

Homelands and Indigenous Identities in a Multiracial Era

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Although multiple-race responses are now allowed on federal forms like the census, most interracially married single-race parents report their children as single race. I argue that homelands – physical places with cultural meaning – are an important component of the intergenerational transfer of a single-race identity in multiracial families. I make my case by focusing on families with an interracially married American Indian who was living with his or her spouse and child in 2000 (Census 2000 5% PUMS). Logistic regression reveals that there is a strong effect of living in an American Indian homeland on the child's chances of being reported as single-race American Indian. This effect remains even after accounting for family connections to American Indians and other groups, family and area poverty levels, geographic isolation, and the racial composition of the area. The intergenerational transmission of strong indigenous identities can continue in this multiracial era (as it has for centuries) in the context of culturally meaningful physical places.

Relationships to culturally meaningful physical places – or ‘homelands’ – can be integral to the development and maintenance of identity as an individual and as a member of a community (Tönnies [1897] 1988; Holm et al. 2003). Physical places are especially important to individual and community identities among indigenous people still living in or near their ancestral homelands (Memmott and Long 2002; Tsosie 2003; Varese 2003; Kana’iaupuni and Malone 2006) and American Indians in the United States are among those for whom connections to homeland areas are cited as a core source of identity (Evers and Zepeda 1995; Weaver 2001; Churchill 2002). In this study, I investigate sources of the enduring relationship between living in a homeland area and the intergenerational transmission of indigenous identity by interracially-married American Indians.

For most American Indian tribes, tribally-specific creation stories, traditions, religious ceremonies, and language are intimately linked to specific places such as particular mountains or lakes (Ortiz 1969; Weaver 2001; Carmean 2002; Memmott and Long 2002). Community-level conceptions of who they are as a people are tied to the land from which they came (Champagne 2003; Holm et al. 2003) in a way that is rooted in traditional knowledge. For many, these connections stretch into the present to deeply affect individuals’ self-conceptions, experiences, and ability to practice their religions (Evers and Zepeda 1995; Brown 1999; Martin 2001).

There are also more general reasons that homelands can affect identities in powerful ways. In the case of reservations (one kind of homeland included in this study), physical boundaries provide a manifestation of the ethnic group boundary maintenance discussed in Barth (1969) and provide one distinction between “us” and “them” (Weaver 2001). Concentration in a place is important for groups’ replication via patterns in racial partnering and family formation and the process of teaching children how to identify racially, among other things (Allen and Turner 1997; Wong 1998, 1999; Lichter et al. 2007).

A contrasting view asserts that traditional values, religions, and languages no longer have the power to affect most American Indian identities, given the vagaries of the past 500

years. Instead, contemporary trends and social forces may have disconnected individuals from a strong sense of 'place' (Relph 1976). Many current tribal lands are far from the tribe's pre-Columbian homelands (Frantz 1999) and specific information about land is sometimes lost or heavily disputed (e.g., the Lumbee in Blu 2001). Homeland-related knowledge (e.g., of creation stories, languages, and specifics of the landscape) is sparsely distributed in the American Indian population after centuries of educational focus elsewhere (Lomawaima and McCarty 2006). Two-thirds of American Indians lived outside of reservations or designated American Indian statistical areas in 2000 (Ogunwole 2006). And participating in pan-tribal organizations, which are usually not linked to particular homeland areas, is relatively common (Nagel 1996).

Contemporary trends and social forces may also turn the focus away from strong single-race identities in general. Continuing a long-standing trend, more than half of American Indian marriages are racially exogamous (Eschbach 1995; Sandefur and Liebler 1997; Liebler 2004b). At the same time, hegemonic rules forcing single racial identification on official forms are weakening (Office of Management and Budget 1997), increasing the chances of a biracial resolution to multiracials' identity questions (Root 1990; Mihesuah 1998).

So, do homelands still have a tight relationship with strong indigenous identities? The answer seems to be 'yes'. The fact is that, for whatever reason, homeland areas house more single-race American Indians (Snipp 2002) and experience smaller fluctuations in measured population size when measurement methods change (Eschbach 1995). What is it about a homeland area that makes it so special to the maintenance and transmission of a strong identity? Is it really the homeland itself – its cultural, religious, or spiritual significance to the group – that matters? Or is it some other characteristic of the places or the people that underlies the evident relationship between homeland areas and strong identities?

Four distinctive characteristics of American Indian homeland areas stand out as potentially related to successful intergenerational transmission of a strong indigenous identity in a multiracial context. I explore the following possibilities: (1) family connections to other

American Indians are especially likely, (2) family connections to other race/ethnic groups are especially unlikely, (3) high rates of poverty provide a racial minority perspective, experience, and identity, and (4) identity formation experiences in racially homogenous rural areas are different than experiences elsewhere in the United States.

