instead of early intervention, we’re talking remediation. So the costs are quadrupled, really.”

Census-funded programs can prevent the expense of and need for remediation. “Children who live in poverty are less likely to have access to the building blocks of their success,” she said. “You need a stable family. You need adequate nutrition. You need high-quality early childhood development. You need health care and you need a safe neighborhood. All of these promote brain development and the social and emotional skills, the self-regulation skills that help kids succeed.” The Census determines federal funding for Early Head Start and Head Start, as well as numerous other programs that can play important roles in a child’s development. “So at the end of the day,” she concluded, “yes, funding is necessary. Why? This is why.”

**BEST PRACTICES**

*Increase the funding to obtain a more accurate Census.* The Administration’s FY 2020 budget request is $7.2 billion, while advocates support $8.5 billion to adequately fund the peak operations of Census 2020. In addition, it is critical that the full amount of this funding be immediately available at the beginning of FY 2020 — October 1, 2019, when the Bureau will be involved in its final and most critical preparations for the decennial enumerations. The Bureau cannot conduct its operations in a sound manner if must weather the kind of funding delays and interruptions it saw in previous fiscal years, such as the partial government shutdown or the continued failure of Congress to agree on a budget bill.

*Make the case for return on investment.* Funding the Census more than pays for itself, since an accurate count makes our nation, states, cities, and companies more prosperous.
12. Policy Recommendations

The decennial Census involves the nation’s largest peacetime mobilization of personnel and resources. Because of the complexity of this undertaking, there are key opportunities for a broad range of organizations and institutions in both the public and private sector to take action to ensure a fair and accurate Census 2020 count. However, federal government policies and actions drive every aspect of the enumeration, including the compilation of the Master Address File; the implementation of the ICP program; the administrative, technological and operational components of collecting data through self-response and NRFU; and the compilation of data and production of data products. In light of the critical responsibility the federal government has for ensuring a fair and accurate Census count, this report’s recommendations focus primarily on actions that Congress, the Administration and the Census Bureau need to take.

CONGRESS

Congress has the responsibility of overseeing the Executive Branch’s efforts on Census 2020, and it “holds the purse strings” for resources the Bureau receives. Our recommendations:

- Congress must not rely on the U.S. Supreme Court or the Administration to act to remove the citizenship question from Census 2020. It must enact legislation to eliminate the question.
- Congress must continue to conduct oversight hearings to determine Secretary Ross’s rationale for adding the question and to help ensure greater accountability by the Executive Branch for its actions.
- Congressional appropriators must provide the Census Bureau with at least $8.5 billion for FY 2020. They must make the full amount of this funding immediately available at the beginning of FY 2020, when the Bureau will be involved in its final and most critical preparations for the decennial enumeration.
- Members of Congress are uniquely positioned to make the case for the return on the investment of funds for Census 2020. This funding repays itself, often many times over, since an accurate count confers so many benefits on our nation, states, cities, and companies.

THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

The White House and the Department of Commerce have created many challenges for efforts to achieve an accurate and fair Census 2020 count. The Administration must immediately change the direction of actions that would thwart the Constitutional mandate to obtain a full count of every resident of our nation. Our recommendations:

- The Department of Commerce must reverse its decision to add the citizenship question to Census 2020. It should work with the Bureau to develop communications and outreach strategies to undo the damage that has been done by the public dialogue around the issue.
• The White House and the Department of Commerce must send a strong and unequivocal message that they will comply with the protections in federal law that safeguard the confidentiality of information provided to the Census Bureau. This must be a “top-to-bottom” effort, which starts with the President, and is amplified through every federal agency. Administration officials should cease making statements or taking actions that might suggest they intend to ignore or undermine these protections.

THE CENSUS BUREAU

The Census Bureau has navigated many challenges in the preparations for Census 2020, and still faces funding and operational constraints. However, there is still much the Bureau can do to ensure a fair and accurate count for Census 2020, and in many cases, these efforts involve building on the foundation of efforts that are already underway. Our recommendations:

The Citizenship Question

• The Bureau must advocate with the Administration to comply with the confidentiality protections for Census data and ensure its own compliance. This should also be a key element in its outreach and communications efforts.

