

**Census Ethnographic Research Project:
Isleta Pueblo, New Mexico**

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COMMUNITY PROFILE

Isleta Pueblo is located approximately twelve miles south of Albuquerque, New Mexico. The community of Isleta is one of 19 modern Pueblo Indian communities which have survived Euro-American contact. The term "Pueblo" was a title bequeathed by the first Spanish explorers and colonizers of the region and was used to denote a "township" under Spanish Crown authority.

The term Isleta (little island) was given to the Pueblo by the first Spanish Colonial Governor, Juan de Oñate, in the late 1500's. At the time of Spanish contact, Isleta was one of about two dozen communities that inhabited the lower Rio Grande river basin. The colonial jurisdiction identified this area as the Province of Tiguex which became characterized by a particular Pueblo language variant called Tiwa. After just a few short centuries of Spanish occupation, the whole of the native population in the Province of Tiguex had been reduced from an estimated ten to twenty thousand, to barely six hundred.

As a result of disease, community dissent and warfare, only two Pueblo communities in the original Province of Tiguex survived—the Pueblos of Sandia and Isleta. Their territories were eventually consolidated as Spanish land-grants. These grants were subsequently affirmed after New Mexico became a Mexican province in 1821, and with the issuance of New Mexico statehood in 1912, these land-grants became basis of the "Pueblo Indian Reservations," by which they are known today.

According to the 1980 US Census, Isleta's population was determined to be 2,397. Preliminary figures released from the 1990 US Census estimate its total population to be 2,915. This represented an increase of 17.7 percent over the 1980 population. The Reservation is approximately 10 by 50 miles rectangular and is situated between the two most populous areas in New Mexico—Bernalillo and Valencia counties. Bernalillo has a population of approximately half-a-million. By in large, however, only a fertile three mile wide

¹ This research was sponsored by the Center for Survey Methods Research, US Bureau of the Census. The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance of the alternative enumeration team. They were, Dr. Adelar Alcantara, Technical Assistant; Edwina Abeita, Enumerator; Shirley Ashley, Enumerator; and Magoo Shoulderblade, Coder. In addition, access to confidential housing records could not have been had without the authority and gracious assistance of the All Indian Pueblo Housing Authority, Elsie Salcedo Zion, Executive Director, and the Isleta Tribal Governor's Office, Verna Williamson, Governor.

swath along the Rio Grande river basin is settled extensively by the Pueblo. This area is largely agricultural and is bounded by a number of acequias or irrigation systems. The higher outlying plains, which are far more extensive, are primarily leased to tribal members for cattle grazing.

The main settlement within the Isleta reservation is the village of Isleta, interchangeably referred to by its traditional names of tuéi or sieh-wib-ág. The village is the largest and most densely settled community and it is distinguished by a plaza (open ceremonial town square) which is fronted by a prominent and historic Catholic Church. The majority of village structures are built using vernacular adobe architectural techniques. Long blocks of single-storey houses radiate from the plaza and contained within are many contiguous rooms. Sections of block houses are traditionally maintained and used by extended families. Other sections are used for ceremonial purposes.

In addition, there are several other smaller farming communities such as Ranchitos, Chical, and Los Padillas. The origin of these communities is as farming outliers and they are all located upstream and downstream of the main village. They are generally characterized by clusters of houses and residents are generally tied to the main village in various political and ceremonial ways. Historically, the perennial problem of seasonal flooding on the alluvial river plain kept these communities small. With the advent of land reclamation projects, however, these communities have become more densely settled.

In 1900, nearly 100 percent of the workers were censused as farmers. Although the reservation has served to minimize the impact of outside commercial development, agricultural practices have moved away from labor intensive crops like corn, chili and melons and have been replaced with mechanized crops like alfalfa and oats. Many families continue farming on a very limited scale and are, more or less, considered 'weekend' farmers.

The rapid urban growth experienced in Albuquerque after the 1950s has led to the diversification of Isleta's economy. Many tribal members became self-employed in Pueblo Indian arts and crafts while others pursued vocational and technical careers. In spite of this, there are limited opportunities for tribal members to pursue work within the reservation. Jobs are largely confined to the Head Start and Elementary school, various tribal government offices, an Indian Health Clinic, an agricultural cooperative, a cinder and gravel enterprise, the high-stakes Isleta Bingo enterprise and a fishing recreation park.

Beginning in the 1970s, the operational policy of American Indian federal relationships shifted to Indian Self-Determination. When this concept was instituted, Albuquerque became an important regional hub for federal agencies like the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service. As a result of the direct contracting of tribal services and hiring practices such as tribal preference, an unprecedented demand for tribal workers was created. By 1980, 95 percent of the total civilian work force of Isleta (827 out of 874) were

employed in tribal, state, or federal offices.² Because of its proximity to Albuquerque, the majority of the wage earners commute daily to the city where they are employed in white and blue-collar occupations.

The overall shift in occupations has had a significant impact on the family structure. Whereas farm based activities sustained the need to consolidate extended families for purposes of agricultural labor, wage-incomes have tended to change relationships among householders. Families tend to be more female headed, nucleated, smaller, and mobile. A traditional matriarchy, high divorce rates and a high proportion of births among single women are the main factors. In 1980, approximately 20 percent of the 702 households which were censused were headed by single women (183 households). Although tribal enrollment has been relatively stable since 1960, intertribal and interracial marriage has been steadily gaining. By 1980, this proportion was approximately 18 percent.

Changes in family structure arising from a shift to a wage economy has resulted in significant changes in land-tenure. Younger families have opted to migrate away from the village and homestead on farmlands. This has resulted in the depletion of agricultural lands in favor of residential subdividing. There is a general preference against residing in the old village, basically because housing there is crowded and lacks privacy and modern amenities. As a result, there has been a general abandonment and accelerated deterioration of the traditional adobe block houses. There is a general concern that participation in reservation life is being spurned for the material benefits of the outside. Only the elders continue to hold tenaciously to a communal village lifestyle.

Today, Isleta is in the midst of a profound economic and social transition. It remains to be seen how its communities will cope with its own rural transformation and with the competing urban presence of non-Indian towns.

ALTERNATIVE ENUMERATION SITE PROFILE

The ethnographic site was a two block sample and confined itself to only one type of housing. This is new housing constructed under the auspices of the Indian housing program of the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). In contrast to the vernacular housing traditions of the Pueblo, HUD houses—as they are commonly called—are a recent inclusion in the reservation.

Beginning in 1967, American Indians located on reservations throughout the nation became eligible to purchase new houses. These were offered on a limited scale and consisted of American-style, single family detached units. Several lease-hold options were made available. These included low-rent, mutual-help and turn-key housing. Typically, a recipient was expected to pay-off their mortgage in 20 years.

² *Characteristics of American Indians by Tribes and Selected Areas: 1980*, Subject Reports, 1980 Census of Population, US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Govt. Printing Office: Washington DC, PC80-2-1C.

The housing program was initially administered by HUD and was initiated at a time when the federal government estimated that 80% of Indian families on reservations had incomes which fell below the poverty line.³ As complexities mounted among the numerous agencies involved in construction and as the roster of mortgage paying recipients increased, regional coordination agencies were established. In the instance of the HUD housing projects in the Indian Pueblos, including those of Isleta, the coordinating agency was the All Indian Pueblo Housing Authority (AIPHA).

The HUD housing program was designed to overcome limitations imposed by mortgage provisions requiring alienable land title for loan collateral. Because reservation land could not be severed in this way, the tribal governments became the guarantor of the debt. Qualification for HUD housing was based on tribal enrollment, income and need. Particularly after the landmark 1978 US Supreme Court case of Santa Clara Pueblo vs Martinez⁴—which involved issues regarding tribal enrollment and qualifications of HUD housing eligibility—eligibility became even more stringent.

The goal of the program was to alleviate "substandard" housing. But unlike other regions of the nation where tribes had long been alienated from their own architectural traditions, new building provisions immediately came in conflict with existing Pueblo traditions. Traditional housing which had been adapted to fit the needs of an extended family could not readily be accommodated in the one, two and three bedroom structure. Wood-frame construction techniques in contrast to the terroné (sod-brick) traditions were not as malleable for the expanding needs of householders. The HUD house was basically static in design.⁵

As a result of such problems, there was an immediate backlash against HUD housing policies among the traditional and tribal government leaders. In Isleta, HUD houses were banned from the old village. Most of the HUD houses were consequently constructed away from the old village in lots which were assigned by random lotteries. This resulted in overcrowding, mismatches among extended families and duplication among some residences. Additionally, because the old traditional adobe houses were perfectly liveable, a situation was created whereby multiple residences were being maintained.

Other problems arose from the lack of infrastructure needs among coordinating agencies. Housing quality suffered from poor workmanship. Together, a myriad of problems ultimately affected the general morale of the recipients. In response, they began withholding mortgage payments as a protest to such mistreatment. Political factionalism further complicated the situation and, for a period, tribal leadership shielded delinquent families against

³ *Indian Housing in the United States: A Staff Report on the Indian Housing Effort in the United States With Selected Appendixes*. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 94th Congress, 1st Session, US Government Printing Office: Washington, DC, 1975.

