

Pondering Poi Dog

Place and Racial Identification of Multi-Racial Native Hawaiians

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Shawn Malia Kana'iaupuni
Policy Analysis & System Evaluation
Kamehameha Schools
567 S. King Street
Honolulu, HI 96813
shkanaia@ksbe.edu
phone: 808-541-5365
fax: 808-541-5395

and

Carolyn A. Liebler
Department of Sociology
University of Minnesota
909 Social Sciences Tower
267 - 19th Ave. South
Minneapolis, MN 55455
liebler@soc.umn.edu
phone: 612-624-0081
fax: 612-624-7020

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ABSTRACT

Given the very large proportion of Hawaiians who are multiracial, our research examines Native Hawaiian identification in mixed-race Hawaiian families. We use the 1990 Census, which affords a unique look at racial identification because multiracial people were required to choose one race over another. The results show support for our argument that place plays a central role in Pacific identity processes, illustrated in this case among Hawaiians. We find that strong ties to Hawai'i -- the spiritual and geographic home of the Hawaiian population, its history, and its culture -- are vital to the intergenerational transmission of Hawaiian identification in both continental and island multiracial families. We compare our results for multiracial Native Hawaiians to prior studies of American Indians and Asian Americans to identify any general patterns in correlates of racial identification choices. In each group, we find that familial and geographic relationships to the cultural and ancestral lands are strongly linked to racial identification.

INTRODUCTION

Mounting scholarship about multiracial identity has begun to change conventional assumptions about race and ethnicity in the United States (eg, Spickard 1989; Root 1992; Winters and Debose 2004). Two key notions under challenge are, first, that individuals and groups identify with a single race or ethnic category; second, that ethnicity is something people carry with them to American shores and eventually lose through the assimilation process. Pluralist treatments – even the more progressive ones – see American society as a multicultural mix of different groups, but have tended to assume that people are defined by a single ethnicity. This assumption masks the reality that people, and especially groups, are usually racially and/or ethnically mixed (Nash 1995).

Because race is an important social marker, however, there remains a push, even for those who embrace their mixed heritage, to identify with only one race or ethnic group (Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002). Although often plainly attributable to bureaucratic inertia (e.g., government and institutional record keeping procedures), sometimes the push comes from concerns about preserving ethnic culture and heritage, mobilizing political solidarity around specific issues, and efforts to achieve greater equality of opportunity for people of color. Among Native Hawaiians,¹ for example, attention has been drawn to socioeconomic marginalization – and rapidly diminishing

¹ In this paper, we use ‘Native Hawaiian’ and ‘Hawaiian’ as synonyms for those people whose ancestral heritage includes the indigenous people of Hawai‘i. In the data analysis, however, we include parents as ‘Hawaiian’ only if they reported their race as Native Hawaiian (as opposed to only their ancestry).

numbers – of full-blooded Native Hawaiians. Recent decades have witnessed a Hawaiian renaissance; a resurgence of Native Hawaiian culture, language, and pride among those with Hawaiian heritage. Accompanying these changes is politically contested terrain over who has a valid claim to identity as an indigenous Hawaiian. Adding to the importance of these identification questions are ongoing political efforts to gain federal recognition of Native Hawaiians as the aboriginal people of the Hawaiian islands,² to recapture land rights and revenues, and to reestablish Native Hawaiian self-determination.

In this paper, we explore patterns of identification as Native Hawaiian among mixed race part-Hawaiians using data from the 1990 Census. In these data, as in most prior surveys, all individuals were asked to list only one race.³ The people we study – and, indeed, most Native Hawaiians – are of mixed racial heritage, and thus the 1990 race question does not allow them to report their racial heritage accurately. However, this type of survey question does allow us the opportunity to learn which race is

² Hawaiians were the original settlers of the Hawaiian islands, arriving in about 500 A.D. In 1898, annexation of the Hawaiian kingdom by the U.S. government followed a military coup that replaced the ruling Hawaiian monarch, Queen Lili‘uokalani. However, due to colonial land and political interests associated with the overtake, Native Hawaiians have never been recognized as an indigenous people and culture of the United States.

³ To simplify our writing, we write as if census answers are self-reported, but readers should keep in mind that responses for all household members may have been reported by a single individual in the household.

preferred in the common situation of being asked to choose one race. The answers permit insights that may be extended to other indigenous groups or cultures whose language is endangered, whose culture is known more as a commercial tourist commodity than its contemporary authentic form, and whose members are highly intermarried. Specifically, we ask, does racial mixing offer Native Hawaiians an opportunity to increase the population of racially identified Hawaiians (through births) or does it tend to result in decreasing returns to the population base because parents more often choose some other (eg, non-Hawaiian) identity for their children?

We focus on the fundamental role of place in the intergenerational transmission of Native Hawaiian identity. Theories on the role of place in mixed race identity and ethnicity have a growing list of contributors – most prominently in anthropology and geography, but spanning other disciplines as well. Geographers view place as the context within which mixed-race partnering, residential choices, and family identification processes are differentially distributed across spatial categories, e.g., neighborhoods, cities, metropolises (Wong 1999, Peach 1980). By “spatializing” mixed race households, we can understand where (and why) they survive and flourish. Research shows that Hawai‘i is one of those places in North America that is spatially significant for its flourishing intermarriage rates (Lee and Fernandez 1998).

Anthropologists contribute greater analytical specificity to our understanding of the concepts of ethnicity and identity as they relate to land. Saltman (2002) characterizes the relationship between land and ethnicity in terms of static, socio-cultural realities about land and territoriality (e.g., ethnic characteristics, territorial boundaries, historical facts, cultural customs, etc.). Identity, on the other hand, is a

dynamic arena within which social realities are acted out in individual cognition and perception. For example, identity may be the shared understandings between persons of the same culture that enables them to rally together for a political cause. In relation to place, Saltman argues, “identity achieves its strongest expression within the political context of conflicting rights over land and territory” (p. 6).

Our study contributes to this discussion a concept of place that interweaves the spiritual and the physical with socio-cultural traditions and practices. The concept of place in Hawaiian perspective reflects understandings found throughout the Pacific voyaging societies and shares certain similarities with other Native American U.S. cultures (Lindstrom 1999; Martin 2001; Schnell 2000). Place, in this case the home of the *kānaka maoli* or indigenous people of Hawai‘i, transcends physical realities of land. It is their *honua* (*whenua, henua, fonua, fanua, fenua* the words meaning “earth” in Maori, Marshallese, Tongan, Samoan, and Tahitian languages, respectively); it signifies relationships, spanning spiritual and kinship bonds between people, nature, and the supernatural world (Kanahele 1986). The understanding in indigenous writings throughout the Pacific is that place breathes life, people, culture, spirit (Tusitala Marsh 1999). It is, we argue, a key force in the interplay of internal and external influences on contemporary Hawaiian identity processes.

THE MIXED-RACE POPULATION IN HAWAI‘I

More so than any other group in the United States, the question of identity among Hawaiians inevitably raises issues about multiethnicity or multiraciality. The rich ethnic diversity of Hawaiians stems from a history of an isolated, indigenous society turned

immigrant plantation society turned major U.S. military and tourist hub. The century following Captain Cook's first arrival in Hawai'i in 1778 saw the decimation of the Native Hawaiian population by an estimated 90 per cent. By 1893, at the time of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, Hawaiians numbered about 35,000 full-blooded, and fewer than 9,000 part-Hawaiians (Nordyke 1989).

While disease continued to ravage the indigenous people, the immigrant population flourished. A surge in White immigration to Hawai'i occurred in the early 1880s and by 1910, White immigrants outnumbered Hawaiians. Throughout the mid-1800s and early 1900s, the whaling industry and sugar plantations also brought laborer migrants from China, Japan, Portugal, Korea, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and other countries. More recent immigrants added to the mix, including those from Micronesia, Polynesia, and South East Asia (Nordyke 1989, Fuchs 1961).

In today's Hawai'i, a little more than one-fifth of the population reports Hawaiian heritage. Only a tiny fraction of these Hawaiians (less than 1 per cent by one estimate) can be traced as full-blooded (Nordyke 1989). A minority in their homeland, Hawaiians have taken on the characteristics shared by other racial and ethnic minorities in the United States. As a group, they experience high morbidity and mortality rates, poor educational outcomes, and a marginalized socioeconomic position in U.S. society (Barringer, Gardner, and Levin 1993; Blaisdell 1993; Braun et al. 1997; Mokuau, Browne, and Braun 1998; Humes and McKinnon 2000; Srinivasan and Guillermo 2000; Kana'iaupuni and Ishibashi 2001).

