

Transcending Cultural Barriers When Surveying Hard-to-Reach Populations: A Case Study of *Kānaka Maoli* (Indigenous Hawaiians) and Others on Hawaiʻi Island

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Introduction

This paper presents a case study of *Kānaka Maoli*¹, an indigenous population of Hawaiians, Pacific Islanders and others living on Hawaiʻi Island, Hawaiʻi, in a "hard-to-reach" rural area.² It identifies underlying issues that may contribute to miscounting them in the U.S. decennial census and explores some of the factors hindering their participation in surveys.

The mission of the U.S. Census Bureau in the decennial census was to count each person living in the United States only once and in the right place on April 1, 2010, Census Day, according to the 2010 Census residence rule and residence situations document (Lamas 2009). The residence rule has two important concepts: 1) The *de jure* concept of usual residence is the place where a person lives and sleeps most of the time, and 2) the *de facto* concept is the place the person stayed on Census Day, April 1, which are not necessarily the same as the person's voting residence or legal residence.

Several months after the 2010 Census, the U.S. Census Bureau carried out the Census Coverage Measurement Person Interview Operation, referred to as CCM PI, to determine how well it counted people in the country. The survey consisted of less than one percent of all housing units in the United States that were later matched to the same housing units in the decennial census to estimate coverage in the overall population and among some subpopulations (Schwede 2010).

Differential miscounts among some race and ethnic groups persist, despite efforts to reduce them. In order to identify the underlying factors that may contribute to these miscounts, the U.S. Census Bureau contracted with ethnographers to conduct small-scale field observations of the CCM Person Interview (CCM PI) Operation among eight race and ethnic groups, as part of the 2010 Census Evaluation, *Comparative Ethnographic Studies of Enumeration Methods and Coverage in US Race/Ethnic Groups* (CCM PI). I was given a contract to research the Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander (NHOPI) communities³ on Hawaiʻi Island and to conduct a field observation study of live CCM PI interviews to document how and why possible miscounts happen, who is affected, and what can be improved to reduce miscounting in future censuses among these communities.

¹ *Kānaka Maoli* – "real or true people" (Kauanui 2008: xi), the indigenous Hawaiians.

² The research upon which this report is based was supported by the U.S. Census Bureau. Any views expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of the U.S. Census Bureau.

³ "Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander" refers to a person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands. It includes people who indicated their race(s) as "Pacific Islander" or reported entries such as "Native Hawaiian," "Guamanian or Chamorro," "Samoan," and "Other Pacific Islander" or provided other detailed Pacific Islander responses (Humes et al. 2011:3).

Native Hawaiian Social Definition of Race

The 2000 Census was the first time Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders (NHOPI) was available as a major stand-alone race category, separate from Asians. Additionally, that was the first census in which persons were permitted to mark more than one race category. As a result, NHOPI could choose to check boxes for one or more races. The Census Bureau data uses respondent's self-identification for race classification that reflects "a social definition of race recognized in this country; it is not an attempt to define race biologically, anthropologically, or genetically" (U.S. Census 2010a:4). The Census Bureau notes that this method poses problems. Nicholas Jones, chief of the U.S. Census Bureau's Racial Statistics branch remarked that the decennial census does not construct "specific racial breakdowns (Wong 2011)." According to Momi Imaikalani Fernandez, Data & Information/Census Information Center, Director of Papa Ola Lōkahi, a non-profit Native Hawaiian organization (Wong 2011),

Hawaiians "self-identify as only Native Hawaiian because that's their culture that they most identify with, Native Hawaiian is an identity. We're tying ourselves to this `aina (land), we're tying ourselves to our ancestors, we're tying ourselves to language and to customs and to everything that makes us Hawaiian."

Fernandez remarked that the U. S. Census Bureau should not be blamed for the inaccuracy in the data; however, she would be happy if all race categories, disaggregated race and ethnic groupings could be included (Wong 2011).