• If the citizenship question remains on the Census 2020 questionnaire, the Bureau must take aggressive actions to mitigate its negative impact. The Bureau must revise the ICP to consider the impact of the question, which includes testing on the messages and messengers who might be able to overcome residents’ fear of responding. The Bureau must also provide stakeholders with important information about how the enumeration will proceed if the question remains, including information relating to what will happen if the respondents leave the citizenship question blank, and whether and how the Bureau will use administrative records to impute answers to the question.

Overall Outreach and Communications

• The Bureau must use FY 2019 funding for ICP and local assistance activities in a sound and effective manner, adhering to the mandates in the appropriations report language for increasing partnership program staff, expanding targeted communications activities and establishing community-based QACs in hard-to-count communities.

• The Bureau should promote and support a broad and diverse range of partnership and outreach strategies including:
  • Supporting statewide and local Complete Count Committees;
  • Working actively with Census liaisons in state and local government;
  • Strengthening partnerships with “trusted” community organizations, institutions and individuals, such as health clinics, worker centers, faith-based organizations, schools, consulates and libraries; and
  • Promoting a full range of community “Get-Out-the-Count” (GOTC) activities, including “train the trainer” efforts, celebratory outreach events, arts activities, and in-person contacts.
• While the Bureau has conducted a significant amount of research on the messages that most resonate with hard-to-count communities, it should also work with partners who are familiar with those communities and the best way to reach them. This includes:
  • Working closely with and investing significant advertising dollars into ethnic radio, broadcast, and digital media.
  • Using social media in a strategically-targeted manner.
  • Framing messages that emphasize the impact of an accurate Census count on local communities and residents’ everyday concerns.

• The Bureau should conduct its partnership program in a robust way on an ongoing basis, rather than just ramping it up for each decennial enumeration.

• The Bureau should clarify on its job application website and in other materials that it will hire work-authorized non-citizens as outreach staff and enumerators. It should also provide clearer information to stakeholders about the application process for these positions.

• The Bureau should provide real-time feedback to community groups as the enumeration proceeds, providing them with response rates down to the block level.

Reaching Residents in Non-traditional Housing

• All components of the Bureau's address canvassing, ICP and other operational plans must take into account the diversity of living arrangements in our nation, including rural residents in remote areas, persons displaced by natural disasters or economic challenges, the homeless and the incarcerated. It is particularly important that the Bureau have effective strategies for both identifying households living in these areas and arrangements, and for reaching them effectively.

The Digital Divide

• The Bureau should enhance its communication with stakeholders about the extent of its testing of the online form. Many perceive that the technology has not been tested adequately, and fear that the Bureau is unprepared to implement it.

• The Bureau must enhance the accessibility of the online form, by making it easy to use on mobile devices, with cost-free form completion. It should also partner with institutions that can make computers available for online completion like libraries or education centers.

• The Bureau needs to ensure that it both implements the best possible cybersecurity practices, and also educates the public about these protections. It should work with social media companies and online watchdogs to fend off persons spreading false rumors to suppress the count, or other entities which would disseminate misinformation or counterfeit Census sites. It also should work with cybersecurity experts to prevent manipulation of Census data.

• The Bureau must consider the self-response preferences of different population groups for its outreach and operational plans. This includes comprehensive outreach about the different options available for self-response and sound preparations for printing and processing of paper forms. In light of the large share of hard-to-count populations the Bureau may need to reach through NRFU, the Bureau needs to address issues which arose during the E-T-E test and any others which would impair its NRFU efforts.
**Reaching and Engaging Residents in Their Own Language**

- The Bureau should expand the number of languages it provides for Internet self-response and for online questionnaire assistance.

- In light of the smaller number of field staff it intends to deploy, the Bureau must make the hiring of staff with linguistic skills and cultural competency a particularly high priority.

- The Bureau must help ensure that resources from one area are shared with other areas, and should promote the sharing of resources between language communities.

**Ameliorating the Undercount of Very Young Children**

- The Bureau should ensure the ICP program includes specific messaging and strategies on counting all very young children in a household. This is particularly important because the majority of children uncounted in 2010 were those left off of households’ Census forms. For example, the Bureau should remind households to include “unrelated children” at every opportunity.

- The Bureau should create partnerships with a broad array of government agencies, institutions, businesses, and other entities that reach families with very young children. In doing so, it should take into account the diversity of caretakers for these children, such as grandparents and foster families.

