ETHNOGRAPHIC EXPLORATORY RESEARCH
REPORT #18

AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA
AND
THE 1990 CENSUS

Final Report for Joint Statistical Agreement 89-19
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Disclaimer

Attached is the final report for one of the 29 independent Joint Statistical Agreement projects which conducted an ethnographic evaluation of the behavioral causes of undercount. All 29 studies followed common methodological guidelines.

This report is based in analysis of the results of a match between the author(s)' Alternative Enumeration to data from the 1990 Decennial Census forms for the same site. Each ethnographic site contained about 100 housing units. Information was compiled from census forms that were recovered through October 10, 1990.

The data on which this report is based should be considered preliminary for several reasons.

- Between October 10, 1990 and December 31, 1990 additional census forms may have been added to or deleted from the official enumeration of the site as a result of coverage improvement operations, local review or other late census operations. Differences between October 10, 1990 and final census results as reported on the Unedited Detail File will be incorporated in later analyses of data from this site.

- The consistency of the author's coding of data has not been fully verified.

- Hypothesis tests and other analyses are original to the author.

Therefore, the quantitative results contained in this final JSA report may differ from later reports issued by Census Bureau Staff referring to the same site.

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AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA AND THE 1990 CENSUS

Introduction

This is the final report of ethnographic research begun in 1989 focused on the dynamics of the 1990 census process as it unfolded in the American Indian community in the San Francisco Bay Area, California. The first section describes the research methodology. The second section presents a chronology of the 1990 census process as it affected Indians in the Bay area and covers information on the Tribal Liaison Program, the Complete Count Committee and the work of the Census Community Awareness Specialist. Key issues are then discussed: communication channels into and within the Indian community, the undercount, confidentiality and trust, enumerators and other Census Bureau employees and problems of interpreting forms. The report closes with recommendations for the Year 2000 census and Indians' conclusions about the 1990 census. Throughout the report, the remarks of various American Indian individuals are quoted and selected primary documents from the 1990 census process are attached to the report.

Methodology

The approach utilized throughout the research has been ethnographic and qualitative. Field techniques included long term, in-depth participant observation and both formal and informal interviews. Much of the background information was obtained from the Intertribal Friendship House Community History Project archives (see Attachment A). Relevant primary documents were located and gathered, some of which are attached.

Intertribal Friendship House (IFH), which is an American Indian center established in Oakland in 1955, was the institutional base for the research. Because a major research goal has been to gain and convey an American Indian self-reflection on the 1990 census process, the descriptive format of this report includes numerous quotes of what Bay Area American Indians said about the census process. Because the research was carried out by IFH, an

1 It is intended that this report be read in conjunction with Ethnographic Exploratory Research Report # 12: Oakland’s American Indian community: History, social organization and factors that contribute to census undercount and with an edited video transcript which also result from the Joint Statistical Agreement project between the U.S. Census Bureau and Intertribal Friendship House.

2 The IFH community history project is a community resource archives containing oral histories, photographs, and documents concerning the history of the American Indian community in the Bay Area from the 1940’s to the present. Dr. Susan Lobo, the principal investigator for the current research, has been the coordinator on an ongoing, daily basis for the community history project since its inception in 1978. Her long term work in the Oakland American Indian community has further provided a deep contextual framework for this research.
understanding of and trust in the research project’s goals were widely shared within the American Indian community. This in turn resulted in a strong personal engagement in the research process from many spheres within the American Indian community.

The principal investigator, Susan Lobo, participates daily in observations of the American Indian community and carried out numerous informal interviews regarding the census process from the fall of 1989 through the fall of 1991. These interviews were sometimes short interchanges ranging from topics of specific activities and events to discussions of sentiments or values. Other informal interviews were longer in duration, entering extended discussions that in some respect added the experiences and thinking of many individuals to the ethnographic picture. Formal interviews, that is, interviews with an agenda of predetermined topics conducted in a format that had been mutually agreed upon were carried out in the spring of 1990, the spring of 1991 and the fall of 1991.

In the summer of 1991, Ms. Elaine Dempsey joined the project as research associate. Ms. Dempsey (Wintun/Usal) had served as the Census Bureau’s Community Awareness Specialist (CCAS) with the Tribal Liaison Program (TLP) during the 1990 census. She brought to her research capacity the experience and knowledge she gained in the census work, as well as her long personal experience as a California Indian woman who actively engages in many tribal and community-based projects at local and state levels. Much of the overall research dynamic during the fall of 1991 reflects the joint collegial interaction between Lobo and Dempsey, including extensive discussions and the sharing of written reports and personal experiences.3

Lobo and Dempsey carried out a series of formal and informal interviews throughout the fall of 1991. The sample for these interviews was selected to include American Indian respondents who had been involved in the 1990 census process in the Oakland American Indian community, in formal capacities at the state, regional Bay Area, or strictly American Indian community level, as well as those who had been involved with the census principally in responding to the form.

Participant observation was carried out throughout the research period by both researchers in contexts as diverse as Oakland city meetings where the census was under discussion, at pow-wows and other Indian community events where census information tables were present, or at the Wednesday Night dinner at IFH where casual conversation among friends or family members turned to the census.

One phase of research involved organizing a conference entitled "American Indians and the Census: One Year Later" held in the spring of 1991 (see Attachment B). This conference was jointly planned by representatives of IFH, United Indian Nations, Native American Studies at the University of California/ Berkeley, Native American Studies at U.C./ Davis, and the

3 Extensive quotes by Elaine Dempsey are included in this report where she is referred to as "the CCAS",
California Indian Education Association and others. There was ample discussion of topics related to the census in order to formulate the conference format and set priorities for the themes to be presented and discussed. The presence of both project researchers as both instrumental participants and observers provided additional data for this report. (The accompanying video provides excerpts from the conference itself.)

Synopsis of Ethnographic Exploratory Research Report # 12

Much of what is presented below is based on the assumption that the reader has already reviewed the complementary information presented in the preliminary report. That preliminary report on Oakland’s American Indian community history, social organization and factors suggests how Indian social life and cultural concepts interact with the methods, procedures and techniques utilized by the U.S. Census Bureau to contribute to the outcome of the census. To summarize briefly major points from the preliminary report, the San Francisco Bay Area Indian community is one of the major urban Indian centers in the United States, and:

1. Tribally, the community has very heterogeneous affiliations as a result of immigration to California from throughout the United States.

2. Residentially, the community is scattered, rather than clustered, and there is a high degree of residential mobility.

3. Socially, the structure of the community is characterized by a network of individuals and organizations within distinct spheres of interest and activity. A number of organizations and other special interest institutions act as nodes within this network of relatedness.

4. The extended family and tribal affiliation play important roles in community dynamics.

5. Although much of the community is characterized economically by low income, there is a developing middle class, and an increasingly diverse range of activities by community members.

6. A multi-generational component is present, including an infant fourth generation. These children are the great-grandchildren of the wave of people who migrated to the area in the 1950’s, many of whom came as a part of the Federal relocation program.

The preliminary report indicates a number of salient factors as having the potential to affect the outcome of the census. The diversity of housing types where urban Indians live was one such factor and many families reported they did not receive a mailed-out census form nor was the place they lived recognized as a residential unit by an enumerator. The dispersion of American Indian residences scattered within more homogeneous or diverse neighborhoods makes locating Indians complex. The nature of household composition and residential mobility also presents challenges to 1990 census techniques. A
series of elements including historically long-standing conflicts between American Indians and the Federal government, levels of literacy, and values such as definitions of the domains of privacy are also factors affecting the level of participation in the census actively chosen by American Indians. Finally, differing interpretations of terminology found on the census form, as well as crucial questions of racial and ethnic identity by American Indians are elements in the resulting count.

The Video

The 30 minute video was filmed at the spring 1991 conference "American Indians and the census..one year later" held at Intertribal Friendship House, and features portions of presentations by Indian people who were engaged in various aspects of the census process; from thinking about the more abstract causes for miscounts or undercounts, to grappling with practical problems of the census, to applying means of making the results of the census directly applicable to the expressed and immediate needs of American Indian people in the Oakland area. The firsthand insights expressed in the video provide a counterpoint to the description and analysis found in the two written reports.

Chronology of the 1990 Census in the Bay Area American Indian community

Background

A series of events that composed the census process in 1990 gives insights into the ways that the American Indian community responded to the census overall, as well as the ways that the procedures used by the U.S. Census Bureau interacted with the values, social structure and social dynamics found within the American Indian community.

Throughout most of the 1980's, the results of the 1980 census played a fairly minor role in daily activities in the Indian community in the Bay Area. This population does not generally rely on statistics to characterize or describe reality. Staff of Indian organizations have been aware that a knowledge of the demographics that define the American Indian population in the Bay Area may prove to be useful. Much of the motivation for obtaining demographic information derives from external demands; during the process of requesting funds, the need for services to the community and the size of the community must be demonstrated. American Indian community organizations are also aware that demographic information will improve their ability to design and provide appropriate services.

Throughout the 1980's, although there was a consensus that the 1980 census figures represented an undercount of the American Indian population in the Bay Area, some community organizations continued to utilize these figures in proposal writing and in making projections for future needs within the community. Other organizations utilized estimates based on their particular service population.
The director of Intertribal Friendship House indicated:

"Funders often ask how many people we are serving. What tribes and what numbers? 'Well, people come in and out our doors all the time.' The funders often ask, 'What tribes?' This is becoming less significant all the time because of intermarriage of tribes. But for us, we can't so easily go--for example--to the Navajo tribe and say we have 600 Navajos in the area, and 200 of them are low income. We just don't have the figures."

The Tribal Liaison Program

The Census Community Awareness Specialist (CCAS)

In the interviews carried out for this research, the staff of Indian organizations related that they most commonly began to think seriously about the census after contact with the CCAS as a part of the Tribal Liaison Program (TLP). For example, one of the most active advocates for census participation was the director of the Oakland JTPA program, United Indian Nations (UIN), who first became involved in census activities in the late fall of 1989 following discussions with the northern California CCAS. Prior to contact with the CCAS, this agency administrator had not planned to take part in census activities because she was not aware that census outreach services were critical, significant, or needed. She later became actively involved in the Oakland City Complete Count Committee (CCC), negotiating for an American Indian census outreach position when none had been initially considered by the city.

In hindsight, the CCAS commented about her role:

"Urban community involvement was pretty much handled by enterprising and creative Indian leaders. My job was simply to suggest, challenge, assist (and coerce) as necessary to facilitate census education to the largest Indian audiences in the quickest manner. Indian agencies for manpower, health, seniors, education, social and religious entities stayed committed and helped me to the end."

Some Indian community members indicated they had gained a generalized awareness of the approaching census through the media. However, it was frequently the direct contact with the CCAS that personalized their awareness, indicated to them the special considerations related to the American Indian count, and galvanized their interest in initiating outreach efforts among those associated with their organizations:

"I first learned about the census from the tribal liaison. Nobody from the Census ever visited us, or even sent letters or materials to us. We only got materials from the liaison."
"I first thought about the census in listening to a presentation of the Tribal Liaison representative at the BAIAR meeting."

"Elaine came and gave a talk to us and handed out posters and other information about the census. This is when I first heard anything."

Originally, the program had one American Indian CCAS for the entire state of California. However, when the magnitude of the task became evident, an additional CCAS was added for southern California. This still left the northern California worker with a mandate to cover an extremely large territory of forty-six counties and to maintain contact with many, often scattered tribes, organizations and individuals. The tribal liaison program as formally defined nationally was to focus on contacts with tribes, especially those tribes recognized by the federal government. The northern California CCAS extended the program to include many tribes not recognized by the Federal government and also, urban Indian populations. This initiative on her part, as well as her vitality in carrying it out, created a conduit between the Bay Area Indian community and the local census offices, as well as rural Indian tribes and populations. However, the CCAS presence providing census awareness to the Indian community was sometimes interpreted by local census offices as relieving them of the obligation to serve their Indian constituency in the urban areas.

The CCAS indicates:

"Most district offices expected the Tribal Liaison Program to address all Indian matters, but of course it didn't. This was not its purpose. The Census Bureau also failed to perceive that minority CCAS selected from a particular community possess the loyalty and respect of that respective community. So, it follows, when district managers disregarded a CCAS recommendation, an entire community became angered. The Census Bureau was always under fire from ethnic neighborhoods.... I recall creating my own philosophy....the Tribal Liaison Program is a good program; but my primary responsibility will be to help Indians, not the Census Bureau."

The involvement of this one person, and her extreme effectiveness made her a forceful advocate for the census within the Indian community, far exceeding the strict definition of the role of the CCAS.

At the time the CCAS was hired in October of 1988, she was one of the very few people in the Indian community with a particular interest in the upcoming
census. Her interest in working for the census derived in part from her long involvement in national American Indian politics and her current position as president of the California Indian Education Association. She was well aware of the impact that statistics, both adequate and poor, have had on Indian people, and she was determined to put her skills and broad knowledge of northern California tribal people toward a count that was an improvement over the 1980 census. She also had direct personal experience with the frustrations related to small northern California tribes seeking Federal recognition, and the ways that census figures can aid or defeat these efforts. As a past director of the San Jose Indian Center, she was widely known in the Bay Area Indian community, making her contact with the staff of the Indian organizations comparatively easy.

Because the TLP was formally intended to serve only "tribes", the equally large urban Indian population that looks to Indian "organizations" was not served. The CCAS comments on some of her motivations to expand the program.

"Necessity caused me to combine rural/reservation training and urban Indian census training, because so little economic development and few job opportunities exist on reservations, Indians are forced to seek jobs in large cities, but they regularly return on weekends, and for celebrations, elections, funerals or sports. Some maintain two residences. To educate the entire extended Indian family to census processes, it was imperative that I 'cover' both communities. Further, the largest Indian faction in California resides in inner-cities, mostly out-of-state Indians. I knew the census was important to urban Indian programs, and I also knew no Census Bureau program was going to target this population. The Census Bureau never had to tell me to work hard. It was a self-directing job, but my main concern was to always do my best for the Indians, and they would do their best for me. They did, both urbans and reservations."

The then director of IFH said,

"We in IFH supported the Tribal liaison project. She gave good background on the census and good support materials. She knew of people living off reservations and the ways families are linked to those living at Home (on rural tribal lands). And we had contacts throughout the other urban organizations so we were networking with the organizations about information about the census, to share ideas."

Another Bay Area Indian organizational director commented,

"There was not an overall commitment on the part
of the Census Bureau to count Indians. Things that the Census Bureau sponsored as 'multi-cultural' did not seem to include Indians. It was like the Tribal Liaison Program was supposed to take care of everything."

People in the Bay Area Indian community consistently turned to the CCAS as their link to the Census Bureau, rather than to district or regional offices. The person in the CCAS role was known and trusted: she was Indian and she made herself accessible. These characteristics were startlingly absent to any Indian person entering the local census offices or contacting the local non-Indian census workers.