Because such a high proportion of the Hawaiian population is of mixed heritage, the general practice of requiring single race identification has made it difficult to count

the population accurately. The 2000 census, however, marked a dramatic turning point, stimulated in part by heightened awareness and publicity about the multiracial and multiethnic mix in U.S. society. In 2000, the U.S. populace was allowed to mark as many races as necessary on their census forms; the enumerated part-Native Hawaiian population grew tremendously as a result (Grieco and Cassidy 2001). Whereas in 1990 there were some 238,000 Native Hawaiians, Census 2000 reports about 401,000. Of people who reported Native Hawaiian race in Census 2000, 35 per cent reported *solely* Native Hawaiian race. The other 65 per cent claimed an additional race (Kanaiaupuni and Melahn 2001). Multiple race reporting was much lower among other groups. For example, only 40 per cent of those who reported American Indian or Alaska Native race, and 14 per cent of people who reported Asian race, reported an additional race in Census 2000 (Grieco and Cassidy 2001). Our analyses focus on the indigenous Hawaiian population before this jump in the population size and allow us a baseline for interpreting the Census 2000 data.

Most Native Hawaiians live in Hawai‘i; in 2000, about 240,000 Native Hawaiians lived on the islands of Hawai‘i, while about 161,000 Native Hawaiians lived on the U.S. continent (Bureau of the Census 2003). When part-Hawaiians are included in the count, the population of the state of Hawai‘i is about one-fifth Native Hawaiian (Kanaiaupuni and Melahn 2001; Bureau of the Census 2003). In contrast, population counts based on single-race identification show a much lower proportion Native Hawaiian. For example, in 1990 the census reported that only 12 per cent of the state

population was Native Hawaiian and in 2000, only 7 per cent of people in the state reported Native Hawaiian as their only race.⁴

CULTURE, IDENTITY, AND PLACE AMONG NATIVE HAWAIIANS

The diverse ethnic mix that comprises the state of Hawai‘i, and the resulting multiracial mix of today’s Hawaiians in the state and on the U.S. Continent, complicate questions of identity for Hawai‘i’s host culture. For people of any racial or ethnic group, the characteristics of place -- its location, social and ethnic composition, physical features, and historical significance to a people -- can have profound symbolic and practical effects on identity and identification processes (Spickard 1989; Saltman 2002). Living or growing up in Hawai‘i is certainly a notable experience that affects the identity processes of all its diverse residents (see Chock et al., 1998). But one unique characteristic that Hawaiians will always have is their genealogical connection to Hawai‘i as the ancestral homeland. No other group holds this claim.

In questions of identity, therefore, place plays a critical role through Hawaiian traditions and customs that weave together physical, spiritual, and social ties to the land and sea. Included, for example, is the sophisticated knowledge of agriculture, aquaculture, and astronomy developed by Hawaiians; shared respect for earth forms (e.g., lava flows, rock formations, soil disposition, etc), winds, rains, places – each named for its particular form and tendencies as living entities; genealogical traditions

⁴ Qualitative data (e.g., Spickard and Fong 1995) also support the idea that the Native Hawaiian population was miscounted when single-race identification was required.

linking people, spirits, and places; and the collective memory of a shared political and social history.

Physical Ties to Place: Physically, a deep source of Hawaiian connectedness is in ties to the land and sea, expressed in the proverb “*ka maui o ka ‘āina a he maui kānaka, the life of the land is the life of the people*” (Oneha 2001). Like many indigenous cultures, the relationship between identity and geographic place encompasses living off the natural resources of the land, traditional cultural uses, and historical connections to places (Kanahele 1986, Lindstrom 1999). Unlike Western land tenure systems, Hawaiian and Pacific perspectives stem from traditional practices of collective ownership, where rights to land/sea access were negotiated by generation and family lineage as well as personal, family and community need (Rapaport 1999). ‘*Āina*, the Hawaiian word for land most commonly used today, also means ‘to eat’, signifying the physical relationship between people and the earth that they tend. Importantly for identity processes, Hawaiians see a dynamic, intimate relationship in the reciprocal nature of caring for the land (*mālama ‘aina*) as it cares for the people, much like a family bond (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992).

Naming Practices: Symbolic connections to ancestry, history, and cultural values also are firmly embedded in individual and collective definitions of place. One way that these connections are made explicit is through naming practices associated with land, sea, and heavens. In aboriginal theory, “cultural principles embedded in names illustrate a people’s cognitive relationship with their surroundings” (Kennedy 2002, p. 17). Place names link the past and the present, displaying the interwoven significance of place, history, and personal relationships. Kanahele (1986) points out

that no place with any significance went without a name in Hawaiian tradition. Today, considerable scholarship goes into documenting thousands of place, wind, and rain names in Hawai‘i to preserve the rich legendary and historical significance of places to Hawaiian cultural identity (e.g., Pūku‘i, Elbert and Mo‘okini 1974, Nakuina 1990).

Genealogical Ties to Place: Across the Pacific, identity is borne of establishing ones genealogical ties to ancestral beginnings. Ancestral ties include not only people, but the natural and spiritual worlds. Hawaiian scholar, Kame‘eleihiwa (1992) writes that “Hawaiian identity is...derived from the Kumulipo, the great cosmogonic genealogy. Its essential lesson is that every aspect of the Hawaiian conception of the world is related by birth, and as such, all parts of the Hawaiian world are one indivisible lineage. ...the genealogy of the Land, the Gods, Chiefs, and people intertwine with one another” (p. 2). In Hawaiian tradition, genealogical chants identify the lines of trust and social connection in addition to telling family histories. Kame‘eleihiwa argues that genealogical chants “reveal the Hawaiian orientation to the world about us, in particular, to Land and control of the Land” (p. 3). Ancestral genealogies also carry the names that ground today’s Hawaiians to an honored past, as much as they pave the way to a wiser future (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992).

These traditions are still important to many in contemporary Hawai‘i. It is fairly common practice to identify one’s lineage and where one was raised, including connections to a specific mountain, valley, wind, rain, ocean, and water. Culture-based leadership training, schools, and education programs continue to instill these practices in today’s young Hawaiians (examples include the Pauahi Leadership Institute, Kamehameha Schools, and Kanu o Ka‘aina New Century Charter School).

Articulating these connections in social interactions provides important context for social relationships and negotiations between individuals and groups. It is not uncommon for Hawaiian community meetings to begin with genealogical introductions that interweave the places and people behind each individual in attendance. Found throughout the Pacific islands in various forms, this process often requires a significant amount of time but establishes important relationships for the work to be conducted.

Collective Memories of Place: The importance of place to Hawaiian identity is powered not only by ancestral genealogy, but also by the collective memory of a shared history. Hawai‘i, the place, connects the Hawaiian diaspora through “social relations and a historical memory of cultural beginnings, meanings and practices, as well as crises, upheavals and unjust subjections as a dispossessed and (mis)recognized people” (Halualani 2002, p. xxvi). As with genealogical chants, the public remembering of the shared history of Hawaiians is a catalyst for strengthened identity.⁵ Spickard and Fong (1995, p. 1375) point out that:

there is something incantatory about certain ethnic political speech. It is as invigorating to ethnicity when a Pacific Islander American politician recites the history of abuse that her people have suffered, as when an island spiritual leader chants a genealogy...It is true history, but it is more than that: it is the act of rhetorically, publicly remembering, and thus it serves to strengthen the ethnic bond.

⁵ Indeed, land and identity are interwoven in many Pacific independence movements, including those found in Vanuatu, French Polynesia, New Caledonia, and Hawai‘i (Lindstrom 1999).

In this fashion, the history of colonization and cultural oppression creates a context for shared cognitive understandings that relate identity to place. For example, calling on this understanding, Kame‘eleihiwa writes, “Hawaiians have been in Hawai‘i for at least two thousand years. As harsh as the past two hundred years have been, there is yet hope; we still exist on this earth. After all the horror that has rained down upon us, we are alive. We are a nation of survivors!” (p. 321). And, in the controversial discussion about who is Hawaiian, she points out the difference between those who have been in Hawai‘i for seven generations and those who trace their lineage back 150 generations to the original Polynesian settlers. She writes, “it is not enough to wear a flower lei and kiss people hello to be a Hawaiian. They must experience the pain of our continual degradation, perpetuated upon us by foreigners for the past two hundred years, before they can begin to know who we are” (p. 326).