⁴ 98 S.Ct. 1670 (1978).

⁵ *Memoirs of an American Indian House: A Descriptive Essay of US Federally Subsidized Housing*, Theodore S. Jojola, Published Masters Thesis, Department of Urban Studies & Planning, MIT: Cambridge, MA 1975.

HUD administrators. To this date, the Pueblo of Isleta continues to have one of the highest payment delinquency rates in the region.

Technically, HUD houses can be reassigned to another tribal member in the event of vacancy or severely delinquent payments. This was rarely enforced at Isleta, however. Seven percent of the HUD housing units were identified in the AIPHA records as being severely delinquent in payment.⁶ Two of these owners were on the verge of eviction proceedings. On the other hand, thirty-six of the 100 HUD houses in the Alternative Enumeration had paid off their HUD mortgage.⁷ Householders who paid off their HUD mortgages entered a property arrangement which was unclear by Tribal land-tenure arrangements. With the attainment of this status came a host of unattended questions dealing with property and inheritance. An excellent case in point is the following excerpt taken from an interview:

I reported my son-in-law and daughter as household members [even though they live in Albuquerque] so they could be counted as Indian. She's one-half Isleta and he's not a registered Indian. ...I don't understand why they use all these censuses anyway. The most important one is the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The Indian Health Service asks everyone to get a 'little blue card,' but they don't verify anything beyond what the BIA says. ...The important thing is that they are or aren't initiated in the clans—like my grandson. He's been initiated into the two clans [paternal and maternal] even though my husband is non-Indian. At the same time, if you look at the tribal census, my grandson is only one-fourth degree. The tribal government doesn't recognize him as Indian, but who are they to say that? In fact, I'm ready to fight for my grandson when it becomes time because I am going to give him this [HUD] house. As long as my grandson participates in the ceremonial activities of the village, then why should the tribal government not let him get the benefits he is entitled to?

In addition, with the attainment of ownership, residents were no longer under restrictions imposed by the AIPHA. One HUD house which was paid-off had already been turned into a duplex. Similarly, other paid-off HUD houses were undergoing extensive structural modifications.

Such factors, as well as others, have contributed enormously to a general resentment by individuals in HUD housing projects toward service providers. In large part, it is such resentment which would transfer to employers, including US Census Bureau. It is a resentment which is particularly important to the interpretation of this research since all these factors may contribute to various elements leading toward undercounts and misreporting.

⁶ The exact number of houses delinquent was difficult to ascertain. All housing records were not updated.

⁷ This was determined using AIPHA records. Not all files were up to date, however.

GENERAL ENUMERATION ISSUES

Overall, it appears that censusing within the Isleta Reservation went relatively smoothly. The Tribal government understood the importance of conducting a census and of obtaining an accurate count. They cooperated fully with the regional and field staff of the Census Bureau and there was no indication that they attempted to impede in any aspect of the enumeration process. In spite of this, there were some aspects which proved to be troublesome.

RECRUITMENT—One shortcoming in the regular 1990 enumeration process was tied to the local job recruitment and enumerator hiring program. Although there was a good turnout among applicants from the tribe, only one-third of the applicants (20 out of 60+) succeeded in passing the qualifying exam.⁸ They went on to receive their certification, but in just two weeks of actual footwork, only four local enumerators remained.

The majority had dropped out citing reasons that ranged from "not realizing how much footwork the job required," to problems of "intimidation" faced by the enumerators during the collection of sensitive information from their relatives. In addition, two enumerators had been dismissed outright for falsifying information. An area supervisor, after becoming suspicious, caught the two enumerators canvassing their areas in the same automobile. It was consequently revealed that they were using a copy of the tribal census roster to falsify responses among households when no one was found at home.

Finally, as the deadline for field efforts drew to a close non-Indian enumerators were "borrowed" from the surrounding communities. A number of these non-Indian enumerators subsequently resigned or refused to continue the reassignment. They complained of being verbally abused by some residents and were afraid for their own personal safety vis-à-vis watchdogs and farmyard animals (especially geese).

THE TRIBAL LIASON PROGRAM—The Tribal Liaison program had been established by the US Census Bureau to "increase awareness of the census process among tribal and village members."⁹ Although the other objectives included "improving access to 1990 census data" by tribal and village members, the program was not intended to allow the Liaison to oversee the actual enumeration itself. This aspect apparently was not well communicated in the training and correspondence from the coordinating census office.

There was a false expectation about the role of the Tribal Liaison both by the designee and by the Tribal Governor's office. In the instance of Isleta the matter came to a head after the Tribal Liaison attempted to review the enumerator-maps drawn by the enumerators for possible household omissions. The census crew leader communicated the Liaison's request to the field supervisor who consequently denied permission on the basis that the Liaison

⁸ From post-interviews with various enumerators.

⁹ *Tribal Liaison Program: 1990 Resource Manual*, US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, D-512, 1989.

had not taken an oath of confidentiality. Although the Tribal Governor's office requested a waiver on the Liaison's behalf, access to the enumerator-maps was denied.

The above situation could have been ameliorated had the Tribal Liaison assumed a more substantial role in the census enumeration process. By in large, the Tribal Liaison was limited to assisting in the public relations efforts of the US Census Bureau. Although the Tribal Liaison was designated by the Tribal Governor to oversee aspects of the Local Review Process, input was perceived as being pro-forma. In the instance when the US Census field staff requested assistance from the Liaison in identifying possible missing households, there was no direct manner in which oversights could be ascertained.

An excellent case in point pertained to the plaza area of the main village (see inset that follows). Here the census block geography in the new TIGER format was so grossly misapplied as to be essentially useless in locating and verifying housing units. Boundaries indiscriminately cut through traditional Pueblo block houses and geographic markers such as roadways were completely misaligned. The only explanation for such errors is the ignorance of census geographers in resolving village planning traditions of Isleta Pueblo.

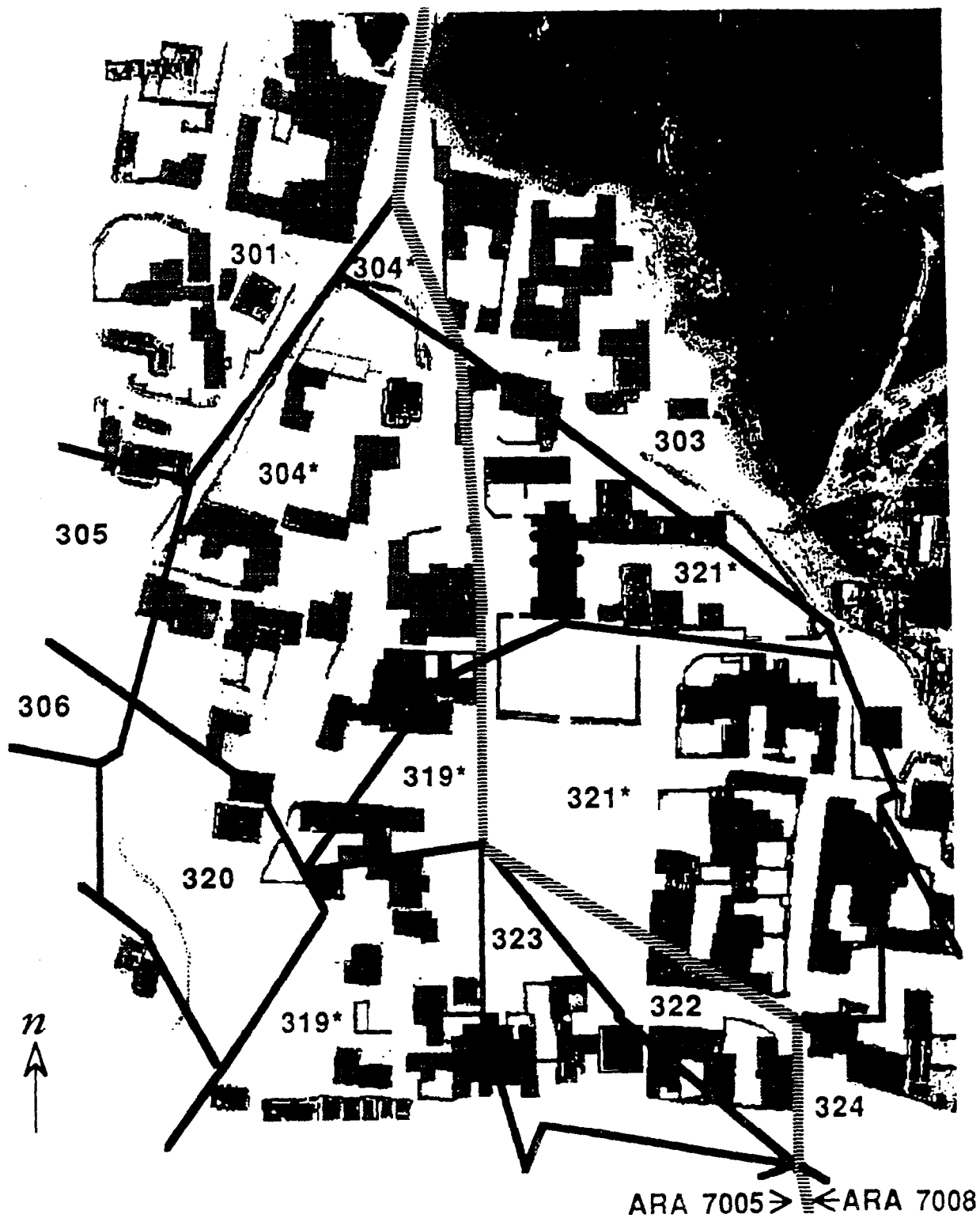
Similarly, information provided by the Tribal Census Office was limited because it designated only those tribal members who were officially enrolled on the basis of blood quantum (in addition, the listings are maintained through patrilineal relationships). The tribal census cannot identify non-members nor can counts be disaggregated into geographic units which correspond with census block units. By not designating the same confidential status to the Liaison as other US Census field staff, and thereby allowing access to the enumerator-maps, the local review process became a guessing exercise reminiscent of "twenty questions."