The Northern California Regional Meeting

One of the first official notices of census activity that came to the attention of the Bay Area Indian community was an invitation to organizational directors to attend a northern California regional meeting held in San Francisco in February 1989, fourteen months before Census Day. Invitations were extended to include federally recognized tribes, non-federally recognized tribes, urban organizations and northern California Indian leadership generally. At this time, incentives within the Bay Area Indian community to attend a meeting regarding the census, even a local meeting nearby in San Francisco, were not strong. Attendance was primarily by rural tribal members whose travel costs were reimbursed. The written evaluations of the meeting ranged from excellent to poor, and included comments such as:

"Some presenters (non-Indians) did not relate information as it pertains to our people. To make it usable or important, Indians need to know how it comes back around."

"As everyone knows, Indian people are more private and these census questions are overwhelming. But I agree it is very important and coming to this regional Indian meeting really opened my eyes to help get all Indians counted."

"All is all very informative, but perhaps could have been held earlier. I like to think I keep myself fairly well-informed, but a great deal of this information is totally new."

"Thanks for inviting us to become involved in shaping our future."

"We were frustrated because our questions were answered with 'it's too late to change the 1990 census. This is the way things are and you will have to live with things the way they are.'"

A theme in the comments was a sense of lack of participation in making the
decisions that determined the process and methods of the census. This was heard within the urban Indian community again and again throughout the spring and summer of 1990.

The following description of the meeting by the CCAS highlights some of the differing perceptions between Census personnel and Indian people both in terms of process, the outcome and the intent of the meeting. The CCAS gives an eyewitness account as follows:

"It was the official kick-off of the 1990 Census Bureau's introduction to tribes and tribal groups about being counted. It was helpful, needed and beneficial in that it gave all Indian groups the same information at the same time. The tribal interests and conflicts outweighed those of urban communities, but the session also brought into focus what the census had not done in the past for Indian people, and what they were prepared to do for 1990. The presentations were not lost on urban Indians because they learned what activities would be happening on their home reservations, and the census message was essentially the same for both places.

Attending: all VIP's from Census Headquarters, State BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) leaders, all California tribal chair persons and urban directors. The day-long program was meant to be the usual minority group meeting, a media coup for the Census Bureau, but the Indian audience turned out to be 'census-literate' and somewhat hostile. The Census Bureau could not fathom so many individual tribes who acted so independently, not to mention the completely different needs and stances voiced by urban groups. By mid-day, Census VIP's were distraught and BIA VIP's were defensive as some tribes got very vocal prioritizing their problems which, by the way, were not always pertinent to census business at hand.

I was very pleased with it all. There never was any real animosity, just spirited talk!! It actually was a good meeting because everyone had a chance to air their viewpoints in front of the entire group. It was orderly, sort of ....equal opportunity Indian style. Afterwards, Indians joined one another and toured the waterfront laughing and having fun."
Activities of the Tribal Liaison Program's Census Awareness Specialist

In the late spring and summer of 1989, the Tribal Liaison Program was the most active force bringing the upcoming census to the attention of the Bay Area American Indian community. The TLP primarily made contacts with staff of the organizations and secondarily directly contacted with the broader base of Indian community members. The CCAS distributed information at pow-wows held in May 1989 at Stanford and at DeAnza College. The Stanford pow-wow is considered a major event in the Bay Area Indian calendar, drawing thousands of local people and dancers and drums from as far away as the plains, the midwest and Canada. Among the craft and food booths are information booths with brochures and fliers regarding the current programs and projects of Bay Area Indian organizations. In 1989, information on the census was available at one such booth: not a high profile, but a presence. In the weeks following the Stanford pow-wow, the census was not a topic of conversation in the Indian community. After all, "Census Day" was still a year away and stronger personal and community-wide priorities occupied people’s attention.

Organizations within and serving the Indian community consistently operate under the burden of inadequate funding and staffing to respond to extremely pressing needs of the community. It is generally recognized within the Indian community that its organizations play a fundamental role in maintaining the social, cultural, spiritual, educational and health needs of the community; that is, the institutional fabric of the community. And it is recognized that through the extremely hard work and active participation in community affairs by the boards, staffs and many volunteers in the organizations that the essential nature of the community is maintained. Consequently, although some organizations such as the clinics or the tutoring programs may focus on one specialty within the community, these organizations are also engaged simultaneously in a broad array of community-wide activities and obligations, contributing to individual and group survival and well-being.

In the spring of 1989, the notion of the coming census was just one more element in the already overburdened organizational agendas. To members of the Indian community maintaining income, finding adequate housing and education for the children, health concerns, multiple responsibilities within extended families with members living in the city as well as "back home" all had higher priority than yet another government program.....the census!

During June and July of 1989, the CCAS made presentations at staff meetings of various Indian organizations, including Intertribal Friendship House, the San Francisco Indian Health Board, United Indian Nations, the San Jose Indian Center, the Alcohol treatment programs in Oakland and San Jose, various education projects in Oakland, San Francisco, and San Jose, as well as to the University of California at Berkeley Native American Studies academic program. The response of these organizations' staff could be generally described as passively interested, yet the census was not a high priority and did not warrant special discussion at that time. Because the CCAS was a known and trusted member of the community, she was viewed as a resource, someone to whom they could turn for further information if needed. It was also assumed that she would act in the best interest of the community in carrying out the role
of a liaison with the government agency, in this case the Census Bureau, that she would keep the community informed of special concerns or tell them if the need for action arose. Attention turned to the more pressing internal concerns of the particular organizations and the constituent community.

In the research area, a coalition of all Indian organizations meets once a month on a rotating site basis. The Bay Area Indian Agency Representatives, known as "BAIAR," serves primarily as an information sharing entity; the monthly meetings consist primarily of extended announcements and presentations by invited guests regarding programs and activities of potential interest to the Indian community (see Attachment C). One organizational director said:

"Locally, the BAIAR representatives through contacts with the CCAS, expressed their interest and concern in obtaining an accurate count of American Indians. The 1980 figures, were of course, obsolete, and considered to be severely low. The obtaining of funding for human services is a critical and ever present goal for organizations. Existing service delivery systems are over-burdened with the level of funding currently available."

As a coalition, Bay Area Indian Agency Representatives has a gate-keeping function in affecting the flow of ideas and information into the community though organizational representatives. On occasion, widespread concerns within the community are aired and discussed at BAIAR meetings. Although BAIAR has no formal powers of sanction for example, the fact of an individual and his or her actions being discussed at a BAIAR meeting does have an impact within the Indian community, and BAIAR's decision to write or withhold a letter of support, likewise has an impact in the workings of the community. The socializing and work that is carried on at the BAIAR meetings creates a sense of alliance that exists among staff of various organizations. This sense of alliance is also carefully balanced with the strong need for organizational autonomy.

A characteristic of the Indian community is its structural fluidity: organizations and their staff shift and change over time in response to pressures both external and internal to the community. The CCAS notes:

"The computer(ized) contact lists (provided by the Census Bureau) for urban Indian areas from 1985-1988 were totally outdated. Staff turnovers for urban centers is much more frequent than the census realizes. I was told about an urban census meeting held at the San Francisco Indian Center prior to 1988. But times change. This agency was now financially troubled and closing its doors. Everybody moved on."

The process of falling back into smaller groups, or "camps," and then surging
together in alliances and coalitions is a dynamic well recognized within the community. At times this dynamic is appreciated for its responsiveness and survival value. At other times, people despaired about the time and energy this dynamic takes and about the divisiveness it may present when unity is called for.

This organizational fluidity responds to and contributes to the thinking of the community and motivates action within the community. Those who attend the BAIAR meetings -- and the actual attendants are always shifting -- are privy to information and may be administrative staff in the community organizations, yet their power only results from the degree of support the community gives. It is the community as a whole that balances the actions of the leadership, relies on the insights of the elders and reacts to external pressures. It is important to understand the nature of a coalition such as BAIAR, as a part of understanding its role in disseminating information within the Indian community.

Starting in August and continuing through the fall of 1989, the CCAS made presentations at the monthly meetings of the Bay Area Indian Agency Representatives. The presentations, usually lasting about thirty minutes, included various aspects of the census process and included questions and answers. She joked about the boxes and boxes of promotional materials she hauled around with her and handed out at the meetings. She comments:

"To the positive, the Tribal Liaison Program materials were without contest, the most comprehensive outreach development by the Census Bureau. The five Indian census campaign posters were punctual, good-looking, and well-received by the American Indian people and other populations across the board. This unique collaboration was an esteem builder for Indians. The materials overall were easily presentable to agency liaisons who ably integrated them into their daily work programs. The Tribal Liaison Program was the saving grace to direct a broad, census involvement for Indian parents, businesses, and the community-at-large who, without it, probably would have skipped the 1990 census by choice."

Response to the Indian-focused materials produced by the Census Bureau was positive overall in the Indian community as expressed by one organizational staff person:

"The census posters and buttons were the best promotional items. In addition to being distributed and hung up at places such as the clinic, they also got up in unconventional places such as bars where Indians congregate. This got Indian people
The CCAS always stressed that the Tribal Liaison Program was officially designed to serve tribes, and that she personally had also informally extended the work to include the urban organizations as much as possible. She said the organizations would have to take the initiative to "get the word out" to the community overall. Eventually, some urban Indian organizations signed agreements to act as Volunteer Questionnaire Assistance Centers. The staff of some organizations felt hesitant to do this however, not understanding clearly what responsibilities might be ultimately asked of them, and knowing full well the extent to which their space, staff time and other resources were already stretched thin. In Oakland these agreements never translated into action however and the functions described were ultimately taken on by the Indian Census Outreach coordinators who worked for the Oakland Complete Count Committee.

Complete Count Committee

Parallel with the Tribal Liaison Program, but initiated at the city level, were the Complete Count Committees (CCC). In only two Bay Area cities, Oakland and San Francisco, did these committees involve American Indians. In the fall of 1988, the first Complete Count meetings were organized in Oakland after the Census Bureau contacted the NAACP. No Indian people were present at these first meetings. However, in May of 1989 the director of United Indian Nations (a job training organization in Oakland) attended an employment and job training conference in Wisconsin that included topics on census issues of concern to American Indians nationally. Returning to Oakland, her interest in the census continued, and having had contact with the CCAS, she then brought her organization into the city-wide complete count committee activities by the fall of 1989. During this time the then director of another organization, had the following to say:

"But it is very important in making this count, since once they have these figures, they then use them as if they are some sort of scientific truth and they do affect the outcome of our program planning and access to funds. The numbers become powerful tools that get used for example for programs for women and for the homeless. That's why it is important the Indians put in their two cents worth. They say they aren't scientific,

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4 The American Indian and Alaska Native Census Advisory Committee criticized the Census Bureau for extending the tribal liaison program to state recognized tribes and advocated restricting the program to the federally recognized tribes only. However, there are reports that the excellent materials prepared for the tribal liaison program were used in other urban Indian contexts, for example, in Milwaukee, and adapted by outreach specialists for other, non-Indian groups.
but then afterwards they get used as if they are scientifically arrived at."

Positions of (Census) "Outreach Coordinators" were funded by a city block grant and posts were created for the Black, Asian, and Hispanic communities. Initially, the American Indian community was not included. The director of UIN commented that "throughout it was an uphill struggle to maintain equal status on the complete count committee since we were always being so overshadowed by larger, more visible ethnic groups." Finally, through pressure from representatives of BAIAR (see Attachment D) and the director of a broad based Hispanic organization, the Indian community was granted first a half time position from March 20 to May 29th, and then a full time position until the program ended August 17th. These positions were administered by UIN. The position was actually staffed consecutively by three different individuals, each of whom was given a four hour training by the American Indian CCAS.

Were they effective? Each of the outreach coordinators was an active member of the Oakland Indian community, and understood clearly the ways that information is circulated within the community via the organizations and the personal networks of those linked to these organizations. (See attachments E) For this reason and the high level of trust they had with community members, they were good choices for this position. Their activities focused principally on educating the community regarding the role of the census and motivating participation in the census. They provided information tables at three local Indian organizations: Intertribal Friendship House, United Indian Nations and the Urban Indian Health Center. Because there was only one outreach staff person, the assistance center tables were less effective than they could have been since they were often unattended. (See Attachment F.)

The Outreach Coordinators had information booths at community events such as the Intertribal Friendship House Easter picnic and at the Stanford and Mills College pow-wows which are attended by large numbers of American Indians representing a good cross-section of the population (see Attachment G). They saw to it that promotional materials such as the posters provided to them by the CCAS, were disseminated and displayed at the community organizations.

For example, a "Community Dinner and Townhouse Meeting" co-sponsored by eight Indian organizations was held at Intertribal Friendship House on March 28th (see Attachment H). This free meal was publicized through the various Indian organizations and well-attended by over two hundred and fifty people, which is a fairly typical number for community dinners. The CCAS spoke after the meal emphasizing the importance of filling out and returning the census forms. Another community dinner was held on July 25th (see Attachment I) during which it was emphasized that this would be the last time to answer the census. Plans to disseminate census information through the Hintil Kuu Ca Child Development Center did not actually occur until later, at the end of July, when "Were you counted?" forms were sent home with children. (See the report of Outreach Coordinator's work, Attachment J.)

Was this effort worthwhile? As individuals the outreach coordinators were effective, and the administrators of participating organizations felt that having outreach coordinators is a good means of improving the census count.
However, the program overall was criticized within the Indian community characteristically as "too little and too late". The last outreach coordinator wrote in her report, "The late start, the late contracts and lack of communication between the coordinators and the representative from the Mayor’s office was unfortunate." Another community leader said, "Also the census should pay the organizations who help to underwrite the costs of our efforts. As it was this time around the organizations look on this work which meant they were subsidizing the Census Bureau. After all, it is their responsibility, not ours."

The complete count activities did not actually begin to move from the meetings phase into community-based activity, and the outreach coordinators did not begin to work in the community until mid-March, only two weeks before April 1st. They barely began to function in their positions when census day had come and past, and they then moved into the "were you counted" phase which brought with it new guidelines, activities and goals. The complete count committee was shifted from oversight of the Mayor’s office to that of the City Manager’s office in June, necessitating reworking relationships and procedures. The late start for the outreach and the turnover of outreach coordinators greatly diminished the overall effectiveness of this program. There was confusion as to job descriptions, as well as the nature of the relationship with the other members of the complete count committee and the Census Bureau staff.

Lines of communication between the outreach workers and the Indian community were intact and functioned well, but the communication with the Census Bureau was poor. The outreach coordinators' contact with census personnel was almost exclusively with the CCAS who was trying valiantly to service the needs of all Indian tribes and organizations throughout northern California. The local census office did not establish a relationship with the Oakland Complete Count American Indian outreach coordinators, nor did they extend assistance to them, in spite of the outreach workers' efforts to do so. Timing was often off, in that materials such as the "Were you counted?" forms arrived late, or instructions for their use were not clear.

In addition, old city-wide conflicts between various ethnic groups and organizations around "turf" re-emerged at the Complete Count Committee meetings, diverting much time and energy away from the census. The American Indian participants in the committee work who historically had not figured in these city-wide struggles for hegemony found this conflict frustrating and time-consuming. There was concern by Indian participants that too much time was spent in "pointing the finger" by other ethnic groups about shortcomings in the process rather than taking into consideration that time to carry out the work was short or aspects of the work were "designed to fail". The program might have functioned more effectively had it been started much sooner, had there been a clearer definition of the each outreach role and the overall goals, and had there been strongly established or pre-existing relationships with the Census Bureau personnel and between the various ethnic representatives who participated in the Complete Count Committee.