Together, these cultural practices and social reminders illustrate how place serves as a key connection linking multiracial families and children to their Native Hawaiian heritage, despite the extensive and long-standing multicultural and multiethnic mixing in the state of Hawai‘i. Recent studies suggest that these values reach Hawaiians living outside of Hawai‘i as well as those in Hawai‘i (Oneha 2001, Halualani 2002, Kauanui 1998). Yet, racial identity and surrounding racial identification decisions are affected by the context of a place (Eschbach 1992). A part-Hawaiian parent living in Hawai‘i thus may be especially likely to racially identify as Hawaiian (and not as another race) while living there, and may potentially change this

identification upon moving away from the islands. In other words, the relationship between place and identity is dynamic. The significance of these interrelated processes for our study, we argue, is that the strength of symbolic and physical ties to Hawai‘i – the cultural home – is vital to the perpetuation of Hawaiian racial identification among multiracial children.

PARENTAL INPUTS AND CHILDREN’S RACIAL IDENTITY

Given significant racial mixing among Hawaiians, we explore what conditions lead multiracial individuals to identify as Native Hawaiian. We examine this question from the perspective of parents of multiracial Hawaiian children.⁶ Generally speaking, parents, other family members, and peers play a major role in shaping individual identity (Peterson 1989; Root 1996). For example, research documents the clear link between family practices and identity development of children (Taylor and Oskay 1995, Root 1992, Stevenson 1995); parents who strongly identify with and value their ethnicity desire the same for their children and strive to raise children who value their ethnic heritage (Bowman and Howard 1985, Stevenson, Reed, and Bodison 1996; Liebler 2001). In biracial families, a supportive family environment can help children integrate two identifications of parents and develop a strong self-concept (eg, Miller &

⁶ A measure of interest in parents and children’s identity issues can be quantified by the number of online resources. A search on “parents of multiracial children” using www.google.com generated over 25,000 links, including long lists of written resources about multiracial families. A similar search on “parents and racial identity” revealed more than 10 times that number.

Miller 1990). Without such parental structuring, biracial children are more likely to experience dissonance and isolation (Kitahara Kich 1992).

In families with attachments to multiple ethnic or racial groups, the identity socialization of children can be an area of negotiation and conflict within the family (Root 1992; Spickard 1989). In the early 20th century, multiracial parents commonly encountered views predicting negative consequences for their children, including prejudice, social deprivation, confusion and so on (Spickard 1989). Although some studies document negative effects, many also show evidence of resilience developed in the process of learning to negotiate multiple social contexts (Herman 2004).

Most research on the identity of children in multiracial families focuses on adolescent identity development. This literature suggests several main influences on the identity of multiracial children. The perception of how others perceive them is one important influence on the identity of biracial individuals (Brunsma and Rockquemore 2001). Other studies show that children's identity is defined primarily by which parent they most resemble physically (Herman 2004). Ethnographic interviews with adult children of interracial couples also indicate a full range of parental influences on their identity development. These range from the complete dismissal of ethnic membership by both parents, to being fought over about whose race the child will take, to warm support for either, both, or all ethnicities (see Spickard 1989, Root 1992, Root 1996). Although we are unable to examine the impact of self-perception, phenotype, or family negotiation, we argue that the formation of children's racial identity begins at birth through family teaching, behaviors, and activities -- some of which may be revealed in the choices parents make about what race to call their children.

Several prior studies have examined the choices parents make in reporting the single race of their multiracial children in the U.S. using census data (Xie and Goyette 1997; Liebler 2001; Liebler and Kana'iaupuni 2004; Kana'iaupuni and Malone 2004). These include research on Asian Americans and American Indians who, like Hawaiians, experience high rates of intermarriage (Labov & Jacobs 1986; Parkman & Sawyer 1967). Such studies have shown that racial identification of first-generation multiracial⁷ Asian American and American Indian children is in some sense 'optional' (Xie and Goyette 1997; Liebler 2001). Parents choose to identify roughly half of children in each group as Asian American or American Indian respectively, and about half are identified as the race of their other parent.

Although multiracial families may share some common experiences, several factors may distinguish racial identity processes of Hawaiians compared to Asian Americans and American Indians. Because they are an indigenous population who were only recently colonized, many Hawaiians have strong physical and symbolic ties to the homeland of Hawai'i. Asian Americans, by definition, are separated from their Asian homelands. And, though American Indian reservations are in some ways similar to the state of Hawai'i, the processes leading to current land arrangements were quite distinct for the two groups. Thus, we expect that racial identity choices of mixed-race part-Native Hawaiian people will have somewhat different patterns and correlates than the

⁷ A person is 'first-generation' mixed race if his or her parents are socially-and self-designated to be of different races, no matter what racial mixtures the parents may actually be; 'multigenerational' mixed race people have mixed background only in earlier generations (Daniel 1996).

identities of mixed race part-American Indians and of mixed race part-Asian Americans. On the other hand, Hawaiians have been compared to these other minority groups in other ways (e.g., Fernandez 1996, Braun et al. 1997) and may share some similarities in their patterns.

In light of the identification options that mixed-race families face, our primary research questions are threefold: first, do parents of part-Hawaiian children identify strongly enough with their Hawaiian identity to choose it over other options as the sole race of their children? Second, how are patterns of racial identification related to characteristics of the child, his or her parents and household, and their geographic location? And third, what are the major similarities and differences in patterns of racial identification choices among multiracial Native Hawaiians, American Indian, and Asian American families?

Based on our review of the literature on the role of place and identity among Hawaiians and other indigenous groups, our primary hypothesis is that ancestral ties to the Hawaiian homeland shape the identity choices that Hawaiian parents make for children in multiracial families living in Hawai'i and on the continent. However, we recognize that the spatial context of human interaction may change the meaning of place as a fundamental cognitive process that defines Hawaiian and Pacific identity development (Bronfenbrenner 1979). For example, the experiences of a Hawaiian/Japanese/White family in Japan probably involve a different set of priorities for identity development than a similar family located in the continental USA, or in Hawai'i. In particular, geographic location influences the dynamic social and environmental context within which the meaning of place is negotiated; greater physical

distance from the issues and from binding forces of the ancestral homelands may thereby reduce their importance to identity development. Therefore, we also hypothesize that the significance of Hawai‘i, the place, to Hawaiian identity will be less important among multiracials living outside of Hawai‘i state (note that we are unable to examine the experiences of those living abroad with these data).

DATA AND METHODS

To address our research questions and hypotheses, we use the most recent U.S. Census microdata requiring a single response to the race question: the 1990 Census 5 per cent public use microdata sample (PUMS). We select all never-married children⁸ 17 years old or younger who are living with a Native Hawaiian parent married to a non-Native Hawaiian parent. A child was not included in our analysis sample if his or her race (or a parent’s race) was ‘allocated’ by the Census Bureau, if he or she was Hispanic but neither parent was Hispanic, if both parents were Hispanic but the child was not reported to be, or if he or she was reported to be a race other than that of one of his or her parents.⁹ Overall, this sample of mixed-race part-Hawaiian children and their

⁸ Each child in the sample is the natural or adopted child of one of the parents, not the stepchild, foster child, or child-in-law.

⁹ Very few children were reported to be ‘other race,’ except for children who had an ‘other race’ parent. It would have been interesting to study these children, but because of their small numbers, we were forced to exclude them from our research.

parents permits us to examine the correlates of racial identification among a group of people forced to choose one race over the other.¹⁰

Of the 2,052 children who fit our sample selection criteria, 56.5 per cent were reported as Hawaiian and 43.5 per cent were reported as the race of their non-Native Hawaiian parent. We examine the identification choices made for children in these families, focusing on characteristics of the child, each parent, the household, and the community or state in which the family resides. The primary variables of interest to us center on cultural connections to place and ancestral heritage. Other variables are included as controls in our logistic regression analyses predicting a mixed-race child's racial identification (by parents) as Native Hawaiian.