Perhaps the relationship between homelands and the indigenous identities of multiracial American Indians is because families in homelands have strong and various connections to other American Indians. Root (1990) showed that multiracial children are less likely to reject that part of their heritage that is judged negatively by society if that parent has pride in his or her race, among other factors. Homeland areas may draw or retain those American Indians who are particularly interested in their cultural heritage (Eschbach 1995; Kana'iaupuni and Liebler 2005; Kana'iaupuni and Malone 2006), and these same people may be especially effective in passing this identity on to their children.

The relationship between homelands and identities could also reflect another kind of selection effect, rather than a causal link. Relatively few blacks, Asians, and foreign-born individuals are part of American Indian families living in homelands; instead, most residents are American Indian and/or native-born whites (Lichter et al. 2007). American Indian-black multiracial children are still very likely to identify as black only or part-black, rather than American Indian (Davis 1991; Jones 1994; Roth 2005; Campbell 2007), while whiteness is often discounted or ignored as a background when minority heritage is also present (Qian 2004; Liebler 2001). Children of mixed marriages are also likely to be identified as the same race as a parent who was born abroad or who speaks a non-English language (Xie and Goyette 1997; Liebler 2004b; Kana'iaupuni and Liebler 2005)

Unemployment, poverty, and low wage employment are tremendous on and near reservations (Bureau of Indian Affairs 2001) and education levels of American Indians are lower in homeland areas than in other areas of the United States (Ogunwole 2006). Prior research on the identity development of multiracial individuals shows that the higher one's social class, the

less likely he or she is to relate to minority status or identify with a 'lower status' racial identity, given a choice (Daniel 2002; Rockquemore and Brunnsma 2001; Yancey 2003). Multiracial white-American Indians in poor families may be able to relate to minority status better than those with higher incomes. Similarly, those who live in poor areas (or areas with low average education, as in Qian 2004) may also feel especially connected to minority status.

Reservations and other American Indian homeland areas are often quite rural and isolated, primarily house American Indians and whites (as well as multiracial American Indian-whites), and hold few other racial/ethnic minorities (Lichter et al. 2007). The racial composition of the personal social network (Herman 2004) or the local area (Xie and Goyette 1997; Liebler 2004b; Qian 2004) often influences the racial identification of multiracial individuals. Those with more whites in their personal social network are likely to report themselves as multiracial or white, while those with more minorities in their personal social networks are likely to report themselves as minority. (Herman 2004). And local area minority concentration increases the likelihood that a biracial child will be identified as a minority (Liebler 2004b; Qian 2004).

Do we see evidence of the impact of homelands as culturally meaningful physical places once these four other factors are taken into account? To study the impact of homeland residence on racial identification, I leverage the relative identificational freedom of multiracial children of interracial married American Indians. As co-residential children of parents of two different races, these children's identity development may take any of a variety of routes (Root 1990; Mihesuah 1998) and the influence of extra-personal factors on identity may be particularly profound.

Data

The Census 2000 5% PUMS is an excellent resource to test the idea that homelands themselves are important in the intergenerational transmission of strong indigenous identities. I drew my sample from the Census 2000 5% Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS), accessed

through IPUMS.org. Except accidental undercounting, these data encompass all interracially married American Indians in the country, as well as every member of their household. The census long-form questionnaire allowed all people to mark as many races as necessary to describe themselves and also asked about each person's tribal affiliation, ancestry, language, birthplace, and income. Important family-level, household-level, and community-level context measures can be calculated using this information.

The level of geographic detail available in the 5% PUMS data is limited for the sake of confidentiality. However, these particular data provide the most detailed geographic information available in an individual-level data resource provided by the Census Bureau: the Public Use Microdata Area, or PUMA, which is a state-specific area containing between 100,000 and 199,999 total population. As discussed below, I consider families to live in a 'homeland' if their PUMA of residence includes an official American Indian or Alaska Native area.

Sample

For this study of the intergenerational transmission of strong indigenous identity despite the individual's multiracial background, I focus on the families of interracially married single-race American Indians. I view American Indian adults' decision to report a single race as an active and substantially political decision. Given the very high rates of American Indian interracial unions for the past 500 years, relatively few of the 4.1 million American Indians in 2000 truly have only indigenous ancestors in genetic terms (see Skinner 2006). For those with mixed heritage, identifying as single-race is a way to communicate the importance of this identity to outsiders and perhaps also to themselves (Barth 1969). About 56% of American Indians reported this as their only race in 2000; I see this as a clear source-group for the intergenerational transmission of strong native identities.

