How We are Counted: Carleton Students Examine Census Documents

Examining the U.S. Census from a Sociological Perspective

The United States census has been carried out every ten years since 1790. Designed to provide an accurate measure of population growth and change, census results are used by numerous political and social groups for a variety of purposes.

On the face of it, counting the population ought to be a simple matter of recording the number of people and their specific socio-demographic characteristics. Studying the US Census over an extended period of historical time, however, provides much insight into what sociologists call “the social construction of reality.” This perspective emphasizes that every aspect of society is socially created. This central tenet of sociology springs to life when examining how different categories of the American people have been identified and counted since 1790.

During Carleton’s 2010 winter term, students in Professor Annette Nierobisz’s Introduction to Sociology course studied the US Census from the perspective of “the social construction of reality.” They did so by examining how socio-demographic categories like sex, race and ethnicity, occupational status, community, and education have been identified and counted by the Census Bureau. The exercise required students to examine archived census material and in doing so, locate a historical document or object that illustrates how the meaning of these social categories has changed across time. This exhibit displays the work of the students.

A number of people played an important role in co-designing, teaching, and supporting this project. They include Adrienne Falcon, Director of Academic Civic Engagement; Danya Leebaw, Reference and Instruction Librarian for Social Sciences; Kristin Partlo, Reference and Instruction Librarian for Social Sciences and Data; Heather Tompkins, Reference and Instruction Librarian for Humanities and Government Publications; and Margaret Pezalla-Granlund, Curator of Library Art and Exhibitions. This project would not have been possible without their collective insights and generous assistance. Professor Nierobisz and her class would like to thank this extraordinary group of individuals for providing an invaluable learning experience.
This is a time line of how the U.S. Census asked questions about education. The earliest question, from 1840, applied only to whites above the age of twenty, and was asked to determine literacy. Beginning in 1850, people of all races were asked a similar question, and were additionally asked if they had attended school within the past year. In 1890, the question was changed to ask how many months out of the past year people had attended school. In 1940, the census began asking about the highest grade the respondent had completed. The 1960 and 1970 censuses ask whether or not the last school attended was public or private. In 1990 and 2000, respondents have been asked to identify the highest degree obtained. The 2010 Census will not include questions about education in its short form. These changing questions likely reflect changes in the American educational system and in the educational achievement of U.S. citizens over time.

Emily Altschul ‘13
Emma Brobeck ‘13
Marisa Luck ‘13
Tony Stoeri ‘13
Shakita Thomas ‘11
In all relevant censes the usage of the term “dwelling” referred to any building in which one or more persons reside. The term “family” referred to a group of persons, despite blood relation, who shared a common dwelling. Table 1 displays the fact that from the 1850 until the Thirteenth Decennial Census in 1910 the following characteristics of the population were subject to enumeration: the number of dwellings, the average number of families within these dwellings, the average number of persons within a dwelling, and the average number of persons in a family. From this data, it is evident that the majority of dwellings held only one family prior to 1900, based upon the fact that the average number of persons in a dwelling was approximately equal to the average number of persons in a family. However, in 1900 and 1910, the average number of persons in a dwelling was greater than the average number of persons in a family. It can be concluded that more persons outside of the family were residing with single families. Note, though, that the average number of persons in a dwelling in 1860 and 1870 were omitted due to the fact that unoccupied dwellings were accounted for during these years. Accounting for these types of dwellings made this data incomparable to the other years displayed because only occupied dwellings were accounted for.

Brittney Mikell ‘13
This table illustrates the first year that an Asian racial classification was included in the United States Census in 1870. Though this would seem an addition that attempts to embrace the Chinese, if viewed in the context of this time period, it becomes clear that this inclusion was intended as an exclusionary measure against the Chinese. Until 1869, the Chinese population had been concentrated in California, but after the completion of the transcontinental railroad they became a more tangible presence in major cities which caused a national outcry. Once the Chinese were seen as competitors in the job market there was a public outcry and in response there were several anti-Chinese pieces of legislation passed. The addition of Chinese as a racial classification in the U.S. Census seems to have been used to track a population of “undesirables”. This speaks to the hostile atmosphere that was directed towards the Chinese during this time period and the struggle they faced as immigrants in a nation still consumed by ideas of white racial superiority.