Organizational directors at one BAIAR meeting raised serious questions as to why the city of Oakland was forced to be in a position to extend already
overextended City funds to carry out a task that is the responsibility of the Federal government. Organizational staff also complained that census activities related to the complete count committee took staff time, office space, use of equipment and telephones, for which there was no compensation.

One of the positive outcomes of the American Indian participation in the complete count committee was the rare opportunity for the Oakland city government to learn about local American Indians and their organizations through joint participation in meetings and planning sessions. This was one of the few occasions when the American Indian community came to be a participating entity in the city-wide political arena, and the results of this participation may have a greater immediate and more practical local impact than any improvement in the actual census count that may have resulted.

**Homeless American Indians and S-Night**

The S-Night operation carried out on March 20th and 21st in Oakland did not effectively involve Indian people, either as enumerators, or among those counted, even though there is a sizable number of Indian people who live on the streets of Oakland. The CCAS comments:

"I can only recall the Region (Census Bureau’s regional office) trying to recruit Black people for S-Night. An effort to recruit Indians was just an incidental exercise, the same for identifying ‘Indian hang-outs’ (street locations for the Indian homeless)."

The director of the Urban Indian Child Resource Center felt the Indian homeless either avoided the census, were simply overlooked, or because of illiteracy did not complete the census form handed to them in shelters. An Indian health worker explains:

"At certain times, the people on the streets leave the streets looking for warmer locations and (then) they are hard to find. And Indians with any criminal background would surely avoid census takers for fear of reprisals."

The CCAS indicated that of all the Indian organizations in the Bay Area that in one way or another work with homeless, only one to her knowledge was involved in S-night activities, and then only very peripherally. These organizations had no evidence that the homeless American Indians who live on the streets or at the park near Intertribal Friendship House had been counted in S-Night. In addition, the CCAS indicated that S-night enumerators in the Oakland area were not given sensitivity training on how to differentiate between the races visually, so it is very unlikely that if Indian homeless and other Indians living temporarily on the Bay Area streets were even seen and enumerated by observation that they would be correctly identified as American Indian. They might have been mistaken for Hispanic, Asian, Black or White.
Census Day and After

What then happened on April 1st, 1990? While the activities of the complete count committee, the American Indian organizations, and the Tribal Liaison Program's CCAS can be tracked and observed, it is another task to measure in numbers the impact of their activities on the outcome of the census. The goal here is to bring understanding to what happened, rather than to measure what happened. (Please refer to the Preliminary Ethnographic Report, #12 for a discussion of the many factors affecting the count.) It is possible however to recognize the much greater census awareness and activity in the Bay Area American Indian community in 1990 as compared to 1980. It is also possible to document the increased involvement in census activities in the American Indian community as April 1st approached. Also there was a consensus within the Indian community that information regarding the census was appropriately reaching the urban Indian community via the Indian leadership of the organizations, from there to the staff of the organizations, and from there widely into the community itself.

In the interviews for this study, there was great variation in discussing the actual response to the census. Many reported that they received a census form at their home address, filled it out with no problems, and returned it by mail. There were comments such as, "In our family we had the long form. I had no problem to fill it out. It was no big deal."

Many others reported never receiving the form by mail, and never being visited by an enumerator. For those visited by enumerators, the response was generally negative. (See discussion below.) Still many others indicated they had received the form, but could not or did not fill it out, or did not return it:

"This form was too confusing. I looked at it, and it was!"

"It was too complex and nobody at home understood the importance of census participation. They thought it was an invasion of their privacy."

After April 1st, as already noted, the activities of the Complete Count Committee outreach coordinators and of the Census Community Awareness Specialist continued through the summer months. In the Oakland Indian community much of activity after Census Day was referred to as the "Were you Counted" campaign (see Attachment K) and there was repeated discussion of confusion regarding schedules, dates and deadlines. The CCAS commented:

"The census phases after April 1st were occurring monthly. (It's Not too late! Were You Counted? Last Resort, etc.) and the Oakland CCC never grasped the delineations or imposed time frames. There was an effect on American Indians. I felt they promoted this program too soon and too heavily and in doing so, circumvented individuals who still had adequate time to fill out their original,
complete census form, but who then gladly opted for the simpler, easier one-page form."

Discussion

A number of themes consistently emerged during the research indicated by people in the Bay Area American Indian community as particularly pertinent to gaining an understanding of the effectiveness of the 1990 census process. Themes include communication flows, the undercount, confidentiality and trust, enumerators and other Census Bureau employees, and problems in interpreting the census form.

Communication into and within the Indian community through the social service agencies and cultural organizations

How did information regarding the census reach, enter and circulate throughout the urban Indian community? The Indian social service agencies and cultural organizations within the community functionally served as the focal social units in the Indian community's contact with the census and these organizations are the principal nodes in the social network of the urban Indian community. Notably, the census did not have points of contact with the neighborhoods, tribes, lineages, religious organizations, or extended families.

Indian individuals and families do turn to the social service agencies and cultural organizations for social activities and services. These organizations face outward beyond the Indian community to interact with institutions of the larger local, state, and national society. So people in the Indian community are accustomed to turning to the organizations for assistance, advice and orientation regarding dealings with the world at large. The urban Indian social service and cultural organizations function similarly to the tribal offices and programs in a reservation or rural setting. Therefore, from a perspective centered from within the American Indian community, it is appropriate that these organizations act as intermediaries between the Census Bureau and the community members.

The number of American Indian organizations varies over time, but during the two years of this study ranged between thirty-five and forty. Organizations included the American Indian centers in Oakland, San Francisco, and San Jose; the American Indian clinic with its various departments and sites in both Oakland and San Francisco; the Urban Indian Child Resource Center; the United Indian Nations which focuses on employment and job training; educational organizations, such as the Indian pre-school Hintil Ku Caa; and arts organizations, such as the American Indian Contemporary Arts Gallery. Over time, many of the board, staff, membership or clients of these organizations overlap, so, for example, someone who is a secretary in one of the urban Indian organizations may sit on the board of another and be a client in a third.

The director of UIN in her final report regarding the organization's participation in the Oakland Complete Count committee makes the following insightful comment which is a clear reflection of widely held sentiment within
It is extremely important that, for future census efforts, the community itself be involved in planning and implementing the count plan and that outreach coordinators be housed at a community organization site. Only an accepted and knowledgeable organization will be able to lend credibility to outreach efforts in the community itself. A community organization has the established contacts and network already in place that facilitates the job of an outreach coordinator. Further, a community based organization, rather than a city government office, ensures that the coordinator may function with the autonomy necessary to efficiently complete the given tasks.

The additional overlay of kinship and tribal affiliation further links the organizations into a community network of multiple relationships. One resulting function of this complex network effect is that communication within the American Indian community, sometimes referred to as the "moccasin telegraph" is rapid; seemingly, often instantaneous.

In many respects, the American Indian community in the Bay Area is closed or inward looking. In contrast to the rapid spread of information through word of mouth within the American Indian community, the sharing of information drops off rapidly beyond the limits of the community to the surrounding larger community. Thus, information, such as that regarding the census, does not easily penetrate into the community, or enter into the daily flow of informational give and take that is a vital part of the social dynamic within the Indian community. It is the organizations that select and channel what information from external sources enters and circulates through the community. Therefore, it is structurally appropriate that information regarding the census be brought into the community through the various American Indian organizations.

Other factors affect the ways that information reaches the Indian community and is circulated throughout the community. First, because urban Indian communities tend to be invisible to the larger society, the internal social dynamics of these communities are often unknown to city officials and others who facilitate the flow of funding, programs, and information. There are times when this invisibility is desired by Indian people and other circumstances when it is felt to be detrimental. The census-taking process itself is an emotionally charged situation which creates feelings of ambivalence for many Indian people because it raises the choice either of making oneself visible or staying comparatively invisible. Urban Indian "invisibility" is maintained through the interplay of existing stereotypes held by the population in general regarding ethnic communities or neighborhoods and what Indian people themselves look like and by the desire and strategy on the part of Indian people not to call attention to themselves and their community.
The lack of adequate demographic figures regarding the urban American Indian population further perpetuates the invisibility of the Indian community so that the community as a whole, and often American Indians as individuals, do not exist in the minds of those external to the Indian community. The 1990 census process demonstrated how this invisibility functions. For example, the Oakland Complete Count Committee initially did not include an Indian component. A reason often cited by the committee was, ironically, that numbers are too low, or -- to quote them-- "the Indian population is insignificant".

While a number of factors contribute to the comparative invisibility of the American Indian community to those outside the community, three are most prominent: 1. the dispersed residence patterns: urban Indians rarely form neighborhoods; 2. the wide physical variation among American Indians: many individuals' appearance does not coincide with stereotypes regarding what Indian "should" look like and 3. the frequent desire on the part of Indian people to keep a low profile. Old stereotypes of the vanishing or assimilated Indian die hard or subtly take new forms. Because of the history of interracial conflict, as a personal survival strategy many Indian people maintain a low profile in the presence of non-Indians and do not display their "Indianness" or assert their identity to outsiders. One recent arrival in the Bay Area from Oklahoma commented that he liked living here. When his non-Indian neighbor expressed surprise that the newcomer was Indian and that a large Indian community existed, the man replied: "Indians are everywhere and nowhere! Like it should be. That's why I like it."

The often subtle symbols of Indian identity, for example jewelry or body language, are evident to other Indian people, yet most frequently not perceived by non-Indians. In the same way the buildings that house the Indian organizations are for the most part not overtly "Indian" in their visual presentation. One must look hard in driving by the large nondescript brick building in Oakland to see the sign that says "Friendship House and Gift Shop". This is Intertribal Friendship House, the Oakland Indian center in full operation since 1955 and an important nexus in the Bay Area urban Indian community. The large building is nearly obscured by the neighboring stores and restaurants owned by Southeast Asians that have large bright, eye-catching signs and displays. Before the Southeast Asians, the neighbors were Latino, and before that, Black. The neighborhood has changed within the past ten years. Intertribal Friendship House has essentially remained the same; low-keyed and difficult to identify as an American Indian center by those not accustomed to looking for the subtle cues. Those within the "Indian country" communication network are told exactly where the Indian center is located as soon as they come into town. A large sign is not necessary.

Within the Indian community, organizations took various initiatives in promoting and making information regarding the census available to their staff and members or clients. For example, in the Indian clinics and dental offices in San Francisco and Oakland census posters were displayed prominently and census material was distributed to all employees to pass along to their families and friends. The clinic also purposely made census materials available to the public by leaving them on reading tables in patient waiting rooms. At the Urban Indian Child Resource center reminders to participate in
the Census were inserted in paycheck envelopes. The Bay Area Native American
Ministry, a Lutheran based, Indian staffed organization included some of the
census graphics in a newsletter (see Attachment L) sent out monthly to
approximately sixty households. The Indian-focused posters were channeled
into the Indian community by the CCAS who handed them out at the BAIAR
coalition meetings or directly to individual organizations. They were
displayed in many public areas of these organizations: in the clinic waiting
rooms, in the living-dining room of the Indian centers, in the reception area
of the office of Indian education and the hallway leading to the youth
empowerment program. In the fall of 1991, a year and a half after the census,
these attractive posters were still occasionally seen in organizational
offices, as well as in Indian homes.

Undercount

Although no one knew for sure the extent of the undercount, there is a
generalized and strongly held agreement by the Indian leadership that the 1970
and 1980 census undercounted Indian people in the Bay Area. An independent
study on the educational and employment profile of the Bay Area American
Indian community was carried out by the Robert Wood Foundation and United
Indian Nations in 1986. That study reported that only 62% of the respondents
had been counted on the 1980 census. Valid or not, this figure is one that is
frequently mentioned within the American Indian community. The director of
UIN indicates in a report to the city of Oakland:

"One result was the realization that the
American Indian population was undercounted
and invisible to government providers of
human services and to the general public.
It was difficult to assess population
characteristics and trends of the Indian
population because of the lack of consistent
information."

The director of another Indian organization commented:

"I would be very apprehensive to use the
(1980 and 1990) census figures, but they
could give some feeling. But I wouldn't
rely on them for making changes in our programs."

The third American Indian outreach coordinator working with the complete count
committee included a discussion of the reasons for an undercount of American
Indians in the Bay Area. She concludes:

"The methods used by the Census Bureau are
not adequate for counting populations that
have unique residence patterns and a culturally
and economically motivated mobility rate. The
existing Census methods would seem to work
best with people who live in contiguous blocks
and who live there for long lengths of time."
A staff person at one of the Indian organizations who works with a wide range on Indian clients concluded that:

"The Indian population count probably suffered losses because of the migrating Indian families in this city, too many moving from place to place during census time. And non-Indian enumerators do not know where to find Indian houses in both urban and rural areas. Particularly, homeless Indian hang-outs would be unknown to non-Indians."

The director of an Indian educational institution said,

"I'm not sure the Census Bureau understands the complexities of Indian cultures. And in California we have to deal with two sets of Indian populations, the urban and the rural. There are the functionally illiterate, those afraid of any federal government agent, those who have checkered records with the law, those with no permanent home, and the list goes on.

Some drastic changes have to happen in order to have a statistically significant return or there will be an undercount of Indians forever. I am not convinced the Bureau really wants this data on Indians, or they would be making some substantial changes in the questionnaire and the census taking techniques."

Throughout the 1980's, many of the urban organizations came to an informal accord that a "ball park" estimate of the American Indian population in the greater Bay Area was approximately 40,000, rather than rely on the 1980 census figure. This estimate was the figure most consistently used by organizations in proposal writing and other reportage throughout the 1980's. It was based in part on intuitive estimates derived from district-level studies, or based on attendance at local events such as pow wows.

What recourse to criticisms to the census were exercised? The CCAS commented regarding the possibility of an undercount:

"Indians subscribe to a lot of theories about causes for an Indian undercount, and every single person I talked to believed that Indians were undercounted. But to my knowledge, only one or two have been angry or motivated enough to take their concerns and suggestions for change to the Director of the Census Bureau, to the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, to the Census Bureau Indian Advisory or any elected official."
Regarding this an American Indian educator said:

"Indians have complaints about the census taking processes, but they did not know there was an Indian Advisory Board that could hear their suggestions. Most Indians did not know about the Board. They had no visibility throughout the census."

Some Indian people conceive the census as an inappropriate probe from the outside world to expose one's private life; to others the census is an opportunity to obtain much needed demographic information that will be helpful in securing services that are direly need by the American Indian community. The two poles are represented by those who choose to resist and those who accommodate. In the middle are those who have not thought about the census. A typical response was made during the interview of a woman who lives with her two children in an apartment. She had not received a census form to her address, nor had a census worker come to her door, or called her on the phone. She commented:

"I am forty-one years old, and I have never filled out a census form. I probably heard about it during 1990, but I just didn't pay any attention. I didn't think it had anything to do with me."

Some Indian people did not participate in the census, not for reasons necessarily based on resistance to the census but rather because of a lack of strong motivation to do so or because other stronger priorities existed. For example, one young man indicated that he first noticed the census Indian posters on the wall of a meeting room. He also saw the census buttons at the same time. When he asked where they came from, he was told someone had brought them from the Census Bureau. At the time, he recounts, he never gave it any more attention. "I just thought it was to just count people, not me or Indians, but everyone else."