About 697,000 single-race American Indians responded to the race question, were over age 15, were married, and were living with their spouse in 2000. Only 44.6% of these American

Indians were married to another American Indian (single- or multiple-race), while the other 55.4% were interracially married. Of the approximately 377,000 couples involving an interracially married single-race American Indian who was either the householder or the householder's spouse, about 200,000 lived with at least one biological child. Rather than adjusting standard errors for extremely high intra-household correlation of children's reported race(s), I include only one eligible child per family in the analyses.¹ My final sample of 10,886 cases can be weighted to represent 199,873 triads of (a) an interracially married single-race American Indian, (b) his or her spouse, and (c) one of their children. To assure that my analyses address families' actual race responses, I excluded triads in which anyone's race was allocated by the Census Bureau, the family lived in group quarters, the child was given a non-positive sampling weight, or neither parent was the householder.

Measures

Dependent Variable: Child Reported as Only American Indian

The purpose of this research is to understand the role of homelands in the transmission of a strong identity as American Indian. A race report on the census form is certainly not a nuanced measure of racial identity, but it offers important insights into how families self-present themselves and their children. Specifically, I argue that it is meaningful when a parent² reports a child's race as only American Indian *even though* the parent is interracially married and *even though* multiple race responses are allowed on the form. In these families, the children are probably getting this message about their 'proper' response to the race question in other ways as well. In the models below, I use 'homeland' residence and other independent variables to predict whether the multiracial child's race is reported as only American Indian (42.8% of the

¹ I selected the last eligible child listed on each family's census form. This is usually the youngest child, which increases the chances that the child is biologically related to both the householder and the spouse. Additional analyses (available on request) of the race report for the first eligible child in each family are substantially identical.

² Anyone in the household may fill out the census form. In most cases in this sample, the person filling out the form for the child is probably the parent who was listed first on the form (i.e., the householder).

cases), as opposed to something else (multiple races or another single race).³ Table 1 shows the relationship between child's race response and the independent variables described below.

[Table 1 about here]

Primary Independent Variable: Living On or Near a Homeland

Of course all of the United States was originally an indigenous homeland and everywhere in the United States holds potential for cultural significance to an American Indian person or community. However, historical events have dramatically altered the specific places which remain under tribal control in any way (see Frantz 1999). The boundaries of these places do not follow state or local administrative lines because of the history of government-to-government relations between tribes and federal entities. The complexity of history forces me to use a loose definition of 'homeland' for this study.

The starting point for my 'homeland' measure is the set of legal or statistical American Indian or Alaska Native areas for which the Census Bureau provided data from Census 2000. A variety of entities are subsumed in this definition. Specifically:

“The legal entities consist of federally recognized American Indian reservations and off-reservation trust land areas, the tribal subdivisions that can divide these entities, state recognized American Indian reservations, [and] Alaska Native Regional Corporations.... The statistical entities are Alaska Native village statistical areas, Oklahoma tribal statistical areas, tribal designated statistical areas, and state designated American Indian statistical areas.” (U.S. Census Bureau 2001).

Although they do not have the legal status of other areas, the statistical areas included in this measure are judged by local agencies to be substantially meaningful to the local native populations. Because of this allowance for the input of tribal communities, areas traditionally inhabited by federally unrecognized tribes (e.g., the Lumbee tribe (Blu 1980)), areas viewed as homelands by multiple tribal groups (Albers and Kay 1987), and reservation areas with spotty ownership and legal status (Frantz 1999) are not excluded.

³ Note that Latino origin is not assessed in the race question and thus is not part of the dependent variable. Indigenous heritage is not incompatible with Latino heritage, nor is it required.

Regrettably, historic federal efforts to relocate tribes mean that the particular homeland areas included in this definition do not necessarily hold strong ceremonial meaning for the tribe. This mismatch between a tribe's historically important land area and its current location probably dampens the independent effect of homeland residence on the indigenous identity of a multiracial child. Similarly, there may be a mismatch between the tribal affiliation of an individual and the tribal history of the particular homeland area on which he or she lives (Churchill 2002). Although pan-Indian identities may work to ameliorate this disconnect, this mismatch is also likely to dampen the relationship between homeland and indigenous identity.

The Census Bureau provides detailed information about the location of each of the homeland areas, but this information is not easily used in conjunction with the PUMA-level data available in the individual-level PUMS file. The map in Figure 1 shows the overlap between PUMA boundaries and American Indian/Alaska Native homeland areas as used for Census 2000. For my analyses, I consider a family to live in a homeland if they live in a PUMA which overlaps a census homeland area. Although the overlap is far from perfect, native peoples' sense of 'homeland' is often not as bounded as are reservation lands or statistical areas (e.g., Albers and Kay 1987). Living near a reservation or other tribal area may feel nearly as powerful as living within the area, especially given that these areas are often isolated. In the end, the mismatch between PUMA boundaries and homeland boundaries will tend to minimize the proposed effect of homelands and thus this is a conservative measure of American Indian homeland areas.

[Figure 1 about here]

More than half (56.0%) of families in my sample live in homeland areas by my analytic definition. If an interracial married American Indian lives in a homeland area with his family, he is substantially more likely to report his child as racially American Indian and no other race. More than half (51.3%) of children in the sample who live in homeland areas are reported as

single-race American Indian, while less than one-third (31.7%) of those who live outside homeland areas are reported as such.