In the end, the Tribal Liaison felt exploited because most of the important decisions regarding census enumeration on the reservation had been made without consulting the Liaison or the tribe.¹⁰

CENSUSING—There were other problems which were tied to the enumeration procedure as well. Foremost were omissions by the US Postal Service regarding the mailing of census forms. Apparently there were some assumptions made that "P.O. boxes" were primarily business addresses and a decision to exclude them from receiving census forms was made. Some households in the reservation did receive a census form in the mail while others on an adjacent P.O. or rural route box did not. The matter was compounded by the fact that there are three post offices which have patrons in the vicinity of the Isleta reservation (zip codes: 87105, 87022, and 87048).

¹⁰ From interviews conducted with the Tribal Liaison and Tribal Governor.

1990 CENSUS GEOGRAPHY BY BLOCKS & ARAs Main Plaza, Isleta Pueblo, NM



As a result of inconsistencies in the mailing of census forms, there was confusion among householders regarding the procedure for completing forms. As a result of special arrangement in the Denver Region of the US Census Bureau, reservation areas were enumerated by the List/Enumeration method and every other household on Indian reservations was issued a long-form (50% sample).¹¹ All households were to be contacted by enumerators and any forms received by mail would be picked up in person. The distribution of mail forms on the reservation was intermittent and apparently there was no attempt to adjust the mailings to the long-form sample design. By in large, therefore, inadvertent form duplications, multiple contacts and misdirected forms confused the enumeration of a good proportion of households in the Isleta reservation.

ITEM INTERPRETATIONS—Every respondent indicated that they did not have problems interpreting the census form. Typically, respondents indicated “that they know how to answer all kinds of forms” and that the census questions were no different from those which they routinely filled out or handled in their own government jobs. Almost every household indicated that they were also registered with the enrollment office at the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Tribal registry and with the Indian Health Service clinic. They considered the US census questionnaire to be simply “another” form among a continuous stream of forms.

There were a few respondents who could not explain the purpose of the 1990 census. One elder who was confused about the census indicated that the Alternative Enumeration interview prompted a follow-up inquiry at the Tribal Census office. There the individual discovered that the blood quantum was erroneously recorded at one-fourth instead of four-fourths. Otherwise, the majority gave the standard response that “the census was a count of everybody in the country.” They indicated that they had heard this explanation in television broadcasts or had read it in the newspaper. Parents who had school-age children enrolled in the Pueblo Day School said that their children occasionally brought home materials explaining the importance of answering the census.¹² Individuals who worked for tribal and federal offices were more likely to relate the importance of the US census counts to the funding of programs for American Indians.

Naturally, the respondents who complained about the length of the questionnaire were those who had filled out the long-form. They found some of the questions about income “too personal” and were confused about assessing the value of their property.¹³ As it turned out all the respondents “guessed” about the value of their property since reservation lands only carry the right of occupation among tribal members. Property titles are only used for the transfer

¹¹ The agreement was made in lieu of funds to conduct a Special Tribal Supplemental Questionnaire for American Indians and Native Alaskans as was done in the 1980 census.

¹² The Isleta Elementary School and the Isleta Elementary School Board conducted a small census awareness campaign.

¹³ *What is the value of this property; that is, how much do you think this (house and lot/condominium unit) would sell for if it were for sale?* This is question H6 on the long-form.

of these rights.¹⁴ HUD houses were somewhat of an exception to this in that, technically, the house had a stated worth but this was based on the value of the dollar in 1970.

There was a general reluctance among respondents in mixed-race households to discuss the issue of self identification. This, in turn, affected interpretations to the race item in the US census form.¹⁵ There was a high degree of polarization between households which were of mixed descent (including those married to other Indian tribes) and those households whose entire family were enrolled in the Isleta tribal census. Among families where everyone was enrolled in Isleta, admission to being "American Indian" in the US census was interpreted as holding the privilege of living on reservation land that was free from property tax and of being eligible to social services. Among households that were of mixed-race, admission to being "American Indian" was regarded as a designation pertaining to heritage or ethnicity. The choice of identification as interpreted by parents for their children was questionable since they answered in a manner that attempted to protect their rights as American Indians and not as "US citizens."

ALTERNATIVE ENUMERATION METHODOLOGY

A total of 102 households were contacted over a six-week period beginning in the third week of July, 1990. Of these, 100 lived in HUD houses. The purpose for conducting the Alternative Enumeration was to establish whether misreporting or the misunderstanding of information contained in the US Census questionnaires resulted in undercounts.

It has been said about the Pueblo of Isleta that it is the most reactionary of all Indian Pueblos¹⁶ and, true to form, an incident involving the tribal leadership erupted on July 9th, 1990. On this day the Isleta Governor was accused by the Tribal Council of violating an obscure personal conduct ordinance.¹⁷ The accusation was used by a faction of the Tribal Council to force a recall election and remove the Governor from office. The issue received extensive coverage in the regional presses.

The recall proved unsuccessful but, nonetheless, resulted in dividing the community into political factions. Because recall petitioners began to canvass the entire reservation for signatures, the AE project start-up date was delayed by two weeks so as to avoid confusion between the two activities. As it turned

¹⁴ In fact, it is rare for any property which has been developed to exchange hands except within the immediate or extended family. The going rate, if there was such a thing, was \$3,000 to \$6,000 for an acre of prime agricultural land. Similar lots adjacent and outside of the reservation were \$20,000 to \$50,000 per acre. There is no comparable value for lots with houses.

¹⁵ *What is _____'s race?* Item 4 on the long-form US Census questionnaire.

¹⁶ See *Factionalism in Isleta Pueblo*, David H. French, Monographs of the American Ethnological Society, XIV, JJ Augustin: NY, 1948.

¹⁷ *Williamson's Leadership Questioned*, Metro Plus Section, Albuquerque Journal, July 13, 1990, pg. 1.

out, only two households required clarification that the AE was not being conducted as part of the recall effort.

As an extra precaution against unanticipated results, enumerators only interviewed ten households in the first week. These households were selected among the most immediate relatives of the enumerators and information elicited from the interviews were assessed for any bias. From these initial interviews it was determined that name tags and materials identifying the enumerators as employees of a project being conducted by the University of New Mexico presented the most neutral representation.

Specific households identified on a detailed site map were assigned to each enumerator. Progress was recorded biweekly on a larger site map which was a composite land-use map provided to the AE by the AIPHA. In this manner, the AE team avoided overlap and residents who proved difficult to find at home were easily identified. As it turned out, the best time for contacting residents was in the early evening. Because most houses have open carports, it was relatively easy to determine if anyone was at home by looking for automobiles.

Most interviews were conducted inside the home. This gave an opportunity for the enumerator to verify visually if there were other residents living there. Often, more than one family member was present at the interviews and this allowed the enumerator to probe respondents about relationships among householders and their extended family. This was especially useful in resolving cases where new babies were present in the family.

Except for the recall incident, the AE went smoothly. Discussions at each household took from five minutes to several hours. Typically, most of the informal interviews were finished in 15 minutes. By in large, most residents were cooperative and many individuals could still remember answers from the interviews conducted by the regular census enumerators. Older respondents were more hospitable, while younger respondents tended to be more cautious in responding.

The principal investigator worked with three assistants and one technical consultant. All three assistants had been employed as enumerators by the US Census Bureau, and one of them had worked as a crewleader. Their duties in the regular census did not involve the Alternative Enumeration (AE) site, however, so the independence of the AE was not compromised.

The two assistants who worked as enumerators on the project and the principal investigator are enrolled members of the Pueblo of Isleta. They are bilingual in Tiwa and English. Many households they visited during the AE were homes of their relatives as ties of kinship unite the Pueblo community. A third assistant, who is from another tribe, was employed to code data.