Another woman who did not answer the census expressed a common sentiment:

"I did know the census was important. But I was going through a personal ordeal and I just forgot about the census. My problems were more important....a place to live and a job was more important at the time. But I will probably be griping about not being counted for the next ten years!"

There are numerous fears that the format of census-taking elicits for many Indian people. An Indian minister characterized one such fear this way:

"Federal forms used to have a statement to the effect that 'failure to fill this out completely and with honest fact could result in fines or jail', and many people remember
this and believe it. Our people tend to believe this because of our experience with the Federal government. We have been taken advantage of over time for so long. So this makes people fear these forms; fear that they will fill them out 'wrong' and get into trouble, or that the information will in some way in the future be used against them. This has been our experience with the Federal government. This is historic fact. For example, with the question about marriage or living together. There is the question in people's minds whether common law or 'Indian marriage' makes it a marriage for the census and they might fill out the form 'wrong', or that the questions themselves lack so much in perceiving what is actually the situation that there is no way to fill them out 'right'.

For those living on the streets there are a special set of considerations when confronted with the census. An administrator of one of the Bay Area Indian clinics expressed it this way:

"Also, special considerations need to be taken to enumerate the homeless people. I am sure they are avoiding the census takers out of fear. Fear that something will happen to them by the government; fear of being exposed or forced to do something they don't want to; a fear and distrust of anyone asking a lot of personal questions. When you're living on the streets, just giving out your name may mean reprisals."

In addition to those reasons for not participating in the census based on values, or fears, there are others. For example, a social worker said:

"And there are many people in the community who do not want to respond because the census says 'and you will fill the census out! You must fill it out!' They will avoid it. And this is the same of other authority figures such as the police, social workers, doctors: a defiance of authority. The last thing they will do is fill it out."

Others in the Bay Area Indian community who have insights or experience regarding the uses and misuses of statistics fear that poor statistics, that is methodologies that lead to an undercount, or the manipulation of these results, may create more problems than the absolute lack of information on the Indian community. For example, the CCAS comments:
"What is the rationale in situations where more than one race is reported and the individual either refuses to specify or claims both to 'Which race do you consider yourself to be?' The enumerator is instructed to fill in the circle for the race of that person's mother. This is a completely erroneous assumption for a patrilineal tribal group. Yet, if the person does not identify a single response to 'What is your mother's race?', then the enumerator will fill in the circle for the first racial group of the two reported. This could of course, if widespread, conceivably skew the tribe's total population count for either the mother or father, or a lot of Indians could end up being counted as White."

Most administrators in the urban Indian organizations who are accustomed to building a case for need in proposal writing, understand the connection between accurate statistical data and funding allocations. It is feared that the use of data derived from the census may be useless, or in distorting reality may actually undermine, or be used to undermine the Indian community's ability to demonstrate the clearly known need for services and programs. The phrase "statistical genocide" was coined regarding the census, and from time to time was used in the Indian community during the spring and summer of 1990. This fear acknowledged not only potential problems in the taking of the census, but also the coding of these data, and their subsequent use. This phrase characterizes the census not as a benign inquiry with positive intent, but with the violence associated with the loss of land, religious freedoms, and military encounters. These are strong sentiments that go deeply into a sense of shared history of injustice. For some American Indians the census taps into these sentiments and provides a strong impediment to participation.

Respondents repeatedly pointed out throughout the research, that it is important not to blame the victims of the poor results of a census. Rather, it is the mandate of the U.S. Census Bureau to sufficiently understand the structuring, dynamics, and values of a particular population in order to create and implement a methodology that is appropriate to the population, that adequately counts that population, and that is indeed, as intended beneficial to that population.

Confidentiality and the role of trust

As already discussed, the issue of confidentiality is a major one to American Indians in regards to the census. Indians in the Bay Area raised the question again 'How confidential is the census really?' What are some of the dimensions of this question? The degree of trust or its lack, is based on a long history of poor relations and deception between the U.S. government and American Indian people. Many respondents during the study expressed fears that the census figures would be used in ways that would be detrimental to Indians as a group, or used as negative retaliation to individuals. One woman, a receptionist in one of the key Indian organizations and an active
member of the community said:

"I don’t think all Indians got counted. It helped a great deal to have the Tribal Liaison come to the office and tell about the census, an Indian in the community was actually in contact with Indian people; an Indian person we could actually see working in the Census Bureau and walking around to get Indians counted. It gave us more confidence because we were suspicious that it was just another government agency trying to collect more information on us."

The administrators of Indian organizations tended to express comments such as the following:

"Unfortunately, most Indians still believe that their participation in the census is not going to make any difference. Indian have an attitude--they don’t want the government to know where they live or what they do. They need to learn how important the census data is to them and Indian programs."

Those less involved directly in organizational concerns or less aware of the link between numbers and potential funding, expressed an array of fears that inhibited answering the census. One community member who works as a counselor said:

"The question of getting the numbers up and a complete count seems positive, yet it could be manipulated all the way down the line to once again not treat Indian people fairly. In fact, those numbers might be used to validate not treating Indian people fairly once again in areas like housing and jobs. I think there would be a better count if we were sure it would be advantageous, but we can see that the dominant society could use these figures against us, and that makes us insecure."

Another sentiment was "It may be better for them not to know how many Indian people there are. There is always the potential for backlash against Indian people."

These reactions are defined differently in diverse situations; yet the census process is one that is potentially highly charged within the urban Indian community, drawing forth the fears, the sentiments, and the desires for resolution that both reflect the tortuous and conflict-filled history of
relations between American Indians and the Federal and state governments or non-Indians in general, and the efforts for personal safety and the creating of a urban community that fulfills personal needs.

There is an equally strong sentiment in the Bay Area Indian community that census taking and the 1990 census in particular is an invasion of privacy, and that claims of confidentiality cannot be trusted. A typical comment is

"As Indian people we have had so many experiences with the Federal government, that we don't believe, don't trust that this information is going to be confidential."

Another community member says:

"Confidentiality will always be a problem with Indians. They don't like to give out personal information to anyone and they don't trust just anyone knowing their personal business."

An active grandmother in the Oakland community responds regarding the census,

"It's a waste of my time. That's how I feel about it. That's how a lot of Indian people feel about it. They don't count us. You could fill out all the papers you want to fill out. Where's it going to go, into the garbage? We don't see no results. Our people have never seen results from the Federal government. So there is distrust, and it is well-warranted distrust."

When asked why she would not answer the census, she replied:

"Why? Do you know American Indian history? They would like to abrogate all the treaties and just do away with us and pretend like we never even existed. There's people that don't even know there're Indians to this day. And that's the way the government wants it to be."

The director of one of the Indian organizations that had taken an active role in census outreach said:

"The Census Bureau did not 'sell' the confidentiality factor to Indians. We are still suspicious."

The director of another program expressed his ambivalence regarding the confidentiality of census procedures:

"I am not comfortable with it. But we don't
say this much since we are trying to get the community to answer the census. The question of confidentiality is still a question in our community. Even for those who don't have anything to hide, there is still that feeling: It is a bigger question to some individuals than to others."

At the Indian health center, the director made the comment,

"Even we have difficulty (with primarily Indian staff) taking simple surveys, because people worry about confidentiality. Doubled-up households and extended families, low-income families, people with outstanding warrants; no one in these situations will volunteer any information."

Another member of the community adds:

"Say there are grandchildren living in the home who are supposed (through a court order) to be in custody someplace else. So the grandparents don't want to say they are there. Or there are many people who have outstanding warrants and they don't want to fill out the forms since they are afraid the information may get into the hands of the police."

Some of the basis for lack of trust derives not from old history, but directly from experiences with the 1990 census itself. The CCAS recounted:

"The Indians never faltered in meeting census challenges. It was the Census Bureau's failure to adhere to its own written policies and agreements with tribal governments that has caused problems, discrepancies, mis-counts, animosities, and distrusts beginning in 1990. I believed the Census Bureau, and the Indians believed me when I talked about census confidentiality, census job opportunities and census equal sharing. Yet, from January 1990 onward, I would spend the next six months trying not to compromise the trust of the Indians while battling district offices in the state to simply do what was promised years before."

Enumerators and other census employees

There was strong agreement during the interviews that non-Indian enumerators would have or had a difficult time accurately accomplishing their work among the urban Indian population. The problems of ethnic distancing, mistrust and barriers of communication and sensitivity were accentuated due to expectations
that were not met regarding the hiring of Indian people as census workers. One Indian man said:

"The Census should hire and train more Indians to work on the census. Indian workers should be visible during that time. We saw lots of minority people, but no Indians."

A staff person in an Indian youth program said,

"The Census Bureau must hire more Indian enumerators and give Indians management positions if they ever expect to get a good Indian count. We need to see Indians."

The word did not get out sufficiently to the Indian community that enumerators were being hired, and only one Indian enumerator is known through this study to have worked in the Bay Area; this one worked in San Francisco among the homeless population.

The CCAS working with rural tribes in northern California reported the following:

"Indians tested and trained to be enumerators, but were not noticed to hire until late May. By this time, the only work available was for 1-2 weeks. It was a disappointing and frustrating time for Indian people. Tribes reminded me that they had been told for four years, that the Census would be offering jobs and that they could enumerate their own areas. I could never ascertain the exact number of Indians hired by the Census Bureau's District offices throughout northern counties, but it was minimal.

For four years the Census Bureau told reservations that they would participate as census planners, promoters, consultants, communication conduits, but especially, be recipients of temporary field jobs. Indians planned, promoted, consulted, and communicated as good census supporters, but they never got their return of promised jobs. The range of Indian complaints run the gamut, but primarily, the lack of job opportunities was the number one lamentation. If this unfulfilled census promise could have been rectified, perhaps all other problems may have been appeased."

Likewise in Oakland promises of employment as census workers was delayed and ended in frustration. The CCAS indicates:

"Unfortunately, the urban census hiring story
was similar to the rural areas, maybe worse for Indians because their concerns in large, metropolitan areas take a back seat to the Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians. In cities, the focus is on the larger, visible and concentrated populations. The Oakland district office serving the greater downtown area was fraught with managerial problems from its opening. It was not until after the former CCAS was placed in the manager position that American Indians even got a second thought. I was finally told there were no American Indians on the hiring file. I was always asking District Offices if they needed my help in locating potential applicants, and the retort always was that they had no way of identifying Indian applicants."

United Indian Nations (UIN) the American Indian JTPA agency, facilitated the applications of thirteen American Indians who sought employment as enumerators. After many delays, they took the test on April 16th 1990. Eleven passed, but ultimately none were hired by the Census Bureau. Inquiries by the CCAS and others in the Bay Area and throughout northern California were met with responses of "too busy", "couldn't find Indians", "we'll get to them", "no Indians had applied", "no Indians could pass the application test", "Indians couldn't pass the FBI screening" and so forth. Many in the Indian community felt deceived and badly used. The CCAS commented:

"My continual espousing of what the Census promised was increasingly being met with hostility and remarks of blatant racism from White recruiters. Finally, I submitted written complaints detailing problems on Indian reservations to the Regional Director. This helped in a case-by-case basis, but by then, it was too late to regain earlier census enthusiasm or to bring back Indians who deserted the program in disgust."

This experience of unmet employment expectations within a community, with many who are desperate for income, further led to mistrust of the intentions of the Census Bureau and colored responses to non-Indian enumerators who subsequently knocked at doors. One organizational staff person summed it up, "Without hiring Indian enumerators, and once a census visit was scheduled at an Indian household, it was just easier for them to say, 'I already sent it in', rather than have a stranger come into the home and ask personal questions."

What then were the experiences when non-Indian enumerators came to Indian homes? Commonly in every day circumstances Indian people are frequently misidentified by non-Indians as Hispanic, Filipino or White. Jokes tinged with bitterness abound told by Indians regarding misidentification. This
confusion of identification was carried over to the census. One Navajo woman who has lived in the Oakland area for eighteen years commented:

"We’re kind of hidden. You can’t always locate or recognize Indians right away. I think only Indians can recognize who Indians are. Only Indians are looking for other Indians. Only Indians can immediately consider whether they are talking to another Indian person. For everybody else, ‘Indian’ would be the last ethnic group to come to an enumerator’s mind."

Another respondent commented that she doubted that her family was counted since she did not fill out a form, was never contacted by an enumerator, and because "my neighbors would not give out any information on me because I don’t know them at all and they don’t know me."

Others told of having avoided a non-Indian census taker:

"I know my boyfriend didn’t get counted either. Once, way later, someone did come to our door in the evening asking census questions and my boyfriend got all panicky. He kept asking the census enumerator, ‘Why do you want to know who lives here, and our race?’ The census guy couldn’t explain why the questions were necessary. We sort of got afraid that somebody was checking up on us or something. We didn’t answer anything. I just shut the door."

Another woman said, "Around this city there is a crime factor to consider. A non-Indian coming to your house to ask questions is a scary notion."

The CCAS in reference to rural Indian households in northern California reported a similar situation:

"Non-Indian enumerators were not altogether welcomed. Indian families were not cooperative with outsiders in their areas. They would not answer doors, would not give out correct addresses. Some non-Indian enumerators were insulting to Indian families on reservations and unfortunately, took this hostility house-to-house."

In other instances, an enumerator unfamiliar with extended family household arrangements or patterns of high residential mobility and extended "visits" would miss the opportunity to count some household members. As one woman recounted her experience:

"I was aware of the 1990 census because of the
Indian Center, but I was living with another family on April 1st. I was home when a White man came to interview the family I was living with. I did ask at this time about being counted, but the enumerator said I couldn't be included. He said I should get my own form, and he gave me a telephone number to call and make an appointment or call to ask to have one sent to me. I never did it. After this, I didn't hear any more about the census. I just figured I missed it."

Ironically, this same woman greatly appreciated the promotional materials:

"I saw the Indian posters and buttons. I still have the posters. I passed out the buttons at pow-wows even, but I guess I still didn't connect with the importance of actually doing the census form and getting myself counted. I didn't have a regular home and I was moving around a lot."

Another missed encounter with the census enumerator was retold by a young man who, at that time was living at his mother's home. The family knew it was a census worker ("We peeked out and saw that he had a census brief case") but never answered the door:

"It was a White man. He left then, but came back, twice later. Nobody ever answered the door. I guess they probably just gave up. We knew he wanted to ask us questions, but we were suspicious. I just didn't know what they (the Government) were going to do with it. There're always so many studies on Indians."

Throughout the census process the following comment was echoed again and again:

"The Census needs to hire more Indians. Indians will always be uncomfortable giving out personal information to non-Indians."

"Others (non-Indians) don't understand the community, and it just takes too long to educate them. Indians can be a difficult population to work with if one is not familiar with the cultures."

An Indian community member summed up his experience:

"There is a need to hire Indians. Indian people would feel more comfortable telling this personal information to Indians. See, some Indian people won't even answer the
door to non-Indian strangers. If you want information from Indians, hire Indians."

"It takes Indians to count Indians."

Another twist to this theme was added by a woman who said:

"Often Indians will not answer to Black or Mexican census takers since in the mid-west the BIA and other agencies had Blacks as the bad news messengers. It was the Whites who brought us the good news. So when we see the Blacks coming, some of us still avoid them."