Other Independent Variables

Four major factors may explain the relationship between living in a homeland area and reporting a multiracial child as single-race American Indian. Families in homeland areas may have stronger ties to American Indian identities and people. These families may also be relatively unlikely to have strong ties to other countries, other languages, and/or other American minority groups. Poor families, who predominate in many homeland areas, may be more closely identified with their American Indian heritage. And other characteristics of the homeland area besides its importance as a homeland – for example, its geographic isolation or racial composition – may be responsible for the strong relationship between living in a homeland and displaying a strong indigenous identity. In this section, I introduce variables meant to address each of these possibilities. See Table 2 for statistics describing how each characteristic varies according to whether the family lives in a homeland area.

[Table 2 about here]

Family connections to American Indians. The census race question asks that all American Indian/Alaska Native respondents write in their enrolled or principal tribal affiliation, but not all respondents complied with the request. On average, those people who did not report a tribal affiliation seem to have relatively weak ties to an American Indian identity (Liebler 2004a). A relatively strong tribal identity among people living in homeland areas may be the source of the correlation between homeland residence and the child's reported single-race indigenous identity. To test this hypothesis, I include a dichotomous indicator of whether the American Indian parent reported a tribe as my first measure of family connections to American Indians.

The second measure – whether someone in the home speaks an American Indian language – indicates a relatively powerful tie to other American Indians (with whom they might

speak the language). Unfortunately, it is rare to speak an American Indian language and so this promising indicator of strong ties is limited in its ability to explain the relationship between homelands and single-race responses. Nevertheless, I include an indicator of whether someone in the home speaks an American Indian language.

Third, I code the American Indian parent's response to the separate write-in question on ancestry to indicate whether he or she reported only American Indian ancestry. If the parent reported no other background in either the open-ended ancestry question or the closed-ended race question, this may indicate a relatively strong attachment to the American Indian identity. This attachment might be based on remembered family history, or it could be based on a personal pattern of self-presentation or political decision-making.

Family connections to other race/ethnic groups. Connections to other race/ethnic groups also pull families to racially identify their children in a particular way. If someone in the home speaks a non-English, non-American Indian language, the family's tie to the related culture may be strong and may be reflected in the race response provided for the child. Similarly, a parent born outside the United States carries a relatively strong tie to his or her birth country that may also be reflected in the child's race response. I include dichotomous indicators of household language and parent's foreign birth to account for these possibilities. Because most homeland areas are isolated from major ports of entry, homelands may have relatively few foreign-born or foreign language speaking residents.

In the United States today, the race of the non-American Indian parent is also substantially important to the identified race of his or her child. Reflecting the history of the 'one-drop rule' of African descent in America, most children of African-Americans are reported as at least partially black (Roth 2005; Mary Campbell's work) and thus are unlikely to be reported as only American Indian. African Americans are relatively unlikely to live in the rural west, where most homeland areas are, and thus the homeland effect may simply be a side-effect of the identification patterns of black Americans. To test this hypothesis, I include an indicator of

whether the non-American Indian parent reports being racially African American (regardless of other reported heritage).

Non-black minorities – including Asians, Pacific Islanders, and Latinos – may feel a similar pull toward including this identification on their child’s race reports. The language use and birth-country measures (above) cannot fully account for these effects; racial and Latino minorities are seen as such even when they are native born and native English speakers. To examine this effect, I include a measure distinguishing non-American Indian parents who are Asian, Pacific Islander, and/or Latino from those who are non-Latino white.

Family income and local area income. Despite some recent improvements, many families in homeland areas have very low incomes. If experiences surrounding poverty heighten identity as American Indian, the relationship between living in a homeland and children’s race report would be spurious. Because its effects may not be strictly linear, I measure family income as a three category variable: below the poverty line, less than or equal to 300% of the poverty line, or more than 300% of the poverty line. Widespread poverty in an area substantially affects resident’s experiences so I also include a continuous measure (in \$1,000) of the average per-capita income of the 100,000 to 199,999 residents in the PUMA.

Local area context. Homeland areas are unique in larger ways as well. They are disproportionately rural, they have relatively many American Indians (both single-race and multiple-race reporters), and they have relatively many non-Latino whites. The relationship between living in a homeland and a child’s race report as American Indian may be due to any of these special characteristics of homelands.

I measure rural residence with a variable indicating whether the entire PUMA is located in a non-metropolitan area. I measure the racial context of the area with three variables indicating the number of American Indians (multiracial or single race), of multiracials (of any

race combination), and of non-Latino whites who live in the PUMA, per 100 people living in the PUMA.