Child's Characteristics: We hypothesize that both current residence and birthplace in Hawai'i reinforce the strength of ties (see Cornell and Hartmann 1998) to the Hawaiian community and culture. Thus, we include a measure of the child's birthplace and an interaction term showing whether the child was both born in Hawai'i *and* lived there at the time of the 1990 Census. Although each of these variables is labeled a child characteristic, we recognize that place of residence is a choice made by parents, and rarely children.

Parents' Characteristics: Based on our literature review, we hypothesize that strong parental ties to the Hawaiian heritage and culture will have the largest impact on

¹⁰In cases where multiple races were marked on the 1990 census form, the Census Bureau allocated a single race response. There is no way to tell which races were allocated because of multiple responses and which races were allocated because of non-response.

racial identification choices made for children. We operationalize this idea with two variables, Hawaiian birthplace and ancestry.¹¹ Reporting Hawaiian ancestry and Hawaiian race suggests strong racial identification of parents. Yet given high rates of intermarriage among Native Hawaiians, many parents report both Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian ancestries (i.e., they report being of mixed-heritage), others report Hawaiian race and no Hawaiian ancestry, and still others report no Hawaiian race and only Hawaiian ancestry (note that we include the latter among parents with no Hawaiian race but add an indicator for whether they reported Hawaiian ancestry). We argue that these responses represent a progressively weakening continuum of parental ties to their own Hawaiian identity as shown in Figure 1. The continuum in Figure 1 also encompasses individuals with Hawaiian heritage who did not report any Hawaiian race or ancestry in the forced choice scenario, but who might have reported this heritage if they had been able to report more than one race in Census 1990. Based on the results of Census 2000, we can safely surmise that these individuals did exist.

[Figure 1 about here]

Because it is possible that identification processes may vary by the race of the non-Hawaiian parent, we also include separate categories for White, Black, Filipino, Japanese, Other Asian or Pacific Islander (besides Filipino, Japanese or Hawaiian), American Indian, and ‘other race’ parents. For example, phenotypically lighter features may reduce the likelihood that parents will claim Hawaiian identity for their mixed

¹¹ In addition to the census question on race, respondents were asked their ancestry: ‘What is this person’s ancestry or ethnic origin?’. Up to two fill-in-the-blank responses were coded.

White/Hawaiian children, whereas darker phenotype, immigrant status, or ethnic minority membership may increase tolerance for or even desirability of Hawaiian identification.

We include a measure of the birthplace of each parent (foreign-born, born in Hawai'i, or other). We expect that parental birthplace in Hawai'i marks strong ties to Hawaiian identity and the cultural home. This spatial tie may reinforce Hawaiian identification of children, regardless of current residence.

Household Characteristics: Other potential markers of strong ties to Hawaiian racial identity and Hawaiian culture include use of the Hawaiian language in the home, an extended family structure, and the presence of an elder Hawaiian relative in the household. We categorize language as: (1) only English is spoken, (2) Hawaiian language is spoken (in combination with any other languages), and (3) some non-English language is spoken but no Hawaiian is spoken. We expect that extended family households may have greater access to relatives who carry on customs and practices shared by the Hawaiian *'ohana*, or family, thereby strengthening ties to Hawaiian culture and identification. Thus we group parents and children into single or multifamily households and refer to the latter group as 'primary families' if a parent is the householder, and 'subfamilies' if neither parent is the householder. Similarly, we expect stronger Hawaiian identification among families living with relatives who are Hawaiian *kupuna*, elders, who transmit oral history, tradition, and culture in families. Thus, we also specifically measure whether an older Native Hawaiian relative is present in the household. In these data, co-resident Hawaiian elders are almost always grandparents of the child.

Finally, because it adds further complexity to the family's heritage, we also examine the influence of parents' Hispanic origin on the child's identification as Hawaiian. To ease interpretation, we group family members' Hispanic origin into six categories: none, Hawaiian parent only, other parent only, Hawaiian parent and child, other parent and child, or all three are Hispanic.

Community Characteristics: About half of the children in our analysis live in Hawai'i. Because of the expected importance to identity of physical ties to the cultural home, we examine differences between households in Hawai'i and on the U.S. continent. Mainland living may promote assimilation of Western lifestyles and ideologies at the same time as less overall contact with Hawaiians and Hawaiian culture may reduce the likelihood of reporting Hawaiian race. On the other hand, we expect that the presence of other Hawaiians in the area reinforces identity processes and permits greater access to customs, food, language, and traditions that may strengthen cultural pride. Our analysis includes a three-category measure indicating per cent Hawaiians in the state: less than 0.05 per cent; 0.05 per cent to 2 percent; and the state of Hawai'i (over 12 per cent). In 1990, Native Hawaiians comprised less than 2 per cent of the population in all states besides Hawai'i, and ranged from 0.05 per cent to 2 per cent of the population in Alaska, California, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, and Washington.

Control Variables: Other factors have been shown or hypothesized to be related to racial identification among mixed-race individuals. We control for these variables in our logistic regression analyses. At the child level, we control for the child's sex and

age. For each parent, we include measures of: sex, householder status,¹² college experience, occupational status¹³, and military service. At the household level, we control for per capita household income, number of children in the household who fit our sample selection criteria¹⁴, and household structure. Finally, we include a simple measure of whether the family lives in a non-metropolitan area. Results for control variables are shown in the appendix tables.

¹² The householder is the person listed first on the census form. The instructions indicate that this person should be the household member (or one of the members) in whose name the home is owned, is being bought, or is rented. If there is no such person, any adult household member can be reported as ‘person 1’ and is considered the householder (Bureau of the Census 1992). The householder may be especially likely to have filled out the form for others in the household.

¹³ If p is the proportion of people in that occupation who have a college degree, then the occupation’s occupational education score is $\ln(p/1-p)$. See Hauser and Warren (1997) for further explanation of the purpose of this transformation.

¹⁴ Although we estimate clustered models to adjust for multiple children in the household, we also include a measure of the number of children who are in the household and in the sample to check that our conclusions are not affected by this technique. Within family clustering would lead to downwardly biased estimates of standard errors, but should not bias the coefficients. Using sibling models, Xie and Goyette (1997) established that differences in racial identification were greater between families than within families (among siblings).

In the remaining discussion we focus on our three primary research questions: what proportion of parents report their part-Hawaiian child as racially Hawaiian instead of another option? How are patterns of racial identification related to characteristics of the child, his or her parents and household, and their geographic location? And what are the major similarities and differences in patterns of racial identification choices among multiracial Native Hawaiians, American Indian, and Asian American families? In addressing these questions, we test our primary hypothesis that place, captured by ties to Hawai'i, is a key force in the racial identity choices in multiracial families.

We first present the descriptive statistics, followed by a discussion of our multivariate logistic regression analyses predicting whether parents report their mixed-race child's race as Native Hawaiian. We then contrast our results to similar analyses of the racial identities of part-American Indian and part-Asian American children. We end by drawing several conclusions about the processes of racial identification among multiracial children.

FINDINGS

As discussed earlier, we found that a little over one-half (56.5%) of multiracial couples chose to report their part-Hawaiian child as Hawaiian, rather than as the non-Hawaiian parent's race. Like part-American Indians and part-Asians, part-Hawaiian children appear to have racial identities that are affected by factors beyond the racial composition of their families. This answer to our first research question paves the way for the remainder of our analyses. The descriptive and multivariate results in this section address the second research question by examining the child, family, and

geographic attributes associated with Hawaiian identification. We end the section with comparisons to parallel research on part-Asians and part-American Indians, to address our third research question.

Overall, the data suggest patterns consistent with our hypotheses about the role of place in Hawaiian identity processes. In both descriptive and multivariate analyses, stronger ties to Hawai‘i correlate highly with children’s identification as Native Hawaiian. Children in families with seemingly weaker ties to Hawaiian culture and place are more often assigned the race of their non-Hawaiian parent when they are required to report only one race.

Descriptive Results: The descriptive results in Table 1 focus simply on patterns of racial identification by the birthplace and current residence of each parent and of the child. Nearly one-third of the 1,084 Native Hawaiian parents in these data were born in Hawai‘i. In these families, children are often considered Native Hawaiian. Native Hawaiian race is less often reported in families who live away from Hawai‘i (parents were born elsewhere or current family resides elsewhere) and in states with relatively fewer Hawaiians. The descriptive statistics also show that children are more often considered Hawaiian in families where non-Hawaiian parents are foreign born, especially if they reside in Hawai‘i.