Problems of interpreting the census forms

Another area of concern reported in the American Indian community were problems associated with interpreting the questions or format of the census form itself, especially regarding definitions of race, household and family, as well as areas associated with employment and housing. Overall, there were often comments that the form itself was confusing, or as the staff person at one organization said, "The language is too sophisticated for many of our people. Like when the form says, 'if yes, then go to page xyz.'"

For an extended discussion of some of the unique complexities of identity that American Indian people face, see Lobo’s Ethnographic Exploratory Research Report #12 (:33-40). Understanding the complexity of defining American Indian racial identity, and the ways that particular situations that provide the context for a self-definition of race and ethnicity for American Indians, one can better assess comments such as the following by Indian people in the Oakland urban area:

"For instance, if an individual’s tribal affiliation includes two tribes, then both tribes should be counted. Both are equally important to the individual, not just the first tribe indicated on the answer space."

"I believe that the whole of California has many Indians, but often their feelings about themselves does not allow them to self-identify as Indian. For example if he has brown hair and blue-eyes and people might say, ‘No Indian looks like that’. So just to avoid hassles, he might mark down 'White' even though this person might be Indian and may have two parents who are Indian."

"There really is a lack of consistency in every level in the way Indian people are counted, but especially in the question of who is Indian, and how the count is carried out."
The CCAS indicates:

"Persons of American Indian descent are used to being asked to identify their tribes on various types of Federal forms, but they are not used to applying a 'casual attitude' towards this identification.

Indians in 95% of instances, were likening this answer to their tribal relationship as regards the Bureau of Indian Affairs, such as federally recognized or non-recognized status, list enrolled tribes, or blood quantum. If the race question is simply a self-declaration identification, then why do the instructions use the wording of 'enrolled'? The only 'enrolled' identification is found under the auspices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and this designation disfavors the non-federally recognized tribal groups. Some non-federally recognized California Indians read more into this question politically than necessary, and felt that by responding, they would just be helping the Federal government help federally-recognized Indians, while the Federal government is doing nothing for them."

Likewise there are various definitions of family and household in tribal cultures in which extended families play a large role. There is often confusion in reaching a consistent definition of terms such as "family" and "household" that can be used to answer the questions asked on the census form. The CCAS presentations to organizational staff and members often included comments regarding the "head of household" concept. She stressed that for certain purposes a household would be statistically deemed Indian or non-Indian based on the designated race of the first person listed in each household. This bit of "inside" information spread quickly, though not consistently, throughout the Oakland Indian community, was discussed frequently, and was acted on by many who did answer the census. The following comment by an Indian community member is typical of the understanding of how the census 'works', and some of the implications for American Indians:

"Lots of Indians are married to Caucasians, so we probably got undercounted there too, because not everyone knew how to fill out the questionnaire so the Indian family member is listed first. The census computer should count every person in a family, so Indians don't get counted as White households."

In thinking about her experiences, the CCAS had the following to say:

"Indians quickly grasped the concept that in mixed marriages to not list the Indian spouse as the head of household so their household would
be tabulated as other than American Indian, and Indians would lose monies slated for Tribal Housing and Tribal Utility Programs. The problem was not 'what to do' or 'how to fill in the questionnaire', but WHY do Indians have to do this? Nobody said they would NOT fill in the questionnaire to favor Indians, but some Indian wives expressed concerns like

-My husband IS the head of household and would want to be so designated.

-In order to do this, I will have to grab the questionnaire and fill it out myself.

-It shouldn’t matter to us; we will never live on a reservation.

-My husband hasn’t worked in a long time. This will be demeaning.

-Why do Indians always have some special way to do everything?

When White husbands were present, usually they were quiet, but I often heard later that some did not like the insinuation that they were not the head of household, or that their household was an 'Indian household' when they paid the bills. Overall, I believe the Indian married families cooperated with no problems. It was the interracial marriages (with in-marrying men) who hesitated and felt put upon."

Indian women married to Chicano men faced somewhat different, and frequently even stronger deterrents to designating themselves as head of household. There was also concern regarding the children of Indian/Mexican marriages, and how these children may have been counted, as well as the many "Hispanics" who are biologically Indian.

Additionally there were problems in interpreting questions regarding employment and unemployment within a community in which many people are habitually marginally or sporadically employed, or who piece together income from a variety of sources. The director of UIN, the American Indian JTPA program commented:

"A lot of Indian people still do not clearly understand certain census questions. For instance, the definition of 'unemployment'. It's not real! 6.1%? In reality it is much greater than that."

The CCAS reflecting on her experience working with Indian people throughout northern California adds:

"The long form questions on employment seemed
the most difficult for Indians to understand and/or fit to their particular circumstance. Most Indian program directors believe the 'work' questions were improperly filled out by Indians more than any other area, thus complaining that this data simply does not portray the real Indian picture. The Indian unemployment profile is much worse than the information reflects. Most reservations have been poverty-stricken since inception. They are isolated; there is no economic development, and there is chronic unemployment due to no opportunities. In every instance in census presentations to Indian groups, this area was the biggest stumbling block. It took extra time to explain the entire section."

Conclusions and suggestions for the census in the year 2000

Overall American Indians in the Oakland area believe that although there was an increased awareness of the census in 1990 in comparison to 1980, there were still considerable problems with the census methodology as a means to achieve an accurate count that will be useful and beneficial for the Indian community. Additional concerns expressed within the American Indian community regarding aspects of the census process which affect the ultimate figures and their use, but which are beyond the scope of the current report, include:

- The creation of the census instrument
  - Overall format
  - Especially questions related to identifying race and ethnicity
- Hiring of census personnel
  - Career personnel in Washington D.C.
  - Regional liaison staff and census takers
- Coding census forms, and manipulation of statistics
  - How are census and other indicators interpreted in Washington?
- Accessibility of census figures for American Indian needs.
  - How are they used and by whom?

The general recommendations coming from the Bay Area American Indian community for a successful census in the year 2000 stressed:

1. expand the Tribal Liaison Program to include an urban component,
2. create more straightforward, unambiguous census forms,
3. start census outreach earlier, and
4. make funds available to urban American Indian organizations to carry out their outreach functions.

Since the goal of this research, as well as the approach of this report has been to document American Indian experiences, views, and perceptions regarding
the 1990 census process, it is appropriate to conclude with a series of quotations that summarize Indian thinking regarding the 1990 census.

On the Tribal Liaison Program, the CCAS commented:

"Urban Indian agencies were as cooperative as reservations. They participated in all census awareness and products promotional phases. They held community dinners and social events to promote the 1990 census. They attended all TLP training meetings. The commitment of Indian network programs was tantamount to the Census Bureau securing an improved 1990 count for American Indians residing in cities. They were responsible for the Indian promotional materials being posted in schools, libraries, and at unconventional Indian meeting places. They used their own mailing lists for census mailings and newsletters."

"A section of the TLP should be planned for urban Indian communities, agencies and organizations. I worked with over a hundred such agencies using the TLP materials which were suitable and/or easily adaptable. They got involved with census programs in cities; they already had consortiums, so the CCAS acted as an information and materials conduit, and they did the rest. Urban Indian leaders did an excellent job for the census and the American Indians."

"Indian people suffered needless discrimination in services because District Office staffs were insensitive and ignorant of the Indian cultures around them. INDIANS DESERVE EQUAL TREATMENT OF SERVICES. They must not be discriminated against because of the TLP (Tribal Liaison Program). They must have equal access to district services, to district personnel when they need help, and to receive all non-TLP training offered to all other populations."

"Census staffing at all levels should be given sensitivity training by the Tribal Liaison Program, and be made knowledgeable of regional tribes and Indian organizations."

Staff of American Indian agencies which volunteered their participation in the census process commented:

"I was not satisfied with the way the Census was carried out because Indians had no participation in the decision-making processes. Indians could
only try to follow a course already set down by the Census Bureau, and at times it was so confusing. Consequently, I feel that Indian people still perceive the census 'as not being important'; that they have too many other things to do."

    (Director of United Indian Nations)

"Too often when we wanted to improve the census, the response was, 'Don’t confuse us with the truth. We have too much momentum going.'"

    (Director of American Indian Ministries)

"The American Indian Advisory Committee must take up the issue of the race question. American Indians should not have to select one tribe, be it principal or enrollment tribe. The 1990 race question does not give an accurate picture of Indian tribes by the specificity of the question. There needs to be Indian involvement in extensive advise gathering, case studies, public consultations and testing in the next few years for intelligent modification."

    (President of D-Q University)

On funding for outreach and promotion activities, the CCAS commented:

"Tribes and urban organizations are having to provide too many freebies. Space, telephone, xeroxing, travel expense, staff times etc. from already stretched budgets. Monies should be allocated from the Census budget to assist and reimburse."

On hiring American Indians, the CCAS stated:

"The Census Bureau should maintain a core group of Indian personnel just to work with the Native American population to insure a continuous, pertinent data flow and work to diminish the Native American undercount."

"There were only two district offices responsible for some 44 tribal groups! This ratio was unworkable. I recommend a regional Indian recruiter who would work only with Indian tribes/groups, be responsible for advise and in-servicing district office staff to keep them abreast of all new developments or situations unique to Indian areas regarding enumeration. A regional Indian recruiter would be responsible to mobilize an applicant pool far in advance of need, be responsible for tribal job publicity, testing and training and working closely with the District Office throughout."
Selected comments on education for the census included:

"I believe Indian educators should be asked to assist the Census Bureau to put together a census education framework that stresses relativity to Indian cultures and American historical facts. It would be an invaluable resource to teach young Indian parents and their youngsters about the importance of participating in the census process as a family unit, and it could be developed and written to be culturally acceptable by tribes. Indians would use it for sure."

(The CCAS)

On timing:

"There needs to be earlier education for Indians in order that they can understand the importance of participating in the census. The Census timing was just one phase falling on the other. It got confusing as to what to actually be doing and when. It was too hectic near the deadline time."

(A social worker)

"Information needs to be getting out into Indian communities sooner. But it needs to be orderly. In February 1990 the Census was sending out conflicting information regarding certain census phases. Information releases were constantly changing about the census forms. It wasn't clear what was appropriate and what wasn't."

(The Director of United Indian Nations)

On promotion:

"I suggest using recognizable Indian leaders to make live television and radio messages, not just for Indians, but census messages aimed at all people. Then see that they get aired on mainstream public outlets. It does little good to make Indian radio and television spots to be aired through Indian media outlets because there are too few."

(An educator)

"The graphics were good. They were on target!"

(A participant in the Youth Empowerment Program).
Intertribal Friendship House

Established in 1945, is one of the oldest urban Indian centers in the United States. It provides programs and services to American Indians, Alaska Natives, and other American Indian and Alaska Native people in the Bay Area through programs in cultural arts, education, health, and social services.

1441 14th Street • Oakland • California • 94607

Intertribal Friendship House: "Promoting and maintaining the well-being of American Indian life in the modern and traditional world."

Project

Community Service, Research, and Program Development

Intertribal Friendship House
The Community History Project
which started in 1978
as an oral history project has since grown
to include the following:

The Community Resource Archives
and Museum
The archives, focusing on the history of the American Indian
community in the greater Bay Area includes:
- Taped and transcribed oral histories
- Photographic collection
- Documents collection
- Newscutting file
- Audio and video tapes
- Poster and graphics collection
As a community resource archives, these materials are accessible
within the American Indian community, as well as to scholars and
the public at large. Call for appointment.

Research Unit
Through the community history project, applied research is carried out
focusing on topics of direct benefit to the American Indian community.
Recent projects include:
- American Indian undercount:
  evaluation of 1990 census
- Reclaiming Our History:
  archival search, inventory, and conference
- Pride of Place:
  A book on the Bay Area American Indian community.
  (University of Arizona Press)

Also available:
- Technical assistance in research design and development
  for exhibit planning, educational materials, program and
  projects focused on American Indian topic
- Introducing photographic exhibit

For more information contact:
Sarah Hall, Ph.D., Coordinator
(650) 111-2345

Research associates:
- Judy Antell, Ph.D
- Robert Buntz, M.D.
- Ann Metcalf, Ph.D.

Pride of Place: An exhibit about 1955 Community history project in San Francisco.
AMERICAN INDIANS AND THE CENSUS

A YEAR LATER.......

INFORMATION SHARING WORKSHOP AND CONFERENCE

May 18, 1991
Intertribal Friendship House
523 E. 14th St.
Oakland

Co-Sponsored by:
Intertribal Friendship House
Native American Studies, University of California, Berkeley
Native American Studies, University of California, Davis
California Indian Education Association, Inc.
* CONFERENCE AGENDA *

8:30  Registration and Coffee

10:00 Welcome - Jim Lamenti, Executive Director, Intertribal Friendship House

 Invocation

10:15-12:30 Panel on Census Topics - Moderator - Eileen Luna, Board Chair, Intertribal Friendship House

10:15-10:45 ** Elaine Dempsey, 1990 Indian Census Liaison
"Was the Tribal Liaison Program a Success?"

10:45-11:15 ** Sally Gallegos, Director, United Indian Nations
"Community Outreach, City Census"

11:15-11:45 ** Jack Forbes, Ph.D., Director, Native American Studies, University of California, Davis
"Undercounting Native Americans: How and Why"

11:45-12:15 ** Karen Biestman, Ph.D., Faculty, Native American Studies and Assistant to the Dean, University of California, Berkeley
"Identity and Educational Institutions"

12:30-1:30 LUNCH  Available at 11:11

1:30-3:30 Afternoon Workshops

A.) City Level Census Efforts: Organizational Outreach and Complete Count Committees.
Convened by Sally Gallegos
** Meet in the “Seniors Room”

B.) The Census and Educational and Health needs and services.
Convened by Jim Lamenti
** Meet in the “Dining Room”

Convened by Kurt Peters
** Meet in the “Living Room”

3:30-4:00 Final wrap-up: 10 minute recommendations report from each workshop. Chaired by Jim Lamenti

Thanks for conference assistance to: United Indian Nations *
University of California at Davis, Native American Studies *
University of California at Berkeley, Native American Studies *
California Indian Education Association, Inc. * Center for Survey Methods Research, U.S. Census * American Friends Service Committee * Students from the “Does the Census really count for Native Americans?” NAS class 111C Berkeley * and * the many volunteers at Intertribal Friendship House
ATTACHMENT C

BAY AREA INDIAN AGENCY REPRESENTATIVES

Meeting

DATE: Thursday, July 19, 1990

PLACE: Urban Indian Health Clinic
        1124 East 14th Street
        Oakland, Ca. 94601

TIME: 1:30 PM

PRESENT: Attached listing

AGENDA

I. Up-date on Nelson Mandela visiting - Betty Cooper

II. Association of American Indian Physicians Annual Meeting
    Schedule of July 31 - Aug. 3rd, 1990 - Martin Waukazoo

III. Update on Census - Lori Newbreast, Native American Census Coordinator

IV. Budget Cuts - (State and County) - Richard Small, Martin Waukazoo, Dr. Ed Duran

"Draft"

MINUTES

Betty Cooper provided an overview of Nelson Mandela's visit and planned activities of return visit. A letter of invitation was delivered.