Results

The statistics provided in Table 1 reveal the relationship between each of the independent variables and the race(s) reported for children of interracially married single-race American Indians. The cross-tabulation provided in Table 2 illustrates the relationship between living in a homeland area and the other independent variables. In each of these tables, the relationships are strong and clear – the child’s race response is correlated with each independent variable and homelands are distinct from other areas in ways described by each independent variable. The key question, then, is whether the intergenerational transmission of a strong indigenous identity in homeland areas can be explained by these characteristics of homelands, or if there is something else about homelands – something less easily measured – that promotes this connection.

I estimate a series of logistic regression analyses, shown in Table 3, to address my key question. I begin with a baseline model in which I use homeland residence as the sole predictor of whether the child of an interracially married single-race American Indian is reported as only American Indian. The resulting odds ratio of 2.27 (with an accompanying z-score greater than 1.96) shows that a child living in a homeland is more than twice as likely to be reported as only American Indian as he is to be reported as something else (either another single race or multiracial) when compared to a child living outside of a homeland area.

[Table 3 about here]

The family’s connections to other American Indians are significantly related to the race reported for the child (model 2). The child is much more likely to be reported as only American Indian if her American Indian parent reported a tribal affiliation, if someone in her home speaks an American Indian language, and/or if her American Indian parent reports no other heritage on

the census form. Although these ties to other American Indians are more common in homeland areas (Table 2), they are not responsible for the independent effect of living in a homeland. The effect of living in a homeland remains strongly significant and substantially large.

Family connections to other race/ethnic groups also have a clear and strong relationship to the child's reported race (model 3). The child's race is significantly more likely to be reported as either a non-American Indian single race or a multiracial response if someone in the home speaks a non-English, non-American Indian language or either parent was born outside the United States. In continuation of historical patterns, a child's race is very rarely reported as only American Indian if he has a black parent. However, the child of an interracial marriage between two non-black minority members is not significantly more (or less) likely to be reported as only American Indian than is a child of a white-American Indian intermarriage. Differences in ties to other race/ethnic groups explain some of the relationship between living in a homeland and the child's reported race, but the independent effect of homeland residence remains large.

The impoverished conditions in many homeland areas are not responsible for the relationship between living in a homeland and a child's strong indigenous identity. In fact, the results of the fourth model in Table 3 hint at a suppressor effect; children in poorer American Indian families and in poorer communities are less likely to be reported as only American Indian. Prior research linking lower social class to stronger identification as minority is primarily focused on multiracial part-Blacks (Daniel 2002; Rockquemore and Brunnsma 2001; Yancey 2003) and thus may be inapplicable to this relatively non-Black population. Perhaps programs ameliorating poverty on reservations will have the unexpected benefit of increasing the strength of indigenous identities.

The unique racial composition of many homeland areas is responsible for some of the relationship between living in a homeland and reporting a multiracial child as only American Indian (model 5). The child is more likely to be reported as only American Indian if there are more American Indians (multiracial or not), more multiracials (American Indian or not), and/or

more non-Latino whites in the PUMA. Together, these measures of the local racial context substantially reduce – but do not eliminate – the independent effect of homeland residence. Although children who live in non-metropolitan PUMAs are substantially more likely to be reported as only American Indian (Table 1) and 82% of families in my sample who live in these PUMAs also live in homeland areas (Table 2), rural residence is not a significant predictor of the child's identification when homeland residence itself is taken into account.

In reality, all of these characteristics of the family and community work simultaneously to affect the experiences of multiracial families. The sixth model in Table 3 reveals that the strong and significant independent effect of living in a homeland area on the indigenous identification of a multiracial child remains when a host of relevant factors are taken into account. Compared to a statistically similar person, a child of an interracial married American Indian is 41% more likely to be reported as only American Indian if she lives in a homeland area than if she does not. Connections to culturally important physical areas enhance the intergenerational transmission of indigenous identities.

Discussion

The analyses presented in this research show that homelands remain a strongly related to the single-race indigenous identification multiracial American Indians despite attacks on both American Indian identities and on homelands themselves. This result highlights the continuing importance of place *in and of itself* to indigenous identities and thus the continuation of indigenous communities. Although other factors clearly matter in the process of choosing the race or races to be reported for these children, homelands remain important.

What can explain the continuation of this relationship between identity and homeland even when other factors are taken into account? Several possibilities exist. Ties to the ancestral homeland, especially strong ties, impact individuals' identity through several routes, including physical, spiritual, genealogical, and historical forces (Kana'iaupuni and Liebler 2005;

Kana'iaupuni and Malone 2006; Tsosie 2000, 2003). Peroff (1997) notes that community identities are also bolstered by connections with homelands. Community interaction that is between tribally similar people, that is caused by the fact that both parties are in the group, and/or that is about being Indian makes each tribal community a living system and thus supports and helps retain the existence of "Indianness" in individuals in reciprocal articulation with a more general community (Peroff 1997). Bonds between individuals perpetuate the meaning of place (Memmott and Long 2002).