- The Bureau should make its Statistics in Schools program more robust, expanding the program more for Pre-K education and creating partnerships with Pre-K providers.

**Reaching Older Residents**

- The Bureau should make special efforts to work with government agencies and private organizations that focus on the older population.

- The Bureau should recognize the importance of young people who in certain communities can motivate older residents to participate in the Census, and it should enlist them in efforts for multi-generational outreach.
CONCLUSION

An accurate Census would be a win for our society, as it always has been; it would bring manifold benefits to democracy and heighten the prosperity and well-being of all of our residents. Moreover, our nation has always relied on the Constitutionally-mandated Census, almost as it has on science itself, and an accurate Census would be a victory for truth and nonpartisanship in a world that has found them in increasingly short supply.

Today, Congress, the White House, the Department of Commerce, and the Census Bureau face a serious challenge. This Commission, after taking testimony from more than 50 well-informed individuals, believes the 2020 Census will be gravely and needlessly flawed, with consequences that will harm everyone but especially immigrants, and that the impact will linger for years. As Mayor Eric Garcetti said, “We all will pay for that one way or another.”

However, we offer another alternative based on the sentiment of civic responsibility and our engagement at the most basic grassroots level. NALEO Educational Fund is committed to working with Congress, the Administration and the Census Bureau to implement this report’s recommendations, and to make a fair and accurate Census 2020 a reality.
A fair and accurate Census 2020 is critical to ensure the strength of our representative democracy, the effective distribution of government resources, the enforcement of civil rights protections, and sound decision-making in the public and private sectors. Latinos are the nation’s second largest population group, and our nation cannot achieve a fair and accurate Census 2020 without an accurate count of the Latino community and its national origin- and sub-groups.

However, the 2020 Census is at grave risk. Our preparations for the 2020 Census are occurring at a moment when the Bureau intends to implement major operational changes to the enumeration process, and Congress has failed to adequately fund the activities needed to effectively test and implement new approaches. In addition, several significant policy developments have emerged which are exacerbating the risk of an unfair and inaccurate Census.

The NALEO Educational Fund is establishing the National Latino Commission on Census 2020 to compile crucial information about the impact of the challenges facing Census 2020 on achieving a fair and accurate count of the Latino community and all of our nation’s residents. The findings of the Commission will also include recommendations and best practices to address these challenges, and will be used to inform the future work of policymakers, elected officials, civic and community leaders, and other stakeholders.

**Official Designation:** The National Latino Commission on Census 2020

**Establishment:** NALEO Educational Fund established the Commission to help ensure a fair and accurate count of Latinos and all of America’s residents in Census 2020.
Objectives and Scope of Activities:
The Commission’s purpose is to highlight 1) the challenges posed by ongoing and emerging policy developments to a fair and accurate count of the Latino community and all of America’s residents in Census 2020; and 2) national and local policy recommendations and best practices to ameliorate those challenges.

The Commission shall carry out the foregoing activities in part by convening no less than five regional field hearings to solicit testimony from public officials, community organizations, and other stakeholders who are familiar with hard-to-count communities in the region, about the following:

- The impact of the Bureau’s Census 2020 operational plans on Latinos and other hard-to-count communities, including the changes from approaches used in Census 2010;
- The impact of the addition of a question on citizenship to Census 2020, including the effect on Latino participation in the Census;
- Assessment of community members’ experiences with the Bureau’s communications and outreach activities;
- Best practices for reaching and engaging Latinos to participate in Census 2020, including recommendations for ameliorating the undercount of very young Latino children (under 5) which occurred in Census 2010; and
- Any other issues relevant to the purpose of the Commission.

The Commission shall prepare a final report with its findings, and NALEO Educational Fund will disseminate the report to national and local policymakers, civic and community leaders, the media, and other stakeholders.

Membership and Qualifications:
The Commission shall be composed of up to nine members appointed by the NALEO Educational Fund in consultation with the Chair of the Board of the NALEO Educational Fund and the President of NALEO. To the extent possible, the membership of the Commission shall reflect the gender, national origin and sub-group, and geographic diversity of the Latino community. Members shall be appointed for the life of the Commission, and have the qualifications as set forth below.