Motion was made, second and unanimously voted to approve the letter of invitation in behalf of BAIAR. Betty Cooper/Jim Lamenti (signatures to be obtained)

Motion was made, second and unanimously voted to submit a start up budget and to include two position request for funding to the Association of Indian Affairs, New York

A committee was established to report to BAIAR on activities.

Meetings for planning are held every Tuesday at Hawthorne School.

II. ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN INDIAN PHYSICIANS MEETING
May 4, 1990

Office of the Mayor
Lionel J. Wilson
Mayor
City of Oakland
City Hall
One City Hall Plaza
Oakland, California 94612

Dear Mayor Wilson:

The Bay Area Indian Agency Representatives (BAIAR) do hereby support the community outreach efforts of the Native American Census Coordinator for the City of Oakland.

We feel the City of Oakland needs to support every effort in our community so that American Indians have the best opportunity for a complete count. Fairly elected representatives, allocation of funds, and an accurate portrait of our diverse community is dependent on this count.

Sincerely:

[Signatures]

United Indian Nations, 1404 Franklin Street #202, Oakland

[Signatures]

Youth Empowerment Program, 3124 East 14th Street, Oakland

[Signatures]

Urban Child Resource Center, 390 Euclid Avenue, Oakland

[Signatures]

American Friends Service, 452 East 14th Street, Oakland

[Signatures]

Native American Alcoholism Program, 1816 39th Avenue, Oakland

[Signatures]

Urban Indian Health Clinic, Inc., 3124 East 14th Street, Oakland

[Signatures]

Office of Indian Education, 211 East 10th Street, Oakland
April 6, 1990

Dear Community Leader:

The purpose of this letter is to ask for your cooperation to promote, motivate and help our Indian communities to answer the census form. To achieve a whole count of our communities it is necessary that an active informational campaign be set up.

Your help is invaluable!!!

Included are flyers and a poster so that you can post and distribute them in your newsletters, community centers and in your employees paychecks.

If you need more material and additional information, please feel free to contact me Monday thru Friday from 9:00 am to 1:00 pm at 415-452-1235 or from 1:00 pm to 5:00 pm at 415-763-3410. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Linda Lilly
Coordinator of the Native American Community for the Census
Dear

My name is Linda Lilly. I have been hired by the City of Oakland as the American Indian Census Community Outreach Coordinator to assist in counting the American Indian community.

I have developed flyers and established three (3) assistance centers in Oakland for American Indians. These centers are to assist individuals to fill out their forms and to answer any questions individuals have. Below are the informational centers:

1. THE HEALTH CENTER: East 14th Street & Fruitvale
   Contact Person: Connie, 4th Floor

2. UNITED INDIAN NATIONS: Franklin Street & 14th Street
   Contact Person: Linda Lilly

3. INTERTRIBAL FRIENDSHIP HOUSE: 5th Avenue & East 11th St.
   Contact Person: Social Service Department

If individuals do not have a form, lost or didn't receive one, they can call the 800 numbers listed on the flyer posted at your center. The Bureau, in turn, will put your name through their computer to have an enumerator come to your door. When the enumerator comes to your residence, he/she will have you fill out a long/short form. Only certain residences received a long form. The forms are designated by the computer so the enumerator will be able to give the right form to you and help you to fill it out.

For the month of June, the Bureau has re-coordinated efforts to enumerate the City of Oakland due to the lack of response as of May 31st. They will enumerate beginning west of Oakland and slowly moving eastward until the end of June.

On June 30th and July 1st, the following sites will be set up in Oakland with enumerators and forms:

1. High Street & E. 14th Street (Market)
2. Eastmont Mall
3. Chinatown 8th & Webster
4. Acorn Shopping Mall
June 22, 1990

Carol Marquez-Baines
Randall Cook
Youth Empowerment Program
3124 East 14th Street
Oakland, CA 94601

Dear Ms. Baines, and Mr. Cook:

I am the Native American Outreach Coordinator for the City of Oakland, the U.S. Census, and the office of United Indian Nations, Inc. My primary duties include facilitating and encouraging Native Americans in Oakland to respond to the 1990 U.S. Census. I can provide to the Youth Empowerment Program, a presentation about the social-historical impact of the U.S. Census on Native American tribes and communities; or I can modify my presentation to meet the programs goals of the Youth Empowerment Program.

Please contact me at United Indian Nations, if it is possible to make a presentation to the Youth Empowerment Program; or if that is not possible, I would like to schedule an informational meeting with the YEP staff. Thank you for your attention to my request, and I look forward to reply.

Sincerely,

Lori Newbreast
Native American Outreach Coordinator
July 11, 1990

TO: The Membership of Bay Area Indian Agency Representatives

FROM: Lori Newbreast, Native American Outreach Coordinator  
City of Oakland, United Indian Nations, Inc.

RE: U.S. Census "WERE YOU COUNTED" Campaign

Enclosed are ten (10) copies of the "Were You Counted" forms for the 1990 U.S. Census; it is the last opportunity for Native Americans to be counted until the 2000. PLEASE assist visitors to your agency in filling out these forms and provide postage, if they did not:

1. Fill out the form received at their home address (as of April 1, 1990).
2. Receive any U.S. Census forms at their address.
3. Have an U.S. Census enumerator visit their home, and complete the required form.
4. Return form because it was misplaced or lost.

Every Indian counts, and it is vital that every Indian encourages family members, and friends to respond to the 1990 U.S. Census count. If you have any questions please call me at (415) 763-3410.

It was a honor and pleasure to have met the members of BAIAR on July 6, 1990, and I appreciate you cooperation and assistance with the "Were You Counted" U.S. Census campaign.
WE LIVE HERE! WE COUNT! BE COUNTED!

PURPOSE: TO ACHIEVE A WHOLE COUNT OF OUR PEOPLE IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT YOU AS AN AMERICAN INDIAN OR ALASKAN NATIVE FILL OUT THE CENSUS FORM. YOUR URBAN INDIAN CENTER AND TRIBAL GOVERNMENTS USE CENSUS FIGURES TO PLAN AND FUND SPECIAL PROGRAMS SUCH AS ADULT EDUCATION CENTERS, DAY CARE CENTERS, HEALTH CLINICS AND JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS TO HELP OUR COMMUNITIES.

IMPORTANT!! RACE QUESTION?!

HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

If the HOUSEHOLD (PERSON 1) reports race as WHITE and PERSON 2, 3 and 4 an AMERICAN INDIAN, this household would be tabulated in the Volume I data products as a "WHITE" family household since there are based on the race of the HOUSEHOLDER (PERSON 1) entry.

TRIBE

Print FULL name of TRIBE (i.e., Omaha Sioux, Northern Cheyenne, Navajo, Laguna Pueblo). It is okay to indicate more than one tribe.

Fill ONE circle for each person

Race

Fill ONE circle for the race that the person considers himself/herself to be

If Indian (Amer.), print the name of the enrolled or principal tribe

If Other Asian or Pacific Islander (API), print one group, for example: Hmong, Fijian, Laotian, Thai, Tongan, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on

If Other race, print race

White

Black or Negro

Indian (Amer.) (Print the name of the enrolled or principal tribe)

Navajo, Laguna Pueblo

Eskimo

Aleut

Asian or Pacific Islander (API)

Chinese

Japanese

Filipino

Asian Indian

Hawaiian

Samoa

Korean

Guamanian

Vietnamese

Other API

Other race (Print race)

INFORMATION/ASSISTANCE CENTER

HEALTH CENTER
3022 E. 14TH ST
OAKLAND
261-1962
9 - 4 PM

IFH
529 E. 14TH ST.
OAKLAND
452-1235

UNITED INDIAN NATIONS
1404 FRANKLIN ST. #202
OAKLAND
763-3410
9 - 4 PM
July 18, 1990

Ruth Buchannon
Site Director
Mintil Ku Ca Child Development Center
11850 Campus Drive
Oakland, CA 94619

Dear Ms. Buchannon:

I would like the enclosed forms to be distributed to all the children at the Mintil center; as a cooperative effort by the City of Oakland Outreach Project, and the Oakland Public Schools to ensure an accurate count of Native Americans in Oakland is conducted. The "Were You Counted" campaign is the last opportunity of individuals to be counted in the 1990 U.S. Census; this campaign ends on July 27, 1990.

I have enclosed copies of earlier letters, I had written to you concerning this matter. I hope you had a restful vacation, and if you have any questions please call me at (415) 763-3410.

Respectfully,

Lori Newbreast
Native American Outreach Coordinator
ANSWER THE 1990 U.S. CENSUS***MAKE IT COUNT FOR OUR FUTURE

**********INDIAN CENSUS ASSISTANCE DAY**********

**********COME TO THE YOUTH EMPOWERMENT LOUNGE**********

**********ON JULY 16, 1990**********

**********BETWEEN 10:00 a.m. & 2:00 p.m. at the**********

**********URBAN INDIAN HEALTH BOARD**********

**********3124 EAST 14TH STREET**********

**********OAKLAND, CA 94601**********

**********IT'S NOT TOO LATE TO BE COUNTED!!!!

**********CONFIDENTIAL ASSISTANCE IN COMPLETING FORMS

**********QUESTIONS ANSWERED

**********REFRESHMENTS SERVED

**********STOP BY IF YOU, YOUR FAMILY MEMBERS, OR FRIENDS HAVE**********

**********NOT ANSWERED THE 1990 U.S. CENSUS**********

CALL DORI NEWBREAST AT (415) 783-3410 IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS

UNITED INDIAN NATIONS, INC. 1404 FRANKLIN ST. OAKLAND, CA 94601
ATTACHMENT G-1

ACTIVITY REPORT

Phase I: March 16-June 30, 1990

This first phase was conducted by two Native American Census Coordinators, due to a change in personnel. The initial duties were undertaken by Linda Lilly. The second Coordinator, Lori Newbreast, began her work on June 18, 1990.

March 16-28, 1990

1. Coordinator attended a four hour training session conducted by Elaine Dempsey, Native American Regional Coordinator with the U.S. Bureau of the Census in San Francisco.
2. Planned and organized a "Community Dinner and Townhouse Meeting" for March 28th at Intertribal Friendship House. This event was funded by a Community Service Block Grant through United Indian Nations. Over 250 people attended to hear the keynote speaker, Elaine Dempsey. She emphasized the importance to Native Americans of filling out and returning the April 1st Census forms. A question and answer period was scheduled and flyers on the Census were distributed. It was announced that assistance centers would be established at a later date. Eight agencies participated at this event.

March 28-April 6, 1990

1. Fliers were developed and printed about the census.
2. Meetings were scheduled with community agencies to establish support for the Census efforts and to disseminate the Census flyers for use in their centers, newsletters and employee paychecks.

April 9-20, 1990

1. The Coordinator met with three of the largest Native American community centers to establish assistance centers. These centers would provide information about the Census and assistance with completion of Census forms. Centers were thus established at:
   1. Intertribal Friendship House
   2. Native American Health Center
   3. United Indian Nations, Inc.

2. Posters were handmade for every agency that served Native American clientele to provide information about the assistance centers. These agencies receiving assistance center information were:
   1. Intertribal Friendship House
   2. Native American Health Center
   3. United Indian Nations, Inc.
   4. Hintil Ku Ca Child Development Center
   5. Native American Alcoholism & Drug Program
   6. Urban Indian Child Resource Center
   7. Youth Empowerment Program

3. Schedules were established at the three assistance centers.
4. Volunteers were trained and assigned work times at the assistance
centers.

5. A Census booth was maintained for 4 hours at the Intertribal Friendship House Annual Easter Picnic on April 7, 1990.

April 16-27, 1990

1. Census testing, in coordination with Bill Fearier of the Oakland Census Bureau, was conducted with 13 Native Americans at United Indian Nations, Inc. No cases.

2. Meetings with Coordinators were ongoing in order to continue outreach activity plans regarding Oakland Public Schools Census Day and city-wide Caravan.

[The Coordinator, Ms. Lilly, notes here in her report that as of May 1st, the funding for her half-time position was transferred from United Indian Nations, Inc. to a City of Oakland contract awarded to United Indian Nations, Inc.]

April 30-May 12, 1990

1. Continued to oversee operation of the assistance centers.

2. Continued meetings with other Coordinators regarding outreach activities.

3. On May 5, the Coordinator met again with American Indian organizations to ask for their continued support on the Census. A group letter of support was given by the organizations.

4. An informational booth dispensing Census fliers, buttons and posters, was set up at Mills College Powwow in Oakland.

May 14-25, 1990

1. The assistance center operations were evaluated. A new schedule was developed for the volunteers and the Coordinator. The Executive Directors were asked to designate one staff member at each agency as the person to help people fill out forms. The persons were thus designated:

   a. Native American Health Center - Connie
   b. Intertribal Friendship House - All Social Workers
   c. United Indian Nations, Inc. - Dione, Receptionist.

2. During several meetings, including one of May 22, a presentation was planned for the week of June 25th-30th at a series of youth-adult workshops to be sponsored by Native American organizations.

3. Also arranged was a Census booth to be maintained for three days at the Third Annual Intertribal Pow-Wow held June 7-10th at Kaiser Convention Center.

4. New fliers were developed that reversed to show the “Were You Counted?” forms. These forms were distributed to the Native American organizations and helped fulfill activities for the “Were You Counted?” campaign.

5. Intertribal Friendship House consented to release of their mailing list for purposes of disseminating the fliers.

[There is a break in the activity report at this point because the new Coordinator, Ms. Newbreast, assumed the duties formerly held by Ms. Lilly. It should also be noted that some of the activities overlap into Phase II,
as they include training for activity in the "Were You Counted?" campaign. Other Phase I activities that were maintained by the new Coordinator were:

a. Monitoring of the assistance centers,

b. Conducting Outreach Activities in the Native American community,

c. Meeting with Census officials, coordinators.

June 18-22, 1990

1. The Coordinator received a one-hour orientation from the out-point Coordinator.

2. A meeting with the City Manager of Oakland and other Outreach Coordinators clarified goals of the program.

3. Other training included attendance at a workshop conducted by Elaine Dempsey, Community Awareness Specialist for the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

4. Attended the Summer Institute on Indian Education sponsored by Oakland Public Schools, Office of Indian Education.

5. Attended the Intertribal Friendship House community dinner and displayed Census information.

6. Monitored and updated information at the three established assistance centers.

June 25-29, 1990

1. Community agency directors were contacted by letter with requests to conduct Census activities at their sites.

2. Sal Amorco, U.S. Census District Supervisor provided training for the "Were You Counted?" campaign.

3. As part of outreach, the Coordinator conducted a workshop at the Native American Alcohol Program site for staff and residents.

4. A meeting with the Oakland City Manager provided program updates.

5. Post-Census Local Review information was provided at an Association of Bay Area Governments meeting. At this time a follow-up meeting was set with Frank Ehardt of the Oakland City Planning Department.