Another potential reason for this persistence is that reservation-bound American Indians fit within the 'collective black' segment of the tripartite racial system hypothesized by Bonilla-Silva (2004). Under this scenario, the single-race American Indian parents living on or near reservations might be forced by others (both insiders and outsiders) to retain identity as American Indian. Despite the presence of their non-American Indian spouse, the American Indian parent might consciously socialize the child as American Indian to prepare him or her for similar experiences.

American Indians living in homelands may be disproportionately those who have established their legal claim to the identity through tribal enrollment (Garrouette 2001) and because of this unique status may be especially motivated to make strong claims of identity and to push their children to do the same, though enrollment (or any other definitive criterion) does not necessarily imply a strong identity (Weaver 2001). Similarly, people may be living on homelands explicitly because they have responded to a call to return; among Native Hawaiians, the return to Hawai'i is associated with an especially high likelihood to identify as Native (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler 2005; Kana'iaupuni and Malone 2006).

Conclusions

A variety of research has worked to predict the racial identification of multiracial children, with limited success among part-American Indian respondents (Harris and Sim 2002 ; Campbell

2007; Qian 2004). Although these studies have generally worked to take social context into account, the analyses distinct because other research predicting the child's race based on parental and contextual characteristics has conceptualized the importance of place in a different way. For example, measures of the racial diversity of the PUMA (Qian 2004) or school (Brunsma 2005) are operationalized indicators of the amount of contact with the multiracial child's race groups, as well as people of other races (which has been shown to impact identity (Harris 1995). These measures are incomplete, however, because living near someone does not necessarily imply meaningful interaction (Wong 1998, 1999; Allen and Turner 1987) and the cultural meaning of specific places is generally ignored. In other words, these are measures that relate to the *people in the place*, not the place itself; I argue that there is more to this story of identity claiming and transmission than the characteristics of people (which could be recreated in any place); we need to attend to the history and meaning of the actual location itself.

One implication of this research is that we should take homelands seriously in quantitative analyses of American Indians. This is not a difficult task; the PUMA-level indicator of homeland residence used in this research is (or will become) available through the Integrated Public Use Microdata project (<http://usa.ipums/usa>) and can be applied to other research using census PUMA geographies. By focusing on indigenous homelands as meaningful in and of themselves, it may also be possible to extend prior research on immigrant generations and on return migration to the American Indian population by treating homeland areas as a variation on the idea of country of origin. In expanding this concept, researchers should attend to the effects of past residence as well as current residence (Liebler 2001; Kana'iaupuni and Liebler 2005; Kana'iaupuni and Malone 2006).

The importance of homelands as culturally meaningful places extends beyond implications for research. Recognizing the pivotal role of homeland places can aid in developing and providing educational programs for American Indian populations (Kana'iaupuni and Malone 2006). Place-based learning initiatives –educational initiatives based around the cultural

meanings of the place – in reservation schools may help in providing desperately needed enhancements to improve outcomes among homeland children and homeland communities. Providing education that is culturally based and tribally self-determined is important when trying to provide high quality education to American Indians (Rhodes 1990; Lomawaima and McCarty 2006), especially for those who are at-risk in mainstream settings (Gruenewald 2003; Smith 2002) or who hope to attain leadership abilities (Kana'iaupuni and Malone 2006).

In sum, the power of homelands to affect the development, maintenance, and intergenerational transfer of American Indian identities has been recognized among American Indians (Ortiz 1969; Evers and Zepeda 1995; Brown 1999; Martin 2001; Weaver 2001; Carmean 2002; Memmott and Long 2002; Champagne 2003; Holm et al. 2003) but not among non-indigenous researchers. When this power is recognized, explored, and leveraged to understand indigenous identities through a sociological lens, both indigenous peoples and the discipline of sociology will benefit.

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Figure 1: American Indian/Alaska Native Homeland Areas and Surrounding Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs), 2000

