

**ETHNOGRAPHIC EVALUATION OF THE
1990 DECENNIAL CENSUS REPORT SERIES**

REPORT #5

KOREATOWN, LOS ANGELES ALTERNATIVE ENUMERATION

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I. Site

This site (A28) is in Koreatown Los Angeles and was chosen as representing an urban, Asian (Korean)-concentrated block. Located to the west of downtown Los Angeles in Southern California, Koreatown is a symbolic location for Koreans in Southern California, the state with the largest Korean population in the United States. One third of the business property and one fifth of residential property in Koreatown is owned by Koreans. Many recent Korean immigrants use this part of Los Angeles as their gateway to the United States. Family and friendship ties and ethnic resources for employment, social services, and social activities attract many recently arrived Korean immigrants. Once established they move out to the suburbs or to other areas in the United States. Compared to the predominance of Korean businesses in Koreatown the percentage of Korean residents in Koreatown is not high. Originally populated by Blacks and Hispanics, only about 10 percent of Koreatown's population is Korean. In other words, though Koreatown, LA has a higher concentration of Koreans than other Korean communities in the U.S., the degree of concentration is not high in comparison with some other ethnic communities. This is because new Korean immigrants have been here a short time (many of them only since 1965) and have had to move into areas where other ethnic groups had already established a community (Yu 1988).

Located in a predominantly Hispanic, low income neighborhood this site is a HUD subsidized low-income housing complex. The complex has 72 apartments: 12 of them are one bedroom and 60 are two bedroom apartments. The monthly rent is \$260 for a one bedroom apartment and \$314 for a two bedroom apartment. The complex is enclosed by a low cement wall topped with barbed wire. Neighboring houses, many with two street numbers, are dilapidated with paint peeling off the walls and trash scattered about the ground. Graffiti on the wall in white, black, and grey paint, was mostly unrecognizable characters, but some was in legible Spanish and probably referred to a gang.

One side of the block has many businesses including a bakery, health clinic and street vendors. Most of the shop signs are in Spanish. A woman using a microphone talks and sings in Spanish to the people on the street. I suspected she was a street evangelist. A clothing warehouse in the neighborhood hangs a sign on the street which says "no mas 99 cents." A placard hanging outside an old brick building advertises "room for \$80 a month." There is a cash store around the corner.

The neighborhood is plagued by crime. There is heavy drug dealing on the street and drug-related violence is very common. Shootings are not unheard of and burglary is routine. One resident said,

"We live with our necks out. It is really dangerous around here. All the drug dealing. You can't even yell at them when they do drugs in our parking lot. Once we said, 'go away,' and the next day we found two of our tires were slashed. When they (Mexicans, Hispanics, and Blacks) run out of money for drugs, they break into

Korean apartments. At first, five houses were broken into. Then, they realized that the Koreans here do not have much. So it was quiet for a while. Then, recently, I heard that several houses were broken into. I guess it's a different group who didn't have the information."

Entrances to each building on both sides have locks and most individual apartment doors have double or triple locks. After being burglarized, one apartment installed a double iron-bar door in addition to the regular door. According to several residents, there have been two drug-related murders on the street within the previous eight months. The victims were Hispanic gang members who were apparently shot in gang fights. Residents learned that someone was killed when they saw candles and flowers on a little table set up by fellow gang members to mourn their friends. We were strongly advised by both the apartment manager and the residents not to be around after 5 o'clock in the afternoon. When we went back to the site for our follow up research, we found another layer of iron-bars outside the complex, probably to discourage drug dealers from hanging around or lying on the lawns in front of the apartment buildings.

Population Composition found by the
Alternative Enumeration

Table 1 below shows the race/ethnic make up of the sample area according to the Alternative Enumeration.

Table 1
Race/Ethnic Composition

<u>race/ethnicity</u>	<u>no. of households</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>no. of individuals</u>	<u>%</u>
	N=72	100	N=173	100
Korean	57	79.2	142	82.1
Hispanic	5	6.9	14	8.1
White	4	5.6	8	4.6
Other Asian	3	4.2	2	1.2
Afro-American	2	2.8	4	2.3
Native American	1	1.4	3	1.7

Fifty-seven out of 116 Korean adults (49.1 percent) were over sixty years old as of the AE. Twenty-five Koreans (17.7 percent of the Korean population) were children under twelve years old. All Korean residents over eighteen years old were immigrants. Fifteen out of the 86 Korean adults (17.4 percent) who gave us their length of stay in the United States were here less than five years. The length of residence in the United States ranged from six months to thirty years, with an average of 10.7 years. We were not able to compile systematic information on the income levels and educational background of the residents. Many people were sensitive to inquiries about their income level and we decided not to ask questions about a person's income level unless it was clear that we could do so without jeopardizing an ethnographic interview. Questions on educational background were also a

sensitive issue because for Koreans the level of education is directly translated into social status. Consequently, one does not usually ask the question directly, especially between strangers, but rather learns this information in the natural course of events as the relationship is established. This was not easy during a six-week ethnographic research project. For those who gave us education related information, the range of education levels was wide. Many of the elderly Koreans had only an elementary school education. However, some elderly Koreans and many younger adults had some college education and even those who did not receive much education themselves have adult children with advanced degrees from United States colleges and universities.

II. Methods

Site Selection

Initially, three sites (including the site eventually selected), were considered by the Korean Youth Center (KYC), one of the most active local community service organizations in the Los Angeles community. When the technical representative from Bureau of the Census, myself, and the KYC staff toured these sites, two of them were rejected because the degree of Korean concentration was not high enough and the safety of the researchers was a concern.