Methodology

In August 2010, I accompanied seven CCM PI interviewers (one was Native Hawaiian and the rest were White) on Hawai'i Island over nine continuous days and observed and audiotaped 29 out of 36 live cold-call interviews with respondents. Three other potential respondents refused to be interviewed: one was a victim of identity theft during the earlier mailing of the census form; another person chased us off his/her property and another person ran to our car, returned the census letter that we had left on his/her door and said that he/she had already sent in his/her census form. There were also many instances where no one answered the door, or when the gate was locked or it was a long driveway and the census interviewers did not want to drive through because this was a problem area. Continued attempts to interview these respondents were to be made later in the operation. These refusals could have been converted to complete responses later.

During the CCM PI interview, I observed and listened for cues of possible coverage errors and/or household relationships not identified with the census relationship question. Twenty-seven interviews had cues where I conducted on-the-spot ad hoc debriefings with the respondents to resolve anomalies. I later transcribed them, analyzed the data and used the census residence rule and residence situations list (Lamas 2009) to determine where each person identified in the interviews should be counted, especially assessing the extent to which possible coverage errors occurred among NHOPI.

I want to emphasize that this was a small nonrandom exploratory qualitative field observation study on Hawai'i Island during the early part of the CCM PI Operation and the results cannot be generalized. I observed interviews in only 36 housing units that identified 145 persons. The selected location was chosen by the U.S. Census Bureau

based on the CCM sample frame and Census 2000 statistics. Table 1 shows the race that was reported by the persons who were identified in these housing units during the CCM PI operation.

Table 1: Reported Race of Persons in Observed Housing Unit Interviews

Race reported by persons	Number	Percent
Persons reporting one race only		
○ Asians	46	31.7
○ White	22	15.2
○ Native Hawaiians/Other Pacific Islanders	19	13.1
○ Black persons	1	0.7
Persons reporting two or more races	54	37.2
Other race category (Human, Spanish, Non-Pacific Island country)	3	2.1
Total number of persons identified in the CCM PI observation	145	100

Of 54 persons reporting two or more races, 36 reported Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander as one of their races. Overall NHOPI accounted for 55 persons (36 who reported two or more races and 19 who reported only Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander) totaling 38 percent of the total number of persons sampled in the 36 households. In the same category of those reporting two or more races, eight were of Hispanic or Latino origin. In the “White” category, all twenty two persons were White not Hispanic. Nine people (6.2 percent) who were Native American were mixed with other races; they are included in the “persons reporting two or more races” category. The “Other Race” category includes three persons: one person who said she was of Hispanic origin, however, when she saw Hispanic was not listed as a race; she answered “human.” Another Hispanic person was offended that there were no Hispanic races and said she was Spanish. A third person listed her race as that from a non-Pacific Island country.

Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders’ Resistance to the Census

Hawai`i Island has consistently had a low census mail response rate in past decennial censuses compared to the state of Hawai`i and the United States as shown in Table 2. In 1990 it was 54 percent for the Island, 62 percent for the state of Hawai`i, and 65 percent for the nation (U.S. Census 1990).

Table 2: Census Mail Response Rates in U.S. Decennial Censuses 1990-2010

Census - Year	Source	Census Mail Response Rates- percentages		
		Hawai`i County	Hawai`i	U.S.
1990	U.S. Census 1990	54	62	65
2000	U.S. Census 2000	56	60	67
2010	State of Hawaii 2010	56	68	74

The State of Hawai`i made a huge effort to improve the mail response rate for the 2010 Census. A large public education and media outreach campaign was coordinated by local census offices and their community partners that included non-profit organizations, a grassroots network consisting of churches, neighborhood boards and public housing areas, and a U.S. Census Bureau’s “Hawaii Counts” van that visited local gathering spots throughout Hawai`i Island during the month of March 2010 (Corrigan 2010). Ads appeared in all newspapers throughout the state picturing Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, including Chuukese, people who are from the island of Chuuk in the Federated

States of Micronesia. Even with this extensive advertising campaign targeting Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, the mail response rate was 56 percent, unchanged from the 2000 Census although the state of Hawai'i improved its rate (U.S. Census 2010b).