Members of the Commission shall be individuals who:

- Are of recognized standing in the Latino community with a background in elected office, other public service, or civic engagement; and
- Have experience with or expertise on Census issues.

The Commission may invite Guest Commissioners to join the Commission at each regional hearing.
Responsibilities of Commissioners:

All Commission members are expected to:

• Demonstrate a commitment to open discussion and sharing of ideas with fellow Commission Members and individuals who testify or submit testimony to the Commission.

• Review materials distributed prior to Commission hearings and meetings.

• Attend hearings and meetings prepared to listen carefully to testimony, raise questions, and provide input and make recommendations on the issues discussed.

• Provide feedback on the Commission report and other Commission issues as requested.

Members of the Commission shall receive no compensation for their service, but will be reimbursed for any reasonable travel expenses incurred for Commission activities.

Estimated Number and Frequency of Meetings:

The Commission shall hold no less than five regional field hearings for the duration of Commission. The Commission shall determine the frequency of other meetings to discuss Commission matters, including findings from the hearings and the preparation of the Commission’s report. These meetings can be conducted telephonically or through other telecommunications technology.

Office Responsible for Providing the Necessary Support to the National Latino Commission on 2020 Census:

NALEO Educational Fund is responsible for providing the funding, organizational and logistical support for the Commission. This shall include designating staff to 1) work with the Commission co-chairs to schedule hearings and meetings; 2) develop meeting agendas; 3) conduct outreach about public hearings and other Commission activities; 4) assist with the preparation of the final Commission report; and 5) conduct other support responsibilities as may be necessary.

Organizational Structure:

NALEO Educational Fund shall designate the co-chairs of the Commission. The co-chairs will determine the process for designating which Commission member(s) will preside over each hearing or meeting. The Commission shall adopt any rules it deems necessary to govern the operations of its meetings.

Termination:

The Commission shall terminate 60 days after the date on which the Commission publishes its final report.

Record Keeping:

The Commission shall keep an accurate and complete record of the actions and meetings of the body. Such record shall be made available for public inspection.
National Latino Commission on Census 2020
Commissioners

The Honorable Lubby Navarro (Co-Chair)
School Board Member, District 7
Miami-Dade County Public Schools, Florida

The Honorable Lubby Navarro was born in Havana and has lived in Miami for over 33 years. A NALEO Board Member, she has broad community and civic engagement experience. She began her career in public service in 1995 as a legislative assistant to several members of the Florida Legislature, where she worked on key legislation, appropriations requests, and constituent matters for member districts throughout Miami-Dade County. Board Member Navarro was the lead administrator overseeing Miami-Dade County’s U.S. Census 2010 Complete Count Committee, coordinating a community-wide awareness and outreach plan to ensure that all county residents were counted. In that year, she also served on the County’s United Way Leadership Cabinet Committee, and as member of the City of North Miami’s Haitian Earthquake Task Force. She represents the School Board of Miami-Dade County on various official boards, agencies, and committees. Board Member Navarro is an active member of the United States Coast Guard Auxiliary and Senator Marco Rubio has appointed her four times to the Military Service Academy Nomination Board. In the past year, she has received awards for her service from the Junior League of Greater Miami and the League of United Latin American Citizens.

The Honorable Alex Padilla (Co-Chair)
Secretary of State
State of California

The Honorable Alex Padilla is a past Board President of NALEO whose parents emigrated from Mexico and raised their family in the working class community of Pacoima, California. He attended local public schools and went on to graduate from MIT. Elected at age 26 to the Los Angeles City Council, he went on to become its President and a California State Senator. On January 5, 2015, he took office as the state’s first Latino Secretary of State. He soon became nation’s first Secretary of State to refuse the White House’s request to obtain personal data on every voter through its troubled Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity, since disbanded. In 2015, he sponsored legislation to establish vote centers, expand early voting and implement same-day conditional voter registration through the Voter’s Choice Act. Secretary Padilla also sponsored the New Motor Voter Act which will eventually register to vote every eligible California citizen who goes to a DMV office to get a driver’s license or renew one, potentially registering millions. By 2016, when Secretary Padilla oversaw the state’s general election, he had helped add upwards of one million registered voters to the rolls, and on Election Day a record number of Californians had not only registered but voted. In April 2019, Governor Gavin Newsom appointed Secretary Padilla to serve as Chair of California’s Complete Count Committee.
Ms. Lilleana Cavanaugh  
Executive Director, Ohio Commission on Hispanic/Latino Affairs