[Table 1 about here]

Other ties – to Hawai‘i and to other race/ethnic groups – also influence identification choices, as shown in Table 2 (note: a parallel table describing control variables appears in Appendix Table A). To highlight the powerful interactive effect of

place of residence, we present separate statistics for those children currently living outside of Hawai‘i and those currently living in Hawai‘i.

The reported ancestries of the parents are significantly related to racial identification choices for children. Not surprisingly, Hawaiian racial identification is more common among children with one Hawaiian and one non-Hawaiian parent, but where the latter reports Hawaiian ancestry. These children thus have connections to the Hawaiian people through both parents. Identification as Hawaiian is less common, however, among children whose Hawaiian parent reports non-Hawaiian ancestry (which indicates that this parent has mixed heritage).

The race and Hispanic origin of the non-Hawaiian parent are strongly related to the child’s racial identification in areas outside of Hawai‘i. In these areas, children are usually considered the non-Hawaiian parent’s race if that parent is White and/or if no one in the family group is Hispanic. In contrast, Hawaiian racial identification is relatively likely if this parent is Filipino, Japanese, ‘other race,’ or Hispanic. It is possible that these results may be linked to phenotype. That is, the dark, straight hair and darker skin and eye color common to these other race/ethnic groups may make the child look stereotypically Native Hawaiian, thus enhancing outsiders’ perceptions that the child should be considered Hawaiian. Unfortunately, we are unable to examine this possibility with the current data (and they do not attain statistical significance in the multivariate analyses).

Language use has a complex effect on identification. Entirely English-speaking households on the continent less often report children as Native Hawaiian, whereas Hawaiian children are reported in over half of the mainland families in the sample with

one or more non-English, non-Hawaiian language speakers (e.g., Spanish, Filipino, Japanese). Likely due to small sample sizes, the positive effect of living with a Hawaiian language speaker on identification as Hawaiian is not statistically significant in specific areas but achieves significance in the total sample.

At the state level, it is clear that not everywhere on the continent is the same in terms of racial context for part-Hawaiian families. Rather, there is a continuum; the proportion of children identified as racially Hawaiian is twice as high in states with relatively many Hawaiians (Nevada, Utah, and on the Pacific coast), compared to states with relatively few Hawaiians.

[Table 2 about here]

Multivariate Results: In our multivariate analyses, we examine these complex relationships to understand how patterns of racial identification are related to characteristics of children, families, and geographic location. The multivariate model allows us to test our key hypothesis about the role of place in Hawaiian identification, holding constant other explanatory variables and controls.

Culture and Place: The multivariate logistic regression results in Table 3 show the odds that a child in our sample is reported as Native Hawaiian, relative to the odds that the choice reflects his or her other parent's race. We find weaker Hawaiian identification among children without birth and/or residence ties to Hawai'i, as hypothesized. The odds of Hawaiian identification are twice as high among Hawai'i-born, compared to continental-born, children. Yet, the highest odds of being considered Hawaiian appear among return migrants – children who were born outside of Hawai'i but who migrated 'home.' The experiences of these families raise children's odds of

Hawaiian identification eight times, compared to part-Hawaiian children born on the continent who have not migrated to Hawai‘i.

Highly important to the Hawaiian identification of multiracial children are the Hawaiian identity markers of the parent, including birthplace and reported ancestry. Reduced odds of Hawaiian identity emerge among children whose parents reported a non-Hawaiian ancestry, which might indicate relatively weaker parental ties to Hawaiian identity. On the other hand, Hawaiian identification is dramatically higher among children with parents that have strong physical ties to the Hawaiian ancestral lands, indicated by birthplace. The separate analysis by geographic region shows that children with Hawai‘i-born parents are three times as likely to be considered Native Hawaiian if they live in Hawai‘i, and 1.8 times as likely if they live on the continent, compared to children with a continental-born Hawaiian parent.

Ethnic and racial markers of the non-Hawaiian parent are closely tied to choices made about children’s identification as well. Notable positive effects of Hispanic origin on Hawaiian identification emerge for the few Hispanic families living in Hawai‘i, and in families where the non-Hawaiian parent is of Hispanic origin, but the child is not. We are unsure about how to explain this finding. Among continental families, the non-Hawaiian parent’s Hawai‘i birthplace raises the odds of Hawaiian identification of multiracial children dramatically. We speculate that having a non-Hawaiian parent born in Hawai‘i may increase the family’s overall strength of ties to the ancestral lands and preferences for Hawaiian identification. Japanese/Hawaiian mixed couples living on the continent are more than six times as likely to consider their children Native Hawaiian, compared to otherwise similar White/Hawaiian mixed couples. However,

for other ethnic groups besides Japanese, the race of non-Hawaiian parents is not significantly related to children's identity.

Unexpectedly, language use also is not significantly related to racial identification, once other factors are taken into account. Presently, Hawaiian is an official language of the state of Hawai'i and the number of speakers has risen in recent decades through the work of immersion schools and other initiatives. That language has little influence on Hawaiian identity, however, may attest to the great success of historical efforts to eradicate Hawaiian language and cultural customs. Today, native speakers are mostly the elderly and a handful of young children from the island of Ni'ihau (Kame'eleihiwa 1990).¹⁵

Extended family living is important to Hawaiian identification patterns, as we hypothesized. We find that children in subfamilies living with extended kin are two to three times as likely to have Hawaiian race. And, as expected, Hawaiian identification increases in states containing larger Hawaiian populations. The lowest odds of identification as Native Hawaiian appear among children in states with less than .05 per cent Hawaiians, whereas the highest appear among children residing in Hawai'i.

[Table 3 about here]

Control Variables: Effects for our control variables are reported in Appendix Table B. In brief, we find that Hawaiian identification is significantly more common

¹⁵ Hawaiian language was legislatively banned from all schools from 1896 through the late 1970s, with lasting detrimental effects on the literacy and educational well-being of native Hawaiians (Benham & Heck 1998 -- also see Kana'iaupuni and Ishibashi 2003 for educational profile of today's Hawaiian children in Hawai'i).

among girls living outside Hawai‘i than among otherwise similar boys. Hawaiian identification is also more common among children whose Native Hawaiian parents work in occupations where relatively few people have attended college, or who are (were) in military service. The effect of the Native Hawaiian parent’s military service, we believe, could be due to socialization experiences of Hawaiians in the military as well as key characteristics that reinforce Hawaiian identification, sometimes through self-identity and other times by external labeling imposed by others.

Comparisons with Other Groups: Although our first two research questions focus on the perspective of this one group with a unique historical experience in the United States, our results reflect more general processes that influence the choices made about racial identification in mixed race families. Our third research question broadens the scope by asking whether we can identify major similarities and differences in patterns of racial identification among multiracial Native Hawaiian families compared patterns found in prior analyses about multiracial American Indian and Asian American families. Table 4 summarizes our results compared to those generated by Xie and Goyette (1997) on part-Asian Americans and by Liebler (2001) on multiracial children of Native Americans.

Several patterns emerge suggesting that parents’ ties to their respective ancestral heritage are fundamental to the racial identification of multiracial children in all three groups. Reflecting the importance of context and group-specific experiences, however, different measures mark the strength of those ties for each group. Specifically, we find greater chances of children’s Hawaiian identification in families whose ties are reinforced by geographic links. Hawaiian identity is most likely when a family member

was born in Hawai‘i or reports Hawaiian ancestry, and when families reside in geographic areas containing relatively large numbers of Native Hawaiians. Thus, where children and parents have a strong connection to the Hawaiian islands, Native Hawaiian identification increases.

Similarly, parents with a strong American Indian identity also are more likely to choose American Indian race for their multiracial children. For example, American Indian identification is more common in families where the American Indian parent reports a tribal affiliation and/or reports American Indian ancestry, someone in the home speaks an American Indian language, the mother is American Indian, and/or in families living on or near a reservation (Liebler 2001).

Likewise, among Asian American children: Asian American race prevails especially among children born in Asia, with an Asian father, with a parent who speaks Chinese or Japanese language, and/or with relatively many Asians in the local community (Xie and Goyette 1997). Overall, we see similar, but not identical, processes among other American minority groups. The findings suggest that the precursors to intergenerational transmission of ethnic identity depend crucially on strong parental and geographic ties to the ancestral lands.