This low mail response rate of Hawai'i County residents implies that other underlying factors affected their willingness to complete and submit the mailout census form, though most of these nonresponders would be enumerated during the later personal visit interviews in the 2010 Census Nonresponse Followup Operation. These issues need to be addressed by the U.S. Census Bureau because persons who consistently refused to be interviewed throughout the followup operations may differ from those who were interviewed and not be representative of the overall population. My findings showed that these factors may have affected Hawaiian participation in some of the 36 households that I observed being interviewed during the CCM PI operation: the Hawaiian sovereignty movement, government mistrust, Census Bureau's repeated visits to the same households, White interviewers in predominately local areas, federal funds not benefiting Hawaiians, and reluctance to participate in surveys. Deportation fears and foreign language misunderstanding were experienced by two Pacific Islander households and a false rumor regarding deportation circulated within one community of Pacific Islanders living on Hawai'i Island (Daniggelis 2011).

There is a general distrust of the U.S. federal government by some Hawaiians given the history of the U.S. involvement in Hawai'i that led to the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 (Silva 2004). The Hawaiian sovereignty movement began in 1970 when Hawaiian families living in a remote valley on the island of O'ahu were being evicted by the largest private state landowner (Trask 1999:67). This event initiated the *Kānaka Maoli* movement that protests freeway and hotel construction over sacred *heiau* (Hawaiian temples), ended the military abuse of the Hawaiian island of Kaho'olawe, demonstrated for prison reform, protecting the Hawaiians *iwi* (ancestral bones) and burial sites from development, proved that a Hawaiian diet prolongs life and translated nineteenth century Hawaiian language newspapers (Osorio 2010:16). Native Hawaiians are also working on stopping the creation of genetically modified *kalo* (Hawaiian taro) and the claiming of taro as property by non Hawaiians (TSPTF 2010). *Kalo* (taro) is "closely linked to the origin of the *Kānaka Maoli*" (Kauanui 2008:51) because according to their cosmic lineage they are the young siblings of the *kalo* plant and descended from the deities Wākea and Ho'ohōkūkalani (McGregor 2007:13).

A Native Hawaiian *kūpuna* (elder) felt that messages advertising the U.S. Census were "false promises" because improvements in impoverished communities had not been made based on people's participation in the census.

By answering 10 easy questions, you can help improve schools, health centers, housing, and roads in our communities.

Ka Wai Ola 2010:9

The U.S. Census Bureau only provides the counts for where all persons should be counted on Census Day; it does not distribute money to state governments for funding community projects. There is "lingering resentment" from some people in the Chuukese and Marshallese Pacific Island communities stemming from 1946 to 1962 when the U.S. conducted nuclear testing in Micronesia (Tsai 2010a).

Description of Field Site

The State of Hawai'i consists of eight main islands including Hawai'i Island. Due to its large land mass that is twice the size of all the Hawaiian islands combined shown in Table 3, Hawai'i Island has many sparsely populated rural areas where *Kānaka Maoli* are a larger share of the proportion than elsewhere. Davianna McGregor describes these areas as “cultural *kīpuka*, rural communities that have been bypassed by major historic forces of economic, political and social change in Hawai'i” (McGregor 2010:209) where *kūpuna* (elders) share their traditional knowledge of subsistence activities with their children and grandchildren (McGregor 2007). A majority of these Hawaiians live “off the grid”; there are unpaved roads with potholes, no trespassing signs, dogs, and houses hidden by lush vegetation to ensure privacy. Illicit marijuana is grown in some of these areas. Small secondary *`ohana*⁴ structures built at the same address behind the main house (or even merged to it) are rented out and may be missed leading to possible undercounts.

Table 3 compares the demographic, geographic and economic statistics of Hawai'i County (encompassing Hawai'i Island) with the State of Hawai'i.

Table 3: Statistics comparing Hawai'i County with the State of Hawai'i

U.S. Census Bureau Statistics	Hawai'i County	Hawai'i
Land area, 2000 (square miles)	4,028.02	6,422.62
Persons per square mile, 2010 (U.S. Census 2010 data)	45.9	211.8
Population, 2010 estimate (U.S. Census 2010 data)	185,079	1,360,301
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, percent, 2010 (Includes persons reporting only one race) ⁵	12.4 %	10.1%
Median household income 2006-2010 (ACS ⁶ 5 year data)	\$54,996	\$66,420
Persons below poverty level, percent, 2006-2010 (ACS 5 year data)	14.4%	9.6%
Unemployment rate, 2010 ⁷	9.8%	6.6%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau: State and County QuickFacts. Data derived from Population Estimates, American Community Survey, Census of Population and Housing, State and County Housing Unit Estimates, County Business Patterns, Nonemployer Statistics, Economic Census, Survey of Business Owners, Building Permits, Consolidated Federal Funds Report (U.S. Census 2010c).