Ms. Lilleana Cavanaugh has been active in the Latino community in Ohio for the last 23 years. As Executive Director for the Ohio Commission on Hispanic/Latino Affairs, she helps advise elected officials on Hispanic matters, connect Latino-serving organizations across the state, and build the capacity of Latino leaders and organizations. She has served with the Ohio Commission for the last eleven years, helping government, community-based, and private organizations work together to improve life for Hispanic Ohioans. She is also the Minority Affairs Coordinator for Governor John Kasich’s administration. At the national level, Executive Director Cavanaugh has taken an active role in the United States Hispanic Leadership Institute (USHLI), and in 2016 it presented her with the Cesar Chavez Community Service Award. She also leads the national network of Latino Affairs Commissions, supports the NALEO Educational Fund’s voter mobilization initiatives, and is actively involved with LULAC. She is a Certified Public Manager with an MBA from Capella University, and she is an expert on leadership development, community engagement, cultural competence and global communications. She is also a multicultural specialist who has lived and worked in Latin America, Africa, South East Asia, and Europe, and has often used this experience in her career.

The Honorable James Diossa  
Mayor, City of Central Falls, Rhode Island

The Honorable James Diossa became Mayor of Central Falls at the age of 27, after the city had suffered financial scandals and declared bankruptcy. The son of textile mill workers from Colombia who fled drug cartel violence and lack of opportunity in the 1980s, he became the first Latino and the youngest mayor of this town of 19,000. He realized he had to act quickly to move the city past bankruptcy, as well as keep its residents encouraged about the future of the town. Mayor Diossa worked to improve infrastructure, get better sanitation equipment, and hire more police officers, and he opened a center to tutor children of immigrant parents who do not speak English fluently. He also brought an auto show to Central Falls, started a monthly Salsa Night in the summer, and secured millions in outside funding for the city. He is now in his second and final term, and Standard & Poor’s has raised its rating of Central Falls to BBB. “Inspirational speakers in my schools said when you love what you do, you’ll never work another day of your life,” he told a newspaper. “That’s where I’m at today.”

The Honorable Pauline Medrano  
Treasurer, Dallas County, Texas

The Honorable Pauline Medrano, the Board President of NALEO, has over 10 years of administrative experience in state and federal government and 10 years in corporate management. As Dallas County Treasurer, she chairs the County Financial Review Committee, and serves on the County Bail Bond Board and the Employee Benefits Committee. Treasurer Medrano has had a life of public service. She was elected to the Dallas City Council in June of 2005, and re-elected in 2007, 2009 and 2011. She served as Deputy Mayor Tem from 2009-2011 and as Mayor Pro Tem from 2011-2013. While on the Council she was Chair of the Public Safety Committee, Vice Chair of the Dallas Convention & Visitors Bureau, and Vice Chair of the Quality of Life Committee, of the Housing Committee, and of Dallas Downtown Inc., and she chaired several ad hoc committees. In addition, Treasurer Medrano served as Vice Chair of the U.S. Census 2010 Advisory Committee and she is on Dallas’ Complete Count Committee for the 2020 Census, chairing the Partnership Committee. Treasurer Medrano also served as Chair of the NALEO Educational Fund between 2012 and 2016. She is a Dallas native and earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science from the University of Texas at Arlington.
The Honorable Rosemary Rodriguez
Executive Director, Together We Count, Colorado

The Honorable Rosemary Eloisa Rodriguez is Executive Director of Together We Count, where she helps promote Census participation and nonpartisan redistricting among hard-to-count communities in Colorado. She has long been prominent in Colorado public service. She chaired the 2001 Colorado Reapportionment Commission, a constitutional body responsible for redrawing legislative districts after the 2000 Census. She served on the Denver City Council for three and a half years, and was Council President from 2005 to 2006. While a Councilor, she served on a 15-member panel investigating faults within the Denver Election Commission that may have contributed to problems in the 2006 elections, and she spearheaded election reform changes to the city charter which Denver voters approved. She has served as the State Director for U.S. Senator Michael Bennet, and as a Commissioner on the U.S. Election Assistance Commission, which she chaired in 2008. In 2015, she was elected to the Denver Public Schools Board of Education, representing Southwest Denver. Ms. Rodriguez also served on the NALEO Educational Fund Board from 2002 – 2006. She is a Colorado native and attended Metropolitan State College (now Metropolitan State University), where she studied political science. She has received numerous awards for service to her community.