[Table 4 about here]

CONCLUSIONS

This study contributes to the expanding body of research on racial identity processes of a rapidly growing component of the American population – multiracial individuals. Consistent with our hypotheses, the main findings showed that where individuals have

both Hawaiian and other racial heritages, physical and symbolic ties to the land of Hawai‘i are key to Hawaiian racial identification. The deep cultural value that Hawaiians place on physical and spiritual connections to the land, the importance of genealogical family and ancestral ties, and the underpinning effects of colonization all heighten the role of place in Hawaiian racial identification processes in mixed-race households. Our findings also suggested important social significance attached to returning home to Hawai‘i for the construction of racial identity, yet we found no statistical relationship between Hawaiian identification and language use. We are continuing to explore these findings in greater depth in future research with various data sources, including the Census 2000 (see Kana‘iaupuni and Malone 2004).

Overall, our results contribute to a broader understanding of the complex processes that lead to identification with and the perpetuation of race/ethnic minority groups. The underlying similarities in racial identification processes of different multiracial groups permit consideration of more theoretically useful patterns (such as the importance of personal connections to a cultural sanctuary) among specifically predictive factors (such as residence in Hawaii). Our results suggest that, as the first major influence in children’s racial identity formation, parental inputs are critically tied to their own cultural and familial experiences and identity processes. Moreover, because of the different ways in which these patterns emerge within different minority groups, it is clear that research on the specific mechanisms that lead to racial identification patterns must attend to the group-specific context of western contact and experience. Understanding these dynamics is important to the survival of indigenous peoples such as Hawaiians who face serious threats to their culture, language and

tradition. A critical lesson learned is that strengthening ties to place may meaningfully affect the intergenerational transmission of indigenous identity and culture.

Figure 1:

Hypothesized Continuum of Strength of Hawaiian Identity

based on Reports of Single Race and Ancestry

	Hawaiian race	Non-Hawaiian race
Hawaiian ancestry	Strongest (1)	Weak (3)
No Hawaiian ancestry	Strong (2)	Weakest (4)

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Table 1
Number and Percentage of Children considered Racially Hawaiian, by the Birthplace and Current Residence of Parents and Children

	Parents' Birthplace											
	Hwn born HI		Hwn born HI		Hwn born HI		Hwn born Elsewhere		Hwn born Elsewhere		Hwn born Elsewhere	
	Oth born HI		Oth born Oth.US		Oth Foreign born		Oth born HI		Oth born Oth.US		Oth Foreign born	
	% of kids		% of kids		% of kids		% of kids		% of kids		% of kids	
	Hawaiian	N	Hawaiian	N	Hawaiian	N	Hawaiian	N	Hawaiian	N	Hawaiian	N
Child born in Hawai'i												
Current Residence												
Hawai'i	68.0%	644	74.5%	227	76.2%	84	39.4%	33	50.0%	16	77.8%	9
0.05% to 2% Hawaiians	87.5%	8	66.7%	27	75.0%	16	0.0%	2	--	0	--	0
Less Than 0.05% Hawaiians	66.7%	6	37.5%	16	66.7%	6	--	0	25.0%	4	--	0
Child born outside Hawai'i												
Current Residence												
Hawai'i	83.3%	12	71.8%	39	94.1%	17	100.0%	1	100.0%	2	--	0
0.05% to 2% Hawaiians	100.0%	15	53.9%	308	57.1%	49	0.0%	2	35.1%	131	40.0%	20
Less Than 0.05% Hawaiians	100.0%	1	21.1%	43	33.3%	24	80.0%	5	26.4%	106	27.8%	18

Hwn = Hawaiian Parent
Oth = Non-Hawaiian Parent
HI = the state of Hawai'i

Note: All eligible children in a household were included in the data.

Table 2
Racial Identification as Native Hawaiian of Part-Hawaiian Children¹, by Current Residence
Primary Variables²

	Living in Hawaii		Living Elsewhere		Total	
	% of kids Hawaiian	N	% of kids Hawaiian	N	% of kids Hawaiian	N
Overall Distribution						
<i>Number of Each Race</i>	756	1,084	404	968	1,160	2,052
<i>Percent of Each Race</i>	69.7%	--	41.7%	--	56.5%	--
Child's Characteristics						
<i>Birthplace and Residence</i>						
Born in HI, Lives in HI Now	69.0%	* 1,013	--	--	69.0%	* 1,013
Born in HI, Lives Elsewhere Now	--	--	61.2%	* 85	61.2%	85
Born Elsewhere, Lives in HI Now	80.3%	* 71	--	--	80.3%	* 71
Born Elsewhere, Lives Else. Now	--	--	39.9%	* 883	39.9%	* 883
Hawaiian Parent's Characteristics						
<i>Hawaiian Ancestry Reported</i>						
Any Hawaiian Ancestry	71.0%	* 1,014	42.4%	819	58.2%	* 1,833
No Hawaiian Ancestry	51.4%	* 70	38.3%	149	42.5%	* 219
<i>Non-Hawaiian Ancestry Reported</i>						
Any Non-Hwn. Ancestry	63.2%	* 470	38.4%	* 532	50.0%	* 1,002
No Non-Hwn. Ancestry	74.8%	* 614	45.9%	* 436	62.8%	* 1,050
<i>Born in Hawaii</i>						
Born in Hawaii	70.9%	* 1,023	45.9%	* 680	60.9%	* 1,703
Not Born in Hawaii	50.8%	* 61	31.9%	* 288	35.2%	* 349
Non-Hawaiian Parent's Characteristics						
<i>Race</i>						
White	71.4%	507	35.1%	* 718	50.1%	* 1,225
Black	73.1%	26	38.7%	31	54.4%	57
Filipino	66.7%	207	63.9%	* 36	66.3%	* 243
Japanese	67.1%	164	88.2%	* 17	69.1%	* 181
Other Asian/PI (not Filip. or Jap.)	67.7%	136	52.3%	65	62.7%	201
American Indian	77.8%	9	61.9%	21	66.7%	30
"Other Race"	80.0%	35	68.8%	* 80	72.2%	* 115
<i>Hawaiian Ancestry Reported</i>						
Any Hawaiian Ancestry	72.5%	109	44.4%	9	70.3%	* 118
No Hawaiian Ancestry	69.4%	975	41.7%	959	55.7%	* 1,934
<i>Born in Hawaii</i>						
Born in Hawaii	67.0%	* 690	79.5%	* 39	67.6%	* 729
Not Born in Hawaii	74.6%	* 394	40.2%	* 929	50.4%	* 1,323
<i>Foreign Born</i>						
Born in the United States	68.7%	* 974	40.6%	835	55.7%	* 1,809
Born Outside the United States	79.1%	* 110	48.9%	133	62.6%	* 243

continued...

Table 2, continued
Racial Identification as Native Hawaiian of Part-Hawaiian Children¹, by Current Residence
Primary Variables²

	Living in Hawaii		Living Elsewhere		Total	
	% of kids Hawaiian	N	% of kids Hawaiian	N	% of kids Hawaiian	N
Household Characteristics						
<i>Languages Spoken in Household</i>						
English Only	69.0%	865	38.4%	* 750	54.8%	* 1,615
Hawaiian is spoken	79.4%	63	52.7%	55	67.0%	* 118
A Non-Engl., Non-Hwn. Language	69.9%	156	53.4%	* 163	61.4%	319
<i>Household Composition</i>						
Single Family Household	69.3%	948	40.8%	* 930	55.2%	* 1,878
Primary Family, Multifamily HH	65.0%	40	75.0%	* 24	68.8%	* 64
Subfamily, Multifamily HH	76.0%	96	50.0%	* 14	72.7%	* 110
Native Hawaiian Older Relative in HH	84.6%	13	25.0%	4	70.59	17
<i>Hispanic Origin of Family Members</i>						
None are Hispanic	68.1%	* 903	38.0%	* 795	54.0%	* 1,698
Hawaiian parent only is Hispanic	75.0%	12	46.2%	13	60.0%	25
Other parent only is Hispanic	75.9%	29	81.8%	* 22	78.4%	* 51
HI parent and Kid are Hispanic	75.5%	49	46.7%	30	64.6%	79
Other parent and Kid are Hispanic	73.9%	65	64.3%	* 84	68.5%	* 149
All are Hispanic	96.2%	* 26	41.7%	24	70.0%	50
Community Characteristics						
<i>Percent Hawaiians in State</i>						
State Has Less Than 0.05% Hwns.	--	--	26.7%	* 390	26.7%	* 390
State Has 0.05% to 2% Hwns.	--	--	51.9%	* 578	51.9%	* 578
State is Hawaii (over 12% Hwns.)	69.7%	1,084	--	--	69.7%	* 1,084

¹ In this article, "children" are never married, under 18 years old, and living with at least one Native Hawaiian parent who is related to (or is) the householder and who is married to a non-Native Hawaiian. The child is the natural or adopted child of the Native Hawaiian, not the stepchild, foster child, or child-in-law.