Table 3 shows that Hawai'i County has a greater proportion of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders and a lower median household income compared to the state. It has the highest poverty level and unemployment rate for the entire state (State of Hawaii 2011).

⁴ *`Ohana* means family, relative, kin group, related (Pukui et al 1978:119)

⁵ Source: U.S. Census 2010 data

⁶ ACS stands for U.S. Census American Community Survey. According to the U.S. Census, if the date is a range, you can interpret the data as an average of the period of time. Source: <http://www.usa.com/rank/hawaii-state--median-household-income--county-rank.htm>, retrieved: December 5, 2012.

⁷ State of Hawai'i (2011)

Results

Data was collected from observations and debriefings of 36 CCM PI interviews; 20 of the 36 housing units (56 percent) had at least one person in the household who identified as NHOPI. Two of these families were all Pacific Islander (Tongan and Marshallese) and one family was mixed (Native Hawaiian and Tongan). The majority of Native Hawaiians were found in mixed race households (Daniggelis 2011).

Household Level

In the CCM interviews, it appeared to me that in 27 out of 36 observed households (75 percent), all persons identified in the interview should have been counted at those housing units back on Census Day and there was no evidence of someone who should have been included on the roster who had been omitted. Four interviews were not included in the data analysis; two were vacant on Census Day and the status of the other two was unknown.

In eight of these 32 households, I identified possible coverage errors of one or more persons: 5 had possible erroneous enumerations, 1 had a possible omission and 2 had possible other errors on their CCM rosters. Out of eight households with possible coverage errors, 5 had at least one or more Native Hawaiians and/or Pacific Islanders. The variables found to be most closely associated qualitatively with possible coverage errors for households were complex households and living situations. Among these 32 households, there were 17 noncomplex and 15 complex household types.

In 2008, Schwede developed a classificatory system for research purposes to classify complex and noncomplex household types (Schwede 2008). There are three types of noncomplex households: a nuclear family comprising only the husband and wife or it may also include their own joint biological children living with them, a stem family with a single parent and his/her biological child, and one person living alone. All other types of households are classified as complex households.

In my sample of 15 complex households, seven had unique sets of relationships that are not found on Schwede's complex/noncomplex household typology (Schwede 2008); five of them were Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander. These relationships show the diverse and unique household family structures that exist in rural areas of Hawai'i Island. A few examples of these new complex household classification types are: a lateral extended and roomer comprising a householder, spouse, sibling-in-law and roomer; a householder, parent, parent's sibling, natural child, household unmarried partner and stepchild; and an unmarried partner and mother of a grandchild living in a complex household where the biological son was not present.

In another household, a householder was living with his *hanai* daughter whose biological mother lives nearby. *Hānai* is a Hawaiian adoption process that strengthened bonds between families and was binding without requiring legal paperwork. Historically *hānai* adoption has been a customary practice throughout the Hawaiian Islands from the royalty to the commoners. *Hānai* children are raised by someone other than a natural parent "from childhood with all the privileges and responsibilities of a natural-born child," without requiring the natural parents to cut their ties (Sai-Dudoit 2011:20).

These complex household typologies show the importance of *`ohana*. *`Ohana* (family) provide a social and economic support system for the family and is especially important on Hawai'i Island where the level of poverty is the highest in the state (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). In "pre-*haole*"⁸ Hawai'i, the *`ohana* comprised the core economic unit (Trask 1999:4). Unrelated persons can be incorporated into the *`ohana* even though Hawaiian society still primarily relies on ancestry and privileges genealogical connections forged through kinship practices (Kauanui 2008:42). The *`ohana* is not restricted by blood and encompasses all persons who are held with affection; love, and responsibility (Mokuau 1990). It was an adaptive strategy used by a Marshallese family living together in a "foreign" environment. The population growth on the Big Island is attributed to the economic downslide. People move from more expensive O'ahu to rural areas on Hawai'i Island where it is "cheaper" leading to large households and hidden units. I observed a person living in a garage that was separated from the main house and there may be more "hidden" housing units to lessen the economic hardships of families.