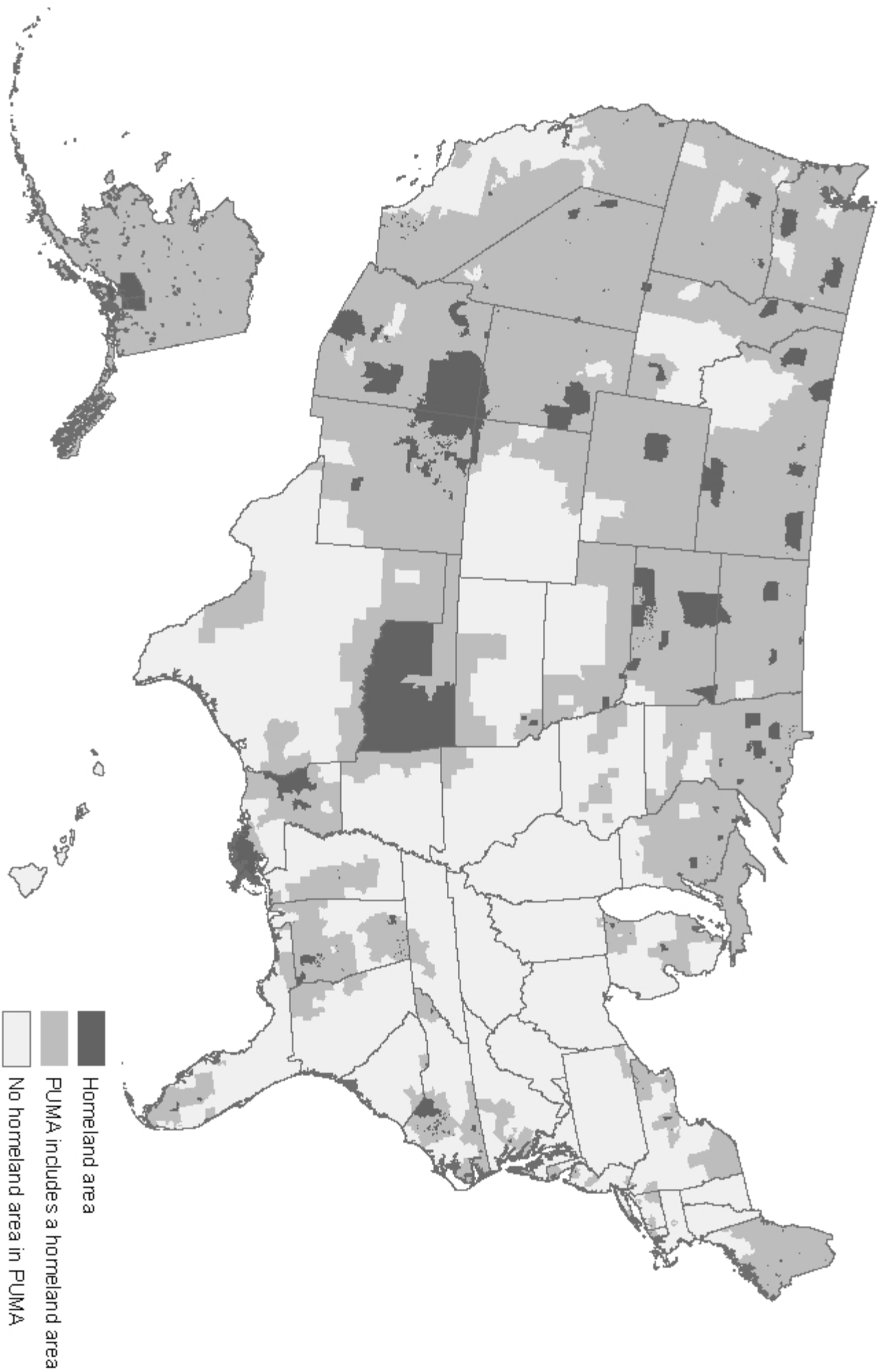


Table 1

**Variation in Race Reported for Coresident Children of
Interracially Married Single-Race American Indians (one child per household)**

	<u>Row Total</u>	<u>% of children reported as...</u>	
		<u>American Indian only (1)</u>	<u>Something else (2)</u>
Unweighted N in Category	10,926	4,932	5,994
Weighted N in Category	200,570	85,637	114,933
Percent in Category	100%	42.7%	57.3%
Family lives in American Indian/Alaska Native homeland	112,421	51.3%	48.7%
Family does not live in homeland area	88,149	31.7%	68.3%
Family connections to American Indians			
American Indian parent did report tribe	167,224	45.6%	54.4%
Someone in home speaks an American Indian language	6,411	59.2%	40.8%
AI parent reports only AI race and only AI ancestry	148,288	47.3%	52.7%
Family connections to other race/ethnic groups			
Someone in home speaks another non-English language	42,101	32.6%	67.4%
A parent was born outside of the United States	23,431	25.2%	74.9%
AI parent is married to black^ parent	7,582	16.3%	83.7%
AI parent is married to non-black minority parent	29,762	31.5%	68.5%
AI parent is married to white* parent	163,226	46.0%	54.0%
Family income			
Family income falls below federal poverty line	17,093	43.5%	56.5%
Family income is less than 3x federal poverty line	84,821	43.0%	57.0%
Family income is more than 3x federal poverty line	98,656	42.3%	57.7%
Geographic isolation of area			
PUMA is entirely non-metropolitan	73,099	52.6%	47.4%
	<u>overall mean</u>	<u>mean in (1)</u>	<u>mean in (2)</u>
Area income			
Per capita income in PUMA	\$19,758	\$19,177	\$20,190
Racial context of area			
# of Am. Inds in PUMA per 100 population	5.1	7.2	3.4
# of multiracials in PUMA per 100 population	3.3	3.6	3.0
# of whites* in PUMA per 100 population	70.3	71.9	69.2

Source data: Census 2000 5% PUMS (accessed through IPUMS.org). All statistics are weighted unless otherwise noted.