Field Work for the Alternative Enumeration and Behavioral Observations

Our Alternative Enumeration period was from July 2, 1990 through August 10, 1990. Follow up research was done during January 24-27, 1991. During the Alternative Enumeration period, two research assistants (Miwha Han and David Kim) and I carried out the interviews and participant observations. David and I did most of the participant observation. After a brief workshop on ethnographic methodology, I gave my research assistants a list of information that we needed to collect. In addition to the required demographic information for the standard behavioral observation forms and AE list, I wanted to collect information on the Korean's immigration history and adaptation experiences in the United States. This list went through changes as the research progressed. Miwha Han, a Korean Youth Center counseling staff assigned to me as a research assistant on a part-time basis, came to the United States in 1975 at the age of thirteen and lived in Las Vegas until 1989. She was fluent in Korean and had some counseling experience. Miwha did some interviews with Korean residents by herself until late July when Sharon replaced her. Sharon was an ethnic studies major senior at U.C. Berkeley, has a good command of Korean, and very good social skills. David Kim, then a history major junior at Berkeley, worked with me throughout the research. David was born in the United States and though his Korean was not as fluent as I would have liked, he tried very hard and was very good at collecting information in informal settings. For example, the children playing in the courtyard spoke English and he was able to make friends with them and collect information. David's effort to speak Korean as best as he could usually brought forth a receptive response among the older Koreans. However, his lack of fluency proved inconvenient when people were in a

rush. At these times I interceded. David's dedication to Christianity (he plans to go to a seminary after graduation) also impressed older Koreans, most of whom are devout Christians. Overall, David and I interviewed the majority of the Korean families together. Toward the end when David had gained more confidence, he and Sharon worked as a team to collect missing information on Korean households and on most non-Korean households. I reviewed Miwha and David's field notes, compared mine with theirs, and when I felt it was necessary I had them collect supplementary data through follow-up visits or phone calls. We soon learned that late morning or early afternoon was a good time to talk to older Koreans and early evening was a good time to reach families with younger children because children play after school in the courtyard and their working parents would come back from work by then. Some single persons were very hard to reach. We tried as many different times of the day as possible. Sometimes, we would spend the afternoon at the site, eat, and go back and stay until after 9:00 pm. We collected information mainly through interviews and observation. Interviews were done either in the residents' apartments or in the courtyard, depending on the openness of the residents. Some interviews lasted three hours, while some were only a couple of minutes at the doorway. Some families let us visit them more than once, some never let us visit. Before writing notes, we asked permission and when it seemed to create tension or suspicion, we would write down only minimal demographic data such as names and date of birth. Thus our field notes were taken either during the interviews or later depending upon the response that the residents gave. In between interviews or when nobody was home we sat on the bench observing people coming and going and checking who was home by observing cars in the parking lot.

In filling out the forms and AE sheets, my research assistants and I divided the work and then reviewed each other's coding. In addition I reviewed all the coding two more times.

Carrying out ethnographic research in a low-income inner-city area was difficult. I moved into an apartment in Koreatown with my daughter. The building was owned by a Korean and was about a five to ten minutes drive away from the subject site. Unlike traditional anthropological sites where people interact with other community members and show interest in the ethnographer, people at this site shut themselves off in their apartments and did not interact much with their neighbors. Each building had six apartments (three stories with two apartments on each floor). In many cases people only vaguely knew what their neighbors living across the hallway looked like, and rarely knew anyone else living in the building. This trend was more pronounced between Koreans and non-Koreans.

In general people in the complex were victims of their unfriendly urban environment and did not trust strangers. This is illustrated by their convention for dealing with situations that indicated a stranger. Each apartment has two doors only one of which is used on a daily basis. Since friends know which door to knock on residents would ignore knocks on the wrong door knowing it was certain to be a stranger. We obviously did not know which door to use and knocked on the wrong doors many times. The result was that people would either not respond even though we clearly heard them, or they yelled at us, "we don't want to buy anything," assuming we were sales people, or "we go to church," assuming we were

Jehovah's Witnesses trying to convert them. Only after a lengthy shouting match from both sides of the door would they open the door. Even after that, some of the residents responded in a most un-Korean like manner (at least in exchanges between Koreans) and demanded that we present proper identification.

Yu (1987) pointed out that there are three types of ethnic communities: geographical, associational, and psycho-cultural. Most Korean communities in the United States are built and operated mainly operate on associational and psycho-cultural bases. Despite the opportunity to form a community based on territory, interaction among Koreans in the complex was limited to their associational communities. The only people that Korean residents in the complex interact with within the complex are fellow church members or relatives. Not surprisingly we found the church network most useful in our fieldwork. Once we made friends with one church member, he/she gave us information on other church members who live in the complex, sometimes even calling them up, explaining what we were trying to do, and requesting that they cooperate with us.

When we dealt with Korean residents, our being Korean helped overcome the initial tendency toward rejection. I am sure that if non-Korean researchers had attempted to do the fieldwork, they would have had a more difficult time and been less successful. In fact our experience with non-Korean residents in the complex was less successful than with Korean residents. Most non-Korean residents (other than the children) evidenced a good deal of suspicion. Even when a discussion took place we were not able to communicate well due to language problems. The Yugoslavian manager couple agreed to lend us a master key to the complex, but to my surprise flatly refused to answer our questions about residents in the complex. During the follow-up fieldwork period, the owner of the complex and his staff were also very adamant about not giving us any information pertaining to their tenants even when I offered the names, phone numbers, and addresses of technical representatives at the CSMR, the Bureau of the Census in Washington, D.C. and suggested that they verify my identification with the consultants. They said they did not want to waste their time helping us.

We tried to use all the resources we had to make friends with the residents. I found it helpful to let people know that I was the mother of a seven year old girl. Young mothers, who tend to be more suspicious than older Koreans, were much less distrustful when they learned that I too had a young daughter. Once when I showed up at the door with my daughter, a resident who had twice refused to talk relaxed and let us in. She had two children and we talked while the children played. After telling her about myself and assuring her that she did not have to tell me anything she did not want to, she said, "well, I don't know what you want to know, but you can certainly try." David used his school connection to identify with some of the residents who were students. Miwha even utilized of the fact that her last name was the same as that of one of the residents.

Our task was complicated by the difficulty many Koreans had in separating the census and our research. I initially explained to the residents that we were re-counting the residents

independently of the census to determine if Koreans had been undercounted in the census. I explained that this research was sponsored jointly by the Korean Youth Center and the Bureau of the Census. The residents, however, believed that once they had complied with the demands of the census they had done their job. It was difficult for them to understand why they should supply the same or additional information. This was especially true when we asked questions about their personal immigration history and subjective life experiences in the United States. At these times they would ask why we needed information that seemed unrelated to the census. I explained to them that we needed the information in case their information did not make it to the census. Regarding additional information, I told them that we needed it to find out what kind of people are likely to be counted in the census or likely to be missing in the census.