The Honorable David Santiago
Florida State Representative, District 27

The Honorable David Santiago has served for the past six years in the Florida House of Representatives, where he is Vice-Chair of the Health & Human Services Committee, Vice-Chair of the Insurance & Banking Subcommittee, and a member of the Government Accountability Committee. He cites as among his major legislative accomplishments: new protocols for sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS), waiver of license fees for veterans through the Department of Health, tougher regulations against owners of collection agencies, and reformed laws about pharmacy benefit manager disclosure of prescription drug pricing to save people money on rising cost of medications. He has lived in Deltona, Florida for the past 27 years, but he was born in New Jersey and raised on Long Island, New York, where he attended Brentwood High School and was an active member of the local ROTC. After graduating, he married his high school sweetheart, enlisted in the Army Reserves, and shortly after moved to Deltona. Representative Santiago was a City of Deltona Commissioner from 2003 to 2007. Currently, he is a partner in a local insurance agency. He has three children and is a grandfather of two.

The Honorable J. Walter Tejada
Board Member, Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority, Virginia

The Honorable J. Walter Tejada was elected three times from 2003 to 2015 to Virginia’s Arlington County Board, where he served as Chair in 2008 and 2013 and Vice-Chair in 2007, 2012 and 2015. Prior to 2003, he was an aide to Congressman Jim Moran. He has been instrumental in bringing community stakeholders together to address a wide range of issues. He served on the 2006 Governor’s Urban Policy Task Force and he was the first Chair of the Virginia Latino Advisory Commission. At the regional level, he was elected Chair of the Human Services Policy Committee of the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments (COG) in 2004 and 2005, and continued to represent Arlington in COG’s Human Services and Public Safety Policy Committee, and was again elected Chair in 2015. Board Member Tejada has received innumerable awards for his activism. For instance, in 2008 NALEO nominated him, and he received, the prestigious Ohtli Award, given by the Mexican government to distinguished Latinos for their support of the Mexican community in the United States. Born in El Salvador, he moved to the United States at the age of 13 and attended George Mason University.
The Honorable John C. Vargas
Vice President, NALEO

The Honorable John C. Vargas, Vice President of NALEO, has served in public office since 2009, when he was elected to the Hawthorne School District Board of Trustees. On the Board of Trustees, he focused on creating policy to ensuring the academic and social success of the District’s 9,000 students. Most recently, Vice President Vargas served on the El Camino Community College District Board of Trustees (2013-2018), holding the distinction of being the first Latino to ever serve on the Board. In this capacity, he focused on fiscal stability and increasing access to the District’s successful program for all students. For nearly a decade, Vice President Vargas has held key leadership positions in public education since cofounding Global Education Academy, a successful public charter school serving disadvantaged youth in South Los Angeles. He has served as lead administrator for numerous charter schools and continues to support student achievement in his most current role as Chief Operating Officer of ISANA Academies, a successful charter school management organization with six schools in the Los Angeles region. Vice President Vargas holds a Bachelor’s Degree in Political Science from UCLA and a Masters Degree in Linguistics from Cal State University Long Beach.

GUEST COMMISSIONER, MIDWEST REGIONAL HEARING

The Honorable Carlos Eduardo Tobon
Rhode Island State Representative, District 58

The Honorable Carlos Eduardo Tobon represents the 58th district in Pawtucket in the Rhode Island House of Representatives. The son of Colombian immigrants, he first developed an interest in politics as a U.S. Senate page in 1999, and he was elected to the Rhode Island House of Representatives in 2014. He is the first vice-chair of the Committee on Veterans’ Affairs. In addition, he is a member of the Committee on Finance and serves as the chair of its Subcommittee on Environment and Natural Resources, and he is co-chair of the Legislative Black and Latino Caucus. Among his legislative achievements, he authored a law to increase the number of poll supervisors and cut down on lines at polling places. He sits on the board of the NALEO Educational Fund.
Hearing Agendas