Katie Kaemmer ‘11
Diversity within Regions

Figure 1 was created by the United States Census Bureau to demonstrate how regional differences in racial composition of the population changed from 1950 to 1960. Residential segregation refers to the geographic differentiation of two or more population groups within a city or metropolitan area. When segregation is extreme, such as when an ethnic minority is confined to a ghetto, members of each group may live almost completely apart. Normally, segregation is a matter of degree.

Although the “Negro” population was heavily distributed in the Southern region, migration from the South rose in the late 1950s due to segregationist Jim Crow laws and a poor economy. That led to a rise in black populations in Northeastern and Midwestern cities, where blacks came for jobs in steel mills, automobile factories and other industrial plants. The graph demonstrates that Chinese are generally less segregated from whites than “Negros”. Moreover, Asians segregation appears less permanent, with clustering in enclaves—a voluntary response of immigrants to language and cultural obstacles. The western region, such as states like California, served as major immigrant gateways for new arrivals to pile up at a faster pace than their predecessors are able to disperse. While some individuals see segregation as an outcome of economic disparities, modern sociologists argue that segregation plays a causal role, shaping the life chances of group members.

Beserat Kelati ‘12
This is a replication of the 1890 United States Census Questionnaire. Before 1960, census-takers filled out the enumeration forms and chose the category for each American they counted. Because they used a detailed set of instructions from the government, racial classifications could easily be skewed as a result of misinterpreting a person’s race. The detail snippet from the 1890 census depicts how the United States classified the Black population as the enumerators encompassed the authority to decide whether the person was “black, mulatto, quadroon, or octoroon”.

According to the racial classification instructions given to the enumerators for the 1890 census, “black” included all persons who were evidently full-blooded Negroes, while “mulatto” was defined as a person who was one-half Negro, one-half White. Additionally, “quadroon” was used to classify a person who was one-quarter Negro, three-quarters White. Lastly, “octoroon” was added to identify a person who was one-eighth Negro, seven-eighths White.

When compared to the 2010 census form, one can observe the changes in Black classification as that form only has one check box where one can indicate if they are “Black, African American, or Negro”. The 2010 form proves to be more concise and accurate as the 1890 questionnaire based racial classification solely off of the enumerators’ perception, by breaking down each Black individual’s race into artificial detail. This represents discrimination within the government as they strived to strictly categorize the black and white population into separate groups, which leads one to question how accurately Blacks were counted in 1890.

Bridget Doyle ‘13
This table shows the racial categories used from the first census of 1790 to the 1990 census and their populations. It is important to notice the addition of the racial classification of American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut to the census in 1860. Although these groups are indigenous to the United States, they were excluded from the census until 1860, when their populations became useful for increasing the number of representatives in Congress for certain states. While the Black population in the United States had been enumerated in all of the censuses, they were historically considered only 3/5th of a person and mostly enslaved until the 1870 census. It is important to note the political and social reasoning behind the inclusion or exclusion of racial categories in the United States census. The strategic inclusion of the American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut populations in the census, only highlights the manipulative nature of the United States government’s relationship to the indigenous population in that time period.

Nimo Ali ‘11
This table was used by the U.S. Census Bureau to identify people of Spanish origin between 1930 and 1960 in five U.S. states. The table compares how people of Spanish origin, whom we now call Latinos or Hispanics, were categorized and counted over a thirty-year period. In 1930, the census allowed the classification of “Mexican.” However, this approach undercounted the Latino population, so the modified 1940 census asked if Spanish was the “mother tongue” of the respondent. Nevertheless the count of Latinos continued to be inaccurate because some Latinos reported English as their mother language. Thus in 1950, the Census Bureau identified those of Spanish origin by their last names. This was problematic when a Hispanic Spanish-surnamed male married a non-Hispanic female, which resulted in the census mistaking the woman as Hispanic. As changes in census categories continued over this 30 year period, the U.S. Census counted more Latinos. In addition to this, the number of Latinos born in the U.S. increased over foreign-born Latinos during the thirty-year period. Each modification in the census also allowed for a clearer count of the Latino population. This clarity continued with the 1970 census which identified Latinos through a series of questions that included parental origin, mother tongue, Hispanic heritage, and self-reporting. Finally, in the 2000 census, Latinos were counted solely by self-reporting.