² See Appendix Table A for parallel statistics about control variables.

Note: Data (1990 Census 5% PUMS) are unweighted because they are not representative of all households. Statistics describe the sample used for logistic regressions reported in Table 3/Appendix B. All eligible children in a household were included in the data, but this bias is taken into consideration in the regression models.

* = Chi-squared test or t-test shows differences within the geographic area to be significantly different from the mean (at the $p \leq 0.05$ level).

Table 3
 Logistic Regressions Predicting the Racial Identification of Part-Hawaiian Children ¹ :
 Child's Odds of Being Considered Native Hawaiian as Opposed to the Other Parent's Race
 Primary Variables ²

	Living In Hawaii		Living Outside Hawaii		Total	
	Odds Ratio	Z	Odds Ratio	Z	Odds Ratio	Z
Child's Characteristics						
<i>Birthplace and Residence</i>						
Born in Hawaii, Lives in Hawaii Now	0.78	-0.54	(all live outside HI)		5.39	6.47
Born in Hawaii, Lives Outside HI Now	(all live in HI)		1.79	1.74	1.90	2.01
Born Outside Hawaii, Lives in HI Now	--	--	(all live outside HI)		8.01	4.27
Born Outside HI, Lives Outside HI Now	(all live in HI)		--	--	--	--
Hawaiian Parent's Characteristics						
Reports Hawaiian Ancestry	2.23	1.82	1.12	0.36	1.48	1.51
Reports Non-Hawaiian Ancestry	0.62	-2.07	0.78	-1.05	0.67	-2.51
Was Born in Hawaii	3.25	2.60	1.67	2.04	1.81	2.74
Non-Hawaiian Parent's Characteristics						
<i>Race</i>						
White	--	--	--	--	--	--
Black	0.75	-0.29	0.98	-0.04	1.15	0.26
Filipino	0.96	-0.12	1.76	1.00	1.19	0.65
Japanese	0.97	-0.09	6.98	2.07	1.37	1.03
Other Asian/PI (not Filip. or Japanese)	0.62	-1.07	1.38	0.54	1.11	0.31
American Indian	0.85	-0.17	2.43	1.22	2.21	1.34
"Other Race"	1.83	0.80	2.09	1.12	1.77	1.21
Reports Hawaiian Ancestry	1.51	0.96	0.26	-1.56	1.16	0.40
Was Born in Hawaii	0.82	-0.61	4.82	2.19	0.90	-0.42
Was Born Outside the United States	2.18	1.51	1.04	0.10	1.35	1.05
Household Characteristics						
<i>Languages Spoken in Household</i>						
English Only	--	--	--	--	--	--
Hawaiian is spoken	1.33	0.54	1.31	0.59	1.18	0.50
A Non-Engl., Non-Hwn. Language	0.98	-0.07	1.04	0.12	1.06	0.26
<i>Household Composition</i>						
Single Family Household	--	--	--	--	--	--
Primary Family, Multifamily HH	0.54	-1.37	4.48	2.07	1.39	0.79
Subfamily, Multifamily HH	2.74	2.41	2.58	1.20	2.32	2.35
continued...						

Table 3

*Logistic Regressions Predicting the Racial Identification of Part-Hawaiian Children¹:
Child's Odds of Being Considered Native Hawaiian as Opposed to the Other Parent's Race
Primary Variables²*

	Living In Hawaii		Living Outside Hawaii		Total	
	Odds Ratio	Z	Odds Ratio	Z	Odds Ratio	Z
Household Characteristics, cont.						
Native Hawaiian Older Relative Present in HH	4.16	1.10	0.28	-0.87	1.46	0.40
<i>Hispanic Origin of Family Members</i>						
None are Hispanic	--	--	--	--	--	--
Hawaiian parent only is Hispanic	1.34	0.35	1.26	0.29	1.26	0.42
Other parent only is Hispanic	2.29	1.30	5.24	2.29	3.00	2.02
Hawaiian parent and Kid are Hispanic	1.70	0.98	2.17	1.50	1.71	1.40
Other parent and Kid are Hispanic	1.11	0.18	2.13	1.61	1.63	1.28
All are Hispanic	21.46	2.90	0.74	-0.38	2.09	1.55
Community Characteristics						
<i>Outside Hawaii: Percent Hawaiians in State</i>						
State Has Less Than 0.05% Hawaiians	(all live in HI)		--	--	--	--
State Has 0.05% to 2% Hawaiians	(all live in HI)		2.79	4.41	2.68	4.37
Constant	1.48	0.18	0.04	-1.69	0.17	-1.35
Log Likelihood	-592.8		-544.6		-1195.4	
df	40		40		43	
N	1,084		967		2,052	

¹ In this article, "children" are never married, under 18 years old, and living with at least one Native Hawaiian parent who is related to (or is) the householder and who is married to a non-Native Hawaiian. The child is the natural or adopted child of the Native Hawaiian, not the stepchild, foster child, or child-in-law.

² Note that other variables are included in the model; they are shown in Appendix Table B.

Note: Data (1990 Census 5% PUMS) are unweighted because they are not representative of all households. All eligible children in a household were included in the data; this bias is taken into consideration in the regression models. A z-score (which is the ratio between the coefficient and the standard error) whose absolute value is greater than 1.96 indicates that the effect is significant at the $p \leq 0.05$ level.

Table 4

Comparison of Significant Factors Affecting Racial Identification of Children Who Are Mixed-Race, Part-Native Hawaiian, Part-American Indian, or Part-Asian American

	Effect on mixed-race child's identification as		
	Native Hawaiian ^a	American Indian ^b	Asian American ^c
Child's Characteristics			
Sex is male	-	n.s.	n.s.
Age	n.s.	+	n.s.
Born in Hawai'i or in Asia	+		+
Hwn, AI, or AA Parent's Char.s			
Is considered the householder	n.s.	+	
Sex is male	n.s.	-	+
Education	n.s.	+	+
Specific tribe or nationality			
Blackfoot, Cherokee, tribe not specified		-	
Navajo, Pueblo		+	
Other tribes		n.s.	
Japanese or Chinese			+
Asian Ind., Kor., Filip., SE Asian, Oth. Asian			-
Pacific Islander			n.s.
Reported Hwn or AI ancestry	+		+
Other Parent's Characteristics			
Race			
White	n.s.	n.s.	+
Black	n.s.	n.s.	-
Japanese	n.s.		
mixed-race	n.s.	+	
Hispanic origin	+ / n.s. ^a	+ / n.s. ^c	-
Ancestry is Hwn, AI, or AA	n.s.	n.s.	+
Racial Composition of Community			
Percent of Hwn, AI, or AA in area	+	n.s.	+

Note: "+" and "-" indicate that a significantly positive or negative effect was found. "n.s." indicates that the variable was included in the analysis but was not significant. A blank space indicates that the variable was not included in the regression analysis. Subfamilies are excluded in each of the studies compared here.

^a Selections from Table 3 ('total' column), above.

^b Selections from Liebler 2001, Table 4.7

^c Selections from Xie and Goyette 1997, Table 3.

^e Effect is significantly positive only if the non-Hawaiian parent is of Hispanic origin, but the child is not reported to be Hispanic.

^e Effect is significantly positive for parents whose race is "other" and whose ancestry is Central/South American. Effect is not significant when measured by parent's answers to the Hispanic origin question.