Hypothesis

Our initial hypothesis posited three factors as causing undercounts among Koreans in Koreatown: (i) language barriers and lack of cultural familiarity; (ii) geographical mobility; and (iii) unusual living arrangements. We assumed that language barriers and lack of understanding of American society and systems would contribute to an undercount because not only are most adult Korean Americans immigrants, but those immigrants living in Koreatown are more likely to be recent immigrants with the least familiarity with the English language and American society. We also assumed that since these were recent immigrants they would show a high degree of geographical mobility, thereby leading to an undercount. Lastly, we expected to see multiple families living in one apartment in an effort to save money and assumed people would be unwilling to reveal these arrangements, thereby leading to an undercount.

As the research progressed after we received the report of the match between our AE and the census, we realized that this site did not seem to be undercounted and we reoriented our questions to learn why Koreans at the site participated in the census. We were still investigating how Koreans perceived the census, but we were looking at the issue from the opposite direction. During our final analysis phase we tried, through different sources, to elicit the dominant discourse in the Korean community at the time of the census. We contacted community members (outside the site) who were involved in the census campaign, including Mr. Herbert Kim who was in charge of the Census Bureau's Asian outreach program for the Korean population in all of California. We wanted to learn how the community mobilized for the census. We also went to the Korea Times to collect census related articles. The Korean Youth Center provided other material they used for the campaign.

III. Analysis

A. Missed Housing Units.

Since the site was an enclosed apartment complex, it was unlikely that I would miss any

housing units. All the housing units on the AE list match the housing units on the census list. One housing unit on the census list turned out to have been erroneously included (B28 608-01, 02). It was out of scope.

B. Missed Individuals.

1. Non-residents on the Census Day who appeared only on the AE list.

There are twenty three people on the AE list who were not on the census list for legitimate reasons: six temporary visitors, eleven new residents, three special circumstances, and three ambiguous cases.

The 6 temporary visitors indicate the frequent interaction among relatives and family members both within the United States and between Korea and the United States. One was a child from New York visiting her grandmother for a month during the summer vacation. Another was a son who came from Korea to visit his mother. He was gone when we came back for the follow-up fieldwork. In a different household a daughter and her two children who had come from Korea to visit their mother and brother (the children's grandmother and uncle) for a month. They are United States citizens living in Korea. The daughter comes to the United States to live for a month every year to satisfy certain employment conditions. Even though we did not have a chance to talk to the daughter directly, it was obvious from what other family members said that she and her two children had not been counted in the census. However, they were not resident in the complex on the Census Day and they should not be counted as missed individuals. This case, however, presents an example of geographically mobile Koreans who are likely to be missed by the census. A brother was visiting his sister from Yugoslavia and at the time of my follow up fieldwork, he was also gone.

Eleven people moved into the complex after the Census Day and they illustrate the high rate of influx of Korean immigrants from other parts of the United States or from Korea. Three families moved in after the Census Day. One moved in during the AE period from Colorado to live near their son who lives with his family within the same apartment complex. Three daughters had just arrived from Korea after Census Day to join their parents in the United States.

Three people had special circumstances. One was a daughter staying with her parents during the summer vacation. On the Census Day, she was living in a college dorm. Another was a niece who moved in temporarily with her aunt after the Census Day until she could find an apartment near her college. Her grandparents also lived in the complex and we met her and her mother at the grandparents' apartment. She said she was reported on her parents' census in Cerritos. We do not find any reason to question this. In another household an infant was born after the Census Day.

The status of three people on Census Day is not clear. One person turned out to be a visitor. It was very hard to reach this household and when we finally did, they would not open the door. After David explained our research, the man said behind the door, "We did the census already. It is none of your business to ask for more information. If you need to know more, go ask the manager." David could hear that there was a young man and a young woman. During our follow-up fieldwork, we talked to the neighbor across the hall and she told us that two women and a baby lived there. As usual, she did not know much about her neighbors, neither their names nor ages, and guessed that a friend and her baby might be living temporarily with the single woman. The friend and her baby may have lived there on the Census Day. We never reached the woman listed on the census in the housing unit.

2. People on the census list, but not on the AE list.

There were 18 (20 if out of scope included) people who were on the census list, but not on the AE list. Sixteen people out of 18 had moved out between the Census Day and AE period and 1 person was mistakenly listed on the census due to the enumerator's misunderstanding. One person was missed by us because we did not have adequate information.

Five people of the 16 who had left the complex after the Census Day turned out to be long-term (about a year) visitors. Four out of 5 were Koreans. A family consisting of a wife, husband, and their two children had lived with the wife's parents in this complex for a little over a year. The son-in-law wanted to explore business opportunities in the United States and by the time that the AE period had started they had gone back to Canada. However, they were living there on the Census Day. The remaining 1 person (B28 825-02) was a Filipino, a mother visiting her daughter from the Philippines. We could not reach anyone in the housing unit during the AE period. During the follow-up fieldwork, a Korean neighbor told us that the mother had been just visiting for about a year. She was there on the Census Day but subsequently went back to the Philippines.

The remaining 11 people were former residents of the complex who had moved out between the Census Day and the AE period. Four of them were Koreans. Three people had lived in the housing unit but moved out between the Census Day and the AE period. Another moved out after the Census Day into senior citizens' housing. Among the remaining 7 non-Koreans, were a mother and daughter who moved out after the Census Day. We found an unforwarded magazine with the daughter's last name in the mail box area, but we did not get any information that would verify the mother's presence. Another family of five who lived in the complex also moved out.

The son of a resident was mistakenly listed by the enumerator. He was there only to visit his mother when the enumerator visited. The mother (B28 809-01) verified that he was not living there on the Census Day. At the time he was working and living in a different city. Undoubtedly the enumerator had mistaken him for a resident.

We missed a Black male in a three person household. When David visited the housing unit,

the man's brother made it clear that he did not want to have anything to do with us. He said, "I ain't gonna answer nobody." We found out from one of the Korean neighbors that he lived with his mother. When we came back for our follow-up fieldwork, another Korean neighbor living below their apartment told us that a brother also lived there, adding that "They are bad guys. You rarely see them because their hours are so irregular. After all, they sell drugs."

Two individuals lived in "out of scope" housing units.