Ray Nelson ‘12
Joint hearing on quality and limitations of the S-night homeless count joint hearing before the Subcommittee on Government Information and Regulation of the Committee on Governmental Affairs, United States Senate, and the Subcommittee on Census and Population of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, House of Representatives, One Hundred Second Congress, first session, May 9, 1991.

United States, Congress, House, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, Subcommittee on Census and Population


Gould Library Government Documents (Microfiche)

Comic (left) written in response to article (right) criticizing a local’s attempts to prevent homeless participation in S-Night (Shelter and Street Night). Many homeless advocates protested the 1990 S-Night, an event designed to provide those without conventional housing with a chance to participate in the census. They feared that an undercount would result in a marginalization of homelessness by the government. In the aftermath of the S-Night, local government officials across the country expressed concern over the accuracy of the results and the methods used to obtain them. The event was restructured over the next decade, resulting in the 2000 SBE (Service-Based Enumeration). An accurate count is important in order to ensure that federal funding for social programs benefitting the homeless are properly allocated.

Ethan Sagin ‘13
This newspaper article, from the June 8, 1980 issue of the Los Angeles Times, just may induce giggles, discreet chuckles, or even convulsive laughter. Yet, most importantly, it offers a unique insider's perspective on the various challenges that some census enumerators encountered in the course of their job. The article states that, “A lot of the strange tales from the census takers came during ‘T-night’ and ‘M-night,’ during which the enumerators made an all-out effort to track down and count the city's derelicts and transients.” The T-night (Transient night) and M-night (Mission night) process of the 1980 census was not an attempt to attain an accurate account of the homeless population. Rather, local census offices sought to achieve their goal of counting as many people as possible. Indeed, T-night and M-night added an additional 41,841 people to the census that would not have been counted in years preceding 1980. All in all, T-night and M-night, despite the comedic experiences mentioned in the article, pioneered the path for the more organized and structured Shelter and Street night (S-night) of the 1990 census and for the Service Based Enumeration (SBE) of the 2000 and 2010 census.

Isatu Kamara ‘12
Table 335. Prisoners Under Jurisdiction of Federal or State Correctional Authorities – Summary by State: 1990 to 2007

Table 335 shows the number of prisoners in U.S. state or federal prisons from 1990 to 2007. Notice that the total prisoner population doubled from 1990 to 2000. These numbers are used by the U.S. Census Bureau to count the number of prisoners present per state for the decennial census. These numbers help determine the new district boundaries and provide demographic data to communities.

What is interesting is that the U.S. Census counts prisoners by the location of their prison rather than from their neighborhood. Although most prisoners lived and are most likely to return to an urban environment, current methods regard them as residents of rural areas where the majority of prisons are located. As the prisoner population continues to increase, there is a greater misrepresentation of the demographics of an area. Certain groups like the Prisoner Policy Initiative have asked the Census Bureau to reconsider current methods of enumerating prisoners so that urban and rural communities will have fair representation and accurate demographic data.

Patrick Nalepka ‘13

This table is from the first census count of the homeless population, which was done in 1990. In a one-night event, nicknamed S-Night, enumerators went to shelters and street locations to count the number of homeless people. They also gathered some basic demographic information, which reveals important trends about the homeless population.

In terms of race, there were more whites than blacks at every location, and the majority of people were not Hispanic. The age range varied based on the location, with the largest percentages in either the 0-18 or 18-34 years old categories. Most were never married.

There were more men than women counted at every location except shelters for abused women. The 2,533 males in this type of shelter were most likely the sons of the women staying there. In fact, 47.7% of people in these shelters were under 18, another indication that many women were staying there with their children.

It's important to note that this count was only done in the 50 largest cities in the country. The Census Bureau does not consider this a complete or accurate count of the country’s homeless population. Hopefully, future counts of the homeless will be more comprehensive and provide even more information. This will help the government decide which kinds of programs to fund.

Rebecca Gourevitch ‘12
This publication, printed by the U.S. Department of Commerce in conjunction with the Bureau of the Census, served as a way to assess birth rates in 1960. The period of 1955-1960 marked the edge of the ‘baby boomer’ generation, the era of escalated birth rates after World War II. This explosion in population - and the cultural changes it brought to America - served as the reason for devoting an entire special reports publication to the relatively specific population group of women with children under five years old.