Of the 8 households with possible coverage errors, 5 were among complex households and 3 were among noncomplex households. Overall possible coverage errors were two times greater among complex households, 5 out of 15 (33.3 percent) compared to noncomplex households 3 out of 17 (17.6 percent) in this small nonrandom sample.

Individual Level

At the person level, my assessment was that 94 of 113 persons (83 percent) identified in the study should have been counted in the observed CCM housing units on Census Day. Persons that I assessed as having possible coverage errors (16) in this study were three times greater in complex households, 12 out of 16 (75 percent), compared with 4 out of 16 (25 percent) in noncomplex households. It should be noted that this is a small nonrandom qualitative study and another study might have produced different results.

The variables qualitatively associated with possible coverage errors for persons were: race and gender. Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders combined accounted for half of those with possible errors compared to 38 percent of the overall sample of people interviewed in the CCM PI operation. Possible coverage errors were twice as great among females: 11 females (69 percent) and 5 males (31 percent) in this observation study.

High mobility and household fluidity also affected where persons should be counted. NHOPI have high overall mobility and oftentimes family members will spend time with their *`ohana* in other areas of the island or on other islands. Mobility was associated with child custody and shared child caregivers between parents and grandparents, marital problems and a teenager joining her parent after having been in a foster home. Other possible coverage errors were due to two young adults who were not living with their parent and were getting their high school diploma in another area of the Hawai'i Island, and a college student who was living in a rented house. It should be noted that some of these mobile persons with other residences should be counted at the other residences in the census, so some that I have classified as possible coverage error might have been correctly counted at their other places and not at the observed housing units; they would not have been actual coverage errors in the final CCM dataset. By design, the CCM questionnaire included an inclusive roster to pick up persons who potentially might be

⁸ *Haole* - the Hawaiian word for a White person, formerly any foreigner to the Hawaiian Islands (Pukui et al. 1978:13).

omitted from the Census, but then asked other questions to determine if and where each person should be counted.

The Interracial Climate in Some of These “Hard to Reach” Areas

Census Bureau officials have a different perception of how local people perceive interviewers compared to the way local people view them. A newspaper article quoted a crew leader on the island of O‘ahu who said, “Local census offices focus on recruiting enumerators from within the communities they will serve... People see that these census workers are just like you and me” (Tsai 2010b). An “enumerator” (interviewer) recruited from the same region may still have different cultural attributes and therefore be “foreign” to this area as shown by this local resident’s remark,

Sending two Caucasians to a local area, how people react. This street is too much sampled. They have to know, go past someone’s gate, how you feel. On their property, send Caucasians.

This resident was referring to the Caucasian census interviewer and me, as well as White Census Bureau personnel who had made numerous visits to her property. Repeated visits to this same housing unit in the Nonresponse Followup Operation and quality assurance visits created conflict as illustrated in this vignette.

You check with welfare... my husband pay government money, food not go down, gas not go down and medical too. You like come in and count the beds, looking for immigration, you trying to check people lying as government wants to know.

This local resident was associating the Caucasian CCM interviewer and me with other parts of the government. I am concerned that this may cause “negative marketing” for future decennial censuses because these sites encompassed entire blocks.

I interviewed a Native Hawaiian *kūpuna* who gave her perspective on the US Census operation and discussed the challenges of working in these marginalized communities.

Hawaiians feel very marginalized, disregarded and unimportant in the eyes of any representative of the government, even local governments they have difficulties entering local homes. I was taught you are to smile and be pono (respectful in every way that you can be), you have to hire people who are ha`aha`a (humble) about who they are.

Native Hawaiian *kūpuna* born and raised in Hawai‘i

Five (one was Native Hawaiian and four were White) out of seven interviewers portrayed the Hawaiian values of *pono* and *ha`aha`a* in their interviews by how they approached the respondents prior to the interview, listened without interrupting when they were talking, and by not inserting inappropriate and culturally insensitive comments. When one interviewer rushed the interview, a Pacific Islander daughter-in-law was left off the roster. Another interviewer consistently interrupted the respondents when they were talking and led them on several questions. This contradicts the values of *pono* and *ha`aha`a* that are held in high regard by Native Hawaiians.