6. Planning for a July 10th event was coordinated with the Youth Empowerment Program Staff at 3124 E. 14th St.

7. Further training for the "Were You Counted?" campaign was provided by Anita Fong, Census Aide to State Senator Santana and Elaine Dempsey.
PHASE II ACTIVITY SUMMARY
July 2-August 3

July 2-6, 1990

1. All Outreach Coordinators met and planned strategies for the "Were You Counted?" campaign.
2. The Outreach planning for nine Native American community organizations was ongoing.
3. A presentation was developed and conducted for the Bay Area Indian Agency Meeting. This informational presentation about the "Were you Counted?" Campaign was heard by Executive Directors of twelve social, medical and community service agencies that serve Native Americans.
4. Outreach contacts were continued at community agencies and assistance centers in Oakland. Sites for these contacts were:
   a. Intertribal Friendship House
   b. Consortium of United Indian Nations
   c. Urban Indian Health Board
   d. Hintil Kuu Ca Child Development Center
   e. Urban Indian Child Resource Center
   f. Native American Ministry
   g. Native American Alcoholism Program
   h. Office of Indian Education, Oakland Public Schools
   i. Young at Heart Senior Program

July 9-13, 1990

1. Outreach activities continued with a "Census Assistance Day" conducted at the American Indian Human Services Building.
2. The activities for July 10 and for July 25 were planned with the director of the Intertribal Friendship house.
3. The "Were You Counted?" campaign was continued with the distribution of information to eighteen Native American community organizations.
4. A four-hour presentation was given at the Native American Summer High School Program at Oakland High School.
5. The coordinator continued to update the assistance centers with new census information and continued to monitor their operations.
6. Additional Census information was provided to eight Native American community agencies.

July 16-20, 1990

1. The "Were You Counted?" campaign continued with plans to distribute these forms to eighty-five students at Hintil Kuu Ca Child Development Center. Planning for distribution was conducted with the staff at the
2. Outreach was conducted at the Intertribal Friendship House community dinner.

3. A presentation was made to the Young at Heart Seniors group. English and Spanish Census forms were distributed.

4. The coordinator again attended the Bay Area Indian Agency Representatives meeting to provide an update on Census activity, including that of the "Were You Counted?" Campaign.

5. Eight Community sites were provided with activity information. Fliers announcing future activities and "Were you Counted?" forms were distributed.

July 23-27, 1990

1. Planning continued with the Hintil Child Development staff for distribution of "Were You Counted?" forms.

2. A Native American Outreach Program Census event, totaling 6 hours, was held on July 25, 1990 at Intertribal Friendship House. "Were you Counted?" forms were distributed and collected.

3. The assistance centers were updated regarding current Census activities, including extension of the "Were You Counted?" Campaign.

July 28-August 4, 1990

1. "Were You Counted?" forms were distributed at Hintil Kuu Ca Child Development Center. Also, the coordinator conducted follow-up on the collection of Census forms.

2. Information about the continuation of the Census telephone number, 1-800-999-1990, was distributed via 18 Bay Area Indian Agency Representatives.

3. Follow-up was conducted on the Native American Alcoholism Program visit by distributing and collecting "Were You Counted?" forms.

4. Information concerning the continuation of U.S. Census activities and Post-Census Local and National Review was disseminated at a Bay Area Indian Agency Representatives meeting.

5. The Outreach Coordinators worked at a Census booth at Chinatown's Streetfest. Census posters, buttons, and supervisors were given out. "Were You Counted?" forms were available and some were completed.

6. Census Outreach Coordinator reports were written in August for the City of Oakland and for United Indian Nation's documentation requirements.
"COMMUNITY DINNER AND TOWNHOUSE MEETING"
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 28TH
DINNER: 6:00 p.m. - 7:00 p.m.
MEETING: 7:00 p.m. - 9:30 p.m.
PLACE: IFH, 523 E. 14TH STREET, OAKLAND, CA 94601 452-1235

PURPOSE: TO DISCUSS ISSUES PERTAINING TO THE 1990 CENSUS AND THE HOMELESS SITUATION CRISIS.

TO RECEIVE INFORMATION ON BENEFITS AVAILABLE FROM EXISTING PROGRAMS.

FOR VARIOUS PROGRAMS TO OBTAIN COMMUNITY INPUT TO PLAN FOR EXPANSION OF SERVICES FOR PROGRAM ACTIVITIES THAT WILL MEET THE PRESENT/FUTURE NEEDS FOR ALL INDIAN PEOPLE.

AWARDS FOR ARTWORK DONE BY OAKLAND INDIAN YOUTH FOR THE BILL WAHPEPAH FUND CALENDAR.

SPONSORED BY -- UNITED INDIAN NATIONS, INC.

BE THERE!! BE COUNTED

Participating Agencies: Urban Indian Health Board, Inc.; Native American Alcoholism Program; Title IV Indian Education; Urban Indian Child Resource Center; Bay Area Native American Ministry; InterTribal Friendship House; American Indian in Business; Youth and Empowerment Program.

Flyer: Courtesy of Intertribal Friendship House (IFH)
MARCH 28, 1990 COMMUNITY DINNER & TOWNHOUSE MEETING

Master of Ceremonies - Betty Cooper, NAAP

PRESENTATIONS:  

Kids Awards - Bill Wahpepah Art Calendar Contest

10 MINUTE PRESENTATION

Census Community Awareness Specialist
  Census: Brent
  Elaine Dempsey

5 MINUTE PRESENTATION

Bay Area Native American Ministry/Paul Schultz
  CILS/Charlene Bitsillie
  JIN/Sally Gallegos

CORP for American Indian Development
  Friendship House Association/Helen Waukazo
  Gay American Indian/Randy Erns
  International Indian Treaty Council/Antonio Gonzales
  IFIT/Sharone Bennett
  NAAP/Betty Cooper
  TITLE V/Evelyn Lamenti

San Pablo Indian Baptist Church/Ron Starr
  Urban Indian Child Resource Center/Irene Hooper
  Urban Indian Health/Martin Waukazo
JULY 25, 1990

NATIVE AMERICAN COMMUNITY LIFELINE

"ANSWER THE 1990 U.S. CENSUS"

6 p.m.

Intertribal Friendship House
523 East 14th Street
Oakland, CA 94606
(415) 452-1325

Sponsored by:
Intertribal Friendship House
United Indians Nations, Inc.
City of Oakland, Native American Outreach Program
for the 1990 U.S. Census

LAST CHANCE TO BE COUNTED MAKE IT COUNT LAST CHANCE TO BE COUNTED MAKE IT COUNT
CENSUS COORDINATOR'S REPORT

for

UNITED INDIAN NATIONS, INC.

September, 1990

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September 4, 1990

Mark Woo,
City Manager's Office
One City Hall Plaza
Oakland, CA

Dear Mr. Woo:

Enclosed you will find the Native American Census Outreach Coordinator's Report. This report was compiled by Ramona Wilson of this office.

We hope this report will be of assistance in preparing the City of Oakland's final report. Please call if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

Sally Gallegos, Executive Director
United Indian Nations
Proposed Outline for Census Outreach Coordinators' Report

I. Executive Summary (2pg.max.)

II. Summary of Activities (Description of activities, accomplishments, direct and indirect impact, cost, activity time)

A. With Census
   1. During each phase: Census assistance, Non-response follow-up, Were You Counted campaign, etc.
   2. Recruitment/Training/Employment

B. Within each targeted community
   1. Community events
   2. Publicity/promotion
   3. Outreach and advocacy

C. Within Coordinators' group (shared activities)

III. Working Relationships with Other Groups

A. City government
   1. Mayor's Office
   2. City Council
   3. City Manager's Office
   4. Planning Department
   5. Other departments

B. Census Bureau
   1. Local: Operations and community awareness
   2. Regional: Operations, community awareness, and policies

C. Complete Count Committee

D. Oversight Committees

E. Site supervision

IV. Additional Community Census Efforts (Activities provided by other groups exclusive of contracted activities)

V. Assessment of undercount (include issues and rationale)

VI. Recommendations for short term and 2000 (effective and non-effective strategies)
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NATIVE AMERICAN
CENSUS OUTREACH COORDINATOR’S
REPORT

Submitted to City Manager’s Office
by

UNITED INDIAN NATIONS, INC.
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- Appendices *(fliers, tables)*
I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Bay Area American Indian Community had begun to be actively concerned about the 1990 United States Census as early as 1987. But even previous to this, and concurrent, was the realization that the American Indian population was undercounted and invisible to government providers of human services and to the general public. It was difficult to assess population characteristics and trends of the Indian population because of lack of consistent information. For example, the 1970 Census could not offer a resource base for any accurate comparisons. Surveys showed that American Indians responded to census forms at a low rate, and various factors, such as mobility rates of the population, showed that the typical enumeration systems employed by the Census Bureau were not effective in counting American Indian people. Please see the "Assessment of Undercount" section of this report for an elaboration of main factors.

In 1987, the Bureau of the Census sponsored meetings of the "East Bay Census and Community Network" that discussed future tactics in counting minority groups and the role that local community groups could have in this effort. In February of 1989, the Director of United Indian Nations attended a national census meeting involving leaders of American Indian groups. At this meeting, the concerns of American Indians about the census, nationwide, were discussed. In 1988 and 1989, the Tribal Liaison Program specialist made numerous appearances at Indian organizations to promote census activity and to encourage American Indians to apply for census employment. The Specialist conducted training for Indian organization directors and other staff in October, 1989, and followed these efforts, in later months, with extensions of that training. The training efforts helped establish a core of knowledgeable people in the Indian community that would later carry out census objectives.

Locally, the Bay Area American Indian Representatives (BAAIR), through contacts with the Tribal Liaison Specialist, expressed their interest and concern in obtaining an accurate count of American Indians. The 1980 figures were of course, obsolete, and considered to be severely low. The obtaining of funding for human services is a critical and ever-present goal for organizations. Existing service delivery systems are over-burdened with the level of funding currently available. Later figures, obtained through other research efforts, would substantiate what was already known by service providers: that the American Indian population has continued to grow at a faster rate than non-Indian populations.

United Indian Nations, Inc. (UIN), through a Community Service Block Grant began to provide some promotion of Census Awareness and outreach. When the opportunity arose to have a Native American Outreach Coordinator included in the City's Outreach Program, BAAIR agreed that UIN should be the site for the coordinator, as it was an agency already involved with census efforts. It is important to note that initially, the American Indian community was not considered for a slot in the Outreach Coordinator group. However, the director of the Spanish Speaking Citizens Foundation approached the director of UIN to ensure if Native Americans should be represented in the coordinator group.

It is extremely important that, for future census efforts, the community itself be involved in planning and implementing the count plan and that outreach...
coordinators be housed at a community organization site. Only an accepted and knowledgeable organization will be able to lend credibility to outreach efforts in the community itself. A community organization has the established contacts and network already in place that facilitates the job of an outreach coordinator. Further, a community based organization, rather than a city government office, ensures that the coordinator may function with the autonomy necessary to efficiently complete the given tasks.

In a general assessment of the role of community organizations in the census project, specifically United Indian Nations, it is first evident that the process was extremely valuable for the groups represented by the outreach coordinators and the members of the Complete Count Committee. The groups worked together well and found many common concerns as citizens of Oakland. It is hoped that this spirit of cooperation will continue and that the experiences in the census effort will enrich the participants. It is further hoped that the experiences of community organizations and outreach coordinators will be noted and assessed for future years. As much as the outreach coordinators and Complete Count Committees were able to accomplish, the time to do it in was very short, and shortened further because the roles of all entities involved were not defined. The responsibilities, if any, of cities in the Census effort should be delineated so that city officials may implement program objectives in a timely fashion. But, the Bureau of the Census must also support, with adequate staff and funding, the activities deemed desirable in obtaining an accurate count of U.S. citizens.
II. SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES

ACTIVITIES WITH CENSUS

During the first phase, March 16-June 30, Census assistance activities were designed to inform the American Indian community that census forms should be completed and returned and secondly, to inform the community of the purposes of the enumerators. These activities were by nature, educational and motivational and were accomplished through sponsoring events and by establishing assistance centers at heavily used agencies that serve Native Americans. During the second phase, July 2-August 3, activities continued at the assistance centers and events were ongoing.

After May 31, the focus was on non-response follow-up. Those who had not been counted were informed that it was yet possible to be counted by enumerators. Assistance centers continued to educate people about the status of the census project in Oakland.

The "Were You Counted?" campaign actually began in the Phase I period, during the week of May 14-25th, with fliers containing information about this phase, as well as a print of the actual "Were You Counted?" form, distributed through the Native American organizations. The campaign was carried on through the end of the activity period of August 3, 1990.

The recruitment of the coordinator was done within the Native American community. This was important in order to engage someone who would know and be accepted by the community. The recruitment of volunteers for the assistance centers was done through cooperation with the Native American agencies in which they were located. The Directors of these agencies later lent vital assistance to the census effort when they arranged that staff members could act as census assistance personnel when needed.

Training from Census Bureau personnel came mainly from the Census Community Awareness Specialist from the Tribal Liaison Program. She provided the initial 4 hour coordinator training as well as two other sessions. Additional training was provided by the U.S Census District Supervisor for the "Were You Counted?" campaign. The Coordinator's group itself was of great value as many times, problems could be clarified and solved by sharing.

The Coordinator was at first employed at half-time for two months. The City Council formally allocated monies to the Outreach Coordinator program on March 20, 1990. It was soon apparent that the tasks could not be accomplished in this amount of time. The position was re-stated as full-time, with the City Council approving an extension budget to last from May 29-August 17th, 1990.
ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE TARGETED COMMUNITY

Obtaining a complete count of Native Americans in the United States has its own unique obstacles, the largest obstacle being an inherent distrust or feelings of disenfranchisement from the Federal government. The Native American Outreach Coordinator had to acknowledge these feelings in her audiences in order to present information about how the census process did actually work. This community perception, when aligned with the overall pattern of low response levels from the City of Oakland’s lower-income neighborhoods, could accurately predict that Native Americans would not readily complete and return census forms. As of April 30th, only 50% of the forms mailed to Oakland residents were returned.

Therefore, the most effective activities were events and outreach efforts conducted where Native Americans would go to obtain services or would go to participate in social and cultural activities. The Native Americans in Oakland do not live in any area in any sizeable concentration but gather for the above stated purposes at service centers such as the Urban Indian Health Clinic and United Indian Nations or at community events such as those centered upon the Wednesday community dinners at Intertribal Friendship at the several PFOs regularly held in the immediate area.

Events were most successful when participants could share a meal. Providing and sharing food is a cultural tradition observed by all tribes. The largest event was one on July 25th titled, “Answering the U.S. Census.” This event had 97 sign-ins and a total of 215 family members present. This was the only event of significant cost, being $1100.00 for the evening. A larger turnout was gained at a March 28th “Community Dinner and Townhouse Meeting” that was funded by a Community Service Block Grant, administered through United Indian Nations. The community dinner appearances were of no cost, as the coordinator simply attended.

PFOs generally carry a booth rental fee, although most do not charge for non-profit groups. The largest expense, of $150.00, was for a booth and soft drink refreshments at the American Indian Music Festival. However, sign-in sheets for this booth show 78 people acknowledging receipt of information. PFOs attended where census information was disseminated were at Mills College and the Third Annual Faiser Convention Intertribal PFO.

Publicity and promotion for the census efforts centered upon fliers, posters and appearances at events themselves. Information was regularly updated from Census Bureau information.

Outreach and Advocacy activities were numerous. The success of these efforts was due in large part to the cooperation of the Agencies and organizations serving the American Indian population.