3. Census Day residents not on census list but on AE list (people missed by the census).

Out of 171 Census Day residents in the complex 8 or 9 people (depending on the Census Day status of A28 008-02) were missed by the 1990 Census (4.7 percent - 5.2 percent). Four (or 5) of them were non-Koreans and the remaining 4 were Koreans.

All 4 (or 5) non-Korean residents missed on the census were Mexican Americans in 1 (or 2) housing units. The Census listed only 1 person for housing unit A28 008, but we were told by a Korean neighbor that 2 Mexican Americans lived in the apartment. We never saw anyone leaving the housing unit and could neither verify this nor collect further information. If the Korean neighbor gave us incorrect information and the person was not a resident, then the total number of non-Korean residents who were missed on the census is 4. If the person was a resident as of Census Day, then the number of non-Korean residents missed in the sample area is 5. Even if we had reached the person, it is questionable whether the person would have been willing to talk to us or whether we could have actually communicated (due to possible language barriers).

Among those missed by the census was a Mexican mother with three children. The mother did not speak English and said in Spanish that she had been living in the housing unit on the Census Day but had not participated in the census because she had not received the census form. She was cooperative in giving us basic information such as names, and dates of birth for herself and her three children, but other than that we could not get any information. For no apparent reason this housing unit was marked as vacant on the census list. This housing unit does not have the code indicating the method by which information was collected, i.e., Mail Return or Enumerator. It was also very hard to reach the family.

Among Koreans, 4 people in 2 units (A28 002-01,02, A28 050-01,02) were missed by the census but only 2 people contributed to the net undercount. (A28 002-01, 02) A household consisting of two people did not appear on the census list although their apartment was listed. This did not contribute to the undercount because their neighbor's information was duplicated as their information. The computer analysis by the census might not have recognized this information as duplicates because of a minor mistake in the first name provided by the enumerator. To me it was obvious that the enumerator visited an adjacent apartment and took information from those residents in the belief that they were the right people. This

mistake is easy to understand because the layout of the apartments in these buildings is very confusing. On one side of the building are apartments #1, #4, and #5, and the other side are #2, #3, and #6 instead of a normal layout with #1, #3, #5 on one side and #2, #4, #6 on the other. To make matters worse, there are two entrances to each building and each apartment has two doors. Many of the number markers on the doors are gone. The enumerator may have talked with the wrong people, but the mistake did not result in an undercount.

Although an elderly Korean couple (both of them probably in their seventies) were living in HU A28 050 it was marked as vacant on the census list for no apparent reason. We were not able to interview the elderly couple directly but eventually learned that they had two sons living in the same building (in HU A28 069 and in HU A28 037) and one of the two sons also had his parents-in-law living in the building (in HU A28 041). We learned that each of these three other families either complied and returned a census form or were visited by an enumerator. Consequently we found it strange that the elderly couple were never made part of the census.

Our attempt to talk to this couple directly was not successful. When we visited their apartment the husband said that he was too sick to talk to anybody and closed the door even before we could say anything. Later, while we were talking to children in the courtyard, the wife approached us to find out what was going on. When she found out that we were doing census-related research, she turned around, saying, "My husband is very sick and I have to take care of him. I can't talk to you." When we came back for our follow-up fieldwork, we found that the husband had died.

Later in the AE period we discovered that this couple had two sons living in the complex. We also discovered by talking with the younger son's ten year old daughter that his wife's parents also lived in the building. We visited the younger son's wife at her parents' apartment and explained what we were doing. The younger son's wife and her parents said that they had completed a census form and that they did not want to talk to us because they were too busy. We told them that we would come back another time and also told the younger son's wife that we had talked to her daughter. (We felt it proper to let the parent know that we collected information from her daughter.) When I ran into the younger son's wife the next time I tried very hard to engage her in conversation and though she seemed to relax a little bit she said it was strange that we needed the same information she had already provided on the census form and politely declined to talk to me.

The other daughter-in-law, the wife of the older son, though busy, was friendlier. We had already collected some basic information on her family from her three children who often played in the courtyard. Although the mother said that they had not returned the census form, according to the children, an enumerator, "a grandfather" (Korean equivalent of "an old man"), came and collected information from them. The mother was apologetic about not returning the form and explained that at first they did not receive the form, and when they asked for one on the phone, a Spanish version arrived. Since they were too busy they did

not bother to pursue the matter any further. Though she did not have much time, she provided us with the very basic census information and confirmed the information the children had provided. When we asked her whether her parent-in-laws did the census, she said she did not know.

When we realized that three out of four related families living in the same apartment complex did the census by either mailing the return (the younger son's family and the parents of the younger son's wife) or enumerator interviews (the older son's family), we were at a loss to explain the undercount of the older couple.

The first question to be asked is why the elderly couple's housing unit was coded as vacant. I do not have an answer without more information from the Bureau of the Census. The second question is why the sons did not help their parents fill out the form. It is understandable that the old couple could not fill out the census form due to the husband's serious health problem and the language barriers most elderly Koreans face. However, a majority of the Korean senior citizens in this apartment complex received help from various sources including their children. I can only conclude that it was due to the negligence of the sons and the daughter-in-laws. The implication of this case will be discussed in the next section in light of the observations I made about younger adult Koreans' attitudes toward the census.

IV. Discussion

This site shows an undercount rate range of 4.7-5.2 percent. Among non-Koreans, the rate is 10.8 percent or 13.2 percent (4 out of 37 or 5 out of 38); among Koreans, the rate is 1.01 percent (2 out of 134 people). The focus of my discussion will be primarily on Koreans.

During the AE period, I realized that the research question should be not "why do Koreans not participate in the census?" Rather, the question should be "Why did so many Koreans participate in the census?" In this section, I will first describe the methodological concerns in my explanation of the relative low undercount of Koreans at this site. Then, I will discuss the low undercount in terms of Koreans' enhanced awareness of the census and actual acceptance of efforts to promote participation. Lastly, I will discuss the potential risk factors by examining the cases where people did not fill out the form voluntarily and had an enumerator visit them for follow-up interviews.

Explanations for Korean participation in the 1990 Census

Methodological Concerns

To select a community representing an urban, Korean-concentrated site, the research design required 50 percent or higher concentration of Koreans in the entire census block, which is hard to find. Koreans are usually geographically dispersed even within Koreatown unless they live in a special housing situation such as low income housing or senior citizen housing,

which tend to have selective populations.

