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University of Michigan
Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy

Moving Power and Money: The Politics of the 2020 Census
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The Importance of the Census

Census 2020 has been and will continue to be controversial. This year's enumeration will determine how many seats each state will have in Congress from 2023 to 2033. The count will also determine how many votes each state will have in the Electoral College in the presidential elections of 2024 and 2028. Starting in the 1930s, the federal government began allocating federal monies to states to solve pressing national problems such as unemployment, poverty, housing and health care. These federal appropriations greatly increased between 1947 and 1980. Many of those federal programs allocate funds to states on the basis of data linked to the decennial census. At present, the federal government disperses about $1.5 trillion dollars every year to states based on formulae that are linked to the census. The state of Michigan now obtains about $27 billion each year on the basis of data provided by the Census Bureau. If the population of a state is undercounted, that state could lose one of more seats in Congress, lose one or more seats in the Electoral College and miss out on substantial federal funds that Congress appropriated.

The Census is, in theory, non-partisan. However, there are sharp partisan divisions about the use of census data. The Trump administration proposed adding a mandatory question about citizenship to Census 2020. Civil rights groups and advocates for minorities presumed that a citizenship question would motivate many non-citizens, especially recent Hispanic and Asian

immigrants to avoid the census. This would likely be beneficial to the Republican party. Litigation followed and, thanks to federal court rulings, there will be no census question about citizenship in 2020.

When delegates from the original 13 states met in Philadelphia in 1787 to draft the nation's constitution, they wrestled with many questions including:

- How would the new national government be funded?
- How would the representation of each state in Congress and the Electoral College be determined?
- Which men would be included in the body politic? At that time, the framers considered five groups of people: free individuals, indentured servants bound for a term of service, enslaved persons, settled Native Americans who paid taxes and, finally, Native Americans who lived on land they claimed. These were described as "Indians not taxed.
- Would the nation include the system of slavery?

After much controversy, the framers of the Constitution decided that each state would get representation in Congress in proportion to the size of its total population. Similarly, the state's representation in the Electoral College would be proportional to its population size. And each state would also contribute taxes to support the national government according to the size of its population. For these purposes, they mandated that Congress take a census every ten years. The census was to include the following residents of the states: free individuals, indentured servants, Native Americans who paid taxes and enslaved persons.   However, for purposes of apportionment and taxes, enslaved individuals were to be counted as three-fifths of a person. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution ended the three-fifths rule and, in 1923, Congress granted citizenship to all Native Americans.

Format for the Course

This short course describes the history of the United States census with an emphasis upon the many recent controversies. There will be five classroom presentations and two labs as indicated below, under the *Lectures, Labs and Recommended Readings* heading. There are readings for each of the five classroom meeting. These readings are available on the CANVAS site.

The labs will give you the opportunity to examine data gathered in the decennial censuses and in the other large surveys conducted by the Census Bureau. You do not need a knowledge of

statistics or experience with data manipulation to complete the short assignments linked to each meeting in the computer classroom. You will also have time in the labs to extend the assignments to explore something you are interested in, which you might use for the short final written assignment. This

is discussed further in the under the **Final Project** heading. There will be are no tests and you do not need to purchase any books.

Lecture, Labs, and Recommended Readings

Type*	Date	Subject
Lecture	**Mar 10**	**The Constitution and the History of the US Census** Anderson, Margo. 2015. "The Census and the New Nation: Apportionment, Congress, and the Progress of the United States." Pp 7-33 In *The American Census: A Social History* (Volume 2), New Haven: Yale University Press. Ruggles, S. and D. Magnuson. Forthcoming. "Census Technology, Politics, and Institutional Change, 1790-2020." *Journal of Social History* (37 pages) [Only in CANVAS]
Lecture	**Mar 12**	**Déjà vu all over again: Census Controversies and their Implications for Census 2020** Anderson, Margo. 2015. "The Tribal Twenties National Origins, Malapportionment, and Cheating by the Numbers." Pp 133-155 in *The American Census: A Social History*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Prewitt, Kenneth. 2012. "Politics and Science in Census Taking" in *Census 2000: The American People* (edited by Reynolds Farley and John Haaga). Pages 1-44. Russell Sage Foundation & Population Reference Bureau. [only in CANVAS] Lee, Margaret and Erika Lunder. 2012 "Constitutionality of Excluding Aliens from the Census for Apportionment and Redistricting Purposes." *Congressional Research Service* R41048 (Apr 13, 2012)
Lab	**Mar 12**	**Descriptive Statistics from the Census: Neighborhoods, Persons, Occupations**
Lecture	**Mar 17**	**How Census 2020 will be conducted and how to determine its accuracy** Final 2020 Census Residence Criteria and Residence Situations *Federal Register* No. 2018-02370 Price, Daniel O. 1947. "A Check on Underenumeration in the 1940 Census." Pp 44-49 in American Sociological Review Vol 12, No 1 (February). [online] [pdf] O'Hare, William P. 2019. "Understanding who was Missed in the 2010 Census." Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau

		O'Hare, William P. "Methodology used to Measure Census Coverage." In *Differential Undercounts in the U. S. Census: Who is Missed*? (Springer Open Source). Pp.25-38. Okamura, Raymond. 1981, "The Myth of Census Confidentiality" *Amerasia Journal,* Pp. 111-120 Vol. 8, No. 2
Lecture	**Mar 19**	**The Uses of Census Data for Public Policy: Why the Census is the Keystone of the Federal Statistical System** Bryant, B. and W. Dunn. 1995. "The Census: Heartbeat of the Privacy Debate" Pp. 6-20 in *Moving Power and Money: The Politics of Census Taking* New Strategists Publication: Ithaca, N.Y. [Only in CANVAS]. O'Hare, W. "The Importance of Census Accuracy: Uses of Census Data." Pp 13-24 in? *Differential Undercounts in the U. S. Census: Who is Missed*? (Springer Open), Sullivan, T. Forthcoming. "Coming to Our Census: How Social Statistics Underpin Our Democracy (and Republic)" *Harvard Data Science Review* [Only in CANVAS]
Lab	**Mar 19**	**Apportionment and Redistricting Scenarios**
Lecture	**Mar 24**	**Census 2020: The Likely Problems, Challenges and Litigation** Thompson, J. and R. Yablon. "Preparing for the 2020 Census: Considerations for States Attorneys General" *American Constitution Society Issue Brief* (October 2018) [link] O'Hare, W. 2019. "Getting Reading for the 2020 Census." Pp. 149-161 *Differential Undercounts in the U. S. Census: Who is Missed?* (Springer Open) Bryant, B. and W. Dunn, 1995. "The 21st Century Census." Pp. xx-xx in *Moving Power and Money: The Politics of Census Taking* New Strategists: Ithaca, NY. [Only in CANVAS]

*Lectures are in 1230 Weill Hall from 11:30 to 12:50
 Labs take place in 3117 Weill Hall from 4:00 to 5:50

 Final Project
The purpose of the brief final project is for you to focus on something you have learned in this course. It can be based on something covered in the lectures, an extension of a lab assignment, or a topic you are interested in. We will have additional resources on the CANVAS site, including Supreme Court cases relevant to the census and many other technical papers. These projects should be very modest in scope and size. This is a one credit course and this is
a very busy time of the academic year for all students. We are always pleased to answer questions.

Some ideas for the special project are:

- What would the electoral college look like if there was a 10% undercount of non-citizens? Would this help/harm Michigan?
- Create a brief about redistricting strategy as a partisan consultant (or as a non-partisan consultant)
- Describe a Census outreach plan for one of the hard-to-count populations in a county. Include some hard-to-count statistics, based on readily available data from the 2020 Census Hard-to-Count Mapper.
- Provide a brief profile of the city you live in/or grew up in/or plan to move to. Be sure to include comparative context (the state, the nation)
- The U.S. population is becoming more diverse, especially when contrasting the child population (0-17) to the older population (65+). Illustrate this for the US and selected states.
- Examine the characteristics of the population with a degree in your field: proportion male/female, average earnings, etc. Are their disparities by sex? Examine 25 to 29 compared to 50 to 54.
- Create a cheat sheet of 20 facts about the census you can use in a conversation

Please note that we are very flexible about the final project. If you would like to substitute your own assignment for any of those we suggest, please do so. Please check with us. There are many opportunities to use Census Bureau data to explore interesting topics. However, this is a one-credit course, and this is a busy time of the semester so please keep your efforts reasonable.

Grades

Each lab assignment counts for 25% of your grade. These lab assignments are due the week after the lab, although most students should be able to complete them during the lab. The final project is 50% of your grade. See the table below for the details, including due dates.

Assignment	Percent	Assigned	Due Date
1st Lab	25	March 12	March 19
2nd Lab	25	March 19	March 26
Final Project	50	March 10	April 1

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you believe you need an accommodation for a disability, the University's Services for Students with Disabilities office (SSD) can be a valuable resource with which to start. In addition, if you believe you need an accommodation for a disability in any of your courses, please let the course instructor know at your earliest convenience. You need to allow for sufficient time for your faculty member to respond, minimally 7 days, preferably more, in advance of when the accommodation is needed. Some aspects of courses may be modified to facilitate your participation and progress. As soon as you make your instructor aware of your needs, they can

work with Student & Academic Services and/or the SSD office to help determine appropriate academic accommodations. Any information you provide will be treated as private and confidential.

Student Mental Health and Wellbeing

The University of Michigan is committed to advancing the mental health and wellbeing of its students. We acknowledge that a variety of issues, such as strained relationships, increased anxiety, alcohol/drug problems, and depression, directly impacts students' academic performance. If you or someone you know is feeling overwhelmed, depressed, and/or in need of support, services are available. For help, contact Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) and/or University Health Service (UHS). For a listing of other mental health resources available on and off campus, visit: http://umich.edu/~mhealth/.

Inclusivity Statement

Members of the Ford School community represent a rich variety of backgrounds and perspectives. We are committed to providing an atmosphere for learning that respects diversity. While working together to build this community we ask all members to:

- share their unique experiences, values and beliefs
- be open to the views of others
- honor the uniqueness of their colleagues
- appreciate the opportunity that we have to learn from each other in this community
- value one another's opinions and communicate in a respectful manner
- keep confidential discussions that the community has of a personal (or professional) nature
- use this opportunity together to discuss ways in which we can create an inclusive environment in Ford classes and across the UM community

For More Information

Please contact either or both, of the instructors. We will be happy to answer your questions.

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Be a part of History!

2020census.gov/jobs
1-855-JOB-2020
(1-855-562-2020)

Federal Relay Service: (800) 877-8339 TTY / ASCII
www.gsa.gov/fedrelay
The Federal Relay Service (Federal Relay) provides telecommunication services
to individuals who are deaf, hard of hearing, and/or have speech disabilities to conduct official business with and within the federal government.
The U.S. Census Bureau is an Equal Opportunity Employer.

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