The cover of this subject report illustrates the difficult task the Census had in counting communities, where the Bureau had to translate real-world population groups into understandable charts of data. At the top of the cover, the endless lines of numbers seemingly reflect and represent the photograph at the bottom, showing a crowd of people with many different characteristics.

Veasey Conway ‘12
This table presents data from the 1900 Census that shows the number of women and men working in different trades. The left hand column lists the professions that both men and women participated in. Although many women were found working in “feminine” jobs like dressmakers or housekeepers, this table also reveals some surprising data. Women were found not only in stereotypical “female” positions, but were also found in jobs traditionally held by men, such as engineers, accountants, and physicians. It is also interesting to note, for example, that there were more female college professors (327,206) than female housekeepers (146,929) and that 73.4% of college professors were female whereas 26.6% were male. The number of women in other professions one might consider to be male dominated also reflects the large presence of women in the workforce. For instance, 44.3% of art teachers, 76.7% of typists, and 56.9% of musicians or music teachers were women.

This data was published in 1907 by Simon North, the then-director of the Census Bureau, in a book that focuses specifically on women’s occupation. Although the Bureau had suggested in past censuses that women worked only as housewives or as housekeepers, North’s publication reveals data countering this notion. Instead of being concentrated in “female” positions, women were hired in a multitude of jobs.

The disclosure of this data by North rebutted previously held beliefs on women's occupations, and ultimately led to changes in the 1910 Census that allowed for more accurate counts of female employment, which rectified past undercounts of female professions.

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http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0034/tab03.txt

This table shows the “unedited” data and “edited” data of Columbia, South Carolina households between married and unmarried partners by gender.

This table illustrates how data are changed from same-sex married couples to same-sex unmarried partners in Columbia, South Carolina. You can see that households are categorized by age, race, and presence of children. By looking at the first row “Under 25” under “Age of Person 1”, you can see that there are 16 male/male married couple households in the unedited version of the data. In the next section under unmarried partner household, there are 11 male/male unmarried partners. However, when you look at the edited data column, you see that it does not correspond to the unedited version. What the census did was it changed the number of male/male-married couples to unmarried partners, thus treating same-sex marriages as “unmarried partnership”. This change is consistent in each category of age, race and presence of children.

This is controversial because the census is supposed to be a good representation of our country. Since it does not include same-sex marriages, individuals may presume that same-sex marriages are inferior to other relationships and partnerships. In the upcoming 2010 Census, the Census Bureau has made some changes. However, absent from it is the plan to count all same-sex couples, whether married or not, as “unmarried partners”.

Souriya Thao ‘13

**Table 3. Number of Households by Household Characteristics: Census 2000 Dress Rehearsal Site - Columbia, South Carolina**
The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force developed this sticker for members of the LGBTQ community and straight allies to place on their U.S. Census envelope in order to alert the U.S. Census Bureau of the community’s undercount. The U.S. Census Bureau wants an accurate count of everyone in the country, and yet a portion of the population is left out of the census: the Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender and Queer Community. The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force as well as the rest of the LGBTQ community is demanding a reevaluation of the census to include options for everyone and reinforce the spectrum of sex: including male, female, transgender, or any other sex an individual so chooses. Of the over three hundred million people in the United States, there is no accurate count of the transgender community nor the same-sex married community because there is no transgender selection on the census nor an acknowledgement of same-sex marriages. Same-sex marriage is now legal in such states as Connecticut, Iowa, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, however these individuals are not counted as such. The LGBTQ community demands an accurate snap shot of today’s society, and in order to do so, everyone must be counted.

Stephanie Kravitz ‘10
This chart organizes information from the 2000 U.S. Census to show some characteristics of children under 18 years of age. It reveals many interesting facts. First of all, children who themselves were householders/ spouses were by far the most likely to have less than a high school degree and be unemployed than any of the other categories. As a result of this, 51 percent of them lived in poverty and only 26.4 percent owned homes.

Another interesting occurrence was that foster children were much more likely to have some sort of a disability than any other children. For example, 20.6 percent of foster children had a learning disability, compared to the average percentage of children with learning disabilities, which was just 4.5 percent. This suggests parents of disabled children were less likely to take care of them, and as a result either voluntarily or involuntarily gave up these children.

These are just some examples, and there are many more interesting statistics about society that emerge upon closer inspection of this chart.