HUD housing records were obtained and used to develop an address list, a map and a roster of possible residents of the site. This was done in advance of the AE. Permission was granted by the Isleta Tribal Governor's

Office and the All Indian Pueblo Housing Authority (AIPHA). As a condition for accessing this information, the census confidentiality provisions of Title 13 were extended to the AE and HUD records. The three assistants had taken oaths to protect census confidentiality in the course of their temporary employment with the Census Bureau. The principal investigator and technical consultant were Special Sworn Employees

The AIPHA staff was extremely helpful and cooperative. Listings of residents as well as construction site maps were provided. The site maps were used to develop detailed enumerator maps in advance of the actual Alternative Enumeration. The maps were also used to keep records and track interviews conducted in the Alternative Enumeration. This was especially important because all major and minor roadways were unnamed. Additionally, there were usually no visible means to identify individual units as most of the HUD architecture was of one style. Street addresses were non-existent although some units had numerals posted on the entryway which corresponded to their original lot number.

AIPHA records provided detailed listings of all family members who would be living in the unit. The listings were compiled at the time of their application although the AIPHA did systematically note changes in family membership and changes in ownership.¹⁸ This information was useful in determining which resident in each household formally met the 1990 Census criteria for listing first, as "Person 1":

the "household member (or one of the household members) in whose name this house is owned, being bought, or rented"
[instructions printed on the front cover of every 1990 Census form].

Records of those who had paid off their mortgage completely were kept in separate files and no longer updated after the final payment had been made.

The principal investigator and technical consultant worked with the enumerators in designing open-ended questions. Dress rehearsals within the team were conducted and meetings to discuss the elicited responses were conducted on a regular basis. Interviews within the Alternative Enumeration site were conducted by the two enumerators. In addition, the principal investigator conducted a select number of interviews. This provided a consistency check and helped to establish additional criteria for the open-ended interviews.¹⁹

The interview was designed to elicit information about the composition of the family residing within each household. The enumerators asked questions intended to document any occurrences where the respondents may have either misunderstood the intent of the regular US Census or where any specific

¹⁸ The information was identified as "head-of-household" for purposes of investigating the relationship between the head of the family and the declaration of property ownership. It does not conform to "householder" as specified in the regular census questionnaire.

¹⁹ Copies of the working documents are provided in the appendix.

problems had arisen during the original enumeration. All observations were recorded during the interviews in spiral notebooks.

At the end of each week, information which had been gathered on the composition of each household was coded and cross-referenced with the information provided in the corresponding AIPHA housing record. Any discrepancies were resolved by discussions among the AE team since, more often than not, they usually involved extended relatives. In some instances, additional information was gathered from close relatives in an effort to pinpoint the exact status of transient individuals.

REFUSALS—Three individuals refused to cooperate in answering questions for the AE. One refused because she resented the amount of time she had already spent on the regular census. She had been interviewed for the long form. A second person refused because she had already been contacted a total of four times during the regular census. Two of these contacts were the result of overlap by two different census enumerators. The third contact was initiated by another enumerator for purposes of completing a new form after it was explained her earlier form had been lost. Her fourth contact was for “last-resort” information concerning the adjacent house. The third refusal came from an individual who had been officially designated as the Tribal Liaison to the Census Bureau. The root cause of her refusal was tied to misgivings about the Tribal Liaison program itself.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF ALTERNATIVE ENUMERATION SITE

Of the 102 housing units identified, 100 were occupied. 98 of the HUD houses were occupied and two were vacant. The median household size was 4 persons and the median age of the head-of-household was 43 years of age. Thirty-nine housing units were comprised of single-headed households.

277 individuals in the resolved census day population were identified as being “full-blood” and enrolled in the Pueblo of Isleta (71.2%—see Figure 1). 70 individuals were identified as being of Isleta/mixed ancestry and enrolled in the Pueblo of Isleta (18%).²⁰ 25 individuals were other tribe (6.4%), 9 individuals were identified as non-Indian/Hispanic (2.3%) and 8 individuals were identified as non-Indian/non-Hispanic (2.1%).

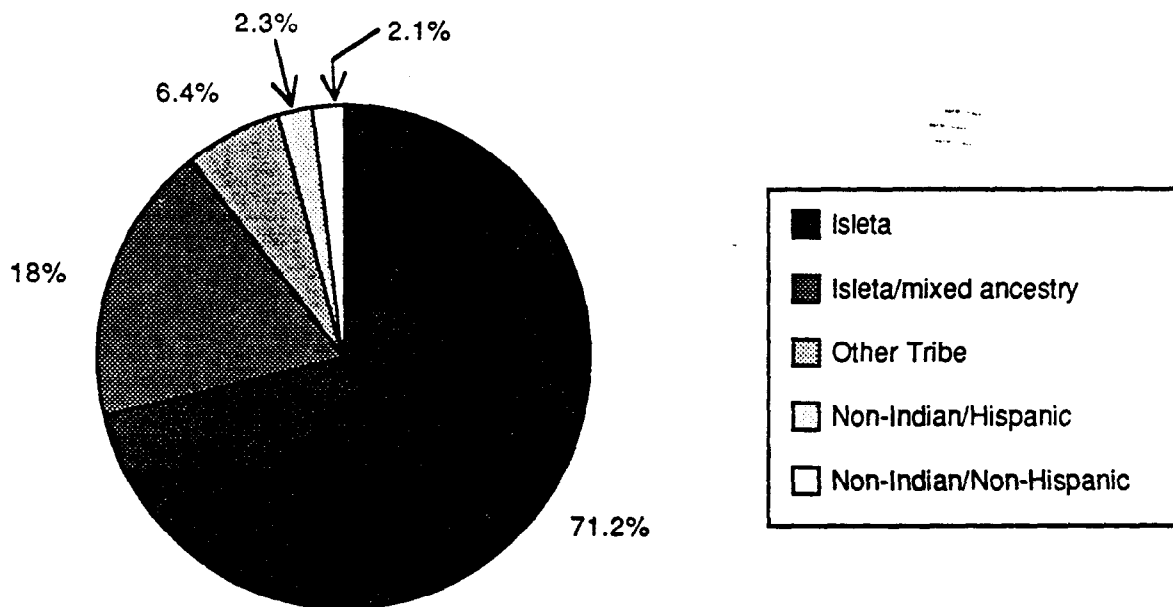
The age group distributions support the residential profile which one would expect to find in a federal housing project like Indian HUD housing (see Figure 2). The bimodal distribution is proportionally represented among those age groups that constitute the owners of the houses (whose average median age was 43) and their offspring (15–19 year age group). Because housing ownership is fixed, children who move into the marriageable age range (20–39

²⁰ This category was difficult to verify because the principal investigator did not have access to the tribal rolls. In addition, it should be noted that those children from single mothers were identified as ‘full-blood’ although there may have been no documentation to substantiate this when the mother refused to identify the father.

age range) apparently are being forced to move out of the project and move elsewhere where housing is available. This pattern probably also accounts for the influx of trailer houses being located on agricultural lands elsewhere on the reservation.

FIGURE 1

IDENTIFICATION BY RACE Resolved Census Day Population Isleta Pueblo, NM Sample Area N=389



In spite of this there are still a high number of the younger age groups being maintained (ages newborn–14). This pattern is being reinforced by extended family situations in households where a single parent or parents take custody of grandchildren. Twenty-six households maintained some sort of an extended family situation.²¹ In addition, it was not uncommon for families to accommodate—usually on a short-term basis—adult children who were in transition either because of a dissolved relationship or who were establishing a new family.

A closer examination of the age cohort structure of the Alternative Enumeration area shows some of the proportional differences between sexes and age groups (Figure 3). The most notable difference is in the 15–19 age cohort. Males out-proportion females by 2 percentage points overall indicating

²¹ Extended families are defined as those households where three or more generations are present.

that males in this age group tend to reside at their parent's home longer than females. In the next age cohort, 25–29, the proportional discrepancies are reversed as males move out of the household, probably to establish new residences elsewhere.

FIGURE 2
OVERALL FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS BY AGE
Resolved Census Day Population
Isleta Pueblo, NM Sample Area