2018

National Latino Commission on Census 2020

**LOS ANGELES REGIONAL HEARING**
Friday, September 28, 2018

National Latino Commission on Census 2020

**NEW YORK REGIONAL HEARING**
Wednesday, November 28, 2018

2019

National Latino Commission on Census 2020

**TEXAS REGIONAL HEARING**
Friday, January 29, 2019

National Latino Commission on Census 2020

**FLORIDA REGIONAL HEARING**
Friday, February 15, 2019

National Latino Commission on Census 2020

**MIDWEST REGIONAL HEARING**
Wednesday, March 20, 2019
## List of Persons Providing Testimony to National Latino Commission on Census 2020

*(titles and affiliations are as of the date of the testimony)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
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<tr>
<td>9/28/2018</td>
<td>Mr. Kevin Cosney</td>
<td>Organizing Coordinator</td>
<td>African American Civic Engagement Project (AACEP) at California Calls</td>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>CA</td>
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<td>Education Fund</td>
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<td>9/28/2018</td>
<td>The Honorable Eric Garcetti</td>
<td>Mayor</td>
<td>City of Los Angeles</td>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
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<td>9/28/2018</td>
<td>Ms. Maria de la Luz Garcia</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Census 2020 Initiative, Mayor’s Office of Budget and Innovation, City</td>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>CA</td>
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<td>9/28/2018</td>
<td>Mr. Daniel Ichinose</td>
<td>Project Director, Demographic Research</td>
<td>Asian Americans Advancing Justice - Los Angeles</td>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
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<td>9/28/2018</td>
<td>Ms. Ilene Jacobs</td>
<td>Director of Litigation, Advocacy &amp; Training</td>
<td>California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc.</td>
<td>Oakland</td>
<td>CA</td>
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<td>9/28/2018</td>
<td>Ms. Ditas Katague</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>California Complete Count, Governor’s Office of Planning and Research,</td>
<td>Sacramento</td>
<td>CA</td>
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<td>9/28/2018</td>
<td>Mr. Joseph Villela</td>
<td>Director of Policy</td>
<td>Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights (CHIRLA)</td>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>CA</td>
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<td>10/31/2018</td>
<td>Ms. Martha Arevalo</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
<td>Central American Resource Center (CARECEN)</td>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>CA</td>
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<td>10/31/2018</td>
<td>Ms. Jacqueline Martinez Garcel</td>
<td>Chief Executive Officer</td>
<td>Latino Community Foundation</td>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>CA</td>
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<tr>
<td>11/28/2018</td>
<td>Ms. Patricia Campos-Medina</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>Rutgers University-Newark</td>
<td>Newark</td>
<td>NJ</td>
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<td>11/28/2018</td>
<td>Mr. Juan Cartagena</td>
<td>President and General Counsel</td>
<td>LatinoJustice PRLDEF</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td>NY</td>
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<td>11/28/2018</td>
<td>Mr. Steven Choi</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
<td>New York Immigration Coalition</td>
<td>New York</td>
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<td>11/28/2018</td>
<td>Mr. Edward Cuesta</td>
<td>National Executive Director</td>
<td>Dominicanos USA</td>
<td>Bronx</td>
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<td>11/28/2018</td>
<td>Ms. Lucia Gomez</td>
<td>Political Director</td>
<td>New York City Central Labor Council</td>
<td>New York</td>
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<td>11/28/2018</td>
<td>Mr. John Marion</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
<td>Common Cause Rhode Island</td>
<td>Providence</td>
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<td>11/28/2018</td>
<td>Pastor Gilford Monrose</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Faith-Based &amp; Clergy Initiatives, Office of the Brooklyn Borough President</td>
<td>Brooklyn</td>
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<td>11/28/2018</td>
<td>The Honorable Felix W. Ortiz</td>
<td>Assistant Speaker</td>
<td>New York State Assembly</td>
<td>Brooklyn</td>
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<td>12/27/2018</td>
<td>Ms. Laura McQuade</td>
<td>President and CEO</td>
<td>Planned Parenthood of New York City</td>
<td>New York</td>
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<td>1/29/2019</td>
<td>The Honorable Cesar Blanco</td>
<td>State Representative</td>
<td>Texas House of Representatives</td>
<td>El Paso</td>