The Korean population at this site only partly conforms to the profile of our hypothetical risk group. We had expected to see (i) recent immigrants who arrived in the last 5 years, and lacked language ability and cultural familiarity; (ii) recent immigrants with high geographical mobility; and (iii) recent immigrants with irregular living arrangements which they did not want to reveal. This was not what we found.

Our expectation of finding recent immigrants was not met. The majority of the Koreans at the site have been in the United States for five years and hence are not recent immigrants. Their estimated average length of residence in the United States was 10.7 years.

Many Koreans at this site are elderly (38.8 percent or 52 out of 134 residents were sixty years old or older. 59.6 percent or 31 out of 52 elderly residents were female) and older Koreans do have language barriers and they do lack cultural familiarity. However, in the case of elderly Koreans this did not seem to contribute to an undercount. This is probably because older Koreans tend to be more conservative and cooperative and, as Hurh and Kim's 1984 Los Angeles study indicated, older females of all types, are the most likely to participate in a survey.

There were some young single males, the most likely type to refuse to participate in a survey, but most of them lived with their widowed elderly mother or with their parents. Therefore the likelihood of their not participating in the census was ameliorated by their elderly parents' likely participation.

Awareness and Outreach

The high rate of participation in the census by Koreans at this site can be explained on two levels: awareness and acceptance of the messages from the census authority. Awareness addresses whether people were informed and educated about census. Acceptance addresses whether people actually believed what they heard.

In terms of awareness, all Koreans in the complex were fully aware of the census. During the 1990 Census, the entire Los Angeles Korean community was mobilized to encourage participation. An Outreach Task Force Committee was formed with community leaders and service providers. Members of the committee represented organizations such as the Korean American Coalition, the Korean Health Education Information and Referral Center, the Valley Senior Citizen Association, the Korean Youth Center, and Protestant, Catholic, and Buddhist churches.

Volunteers from these community organizations and members of the Korean High School Student Association passed out fliers and small gifts bearing the 1990 Census logo such as T-shirts, badges, and pencils. They also went to organizations and individuals who needed help, and also were regularly stationed at about twenty places such as major Korean markets,

banks, restaurants, churches, a gas station, a hair stylist, senior citizen apartments, and community organizations including the Korean Resident Association. While driving by the Korean Resident Association building on Olympic Boulevard. during the AE period in July, I found a placard still hanging on the wall. It said in Korean "Let's all participate in the 1990 Census." A free Korean help line for the census was installed.

Korean churches also played a very important role in raising awareness and providing services. As the most important social organization in the Korean community, the impact of Korean churches was tremendous. One of the residents said, "Probably there is no Korean in this complex who did not do the census, because most people go to church."

The impact of the Korean media was significant. For most Koreans, their main sources of entertainment are Korean newspapers and Korean television and radio. Most Koreans at the site either subscribe to Korean newspapers or borrow them from their friends or neighbors if they cannot afford their own subscription. There are three Korean television stations in Los Angeles area, two of which are twenty four hour pay cable television. KTE, the free television station broadcasts for three hours on weekdays from 8:00 pm through 11:00 pm. All but one of the apartments that we visited had a television set and most of them also had a VCR set. Some apartments had two televisions, and most television sets had large screens ranging from 19 inches to 36 inches. The television sets often turned out to be the most up-to-date appliance in the household. An elderly man summed it up when he said jokingly, "I live to watch Korean television."

Services provided by the media was very instrumental. For example, KTE talked about the census during their Public Service Announcement every day for a month before the census. Johnny Yoon, a famous Korean American comedian, appeared on television to emphasize the importance of participating in the census. They also produced and distributed a video tape which explains why the census is important and shows, step by step, how to fill out a census form. Radio Korea also broadcast repeated announcements about the census.

The Korea Times Los Angeles edition ran a series of special articles educating Koreans about the importance of the census. In addition to the regular census-related articles, the paper ran special articles informing readers of special census services available. The Korea Times' Los Angeles edition also provided a complete translation of both the short and long census form. Even a private business (the Korea Car Dealership) sponsored the census campaign by putting a full-page ad in the newspaper with their name on it.

Many Korean residents in the complex attributed their decision to participate to the wide publicity. For example, there is a 71 year old man who lived with his five children in Kansas for eighteen years until he and his wife moved to Los Angeles two years ago. He said "They (one of the public help centers) gave us a form that shows us in Korean how to fill the census form out. All we had to do was follow the instructions. There was so much advertising about the census. It was everywhere, in the newspapers, on television, etc."

A 43 year old mother (A 28 036-01) of two young children, has lived in the U.S. for eight years. She filled out the long form. She said that she could only read a little English despite a college education in Korea but that filling out the census form was not too bad. She also mentioned that the publicity influenced her to do the census: "I heard so much about the census so I decided to do them right away and I did it the very next day after I received the form."

A 75 year old widow (A28 056-01) who has lived in the complex for fifteen years said that she had filled out the form by following the Korean newspaper instructions. She said, "There were announcements about it everywhere. In the newspapers, on the radio, on television, everywhere. I felt that if I didn't do it I would be violating the law." When asked of her opinion about why some Koreans might not do it, she said, "I don't know why some Koreans didn't do it. I don't think you can blame it on the language problem because you didn't have to speak English to fill it out. There were all kinds of aids available. I think the main reason, if any, is that people just didn't care."

Acceptance of the given messages

So far, I have described how the community-wide publicity was successful and how ethnic resources were mobilized to provide necessary services. However, this is insufficient to explain the high rate of Korean participation. Basically, the publicity campaign was sponsored by the Bureau of the Census. We must go beyond the issue of publicity and ask why the entire community decided to help with the campaign; and why the messages of the campaign was accepted so readily by Koreans.

To do this, John U. Ogbu's concept of the "immigrant cultural model" is a useful analytical tool. A group's cultural model refers to a group's widely shared and accepted perceptions and understandings of their social realities and their standings in the society. Based on comparative research, Ogbu (1984, in press) points out major differences in the cultural models of immigrant minorities and those of non-immigrant minorities.

Non-immigrant, caste-like, involuntary minority groups are groups such as Native Americans, Afro Americans, and some Mexican Americans who were forced to become part of American society. Members of these groups have a long history of struggling for freedom and independence from the dominant White group, and have formed strong oppositional identities and distrust for mainstream society and its institutions. Koreans in Japan also belong to this category.