5 Year Age groups

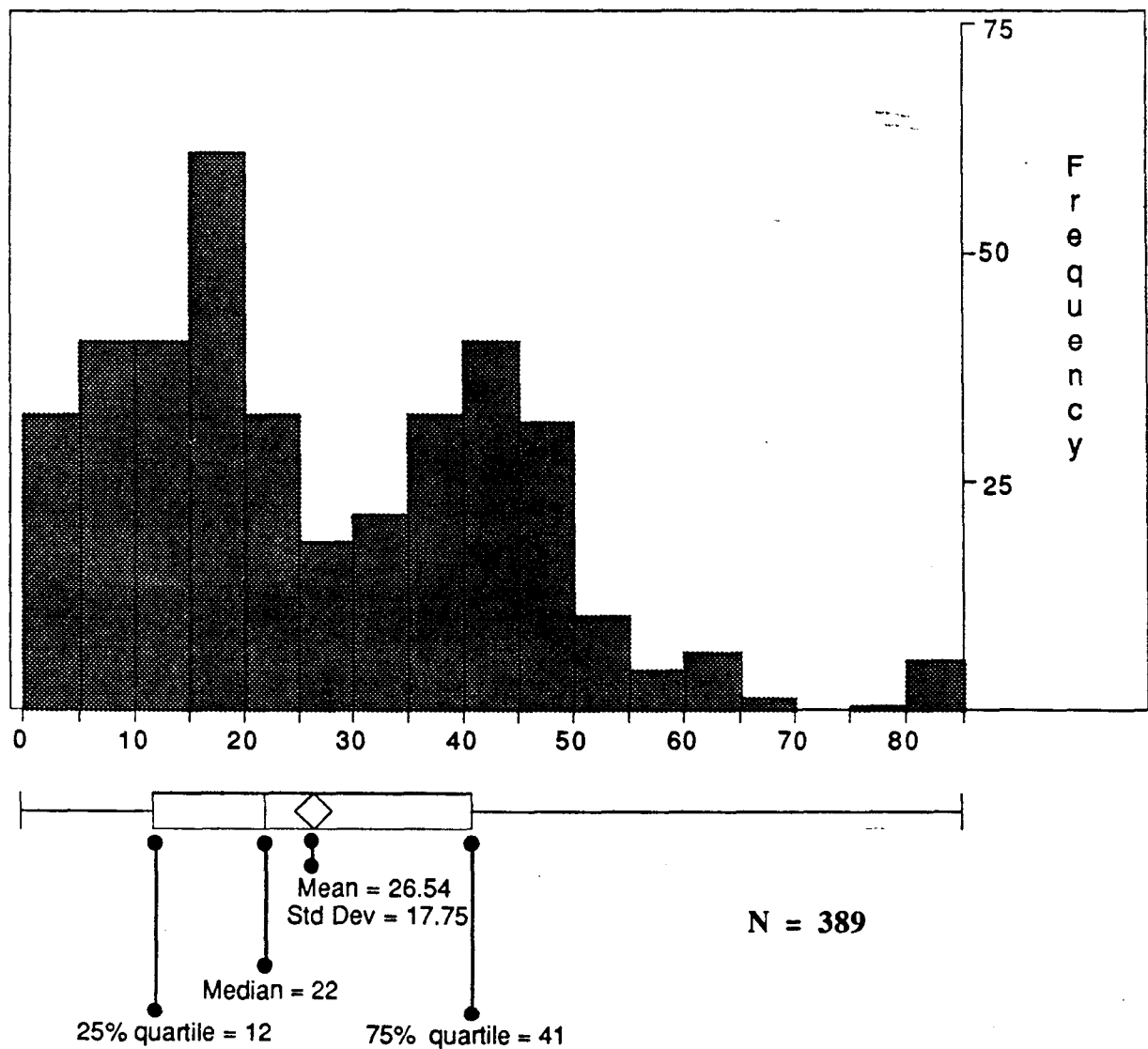
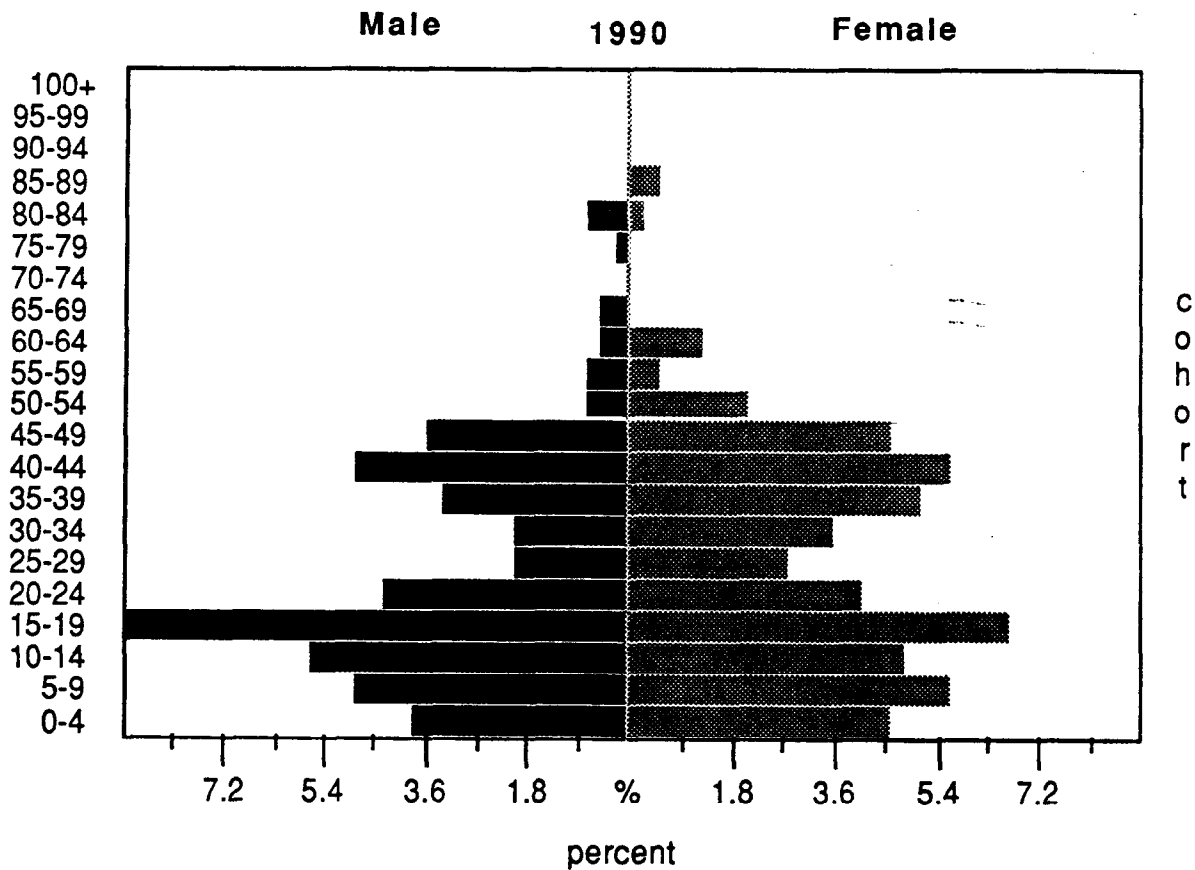


FIGURE 3
AGE COHORT PYRAMID
Resolved Census Day Resolution
Isleta Pueblo, NM Sample Area
 N = 389



Beginning with age cohort 30–34, the proportion shift of females begins to overtake those of the males. The pattern is indicative of the return of females to a parent's home or the dissolution of households resulting in divorced females retaining both the property and custody of children. The larger proportional distribution among females also supports the fact that 50% percent of the households are headed by women with the pattern becoming especially pronounced for the older age cohorts.

The large representation among the 30–49 age cohorts coincides exactly with the construction phases of the HUD houses. Most residents obtained their houses approximately 20 years prior to the 1990 US census. As ownership continues to remain fixed, it is expected that the median age of householders

will continue to get older. It remains to be seen whether the transfer of property or a higher incidence of renting will become more pronounced as more owners pay off their mortgages. This will encourage younger families to move into these houses. Otherwise, the younger age groups will gradually disappear and the overall population will decline and become older.

FAMILY COMPOSITION

There was relatively little ambiguity among households concerning who was listed as Person 1. This was probably attributed to the ALPHA mortgage contract which requires that a specified head-of-household member of the Isleta Pueblo tribe be designated as the homeowner. In spite of this, five households chose to indicate a non-Isleta male as Person 1 even though their Isleta spouse was designated as the homeowner. Only one of these households, however, identified Person 1 as a non-Indian while the others were identified as being American Indian from a principal tribe different than Isleta.

TABLE 1
OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS
MALE HEAD-OF-HOUSEHOLD RELATIONSHIPS²²

Joint Partner		Single-head			Total
married	common law	single	divorced	widower	
41	3	2	4	0	50

An examination of Table 1 indicates that male-headed households among joint partnerships dominated. The paternal concept of a nuclear family comprised 44 of the 50 male-headed households. Only six households were headed by single males. The median age among male-headed households was 42 years and the median household size was four. Among single males the median age was 39 and the median household size was three. Eighteen of the joint partner households were comprised of mixed-marriage families (41 percent). Ten of these were to non-Indians and eight were to partners identified as having a different principal tribe other than Isleta.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of household composition was the proportion of females who were identified as the head-of-household. There were 50 such households and they comprised 50 percent of all occupied households. Of these households 33 were headed by single females. The average median age for this group was 46 years and the average median household size was three.

²² During the interviews respondents were asked to indicate who in the family was the 'head-of-household.' This term was readily understood. 'Person 1' was not used because of its uncommon usage.

Overall, female headed households were more likely to have mixed-marriage relationships. Of the 17 joint partner relationships (married & common law), 88 percent of female headed households were with partners of another tribe or race. This was approximately twice the rate of mixed-marriage families as compared to male-headed households (see Table 2).²³

TABLE 2
OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS
FEMALE HEAD-OF-HOUSEHOLD RELATIONSHIPS²⁴

Joint Partner		Single-head			Tota
married	common law	single	divorced	widower	
15	2	9	21	3	50

TABLE 3
ALL OCCUPIED HOUSEHOLDS
HEAD-OF-HOUSEHOLD RELATIONSHIPS²⁵

Joint		Single-head			Tota
married	common law	single	divorced	widower	
56	5	11	25	3	100

A comparison of all female head-of-household relationships indicates that 39 percent of all households comprise a single-headed family situation (see Table 3).