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<td>1/29/2019</td>
<td>Ms. Marisa Bono</td>
<td>Chief of Policy</td>
<td>Office of San Antonio Mayor Ron Nirenberg</td>
<td>San Antonio</td>
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<td>1/29/2019</td>
<td>Dr. Robert Brischetto</td>
<td>Former Executive Director</td>
<td>Southwest Voter Research Institute</td>
<td>Lakehills</td>
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<td>Ms. Deborah Chen</td>
<td>Civic Engagement Program Director</td>
<td>Organization of Chinese Americans, Greater Houston</td>
<td>Houston</td>
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<td>1/29/2019</td>
<td>Ms. Cassie Davis</td>
<td>Research Analyst and State Policy Fellow</td>
<td>Center for Public Policy Priorities</td>
<td>Austin</td>
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<td>Ms. Jannette Diep</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
<td>Boat People SOS-Houston</td>
<td>Houston</td>
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<td>The Honorable Adrian Garcia</td>
<td>Commissioner</td>
<td>Harris County Commission</td>
<td>Houston</td>
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<td>1/29/2019</td>
<td>Mr. Ernest Herrera</td>
<td>Staff Attorney</td>
<td>Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF)</td>
<td>San Antonio</td>
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<td>Mr. Clifton E. Miller</td>
<td>Co-Founder and Vice Chair</td>
<td>Minority Business Enterprise Institute for Public Policy</td>
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<td>1/29/2019</td>
<td>Mr. Michael Seifert</td>
<td>Border Advocacy Strategist</td>
<td>American Civil Liberties Union of Texas</td>
<td>Brownsville</td>
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<td>2/15/2019</td>
<td>The Honorable Esteban Bovo Jr.</td>
<td>Commissioner</td>
<td>Miami-Dade County Commission</td>
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<td>2/15/2019</td>
<td>Ms. Stacey Carless</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
<td>NC Counts Coalition</td>
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<td>2/15/2019</td>
<td>Ms. Sami Haiman-Marrero</td>
<td>President and CEO</td>
<td>Urbander</td>
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<td>2/15/2019</td>
<td>Ms. Iraida Mendez-Cartaya</td>
<td>Associate Superintendent</td>
<td>Miami-Dade County Public Schools</td>
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<td>2/15/2019</td>
<td>Ms. Geisie M. Metellus</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
<td>Haitian Neighborhood Center Santa La Inc.</td>
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<td>2/15/2019</td>
<td>Dr. Maria T. Riestra-Quintero</td>
<td>Chief of School Readiness and Early Childhood Programs</td>
<td>Community Action and Human Services Department, Miami-Dade County</td>
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<td>Ms. Maria Rodriguez</td>
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<td>Florida Immigration Coalition</td>
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<td>Ms. Whitney Tucker, MPH</td>
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<td>NC Child</td>
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<td>Ms. Yanidsi Velez-Bonet</td>
<td>Florida and Southeast Deputy Director</td>
<td>Hispanic Federation</td>
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<td>Mr. Kareem Crayton</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
<td>Southern Coalition for Social Justice</td>
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<td>Dr. Jonathan Benjamin-Alvarado</td>
<td>Assistant Vice Chancellor and Professor of Political Science</td>
<td>University of Nebraska, Omaha</td>
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<td>The Honorable Alma E. Anaya</td>
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<td>Cook County Board of Commissioners</td>
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<td>3/20/2019</td>
<td>Mr. Will Gonzalez</td>
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<td>Children Defense Fund, Ohio</td>
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<td>Mr. Daniel G. Ortiz</td>
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<td>Policy Matters Ohio</td>
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<td>3/20/2019</td>
<td>Ms. Rosa Tock</td>
<td>Legislative and Policy Director</td>
<td>Minnesota Council on Latino Affairs</td>
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<td>4/9/2019</td>
<td>Mr. David Siegrist</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
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<td>4/12/2019</td>
<td>The Honorable Cesar Chavez</td>
<td>Latino Caucus Co-Chair</td>
<td>Arizona Latino Legislative Caucus</td>
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<td>Ms. Ana Maria Argilagos</td>
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<td>Hispanics in Philanthropy</td>
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<td>4/15/2019</td>
<td>Mr. Gavin Baker</td>
<td>Assistant Director of Government Relations</td>
<td>American Library Association</td>
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