In contrast, voluntary immigrants have chosen to make a home in America. They are determined to "make it" in their new homeland and this influences their perception of social realities. They perceive cultural and linguistic differences as barriers that need to be overcome and attribute discrimination and prejudice against them to their "foreigner" status. Instead of developing an identity that opposes the mainstream society and institutions, they develop an adhesive adaptation pattern through which they accommodate themselves to the

expectations of the mainstream society without sacrificing their old cultures and identities.

Ogbu uses this cultural model approach to explain the differential school achievements of different minority groups. The same approach can be used to explain the high rate of participation in the census among Koreans at this site.

Themes of participation in the census

Beyond the answers attributing participation to the publicity, I have elicited three main themes from the residents' responses to my question of why they participated in the census. Those themes are "trust in the promises of future benefits for the Korean community," "sense of the legitimacy toward the census," and "sense of obligation." In many cases, these themes are not necessarily expressed independently.

Future Benefits

First, future benefits: the main theme of the discourse provided by the Bureau of the Census in 1990 and adopted in the overall campaign in the Korean community was the benefits to the community, such as increased economic and political power, from participating in the census. The theme was paraphrased in the headlines and captions of Korean newspapers as follows:

"Today's Census Participation Guarantees Tomorrow's Rights and Interests" (Korea Times, March 28, 1990)

"Let's All Participate in the Census and Collect Our Share" (Korea Times, March 27, 1990)

"Let's Grow Our Power through Census" (Korea Times, March 29, 1990)

"For Promoting Minority Rights and Interests, For Increasing Minority Political Power, 1990 Census will be a Major Variable" (from newspaper article clipped by Herbert Kim) .

Flyers emphasized the imagery of building a better future with symbols of hospitals, schools, and houses. The caption says "Your answer will help build a better community." They also specifically addressed the tremendous monetary loss that resulted from Koreans' lack of participation in the 1980 Census. A paragraph reads: "In the case of 1980 Census, Koreans' participation was low and for the next ten years all the federal and state governments' decisions made for public welfare programs and funding for Korean community was based on this ridiculously unrealistic number. Therefore, the Korean community suffered an enormous amount of invisible loss." Here again, the image of number is directly played against the image of monetary gain or loss. The adjectives such as "ridiculously unrealistic" and "enormous" increased the power of the imagery for Korean immigrants who are known for their two primary concerns: economic stability and welfare of their children through education (see Kim 1988 for further discussion). This emphasis upon potential gain in economic and political power for the future welfare of the community was readily accepted.

In summary the overall message of "Building a better future through participation in the mainstream institution" put forth by the Census Bureau and the media fit the immigrant cultural model shared among Koreans and resulted in high degree of participation in the census.

These messages were echoed by many residents. One resident is an eighty year old man with elementary education. According to his friend, he was hurt either in a car accident or beaten up by a gang last year and this caused him difficulty in comprehending certain things. He filled out his census form at a local restaurant with the help of a census representative. Talking about the census, he said "You need to fill out the census because the statistics from the census will help the Korean community so everyone should do it." He also added, "I can't think of a reason not to do (the census) unless to avoid a penalty for a crime someone might have committed." His final words on the topic were, "Since the census is necessary for decision making for government policies, it must be filled out."

-Another resident went to a fellow church member who lives in the complex to receive help for the census. He said,

"Everybody has an obligation to do it. Minorities can get their rights back when they all fill it out. There were all sorts of advertising about the census at the church and on television. I think those Koreans who didn't do the census didn't because they are ignorant. They probably didn't understand the consequences of not doing it. Another reason is just plain apathy."

A seventy five year old woman, who lives with a young relative that came from Korea to study, is a resident of the site. She lost her husband at the age of thirty five in the Korean war, and raised ten children, five of them her own and the other five orphaned or abandoned during the War. She used to live in Georgia with her son but decided to move to Los Angeles after a visit. Her comments about the census are representative of many comments I heard from other residents. She said,

"Everybody has to make sure that they participate in the census. *[Unless you plan not to live in this country, you should do it. As long as you live in this country you should do everything that is supposed to be good for you.]* They also say it is a law that you do it. They say they need to know how many people live in this country."

A new resident who moved into the complex during AE period told me that in her previous apartment, she did not receive the form despite repeated requests. She "felt very disappointed at not being included" and thought it "strange that all these Koreans talked about how important it is and then not send forms."

It is noteworthy that a strategy that was explicitly recommended to avoid for one minority group was successfully incorporated in the census ads for another and turned out to be very effective. In an anthropological report prepared for "Advertising the Decennial Census"

targeting Afro-American Americans, Hainer (1987) made specific recommendations. One of the three ad formats that his main contact in the neighborhoods said would not (emphasis in original) be effective was "any promise that participation would help the community with some sort of better service or benefit." (Hainer 1987:4) For Koreans at this site, this very message worked successfully. The different cultural models that these two groups have, i.e., the caste-like, involuntary minority situation of Afro-Americans versus the voluntary immigrant situation of most Koreans explain this contrast.

Sense of legitimacy

Second, sense of legitimacy: many residents' responses to my questions about why they cooperated with the census illustrate the sense of *legitimacy* that Koreans at this site feel toward the census specifically and the American system in general. The answers included: "because you are supposed to," "because it is a law," or "because we were told to (by the authority or the government)," and "why not? It doesn't cost you a penny." A campaign organizer said that some elderly people were not able to sleep well because they were so worried that their failure to do the census may cause a disaster. A sixty year old mother who lives in the complex with her 29 year old son said, "My son at first thought it would be unnecessary to fill the form out. But all the neighbors were doing it, and it was all over the newspapers and television. So I decided to do it. I think most Korean people did it because of all the advertisements and such. I did it also because I thought that I might be subject to some kind of fine if I didn't do it. My son laughed and said, 'Just think about it. Getting a fine for not filling out the census?'"