Such patterns are attributable to the history of property ownership requirements by the All Indian Pueblo Housing Authority and is indicative of the fact that females with children tend to have a more stable residential situation than males. Further analysis clearly demonstrates that females dominate home ownership (see Figure 4).

The findings that females dominate head-of-households goes contrary to policies of tribal law which acknowledges more property rights among male head-of-households. In fact, there is a great deal of disquiet among tribal policymakers about inheritance especially among female headed mixed-marriage households.

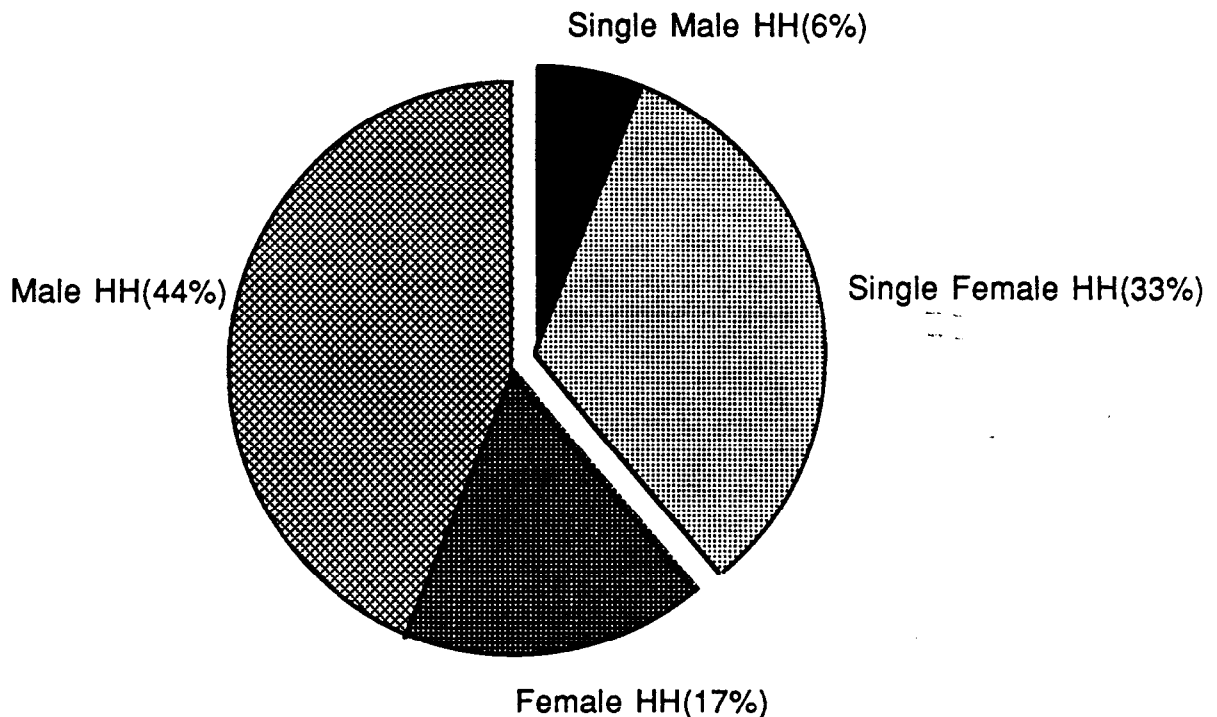
²³ The category 'mixed race' includes both individuals identified from another principle tribe and non-Indians.

²⁴ Among female head-of-household relationships it was difficult to determine their past-marital history. Single women with children tended to identify them as Isleta Indian regardless of a past mixed-race parentage.

²⁵ Overall, head-of-household relationships tended to reflect the present-day status of the individual. Due to limitations of the research it was not possible to verify marital histories. For example, some divorced or widowed individuals have remarried but chose to identify themselves as married. Similarly, some individuals chose to identify themselves as single. The common-law arrangement always tended to be a combination of past-marital factors among both adults.

FIGURE 4

COMPARISON PIE CHART
FEMALE & MALE HEAD-OF-HOUSEHOLD (HH)
(100 percent, N = 100)



COVERAGE ISSUES

The total count as enumerated by the regular census of the sample area was 391. The total count found in the Alternative Enumeration was 383. The final resolution was 389.

The final resolution was attained by reverifying all those individual records which were not perfect matches (343 of 389 were perfect matches, 88%). A total of 15 individuals (3.9%) were found to be erroneous enumerations. These records were dropped from the final resolution. Additionally, 13 individuals (3.3%) were not identified during the regular census and were added to the final resolution.

The final resolution entailed discerning the complex mobility patterns found within extended family relationships among the households. There are two categories of errors—those that were erroneous enumerations and were consequently 'dropped' in the final resolution and those that were omissions and were consequently 'added' in the final resolution. The erroneous

enumerations were comprised of instances in which individuals were wrongly enumerated because of a temporal or a situational arrangement during the regular census. The omissions were comprised of instances where individuals were confirmed to be resident by the Alternative Enumeration, but missed during the regular census.

FINAL RESOLUTION

Regular Census	Final Resolution		
Total	Dropped	Added	Total
391	15	13	389

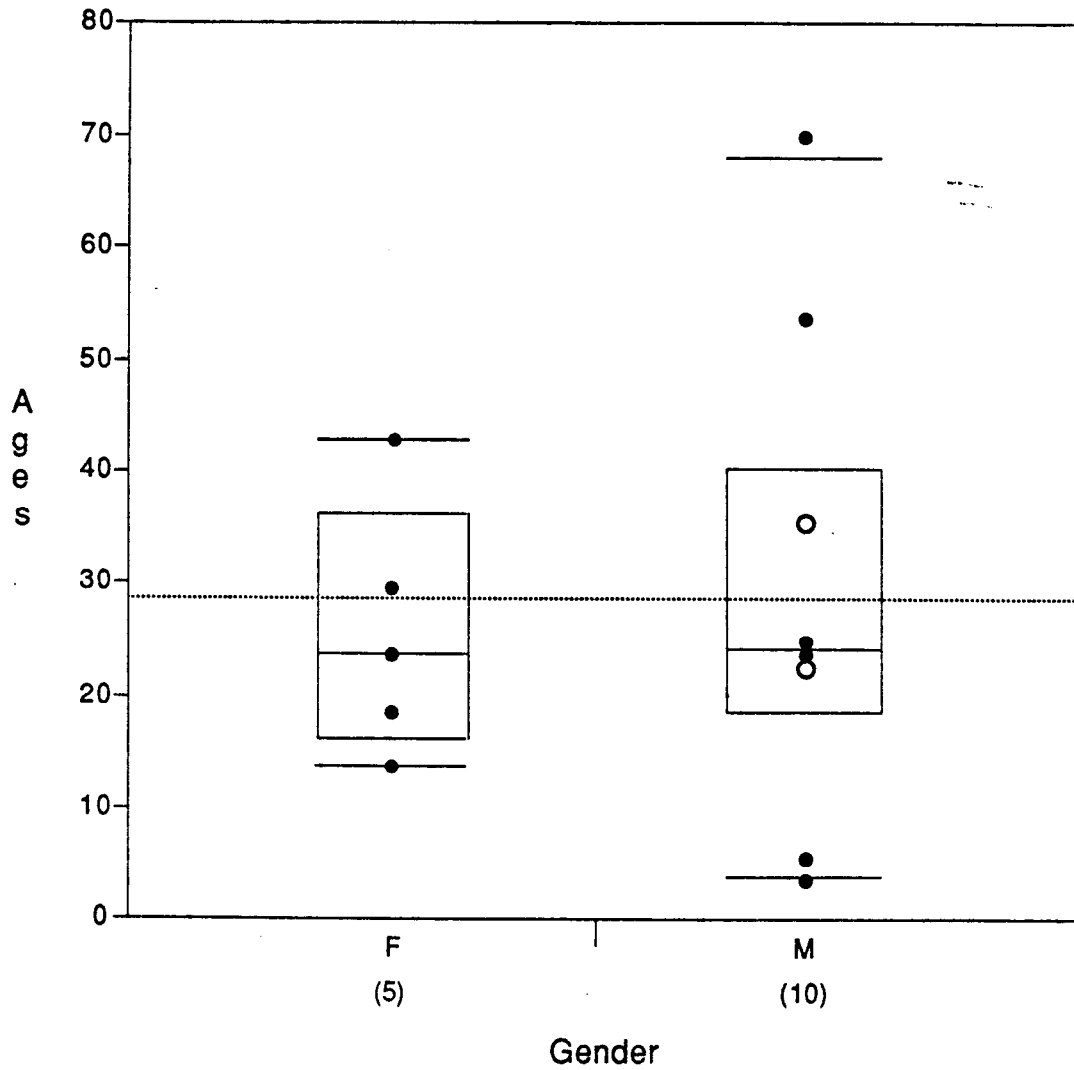
ERRORS—Fifteen individuals (3.9%) were coded as erroneous enumerations and consequently dropped in the final resolution. Of these, five were female and ten were male. Seven of these individuals were identified as being from another tribe although only one was confirmed to have their usual residence at another Indian reservation. All individuals maintained a usual residence elsewhere on census day. The exception was a 'transient' 23 year-old male who stayed equally at his parent's house and at a girlfriend's extended family:

	Sex	Age	Causes for Erroneous Enumerations by Regular Census
household 1	F	43	Has another house elsewhere.
household 2	M	23	Transient, lives with girlfriend half of the time.
household 3	M	24	Has another house elsewhere.
household 4	M	6	Pipes froze at trailer. Temporary quarters. Censused elsewhere
	F	30	extended family
	M	4	extended family
	M	25	extended family
household 5	M	54	Visiting HH, lives at another village.
household 6	F	24	Misreported to be living at this HH, but living in city.
	M	23	
household 7	M	70	Rents house, lives at village.
household 8	M	36	Vacant house, resides elsewhere.
household 9	M	36	Vacant house, lives in village.
	F	19	children
	F	14	children

FIGURE 5

ONE-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ERRONEOUS ENUMERATIONS Individuals Dropped From Regular Census Total Isleta Pueblo, NM Sample Area

Quantiles: 90%,75%,50%,25%,10%



n = 15 (3.9%)

● = 1 occurrence
○ = 2 occurrences

A total of nine households were erroneously enumerated in the regular census. Two of these housing units were confirmed to be vacant by the AE. In both cases, the families were confirmed to be living at second homes which were located in the traditional village. In another household, the family was taking up temporary residence elsewhere during census day due to plumbing problems at their usual residence.

The most unusual circumstance of an erroneous enumeration, however, was among a family who deliberately misreported that their two married children were living in the same house. Although these children really lived outside the reservation they were included in the parent's house so as to inflate the count of American Indians residing on the reservation. The family understood that an inflated count would be advantageous for funding purposes.

An examination of the variance among individual cases of erroneous enumerations in the regular census shows that females showed no discernable pattern in age (see Figure 5). In fact, all but one female was either the spouse or the daughter and was attached to a household which was erroneously enumerated. On the other hand, there is some evidence of clustering among single males, particularly in the 23 through 36 age range. These males were maintaining another usual residence elsewhere, but tended to move regularly between houses.

OMISSIONS—A total of thirteen individuals (3.3%) were omitted in the regular census. Of those records which had demographic information, three were female and six were male. All were confirmed to have their principal tribe as Isleta during the AE. All individuals were reported to have simply been "overlooked" during the regular census. The most common explanation was that respondent "forgot" to mention them because the individual was away from home at the time of the regular census interview.

	Sex	Age	Causes for Omissions
household 1	M	16	Parents divorced, moves between HHs
household 2	M	17	Transient male
	M	20	Transient male who lives w/ girlfriend
household 3	M	42	Owns another house, but prefers to live in this HH with girlfriend.
household 4	M	16	Parents divorced, moves between HHs
household 5	F	21	Mother forgot to include daughter during regular census. granddaughter
	F	2	
household 6	F	14	Missed by regular census

household 7	M	17	Tenant on census day who was missed.
household 8	n a		HH match but no individual demographic info
	n a		HH match but no individual demographic info
	n a		HH match but no individual demographic info
	n a		HH match but no individual demographic info

All males which were omitted in the regular census were confirmed to be living only part of the year in other residences. Only one male actually owned and occupied another house elsewhere, but preferred to live most of the time at his girlfriend's home. All other males were transient, but usually designated the parent's home as their usual residence whether they actually stayed there or not. Similarly, a 14 year old female and a 21 year old female with a 2 year old daughter who tended to move regularly between residences were missed by the regular census.

The exception among those records added were the residents of household 8. In the regular census, personal demographic information was missing for each resident, although they were all listed under the same housing unit. Because the matching AE housing unit listed a total of eight residents, four omissions were added in the final resolution. A total of 4 housing units in the regular census were coded in a similar fashion. Nonetheless, there was enough information to link a probable match with the AE housing unit. A total of 12 'unknown' individuals were matched by this method (3.1% of the total 389 persons in the final resolution).²⁶

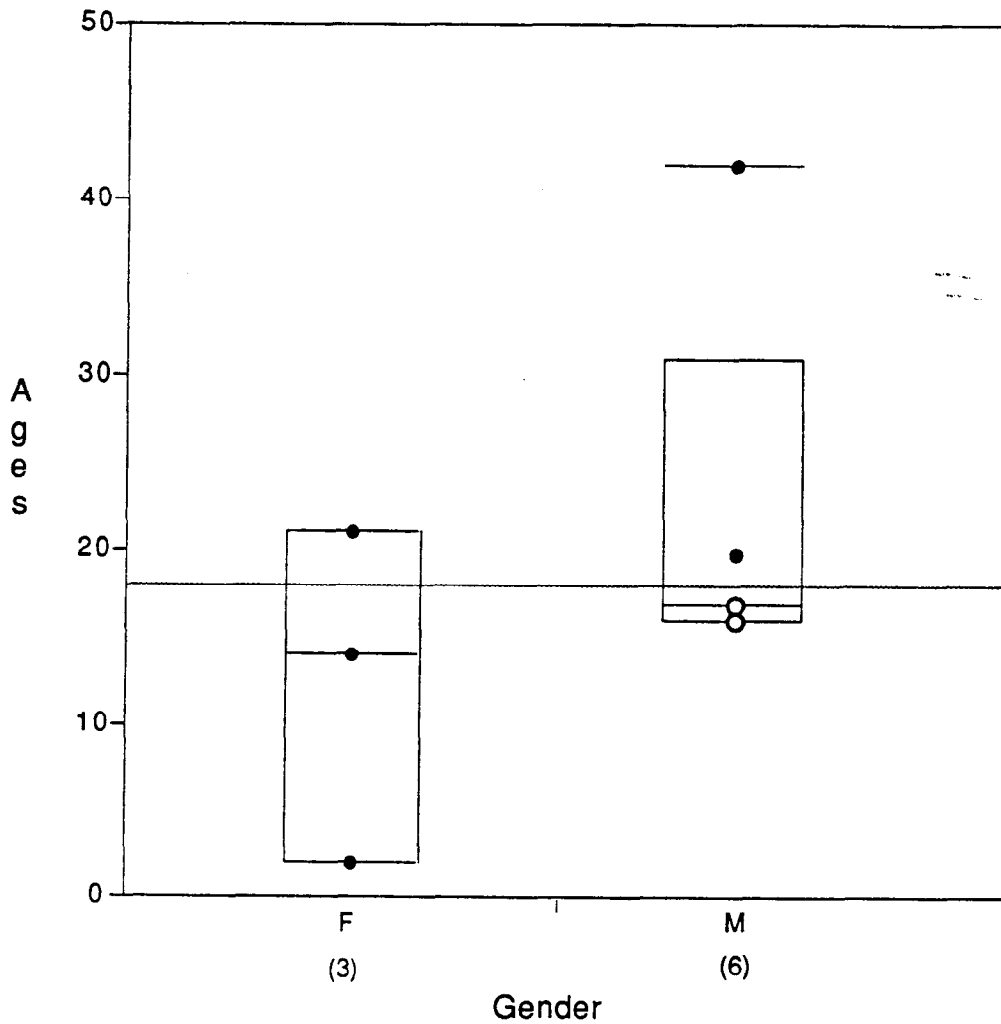
An examination of the variance among individual cases which were added to the regular census shows that there is no discernable pattern among females (see Figure 6). On the other hand, most of the individuals who were missed in the regular census were between the ages of 14 through 20. There is some evidence of clustering among males. Males tended to live at more than one residence and a maintained a transient lifestyle.

²⁶There is insufficient information to state conclusively the reason for the loss of the demographic information for residents of certain housing units. Possible explanations include problems with recovery, miscoding errors or a loss of the actual census form. However, four of the housing units which had the most number of errors were listed as 'last resort' households in the regular census.

FIGURE 6

ONE-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OMISSIONS Individuals Added To Regular Census Total Isleta Pueblo, NM Sample Area

Quantiles: 90%,75%,50%,25%,10%



n = 13 (3.3%, 4 cases have no demographic information)

● = 1 occurrence
○ = 2 occurrences

CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

No housing units were missed by the regular census and the total count of the regular census was close to the total count of the final resolution (391 versus 389). Overall, the regular census effort for the AE sample area was excellent. In fact, eighty eight percent of all individual records were correctly matched (343 of the 389).

The success of this effort can probably be attributed to a number of factors. The hiring of Indian enumerators who are from the reservation is probably one the most important. Their knowledge of the area compensated for a problem which may have otherwise arisen because of unnamed streets and the lack of visible house addresses. Similarly, their familiarity with individual families appears to served as a cross-check for the enumeration of residents in certain housing units. Lastly, their facility with the native language was of enormous assistance in clarifying questions among elderly respondents.