* In this case, "white" means single-race non-Latino white.

^ In this case, "black" means single- or multiple-race black, whether Latino or not.

Table 2

Characteristics of 'Homeland' Areas

	Row Total	% of N living in homeland areas	% of N outside of homeland areas
Weighted N	200,570	56.1%	44.0%
Family connections to American Indians			
Single-race AI parent did report tribe	167,224	58.8%	41.2%
Someone in home speaks an American Indian language	6,411	73.8%	26.2%
AI parent reports only AI race and only AI ancestry	148,288	60.6%	39.4%
Family connections to other race/ethnic groups			
Someone in home speaks another non-English language	42,101	44.0%	56.0%
A parent was born outside of the United States	8,302	35.4%	64.6%
AI parent married to black parent	7,582	36.6%	63.4%
AI parent married to non-black minority parent	29,762	40.9%	59.1%
AI parent married to white parent	163,226	59.7%	40.3%
Family income			
Family income falls below federal poverty line	17,093	64.0%	36.0%
Family income less than 3x federal poverty line	84,821	61.0%	39.0%
Family income more than 3x federal poverty line	98,656	50.4%	49.6%
Geographic isolation of area			
PUMA is entirely non-metropolitan	73,099	82.0%	18.0%
	<u>overall mean</u>	<u>mean within homelands</u>	<u>mean outside homelands</u>
Area income			
Per capita income in area	\$19,758	\$18,155	\$21,801
Racial context of area			
# of Am. Inds in area per 100 population	5.1	8.1	1.3
# of multiracials in area per 100 population	3.3	3.4	3.0
# of whites* in area per 100 population	70.3	73.4	66.4

Source data: Census 2000 5% PUMS (accessed through IPUMS.org). All statistics are weighted.

* In this case, "white" means non-Hispanic single-race whites.

Table 3

Odds of Race Reported as American Indian Only for Children of Interracially Married Single-Race American Indians

<i>Model</i>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
	<i>AI only</i>	<i>AI only</i>	<i>AI only</i>	<i>AI only</i>	<i>AI only</i>	<i>AI only</i>
	(vs. not)	(vs. not)	(vs. not)	(vs. not)	(vs. not)	(vs. not)
	<u>odds ratio (z)</u>	<u>odds ratio (z)</u>	<u>odds ratio (z)</u>	<u>odds ratio (z)</u>	<u>odds ratio (z)</u>	<u>odds ratio (z)</u>
Area contains official American Indian land	2.27 (8.93)	2.01 (8.18)	2.06 (8.37)	2.19 (10.06)	1.54 (6.70)	1.41 (5.48)
American Indian parent did report tribe		1.87 (8.59)				1.60 (6.85)
Someone in home speaks an Am. Ind. language		1.51 (2.93)				1.39 (2.16)
AI parent reports only AI race and only AI ancestry		1.87 (10.64)				1.67 (8.45)
Someone in home speaks other non-Engl. language			0.81 (-3.02)			0.93 (-1.03)
A parent was born outside of the United States			0.58 (-5.40)			0.66 (-4.20)
Am. Ind. parent married to black parent			0.28 (-8.75)			0.33 (-7.20)
Am. Ind. parent married to non-black minority parent			0.86 (-1.76)			0.87 (-1.53)
Family income falls below federal poverty line				0.91 (-1.15)		0.95 (-0.53)
Family income less than 3x federal poverty line				0.92 (-1.65)		0.95 (-1.06)
Per capita income in PUMA in \$1000				0.99 (-1.74)		0.99 (-1.07)
PUMA is entirely non-metropolitan					1.15 (1.72)	1.11 (1.23)
# of Am. Inds in PUMA per 100 population					1.03 (4.26)	1.02 (3.38)
# of multiracials in PUMA per 100 population					1.11 (3.68)	1.11 (3.47)
# of whites in PUMA per 100 population					1.01 (6.06)	1.01 (3.13)
Constant	0.46 (19.92)	0.18 (-19.86)	0.58 (-12.62)	0.64 (-2.78)	0.15 (-10.04)	0.14 (-9.11)
df	1	4	5	4	5	15
log pseudolikelihood	-132958.9	-129902.5	-130604.2	-132837.1	-129407.2	-126028.6
pseudo R ²	0.029	0.051	0.046	0.030	0.055	0.079

Source data: Census 2000 5% PUMS (accessed through IPUMS.org). Data were weighted for analysis (N= 200,570) and standard errors were adjusted for clustering at the PUMA level (1,849 PUMAs are represented in the sample).

Note: Odds ratio is highlighted in bold if the z-score is greater than |1.96| and thus is significant at the p≤0.05 level

Unlisted comparison categories: Am. Ind. Parent married to non-Hispanic white parent; Family income more than 3x federal poverty line.