Later I found out that the Korean media played a part in promoting the theme of legitimacy. At least two articles in the Korean Times mentioned a fine in connection with the importance of participation. In the third article (March 24, 1990) of the census campaign series, the reporter elaborated on why the participation was important. The article ended with: "It is so important that the entire population participate that the government has decreed it violation of law not to participate. There is \$100 fine for the violators." An article on April 20, 1990 announced that the enumerator follow-up interviews would begin on April 25, 1990. It adds: "When one does not answer the census staff during their visit, there is a \$100 fine. When one provides a false answer, there is a \$500 fine." This is very revealing of the role of the ethnic media in the Korean community. I, who was conducting a research project for the Bureau of the Census, was not aware of the fine. One of the census staff members from Washington D.C. said during our conversation in L.A. that there may be actually a fine, something like \$20. However, the role of the ethnic media alone cannot explain why Koreans decided to accept the media-created legitimacy. People do not automatically accept a law as something to abide by. Koreans' perception of the census as legitimate law is indicative of the legitimacy they accord to American system in general.

Sense of obligation

Third, sense of obligation: a seventy year old widow who has lived in the States for thirty years and fourteen years in the complex expressed her sense of obligation toward American society and the Korean American community:

"I did the census because I felt that it is something good for the Korean community. I feel now that I'm old I should do something for the younger generation by giving something back. America has been good to me, so I felt an obligation to do the census. In Korea, you don't have the same kind of freedom as you do in America."

A husband and wife who just moved into the complex during the AE period gave a glowing description of America. They had lived in Colorado for almost eleven years. When I asked them to specify what they liked and what they didn't, they said: "Everything is just so nice. They (Americans or American government) treat senior citizens so well. They give you money, provide free medical treatment, and give you the opportunity to study." They laughed about how they, particularly the husband, took English courses for four years at the community college and everything went in one ear and out the other.

It was not only elderly Koreans who had positive perceptions of and experiences in this country. Most younger people in their thirties said that their lives in the States are fine and that they do not have many complaints. Those who felt ambivalent refused to acknowledge it by saying, "I am a person who came to this land to live, not to visit. Therefore, a question like whether or not I am happy and satisfied in this country is irrelevant. It is a question that I cannot answer." What this young mother in her early thirties implied by this was that life here may be difficult or not comfortable, but she was not in the position to and was not going to make an issue out of it because she has no choice but to make it work, that she was not supposed to even think about it critically.

The perceptions and the understandings that Koreans at this site have of American society and their place in it, "Korean immigrants' cultural model" in other words, are very positive, as evidenced in my previous research with Koreans (Kim 1988). I attribute this positive perception to both historical experiences that Koreans believe they have had with respect to the United States and the dual reference frame that Korean immigrants adopt in evaluating their situations. Historically, until very recently, America has been portrayed to Koreans in Korea as a wonderful and generous friend who saved Korea from exploitative Japanese colonization. Current anti-American sentiments in Korea do not seem to affect most Korean immigrants because they are the ones who burnt their bridge home to make a home in this country. They tend to identify themselves with the nation of America and are concerned with how anti-Americanism of Koreans in Korea may affect them. In other words, most Koreans aspire to be part of America. They have a deep trust in the American system. A good example is the "free laundry service campaign for American Flags" sponsored by Korean Laundry Owners Association during the recent war with Iraq. It was Korean laundry owners' way of pledging their support of the country. In contrast is the warning that any symbol of patriotism such as an American flag should not be used as part of census campaign targeted for Afro-Americans. In the same report mentioned earlier, Hainer recommends that

"Any appeal to patriotism, national loyalty, visions of the flag, soldiers in uniform, and the like" should not be used (Hainer 1987: 4, 18-19).

The dual reference frame makes it easier for immigrants to draw satisfaction from their current situation. In gauging their life satisfaction, they compare their lives "here" in America against their experiences "there" in Korea either before immigration or even after, when they revisited their home country. America as the country of freedom is a powerful image that is appreciated in the dual reference frame.

One resident talks about his experience in the United States and in Korea:

"Everything has turned out well for us. All of my children (except one son, who is serving in the military in the Philippines) received a good education and has settled down with their families. My wife and I live a peaceful life here. There are so many Koreans around here that it's just like Korea. But when I went back to Korea, I was really shocked at all the changes. I don't think I could live there now. Everything is so expensive. There's no freedom for old people to do as they wish. Over here in the States, we have freedom to do whatever we want."

An elderly woman comments on the freedom of elderly people again using the double reference frame:

"I like it a lot here in America because of the freedom. In Korea, when you reach a certain age, you can't work any more. In America, it's not the case. It doesn't matter how old you are. Anybody can work. Before my job at the senior citizen's association, I used to do some babysitting. Nobody bothered me about my age at all. Of course, in Korea, there's no violence and drugs like you see around here."

Another elderly woman commented on the freedom of women: "In America there is so much more freedom than in Korea. Woman can do anything they want. They can work, go to places, you name it. In Korea everything is so restricted."

Yet another woman in her forties showed her dual reference frame in her conversation with me and her son. When her twenty year old son answered me that he did not know yet whether he was happy being in the States after two years and four months, his mother retorted, "What do you mean you don't know yet? You are driving a brand new car. Isn't that good enough? How would you have ever done that in Korea?"

How Koreans at this site perceive benefits from the American social welfare system is another example of how the dual reference frame reinforces the immigrant cultural model which interprets social realities in a positive way. One of the elderly residents said, "This is such a wonderful country. Have you ever seen a country that gives money to senior citizens just because they are old? I've never heard of that in Korea. Even in Japan, they don't do it. My son lived in Japan so I know something about Japan." Clearly, what she meant was

that America is a country that knows how to treat the elderly and that she was very grateful of that.

Even their experiences with the social welfare agencies along with other American institutions such as Department of Motor Vehicles and hospitals are remembered as pleasant. One resident said, "I was so impressed at how kind they were." Again, one finds that the same social institution is interpreted differently by different minorities depending upon their historical experiences with the mainstream society. Where Koreans compare their experiences here with those in Korea and feel grateful toward the mainstream society, Afro-Americans, for example, remember their abusive and exploitative history in this country and feel betrayed and angry for endless empty promises made in the late 60s for their community (Haines 1987:16-17).

Potential Risk Factors in Census Participation Among Koreans

-Since there were only 2 people (possibly 4) among Koreans who were residents as of Census Day and were not counted on the census list, and since I could not find any explicit reason for their absence, I decided that one way of understanding the potential risk factors in census participation among Koreans was to examine people who did not participate initially by mail return, and had an enumerator visit them for the information.