Another factor can be attributed to the fixed property ownership of a HUD housing development. Because of mortgage requirements by the All Indian Pueblo Housing Authority (AIPHA), changes in property or home ownership was a nonexistent factor. Simply stated, the majority of households have never moved. Rather, errors tended to occur in the overall family composition as a result of changes among extended family relationships. The reservation community is a complicated society. Extended family situations still predominate among households and although residences are inhabited by the same family, the composition of the family is not stable.

On the other hand, homeowners were reluctant or failed to divulge that they owned another house in addition to their HUD house. For example, 2 vacant HUD housing units were erroneously enumerated by the regular census because the homeowners lived at their 'traditional' village house. Similarly, 7 of the 100 HUD houses in the sample area that were being rented out were more difficult to enumerate because of the changing residence among families occupying them. As homeowners pay off their mortgages and are no longer under the AIPHA, more housing units may become vacated or rented out to movers thereby increasing enumeration problems.

Individuals who were in their young adult ages tended to be the most apt to be miscounted. Young single adult males with divorced parents tended to be transient. Single women, on the other hand, were miscounted because of changing relationships, particularly those who were cohabitating with boyfriends. Unwed women tended to leave their small children in the care of parents or grandparents for long periods of time.

Overall, tribal members unlike the American public at large are sophisticated users of the census. No other race in the US federal purview is required to maintain census rolls or to designate pedigree through blood quantum. On the other hand, such requirements also make residents wary of enumerators and their probing questions. The most sensitive question on the

census form pertains to the identification of race. This is especially the case among households where a mixed-race relationship exists. Because of internal tribal politics which are associated with land tenure and heirship, the designation of race is a sensitive issue. The result is that parents tend to identify their children as full-blood Isleta members, irregardless of their actual blood quantum.

The declaration of income is another sensitive question. Most respondents answered this question reluctantly. Respondents tended to be more cautious around census enumerators who were related to them. It is not possible to match responses to other financial records, so there is no way to assess the accuracy of their responses. Similarly, because no individual can hold land title or transfer real estate within the reservation to non-tribal members, census responses given on the value of property are for all practical purposes meaningless.

It must be reemphasized that basically only one type of residence was sampled during the Alternative Enumeration. Other residential patterns tend to be found outside of the HUD housing areas and are not as homogeneous. Errors as such, may be more prevalent in other parts of the reservation. As the population becomes more economically and socially diverse, more variation among housing types can be expected and an accurate count of individuals will become more difficult to attain.

The identification of households through mailing addresses is not a reliable method for estimating counts on the reservation. Multiple post office locations, both on and adjacent to the reservation, and the use of post office boxes instead of street address makes location of residences impossible. Furthermore, the gross misalignment of census blocks was a problem in the traditional village area. Ambiguous block boundaries among the traditional houses in the village plaza precludes doing analysis at the block level or checking for the completeness of coverage.

The Tribal Governor's office formally protested the preliminary 1990 US Census count of 2,784 (total count). Among its arguments was evidence submitted by the Tribe indicating that 2,026 individuals over age eighteen were eligible to vote. The Pueblo's own population rolls as of January 1st, 1990 was 4,326.²⁷ A subsequent window survey of the entire reservation identified 30 additional housing units which were probable misses. By their estimates, the reservation population was undercounted by 689 individuals.²⁸

Problems in census enumeration are relatively easy to rectify. The key appears to be in strengthening the role of the tribal government during the coordinating of the decennial census. By working directly with a respective tribal census office, the US census office can reconcile problems concerning census geography, ambiguous households, and the misreporting of information. If the objective of the US census is to attain the most accurate

²⁷ This figure is compiled from official tribal census roll which is updated on a continuous basis.

²⁸ Letter of 9/12/90 from Isleta Governor's Office to Bill Anderson, US Bureau of the Census.

count possible, then it should be apparent that tribal governments can assist in resolving problems with counting their own populations.

Such a relationship need not violate the need for confidence. By designating tribal census staff as sworn census employees, their offices could be used to assist in decennial and special census as well as conducting and coordinating enumeration efforts. Because the tribal census staff would already be familiar with the mechanics of keeping tribal records, there would be less need to provide extensive census training. In addition, tribal staff would tend to be more familiar with unusual household arrangements as well as have knowledge about the culture and geography of the area.

Although the Tribal Liaison Program was a fair effort, it cannot take the place of a more direct and institutional relationship. Ultimately, tribal liaisons functioned as public relations specialists. Because tribal members are sophisticated census users, there is less of a need for census education and publicity. As evidenced by the AE, respondents were more than familiar with the designation of "census," albeit some confusion did exist in distinguishing various censuses. There is a clear need to shift the emphasis towards the enumeration process itself. In other words, the US Census Bureau needs to establish and maintain a long term relationship with each respective tribal census office. Otherwise, it may not be fully served by the decennial effort.

We want to know...

The Bureau of the Census is now completing the final aspects of the 1990 Census. This study is being done by the University of New Mexico for the Census to find out how accurate the final count is for the Pueblo of Isleta.

Not everyone in the community is being contacted. Your assistance and cooperation, therefore, is even more important. Because this study is being done for the Bureau of the Census, the same authorization which protects your confidentiality is in effect. Only sworn Census workers – and no one else – will have access to your individual responses.

This study will benefit you and your community by...

- making sure that the final statistics are as accurate as possible.
- providing you an opportunity to give your feedback about the Census.
- making various agencies aware of special American Indian needs.

Thank you for making the 1990 Census the best in your community!

Questions about this study should be directed to the Director for Native American Studies, University of New Mexico, 1812 Las Lomas Drive NE, Albuquerque, NM 87131, Attn: Census.

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INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

Explain to the person that you are interviewing that this study is being conducted by the University of New Mexico for the US Census Bureau. Specify that the purpose of this study is to find out whether everybody was counted in the 1990 US Census. Indicate to them that this interview will also give them the opportunity to express any concerns they have about the US Census and that we will not ask them any further personal questions about their employment or income.

Assure them that we will not disclose the source of any comments and responses. Indicate to them that because this is being done for the US Census Bureau, that all of us are sworn Census Bureau workers and that no one else will have access to the notes you will be taking [at this time you may want to ask them their permission to take notes as a sign of courtesy].

Begin the discussion in a casual manner. Start by asking:

- *Who in the house filled out the form (take name). If it wasn't the person you're interviewing, can they remember what that person said about it (you might want to assure them that even if they didn't fill out the form that they can still answer general questions about the US Census for us)?*
- *Which form did they fill out (or do they even remember filling out a form?) – the short form or the long form (or maybe it was the short form but it just seemed like a long form)? First ask them what they remember about filling out the form and whether they needed assistance from the Census enumerator to complete it. Which parts were the easiest; which parts which caused them the most trouble (or maybe filling out any form is a hassle – you might ask them how many different types of forms they've filled out this year and whether they felt that the US Census form was any different than any one of those? Pay particular attention to any responses that indicate that they may have cut-corners or skipped answering any question on the form).*

US CENSUS *(this section is intended to find out how much confusion there is between the US, the tribal, and the BIA censuses).*

- *What do they think the US Census information is used for? Who do they think looks at the information they provide?*
- *Do they think that anybody cares if someone indicates that they are American Indian or not (ask them what they think is the most important aspect of being an American Indian – is it the race, ability to speak the language, an individual's blood quantum, or the tribal community where they were enrolled, or maybe something else)?*
- *What other censuses are they registered in (do they make any distinctions between these)?*

THE HOUSEHOLD *(this section is intended to find out whether irregular housing arrangements contribute to misreporting).*

- *When in the Census form you were asked to name the person who owned, is buying, or renting this house, is that same person the one who you consider to be the "head of the house." For instance, is there a difference between the person who owns the house or the person who owns the land? What does "head of the house" mean to you and do you find yourself answering this differently depending on who is asking the question (ie, the Credit Department, versus the Indian Health Service, versus the School)?*
- *[Based on you familiarity with this house] How does a mixed marriage effect how you report your tribal affiliation or those of the children's?*
- *Was everyone who is presently living in the house today the same as those who were living in this house at the time you were asked to report to the US Census (if not, probe and mark down the differences)? How many persons were living in the house at that time (take down any specific information and probe to determine what are the relationships of these people to the person you're interviewing and watch out for any hesitancy).*

MOBILITY (*this section is intended to find out whether there is any significant changes in residence in the course of a single year.*)

• Do you find yourself living in different places during different times of the year and do you feel that this was accurately represented by the US Census? *Does the person consider this house their "usual place (ie, the place where they live and sleep most of the time)" or is there something about the living arrangement of this person or any other person in the house that they feel that they would need further explanation.*

FINISH (ask them if they have any final comments and thank them for their time. Ask them that if we have to follow-up with other questions, that they wouldn't mind being recontacted).

IN ADDITION NOTE: Verify visually, if you can, the number of people in the house. Attempt as casually as possible to get the names and estimate the ages of the the people in the house.

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.

Additional copies of this report may be obtained from:

Bureau of the Census
Center for Survey Methods Research
Washington Plaza Building, Room 433
Washington, DC 20233-4700