The gender of a female with a Hawaiian name was misclassified because another interviewer wrote down the gender without confirming it with the respondent. Several

interviews seemed to have language and cultural miscommunication. In one, the interviewer gave the census letter to a Pacific Islander respondent who did not look at it and may not have been able to read English. The respondent appeared very shy and at first hesitated to be interviewed. There seemed to be language misunderstanding throughout the interview, and the respondent may have agreed on questions that she did not understand. The one question she answered without hesitation was her race. When pauses occurred, the interviewer would either paraphrase the questions so the respondent could understand them, or skipped them without verifying an answer. If there was a translation of the letter in the respondent's native language, the interviewer should have given it to her. It is important to have a native speaker conduct a follow-up interview when there may be language misunderstanding of foreign-born respondents.

One interviewer did not portray these values in interactions with the respondent and three Native Hawaiians were misclassified and self-identified as White. The interviewer continuously cut off the respondent and his non-relative when they were talking and made inappropriate comments as shown in this interchange using pseudonyms.

- Interviewer-*Do you ever go by a nickname or a different name? Do you go by "Ted"?*
- Respondent replied his family did not have nicknames.
- Interviewer-*Its more for people like if somebody has some big long Hawaiian name and they call him Rick, you know [laughter]*
[This remark was not appropriate... a Hawaiian name would probably be shortened to Kui, Kuhio, Kai, etc.]
- Respondent-*I try not to make a long name.*
- Interviewer-*There you go.*

Prior to 1967, Hawaiians were forbidden to have Hawaiian first names and were given English first names⁹. Cultural remarks made by one race can be misinterpreted by another race. The respondent told me during the debriefing that his mother was Hawaiian.

An interviewer can be White and effective in the community if he/she follows cultural norms of *pono* and *ha`aha`a*. My own experience with *Kanaka Maoli* has been they initially view White people as trespassing on their *`aina* (land) and humility is vital. A Native Hawaiian remarked when these values are not shown, "It is reminiscent of the adverse effects of the occupation of Hawai`i."

Summary

This paper discusses implications for the wider field of survey methodology on hard-to-count populations. I want to emphasize that this was a small nonrandom exploratory qualitative field observation study on Hawai`i Island during part of the CCM PI Operation. These findings cannot be generalized because in the sample I observed only 36 housing units that comprised 145 persons in Hawai`i County. Research findings showed that socio-cultural factors can affect enumeration and coverage. The majority of the interviewers showed the Hawaiian values of *ha`aha`a* (humility) and *pono* (respect) in their social behaviors when they engaged respondents during the interviews. In one

⁹ In 1860, Kamehameha IV signed the Act to Regulate Names and all Hawaiians born henceforth were to receive a Christian, English, given name. Hawaiian names were transferred into middle names and the law was not repealed until 1967 (Pukui et al 1972:98-99).

household when they were disregarded, a Pacific Islander was left off the roster. Another finding is *hanai*, adopting nonrelatives and more distant relatives; and *ʻohana*, extended families not restricted by blood relationships, are important practices for cultural and economic reasons not only for Native Hawaiians but also among Pacific Islanders. These practices may lead to misclassifying relationships and household structures. High mobility and household fluidity is a common occurrence on Hawaiʻi Island due to its adverse economic situation and shared parenting and grandparenting are common. Small secondary *ʻohana* structures built at the same address behind the main houses may be missed in the census listing and followup operations and lead to undercounts. Hidden households are another result of the survival strategies used by households and roomers.

Two important issues to address are improved selection of the census interviewers, and employing Native Hawaiians in all stages, from in-depth training of interviewers to field monitoring. Recruiting Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders as interviewers may be difficult and extra time and effort should be devoted to this in the next census. The training component needs to stress the importance of the Hawaiian values of *haʻahaʻa* and *pono*. When one interviewer was culturally insensitive, a respondent was reluctant to identify his race as Native Hawaiian. If this were more than an isolated occurrence, it could possibly lead to an underrepresentation of Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders and also affect future censuses conducted by the federal government. A NHOPI or local person should assist in monitoring the interviewers in the field. All the crew leaders that I observed were White, although considered “local” because they had been living in the area for some time; they may have varied in their ability to respond to cultural differences between the respondent and the interviewer.

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