Among Koreans, 10 different households in 10 different housing units (22 individuals) were visited by the enumerator. Among non-Koreans, 6 households in 6 housing units (13 individuals) were visited or called by the enumerator. Again, my discussion will focus on Koreans due to the lack of information on non-Koreans.

Two of these 10 households (3 individuals) appeared to have filled out their forms and mailed them. For these, the enumerator must have visited them either to verify the information or because the forms were not properly delivered to the census office. One household (A28 064, 2 individuals) had never received the form. Two households received the form but had some problems, which they did not try to solve because they were "too busy." Of the 8 households, 9 people in 3 households had problems with their forms. The mother in A28 020 (2 individuals) said that she had received the form but her three year old son spilled orange juice on it and she never requested another form because she was "too busy." One household (A28 069, 5 individuals) initially received a Spanish version and the wife called and requested a Korean version, but never received one. She did not pursue the matter because she was "too busy."

One household (A28 061) did not participate because the young adult son was "too busy." A28 061-01 had expected her son to fill out the form because he usually takes care of these matters. But the son was "too busy" to do it and finally the enumerator called up and collected all the information.

Two households (7 individuals) had specific reasons for not filling out the census form. The

household head (A28 002-01) said she did not do it because she did not think it was that important and she did not understand English and did not want to bother anyone with it. The wife in A28-065 said that she did not do it because she did not want to reveal their income. Her husband owns a garage and they make more than the qualifying maximum income for the low-income housing.

I do not have information on 2 people in 2 households regarding why they did not initially fill out the form. Of the 6 households for which I have clear reasons, four are households with young adults in their thirties. Of these, three said that they were "too busy" to comply. One household did not do comply because they did not want to reveal their income level. The remaining 2 were elderly people, 1 of whom did not receive the form and the other had language problems. All of these 8 households were contacted by the enumerator and when the enumerator, who happened to be a Korean "grandfather"(old man), yelled "why are you making my life miserable by not doing the census?" all of them cooperated. It was obvious that enumerator's status as an elderly Korean man put the Korean residents in a position where cooperation was the only alternative. He was very effective as an enumerator.

By analyzing the reasons behind the initial failure to participate in the census, one finds two reasons behind the initial undercount among younger adults in this site: they are too busy or they do not want to reveal their income. "Being too busy" is a common reason for young adults who work. Many Koreans work long hours and some even have two jobs. Most are working couples. As one young household head said apologetically, he was "just too busy trying to feed the mouths (make a living)." The second reason indicates a cause that apply to low-income housing residents or welfare recipients. In this site, most Korean senior citizens live on welfare. The younger working adults fear that they may be deprived of the low-income housing privileges. It is not a Korean phenomenon but rather a class phenomenon that applies to people making border line incomes. Some young wives at the site were hesitant in revealing that they were employed because they did not report their income. Many felt so uncomfortable when asked about their incomes that we dropped the question.

This analysis may shed some light to the undercount case (A28 050-01, 02) explored earlier in detail. Their sons own a fish market. Both their wives work. It is very likely that they felt too busy to pay attention to their parents' census. The older son is the one who received a Spanish version and to their knowledge they did not do the census because they were too busy to pursue it. At the same time, the reluctance to talk to me on the part of the younger daughter-in-law is very likely due to her concern that their income will be revealed in addition to the general tendency among younger adults not to cooperate with strangers. Owning a business does not necessarily mean that their income level is high. However, among Koreans, it is commonly understood that when you own your own business, you are in general better off than low level employees. Besides they have two incomes.

V. Conclusion

From the ethnographic data, we learned that only one household was missing from all the Korean households. None of the three initial hypotheses seem to explain the undercount among Koreans. Hypothesis 1, the language barriers and lack of cultural familiarity, was not really an issue among Koreans in this sample area. Among 60 Korean households, only 1 household did not do the census because of a language problem and even that household was counted by the Korean enumerator (even though wrong information was taken). Hypothesis 2, geographical mobility, did not seem to have explained an undercount even though there was some geographical mobility among Koreans. Hypothesis 3, the irregular living arrangements did not explain the undercount at this site. We did not find any unusual living arrangements.

Rather, there were some problems in the delivery of the proper forms, finding time to respond given the younger working immigrants' exhausting and busy work schedule, and people's reluctance to reveal borderline incomes. Even so, these factors were easily overcome and people cooperated when a Korean enumerator made visits.

Among Koreans at this site, publicity by the Korean media and the immigrant cultural model which reinforces the positive perception of their social realities and encourages participation in the mainstream institution seem to have contributed to the high rate of participation. The fact that there was a large percentage of senior citizens who in general are more conservative and cooperative with government also contributed to the low undercount. This also means that further study should be conducted to include other categories of Koreans who were not covered at this site such as illegal aliens, recent single male immigrants who are working 10 to 14 hour jobs and are likely to have unusual living arrangements such as in rooming houses, or those who live among non-Koreans.

A critical element for Koreans' future census participation is how the promises are followed through and what kind of changes their immigrant cultural model will go through. This means that the government needs to prove through its future policy decisions that Koreans' trust was not ungrounded or wasted. This is particularly so because the 1990 Census was the very first census for which the entire Korean community in Los Angeles was mobilized. Not many Koreans even remember that there was a census in 1980. The 1990 Census will be remembered vividly and the consequence will be watched closely by Koreans because they remember it.

On a practical level, the Bureau of the Census should improve their delivery of forms so as not to miss so many households. They should also send the proper forms. The Bureau should also be careful to make sure that there is no overlap between different projects in the same area. People felt imposed upon and resentful when they kept receiving calls and being asked the same questions repeatedly by different people. At our site a resident became very resentful of us when we were confused with other census staff who had called at inappropriate hours.

DISCLAIMER FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC EVALUATION OF THE 1990 DECENNIAL CENSUS REPORT SERIES, REPORTS # 1- 24 (EV -01 THROUGH EV -29)

Disclaimer: This 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 on an 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 were incorporated in later analyses of data from this site. The consistency of the authors' 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.

The exact location of the study area and the names of persons and addresses enumerated by the independent researchers and in the 1990 Decennial Census are Census confidential and cannot be revealed until the year 2062. The researchers who participated in this study were Special Sworn Employees (SSE) or staff of the Census Bureau.

To request copies of this report, contact Statistical Research Division, Room 3133-4, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. 20033.

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