A total of 8 appearances were made by the Native American Coordinator at special events and PFOs. Each of these events would necessitate stays of 4 or more hours, not counting preparation time for these events. Preparation time entails preparing and gathering materials to be dispensed, completing paperwork for fees and documentation and cleanup.
Publicity and promotion for the census was done mainly through the appearances at events themselves and through dissemination of fliers, brochures and posters. The Census promotional materials that targeted Native Americans were those most used. "Listen to the Drum, Raise Your Voice," "Name Your Tribe. Answer the Census," "We Are All Children of Mother Earth. Name Your Tribe. Answer the Census," were all effective, and used culturally meaningful slogans to gain the attention of the Native American populace.

Outreach activities, on a formal basis, numbered 10, in addition to the continued maintenance and update of information at the assistance centers. These activities included attendance at scheduled Bay Area American Indian Representative meetings. The coordinator provided updates for the Directors of agencies who could and did offer the assistance of their groups toward the Census efforts. They also in turn, acted as resources for information for the people they served. For example, they helped disperse information about the census 2000 number and post-census activities.

Assistance centers were established at Intertribal Friendship House, Urban Indian Health Center and at United Indian Nations, Inc. These centers were established through the cooperation of the agencies themselves, who donated space and staff time to the census effort. Other effective activities included workshops conducted at the Oakland Public School summer school, for residents of the Native American Alcohol Program, for the Young at Heart Senior Citizens and for the Youth Empowerment Program. Outreach was also conducted through Huntil Kuu Ca Child Development Center. "Were You Counted" forms were distributed and collected through this agency.

ACTIVITIES WITHIN COORDINATING GROUP

The coordinators helped each other define goals and activities and generated ideas for new activities. They acted as a group, for example, in finding the initial proposed contracts on April 12th to be impossible to accept. The contracts were unrealistic due to placing the burden of obtaining business licenses, liability insurance, Workers Compensation and business liability insurance upon the coordinators themselves. The coordinators also acted as a group to advocate for complete enumeration of the ethnic communities in Oakland.

The coordinators worked together to establish outreach in the summer and year-round activities. Events were run cooperatively at Festival at the Lake and at the Streetfest in August.

Two major activities received many hours of planning time but were not accomplished. The kick-off Caravan and Census Day at the A's did not take place.
III. WORKING RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER GROUPS

City Government

The area, "Working Relationships with Other Groups" cannot be fully explored by this writer because she is the third person to assume duties of the Native American coordinator and therefore, was not present for the duration of the project. However, noted are the initial, documented difficulties experienced in starting the project. The late start, late contracts and lack of communication between the Coordinators and the representative from the Mayor's office was unfortunate.

The City Council, however, recognized the need to allocate funds for the census effort and also responded to the requests for extensions of contracts, when it became evident that more time was needed to fulfill objectives of the Outreach project. The City Council also responded to the concerns of the Complete Count Committee and passed a resolution requesting changes in the methods of the Post Enumeration Survey; namely that the sample size be enlarged and that oversampling be conducted in order to reach Asians, Pacific Islanders and American Indians.

The City Manager's office, in the second phase of the census effort, assumed the responsibility of working with the Coordinators and Complete Count Committee. This office was able to meet with the coordinators in June to help clarify goals and at another meeting, updated the coordinators on the census project in Oakland. Representatives from the City Manager's office were present at Complete Count Committee meetings to facilitate the count process.

One meeting was recorded with the City Planning department.

Census Bureau

Local involvement, late in the census process, was largely through contacts with the Oakland District Manager. The District Manager attended Count Committee meetings and was available to coordinators. The Manager also conducted training for the "Were You Counted" project.

Regional contacts with the census were through the services of the Census Community Awareness Specialist/Tribal Liaison Program. This person conducted training, delivered census materials and provided community awareness sessions at American Indian events. This person also conducted recruitment for American Indian census personnel. Training was also provided to not only the coordinators but also to American Indian agency directors and staff. The latter was important so that this effort formed a larger core of knowledgeable leaders within the American Indian community.

The regional director appeared at committee meetings to conduct informational sessions on the Post Enumeration Survey and Local Review.

The new Oakland Committee was asked by the Mayor to function as the Complete Count Committee and a member of this organization was chosen as chair. The American Indian coordinators attended meetings of the Committee and participated in committee actions.
There was no committee formally labeled as an oversight committee for the Native American census effort. However, the Bay Area American Indian Representatives (BAAIR) were involved in census concerns several years before the Oakland program was started. This is discussed in the part I, Executive Summary of this report.

The role of the site where the Outreach Coordinator was based is also discussed in the Executive Summary. The site provided work space and access to office equipment such as telephone, word processor, and copier. The American Indian Coordinator worked under the personnel procedures of the site. However, this in no way hindered the work of the coordinator.

IV. ADDITIONAL COMMUNITY CENSUS EFFORTS

The American Indian organizations had, as a group, been willing to assist the census effort from the beginning. The success of the Outreach effort was only possible through the interest and activities of these groups. The American Indian Coordinator was given time at Bay Area American Indian Agency meetings to present census information. The organizations offered assistance in disseminating information and staff from various organizations answered questions regarding the census. The organizations that actively assisted in obtaining a count of American Indians in Oakland were:

a. Intertribal Friendship House
b. Urban Indian Health Center
c. United Indian Nations, Inc.
d. Hintil Kuu Ca Child Development Center
e. Office of Indian Education, Oakland Public Schools
f. Native American Alcoholism Program
g. Urban Indian Child Resource Center
h. Youth Empowerment Program

The Community History Project, based at Intertribal Friendship House, provided valuable assistance to the coordinators. Their archives furnished information on community activities that made it easier to plan outreach activities. Through the Project's materials, rationale for community attitudes and practices regarding the census could be obtained so that efforts would be effective in the target community.

The Northern California Development Council also assisted the Census effort because outreach work had begun under services from this grant. For example, the March 28th community meeting was funded through this project.
American Indians have historically been undercounted and will continue to be. They were not counted at all in the first six censuses. In 1860, only reservation Indians with allotments were counted. Not until 1940 were American Indians included in the total census count for apportionment purposes. All these facts arise from the special relationship that American Indians have with the United States government. These facts are included here to offer illumination as to the basis of undercount in the present. The information is derived from "As Simple as One, Two, Three: Census Underenumeration Among the American Indians and Alaska Natives", a working paper prepared by Carol Lujan in May 1990. It should be read for those who have further interest in this problem.

This brief stating of facts illustrates that American Indians have come but lately into the census process. It is not a socially ingrained custom to attempt to respond to the census. But going further, it can be seen that there are some real and present factors that will most likely lead to an undercount of American Indians in Oakland. The placing of a Native American Outreach Coordinator was a good step towards alleviating the problem of an undercount.

Perhaps the most valuable function of the Outreach Coordinator is to attempt to allay the suspicion and resistance that American Indians may have towards the federal government and the census. Throughout history, policies by the federal government directed towards American Indians have not been favorable and had been devised with no input from the Indian people themselves. Policies such as the non-enforcement of treaties, acts such as the Indian Removal Act or the Dawes Severalty Act led to a subsequent lack of trust on the part of Indian people and certainly would preclude a whole-hearted voluntary response to return of Census forms.

A second factor leading to undercounting concerns issue of identification. Individuals may self-identify as American Indians but there are several ways American Indians may do so and may think this self-identification is based upon (1) being listed on tribal rolls, (2) being listed and residing on Indian reservations or in Indian communities, (3) participating in Indian society and identifying themselves as Indian or, (4) being or not being in a mixed marriage or being an adopted child. In addition, exceptions arise to identification in any of these categories. For example, some tribes require a certain degree of Indian blood to be enrolled in that tribe and this quantum varies from tribe to tribe. Also, many tribes are not federally recognized so although an individual may personally identify as being a member of tribe, the person may think it is of no use to write that tribal name on the census form, if the tribe does not have federal recognition. In short, the issue of identification can be confusing to American Indians themselves.

Yet a third major factor leading to undercounts is the high mobility of the Indian population. Traditional reasons for mobility are observing ceremonies and attending traditional gatherings. The extended family structure permits movement among households that may be located across the city or across state boundaries. People may change addresses frequently to seek lower rents or better locales or may move to be near other relatives, transit lines, employment or educational sites. In most urban dwellers are renters, reasons for staying in one place are few. Census forms may never reach large numbers of the American
Indian population and those that are received may not be returned.

Although people that share a common culture often tend to "cluster" in their residence patterns, American Indians are generally dispersed throughout the urban area.

The methods used by the Census Bureau are not adequate for counting populations that have unique residence patterns and a culturally and economically motivated mobility rate. The existing Census methods would seem to work best with people who live in contiguous blocks and who live there for long lengths of time.

When census forms have not been returned, it is the task of the enumerator to go door to door to count individuals. As a last resort, enumerators may attempt to gain information about a household by asking questions of others who live nearby. American Indians are easily mistaken by even close neighbors to belong to other ethnic groups, such as "Spanish", Hawaiian, Filipino or Caucasian. Thus, reliance on neighbor identification by enumerators is risky. The urban areas have a shifting population, that is often insular. Neighbors cannot be relied upon to offer reliable information.

The Census Bureau recognizes that a possibility for undercounting exists and therefore developed the Post Enumeration Survey (PES). However, the methodology of the PES seems to create a new certainty that American Indians will not be accurately counted. Because of the aforementioned residential patterns and the relatively small size of the population, American Indians will not be represented in the small sample size of 150,000.

The above seven reasons are major ones in supposing that there will be an undercount of American Indians in this urban area.
VI. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE SHORT TERM

Because many leaders in the American Indian community believe there has been an undercount, a confidential survey, conducted by American Indian community persons, should be immediately undertaken to determine the extent of an undercount. Attitudes and knowledge of the census process would also be assessed. A third important factor in the census that needs to be measured is the impact the ethnic coordinators may have had on the populace. As of now, there is no measure of how the coordinators have affected the counts. Again, it is believed the Post Enumeration Survey, as it is currently designed, will be of little value in determining counts of small populations such as American Indians.

Secondly, while the census experience is fresh, there should be a formal assessment of the Oakland process. This assessment should be completed by all those directly responsible for implementing the count itself. This includes enumerators, ethnic coordinators and community leaders.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR YEAR 2000

The recommendations for the next census are discussed in two areas. One area involves the city operations and the second involves the factors that lead to undercounts of American Indians.

First, it is apparent that the census effort started much too late, especially the efforts to gain accurate counts of the city's ethnic populations. This effort, including placement of outreach coordinators should be in place in enough time to allow for adequate planning.

Secondly, it seems there was insufficient support from the Mayor's office in the initial stages of the project. Communications seemed to be slow between the coordinators and the project administrator from the Mayor's office. For example, timelines show it was over a month before a contract could be ready for acceptance by coordinators, after the first contracts were found to be unacceptable. Also, major activities such as the City-wide Caravan Kick-off did not take place because of timely help with activity details.

The timeline indicates some confusion over the role of the project administrator during the months of March, April and May. The census effort was later shifted to the City Manager's office.

Thirdly, it is hoped that the Native American coordinator will be given equal time from the first. The Native American coordinator was first listed as a half-time position but was later restated as full-time.

The second area of recommendations involves the counting of American Indians in Oakland.

The decision to place Outreach Coordinators in the communities is a good one and should be done again. From the 1990 census effort, it will be possible to draft
a detailed workplan that year 2000 coordinators will have in hand to begin their work. As it is, the coordinators had to plan on a day to day or week to week basis and were in a position of reacting to events, rather than following a plan.

The recommendations of researchers should be taken into consideration as far as the census form wording of question number 4, regarding race. Some language rewordings include adding the words, "language groups", "bands" or "communities". Other recommendations include disregarding head of household designation and clarifying marking options for Indians from Canada, Mexico or Central and South America.

Consideration should be given to the unique residence patterns of American Indians and enumerators should be specifically trained to be sensitive in identifying American Indian populations. Ideally, enumerators who are American Indian would be given the sole task of finding American Indians in the urban areas.

In this same vein, on a national scale, American Indians should hold positions within the Census Bureau itself at all levels. It is apparent, for example, that the needs of American Indians were not provided for in the planning of the Post Enumeration Survey so that concerns came to light only after the machinery for the Survey was in place and could not be changed. To go further, the Census Bureau should have an office or section reserved for the counting of American Indians only.

Lastly, local organizations who have the least resources, gave space and staff time to facilitate census efforts. City budgets, already stretched, used their own funds to fund outreach efforts. It is recommended that the Census Bureau allocate sufficient personnel and funds to carry through needed activities. The roles and responsibilities of the federal government in the count process should be clearly defined.

In summary, the most effective methods for gaining an accurate count of American Indians are in outreach methods that combine tactics of education, motivation and actual physical obtaining of census forms. The target populations do not voluntarily and spontaneously come forward to be counted as was detailed in Section V of this report. It seems the best counting methods come from the communities themselves.
ATTACHMENT K

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census
Regional Census Center
San Francisco, CA 94107-1400

American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut Survey

The Census Bureau reported that ninety-nine percent of American households have been counted for the 1990 census.

If 1.4% of households have not been counted, there is still time to make sure you are counted, and everyone counted, and there is still time.

According to the U.S. Census, 1.4 million American Indians in the United States represented an increase of 72 percent over the 1970 population. For 1990, we want to ensure that all American Indians are counted in order to gain an accurate profile of the American Indian and Alaskan Native populations, social, housing, and economic characteristics. This information will be invaluable to American Indians in the next century.

This addendum was sent to those American Indians who are not sure if they have been counted. If you believe you were somehow missed, please use the enclosed non-English questionnaire forms enclosed. Simply fill out the one page form and send it to the Census Processing Address in the upper right-hand corner. This form can be xeroxed for other friends or tribal members who may have been missed or failed to respond earlier. A telephone hot line is offered in case you have questions. English: 1-800-555-1234.

This is your last chance to be counted. The WERE YOU COUNTED forms will be accepted through July 1990.

If you need help, call 1-800-555-1234. If you can be of any assistance.
Greetings once again!

We would like to announce and invite you to our monthly worship group this Sunday afternoon at 5:00 p.m. in the fellowship hall of Faith American Lutheran Church. The church is located at 4335 Virginia St. just off of High St. in Oakland.

We would also like to invite anyone interested in helping out with the leadership of the 10:30 a.m. service on the second Sunday of the month to let us know. Would you be willing to lead congregational singing, say a prayer, hand out hymnals, be our speaker for the morning, or be part of a singing group? We welcome your participation!

Next month on Saturday, March 3rd, the Native American Alcoholism Program will be sponsoring their 5th annual "Running is My High" at Lake Merritt in Oakland. This is a chance for all you runners and walkers to put on your favorite pair of running/walking shoes and join us for good, healthy fun. If you’re more of a spectator than an athlete, come anyway and be part of the cheering section. It’s a great way to spend a Saturday morning. Registration begins at 8:00 a.m.

The 1990 census is coming up beginning April 1, 1990 and we would encourage every household or individual to be counted. Please take the time to fill out the questionnaires that you may receive by mail. If you are unsure about how to complete the forms or if you do not receive one, you can find assistance by contacting any of our American Indian Agencies or health clinics. American Indians have a right to be counted. Let’s answer the census.

Yours in Partnership,

[Signature]

Judy Wellington