Appendix Table A
Racial Identification as Native Hawaiian of Part-Hawaiian Children¹, by Current Residence
Control Variables²

	Living in Hawaii		Living Elsewhere		Total				
	% of kids Hawaiian	N	% of kids Hawaiian	N	% of kids Hawaiian	N			
Overall Distribution									
<i>Number of Each Race</i>	756	1,084	404	968	1,160	2,052			
<i>Percent of Each Race</i>	69.7%	--	41.7%	--	56.5%	--			
Child's Characteristics									
<i>Sex</i>									
Female	70.3%	502	44.9%	463	58.1%	965			
Male	69.2%	582	38.8%	505	55.1%	1,087			
<i>Age (mean)</i>	8.5 years	*	--	8.0 years	--	8.3 years	*	--	
Hawaiian Parent's Characteristics									
<i>Householder</i>									
Hawaiian Parent is Householder	76.3%	*	523	47.9%	*	474	62.7%	*	997
Hawaiian Parent is not H'holder	63.6%	*	561	35.8%	*	494	50.6%	*	1,055
<i>Sex</i>									
Female	64.4%	*	581	35.8%	*	486	51.4%	*	1,067
Male	76.3%	*	501	47.7%	*	482	62.3%	*	983
<i>Both Householder and Male</i>									
Householder and Male	76.6%	*	435	49.2%	*	437	62.8%	*	872
Non-Householder and/or Female	65.2%	*	649	35.6%	*	531	51.9%	*	1,180
<i>Education</i>									
Less Than HS Graduation	63.2%		114	46.9%		130	54.5%		244
HS Graduation or GED	70.8%		510	39.9%		286	59.7%	*	796
Some College, No Degree	70.7%		246	47.1%	*	306	57.6%		552
Any College Degree	69.6%		214	34.6%	*	246	50.9%	*	460
<i>Occupational Status (unweighted mean subst. if never worked)</i>									
Proportion in Occ. w/ Some Col.	0.507	--		0.493	*	--	0.502	*	--
Mean Occupational Educ. Score	0.088	--		0.014	*	--	0.062		--
Never Worked so No Occ. Status	69.2%		78	34.3%		70	52.7%		148
Has Ever Worked	69.8%		1,006	42.3%		898	56.8%		1,904
<i>Military Service</i>									
Ever Served in U.S. Military	74.9%		223	50.7%	*	231	62.6%	*	454
No Military Service	64.8%		861	38.9%	*	737	54.8%	*	1,598

continued...

Appendix Table A, continued
Racial Identification as Native Hawaiian of Part-Hawaiian Children¹, by Current Residence
Control Variables²

	Living in Hawaii		Living Elsewhere		Total	
	% of kids Hawaiian	N	% of kids Hawaiian	N	% of kids Hawaiian	N
Non-Hawaiian Parent's Characteristics						
<i>Education</i>						
Less Than HS Graduation	73.3%	146	47.1%	119	61.5%	265
HS Graduation or GED	67.5%	452	43.4%	302	57.8%	754
Some College, No Degree	74.3%	222	43.2%	280	57.0%	502
Any College Degree	67.8%	264	36.0%	* 267	51.8%	* 531
<i>Occupational Status (unweighted mean subst. if never worked)</i>						
Proportion in Occ. w/ Some Col.	0.519	* --	0.563	--	0.534	--
Mean Occupational Educ. Score	0.183	* --	0.362	--	0.245	--
Never Worked so No Occ. Status	66.7%	75	54.4%	* 92	59.9%	167
Has Ever Worked	70.0%	1,009	40.4%	* 876	56.2%	1,885
<i>Military Service</i>						
Ever Served in U.S. Military	67.1%	258	40.2%	249	53.9%	507
No Military Service	70.6%	826	42.3%	719	57.4%	1,545
Household-Level Characteristics						
<i>Number of Children in Household in Data</i>						
Mean Number	2.9 kids	* --	2.6 kids	* --	2.8 kids	* --
<i>Income (unweighted mean subst. for no income)</i>						
Mean Per Capita Household Income	\$9,120	--	\$10,412	--	\$9,570	--
No Household Income	33.3%	6	--	1	28.6%	7
Any Household Income	69.9%	1,078	41.8%	967	56.6%	2,045
Community Characteristics						
<i>Region/Division of State</i>						
Midwestern State	--	--	32.7%	* 104	32.7%	* 104
Northeastern State	--	--	18.2%	* 66	18.2%	* 66
Southern State	--	--	18.8%	* 170	18.8%	* 170
Western/Mountain State	--	--	50.4%	* 115	50.4%	115
Western/Pacific State (except HI)	--	--	52.2%	* 513	52.2%	* 513
Hawaii	69.7%	1,084	--	--	69.7%	* 1,084
<i>Metropolitan Area</i>						
In a Metropolitan Area	70.6%	636	42.1%	840	54.4%	* 1,476
In a Non-Metropolitan Area	68.5%	448	39.1%	128	62.0%	* 576

¹ In this article, "children" are never married, under 18 years old, and living with at least one Native Hawaiian parent who is related to (or is) the householder and who is married to a non-Native Hawaiian. The child is the natural or adopted child of the Native Hawaiian, not the stepchild, foster child, or child-in-law.

² See Table 2 for parallel statistics about primary variables of interest.

Note: Data (1990 Census 5% PUMS) are unweighted because they are not representative of all households. Statistics describe the sample used for logistic regressions reported in Table 3/Appendix B. All eligible children in a household were included in the data, but this bias is taken into consideration in the regression models.

* = Chi-squared test or t-test shows differences within the geographic area to be significantly different from the mean (at the $p \leq 0.05$ level).

Appendix Table B
Logistic Regressions Predicting the Racial Identification of Part-Hawaiian Children¹ :
Child's Odds of Being Considered Native Hawaiian as Opposed to the Other Parent's Race
Control Variables²

	Living In Hawaii		Living Outside Hawaii		Total	
	Odds Ratio	Z	Odds Ratio	Z	Odds Ratio	Z
Child's Characteristics						
Is Female	1.15	1.04	1.38	2.08	1.24	2.14
Age	1.03	1.57	0.99	-0.33	1.01	0.98
Hawaiian Parent's Characteristics						
Is Considered the Householder	2.17	1.83	1.12	0.18	1.45	1.16
Is Male	1.11	0.21	0.69	-0.68	1.02	0.05
Householder and Male	1.07	0.10	2.06	0.89	1.30	0.56
<i>Education</i>						
HS Graduation/GED or Less	--	--	--	--	--	--
Any College Experience	0.93	-0.28	1.20	0.72	1.10	0.55
<i>Occupational Status (unweighted mean subst. if never worked)</i>						
Occupational Education	1.15	0.99	0.75	-2.99	0.90	-1.35
Never Worked so No Occ. Status	1.02	0.04	0.61	-1.16	0.79	-0.73
Any Military Service	0.95	-0.16	1.76	2.06	1.24	1.04
Non-Hawaiian Parent's Characteristics						
<i>Education</i>						
HS Graduation/GED or Less	--	--	--	--	--	--
Any College Experience	1.02	0.08	1.05	0.21	1.00	0.01
<i>Occupational Status (unweighted mean subst. if never worked)</i>						
Occupational Education	1.18	1.56	1.06	0.56	1.13	1.71
Never Worked so No Occ. Status	0.57	-1.25	1.19	0.41	0.82	-0.62
Any Military Service	1.09	0.28	1.41	1.15	1.28	1.19
Household Characteristics						
Number of Children in Household in Data	1.13	0.74	1.10	0.93	1.11	1.25
<i>Income (unweighted mean subst. for no income)</i>						
Log of Per Capita Household Income	0.79	-1.15	1.07	0.34	0.90	-0.78
No Household Income	0.07	-1.55	(see note)		0.19	-1.14
Community Characteristics						
In a Metropolitan Area	1.10	0.40	0.94	-0.19	1.02	0.08
Constant	1.48	0.18	0.04	-1.69	0.17	-1.35
Log Likelihood	-592.8		-544.6		-1195.4	
df	40		40		43	
N	1,084		967		2,052	

¹ In this article, "children" are never married, under 18 years old, and living with at least one Native Hawaiian parent who is related to (or is) the householder and who is married to a non-Native Hawaiian. The child is the natural or adopted child of the Native Hawaiian, not the stepchild, foster child, or child-in-law.

² Note that other variables are included in the model; they are shown in Table 3.

Note: Data (1990 Census 5% PUMS) are unweighted because they are not representative of all households. All eligible children in a household were included in the data; this bias is taken into consideration in the regression models. A z-score (which is the ratio between the coefficient and the standard error) whose absolute value is greater than 1.96 indicates that the effect is significant at the $p \leq 0.05$ level.

The only family living outside of Hawaii who had no household income considered their child non-Hawaiian. This variable was dropped in this regression and the final N was reduced by 1.

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