Annie Steiner ‘13
Census Bureau, Census 2000 special tabulation

Presented in the 2000 Census, this table illustrates the place of birth and nativity of the foreign-born adopted children of the householder in the United States. In addition, the number of adopted children from each country or region is categorized by the age of the child, showing how the number of adopted children has increased over time. The 2000 Census created a single category for “adopted children” separated from both biological and step children for the first time, due to the increase in adopted children. Though many of the adopted children were American or natives in 2000, 13 percent of the adopted children of the United States are foreign born, and as the table above suggests, their numbers are increasing as there are more foreign-born adopted children who are under 18 years compare to those who are over 18 years and over. Among the foreign-born adopted children, nearly half of them are being brought from Asia (122,899), while Korea is the largest single-country source for foreign-born adopted children (56,825). Perhaps this table gives insight to the relationship between the source of the foreign-born adopted children and the United States. Overall, this table is able to give an accurate picture of the new social dimension created by the foreign-adopted children in 2000.

Hiroki Sato’12
The image displayed here is a graph of poverty rates based on type of family (married couples, single female householder, and single male householder) and race (White, non Hispanic, and Asian and Pacific Islander) in the year 1993. This graph was created by the Census Bureau, based on information gathered from the 1990 census. The information displayed shows that with the exception of married couples, White families had a higher poverty rate than Asian and Pacific Islander households. The most important piece of information that this graph shows is that households with single female heads are at much a higher poverty rate than both married couples and single male households. This could very easily be credited to the fact that women are not paid as much as men, even in the same job.

It’s important to note that single female householders are a type of family that is becoming more and more familiar in this day and age, suggesting that more and more families may fall beneath the poverty line.

Brandi Branham ‘13
Notice that the shape of the graph is leaning to the left side, showing the income inequality among US workers. The median of the earnings, which is provided in the graph, is the middle point of the earnings when they are lined up from the lowest to the highest. It is different from mean or average, which is not shown in the graph. The mean of the earnings was $43,000, meaning that of the half of the workers with earnings above the median, many workers have earnings several times greater than the median.

When focusing on the earnings higher than $100,000 on the graph, notice the little “bumps” which break the smooth curve at the earnings of $100,000, $150,000, and $200,000. These bumps, located on the rounded numbers, are called “heapings” in statistical terms. These “heapings” occur since survey participants round their numbers up or down to the closest round number, meaning that the figures contains errors although they are minor. Therefore, one should be aware of this phenomenon to observe data gathered through surveys critically.

Kazufumi Sato ‘10
The image on the left represents the long form from the U.S. Census that was given to the general public in 2000 in order for the government to acquire information on occupational statuses. Similar to the U.S. Census, the image on the right represents the long form from the Canadian Census in 2001 that also measured occupation. The importance of collecting this information began in twentieth-century as the growth of large cities and urbanization created a number of different occupations in more than one geographical area. In North America the earliest construction of classification was the Standard Occupation Classification. This system is used to classify workers into occupational categories for the purpose of collecting, and calculating data. Much like the United States, Canada also uses the Standard Occupational Classification, which is designed to reveal the current occupational structure. It classifies all occupations in which work is performed for profit. Through observation it is concluded that both countries operate similarly in terms of classifying occupational statuses.

Richard Tovar ‘13
This map depicts the primary occupational group found within each county in the United States in 2000. These maps are important to determine the predominant employment trend within each geographical region.

In the nonmetropolitan areas of the Midwest, there are many occupations that involve production, transportation, and material moving. According to the census' classification system, production, transportation, and material moving encompass jobs such as taxi drivers, truckers, and industrial workers.

Farther west, in states such as Montana, the Dakotas, and Nebraska the primary occupational group is management, business, and financial operations. This primary occupational group may seem odd to these rural and sparsely populated areas, but due to changes in the Standard Occupation Classification system in 1998, farm and ranch owners were included in this occupational group.

The counties bordering on Canada and Mexico have a higher percentage of service domination. This may be due to tourism or providing needed services to our neighboring countries.

The leading occupation in most U.S. counties is sales and office. Our country is a consumer nation more than manufacturing. The figure is misleading in that it does not represent the total number of businesses, but the geographical clustering. For example, a county in New York may have a much greater number of production jobs than a county in rural Iowa, yet the predominant occupation in Iowa is manufacturing and in New York it's sales and office.

Adriana Orland '13